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VOLUME LII, PART VI.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD,

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS, THIRD SESSION.

APPENDIX AND INDEX.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX

TO THE

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Report of Chemicals and Dyestuffs Committee to New York Section American Chemical Society.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. SAMUEL WALLIN,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, December 10, 1914.

Mr. WALLIN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a report of the chemicals and dyestuffs committee to the New York section of the American Chemical Society.

The report is as follows:

[Reprint from the Oil, Paint, and Drug Reporter, issue of November 9, 1914.]

REPORT OF CHEMICALS AND DYESTUFFS COMMITTEE TO NEW YORK SECTION AMERICAN CHEMICAL SOCIETY.

The New York section of the American Chemical Society held its regular monthly meeting on Friday evening, November 6, at the Chemists' Club. After a paper entitled "Bee Hive Versus Recovery Oven," by J. R. M. Klotz, of the Barrett Manufacturing Co., and one regarding methods of measuring the densities of the vapors of certain ammonium salts by Prof. Alexander Smith, had been read, the report of the committee on chemicals and dyestuffs was called for. This committee had been appointed immediately after the October meeting of the section and began at once to investigate existing conditions in the chemical and dyestuff industries. The report, which is printed in full below, was discussed by Drs. L. H. Baekeland and T. J. Parker. Dr. Baekeland pointed out that an increase in the production of certain chemicals in the United States could not be brought about in a short time and that previous efforts to market such products as phenol of American manufacture had not been successful. He felt that a domestic market for the by-products of coal-tar distillation was an essential requirement for the success of the coal-tar chemical industry in this country.

Dr. T. J. Parker moved that the report of the committee, together with its recommendations, be adopted and ordered printed in the journal of the association. This motion was unanimously carried. The full text of the report follows:

COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

To the New York Section, American Chemical Society:

1. At the meeting on October 9, 1914, the chairman of this section was authorized to appoint a committee to investigate into the feasibility of expanding the chemical and dyestuff industry in the United States and to report to this section on November 6, 1914.

2. The undersigned committee was appointed October 15 and at once proceeded. It addressed letters of invitation to cooperate to those who have been most active in the public prints in urging expanding of the chemical, and particularly the dyestuff industry in the United States. Further, an invitation was extended to the maker of the motion, which resulted in the appointment of this committee. The assistance from these is nil.

3. A request was addressed to trade publications in the city of New York and to some of the metropolitan dailies; in all nine such publications were requested to publish a suggested notice for the purpose of inviting cooperation; the object of this committee was set forth, and request was made that suggestions be mailed to the chairman of this committee. All but one of these publications have complied with that request. No help has been obtained by this committee from any suggestions mailed to it as a result of this publicity.

4. Your committee has carefully considered all the public suggestions as to methods of improvement and has searched through the governmental regulations of the belligerent nations as to embargo and as to contraband of war in order to construct therefrom a list of chemicals, inclusive of dyestuffs, which have thereby been shut off from the United States, in the hope of thus being placed in a position to make specific recommendations of value.

5. It can be fairly stated that, in general, the chemical industry of this country is efficiently exploited and is making full use of all the opportunities presented to it under the normal conditions existing prior to the state of hostilities. Some of the chemicals which are imported from abroad are made in considerable amounts in this country as well, and the amount imported under normal conditions depends upon the ordinary normal fluctuations of business conditions both here and abroad. With the stoppage of this foreign supply the domestic production was not at once capable of making up the deficiency, but in a number of instances the American manufacturers have taken steps to increase their capacity, and the strain in the market of those particular things will exist no longer than it will require to extend the manufacturing facilities to the proper extent.

Among these are ammonia salts, barium chloride, barium nitrate, bleaching powder, sodium cyanide, yellow prussiate, sodium nitrite, sodium hydrosulfite, zinc dust.

6. If, however, it be desired and if public necessity requires the introduction of the manufacture of explosives and further chemicals and dyestuffs into our home industry, such as coal-tar product explosives, pharmaceuticals, medicinals, and other intermediates and finished coal-tar dyes, then alterations of our tariff law are inevitable, and the consumers in the first place and the public in general must share in the burden thus imposed. If conditions of national defense in case of attack by a foreign power require us to manufacture our own explosives, and to be in that regard independent of all foreign nations at all times, or if our textile industries or any other of our industries requiring coal-tar chemicals, such as dyestuffs, shall forever be protected and made independent of foreign nations for the supply of those materials, then the Nation as a whole must bear the burden incident to such expansion. Under existing circumstances private enterprise and private capital have gone their limit. They have reached the limit for two reasons:

I. The explosive, dye, and similar industries abroad just referred to are in a state of high development and of refined organization and are financially the best suited to carry on an offensive campaign against any nation attempting to take business away from them.

II. Domestic manufacturers are prohibited by law from making use of cooperative commercial devices, such as pools, trusts, manufacturing and selling agreements, and the like, whereas such devices are wholly lawful abroad and are encouraged by the respective Governments. In other words, the American chemical industry is expected to cope with the foreign industry while both its own arms are tied behind its back and its opponents have full and free use of their arms.

ANTIDUMPING CLAUSE.

7. The remedies required would be an effective antidumping clause that would certainly prevent underselling of domestic manufacturers in the United States by unfair methods. What the form of such clause shall be is a problem with which your committee is unable to cope; it is strictly a lawmaking and law-enforcing problem, and is allied to the usual problem of determining undervaluation as heretofore carried on by our Treasury Department; it, however, is a much more refined problem than the older problem of proving undervaluation. Nevertheless, your committee believes that with such a mechanism in our law that much would be done toward encouraging our chemical industries.

TO CREATE COAL-TAR CHEMICAL INDUSTRY.

8. According to the best information that your committee can gather such an antidumping clause alone would not be sufficient, however, to create complete and independent domestic coal-tar explosives, dyestuffs, and medicinal industries. It has been conclusively demonstrated during the past 30 years that the present tariff rate of 30 per cent on dyestuffs is not sufficient to induce the domestic dyestuff industry to expand at a rate comparable with the consumption of dyestuffs in this country, and that therefore all dyestuffs made from coal tar, whether they be aniline dyes or alizarin, or alizarin dyes, or anthracene dyes, or indigo, so long as they are made in whole or in part from products of or obtainable from coal tar, should all be assessed alike, namely, 30 per cent ad valorem plus 7½ cents per pounds specific, and that all manufactured products of or obtainable from coal tar, themselves not dyes or colors and not medicinal, shall be taxed 15 per cent ad valorem and 3¾ cents per pound specific.

TARIFF TO AID DYE INDUSTRY.

9. The best information and judgment your committee can obtain is that the above manufactured products of coal tar, not dyes and not colors and not medicinal, should carry one-half the duty of the finished coal-tar dye and that the above rate of 30 per cent ad valorem and 7½ cents specific would probably be sufficient to encourage and enable domestic manufacturers to expand their operations to such an extent as to supply a very material increase in, if not the whole of, these commodities consumed in this country. The reason for a specific duty is to protect the domestic manufacturer in the manufacture of the relatively cheap dyes, such as the cheap scarlets, the cheap yellows, and the like, whose prices abroad are in the neighborhood of from 12 cents to 20 cents per pound. With dyes of that type 30 per cent ad valorem would not offer so serious an obstacle to importation and underselling thereof as does the 7½ cents per pound specific; on the other hand, on dyes whose prices are $1 and upward per pound the function of the 7½ cents specific more nearly approaches zero. That is, with the cheap dyes the chief function lies in the specific portion of the duty, and with the expensive dyes the chief function lies with the ad valorem portion of the duty.

This is said to be the price the Nation will have to pay to have a complete self-contained and independent coal-tar chemical industry. However, it must be remembered that if such an industry be created and importation of coal-tar products, inclusive of intermediates and dyes, is restricted, its ultimate effect upon the Federal revenues will

have to be considered. It will therefore be necessary to determine carefully if the advantages to be gained are equal to the price to be paid.

PATENT LAWS.

10. This committee is a unit in the belief that an alteration of our patent laws aiming at compulsory working or compulsory licensing would not be any substantial benefit to this industry or to the country as a whole. Twenty-nine countries have attempted compulsory licensing clauses and 56 countries have attempted compulsory working clauses, and the best information your committee can obtain is that in none of these attempts has there been any appreciable measure of success. While it may be true that under extraordinary conditions, such as now exist, compulsory licensing might have some advantage, yet it is equally true that in normal times the disadvantage due to compulsory licensing or compulsory working would more than overbalance any advantage at all likely to be obtained under stress of unusual conditions.

11. In none of the countries where there have been working or licensing clauses, or both, coextensive with the existence of the coal-tar chemical industry, has there been established any real coal-tar chemical industry, and your committee does not feel that an alteration in our present patent laws could be made which would be effective against foreigners and at the same time not be onerous and a hardship to domestic inventors. Your committee believes that in the long run and in the final outcome our present system with regard to working and licensing is as efficient as that of any other country. In the dyestuff industry in particular, there are so many nonpatented commercial products and so many commercial products once patented now free from patent restraint that their production alone would form a basis for a very considerable industry, and your committee feels that the way to encourage that industry, if the establishment of that industry in this country be a national necessity, is through a change in the tariff and the additional antidumping feature in the administration of the tariff, and not through any change in the patent laws. Once established, such an industry could develop and ultimately cope with any foreign combination upon fair and equal terms. Over 90 per cent of the tonnage and of the individual dyes used in the United States will be free from any patent restraint within the next four years; over 75 per cent of the dyes are now in that condition.

AVAILABILITY OF RAW MATERIALS.

12. The best information your committee has so far been able to gather is that this country can produce so-called coal-tar raw material in amounts sufficient for the needs of a complete domestic coal-tar chemical industry, inclusive of explosives and dyes, provided there is a certainty of outlet as to volume and continuity. Those engaged in manufacture here do not want to expand unless the dye users are willing to make corresponding contracts. In other words, it is a closed circle. If the dye users will contract sufficiently with the dye makers, the dye makers will contract with the coal-tar distillers and the industry will take a start. The initiative rests wholly with the users; if they can not afford to contract, the dye maker and the distillers can not afford to make their contracts and additional investments.

COAL-TAR PRODUCTS.

13. Benzol, toluol, and the like are produced in sufficient amount in present installations of by-product coke ovens to provide all of these things that would be needed for a coal-tar chemical industry of a magnitude sufficient to supply the United States market; the separation of these materials from the gas that carries them is dependent upon the market and the demand therefor. There is no inherent defect in our coke industry with regard to the actual making of these things; the only question involved is whether it be more profitable to burn the benzol, toluol, and the like, contained in the gas, as a fuel than to separate them and from each other for purposes of sale. Ample supply can be provided before any plant that could use benzol and the like for dyestuff making could be erected in the United States, and thereafter the supply of these materials can readily be kept up to any requirements.

14. The materials of the preceding paragraph are the ones used in the coal-tar explosives industry, as well as in the coal-tar medicinals and dyestuffs industries. Each of these three industries cooperates with the others to make full use of those materials; alone none can fully make use thereof nor succeed; the correct and proper utilization of these materials requires successful coexistence of all three industries in one and the same country.

15. Naphthalene and anthracene are contained in the tars produced in the United States in an amount sufficient for the needs of a domestic dyestuff industry, and it is merely a question whether it is more profitable to leave them in the creosote oil, where they now occur, or to separate them out of such oil and refine them for purposes of dye manufacture. Ample supply of either of them could be produced and provided at the same time or shortly after any plant could be erected in the United States for the use of these things in the production of dyes.

16. What has been said with regard to the supplies of naphthalene is also true of the supplies of cresol.

17. All the creosote oil contained in the total amount of coke-oven tar now made is separated from it and used. Increased production of creosote oil requires a greater production of tar, and a greater production of tar is dependent upon increased installation of recovery coke ovens.

18. Phenol or carbolic acid supply is primarily dependent upon our deliberately selected method of coal treatment; to change that treatment so as to get more phenol would entail abandonment of other advantages which would not be compensated for by the increased amount of phenol so produced. Under present circumstances freights and haulages play an important part. At isolated plants, separated by considerable distances from each other, small amounts of phenol are produced, and the separation of the phenol at such individual places would be economically unprofitable, and in order to concentrate this amount of phenol to or at a point where separation could be conducted profitably would entail freight haulages much in excess of the value of the phenol that would thus be transported.

19. The only source of phenol in sight is that produced synthetically from benzol by means of sulfonation and subsequent melting with caustic soda; this depends in turn upon our benzol supply, and would be profitable only so long as the United States market is not killed by the dumping of foreign phenol thereon, whether such phenol be synthetic or distilled.

20. Salicylic production depends upon availibility of phenol, and the production of benzoic acid depends upon the availability of toluol, which has heretofore been discussed.

21. Phthalic acid made from naphthalene by means of bichromate can not successfully compete with the mercury and sulphuric acid process, which is protected by patents having about three years more to run.

MISCELLANEOUS CHEMICALS AND RAW MATERIALS.

22. Acetic anhydride can be made without trouble in this country, and will be made in this country so soon as the domestic demand is large enough and steady enough to warrant the installation of a suitable plant.

23. Nitric acid: All countries, with the exception of possibly Norway and the countries importing from Norway, are dependent upon Chile for the raw material for making nitric acid. It will not be profitable to make nitric acid from air in the United States until the value of the electric horsepower reaches a level of $3 or $4 a year, as it is in Norway.

24. Ammonia and its salts all depend upon recovery coke ovens, and such recovery plants are increasing as fast as circumstances will permit.

25. Barium chloride and other compounds of barium may be made from domestic barytes. A number of attempts have hitherto been made, but with indifferent success. Factories established within the last year promise to be successful.

26. Magnesium chloride of a sufficient purity to be used in the production of flooring is almost generally made from magnesite found in Greece, which is the only deposit known having sufficiently high purity. There are reports of suitable deposits in California and in Lower California, and with the completion of the Panama Canal the question of freights, which seems hitherto to have stood in the way of developing these deposits, may be eliminated. Other sources, less remote from centers of consumption and using other materials, e. g., brine waste, are about to be successfully operated.

27. Manganese in the form of pyrolusite is not known to occur in paying deposits in the United States; these are practically all in the Caucasus.

28. Potash: I view of the great exertions that have been made for a number of years, both on the part of the Federal Government through a number of its departments and a great many different groups of capitalists, there is nothing to be said in this report that would be of any value with regard to increased production of potash either as fertilizer or as a chemical.

29. Yellow prussiate and sodium cyanide can be and have been made from domestic materials in such an amount as to provide practically the entire consumption or a great portion thereof in this country so long as there was a sufficient duty on them; the present duty is not enough to protect the American manufacturer, and those who were engaged therein have in large measure withdrawn from the business, but some are reported to be taking up manufacture cautiously and in limited amount.

30. Hydrosulphites in solution can be made from domestic materials without interference with any patent rights. The production of solid salts and derivatives are, however, still protected by patents that have a few years more to run.

31. Sodium nitrite is produced more cheaply as a by-product in Norway than it can be produced anywhere in the world; unless the price of the electric horsepower in this country sinks to a $3 or $4 level per year, as in Norway, this product can not be manufactured in the United States.

32. Oxalic acid is and has been made to some extent in this country, and the information coming to your committee is that suitable efforts are being made to expand the capacity of existing plants.

33. Tartaric acid and citric acid: To make this country independent of others with respect to tartaric acid and citric acid would call for radical changes on the part of our grape growers and our lemon growers as to the policy of their business.

It is probably true that edible grapes do not produce argols (the crude material for tartaric acid) very largely, and that our domestic lemons do not produce as large yields of juice (the crude material for citric acid) nor as high an acidity as do the Italian lemons; therefore an independent supply of the raw materials produced in the United States for tartaric and citric acids is in the first instance an agricultural problem and in the second instance a market problem.

GENERAL REMARKS.

34. Finally, it should be pointed out that the United States is by no means the only country whose chemical and allied business has been strained or upset by the European war. Each and every other country has felt the strain. British committees have gone into this same subject of expanding British chemical industries; and not only that, but also into the question of making their very basic necessities, and the reports have so far been adverse as to any immediate relief by domestic manufacture. The Boston Chamber of Commerce, through its committees, has arrived at the same conclusions for this country.

35. It is further clear that the stability of a complete domestic chemical industry, in so far as it depends upon foreign supplies, is bound up to a successful merchant marine and to an efficient foreign banking condition just as is all our foreign business.

FINDINGS.

36. Your committee finds as follows as to the facts:

I. Prior to the hostilities domestic chemical industry was utilizing and exploiting every reasonable opportunity to its full extent.

II. Since the outbreak of hostilities domestic industry has increased its output just as fast as physical means could be provided and physical obstacles overcome.

III. Since the outbreak of hostilities domestic plants that had theretofore been shut down or partly dismantled because of disastrous foreign competition are said to have resumed operation with caution.

IV. That a 30 per cent duty on some coal-tar dyes for over 30 years has not produced a real coal-tar dye industry in this country.

CONCLUSIONS.

37. Your committee submits its conclusions as follows:

A. To prevent the unfair underselling alleged to be practiced by foreigners in this country, the adoption of an effective antidumping clause.

B. The so-called coal-tar "intermediates" which are the basis of the coal-tar chemical industry, inclusive of explosives, medicinals, and dyestuffs, should be assessed one-half of whatever the finished dyes are taxed for tariff purposes; all coal-tar dyes, without exception, to be taxed alike, namely, 30 per cent ad valorem and 7½ cents per pound specific.

C. Changes in the patent laws such as by compulsory licensing or compulsory working clauses are wholly ineffective, do more harm than good, and should not be attempted.

Your committee recommends that this report be submitted to the appropriate committees of Congress. Further, that this report be forwarded to interested organizations.

Respectfully submitted.

BERNHARD C. HESSE, *Chairman.*
J. B. F. HERRESHOFF.
H. A. METZ.
I. F. STONE.
D. W. JAYNE.
J. MERRITT MATTHEWS.
ALLEN ROGERS.

[Editorial from the Oil, Paint, and Drug Reporter, Nov. 9, 1914.]

THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR CHEMICAL AND DYESTUFF INDUSTRIES.

The exceptional opportunities for the development of the chemical and dyestuff industries in this country since the war forced the realization of the extent of our dependence upon foreign sources have been the occasion of widespread publicity, most of which has been of a superficial and chimerical character, and it was not until a meeting of the New York section of the American Chemical Society on October 9 that the subject resolved itself into concrete and tangible form by a consideration by the best representative trade and expert interests of the questions involved in the attainment of the desired ends and the appointment of a committee to study the various conditions and to report the results at a meeting scheduled for last Friday night. The personnel of the committee bespeaks the most convincing and creditable accomplishment of its purpose, consisting of such well-known representatives as Bernhard C. Hesse, chairman; J. B. F. Herreshoff, H. A. METZ, I. F. Stone, D. W. Jayne, J Merritt Matthews, and Allen Rogers, all native citizens of many years' active and intimate associations with both the commercial and technical phases of the chemical and dyestuff trades. Frequent meetings have been held and the research work so systematized that in less than a month the committee was able to prepare its report of such masterly and comprehensive consideration and treatment as readily to constitute the most practical and definite step toward the development in this country of the industries in question. The Reporter has been able to obtain a copy of the committee's report so as to present it in full in the current issue, and we urge it for the particular attention and study of our readers concerned in the breaking of our European chemical and dyestuff bondage.

The report treats in logical order the various questions concerned in the establishment of our industries and gives assurance that our natural resources are ample to cover the needs of a complete domestic coal-tar chemical industry, inclusive of explosives and dyes, provided there is a certainty of outlet as to volume and continuity, which can be assured only by the closest cooperation between the dye users, the dye makers, and the coal-tar distillers, with the initiative on the users. Much stress is laid upon the enactment of an effective antidumping clause in the administration of the tariff to prevent the underselling of domestic manufacturers by unfair methods alleged to be practiced by foreigners. Another specific recommendation is the assessment of a duty on the so-called coal-tar "intermediates," which are the basis of the coal-tar chemical industry, by one-half of whatever the finished dyes are taxed, and the taxing of all coal-tar dyes, without exception, on a uniform basis of 30 per cent ad valorem and 7½ cents per pound specific, since the experience of 30 years had conclusively demonstrated that the present rate of 30 per cent on dyestuffs was not sufficient to induce the domestic dyestuff industry to expand at a rate commensurate with the country's consumption. Once established through a change in the tariff and the additional antidumping feature, the industry could develop and ultimately cope with any foreign combination upon fair and equal terms

The subject of patent laws in the relation to the development of more capable home industries is convincingly treated, and the conclusion of the committee is emphatic that proposed changes in the law, such as by compulsory licensing or compulsory working clauses, are wholly ineffective and are calculated to work more harm than good.

The committee's report covers so thoroughly and convincingly every phase of the subject intrusted to its care that definite action on the conclusions would seem to be in order without further research work. The committee takes the further step of recommending that the report be submitted to the appropriate committees in Congress, as well as forwarded to the interested organizations in the country. The latter can undoubtedly take up the cause from this point and exert their best efforts in helping to perpetuate the work so advantageously launched by the chemical and dyestuff committee of the New York section of the American Chemical Society.

The authoritative value and significance of this report can be well appreciated by the following outline of the careers of the various members of the committee:

Dr. Hesse was for 10 years a research chemist with the Badische Aniline & Soda Fabrik at its German works and in New York, and for the last 10 years has been a consulting chemist in New York, specializing in coal-tar dyes and the patents relating to them. He was a consulting expert to the Bureau of Chemistry, United States Department of Agriculture, in respect to the formulation of the regulations relative to coal-tar dyes in foods under the Federal food and drugs act. He was secretary of the Eighth International Congress of Applied Chemistry.

Mr. Herreshoff, whose family has been prominently identified with yacht building, is one of the pioneer and most successful chemical engineers in the country. He has been engaged in chemical manufacture in and about New York since 1876 and is well known for his successful invention in roasting sulphur-bearing ores, in the manufacture of nitric and hydrochloric acid and of sulphuric acid, both by the chamber and contact processes. His method for the electrolytic refining of copper, which is used practically all over the world, has been one of his most notable achievements. He is intimately identified with a great number of leading American chemical undertakings, among them being the General Chemical and the Nichols Copper Cos. He was the first recipient of the Perkin medal, the highest chemical honor in the United States.

Mr. METZ is one of the leading representatives of the dye and dye material industry in the United States and at present is at the head of the Farbwerke-Hoechst & Co., formerly H. A. Metz & Co. He is a member of Congress and on the House Committee on Patents.

Mr. Stone has been prominently identified with the manufacture of coal-tar dyes in this country and is president of the National Aniline & Chemical Co. and vice president of the Schoellkopf, Hartford & Hanna Co., which since 1879 has been engaged in the manufacture of coal-tar dyes, making the company a pioneer in the industry in the country. Mr. Stone read a valuable paper on the "Development of coal-tar colors in this country" at a meeting of the New York section of the American Chemical Society on October 9, which was published in full in the Reporter on October 12.

Mr. Jayne, as manager of the Barrett Manufacturing Co., at Frankford, Pa., has been in close connection with the coal-tar industry of the United States for many years. He is the successor of his father, the late Dr. Harry W. Jayne, who was recognized throughout the country as an authority on coal tar and its treatment.

Dr. Matthews has been for many years professor of chemistry at the Philadelphia Textile School and is a well-known consulting expert to the textile trades. He has specialized in the treatment and dyeing of fabrics and all textile manufactures and is the author of many standard reference and textbooks on finishing and dyeing and coal-tar dyes.

Dr. Rogers, as professor of chemistry at the Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, has developed a very practical and thorough system of instruction in industrial chemistry both by lectures and in practical laboratory operations. He is the coauthor with Prof. Auder of the well-known reference book, Industrial Chemistry.

Petition from the South Bend Grocers and Butchers' Association.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY A. BARNHART,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 15, 1914.

Mr. BARNHART. Mr. Speaker, some days ago I received in my mail the following petition, signed by the South Bend Grocers and Butchers' Association, urging me to vote for the so-called Gardner resolution to appoint a commission to investigate our preparedness for war, evidently meaning instead our alleged unpreparedness for war:

SOUTH BEND., IND., *December 8, 1914.*

Hon. H. A. BARNHART,
Washington, D. C.:

At a meeting of the South Bend Grocers and Butchers' Association, held December 7, the following resolution was adopted:

"Whereas statements have been publicly made in the United States House of Representatives, and not denied, to the effect that the United States is unprepared to defend itself in case of attack: Therefore be it

"Resolved, That the South Bend Grocers and Butchers' Association urges the Congress of the United States to adopt the Gardner resolution (H. J. Res. 372) providing for a national security commission to inquire into the question of the preparedness of the United States for war.

"Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the United States Senators representing this State and the Congressman representing this district."

THE SOUTH BEND GROCERS AND BUTCHERS' ASSN.,
Per DETMAR F. BAER, *Secretary.*

The whereas and the petition proper were printed in blue ink, and the date, personal reference, and insertion of the name of the organization were in different type and lavender ink. The resolution looked so much like an effort by some one to manufacture sentiment and thereby create alarm that I thought it my duty to investigate, which I did, by writing the following letter:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *December 10, 1914.*

Mr. DETMAR F. BAER,
South Bend, Ind.

DEAR SIR: Your communication, under date of December 8, forwarded on authority of the South Bend Grocers and Butchers' Association, in favor of the Gardner resolution asking an investigation of our unpreparedness for war, received. In reply I can not agree that the United States should be carried off its feet by any emotionalism like some Members of Congress exhibit from time to time. I think the United States ought to preserve peace if it can possibly be done, and if we commence organizing a great standing army, spending millions and millions for battleships, as GARDNER would have us do, we would simply be inviting the suspicion of the warring nations, and might invite war. You do not want our country involved in war, and neither do I, and if you will read the President's message, which I herein inclose, I think you will agree that this is no time for the United States to commence acting like we want to fight. War is an awful thing; it costs untold millions in money, it inflicts grief and trouble in every home in the land, and the outcome of it all is that prosperity and happiness and civilization are generally set back a generation or two. If your organization wants war, I can not agree with you, and if such is your desire, following such alarmists as GARDNER will surely hurry such a calamity upon us.

Another thing, I would like to know from what source you received the blank petition which you filled out and sent to me. I think it is important that the country know where this agitation in behalf of a warlike attitude of our country is coming from.

Very respectfully, etc.,

HENRY A. BARNHART.

By return mail I received an envelope sent out under the frank of A. P. GARDNER, Member of Congress, in which were inclosed the following letters, together with a copy of the Gardner resolution and a copy of his speech in the House of Representatives under date of October 16, 1914.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *November 25, 1914.*

MY DEAR SIR: May I call your attention to the inclosed resolution (H. J. Res. 372) providing for a national security commission to in-

vestigate into the question of the preparedness of the United States for war? This resolution was introduced into the House of Representatives on October 16, 1914, and is receiving the support of a very large part of the press of this country.

Should your organization approve of this resolution, I should appreciate it if you would communicate with your Senators and Representatives.

Yours, truly,

A. P. GARDNER,
Sixth District of Massachusetts.

SOUTH BEND, IND., *December 12, 1914.*

Hon. H. A. BARNHART,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: Your esteemed favor of the 10th at hand. As I personally opposed this resolution in our meeting your reply affords me great pleasure. In sending this resolution to you I was performing the duties of my office as secretary, as the majority rule in matters coming before us.

I contended that those representing us at Washington were in much better position to know circumstances and conditions than we, and were also in a position to know what the finances of the Government were and what expenditures they would stand.

I still believe my theory correct, and your decided stand along the same line is indeed approved personally and I think it is by all conservative men if they will but give a moment's consideration to the subject.

Our blank resolution seems to have come from the Hon. Mr. GARDNER himself. Am inclosing papers we received at the time from him.

Sincerely, yours,

DETMAR F. BAER, *Secretary.*

These documents are given to the House and to the country merely to show the process of inciting emotionalism, which is sometimes paraded on this floor and by the press as public sentiment to the misconception of public duty and to the misfortune of safe and sane legislative procedure, especially in passing appropriation bills.

Cotton.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUFUS HARDY,
OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, December 10, 1914.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, when I went home the last of October I made a talk to my home people on the subject of our cotton and business problems. The Corsicana Sun in its issue of November 2 gave an unusually full and accurate account of the speech, and with the hope of contributing something of value to the discussion of those problems, which I regard as belonging more properly to the States than the Nation, something which may be of value in future like emergencies, if not in our present distress, I ask leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing that newspaper account.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. HARDY] asks leave to extend his remarks as indicated. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

The matter referred to is as follows:

JUDGE HARDY HEARD BY LARGE NUMBERS—DISCUSSES PLANS FOR RELIEVING COTTON SITUATION—FAVORS STATE BONDS TO BUY COTTON.

A large gathering of representative business men and farmers assembled in the district court room on Saturday afternoon to hear Judge RUFUS HARDY, Congressman from this district, discuss the cotton situation. Although district court was in session and a civil suit of importance was on trial, Judge Daviss not only introduced the speaker but adjourned court for the afternoon that Judge HARDY might have the use of the district court room. Introducing the speaker, Judge Daviss said he was proud of the privilege of introducing our distinguished neighbor and home citizen. While the court was in the midst of a much-litigated damage suit, he felt that the discussion of conditions such as we are all conscious of was of greater importance than a trial that could be heard at another time, and he had therefore given way to hear the discussion of the cotton situation by one of the foremost, wisest, cleanest thinkers of our time. "I have known Judge HARDY since I was a boy intimately and pleasantly. The fact is, my professional existence is by virtue of his signature. He signed the commission which entitled me to practice law. I know of no man who has made a more honest and thorough effort to at all times be in touch with his people, and no man in Congress has been more useful."

Judge HARDY said in part:

"I must first thank Judge Daviss for his generous words and then express my appreciation of this opportunity to talk to my home people after being almost two years continuously at Washington trying to represent them, and I do not propose to discuss politics. I wish, however, to make one personal observation. During my absence you have had a primary election to nominate a Democratic candidate for governor. Since my return some friends of mine have told me that I made a mistake in sending a telegram saying that if I were at home I could not indorse Mr. Ferguson's land-rent platform and would vote for Mr. Ball. Let me say that I had no desire to intrude my views on our people in that campaign, but I received a telegram asking me if I indorsed that rent plank. I forget just how it was worded. It was up to me to be a man and answer or to sneak around the corner and say nothing. I am not in the habit of sneaking, and so I answered. Let me add that I have always rented what lands I have for the third and fourth, and have never asked or taken a bonus in my life; but whether I am right or wrong, I do not believe we will ever fix by law the rents and charges for farm lands or other lands any more than we will fix by law the wages for a day's labor. The primary is over. Mr. Ferguson was nominated, and when I met him in Washington the other day I told him sincerely that no man in Texas more earnestly desired to see his administration a splendid success than I. He impressed me as a man who would be devoted to our State's best interest, and I believe he will give us a wise administration.

"I would like to tell you something of the general work of the wonderful Congress that has just adjourned. It has enacted more constructive and far-reaching legislation than any other Congress in history. It has passed a tariff law which not only eliminated the worst features of our former tariff, but will be the model for all future tariff-reform measures, by which the inequalities and favoritism of taxation will be finally swept away. It passed an income-tax law, which will shift much of the heavy burden of taxation from the shoulders of the poor to shoulders better able to bear it, and which ought in justice to bear it. The Federal banking and currency act is legislation which has been sorely needed, but which the Republican Party has feared to attempt, though realizing its urgency for 20 years. I firmly believe the law we passed, which will finally go into operation November 16, creates the best banking and currency system known to the world. But I must refrain from talking of these things, important as they are and will continue to be after the special problem or problems that confront us to-day are passed away. I am here to talk and counsel with you about the great problem that confronts us now, and that came upon us without warning and in a nighttime. The sun set clear in the evening; it rose with the darkness and roar of an almost world-wide war in the morning—that war the most stupendous crime that has been committed by man against man since human life began in the Garden of Eden. I will not go further and lay that crime at the door of any man or set of men, because America is and would be friend to all the nations involved, and I would not violate the proper requests of our President as to our conduct as a neutral Nation. The United States, and especially the cotton-growing States, are suffering from that war's consequences. It found us with our industries resting on peace conditions, and it found us living under existing constitutions, the restrictions of which, whether wise or not, bound and still bind our hands in our efforts to solve its difficulties. We were stunned, dazed, at the magnitude and menace of the impending blight to our financial and industrial being. Misguided, extreme, and conflicting opinion found voice. It was of all others a time when cool, wise guidance was needed, but when there was very little of that kind of guidance. Farmers, merchants, bankers, all had advice to give, but most of it ignored our constitutions and the character, convictions, and interests of our people as a whole. In Congress our cotton conferences, seeking to frame relief measures, were restricted to Members from cotton districts. We ought to have been broader from the beginning. We ought to have known that the South was not an Ishmael against whom every man's hand was raised. We had friends in Congress from the North and East and West and in all parties. We ought to have called a conference of all Members from all sections who were with us in sympathy and anxious to help us every way they could under their oaths as Congressmen, and from their counsel evolved some measure which they could and would support."

In this connection Judge HARDY read a reply he had written to a letter from an old friend, Mr. Carroll, of Kerens, as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *September 16.*

Mr. JOHN W. CARROLL, *Kerens, Tex.*

MY DEAR MR. CARROLL: Now, as to general conditions I am afraid the whole South is in hard lines. My opinion is that the national administration is ready and anxious to do everything within its power to aid us. Through laws and amendments to laws passed by the Democratic Congress money can be obtained as a loan upon cotton securities. The banks can take the farmer's note secured by warehouse cotton receipts and the Treasury will loan upon such note 75 per cent of its face value. If Navarro County raises a hundred thousand bales of cotton, they

would be worth, at $30 per bale, $3,000,000. Now, notes by the producers for that amount would enable the banks to obtain $2,250,000 if our whole cotton crop was put up as collateral. I have talked with the Secretary of the Treasury, and, of course, he does not expect any such stupendous sum to be demanded. My recollection is that he told me the banks of Navarro County, on the basis of the capital and surplus, could obtain something like $700,000 of additional currency. My own opinion is that that amount of currency, together with what the banks have on hand, will be amply sufficient to meet every possible demand for actual money, so that in my opinion the real trouble we are and will be up against is not scarcity of money but the right use by the banks and the people of what money they have and can get. If the banks should be extortionate in their rates of interest or illiberal in their amounts or terms of loans, or if the people should be unreasonable in their demands and expectations, or if bankers, merchants, and farmers should fail to cooperate and work in thorough harmony and in dead earnest for our common good, it seems to me we are likely to meet and suffer immeasurable disaster and losses.

I have reached the conclusion that there is no absolute necessity for our people to suffer extreme hardship if they will act earnestly, intelligently, and unanimously. No man or class of men ought to seek to profit out of conditions now existing. The money furnished by the Government on cotton securities should be regarded as a trust fund. The banks ought to desire to realize no profits from its handling and to make no charge by way of interest or otherwise, except as would be sufficient to secure them against loss and very moderately compensate them for their services for handling the trust fund. The cotton producer ought not to seek to borrow this money except for the purpose of paying his debts and his necessary current expenses, and the merchant or other creditor to whom the producer pays money ought to redeposit the money in the bank at once.

Now, if the banker, producer, merchant, and other creditors will agree to act together in every community and all over the South along the lines I have just indicated, there will not only be no scarcity of money, but there will be no necessity of any forced sale of our cotton. I feel absolutely sure that if on to-morrow morning it were thoroughly and undoubtingly understood that no bale of cotton in the South would be sold for less than 10 cents per pound for middling grade, there would be a rush of buyers to get it at that price. There would be more cotton sold in the next 30 days at that price, or above it, than there is likely to be in the next 3 months as conditions now stand. Cotton buyers now hold off, each and all of them, not because cotton is not worth 10 cents per pound and more, but because of the present absence of a market. In our acknowledged surplus of supply over demand, they do not know how much lower cotton will go before the bottom is reached. The truth is, the ship of our cotton industry is wrecked. There is only one lifeboat which will give us safety, and that lifeboat is the thorough, complete cooperation of all our people which I have tried to describe. The people of the South are not alone interested in this matter, nor is it to the interest of any section that our cotton raiser should be crushed. The mill owner in the east may have great supplies of cotton goods already manufactured; if so, he has paid 12 to 15 cents per pound for cotton and even higher prices, and therefore he would not if he could reduce the price of cotton goods so greatly as to involve himself in loss on stock he has on hand. It might be possible that the cotton manufacturer would see a great opportunity to enrich himself and endeavor to beat down the price of cotton while maintaining, or even raising, the former price of cotton goods, because while the supply of cotton will be greater than the demand, the supply of cotton goods by reason of decrease in its manufacture is likely to be less than the demand. The mills of England, France, and Germany, I am sure, will reduce their output in the aggregate by more than one-half. The warring nations have taken from us annually at least one-half our cotton crop and made it into cotton goods. One-half of that amount, or say one-fourth of our cotton crop, will not be worked into cloth within the next 12 months. On the other hand, the demands for cotton goods for army uses and for cheaper clothing perhaps, taking the place of wool and other costlier cloths in great quantities, will very likely be fully as great as it ever was. The ultimate consumer, the general user of cotton goods, the vast masses of the people both here and abroad, will find no profit in the low prices to the cotton farmer. That much, I think, is certain.

There is another thought I wish to express, and that is as to the value of our cotton seed. Grain foodstuffs of all kinds are going high, are high now, yet I have been told that cotton seed are selling low. Why is this? It seems to me that cotton seed, since it is one of the most valuable foodstuffs, if not the most valuable, considering all its uses, ought to be higher now than ever before. Certainly our people will not sacrifice their cotton seed for a song. This leads me to another line of talk. How much longer the European war will last is pure guess. There is so much at stake, however, on the part of each contending nation, so much to be demanded by the ultimate winner from the loser, that personally I can not see any hope of its speedy termination. If the allies win, Germany must pay a fearful reckoning. A $1,000,000,000, the amount she demanded in 1871 as indemnity from France in addition to the two Provinces she took, would not even compensate little Belgium for the pecuniary loss she has sustained. You remember France did not even get into Germany; she destroyed none of her property, yet she paid this indemnity; but not only has Germany now overrun all Belgium, but she has overrun the north half of France with what destruction no one can say, and so France must be compensated for her losses, and perhaps would inexorably demand not only the return of Alsace and Lorraine, but also of her formerly paid indemnity of $1,000,000,000, and at least reasonable compensation for her injury and expenditures in this war.

What England and Russia would demand would certainly be no less than what Belgium and France demanded, so that Germany must realize that ultimate and final defeat means to her almost, if not quite, ultimate and final destruction. On the other hand, without going into details, before England and Russia and France would submit the final defeat, I think they would sacrifice the lives and fortunes of more than half their people. From these considerations I look for this war certainly to last 12 months unless by continuous successes both the Russians on the north and the Belgians, French, and English on the south should grind Germany to powder and leave her so helpless that she couldn't even presume to protest against anything they did. So then, considering the war will in all likelihood last at least 12 months, what further should our people do besides hold the surplus of their present crop? Unquestionably, it seems to me we must find a way to heavily decrease our planting for next year. We ought to cut it half in two. We ought to plant more corn, more wheat, oats, potatoes, and every other thing which we can see our way to utilize.

I have written you more fully than I intended, but not more fully than your question deserves. I believe that when it is seen that we are ready and fully determined to help ourselves in a right and reasonable way, the sympathy and cooperation of every section of our country will be ours. I think the North, the East, and the West will join hands to help us. I believe the farmers of Texas and the merchants of Texas, if they appeal, will not appeal in vain to the farmers and merchants of the great Middle West and the North and the East. I believe they will join us heartily if appealed to for personal aid along such lines as the buy-a-bale proposition, and they will urge their Representatives in Congress to join us in supporting any possible rational governmental protection or assistance that can be given us.

In conclusion, let us not take too gloomy a view. Let us all sit steady in the boat. Be patient and each help the other, and we will make safe landing, and I trust within 18 months be more prosperous than ever before.

Continuing, Judge HARDY said:

"Gentleman, I did not write that answer at once; I did not write the whole letter in a day. I was studying the question, hoping to find a satisfactory solution. I give it to you and to Mr. Carroll now as being what I was thinking then, on the 16th day of September. Some of my then hopes are ashes now. Some of the things I then thought are still more sure now.

"Because it has been sometimes urged, let me say a word about valorization. Brazil did valorize her coffee crop and double its price to the people of the United States in about four years; but let me tell you about it. First, the Province of Sao Paulo, the biggest coffee section of Brazil, tried it in 1906 and completely failed. Then the Federal Government of Brazil in 1909 took it up. She found it necessary to raise cash money, and to do this she placed the financing of the enterprise in the hands of strong capitalists in Europe and America. She took over bodily and arbitrarily the whole coffee industry, forbidding and penalizing the further planting of coffee trees, and rigorously enforced these penalties; then she bought ships to transport the coffee; then she bonded the industry by issuing against it $75,000,000 of bonds, which were taken by the big capitalists in Europe and the United States. Under her agreement the capitalists selected a manager and selling agent, who fixed the price and quantity to be sold in every country. The manager stimulated the use of coffee in countries where it was not generally used by extensive advertising and very low prices. He made it up by very high prices where its use was established. That was particularly so in the United States, and in 1912 we were paying at wholesale not only twice what we paid in 1909, but twice what was being paid even in 1912 in other countries. To aid this plan Brazil imposed an export tax on coffee to provide a guaranty and sinking fund and current expenses for the business, and the management built warehouses and appointed agents everywhere. Besides this, Brazil's bonds, running, as I remember it, 10 years and bearing 6 per cent interest, were sold at 85 cents on the dollar.

"The expenses to do all these things that have been done, with endless commissions and special charges, no doubt, besides the full payment of the face of the principal of her bonds and interest, must all be met by Brazil before the coffee producer reaps any profits, and I don't believe I risk losing your good opinion if I say I don't believe the coffee grower of Brazil has been benefited by the transaction. But it is enough to say that a valorization law would not find 10 supporters, perhaps not 1, in Congress. Quite a number of cotton growers' organizations united upon and urged what came to be known as the Henry bill, which in its first form was, I think, a proposition that the Government loan to individual producers of cotton 12 cents per pound and hold the cotton till it could be sold for enough to pay back the Government all that might be due. This bill assumed so many different forms that I hardly feel justified in saying just what was its primeval or intermediate form, but its final form provided for the advance by the Government to growers of tobacco and cotton of $250,000,000 at 4 per cent interest, through banks who were to have no responsibility in the matter but be compensated for their services, and this was to be done under rules to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury which were hardly vaguely hinted at in the bill. For all that appears in the bill, the Secretary might authorize the loan of the money deposited in the banks on cotton at any price and for any time, and there was no time fixed when the money should be paid back by the borrower to the Government; in fact, there was no requirement that it should be paid back at all. That was the final bill indorsed and insisted on by the majority at the last cotton conference I attended, and known in subsequent discussions as the Henry or cotton conference committee bill. At that conference some of us tried to get a substitute adopted known as the Howard bill. This bill provided that the Government should issue $250,000,000 of greenbacks and deposit it in such banks in the cotton-growing districts, designated by the Secretary of the Treasury, as would agree to accept it, on condition that it should be used only to loan to cotton producers, such banks being required to give such bond or indemnity for repayment to the Government as

would be required by the Secretary, and in addition thereto to deposit the notes and cotton receipts upon which its loans were made. These banks were to be permitted to loan not over three-fourths of the value of the cotton, warehoused and insured for the full amount of the loan, and at a rate of interest not over 5 per cent. The bank having received such currency was required to pay 1 per cent to the Treasury to cover the Government expenses. It was provided that whenever any cotton on which there was a loan was sold the entire proceeds should be paid over to the Government up to the amount due on the loan secured by it, until in this way the currency issued under the act was paid off and retired. This was simply additional security to the Government that every dollar of its deposits should be repaid. At our conference it was practically admitted on all sides that, regardless of merit, no bill for direct loans by the Government to individuals had a ghost of a chance to pass, while those of us who stood for the Howard bill had assurances that his measure or one like it might be supported by many Members from the West. We believed that if we would all get behind a bill of that kind and work for it, we could pass it. Friends of the direct loan persisted. They began a regular system of filibustering and obstruction, tying up other legislation, and delaying and prolonging a Congress whose Members were worn out with nearly two years' continuous attendance, and, properly, were anxious to get home to meet their opponents in the campaign. At the last moment a bill was proposed in principle like the Howard bill, and the direct-loan men stood with us for it, but it failed. It might have had a better fate had it had a better chance.

"There was another proposition known as the Hoke Smith bill. It proposed that the Federal Government issue bonds for $250,000,000 in denominations ranging from $10 to $500, due on or before three years and bearing 4 per cent interest; that these bonds be used to buy cotton at 10 cents per pound on basis middling, the bonds being given in exchange for the cotton. The cotton was to be held at least till January, 1916, and until January, 1917, if it could not be sold before that for 11 cents or better. If not sold before the last-named date, it would be sold thereafter at whatever price could be obtained for it. The bill provided that a tax of 1 cent per pound should be levied on all cotton grown in 1915 and thereafter to meet the loss, if there was any, to the Government. Section 26 of this bill, roughly stated, levied a tax of 2 cents a pound on cotton grown by any person in 1915 in excess of 50 per cent of the amount grown by him in 1914.

"This measure came to a vote in the Senate and was defeated by 21 to 40. I do not believe many of those who voted for it liked it just as it was. At least two Senators who so voted told me they did not approve section 26 of it. With section 26 in it I should have voted against it, but with that omitted I would have voted for it, if it had been voted on in the House; but, my friends, I would have done so with fear and regret. I would not under any terms put the farmers of my State in the hands of the Federal Government to be penalized for planting 1 acre or a hundred acres of cotton, with the Federal surveyor measuring his land and the Federal taxgatherer and court official on his back; but my people were in distress, and every heartbeat of mine was with them. This Federal bond proposition was not unconstitutional. It stood on a par with our issue of bonds to build the Panama Canal. It would have done the work needed. It would have taken 5,000,000 bales of cotton off the market. It would have removed our enormous surplus and enabled us to sell the remainder at something near its real worth. Amendments offered to the Smith measure showed what evils might come of it. One amendment proposed an issue of $500,000,000 to buy up grain and raise its price, another to buy copper, another for naval stores, and so it went. Anyone could see that if the Federal Government once bought one commodity to save a market for it every industry in the land would be at the doors of Congress clamoring for relief. I am sure I see a troop of evils that would have followed.

"That question, however, has been taken away from us. The all-sufficient answer to all discussion of it is that it never can pass either the House or the Senate. Even a cow blind of one eye can see enough and has sense enough when an impenetrable fence stands between her and green pastures to quit bruising her head against the fence at that point and to walk farther around in search of some opening or weaker point of attack.

"What, then, is there left? I want to say right frankly that I left Washington intending to urge when I got home two things—one a bond issue by the State and the buying of half our cotton and the other a stay law to hold us in statu quo to prevent our people being all bankrupted and their property sacrificed while waiting for the State to take the steps required to issue bonds. Since I got here I have changed my mind about the latter proposition, because I am told on all sides that there never was before such a temper shown as prevails universally here to-day on the part of creditors. They are not crowding their debtors; they are not demanding that they sell and sacrifice their cotton; they are telling them to hold it and that they will wait. A stay law could do no more. This temper of creditors here reminds me of two articles I have in my pocket. One written by Mr. W. L. Sanford, of Sherman, urging farmers who owe any debt to sell their cotton at any price, and pay all it brings on their debts. He declares that cotton is worth no more under any circumstances than it will sell for. He ought to know that any court of equity in the world would pronounce that statement false and would intervene to prevent the sacrifice of property by a sale where or when there was no market. And then this gentleman, who seems to have 'no bowels of compassion,' attempts to justify himself. He tries to show that cotton production costs less now than when we sold it at 7 cents. He strings out a list of items that cost less now than then. He names nine items, giving a line to each, when he knows that a farmer does not buy $5 worth of them all put together in a year, and all the big items he gives as articles sold by the farmer at increased price, such as wheat, oats, hay, horses, and mules, that really do amount to something, he knows or ought to know, are articles that the cotton farmer rarely sells and generally has to buy. This man urges the merchants generally and his customers especially to press the farmer to sell his cotton and sell it now. Time and breath are worth too much to discuss this article further. It is the spirit I feared when I thought of advocating a stay law.

"The other article is that of the leading bankers of Texas, published in the Dallas News of the 27th." Judge HARDY read this article, and said: "This article makes me proud that I belong to the human species. When banks are anxious about their own reserves and balances and obligations these bankers met to consider not their own situation alone, but the situation of people of Texas. They pledged themselves to cooperate in placing the price of cotton at 8 cents. They resolved to help raise a fund sufficient to take care of this year's surplus by loans on reasonable terms and for long enough time to permit the gradual marketing of our crop at that price or better. They cited the strong reasons existing for faith in the early success of measures now maturing, both by banks and business men and by the Government, and they urged that cotton be held by the farmers for 8 cents, while wisely urging a 50 per cent reduction in cotton planting for next year and diversifying our crops. It was this article and the spirit I found here that caused me to change my views about the stay law. I believe now our people can work and live, at least for a while, and yet the State of Texas can and ought to take action. I believe Texas and every other cotton-growing State ought to issue bonds sufficient to buy one-half of the cotton crop of 1914 at 10 cents per pound basis middling and take it off the market.

"The bonds ought to be issued in denominations of $5, $10, $20, $100, and $1,000, those less than $1,000 bearing no interest. These bonds ought to be paid out to the cotton producer in exchange for his cotton through the county judges of the State. The smaller ones received by the small producer would pay his debts to the merchant and the banker. The merchant would gladly take them at par for any debt due him by the farmer, and the banker would gladly take them at par for any debt due him by the farmer or merchant; isn't that true? These smaller bonds would pass from hand to hand as money and settle thousands of dollars of small and even large debts, and when the bankers got a good quantity of the small notes or bonds let him be allowed to exchange them for the larger or interest-bearing bonds. Under our Federal banking and currency system which will be in full operation by November 16, he can deposit them with the Federal reserve bank of his district and secure 90 per cent of their face value, in currency of the United States. Every dollar of currency needed by the banks can be gotten in this way and many of these bonds would find their resting place in the vaults of eastern banks in settlement at full face of balances due from our banks. These bonds ought to be payable on or before 10 years, and the $1,000 bonds ought to bear 4 per cent interest. A dollar, or perhaps two dollars per bale, ought to be charged to the producer who sells his cotton in this way to the State to pay the State's expenditures in the operation and for the sinking and interest fund. Our legislature ought also to levy a special tax of one-half cent per pound on all cotton grown in Texas in 1915 and each year thereafter to pay any loss accruing to the State. That tax might also be used to aid our people in initiating other crops besides cotton, under proper conditions and restrictions. All this is paternalism pure and simple. Yes; but I believe that all forms of government

ought to exist only for the purpose of best serving and conserving the interest and welfare of the people governed, and any form of government ought to be changed whenever better service comes with the change. I do not believe another government exists in the world that would sit down calmly and do nothing if its people were in the condition of the people of the cotton-growing States to-day. There is a point I want you to mark and mark well. When we amended the Vreeland emergency-currency law, so as to permit banks to borrow from the Government 75 per cent of the face value of cotton-secured notes, we fondly hoped the increased facility of the banks would permit them to obtain all the currency needed and cause them to loan it freely to the cotton farmer. The banks, or many of them, got the currency, but somehow it got hung up on the way and never reached the farmer. It may have gone to settle bank balances; it may be resting in the vaults of the banks that got it. I don't know. I'm not censuring the banks. I only know it didn't bring the relief we hoped for. All the relief measures passed by Congress proposed that the money flow from the Government down through the banks to the people. The measure I propose intends that the relief shall flow up through the people to the banks. This measure reverses the operation; it begins at the bottom and works upward, carrying its debt-paying and healing effects with it from the lowest to the highest. I do not claim credit for discovering the remedy. It was proposed by Mr. Harding, one of the members of the Federal Reserve Board, a great banker and thinker of Alabama, selected by the President to organize the greatest banking system in the world. It seemed good to me.

"Oh, but I am told, our constitution stands in the way. Well, then amend the constitution, and do it the shortest way. Oh, but that will take too long. Well, then we will wait just that long. Under the spirit of live and let live that is witnessed by the Dallas bankers' address to Texas, by the St. Louis $135,000,000 cotton loan pool, and by the statements I have heard everywhere since I came home, we can hold on that long. Besides that, we must wait, anyhow, and taking steps to amend our constitution will not hurt or hinder any other movement to aid us. If we perish, we perish; but I'd rather perish doing or trying to do something than trying to do nothing. If Texas will lead the way, other States will follow. South Carolina has already passed a law, to be submitted to her people, to issue $24,000,000 of bonds. The very knowledge that the people of five or six big States were heart and soul under this State bond proposition and were marching to the goal of its accomplishment would raise our cotton prices. You all know the story about the larks in the wheat field. As long as the farmer was sending over to his neighbors to come and help him harvest his wheat the old lark knew it was not necessary to move her nest and her little ones. They were safe. But when one night the little larks told her they had heard the farmer tell his sons that day to get up early in the morning and they would cut their own wheat the wise old bird said it was time to move. When Texas starts to help herself, then those who have stood around waiting and hoping to pick our wealth from the lifeless hands of our dead prosperity will move and our great commodity will find its market. I'm not given to taking votes, but just now let me see how many of you agree with me that Texas ought to issue bonds and buy half her cotton, as I have proposed. All who do please raise your hands. [Here the speaker paused.] I see nearly all of you do agree with me, and I think those who have not raised their hands are thinking.

"My countrymen, I do not like to say I know, and yet I believe I do know that if Texas would do what I urge there would not be another bale of middling cotton sold of the crop of 1914 after it was done for less than 10 cents.

"My friends, beyond the idea of relief to my people there is another not much less dear to me. We are fast driving to a concentration of all the power and functions of government in the Federal Government. The dream of the fathers of separate and sovereign States is fast fading from the minds and will soon be fading from the memories of men, and yet I love that dream. If we can find relief—find healing for our wounds—I'd rather a thousand times that relief, that healing, came from the States than from Washington. If the States could themselves in this time of trial work out the salvation of their people, it would do more to rebuild the proud prestige once held by the States as real sovereigns, supreme in all matters of local government and local interest, than ten thousand eloquent speeches of a Calhoun, a Jefferson, or a Wilson.

"Texas and her sons and daughters and the sons and daughters of Navarro County deserve the noblest devotion that a public servant can give a people, and so help me God, without fear or faltering or political regard to the future, I have studied these questions and given you my convictions."

The National Government's Obligations and Powers.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CYRUS CLINE,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 15, 1914.

Mr. CLINE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a speech delivered before the National Rivers and Harbors Congress by our colleague Mr. TEN EYCK, of New York.

The speech is as follows:

THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT'S OBLIGATIONS AND GOVERNING POWERS.

Mr. President, Fellow Members, National Rivers and Harbors Congress: Three or four weeks ago, on my way to Washington, my heart was gladdened to see tied at the docks at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., a trans-Atlantic steamer with a cargo of lumber that had been shipped through the Panama Canal from the State of Oregon. The dock to which the vessel was tied is a new dock built by a syndicate who are interested in lumber on the Pacific slope. This location was chosen on account of the channel in the Hudson River at this place being deep enough to permit a trans-Atlantic steamer to dock. From here will be distributed lumber from the Pacific slope throughout the Middle and Eastern States.

This question is too broad to treat as a local or State issue. Therefore I am going to discuss it as a national and an international project for the progress and the extension of trade not only with ourselves but with all the other nations, both on the Eastern and Western Hemispheres. I believe in conservation of our natural resources, but conservation without utilization will cause stagnation of business and commerce. This not only holds good of our forests, our coal and mineral lands, but our waterways for power and transportation purposes. The United States is nothing more than a big corporation run by the stockholders, who are the citizens; the legislative, judicial, and executive branches are the same as a board of directors in a large corporation.

All corporations have overhead charges; all corporations have what is known as an account called "Betterments or improvements." This is the account that I intend to deal with to-day. The legislators or the legislative branch must put the soft pedal on the continuous changing of the Constitution and by-laws of this great corporation and look to the promulgation of proper laws to govern our betterment account, and see that out of the moneys expended each year a sufficient share is allotted to betterments, which, if properly expended, will tend to increase the business of the country without increasing the expense account.

One of the greatest controlling forces of business and commerce is the transportation facilities of any nation—the railroads, the waterways, and the highways—all of which bear the same relation to a country as the veins and arteries to the human body. Commerce is its blood, and particular care must be taken that it is not contaminated or its flow interfered with by cutting or severing of its veins or arteries. If we do, the business of the country will die the same as the body will die if the veins and arteries are permitted to wither. I intend to treat with the waterways of this great country, not in antagonism to railroads but in cooperation and conjunction with them.

The great Empire State, which has won its name and rank because of its commerce, wealth, and population, has constructed entirely at its own expense the longest and greatest artificial canal system in the world, which has done its share toward making this country the first nation among nations in wealth and commerce. One State can not improve itself materially without having a beneficial effect upon the entire Union of States. The United States can not be benefited or improved without having a beneficial effect upon the nations of the world. Our interests are so entwined with each other that the waves of prosperity in one country vibrate and extend so far that they are felt at the uttermost parts of the earth. The Government of the United States is obligated to its people, to the various States and Territories, and to itself. It is bound to maintain peace throughout its borders, and it is bound to look after the prosperity of its people in times of peace. To accomplish this, it is called upon to construct, regulate, govern, and improve enterprises which are too large for one State to build, control, regulate, and improve—projects which pertain to the entire United States rather than to any one State.

The authors of the Constitution of the United States, through the great article of particulars, delegated to the National Government certain obligations and governing powers, and within its jurisdiction are its navigable streams.

The great changes which are taking place in our rivers, due to the alterations in the topography, the clearing of the lands of timber, and the cultivation of the lands in the various watersheds, by the increasing population in the different sections, demands increased facilities for water and railway transportation and flood protection. Most of these navigable rivers are used for interstate trade; most of these rivers drain a number of different States. Therefore the flood protection and the improvement for transportation are National rather than State projects. The same is also true of our great streams which are adaptable for power purposes. It is therefore imperative that the National Government control these emergency measures and construct, improve, and pay for such improvements out of the National Treasury wherever the expenditures are too large for any one State or when the State is prohibited from making these improvements itself on account of constitutional restrictions.

The State of New York, which I have the honor of being one of its Representatives in Congress, is laboring under the embarrassing position of being willing and also able to take care of this worthy project in which the people of the United States are so much interested and which will be so valuable to the general public good. It is this project which I intend to discuss here to-day, and I wish to assert that when this project is constructed, which it will be, it will not only be beneficial to the people of New York State but of the greatest service and benefit to the entire United States, and will also render the greatest service to all civilization. We are, however, prohibited from improving this navigable river on account of constitutional limitations among the States, as the Federal Government has entire control, by its constitutional rights, over all navigable streams.

The total receipts of the United States from all sources during the fiscal year 1914 amounted to the enormous sum of $380,800,893.96. Of this amount the State of New York furnished $62,116,763.34, or 16.34 per cent of the entire amount. I merely bring this to your attention as a reminder that it should have all consideration when it requests that some of this money be returned to it in the form of a betterment for the use of the people throughout the entire Union of States.

The deepening of the channel in the Hudson River, which will make of the capital district of the State of New York a seaport, which capital district represents a population of half a million people, will also prevent the devastating floods each year from overflowing its banks and destroying property to the value of millions of dollars annually.

New York State will expend approximately $150,000,000 in the construction of this unexcelled canal system, including terminal facilities at points of vantage, also including damage claims. This great artificial waterway was not built by the State of New York for the exclusive use and benefit of the people of the State, but it was constructed for the use and benefit of all the people of America, not only for domestic and interstate commerce, but for the coastwise, trans-Atlantic, trans-Pacific, and South American commerce. Every State and every congressional district bordering on the Great Lakes is more interested in this waterway than the Empire State. It gives me the greatest pleasure to list below the States and the congressional districts which border on the Great Lakes. If their Representatives have not already taken an interest in this project in the past and in the various projects in the rivers and harbors act, they will realize their obligations in the future.

Names of Representatives of congressional districts in New York State bordering on—

Hudson River:	
Twenty-fifth district	Benjamin I. Taylor.
Twenty-sixth district	Edmund Platt.
Twenty-seventh district	George McClellan.
Twenty-eighth district	Peter G. Ten Eyck.
Twenty-ninth district	James S. Parker.
Champlain:	
Thirty-first district	
Barge Canal:	
Thirtieth district	Samuel Wallin.
Thirty-third district	Charles A. Talcott.
Thirty-fifth district	John R. Clancy.
Great Lakes:	
Forty-third district	Charles M. Hamilton.
Great Lakes and Canal:	
Thirty-second district	Luther W. Mott.
Thirty-sixth district	
Thirty-eighth district	Thomas B. Dunn.
Thirty-ninth district	Henry G. Danforth.
Fortieth district	Robert H. Gittins.
Forty-first district	Charles B. Smith.
Forty-second district	Daniel A. Driscoll.
Proximity:	
Thirty-fourth district	George W. Fairchild.
Thirty-seventh district	Edwin S. Underhill.
New York City:	
First district	Lathrop Brown.
Second district	Denis O'Leary.
Third district	Frank E. Wilson.
Fourth district	Harry Howard Dale.
Fifth district	James P. Maher.
Sixth district	William M. Calder.
Seventh district	John Joseph Fitzgerald.
New York City—Continued.	
Eighth district	Daniel J. Griffin.
Ninth district	James H. O'Brien.
Tenth district	Herman A. Metz.
Eleventh district	Daniel J. Riordan.
Twelfth district	Henry M. Goldfogle.
Thirteenth district	George W. Loft.
Fourteenth district	Jefferson M. Levy.
Fifteenth district	Michael F. Conry.
Sixteenth district	Peter J. Dooling.
Seventeenth district	John F. Carew.
Eighteenth district	Thomas G. Patten.
Nineteenth district	Walter M. Chandler.
Twentieth district	Jacob A. Cantor.
Twenty-first district	Henry George, jr.
Twenty-second district	Henry Bruckner.
Twenty-third district	Joseph A. Goulden
Twenty-fourth district	Woodson R. Oglesby.

Senators: James A. O'Gorman and Elihu Root.

Congressional districts bordering on Great Lakes.

Minnesota:	
Eighth district	Clarence B. Miller.
At large	John Manahan.
Wisconsin:	
Eleventh district	Irvine L. Lenroot.
Ninth district	Thomas F. Konop.
Sixth district	Michael K. Reilly.
Fifth district	William H. Stafford.
Fourth district	William J. Cary.
Second district	Michael E. Burke.
First district	Henry A. Cooper.
Michigan:	
Twelfth district	H. Olin Young.
Tenth district	Roy O. Woodruff.
Ninth district	James C. McLaughlin.
Eighth district	Joseph W. Fordney.
Seventh district	Louis C. Cramton.
Sixth district	Samuel W. Smith.
Fifth district	Carl E. Mapes.
Fourth district	Edward L. Hamilton.
Third district	J. M. C. Smith.
Second district	Samuel W. Beakes.
First district	Frank E. Doremus.
At large	Patrick H. Kelley.
Illinois:	
Tenth district	Charles M. Thomson.
Ninth district	Fred A. Britten.
Eighth district	Thomas Gallagher.
Fifth district	Adolph Sabath.
Fourth district	
Third district	George E. Gorman.
Second district	James R. Mann.
First district	Martin B. Madden.
At large	Lawrence B. Stringer. William E. Williams.
Indiana:	
Thirteenth district	Henry A. Barnhart.
Tenth district	John B. Peterson.
Ohio:	
Ninth district	Isaac R. Sherwood.
Thirteenth district	John A. Key.
Fourteenth district	
Twenty-first district	Robert J. Bulkley.
Twentieth district	William Gordon.
Nineteenth district	Ellsworth R. Bathrick.
At large	Robert Crosser.
Pennsylvania:	
Twenty-fifth district	Milton W. Shreve.
At large	Fred E. Lewis. John M. Morin. Arthur R. Rupley. Anderson H. Walters.

Vermont, which borders on Lake Champlain, is connected with the Barge Canal and Hudson River by the Champlain Canal.

Vermont:	
First district	Frank Lester Greene.
Second district	Frank Plumley.

SENATORS.

Minnesota: Knute Nelson and Moses E. Clapp.
Wisconsin: Robert M. La Follette and Isaac Stephenson.
Michigan: William A. Smith and Charles E. Townsend.
Illinois: James Hamilton Lewis and Lawrence Y. Sherman.
Indiana: Benjamin R. Shively and John W. Kern.
Ohio: Theodore E. Burton and Atlee Pomerene.
Pennsylvania: Boies Penrose and George T. Oliver.
Vermont: William P. Dillingham and Carroll S. Page.

In addition to these, all the people in the States bordering on the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans and their tributaries and in the congressional district which border thereon are vitally interested in a deeper Hudson River and the Barge Canal, which is the connecting link between our coastwise trade and the Middle and Northwestern States. Therefore it gives me much pleasure to list those States, omitting the congressional districts which border on the Atlantic Ocean, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Pacific Ocean: Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island,

Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, the Canal Zone, California, Oregon, Washington, Alaska, and the Philippine and Hawaiian Islands.

It is estimated by competent authority that the freight carried on the Hudson River after the completion of the Barge and Champlain Canal system will exceed the freight which passes through the Panama Canal. Freight from Duluth, Chicago, Cleveland, and Buffalo on the Great Lakes can be transported by water to San Francisco or Seattle from $1 to $2 a ton cheaper than by rail across the Rocky Mountains to San Francisco or Seattle, and where it has to be retransported to Alaska the saving is double this amount. On account of the natural topography of the Hudson River Valley and the simplicity of construction of this project it should be improved at once. The Hudson River as far north as the Government dam at Troy is an arm of the sea extending into the interior for one hundred and fifty-odd miles, and the tide rises and falls 3½ feet at the Federal dam at Troy; the mean level of the surface of the water in the Hudson River at the dam is only 1½ feet higher than the mean level of the surface of the water in the harbor at New York City. This natural transportation and commercial route of water, rail and wagon, from the Great Lakes through the Genesee, Mohawk, and Hudson Valleys, has made its terminal, New York City, the greatest market of exchange in the world, as it connects one of the richest producing localities of this continent with ocean transportation. As the demand grows upon this market for greater facilities, greater space, and for more economy in exchange, this demand will have to be met by improving the natural resources, which in its crude form in years past started this growth. When the United States Government restricts the State of New York by its constitutional right from making its own improvements, it must reply to the demand of the people of the State of New York by making the improvements which they request. You must keep in mind that when the people of New York State unanimously request the Government to assist and aid in this project it is a request of approximately one-tenth of the population of the United States, who pay approximately one-fifth of the revenue, which is their proportion toward any amount expended for any improvement within their own State, as well as one-fifth of the amount expended for any improvement toward any and all of the projects, whether it be railway, waterway, roadway, or any other project in any of the other States which compose the Government of the United States.

This project is of the utmost importance and will be directly beneficial to 80 per cent of the population of the whole United States and will serve those people who pay 90 per cent of the total revenue which pays the expenses for the operation and running of the Government. This waterway route through the Empire State is the one real competitor of the Canadian canals and St. Lawrence waterway system for export trade. Canada through its proposed improvements and construction of the Welland Canal, Georgian Bay Canal, Trent Canal, and Lachine Canal, in junction with the improvements of its harbors at Toronto, St. Johns, Montreal, where they have spent millions and contemplate spending millions more for this trade which they believe it is imperative to hold, and to hold and increase it, they believe it is imperative upon them to increase their waterway facilities and thereby cut out competition with the United States.

The foreign commerce of the Great Lakes has reached the enormous sum of approximately 20,000,000 tons annually. Quoting from an article in the Saturday Evening Post, "Peru has four and a half million people and has a coastal length equal to the distance from Maine to Georgia; Chile has 3,000,000 people, and its coastal length would measure from California to Alaska; Colombia has 4,000,000 people, and is the size of the Louisiana Purchase; Mexico has 16,000,000 people, and if transposed on the map would cover the German Empire, France, and Great Britain; Cuba, with her 2,000,000 people, would just nicely cover the area of Pennsylvania; Argentina, with a population the same as Canada, is the size of half of the United States; Bolivia equals the area of all of the Rocky Mountain States together; Brazil, having a population three times that of Canada, has the area and resources of the United States with Germany thrown in. Here in South America are Republics with three times the area of the United States and with 70,000,000 people just beginning to realize their size, as the United States began to feel her strength and growth 20 years ago, and we are getting a bare third of that continent's enormous commerce. Germany and England, Japan; yes, even Canada, so far as investments in Brazil and Mexico are concerned, are in the field reaping the profits of South American trade to which the United States was indifferent prior to the construction of the Panama Canal."

There will be built at either or both of the terminals of the Panama Canal a city which will rival our greatest seaports on the Western Hemisphere. This city, or cities, will be the market of exchange for all the packet cargoes of South America, both on its Atlantic and Pacific slopes, the packet cargoes of the western slope of the United States, the Hawaiian and Philippine Islands, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, China, and Africa. Who will be the purchasers other than Europe? It will be the great wealth of the population of the United States, principally that portion bordering on the Great Lakes and which live adjacent to and connected by this waterway system with the markets in New York City.

With only a depth of 5 feet, the Erie Canal, before it became obsolete, carried as high as 6,442,225 tons of freight in one year, and as late as 1906, with a greater depth, it carried 3,540,907 tons of freight after the State of New York had decided to change the entire water traffic by the construction of the Barge Canal, which of necessity changed the class of boats plying on these waters, so that practically all the tow lines which operated on the canal stopped extending, which permitted Canada's competition to become more formidable and take that tonnage which we hope to again secure.

The following data will give you some idea of the Barge Canal, which does not include the various terminals which have been built by the State and are therefore public terminals, at Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Troy, Albany, and New York, with a number of smaller terminals interspersed:

Erie branch—miles	323.3
Number of locks	35
Oneida Lake, forming part of the route—miles	19
Spurs to Syracuse and Rochester—do	10.26
Champlain branch—do	61.5
Number of locks	11
Oswego branch—miles	22.8
Number of locks	7
Cayuga and Seneca branch—miles	27.3
Number of locks	4
Cayuga and Seneca Lakes, connected with Barge Canal, miles	65
Width of channel, land line, surface section, bottom, minimum—feet	75
Width of channel, land line, water surface—do	123 to 171
Width of channel, land line, lock section, bottom, minimum—feet	94
Width of channel, river line, bottom, general—do	200
Depth of channel, land line and minimum river line, feet	12
Locks, length between gates—feet	328
Locks:	
Various lifts—do	6 to 42
Triple lock at Troy, distance between outer gates, feet	450
Available length, regular locks—feet	310
Width of chamber—do	45
Depth of sills—do	12
Dams:	
New	28
Old, with new crests	6
Old, without change	5
Boats:	
Capacity utilizing full lock width—tons	3,000
Built for two to pass in most restricted channels, and two for traveling tandem, to be locked at one lockage—tons	1,500
Appropriation:	
Erie, Champlain, and Oswego Canals	$101,000,000
Cayuga and Seneca Canals	$7,000,000
Approximate amount expended on terminals	$20,000,000
Approximate damage claims allowed	$11,000,000
Approximate future damage claims	$11,000,000
Total length—miles	529.16
Total number of locks	57
Total number of dams	39
Total carrying capacity—tons	25,000,000

Running time, between Buffalo and Albany, four to five days.

The descent from Lake Erie level to the Hudson River level is 565 feet. The original canal was constructed with a depth of 3 to 3½ feet and was built to accommodate 30-ton barges which carried less freight than the ordinary railroad freight car does to-day, while the present canal is constructed so as to accommodate barges of 3,000 tons capacity, one hundred times greater than the original canal boat. Approximately 90 per cent of the population of New York State lives within 25 miles of the navigable streams and waterways so that they all are within its commercial advantages. This population occupies one-half of the total area of the State.

The representatives of the people of the National Government should make it their paramount interest to cheapen both the cost of our natural and manufactured products to the consumer. The merchandise of the Pacific Ocean from the Orient, North, South, and Central America, and the west coast of the United States and Alaska should be brought into close touch with our Atlantic coast and the great interior of the United States.

I am going to give you a list of articles which will be shipped from the Pacific coast via Panama to the capital district to be redistributed throughout the Middle Northwest and the Great Lakes, whereby the cost will be reduced materially to the consuming public in these localities on account of an all-water freight rate: Lumber, asphaltum, coal, oil in tank boats, guano for fertilizer, railroad ties from Japan, various woods, rubber, manila, ivory, sulphur, saltpeter, furs, skins, hides, meats, tallow, tropical fruit, canned fruit, sugar, coffee, tea, spices, rice, wines, perfumery, rugs, silks, hemp, flax, pottery, gold and precious stones; including packet cargoes reloaded at San Francisco and Panama from Alaska, British Columbia, the west coast of the United States, Central and South America, China, Japan, Hawaii and the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, Java, Asia, Oceania, Africa, including the coastwise trade from Canada, and cotton, wool, and lumber from the Southern and Gulf States. The boats returning will be loaded with cargoes from Canada, the northern New England States via the Lake Champlain Canal, and from the Great Lakes and Middle West via the Barge Canal, insuring enough exchange freight to reload all vessels docking in the capital district with the following articles: Cotton goods, clothing, boots and shoes, carpets, iron from the Great Lakes and Champlain districts; grain and apples from the Middle West; flour from western mills; starch from Iowa; cement from the capital district; agricultural implements, electrical appliances, stoves, automobiles, locomotives, steel, firearms, explosives, enameled ware, and other manufactured articles from the States of New York, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin; salt, gypsum, molding sand, condensed milk, bicycles, books, steel bridges, canned goods, castings, copper ingots, drugs, chemicals, furniture, minerals from our mines, corn, wheat, barley, oats and hay, all classes of manufactured iron products, railway cars, and food products from the great West.

All of the articles which I have mentioned are being produced and are now being exchanged by a number of different combinations of transportation companies, which seems to be the most expedient at the time of shipment.

With a port at Albany there will be a saving of 150 miles by railroad for all points reached by the New York Central, the Rutland, the Boston & Maine, the Delaware & Hudson, the West Shore, and the Boston & Albany Railroads. Quoting from an article in the New York Herald, Monday, December 7, 1914:

"SHORTER TRAVEL ROUTES.

"The canal," it says, "has shortened travel routes between New York and Yokohama by 3,700 miles; between New York and Shanghai, about 2,000 miles; between New York and Australia, about 3,000 miles; and between New York and western South America by from 3,500 to 7,000 miles. It also reduces the distance from Europe to western South America by more than 5,000 miles. International commerce doubled in the 30 years following the opening of the Suez Canal, and business and personal interrelationship between the Occident and Orient was increased in like proportion.

"FACTORS IN TRADE.

"Highways of travel on the ocean are influenced by surrounding conditions just as are those on land, so that the shortest distance between two given points is not always the best. Plentiful freight supplies, interchangeability of the products of the countries forming the termini of the routes, 'way stations' on such routes, plentiful coaling stations and cheap coal of a quality suitable for steamship engines, and even favorable winds and ocean currents are among the factors contributing to the success of routes of travel upon the ocean.

"WIDE SPHERE OF INFLUENCE.

"The sections of the world which may be considered as probably within the 'sphere of influence' of the Panama Canal are the eastern and western coasts of America, the eastern coast of Asia, and the islands of the Pacific. All of western America is nearer to Europe than formerly, and all of western America and most of eastern Asia and Oceania are nearer to the eastern coast of America.

"Study of the production and consumption of the various countries lying within the canal's sphere of influence shows that their various products are thoroughly interchangeable. A study of distances also shows that both New York and New Orleans are now so much nearer to all of western America than is Liverpool that we may expect an increasing share of the trade of that section to fall to the lot of eastern North America; that the eastern ports of the United States are considerably nearer to Yokohama, Melbourne, Sydney, and Wellington than is Liverpool by her shortest route, but that Liverpool is still nearer Hongkong and Manila than either New York or New Orleans via Panama."

In conjunction with this I wish to give you a table of distances from New York and Albany, the distance from New York being via the Pennsylvania Railroad and the distance from Albany being via the New York Central.

Cities.	Distances to—		Difference.
	New York.	Albany.	
	Miles.	*Miles.*	*Miles.*
Chicago	908	837	71
Buffalo	411	296	115
St. Paul	1,318	1,247	71
Duluth	1,391	1,320	71
Detroit	759	547	212
Cleveland	579	479	100
Cincinnati	751	743	8

Terminals and ocean distances.	Miles.
Liverpool to Boston	2,854
Liverpool to New York	3,053
Liverpool to Philadelphia	3,172
Liverpool to Albany	3,023
Liverpool to Newport News	3,024
Liverpool to Baltimore	3,328
Liverpool to New Orleans	4,525
Liverpool to Galveston	4,719
Hamburg to New York	3,577
Hamburg to Philadelphia	3,712
Hamburg to Albany	3,727
Hamburg to Newport News	3,745
Hamburg to Baltimore	3,869
Hamburg to New Orleans	5,068
Hamburg to Galveston	5,262

Wheat, being one of the principal articles of export trade which is carried by this waterway, I take pleasure in giving you below the export, both from the United States and Canada, in 1901, in 1913, and 1914, as follows:

United States and Canadian exports of wheat.

1901.	Bushels.
United States and Canada, exports of wheat (largest)	150,173,000
Of this amount New York exported	30,202,000
Of this amount Montreal exported	13,582,000
Of this amount St. John exported	1,085,000

1913.		
United States and Canada, exports of wheat		195,774,000
Of this amount New York exported	49,019,000	
Of this amount Montreal exported	33,252,000	
Of this amount East St. John exported	8,236,000	
In bond through United States	70,850,000	
		112,338,000
Balance of United States wheat shipped from American ports		83,436,000

From the Great Lakes in August the shipping prices for wheat were substantially as follows:

Export wheat conditions to Oct. 3, 1914.

	Bushels.
Montreal, exports of wheat since opening of navigation, May 1 to Oct. 3 (on account of ice she could not ship from Jan. 1 to May 1; she is what is termed a seven-months port)	46,264,000
New York, exports of wheat, Jan. 1 to Oct. 3	26,533,000
Galveston, exports of wheat, Jan. 1 to Oct. 3	19,804,000
New Orleans, exports of wheat, Jan. 1 to Oct. 3	18,793,000
Baltimore, exports of wheat, Jan. 1 to Oct. 3	16,456,000
Philadelphia, exports of wheat, Jan. 1 to Oct. 3	12,471,000
Boston, exports of wheat, Jan. 1 to Oct. 3	11,430,000
Total exports of United States and Canadian wheat to Oct. 3	166,264,000
Exports same time 1913	145,696,000
Increase of exports of wheat to Oct. 3, 1914	20,568,000

1914.	Per bushel.
Lake freight, etc., Duluth to aboard ocean-going steamer at Montreal, Canada	3¾c.
Extra ocean freight, tramp steamers to Montreal, United Kingdom, or Continent; over same, New York to United Kingdom or Continent	1c.
Extra, marine insurance (St. Lawrence route)	¼c.
Total cost, Duluth to f. o. b. ocean carrier at Montreal, Canada	5¼c.
Chicago to Buffalo lake freight on wheat	.87c.
Inland freight, Buffalo to New York	5.50c.
Charge for putting grain f. o. b. vessel in New York Harbor	.90c.
Total	7.27c.
Cost of shipping via New York	7.27c.
Cost of shipping via Montreal	5.12c.
Showing cheaper cost of shipping via Montreal route	2.15c.

From which you can see why all of us that are gathered here to-day, representing the country geographically as well as com-

mercially, are all commercially interested in this project of deepening the channel in the Hudson River to 27 feet, about which I have had the pleasure to speak to-day, as it is the connecting link with the Barge Canal between the Great Lakes and the Atlantic Ocean. It is of paramount interest not only to the producer but to the consumer, not only the exporter but the importer, as this project is the one scheme of all others that connects the most westerly city of Lake Superior—Duluth—as well as Chicago, Cleveland, and Buffalo, with a 40,000-mile water route around the world via the Barge Canal, the Hudson River, the Atlantic Ocean, the Gulf of Mexico, the Caribbean Sea, the Panama Canal, Pacific Ocean, the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea, the Suez Canal, the Mediterranean Sea, the Straits of Gibraltar, the Atlantic Ocean, back through the Hudson River, the Barge Canal, and the Great Lakes, which waterway washes the shores of approximately every civilized nation of the world and forms the greatest interstate and international waterway route known to man.

The Colombian Viewpoint.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE.
OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, December 18, 1914.

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, in July last I laid before the House an interesting historical statement prepared by Mr. Wilfred H. Schoff, of Philadelphia, with reference to the negotiations then pending between this Government and the Government of Colombia and to the proposed payment by the United States of $25,000,000 to "do justice to Colombia," as Secretary Bryan said, for the taking of Panama. It will be remembered that a controversy had arisen as to whether the United States was not making concessions to Colombia which were approaching close to "an abject apology," the attitude of the Secretary of State being that since an "estrangement existed which this country must deal with," we must "resolve the doubt against ourselves and in favor of Colombia."

Usually there are two sides to every question, but in this instance, from the viewpoint of the Secretary of State, there was nothing for the United States to do but to pay what Colombia demanded. Since then, however, additional information has been brought to the United States which indicates that there was some bartering over and above the mere matter of $25,000,000. It now appears from official data translated and forwarded to me by Mr. Schoff that the Colombian Government asked for $30,000,000 plus $250,000 per annum for 100 years; that this was countered by an offer of $20,000,000 from the United States; and that finally, in order to "blot" the estrangement entirely from memory, the compromise figure of $25,000,000 was substantially agreed to.

The construction of the Panama Canal has already proven a heavy drain upon the resources of the United States, and its maintenance, especially in the event of war, will continue to draw heavily upon the people of this country. It is interesting, therefore, to contemplate the early probability of another outlay of $25,000,000 to "salve" the wounded feelings of Colombia.

Yet "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war."

TRANSLATIONS FROM COLOMBIAN REPORTS.

Mr. Schoff's statement and translations from Colombian records, giving that country's viewpoint with respect to its claims and achievements, is appended herewith:

The official report of the Colombian minister of foreign affairs of Colombia, just received from the national printing office at Bogota, contains some interesting details about the treaty now pending in the United States Senate and shows the United States, as already publicly charged, to have been placed in the position of an abject apologist for the events of 1903.

The report opens with a copy of the message of the Colombian President, Carlos E. Restrepo, Bogota, May 1, 1914, when he called the Congress together in extraordinary session to consider this treaty. At this session was submitted, first, a letter addressed by the American minister at Bogota to the Colombian minister of foreign affairs, of which the following is a translation:

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Bogota, October 1, 1913.

To His Excellency the MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF COLOMBIA.

Mr. MINISTER: The Government and people of the United States sincerely desire that everything that may have altered, or that may appear to have interrupted, the close and ancient friendship between the United States and the Republic of Colombia may be blotted out and forgotten.

My Government, therefore, desires to end once for all the differences that have arisen between it and the Republic of Colombia concerning the matter of a suitable reparation for the losses, both moral and material, suffered by the Republic of Colombia because of the circumstances that attended the acquisition of the rights now possessed by the United States on the Isthmus of Panama.

I am instructed, therefore, to offer the sum of $20,000,000 for the complete termination of all claims and differences now pending between the Government of Colombia and the Government of the United States and between the Government of Colombia and the Government of the Republic of Panama.

I hope that this offer will be considered acceptable by your excellency's Government, and I request your excellency to accept the renewed assurance of my most distinguished consideration and personal esteem.

THADDEUS A. THOMSON.

To this letter the Colombian minister of foreign affairs made a reply, of which the following is a translation:

REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA,
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Bogota, October 6, 1913.

His Excellency the ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Mr. MINISTER: I have the honor to refer to your letter of the 1st instant, in which your excellency has been pleased to inform the Government of Colombia that the Government and people of the United States sincerely desire that everything that may have altered or that may appear to have interrupted the friendship between the two nations may be blotted out and forgotten; that, therefore, the Government of your excellency desires to terminate the differences that have arisen between it and that of this Republic with respect to the reparation for the moral and material losses which Colombia has suffered by reason of the circumstances that attended the acquisition of the rights now possessed by the United States on the Isthmus of Panama; and that in consequence your excellency offers, in the name of your Government, the sum of $20,000,000 for the complete termination of all claims and differences now pending between our two Governments and the Government of the Republic of Panama.

I have received instructions from the President of the Republic to inform your excellency, as I now have the honor of doing, that the Colombian Government duly appreciates the concepts and aspirations of friendship and justice expressed in the aforesaid note of your excellency.

In order to cooperate on its part in favor of the just and friendly conclusion that your excellency's Government desires, my Government will proceed to express to your excellency, with the diligence and also the reflection that the matter requires, its ideas about the bases of a possible suitable agreement. One of these bases is the indemnity corresponding to losses and damages, which will be duly considered in relation with the other conditions that the Republic esteems necessary for the final solution of the claims and differences to which your excellency refers.

The Colombian Government in joining spontaneously with that of the United States in favor of the direct termination of this business desires that it may be possible and effective, and that in this way it may not be necessary for its part to continue working for the adoption of other means proposed by Colombia and which are now pending.

On expressing to your excellency these ideas and purposes of my Government, I take pleasure in reiterating to your excellency the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

FRANCISCO JOSÉ URRUTIA.

According to the report of the minister of foreign relations, these letters were followed by personal discussion of details, interrupted by the return of Mr. Thomson to the United States, and ending in the presentation by the chargé d'affaires of the United States, Leland Harrison, December 22, of a general project for a treaty, of which the main headings were as follows:

"ARTICLE 1. Expression of regret by the United States and acceptance thereof by Colombia.

"ART. 2. Concession to Colombia of rights in the Panama Canal and Railroad as follows:

"(1) Free transport of troops, matériels, and vessels of war, even in case of war between Colombia and another country, without payment of dues.

"(2) Passage of Colombian products and manufactures through the canal on the same terms as those of the United States.

"(3) Colombian citizens passing through the canal to be exempt from every charge not imposed on citizens of the United States.

"(4) In case of interruption of canal traffic, the troops, matériels of war, products, and mails of Colombia to be carried by the Panama Railroad at the same rate as similar freight of the United States.

"(5) Coal and sea salt produced in Colombia passing from the Atlantic coast to Colombian Pacific ports, and vice versa, to be transported over the railroad free of charge, except actual cost of transport, which shall not exceed half of the freight ordinarily collected on products of the United States in transit.

"ART. 3. The United States to pay within six months of ratifications $20,000,000 in gold.

"ART. 4. Independence of Panama to be recognized as an accomplished fact, and the dividing line drawn between Cape Tiburon and a point midway between Cocalito and Ardita."

During Mr. Thomson's stay in the United States the Colombian Government submitted the following counter proposal, delivered at the American legation in Bogota February 3, 1914, and through the Colombian legation in Washingon February 7. The Colombian proposition was in substance as follows:

"ARTICLE 1. Expression of regret by the United States and acceptance thereof by Colombia.

"ART. 2. Concessions to Colombia of rights in the Panama Canal and Railroad as follows:

"(1) Free transportation at all times of Colombian troops and vessels of war, even in time of war between Colombia and another country, without payment of any charge to the United States. Colombian merchant vessels to use the canal on the same basis as merchant vessels of the United States.

"(2) Colombian products and manufactures, also mails, to be exempt from all charges other than those imposed on similar goods and mails of the United States. Colombian products and manufactures to be admitted to the Canal Zone without payment of other duties than those imposed on similar products of the United States.

"(3) Colombian citizens passing through the canal to be exempt from all charges other than those imposed on citizens of the United States.

"(4) During interruption of canal traffic Colombian troops, war materials, products, and mails to be carried on the railroad on payment of the same charges imposed on similar articles of the United States. Officers and employees of the Colombian Government to be transported on the same terms as those of the Government of the United States.

"(5) Petroleum and sea salt produced in Colombia passing from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast of Colombia and vice versa to be transported on the railroad free of charge, except actual cost of transport, etc., in no case to be more than half of the charges ordinarily imposed on similar products of the United States passing from one to another port of the United States.

"ART. 3. United States to pay within six months following exchange of ratifications the sum of $30,000,000. United States to pay also for 100 years from the same date an annual payment of $250,000.

"ART. 4. Colombia to recognize Panama as an independent nation, the boundary being drawn from Cape Tiburon to Cocalito, Colombia, however, declining all responsibility for acts done at any time within the territory of Panama."

Minister Thomson returned to Bogota March 3, and brought with him a counter proposition from the American Government, of which the following are the main:

"ARTICLE 1. Expression of regret by the United States and acceptance thereof by Colombia.

"ART. 2. Colombian Government to enjoy the following rights on the Panama Canal and Railroad:

"(1) Transportation at all times, even in time of war between Colombia and another country, of its troops, materials, and vessels of war, without paying any charge to the United States.

"(2) Colombian products and manufactures, also mails, to pass through the canal without charge other than that imposed on similar articles of the United States. Colombian products and manufactures to be admitted to the Canal Zone without payment of other duties than those imposed on similar products of the United States.

"(3) Colombian citizens passing through the canal to be exempt from all charges not imposed on citizens of the United States.

"(4) During interruption of canal traffic Colombian troops, war material, products, and mails to be carried by the railroad on payment only of the same charges imposed on similar articles of the United States. Officers and employees of the Colombian Government to be transported on the railroad on the same terms as those of the United States Government. These dispositions, however, not to apply in case of war between Colombia and Panama.

"(5) Coal, petroleum, and sea salt produced in Colombia passing from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast of Colombia, or vice versa, to be carried on the railroad free of charge, except actual cost of transport, in no case to be more than one-half the ordinary freight charged for similar products of the United States passing by the railroad in transit from one to another port of the United States.

"ART. 3. United States to pay within six months of the exchange of ratifications $20,000,000.

"ART. 4. Colombia to recognize Panama as an independent nation, the boundary to run from Cape Tiburon to a point midway between Cocalito and Ardita."

The difference in the terms of concession under article 2 was based on an agreement between United States and Great Britain in 1909 under which Great Britain consented to such concession.

This counter proposition was answered by a memorandum from the Colombian Government proposing certain modifications and concessions and repeating the request for $30,000,000 and annual payments of $250,000 for 100 years. This memorandum was answered by another from the American minister raising the indemnity to $25,000,000 without annual payments, on condition of acceptance by Colombia or the remainder of the proposition of the American Government. This was answered in turn by another Colombian memorandum relinquishing annual payments, but requesting in addition to the $25,000,000 a lump sum of $5,000,000 to be employed for the improvement and sanitation of the ports of Buenaventura and Cartagena. The money question was finally fixed at $25,000,000 on receipt of a cablegram from the Colombian minister in Washington, dated March 30, 1914:

"Convinced that Congress will refuse more than $25,000,000."

The treaty was thereupon drawn up and signed, and on the assembling of the Colombian Congress referred to that body for its consideration. The report of the committee of the Colombian Senate, submitted May 6, favored its ratification, and from that report the following passages are translated:

COLOMBIAN SENATE COMMITTEE REPORT.

"The secession of the Department of Panama, which occurred November 3, 1903, created for Colombia a political and commercial situation that the Republic can not contemplate with indifference, such that there is no record in the case of any people that has allowed time to pass impassively on a calamity of this kind. Once the territorial reduction of the nation was effected it became indispensable to think and work in search of the most suitable and efficacious means for one of two things—either to recover the separated Department or to obtain from the causer of the separation such reparation of a moral and material kind as may be just and possible.

"The first is impossible for Colombia in the case of Panama, recognizing that it has been received by the other nations as an independent State and, again, the enormous power of the Nation which has and does exercise guidance of that entity in its birth and subsequent existence.

"The second, that is to say, reparation adequate and possible, lends itself to various plans and methods. The first means that occurs is that of arbitration of the differences existing between the United States and Colombia because of the separation of the Isthmus. This means was proposed by Colombia and refused by the United States. This, on the other hand, and by its nature is always subsidiary to a direct agreement either between nations or between private parties. Further, arbitration can not comprehend in deed of compromise all the points which may be included in a direct agreement, *because questions referring to national honor are not ordinarily included*, and it would be difficult, if not impossible, to submit to a court of arbitration moral satisfaction, as that might probably include rights, privileges, prerogatives, and franchises of a commercial nature, all of which would remain unsolved. On the other hand, every *international arbitration, being long drawn out and costly, with problematical results, the most elementary discretion suggests that the sure is better than the doubtful, and that cash in hand may not be postponed for more to come.* Supposing an arbitral decision favorable to ourselves and humiliating to the United States; that result would be far from being accompanied by the good will of that powerful nation toward Colombia, while a direct agreement would be arrived at in a spirit of conciliation and friendship. This last consideration largely justifies the treaty of April 6, 1914, because it is a friendly agreement made directly between Colombia and the United States, with the previous condition fixed in the initial notes of the negotiation, that in case the treaty does not become effective the anterior situation shall subsist, and the last proposition submitted by Colombia remain in force, which was that of an arbitration applied to a difference existing between two nations. The treaty has therefore before all an important political aspect—political properly understood, not of local or party politics—with respect to the United States, with respect to great Colombian interests, and with respect to the territory of Panama. In the first case the treaty restores relations of our country with the most powerful Republic in the world and in history, whose friendship we can not view with indifference if we wish to live with foresight, and because of our situation in the New World; the influence of the United States on all the Latin-American peoples obliges us to hold our gaze straight toward that nation. It is true that the resentment caused by the separation of Panama deprives these relations to-day of the fervor of enthusiasm, but love and hatred, rancor or sympathies, which often determine the conduct of mortals, do not determine that of nations whose conscience and patriotism obliges them to think of the permanence of their being, which, being perpetual, may not be subordinated to temporary resentments. *It is true also that the powers of Europe might be looked to as sources of guardianship of a favor corresponding to our defense and to our advancement, but experience teaches us two things—that up to the present we have not received such defense, and that the powers of Europe neither jointly nor separately have approached the United States in our behalf nor in that of any other American people.* [The reference to Germany is obvious. England, through the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, had left the United States a free hand on the Isthmus. France, threatened with abrogation of the 10-year extension of the canal franchise (for which the Colombian Government had demanded and received $1,000,000), and with confiscation of the canal property, had considered defense of its rights by force (statement by Minister Delcassé, Nov. 23, 1903). Germany, according to press dispatches, was approached unofficially by prominent Colombians, who hoped to induce her interference by Isthmian concessions. The American ambassador at Berlin made inquiry and reported that "the question of an interference on the part of Germany did not exist." (S. Doc. 474, 63d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 359–360.) W. H. S.]

COLOMBIAN-JAPANESE ALLIANCE DISCUSSED.

"Also it is true that the recent appearance of a powerful Empire, modernized in its culture, at the borders of Asia has led some to think that from that remotest West might come to us such support under the form of a friendship so strong that it would resolve all our difficulties satisfactorily, including that now pending with the United States, but that is an illusion, because neither the effective power of Japan, nor the changes and necessities of its politics, nor the great diversity of its ethnic, social, and commercial circumstances permit us to consider that that country might seriously and probably be the means of our resolving to repulse the decisive and inevitable influence of a most powerful mass with which we are in immediate relation by the attraction of another distant mass, heterogeneous and incomparably inferior. * * *

"The probable success of the treaty with respect to the difficulties to be resolved and the needs proposed to be satisfied is also a thing to be considered, as shown by the analysis of its various stipulations. Such success depends naturally on obtaining the two parliamentary indorsements to the treaty, here and in the United States, which will be so much the more probable as may be understood the conjuncture of circumstances and the opportunity of the present moment. *It is known, in effect, that the agreement between Colombia and the United States accepted and even proposed by the Anglo-American Government is not a matter favored in the same degree of probability at any date, because these probabilities are in relation or bound to the predominance of certain political parties, not in our Government but in the Congress of the United States. Therefore from this firm and evident conviction, and not from immoderate eagerness,* nor from less patriotic desires, nor from the wish to close this agreement with a determined party or parties, nor for any reason less respectful as toward the sovereign Congress; thence we say, after having informed ourselves scrupulously of all the documents forming the antecedents and circumstances of the negotiations of the treaty, thence comes the time limit set for the saisfactory sessions of the legislative body. This time, short in truth, recognizes this undeniable hypothetical fact: If the treaty is good, we should work for its approval; and *in order that this approval may be effective, it should be realized in time to meet with probable ratification by the Senate of the United States* * * *."

COLOMBIAN HOUSE COMMITTEE REPORT.

The report of the committee of the House of Representatives on the treaty likewise recommended its ratification, and from that report the following passages are translated:

"For the celebration and appreciation of any treaty with the United States or with Panama we must begin necessarily with the lamentable occurrences on the Isthmus in November, 1903. The study of the facts in relation to Colombia and international law in relation to all nations of the world, situations created by virtue of these occurrences, are things definitely completed. Your committee judges, therefore, that it need not concern itself with them, except as their consequences affect the future of the nation. To remedy this situation as far as possible, Colombia might have recourse to one of these three means: War, which would be impossible for us for a thousand considerations of material kind; arbitration, openly refused by the United States; or direct agreement, which, initiated by that same Nation, has resulted in the treaty of April 6.

"The envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States, Mr. Thaddeus A. Thomson, through the note which you know, began the negotiations to arrive at a treaty which might put an end, as he said, to the differences arising out of the events brought to pass on the Isthmus of Panama in November, 1903.

"The dangers of our national integrity, owing to the abnormal situation in which Colombia has been without determination of its boundaries or of the territorial partitions of the rebel department, the forthcoming opening of the canal to interoceanic commerce which will so favorably affect Colombia, the circumstance of the present existence in the Government and people of the United States of a sentiment of justice toward Colombia, and *the possible contingency of a change of international politics of that country with a renewal of the membership of its Senate, which might very well be inspired by other opinions*, indicate both the convenience and opportunity of celebrating the treaty.

SATISFACTION, INDEMNITY, AND PRIVILEGE.

"With these antecedents the negotiations should and did refer to three principal points—*moral satisfaction, indemnity for injuries suffered as consequence of the separation of Panama, and preferential terms for Colombia on the interoceanic routes* and in the commerce of

the regions adjacent to them, derived from its special character as possessor of the territory which was snatched from it.

"The treaty fulfills all these three aspirations.

"The initiation of the negotiations by the United States, the location thereof in Bogota, and the general tendency of the treaty satisfy in a *full* manner and, so to say, comprehensively the first of the points enunciated, which is especially satisfied by article 1 of the treaty, which says: 'The Government of the United States of America, in its own name and the name of the people of the United States, expresses sincere regret for whatever thing may have occurred to interrupt or alter the relations of cordial friendship which for so long a time existed between the two nations.' *A satisfaction could not be expressed in a more final manner in laconic diplomatic language, and the honorable Senate of the Republic so considered it when it unanimously approved this article and the preamble.*

"For the rest the order observed in the sequence of the articles of the treaty shows that the principal intention of the Colombian negotiators was moral satisfaction. This was also the most delicate part of the negotiation in its relation to the sentiments of the Colombian people. * * *

"The indemnity wipes out, on the other hand, the attempted excuse for the despoilment of Colombia in the name of universal civilization. If this had been the case, why the indemnity? So that even the stipulations *of this article contain their share of moral satisfaction.*"

This official report contains also replies to certain inquiries of Senator Mendez with respect to the dealings of the Colombian legation in the United States, and particularly the following:

"Whether the firm of the lawyer Taylor has intervened in the present negotiations, and if it has done so with the assent of the Government by contract with it or on what conditions, and what part in these events has been taken by Mr. Hall, and if that gentleman is counselor of the Colombian legation?"

Replies of the Colombian minister of foreign affairs to these questions are as follows:

"We do not know any firm of the lawyer Taylor. Mr. Betancourt, the Colombian minister in Washington, has consulted in this matter without previous contract, which is not customary in such cases, and with the knowledge of the Government, the illustrious Hannis Taylor, author of the well-known work of repute on international law, former minister plenipotentiary of the United States in Spain, and an enthusiastic friend of Colombia. Mr. Taylor is so esteemed in Washington that he figured as the first candidate to take the place of Mr. John Bassett Moore as counselor of the State Department. The negotiations have taken place here, and when there was anything to do with them in Washington the minister of Colombia has intervened officially, which does not prevent that he should have availed himself of the influence and counsel of good friends of our cause.

"Mr. Hall, with his book 'The Story of Panama,' his efforts before the committee of the House of Representatives of the United States, and his many publications, has made himself entitled to our gratitude. He has been lending services to the legation in the way of propaganda, receiving moderate fees and without having the character of counselor or any other similar title. His services, like that of Mr. Taylor, can not be received free, but they are and will be remunerated by our legation in Washington with the ordinary funds designated for that purpose and taken by the Government from those which the law of estimates assigns for such expenses as have been deemed indispensable.

"To the names of Taylor and Hall might well be added others, such as Bacon, Rainey, Dubois, Chamberlin, MacVeagh, etc., who have lent their pens and their authority to the cause of justice and right, which they esteem also as the cause of American honor."

The report includes also a statement by the chairman of the committee on foreign affairs. This is likewise a favorable report on the ratification of the treaty at this time containing one or two observations of particular interest as follows:

VIEWS OF CHAIRMAN OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE.

"For Colombia it is sufficient that the most powerful nation in the world expresses *regret for whatever thing may have been able to alter the mutual good relations, because in these expressions are included all the deeds or events brought to pass in Panama in November, 1903. * * * The phrase 'cualquier cosa' [whatever thing] used in article 1 has been criticized because it is stated that a more appropriate expression would have been 'todo lo que' or 'todo aquello que' [all that], but 'cualquier cosa' [whatever thing] is here equivalent to 'toda cosa' [everything].*" [These words of the chairman of the Colombian house committee on foreign affairs give, of course, the direct denial to the official English translation in the published text of the treaty, wherein the Government of the United States * * * "expresses * * * sincere regret that anything should have occurred." As a matter of fact, the correct translation of this treaty makes the Government of the United States express regret "for whatever thing may have occurred," and by direct implication includes all the deeds of the American Government in 1903 and 1904.]

"Article 2 of the treaty grants Colombia the sum of $25,000,000 without implying by this payment a sale of territory, because one can ill sell what one has not, and the recovery of it is impossible. The payment referred to is for indemnity for the moral and material losses occasioned or caused to Colombia by the separation of Panama. The note initiating the negotiations and the preamble of the treaty clearly set forth such indemnity, because they state as the purpose of the agreement the restoration of the old friendship, the regularizing the rights and interests of the parties, and the blotting out once for all of the dissensions and controversies arising from the events of November, 1903, in Panama.

"The indemnity has been the occasion of much censure, first, by those who object that the treaty of April 6 does not follow that offered by the Anglo-American Minister Dubois at the beginning of 1913 to our Minister, Dr. Urrutia. This offer was, according to the opponents of the treaty, $25,000,000 in cash, preferential franchise and rights in interoceanic transit, moral satisfaction, and the arbitration of the reversionary rights in the railroad. But those who thus argue forget: First, that the proposition of Mr. Dubois was informal and simply an outline; second, that it was disavowed by the Secretary of State in Washington, who qualified it as a proposition beyond the instructions of the minister and incapable of producing any other result than of the display of blindness and unwarranted pretensions on the part of Colombia, according to Secretary Knox; third, that the same Mr. Dubois in effect disavowed his proposal because in public interviews recently made in the United States, he reduces the bases of an arrangement with Colombia, in his private opinion, merely and simply to the payment of eighteen millions; and, fourth, that the same distinguished diplomat—to whom in truth the Colombians owe their gratitude for his display of friendship toward Colombia—states in a letter of November to Dr. Urrutia that he would have been very pleased to sign the treaty which Mr. Thomson was to sign."

The Recall of Judges.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAUDE WEAVER,
OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, December 19, 1914.

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I will print an address delivered by Hon. Charles B. Stuart, a distinguished lawyer of my State, in December, 1912, before the State Bar Association of Oklahoma on the subject of the recall of judges.

The speech is as follows:

THE RECALL OF JUDGES.

My brethren of the bar, the recall of judges, the subject assigned to me by your worthy committee, is one which has been the subject of recent and wide discussion throughout many of the States. The late expression of California in favor of judicial recall and the likelihood that Arizona will follow in the same train emphasizes to a marked degree the pressing importance for a calm, dispassionate, and unprejudicial consideration of this question and the field that it covers by this honorable body. It has been well said that lawyers are the true constituency of the bench, because every opinion of every conscientious judge is "written under the eye and subject to the review and criticism of a scrutinizing and intelligent legal profession." Any proposed change, therefore, either in the selection or in the removal of judges quickly challenges the attention and enforces the consideration of the practicing lawyer.

The chief glory of the English and American bar, especially when acting in the aggregate, has been the conservatism and the independence with which it has met and debated great public questions. Realizing that in the march of progress government, both in theory and in practice, must undergo modification in order to meet the exigencies of the times, the thoughtful lawyer, who is the natural enemy of revolution and the vigilant and ever-active guardian of the sacred rights of person and property, views with deep concern any sudden and radical change.

The recall of judges, as understood and pressed by those who favor the doctrine, is offered as a panacea for nearly all our ills, both State and National. Many of those who condemn the doctrine declare that its acceptance and practical application will result in the dislocation of the joints and articulations of government. Viewed in either light, the remedy offered by the recall is extreme. It is important, therefore, that we pitch this discussion above politics and above party, and with an eye single to the discovery of truth examine this strange propaganda.

The subject has already been approached and reviewed by wise and just men from nearly every angle. In this paper, therefore, I shall state little that is new, and I shall be compelled to state much that is old. Ancient truths and ancient creeds which were uttered and embraced by the fathers of this Republic who conceived and constructed the Federal Constitution must be uttered and examined once again. I shall be compelled to speak the words of the dead oftener than those of the living, and with toleration and respect for the views of others, I shall endeavor to bring in rapid and condensed review before you the character of this proposed change, its wisdom, and its effect as tested by the approved principles of American constitutional Government. I shall express no opinion as to the validity of the law in question, if it should be enacted after proper methods by this new Commonwealth, because that, in my judgment, is not within the scope and purview of this paper. I may be permitted to say, however, in passing, that I am one of those who believe that the people are and must continue to be the source of all power in real republics and that the charge that the proposed recall would make the State adopting it unrepublican in character and, therefore, inimical to the guaranty of the Federal Constitution is not tenable. I believe, with Madison, that—

A government is republican which derives its powers directly or indirectly from the great body of its people and is administered by persons holding their office during pleasure, for a limited period, or during good behavior.

Mr. Justice Wilson spoke correctly when he said, in Chisholm against The State of Georgia:

My short definition of a republican government is one constructed on this principle, that the supreme power resides in the body of the people.

The question here is not whether the people can in a proper way adopt the judicial recall, but whether they ought to adopt it. Our present concern is not whether the proposed change would be valid, but whether it would be right; not whether it would run the gauntlet of the Constitution, but whether the people can afford it. It has seemed better to me to discuss this question in an inverse way to that in which it has generally been presented. First, then, we shall consider the leading objections and criticisms which have been urged against judicial conduct of the present day as justifying the doctrine of recall.

In what have the judges offended? Where and in what manner have they abused public confidence? With what dereliction of duty or revolutionary action do they stand charged to call for a readjustment of the American system of government? Complaints are made and have gone to the people, and, speaking as one lawyer to a convention of lawyers, they must be confessed or answered. The lawyer who will not defend judges when they are unjustly assailed, and who will not shiver a lance for an upright and brave judiciary, is not worthy to sit in the sacred halls of justice.

It is claimed, first and foremost, that the people demand this change because the judges, both State and Federal, have declared, and continue to declare, congressional and State legislative acts unconstitutional and void, and that they are exercising this function without constitutional warrant, either expressed or implied. Let us see if in this modern day, after more than 100 years of judicial history, this complaint is justly lodged. You all do know that in the early days of this Republic the power of the Supreme Court of the United States to declare a law of Congress unconstitutional was bitterly contested. The controversy touching this matter was one of the most acrimonious in our history. On one side were arrayed Marshall and his followers, and on the other Jefferson and some of his disciples.

The proposed grant of power to the courts to declare in advance the validity or invalidity of a law of Congress was several times submitted to the convention which framed the Constitution and was as many times rejected, but the principle, although utterly unknown in England even to this day and unrecognized in continental Europe, even in those countries having written constitutions, was not new to the American people. Prior to the Philadelphia convention in 1787, which framed the Federal Constitution, the Supreme Court of New Jersey in 1780, in Holmes against Walton, expressly declared that a statute in conflict with the written constitution of New Jersey was void. In 1782 the Virginia court, in Commonwealth *v.* Caton (4 Cal.), held the same doctrine. Rhode Island in 1786, in Trevett against Wedden, and South Carolina in 1792 announced, in substance, the same rule. The truth is, this power of the court of last resort of the Federal Union to guard the Federal Constitution against legislation and Executive encroachment was a live issue from the time of the Declaration of Independence in 1776 to the meeting of the Constitutional Convention in 1787. Hamilton, in the thirty-eighth article of the Federalist, said:

> The complete independence of the courts of justice is peculiarly essential in a limited constitution. By limited constitution I intend one which contains written specified exceptions to the legislative authority, such as, for instance, that it shall pass no bills of attainder, no ex post facto laws, and the like. Limitations of this kind can be preserved in practice in no other way than through the medium of courts of justice, whose duty it must be to declare all acts contrary to the manifest tenor of the Constitution void. Without this all reservations of particular rights by the people would amount to nothing.

Marshall, in the Virginia convention of 1788, while it was considering the adoption of the Federal Constitution, declared:

> Can they (Congress) go beyond the delegated powers? If they were to make a law not warranted by any of the powers enumerated it would be considered by the judges as an infringement of the Constitution which they are to guard. They would not consider such a law as coming under their jurisdiction. They would declare it void.

Quotations, practically without limit, of a similar tenor could be made from contemporary writers and speakers. This view, however, was urged by such men as James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris, Edmond Randolph, and James Madison, all shining names in the country's history. It was no secret that this power of the courts would be asserted. All these discussions occurred prior to the action of the several State conventions upon the Federal Constitution.

At this time, be it remembered, Mr. Jefferson was in France, and was therefore not only not a member of a convention having under consideration the adoption of the Constitution, but took little or no part by letter in the discussion. Marshall, in 1798, had declined the position of Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, offered by President Adams on the death of Justice Irdell. He, however, was finally prevailed upon to accept the Chief Justiceship, and was accordingly appointed on the 31st day of January, 1801. A few weeks before John Jay had declined this same office after the Senate had confirmed his reappointment. In his letter of declination to the President he based his refusal on the ground that the system was so defective that the court would never acquire that public confidence and respect to which it was entitled as a separate department of the Government. But a new man was at the helm, a man of firmer temper, firmer purpose, and higher intellectuality than Jay. The views of the new Chief Justice were well known. He had concealed nothing, because he had never played double with living man. Between Marshall and Jefferson the most peculiar antagonism existed. It must have been in some sense personal, because a mere political difference, based upon divergent views as to the theory and powers of government, would not have permitted Jefferson to carry his resentment against Marshall to his grave. Mr. Jefferson came to the Presidency almost immediately after Marshall's appointment as Chief Justice. He brought with him no good feeling toward Adams, the retiring President, or any of his appointees. In this Mr. Jefferson was amply justified, because immediately before his retirement Adams had dealt him a blow, which we shall consider hereafter in another branch of this discussion, which was both ungenerous and unkind. Among other matters which were left incomplete, as you well know, were some signed but undelivered commissions. One of these was to Marbury. Jefferson refused to permit Madison, his Secretary of State, to deliver the commission. This enraged the Federalists, and Charles Lee, Adams's old Attorney General, was immediately employed by Marbury to bring suit in the Supreme Court of the United States asking for mandamus against Madison to deliver the commission. This suit was brought at a most unfortunate time, when the passions of party were running high and when the control of government had just been wrested from the hands of the Federalists, who had long been in power.

I am one of those who believe that if the first controversy before the Supreme Court touching the power of that body to declare a law of Congress unconstitutional had been one in which the personal equation as to the President and the retiring President had not entered, history would not have recorded the bitter feeling which was engendered by the decision in Marbury against Madison. Mr. Jefferson's opposition to this decision knew no bounds. Marshall's "obiter dissertation," as Jefferson called it, was roundly denounced. As late as 1819, after he had retired from the Presidency and only a few years before his death, he said in a letter to Judge Spencer Roane:

> My construction of the Constitution is very different from that which you quote. It is that each department is truly independent of the others and has an equal right to decide for itself what is the meaning of the Constitution in the cases submitted to its action.

But Marshall, notwithstanding criticisms, pursued his steadfast purpose to have the people respect his court and consider it the guardian and conservator of their fundamental rights as reserved and expressed in their fundamental law. It is useless, and it would be a trespass upon your time, to consider now the original question whether the Supreme Court was impliedly authorized by the Constitution to strike down a law believed to be in conflict with its terms or whether this power was assumed by the court. Suffice it to say that Marshall's theory has received not only the approval of a great majority of our people, but the principle asserted in Marbury against Madison has become so thoroughly embedded in our system of jurisprudence, both State and Federal, that it is no longer open to question or dispute. This power of the courts of the country to declare acts of the legislature in conflict with the Constitution void stands alone in the history of the world's jurisprudence, and it is this power of the judiciary which has most excited the admiration of statesmen and philosophers of the Old World as well as the New. "It lies," said a great jurist, "at the very root of our system of government." Prof. Dicey, of England, in his Oxford lectures, said:

> This system, the American system, which makes the judges the guardians of the Constitution provides the only adequate safeguard which has hitherto been invented against unconstitutional legislation. The glory of the founders of the United States is to have devised or adopted arrangements under which the Constitution became in reality as well as in name the supreme law of the land.

Mr. Bryce, in his American Commonwealth, declares time and again that English lawyers and statesmen have lamented that this power to move against an act of Parliament can not be exercised by the English judges. Rufus Choate, in his address to the Harvard Law School in 1845, said:

> I do not know that I can point to one achievement in American statesmanship which can take rank for its consequences of good above that single decision of the Supreme Court which adjudged that an act of the Legislature contrary to the Constitution is void and that the judicial department is clothed with a power to ascertain the repugnancy and pronounce the legal conclusion. That the framers of the Constitution intended this to be so is certain, but to have asserted it against Congress and the Executive, to have vindicated it by that easy, yet adamantine,

demonstration than which the reason of mathematics shows nothing surer, to have inscribed this vast truth of conservatism upon the public mind so that no demagogue not in the last stage of intoxication denies it, is an achievement of statesmanship of which a thousand years may not exhaust or reveal all the good.

De Tocqueville said:

The power vested in the American courts of pronouncing statutes unconstitutional forms one of the most powerful barriers ever devised against the tyranny of political assemblies.

Shall we go back, therefore, and reconstruct, or shall we rest content as to this feature of judicial power which is being daily exercised by the courts of the States and of the Union, which has been for more than 100 years acquiesced in and accepted by the people and which has passed beyond the realm of legitimate debate? Is there a lawyer in this body who would now say that the legislative body of a State shall be the exclusive judge of the constitutionality of its own action? Is no principle ever settled? Discussion as to these matters ought to be settled by the voice of the centuries, and yet there are those in this new day who declare that a judge who holds a legislative act unconstitutional is deserving of impeachment, and that on account of the tardiness of that remedy he ought to be summarily recalled.

Another objection which I shall briefly notice is that the Federal judges, including members of the Supreme Court, ought to be subjected to the recall, because their construction of powers of the Federal Government is such that finally a consolidated Federal Government will be the result and the reserved rights of the States will be ancient history. It may be assumed for the sake of argument that Marshall's rule of construction that the Federal Government possessed not only the express and affirmative power conferred by the Constitution but had every implied power necessary to promote and give effect to the objects for which, in his judgment, the Federal Government was established was too latitudinous; and he did carry this doctrine to an extent which alarmed the philosophers and statesmen of this hemisphere. Jefferson was so incensed that he called Marshall a thief of jurisdiction and said that Story absorbed jurisdiction like a sponge. He denominated judges as "bold speculators on the patience of the Union." He said that the Chief Justice was a crafty man who sophisticated the law to his mind by the turn of his own reason. But this tendency of Marshall was soon to receive a check. After he, through this canon of implied powers, had built up a Federal structure which was not only grand and imposing but well-nigh imperial, another figure appeared upon the stage of public action to stop the advance of a doctrine which, if pushed to its last analysis, might become dangerous to the Republic.

Roger B. Taney was appointed Chief Justice of the United States on the 15th of March, 1836, to succeed John Marshall. A great legal scholar has said, "If Marshall saved the Federal Government from dying of inanition, Taney saved the States from death by absorption. It is due largely to the genius of these two great Chief Justices that an indestructible Union of indestructible States is had." When Taney assumed his duties as Chief Justice three cases of immense importance were upon the docket: The State of New York against Miln; Briscoe against The Bank of the Commonwealth of Kentucky; and The Proprietors of the Charles River Bridge against The Proprietors of the Warren Bridge.

The argument in these cases had been made while Marshall was still on the bench. They were reargued before Taney, and these cases, according to the highest American authorities on American jurisprudence, marked the dividing line in judicial opinion between the power of the Federal Government on the one side and the reserved rights of a State on the other. In the Miln case, in which Story dissented and said that if Marshall were present he would agree with his dissent, the majority of the court held that the act of the Legislature of the State of New York requiring every vessel arriving in the port of New York from any foreign port or from any port or ports of the United States to report in writing within 24 hours after its arrival the names, ages, and so forth, of every person on board the vessel during the voyage was not a regulation of interstate commerce, but was clearly within the police power of the State, and that it was not covered by the great case of Gibbons against Ogden, nor that of Brown against Maryland. In the case of Briscoe against The Commonwealth of Kentucky, the majority of the court held that the power of Kentucky to incorporate a bank was an incident of its sovereignty, and that the bills issued by the bank not being bills of credit within the meaning of the Constitution the State might exercise its inherent power. This case has time and again been affirmed, although it was in direct conflict with Marshall's opinion delivered seven years earlier. Story again dissented and said that if Marshall were present he would concur in his dissent. In the Charles River Bridge case the doctrine of the reserved powers of a State was announced with greater and more acute precision. Here the celebrated Dartmouth College case was discredited, and it is said that here for the first time Mr. Webster met defeat before the Supreme Court upon a constitutional question. The language of Taney rings like the blast of a trumpet.

We can not deal thus with the rights reserved to the State and by legal intendments and mere technicalities take away from them, the States, any portion of that power over their internal police and improvement which is so necessary to their well-being and prosperity.

These cases have all been followed without break by the Federal courts and by the high courts of the States of this Union. Story's lament over these majority decisions was pathetic. He wrote a letter to Justice McLean, in which he said:

There will not, I fear, ever in our day be any case in which an act of a State or of Congress will be declared unconstitutional.

This lament, however, was unfounded, for within a reasonably short time afterwards that same court, Taney concurring, declared three statutes of different States unconstitutional. Marshall and Taney were both Federalists and had been bred and deeply grounded in that faith. Through the commanding genius of these two men the power of the Federal Government and the reserved rights of the States were made ample and secure. I make bold to say that since 1866 the judges, the great men who have sat upon the Supreme Bench of the United States, reconciling and enforcing the rules laid down by both Marshall and Taney have held the balances between the Federal Government and the States in as perfect poise as they could be held in this country of dual sovereignty. Is there, then, any room for apprehension that the Supreme Court will consolidate the Government and center all its power in Washington? It is true that the inferior Federal courts have, in rare instances, struck down State laws in decisions which received and ought to have received the condemnation not only of the legal profession but of the people. Logically, the powers of the United States courts to safeguard the Constitution must be coextensive with legislative action, but this does not mean that the will of the people shall be subordinated to the arbitrary judgment of a judicial dictator. The whole trouble is that some of those judges in passing upon the validity of State laws substitute their ideas of policy for those of the legislature and make their decisions depend not upon the letter of the law but upon the advisability and the expediency of the law; not upon the will of the people as expressed in the law but upon their theory of government and economics. I believe that aggravated cases of this character are very few; but, as I shall try to show hereafter, the remedy is not by the revolutionary method of recall but by drastic congressional action, within proper channels.

Another reason assigned for the summary recall of judges, and especially Federal judges, is that the appointing power from time to time has packed the courts to meet the political views of the President of the United States. That this has perhaps been done in this Republic of ours is much to be deplored, but that this evil has been much lessened and is now no longer existing is shown by the public history of the country. At an early date in the Republic it was considered fair party play. When Adams retired from the Presidency he had filled every office with a Federalist, and Congress by the passage of a judiciary act had created a large number of Federal judicial districts for the purpose of putting the judiciary in the control of the Federalists. No sooner did Jefferson come into power with his Republican Congress than he immediately had repealed the judiciary act creating these judges, and therefore legislated them out of office. He also removed Adams's other appointees as fast as he could reach them. Jefferson, who was a tremendous hater, never fully forgave Adams. On June 13, 1824, in writing to Mrs. Adams, he said:

I did consider his last appointments to office as personally unkind. It seems but common justice to leave a successor free to act by instruments of his own choice.

But Jefferson got even. Six years afterwards he wrote to Gallatin:

At last, then, we have a chance of getting a Republican majority in the Federal judiciary. For 10 years has that branch braved the spirit and the will of the Union.

When Taney delivered his celebrated opinion in the Dredd Scott case, Seward and Lincoln both made the charge that Taney had an understanding with President Buchanan as to how the decision should go, though Seward afterwards wrote a letter of apology to the Chief Justice, recalling his hasty words. It was charged that President Grant filled the Supreme Court with men favorable to the Government's theory in the Legal Tender cases. Speaking for myself, I may be permitted to say that I have never felt that this charge had been sustained, and I am not prepared to say that the voluminous and exhaustive opinion of Mr. Justice Strong, who was one of the new ap-

pointees, did not state the law of the case. Justice Bradley's theory of "Federal inherent powers" does not satisfy my judgment, but I have little quarrel with the result of the decision.

It is also charged that the court was again reconstructed by another President for the purpose of striking down the income tax. This accusation, too, has never been admitted or proved, and probably had its birth in high party spirit.

The man who now occupies the high station of Chief Magistrate of this Republic—President Taft—ought to have set at rest in the mind at least of every lawyer the baselessness of this fear. Whatever else may be said of our President, he was a great judge and he is a great lawyer. In reconstructing the Supreme Bench he has named a Democrat and a large slaveholder in ante bellum days Chief Justice of that great court. He has taken two more men, both of them of opposite party from himself and both of them having theories of government in some sense distinct from his own. Surely this does not augur danger to the people nor to their institutions, and I submit to you candid men that this fear does not justify the recall.

Another objection is that the injunctive process has been abused. My answer is that this can be quickly remedied by Congress, which, as the agent of the people, ought to make legislation reflect their will.

Having reviewed briefly, therefore, the main charges in the indictments which have been preferred against judges and judicial action, it becomes necessary now to inquire whether, even if these charges are true, the recall can be justified as consistent with our theory of government or as a matter of wise and expedient legislation. The Government of the United States is distinctly representative, and this feature has always been regarded as essential to the stability of free institutions. The pure democracies of the world where the people have attempted to act in mass in the making of laws have been dismal failures. Our statesmen and philosophers of the early days, when they put their heads together to find the best government, examined in detail, in public speech, in contributions to the press, and in the solitude of their own homes, every age and place where people had attempted to exercise the right of self-government. Every system from the early Greeks down to Holland and Belgium and the Swiss Cantons was exhaustively searched and considered. It was found by them, and it appears to be the consensus of opinion of the modern world, that the representative idea was the only practicable one for popular government. On page 176, in the first volume of Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, which was the work most widely read by our fathers, and which made perhaps the deepest and most profound impression upon their minds, I find these words:

> As in a country of liberty every man who is supposed a free agent ought to be his own governor—the legislative power should reside in the whole body of the people; but since this is impossible in large States, and in small ones is subject to many inconveniences, it is fit the people should transact by their representatives what they can not transact by themselves.

The same idea was seized upon by the makers and builders of our Government. Mr. Jefferson, in a letter written in 1823, in the ripeness of old age, said:

> Modern times have the signal advantage, too, of having discovered the only device by which these rights can be secured, to wit, government by the people acting not in person but by representatives chosen by themselves. The small and imperfect mixture of representative government in England, embarrassed as it is by other branches, aristocratic and hereditary, shows the power of the representative principle toward improving the condition of man.

Woodrow Wilson, one of the most pungent and captivating writers in this day, and who in a recent article declares strongly against judicial recall, says:

> A government must have organs. It can not act unorganically by the masses. It must have a lawmaking body. It can no more make law through its voters than it can make law through its newspapers.

Government, my brethren, is a great and serious business. It can no more be successfully operated without selected and responsive agencies than can the business of the merchant or the banker. I shall assume, therefore, that this is an admitted postulate of free government. If the people must be represented in the three departments of government in order that their will shall be intelligently expressed, protected, and executed, then it behooves them to select for those high offices men of integrity, of ability, and of courage. Any system of government or any change in present conditions which will cripple the efficiency of that representation must, of necessity, be misconceived and unwise. I assume that no man will be bold enough to say that courts of justice are not necessary adjuncts or departments of government. Somebody must make the laws and somebody must execute them; but between the making and the execution it is admitted that there must be a balancing power known as the judiciary. This judiciary must, in order to preserve this peculiar balance in government, be, above all things, independent.

The judges must be like fixed stars, separate and apart, burning not with borrowed and fitful fire, but with a steady and undimmed radiance. They must be "the living voice of the Constitution, the unfolder of the mind of the people whose will stands expressed in that supreme instrument." This prerogative of independence is considered by all thinkers everywhere to be necessary to the proper discharge of high judicial function. A great American in a public address said:

> American experience has made it an axiom in political science that no written constitution in government can hope to stand without a paramount and independent tribunal to determine its construction and to enforce its precepts in the last resort.

John F. Dillon, a great lawyer and a deep student of our governmental system, said:

> It is not much to say that a stable and independent judiciary is the strongest hope of our Government.

Again, he says:

> The deserved confidence which the whole world feels in justice which is distributed by the English courts is almost wholly due to the character of the English judges. They are selected from the most eminent of the profession. A stable and permanent tenure secures their independence, which is essential to a good judicial system and to the fearless administration of justice.

Who among you, my brethren, whose blood does not tingle and who does not feel a sense of high pride in his profession when he hears once again the noble words of great judges in times of great extremity? Listen to Mannsfield, who was being threatened by the mob with violence because he had reversed the outlawry in Wilkes's case:

> I will do my duty always. What am I to fear? The lies of calumny carry no terror for me. I trust that the temper of my mind and the color and conduct of my life have given me a suit of armor against these arrows. The last end that can happen to any man never comes too soon if he fails in support of the law and liberty of his country, for liberty is synonymous with law and government. Once for all will it be understood that no endeavors of this kind will influence any man who at present sits here. No libels, no threats, nothing that has happened, nothing that can happen will weigh a feather against allowing this defendant upon this and every other question not only the whole advantage he is entitled to from substantial law and justice, but every benefit from the most critical nicety of form which any other defendant could claim under the like objection.

A great mass of people were surging and swearing and threatening at the very door of justice. If these same people had been able to apply to Mannsfield the method of removal which the advocates of this new doctrine propose, he would have been recalled and the incalculable services of this great jurist to his country and to the civilized world wherever law and justice are administered without fear or favor would have been lost.

When Marshall sat in the trial of Aaron Burr, who was believed by the people to be an arch traitor and whose conviction was earnestly hoped for and, as far as compatible with propriety, sought for by President Jefferson and his brothers in office, he exhibited that fine patience and courage which have become a part of the heritage of the legal profession. Burr had killed Hamilton, Marshall's dear and valued friend. Public pressure was pushed almost to the very portals of the temple, yet Marshall discharged the defendant in an opinion which was instinct with the very fire and spirit of liberty. He was burned in effigy. All through the streets of Baltimore and Richmond people surged full of anger and resentment. Listen for a moment to his words:

> That this court does not usurp power is most true; that this court dares not shrink from its duty is not less true. No man is desirous of placing himself in a disagreeable situation. No man is desirous of becoming the peculiar subject of calumny. No man might he let the bitter cup pass from him without self-reproach would drain it to the bottom, but if he have no choice in the case, if there be no alternative presented to him but a dereliction of duty or the opprobrium of those who are denominated the world, he merits the contempt as well as the indignation of his country. Who can hesitate which to embrace?

Ah, my friends, "there the ardor of a great soul broke forth and the eye of the eagle flashed as it looked toward the sun." If the system which the advocates of this new doctrine urge had been in force at that time, it is not improbable that Marshall would have been recalled, at least there would have been more than enough to have put him to the test. Think of bringing disgrace in this way upon a man whose services to his country can never be justly measured.

When the President of the United States, during a period when the passions of men were deeply stirred, suspended the sacred writ of habeas corpus, listen to the words of Taney:

> I have exercised all the power which the Constitution and laws confer on me, but that power has been resisted by a force too strong for me to overcome. I shall order all the proceedings in this case with my opinion to be filed and recorded in the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Maryland and direct the clerk to transmit a copy under seal to the President of the United States. It will then remain for that high officer in fulfillment of his constitutional obligations to take care that the laws be faithfully executed.

With an unerring hand the Chief Justice balanced evenly the scales of justice, and when the naked sword of the soldier had

dashed the balance from his hands, realizing that the law could not be vindicated by an appeal to carnal weapons in this unequal strife in which the bandages had been torn from the eyes of justice with which to bind her hands, with dignity worthy of his high office and a blameless life he in the noble words above spoken answered the challenge.

Is independence like this to be sacrificed by the adoption of a system which, in my judgment, has neither reason nor justice to support it? What man of self-respect who has given his days and nights to the law, who loves his profession and who loves justice, would accept a judicial position which might in a moment of popular hostility against some correct, but honestly misjudged, opinion be driven in disgrace from his public station? Men are men after all. The power to hold out against unfriendly criticism, against vituperation and slander, against threats of removal and disgrace, however righteous a man may be, is difficult to assert and maintain. A recall existed, in a mild way, in some of the States prior to the Constitution. Livingston proposed in the New York convention in 1788 to amend the Federal Constitution by providing for a recall of Senators. It was badly defeated. Listen to the words of Hamilton; they are prophetic:

> The amendment will render the Senator a slave to all the capricious humors among the people. The Senator will perpetually feel himself in such a state of vassalage and dependence that he never can possess that firmness which is necessary to the discharge of his great duties to the Union.

If a certain percentage of dissatisfied people can put a judge of a high court in this land upon the rack and hold him up to the execration of his fellow citizens, how shall we get good men to go upon the bench? If weak ones go there, the liberties of the people are lost, because this weak man having his ear constantly to the ground listening for every sound of popular displeasure at a decision which he had made or which he intends to make will lose and surrender all independence of judgment, and the great safeguards of property and of personal security will be swept from the earth as with the besom of destruction. The success of the litigant will be measured by his personal popularity. The rich and unprincipled suitor who has been unsuccessful will seek out the weak and venal and will endeavor to corrupt the electorate. The poor man without friends and without influence will be doomed. Partisan politics will control the judges, and courts of justice will become the prey of reckless demagogues and the scene of wicked and unholy strife.

It is not claimed by the advocates of this doctrine that the judges, either State or Federal, are corrupt. It is not claimed that they are doing things which, under existing law, could subject them to impeachment in an orderly and lawful fashion. It is claimed that their decisions do not suit a portion of the people, and that therefore this alone justifies this heroic and summary remedy.

I say to you, my brethren, that this doctrine will not only rob the bench of its best and most upright men, but will destroy the independence of the American judiciary, which, as I have shown to you, is the brightest jewel in Liberty's crown. If it works this result, it ought to be rejected, and what thoughtful man can doubt that it will.

I oppose this new doctrine for the further reason that in its practical application it is un-American and subversive of those fundamental rights of person and property without which free government must cease to exist. This recall is to be put in motion by a certain percentage of citizens who point their finger at the judge and say to him, "Stand forth and defend yourself." Under the present system of impeachment he is entitled to a trial by a body assumed to be familiar with the principles and forms of law. Under the recall system he answers his accusers by written statement. He is not permitted to call a witness, he is not permitted to adduce proof, oral or documentary. Those rules of evidence which bear the impress of the sages of the law and which have for centuries been regarded as necessary to the discovery of truth and to the proper protection of life and liberty are not invoked or applied. A man's character, which is the very essence of his life, is taken away without a trial. Can this be just? Does this disclose a spirit of righteousness and fair play? The very thought of it develops in the breast of the lawyer not only opposition but resentment.

I oppose this new doctrine because, in my judgment, it is an invitation to the people to destroy that which is most precious in our theory of government. It invites them to withdraw and nullify that constitutional restraint which is the lifeblood of minorities, and which Jefferson in his first inaugural said must be the subject of constant care and vigilance. America, for the first time in the history of the world, adopted restraining written constitutions. These written constitutions, each and every one of them, contain limitations upon the power of the people themselves. The people who adopted these constitutions knew the necessity of self-restraint. The truth is, the science of government, as well as the science of life, consists in self-subjugation. No man is complete master of himself. This is doubly true of men in the aggregate, when acting under the influence of passion or prejudice. To use the language of a great thinker:

> To deny that the people are frequently led into the grossest errors by misinformation and passion would be a flattery which they themselves would despise.

The tyranny of the majority was the one great fault of democracy which young De Tocqueville, the brightest foreigner, perhaps, who ever touched these shores, thought would destroy our institutions. He claimed that our Government carried in its bosom this germ of death; but our fathers, who were the representatives of the people, and the people themselves, safeguarded against this disaster. As Chief Justice Fuller said in one of his public addresses:

> It commemorates the advent of the first written constitution of civil government, that first attempt of a people in that form by self-imposed fundamenal law to put it out of their own power to work injustice.

The truth is, the supreme idea of self-imposed limitations was that the "courts of the country must be made independent of public feeling and invulnerable to the attack of majorities. Having their origin in the sovereignty of the people, they are the bulwark of the people against their own unadvised action. It saves them not only from their enemies but from themselves."

Edmund Burke, whose words are a well of wisdom undefiled, has beautifully said:

> Society not only requires that the passions of individuals should be subjected, but that even in the mass the inclinations of men should be thwarted and their will controlled. This can be done only by a power out of themselves. In this sense the restraints on men as well as their liberties are to be reckoned among their rights.

Unless the people had by written constitution put this restraint upon themselves and upon their representatives as a part of their fundamental law, personal liberty, personal security, and private property could no more exist in this country, as Lord Brougham said in defense of Queen Caroline—

> Than the blossom which is severed from the tree which gives it strength.

The Constitution as originally adopted had no bill of rights, and it would not have been adopted in its original form unless the promise had been made that amendments would soon be added giving expression to those great rights and privileges which the English barons had wrested from John at Runnymede. The people knew that they could not at all times trust themselves. The paramount reason for these limitations was to protect the minority against the sudden and hasty action of the majority. As said by President Taft in his splendid message to Congress upon the recall:

> But all have recognized that the majority of a people unrestrained by law, when aroused and without the sobering effect of deliberation and discussion, may do injustice to the minority or to the individual when the selfish interest of the majority prompts. Hence arises the necessity for a Constitution by which the will of the majority shall be permitted to guide the course of the Government only under controlling checks that experience has shown to be necessary to secure for the minority its share of the benefit to the whole people that a popular government is established to bestow. No honest, clear-headed man, however great a lover of popular government, can say that the unbridled expression of the majority of a community converted hastily into law or action would sometimes make a government tyrannical and cruel. Constitutions are checks upon the hasty action of the majority.

Again he says:

> But the judicial branch of the Government is not a representative of a majority of the people in any such sense, even if the mode of selecting judges is by popular election. In a proper sense judges are servants of the people; that is, they are doing work which must be done for the government and in the interests of all the people; but it is not work in the doing of which they are to follow the will of the majority, except that which is embodied in statutes lawfully enacted according to constitutional limitations. This power conferred on the judiciary in our form of government is unique in the history of government. It has attracted and deserved the admiration and commendation of the world. It gives to our judiciary a position higher and stronger than that of the judiciary of any other and more effectively secures adherence to the fundamental will of the people.

My friends, the people have declared in their organic law that no man shall be convicted of an infamous crime except upon the unanimous judgment of 12 good and lawful men. They have said that no man shall be deprived of his property without due process of law. They have said that the writ of habeas corpus shall never be suspended. If in a moment of passion or resentment against an unpopular or undesirable citizen the judge is asked by a certain portion of the people to deny or abridge those great rights, can the people who made the judge, when he put on the ermine of justice, swear that he would preserve those rights expect him to throttle them and still hope to maintain the blessings of lawful government? The people have said to the judges, "Thus far we have restrained ourselves, and

thus far you must make that restraint effective." Yet this new doctrine would permit the people to say to the judge in a given case, "The restraints which you swore to impose and enforce are in this case suspended," and thus the litigant will be destroyed by the arbitrary will of the majority. Gentlemen, this is putting the dagger to the very vitals of constitutional government.

Our State judiciary is personally everywhere above reproach. No man here believes that the taint of corruption has ever touched their judicial lives. They have usurped no unlawful power. They deserve and have won the confidence of the people. Then, if no cause exists, why clamor for change when such change is viewed, at least by a large proportion of the thoughtful men, as attended with no good and it may be with disaster. Jefferson, after his retirement from the Presidency, wrote to Samuel Kerchival, in which, speaking of the work of the fathers, he said:

I knew that age well. I belonged to it and labored with it. It deserved well of its country. It was very like the present, but without the experience of the present. Forty years of experience in government is worth a century of book reading, and this they themselves would say were they to rise from the dead. I am certainly not an advocate for frequent and untried changes in laws and constitutions.

Instead of 40 we have now more than a hundred years of experience in government. Have we learned well the lessons which those years have taught? There was a time when the lawyer was a Levite among the people. A great Englishman has said, with reference to our bar, that their influence is still great when any question arises on which the profession stands together. Their influence strengthens the respect of the people for the Constitution. As a lawyer, then, speaking to lawyers, and having an abiding confidence in the wisdom of the people when they have rendered their thoughtful and final judgment upon public questions, it is my deliberate conviction that this is not the day and the hour is not yet struck for experimenting with our legal institutions. These are not the days to encourage individuals or the masses to snatch the reins from the constituted organs of government. There was never a time in our history when there was less need of change in our governmental system. It has stood the strain of a growing and rapidly expanding country. It has held within lawful bounds terrific energies of our citizens. It has stood the shock of civil war. It has proved the sagacity of its constructors and the stubborn strength of its fabric. Under its beneficent operation labor has attained the dignity and independence unexampled in the history of nations. Unrestricted suffrage, government's best gift to man, has filled the offices of the country with an overwhelming percentage of men who have come straight from the ranks of the plain people, the majority of the judges, municipal, State, and National, as well as nearly all the other officers, having come from the humble walks of life, and have fought their way through poverty and hardship to the bench. The people then ought not to apprehend danger from the very men whom their environment and civilization have developed. Let us then hold fast to that which is good. Let us, as one man, endeavor to reconcile the jealousy of freedom to the independence of the judiciary.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT J. BULKLEY,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, December 19, 1914.

Mr. BULKLEY. Mr. Chairman, under leave given me to extend my remarks, I append:

First. Resolutions on the subject of rural credits adopted by the National Grange at its annual meeting, held at Wilmington, Del., in November, 1914.

Second. All that part of the annual report of the legislative committee of the National Grange which deals with the subject of rural credits.

Third. All that part of the annual address of Oliver Wilson, Master of the National Grange, which deals with the subject of rural credits.

Fourth. Resolutions adopted at a conference of officers of several State granges and of the farm press, held at Washington, D. C., November 23–25, 1914.

Fifth. A digest of the more important European farm-mortgage systems, showing relation of the various Governments thereto, by Mr. F. J. H. von Engelken, of East Palatka, Fla., who served as a member of the American commission which traveled through Europe studying agricultural systems in the spring of 1914.

Sixth. Statement issued by the legislative committee of the National Grange on Monday, December 21, 1914.

Seventh. All that part of the annual report of the Secretary of Agriculture for 1914 which deals with the subject of rural credits.

1. NATIONAL GRANGE RESOLUTION.

Whereas at the last national meeting of the grange it indorsed the principle of Government aid in establishing a system of farm credit suitable to the needs of agriculture; and

Whereas after a year of official investigation it has been proven that in the long-founded practice of all the great nations of the earth Government aid of farm credit is a necessary factor in aid to Government, to efficiency of food production, and deliverance from high cost of farm loans, which is now operating to discourage investment in agriculture; and

Whereas a farm-credit bill emanating from a joint committee of the House and Senate, known as the Bulkley-Hollis bill, contains but a modicum of Government aid, hardly in compliance with the request of the large body of Americans: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the legislative committee and officers of the grange throughout the country are instructed to insist on behalf of this body that more substantial Government aid to steady interest rates and uphold the market for farm-mortgage bonds shall be included in the bill finally passed by Congress; and

Be it further resolved, That no farm-credit bill which places in the hands of private capital the power to make interest rates on mortgage bonds without limitations by Federal law will meet either the needs of agriculture or the just demands of the National Grange.

2. REPORT OF NATIONAL GRANGE LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE.

The question that attracted most attention, and probably of most far-reaching effect upon agriculture, was what is commonly known as "rural credit." For a good many years it has been generally believed by the well informed that the farmers of this country were not receiving the same consideration at the hands of the bankers as did the commercial interests, and that the banking laws needed reform in that particular. It is impracticable for us to go into the history of this matter fully in the limited space of this report; and, besides, the widespread discussion of the subject during the last few months makes it unnecessary.

In December the secretary of your legislative committee made a statement before the joint Committees on Banking and Currency of the House and Senate. In January he made a further statement before the joint subcommittee of the House and Senate in support of the Bathrick bill, which he had some part in drafting, contained in the resolutions adopted by the National Grange. After the introduction of the Moss-Fletcher bill the joint subcommittee summoned the secretary of your committee, with others, to appear before it on a certain day and give testimony for or against said bill. We may say in passing that the Government paid the expenses of our trip to Washington. After careful study of the Moss-Fletcher bill we took a position against it upon the ground that it was in effect a bankers and money lenders' and not a borrowers' bill. We made our argument against it upon that theory. As a result of these hearings the joint subcommittee of the committees of the House and Senate repudiated the Moss-Fletcher bill and reported, S to 2, a bill which was introduced in the Senate by Senator HOLLIS, of New Hampshire, and in the House by Congressman BULKLEY, of Ohio, now known as the Hollis-Bulkley bill, which recognized in a limited way the principles set forth in the resolution adopted by the National Grange at Manchester.

Through some influence this bill was held up from Thursday until the following Tuesday in an effort to induce the committee to eliminate from the bill the principle of Government aid which it contained, but the committee stood firm in spite of the pressure put upon it, and the bill was finally introduced in both Houses of Congress on the afternoon of the day on which the Democratic caucus decided, at a night session, that "rural credits" should be stricken from the congressional program. The whole matter then went over to the next session of Congress. Your committee had favored the postponement of the matter, but there seemed to be a determination to rush it through until it became known what kind of bill the subcommittee would report, when there was a mighty hurry in the caucus to strike it from the program.

Later your entire legislative committee met in Washington and, after a conference with Senator HOLLIS, Congressmen BULKLEY and BATHRICK, and many other Congressmen and Senators, we decided to indorse the Hollis-Bulkley bill; not because

we believed it to be perfect or all we ought to have, but in the spirit of compromise, and because it recognized the fundamental principles for which we were contending. Our experience having taught us that all legislation is the result of compromise, and, being practical men, we accepted the best we could get without sacrificing a fundamental principle. The whole matter is now in the hands of Congress, and, whatever the final result, the grange has won perhaps the most notable contest it has ever made before the National Congress. We have at least gained time for further consideration of this tremendously important subject and it is now up to this body for whatever action it may wish to take.

3. Extract From Address of Master Oliver Wilson.

In my annual address last year I said "The time has come when the National Grange should be heard upon this most important question," but when this body sought to assist the farmers by advocating a Government aid farm credit there were some who hesitated and murmured something about class legislation, paternalism, and kindred terms. Since that time, however, precedent has established beyond dispute that our official decision then has stood the test of assaults and careful examination. A joint committee of the House of Representatives and Senate for months scoured the world for expert testimony, and practical men from all climes gave evidence which sustained our demand for a Government aid bill.

Energetic workers in Congress who saw the drift of farm credit toward private interests and a new control of the farmers' debts sounded the alarm, and drawing from the best practice of the leading nations of Europe, spread broadcast the facts showing that Government aid farm credit was the best. While the plans of private capitalists and profit-seeking money lenders were buttressed by lobby and shrewdly concealed effort, the legislative committee of the grange appeared before committees, sent out literature, and interviewed legislators, presenting facts, fair, open, aboveboard argument. The legislative committee of the Farmers' Union effectively sustained our efforts and the American Federation of Labor adopted our resolution verbatim. The result of our initiative and the effort of our State masters, together with the ready response of subordinate officers and members, has brought about a great change in the sentiment of the country.

The joint committee of the House and Senate has reported a bill which contains the principle, if not the exact form, of Government aid we asked for. As it stands it is a triumph for the grange. It is not all that we should have; it is not all that we hope to get. The problem now is to get the best we can, that the abnormal and oppressive terms and interest rates which have so long obstructed agriculture in many sections may be changed for the better.

Considering our progress and advancement since the meeting of last year in this important legislative work, there seems no step to take that could be wiser than to reaffirm our attitude upon the principle of Government aid and instruct our legislative committee to continue to press the claims of the millions of American farmers by this, the most substantial and practical means of improving farm credit. Government aid to the shipping interest; Government aid to Alaska; Government aid to the banks; Government aid to the railroads will encourage the country toiler to expect, when all the people must eat and he must provide the food, that his great aid to the Government will secure assistance for him to perform this service to the best advantage of all, whether they work in the factory, the counting house, or at the difficult task of coaxing from the soil the sustenance of the nations.

4. Resolutions Adopted by Conference of State Grange Officers and Agricultural Editors.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

[Majority report. Presented by Mr. Quick, chairman.]

Your committee begs leave to report and move the adoption of the following resolutions:

1. That it is the judgment of this conference that some effective system of land-mortgage credits is necessary in order to place agriculture upon a level with other forms of industry, and that Federal legislation is essential to the establishment of this result; we also believe that effective State legislation along the same lines is possible.

2. We approve the general principle of rural credits based on farm mortgages.

3. We are opposed to the principle of direct loans by the Government.

4. We approve the widest possible field of operations as furnishing the largest source of credit, the widest market for bonds on mortgage loans, and as tending to lower the rates of interest on such loans.

We therefore favor the regional program of selling agencies as opposed to the system of local marketing of bonds.

5. We approve the provision of section 30 of the so-called Bulkley bill providing for purchase of bonds by the Government.

6. We do not approve the proposition that land banks may receive deposits for commercial uses.

7. Believing that rural-credit land banks should be controlled in the interest of the borrower rather than of the lender, we recommend that the cooperative principle be preserved in the organization and administration of such banks.

8. We call attention to the value of a uniform system of registering land titles in all States as a condition favorable to the successful development of a land-mortgage system of rural credits, and recommend this proposition to the several States.

9. We believe the need for a more effective system of rural personal credit is equally as great as the need for better land-mortgage facilities, but that the fundamental differences between these forms of credit make it impossible to administer both principles in the same system of bank organization.

We are not prepared to recommend any specific plan. We do, however, recommend to Congress such further investigations of the subject as may develop informed opinion and lead to effective legislation.

A minority report will be submitted by Mr. Hobbs, a member of the committee on resolutions.

(Signed) Herbert Quick, *Chairman.*
Weston Starr, *Secretary,*
Westover, Md.
J. D. Ream, *Broken Bow, Nebr.*
H. Harland, *Payette, Idaho.*
John A. McSparran, *Furniss, Pa.*

The foregoing report was adopted by the conference.

5. European Farm Mortgage Systems.

[By F. J. H. von Engelken.]

A DIGEST OF THE MORE IMPORTANT EUROPEAN FARM MORTGAGE SYSTEMS, SHOWING THE RELATIONS OF THE VARIOUS GOVERNMENTS THERETO.

Under the number S. 5542, introduced into the Senate by Mr. Hollis, and H. R. 16478, introduced into the House by Mr. Bulkley, a measure has been placed before Congress by a subcommittee of the respective Committees on Banking and Currency, to "provide capital for agricultural development, to create a standard form of investment based upon farm mortgages, to equalize rates of interest upon farm loans, to furnish a market for United States bonds, to provide a method of applying postal savings deposits to the promotion of the public welfare, and for other purposes," drafted by those having in charge the preliminary work of providing for the agricultural interests of the country a system to facilitate the handling of their long-term credit requirements; this in conformity with the plank incorporated in the Democratic platform providing for action in the matter of rural credits.

With one exception the measure as it now reads requires little discussion, inasmuch as it is molded in conformity with business methods already known and accepted in this country. The exception referred to is a provision calling for certain governmental activities to aid and uphold the system when established.

It is to be expected that interest and discussion will largely center upon this particular provision. The American people have in the past looked with none too kindly an eye upon governmental support of enterprises not in themselves directly within the scope of governmental affairs, but it may well be pointed out that there seldom, if ever, has been before the people of this country for consideration an enterprise to provide a workable plan for which there has been so little in our own business history to guide us. Furthermore, it must be remembered that the system which this measure proposes to create will, directly or indirectly, affect the people of this country individually and collectively, since the benefits it will provide will have a direct bearing upon the food supply.

Since it is quite possible that the success or failure of the rural-credit legislation awaited by this country will depend largely upon the decision arrived at as to whether or not the system created thereby shall be supported by the Government, and as our own history provides nothing to aid us in arriving at a decision on this point, this article presents to those interested a summary of the various kindred systems in Europe showing, in each case, just what relation the respective Governments bear to them.

It will be noted that European Governments have recognized to the fullest extent the importance of their agricultural interests; they have recognized the need of assisting their farmers in solving their financial problems, and in doing so they have not lost sight of the fact that extraordinary measures are justified to insure the success of systems provided to meet this need,

since the failure of such a system, once inaugurated, would inflict upon the farmers hardships in excess of those under which they labored before measures were taken for their relief.

As will be seen, European Governments almost invariably have been in active partnership with their farmers in solving the problem of their financial requirements. Some have assisted directly by providing funds; others more indirectly, either by placing the strength of the Government behind the securities, or, as in the case of France, by appropriating outright a large sum of money to be used in purchasing a portion of the securities as issued.

Such governmental partnership would in this country be termed "subsidy"—a term which custom has brought to mean financial assistance on the part of the Government. That the issue may not be clouded by this accepted meaning of the word, since it will be frequently used in the discussion of the measure now before Congress, it may be pointed out that governmental subsidy, or aid, may take even more potent forms than mere financial assistance. For the purpose of intelligently considering the data which follows, governmental aid, whatever may be its form, must be considered as coming within the meaning of the word "subsidy."

While believing that the provision incorporated in section 30 of the bill referred to above is a vital one, the writer is not prejudiced in favor of governmental assistance to the system which this measure proposes to inaugurate. It may, under our peculiar conditions, succeed without it; it may succeed only with it; it is in the hope that some slight assistance may be rendered to those upon whom will devolve the making of this important decision that the following digest is presented:

GERMANY—THE PRUSSIAN LANDSCHAFTEN.

Unquestionably the most important system of land-mortgage credit in existence at the present day is that which is known as the Prussian landschaften. Its importance lies in the fact that it is the system to which belongs the credit of being the first successful institution of its kind; in the fact that the results achieved by it have been a potent factor in bringing into life organizations of various kinds throughout the world having for their object the supplying of mortgage credit to farmers upon reasonable and workable bases; and, finally, in the fact that it was brought into life by governmental mandate.

As originally created by Frederick the Great (1770 to 1788), the landschaften were compulsory associations of all large or manorial landowners within a Province, the estates of all such proprietors, whether borrowers or not, being compulsorily involved in the guaranty of the bonds of the association of that Province. (Cahill.)

This unceremonious but practical governmental aid was unquestionably the foundation upon which the subsequent success of these associations rested. Instead of itself offering or supplying the additional security over and above that provided by the value of the actual property mortgaged, which supported the bonds issued, the Government created by mandate a further artificial but real support by forcing nonborrowing landowners to join in assuming the obligations of the borrowers. It is not surprising that bonds issued by the landschaften associations rank high, nor is it to be wondered at that the system was successful.

While the Prussian landschaften associations still maintain the same principles upon which they were originally created, they have been strengthened from time to time by extensive privileges granted them by the State, among which is the right to seize mortgaged property without adopting legal procedure.

PEASANT BANK OF WEST PRUSSIA—MIDDLE CLASS BANK OF WEST PRUSSIA.

These two institutions are founded under the law of 1909, enacted in West Prussia and in the Province of Posen. The State placed at the service of these two banks 225,000,000 marks (approximately $60,000,000) for the purpose of regulating the farmers' debts and to preserve German property in German hands. The results obtained have been very satisfactory, not less than 7,600 peasant farms and 165 large farms having been dealt with.

PRUSSIAN CENTRAL LAND CREDIT JOINT-STOCK COMPANY.

Created in 1870, this organization was founded to meet a financial situation in which the landschaften, with their exclusive character, offered no sufficient help. While receiving no direct financial assistance from the Government, the bank was granted the right of issuing bearer bills, was freed from the pressure of the customary regulations under which like institutions had labored, and was further preferred to private mortgage banks by receiving a royal commissioner appointed for its special control.

BAVARIAN AGRICULTURAL BANK.

The Bavarian Agricultural Bank was incorporated in 1896, after the by-laws had been approved by the Bavarian Government. This bank has the legal status of a private bank, but it is endowed with State funds, of which 1,000,000 marks have been advanced to the bank free of interest, besides a further loan of 4,000,000 marks on which 3 per cent interest is charged. This subsidy naturally gives the Government a wholesome right of inspection and supervision.

The working capital and current expenses of the bank are supplied by members' shares, the two above-mentioned loans advanced by the State, and the issue of mortgage bonds and notes.

AGRICULTURAL CREDIT ASSOCIATIONS—GRAND DUCHY OF BADEN.

Agricultural credit associations of the Grand Duchy of Baden enjoy the most powerful support of the Government, which has not only placed at the disposal of the central institution a credit of about 1,500,000 marks at a low rate of interest, but has granted considerable amounts from the State treasury for the payment of the expenses of the federation and the work of inspection.

LAND BANK OF WIESBADEN—NASSAU.

The Land Bank of Wiesbaden was established 70 years ago to furnish small farmers with money on mortgage. It is a national bank and under the control of the administration of the provincial government. The government guarantees the payment of bonds issued against farm-mortgage security.

AGRICULTURAL CREDIT ASSOCIATION—SAXONY.

The Agricultural Credit Association of Saxony was founded in 1865 on a cooperative basis by agricultural estate owners. The association was endowed with particular privileges by the royal Saxon Government, which at the outset provided it with capital to the amount of 1,000,000 marks to meet its first financial needs.

AUSTRIA.

In Austria no single financial institution deals exclusively with the needs and requirements of mortgage credit. The savings banks and the mortgage institutions especially created for this purpose participate in extending such facilities.

At present the principal part of the business of making loans on real property is in the hands of the savings banks. These banks, guaranteed by the city administrations, began to get a foothold in Austria at the beginning of the last century.

Institutions especially created for agricultural purposes are the Galician Realty Credit Society, founded in 1865, the Austro-Silesian Realty Credit Institute of Silesia, founded in 1869, as well as 15 others in the different Provinces. These institutions have very little working capital, which is raised by the issue of mortgage bonds. These are secured in the first instance by the mortgage itself, next by the assets of the institution, and, finally, by the guaranty of the provincial government.

HUNGARY.

The Hungarian Land Mortgage Institute was founded in 1863, to control land mortgages of the larger estates. Toward its establishment the treasury contributed $200,000, and later on the legislature endowed it with very valuable privileges and favors, i. e., special rights with reference to executions, exemption of bonds from taxation, etc.

In 1879 an institution similar to the Hungarian Land Mortgage Institute was created for the benefit of smaller landowners. The State contributed to it a capital sum equal to that appropriated to the Hungarian Land Mortgage Institute, and it was granted the same privileges and favors.

BOHEMIA.

The Land Mortgage Bank of Bohemia was founded in 1864. It is a Government institution, and bonds issued by it are guaranteed by the Government. A clause to this effect is inserted in the bonds. A further privilege accorded it is the authority vested in it to seize land in case of nonpayment without recourse to a lawsuit.

SWITZERLAND.

The Canton banks of Switzerland are Government institutions, and have been established in at least half the Cantons. (A Swiss Canton corresponds to a German Province or an American State.) These banks make loans upon real estate and dwelling houses with building lot and garden up to two-thirds of their value; upon land alone, up to three-fourths its value; upon factories, up to one-third their value.

The capital of these institutions is furnished by the Canton governments. It is supplied either from the treasury direct or is secured by the government by an issue of bonds. The debtors for these bonds are the Cantons, but the interest payments are taken care of by the banks.

As an illustration, the Zurich Canton Bank was established in 1870 with a capital of 6,000,000 francs, this sum having been received from the Canton treasury. In the course of years this paid-up capital was increased through the issue of bonds by the

Canton government, until it now amounts to 30,000,000 francs. The interest which the bank pays the Canton does not exceed, on the average, 4 per cent.

ITALY.

Land-mortgage credit in Italy is handled by two classes of institutions—the savings banks in northern Italy and the Government banks (the Bank of Naples and the Bank of Sicily) in southern Italy.

The savings banks are public-utility corporations—institutions without shareholders and, consequently, with no distribution of dividends. The capital of these institutions was obtained by donations made by the communes and Provinces and by benefactors' foundations.

The credit facilities offered the farmers by the Bank of Naples and the Bank of Sicily, through the intermediary institutions, cover the entire field of agricultural credit—short-term and long-term mortgages, as well as warehouse credit. (The last mentioned provides for loans up to three-fourths the value of crops deposited by farmers in warehouses.)

Local rural-credit institutions had their beginning in southern Italy about 1895. After floundering along rather aimlessly and with little success, in 1901 the Bank of Naples and in 1906 the Bank of Sicily were authorized by law to open special branches for their assistance. A special law passed in 1907 authorized a special tax which by 1911 had in the case of the Bank of Sicily aggregated 4,000,000 lire. This fund is used for agricultural credit purposes only.

Interesting is the land reclamation in the Roman Campagna. A law passed in 1910 gave the Government power to expropriate by compulsory sale the lands of owners refusing to take the necessary steps to carry out this reclamation. Capital necessary for reclaiming lands is supplied to landowners direct by the Government at 2½ per cent interest.

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HOLLAND.

In this country the problem of systematizing the land-mortgage business has been only in the last few years receiving attention. In 1908 the administration established the Mortgage Bank of Eindhoven. It was incorporated as a stock company, with a capital of 1,000,000 florins.

The only financial assistance rendered by the Government so far to this and kindred institutions is by lending "subventions" in order to help them meet expenses of supervision and inspection over branch banks, and by giving "subventions" to branch banks to defray the expenses of establishment. It is now being investigated, however, in how far the postal savings bank and the State insurance bank can assist these institutions by placing some of their reserves on notes of the rural mortgage banks and, in the case of the postal savings bank, by lending them money for long terms at reasonable rates of interest.

NORWAY.

The original capital of the Mortgage Bank of the Kingdom of Norway was furnished by and belongs to the State. Repayment of this capital can not be called for until and unless the bank has fulfilled all its undertakings and has ceased to exist.

On the capital furnished by the State the bank pays 4 per cent interest, which is taken from the surplus receipts after the payment of all interest due and all costs of management. If in any year the surplus is insufficient to pay to the treasury the whole amount of interest due, it is supplemented out of the reserve fund. Should the reserve fund in turn be insufficient, the treasury is credited with the money owing and payment is made as soon as the profits permit. Such a debt, however, carries no interest.

FRANCE.

Land-mortgage credit in France is handled by the Land Credit Bank (Crédit Foncier), which institution was founded in 1852. The bank's capital was fixed at 25,000,000 francs. The Government granted the bank a subsidy of 10,000,000 francs, to be invested in proportion to the amount of loans effected. This subsidy was invested by the Government in successive accounts, and the total amount of 10,000,000 francs was not utilized until in 1864, at which time the loans effected by the Crédit Foncier had reached the sum of 200,000,000 francs. The 10,000,000 francs subsidy never has been included in the bank's capital.

The Crédit Foncier enjoys a monopoly of the land-mortgage business in France.

RUSSIA.

In an attempt to solve its landlord-and-tenant problem the Russian Government established in 1882 the Peasants' Land Mortgage Bank. The institution at first gave assistance to groups of peasants—that is, villages and communities—to come into possession of land. About 1895 this policy was changed, and since that time the endeavor has been to discourage the community life and encourage the peasants to live on their farms. To further this movement the bank was given the power to purchase entire estates from landlords, subdivide, and assist peasants to be owners of the small farms thus created. Special capital for this purpose was supplied by the Government.

6. STATEMENT OF THE LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL GRANGE, DECEMBER 21, 1914.

The farmers of this country are not satisfied with the progress of farm-credit legislation and the delay caused by those who demand the last ounce of concession to the power of the money-lending interests, and to tightly laced theories of government which have not been so rigidly applied in other cases of legislation.

No one asks in farm-credit legislation what has not been done before in greater measure by the Government. The policy of the Government has been to encourage transportation that our commerce might flourish and agriculture be extended. To this end we have given many millions of acres of rich land to the railroads and have guaranteed their bonds. The farmers helped to pay those bonds, pioneered the land, paid high freight charges and extortionate interest rates to a horde of mortgage sharks.

Recently an increase of railroad rates was granted, which is a tax upon agriculture and consumption. This may be just, but the farmer will pay his share of the increase.

An appropriation of $35,000,000 was made to develop Alaska mines and farms. All of our farmers will be taxed to pay this.

A ship-purchase bill would call for more millions. The farmers as well as other taxpayers will go down in their pockets to pay this.

The Government to meet an emergency has gone into the marine insurance business. Any loss which may occur would call for the farmer to pay his share.

Government money is available for the bankers to loan at a profit. Government money, in part, comes from taxes paid by the farmer. But cheap money to the bankers still means high-cost money to the farmers. While the new Federal reserve bank act "empowers" national banks to loan on farm mortgages, the conditions are still such that it is more profitable for the banks *not* to loan on mortgages, and little, if any, relief will follow from this law. To say that the Federal reserve bank act constitutes a remedy in lieu of a proper farm-credit law is the veriest nonsense and will not fool the farmers. It was not considered a proper remedy by anyone at the time the banking law was made. The advocates of farm credit then were put off with a promise that if they would keep it out of that bill they would be given a real farm-credit law last session. Many Congressmen of all parties, and the farmers generally, expected this promise to be fulfilled, but farm credit was cut out of the program at the last moment and the Committee on Banking and Currency ceased to work on the bill. We had hoped it would be taken up this session and pushed to a finish, but the President in his message says, "It can not be perfected now."

We have made investigation of the reason why this may be true:

First. The President objects to the Government-aid feature of the Bulkley-Hollis bill.

Second. A part of the Members of Congress seem to desire to have a summer to themselves and want the session to end on March 4.

Third. There is a strong element of influence of various money-lending interests which are fearful that interest rates may be generally lowered and their profits curtailed.

Turn where you will in the practice of our Government and there is fresh proof of the inconsistency of those who object to the proposed safe and practical Government aid in farm credit. The experience of every leading nation on earth in far more helpful forms of Government aid proves that there can be no risk to taxpayers; that at no period of the transaction would any taxpayer be called upon to pay a cent toward this form of Government aid to agriculture. The aid we have proposed for farm credit is in sharp contrast to other instances, cited above, which do tax the people.

The National Grange proposes only such aid as will insure a low and steady rate of interest and uphold the market for farm-mortgage bonds.

The grange is opposed to any measure which will give private capital the power to make interest rates on farm-mortgage bonds without limitations by the Federal law.

The Bulkley-Hollis bill was a compromise tentatively conceded by our organization with the hope for immediate relief to millions of mortgage-overburdened farmers.

The grange first proposed the Bathrick bill, which would have been far more effective as to speedy results, and which was modeled after long practice of some other nations. In

deference, however, to certain powers in legislation, and hopeful of getting something done, the grange receded from some of the details of the Bathrick bill but retaining its principles. It now seems after we had shown this spirit of compromise that we are facing a policy of delay and an insistence upon the last tribute to unyielding opinions of others. In the meantime, a bad condition of agricultural decadence is going on to the discouragement and ruin of many and the profit of a few. We do not claim that better farm credit is all there is to be done, but it is a necessary thing that farmers can not do effectively without proper legislation.

We have very little patience with those who contend that the helpless should help themselves. It is palpably one means of preventing anything being done to suggest that a farmer, struggling in the grip of an 8 to 10 per cent mortgage, which the best proceeds of his farm can not pay, shall help himself.

We have less cattle, less sheep and hogs, and less of many other food products per capita than we had 10 years ago. We have less population on the farm in proportion to the whole population than then. We have more mortgage per farm and less acres per farm upon which to grow food and pay the mortgage. Farm tenantry is rapidly and progressively increasing, and as this increases the production per acre is sure to decrease. These and other facts prove that this question is a problem of great importance to the man in the city as well as to the man in the country. We therefore appeal to the general public, not to the farmers alone, for an aroused sentiment in this matter.

Our farms are our sources of food supply and the success of agriculture is vital to the Government and all our citizens. We ask much less than the condition demands, and in no respect does our request put to hazard the resources of any class of our citizens, unless it may be the very few who have made their cash of greater profit in high interest rates than comes to the laborer and small capital of the average farmer.

OLIVER WILSON, *Master*,
T. C. ATKESON,
H. J. PATTERSON,
Legislative Committee of the National Grange.

Warehouse Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH W. BYRNS,
OF TENNESSEE,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, December 21, 1914.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I had hoped to have full opportunity to discuss this measure on the floor of the House, but since the motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill has served to shut off debate, I avail myself of the privilege of expressing my views on the measure by extending my remarks in the RECORD.

I regret that it became necessary to pass this bill under a suspension of the rules of the House, for it has the effect of not only shutting off a full discussion of the measure but also prevents the offering of any amendment. This makes it necessary to vote for or against the bill as it is drawn. I had hoped to have the opportunity of offering an amendment to the bill specifically designating tobacco as one of the staple and nonperishable agricultural products to which it shall apply. I am sure the bill in its present form applies to tobacco, but I preferred to see such an amendment as I have suggested adopted so that there would be no necessity of securing the consent or approval of the Secretary of Agriculture. The chairman of the Agricultural Committee, who will be a member of the conference committee, has assured me, however, that if the bill is passed in its present form he will see to it that tobacco is added in the conference between the two Houses, and I therefore cheerfully vote for the motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill, because this is the only way in which the bill can be passed at an early date.

This bill authorizes the Secretary of Agriculture to issue licenses to warehouses in which are stored staple and nonperishable agricultural products whenever the owner or operator of such warehouse applies to him for a license. Such warehouses as are licensed will thus become subject to supervision by the Secretary of Agriculture and products stored therein will be subject to inspection and classification.

Legislation of this kind is needed not merely as an emergency relief measure, but as a permanent system of marketing our crops. The difficulties which have confronted the cotton and tobacco grower on account of the unfortunate war conditions in Europe have only served to emphasize the importance and necessity of providing a better method of marketing our farm products. When war was declared by practically all of the nations of Europe the cotton and tobacco growers found that the foreign markets were closed to them and that it was impossible to move the immense amount of cotton and tobacco which is produced annually in this country and sold in the markets of Europe. With a great portion of last year's crop unsold and the large crop of this year nearly ready to be gathered, it became apparent at once that proper legislation had not been enacted to provide adequate and safe storage facilities. It is true that many of the States have upon their statute books laws making provision for the licensing and regulation of warehouses, but national legislation is particularly needed in order to bring our system of storing and marketing farm products into closer relationship with the national banking system of the country. The critical situation thus suddenly thrust upon the cotton and tobacco producer has emphasized the necessity of providing some means whereby the farmer can more readily and easily secure a fair and adequate advance or loan upon his crop when he finds himself unable to dispose of it at a fair value, and thus enable him to tide over present difficulties without being subjected to the necessity of sacrificing the product of his year's toil to the speculator, who is able to buy and hold for a profit.

The new currency law, which, in my judgment, is one of the greatest constructive measures passed by this Democratic Congress or, indeed, by any Congress since the Civil War, provides that national banks may rediscount the notes of farmers based on agricultural products. For the first time, under this law, agricultural products have been recognized as a proper basis for credit. It is therefore important that proper legislation shall be passed which will give to the farmer all the possible benefits and advantages which can be derived from this provision of the law. Undoubtedly warehouse receipts or certificates issued by a bonded warehouse, operating under a Government license will have a recognized standing in the business world and will be more readily accepted when offered for sale or tendered to the banks as security for an advance of money. No bank would hesitate for a moment to make a loan which was secured by a Government licensed warehouse receipt for such staples as tobacco, cotton, or grain, and which showed on its face their grade and value. If this bill is passed, a producer of tobacco or of cotton or grain can, if he desires to do so, store his product in a licensed warehouse, have it classified and graded, and use the certificate issued therefor either to borrow money from his bank to tide him over present difficulties or sell it outright or use it in payment of his obligations.

The bill as originally introduced in the Senate by the Senator from Georgia applied to cotton alone. By unanimous consent the Senate amended it so that its provisions should also apply to tobacco. Every Senator realized that the reasons which made a measure of this kind necessary for cotton just as strongly showed its necessity for tobacco. The bill then came to the House and was referred to the Agricultural Committee. That committee has presented a substitute, making the provisions of the bill apply specifically to cotton and grain, and to quote its language "such other agricultural products designated by the Secretary of Agriculture to be staple and nonperishable." I have not the slightest doubt but that the Secretary will promptly and readily designate tobacco as such a product. But I am at a loss to know why the House committee should have deliberately omitted specific mention of tobacco, which was put into the bill by unanimous action of the Senate, and in its place substitute grain, which was not considered by the Senate when the bill passed that body. I can only explain it on the ground that tobacco is grown in a comparatively limited area of the country, four-fifths of the entire crop being raised in the five States of Kentucky, North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, and Ohio.

I find that there is no Representative from any one of these States on the committee, whereas the grain and cotton sections are very ably represented, and I have thought that possibly the members of the committee did not fully appreciate the importance and value of this great staple which represents the wealth of hundreds of thousands of citizens of our country. I have no quarrel with the committee for adding grain to the bill. On the contrary, I approve its action in this respect. But I do object to the elimination of tobacco as one of the specific products legislated for in this bill. One million two hundred and sixteen thousand one hundred acres of tobacco were planted in 1913. There was produced 963,734,000 pounds, which was worth more than $122,483,000. This great and valuable crop was grown on more than 300,000 farms, and, as I have said, four-fifths of it was produced in five States of the Union. In these sections it is the chief money crop. Its production

involves a vast amount of labor, which only those who live in the tobacco-producing sections and who have worked in it in all of the various stages of its growth and preparation for the market can appreciate. I dare say there is no one crop produced in this country of which a greater percentage is shipped abroad or which brings more gold to this country in proportion to the value of the whole crop. Particularly is this true of the tobacco produced in the district I have the honor to represent on this floor, and in the neighboring counties of Kentucky and certain sections of Virginia, which constitute what is known as the dark-tobacco belt or district. Fully 80 per cent of this tobacco is exported and sold to Germany, Austria, Italy, and some other European countries, most of which exercise a Government monopoly in its purchase and sale. In addition to this, tobacco brings in a Government revenue nearly equal to its value. Our Government now derives more than $70,000,000 every year from this source. This can be said of no other agricultural product. Are not those millions of loyal and splendid citizens who are dependent upon the production of tobacco for their comfort entitled to the same consideration and treatment accorded to others?

As I have said, I have not the slightest doubt but that the Secretary will promptly designate tobacco; but why should the House not follow the unanimous lead of the Senate and do so? Why leave it to the discretion of any one man? Neither cotton nor any other agricultural product affords a safer security or, in my judgment, one quite so safe. It is as good as gold itself. In normal times there is an active and pressing demand for it in foreign countries as well as a great demand for certain types for domestic consumption.

When properly prized into hogsheads it will last for many years without danger of spoiling or deteriorating in value. There is an even greater and more pressing necessity at the present time for this bill to apply to tobacco than to either cotton or grain, for which there is a great demand for domestic consumption. In the case of grain, the demand is certain to be increased rather than lessened by the war in Europe. I am aware that there is also a great demand for tobacco of certain types for domestic consumption, but, as I have said, this is not true of tobacco which is grown in the section from whence I come, for our market is to a great extent confined to the countries now at war with each other, and on that account our market is for the time being entirely cut off. And I venture the opinion that the situation has proven to be as bad for those types of tobacco for which there is a greater demand for domestic consumption, for we know that it is the custom of home manufacturers to keep on hand a supply of tobacco sufficient to last them for a year or two.

And let me say just here that much has been said here and elsewhere about the distressing effect of the war upon the cotton grower. I do not minimize in the least the necessity of such relief, but I assert that no class of our citizens were harder hit by the unfortunate conditions in Europe than the tobacco grower. There is a greater necessity to provide for tobacco than there is for cotton, if it be possible for a greater necessity to exist. There is, as I have said, at least a certain domestic demand for cotton which will bring relief to a limited extent. But four-fifths of the tobacco to which I refer is exported, and there is absolutely no domestic demand for it. Relief is not so vital to those who grow grain and other breadstuffs. They will always find a great market here, and there will doubtless be an increased demand for their product in the war-ridden countries, because their productivity is in a great measure cut off. But it is not so with tobacco, and those who have last year's crop and this year's crop on hand should receive the very fullest consideration on the part of Congress and our Government.

But, Mr. Speaker, permit me to repeat that I do not look upon this as an emergency measure. It is not a measure which is to serve its purpose for a day. I regard its passage as being of permanent importance to the farming classes of the country. Whenever conditions, arising from whatever cause, are such that the farmer can not sell his crop for a price sufficient to pay a fair return for his labor, then it becomes important and essential that he be afforded such facilities as will enable him to secure advances upon his crop until it can be sold for a fair price. Otherwise he will be compelled to sell it at a sacrifice to those who are able to buy and hold it for a profit, and thus see himself deprived of the just fruits of his own hard labor and honest toil. And let me say that in such a case the situation is not purely local. The farmer needs the money on his crop to pay his creditors and provide for his family and his next year's work. His creditors need it in turn to pay their creditors, and so any relief which may be given will do a vast and general good.

There is nothing compulsory about the pending bill. No warehouseman is compelled to apply for a license. It is left entirely optional with him as to whether he shall do so. He may apply or not as he chooses. But I do believe that if this bill is passed its advantages will be quickly recognized, and it will serve to bring our banking interests into a closer and more effective working relationship with the marketing of our farm products. And let me say just here, no legislation can be more important to the farmer than legislation which will serve to improve the system and method of marketing farm products. The farmer does not need so much to be told how to grow his crops as he needs to be given information as to where he can find the best markets and secure the best price for the product of his toil. I introduced a bill in Congress some time ago seeking to establish a bureau of markets for this very purpose. And I am glad that Congress, in an appropriation act, has authorized the establishment of such a Bureau of Markets. I am sure it will accomplish great good in helping to establish both at home and abroad the best and most available markets for our farm products. It seems to me that it is this information and aid which the farmer most needs, and I am glad that the Agricultural Department is now giving this problem of the farmers its best study and attention.

I do not contend that this bill will by any means offer complete relief in times when the prices of our farm products are depressed for any cause. But I do regard it as an eminently wise and proper measure in behalf of the farmer, and if the privileges granted by it are taken advantage of, it will afford opportunities for relief which are not now obtainable. It is, I believe, a distinct and necessary step in the interest of the farmer. When he finds himself unable to dispose of his product for a fair price and is not able to carry his crops indefinitely, it will afford him a better opportunity to obtain a loan on reasonable terms, thus enabling him to hold it until a satisfactory market can be obtained. In that way he will derive the profit from his labor which is his due, rather than the speculator, to whom he must otherwise of necessity sell it. We spend much time passing legislation for the benefit of our great commercial and manufacturing interests, which is right and proper. Mr. Speaker, here is an opportunity to enact legislation for the benefit of another class of our citizens, the farmers, the product of whose toil is the very foundation upon which the stability, the wealth, and the glory of our Nation rests, and I hope that there will not be a dissenting voice against the passage of this bill.

All the tobacco grower needs is a little relief which will enable him to tide over his present difficult situation and hold his crop until a fairer and better price can be obtained. To him it represents a year of hard, honest toil. It represents the capital necessary to make a crop next year. In many instances it represents clothing and comfort for his family and schooling for his children. These comforts and advantages will be denied in large part if he is forced to sell his crop now. The Government ought not only to encourage him, but, as far as possible, it ought to assist him to hold his crop until his markets are again made available and a better price can be obtained for his tobacco. This bill is undoubtedly a step in the right direction. While it affords no pecuniary relief, it does provide a storage system, which will give the farmer's paper, based on his product, a more dependable status in the business world and enable him to use it more effectually as a basis of credit with which to provide for present needs.

The present situation, Mr. Speaker, emphasizes more clearly than ever the importance of cooperation and organization among the farmers. They can best help themselves and aid each other by mutual cooperation. There are those who contend that both the cotton and tobacco grower should restrict their acreage next year. I do not dispute the wisdom of such a proposition. A fair, just, and uniform restriction would, it seems to me, result in a common benefit to all; but this can not be done by the legislatures of the States either so well or so harmoniously and effectually as it can be done by the farmers themselves through the instrumentality of their organizations. If this unfortunate, useless, and causeless war continues, as it bids fair to do; if Europe continues to exhaust her resources and paralyze her power of production; if her rivers continue to run red with the lifeblood of the best and most virile of her citizenship, then there will undoubtedly be a great and unprecedented demand for our foodstuffs. And I do not doubt that for these reasons many who have heretofore devoted their entire energies to the growing of cotton and tobacco will turn a part of their energy to the growing of more foodstuffs in order to meet this demand. This in itself will result in a certain restriction which will insure a better price for these staples.

I am happy to believe, Mr. Speaker, that present conditions can not and will not last indefinitely and that it will not be a very great while before some relief will be afforded by the opening of the old markets. The State Department has already re-

ceived assurances that tobacco is not regarded as a contraband of war by any of the belligerent nations and that shipments may be made on neutral vessels and to Germany by way of Rotterdam, in Holland.

The supply on hand at the outbreak of the war must be soon exhausted, and those nations which formerly received their supply from us must give their attention to procuring more in order to afford comfort and solace to their war-ridden peoples. I believe that this country agriculturally, industrially, and commercially is about to enter upon an era of unparalleled prosperity if we will only exercise patience and take advantage of the opportunities confronting us. Only a few days ago I noticed a statement of the Chief of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce to the effect that our foreign commerce was rapidly increasing in volume. If this be true now, what will be the result when trade conditions adjust themselves to the new order of things? The war now going on in Europe, with such frightful loss of life and enormous destruction of property, must in the very nature of things bring paralysis to her trade and power of production, a paralysis from which she can not fully recover for years to come. Our country must supply the trade in other countries formerly supplied by Europe. The great markets not only of South America and of the Orient but also of Europe are open to the development of our trade and commerce. Fortunately we have the resources and ability to supply them. We have resources unlimited and a soil capable of producing not only enough to feed and clothe our 100,000,000 people but also to feed a great portion of the entire world. Above all, we have a strong, virile, and enterprising citizenship, the best in the world. That we can measure up to the enlarged opportunity for an extension of trade there can be no question. The opportunity exists. The trade is there if we will only go after it. I repeat that while we must suffer temporarily everything points to an increased prosperity in which all the people of this great Nation will share. Congress should do its part by recognizing the possibilities before us and pass all proper and needed legislation which will help to bring about more speedily this beneficent result.

National Prohibition.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. FREAR.

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 22, 1914,

On the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 168) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States prohibiting the sale, etc., of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes.

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Speaker, the question on which we are about to vote is born of an earnest purpose of a highly respectable portion of our people to prohibit liquor traffic throughout the country.

Conceding for the moment all that may be said as to the evils and economic loss connected with intemperance, the question to be determined at this time is what action shall be taken in response to a sudden demand by the resolution for Federal force, and what is the effect of the amendment?

By terms of exception this resolution permits the unlimited manufacture of liquor in all States, including prohibition States, but seeks to prevent its sale by law, irrespective of controlling local sentiment. It is contended it does not submit the question to the will of the people, locally or otherwise, but forcibly takes away from the State an opportunity to express its will by popular vote; shifts responsibility on Congress and State legislatures; asks, in effect, to disfranchise the people directly interested; and takes away rights of State governmental control never before questioned. In other words, that it affords the shadow and not the substance of a referendum.

This is not the argument of so-called liquor interests, but the conclusion of some of the ablest men in the country, including foremost temperance advocates in every party.

Republican leader MANN, author of the most important moral uplift legislation of recent years, Senator BORAH, and other eminent men of the minority party have offered many objections against the Hobson resolution, based upon its actual and not its intended effect.

Of equal significance we are advised directly on this subject by Eugene W. Chafin, the last Prohibition candidate for President, who unqualifiedly opposed the Hobson amendment when he said in his speech of October 14, 1913:

Of all foolish and impossible schemes devised to destroy the liquor traffic, this is certainly the worst.

Again he says:

Our good friends throughout the United States, who have announced themselves in favor of the constitutional amendment scheme, I venture to observe, have not a single one of them had before them the facts when they committed themselves to such policy.

Secretary Bryan, a leading temperance advocate, in an editorial in the Commoner, says:

A national contest for this amendment would simply divert attention without advancing the prohibition movement.

A great student of government and the country's foremost public official, President Wilson, also says on this subject:

Every self-governing community, which constitutes a social unit, should have the right to control the matter of the regulation or the withholding of license.

During this debate leading temperance advocates on this floor have challenged the wisdom of the amendment and have stated they intend to vote against it. Aided by this array of authority we must base our judgment on the facts submitted.

Notwithstanding national prohibition planks have been repeatedly rejected by party platforms, the prohibition question was presented in practically every district and State in the country less than 60 days ago, and less than 2 per cent of the total vote was then cast in favor of a national prohibition ticket.

When submitted to popular vote, 14 States out of 48 have passed prohibitory laws, indicating sentiment in such States, but these 14 States possess less than 20 per cent of the proportionate population of the remaining States. Under existing laws every nonprohibition State to-day has a complete right through its electorate, by popular vote and without intervention of Congress, to prohibit the manufacture and sale of liquors in all communities within such States.

At general elections where national policies are determined and administrations chosen the result is decided by popular vote based on the same constitutional ratio of population in every State. That principle governs the selection of representatives from the several States; it is a fundamental right of suffrage. Yet the resolution proposes to change law which has been accepted for over a century by securing action of State legislatures on the subject without regard to the will of the people who will be required to enforce the law.

We are advised its effect will be to permit Arizona with a popular vote of 23,722 to have equal power with New York, and yet protesting New York casts over a million and a half votes, or sixty times the vote of Arizona. The resolution permits Nevada with 20,115 votes to offset objecting Pennsylvania, which casts 1,220,000 votes.

Illustrations of its effect are striking when we learn that New York's popular vote equals the total vote of nearly a score of smaller States, each of which under the resolution would have an equal voice with New York in determining the law for New York. Again, with over a million votes, Ohio has recently decided prohibition overwhelmingly in the negative by a total popular vote more than double the combined vote of Arizona, Florida, Delaware, Mississippi, Nevada, North Dakota, South Carolina, and Wyoming; yet every one of these States under the resolution would have an equal influence in reversing that decision and changing the law for Ohio.

Even Wisconsin casts more votes than the eight States named; but under the amendment Wisconsin has only one-eighth of their combined legislative influence in determining the law for Wisconsin, although Wisconsin is expected to enforce any law determined by these other States.

Ordinarily no one will question a State's right to confiscate property, destroy revenues, or change men's habits, if the public good as represented by the will of the people expressed at the polls demands such action. But the proposed amendment takes away a citizen's right to determine. It empowers legislatures of some States that cast less votes than the average congressional district to measure power equally with the largest in the country—to compel a surrender of local or State control over men and revenues to minor Commonwealths vastly disproportionate in size or in national importance, and yet it gives them all equal legislative power, without responsibility for the enforcement of their legislative action.

We have been shown by many speakers the demoralizing effect of repealing excise laws where prohibition is not enforced. Will the passage of the resolution aid or retard the cause it seeks to serve? On this point the opinions of several leading men have been quoted.

Enforcement of law can only be insured through supporting popular sentiment. This is the experience of every officer who has to deal with courts, witnesses, and juries.

What will be the effect if small States, through legislative action, attempt to control the habits of men living in populous States where such rights have never been questioned, where the entire State machinery for enforcement is controlled by opposing interests, and where unlimited manufacture is permitted?

Every Representative desires to honestly and conscientiously serve his home constituency and his country, as required under his oath of office. From the standpoint of an abstainer and prosecutor of excise violation in past years I believe an unavoidable duty rests with every citizen, if he desires prohibitory laws, to ask from the electorate of his State for such laws through the ballot. Laws are of no value unless enforced, and without supporting public sentiment sumptuary laws fail in their purpose and invite contempt for all law.

With 34 States, containing over 80 per cent of our population, living under nonprohibition State laws, it is suggested that a constitutional amendment might be passed to prevent any State from enacting prohibitory laws and to thereby nullify the acts of 14 States on that issue. That proposal is subject to the same objection offered against the Hobson amendment, and although it presents the problem in reverse shape, I do not believe it has been seriously offered.

Any cause will eventually be rightfully determined without invoking ineffective means to force results. Any action that takes away from the people of the State a right to determine their own laws governing methods of State administration becomes a two-edged sword. This amendment asks us to take away the right of self-government, and may thwart the very right we are chosen to protect. The highest constitutional officers in the country, chosen by popular vote, in effect declare this proposal to be unprecedented and dangerous in character. The same conclusion is reached by many able advocates of temperance, who believe the amendment would lead to more harm than good, invoke a new and dangerous principle of government if adopted, and would serve to injure the cause it seeks to advance.

In the absence of any referendum vote or other accurate expression from the people of our districts or States that they desire to substitute the will of other States for that of our own, we are called upon to rightly represent our constituents, and I am convinced no greater offense could be committed than by taking away their right of self-government without the consent of those who are asked to relinquish that right.

Proposed Maritime Death Liability Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES W. BRYAN,

OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, December 23, 1914.

Mr. BRYAN. Mr. Speaker, the "twilight zone" between State and Federal authority has been so narrowed by recent laws and public sentiment that special interests do not find so safe a retreat within its boundaries. The authority of the Federal Government under the commerce clause of the Constitution is finding expression and enforcement in Federal statutes that effectively interfere with the operation of some of those who have prospered most as denizens of this zone.

There is another area over which the authority of the Federal Government is unquestioned that has become a refuge, a sort of bad man's realm, where privilege stalks unbridled and unrestrained. Big business in interstate commerce has been made to yield to Federal control. The great railroad system, with its 350,000 miles of road and its $20,000,000,000 of stocks and bonds, has been humbled before the majesty and power of the law, and that gigantic organization must await the order of the people through the Interstate Commerce Commission. A Federal employers' liability law took from the railroads their defenses against liability for the injuries of employees, and before long we will have a Federal workman's compensation law that will further protect the employees, or in case of death their dependents, in case of injuries in interstate commerce on land.

But there is another area, "The Mighty Main," that has become a haven of privilege. The moment one becomes an employee on a launch, a barge, a tugboat, a steamship, or an ocean vessel, or in any navigable waters, he must look to the admiralty court and the Federal law, if there is any, for his protection. Of course, if there is no law governing his case, he can resort to State law under certain conditions. There being no Federal statute enforcing liability for the negligent death of another, in all inland waters and on the high seas, so far as American law goes, the State statutes alone are resorted to for relief. I believe it will be profitable to consider the status of the laws of the several nations on this subject.

In France there seemed for a while to be some doubt, but later judicial interpretation of the marine ordinance of Louis XIV and of the Code Napoleon settled the matter. Its provisions established liability for every act of man which causes injury to another.

The Italian Code establishes full liability and especially repudiates the "pecuniary liability" doctrine so faithfully preserved in the bill now under consideration.

In Holland, Scotland, Germany, Austria, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, and the Republics of South America, which get their laws through Spain and other European codes, all have had provision for this death liability—so long and so unequivocally that the doctrine of death liability has all along been deemed a part of the general body of maritime law as practiced in the entire earth except as to Great Britain.

In England there was a rule of procedure which provided for the death of a personal action with the person—"actio personalis moritur cum persona." That expression was read one day in Latin to an English judge, sitting in wig and gown, by a lawyer all togged out in similar vestments, and there being an important question, probably some shipowner's liability, at stake, this judge said, "Yes; actio personalis moritur cum persona; that's the law of this court, and the claim for damages is denied." Then that decision was cited to another judge, and another, and so on, until all the judges in England were deciding that there was no surviving liability for an injury resulting in death.

NO COMPENSATION FOR DEATH THROUGH NEGLIGENCE.

If an employer through negligence injures an employee so as to maim him or cause him pain and suffering, he must pay such damages as are assessed by due process of law; but if an employer through negligence kills an employee, there shall be no recovery. What do you think of that kind of law? It does not make any difference what you think. "Actio personalis moritur cum persona." That settles it. 'Nuff said—and in Latin, too.

An injured workman or individual might linger on a bed of pain and torture, become an invalid, a cripple, or otherwise suffer through negligence of another, but if he would get damages he must get his suit through all the courts before death come, or his widow could pay the bills, or go to the poorhouse, or, as it used to be, to jail for the debt.

In referring to this judge-made abortion in the common law the court, in Green against Hudson River Railroad Co., says:

> It is of no practical utility to search for the reason of the rule. It remains somewhat obscure.

To the time "beyond which the memory of man runneth not to the contrary" that has been the common law of England. It was the law in the United States until statutes were passed creating a right of action in favor of dependents for loss of life through negligence. Louisiana, in a sense, is an exception to the rule, for that State has never been subjected to common law; but it has ample death liability statutes.

But this judge-made law, which had come to be known as the common law, was unsatisfactory. It was not justice, so the English Parliament passed the Lord Campbell act in 1846, creating a personal liability for death through the fault of another, and providing for its survival to dependents.

The American Colonies were subject to the common law, and when the American Republic was formed the common law continued until altered by statute. The Lord Campbell act did not affect us, of course. The States of the Union very soon began to pass statutes like the Lord Campbell act, and to-day it is the law of all the States under the varying terms of the statutes. The States have jurisdiction until Congress acts contradictorily, on all the inland waters, the Great Lakes, and out in the ocean to the 3-mile limit. These State laws at first were no stronger than the Lord Campbell act, and the steamship owners with their lobbies at State capitals were able in cooperation with representatives of other industries to control enactments so as to maintain their liberality toward vested interests and keep the way hard for the widows and orphans and other litigants who might sue as dependents of the victims of industry.

A few years ago the conscience of the people began to awake and stronger laws were passed by these States, and, as the learned proctor in admiralty, Mr. Harrington Putnam, says in the report of the Judiciary Committee on this bill, steamboat corporations which had domiciled themselves in States "for taxation purposes"—he meant to dodge taxes—were compelled to have damage suits for death tried in those States under these new laws and a local jury. This was very irritating.

Here is the way Mr. Putnam puts it:

> For reasons of taxation, or other supposed advantages, shipping corporations may be organized in a remote inland State, and if the vessels are negligently managed at sea the death remedy must be sought in the statutes of such State.

Soon demand came for a Federal law, so far as interstate commerce was concerned, and Congress passed the Federal employers' liability statute, and later amended and improved it; but Congress very carefully limited the application of that act to common carriers by railroad, so the steamboats were not involved in the act.

The shipping interest reviewed the situation and observed that, as I have already shown, they had always been liable to descendants for death on the high seas under the common-sense laws of all the civilized nations except England, and that they were liable under English law under the Lord Campbell act since 1846; and that they were liable under State laws of all the States of the American Union, surely within the 3-mile limit on the ocean and on all inland waterways; but they consoled themselves with the thought that American State laws did not extend into the high seas beyond the 3-mile limit. So they were willing to leave good enough alone. They did not bother the Maritime Law Association. They seemed satisfied, hoping to escape something on the high seas; and they were further gratified that the State laws were not so very strong against them as yet, and that, if Congress acted, that body might bind the shipping companies as tight as it had bound the railroads in the employers' liability law. So "let good enough alone" was the policy.

There is a Federal employers' liability law that changes the common-law rule, as I have already stated, but the framers of that act were particular to limit its scope to deaths and injuries by common carriers by railroad. An interstate common carrier by steamboat, or by any other means, does not come under its provisions. It has no application to the sea or to any death unless incurred in interstate commerce by railroad.

In the meantime, however, a jurisprudence was being established for the "mighty main" for this area of the high seas outside State jurisdiction. Judge Adison Brown in 1893, *City of Norwalk* (55 Fed. Rep., 98), had enforced the New York State death liability statute in the navigable waters of the State of New York, and Judge William H. Taft had delivered the opinion of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Sixth District in the case of Robinson *v.* The Detroit & Canada Steam Navigation Co. (20 C. C. A., 86), applying the death statute of Canada in a proceeding in personam, where the injury causing death had occurred in Canadian Great Lakes waters.

Then came the *Hamilton* case (207 U. S., 398). Two Delaware vessels had collided on the high seas outside the 3-mile limit, off the Virginia coast. Eight persons were drowned. The State law of Delaware provides for this death liability, and the Supreme Court of the United States enforced this Delaware law the same as if the accident had occurred on the land, proceeding on the theory that the ships were in truth a part of the State of Delaware, whether in the middle of the ocean or tied up in a home port.

Thus the State laws came to be enforceable wherever the ship might go in its course around the globe. The law of its State went with it. It came from an evolution of the idea of the sovereignty of the ship's flag, which is laid down in a general way in Lindstrom *v.* International Navigation Co. (123 Fed., 475), Judge Wallace speaking for the Circuit Court:

> The territorial sovereignty of a State extends to a vessel of the State when it is upon the high seas, the vessel being deemed a part of the territory of the State to which it belongs; and it follows that a State statute which creates a liability or authorized a recovery for the consequences of a tortious act operates as efficiently upon the vessel of a State when it is beyond its boundaries as it does when it is physically within the State.

Following the Delaware case, known as the *Hamilton* case, came the *La Bourgogne*, which further established the doctrine. In this case the court applied the law of France to this French vessel and held that the claimants could recover and participate in the find. The wreck of the *La Bourgogne* in collision with the British ship occurred, as I remember, in 1905.

The shipping interests found that the courts were holding them liable for death wherever they turned—if a foreign ship on the high seas under the law of the flag, and if an American ship under the law of the particular State. Right after the *La Bourgogne* case they became very busy, as the record will show. All feeling of security and safety from this death liability vanished. So the next best thing was to have a weak, inefficient, archaic Federal law passed providing for admiralty trial, where they can escape juries and the States and take advantage of such other liberal turns as they could incorporate in the bill to save themselves from widows and orphans.

I have looked up the record of this legislation, in part at least, and I find it has had a checkered career. Many bills were introduced, but only recently have the shipowners got real busy on the subject.

On March 6, 1900, Mr. Boutell, of Illinois, introduces a bill, H. R. 9197, which restricted subject matter to boats or individuals or corporations carrying passengers or freight between American and foreign ports, provided for jury as at common law, did not contain the "pecuniary damages" clause or certain other defenses against liability incorporated in this pending act. It did not preserve the shipowners' right to limit liability under navigation laws. The American Bar Association in its annual meeting in 1900 indorses the bill, but suggests elimination of jury trial and other amendments.

On February 7, 1902, Mr. Boutell again introduces the act. He leaves off the jury-trial provision, but provides for jurisdiction of the "circuit court as court of law," which would really give jury trial. He adds the section saving to shipowners their right to limit liability under navigation laws.

In 1904 Senator Depew introduces the bill as S. 5564 in the Senate and Mr. Sherman in the House as H. R. 9880. By this time the shipowners had begun to get busy. Nothing is said about jury trial. Pecuniary damages is written into the bill. Shipowners' right to limit liability is especially preserved; the scope of the act is confined to injuries on vessels carrying passengers or freight. Other defenses and safeguards against widows and orphans getting judgment are added, and it is provided that in no case shall judgment exceed $5,000.

In 1906 Mr. Sherman again introduces the bill as H. R. 11486. It is the same bill. Nothing said about jury trial nor as to court jurisdiction. Doubtless it would have come solely under admiralty jurisdiction, and, of course, jury trial would have been denied. The American Bar Association and the steamboat companies were against jury trial.

On January 11, 1909, Mr. Jenkins, who died in 1911 as Federal judge in Porto Rico, introduces the bill as H. R. 25807. and Senator LODGE introduces the identical bill in the Senate on January 12, 1909, as S. 8397. The same bill is introduced by Mr. PARKER of New Jersey as H. R. 15811 on December 17, 1909. The American Bar Association passed strong resolutions indorsing the bill at the meeting of that association in August, 1909.

On June 7, 1911, Mr. BRANDEGEE introduces the bill in the Senate as S. 2673 and on May 23, 1912, Senator BRANDEGEE introduces as S. 6930 practically the bill we have now pending. Several changes are made. The admiralty jurisdiction is plainly set forth and jury trial is thereby made certainly beyond the right of the claimant. The scope of the action is enlarged so as to cover any tort involving death on the water, whether arising from shipping, bathing, hunting, docking, construction work, or in any other manner. One year is fixed as the period of limitation for the commencement of the suit. The negligence fence against damage liability is strengthened against the widows and orphans. On May 22, 1912, Mr. Peters, of Massachusetts, introduces the bill in its last-mentioned form in the House as H. R. 24764 and then, June 17, 1913, Mr. Peters again introduces it as H. R. 6143 in the form it is now pending.

SHIPPING INTERESTS LOBBY FOR BILL.

The first committee report to come out was during the second session of the present Congress. The great anxiety and unusual desire of the shipowners for this bill now is due mainly to the stringent laws the present awakened conscience of the people have caused to be enacted in the State and are proposing in the Nation. With one accord the shipowners pray for deliverance. They were perfectly satisfied till State laws came to be applied. Their claim that they want to supply a liability against themselves is as silly as it sounds.

On March 31, 1910, during the hearing on this bill before the Senate committee, the great proctors in admiralty being present, Mr. HUGHES, one of the committee members, announced that he had a wire from Edward C. Plummer asking him to state that he favored this bill. "Mr. Plummer," it is added, "is from Bath, Me., and is counsel for the Atlantic Carriers' Association, which includes all the large coasting steamers in the coal trade."

Mr. R. M. Hughes, attorney for British Steamship Co., member of committee before this hearing in support of the bill.

Mr. Herman A. Kelley was at the above hearing. He is an attorney from Cleveland. Here is what he said:

> I represent the lake interests here. I feel that the very clear statement made as to the merit of the bill can not be improved upon.

This is the Mr. Kelley who was attorney for the Thompson Towing & Wrecking Association already cited—Two hundred and fifth Federal Reporter, page 209.

Other attorneys there representing lake shipping interests were all very friendly to the bill.

Mr. Lawrence Kneeland, attorney, 43 Cedar Street, New York, before the House hearing on August 6, 1912, on behalf of this bill, said:

Gentlemen, we have been trying for 10 years or more to get a bill of this kind. It has been gone over and worked over with great care, and we think we have the bill in as good shape as it can be. All through these negotiations the people who have taken part in it and who have tried to get the bill in shape have followed largely the counsel of the attorneys for the various lines of steamships and other shipowners throughout the United States. It is in no sense a one-sided proposition.

Last Wednesday the gentleman from Illinois had read, in his time, a letter from Mr. C. E. Kremer, whom he introduced as an admiralty lawyer of Chicago of very high standing. There is no question about the sincerity of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] or as to the high standing of the author of the letter, Mr. Kremer. Here are some additional facts about Mr. Kremer:

Lawyer, born at Oshkosh, Wis., December 23, 1850; admitted to the bar in 1874; practiced in Chicago since 1875; lecturer on admiralty law, Chicago College of Law, 1893, and in University of Chicago since 1902; president of Caldick Transportation Co. and Steamer Phoenix Co. and Atlas Car Co.; one of the founders of Legal Aid Society; secretary of Lake Michigan Steamship Association; president of Chicago and Illinois State Bar Association; United States Maritime Law Association; Republican; Union League; judge advocate; one of the founders of the Chicago Law Club in 1883; Wisconsin Association; home is 1336 North State Street, Chicago; office is at the Insurance Exchange, Chicago.

I call special attention to the extensive steamship interests of Mr. Kremer. I think Mr. Kremer is anxious to get his steamship liability away from the States of Illinois and Wisconsin and Michigan and transfer it to the Federal Government under this weak archaic statute. The first statement in the letter from Mr. Kremer on the merits of the bill is as follows:

The advantages of this bill are that it provides for a survival of a right of action on the high seas, where at present there is no such survival, because the high seas are outside of the territorial limits and the jurisdiction of the different States.

There is, as you know, as much reason for providing for a right of action where a death occurs on the high seas as where it occurs on waters within the boundaries of a State, in which case the State law provides for a right of action.

This statement involves, first, the survival of a right of action on the high seas; second, that no such survival exists at this time; third, that such survival is right and just.

As to the first proposition, there is no doubt that this bill does provide for a survival of a right of action for death on the high seas. As to the adequacy of the remedy provided in this bill much can be said, but that is not under consideration just now.

The second proposition, that no such survival of action exists at this time on the high seas, is inaccurate and erroneous, because it has been decided that the law of the State where the vessel is registered follows the vessel outside the jurisdiction of the State, and that action for death on an American vessel registered at New York, for instance, survives to the descendants wherever the negligent accident which caused the death may have occurred. The American Steamship Co. can be sued at its domicile for its tort. The Great Lakes vessels, in which Mr. Kremer is so extensively interested, are well provided for. The people are better satisfied with the laws they have than with this law, and please do not forget that if you pass this law you provide an exclusive remedy for the Great Lakes, for the Great Lakes are the "high seas." We have already seen that the State law follows the ship out upon the high seas, wherever it goes.

From this it appears to me that the statement of the learned Mr. Kremer, of Chicago, that no action survives on the high seas for the negligent killing of another, is not borne out by the facts and that such action does survive under State laws.

As I have already stated, these shipping interests and the presidents of these shipping companies have never been known to enter into a campaign to procure the passage of an act creating a liability upon themselves where no liability or no cause of action survives, as is stated in this case. The bare statement of the proposition that steamship companies would be pleading with the Judiciary Committee to pass a death-liability statute involving them in the payment of judgments for which they are not at all liable at this time is so absurd, silly, and ridiculous as not to be entitled to a moment's consideration. But we do not need to resort to logic or argument. The facts are plainly demonstrated. Such actions do survive. Such liability does exist, and the steamboat companies are busy now to eliminate that liability, to get away from that responsibility. Nobody blames them particularly for trying to save money or trying to get away from juries and trying to provide weak, vacillating statutes as substitutes for more effective statutes the State legislatures are now enacting. They are looking out for dividends, and it is perfectly natural for them to storm this Judiciary Committee and hoodwink its members and make them come in here and support the bill if they can. They are cute and receive big salaries for doing that very kind of thing, and in this case their efforts have been tremendously successful. The heathen Chinee can not beat the Shipping Trust for ways that are peculiar and effective.

As to the third feature of this first statement by the Chicago president of the shipping companies, Mr. Kremer, that it is just and proper to provide for such liability, of course there can be no question. Anybody would agree with his statement that steamship companies ought to be made to pay up when they negligently kill their employees.

The next statement by Mr. Kremer is that the passage of this statute will eliminate discrepancies as to territorial jurisdiction by the several States and by the several States and Canada. There may be some truth in this, and doubtless is, but the same trouble exists in cases of crimes where a State law is violated by the murder of an individual on one of the Great Lakes, for instance, or where any other crime is committed in certain cases in Michigan or in Illinois or in Wisconsin, but there are well-settled rules to determine that, and the criminal does not get away on that account. It has been the steamboat companies that have always used this pretext to get around the laws of Wisconsin, Michigan, and Illinois when they were sued in those courts for liability to descendants because of the negligent death of an individual. If their efforts to get around the State laws had been successful and they had been permitted to save themselves from State judgments and State juries, they would not be appealing now to this Congress and this Judiciary Committee to pass a statute creating a liability in a broad jurisdiction which they could not possibly escape. The man who does not know that steamship companies and employers generally desire to escape liability and accept gladly a condition that permits them to escape liability does not understand enough about matters of this kind to justify him in having left the farm. But Mr. Kremer is worried in his letter about possible conflict territorially with Canada's laws in the Great Lakes. Should a boat get over or very close to the Canadian line and a death occur through negligence, what then? reasons Mr. Kremer. The poor widow and orphan dependents of the deceased would be subjected to an awful condition in such case! Let us see as to that. A certain steamboat company was sued in exactly a case of this kind, and the steamboat company plead that the accident occurred outside the jurisdiction of the United States and in the jurisdiction of Canada.

The widow and orphans in this case had been attempting to apply the State law and the steamboat company tried to escape by setting up the defense that the negligent killing occurred in Canada. The case went up before an able judge. His name is William H. Taft. He refused to worry much about that proposition, for he said in his decision, "Canada has a death statute, so we will just apply the law of Canada," and sustained the claimants' right to recovery and the steamboat company had to pay up.

Now, it appears to me that your lake steamship companies do not like the law of Canada. They do not like the law of Illinois, nor the law of Wisconsin, nor the law of Ohio, nor the law of New York, nor of Pennsylvania or Delaware. They pretend to want a different law because they themselves are so humane. They want to protect the widows and orphans and do not want to escape any liability! And so they ask in finely worded communications the Judiciary Committee of this House to come forward with a bill like the one they have presented here and then they try to tell us they are not looking out for their own interest, but are trying to create a liability that does not now exist against them! The statement is false both as to the Great Lakes inside the territory of the United States and inside the territory of Canada, and it is false as to the high seas. There is such liability now on all the vessels of all the corporations domiciled anywhere within the United States of America. It is to escape as much of this liability as possible that the steamship companies have this Judiciary Committee hustling so energetically in their behalf.

Not only the present State laws worry them, but progressive States are passing more stringent laws all the time. Common-law defenses are being eliminated and recovery made more certain. They want to get away from these statutes.

The next statement made by Mr. Kremer, of Chicago, is that the passage of this statute would not deprive State courts of jurisdiction.

That this statement is erroneous is perfectly plain from the reading of section 8 of the statute. The only instance where State jurisdiction is sustained is in cases of death from injuries received elsewhere than on the high seas. The Great Lakes are the high seas. The Chesapeake Bay and waters within

State jurisdiction are still a part of the high seas. The States generally extend out into the ocean 3 miles. Within this 3-mile limitation the State has jurisdiction. It is a part of the State just as much as the land is a part of the State, but this act provides an exclusive jurisdiction on the high seas, and a ferry going from one point of land to another on the ocean now under State regulation, or on the Great Lakes, would be transferred exclusively to Federal jurisdiction if this act passes and the humane legislation by the several States, which permits damages under State laws, assessed by a jury in the local community where the negligent act has occurred or where the corporation which performed the act of negligence resides, would be done away with and all such cases would be tried before some Federal judge—the Lord knows where.

Some of the gentlemen from States on the Great Lakes may question whether the Great Lakes are the high seas. I insert here a letter recently received by me from the Attorney General bearing on this subject:

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
Washington, D. C., February 13, 1914.

Hon. J. W. BRYAN,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. CONGRESSMAN: I am directed by the Attorney General to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of January 23, 1914, in which you request the definition of the term "high seas" as used in H. R. 6143.

As the department renders opinions only to the President or the heads of departments, I am only giving definitions of the term "high seas" without attempting to express an opinion as to whether Puget Sound would come within the term as defined below. It will be noted that some of these definitions are not entirely consistent, and this probably may be accounted for by the context of the law where the term is used.

"The high seas include the whole of the seas below high-water mark and outside the body of the county." (Bouvier's Law Dictionary.)

"According to the English doctrine, the high sea begins at the distance of 3 miles from the coast of any country; according to the American view, at low-water mark, except in the case of small harbors and roadsteads inclosed within the fauces terræ." (Black's Law Dictionary.)

In the case of United States *v.* Rodgers (150 U. S., 249) the court held that the term "high seas" was applicable to the open, unincloses waters of the Great Lakes between which the Detroit River is the connecting stream, notwithstanding the water of the Lakes is fresh and tideless.

The term "high seas" includes water on the seacoast without the boundaries of low-water mark. (See Ross *v.* McIntyre, 140 U. S., 453.)

Respectfully (for the Attorney General),
SAMUEL J. GRAHAM,
Assistant Attorney General.

A study of the last-cited case above will show that the Supreme Court of the United States regards an American ship tied up in the harbor of Yokohama as on the "high seas" and subject to our admiralty jurisdiction.

I quote from United States *v.* Rodgers (150 U. S., p. 249).

After defining the term "high seas," the court says:

As thus defined, the term would seem to be applicable to the open waters of the great northern lakes as it is to the open waters of those bodies usually designated as seas. The Great Lakes possess every essential characteristic of seas. * * * The fact that the waters are fresh and not subject to the tides does not affect their essential character as seas. Many seas are tideless, and the waters of some are saline only in a very slight degree.

There is no question that the passage of this act would deprive the States of jurisdiction in the Great Lakes under all accidents coming under its provisions. The State is divested of all jurisdiction except for death occuring in connection with accidents occurring "elsewhere than on the high seas."

I stated in recent debate that it was a question as to whether Puget Sound would be deemed a part of the high seas. I will say that upon investigation of the subject I am now of opinion that Puget Sound would not be deemed to be "high seas" within the line establishing the application of the inland rules (see Navigation Laws of the United States, 1911, p. 359), which line passes from New Dungeness Lighthouse to Cattle Point Light on Orcas Island and on to the north.

But this act will have a very important bearing on death injuries in the waters of the State of Washington. Our law has abolished the right to sue for death, or personal injuries less than death, in that State in certain hazardous employments. Among these are included stevedores and longshoremen. The State and the Federal Governments have concurrent jurisdiction in all the navigable waters. But the State law especially provides that it will yield to any action by Congress on the subject. If this law is passed, in case of death a longshoreman's dependents must go to an admiralty judge without a jury. But if the accident is less than death he goes before the State commission under our workmen's compensation law. In Two hundred and fifth Federal, page 169, Judge Cushman has held that the State law controls in the absence of a Federal law. There is no Federal law as yet, so the State law is the sole remedy for a judgment of this kind. But if Congress passes the present statute it becomes exclusive, as a death liability statute, for the Washington law by its very terms does not apply where Congress acts. But it will still be in force for damages by personal injuries less than death, for this congressional act will not apply to injuries less than death.

Now read the first section of this shipowners' statute to dodge liability, which the Judiciary Committee want us to pass.

The decedents are to sue the—

vessel, person, or corporation that would have been liable to a suit in damages * * * if death had not ensued.

But such suits are barred in the case of stevedores and others in Washington. They are prohibited from suing any employer in that industry who is paid up to the commission provided for in the State law for any personal injury.

The Federal statute will be exclusive on Puget Sound and on the navigable waters of Washington and within the 3-mile limit on the ocean. If by interpreting the act the court can tell the widow whom to sue, she will then have to bring the suit in admiralty before a Federal judge without a jury for pecuniary loss, and divide up with a string of relatives, and under comparative negligence and the limiting-liability statutes, and every trick and device that these steamship owners have been able to incorporate in this archaic and insufficient statute.

That is how it will hit my State. California and Oregon are very similarly situated.

It might be worth while to trace the development of the legislation on this subject through the States. All the States have passed laws giving the relief. These statutes differ greatly from the Lord Campbell act and from each other as to (1) what surviving members of the family may bring the suit; (2) for whose benefit the suit may be brought; (3) in what limit of time and in whose name; (4) distribution among claimants and procedure; (5) measure of damages; (6) limitation of amount; (7) some provide for exemplary or punitive damages; (8) negligence rules differ, employer being held in some cases to stricter account than in others. Of course, all provide for jury trials.

THE WASHINGTON STATE DEATH LIABILITY STATUTE.

The Washington State statute is of interest, because of the great maritime business of that State. The port of Puget Sound has surpassed all other Pacific ports, except San Francisco, in tonnage and amount of business handled, and no doubt in a few years it will lead all other American Pacific Ocean ports in tonnage and value of imports and exports.

Then, Seattle is the entry port for Alaska and all the shipping from Alaska to that port, and the maritime business is large in the sound and in the river. Except for certain hazardous undertakings, including stevedoring and the work of the longshoremen, which, as already stated, are under the compensation act, this general statute applies to all deaths on the waters of that State, including the 3-mile strip of the ocean along the short. It also applies to all deaths occurring anywhere on boats domiciled or registered at Seattle or anywhere within the State. That State law provides:

That when the death of a person is caused by the wrongful act or neglect of another his heirs or personal representatives may maintain an action against the person causing the death; that if the deceased leaves no widow or issue, his parents, sisters, or minor brothers, who may be dependent on him for support, and who are residents within the United States at his death, may maintain the action; and that in every case the jury may give such damages as under all the circumstances of the case may be just.

That a father, or, in case of his death or desertion of his family, the mother, may maintain an action for the death of a child, and a guardian for the death of a ward; that no action for a personal injury to any person occasioning his death shall abate, nor such right of action determine, by reason of such death, if he have a wife or child living, or, leaving none, if he have dependent on him for support and resident within the United States at his death parents, sisters, or minor brothers; and that such action may be prosecuted or commenced in favor of the wife and children, or, if no wife, in favor of children, or, if no wife or children, of parents, sisters, and minor brothers who may be dependent upon him for support.

Then another statute in the State of Washington (Pierce's Code, title 309, sec. 5) provides:

"That all steamers, vessels, and boats, their tackle, apparel, and furniture, are liable for injuries committed by them to persons or property within this State, or while transporting such persons or property to or from this State. Demands for these several causes constitute liens upon all steamers, vessels, and boats, and their tackle, apparel, and furniture * * * and have preference over all other demands; but such liens continue in force only for a period of three years from the time the cause of action accrued."

You will see we have no trouble in Washington about an in rem judgment, as well as in personom. But, remember, the shipowners do not like that and expect this Congress to relieve them from such burdens. Do not overlook the "three-year" provision as to time the lien runs. This act has been applied in Federal courts, as I will show later.

Think of the vast difference in this statute and the lame and ancient statute this committee now proposes to force on my

State, except as to the inland waters, and concurrently on all the waters, lakes, rivers, and bays of the State.

In my State the people would in all probability recall a governor who would sign such a death-liability statute as these shipowners are trying to put over here while the Congressmen from the Lake States and other jurisdictions have their minds taken up with other matters. The benefits the steamship owners get are:

(1) ADMIRALTY JURISDICTION INSTEAD OF STATE OR FEDERAL COURT JURISDICTION.

Proctors instead of lawyers; judges for life, instead of for four years. The claimant, a timid widow, perhaps, hesitates about these proctors and Federal judges and Federal buildings and that mysterious word "admiralty" more than she would about an ordinary trial at the county courthouse.

(2) JUDGE TRIAL INSTEAD OF JURY TRIAL.

Oh, what a boone. The steamships in my State find it simply impossible to adapt themselves to jury trial. "Twelve men," they say; "what do they know about it?" But the widow, the orphan, the dependent prefers a jury. Who is this Judiciary Committee representing on this floor? Of course, they are not knowingly working for the steamship companies against the unfortunate claimants. But it is time for them to find out. I have been hammering on this proposition for months; a schoolboy can understand. There is nothing complicated about it. Why let the steamship companies escape jury trial? Nobody asks that but the shipowners.

(3) DIRECTNESS AND DEFINITENESS.

The Washington State statute creates the liability in the most straightforward terms. The pending bill says the dependents have a right to sue—

the vessel, person, or corporation which would have been liable to a suit for damages by or in behalf of the decedent by reason of such act if death had not ensued.

I consider this a backhanded way to preserve all the out-of-date common-law or admiralty defenses—assumption of risk, fellow servant, and every other old rule made to bar recovery—which our State statutes in many cases have legislated out of existence. There has been a great amount of legislation over this clause, "if death had not ensued." It carries with it a whole flock of defenses that steamboat companies and proctors in admiralty love. For instance, a steamboat runs a whisky joint on board and sells a man whisky who has a wife dependent upon him, and death results from the intoxication. No liability exists under this clause, according to King *v.* Henkil (80 Ala., 505), since no action could have been maintained by the party himself if death had not ensued. I take this illustration from "Death by Wrongful Act," by Tiffany, page 189. Steamboat companies like "ifs," and as many as possible, when it comes to creating liability against them, so we have to put the "if" in this law. Read the up-to-date State statutes and the Federal employers' liability law and you do not find the steamboat companies' "if."

(4) BENEFICIARIES ARE BUNCHED TO DISSIPATE THE AWARD BY THE FEDERAL JUDGE.

The pending bill enumerates as beneficiaries the—

wife, husband, parent, child, or dependent relatives.

Then section 2 bunches all these beneficiaries and provides that the award which the Federal judge allows—

shall be apportioned among them by the court in proportion to the damage they may severally have suffered by reason of the death of the person by whose representatives the suit is brought.

Since it is everybody's money, nobody will want it, reasons the steamboat proctors, enough to put up the costs. The provision will help some to dodge damages, so in it goes into the proposed bill.

How do the State statutes put it, and how does the employers' liability statute put it? Compare the Washington statute:

When the death of a person is caused by the wrongful act or neglect of another his heirs or personal representatives may maintain an action against the person causing the death—

No "if" here—

* * * in favor of the wife and children, or, if no wife, in favor of children, or, if no wife or children, of parents, sisters, and minor brothers who may be dependent upon him for support.

(5) PECUNIARY LOSS ONLY ALLOWED.

The Shipping Trust's bill says:

That the recovery in such suit shall be a fair and just compensation for the pecuniary loss sustained—

Which is to be "apportioned" by the Federal judge in admiralty.

The Washington statute says:

And that in every case the jury may give such damages as under all the circumstances of the case may be just.

Is it any wonder that the shipowners encourage able and learned and high-priced proctors to get busy for a Federal statute? Many State statutes are more liberal than the Washington statute on this, but in our courts juries are returning large verdicts, from $25,000 down, for deaths caused in industry and through various negligent acts where the recovery is not had after the direct fashion of workmen's compensation.

Is it any wonder that the shipowners hasten to our Judiciary Committee for first aid?

They tell us our State law does not go in the Federal court and on the seas. The statement is not true. I could cite any number of cases proving the contrary. The State law goes in the rivers and bays and on the high seas. The ship registered at Seattle as it goes around the world continues subject to the laws of Washington throughout its course, except where Federal law has asserted its superior jurisdiction. There is no Federal law on the subject of death liability.

The shipowners are not looking for a new liability against themselves. They want to get away from juries and State laws.

(6) THREE YEARS TO COMMENCE ACTION INSTEAD OF THREE MONTHS.

The Washington State law allows three years to bring the action and allows a lien for that long. Absence of the boat from the waters of Puget Sound does not prevent the existence of the lien. We can sue the company by service at the office of the company. We do not have to serve the captain of the vessel, who may be in Alaska or China. If the person who is to be served in our State stays away and avoids service, we have three years after he comes back to commence the suit. Under this proposed shipowners' statute to dodge liability we have this boon to negligent, crew-killing, and passenger-drowning ships:

The right of action hereby given shall not be deemed to have lapsed until 90 days after a reasonable opportunity to secure jurisdiction has offered.

This means after the two years have passed, all of which time Mr. Shipowner may have avoided service and maintained his vessel in foreign waters.

Can you blame the Shipping Trust proctors for working hard, yes, very hard, for this bill?

(7) JUDGE TO REDUCE AMOUNT OF DAMAGES IN PROPORTION TO DEGREE OF NEGLIGENCE.

Little attention is paid to the shipowners' negligence, the only question being, Did the deceased contribute any negligence? The Federal employers' liability negligence provisions make recovery very much easier.

But, of course, the shipowners will not stand for the doctrine of negligence laid down by Congress for railroads. And this committee is to concur, it seems, in their wishes. Maybe so; but not by default. There will be a roll call, and those who want to help out the shipowners in their effort to dodge liability can do it with a loud "aye" for this bill for their relief. Oh, the poor shipowners! Why should they have to subject themselves to juries and State judges and modern rules which eliminate in the main those old common-law defenses? The widows and orphans have no business responsibility. The shipowner did not take their property. He only took the life of the husband and father. Who can blame this Judiciary Committee for flying to the relief of the poor shipowners?

(8) DO NOT HAVE TO PAY THE JUDGMENT AFTER IT IS RECOVERED.

Section 6 of this proposed bill, in its three lines and one word of many "crimes that have been committed in thy name," oh business. Under this section a steamboat owner can take a ship worth $75,000 and insure it for $75,000; an old, leaky ship, with a Chinese crew and incompetent officers. He can load it at Norfolk with passengers and freight—the freight all insured—for New York. If the ship sinks in midocean he can take the $75,000 insurance money, the shippers of freight collect their insurance money, and the surviving dependents of the passengers and crew, the widows and orphans, are to be told to go take the ship at the bottom of the ocean, or maybe there are some lifeboats saved; take them, together with the freight charges and the passenger fees of the trip. But all these freight charges must be divided up among all claimants—crew, and so forth? Is that not a crime? Do I put it too strong? They say they passed that infamous set of liability laws, which this section 6 preserves for the poor Shipping Trust against the claims of widows and orphans, to encourage our merchant marine on the ocean and to cause it to carry our flag into the ports of the world and to have ships for transports in case of war; but after they passed the original outrage they later amended it to make it apply to coal barges and little craft in the Great Lakes and in the rivers and other inland waters of the country.

It is true that this bill does not create that defense, or rather that final haven of refuge for the shipowner, but I can not understand how any committee can handle the unclean, unjust,

and abominable statute without an awakened sense of justice and patriotism that would demand a repeal rather than a confirmation and reenactment as a protection against damages for the negligent death of employees and passengers.

The American Bar Association should withdraw its approval, and the Judiciary Committee should withdraw it from consideration by this Congress. The committee has not realized the abominable features it contains.

Joseph Chamberlain, when president of the Board of Trade of England, concerning this steamship protection, said:

Bear in mind, when a ship is lost the shipowner may make a profit, the owner may get more than the value of his ship; the merchant may lose nothing, but may, and very often does, get more than the value of the cargo back. In the same way the underwriter averages his losses, and on the whole makes a profit on the insurance of the ship out of his premium.

But the English limitation of liability law is much less favorable to shipowners than is ours. The English law is £15 per ton when loss of life is involved and £8 per ton where loss of cargo only is involved. We say, "Go get the ship at the bottom of the ocean." We let the shipowner have the insurance money even. Oh, the poor shipowner, we must protect him!

But we have never written a law on death liability at sea, and it would be thinkable, at least, that members of the American Bar Association, that great and honorable organization which has made so many good suggestions, would consider human life and compensation therefor as of enough importance to at least vary this liability rule after the English rule.

The un-American and inhuman liability statutes have already been referred to, but court rules authorized by these statutes are very much against the interest of the claimants in the application of the State statutes. It would seem that if State laws can be applied that the right of jury trial would follow. Jury trial, though permissible in certain cases, is rarely granted in an admiralty court.

Rules 54 and 56 in admiralty, prescribed by the Federal court under authority of Congress, do about as much enacting as the statutes themselves. These rules provide that when a shipowner shall file suit to limit his liability in an admiralty court the judge of such court may at once stop all pending suits against him in any other court in the United State and order them all assembled before him, and he may issue an injunction prohibiting any person from suing the shipowner before any judge but himself. This, of course, enables the shipowner to pick his judge and then compel all claimants to bring their claims to the forum thus selected and abide the decrees or await orders of this particular judge, including all delays for appeals to higher courts touching the question of limiting liability. By this injunction process this Federal judge in admiralty is enabled to supersede all other judicial forums wherein claimants may have preferred to file their claims. And, of course, the liability decree of the admiralty court is binding on all parties.

These court rules add to the statute matter which, no doubt, Congress would have refused to enact, notwithstanding the rush of a last day of emergency and unanimous-consent legislation, such as was going on when Senator Hamlin put through his liability statute. By this court rule the extraordinary writ of injunction is conferred to supersede all other State or Federal jurisdiction. Congress would have spurned a statute providing for such an injunction, but an admiralty judge passed the necessary legislation in his study.

THE "TITANIC" AVOIDS ENGLISH JUSTICE.

The pending cases against the Oceanic Steam Navigation Co. (Ltd.) for loss of life and property on the *Titanic* illustrates the injustice both of this limitation of liability statute and the injunction against other suits provided by enactment of the Federal judge.

The incidents connected with the *Titanic* disaster are fresh in the minds of all. The *Titanic*, a ship of British register, was built in Belfast and launched in 1911 under the ownership and control of the Oceanic Steam Navigation Co. (Ltd.), also known as the White Star Line. On April 10, 1912, the *Titanic*, with passengers and cargo on board, left Southampton on her maiden voyage bound for New York. On April 14, at about 11.40 p. m., in mid-ocean, latitude 41° 46'' north and longitude 50° 14'' west, the ship came into collision with an iceberg, and at 2.20 a. m. on April 15, 1912, she sank, a complete loss, except 14 lifeboats, which were saved. Seven hundred and eleven persons of her crew and passenger list were saved and a large number perished, as well as her entire cargo, including freight, baggage, and mails.

THE "TITANIC" OWNERS ARE SUED IN MANY COURTS.

In due course a large number of suits and claims were filed against the owners of this vessel in American courts. These complainants sought to hold the *Titanic* owners under the law of the flag, but the English company became very American all of a sudden.

There is an English liability law governing shipowners, but even the reputed selfishness of John Bull had not permitted any such liability limitation as Uncle Sam had provided. The British act provides a limitation of £15 per ton of ship and cargo. In the case of the *Titanic* English liability law would render the owners of the vessel liable for an amount aggregating $3,000,000. The American statute would limit the liability to $96,000 plus the value of the *Titanic* as it now lies at the bottom of the ocean.

The Oceanic Steam & Navigation Co. (Ltd.) had offices in several cities of this country, and many claimants hoping to apply the English statute as the Taft decision had applied Canadian law, brought actions against the owners for damages sustained by reason of the *Titanic* disaster, as follows:

In the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, by Louise Robins, as administratrix, and so forth, of George Robins, deceased, for damages for loss of the life of George Robins.

In the supreme court, New York County, N. Y., by Frederick W. Shellard, as administrator, and so forth, of Frederick B. Shellard, deceased, for damages for loss of the life of Frederick B. Shellard.

In the Superior Court, Cook County, Ill.: By John Devine, as administrator, and so forth, of A. Willard, deceased, for damages for the loss of the life of A. Willard.

In the district court, Ramsey County, Minn.: By Carl Johnson, for damages for alleged personal injuries sustained and for loss of baggage. By Oscar Hedman, for damages for alleged personal injuries and for loss of baggage.

ENGLISH DEFENDANTS CHOOSE THE COURT AND NAME THE JUDGE.

Of course, the wise English shipowners did not want these American passengers and employees and their dependents to carry on these proceedings in these several American courts.

In the first place, they naturally wanted all such cases tried in some court of their own selection, before some judge of their own selection, and, of course, without a jury. They wanted the court domiciled in a convenient place. They preferred the hill to come to Mahomet rather than for Mahomet to go to the hill, and they could go Mahomet one better, for they could have their way in the first instance and Mahomet could not.

Then they wanted American liability law applied, if possible, so as to let them off on $96,000 liability rather than English law, with $3,000,000.

All of a sudden, like a bolt of lightning out of a clear sky, these litigants and all other claimants that can be found—and, of course, the shipowning company had the whole list—are searched out by a United States marshal and an order of the Federal judge of the southern district of New York is served upon them, each and every one, and they are commanded to quit suing these English shipowners in any court but that of the said judge. And all who have not yet commenced suit are ordered to come before this particular judge with their complaint. Here we have the spectacle of an English corporation, which has already been compelled by a jury in England to pay up English claims, compelling American citizens on American soil to go across the country to a forum of its own selection to have their cases tried. Congress could not have been forced to pass such a law, but the court's rules were sufficient.

THE STANDARD OF LIABILITY SHOULD BE IDENTICAL ON SEA AND LAND.

The United States Supreme Court has finally ruled on this case and decided that American liability law is to be applied, and not English liability law. This decision makes it so much more imperative that the antiquated and uncivilized standards of American liability for shipowners be abandoned and the same standard applied on the water as on the land.

Under the common law, as was laid down in the case of Pandorf against Hamilton, by Lord Justice Lopes, "A carrier by sea is, like a common carrier, apart from express contract, absolutely responsible for the goods intrusted to him, and insures them against all contingencies excepting only the act of God and the enemies of the Queen."

It did not take the American Congress long to knock out that feature of the common law. But how different with provisions for the benefit of those who bear the terrible burdens of industry.

(9) FEDERAL JURISDICTION EXCLUSIVE ON GREAT LAKES AND ELSEWHERE.

Sections 7 and 8 of the bill make it impossible to try any case for death through negligence on the Great Lakes or on the ocean or Gulf within the 3-mile limit. Look out for homefolks in Texas if the Texas delegation votes for this. Texas has a very effective death liability statute. The people do not want this thing substituted for it.

NOT LIMITED TO VESSELS OR COMMERCE.

A feature of this bill which no one seems to have noticed is that it is to apply to each and every liability for death in the area mentioned. Two people in bathing at Atlantic City or elsewhere in the ocean or Gulf or Great Lakes and one injures the other, causing death. It goes to the Federal court, but not "district court," mind you, but "district court in admiralty." No jury, no local law, or local court.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION THE RIGHT SOLUTION FOR THE EMPLOYEES.

What the American Bar Association ought to do is to prepare a bill applying its ideas on uniform workmen's compensation to the waters of the country and to interstate carriers. That would be up to date. But I do not believe anything less advanced than the Federal employers' liability act can pass this Congress with a parallel and equal liability for passengers as for workmen. The liability on the ocean for unsafe passage and for injuries to employees should be just as great as on a railroad train. It is absurd to let the shipowners escape their just responsibility.

I have received a letter from F. R. Wall, of San Francisco, indorsing my fight on this bill, which I here insert:

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., *February 19, 1914.*

Representatives J. W. BRYAN,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I appreciate very much your remarks on H. R. 6143, and approve thoroughly of all you say as to the limited liability law. Hope your proposed bill may become law. May I suggest that it should provide specifically for a lien in rem in all cases of death or personal injuries?

Yours, very truly,

F. R. WALL.

The same party wrote a letter to the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, which was published in the Coast Seaman's Journal with comments as follows:

LIABILITY OF SHIPOWNERS.

Attorney F. R. Wall, of San Francisco, has favored the Journal with a copy of a communication sent by him recently to the chairman of a subcommitee of the House of Representatives in relation to pending legislation upon the limitation of shipowners' liability, etc.

Mr. Wall's criticism of House bill 6143 is deserving of careful perusal, as it shows clearly that under present law the shipowner is well protected from bothersome damage suits, his frequent complaints to the contrary notwithstanding.

Mr. Wall's letter follows:

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., *March 9, 1914.*

Hon. E. Y. WEBB,
Chairman of Subcommittee of Committee on Judiciary,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Please permit me, as one who for many years has been deeply interested in the welfare of seamen, to suggest what seem to me pertinent criticisms of H. R. 6143.

The bill provides for recovery in case there could have been recovery "by or in behalf of the decedent by reason of such act if death had not ensued." The effect of this part of the provision would be to leave the beneficiary in a worse position than he would be in were the bill not enacted into law.

The reason why this is so is that the laws of a great many of the States permit recovery for wrongful death in cases where the proximate cause is negligence of a fellow servant or risks of employment. In all such cases the libelant can now, if he chooses to do so, take his case into the admiralty court, where the tort has occurred on the Great Lakes or any navigable waters of the United States and within the actual physical boundaries of such States. Further, on a vessel owned in such a State, the libelant may now, under the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of the *Hamilton* (207 U. S., 398), go into the admiralty court, and, I think, any State court where he can get jurisdiction, when the tort occurs on such a vessel on the high seas. Under the proposed law, in case of death occurring on the high seas because of negligence of a fellow servant or assumption of risk, the libelant would be without any means of recovery.

Further, for all cases of death on the high seas, regardless of what may be the laws of the State where the vessel is owned, under the proposed law the libelant would be limited to a right of action, under the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of the *Osceola* (189 U. S., 175), to those cases where the death was caused "in consequence of the unseaworthiness of the ship, or a failure to supply and keep in order the proper appliances appurtenant to the ship." As everyone knows, deaths resulting from such consequence or failure constitute a very small part of the accidental deaths occurring on board ship.

It must be clear, therefore, that the bill, taken as a whole, gives no new or additional remedy in any case whatsoever, unless it be that there are some States in the Union in which vessels are owned that do not give a right of action for wrongful death; and I know of no such States. It must be apparent that those who drafted the bill either had not examined carefully into the law applicable to seafarers, or else they were strongly opposed to the abolition of the fellow servant and assumption of risk doctrines. The policy of the Government of the United States, as expressed in the Federal employers' liability law, leaves no possibility for doubting that these outworn doctrines of the common law are regarded with pronounced disfavor in all cases relating to the safety of employees engaged in interstate commerce on land. And certainly, also, the laws of many of the States express the same disfavor. It is impossible for the ordinary person to understand, and there is no reason why the fellow servant and assumption of risk doctrines should cling to the seamen after the workmen on shore have been released therefrom.

This brings me naturally to a criticism of section 6 of the bill, which preserves all of the rights of the shipowner to limit his liability.

There is no limitation of liability on land in similar cases, and the United States is perhaps the only Government that allows its shipowners to limit their liability to the value of the vessel and her freight pending. England permits its shipowner to limit his liability to a value of £15 a ton in such cases, and there is every reason why we should have some similar provision. Our owner protects himself from all loss by insurance, and then, if his vessel has been lost by the plain fault of his agents or servants, with great loss of life, he collects his full insurance and, under the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of the *Main* (152 U. S., 122), puts all of the insurance money in his pocket and keeps it there, free from all possible attack; limits his liability to the value of a few lifeboats; and the widows and orphans, made such by the negligence of his agents, are left practically without any remedy. The books are full of such cases as these, but I refer you to two from among those within my own experience:

1. Eight or ten years ago the steamship *Walla Walla*, out of San Francisco, was in collision with the French bark *Max*. The *Walla Walla* was plainly in fault, and the court so found. The claims for damages for loss of life, which was great, would easily have amounted to several hundred thousand dollars. The *Walla Walla's* owners limited their liability to a sum less than $1,300, and that was the entire fund from which all of these claims could be satisfied.

2. The steamship *Columbia*, out of San Francisco, was in collision with the steam schooner *San Pedro* off the California coast on July 21, 1907. Both vessels were plainly in fault, and the court so found. The total of the claims proved was $234,481.45. These were about half of the claims that could have been proved against the vessel. Of the proved claims, those for loss of life amounted to about $30,000. The *Columbia* limited her liability to a sum less than $3,500. The *San Pedro* limited her liability to $16,500. The claimants, all of whom were entirely without fault, were paid about 8 cents on the dollar of their allowed claims. The owners of both vessels were undoubtedly fully covered by insurance, not only for this 8 per cent that they had to pay but for all their losses resulting from the collision.

The two cases above mentioned are typical, not at all unusual. In substance, the proposed bill takes away a right of action now given by many States where the death occurs on vessels of such States upon the high seas, and adds a thousandfold to the difficulties of proving such rights as it does give.

Yours, very truly,

F. R. WALL.

University of Rochester Class Memorial to Hon. Sereno E. Payne.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES S. PARKER,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, December 21, 1914.

Mr. PARKER of New York. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a resolution by resident members of the class of 1864 of the University of Rochester, December 11, 1914, with regard to the death of Hon. SERENO E. PAYNE.

The resolution is as follows:

UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER CLASS MEMORIAL TO HON. SERENO E. PAYNE; LL. D.

At a meeting of the resident members of the class of 1864, of the University of Rochester, December 11, 1914, held because of the sudden death of our classmate, the Hon. SERENO E. PAYNE, LL. D., of Auburn, N. Y., it was decided to express our regrets at this national loss, and our personal appreciation of his character and distinguished career, by this informal memorial.

At the recent "golden" anniversary of our class day and commencement, the week of June 11, 1914, Mr. PAYNE was one of the six members of our class permitted to gather for this dual reunion at the altars of our alma mater.

Mr. PAYNE was the central figure in our class exercises, and the chief spokesman, after our honored president, in the social festivities of commencement day.

In our class reunion he was the same genial, simple, honest, frank "old boy" of 54 years ago, when we first met as a class in the old United States Hotel Building, Buffalo Street. There was nothing then to indicate the prophetic appropriateness of his title to the subsequent career of national celebrity and achievement to the ruddy-faced Auburn boy, or the present standing among the halls of learning of the United States of our alma mater in the fourteenth year of its strenuous struggle for academic foothold. What an incentive this joint record of boy and university is to students and institutions, unknown to-day, yet with the same possibilities before them.

Longfellow did not dream that in his immortal "Psalm of life" he was inscribing his own epitaph, as well as the historic record of many others, in his paradoxical phrase of imperishable imprint in the shifting toys of "every wind that blows," when he wrote:

"Lives of great men all remind us,
We can make our lives sublime;
And, departing, leave behind us,
Footprints on the sands of time."

These words of eulogy do not seem an unfitting laurel crown for the man who has reflected honor upon the city of his birth and residence, upon his alma mater and its proud city, upon the Empire State and all her associated States.

Finally, we, his classmates and friends, are proud of the boy and the man, the classmate and citizen, the fellow student and statesman.

We most sincerely desire to extend our sympathy and condolence and our congratulations on his record to his surviving son, his city, our own city and university, to his State and National friends, and to his associates in the House of Representatives of the Sixty-third Congress, honored by his active membership up to the moment of his solemn, unwitnessed summons.

For the class of 1864.

EDWARD DWIGHT CHAPIN, *President.*
CHARLES WILTSHIRE WOOD, *Secretary.*

National Prohibition.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAUDE U. STONE,
OF ILLINOIS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 22, 1914.

Mr. STONE. Mr. Speaker, it is not my intention to discuss the merits of national prohibition. I am here in a representative capacity, and it is my duty to reflect by my votes the views of a majority of my constituents rather than my personal opinions. That is the real meaning and true spirit of representative government.

I do not argue that the people collectively are always right, that their voice is the voice of God, but I do contend that their voice should be the voice of authority. Fully 30,000 voters of my district have by name petitioned me to vote against national prohibition. About 2,000 voters and nonvoters combined have by name petitioned me to favor national prohibition. In addition, church congregations having a total membership of about seven or eight thousand have been reported by ministers and others as indorsing the movement. In the circumstances, and inasmuch as national prohibition has never been a feature of the platform of any political party that as late as 1912 polled as high as 500 votes in my congressional district, I feel that I am practically instructed to vote against national prohibtion. If during my service in Congress the sentiment in favor of national prohibition should grow until a majority of the voters of my district desire me to vote for it, then I shall unhesitatingly register their will.

The fact that my constituents, in the ratio of more than three to one, oppose national prohibition does not signify that they oppose temperance, nor that they submit tamely to liquor domination. Fortunately they are not compelled to choose between intemperance and national prohibition. Some people seemingly confuse the terms "temperance" and "prohibition" as if they were synonymous. Prohibition is merely one of the proposed methods of securing temperance, and in the judgment of many well-known temperance workers, it does not give the greatest promise of producing the desired result, and the premature attempt to get it is likely to delay rather than hasten national temperance.

The people have been getting more and more temperate year by year. This has not been due to coercion nor to repression nor to restrictive legislation of any character, but to education and social evolution.

When a city, township, county, or State, by a majority vote of the people, eliminates the saloons, that action in itself is evidence that the community affected has become temperate because of influences other than legislation, and no doubt would even without legislation become more and more temperate through the same influences. However, when the temperance sentiment of such a community has developed to so great a degree that a majority of the voters favor the imposition of restraints upon the nontemperate population, then there is some justification for such a course. That is the philosophy of local-option laws; that of home rule, of local self-government, of rule by majorities. When a majority of the people of a community desire temperance it is likely that regulatory laws will be uniformly and strictly enforced. When such is not the case the laws will not be enforced, but instead will be disregarded and violated, thus adding the evils of lawlessness and disrespect for law to that of intemperance. Favorable public sentiment is required to make temperance laws effective. No law dealing with human appetites can be stronger than the jury box.

There is State-wide prohibition in Maine, and the Webb-Kenyon law prevents the overriding of that law by other States, and yet there are cities in Maine that have more shops per capita for the public sale of liquor than my home city, which is the greatest distilling city in the world. In parts of Maine candidates for sheriff, who have the enforcing of the law, can not be elected to office if they do not give a public pledge that they will violate their oath of office and will not enforce the law. The same can be said of Georgia, another prohibition State. It is for this reason that the people should be permitted to determine by their own votes the character of restraint that shall be placed upon themselves. State control through local-option laws, whether by city, township, county, or State unit, will permit a vote by the people. National prohibition by an amendment to the Federal Constitution, such as that which is proposed by the pending resolution, will not permit a vote by the people.

The temperance forces of Illinois have been working under township option for a number of years, the law having been passed through their influence. The Anti-Saloon League and other temperance organizations are now seeking to secure a county option law. Thus far they have not attempted to get nor even declared themselves in favor of option by legislative districts or congressional districts or by the State at large. Surely they can not reasonably expect me to take a position so far in advance of their position and so far in advance of public opinion as I should have to take in order to vote for national prohibition.

President Wilson and Secretary of State Bryan, both Christian gentlemen, and the latter especially a pronounced temperance advocate, have taken the position that the liquor question should be regarded as a State issue and that the people of the various States should be free to deal with it in the way that they deem proper. For the present at least I shall follow their leadership on this question just as I declared I would do in 35,000 letters sent to constituents on September 1, 1914.

In order to amend the Federal Constitution it requires a two-thirds vote of both Houses of Congress and ratification by the legislatures of 36 States. Not a single State through its legislature has petitioned Congress to submit such an amendment. Only 14 States have State-wide prohibition now or have voted in favor of it. At least 36 States would have to reach that stage of temperance development before there would be any chance at all of ratifying such an amendment. Because of the prejudice that some States have against turning the police powers over to the Federal Government and having Federal courts and Federal marshals enforce laws pertaining to liquor or any other subject, it is quite likely that some of the States will refuse to ratify an amendment providing for national prohibition even after they adopt State-wide prohibition. Therefore, practically the entire United States could and in a sense must become prohibition territory before a prohibition amendment to the Federal Constitution could be adopted. That condition of public sentiment should be attained by the States before the proposed amendment is submitted rather than afterwards. This situation makes the submission of a national prohibition amendment at this time premature and inopportune and a national contest over the proposition; in the words of Secretary Bryan in the December Commoner:

> Would simply divert attention from the issues upon which the people are ready to act.

There seems to be a general impression that the Hobson resolution, if it secures a two-thirds vote of the two Houses of Congress and is ratified by three-fourths of the States, would forever prohibit the manufacture, transportation, importation, and sale of intoxicating liquors. Such is not the case. It would prohibit the sale, manufacture for sale, transportation for sale, and importation for sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes. Surely it is the use of intoxicating liquors and not merely the sale of them which temperance people desire to prevent. Under the operation of the Hobson resolution there would be no restriction upon the manufacture of liquors for personal use or to give away. A "still" that would manufacture 15 gallons of whisky a day could be purchased for $28. Every family could own one, or a cooperative club could be formed so as to supply a town or neighborhood. The word "sale" is a technical term and would not prevent the owner of a distillery receiving a supply of corn, rye, and so forth, to be manufactured into whisky and charging a fee for the service. There would be no restriction on the importation of intoxicating liquors provided they were not imported for sale. A club could be organized and members could each order a certain number of pints or gallons, the orders could go abroad together and the deliveries could be made together. A clerk could look after all of this work and be paid a salary for it; most likely an enterprising clerk would promote the club. Of course any individual could order directly whatever he desired for personal or family use or to give away. It will be seen that the Hobson resolution is not a panacea for the liquor evil, but contains many possibilities for harm. Few people in the country are familiar with its terms. There has been no general discussion of its merits based upon an actual knowledge of its contents. Nine different resolutions on national prohibition have been introduced by Mr. HOBSON during the present Congress, and to-day we are considering a tenth resolution, which has not even been printed. This indicates the unsettled convictions on the subject of the author of the resolution himself, and the other proponents of the resolution are not likely to be more firm and steadfast in their views.

Here it is not pretended that the Hobson resolution provides genuine prohibition, but that fact has not been explained to the country. The principal advocates of the resolution are acquainted with its weaknesses, but see in those weaknesses its chief strength. Votes are wanted in order to give the appearance of a strong prohibition sentiment in Congress, and nearly every inducement has been offered, except to provide the whisky users of the country with plants for the free and unlimited manufacture of whisky, in order to get support for the resolution. I have observed politicians who sought to divide the liquor forces by truthfully assuring one portion of them that they were not affected by legislation aimed at some evil of the business, but the spectacle of ministers and avowed prohibitionists eagerly giving the assurance that a proposed national prohibition resolution will not prevent the use of intoxicants, but will really allow drinkers to even make all they want without restriction or payment of revenue, is something that I never expected to witness.

It would seem advisable that when the temperance sentiment has grown so that public opinion will sustain Congress in voting for national prohibition, and it is likely that three-fourths of the States will ratify the amendment submitted, that the resolution adopted should be of such a character as to end the liquor question for all time.

In the past I have supported a number of measures to regulate the liquor traffic that impressed me as being well considered in the interests of temperance and not in advance of public opinion on the subject in the district which I represent.

I have no defense to make of intoxicating liquors, and I have no sympathy for the evils of the traffic in them. I believe in temperance and I practice my belief. I have been fought as bitterly by the organized liquor interests as any Member of this House, and I entertain no hope that they will change their attitude. However, I shall not allow these circumstances to control my judgment so as to cause me, without instructions from my constituents after full debate, to support a proposition that is not only untimely but is so illy conceived as to be likely to prove a setback to the accomplishment of real national temperance. It shall be my purpose in the future to proceed along the same lines as in the past, not hoping to satisfy the extremists of either side of the question, but hoping to do what the great mass of my constituents desire me to do and what gives the surest promise of promoting the best interests of the country.

Education.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS FITZHENRY,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, December 23, 1914.

Mr. FITZHENRY. Mr. Speaker, the Congress of the United States ought to be interested in American history being correctly taught to the youth of this country. I am informed that in many of the public schools of the United States, particularly in the State of Illinois, the textbooks either state as an established fact or by inference that an American discovered the North Pole, and that the American who did so was Robert E. Peary, United States Navy, now retired with the rank of rear admiral.

It is claimed that the North Pole was discovered by him April 6, 1909, and these statements are very largely made upon the belief that the Congress of the United States, through its proper committees, has made an investigation as to who did discover the North Pole, and that the findings of the Congress were to the effect that this honor was due Robert E. Peary.

I have made some investigation myself to ascertain the truth of this assertion, and find that Congress never has stated that Rear Admiral Peary discovered the North Pole, but have learned that some years ago, while investigating the merits of a bill to retire Mr. Peary with the rank of rear admiral, one of the committees did report a finding to the effect that Admiral Peary had "reached" the North Pole, but neither the committee nor the House presumed to determine who did discover the North Pole.

Matters of history should be as correctly taught in the schools of this country as possible. More than five years have passed since the claim that Admiral Peary had discovered the North Pole was made.

Another Arctic explorer has also laid claims to this great honor, contending that he reached the North Pole about a year prior to Admiral Peary; but no investigation to ascertain the truth or falsity of his claim has ever been made, and I feel that it is in the interest of education that some steps along this line should be taken, and that at as early a date as is practicable, for in a few years the lips of many of the now living witnesses will be closed forever.

The fact should be formally ascertained as to whether or not an American did discover the North Pole; and if so, a record of that fact should be established so as to avoid the possibility of any future contention.

The frozen North, of which we know so little to-day, is very apt to prove a veritable treasure storehouse for this country in the future. We have learned in a general way of the limitless deposits of anthracite coal in the islands of the Arctic Ocean and of the innumerable fur-bearing and food-producing animals of that unprospected country. If we as a Nation wish to quiet our title by discovery to these lands, we should do so now, to say nothing of the importance of properly establishing a scientific fact.

If the claims of Admiral Robert E. Peary to the discovery of the North Pole can be substantiated, it should be done, as I find it has been seriously questioned by men who have given great study and devoted much time to research upon Arctic matters as well as a large number of the leading Arctic explorers of the world. On the other hand, Dr. Frederick A. Cook, another Arctic explorer, claims that he discovered the North Pole, having reached it on the 21st day of April, 1908; and I find that a great preponderance of the authorities upon this subject are inclined to give Dr. Cook the credit for having made this exceedingly valuable addition to science as well as to the territory of the United States. In justice to him, as well as Admiral Peary, the conflicting claims should be finally settled.

Some time ago Mr. E. C. Rost inaugurated a systematic investigation to discover just what learned men, scientific societies, our public educators in schools, colleges, and universities, our encyclopedias, libraries, and the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD had to offer in this matter.

The heads of public instruction in our 48 States all replied to his inquiries. None had any authority to offer for the statement that an American discovered the North Pole; some referred to newspapers, magazines, and the National Geographic Society; the majority expressed ignorance as to what is taught in the schools and referred to some subordinate.

Not a president of any university or college, not even President Emeritus Charles W. Eliot, of Harvard University, quoted any authority that an American discovered the North Pole.

The authorities of libraries of New York, Boston, Chicago, and elsewhere replied in substantially the same words as are here quoted from a letter received from the Congressional Library of Washington, D. C.:

JANUARY 6, 1914.

DEAR SIR: The Government documents afford all the information which we have in regard to the recognition of Robert E. Peary as the discoverer of the North Pole.

J. L. FARNUM, *Secretary.*

The John Crerar Reference Library, of Chicago, through Mr. Robert J. Usher, acting reference librarian, has issued a special statement that no such authority exists, and has signed a memorial asking Congress to establish the claim to discovery.

Mr. Usher has also furnished the following letter:

NOVEMBER 23, 1914.

* * * My own observations lead me to believe more and more firmly that any unfavorable statement against Dr. Cook from encyclopedias, magazines, or schoolbooks can be traced back to some slanderous and unverified newspaper story. All such statements would simmer down to a few, which could be labeled "Hampton's Slanders," etc. Proof of the falsity of these various statements is found outside of Dr. Cook's own statements.

The Chicago Post in its issue of November 26, 1914, published the following letter from Mr. Usher:

To the Editor of the Post.

SIR: Why does your inspired headline writer refer to Dr. Frederick Cook as "Ole Doc Cook"?

Dr. Cook was born in 1865. He is a bona fide M. D. and a member of the American Medical Association, as its latest directory attests.

If the term is used as derogatory, it is well to remember that no scientific body has ever disproved his claims of having reached the North Pole in 1908 and of having climbed to the top of Mount McKinley in 1906.

Statements discrediting Dr. Cook can always be traced to cumulated newspaper statements made without reference to facts and originally instigated, in most instances, by a press bureau whose sole purpose was to destroy Dr. Cook's good name.

ROBERT J. USHER,
Assistant Reference Librarian, John Crerar Library.

None of the encyclopedias had any authority to offer, but followed a general system of referring the inquirer from one

encyclopedia to another, to the various editions of Who's Who, and so forth, ignoring the fact that the biographical notes in these publications are written and edited by the persons to whom they refer. The Century Cyclopedia, after repeated futile attempts to substantiate their statement that Peary discovered the North Pole by quoting Mr. Peary's own book, the National Geographic Society, and the Century Dictionary, finally referred for proof to the Arctic Club of America, which club presented a gold medal for the discovery of the pole to Dr. Frederick A. Cook and refused to take any action on Mr. Peary's claim.

Bowdoin College conferred the degree of LL. D. on Mr. Peary. On application to President Hyde, of that institution, for the authority on which such action was taken, he stated that a former professor of Bowdoin College—Hudson Bridge Hastings—had examined Peary's original material. A letter to Prof. Hastings brought a reply as follows:

I beg to state that I did not examine or check Admiral Peary's original astronomical observations.

HUDSON B. HASTINGS.

During the congressional investigation of Mr. Peary's case the statement was made before the Naval Committee that the Coast and Geodetic Survey officially examined Mr. Peary's original data. Later a letter from O. H. Tittmann, then and now Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, stated that the material was examined by two men employed by Mr. Peary for that purpose, and that his—Mr. Tittmann's—bureau did not make such an examination.

On page 364 of Mr. Peary's book, The North Pole, published by Stokes & Co., New York, Mr. Peary says:

Among the home and foreign honors awarded for the attainment of the pole are the following: * * * The Royal Geographical Society of London—

And so forth.

But facing page 365 of that book is a full-size reproduction of the medal presented to Mr. Peary by the Royal Geographical Society, showing plainly that the words "discovery" or "North Pole" do not appear on it. The inscription reads: "For Arctic explorations." Other medals presented to Mr. Peary by geographical societies bear similar evasively worded inscriptions. If all of these various medals had actually been given by scientific and geographical societies in good faith for the discovery of the North Pole, it would be unnecessary for those interested in Mr. Peary's success to resort to anonymous communications and other material to defend his claims.

The Des Moines (Iowa) Evening Tribune of June 23, 1914, published the following timely and pertinent editorial:

Whatever else Dr. Cook may be right or wrong about, he is most certainly right about the efforts that are being made to suppress him and his contention over the North Pole discovery.

The Evening Tribune is in receipt of a mass of printed matter about the doctor sent from no acknowledged source, that in the preparation must represent weeks of labor and hundreds of dollars of expense.

The question that naturally suggests itself is why such an effort should now be considered necessary to discredit the doctor, and who is financially interested enough to go to the expense?

Whence comes the belief, then, that Mr. Peary is generally indorsed as the discoverer of the North Pole?

The National Geographic Society (a private enterprise), of Washington, D. C., represented by a committee of three men, Messrs. Gannett, Tittmann, and Chester, presented Mr. Peary's case to Congress, and asked that Peary be recognized as the discoverer of the North Pole. As the above-mentioned society, it was claimed, made a $25,000 subscription to Mr. Peary's polar expedition, it was financially interested in the expedition.

The report of its committee was accepted as offered, however, and embodied in a report presented to Congress, but the words "discovery" and "discoverer" were stricken from the bill before it was finally passed. See Private Calendar No. 733, Report No. 1961, Sixty-first Congress, third session. United States Statutes at Large, chapter 247, gives the wording of the bill as finally passed.

Thus the Congress of the United States, so far as the record discloses, has rejected the verdict of the National Geographic Society, and refused Mr. Peary the title claim to discovery, primarily because of a prior record, the claim of Dr. Frederick A. Cook.

I have examined a number of recent letters from Arctic explorers of the highest rank and achievement, from which I shall quote briefly:

OAKLAND, CAL., *April 27, 1914.*

* * * You ask me for my opinion as to the merit of the claims for discovery of the geographical point, the North Pole, and in reply I wish to state that I have met both the persons referred to, have carefully studied their reports, and from the experience I have had during five cruises to the Arctic Ocean on the Pacific side in Government ships, I fully indorse the view that the priority of discovery belongs to Dr. Cook.

O. C. HAMLET,
Senior Captain, United States Revenue-Cutter Service, Retired.

SAN FRANCISCO, *June 12, 1914.*

* * * Man's ability or endurance is never known until it is put to the test. The man of recognized accomplishment to-day has simply emerged from the quiet unheard of life of yesterday. Success is attained by many routes. While one may shout himself into success, another may attain success so quietly as to fully arrive before the world knows about him.

I can not believe that anyone familiar with Arctic work, or even sufficiently familiar with Arctic history to appreciate the worth of what they read, can read with an unprejudiced mind Dr. Frederick A. Cook's My Attainment of the Pole and not be impressed with the vivid and realistic character of the wonderful story, or fail to be impressed with the intelligence, the fidelity, and the quiet, determined courage of its author. I do not believe any man sufficiently clever to construct this story as it is written without first having had the experience.

ANDREW J. STONE,
Arctic Explorer and Author.

—

JULY, 1914.

After careful consideration of Rear Admiral Schley's Arctic letters to Dr. Cook, I don't hesitate to indorse every word the Admiral said of the Doctor.

JOHN BYERS WIRT,
Commodore, Commanding National Naval Veterans,
United States Army.

The letter referred to by Commodore Wirt is an indorsement of Dr. Cook's claims by the late Admiral.

DURHAN, *April 24, 1914.*

To Dr. F. A. COOK.

DEAR SIR: * * * Permit me to tell you that I've always been one of your most ardent supporters, even in those days when the Peary gang had the run of the press and you were silent. Amongst those who have had a peep behind the curtains of Arctic exploration Peary's true character is only too well known to be commented upon, and his doings are, the least said, infamous.

You have fought a noble fight with a true gentleman's weapon, which is more than can be said about your antagonist. I sincerely hope that the justice you are demanding shall not be long in forthcoming.

Hoping to have the pleasure of one day making your personal acquaintance, I beg to remain,

Sincerely, yours,

R. BERGENDAHL,
Swedish Arctic Explorer.

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STRANDBOULEVARD, *Kobenhavn, 1914.*

MY DEAR DR. COOK: May I congratulate you? I saw in the papers that the Congress was going to confer an honor on you. I need not tell you that I was very pleased.

I have from our mutual friend—Hamlet—received the congressional report on the Peary investigation and was extremely interested. That committee of the National Geographic Society have certainly taken matters easy. It seems really incredible.

I have written and written again to Peary regarding some glacialogical work done on the ice cap on Greenland, but have never received an answer; and I presume that he does not like that I brought back the information that the Peary Channel did not exist. That's the only reason that I can find out.

I am working hard, as I have to draw up my official report over the voyage across the northern Greenlandic ice cap. With my kindest regards, I am,

Yours, faithfully,

EJNAR MIKKELSEN,
Arctic Explorer and Author of Lost in the Arctic.

Dr. J. G. Knowlton, surgeon on the steamer *Neptune*, Scott expedition, wrote the following words on a photograph of himself, which he presented to Dr. Cook:

For Dr. Frederick A. Cook. The first man at the North Pole, and, I may say, the only one up to date.

From his friend,

Dr. J. G. KNOWLTON.

JANUARY 19, 1914.

The foregoing are only a few of many hearty indorsements of practical Arctic explorers concerning Cook's discovery of the North Pole, and, as is the case in all lines of endeavor, the opinions of practical, experienced men in the same line of work should and do carry great weight. However, the scientific and mathematical side of an explorer's work must also be considered. In Dr. Cook's case six of the foremost civil engineers in America, whose names I shall give, men unbiased by personal friendship or financial business associations, after careful calculations and checking of Dr. Cook's original data, state that they prove beyond question or dispute that he arrived at the North Pole on April 21, 1908:

Clark Brown, associate member American Society Civil Engineers.

David R. Lee, C. E., "B. S., C. U., 1889," member American Society Civil Engineers.

J. M. Taylor, M. E., Cornell University, 1888.

E. G. Raynor, C. E., B. S., New York University, 1903.

R. L. Holt, C. E., Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, 1904.

J. C. Green, Michigan Agricultural College, 1901, associate member American Society Civil Engineers.

The responsibility for a just decision of this question rests on our National Government, not only as a matter of justice but to insure the future teaching of verified historical truths instead of glittering generalities or unestablished claims to the children of this and coming generations.

Correspondence and Affidavits in Relation to Actual Homesteaders Living on Lands Now Contested by Railroad Companies in the State of Washington.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. A. FALCONER,
OF WASHINGTON,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, December 23, 1914.

Mr. FALCONER. Mr. Speaker, it is very unfortunate that these controversies come up, and, Mr. Speaker, I am of the opinion that Government officials of former years giving, as they seem to have done by the affidavits following, encouragement to homesteaders to locate, are more or less responsible for the unfortunate situation these bona fide homesteaders now find themselves in.

The railroad officials in certain past instances have acquiesced to the desires of homesteaders, and I believe in these cases, if the facts are presented, they will again show proper consideration to these men who, with families, have made an effort to develop a home out yonder in the far West.

A close reading of these affidavits must impress anyone that the encouragement to locate given these men by land-office officials and the Department of the Interior, together with lawyers who for many years have been in close touch with land-office matters, always on hand to advise the homesteader—and in these particular cases did advise them—is a factor that should be taken into serious consideration by the present officials having to do with Land Department matters.

The fact that these men are bona fide settlers, with all they have in the world tied up in these homesteads, should appeal to any fair-minded man.

Bills are pending covering these cases, but it is hoped that these cases may be settled satisfactorily without legislation.

These affidavits draw in strong colors pictures of humble homes, and I desire to place them in the permanent records of the Congress:

STATE OF WASHINGTON, *County of King, ss:*

Thomas Scott, being first duly sworn according to law, deposes and says: I settled on the southeast quarter of section 27, township 23 north, range 9 east, Willamette meridian, the same being in King County, Wash., on February 10, 1908, intending to make the same my homestead; that I am married and have family of five children, and reside on said claim and have resided there continuously since February 10, 1908; that I have 1 acre under cultivation, and my improvements consist of a story and a half frame dwelling house 20 by 30 feet, barn 18 by 24 feet, chicken coop 14 by 20 feet, cellar 10 by 12 feet, woodshed 16 by 20 feet, milk house 10 by 12 feet; that I bought a relinquishment from Lewis Sheldrew and paid $1,250 cash, Sheldrew subsequently settling on the southwest quarter of section 29 in the same township; before buying I went to the local land office in Seattle to get what information I wanted. They told me if I found unsurveyed, unoccupied land anywhere west of the Cascade Mountains, went on it, and lived up to the homestead laws that I would be sure of holding it and procuring patent. From there I went to Randolph & Gregorys office in Seattle; had a long talk with them; told them the land I was thinking of settling on was at the foot of the Cascade Mountains, and that it was not surveyed nor in a forest reserve and told them all I could about it, and they told me if I found unsurveyed vacant land anywhere west of the Cascades, went on it, and treated it as my homestead and lived up to the homestead laws, nobody could beat me out of it, and that I would be sure to get my patent, and on the strength of the information and advice I bought the relinquishment of Sheldrew for $1,250; that in addition to the buildings set out above I have a water system piped into the house with about 1,500 feet of pipe; have apple trees, pear trees, plum trees, gooseberries, currants, blackberries, raspberries, strawberries, rhubarb, and all kinds of garden vegetables, cows, chickens, hogs, calf, etc. Further affiant saith not.

THOMAS SCOTT.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 15th day of December, 1914.
[SEAL.] A. R. MASON,
Notary Public in and for the State of Washington,
Residing at North Bend.

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STATE OF WASHINGTON, *County of King, ss:*

Elmer B. Holdredge, being first duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that I settled on the southeast quarter of section 29, township 23 north, range 9 east, Willamette meridian, the same being in King County, Wash., on February 10, 1908, with the intention of making the same my homestead; that I have lived on said land continuously ever since, and still live thereon; that my improvements are worth upward of $2,500 and consist of a two-story house, with shingle roof, 20 by 30 feet, cellar under house 8 by 14 feet, woodshed 12 by 22 feet, barn 18 by 36 feet with large hayloft, hen house 13 by 24 feet with loft, wagon shed 9 by 36 feet. All buildings are frame; about 2 acres cleared and under cultivation, and about 2,000 feet of fence, cable footbridge with 150 feet span across river; apple, pear, and plum trees; all kinds of berries, currants, gooseberries, and rhubarb; one horse, one cow, 40 hens; running water piped into house and barn and for irrigation and fire protection; I am unmarried. I was looking for a homestead and saw this one, which was and is unsurveyed, and it suited me; then I went to the local land office at Seattle, Wash., and the land-office officials told me that all unsurveyed land was Government land and open for settlement, and when a man lived up to the requirements of the law regarding homestead settlement there could not be any possible question of his securing patent, and on the strength of their advice and information and on the further advice of Messrs. Gregory & Randolph I paid William Tanner $1,200 to relinquish the land to me. That attached hereto is a photograph of part of my claim, showing some of the improvements and affiant. Further affiant saith not.

ELMER B. HOLDREDGE.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 10th day of December, 1914.
[SEAL.] A. R. MASON,
Notary Public in and for the State of Washington,
Residing at North Bend.

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STATE OF WASHINGTON, *County of King, ss:*

Willis E. Dwyer, being first duly sworn according to law, deposes and says: I settled on the south half of the northeast quarter and the south half of the northwest quarter section 3, township 23 north, range 9 east, Willamette meridian, the same being in King County, Wash., in March, 1906, intending to make the same my homestead; that I am married, and my wife and boy came to live on said place with me on June 1, 1906, and I lived there continuously for five years; that at the time of my settlement said land was unsurveyed and was occupied by F. A. Philbrick, to whom I paid $300 for relinquishment; that I have made substantial improvements consisting of a cabin 18 by 40, cleared 2 acres, planted 6 fruit trees, made about 2½ miles of trail and 2 substantial bridges, piped for water to house, including 1,000 feet of pipe, fine vegetable garden, containing all kinds of berries and garden vegetables; that when said land was surveyed I made my application for filing, but was contested by the Northern Pacific Railway Co., said company claiming the land to be within the primary limits of their grant; that my filing was rejected, and I appealed to the General Land Office and the decision of the local register and receiver was sustained; that I was told by Mr. Twichell there was no reason, so far as he knew, why I could not get this land, and I think Mr. Twichell acted in good faith in making said statement; that my improvements cost about $1,200. Further affiant saith not.

WILLIS E. DWYER.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 15th day of December, 1914.
[SEAL.] HOWARD H. STARTZMAN,
Notary Public in and for the State of Washington,
Residing at Seattle.

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STATE OF WASHINGTON, *County of King, ss:*

Lewis Sheldrew, being first duly sworn according to law, deposes and says: I settled on the southwest quarter of section 29, township 23 north, range 9 east, Willamette meridian, the same being in King County, Wash., on February 16, 1908; that I bought the relinquishment for said land from one A. Violet, of North Bend, Wash., and paid him the sum of $1,500 cash; that before completing said purchase I went to the local land office at Seattle, Wash., and was advised by Frank A. Twichell that any land that was not in a forest reserve and not occupied and was still unsurveyed was open for settlement, and he advised me to go on this land, which I did; I have lived on the land continuously ever since I settled on it, and during the last five years, altogether, I have not been absent from it more than one month; that I have not been absent from said land more than four days at any one time; that said land is my home and the only property I have of any kind, and I settled on it intending to make it my home; that my improvements consist of one log house 19 by 20, one log house 28 by 20, containing three rooms, root house 8 by 10, 1½ acres cleared and sown to grass and used for garden and berries, said land producing more than needed for my support, and 1½ acres slashed and partly cleared; my land is fine agricultural land, have matured blue-stem wheat in 100 days, raised the finest of strawberries and all kinds of garden vegetables; that I am a single man, and still live on said land. Further affiant saith not.

LEWIS SHELDREW.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 7th day of December, 1914.
[SEAL.] HOWARD H. STARTZMAN,
Notary Public in and for the State of Washington,
Residing at Seattle.

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STATE OF WASHINGTON, *County of King, ss:*

I, Gustav A. Schultheiss, being first duly sworn according to law, on oath depose and say: That I am a citizen of the United States of lawful age, to wit, 53 years, and my post-office address is Baring, Wash., and qualified to make homestead entry. I did on the 22d day of May, 1908, make homestead settlement on unsurveyed land, which since survey has been described as the northeast quarter of the southeast quarter, and lots 7, 8, and 9 of section 1, township 26 north, range 10 east, Willamette meridian; that before making settlement on said land, about the latter part of March, 1908, I called to see Joseph Gregory, a land attorney of Seattle, Wash., and I was handed a decision by said Gregory and was informed by him that the decision handed me was the latest decision of the highest court, and that the decision held that when a settler made settlement on unsurveyed land within the limits of the grant to the Northern Pacific Railroad Co., and that when later the land was surveyed and found to be railroad land, so called, that it was mandatory for the railroad company to relinquish said land and to accept scrip in lieu thereof; and at that time said Gregory went with me to the local land office at Seattle and showed the aforementioned decision to Frank Twichell, receiver of the United States land office at Seattle, Wash., and said Twichell informed me that there was no such thing as unsurveyed railroad land; that all land belonged to the Government until patented; and that anybody settling on said land prior to survey would have a prior right over the railroad claimant. And I was at that time given the circular of the General Land Office approved February 14, 1899, containing regulations under the act of July 1, 1898 (30 Stat., 597-620), and I thereafter read said circular most carefully, paying particular attention to the interpretation placed upon said act in said circular by the Commissioner of the General Land Office, and I particularly noted paragraph B, and I believed that the interpretation placed upon said act in said circular to be the law, and I relied on this circular and believed I had a right to make settlement on said land, and that I would eventually obtain entry of said land when open for entry. And after I settled on the land I was in the land office several times and talked

with Henry Smith, register of the land office at Seattle, Wash., and I was informed by him that the land on which I had settled was within the grant of the Northern Pacific Railway Co.; and said Smith informed me that there had never been a case, to his knowledge, where the railroad company had refused to relinquish such land in favor of a settler when requested to do so by the Government; and I believed in and relied on the circular of February 14, 1899, and the advice given me by Joseph Gregory, the attorney, and the information received from both the register and receiver of the land office at Seattle, and in making settlement upon and continuing my residence and improvement of said land acted on said advice and information.

Since the date of the settlement I have made said land my home and lived on said land continuously from the date of settlement to May 14, 1913, when I was granted leave of absence by the local land office at Seattle to come to Seattle for medical treatment for chronic injury to my shoulder, and that I have constructed improvements on said land of the value of about $1,400; that my improvements consist of a house 18 by 24, woodshed 18 by 20 feet, root house 8 by 10 feet, 36 apple trees, berry bushes of all kinds, and I built about 1 mile of trail and have 1 acre cleared, and said land is good bench land and can raise thereon all kinds of garden vegetables.

After the land was surveyed and opened for entry I made homestead application to enter said land, and my entry was rejected by the register and receiver of the land office at Seattle, and I perfected my appeal, and the Department of the Interior made demand on the Northern Pacific Railroad Co. to relinquish said land in my favor, which said company has refused to do, and my entry is held for rejection, and the decision of the local land office was affirmed by the Interior Department on appeal.

That after my claim had been rejected by the local land office and my appeal decided adversely by the Interior Department I offered my final proof on August 18, 1913, which was accepted at the local land office, but was rejected by the General Land Office at Washington, D. C. That in the year 1912 I was severely injured, and my injury, which became chronic, necessitated constant medical attention, and on May 13, 1913, I applied to the local land office at Seattle for leave of absence to have my injury attended to, which application on May 14, 1913, was granted, and since May 14, 1913, have been a great part of the time in Seattle. But up to about May 1, 1913, I lived continuously on my claim.

That prior to settling on said claim I was at an age when I needed a home; that I was strong and rugged, working at the sheet-metal trade and earning $5 a day; that I gave up my trade on the advice above stated, and in good faith intended to make the same my home; that now I am physically incapacitated, and in addition at an age when it is practically impossible to begin to provide for old age; all I have on earth is tied up in my claim; it is the only home I have, and if I lose that I am left wholly without means, all on account of the erroneous advice, misinformation, and misinterpretation of the law received by me as set forth herein.

GUSTAV A. SCHULTHEISS.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 12th day of December, 1914.
[SEAL.] HOWARD H. STARTZMAN,
Notary Public in and for the State of Washington,
Residing at Seattle.

STATE OF WASHINGTON, *County of King, ss:*

Kenneth G. Murray, being first duly sworn according to law, deposes and says:

I settled on the northwest quarter of section 27, township 23 north, range 9 east, the same being in King County, Wash., on February 10, 1908, intending to make said claim my home; that I am married and aged 54 years, and have lived on said claim continuously since date of settlement, and still live there; that my improvements consist of a story and half house, frame, 30 by 32, with basement; barn, 14 by 60; meat house, 8 by 10; 1 acre cleared, part of it in garden, with apple, plum, pear trees, currants, and gooseberries, blackberries, strawberries, and all kinds of garden vegetables, the land being very good agricultural land; have a water system piped into the house, with about 800 feet of pipe; a private telephone system, used jointly with my neighbors, at our own expense; and have at present about 300 hens; that I bought a relinquishment from one L. B. Tanner, of Seattle, for $1,500, on the strength of information and advice I got from the local land office at Seattle, and from Messrs. Gregory & Randolph, land attorneys of Seattle, Wash.; that before I closed with Mr. Tanner I went to Messrs. Gregory & Randolph and was advised by one of them that any land unsurveyed was subject to entry, and that if I went on it and settled thereon, intending to make the same my homestead and complied with the homestead laws, no one could beat me out of it, and to make sure of it one of the attorneys of Gregory & Randolph went with Mr. Tanner and myself to the local land office, and at the land office I told them the land lay on the west slope of the Cascade Mountains and was not surveyed, and they in turn told me if I found land unsurveyed anywhere west of the Cascades to go on in and live up to the requirements of the homestead laws, and that if I did this I would surely get title to the land; that after these conversations I paid Mr. Tanner $1,500 cash for his relinquishment as above stated; that since settled on said land in February, 1908, I have never lived anywhere else; that said land is now my home, and has been ever since the date of settlement. Further affiant saith not.

KENNETH G. MURRAY.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 11th day of December, 1914.
[SEAL.] A. R. MASON,
Notary Public in and for the State of Washington,
Residing at North Bend, Wash.

STATE OF WASHINGTON, *County of King, ss:*

Andrew Myerstuen, being first duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that I settled on lots 1 and 2 and the east half of the northeast quarter of section 21, township 23 north, range 9 east, Willamette meridian, on November 4, 1904, with the intention of making the same my homestead; that I am a single man, and was born and raised on my father's homestead, in Wisconsin; my improvements consist of a dwelling house, 14½ by 16½ feet, with an addition 14 by 14½ feet, woodshed, 6 by 12; root house, 8 by 10; outhouse; hay shed, 15 by 24; 3 acres slashed, 2 acres cleared, one-half mile horse trail, picket fence, plenty of rhubarb and rose bushes, about 2,000 strawberry plants, 2 cherry trees, 3 plum trees, and 22 apples trees of all kinds. My claim is the only home I have on earth, and $2,000 would not cover my actual cash outlay on my claim. I was located on my claim by one William Hamilton, to whom I paid $150. I was told by him the land was unsurveyed, and that I could not file my homestead claim until the land was officially surveyed by the United States Government, and was told by local land-office officials at Seattle, Wash., that I would be entitled to proceed to patent the land under the homestead law if I settled on the same prior to survey, and that if I settled thereon prior to survey and otherwise cultivated and improved the same that my possessory title would be superior to the title of any other claimant; that I entered on said land, and not until the survey was filed, a number of years after my entry, did I find out that the Northern Pacific claimed the land to be within its grant; that I have exhausted all remedy in the General Land Office, my homestead entry being contested by the Northern Pacific and rejected on appeal by the General Land Office. I filed in good faith. The official circular of the General Land Office said I was right. Hon. R. A. Ballinger advised the settlers by letter to stay on their claims, and when the survey was filed to file their entry claim and elect to retain their land under the act of July 1, 1898; and now if I lose my homestead, I will have lost the only home I ever had of my own and over $2,000 in cash. Further affiant saith not.

ANDREW MYERSTUEN.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 10th day of December, 1914.
[SEAL.] HOWARD H. STARTZMAN,
Notary Public in and for the State of Washington,
Residing at Seattle.

STATE OF WASHINGTON, *County of Snohomish, ss:*

Gustave Borowski, being first duly sworn, on oath deposes and says: That he is a citizen of the United States of America, over 21 years of age, married, and has a family; that on December 7, 1904, he made settlement and established his residence on the northeast quarter of section 21 in township 27 north of range 9 east, Willamette meridian, which residence has been continuous ever since; that he has slashed 3 acres on said land and cleared and fenced 1 acre of same, which he has cultivated each year of his residence; that his other improvements consist of a 3-room dwelling, well built and comfortably furnished; two woodsheds, one 12 by 16 feet and one 8 by 26 feet; a root house, 10 by 12 feet; a smoke house, 4 by 4 feet; a chicken house, 10 by 12 feet; a number of chickens, varying at different times; an outhouse; that he has planted and cultivated about 2,000 strawberry plants, 150 raspberry bushes, 6 apple trees, besides cherry trees, plum trees, English-walnut trees, and currant bushes, and constructed and maintained a hotbed; that he has made and kept in repair 5 miles of trail; that he has assisted in the construction and maintenance of the Settlers' Bridge across the Skykomish River, necessary in order to reach the land from the nearest post office; that he has constructed and maintained an aerial tram across the Skykomish River at Reiter; that he has constructed and maintained an aerial tram across Proctor Creek, also necessary in reaching the said land; that the cost of said improvements and their present value is not less than $2,500.

He further says that his family has resided on said land continuously, and that he or they have maintained no residence nor abode elsewhere during such time.

He further says that he made settlement on said land through the advice of the Interior Department, by whose representations he was led to believe that the Northern Pacific Railroad Co. would be compelled to relinquish their claim to said land, and that by his settlement and residence he could establish a superior right to same; that his former attorney, Joseph W. Gregory, a land attorney of repute, advised him in the matter that he could obtain title to the said land, and that in similar cases the settlers had been successful in securing their claims.

GUSTAVE BOROWSKI.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 14th day of December, 1914.
[SEAL.] JOHN R. MCKAY,
Notary Public in and for the State of Washington,
Residing at Gold Bar, Wash.

INDEX, WASH., *November 23, 1914.*

I, Gustav A. Schaefer, settled on the northwest quarter of section 23, township 27 north, range 9 east, on the 18th day of April, 1904. Before settling on the place I wrote to the General Land Office at Washington, D. C., and inquired if the land could be taken up as a homestead. They advised me that it could; also sent me a pamphlet of the laws which had been passed for settlers on such lands. The papers are with Senator MILES POINDEXTER.

I also was advised by J. Gregory, an attorney of Seattle, Wash., that the land could be homesteaded.

I am a married man.

My improvements on the place are a three-room house—one room 12 feet by 12 feet 6 inches, one room 14 feet by 12 feet 6 inches, and one room 16 feet by 12 feet 6 inches. Have 10 windows in the house.

A washhouse 9 feet by 9 feet with running water.

A root house 6 feet by 6 feet.

A woodhouse 22 feet by 16 feet.

Have planted 32 fruit trees. Also a nursery of 100 trees. Have 1½ acres under cultivation. About 5 acres in slashing.

Have spent $400 on the Settlers' Bridge, which had to be built to reach the homestead.

I value the improvements on the place at $2,500, besides the work and expense of keeping up the same.

GUSTAV A. SCHAEFER.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 24th day of November, 1914.
[SEAL.] C. R. REDDING,
Notary Public in and for the State of Washington,
Residing at Index.

INDEX, WASH., *November 23, 1914.*

Mr. HOWARD H. STARTZMAN,
610 New York Block, Seattle, Wash.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter of the 17th instant as to how I was located on the land which I am now on and how I happen to get same, I will report as follows:

I was for many years working in a sawmill as a laborer and was in the meantime looking for a homestead. I found out through Mr. Henry Bell, another homesteader and locator, that this land was open for settlement. I went over to the local land office to find out about the

land in question—if it was advisable to settle on the same and if there was anything in the way. I was told there that everything was all right, that nothing was in the way, and that they advised me to take it up.

I went up to Index, Wash., the 20th of March, 1906, put up my notice papers, paid Mr. Henry Bell $250 in locating fees, for which I am holding receipt. The land in question is described as follows: The northeast quarter of section 23, township 27 north, range 9 east, Willamette meridian, Snohomish County, Wash.

What I have been raising on the land in question is potatoes, strawberries, raspberries, and all kinds of vegetables and six fruit trees. As to my improvements and valuables in the cabin I will hereby send you a copy of the same so as to give you an idea of what I have got.

I do not know if I am giving you full information as you would like to have it, but this is the best I can do now. Will soon be down, and then I will explain things better. Hoping everything will come out all right, I remain,

Respectfully, yours, P. A. JOHNSON,
Box 5, Index, Wash.

Inventory report.

Cabin, 2 rooms and porch, 14 by 32	$300.00
Woodshed, 12 by 14	30.00
Outhouse	10.00
Cellar	10.00
2 stoves	25.00
Kitchen table	6.00
Dining-room table	10.00
Kitchen cabinet	20.00
One stand	2.00
6 chairs and bench	12.00
Rocking-chair	4.00
4 beds	15.00
1 trunk	4.00
Bedclothes	30.00
3 looking-glasses	2.00
Umbrella and brushes	3.00
Books	5.25
Several pictures	5.50
2 lamps	1.50
2 scissors	1.00
5 kettles	4.00
3 frying pans	1.50
3 bread pans	1.00
Dishes	8.00
Knives, forks, and spoons	3.00
Dish pan and washbasin	1.00
Wash board and tub	2.00
Clock	1.50
4 water pails	2.50
10 fruit jars	1.50
Dustpan and broom	1.00
4 files	.50
2 crosscut saws	12.00
3 handsaws	5.00
3 squares and rule	3.00
2 hammers	1.25
1 spirit level	1.50
3 planes	3.00
3 wood chisels	2.00
Hand ax	1.00
5 axes	7.00
2 foot adz	2.50
1 drawknife	.75
3 peavies	5.25
Sledges and wedges	5.00
2 shovels	1.50
1 madax	1.50
Pickax	1.00
Brush hook	1.00
Pinch bar	1.25
Wheelbarrow	2.00
Garden hoe	.50
Garden rakes	1.25
2 froes	2.00
2 guns	20.00
Wire netting	2.00
Water system	35.00
Materials for bridge	90.00
Road work	20.00
Total	752.00

Three-fourths of an acre under cultivation and some slashing.

Affidavit.

I, Henry Bell, do solemnly swear that I am the person seeking patent from the United States for the following lands, to wit: NE. ¼ of section 23, township 27 north of range 9 east, in Snohomish County, Wash. I further swear that in June, 1904, I was advised through the Department of the Interior at Washington, D. C., that any bona fide settler of good repute who chose to settle on any unsurveyed Northern Pacific lands and to comply with the laws and regulations governing the acquirement of land from the United States under the homestead act would be entitled to patent, and that the Northern Pacific would relinquish such lands. Being an experienced woodsman and familiar with above-mentioned tract, I concluded to acquire title to same under the United States homestead laws, and on June 20, 1904, did settle on said land and have resided there continuously ever since and reside there now. During about six years of said period I was a married man, and my wife resided with me. I am a single man now, and my sister resides with me, and it is the only home we have.

I have cleared of timber 3½ acres and have 1 acre under cultivation, an orchard of 27 fruit trees, part of which have been bearing for three years. I have erected on said land a frame house 14 feet by 20 feet, with an addition, 9 feet by 16 feet; a frame woodshed, 20 feet by 25 feet; a log cabin, 12 feet by 16 feet; a chicken coop, 12 feet by 16 feet, with about one-fourth acre of chicken yard inclosed with 6-foot poultry netting. I have constructed a foot trail from house to Great Northern Railway and Snohomish County road, a distance of about 80 rods, and did build in such trail and across the Skykomish River at a foot bridge at a cost of more than $450.

I have made said land my bona fide residence since June 20, 1904, and have lived there in good faith, complied with the requirements of the homestead laws, and pray that I may be allowed to offer proof to the United States in the matter of securing a patent thereto.

HENRY BELL.

Sworn and subscribed to at Alpine, King County, Wash., this 26th day of November, 1914.

[SEAL.] F. A. ELEBE,
Justice of the Peace in and for King County, Wash.

Witness:
F. F. DUELL, *Alpine, Wash.*

STATE OF WASHINGTON, *County of King, ss:*

I, Thomas W. Beckett, being duly sworn, depose and say that I am a citizen of the United States, of lawful age, and that my post-office address is Grotto, Wash.

I am single, but my aged mother lives with me, and I am a settler upon land known as the northwest quarter of section 17, township 26 north, range 11 east, Willamette Meridian, in King County, Wash., and that said land has been my sole home since March, 1907.

In March, 1907, I purchased for $500 cash the relinquishment and improvements upon said land from my predecessor, M. B. Jackson, jr., who wished to engage in business in Seattle, said improvements at that time consisting of a trail, slashing, and small clearing, with garden plat, and a house 12 by 28 feet, built of shakes.

In March, 1907, I entered upon said land and began slashing and clearing. Then in April of the same year a letter of reply received from the honorable Commissioner of the General Land Office in Washington, D. C., written to my brother, E. E. Beckett, M. D., of 317 Lumber Exchange Building, Seattle, and written concerning my settlement here upon said land, and in which letter the honorable commissioner stated that (after survey) "when the plat of the survey becomes filed in the local land office he may submit his homestead application, with election, under the act of July 1, 1898, to retain the land * * *," thereby leading me to believe that I was justified in establishing and maintaining a home here upon said land, and that in due time I would receive patent from the United States.

I have resided here continuously since March, 1907, and my aged mother has lived with me during much of the time. I have built trails, road, and bridges, besides making other improvements upon the place. Then in August, 1910, my house was destroyed by fire, together with more than 40 young fruit trees, besides fencing, wood, lumber, and many things of value, thus causing a great loss to me. Since then I have made new improvements, now valued at more than $1,500. I have built a log house of one and a half stories, 14 by 34 feet inside; also a substantial hog barn, 10 by 16 feet, with pen attached, and a shake chicken house.

I have more than 3 acres slashed, with about 1½ acres cleared, from which most of the stumps have been taken out, where my buildings are situated, together with fences, garden, berry bushes, and several young fruit trees, and also a small field of alfalfa, timothy, and clover hay. I have a pig, 5 dozen chickens, and a few Belgian hares.

Hence, in accordance with the letter written by the honorable Commissioner of the General Land Office to my brother concerning my rights of settlement here, I feel that it is the duty of the officials of the United States Land Office, with the concurrence of Congress, to make a just settlement for my claim.

THOS. W. BECKETT.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 28th day of November, 1914.

[SEAL.] F. A. ELDER,
Justice of the Peace, Residing at Skykomish, Wash.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
GENERAL LAND OFFICE,
Washington, D. C., April 16, 1907.

Dr. E. E. BECKETT,
355–357 Lumber Exchange, Seattle, Wash.

SIR: Answering your letter of March 16, 1907, respecting settlement of your brother on northwest quarter section 17, township 26 north, range 11 east, Washington, I advise you that said tract is unsurveyed land within the primary limits of the Northern Pacific Railroad grant upon definite location of December 8, 1884, at which date its right vested; that the temporary withdrawal of the land March 18, 1905, for forest reserve did not affect the company's right; and that the land was released from said reservation July 6, 1905.

Therefore, if your brother settled upon the land since the definite location of the road and prior to the survey in the field of the land in question, he may, when the plat of the survey becomes filed in the local land office, submit his homestead application, with election, under act of July 1, 1898, to retain the land (forms of which will be furnished by the district officers on request), upon which, if found correct, the railroad company will be requested to relinquish its rights to the land.

Very respectfully,

R. A. BALLINGER, *Commissioner.*

STATE OF WASHINGTON, *County of King, ss:*

William G. Ellis, being first duly sworn according to law, deposes and says: I settled on the southeast quarter of section 33, township 23 north, range 9 east, Willamette meridian, in King County, Wash., on June 5, 1909. I took the place on the advice of Joseph W. Gregory, a land attorney of Seattle. He said he never knew of a case in which the settler failed to get the land; that the land was unsurveyed land and belonged to the United States Government, and that settlement thereon prior to survey would give the settler prior rights over anyone else. When I went to look at the land I learned from conversation with settlers on claims in the immediate vicinity that they had been informed by the local land office officials at Seattle that settlement prior to survey would give the settler prior right over anyone else. Also, I was informed by the official circular, issued by the General Land Office, that where the land was occupied by a bona fide settler at the time of settlement that the railroad claimant would be requested to relinquish to the Government, and that the settler would in that event get the land. I considered a request from the Government to the railroad to be equivalent to a command.

I have lived on my place seven or eight months a year every year since I located thereon. At times I have had to earn money to improve my place and for my necessary expense. I have a house, 14 by 24, consisting of two rooms, one 8 by 14, the other 12 by 14. The rooms are sealed and papered, and the roof and walls are shingled. I have a woodshed 14 by 14, and a cellar 8 by 12. I have about 200 yards of water pipe bringing water into the house. I have over an acre cleared and under cultivation, about half a mile of trails, besides

same amount of wagon roads. The land is good agricultural land, and I have raised fine potatoes, cabbage, onions, all kinds of berries and garden vegetables. Further affiant saith not.

WILLIAM G. ELLIS.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 1st day of December, 1914.
[SEAL.] HOWARD H. STARTZMAN,
Notary Public in and for the State of Washington,
Residing at Seattle.

STATE OF WASHINGTON, *County of King, ss:*

Edwin O. Gifford, being first duly sworn according to law, deposes and says: I settled on ——— on or about April 15, 1907, with the intention of making the same my homestead; that I improved the same with two houses, one 10 by 14, one 8 by 10, woodshed 8 by 10, cleared 1 acre of land, and raised thereon potatoes, berries, and generally all garden vegetables, the same being fine agricultural land, built about one-quarter mile trail; that said claim has been my home since the date of settlement, although I have been obliged to go elsewhere from time to time to earn necessary funds to live; that I paid one F. A. Philbrick $300 to locate me; that I was informed by said Philbrick and others who were settlers in the vicinity that a settlement on unsurveyed public land with view to homestead entry vested the settler with prior rights over any other claimant; that I am married and have resided on said claim with my wife.

EDWIN O. GIFFORD.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 3d day of December, 1914.
[SEAL.] HOWARD H. STARTZMAN,
Notary Public in and for the State of Washington,
Residing at Seattle.

STATE OF WASHINGTON, *County of King, ss:*

Spencer Eaton, of lawful age, being first duly sworn, upon oath says that he is a veteran of the Civil War of the United States and is now 74 years of age; that he settled upon the lands aforesaid on the 20th day of February, 1910, with his wife, he then and now being a married man, and has made the above land his permanent residence since that date, and that he has erected upon the land aforesaid a dwelling house made of cedar shakes, in a good habitable condition, consisting of three rooms, and has built a shop and storage house adjacent thereto, 16 feet wide and 40 feet long, and that he has lived there at all seasons of the year; that he has slashed and partially burned about 4 acres and cleared 1 acre, and has grown upon the land so cleared strawberries, cabbages, potatoes, turnips, and other vegetables, and raspberries, and the land is good agricultural soil; that he has built a trail from the Middle Fork of the Snoqualmie River up to his place, being a distance of about 1½ miles, and has used the trail for going back and forth and carrying up his provisions and other supplies, and has kept the same open year after year; and that he has at his place tools, saws, hoes, and other implements and instruments necessary for cultivating the ground, building his house, etc., and that the same are there maintained at this time.

That before making settlement upon the land aforesaid he was told by one James Anderson, a homesteader in the vicinity, that the above land had been settled on more than 16 years ago and that the then settler sold his relinquishment right to one Edgar Marston, who was then, as affiant understood, on the land and had a cabin there and a right to the land, and that at said time the said Edgar Marston relinquished his rights to affiant, the said affiant believing that he had a perfect right to homestead the lands, and that he paid the said Edgar Marston for his rights $400, and then entered upon the premises and built a new house and other properties, not using the cabin theretofore built by the said Marston or his predecessor in interest.

That the above-named Anderson is brother-in-law of affiant, and that before affiant went on the land or paid the consideration the said Anderson, so he stated, consulted with some land attorney in Seattle, but affiant does not know now whom, who told him he had a right to take the land and that he believed he had a bona fide right to settle upon and take the land; that at the time of the settlement he did not advise with the local land office, and did not seek information therefrom, because he believed that his rights were paramount to that of anyone else, and that by making the requisite settlement upon the lands and making the requisite improvements he would be entitled to his patent.

SPENCER EATON.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 30th day of November, 1914.
[SEAL.] LUELLA AYERS,
Notary Public in and for the State of Washington,
Residing at Seattle.

Address of Mrs. Elizabeth N. Cushman on "Women's Lessons in Politics."

"There are but two roots to all human endeavor—reason and feeling. The first may be called the masculine quality, the second the feminine; but both are necessary in arriving at truth."—Mrs. Elizabeth N. Cushman in an address at Tacoma, Wash.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,

OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, December 23, 1914.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, in an address at a meeting recently held in Tacoma, Mrs. Elizabeth N. Cushman, mother of the lamented Francis W. Cushman, who for so many years represented in Congress the district which I now have the honor to represent, discussed some of the lessons which the women voters of the United States must study as they take up the duties of the electorate.

"What women have to learn in the use of the right of franchise" was Mrs. Cushman's theme. She described the home as the first unit in just government, then law, an open mind, justice, charity, and mercy. The remarks of this splendid woman are of particular interest at this time, and I am grateful to the Members of the House for the privilege of placing them in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Mrs. Cushman's address follows:

"WOMEN'S LESSON IN POLITICS.

"The first lesson to be learned by women, when given the right of franchise, is that every right has a duty tied fast to it. The duty belonging to the franchise is to use all one's mental and moral power to help build and maintain a firm, just government. We think of this right as of something entirely new, yet we have been training for its exercise all our lives.

"What is a well-ordered home but the first unit in a general government? We have kept the home, swept the hearth, built and tended upon its shrine an altar fire to our household gods. There we have made, interpreted, and executed the law. We have been a court of last resort. We have had training in all branches of government.

"HAVE BEEN HOME AUTOCRATS.

"A great poet has said that 'all experience is an arch wherethrough shines that untraveled world whose margin fades forever and forever as we move.' We stand to-night in the shadow of that arch looking toward the future. What that future will bring us depends upon how we meet its problems. There is one particular in which our home training has weakened us for public life. In the home we have been autocrats; in the forum we stand among our peers. They have rights and opinions that we are bound to respect. What shall we surrender? Not the eternal verities—all else is trivial.

"MUST CAST OFF PREJUDICE.

"We must cultivate the open mind. We must cast off prejudice, that dark veil that often obscures the white light of truth. We must get rid of some of our selfishness, our narrow-mindedness. Our range of vision is very short. It is hard for us to take interest, to the point of self-denial, in that which does not contribute to our own ease, or to that of our immediate friends. Our brothers have carried no light burden in assuming responsibility in political work. But how they have labored in this work and, with the best of intentions, often failed in accomplishing the good they sought. Sometimes their reasoning was faulty, their premises wrong, their information incorrect. Sometimes they have met as we shall meet, many specious instructors, who know so well and state so convincingly so many things that are not true. Trusting in these, they have been led into error. So long as human nature shall be frail, so long shall the sifting of truth from error be a problem among men.

"MEN TOO OFTEN MISLED.

"Men have been so often misled that the word 'politics' is sometimes spoken contemptuously. Our subconsciousness has classed the politician with the 'confidence man.' But politics, the science of government. Where find a worthier theme? What can be nobler than a life properly devoted to this? To give one's life for the public good; to battle in the interests of the downtrodden, whose feeble cries are too often drowned in the tumult of the successful; to stand unflinchingly for the right as one understands it—that in the face of possible disaster to one's self requires heroism.

"Psychologists tell us there are but two roots to all human endeavor—reason and feeling. The first may be called the masculine quality, the second the feminine; but both are necessary in arriving at truth.

"FOUNDATIONS OF GOVERNMENT.

"Justice, charity, and mercy are enduring foundation stones in the structure of all right government. Charity and mercy are, or should be, eminently womanly qualities. Justice we more frequently associate with men; but if human justice were entirely just we would have no courts of equity. Both men and women should possess in some degree all of these qualities in order to properly shape their own lives, for who, where life is incorrect, is worthy to govern another? Reason, feeling, justice, charity, and mercy are permanent mental qualities, upon the exercise of which all right government must be founded.

"Surely no nation upon earth is better fitted to carry to success the representative form of government that we have, for nowhere are these qualities more generally distributed. From the time when the first 'cave man' shared his bone with his weaker fellow until now has come echoing down the ages the insistent question: 'Am I my brother's keeper?' And just now, in answer to the cries of the hungry and homeless, both here and abroad, thousands of warm, throbbing, human hearts have sent back the ringing answer, 'Yes.'"

National Prohibition.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADOLPH J. SABATH,
OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 22, 1914.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, it was my intention to express my views on the important question now before the House, but having been deprived of the opportunity of preparing a speech on the subject I desire to avail myself of the privilege of inserting in the RECORD as a part of my remarks a brief submitted to me by Mr. O. P. Anderson on the power to amend the Federal Constitution by a three-fourths vote of the States to provide for national prohibition.

I consider it a great legal document, entitled to most careful consideration on the part of the membership of the House, and, believing that nothing that I could say on this question would give greater opportunity for thought than this able document, I respectfully submit it for your consideration:

BRIEF ON THE POWER TO AMEND THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION BY A THREE-FOURTHS VOTE OF THE STATES TO PROVIDE FOR NATIONAL PROHIBITION.

[By O. P. Anderson, 601 Stahlman Building, Nashville, Tenn.]

VINOUS, SPIRITUOUS, AND MALT LIQUORS HAVE BEEN HELD BY THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BE LEGITIMATE ARTICLES OF COMMERCE.

In the case of Champion *v.* Ames (188 U. S., 321, 360, 361; Lottery case) the United States Supreme Court thus paraphrased two of its decisions concerning the liquor traffic, when viewed from the standpoint of interstate commerce, viz:

"Subsequently, in Bowman *v.* Chicago & North Western Railway Co. (125 U. S., 465), this court held that ardent spirits, distilled liquors, ale, and beer were subjects of exchange, barter, and traffic, and were so recognized by the usages of the commercial world, as well as by the laws of Congress and the decisions of the courts. In Leisy *v.* Hardin (135 U. S., 100, 110, 125) the court again held that spirituous liquors were recognized articles of commerce," etc.

In Vance *v.* Vandercook Co. (No. 1) (170 U. S., 452, 453) the court said:

"The right of persons in one State to ship liquor into another State to a resident for his own use is derived from the Constitution of the United States and does not rest on the grant of the State law."

While the general power of the States to control and regulate or prohibit within their borders the business of dealing in intoxicating liquors is beyond question, yet so long as any of the States in their sovereign capacity recognize the traffic as legitimate their interests are protected against action by others which may seek to destroy interstate commerce in the traffic, though the Wilson Act of 1890 and the Webb-Kenyon Act of 1913 have had the effect of enabling the individual States to restrict and diminish the traffic.

NATIONAL CONTROL OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC CAN NOT BE SURRENDERED TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT RECEIVING A THREE-FOURTHS VOTE.

Article V of the Constitution is as follows:

"The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States or by conventions in three-fourths thereof as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress: *Provided*, That no amendment which may be made prior to the year 1808 shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article, and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

The first clause in the ninth section of the first article is as follows:

"The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation not exceeding $10 for each person."

The fourth clause of the ninth section of the first article is as follows:

"No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken."

By the first of these clauses Congress was forbidden to prohibit the importation of slaves prior to the year 1808, and the forbidden power was exercised as soon as this time had expired. (Cooley, Principles of Constitutional Law, 3d ed., p. 113.)

The second clause seems to have been considered as having possible relation to taxes which might be imposed upon the importation of slaves. (Meigs' Growth of the Constitution, pp. 277, 278.)

"In scope the amending power is now limited as to but one subject, namely, the equal representation of the States in the Senate. It has been by some urged that even this limitation may be evaded by adopting a constitutional amendment eliminating this limitation upon the amending power, and thus opening the way to subsequent amendments providing for an unequal senatorial representation of the States." (Willoughby's Constitutional Law, abridged ed., p. 178, citing Von Holst, Constitutional Law of the United States, 31, note.)

It will be noted that the restrictions contained in the proviso to Article V related to matters which were already embraced in the Constitution, and that no attempt was made to forestall amendments upon unrelated subjects.

This seems to show that the framers of the Constitution, in providing a mode whereby it might be amended, had in view the true sense of the word "amend," which is "to change, alter, or correct something which already exists," and not to create something entirely new or subversive of fundamental provisions.

The extreme illustration given in the quotation above, in which it is suggested that unequal senatorial representation of the States may be termed an "amendment," and passed by a three-fourths vote of the States, shows how far afield the reasoning upon the subject had proceeded, and the proposition to accomplish national prohibition by so-called "amendment" can be demonstrated to be almost as radical a departure from the true purpose and intent of the Constitution.

To use the word "amend" as synonymous with "supplement" is a loose and inexact employment of language.

In Article V it is provided that the Constitution may be "amended," not that it may be "supplemented."

The following extracts from Words and Phrases (West Publishing Co., St. Paul) show clearly that in legal phraseology the words "amend" and "amendment" have well-defined limitations upon their application, viz:

"To 'amend' a thing, as defined by Webster, is to change it in any way for the betterment; to remove what is erroneous, superfluous, faulty, and the like; to supply deficiencies; to substitute something in place of what is removed. The word is synonymous with 'correct,' 'reform,' 'rectify.' An amendment, therefore, is a change or alteration for the better; a correction of faults or errors; an improvement, a reformation, an emendation. It necessarily implies something upon which the correction, alteration, improvement, or reformation can operate; something to be reformed, corrected, rectified, altered, or improved. In other words, that which is proposed as an amendment must be germane to or related to the thing to be amended." (In re Pennsylvania Tel. Co. (Pa.) *v.* Chest. Co., Rept. 129, 131.)

"The term 'amendment' implies such an addition or change within the lines of the original instrument as will effect an improvement or better carry out the purposes for which it was framed." (Livermore *v.* White, 36 Pac., 424, 426; 102 Cal., 113; 25 L. R. A., 312.)

"'Amendment' as used in Constitution, Article IV, paragraph 32, requiring that when an act is amended, the act or section amended shall be set forth at full length, means a change in some of the provisions of an act, and does not include additional provisions not affecting existing ones." (Sheridan *v.* City of Salem, 12 Pac., 925, 928; 14 Or., 328.)

"An amendment is the correction of some error or mistake in a pleading already before the court, and therefore there must be something to amend by, whereas the insertion of facts constituting a new cause of action or defense would be a substituted pleading and not an amendment of an existing pleading." (Woodruff *v.* Pickle, 28 N. Y. Super. Ct. (5 Rob.), 619, 622.)

"An 'amended demurrer' is one which adds to or supplements a demurrer already filed in the cause, but which does not add entirely new matter or arrest the progress of the case." (Lundbeck *v.* Pilmair, 43 N. W., 271; 78 Iowa, 434.

In Brake *v.* Callison (122 Fed. Rep., 2, 724) it is said:

"In the First Congress of the Confederation, in 1781, the fifteenth rule provided that no new motion or proposition should be admitted under color of an amendment, as a substitute for the question or proposition under debate until the latter is disposed of or disagreed to; and in the House of Representatives of the First Congress, 4th of March, 1789, it was provided as a rule for the conduct of its business that no new motion or proposition shall be admitted under color of an amendment as a substitute for the motion or proposition under debate. But in 1822 a new rule was adopted, and reaffirmed by nearly every succeeding Congress, and extensively adopted in other legislative assemblies, that no new motion or proposition on a subject different from that under consideration shall be admitted under color of an amendment. (Cusg. Par. Law of L. A., secs. 1366–1369.)"

To append to the Federal Constitution a prohibition of the liquor traffic throughout the Union would in no sense constitute an "amendment" of anything contained in the Constitution.

In section 8 of Article I the various powers delegated by the States to Congress are enumerated. Conspicuously present is the delegation to Congress of the power to legislate on the subject of bankruptcies. Conspicuously absent is the mention of any power reposed in Congress to regulate for the Nation the important subjects of marriage, divorce, and property rights of married women.

The power reposed in Congress to enact uniform bankrupt laws is absolute. A restriction or modification of this power, passed by a three-fourths vote of the States, would constitute a permissible amendment to the Constitution.

As no power is reposed in Congress to legislate on the subject of marriage and divorce and married women's rights, any attempt to give Congress that power by a three-fourths vote of the States would be improper. It would not be an amendment, but a supplement of the most far-reaching character.

The liquor traffic has been the subject of State regulation continuously since the formation of the Union. Congress has no power to determine how the States shall control the question. The liquor traffic therefore, so far as amending the Constitution is concerned, stands in exactly the same attitude as the subject of marriage and divorce, and is not subject to control by an amendment receiving a three-fourths vote.

The preamble to the Constitution recites that it is designed, among other things, to "promote the general welfare." Some claim that national prohibition is a matter of general welfare, and that therefore the power to provide for it by amendment of the Constitution is derived from the preamble.

The position is untenable, as it has been held that the preamble is a mere recitation of the purposes of the Constitution and not a grant of powers to the Federal Government. Upon this point the United States Supreme Court, in Jacobson *v.* Massachusetts (197 U. S., 22), said:

"Although the preamble indicates the general purposes for which the people ordained and established the Constitution, it has never been regarded as the source of any substantive power conferred on the Government of the United States or on any of its departments. Such powers embrace only those expressly granted in the body of the Constitution, and such as may be implied from those so granted."

In Martin *v.* Hunter's Lessee (1 Wheat., 326) it was held that words used in the Federal Constitution "are to be taken in their natural and obvious sense, and not in a sense unreasonably restricted or enlarged."

The word "amend," as used in the Constitution, can not under any reasonable construction be considered as the equivalent of "supplement." Had the framers of the Constitution, or the States originally ratifying same, intended that extraneous matter, regardless of its character, might be added to the Constitution by a three-fourths vote, it would have been simple enough to have provided that the Constitution might be "amended or supplemented."

That it was never intended that three-fourths of the States should control the remaining one-fourth on fundamental propositions is shown by Article VII of the Constitution, which reads:

"The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same."

If the contention now made that three-fourths of the States may control the remaining one-fourth on the question of prohibition be correct, may we not ask why unanimous ratification was considered necessary in 1789 in connection with the surrender by the States of other fundamental rights?

All the States of the Union, regardless of the date of their admission, stand upon an equal footing under the Constitution, and are invested with equal rights and powers and subject only to similar restrictions. (Michie's Enc. of U. S. Sup. Ct. Repts., pp. 334, 335, vol. 4, and cases cited.)

"The Constitution is a written instrument. As such, its meaning does not alter. That which is meant when adopted it means now. Being a grant of powers to a Government, its language is general, and, as changes come in social and political life, it embraces in its grasp all new conditions which are within the scope of the powers in terms conferred. In other words, while the powers granted do not change, they apply from generation to generation to all things to which they are in their nature applicable. This in no manner abridges the fact of its changeless nature and meaning. Those things which are within its grants of power, as those grants were understood when made, are still within them, and those things not within them remain still excluded." (South Carolina *v.* U. S., 199 U. S., pp. 448–449.)

As all the States admitted since the adoption of the Constitution stand on an equal footing with the original thirteen, and as the meaning of the instrument itself has undergone no change, we may simplify the issue by reverting backward 125 years and asking ourselves a question. If it had been determined to be necessary to omit from the Constitution the provision as to bankruptcies in order to secure unanimous approval of the original thirteen States, could 10 of those States, within a month after the final adoption of the Constitution, have reinstated the provision as to bankruptcies in opposition to the wishes of the other three? The question answers itself.

And every question of present-day policies now regulated as a matter of State sovereignty stands upon the same footing.

The history of Article V of the Constitution, as set forth in Meig's Growth of the Constitution, pages 272–277, evidences the intention of its framers to confine the matter of constitutional amendments to matters already embraced in the instrument.

"Mason and Randolph urged the necessity of a provision for amendment, saying that the plan to be formed was sure to be defective, as the confederation had been found to be, and it was much better to provide for amending in a constitutional way than to trust to chance and violence."

The committee of detail, to which the matter was referred, reported a provision as follows:

"On the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the States in the Union for an amendment of this Constitution the Legislature of the United States shall call a convention for that purpose."

This clause, which at first met with approval of the convention, was afterwards reconsidered on the ground that the National Legislature (as well as the States) should be empowered to initiate amendments.

Sherman suggested the proviso "but no amendments shall be binding until consented to by the several States." Subsequently it was proposed that two-thirds of the States might make amendments effective, which, being defeated, the three-fourths provision was proposed and carried.

Madison then proposed a substitute which is substantially the same as Article V as finally adopted, except that it did not contain the proviso which appears in said article. As to the proviso, the following significant action occurred:

"Rutledge said he could never agree to give a power by which the articles relating to slaves might be altered by the States not interested in that property," and he accordingly moved that no amendments which might be made prior to the year 1808 should in any manner affect those articles.

Rutledge and the two Pinckneys had strenuously contended against conferring upon the Federal Government the right to tax the importation of slaves, stating that their section of the country would never agree to the Constitution if such a right were given (p. 162). A tax, however, of not exceeding $10 having been incorporated in the draft, contrary to their views, and the year 1808 having been fixed as a time limit before which the importation of slaves should not be prohibited, Rutledge became quite solicitous that it might be proposed by amendment to alter these conditions; hence the proviso to Article V in regard to the slave traffic. Does this not show that Rutledge understood the subject of amendment as relating to things already embraced in the instrument? If he was solicitous about the mere importation of slaves, certainly he must have been more so that nothing should be done which would destroy property rights in slaves already within his State. Yet we find no suggestion from him that the Constitution should not be permitted to be amended so as to provide for their emancipation by a three-fourths vote. Clearly he regarded such a proceeding as wholly beyond the scope of the instrument which he was assisting in formulating. Had he entertained such fear, there was no reason why he might not have successfully proposed an additional proviso that permanent control of the slavery question should be guaranteed by the Constitution to the States respectively.

In Cohens *v.* Virginia (6 Wheat., 418) Chief Justice Marshall said: "Great weight has always been attached, and very rightly attached, to contemporaneous exposition. * * * The opinion of the Federalist has always been considered as of great authority. It is a complete commentary on our Constitution, and is appealed to by all parties in the questions to which that instrument has given birth. Its intrinsic merit entitles it to this high rank, and the part two of its authors performed in framing the Constitution put it very much in their power to explain the views with which it was framed."

Upon the subject of amending the Federal Constitution, Madison, in the Federalist (No. 43), said:

"That useful alterations will be suggested by experience could not but be foreseen. It was requisite, therefore, that a mode for introducing them should be provided. The mode preferred by the convention seems to be stamped with every mark of propriety. It guards equally against that extreme facility which would render the Constitution too mutable and that extreme difficulty which might perpetuate its discovered faults. It moreover equally enables the General and the State Governments to originate the amendment of errors as they may be pointed out by the experience on one side or the other." (Ford's edition of Federalist, p. 291.)

Upon the same subject Hamilton (No. 85) said:

"The compacts which are to embrace 13 distinct States in a common bond of amity and union must as necessarily be a compromise of as many dissimilar interests and inclinations. How can perfection spring from such materials? * * *

"It appears to me susceptible of absolute demonstration that it will be far more easy to obtain subsequent than previous amendments to the Constitution. The moment an *alteration* is made in the present plan it becomes, to the purpose of adoption, a new one, and must undergo a new decision of each State. To its complete establishment throughout the Union it will therefore require the concurrence of 13 States. If, on the contrary, the Constitution proposed should once be ratified by all the States as it stands, *alterations in it* may at any time be effected by 9 (10) States.

"In opposition to the probability of subsequent amendments it has been urged that the persons delegated to the administration of the National Government will always be disinclined to yield up any portion of the authority of which they were once possessed. For my own part, I acknowledge a thorough conviction that any amendments which may, upon mature consideration, be thought useful *will be applicable to the organization of the Government, not to the mass of its powers.*

"The zeal for attempts to amend prior to the establishment of the Constitution must abate in every man who is ready to accede to the truth of the following observations of a writer equally solid and ingenious: 'To balance a large state or society,' says he, 'whether monarchical or republican, on general laws is a work of so great difficulty that no human genius, however comprehensive, is able, by the mere dint of reason and reflection, to effect it. The judgments of many must unite in the work, experience must guide their labor, time must bring it to perfection, and the feeling of *inconveniences* must correct the *mistakes* which they inevitably fall into in their first trials and experiments.' [Quotation is from Hume's Essays.] These judicious reflections contain a lesson of moderation to all the sincere lovers of the Union and ought to put them upon their guard against hazarding anarchy, civil war, a perpetual alienation of the States from each other, and perhaps the military despotism of a victorious demagogue, in the pursuit of what they are not likely to obtain but from time and experience. * * * The establishment of a Constitution in time of profound peace, by the voluntary consent of the whole people, is a prodigy to the completion of which I look forward with trembling anxiety." (Ford's edition of Federalist, pp. 585–588.)

These extracts from the Federalist, especially in the passages in italics, show clearly that Madison and Hamilton, when they discussed the subject of amending the Constitution, had only in mind the curing of defects or faults in the instrument which was already before the people for ratification. Their purpose in writing was to defend the instrument. To have suggested that unsurrendered powers might be surrendered to the Federal Government by a three-fourths vote of the States would in the then state of public opinion have created sufficient apprehension to have insured rejection of the Constitution by many States.

THE FIRST 10 AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

"The first 10 amendments to the Constitution, adopted, as they were, soon after the adoption of the Constitution, are in the nature of a bill of rights, and were adopted in order to quiet the apprehension of many that without some such declaration of rights the Government would assume, and might be held to possess, the power to trespass upon those rights of persons and property which by the Declaration of Independence were affirmed to be inalienable rights." (Monongahela Nav. Co. *v.* U. S., 148 U. S., 324.)

In submitting said amendments Congress thus prefaced its action:

"The conventions of a number of the States having at the time of their adoption of the Constitution expressed a desire, in order to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers, that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added, and as extending the ground of public confidence in the Government will best insure the beneficent ends of its institution," etc. (Taylor's American Constitution, p. 229.)

In Slaughter House cases (16 Wall., 72) the Supreme Court said:

"Twelve articles of amendment were added to the Federal Constitution soon after the original organization of the Government under it in 1789. Of these all but the last were adopted so soon afterwards as to justify the statement that they were practically contemporaneous with the adoption of the original; and the twelfth, adopted in 1803, was so nearly so as to have become like all the others—historical and of another age."

In Michie's Encyclopedia of United States Supreme Court Reports, volume 4, page 139, it is stated:

"The 10 amendments first ingrafted upon the Constitution had their origin in the apprehension that in the investment of powers made by that instrument in the Federal Government the safety of the States and their citizens had not been sufficiently guarded. These amendments were designed to be modifications of the powers vested in the Federal Government; their language is susceptible of no other rational, literal, or verbal acceptation, and it has been uniformly held that they impose limitations only upon the Federal Government and not upon the States."

In Pierce on Federal Usurpation, pages 25–26, it is said:

"The first 8 amendments to the Constitution enumerate popular rights, the origin of which can be traced to some event or series of events in English history where the right was won as the result of years of struggle. The Constitution of the United States creates none of these rights. Every one of these enumerated safeguards exist under the common law or under the constitution of each State, and the only result of their incorporation by amendment in the Constitution of the United States is as a restraint upon the action of the United States Government.

"Next it is important to observe that the ninth and tenth amendments to the Constitution preserve to the States all powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States, and that the enumeration of certain rights delegated to the National Government shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

"These amendments, say the United States Supreme Court in a recent case, were 'adopted with prescience' under 'fear that the National Government might, under the pressure of a supposed general welfare, attempt to exercise powers which had not been granted.'"

The tenth amendment to the Federal Constitution, declaring that the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people, is construed to mean that powers not expressly delegated to the United States are reserved to the States. (Cyc., vol. 8, p. 774, Padelford *v.* Savannah, 14 Ga., 438.)

Control of the liquor traffic was not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, and since the adoption of that instrument has been continuously and variously regulated by the respective States com-

posing the Union. It was therefore one of the powers reserved to the States.

Conceding for the sake of argument that Article V might be broadly construed as authorizing amendments upon subjects foreign to the Constitution, the tenth amendment, so far as rights reserved to the States are concerned, controls and sets discussion at rest.

In the case of Schick *v.* United States (195 U. S., 65) there was a suggestion that the provision in the original Constitution that the "trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury," and the provision in the sixth amendment that the accused, in every criminal prosecution "shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury," etc., conflicted, as affecting the right of waiver of jury trial, and on this point the Supreme Court, in passing, said:

"If there be any conflict between these two provisions, the one found in the amendments must control, under the well-understood rule that the last expression of the will of the lawmaker prevails over an earlier one." (See pp. 68 and 78.)

Under this dictum the tenth amendment controls Article V of the original instrument in any matter where the rights reserved to the States may be involved, and in the simplicity of its wording it wholly negatives the idea that three-fourths of the States may surrender new powers to the Federal Government in derogation of the rights of the remaining one-fourth. When it says, "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people," it can mean nothing else than that each State has an equal right to say what powers shall be surrendered. It also necessarily means that no powers now exercised by the States can be surrendered to the Federal Government save by unanimous consent. As said by the United States Supreme Court in Cohens *v.* Virginia (6 Wheat., 389):

"The people made the Constitution, and the people can unmake it. It is the creature of their own will, and lives only by their will. But this supreme and irresistible power to make or unmake resides only in the whole body of the people; not in any subdivision of them. The attempt of any of the parts to exercise it is usurpation and ought to be repelled by those to whom the people have delegated their power of repealing it."

The caption of the amendments to the Constitution is as follows: "Articles in addition to and amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America."

Madison's plan was to incorporate the first set of amendments to the Constitution in their proper places, and not to add them in a body at the close. He thought this would be neater and make their meaning plainer. Sherman objected to the insertion of the amendments in the body of the instrument, because he thought they should appear in supplementary form, as a body of changes at the close. Clymer, mindful of the labors of the Federal convention, urged that its work be left intact, and that the amendments be added at its close. Stone, of Maryland, said that if the amendments were incorporated in the original instrument it would appear that George Washington and other worthy characters had signed something which they never had in contemplation. Gerry agreed with Madison's view that they should be incorporated in the body of the instrument. Sherman made a motion to add the amendments as a body at the close of the Constitution, which was defeated. Later, however, he renewed his motion to add them by way of supplement instead of incorporating them, and the motion on this occasion carried by two-thirds vote. (Thorpe's Constitutional History of the United States, vol. 2, pp. 216, 228, 229, 230, 232, 250.)

The foregoing clearly shows that the use of the expression, "in addition to," was intended more as a line of demarcation between the old and the new, rather than as suggesting that an amendment to the Constitution may consist of the "addition" of matter extraneous to the purposes of the original instrument.

While there is no evidence on the journals of Congress that the legislatures of Connecticut, Georgia, and Massachusetts ratified the first 10 amendments (Taylor's American Constitution, p. 637), it appears that said amendments had their origin with the States and met with no opposition from any source. They therefore afford no precedent for the adoption of an amendment by three-fourths vote, which involves the surrender of rights hitherto exercised by the respective States, and concerning which there may be radical differences of opinion.

THE ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH AMENDMENTS.

The first of these amendments related to the judicial power of the United States; the second to the mode of election of the President and Vice President of the United States. Both were true amendments, as they relate to matters embraced in the original instrument.

THE THIRTEENTH, FOURTEENTH, AND FIFTEENTH AMENDMENTS.

The history of these three amendments is thus set forth by Justice Miller in Slaughter House cases (16 Wall., 68–71):

"The institution of African slavery as it existed in about half the States of the Union and the contests pervading the public mind for many years between those who desired its curtailment and ultimate extinction and those who desired additional safeguards for its security and perpetuation culminated in the effort, on the part of most of the States in which slavery existed, to separate from the Federal Government and to resist its authority. This constituted the War of the Rebellion, and whatever auxiliary causes may have been contributed to bring about this war, undoubtedly the overshadowing and efficient cause was African slavery. In that struggle slavery as a legalized social relation perished. It perished as a necessity of the bitterness and force of the conflict. * * *

"The proclamation of President Lincoln expressed an accomplished fact as to a large portion of the insurrectionary districts when he declared slavery abolished in them all. But the war being over, those who had succeeded in reestablishing the authority of the Federal Government were not content to permit this great act of emancipation to rest on the actual results of the contest or the proclamation of the Executive, both of which might have been questioned in aftertimes, and they determined to place this main and most valuable result in the Constitution of the restored Union as one of its fundamental articles. Hence the thirteenth article of amendment to that instrument. * * *

"The process of restoring to their proper relations with the Federal Government and with the other States those which had sided with the rebellion, undertaken under the proclamation of President Johnson in 1865 and before the assembling of Congress, developed the fact that notwithstanding the formal recognition by those States of the abolition of slavery the condition of the slave race would, without further protection of the Federal Government, be almost as bad as it was before. Among the first acts of legislation adopted by several of the States in the legislative bodies which claimed to be in their normal relations with the Federal Government were laws which imposed upon the colored race onerous disabilities and burdens," etc.

"These circumstances, whatever of falsehood or misconception, may have been mingled with their presentation, forced upon the statesmen who had conducted the Federal Government in safety through the crises of the rebellion and who supposed that by the thirteenth article of amendment they had secured the result of their labors the conviction that something more was necessary in the way of constitutional protection to the unfortunate race who had suffered so much. They accordingly passed through Congress the proposition for the fourteenth amendment, and they declined to treat as restored to their full participation in the Government of the Union the States which had been in insurrection until they ratified that article by a formal vote of their legislative bodies.

"A few years' experience satisfied the thoughtful men who had been the authors of the other two amendments that notwithstanding the restraints of those articles on the States, and the laws passed under the additional powers granted to Congress, these were inadequate for the protection of life, liberty, and property, without which freedom to the slave was no boon. They were in all those States denied the right of suffrage. The laws were administered by the white man alone. It was urged that a race of men distinctively marked as was the negro, living in the midst of another and dominant race, could never be fully secured in their person and their property without the right of suffrage. Hence the fifteenth amendment. * * *

"We repeat, then, in the light of this recapitulation of events, almost too recent to be called history (i. e., as of Apr. 14, 1873), but which are familiar to us all, and on the most casual examination of the language of these amendments, no one can fail to be impressed with the one pervading purpose found in them all, lying at the foundation of each, and without which none of them would have been even suggested; we mean the freedom of the slave race, the security and firm establishment of that freedom, and the protection of the newly made freeman and citizen from the oppressions of those who had formerly exercised unlimited dominion over him."

The three amendments are known as the "war amendments."

The thirteenth, which is called the emancipation amendment, was ratified, according to the proclamation of the Secretary of State, dated December 18, 1865, by the legislatures of 27 States. Six other States also ratified it. Alabama ratified the amendment "with the understanding that it did not confer upon Congress the power to legislate upon the political status of freedom in the State." Kentucky rejected the thirteenth amendment, and did not legally abolish slavery within its borders until the adoption of its present constitution—about 25 years later. The thirteenth amendment was also rejected by Delaware, the general assembly of that State pronouncing the proposed amendment "a violation of the reserved rights of the several States, contrary to the principle upon which the Government was formed," and, taking the action of Delaware as a precedent, Mississippi also refused to ratify. (Thorpe's Constitutional History of United States, vol. 3, pp. 200, 201 (Ala.), 197 (Miss.), 230 (Ky.), 320 (Del.); Taylor's American Constitution, pp. 651, 652.)

The proposal for the abolition of slavery by constitutional amendment was first proposed in the Thirty-eighth Congress in 1863. It passed the Senate, but failed to pass the House by the required two-thirds. The discussion of the proposal was characterized by spirited debate, those favoring the amendment discussing it from a moral standpoint, those opposing it discussing it from a legal standpoint as an infringement of the reserved rights of the States.

Senator Saulsbury, of Delaware, denied the constitutional authority of the General Government to interfere with the rights of property, which the amendment must do. Even if ratified by the requisite number of States, it would not be binding upon others that refused their assent, for slavery was a domestic, a State institution.

"The time for such an amendment is come," was the brief reply of Senator Clark, of New Hampshire. (Thorpe's Constitutional History of United States, vol. 3, pp. 130, 131.)

In the House it was argued by Representative Anson Herrick, of New York, that the resolution struck at the original compact between the States; that it was to be forced through by a political dynasty; and that the slavery issue, which the resolution sought to settle by immediate abolition, was legitimately merged in the higher issue of the right of the States to control their domestic affairs. (Thorpe's Constitutional History of United States, vol. 3, pp. 138, 139.)

By Representative Pruyn, of New York, it was argued that for the first time in our history it was proposed to make a change in the Constitution which, if effective, would interfere with the reserved rights of the States. Could three-fourths, under the power of the amendment, overturn the institutions, subvert the authority, and change the condition of the other States? If so, the States might as well have surrendered all their sovereignty to the General Government at the outset, and the tenth amendment, declaratory of their reserved rights, was meaningless. (Thorpe's Constitutional History of United States, vol. 3, p. 139.)

"The real question," said Fernando Wood, "was whether the whole structure and theory of our Government should be altered by changing its basis. It was not the time while in the midst of a fearful civil war to change the organic law. The amendment was especially objectionable because it made social interests the subject of governmental action. It was, moreover, a breach of good faith with the States and utterly inexpedient." (Thorpe's Constitutional History of United States, vol. 3, p. 139.)

On June 15, 1864, the House voted upon the resolution, but it failed to receive the required two-thirds. During the roll call Mr. Ashley, who had introduced the original resolution, foreseeing the end, changed his vote from the affirmative to the negative for the purpose of submitting at the proper time a motion to reconsider.

Just a week before the vote was taken the Republican national convention at Baltimore adjourned. Its delegates were in closer touch with public opinion than the House of Representatives. In calling it to order Senator Edwin D. Morgan, of New York, chairman of the national executive committee, told the convention that it would fall short of accomplishing its great mission unless it should declare for an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting slavery. This utterance was received with prolonged applause, but enthusiasm would have been greater had the delegates known that Lincoln was the author of the suggestion. However, it at once captivated the delegates. They responded to the appeal of the Rev. Dr. Robert J. Breckenridge, a delegate from Kentucky, that the whole power of the Government, both for war and peace, and all the practical power that the people of the United States would give them should be applied to "exterminate and extinguish slavery." The plank in the platform favoring the constitutional amendment, the natural effect of a controlling idea, it

was soon known, originated with Lincoln. (Thorpe's Constitutional History of United States, vol. 3, pp. 141, 142.)

When Congress reconvened in December, 1864, Mr. Ashley promptly gave notice that he would move to reconsider the vote upon the joint resolution providing for constitutional abolishment of slavery. It is said that he made a "powerful" speech, in which he pronounced slavery wrong and criminal; in which he claimed that the States might adopt "any" amendment to the Constitution so long as it did not affect the equality of the States in the Senate and the apportionment of direct taxes, concluding with the following absolutely untrue and astonishing statement: "Nowhere did the Constitution clothe the States with the attribute of a sovereign power; but, on the contrary, rigorously maintained the supreme authority of the National Government." (Thorpe's Constitutional History of United States, vol. 3, pp. 144, 145.)

The principal objection to the amendment was uttered by George H. Pendleton, of Ohio, the recently defeated candidate for Vice President and the leader of his party in the House. The amendment should be rejected, he said, because republicanism lies at the very foundation of our system of government; to overthrow that idea would be not to amend but to subvert the Constitution. If three-fourths of the States should undertake to pass the amendment and one State dissented, it would have a right to resist by force. Could three-fourths of the States make an amendment which should prohibit a State from having two houses in its legislature? Yet this was not prohibited in the Constitution. Equality of the States in the control of their internal affairs was at the foundation of our system; three-fourths of the States could not amend the Constitution so as to make one-fourth bear all the taxes or to divide the territory of one-fourth among the rest or to make the Northern States slave holding, yet none of these things were forbidden by the Constitution. (Thorpe's Constitutional History of United States, vol. 3, pp. 149, 150.)

And then Thorpe states:

"The only answer that could be made to this argument was founded on an entirely different interpretation of the origin, the scope, and the nature of the National Government than that which Pendleton and his political associates maintained. It was the answer which Mr. Ashley gave at the opening of the debate."

To one accustomed to strict reasoning, the answer which Mr. Ashley gave, and which has been fully outlined herein, does not constitute a satisfactory reply to the argument of Mr. Pendleton.

As already stated, the thirteenth amendment was suggested by President Lincoln. And yet, in his negotiations with Members of Congress in connection with his compensatory emancipation plan, which he advocated in his message of March, 1862, he said that "emancipation is a subject exclusively under the control of the States, and must be adopted or rejected by each for itself."

On January 31, 1865, the House reconsidered its action of the previous June, and by a large majority adopted the resolution favoring the thirteenth amendment.

The fourteenth amendment is known as the reconstruction amendment. It is partly amendatory and partly an addition to the Constitution. It was proposed and passed, as already explained, as part of the program for emancipation of the negro race. It was rejected by Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and California. It was at first either rejected or ignored by the Southern States, but under the reconstruction acts of 1867 they were forced to ratify. The reconstruction acts applied to Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Florida, Arkansas, and Texas. (Thorpe's Constitutional History of the United States, vol. 3, pp. 325, 329, 394.)

The fifteenth amendment was also an addition rather than an amendment, though it mingled the qualities of both, for it clearly changed the provision in the Constitution respecting the unlimited power of each State to prescribe qualifications for electors (Art. I, sec. 2, cl. 1). (Thorpe's Constitutional History of the United States, vol. 3, p. 515.)

It was rejected by California, Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Oregon, and Tennessee. (Thorpe's Constitutional History of the United States, vol. 3, p. 455.)

The foregoing extended review of the three war amendments demonstrates the following:

First. All met with opposition, and not one received a unanimous vote.

Second. They each involved an invasion of the reserved rights of the States, and this fact was known to and exhaustively argued by leaders in national councils.

Third. Their addition to the Constitution was wholly the result of the Civil War, and such a disregard of the reserved rights of the States would not have been countenanced in times of peace.

Fourth. When the fourteenth amendment was adopted there were 37 States in the Union, 14 of which were opposed to the amendment. But for the involuntary consent of the 10 Southern States, brought about by the reconstruction acts, the three-fourths requisite for ratification could not have been secured.

Fifth. Though it can not be denied that the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments infringed the reserved rights of the States, the incorporation of said amendments in the Constitution affords no precedent in times of peace for a further invasion of the reserved rights of the States.

The usurpation of power on the part of the National Government which was involved in the freeing of the slaves and which was admitted by President Lincoln, and which was fully argued by prominent Members of both the Senate and the House in connection with the thirteenth amendment, manifested itself throughout the entire period of reconstruction. The following is an interesting commentary upon the spirit of the times:

"During the period between 1789, when the First Congress under the Constitution convened, and 1863, the United States Supreme Court had declared only 2 statutes unconstitutional. * * * Between the years 1863 and 1870, 11 statutes were passed by Congress which were declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States. During the same period examination by the Supreme Court of several congressional statutes was prevented by acts of Congress repealing the law allowing appeals to that court. So that during 74 years of the history of the country, between 1789 and 1863, the United States Supreme Court declared 2 congressional acts unconstitutional, while from 1863 to 1870, a period of only 7 years, 11 statutes were declared unconstitutional, and many more would have been declared unconstitutional had the court ever had opportunity to pass upon them.

"No facts could more strongly demonstrate that this era of the latter part of the Civil War and the reconstruction period was an era of usurpation than the decisions of the highest court that so many statutes passed in that period were void as usurping the rights of the several States." (Pierce on Federal Usurpation, pp. 72, 73; D. Appleton & Co., 1908).

THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH AMENDMENTS.

These amendments, respectively, relate to the income tax and to the popular election of Senators, and are true amendments of matters embraced in the original instrument.

EXPRESSIONS OF THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT BEARING UPON THE POWER TO AMEND THE CONSTITUTION AND UPON THE FEDERAL POWER IN GENERAL.

In the case of Dred Scott *v.* Sanford (19 How., 411, 426), decided four years previous to the Civil War, Chief Justice Taney said:

"But there are two clauses in the Constitution which point directly and specifically to the negro race as a separate class of persons, and show clearly that they were not regarded as a portion of the people or citizens of the Government then formed.

"One of these clauses reserves to each of the 13 States the right to import slaves until the year 1808, if it thinks proper. * * * And by the other provision the States pledge themselves to each other to maintain the right of property of the master by delivering up to him any slave who may have escaped from his service and be found within their respective territories.

* * * * * * *

"The Government of the United States had no right to interfere for any other purpose but that of protecting the rights of the owner, leaving it altogether with the several States to deal with this race, whether emancipated or not, as each State may think justice, humanity, and the interests and safety of society require. The States evidently intended to reserve this power exclusively to themselves.

"No one, we presume, suppose that any change in public opinion or feeling in relation to this unfortunate race in the civilized nations of Europe or in this country should induce the court to give to the words of the Constitution a more liberal construction in their favor than they were intended to bear when the instrument was framed and adopted. Such an argument would be altogether inadmissible in any tribunal called on to interpret it. If any of its provisions are deemed unjust, there is a mode prescribed in the instrument itself by which it may be amended; but while it remains unaltered it must be construed now as it was understood at the time of its adoption."

The inferenece to be drawn from these expressions is that the provision that fugitive slaves should be surrendered to their masters was susceptible of amendment in the mode prescribed by the Constitution, so that it might no longer be required that such escaping slaves be surrendered. This would be a true amendment of matter already embraced, not involving a surrender of any of the reserved rights of the States.

In Kansas *v.* Colorado (206 U. S., 46–118), decided by Mr. Justice Brewer May 13, 1907, certain expressions occur which would doubtless be cited in any argument that may be made in favor of the proposed amendment. A brief reference to that case is therefore appropriate.

The suit of Kansas against Colorado involved the reclamation of lands in Colorado by use of water from the Arkansas River. Colorado, it was claimed, had made such appropriation of the water that owners of lands in Kansas adjacent to said river had been injured by the action of Colorado. The United States intervened in the case, claiming that the determination of the rights of the two States inter sese in regard to the flow of waters in the Arkansas River was subordinate to a superior right on the part of the National Government to control the whole matter of reclamation of arid lands, basing its argument upon the ground that legislative power affecting a subject, national in its scope, could not be exercised by the States, and that therefore such power must have been reposed in Congress.

The Supreme Court held that no such general power over arid lands had been conferred on the National Government, and that it could not assume to exercise such a power in derogation of the control that might be exercised by Colorado or Kansas over the subject.

The reclamation of arid lands by use of water from rivers flowing through many States is inherently a matter which can not be most efficiently controlled by conflicting action of the States. And in this respect it bears analogy to the subjects of interstate commerce and post offices and post roads, both of which subjects are confided by the Constitution to exclusive control of the National Government.

In replying to the argument of counsel for the Government that Congress should control the matter the court took occasion to construe the tenth amendment to the Constitution, which reads:

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people."

In this connection, the court said:

"The argument of counsel (for the Government) ignores the principal factor in this article, to wit, 'the people.' Its principal purpose was not the distribution of power between the United States and the States, but a reservation to the people of all powers not granted. The preamble of the Constitution declares who framed it, 'We, the people of the United States,' not the people of one State, but the people of all the States; and Article X reserves to the people of all the States the powers not delegated to the United States. The powers affecting the internal affairs of the States not granted to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States are reserved to the States, respectively, and all powers of a national character which are not delegated to the National Government by the Constitution are reserved to the people of the United States."

Evidently the court regarded the matter of control over reclamation of arid lands as of a "national character" and not as merely affecting the "internal affairs" of the States. Hence it was a power which, not being delegated to the National Government, was reserved to the people and not to the States.

The court then proceeded as follows:

"The people who adopted the Constitution knew that in the nature of things they could not foresee all the questions which might arise in the future, all the circumstances which might call for the exercise of further national powers than those granted to the United States, and, after making provision for an amendment to the Constitution, by which any needed additional powers would be granted, they reserved to themselves all powers not so delegated."

It will be noted that this language was used solely with respect to powers of a "national character" and had no reference to that class of powers which relate to what the court termed the "internal affairs" of the States.

Under the contentions hereinbefore made the bestowal upon the Federal Government of further powers, even of a "national character," would, in strict parlance, constitute a supplement and not an amendment to the Constitution. While the procedure prescribed by the Constitution for amendments by three-fourths vote of the States would seem peculiarly inappropriate in connection with the surrender to the

National Government of a right which had been reserved to all the people (as contradistinguished from the States), nevertheless such procedure would have the practical effect of determining whether a majority of the people favored surrender of the right; and as the Constitution contains no provision that two-thirds or three-fourths or any other percentage of the people is essential to the surrender of a right of "national character," presumably the majority would control and correct results be obtained by application of the rule as to a three-fourths vote of the States. But in the case of proposed surrender of a power which affects the "internal affairs" of the States, and which by the tenth amendment is reserved to the States respectively, it is impossible to conceive how such surrender—whether it be termed an amendment or a supplement—can be effected by a three-fourths vote, especially when it is considered that such subjects as naturalization, bankruptcies, patents and copyrights, and control of post offices and post roads were surrendered only by unanimous consent of the original thirteen States, and would each and all have failed to be incorporated in the Constitution had any State objected.

However, the expression used by Justice Brewer in Kansas against Colorado are merely obiter, and were not based upon the record or argument in an actual case involving an attempt to confer upon the Federal Government powers of a "national character" by three-fourths vote of the States. It had been repeatedly held by the Supreme Court that it will not undertake to volunteer opinions on constitutional questions where no case is presented directly involving them. (Michie's Enc. of U. S. Sup. Ct. Repts., vol 12, pp. 303, 304, and cases cited.)

We therefore have the court's own word for the assertion that what may have been said by it in Kansas against Colorado, so far as it relates to the subject of constitutional amendment, was not intended by it as a final utterance. At all events it has as yet said nothing in any case, either by way of obiter or otherwise, which would indicate that a power affecting the "internal affairs" of a State can, except possibly as a war measure, be surrendered by a three-fourths vote.

In the case of Hodges *v.* United States (203 U. S., 19) the Supreme Court, speaking of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments, said:

"One thing more, at the close of the Civil War, when the problem of the emancipated slaves was before the Nation, it might have left them in a condition of alienage or established them as wards of the Government, like the Indian tribes, and thus retained for the Nation jurisdiction over them, or it might, as it did, give them citizenship. It chose the latter. By the fourteenth amendment, it made citizens of all born within the limits of the United States and subject to its jurisdiction. By the fifteenth amendment, it prohibited any State from denying the right of suffrage on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, and by the thirteenth, it forbade slavery or involuntary servitude anywhere within the limits of the land. Whether this was or was not the wiser way to deal with the great problem is not a matter for the courts to consider."

Certainly it could never say that the constitutionality of an amendment providing for national prohibition "is not a matter for the courts to consider"; and we therefore find in this utterance a differentiation by the Supreme Court itself between the war amendments and all others which may in future be proposed.

In speaking of the power of Congress to make laws for the suppression of insurrections and the duty of the President to execute them—and unquestionably such validity as may be imputed to the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments stands largely upon the same footing—the Supreme Court in Stewart *v.* Kahn (11 Wall., 507), said that the power is not limited to victories in the field and the dispersion of insurgent forces, but carries with it inherently the power to guard against immediate renewal of the conflict and to remedy the evils which have arisen from its rise and progress, and the court held that an act of Congress enlarging the statute of limitations on account of war was a beneficent exercise of this authority.

In White *v.* Hart (13 Wall., 651), the court said:

"The power exercised in putting down the late rebellion is given expressly by the Constitution to Congress. That body made the laws and the President executed them. The granted power carried with it not only the right to use the requisite means, but it reached further and carried with it also authority to guard against the renewal of the conflict, and to remedy the evils arising from it in so far as that could be effected by appropriate legislation. At no time were the rebellion States out of the pale of the Union. Their rights under the Constitution were suspended, but not destroyed. Their constitutional duties and obligations were unaffected and remained the same."

To the same effect is the conclusion of the opinion in Slaughter House cases (16 Wall., p. 82):

"The adoption of the first 11 amendments to the Constitution so soon after the original instrument was accepted shows a prevailing sense of danger at that time from the Federal power. And it can not be denied that such a jealousy continued to exist with many patriotic men until the breaking out of the late Civil War. It was then discovered that the true danger to the perpetuity of the Union was in the capacity of the State organizations to combine and concentrate all the powers of the State, and of contiguous States, for a determined resistance to the General Government.

"Unquestionably this has given great force to the argument and added largely to the number of those who believe in the necessity of a strong National Government.

"But however pervading this sentiment, and however it may have contributed to the adoption of the amendments we have been considering—viz, the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth—we do not see in those amendments any purpose to destroy the main features of the general system. Under the pressure of all the excited feeling growing out of the war, our statesmen have still believed that the existence of the States with powers for domestic and local government, including the regulation of civil rights, the rights of person and of property, was essential to the perfect working of our complex form of government, though they have thought proper to impose additional limitations on the States and to confer additional power on that of the Nation.

"But whatever fluctuations may be seen in the history of public opinion on this subject during the period of our national existence, we think it will be found that this court, so far as its functions required, has always held with a steady and an even hand the balance between the State and Federal power, and we trust that such may continue to be the history of its relation to that subject so long as it shall have duties to perform which demand of it a construction of the Constitution or of any of its parts."

CONCLUSION.

From the foregoing the following conclusions may be deduced:

The liquor traffic has been from the beginning, and is now, recognized as subject to control by the States, respectively.

The States can not be deprived of the right to regulate this traffic by a constitutional amendment adopted by three-fourths vote.

The word "amend," used in a legal sense, is not synonymous with "supplement," but has reference to the correction of defects or deficiencies, errors or mistakes, or to alterations for the better in something which already has existence and to which the amendment is germane.

Every power originally delegated to the Federal Government by the States was conferred by unanimous consent.

The history of Article V in the convention, as well as the discussions by Hamilton and Madison in the Federalist, unquestionably show that its purpose was to provide a simple method for rectification of faults in the Constitution as adopted, which the inconveniences of experience alone could demonstrate.

The first 10 amendments constituted a Bill of Rights, intended to safeguard the people and the States.

Conceding, for the sake of argument, that Article V, standing alone, might have been construed as authorizing surrender by the States of reserved rights upon a three-fourths vote, the tenth amendment controls and sets discussion at rest, the amendment being later in point of time than Article V.

The thirteenth amendment, the first of the war amendments, was admitted by leaders in Congress and was known to President Lincoln to constitute an invasion of the reserved rights of the States, and its validity, as well as that of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, has been sustained only as an exercise of the war power.

The thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments constitute no precedent for further invasion of the reserved rights of the States in times of peace.

The "general-welfare" provision of the preamble can not be utilized as a pretext for a prohibition amendment, it having been expressly held by the Supreme Court that the preamble to the Constitution is not a grant of powers.

Upon the restoration to the Union of the Southern States the relations between the States and the National Government became the same as they were previous to the Civil War, with the exception of the additional powers which had been conferred upon and exercised by the National Government as a result of the war.

The inherent right of the people or the States to make such additions to the Federal Constitution as they please by unanimous consent is not in terms incorporated in the Constitution, but it was to all intents and purposes exercised with respect to the first 10 amendments and can be again as readily exercised.

The phrase "Articles in addition to and amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America," which appears as a caption to the amendments, had its origin in the discussions as to the first 10 amendments and the desire to avoid confusion on the part of the States in considering said amendments, as well as to avoid mutilation of a historic document. It should not be coupled with the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments as a justification of their addition to the Constitution.

If the Constitution is to be amended by a three-fourths vote of the States so as to provide for national prohibition, it might at the same time also be very appropriately amended by similar procedure so as to provide for uniform national laws upon the subject of marriage and divorce, and thus more completely confide to national supervision the question of morality among citizens of the United States. The latter amendment would be quite as feasible as the first.

Prohibition from Economical Standpoint.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL J. GILL,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 22, 1914.

Mr. GILL. Mr. Speaker—

First. The prohibition question is a corrective and not an economic problem in itself.

Second. Usually agitated by communities distinctively agricultural in economic base, and is not acquainted with the fierce struggle for existence always present in industrial centers where masses of workingmen work in conjunction with masses of capital.

Third. Usually agitated by communities actuated by moral motives only rather than the economic motives so ever-present in our now complex industrial centers.

Fourth. Being only moral in its aspect, it overlooks that very essential element in our industrial life which makes for, first, employment for labor, and, second, capital invested in legitimate enterprises in the various walks of industry.

Fifth. Being overzealous from a purely moral motive, the advocates for prohibition are actually gloating at the prospect of destroying ruthlessly large industrial enterprises, with no concern whatever as to what becomes of the workingmen thrown out of work by their fanatic zeal. They also feel a savage glee at the destruction of millions of dollars of invested capital.

Sixth. As a representative of labor on this floor, I am proud to stand in unison with my old associate and coworker, Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, and state with added emphasis that it would be far better, far more wise, more moral, and a thousand times more desirable to take the position of organized labor on this question and insist on—

(a) Increasing wages,

(b) Shorter hours of work,

(c) More leisure, so as to afford an opportunity for the cultivation of—

(1) Better tastes,
(2) Better aspirations,
(3) Higher ideals,
(4) Better standard of living,
(5) Freedom from the burdens of excessive toil,
(6) Better homes and surroundings for the poor—

than try to effect by statutory law that which must come from the ever-expanding consciousness of a world's people.

In the meantime we must not and dare not anticipate experience. That which is wise and needed now is to do that which our common needs as a great industrial Nation suggests, namely:

First. Jealously guard our commercial credit, to the end that its millions of invested capital be not ruthlessly struck down.

Second. Keep in safe condition that enormous wage fund in the hands of legitimate capital, to the end that labor's employment be secured against wild-eyed agitation.

Third. The equilibrium of our Nation's economic life must not be overburdened with another and altogether unnecessary addition to the problem of economic administration.

Fourth. At a time of a great European war we, as a peaceful Nation, must try to cooperate with our President in keeping our ship of state as free as possible from internal as well as external disturbance. I surely do regard this prohibition as a movement which will disturb our business and economic life far beyond the endurance point, and, in the name of American labor, I ask this Congress to consider its acts seriously before it hurls another bolt at the stability and integrity of our economic structure.

District of Columbia Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. CULLOP,
OF INDIANA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, December 11, 1914,

On the bill (H. R. 19422) making appropriations to provide for the expenses of the government of the District of Columbia for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, and for other purposes.

Mr. CULLOP. Mr. Speaker, the national administration deserves and is receiving the commendation of the people of this country, irrespective of party affiliations, for its wise, courageous, and conservative course. It has been confronted with great problems, the like of which has not been presented for solution to any other administration. Be it said to its credit that it has handled these great questions of vital importance to the people composing this great Nation with courage, ability, and satisfaction, and we are now beginning to realize what a great and good work it has performed and how valuable it has been to the entire country. Always a revision of the tariff, either upward or downward, necessarily disturbs the business of the country, because it changes conditions, and business must have and requires time to adjust itself to the new conditions thereby created. This great work was accomplished with less friction than is usual under such circumstances. The reason for this is because the changes were made in accordance with intelligent and impartial investigation as to the conditions existing with reference to the changes made in the various schedules revised. In other words, experts carefully and fairly investigated the facts in regard to the cost of production at home and abroad and the scope of competition encountered. These are always essential facts to be taken into consideration in the enactment of tariff schedules, and when impartially exercised a revision can be made without serious disturbance of any legitimate business affected by it, and hence the satisfactory result in this instance.

The reformation of the banking and currency system of any country is always attended with apprehension. It is a most sensitive thing to deal with, and any change is viewed with alarm, because it reaches and ramifies every department of business throughout the entire country and affects every individual, regardless of locality or calling. For years the business of the country required, if not demanded, the reformation of this most important function of our Government, and yet conditions were such that every attempt had proven futile, and whatever partial reforms were attempted had proven for the worse instead of the better. Fortunate for this administration it had come into power free from all entangling alliances, and thereupon was obligated to serve no special business, combination, or interest save the people alone, and hence it could act freely and independently of all interests in making this much-needed reform, and did it with wise, conservative, and impartial legislation. It had a single object in view, to construct a financial system that would answer the purpose under the strain of danger and perils to business, that would meet the requirements where others had failed, that would emancipate the country's finances from the control of selfish individuals who could convert it at pleasure to their immediate benefit at the expense of business, industry, and commerce. This it has done with phenomenal success and earned the gratitude of millions struggling to develop and operate the business of our country. It has founded the currency system upon our assets, instead of our liabilities, as was formerly the case; upon what we own, instead of what we owe; it has made it possible to pay our public debt, which under the former system could not have been done without wiping out of existence our bank-note circulation, and thereby contracting the amount of our circulating medium, reducing the amount per capita to such a minimum that the remainder would be inadequate to transact the business of the country, and thereby prevent the expansion of our ever-growing industrial, mercantile, and commercial development, upon which we must depend if our people sustain their prestige among the people of other nations. It has transferred the control of the finances of the country from a few men in Wall Street, who manipulated them for personal aggrandizement, to the Government at Washington, where they are to be controlled in the interests of the entire public, free from selfishness or at the expense of any legitimate business, a currency which can be expanded or contracted as the requirements of the country make necessary. This great piece of constructive legislation is the greatest act of the administration and the one which will prove more beneficial than any legislation enacted for years to the people of this great Republic.

On the 1st of last August war broke out in Europe without notice or previous warning, and in less than one week from that date eight of the leading countries of Europe had made formal declarations of war; and from that date to this it has been such a war as all the past has never witnessed, and we hope all the future will not be called to witness its like. It is costing the nations involved about $54,000,000 per day to pay the expense of maintaining the armies. No one would attempt to approximate the cost for destruction of property, waste, and loss of trade. It will take time to ascertain these items of expense and and the amounts thereof. These will be enormous, as it is the most destructive war ever known. At the time the war broke out European parties owned at least $4,000,000,000 of American securities, all payable in gold, as specified in the securities. The holders of these securities, alarmed over the conditions created because of the great war, naturally enough were desirous of converting these securities into cash and desired doubtless to present them for payment where opportunity was offered. Our entire gold supply, much the largest of any nation in the world, amounted to about one and seven-eighths billion dollars, a sum much smaller than the securities outstanding. So that if all these securities had been presented and payment in gold demanded, our gold holdings would have been wholly inadequate to pay them. This presented the most serious condition that ever confronted a nation. It took courage, ability, and confidence to meet and handle the situation, but it was both wisely and ably done, and disaster of the most serious and far-reaching character was averted. Under our old banking and currency laws it could not have been done. Men of less courage, ability, and patriotism would have faltered and failed. The years of 1893 and 1907, serious and destructive as those situations were, presented no such dangers as were threatened in the crisis of August 1, 1914. But the dangers that day presented were averted and the people relying upon the administration patiently confided in it for escape from the disasters about to be visited upon them. It was equal to the task, able to cope with the emergencies, control the situation, and avoided the calamity quite ready to fall upon the people, until now the danger is passed, the ominous clouds have rolled away, and the dawn of a better era is visible all over our broad land.

Look at the situation from any angle we may, consider it from any viewpoint, and the inevitable conclusion is forced upon us that we are entering upon the most marvelous period of prosperity in the business history of the entire country. The war in Europe has done for our manufacturers what a protective tariff would never do—it has cut off entirely imports from the countries which were our greatest competitors and given us our home markets unmolested, and thrown open to us the ports of other countries practically freed from competition with our greatest rivals. This is the golden opportunity for our

manufacturers, for our producers, and it is up to them to either grasp it and reap the great harvest or let it pass by. With bountiful crops of golden grain harvested from our millions of farms, with both domestic and foreign demand unparalleled, commanding the highest of prices for everything the farmer produces, with more money per capita in circulation than ever known hitherto, how could it be otherwise than a period of unbounded prosperity? The way is blazed out, the opportunity is looking every man in the face and beckoning him on to enjoy the goal. Shall we seize the opportunity or shall we push it aside? It is up to the people. Knocking for admittance, shall we open the door and bid it welcome, or shall we close it and tell it to pass us by? If we would enjoy it, we must encourage it; if we do not, we will drive it away.

If the manufacturer does not recommend his goods, praise their quality, and urge their use, he can not complain if they are a drug on the market and purchases limited. If the banker depreciates business by constantly talking about the scarcity of money, discourages investment, pictures a gloomy future for business, advises customers loans must be liquidated, and refuses new loans, he is impliedly inviting patrons to withdraw their deposits, which is usually accepted, very much to the injury of his institution and to the detriment of the locality in which it is located, and which conduct on the part of bankers throughout the country in the last few months has caused many million dollars to be withdrawn from the bank deposits and retired from circulation. If the jobber and wholesale merchant constantly tell the retail dealers that business is bad, minimize trade, and declare the outlook unpromising, they discourage purchases and limit business. If in turn the retail merchant informs his customers that business is rotten, trade is dull, the future gloomy, and money scarce, naturally he frightens his customers, and they minimize their purchases, reduce trade, horde their money, lessen consumption, and business suffers, commerce is impaired, production is paralyzed, and the entire country seriously injured. This is the natural result, although no real or substantial foundation may exist for such a condition. It is the outgrowth, the result of the knocker and the pessimist, who have worked overtime in foisting their disordered mental conditions on the public. They see no good in anything, bad in everything. Business can be, and doubtless has been in many instances, strangled, development retarded, and production and consumption curtailed, by the persistent and constant efforts on the part of knockers and pessimists. Nobody is benefited thereby, but the country as a whole suffers irreparable injury on account thereof.

On the other hand, if all such had boosted instead of knocked, had been optimistic instead of pessimistic, business conditions would have reflected hope and prosperity, thrift and enterprise, and would have stimulated energies which were otherwise dormant. Courage is the watchword of success, and men of courage have in the last few months, in spite of the proverbial knockers, pessimists, and calamity howlers, piloted us by the perilous dangers which have so seriously threatened us as a people into the doorway of the most marvelous era of prosperity it has ever been the good fortune of the country to enjoy. All the indications now clearly demonstrate we are a highly favored people, the most fortunate of any nation in the world.

As much as it may be regretted, it is nevertheless true that in many portions of the country business has suffered and injury resulted because men hostile politically to the administration have been howling calamity, knocking its policies, talking about imaginary conditions, and minimizing real ones until the timid were frightened, hesitated in making investments, and restricted development, all producing injury in the business world and delaying the onward march of prosperity. Because of it capital was withdrawn from circulation, went into hiding, and the inevitable result was business suffered.

Men who thus conducted themselves deserve the censure they are now receiving for their unreasonable and unwarranted conduct in this regard. They have proven themselves a detriment to the public. Such men have placed their party fealty above their obligations to their country, the welfare of their fellow men, and the advancement of their own personal fortunes, and have invited and received for their behavior the censure of the high-minded and patriotic people who place the country's advancement and the best interests of the citizen above partisanship and the selfish, sordid purposes of designing individuals.

The business of a community is a safe barometer to show the feeling and disposition, reflecting the measure of approval or disapproval of the people who are its patrons. It will respond with alacrity to sympathetic sentiment and shrink away from a discouraging one. How important it is, therefore, to encourage and boost legitimate business in order that it may enjoy healthful activity. Under such encouraging influences it thrives, distributes thrift, inspires enterprise, and secures happiness, dispels gloom and fear, and assists the energizing forces which forge a nation's prosperity, urges the people to greater diligence in their industrial and commercial conquests, and multiplies the rewards for faithful, honest toil.

The dangers which so ominously threatened our business enterprises a few months ago have passed without disaster, and there has been ushered upon us a better era which is unfolding its unrivalled promises to our people, extending alluring invitations to embark in new enterprises and to enlarge existing ones in order to successfully meet and care for the greater requirements which the new conditions are bringing upon us. We are moving under the most flattering auspices, which assure us will prove the most prosperous in the Nation's history.

The awful war now raging in the producing countries of Europe has practically destroyed both their foreign and domestic commerce, and their customers must necessarily turn to us and become our patrons. We are called upon to supply the deficit thus created, which will tax to the utmost our producing facilities, but will yield to us profitable returns as a remuneration for the new responsibility which it imposes. It will increase our influence as a world power and develop our strength as a nation, making us the most potential factor in the commerce of the world. With our unsurpassed facilities for production, our vast natural resources, both developed and undeveloped, our enviable geographical location for transportation to all parts of the world, our superior mechanical and inventive genius, and our energies and capacity for production now existing furnish ample assurance we will capture the commerce of the world and are capable of holding it. We will reap the golden reward and enjoy it.

National Prohibition.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL HAYDEN,
OF ARIZONA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 22, 1914,

On the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 168) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States prohibiting the sale, etc., of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. Speaker, on the 3d day of last November the qualified electors of my State adopted a constitutional amendment prohibiting the importation, manufacture, or sale of intoxicating liquods. The text of the amendment is as follows:

Be it enacted by the people of the State of Arizona, That the constitution of the State of Arizona be, and is hereby, amended by adding thereto another article, the same to be numbered 23 and to read as follows, to wit:

"SECTION 1. Ardent spirits, ale, beer, wine, or intoxicating liquor or liquors of whatever kind shall not be manufactured in or introduced into the State of Arizona under any pretense. Every person who sells, exchanges, gives, barters, or disposes of any ardent spirits, ale, beer, wine, or intoxicating liquor of any kind to any person in the State of Arizona, or who manufactures or introduces into, or attempts to introduce into, the State of Arizona any ardent spirits, ale, beer, wine, or intoxicating liquor of any kind, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction shall be imprisoned for not less than 10 days nor more than 2 years and fined not less than $25 and costs nor more than $300 and costs for each offense: *Provided,* That nothing in this amendment contained shall apply to the manufacture or sale of denatured alcohol.

"SEC. 2. The legislature shall by appropriate legislation provide for the carrying into effect of this amendment.

"SEC. 3. This amendment shall take effect on and be in force on and after the 1st day of January, 1915."

The following is a tabulation of the vote by counties on this amendment:

Counties.	Yes.	No.
Apache	559	271
Coconino	865	1,042
Cochise	3,850	4,149
Gila	2,030	2,290
Graham	1,548	557
Greenlee	1,018	1,031
Maricopa	8,692	4,951
Mohave	566	817
Navajo	1,078	611
Pima	1,699	2,230
Pinal	813	871
Santa Cruz	480	536
Yavapai	1,642	2,385
Yuma	1,047	1,022
Total	25,887	22,743

Majority for prohibition, 3,144.

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A majority of the citizens of Arizona having expressed themselves in favor of the suppression of the liquor traffic on the very day that I was reelected to represent them in the Sixty-Fourth Congress, I consider that I am instructed as to my vote on the pending measure. I am satisfied that if the Hobson amendment to the Federal Constitution could have been submitted to the people of Arizona at the same time it would have likewise received their approval at the election, and, therefore, when I cast my vote in its favor I am carrying out the will of the majority in Arizona.

* * * * * * *

The language of the Hobson resolution as finally perfected is as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following amendment of the Constitution be, and hereby is, proposed to the States, to become valid as a part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of the several States as provided by the Constitution.

SECTION 1. The sale, manufacture for sale, transportation for sale, importation for sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes in the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof and exportation thereof are forever prohibited.

SEC. 2. The Congress or the States shall have power independently or concurrently to enforce this article by all needful legislation.

How to Destroy the Rum Power.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY GEORGE, JR.,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 22, 1914,

On the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 168) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States prohibiting the sale, etc., of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, since the motion to suspend the rules and pass the resolution has served to cut short debate on this question, I avail myself of the privilege of expressing as my views on the measure an appropriate article written by my father more than 20 years ago, and with the article an explanatory foreword with which it has been printed in pamphlet form and widely circulated in this country:

FOREWORD.

This article was written by Henry George as the result of a meeting with Mr. B. O. Flower, editor of the Arena and the Twentieth Century magazines. Mr. Flower says that he had suggested to Mr. George that he prepare an outline of his social and economic philosophy, but to his surprise was told by Mr. George that he would much prefer to write a paper in advocacy of free rum to be one of a series of articles Mr. Flower had told him he was having prepared dealing with various aspects of the temperance problem. On Mr. Flower expressing astonishment at Mr. George's choice of a subject the latter replied:

"Mr. Flower, intemperance is a great curse; we all admit that. But there is something more deadly than intemperance threatening the Republic to-day, and that is political corruption. The rum power in politics is a greater evil than intemperance, and it has arisen and become the evil that it is to-day—an evil that is poisoning the political conscience of the Nation—because of restrictive legislation. Restrictive legislation," he repeated, "is the cause, and the rum power in politics is the effect."

From another friend of Mr. George very close to him at the time, we have the following statement:

"Henry George, the Rev. Dr. Howard Crosby, and a distinguished woman of the time—about 1887 or 1888—were invited to debate the liquor question at the Academy of Music at Brooklyn. The woman advocated absolute prohibition, Dr. Crosby advocated high license, and Mr. George, in beginning his speech, after hearing them both, said that he agreed with the woman's argument against Dr. Crosby's, and with Dr. Crosby's against the woman's; whereupon he advocated absolute freedom in the matter, doing so in the interest of temperance."

HOW TO DESTROY THE RUM POWER.

[By Henry George.]

For years the liquor question has been largely and widely discussed in the United States. But the discussion has turned on the kind and degree of legal restriction that ought to be applied to the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drink, and the political effects of this restriction have been but little considered. The "rum power" has been sufficiently recognized and bitterly denounced, but, without inquiry into its nature and causes, has generally been treated as one of the evils that make restriction necessary.

Yet the political influence of the various interests connected with the manufacture and sale of liquors is a matter of sufficient importance to demand some consideration in itself, and apart from the question of temperance. For the "rum power" is certainly a fact of the first importance. It is an active, energetic, tireless factor in our practical politics, a corrupt and debauching element, standing in the way of all reform and progress, a potent agency by which unscrupulous men may lift themselves to power, and an influence which operates to lower public morality and official character.

Intemperance is a grave evil, but it is not the only evil. Political corruption is also a grave evil. The most ardent advocate of temperance would probably admit that there may be a point where the one evil may be outweighed by the other, and would hesitate to accept the total abstinence that prevails in Turkey if accompanied with Turkish corruption of government. There is no instance in which intemperance among a civilized people has stopped advance and turned civilization back toward barbarism, but the history of the world furnishes example after example in which this has occurred from the corruption of government, ending finally in the corruption of the masses.

While the lessening of intemperance may be the most important end that under present conditions we can seek; while it may be that in our liquor legislation we should disregard all other effects if we can secure this, it is nevertheless wise that we should at least consider what these effects may be.

In the presence of the giant evils springing from the existence of the "rum power" in our politics it is certainly worth while to inquire how the existence of this power stands related to our restrictive liquor legislation.

A little consideration will show that they are indeed related and that this relation is that of cause and effect. Not as is generally assumed, the rum power being the cause and the restrictive legislation the effect of opposition aroused by it, but the restrictive legislation being the cause and the appearance of the "rum power" in politics the effect of this restriction.

This we may see from general principles and a wide experience. While there is any possibility of changing them through political action, legal restrictions on any branch of business must introduce into politics a special element, which will exert power proportioned to the pecuniary interest involved.

We restrict the importation of wool by putting a duty on wool, and immediately there arises in our politics a wool power to send lobbyists to Washington, to secure the nomination and election of Members of Congress, to exert an influence upon party organization and conventions, and to contribute to political corruption funds. We put a duty on iron, and at once there arises an iron power to logroll and bulldoze, to bribe and corrupt, to use our politics in every way for the defense or promotion of its special interests, and, uniting with other special interests of the same kind, to exert such influence on the organs of public education and opinion as to make the great body of the American people actually believe that the way to make people rich is to tax them. We interfere with the industry of making cigars by imposing an internal-revenue tax on cigars, and as a consequence we have a league of cigar manufacturers ready to spend money and to exert political influence to maintain the tax which, by concentrating business, gives them larger profits. The match industry is comparatively small, yet the tax on matches imposed during the war begot a match power which, though not large enough to cut any figure in the politics of the country at large, was sufficient to be perceptible at Washington when the question of reducing taxes came up. Or, to take a case where the popular reason for the restriction is of the same kind as that for restriction on the manufacture and sale of liquor, we have put a high duty on opium. Hence the growth of a combination or combinations on the Pacific coast making some millions a year by smuggling opium. To make sure of the retention of the duty and keep in place public officials blind-eyed to the operations of the smugglers, the pecuniary interest thus created must take part in politics, for under our system the power to get votes and to manage conventions is the foundation of the power to make laws and secure appointments.

If such be the effects of simple restrictions, what must be the effect of such restrictions as we impose on the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors? What would they be on any other business? There are people who believe the wearing of corsets a deleterious habit, greatly injurious to American women. Others contend that wearing corsets in moderation is harmless if not helpful and that it is only the excess of tight lacing that is injurious. But without concerning ourselves with this we can readily imagine the effects of applying to the corset business the restrictions now imposed on the liquor business.

If the Federal Government were to put such a tax on the manufacture of corsets as it does on whisky, we would soon have a corset ring, with large pecuniary interests in the retention of the tax, in the rulings of the department, and in the appointment of internal-revenue officials.

If corset selling were restricted by licenses as is liquor selling, the privilege would become valuable and its holders have reason to "keep solid" with the dominant party. Where it was prohibited, illicit sales, it is risking nothing to predict, would still go on. These illicit sellers would all the more need the favor and connivance of officials owing their places to politics, and must therefore use their influence and spend their money in politics.

Just what would thus follow from corset restriction has followed from liquor restrictions. The effect of the tax on the manufacture of liquor is to concentrate the business in the hands of larger capitals and stronger men, and to make evasions a source of great profit. It is thus directly to concern large pecuniary interests in politics in order to maintain the tax and to influence or control the officials concerned with its administrations.

This is the genesis of the American whisky ring, which sprung into the most pernicious activity with the imposition of the $2-a-gallon tax, a tax which led to the most widespread political debauchery and corruption. The reduction of this tax to 50 cents per gallon, accomplished against the efforts of the ring, has greatly reduced this corruption and lessened the political influence of the whisky ring.

But it still exists, as it will exist while the tax on liquor remains a potent factor in national legislation, bringing its money and its influence into all elections where its interests are even remotely affected. Here is what Hon. Ernest H. Crosby, in an article in the May Forum entitled "The saloon as a political power," has to say of one branch of it:

"The brewers deserve special notice. Their immense wealth gives them opportunities for wholesale bribery. They raise enormous funds for use in all canvasses in which the temperance issue is raised. But the brewers have a greater power than mere riches. Each brewery has a large number of beer shops under its direct control. They select men of straw, provide the money to establish them in business, and take back chattel mortgages on the saloon fixtures. They thus gain absolute possession of the mortgagor, body and soul, and he follows their directions in politics implicitly. One firm of brewers in a leading city holds 600 chattel mortgages of this kind, aggregating $310,134 in value. Another has 208, valued at $442,063. We can see in a moment the concentration of power which such a system affords. The saloons in order to rule must combine, and here is a plan of combination already provided. One example will show how this power is used. Two years ago the brewers in a strong Democratic district determined to send an attorney of theirs, Mr. A. P. Fitch, to Congress. They secured the Republican nomination for him. The Democratic barrooms were ordered to support him, and he was elected. While serving his term in Congress the Mills bill, leading toward free trade, came up for consideration. The brewers were in favor of reducing the surplus in this way, as they desired the internal revenue to remain untouched. Mr. Fitch left his party and voted for the Mills bill. The brewers turned to, obtained the Democratic nomination for him, and elected him again in the same district."

Not entirely the brewers. Men like myself voted for Mr. Fitch, as we always will vote in favor of a Republican who inclines to free trade or, indeed, a Republican protectionist as against a Democratic protectionist. As to the political influence of the liquor power in New York, Mr. Crosby is right. It was thrown against me in solid mass when I ran for mayor, in 1886. A deputation came to me to ask what my course, if elected, would be. My reply was that, so far as it might devolve on me, I would enforce the law without fear or favor. But I have no reason to think that this had any effect on the action of the liquor men. They supported Mr. Hewitt because the excise commissioners and the police department were in his favor.

It is high time that these brewers were brought to their senses. They sustain the internal-revenue system because it keeps others from competing with their monopoly, and also because they buy their revenue stamps at wholesale—at 7½ per cent discount—and charge them to their customers at par. One well-known firm is said to make $28,000 a year by this arrangement. In their effort to preserve the internal revenue the brewers support tariff reduction, and even free trade, but only in so far as it does not injure them.

In Great Britain the excise system has produced the same effects—the concentration of the business, the accumulation of enormous fortunes, the control of public houses by brewers and distillers, and the building up of a political power which is a bulwark of Tory conservatism and an obstacle to all real reform and advance.

To tax liquor is inevitably to call a "rum power" into politics. Where the liquor sellers do not throw their money and influence into politics of their own volition they are forced to do so. In New York, for instance, the influence and the contributions of the liquor sellers are controlled by the party or factions that control the excise commissioners and the police department, and the liquor sellers are compelled to use their influence and give their money to every election. Indictments are found for violations of excise regulations and corded up in pigeonholes by the thousands, never to be taken down unless the saloon keeper is recalcitrant, while spasmodic raids and arrests enforce the necessity of keeping on the good side of the powers that be.

And besides the work that is compelled and the "voluntary contributions" that are exacted for party, there is a special service and ransom to individual officials and politicians. This is one of the reasons why such enormous amounts of money are spent in New York even in trivial election contests and why officials grow rich on small salaries. This enormous liquor influence, organized, disciplined, and controlled through the very laws intended to lessen the evils of intemperance, is one of the great agencies which have made democratic government, in the true sense of the term, as nonexistent in New York as in Constantinople.

As it is in New York, so it is in degree at least in other cities. Where licenses are limited in number, they become the more valuable. When they are raised in price, the number of unlicensed liquor sellers, who are even more under the control of corrupt politicians than are the licensed ones, increase.

In Philadelphia the power to grant licenses has been placed in the hands of the judges of the courts. Whether the ultimate result be good or bad, it is certain that in the long run the political power growing out of the liquor business will not be diminished, and that the pecuniary interests involved in the traffic will enter into the nomination and election of judges.

Prohibition puts liquor selling under the ban of the law. Hence where liquor selling continues, as it does in every prohibition State, it must be by connivance of officials and by favor of politicians. Thus the work and the money of the illegal liquor sellers build up a "rum power" relatively stronger than where restriction has not been carried to the length of prohibition. In Maine, where prohibition has been longest, it is said to be the control of the illicit sellers of liquor which keeps the State in the hands of the Republican Party, not because it is the Republican Party, of course, but because it is the party in power.

In Iowa, where ingenuity seems to have exhausted itself in framing legal provisions to absolutely prevent either the manufacture or sale of liquor, the returns of the United States Commissioner of Internal Revenue show that United States license taxes were paid during the last fiscal year by 7 rectifiers, 25 wholesale liquor dealers, 2,758 retail liquor dealers, 41 brewers, 50 wholesale dealers in malt liquors, and 223 retail dealers. These people did not pay United States special taxes out of patriotism. If so many of them paid these United States taxes, how much must they, and the far greater number not thus returned (the proportion of 41 brewers and 50 wholesale dealers to 223 retail beer sellers is very significant), have paid as hush money and political subscriptions?

The more carefully the subject is examined the more clear I think it will appear that to eliminate the "rum power" as a corrupting element in our politics by restrictive laws is hopeless. On the contrary, it is restriction that brings it into our politics. There is only one way of eliminating it from politics, and that is by doing away with all restrictions, from Federal tax to municipal license, and permitting "free trade in rum."

To many people this will seem like saying that the only way to get rid of the trouble of keeping pigs out of a garden is to throw down the fences and let them root at will. Others will see in the increase of intemperance which they will associate with free trade in liquor greater evils than the corrupting political influence of the "rum power." Yet even if this be so, it is at least worth while to see that in attempting to cure one evil by restriction we are creating another.

But is it so? To abolish all taxes on liquor would be to make liquor cheap and easily obtained. But would this be to increase drunkenness? Is there more intemperance in countries where liquor is relatively cheap than in countries where it is very dear? Did the $2 tax on whisky lessen drunkenness? Did the reduction to 50 cents increase it? Is there more drunkenness among the rich, whose power to purchase all they want is not lessened by the artificial enhancement in the cost of liquor, than there is among the poor, on whose power to purchase this enhancement must most seriously tell? Is it not notorious that men too poor to get proper food, clothing, and shelter for themselves and their families do still manage to get drunk? And among the temperate men or total abstainers who read this page, is there one whose abstinence is due to the costliness of liquor?

All our restriction, even to the point of absolute legal prohibition, does not, except perhaps in some places to strangers and in some small communities, really prevent the man who wants liquor from getting it. Where it even closes the open saloon it only substitutes for it the drug store, the clubroom, the backdoor, and the kitchen bar.

On one Sunday in New York I had to ride from the upper end of the island to the Astor House to get a little liquor for medicinal purposes, but it was only because one of the periodical raids against Sunday selling was on, that I was a stranger, and perhaps that I looked like a temperance man. People known to the saloon keepers or druggists could get all they wanted. I have never lived in a prohibition State, but I have never been in one where there seemed any difficulty in getting liquor. In Burlington, Iowa, I saw saloons openly doing business; in Des Moines I saw young men drunk in the hall of the principal hotel at midday; in Lewiston, Me., I was recently told that there were some 300 places where liquor was sold, mostly kitchen bars, and in a Vermont town a prosecuting attorney, even then prosecuting some offenses against the prohibitory law, took me into his back room and producing a bottle and glasses from a closet and setting them on the table remarked, "It is against the law to sell or to give liquor as a beverage, but there is no law to prevent a man from taking it if he sees it lying around."

But the artificial enhancement in the cost of liquor by taxation and restriction does have the effect of promoting adulteration. With no tax whatever upon spirits they would be too cheap to make adulteration pay. But every artificial increase in cost is a premium on the substitution of poisonous mixtures for the pure article. The abuse of liquor is bad enough, but there can be no question that much of the evil that is attributed to liquor is due to adulterations not really entitled to the name. Dr. Willard H. Morse, in the North American Review, says: "If two puppies are fed, the one on the whisky of the saloons, and the other on the purest product of distillation, the autopsy of the former will show a diseased brain, while the brain of the latter will be found to be normal." Drug store whisky is reputed worse than saloon whisky, and the worst whisky of all is said to be prohibition whisky.

And the effect of these poisonous adulterations which our restrictions promote and encourage is, it must be remembered, not merely to make the drinking habit more deadly, it is to produce a quicker and stronger craving on the part of those who partake of the stuff, and thus to make confirmed drinkers—to produce a diseased condition of body and mind which urges the victim to satisfy the insane craving at all risks and costs.

That the abolition of all taxes on the manufacture and sale of liquor would increase the consumption of liquor is doubtless true. It would increase its consumption in the arts and for domestic purposes; but that it would increase its consumption as a beverage is not so clear. For there are certain exceptions to the general rule that consumption is inverse to cost. Where a depraved appetite is the cause of consumption no increase of cost that we have found practicable will reduce consumption, and where ostentation prompts consumption decrease of cost is apt to lessen it. If invention were to reduce the cost of diamonds to a cent or two a pound, their consumption in the arts would much increase, but their consumption for personal adornment would cease. Where sturgeon are scarce and costly their meat is esteemed a delicacy and placed before guests; where they are very plenty and cheap they are thrown out of the nets or fed to the pigs.

The most ardent temperance men, whether favoring high license or prohibition, will not contend that in the present conditions of society it is possible by any amount of legal restriction to prevent liquor drinking. But they will contend that restriction tends to discourage the formation of the drinking habit, by lessening the temptations to begin it.

Now, the great agencies in the formation of the drinking habit are social entertainment, the custom of treating, and the enticements of the saloon.

Does restriction tend in the slightest degree to discourage the setting of liquor before guests in private houses and at social entertainments? There is probably less of this in the prohibition States than in the nonprohibition States, and there is certainly less of it now in all sections than there was in preceding generations when the restrictions were less or did not exist. But this is not because of prohibition or restriction, but because of the stronger moral sentiment against liquor drinking, and of which the restriction or prohibition is one of the manifestations. No man disposed to drink or to set drink before others in private refrains from doing so because of any statute law. Legislatures may impose penalties, but they have no power to make people think wrong what before they deemed right. Prohibition may have some little effect on public and official entertainments, and the increased cost of liquor may have some effect in preventing it being set before guests. But, on the other hand, the prohibition of what is not felt to be wrong in itself provokes a certain disposition to it, and the greater costliness of a thing prompts the offering of it to those we would compliment. The treating habit, which springs from a desire to compliment or return a compliment, is certainly strengthened by the costliness of liquor. Millionaires do not ask each other to go out and take 10 cents' worth of whisky or 5 cents' worth of beer when they want to be complimentary or sociable. But men to whom 5 cents or 10 cents is an object do, and unless the treat is in discharge or recognition of some obligation they feel bound to return it in kind.

Now, with liquor so cheap as it would be if there were no tax or restriction on its manufacture and sale, the treating habit would certainly be largely weakened. If whisky were as cheap as water, it would entirely die out. Who thinks of treating another to water, or feels the refusal of another to empty a glass of water into his stomach a slight, or imagines that because one man offers a glass of water to each of a party that each one of the party must in his turn offer a glass of water to all the others?

As for the saloon, the license system makes it more gorgeous and enticing, while prohibition drives it into lower and viler forms. What really would be the effect of absolute free trade in liquor? At first blush it may seem as if it would be to enormously multiply saloons. On second consideration it will seem more likely to utterly destroy them. This is certain, that if anywhere that saloons exist a proposition were made to do away with all tax, license, or restriction the saloon keepers would be its most bitter opponents. And they would quickly assign the reason: "If everybody were free to sell liquor, we would have to go out of the business."

The liquor saloon as we know it is a specialization which can only exist by the concentration of business which restriction causes. Were liquor as cheap as it would be were all taxes on it removed, and were everyone free to sell it, it might be sold in every hotel, in every boarding or lodging house, in every restaurant, druggist's, bakery, confectionery, grocery, drygoods store, or peanut stand, but places specially devoted to its sale could not be paved with silver dollars, or ornamented with costly paintings, or set fine free lunches, or provide free concerts, even if, indeed, they could continue to exist. And where liquor was sold in connection with food, entertainment, or other things, and at prices which free competition would compel, it would not pay to let men drink themselves into intoxication or semi-intoxication or in any way to provoke or encourage the drinking habit.

In short, I believe that examination will show that the sweeping away of all taxes and restrictions would not only destroy the "rum power" in our politics but would much decrease intemperance.

And this view has the support of one of the keenest observers. Adam Smith, who treats this matter at some length in chapter 3, Book IV, of The Wealth of Nations, says:

"If we consult experience, the cheapness of wine seems to be a cause, not of drunkenness but of sobriety. The inhabitants of the wine countries are in general the soberest people in Europe.

"People are seldom guilty of excess in what is their daily fare. Nobody affects the character of liberality and good fellowship by being profuse of a liquor which is cheap as small beer.

"When a French regiment comes from some of the northern Provinces of France, where wine is somewhat dear, to be quartered in the southern, where it is very cheap, the soldiers, I have frequently heard it observed, are at first debauched by the cheapness and novelty of good wine, but after a few months' residence the greater part of them become as sober as the rest of the inhabitants. Were the duties upon foreign wines and the excise upon malt, beer, and ale to be taken away all at once, it might in some manner occasion in Great Britain a pretty general and temporary drunkenness among the middle and inferior ranks of people, which would probably be soon followed by a permanent and almost universal sobriety."

"Almost universal sobriety," wrote Adam Smith in Kierkaldy, somewhere in the early seventies of the eighteenth century. Writing as the wonderful nineteenth century nears its final decade and in the great metropolis of a mighty nation then unborn, I can say no more, if as much. The temperance question does not stand alone. It is related—nay, it is but a phase of the great social question. By abolishing liquor taxes and licenses we may drive the "rum power" out of politics and somewhat, I think, lessen intemperance. Thus we may get rid of an obstacle to the improvement of social conditions and increase the effective force that demands improvement. But without the improvement of social conditions we can not hope to abolish intemperance. Intemperance to-day springs mainly from that unjust distribution of wealth, which gives to some less and to others more than they have fairly earned. Among the masses it is fed by hard and monotonous toil, or the still more straining and demoralizing search for leave to toil; by overtasked muscles and overstrained nerves and undernurtured bodies; by the poverty which makes men afraid to marry and sets little children at work and crowds families into rooms of tenement houses; which stints the nobler and brings out the baser qualities; and in full tide of the highest civilization the world has yet seen robs life of poetry and glory, of beauty and joy. Among the classes it finds its victims in those from whom the obligation to exertion has been artificially lifted; who are born to enjoy the results of labor without doing any labor; and in whom the lack of stimulus to healthy exertion causes moral obesity; and consumption without the need of productive work breeds satiety. Intemperance is abnormal. It is the vice of those who are starved and those who are gorged.

Free trade in liquor would tend to reduce it, but could not abolish it. But free trade in everything would. I do not mean a sneaking, half-hearted, and half-witted "tariff reform," but that absolute, thorough free trade which would not only abolish the customhouse and the excise but would do away with every tax on the products of labor and every restriction on the exertion of labor and would leave everyone free to do whatever did not infringe the Ten Commandments.

A year before the Wealth of Nations was published, Thomas Spence, of Newcastle, in a lecture before the Philosophical Society, of that place, thus pictured such a state of things:

"Then you may behold the rent which the people have paid into the parish treasuries, employed by each parish in paying the Government its share of the sum which the Parliament or National Congress at any time grants; in maintaining and relieving its own poor and people out of work; in paying the necessary officers their salaries; in building, repairing, and adorning its houses, bridges, and other structures; in making and maintaining convenient and delightful streets, highways, and passages, both for foot and carriages; in making and maintaining canals and other conveniences for trade and navigation; in planting and taking in waste grounds; in providing and keeping up a magazine of ammunition and all sorts of arms sufficient for all its inhabitants in case of danger from enemies; in premiums for the encouragement of agriculture or anything else thought worthy of encouragement; and in a word in doing whatever the people think proper and not, as formerly, to support and spread luxury, pride, and all manner of vice.

"There are no tolls or taxes of any kind paid among them by native or foreigner, but the aforesaid rent, which every person pays to the parish, according to the quantity, quality, and conveniences of the land, housing, etc., which he occupies in it. The Government, poor roads, etc., as said before, are all maintained by the parishes with the rent, on which account all wares, manufactures, allowable trade employments, or actions are entirely duty free. Freedom to do anything whatever can not there be bought; a thing is either entirely prohibited, as theft or murder, or entirely free to everyone without tax or price."

Gov. Colquitt's Frankness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 29, 1914.

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, the interesting statement of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. HARDY] refers to an article in the newspapers attributed to a distinguished Texan who happens at this time to be the governor of the State. That there should be any difference of opinion between the brethren from Texas is surprising, but that any of them should disagree with the President of their own choice, or find it necessary to defend him from attack, is truly iconoclastic. Since the gentleman from Texas [Mr. HARDY] has come to the aid of the administration, however, it would seem fair to the governor of Texas that what he had to say to provoke a defense should be printed along with the criticism of his utterances. The publication of these views of the governor may come with more grace from the minority side of the House than if they were presented in all good cheer by the gentlemen from Texas themselves.

Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.

I append the statement of Gov. Colquitt as it appeared in the Public Ledger, of Philadelphia, with headlines attached:

GOV. COLQUITT DECLARES PRESIDENT A FAILURE—EXECUTIVE OF LONE STAR STATE DENOUNCES MEN WHO ARE AT HEAD OF THE GOVERNMENT—MEXICAN POLICY ASSAILED.

[By O. B. Colquitt, governor of Texas.]

HOUSTON, TEX., *December 2.*

The Wilson administration has been the greatest failure in the history of the Presidency. The South is a land literally flowing with milk and honey; it has made one of the biggest and best crops in its history, and yet, because of the utter incompetence of the men in charge of the Government, its business is prostrated, its credit is impaired, and thousands of its people are starving.

The administration's tariff law was pledged to lower the cost of living, and it has had the contrary effect. By putting raw materials on the free list and keeping the protective tariff on manufactured goods, it has condemned American farmers by hundreds of thousands to peonage and has enabled the manufacturers, getting their raw materials cheaper, to charge higher prices for their goods, which they have done. Hides were free-listed and shoes have gone higher. This is true of virtually every single item similarly treated in the administration tariff law. The American workingman pays more for the finished product, and both are robbed to further enrich the protected manufacturing trusts and combines.

The administration's foreign policy has been imbecile. It has allowed England to dictate conditions as to cotton shipments to European countries that enabled the English spinners to rob the American cotton growers of half the value of their crop.

England stopped American shipments until the English spinners had bought their supply at 6¼ cents a pound and stored it in Texas and other southern warehouses. Then England consented to declare cotton not contraband, and France followed suit a day or two later. Our Government weakly submitted to England's dictation, playing into the hands of the English spinners and betraying the American cotton growers as completely as if this country were an English vassal State.

If I had been President, I would have served notice on England's premier that our foreign trade in cotton and other noncontraband commodities was going forward with or without England's consent, and, if necessary, I would have sent American ironclads to England's door to enforce that notice.

The administration's repeal of the Panama Canal tolls exemption in violation of the party's national platform was another weak surrender to England. If free tolls for American ships had not been repealed, hundreds of American-owned ships flying a foreign flag would have come under the American flag to get the benefit of exemption and we would to-day have an American merchant marine competent to carry our goods to foreign markets. We have no such merchant marine, and to supply it the Wilson administration is proposing to spend the taxpayers' money buying a subsidized national shipping service.

"EGREGIOUS FAILURE" IN MEXICO.

The Wilson-Bryan management of the Mexican affair has been an egregious failure. They landed an American Army in Vera Cruz to force Huerta to salute the flag and have brought it back without getting the salute. They now ask Congress to appropriate more than $500,000 to pay the expenses of that ridiculous expedition. For what? What did it accomplish? It set all Mexico aflame against the Americans, not only in Mexico, but in Texas, where all along the north bank of the Rio Grande there are 10 Mexicans for one American.

It brought on a reign of terror all along the Texas border, so that when the Federal Government refused to afford protection for our people in their own State I was forced to send 1,200 Texas troops down there to give it. Mexican bandit gangs were crossing the border into Texas raiding and terrorizing our scattered people. Women and children were huddled together in brick houses, menaced with murder and worse. My desk was flooded with telegrams from chambers of commerce, bankers, stockmen, and other responsible citizens, praying for protection at points all along our 1,200-mile frontier.

The Federal Government had only 60 troopers at Brownsville to cover more than two-thirds of that long border. When I rushed the Texas State troops down there, stationing a company at each of the principal border towns, I instructed them not to cross the river nor in any way to violate the neutrality law, but at all costs to protect the lives and property of Texas people.

Secretary of War Garrison telegraphed me that he thought it unwise to have two military forces occupying the same territory under separate commanders and suggested that I withdraw the State troops. I wired him that I would withdraw the Texas troops when he sent an equal number of United States regulars to take their place. And I kept our men there until he did send an equal number of Regulars to replace them at every place where our men were stationed.

I understand they had everything prepared at Washington to have me indicted by a Federal grand jury and put in a Federal prison, on the assumption that I meant to invade Mexico—a palpable absurdity, which only men utterly ignorant of the situation could have entertained. It is a fact, which the country does not know, that when our Texas troops arrived in Brownsville the Mexican commander at Matamoros, across the river, offered to surrender that city to the commander of the troops of United States cavalrymen. The commander at Matamoros evidently believed the Texas troops meant to take his city and thought the United States troops were more friendly than the Texans. The Washington conception of our business on the border was as ridiculous as that of the Mexican commander.

CALLS IT ENCOURAGING BANDITS.

Wilson and Bryan have stood by encouraging one gang of bandits after another while people were being butchered all over Mexico, while the vast American interests in that country were being confiscated and shot to pieces, and to-day the Mexican chaos is worse than at any time since Madero was assassinated. Villa is the dictator of the country, and I understand that all he wants is to be chief of police of the City of Mexico, with control of the gambling concessions in the City of Mexico and Juarez.

Our Government has kept England and Germany from restoring order in Mexico, and has itself done nothing but contribute to the disorder

and lawlessness by its vacillating "watching and waiting" policy—if it can be called a policy. The property interests of Mexico and the big American exploiters of Mexican resources have got control of the situation absolutely, and these same interests have got the ear of our Government at Washington.

ANTITRUST LAWS "FAKE."

The administration's antitrust laws are barefaced fakes, so far as protecting the people from trust oppression is concerned. These laws please nobody else so well as they do the Standard Oil, the Steel, and other great trusts.

I believed at first that the Federal reserve banking act was the administration's one meritorious achievement, but national bankers tell me it is going to prove a failure. The control of the system, in practice, appears to rest in New York City instead of in Washington.

I am fully convinced the national election of 1916 will end the Democratic régime. The policies of the Democratic national administration have wholly failed either to curb monopolies or to lower the cost of living for the people, and they have materially contributed to deprive millions of wage earners of employment. The administration valorized $20,000,000,000 worth of corporate securities owned in the North and East by a Treasury Department order to national banks to loan money on listed securities at not less than the closing quotations of July 30, 1914.

But the same administration, when asked to allow the people to use a quarter of a billion dollars of their collective credit for two or three years to save them from losing $500,000,000 on their cotton crop, regarded valorization as violative of sound government.

The President stood in the road and condemned the South, which made him, to heavier loss and more widespread misery than it has known in three generations. He vindicated an obsolete theory of political economy, but he mighty near ruined the country doing it.

I raised among my personal friends in Texas more than $10,000 for the Wilson campaign fund, and the only favor I asked of him was that he appoint men who would aid the Texas State government to enforce law and order along the Mexican border. It was my earnest desire to assist in making the Democratic national administration a success, but I would not sacrifice the honor of my State nor the welfare of her people to win the favor of any administration.

At no time have I failed to get courteous treatment from the leaders of the Mexican revolution. I sympathize with the Mexican people, but I also sympathize with Americans who have property rights in Mexico that ought to have been protected.

National Prohibition.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 22, 1914,

On House joint resolution 168, proposing an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting the sale, the manufacture for sale, transportation for sale, and importation for sale of intoxicating liquors.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, for one I am not yet ready to Russianize this country. I am not yet ready to give up the fruits of a seven years' war to establish the right of local self-government and the principle of individual liberty. I am not yet ready to surrender the Bill of Rights and the very essence of the Declaration of Independence. I am not yet ready to concede that despotism by a majority is less odious than despotism by a czar or a sultan, a king or a kaiser. Yet, if we shall adopt the pending resolution, we shall have entered upon a course which must lead finally to the surrender of everything we have held sacred in this free Republic.

For who can believe that those who attack the very foundations of individual liberty in giving a majority despotic and irresponsible power over the minority in dealing with the liquor traffic will rest content with this triumph, should it be achieved? Do we not see looming up on the horizon already a powerful, an insidious, and a most dangerous movement against the freedom of the press? Is there not at this moment a widespread propaganda which has for its secret, if not its open, aim a denial of religious liberty? Is it possible for any discerning man to doubt that if a breach in the Bill of Rights is effected at one point other breaches will follow until the whole fabric shall fall into ruin under the assaults of privilege operating through fanaticism, bigotry, and mistaken zeal?

Mr. Speaker, I hold no brief for the liquor interests. I care nothing for those interests. They can make no appeal to me by the arrays of figures which they present, by the property losses with which they are threatened, by the hundreds of thousands of men who would lose employment were this amendment to be written into the fundamental law, by the losses of revenue which municipal, State, and National Governments would sustain, by the destruction of markets for grain which prohibition would involve, or by any other of the economic effects which are anticipated by both friends and foes of this resolution. Let these losses be what they may, let the disarrangement of productive energies be all that the most pessimistic have imagined, let the disemployment be even ten times greater than the most extravagant estimates indicate, what are all these when compared with the loss of individual liberty, the loss of fundamental rights, the loss of that free choice which is the very corner stone of the Christian religion, and at the base of the great Republic and its democratic institutions?

That the drink evil is a great and most terrible one, who is there to deny? We have only to look around us to see the ravages which it makes in almost every community. But in comparison with other evils may it not have been somewhat exaggerated by those who for the last 30 or 40 years have devoted all their thought and all their energy and all their resources to a war on King Alcohol? I look about me in the crowded centers of this country, in New York, in Chicago, in Pittsburgh, in Cleveland, in St. Louis, in Cincinnati, in Baltimore, in Buffalo, and in Boston, and for every human wreck cast up on the shores of time as a result of drink I see a dozen or perhaps a hundred which have resulted from involuntary poverty, from want and the fear of want, from that fearful condition which we know as "hard times"—a condition that would be unthinkable under any orderly economic system in which the inherent natural right of the individual to self-employment were recognized and made possible by unrestricted access to the bounties of nature.

I am not unaware, Mr. Speaker, that the economic phases of this question appeal powerfully to many and determine them in the acceptance of a proposition which they would otherwise reject. They trace the misery, the degradation, the sin, the sorrow, the broken homes, the hunger, the cold, the nakedness, the empty cupboard, the crowded jail, the brothel, the soup house, the painted woman on the highway, the tramp, the thief, and the murderer to the one common source—the saloon. And let no one doubt that the saloon has its full share of the evils of modern society to answer for. But how shall we account for the misery, the degradation, the sin, the sorrow, the broken homes, the hunger, the cold, the nakedness, the empty cupboard, the crowded jail, the brothel, the soup house, the painted woman on the highway, the thief, and the murderer—how shall we account for these when we find them, as we may, far removed from the influences of the saloon, by no possibility traceable to the abuses of drink?

As I have said before, Mr. Speaker, I hold no brief for liquor. I make no appeal in its behalf. No one can more deeply deplore the evils it involves than myself. But I am unwilling that crimes chargeable to other and infinitely more serious evils shall be laid at its door while the real culprit goes unchallenged and even unrecognized. The advocates of this resolution lay less stress on the moral side of the issue than on the economic side. They see a broken man here whose shattered nerves tell their own sad story, and the poverty and sorrow and degradation which mark his life are by some strange logic attributed to tens of thousands of others who may never have taken a drink, who have no association with the saloon, who live lives of sobriety and prudence, yet who are steeped in misery and driven irresistibly toward the rocks. Is all the outcry over the one man with shattered nerves really designed to distract attention from the tens of thousands whose nerves are sound who yet shiver on the brink of the economic and social abyss? I do not know whence all this sudden clamor has come.

We know that the Prohibition Party has been in the field for more than a generation. It has not lacked in zeal. It has shown a fortitude in the face of utter discouragement worthy of all praise. It has been almost fanatical in its devotion to the cause which it placed above every other cause affecting the lives of the American people. Yet this party made practically no appeal to the electorate. It failed to grow. It was always negligible as far as numbers went. And if it made any real impression on the politics of the country, the fact was not manifested in the ordinary way. Yet in the twinkling of an eye we find the stone rejected of the builder made chief of the corner in the edifice which the gentleman from Alabama proposes to erect on the ruins of our Bill of Rights. Thomas Jefferson is supplanted by Neal Dow as the patron saint of the new cult. Abraham Lincoln must give way to the lamented Carrie Nation. And men who for a generation had marched under the banner of freedom make sudden shift to enroll with those who have never believed in freedom and have never trusted it.

I say I do not know whence all this sudden clamor has come. But let me state right here that if I were as deeply interested as a Rockefeller, a Frick, a Morgan, a Weyerhaeuser, or a Havemeyer in the maintenance of things as they are, I should not discourage this propaganda. I should be more than willing to contribute liberally in promoting it. I should find in it a very safe and effective diversion, one with a fine moral appeal, one which to challenge would be to be misunderstood. And I

should therefore turn every resource at my command to its service. I should finance costly campaigns and keep brilliant and resourceful advocates constantly in the field enlisting support for it. For I should know that as long as the mass of the people were in pursuit of the demon rum they would have no time to devote to a scrutiny of my titles to the resources which I have monopolized or the privileges which I find so profitable.

It is not charged that this propaganda is corrupt or that the great body of the good people enlisted in it are actuated by other than the highest motives. Attention is merely called to the fact that it has received in recent years a most surprising and unaccountable impetus—an impetus such as it might have received had big business seized upon it as a means of distracting attention from its sinister and sordid operations. As far as the propagandists themselves are concerned, who can doubt their earnestness, their unselfishness, their moral impulse, their zeal to advance the coming of the kingdom? The crusaders of old were not more sincere, nor perhaps were they launched upon a more chimerical adventure, for our modern crusaders are really undertaking to change human nature, to put the race in a strait-jacket, to inculcate morals with a club, to spread the gospel with tyranny, to establish the foundations of the kingdom on the ruins of individual liberty.

Mr. Speaker, there is no question about the power of the majority. It can do what it pleases. It can wipe out every guaranty of the Bill of Rights. It may upset the Declaration of Independence. It may trample the Constitution under foot. It may set up a state religion to which the minority must conform. It may throttle free speech. It may deny the right of petition. It may overthrow trial by jury. It may destroy the freedom of the press. There is no limit to its power along physical lines. But, thank God, it can not destroy the spirit of human liberty! It can not shackle the human mind! It can not enchain the human soul! It can not avert the rising up of other liberators, such as those who dreamed the dream which Thomas Jefferson later wrote into the Declaration of Independence and Abraham Lincoln into the emancipation proclamation.

I stand here in my humble way to voice an unshaken and an unshakable faith in those dreams. The majority here in our own day may do what princes and potentates of old times were wont to do. It may ride roughshod over the minority. But may the majority of to-day remain always the majority? May not the time come when a revolution of the wheel may reverse the order? And what would those now constituting the majority say were a new majority to walk roughshod over all they hold sacred regarding freedom to speak, to publish, to worship, or to pursue happiness in their own way? May not the time come when another and a very strange majority shall arise—a majority bent on subverting every principle of the Republic, every concept of human liberty, every instrumentality of the enfranchised individual? Is it forgotten that majorities most strangely shift? Is it forgotten that empires rise and fall, that republics flourish and decay, that the despot of to-day may become the exile of to-morrow? What Pandora's box may we not be opening when we lift the lid which so long has shut in the imps of Old World despotism? To-day we enjoy freedom of worship, freedom of assembly, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom to trade among ourselves over this great, rich area under the Stars and Stripes—Congresses and legislatures, Presidents and governors, courts and councils having been forbidden ever to tamper with these sacred institutions. But if individual liberty is to be struck down here and now, with what reason may we hope that the sappers and miners will rest from their labors?

National Prohibition Amendment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES M. GRAHAM,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 22, 1914.

Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I have received so many communications from my district—some favoring, some opposing the pending resolution—that I feel I should give at least a brief statement of the reasons which induce me to vote against it.

Many—indeed, most—of these communications indicate a misapprehension as to the very question on which the House is about to vote. Some of them seem to have been written under the impression that favorable action on this resolution would give the country immediate Nation-wide prohibition. Others, that the adoption of the resolution would result in the submission of the question to a referendum vote all over the country. Of course neither of these views is correct.

The question before us is whether this House will, by a two-thirds vote, submit the proposed amendment to the States to be voted on—not by the people, but by the various State legislatures.

If two-thirds of the Members of the House and two-thirds of the Members of the Senate favor its submission and three-fourths of the State legislatures ratify it, then on proper proclamation of the result the provision becomes a part of the organic law of the country.

But this ratification by the States would not of itself effect any change in the law with regard to prohibition. It would merely make a foundation or basis for subsequent legislation by Congress on that subject. Until Congress did enact such legislation conditions would remain just as they are.

Much of the discussion we have listened to to-day has been addressed to the merits or demerits of the question of prohibition.

To my mind that is not the real issue before us. Prohibition may be ever so meritorious and yet it may not be a national question or entitled to a place in the Federal Constitution. The discussion would be much more to the point if we had before us for consideration a bill for an act to establish Nation-wide prohibition.

The question therefore is whether we should make prohibition a subject for national legislation or whether we should leave it with the various States, where it now is, to be dealt with by each State as it sees fit.

The real question now before us is, therefore, a question of public policy on a matter which touches the very soul and essence of our Government. It is not merely the wisdom or unwisdom of passing a statute law. It is far more than that. It is a question of amending the organic or fundamental law—the Constitution itself.

What is the Constitution, and wherein does it differ from a mere statute law?

The Constitution is a concise general statement of those fundamental political principles which are essential to political liberty and on which the people are in substantial agreement.

The provisions in a Constitution should have practically unanimous sympathy and support.

A subject should have passed beyond the stage of acute and widespread controversy before a provision concerning it is embodied in the organic law.

Constitutions are not handmade or made to order. Indeed, they are not made at all, in the true sense of that word; they are evolved. Like Topsy, they just grow. They are the result of the environment and mode of life of a race or nation. The best constitution for one nation may not be the best for another. John Locke's constitution may have been a very fine one for those it would fit, but it did not fit the colonists of Georgia for whom it was made, and so they discarded it, threw it on the political scrap heap. It did not fit them, and they were not willing to put up with it until they grew to fit it. In 1789, and for more than half a century thereafter, France ran a constitution factory, but the product did not fit the habits of the people; the made-to-order constitutions were all short lived and died violent deaths.

Gladstone spoke thoughtlessly when he paid his glowing tribute to our National Constitution. In substance he said it was the greatest work ever struck off by the brain and purpose of man at a given time.

But it was not struck off at a given time. It was the result of many centuries of growth.

Mr. Bryce had a far clearer and more accurate view of it. He says:

> The American Constitution is no exception to the rule that everything which has power to win the obedience and respect of men must have its roots deep in the past, and that the more slowly every institution has grown, so much the more enduring is it likely to prove. There is little in this Constitution that is absolutely new. There is much that is as old as Magna Charta.

And he might have said that some of it was much older than Magna Charta.

In the evolution or development of the habits of a people, there occurs on any given subject a period of conflict, of ebb and flow; the current of opinion moves this way or that on it until finally public opinion becomes crystallized and there is no substantial dissent. The Nation's mind is made up on the subject, and it is then ready to be framed into the organic law.

Take, for example, the slavery question. For generations it was a subject of acute controversy, a veritable bone of conten-

tion. Laws were enacted concerning it which could not be, and were not, enforced.

Whether the Nation could have reached a peaceful solution of it, and if so, when it could have done so, we shall never know, for finally in the white heat of a dreadful Civil War the solution was welded into the Constitution, and the subject removed forever from the realm of controversy. But, remember, it was after the titanic struggle was over that the thirteenth amendment was written into the Constitution, declaring that—

> Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Let me repeat by way of emphasis that this amendment was not added till after the question of slavery had been forever settled through the storm and stress of war. What good would it have done to write that provision into the Constitution before the Civil War?

It would have done no good. It would not have accomplished anything toward a real settlement of the matter. It would rather have done harm by bringing upon the great Charter contempt and hatred where there should be only reverence and love.

The struggle for liberty has been a very long and very arduous one. In the main it has been a struggle by the many against power centralized in the hands of one or a few. A history of its growth would show that little by little, after setbacks and defeats, the many compelled a recognition of some of the most essential and fundamental human rights, such as the right to go freely from place to place, the right to enjoy property, the right of trial by jury, the right of habeas corpus, the right of freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, and of the press, the right to be secure in their homes from unreasonable searches and seizures, and many other such fundamental rights. These fundamental rights, which practically all the people agree about, are gathered into our organic law and constitute the brightest political jewels in the crown of liberty. But, again I say, they were not placed there until they were proved, until they were tried out and acquiesced in by practically all the people.

True, in at least one instance we ignored the proper functions of a constitution, and ignoring the reserved rights of the States we wrote into it the fifteenth amendment on the question of suffrage. It was not the result of crystallized public opinion, and it was an invasion of those reserved rights of the States. The unfortunate but very natural result is that this provision is not only evaded, but is practically ignored.

President Lincoln, when once called upon by some enthusiasts who urged him to issue an emancipation proclamation at a time when it could not have been enforced and would have done more harm than good, reminded them that "calling a sheep's tail a leg would not make it one."

Nor will writing into it a provision about a sharply controverted question, which invades the reserved rights of the States and which is opposed by half or more than half the people, make such provision a real vital part of the Constitution. Such action would only tend to bring that venerable document into further disrespect, a most unhappy result.

The Constitution should contain nothing which would cause a large proportion of the people—possibly more than half of them—to feel that it was an instrument of tyranny and oppression.

On scarcely any other public question is feeling so acute as on this one. Many think the sale of alcoholic liquors for beverage purposes should be abolished. Many others, equally honest and equally sincere, think it should be regulated.

The position I take on the pending question makes it unnecessary for me to even refer to the merits of either contention. I only say the matter is not ripe for constitutional action. I am only pleading for the Constitution. I am urging that it be not made a mere bridge over which to carry a partisan cause to victory. I only ask that we keep in mind the true function of a constitution and that we do not depart from the proper scope and purpose of it.

I am only reminding you that constitutions are not ordained or adopted for the mere purpose of forming public sentiment; they are rather for the purpose of recording and preserving it after it is formed.

Has public opinion in favor of national prohibition formed and crystallized to such extent as to entitle it to a place in our organic law?

Clearly it has not. It is to-day the subject of widespread discussion, of intense and even bitter feeling. No other question—not even the tariff—divides the people so radically as it does. True, many States have adopted it, but they are in the main States with small population, and in many of them strong minorities are bitterly opposed to it. Of the 48 States, 12 of the larger ones, which seem to be opposed to prohibition, have considerably more than 50 per cent of the whole population leaving to the other 36 States considerably less than one-half of it.

Thus, while three-fourths of the States might adopt the pending amendment, considerably more than half of the people might be bitterly opposed to it. On a question about which feeling is so intense is it not, to say the least, doubtful whether we should trifle with the organic law by making this provision a part of it?

Who that is not intensely partisan can say that it is not even more than doubtful? The intense partisan is apt to think that this case is exceptional; that in this case the end is so desirable as to justify the means.

One might well believe in the prohibition cause and yet oppose its advancement in this particular way. I have before me a letter on the subject from a clergyman. He says of the Hobson amendment:

> I am a prohibitionist, but for several good reasons do not approve the measure referred to.

In one of his reasons he says:

> If prohibitionists—and I am one—want Nation-wide prohibition, let them keep pegging away, getting one State after another, just as they have been doing.

Laws which are not backed by public opinion, which are so unpopular that they are habitually violated and can not be enforced, are a detriment to the cause of good government. They bring the law generally into disrepute, if not contempt.

But how much worse it is when a minority forces into the Constitution itself—into the fundamental law—a provision which seems harsh and intolerable to a majority or even to a considerable minority.

The last census shows that 55 per cent of the population of the United States resides in the 12 most populous States and only 45 per cent in the other 36.

If this amendment is adopted and a national prohibition law is enacted under it, in the present state of public feeling on the subject, what an army of Federal police and Federal spies will be required to enforce it, if, indeed, it can be enforced at all.

We are told that national prohibition has been declared even in Russia, and if it can be enforced there, why not here?

The force of our laws rests largely, perhaps I might say mainly, on public opinion—on the respect our people have for the law. But in Russia the enforcement of the law depends more on bayonets than on public opinion. We should be very careful about thrusting on the States laws which are not sustained by public opinion, but we should be far more careful not to put such things into the Constitution.

There is another phase of the question on which I would like to say a few words.

I agree with my reverend correspondent, as well as with President Wilson and Secretary of State Bryan, that the question is one for the States, rather than for the Nation, to settle.

I am very thoroughly committed to the Democratic principle of home rule or local self-government. I have believed in it and advocated it, in season and out of season, since I reached manhood. I have supported it both by voice and vote whenever an occasion arose. I voted for the Webb-Kenyon bill because the principle of home rule or local self-government was involved in it. It would take some overwhelming reason to induce me to vote against any measure which involved that principle.

But as I see the Hobson resolution the principle of local self-government or home rule is necessarily involved in it, too.

The effect of the resolution would be to take away from the States a part of their reserved rights, a part of their right of self-government or home rule, and to transfer that power to the Government at Washington.

There seems to be a very strong and a growing tendency to turn over to the Federal Government such matters as the State legislatures do not act upon promptly, regardless of whether or not these matters should, under our system of government, receive congressional consideration.

The question with those who take that view too often seems to be, not whether the matter is properly a Federal question, but whether the action desired can be had more quickly at Washington. It is so tiresome to await the action of 48 different sovereignties when it might be settled by the action of one. Why not achieve a victory for their cause at one fell swoop, even if in doing so they shake to its foundations the theory on which our Government rests.

I am convinced that this tendency to take to the National Capital questions which properly belong to the States is an unfortunate, a wrong tendency. In taking that course I think we move in the wrong direction. I believe there is far more danger to be apprehended from the centralizing of power at Washington than from leaving that power with the States and with the local units of government, where it properly belongs.

even though action is thereby delayed. If it has merit, it will win as soon as local public opinion is behind it, and that is soon enough. I am afraid of the concentration or centralization of political power. I can not believe that Congressmen gathered together from every part of the Union at Washington know more about, or are more solicitous for, the rights and interests of the people of Illinois, or the people of California, than the legislatures of these States are. To say so is to argue against the very principle of self-government.

As I read history, the growth of liberty has been marked by the decentralization of political power, by wresting from the central authority a recognition of the right of the people to manage their local affairs the way that seemed best to them. The tendency to-day in almost every civilized and progressive country except our own is in the direction of decentralization. In Great Britain we see the central authority at London giving to Canada, to Australia, to New Zealand, and to South Africa the right to make their own local laws and to manage their local affairs. We see them about to give home rule or local self-government to Ireland, and there is little doubt that the same right will soon be given to Scotland and Wales.

Instead of gathering the legislative power into the Parliament at London they are dividing it up, decentralizing it, and giving it to the various local units which constitute the Empire. This is wise and in the interest of greater liberty, and this tendency, as I said, is manifest in every progressive nation except our own. Even in Germany, which is looked on as imperialistic, the various countries composing the Empire have their local parliamentary bodies, which legislate for local affairs. Strange to say, while this decentralization is going on in other progressive countries, in ours, which led the way and which showed the others the value of local self-government, the tendency toward centralization is growing rapidly, and we seem to think that if we could only shift matters from the various State capitols to Washington and deal with them there all would soon be well.

The functions of the State governments are purely local in their nature and operation. Their object is to secure personal rights, to provide for the safety and happiness of the individuals of the community, to protect men from their neighbors. Public education, public health, public morals, the detection and punishment of crime, the care of local industries and interests—these are some of the subjects over which the State governments have absolute control.

If the time ever comes when the people do not look with jealousy upon any attempt to centralize these functions and do not resist steadily and vigorously all tendencies in this direction, that will be the Nation's greatest peril. As Guizot said:

> Civilization incessantly tends to carry power still higher. But frequently also, as it ascends, power forgets its origin and final destiny; it forgets that it was founded to maintain all rights, to respect all liberties, and meeting with no further obstacle from the energy of local liberties it becomes transformed into despotism.

Let us take heed that in transferring power from the State to the Nation we do not fatally injure this "energy of local liberties."

In my judgment, such a policy amounts to a reversal of the machinery which runs the wheels of political progress and faces us in the wrong direction. The farther we travel that way the farther we will find ourselves from the goal of true political freedom.

I am not unmindful of the fact that those who espouse a cause to which they are devoted, and which they are very anxious to see adopted, are often willing to strain a principle in order to accomplish a purpose; but in the long run such a course proves mistaken. It is wiser and better to stick to sound principles even though we have to wait longer for the result we desire. Many of those who are now seeking congressional action on the liquor question were very ardent advocates of the doctrine of local option a few years ago. In advocating that doctrine, I think, they were entirely logical and politically sound. But principles do not change so quickly, and I think the principle of local option or local self-government is still sound and right. We are all too apt to favor a particular measure because we think it will accomplish what we have at heart rather than because we think it theoretically sound.

How many of those who favor the adoption of this amendment are for it solely because they think it a sound constitutional policy, and how many favor it simply because they believe it will enable them to accomplish a purpose which they have very much at heart?

Let us apply a test by supposing that the converse of this amendment was proposed. Let us suppose an amendment to the Constitution was offered providing that the manufacture or importation for sale of intoxicating beverages in the United States shall never be prohibited.

Would not those who advocate the present amendment justly claim, and urge with great force, that such an amendment would be an unwarrantable invasion of the rights of the States? And, in my judgment, they would be right.

Again I say I am not attempting to discuss the merits of the prohibition question. That does not enter into the case. I am only considering the soundness or unsoundness of the public policy underlying this joint resolution. I am only trying to determine what my duty is in the premises, and whether it is wise and right to take this matter and similar matters away from the State legislatures and hand them over to the National Legislature—whether it justifies a departure from the vital principle of home rule.

If a policy is not sound and right in a matter which does not meet our approval, it is not sound or right in a similar matter which does meet our approval.

So far as the centralizing of legislative power in the Congress is concerned, I can see no difference in principle between giving Congress the power to say that the manufacture of intoxicating liquors for sale as a beverage shall never be permitted, and in giving it the power to say that such manufacture shall never be prohibited.

Most of those who favor the pending resolution would, I think, oppose an amendment providing that such manufacture should never be prohibited, and they would doubtless urge that it was a violation of the right of local self-government. But their opposition to it would not affect the principle involved. If they would oppose such an amendment as an invasion of the rights of the States, to be consistent they should oppose the pending resolution for the same reason.

To me it seems very clear that to indorse the proposed amendment would be unwise; first, because it is an invasion of the reserved rights of the States; second because it violates a fundamental principle of liberty by attacking local self-government or home rule; and, third, because it would incorporate in the Constitution or fundamental law a matter not sufficiently supported by public opinion.

I believe this so firmly that I feel bound to cast my vote in accordance with my belief. Nor am I influenced by any merely personal feeling. If I acted from pique or from a desire to "get even" I would have to vote the other way, as the State Liquor Dealers' Association of Illinois opposed my election, and the local, or Springfield Liquor Dealers' Association, composed largely of Democrats, opposed me bitterly and adopted a resolution indorsing my Republican opponent.

But the matter is far too important to be considered from a merely personal point of view. It involves principles of government—nay, fundamental principles of liberty—far too important and too dear to me to be so lightly treated.

We now enjoy under our Constitution and laws the best and the freest government ever devised by men. I believe that our first duty to that Government, to ourselves, and to posterity is to preserve and, so far as we can, to perpetuate it intact in all its vigor as an inheritance for our successors and as a guide and a beacon light for all the children of men.

I am convinced that one of the surest ways to do that is to prevent any unnecessary centralization of political power, to jealously guard the principle of local self-government or home rule, and to leave with each State, so far as practicable, the right to determine its own internal policy. Thus, and thus only, can we best assure to all the people that ideal liberty "which secures at once the authority of the public and the freedom of the individual—the sovereignty of the people without despotism and individual freedom without anarchy."

Federal or State Control of the Liquor Traffic.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAWRENCE B. STRINGER,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 22, 1914.

Mr. STRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I have been the recipient of many letters and telegrams from church organizations in Illinois requesting me to vote for the pending resolution, referred to by them as "The Hobson resolution."

These communications have been forwarded in response to requests sent out from Washington by the advocates of this resolution to pastors of Illinois churches with a view to bringing concerted pressure to bear in favor of this resolution at the psychological time.

Whether the request that these indorsements be secured and forwarded contained a full and clear statement of the scope and purpose of the pending resolution I do not know, but from the tenor of the communications received by me it is very evident that a large majority of those sending the communications and the church organizations directing the same labored under a misconception as to such scope and purpose.

It is possible that if the scope of the amendment had been thoroughly understood that these communications might still have been sent. It is possible that some might have been withheld. But for a clear understanding of the effect of the proposed amendment, if submitted and approved, it is necessary for fair discussion that all misconceptions should be cleared away.

SCOPE OF THE AMENDMENT.

A majority of the communications received by me request me to vote for the constitutional amendment pending in this Congress to prohibit "the manufacture, importation, exportation, and sale of intoxicating liquors in the United States."

From this wording it is clearly evident that the parties making these requests do not know what every Member of this House knows, that no such amendment has been proposed nor is now pending in this session of Congress.

The proposed amendment does not provide for the prohibition of the manufacture, importation, and exportation of intoxicating liquors in the United States, but provides simply and solely for the prohibition of the sale of such liquors under certain circumstances specified.

In exact language it provides for the prohibition in the United States of "the sale, manufacture for sale, transportation for sale, importation for sale, and exportation for sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes."

It does not prohibit the manufacture of liquor in the United States except where such manufacture is for the purpose of sale.

It not only allows but constitutionally legitimatizes the manufacture of liquor for personal use, for home and personal consumption, and for the giving of it away to others.

The prohibitionist in the United States has for years advocated the prohibition of the manufacture of intoxicating liquors as the only solution of the problem.

He has argued that to stop the use you must stop the supply; that to stop the effect you must prohibit the cause; that if liquor is manufactured, it will be consumed, and if consumed it will cause intemperance.

He has argued that any other measure that is short of the prohibition of the manufacture fails to strike at the root of the evil, is only a spurious prohibition, a mere subterfuge, and will be productive of more harm than good.

He has continuously contended that prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquor is only a limitation and will be evaded and that national sobriety can only be secured by the absolute prohibition of the manufacture, exportation, importation, and transportation as well as the sale.

He has contended that if the manufacture and exportation is prohibited, it will not be necessary to prohibit the exportation and sale, for if none can be manufactured or imported none will be exported or sold.

But in this amendment the prohibitionist will not find the relief he desires, for it does not prohibit the manufacture. It does not stop the supply. It does not dry up the source. It really legitimatizes the production and recognizes consumption and use, not only as a medicine and in the arts, but for beverage purposes as well.

That the friends of this amendment do not wish to inhibit the manufacture and use of ardent spirits in the United States is evidenced by their having joined in defeating by a vote of 200 to 77 an amendment to their resolution which if adopted would have provided for absolute prohibition of the manufacture of intoxicating liquors, whether for sale or otherwise.

The amendment defeated by them declared that—

> The sale, manufacture, transportation, importation, and exportation of intoxicating liquors in the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof are forever prohibited.

This amendment was opposed by Mr. HOBSON, the author of the resolution, and in opposing same the real intention is evidenced by the following statement made by him in this discussion:

> The object of forbidding the sale is to avoid even a suspicion of any desire to impose sumptuary legislation upon the American people or to invade the rights of the individual and the home.

In other words, the manufacture of liquor is not prohibited by Mr. HOBSON in his resolution, because, according to his own statement, to do so might be construed as sumptuary legislation and as invading the rights of the individual and the home.

Instead of this resolution being intended, then, as a prohibition measure, it is a measure declarative of the old doctrine that prohibitory laws are sumptuary in character, are invasions of the rights of individuals, and it is intended, while limiting the sale, to protect the manufacture and use.

Should the proposed amendment be submitted to the State legislatures and approved by three-fourths of them, as far as the said amendment is concerned, the manufacture of intoxicating liquors would be continued in the United States without license, without tax, and without limitation, except that it is not to be sold.

Under this resolution every individual, every organization, every society and club could manufacture or arrange for the manufacture of intoxicating liquor at home or anywhere else in the United States for personal consumption and use, so long as it is not intended to be sold.

AS TO IMPORTATION.

Neither does this amendment prohibit the importation of liquors into this country, in quantities large or small, from Canada, Mexico, or other foreign lands if imported for personal use; only its importation for sale is herein prohibited. A flourishing business would likely be conducted on our Canadian and Mexican borders.

Bearing on this point, I quote from the Clerk's notes on this discussion:

> Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?
> Mr. HOBSON. Yes.
> Mr. SABATH. In one of these provisions you do not prohibit the importation, so anyone can import any amount or quantity for any use that he might desire?
> Mr. HOBSON. For his own use.

And again:

> Mr. SABATH. It would in no way prohibit the importation for use on the part of any citizen of the United States such as he desires?
> Mr. HOBSON. No.

THE MORRISON AMENDMENT.

Another amendment offered to this resolution is what is known as the Morrison amendment.

This amendment provides for absolute prohibition of the importation of intoxicating liquors into the United States from any other country or into any State of the Union from any other State in the Union for any purpose whatsoever.

This amendment, which would lock up and confine the liquor traffic to each separate State to be absolutely regulated by that State, has also been defeated on this floor by the advocates of the Hobson resolution.

The argument used against the Morrison amendment has been that no constitutional amendment is needed to adopt the Morrison provision; that it can be adopted now as a Federal statute and immediately put into force. Why, then, have not the advocates of the Hobson amendment advocated the passage of such a statute?

It is conceded that a majority in both Houses in this Congress are favorable to the Hobson amendment, but a majority is not enough to pass the amendment so as to render it possible to submit it to the State legislatures. Being a proposed amendment to the Constitution, it requires a two-thirds favorable vote, which it is conceded it can not receive.

Even if it did receive a two-thirds vote in this Congress, it would still have to run the gantlet of the several State legislatures—an interminable contest—and one-fourth of the State legislatures could in the end defeat it.

If the Morrison provision needs no constitutional amendment and could be adopted as a Federal statute, a bare majority of this House and of the Senate could enact it into a law. It could be passed in this Congress by the very majority which favors the Hobson amendment. It would not have to be submitted to the State legislatures. It could be enacted and in force by March 4 next ensuing—all this, of course, upon the theory that the advocates of the Hobson amendment really want prohibition in a speedy and effective manner.

The gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WEBB], one of the advocates of the Hobson resolution, in a discussion of the Morrison amendment, has said:

> It is quite evident that the Morrison amendment is in some respects more drastic prohibition than the so-called Hobson amendment. But I contend that Congress already has the power to pass just that drastic legislation if it desires to do so, and therefore it would be a useless thing for this House to submit to the various States a constitutional amendment giving to Congress the power that it already has.

Prohibition legislation is necessarily drastic legislation. It is in its nature drastic, because it is prohibitory, peremptory, and confiscatory. If, then, prohibition is desired, why select the less drastic legislation when it is conceded that it can not receive the necessary two-thirds vote on this floor—and even if it could, would have to run the gantlet of getting three-fourths of the State legislatures to favor it—when more drastic legislation is at hand which can be passed, adopted, and crystallized into

law in a few months by the very votes of those who favor the Hobson resolution?

Is, then, real prohibition desired by the advocates of the Hobson resolution, or is political agitation merely desired—an agitation which would be protracted in State legislative contests for an unending term of years?

THE REAL ISSUE.

Mr. William A. Brubaker in the National Issue, a prohibition organ, thus analyzes the situation:

Anyone who understands the English language can readily see that the Hobson amendment would not prohibit the manufacture of liquor for personal use nor its importation for personal use. Mr. HOBSON admitted in his speech in this city (Detroit) recently that his amendment was not intended to prohibit the manufacture or the importation of liquors intended for personal use.

It will be readily seen that this will open the door to all sorts of evasion and frauds and will make the enforcement of the law exceedingly difficult. If I may manufacture liquor for my own use, several of us may join in such manufacture. A hundred, a thousand, any number of men may join in such an enterprise.

Clubs would be organized, as they are now in local-option territory, for the importation of liquors, not for sale, of course, but for the personal use of the member—beer from Bavaria, champagne from France, whisky from Scotland.

The question is, Do the temperance people of America care to spend money and effort for the adoption of such an amendment? Would its enactment better present conditions a particle?

It, then, becomes clear as to the purpose and scope of the pending amendment. It is not, as many who have written me believe, an actual prohibition amendment. It does not prohibit the manufacture, exportation, importation, or transportation of intoxicating liquors. It simply regulates their sale by means of Federal control.

The sale of liquor is now under State and local control. This amendment takes this control away from the locality and State and places it in the hands of the Federal Government. The question therefore here submitted is, Shall the sale of intoxicating liquors in this country be hereafter under State or under Federal control? And this is the real question upon which this Congress is asked to pass in deciding upon the pending resolution.

THE SO-CALLED REFERENDUM.

Another misapprehension evidenced by letters received by me is that the proposed amendment is a referendum giving the people a direct opportunity of voting at the polls upon the question of national prohibition.

Even if it be conceded that the pending resolution is a prohibition measure, no opportunity is given therein for a vote of the people directly upon the proposition.

If this resolution be adopted, it goes to the legislatures of the respective States for ratification or rejection. If three-fourths of these legislatures ratify it, it becomes part of the organic law. If less than three-fourths ratify it, it is defeated. The people have no direct vote upon it. The legislatures will decide the issue.

Under the present system of township option in Illinois every portion of the State can prohibit the sale of liquor therein if a majority in each township so decree. And this can be done by direct popular vote independent of the legislature.

Under the present system in Illinois the entire State can be voted dry by the people, irrespective of the will of the legislature.

Under the present system in Illinois women can vote upon the proposition of making the State dry by township units.

Under the Hobson constitutional amendment the proposition of ratification or rejection is under the control of the legislature alone, and with the election of legislators in Illinois women have nothing whatever to do, as they can not vote for these officials and would therefore have no vote, either directly or indirectly, on the ratification or rejection of the Hobson amendment.

There is a thousand times greater opportunity for voting Illinois dry under the present system of township option than under the Hobson amendment. One is real referendum, the other only relatively so. One recognizes the democratic principle of local self-government and the other the principle of Federal control.

REAL REFERENDUM.

Two methods are prescribed by the Constitution for an amendment of that document. One is by submitting same to the legislatures of the respective States. The other is by submitting same to a convention of the States.

Under the former method the amendment is submitted to legislatures elected upon political and economic issues of all kinds. Under the latter method delegates are elected by the people of the States to a convention upon the sole and only issue which is involved in the proposed amendment.

The former method is indirect, uncertain, and indecisive. The latter method is direct and is representative of the popular will upon the amendment proposed. The Hobson amendment adopts the former or the legislative method, which has very little, if any, of the real referendum in it.

Neither can it be said that the convention method was not proposed. It was proposed in an amendment offered to that end. This amendment providing for the direct convention method was opposed by Mr. HOBSON and the advocates of the pending resolution. A roll call was had upon the convention amendment. Believing in the doctrine of true referendum, I had the pleasure of voting for it. But it was defeated. Real referendum was seemingly not desired.

Reverting, therefore, to the original proposition, it is clear that, with reference to the pending resolution, the question of actual prohibition is not involved, neither is the question of referendum, but the real proposition is the question whether the sale of intoxicating liquors in this Nation of ours shall be the subject of Federal or State control, of centralized power or of local self-government, of surrender or continued reservation to the States of the right to manage their own internal affairs.

THE DEMOCRATIC POSITION.

From time immemorial the Democratic Party has taken no uncertain stand upon this proposition, and I have been elected to this Congress as a Democrat upon a Democratic platform.

From time immemorial the Democratic Party has taken the position that the sale of intoxicating liquors is a matter which should be regulated and controlled by the several States; that it is and should be the subject of local self-government; that it is one of the powers reserved to the State in the management of the State's internal affairs and is not a matter of Federal control.

It is needless to cite National and State Democratic platforms upon this proposition. No one has disputed or will dispute what has been considered a time-honored Democratic principle in this regard, for Democratic State and National platforms have reiterated this from the beginning of our history to the present.

The Democratic national platform of 1912, upon which I was elected Congressman at large, not for any single congressional district, but for the entire State of Illinois, declared that:

Believing that the most efficient results under our system of government are to be attained by the full exercise by the States of their reserve sovereign powers, we denounce as usurpation the efforts to deprive the States of any of the rights reserved to them and to enlarge and magnify by indirection the powers of the Federal Government.

President Woodrow Wilson, a recognized Christian President, who was elected upon this same platform, has spoken in no uncertain terms as to his position upon this question. He says:

I am in favor of local option. I am a thorough believer in local self-government, and believe that every self-governing community which constitutes a social unit should have the right to control the matter of the regulation or withholding of licenses.

William J. Bryan, Secretary of State, an ardent temperance and antisaloon advocate, in this current month's issue of the Commoner, referring to constructions placed by certain newspapers upon former editorials in the Commoner, says:

These editors seem to consider the above-mentioned editorials as an indorsement of national amendments favorable to prohibition, but a careful reading of them will reveal the fact that while the former plainly protests against the domination of the Democratic Party by the liquor interests they relate to these issues as they present themselves in the various States. A national contest for the amendment would simply divert attention from other issues upon which the people are ready to act without advancing the prohibition movement.

Mr. UNDERWOOD, the Democratic leader of this House, has said:

The proposed amendment does not raise the issue of temperance. It is not a moral issue before us. The issue that is present is a governmental issue as to whether or not the enforcement of certain police regulations had best be controlled by the National Government or left within the jurisdiction of the several States, where they were placed by the fathers who builded this Republic. It is merely a question as to whether you are going to substitute for the authority of your State to enforce its laws against your own people the authority of the Federal Government.

In voting upon this resolution I vote upon it in a representative capacity as a Member of Congress at large from the entire State of Illinois, and it is my duty to represent as best I can what I conceive to be the wishes of a majority of the voters of my State as indicated by their expressions in the campaign of 1912 which resulted in my election.

As indicated in the party platforms of that year, not a single vote was cast in Illinois in favor of control of the liquor traffic by national constitutional amendment. No political party declared for it either directly or indirectly. It was not an issue in that campaign, was not discussed or referred to, and I was not called upon to state my position upon that subject.

Even the National Prohibition Party did not declare in 1912 for prohibition by constitutional amendment. I quote from an address delivered in Chicago October 14, 1913, by Hon. Eugene

W. Chafin, Prohibition candidate for President in 1912, as reported in the Vindicator, a Prohibition organ. Mr. Chafin said:

Our good friends throughout the United States who have announced themselves in favor of the constitutional-amendment scheme, I venture to observe, have not, a single one of them, had before them the facts when they committed themselves to such policy.

Of all the foolish and impossible schemes devised to destroy the liquor traffic, this is certainly the worst. Every minute of time and every dollar expended on these schemes is criminally wasteful.

Before the campaign of 1908 was over I saw the poison in the reference to constitutional prohibition in our platform of that year. After consultation with many of our leaders we determined that it should be left out of our next platform.

When I drew the platform for the Atlantic City convention in 1912 I left it out and so constructed the first plank that it conformed to our new line of battle—government by administration—which repudiated any thought of constitutional amendment.

Amendments to our Federal Constitution heretofore have been preceded by years of discussion and initiative.

The latest amendment, for election of the United States Senators by the people, was not submitted until scores of State legislatures had, by resolutions passed, petitioned Congress for such submission and party platforms in nearly every State had declared for it.

The present amendment has not been indorsed by nor petitioned for by a single State legislature, not even by those States where State-wide prohibition prevails. It has not been advocated in a single party platform, State or National, and is presented in such a shape that it is doubtful whether those who have petitioned for it individually would have done so had they understood its imperfections.

I do not know what the motives of others may be in voting against the submission of this amendment. I only know my own motives and am only responsible therefor.

My vote on this amendment does not conclude me either way in the event the question of State-wide prohibition be submitted in my own State. State-wide prohibition and Federal control of the sale of intoxicating liquors are distinct and separate propositions.

I cast this vote against the submission of this amendment because in doing so I am thoroughly convinced that I represent the views of a majority of my constituents in Illinois, and that is the purpose for which I am here.

I cast this vote because in doing so I believe that I am voting in accordance with the Democratic doctrine of local self-government; that I am voting with my party in accordance with the platform upon which I was elected and which was my pledge to the people of Illinois at the time I sought their suffrages, and that in so doing I am voting with the President and the leaders of my party and in the interests of good government.

The So-called Hobson Prohibition Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. M. ADAIR,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 22, 1914,

On House joint resolution 168, proposing an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting the sale, the manufacture for sale, transportation for sale, and importation for sale of intoxicating liquors.

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, as it was not possible for me to secure the time in which to discuss this resolution in detail, I shall content myself with a brief statement setting forth only a few of the many reasons why I shall vote against it. In my judgment, no bill or resolution introduced in Congress during the past 50 years was so greatly misunderstood by the American people as is the Hobson resolution, No. 168, now being considered by the House. For several days I have been receiving letters and telegrams—some 35 or 40 in all—asking me to vote for the Hobson resolution to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. It is evident from the wording of these letters and telegrams that those sending them have never read and know nothing about the provisions of the Hobson resolution. As every Member of the House knows, no resolution or bill has been introduced by Mr. HOBSON or anyone else prohibiting the manufacture of intoxicating liquors. Up to this time Mr. HOBSON has introduced nine different resolutions relating to this subject, but none of them are intended to prohibit the manufacture of intoxicating liquors. All are intended to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes, but none prohibit the manufacture. The Hobson resolution now under consideration reads as follows:

SECTION 1. The sale, manufacture for sale, transportation for sale, importation for sale, and exportation for sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purpose in the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof are forever prohibited.

SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to provide for the manufacture, sale, importation, and transportation of intoxicating liquors for sacramental, medicinal, mechanical, pharmaceutical, or scientific purposes, or for use in the arts, and shall have power to enforce this article by all needful legislation.

Mr. Speaker, it will be observed from the reading of this resolution that it provides for the prohibition in the United States of "the sale, manufacture for sale, transportation for sale, importation for sale, and exportation for sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes."

It does not prohibit the manufacture of intoxicating liquors except when it is manufactured for sale.

It makes it lawful for anyone to manufacture intoxicating liquors in any quantity for home consumption, personal use, or to give away to others. The sole and only thing this resolution seeks to do is to stop the traffic in intoxicating liquors. It does not undertake to stop the manufacture or consumption. Now, let us analyze this proposition and see what would happen if our laws were changed in accordance with this resolution.

Under the Hobson plan anyone who desired to do so could fit up a still at a cost of from $5 up, according to the amount of whisky he wanted to make, could manufacture all he wanted for his own use, and give all he wanted to give to his neighbors, regardless of their age, without violating the law. With the tax off, it would be so cheap that cafés, restaurants, and hotels could serve it free with meals, which they would have the right to do under the Hobson resolution. Social and fraternal clubs would have the right to hire a distillery or brewery in my State, to manufacture a trainload of whisky or beer, and ship it to their club rooms, where it could not be sold, but could be given away to members of the club or anyone else, regardless of age, without violating the law. With the tax off, whisky would only cost about one-third of 1 cent a drink, and social clubs could fix their annual dues at $10 per year, which would be sufficient to supply all the intoxicating liquors its membership could use.

The fact is, Mr. Speaker, this resolution should have been labeled the "Hobson free-whisky resolution" instead of the "Hobson prohibition resolution." In the language of my good friend from Indiana, Mr. MORRISON, under this resolution "every lad would be his own moonshiner and every lad would be his own bootlegger." Whisky would be cheap and easy to get, and an era of drunkenness, with its attendant debauchery and crime, would sweep over this country such as the mind is scarcely able to conceive of.

For many years the Prohibition Party has advocated the prohibition of the manufacture of intoxicating liquors as the only solution of the liquor question. They have argued that the only way to stop the use is to shut off the supply. The Hobson resolution does not prohibit the manufacture nor does it shut off the supply. It simply stops the sale, but at the same time makes it cheaper and easier to obtain. At present, under the various kinds of option, more than 70 per cent of the United States is dry, but if the Hobson resolution should become the law of the land, all this dry territory would immediately become wet. Therefore this resolution does not meet with the views of the members of the Prohibition Party or give them the legislation they desire. In 1912 Hon. Eugene Chafin was the candidate for President on the Prohibition national ticket, and in an address delivered at Chicago October 14, 1913, he made the following statement concerning the Hobson plan:

Our good friends throughout the United States who have announced themselves in favor of the constitutional-amendment scheme, I venture to observe, have not, a single one of them, had before them the facts when they committed themselves to such policy.

Of all the foolish and impossible schemes devised to destroy the liquor traffic, this is certainly the worst. Every minute of time and every dollar expended on these schemes is criminally wasteful.

Before the campaign of 1908 was over I saw the poison in the reference to constitutional prohibition in our platform of that year. After consultation with many of our leaders we determined that it should be left out of our next platform.

When I drew the platform for the Atlantic City convention in 1912 I left it out and so constructed the first plank that it conformed to our new line of battle—government by administration—which repudiated any thought of constitutional amendment.

Mr. Speaker, this statement made by the Prohibition candidate for President in 1912 shows that the temperance people are divided in their views upon this question. The Anti Saloon League favoring the Hobson resolution and the members of the Prohibition Party opposing it. The Prohibitionists favoring legislation which they believe means real prohibition, while the

Anti Saloon League favors legislation which they know means free whisky for everybody who wants it. It is evident that many Members of the House who advocate the Hobson resolution do not want real prohibition. You have just voted down an amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] which would prohibit both the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. This, if it could be enforced, would mean genuine prohibition. I dislike to question the motives of any man, but it seems to me the leaders in this fight, who might properly be termed "Chautauqua lecturers," "platform performers," and "pay-roll advocates," do not want this question settled. As long as the agitation goes on there will be a demand for their services and their salaries will continue. And in the meantime the honest, conscientious, hard-working temperance people throughout the country, who are misled and deceived, will be asked to contribute of their hard earnings a sum sufficient to carry on this sham battle.

Mr. Speaker, let me quote from another prohibition source. Mr. William A. Brubaker, in the National Issue, a prohibition paper, thus analyzes the situation:

Anyone who understands the English language can readily see that the Hobson amendment would not prohibit the manufacture of liquor for personal use nor its importation for personal use. Mr. HOBSON admitted in his speech in this city (Detroit) recently that his amendment was not intended to prohibit the manufacture or the importation of liquors intended for personal use.

It will be readily seen that this will open the door to all sorts of evasion and frauds and will make the enforcement of the law exceedingly difficult. If I may manufacture liquor for my own use, several of us may join in such manufacture. A hundred, a thousand, any number of men may join in such an enterprise.

Clubs would be organized, as they are now in local-option territory, for the importation of liquors, not for sale, of course, but for the personal use of the member—beer from Bavaria, champagne from France, whisky from Scotland.

The question is, Do the temperance people of America care to spend money and effort for the adoption of such an amendment? Would its enactment better present conditions a particle?

There can be no doubt about the purpose and scope of the Hobson amendment. Mr. Brubaker has stated it correctly and stated it well. In fact, Mr. HOBSON, himself, made a statement on the floor of the House which in effect bears out and sustains the correctness of the position taken by Mr. Brubaker. Mr. HOBSON's statement is as follows:

The object of forbidding the sale is to avoid even a suspicion of any desire to impose sumptuary legislation upon the American people or to invade the rights of the individual and the home.

According to Mr. HOBSON's own statement he is opposed to sumptuary legislation and does not want to invade the rights of the individual or the home. This resolution, then, is not intended as a prohibition measure. It rests upon the doctrine that prohibitory laws are sumptuary in character, and are invasions of the rights of individuals. While Mr. HOBSON would limit the sale of intoxicating liquors he would protect the manufacture and use. If this resolution should be passed by Congress and ratified by the States, the manufacture of intoxicating liquor would continue without license, without tax, and without limitation, except that it is not to be sold for beverage purposes. And after all would it not be difficult to prove when it was and was not used for beverage purposes. Suppose I should buy intoxicating liquors from my neighbor, how could anyone prove it was used for beverage purposes. The fact is, the Hobson plan is not practical. It will not work. It would only delay the settlement of this great question, while it would furnish an opportunity for a few to draw comfortable salaries for waging a contest, which amounts to nothing but disappointment and defeat of the real object sought to be obtained.

Let me quote from President Wilson, a strong temperance advocate—a man of such irreproachable integrity of character that all men are constrained to acknowledge his virtues. Here is what he says:

I am in favor of local option. I am a thorough believer in local self-government, and believe that every self-governing community which constitutes a social unit should have the right to control the matter of the regulation or withholding of licenses.

Again, let me quote from Secretary of State Bryan, a man who has done as much for the cause of temperance and the elevation of mankind as any living human being. In an editorial appearing in the Commoner he says:

These editors seem to consider the above-mentioned editorials as an indorsement of national amendments favorable to prohibition, but a careful reading of them will reveal the fact that while the former plainly protests against the domination of the Democratic Party by the liquor interests they relate to these issues as they present themselves in the various States. A national contest for the amendment would simply divert attention from other issues upon which the people are ready to act without advancing the prohibition movement.

Now let me quote the words of Hon. William H. Taft, ex-President of the United States, an able lawyer and an earnest advocate of temperance. Speaking to the Bar Association of Massachusetts, Mr. Taft asserted that national prohibition was dangerous, that it was nonenforceable and would destroy local government. His exact language is as follows:

It would revolutionize the National Government. It would put on the shoulders of the Government the duty of sweeping the doorsteps of every home in the land. If national prohibition legislation is passed, local government would be destroyed; and if you destroy local government, you destroy one of the things which go to make for a healthy condition of the National Government.

National prohibition is nonenforceable; it is a confession on the part of State governments of inability to control and regulate their own especial business and duty. If the matter were placed under Federal control, it would result in creation of a machinery of Government officials large enough to nominate any President and would offer too great an opportunity to persons seeking to perpetuate their power in Washington.

Again, let me quote from Mr. UNDERWOOD, the Democratic leader of the House, who agrees with ex-President Taft and who on the floor of the House said:

The proposed amendment does not raise the issue of temperance. It is not a moral issue before us. The issue that is present is a governmental issue as to whether or not the enforcement of certain police regulations had best be controlled by the National Government or left within the jurisdiction of the several States, where they were placed by the fathers who builded this Republic. It is merely a question as to whether you are going to substitute for the authority of your State to enforce its laws against your own people the authority of the Federal Government.

Mr. Speaker, I shall not at this time discuss the question of Federal control. I shall stop long enough, however, to say that I believe in local self-government. I believe that as much power as is consistent with our dual form of government should be left with the people. The police powers now rest with the States, and I doubt the wisdom of taking it away or transferring it to the Federal Government. In other words, I believe the people of my county, out in Indiana, can enforce the law in that community better than it can be enforced by some one in Washington, 700 miles away, and I know it can be done with much less expense. I do not believe the power to control the liquor traffic will ever be taken away from the States and transferred to the Federal Government. If it is, the law will never be enforced. It would cost the Federal Government more to police the entire United States for the enforcement of a liquor law than it now costs to pay all the running expenses of our Government.

Mr. Speaker, since I have been a Member of this House I have voted for every temperance and moral measure presented. I helped pass the Jones-Works bill and the Kenyon red-light bill, which have made the city of Washington the cleanest city in all the world. I helped pass the Webb bill regulating the interstate shipment of intoxicating liquors which gave to prohibition territory the protection to which it was entitled. I am 51 years old to-day, and I state the truth when I say that I have not consumed as much intoxicating liquor in 51 years as some who vociferously advocate this resolution have consumed during the past 51 days.

I am for temperance and against intemperance. I am for virtue and against vice. I am for morality, decency, law, and order. I told the people I represent that I would stand for all of these while representing them in this body. One of my constituents, a preacher, wrote me that I ought to vote for this resolution because I promised him in a letter I would vote for temperance measures. I did make that promise, and I shall sacredly keep it. But the Hobson resolution is not a temperance measure, and I can not in justice to my conscience vote for it. I believe I am a better temperance man than anyone who advocates a proposition that places intoxicating liquors in the hands of everybody without regulation and almost without limitation. I reserve the right to judge for myself what is a temperance measure and what is not a temperance measure. I can tell from the wording of the letters and telegrams I received asking me to vote for this resolution that those sending them have been misled and deceived or have not informed themselves as to what it really is. They thought it meant prohibition instead of free whisky.

Mr. Speaker, the national prohibitionists are opposed to this measure, while the Anti-Saloon League is for it. If I vote against it, I will displease the Anti-Saloon League. If I vote for it, I will displease the national prohibitionists. Feeling certain the national prohibitionists are right and the Anti-Saloon League is wrong—so far as this resolution is concerned—I shall vote against it.

I have no doubt but that many honest temperance advocates in my district who have been misled and deceived as to the provisions of the Hobson resolution will criticize my action, but that should not and will not deter me from doing my duty as I see it. My vote against this amendment is based on my

judgment and my conscience, and in time, I believe, practically everybody will approve it, except possibly the Chautauqua lecturers, platform performers, and pay-roll advocates, whose occupation and livelihood depends very largely on the continued agitation of this question.

Mr. Speaker, like President Wilson, ex-President Taft, Secretary of State Bryan, ex-candidate for President on the Prohibition ticket, Hon. Eugene Chafin; Hon. William A. Brubaker, editor of one of the leading prohibition papers of the country, and many other distinguished and earnest advocates of temperance, I doubt the wisdom of attempting to solve the liquor problem by constitutional amendment, but if Congress should decide to submit an amendment, let it be one that means something instead of a makeshift.

Mineral Production of Oklahoma.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE WEAVER,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 29, 1914.

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, the United States Geological Survey, a branch of the public service under the Department of the Interior, has just published the official Review and Summary of the Mineral Products of the United States for the Year 1913. That report shows that Oklahoma advanced from twelfth place among the States in 1912 to seventh place in 1913 in value of mineral production and to first place in the value of the output of petroleum. When the figures for 1914 are given it will be found that Oklahoma in the present year has produced more than one-third of the world's total petroleum and more than two-thirds of all refinable oil of the whole world. The discovery and development of the Healdton field, in Carter County, and the vastly increased yield of the Cushing field, in Creek County, and of other fields, have resulted in a 1914 production of more than 100,000,000 barrels of high-grade illuminating oil in the State of Oklahoma. Under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I will print a summary of Oklahoma's mineral products for 1913 from the Government's official report:

MINERAL PRODUCTION OF OKLAHOMA FOR 1913.

Oklahoma has achieved importance as a mining State in the last few years, principally on account of its phenomenal increase in the production of petroleum which followed the discovery of oil in quantity in that State in 1904. The record for 1913 in consequence concludes the first 10 years of petroleum production in quantity in Oklahoma. At the beginning of this period, as a result of considerable drilling in the Osage Indian Reservation and in the vicinity of Bartlesville and Ramona, in the Cherokee Nation (then Indian Territory), the production rose to nearly 1,400,000 barrels. This was about ten times the output of the preceding year (1903). In 1905 the production reached a total of nearly 10,000,000 barrels, and this output was approximately doubled in 1906. In the next two years, or in 1908, it was again more than doubled, with a total production of nearly 46,000,000 barrels. Another 10,000,000-barrel increase was added in 1911, when the production amounted to 56,069,637 barrels. The first interruption to this steady increase was in 1912, when the output receded to 51,427,071 barrels, but this decrease was more than made up by the production of 1913, when it increased to 63,579,384 barrels. The increase in 1913 over 1912 was 12,152,313 barrels, or 24 per cent, but this increase paled somewhat in comparison with the increase in value, which was from $34,672,604 in 1912 to $59,581,948 in 1913, a difference in favor of the latter year of $24,909,344, or 72 per cent, the percentage of gain in value being three times that in the quantity. Oklahoma now ranks second in quantity among the petroleum-producing States, with California first; but in 1913 the value of the Oklahoma production exceeded that of California by nearly $14,000,000, placing Oklahoma at the head of the list in the value of petroleum output. From 1906 to 1908 Oklahoma stood first also in the quantity of production, but was displaced by California in 1909. Because of the increased value of its petroleum output, Oklahoma advanced from twelfth place in 1912 to seventh place among all the States in the total value of its mineral output. The increased production of petroleum in Oklahoma was due to greatly extended drilling, principally within the known oil fields, especially the development to the north and east of the prolific Cushing field. The increased drilling was doubtless somewhat stimulated by the advances in price of Mid-Continent oil.

Oklahoma is also one of the important producers of coal among the Southwestern States, and is the most important producer of natural gas in that section. The coal production increased from 3,675,418 short tons, valued at $7,867,331, in 1912, to 4,165,770 tons, valued at $8,542,748, in 1913. The increase in coal production in 1913 is attributed more to a rather abrupt withdrawal of fuel oil from markets where it had been in competition with Oklahoma coal and to a diminution in the supply of natural gas from the northern part of the Mid-Continent field, particularly in Arkansas. The decreased production of coal in Colorado, due to labor troubles, was also partly responsible for the increased production in Oklahoma. Until 1912 there had not been for 10 years any substantial increase in the production of Oklahoma coal, but in that year there was a gain of about 600,000 tons, followed by another of nearly 500,000 tons in 1913. In the 10 years from 1902 to 1911, inclusive, the production of coal in Oklahoma ranged between 2,646,226 tons in 1910 and 3,642,658 tons in 1907, with an average for the decade of 3,059,984 tons, showing that because of the production and use of fuel oil the output of coal had remained practically stationary. Prior to the admission of Oklahoma as a State the principal production of coal was from the Choctaw Nation, with smaller quantities from Cherokee and Creek Nations. Pittsburg County is now the leading producer, with Coal, Okmulgee, and Latimer in the order named. Six other counties also produce coal.

The value of the natural gas produced in 1913 was $7,436,389, as compared with $7,406,528, with an increase in quantity from 73,799,319,000 cubic feet to 75,017,668,000 cubic feet. The total value of the three fuels—coal, petroleum, and natural gas—in 1913 amounted to $75,561,085, or 94 per cent of the total mineral output of the State.

The only other products which had a value in excess of $1,000,000 were cement and zinc, the latter showing an increase from 5,769 short tons, valued at $796,122, in 1912 to 11,664 short tons, valued at $1,306,368, in 1913. As there are only two manufacturers of cement in the State, the totals of production are not published. The zinc ores are entirely from Ottawa County in the northeastern part of the State, which has developed some importance in the production of lead and zinc. The lead content of the ores produced in Oklahoma increased from 3,388 short tons, valued at $304,920, in 1912 to 6,228 tons, valued at $548,064.

The clay products of the State are chiefly common and vitrified brick, the total value of which in 1913 was $573,371, compared with $535,318 in 1912. The principal counties in the utilization of clay resources are Muskogee, Rogers, and Tulsa.

The chief quarry product is limestone, used mainly for railroad ballast and concrete. The quarrying of granite is chiefly for building purposes and is of some importance in Greer, Johnston, Kiowa, and Sequoyah Counties. The total value of the stone produced decreased from $795,879 in 1911 to $429,788 in 1912 and to $278,600 in 1913. The decrease is due to a smaller quantity used for railroad ballast.

The other mineral products of Oklahoma are asphalt, gypsum, lime, commercial mineral waters, salt, sand and gravel, sand-lime brick, and a small quantity of silver. The total value of the mineral products of Oklahoma increased (chiefly because of the increase in petroleum) from $53,614,130 in 1912 to $80,168,820 in 1913. The distribution of the production in 1912 and 1913, by substances, is shown in the following table:

Mineral production of Oklahoma in 1912 and 1913.

Products.	1912			
	Raw.		Derived.	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
Asphalt.....short tons..	15,766	$85,643	(1)	(1)
Cement.....barrels..	.....	.....	(1)	(1)
Clay products.....	.....	.....	.....	$535,318
Coal.....short tons..	3,675,418	7,867,331	.....	.....
Gypsum.....do....	135,074	.....	.....	268,618
Lead.....do....	.....	.....	3,388	304,920
Lime.....do....	.....	.....	2,651	13,538
Mineral waters sold.....gallons..	1,015,512	32,971	.....	.....
Natural gas.....	.....	7,406,528	.....	.....
Petroleum.....barrels..	51,427,071	34,672,604	.....	.....
Salt.....do....	.....	.....	(1)	(1)
Sand and gravel.....short tons..	492,858	163,298	.....	.....
Sand-lime brick.....	.....	.....	.....	(1)
Stone.....	.....	(2)	.....	2 429,788
Zinc.....short tons..	.....	.....	5,769	796,122
Miscellaneous.....	.....	.....	.....	1,037,451
Total value, eliminating duplications.....	$53,614,130			

Products.	1913			
	Raw.		Derived.	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
Asphalt.....short tons..	16,459	$91,416	9,975	$136,405
Cement.....barrels..	.....	.....	(1)	(1)
Clay products.....	.....	.....	.....	573,371
Coal.....short tons..	4,165,770	8,542,748	.....	.....
Gypsum.....do....	147,876	.....	.....	330,416
Lead.....do....	.....	.....	6,228	548,064
Lime.....do....	.....	.....	2,640	12,160
Mineral waters sold.....gallons..	502,439	26,231	.....	.....
Natural gas.....	.....	7,436,389	.....	.....
Petroleum.....barrels..	63,579,384	59,581,948	.....	.....
Salt.....do....	.....	.....	(1)	(1)
Sand and gravel.....short tons..	157,628	39,457	.....	.....
Sand-lime brick.....	.....	.....	.....	(1)
Silver.....fine ounces (troy)..	.....	.....	1,300	780
Stone.....	.....	(2)	.....	2 278,602
Zinc.....short tons..	.....	.....	11,664	1,306,368
Miscellaneous.....	.....	.....	.....	1,264,465
Total value, eliminating duplications.....	$80,168,820			

[1] Value included under "Miscellaneous."
[2] Stone sold rough included in derived product.

National Prohibition.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HORACE W. VAUGHAN,
OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 22, 1914,

On House joint resolution 168, proposing an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting the sale, the manufacture for sale, transportation for sale, and importation for sale of intoxicating liquors.

Mr. VAUGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I desire to put in the RECORD at this time my reasons for being opposed to the Hobson resolution.

As amended by its friends, the amendment which the resolution proposes for the ratification of the legislatures of the States reads as follows:

SECTION 1. The sale, manufacture for sale, importation for sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes in the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof, and the exportation thereof, are forever prohibited.

SEC. 2. Congress or the States shall have power, independently or concurrently, to enforce this article by all needful legislation.

As introduced, section 2 reads as follows:

SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to provide for the manufacture, sale, importation, and transportation of intoxicating liquors for sacramental, medicinal, mechanical, pharmaceutical, or scientific purposes, or for use in the arts, and shall have power to enforce this article by all needful legislation.

This language unquestionably would have conferred upon Congress, and upon Congress alone, the "power to enforce this article by all needful legislation." Everyone could readily see that it would take away from the States the police powers they now have over this subject and would vest in the Congress the power to make such laws as Congress should deem needful to enforce the prohibition declared in the amendment.

The friends of the resolution for some purpose changed it so as to confer the power on "Congress or the States independently or concurrently." What power? The power "to enforce this article by all needful legislation." And now they tell us it would not interfere with the police powers of the States. What are the police powers of the States on this subject? Each State may now determine for itself, considering its own condition and the habits and sentiments of its people, what is best to be done, whether the traffic should be absolutely prohibited or placed under restrictions and regulations, whether it will have absolute prohibition throughout the limits of the State, or will permit counties and communities to exercise the option to prohibit it.

Each State now has the power to prohibit absolutely the sale or manufacture, or both, or to permit the sale and prohibit the drinking saloon. The police powers of the States over the subject are broad and are quite sufficient to enable each State to legislate for itself against all the evils of the traffic or growing out of it, and to determine, each for itself, what legislation on the subject is best for itself. Each State may prohibit or may regulate the traffic within its own limits in any manner it chooses; and Congress may now prohibit or regulate in any manner it chooses the interstate traffic.

The laws of the several States upon this subject are various and differ widely; some have absolute prohibition of the manufacture and sale except for certain specified purposes, others have local option, and others have different methods of regulation. All of these regulatory and prohibitory laws and all of the local option laws of the States were passed in the exercise of the police powers now possessed by the State governments.

If the Hobson amendment, either as introduced or as amended, were to become a part of the Constitution it would of its own force repeal every provision of every State constitution and every State law providing for local option, and every State law, constitutional and statutory, prohibiting or regulating the sale of liquor, and would substitute in their place the Hobson amendment and such laws as Congress should from time to time "deem needful" to enforce it. It would prohibit the States from passing any laws affecting the sale of liquor except the same as those passed by Congress. There is a provision of the Constitution which makes the laws passed by Congress in pursuance of the powers conferred upon it by the Constitution supreme over any State law. Whatever law Congress passed on the subject would control, and no State law on the subject would be of any validity unless the same as that passed by Congress.

If this were not true, the situation would be worse, because you would have "confusion worse confounded," Congress and the States enacting different laws on the same subject. Which would prevail? Which would be supreme? Which would be the law within the limits of a State enacting a law upon the subject different from that passed by Congress? Do not the friends of the resolution believe that in case of conflict between laws passed by a State and those passed by Congress on this subject those of Congress would prevail? Of course, Congress would pass laws to enforce the prohibition declared in the first section of the amendment, many of them, and would change them from time to time as it deemed "needful." Proposed prohibition legislation would occupy the time and attention of Congress as it now does of the State legislatures. After Congress had passed laws on the subject, what power would the States have over it? Either to do nothing or to enact the same laws that Congress passed and help the Federal Government enforce them. Then, why change the language of section 2, as introduced? Why confer power on "Congress or the States"? The States already have all the police powers over the subject within their respective limits, and the Federal Government has none within the limits of the States. Why change the section to say the States shall have power to enforce," and so forth?

Mr. Speaker, evidently this was done in order to afford a pretext for the claim that the amendment would not take away from the States the police powers they now have. "No," they tell us, "we do not propose to take away anything from the States; we expressly confer power on the States, either concurrently with or independently of Congress, to enforce this article by "all needful legislation." No; they would not take any police powers from the States; they would divest the States of all the powers over this subject they now have, and let them assume the burden of helping the Federal Government enforce the Federal laws if they desire to do so.

Section 2, as introduced, proposed to confer on Congress "power to provide for the manufacture, sale, importation, and transportation of intoxicating liquors for sacramental, medicinal, mechanical, pharmaceutical, or scientific purposes, or for use in the arts," and so forth.

When the author of the resolution introduced it he evidently believed that the usefulness of such liquors for these purposes was of sufficient importance to require recognition in an amendment intended to prohibit their use for beverage purposes, of such importance that Congress should be given power to provide therefor; and his resolution proposed to confer such power on Congress, and would have put the Federal Government in the business of "providing" for the manufacture, sale, importation, and transportation of such liquors for such sacramental and other purposes. Why was this language stricken out of the section? Did it make the federalism of the proposition too glaring? Would Congress have the power under the section as amended, which the language stricken out would have expressly conferred—would this power be implied as necessary to the exercise of the power to prohibit the sale, and so forth, for beverage purposes? Could Congress, in the exercise of the power given to prohibit for beverage purposes, if it should "deem needful" to enforce its laws, take over the business of manufacture, sale, and so forth, for other purposes?

These are pertinent questions in view of the changes made in the language of the resolution. Many powers exercised by Congress have been sustained by the courts as being warranted, authorized, and implied by the powers conferred.

It is not necessary to adopt national prohibition in order that each State may free itself from the liquor traffic; each State may do so whenever it desires, and I believe that the people of each State can best determine for themselves when it is best for them to adopt prohibition and whether it is best for them to do so, for the simple reason that they are better acquainted with their own conditions and needs and are entitled to determine for themselves.

Stripped of all disguise, the proposition is to force prohibition on those States in which a majority of the people are opposed to it. I do not believe it right nor do I believe it wise to do so.

It is said that the traffic is a national evil, a national crime, a national curse. In the same sense, so is immorality and every other vice that is prevalent in all the States.

I desire to repeat what I have heretofore said on this subject. The careful student has observed that it was the general purpose of the framers of the Constitution to confer upon the Federal Government such powers only as are necessary to enable it to maintain itself and to exercise control over transactions, affairs, and relations with foreign countries, of the States with each other, and between citizens of different States. In general, our foreign affairs and the mutual relations of the States with each other are committed to the Federal Government, and all other affairs are withheld from it and reserved to the States or to the people.

Why? That as to other nations we may act as a unit; that as to matters affecting our relations with each other the common government of all should control; and that the regulation of the civil rights of the people and the making of police regulations should be in the hands of that government which is closer home, closer to the people, more directly under their supervision, inspection, and control.

The diversified habits, customs, conditions, resources, industries, and interests of the peoples of the several States made it apparent that the people of each State could best govern themselves, for the simple reason that being better acquainted with their own institutions they knew best what should be done.

There is now more reason than ever for this division of the powers of government between the States and the Federal Government and this limitation upon the powers of the latter. When the Constitution was adopted we were only 13 States, covering only a part of the Atlantic coast and a few hundred miles into the interior, and the conditions of life were simple and much more alike in the different States. We now cover the continent from ocean to ocean and from the Lakes to the Rio Grande. If our interests were sufficiently diversified then to make it wise to divide the powers of government between the State and the Federal, as I have explained, the multiplication of that diversification and the vast extension of our territory certainly multiply the reasons for the continuation of the same wise policy.

The candid, thoughtful man who will consider these facts will become more and more convinced that Mr. Jefferson's opinions and views of this subject accord with wisdom and common sense. Permit me to borrow his language to express a few pertinent thoughts. He said:

The extent of our country was so great and its former division into distinct States so established that we thought it better to confederate as to foreign affairs only. Every State retained its self-government in domestic matters, as better qualified to direct them to the good and satisfaction of their citizens than a general government so distant from its remoter citizens and so little familiar with the local peculiarities of the different parts.

Again—

Our country is too large to have all its affairs directed by a single government. Public servants at such a distance, and from under the eye of their constituents, must from the circumstance of distance be unable to administer and overlook all the details necessary for the good government of the citizens; and the same circumstance, by rendering detection impossible to their constituents, will invite the public agents to corruption, plunder, and waste.

Again—

It is not by the consolidation or centralization of powers, but by their distribution, that good government is affected. Were not this great country already divided into States, that division must be made that each might do for itself what concerns itself directly and what it can so much better do than a distant authority.

Again—

When all government, domestic and foreign, in little as in great things, shall be drawn to Washington as the center of all power, it will render powerless the checks provided of one government on another and will become as venal and oppressive as the government from which we separated.

Again—

I was in Europe when the Constitution was planned, and never saw it until after it was established. On receiving it I wrote to Mr. Madison urging the want of provision for the freedom of religion, freedom of the press, trial by jury, habeas corpus, a substitution of militia for a standing army, and *an express reservation to the State of all rights not specifically granted to the Union.* He accordingly moved, in the first session of Congress, for these amendments, which were agreed to and ratified by the States as they now stand.

Again—

I wish to preserve (in a new constitution for Virginia) the line drawn by the Federal Constitution between the general and particular governments as it stands at present, and to take every prudent means of preventing either from stepping over it.

It was on this very subject that differences caused the first division of our people into political parties. It was adherence to the views and principles of Mr. Jefferson on this subject that constituted the fundamental doctrine of the Democratic Party, and if there is any doctrine, any principle to which the Democratic Party is committed it is that the States alone have, and that the States alone should have, the powers of government over commerce within the States; the regulation of the civil rights of the people, police regulations, and all other domestic affairs; and that the exclusive powers of the States to govern themselves in these matters should be maintained unabridged.

There may be some who believe this division of powers between the State and the Federal Governments and the limitation upon the powers of the latter were destroyed by the War between the States; but they are in error. The war was not fought for the destruction of the rights of the States, but for the preservation of the Union; and while war measures were taken which resulted in depriving the States of their right to determine some questions over which dissensions had arisen, resulting in the war, and while the right of States to secede was denied by the arbitrament of arms, the other reserved rights of the States and limitations upon the powers of the Federal Government were saved.

This very doctrine saved the Southern States from negro domination and from carpet-bag government after the war was over, from the force bill, and from the infamies the reconstructionists would have loaded upon us; and it protects us now against those who, under the pretense that they are their "brothers' keepers," assert that they have the right to govern us and would force us to have whites and negroes attend the same schools and otherwise mingle on terms of social equality.

I am unwilling to abandon the fundamental teachings and principles of the Democratic Party to help set a precedent that will enable the centralizationists to follow with force bills and measures interfering with our elections and otherwise meddling with domestic affairs.

I am unwilling to surrender the doctrine that has enabled us to maintain white supremacy in the South or to help set a precedent that may be used against us when we invoke that doctrine in our defense in the future.

They tell us that because the States have agreed in the Constitution that it may be amended whenever two-thirds of both Houses of Congress propose an amendment and three-fourths of the States ratify it, the adoption of this amendment would not conflict with the doctrine of State rights. An amendment providing for a consolidated, centralized government could be adopted in the same way, and the rights of the States to govern themselves absolutely done away with. It is the Democratic doctrine not only that the States have the right of self-government and the powers which this amendment would take away from them, but that they should retain them, that they should not be surrendered nor abridged.

They tell us we should vote for the amendment, whether we favor it or not, to refer or submit it to the people; that the people have a right to amend the Constitution, and that we should give them a chance to do so. The same could be said in favor of any amendment offered. The Constitution does not provide for submitting amendments to the people, but for proposing them to the legislatures of the several States or to conventions in the several States for their ratification. It is not necessary for Congress to propose in order to give the States the opportunity to amend. The Constitution is so worded that a Member of Congress in voting for a proposed amendment votes not to refer it or submit it to the people, but that he deems it necessary and proposes it for ratification. Congress is required by the plain language of the Constitution to vote its judgment upon the proposition. If two-thirds of the States apply for it, Congress shall call a convention for proposing amendments; and they may be proposed by Congress or by such a convention either to the legislatures of the several States or to conventions of the several States composed of members elected by the people to determine whether they will ratify or not. The resolution proposing the amendment in this case is so worded as to propose to the legislatures, and the people would have no voice in the matter except through their members of the legislature.

National Prohibition Amendment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. S. HUBERT DENT, JR.,

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 22, 1914.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to this amendment, first, because it is to be submitted to the legislatures of the different States instead of conventions to be selected by the people solely to pass upon this question. This is the nearest approach to a referendum provided for in our Constitution. Second, because it takes from the States through themselves or their localities the right to regulate individual conduct and transfers this right to the Federal Government, thereby dragging the citizen far from home to stand trial before a Federal judge and a Federal jury. Third, because it leaves the purpose

of manufacture, sale, and transportation to be determined by the courts, which will either result in absolute failure or subject the citizen to a system of espionage heretofore unheard of. Fourth, because it will not only deprive the Government of several hundred millions of revenue, but require many millions more to provide the machinery and the vast army of employees necessary to enforce it. Fifth, because it will permit 36 States to require of 12 States the adoption of a policy to which they are utterly opposed. Sixth, because it would require a system of espionage directed from Washington which might enter even the privacy of every home. Seventh, because it enters upon an entirely new era of Constitution amendment, restricting, rather than enlarging, individual rights.

I think we may remind ourselves of the significant fact that no amendment to our Federal Constitution has ever been adopted which tended in any way to abridge individual liberty. On the contrary, every amendment that bears any relation to individual rights has tended to enlarge rather than contract them. In fact, historians agree that but for a tentative understanding that the first 10 amendments would be submitted and agreed upon, the Constitution would never have been adopted. These amendments, with the exception of the ninth and tenth, which are merely declaratory, define the rights of the individual against the tyranny of power in the most positive and concise form. The first declares for religious liberty, the freedom of speech and of the press, and the right of petition. The second guarantees the right to bear arms. The third prevents soldiers from being quartered in any man's home except in time of war, and then only in a manner previously prescribed by law. The fourth secures the people against unreasonable searches and seizures as to their persons, houses, papers, and effects. The fifth prevents a prosecution for an infamous crime except by indictment by a grand jury, provides that no person shall be twice put in jeopardy, or be a witness against himself, or be deprived of life, liberty, or property except by due process of law. The sixth guarantees to an accused person the right to a speedy public trial by an impartial jury of the State and district where the crime is said to be committed, with the right to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for his witnesses, and to be represented by counsel. The seventh guarantees the right of trial by jury, even in civil cases, where the amount involved exceeds $20. The eighth prevents excessive bail and fines, as well as cruel and unusual punishments. The ninth simply declares that the enumeration of rights in the Constitution shall not deny or disparage others which are retained by the people.

I have reviewed these amendments for the purpose of calling attention to the fact that if the proposed amendment should be adopted our people would enter upon an entirely new program in framing our organic law, for, confessedly, the proponents of this new era are striving to prevent the citizen from exercising the right to indulge in the personal use of any intoxicating liquor. There would be no excuse for the amendment if a considerable portion of our population did not claim the right to exercise this privilege if they saw fit. It must, then, be admitted that it is proposed that we take a back step and give to the Federal Government the right to investigate and punish the conduct of the individual in a respect entirely different from any heretofore entered upon by Federal legislation.

The Federal Constitution is full of prohibitions, but they are directed to the State and Federal Governments and not to the individual. They say to the State and Federal Governments you must not do this and you must not do that, but they do not say to the individual citizen you must not do this and you must not do that. All through it we find restrictions upon the right of the State and Federal Governments to control the conduct of the citizen. The genius of the Federal Constitution is the enlargement and protection of individual right, and especially is this true of the amendments.

All our laws depend at last for their enforcement upon the jury, and anyone who has had the slightest experience knows that it is difficult to find a jury drawn from people who are opposed to a sumptuary law that will enforce it. There are too many dead laws now, and to add to the number would be only to run the risk of bringing the law itself as an institution into disrepute.

Prohibition and other sumptuary laws can not be enforced under our system until the people from whom the jury is drawn are almost unanimous in wishing their enforcement. When the people become almost unanimous in wishing the enforcement of prohibition, prohibition becomes unnecessary, for there are no longer any people who will patronize a barroom if there is one. This is a reductio ad absurdum, I know, but such is the propaganda seen to be when examined in the merciless light of reason and experience.

It may not be amiss in this connection to call attention to the fact that the 12 largest States in the Union in population are Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Missouri, Texas, New Jersey, Indiana, Michigan, Georgia, and Kentucky, and the population of these 12 States is nearly 51,000,000—largely more than half the population of the United States proper. Of these 12 largest States only one, the State of Georgia, is a prohibition State. Local option exists in the other 11. It is, then, manifest that 37 States, with a population considerably less than half the total population of the United States proper, could inflict upon 11 local option States, with a population of considerably more than half the total population of the country, not only a law which these States do not desire, but a sumptuary law which must be enforced by juries selected from the body of the people of these States which are opposed to such legislation.

Such a proposition, in itself alone, so thoroughly transgresses all the fundamental principles of the Democratic Party as to call for the defeat of this amendment. It is impossible for me to understand how any man trained in the school of democracy can so far forget the doctrine of State sovereignty and local self-government, as well as antagonism to the centralization of power at Washington, as to vote for this amendment.

Oregon's Forest Reserves.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. W. LAFFERTY,

OF OREGON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, December 31, 1914.

Mr. LAFFERTY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave given me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit the following correspondence just had between the West Coast Lumber Manufacturers' Association and myself, in which I endeavor to show why Mr. J. N. Teal, attorney for said association, in his other capacity as president of the "Oregon Conservation Commission," so strenuously opposes the conveyance of the forest reserves in trust to the States:

[West Coast Lumber Manufacturers' Association (Inc.). General offices: 610 Tacoma Building, Tacoma, Wash. Branch office: 509 Gerlinger Building, Portland, Oreg. Officers: President, W. B. Mackay; vice president, J. H. Bloedel; secretary, T. Babcock; counsel, Joseph N. Teal. Trustees: E. J. Palmer, Chemanius, British Columbia; J. H. Bloedel, Bellingham, Wash.; R. H. Hambridge, Everett, Wash.; D. E. Skinner, Seattle, Wash.; L. L. Doud, Tacoma, Wash.; T. H. MacLafferty, Tenino, Wash.; W. B. Mack, Aberdeen, Wash.; E. L. Gaudette, South Bend, Wash.; W. B. Mackay, Portland, Oreg.; R. S. Shaw, Astoria, Oreg.; F. J. Cobbs, Falls City, Oreg. Main 4485.]

TACOMA, WASH., *December 23, 1914.*

Hon. A. W. LAFFERTY,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: A short time ago the lumbermen of Oregon entertained the Oregon congressional delegation at a dinner, at which the lumbermen presented the conditions of the lumber business with a view to putting the Senators and Congressmen in a better position to take care of matters affecting the industry which might be brought up at Washington. The writer made a few remarks at that meeting from the inclosed notes, which are sent you with the thought that you may be able to understand better the true condition of the lumber business of this Northwest, if you can find the opportunity to read them over. We all know that the lumber industry is the backbone, so to speak, of Washington and Oregon, and we know that our Representatives in Congress are anxious to do what they can to help this industry.

Hoping the inclosed may be of some help to you, we are,

Yours, respectfully,

WEST COAST LUMBER MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION,
By THORPE BABCOCK, *Secretary.*

[A. W. LAFFERTY, third Oregon district; Richard L. Merrick, private secretary and special assistant in departmental matters. Washington address: 486 House Office Building. Portland address during vacations of Congress: 733–736 Pittock Block.]

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C., December 31, 1914.

Mr. THORPE BABCOCK,
Secretary West Coast Lumber Manufacturers' Association,
Tacoma, Wash.

DEAR SIR: I was interested to receive to-day your letter of the 23d instant, inclosing a copy of your very able address at the dinner given to the Oregon congressional delegation at the Portland Commercial Club by your association shortly after the late election.

I had no knowledge of such dinner until to-day, and if I was not entitled to the courtesy of being treated as a member of the Oregon congressional delegation at that time I see no reason why I should be so treated now.

However, I wish to thank you for your letter and the information it gives me. I see that the letterhead carries the names of the officers of your association, among whom is "J. N. Teal, attorney."

This is the same J. N. Teal who is attorney for the Booth-Kelly Lumber Co. This is the same J. N. Teal who is part owner of the Oregon Daily Journal. This is the same J. N. Teal who is president of the Oregon Conservation Commission.

Now, the last two annual reports of this so-called Oregon Conservation Commission have strongly opposed conveying the forest reserves in trust to the States, on the ground that it would be the first step toward putting the lands into the hands of private lumber manufacturers and exploiters.

I ask you and all fair-minded people if this was the true motive which Mr. Teal had in opposing the conveyance of the forest reserves in trust to the States?

Mr. Teal appears to be the attorney for the private lumber manufacturers and exploiters. Can it be that he is double-crossing you? Can it be that while he is being supported in luxury by your hard-earned cash he is fighting your interests as president of the Oregon Conservation Commission, from which he receives no salary? Yet Mr. Teal, out of his unselfish devotion to the public, comes out and opposes conveying the forest reserves in trust to the States, because it would be the first step toward putting these lands in the hands of you men who are paying him yearly as your private attorney—you men whom he denominates as "exploiters."

I very much fear that Mr. Teal is faithful to you, the men who have him on yearly salary. I very much fear that in opposing the conveyance of the forest reserves in trust to the States Mr. Teal is not so much concerned in protecting the public against his clients as he is in protecting his clients against the public.

The truth is that the only bill ever offered in Congress to convey the forest reserves in trust to the States is my bill, and it was I who originated the idea during my first campaign in 1910. Mr. Teal and the Journal and the Oregonian have opposed it from the start. These papers have refused even to tell the people that I have such a bill pending and that I am fighting for its passage; but some of these days it will pass, nevertheless.

Mr. Teal well knows that the lands could never fall into your hands or into the hands of other exploiters, because it is expressly provided in the bill that the States shall have no power to sell an acre of the land for any purpose. It provides that the States may cut only the ripe trees from year to year, permitting the young trees to grow up and replace those cut, thereby preserving our great national forests forever.

Should such a bill give Mr. Teal any concern lest the lands should fall into the hands of his wicked clients?

The bill further provides that Congress may even revoke the conveyance in trust at any time it so desires.

Does such a law look like it was framed in the interests of exploitation?

No, indeed. Mr. Teal well knows that the proposition is in the interests of conservation and against the interests of the timber barons and private exploiters. He well knows that it would put State owned and operated forests into direct competition with you gentlemen, the private owners and manufacturers of lumber. That is why he is having his string-jumping Oregon Conservation Commission oppose the proposition. In so doing he is in reality faithfully serving you, and he is a traitor to Oregon and to the cause of conservation.

Oregon has 16,000,000 acres of land in the forest reserves, more than one-fourth of the State's area. This land is held off the tax rolls. This land, according to Mr. Teal himself, is worth $400,000,000. Were these lands conveyed to the State in trust, allowing the ripe trees to be cut each year, the State would make a profit of at least 3 per cent net per year, or $12,000,000 from her forest reserves, and that would reduce Oregon's taxes just one-half. Besides, the forests would be preserved forever, and thousands of citizens of Oregon would be given permanent employment.

Who opposes this law? You do. Mr. Teal is your hired attorney. It was Mr. Teal who arranged the banquet of which you speak. He invited all the members of the Oregon delegation except myself. In my place he invited Mr. C. N. McArthur, who will not be a member of the Oregon delegation until March 4 next, and who would never have been except for the perfidy of Mr. Teal and the paper he partly owns, the Oregon Daily Journal.

The people of Oregon will become acquainted with the true facts in due time, notwithstanding the foxy Mr. Teal. Then, I fear your association will have to meet State competition.

However, I wish you well and hope that only prosperity will be yours.

Very sincerely,

A. W. LAFFERTY.

National Prohibition.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE J. KINDEL,
OF COLORADO,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 22, 1914,

On the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 168) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States prohibiting the sale, etc., of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes.

Mr. KINDEL. Mr. Speaker, when I first listened to the arguments in favor of prohibition advanced by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HOBSON] a year and a half ago, I thought him a zealous fanatic and a bore on the question.

A little over a year ago, while my State was suffering the agonies of a coal strike, in which 1,000 miners were led, or rather misled, by union agitators who insisted on intimidating over 10,000 fellow workers into submitting to being subjected to $10 initiation and $1 per month dues and whatever fines or checkups might be imposed upon them, it was here that I witnessed the overindulgence in liquor and its consequent results, and it was here that I was converted to Mr. HOBSON'S views on the liquor question. The purpose of my visit to the coal camps of southern Colorado was to get a minute understanding of the situation; therefore I was resolved to investigate the causes of trouble impartially and fearlessly. I was escorted first by one side and then by the other, and listened attentively to every complaint presented. I soon discovered that if the demon liquor could be banished from the coal camps, peace and prosperity would again prevail. I then and there came to the conclusion that it was my duty to assist in restoring law and order; that I would henceforth become a champion of prohibition for the good of humanity, although I am of German extraction and have indulged in beer, and so forth, all my life, having been reared in an atmosphere of so-called personal privilege.

Just as soon as the Union troops appeared on the scene and liquor was at once positively prohibited, then anarchy ceased and the efficiency of 12,000 miners at work, by reason of enforced prohibition, was increased to from 15 to 25 per cent. (See sworn statement of mine operators.)

The merchants and miners are thankful for the restoration of law and order and attending happiness. It was the coal strike, more than any other one argument, that is responsible for State-wide prohibition in Colorado, by a large majority at the recent election.

Although I regard the Hobson amendment to the Constitution unnecessary to insure national prohibition, I voted for it. To my surprise not one of the orators pro or con on this great question alluded to House Document No. 935, Postal Laws and Regulations, 1913, third session Sixty-second Congress, volume 38, section 472, which classes spirituous, malted, fremented, or other intoxicating liquors of any kind as positively nonmailable. The same law, under certain rules prescribed by the Postmaster General, permits the mailing of poisonous animals, insects, and reptiles, explosives of every kind, gasoline, infernal machines, and so forth, but provides:

Provided, That all spirituous, vinous, malted, fermented, or other intoxicating liquors of any kind are hereby declared to be nonmailable, and shall not be deposited in or carried through the mails. Whoever shall knowingly deposit or cause to be deposited for mailing or delivery, or shall knowingly cause to be delivered by mail according to the direction thereon, or at any place at which it is directed to be delivered by the person to whom it is addressed, anything declared by this section to be nonmailable, unless in accordance with the rules and regulations hereby authorized to be prescribed by the Postmaster General, shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than two years, or both; and whoever shall knowingly deposit or cause to be deposited for mailing or delivery, or shall knowingly cause to be delivered by mail according to the direction thereon, or at any place to which it is directed to be delivered by the person to whom it is addressed, anything declared by this section to be nonmailable, whether transmitted in accordance with the rules and regulations authorized to be prescribed by the Postmaster General or not, with the design, intent, or purpose to kill or in anywise hurt, harm, or injure another, or damage, deface, or otherwise injure the mails or other property, shall be fined not more than $5,000, or imprisoned not more than 10 years, or both.

With local option in each State and the extension of the parcel-post law controlling liquor transportation to all other modes and transportation companies, the question of prohibition would speedily, automatically, and effectively be settled by the majority votes in the respective States desiring it.

To all those who do not agree with me on prohibition I would ask if they would restore liquor, with its dire sequences, at the Capitol of Washington? Would they install a bar at either of our national institutions—the naval and military schools?

[Excerpt from Washington Post, January 1.]

HARD TO ENFORCE DRYNESS.

"It takes a State-wide prohibition law to prove that prohibition does not prohibit," said George W. Summers, of Charles Town, W. Va., at the Willard. "The majority of the people of West Virginia doubtless still are in favor of prohibition—the State-wide amendment carried by 93,000—but nevertheless beer and whisky and other intoxicants are finding their way into the State, and those who want them have little difficulty in buying them. One of the railroads that crosses the State runs every day a special train which has been termed 'the booze special,' and this train distributes at different stations any quantity of beer and whisky ordered by residents of the State.

"To supply the holiday trade an express company rented a large warehouse in several cities and deposited the packages there, the consignees calling for them. A little while ago, on application of the antisaloon people, a State court granted an injunction against one of the roads and an express company to prohibit the transportation of intoxicants, alleging a violation of the Webb law, but a short time afterwards a Federal court issued a mandamus requiring the express company and the railroad to accept packages containing liquors for transportation. I do not know what will be the outcome of the fight, but meantime there is very little trouble for those who want to drink to obtain what they desire."

What else can you expect, so long as the Federal court is allowed to override the will of the people?

Our Interstate Commerce Commission is as much at fault in aiding and abetting the liquor interests as is the Federal court. Do not the express tariffs, which are scrutinized and sanctioned

by the commission, provide a second-class rate on ale, beer, and nonmedicated malt beverages, while holy water (water, not otherwise specified) is strictly first class?

How long will the American people stand for such humbug?

I might say the renown of the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HOBSON] as the fearless and persistent fighter for national prohibition will, in my opinion, far outlive his heroic deed of sinking a ship during the Spanish War at the entrance of Santiago Harbor.

In answer to the soulless argument against prohibition on account of loss of revenue to the cities, States, and Nation, it should not and can not be considered for a moment by any self-respecting citizen, be he rich or poor, white or black. Even granting this debatable argument to be true, he indeed deserves our pity who lives for revenue only. None but a coward would sacrifice priceless manhood and womanhood to insatiate greed and self-aggrandizement.

Sale of Liquors to Minors.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES W. BRYAN,
OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 4, 1915.

Mr. BRYAN. Mr. Speaker, to-day I insisted upon having the RECORD show me as voting against an act entitled "An act to prohibit the sale or gift of intoxicating liquors to minors within the admiralty and maritime jurisdiction of the United States" (H. R. 18851).

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] suggested, as the RECORD shows, that I was voting against prohibiting the sale of liquor to minors. I then declared I was not doing anything of the kind. I was granted unanimous consent to explain in this way my position on the subject.

I now declare that the act voted on to-day was wrongly entitled; that it should have been styled "An act to provide for and encourage the sale of intoxicating liquor to minors within admiralty jurisdiction."

It is impossible for any man on this floor to be more opposed to the sale of the filthy product of the brewers and distillers and debauchers of humanity to man, woman, or child than I am. But liquor dealers, brewers, and distillers are very anxious to sell their stuff to boys and girls and to men and women; and, as a first tip to the wise, I want to call attention to the fact that every man on this floor who generally votes against anti-liquor statutes was for this act to-day—provided no amendment be allowed. That is just a tip. I will come back to it later, but remember the adage, "Beware of the Greeks bearing gifts."

If I am opposed to the sale of the stuff under ordinary conditions, I am certainly more opposed to its sale to minors and on boats than under most any other conditions. Why am I opposed to its sale on boats, to minors, or to anybody else? The crimes of the liquor pirates on excursion boats on the Great Lakes out of Chicago and other lake cities are enough to make a prohibitionist out of a Member from Milwaukee or any other place, it would seem to me. I can not figure it out how a Member of this House can oppose prohibition of the liquor traffic within the admiralty jurisdiction.

The following from the Chicago Tribune of July 18, 1914, tells something of the awful tale of the ravages of this piratical crew on the Great Lakes:

"INQUIRY FINDS LAKE STEAMERS LURE TO YOUNG—LAXITY OF MORALS ON LOCAL EXCURSION BOATS CHARGED IN REPORT TO SCHOOL BOARD—MINORS BUY DRINKS—SAFETY DEVICES ARE SAID TO BE INADEQUATE—INSUFFICIENT GUARD AGAINST BAD INFLUENCES.

"A report was submitted to Peter Reinberg, president of the board of education, yesterday by W. L. Bodine, superintendent of compulsory education, showing up gambling, juvenile drunkenness, and general bad conditions on Lake excursion steamers plying between Chicago, Michigan City, South Haven, St. Joe, and Benton Harbor and Milwaukee.

"Mr. Bodine made an investigation from June 29 to July 8 in behalf of a subcommittee of the school management committee of the board, of which Dean W. T. Sumner is chairman. The committee was appointed last year and made an investigation late in the season. According to Mr. Bodine, the matter was taken up with the steamship companies, and the present investigation was made to see if bad conditions had been eliminated. His report says they are still bad.

"Only one boat, the City of South Haven, according to the report, made any attempt to police its decks.

"PERSONAL SAFETY IMPERILED.

"In the course of his report Mr. Bodine said:

"'Reliable investigators, including an expert on personal-safety appliances, have been detailed on the work by the bureau of compulsory education on all the boats on various occasions from June 29 to July 8.

"'The average excursion boat, especially on days when the capacity is taxed, is not adequately equipped for the personal safety of all passengers. There are not enough lifeboats or life rafts, and the facilities to expedite service, and accessibility of life rafts for emergency use require immediate attention and improvement. Government inspectors admit that the lifeboat and life-raft equipments in the excursion season would not provide for over 30 or 40 per cent of passengers on big days, and that the life preservers would be the only hope of the excess.

"'REGULATE OR CLOSE THE BARS.

"'The bars on these excursion boats should be either regulated or eliminated. Steps should be taken to prevent the sale of liquor to minors. Boys only 17 years of age were found drunk, and girls under 16 years were found in the same condition in a Fourth of July crush.

"'Women and children are not adequately protected by enforced discipline of boat rowdies. With one exception, the boat companies make no appreciable effort to maintain proper conduct on board with special police from the crew.

"'While the majority of the passengers conduct themselves properly, there is a vicious and degenerate minority, including a clique of young men who infest the boats looking upon unescorted young girls as legitimate prey. Some women, on the other hand, have developed the "excursion" habit to lure susceptible youths.

"'Anyone with "the price" can secure a drink or a stateroom on the average steamer.

"'The upper decks and secluded parts of the boats are the spooners' paradise. Liberties are often taken with intoxicated young girls, whose mothers should not have permitted them to go on a public boat unescorted.

"'GAMBLING DEVICES ON ALL HANDS.

"'The average lake excursion boat is equipped with slot machines, wheel and paddle games, and various devices to secure nickels and dimes. They are merely marine kindergartens of gambling, patronized extensively by school children. A system of petty gambling exists, in which a first-grade child with a nickel or dime in his hand is permitted to take his first lesson if he is big enough to push to the front with his small change.

"'Open-eyed school girls, as well as boys, are lured to games of chance by the enchanting song of the "barkers of ballyhoo." The system is a "sure thing"—for the concessionaires. One boy who won $5 worth of trade checks "reedemable on the boat" was barred from the game on one of the steamers plying between Chicago and a Michigan port.

"'NO IMPROVEMENT SHOWN.

"'It has been a pleasure for me to cooperate with your administration for the protection of children and secure evidence for public welfare. The board of education, some time ago, had a subcommittee, of which Dean W. T. Sumner was chairman, to take such steps as it deemed best to safeguard the interests of Chicago school children who patronize these boats.

"'The committee at that time took the subject up with the various managers of the lake steamer lines, but conditions show no improvement this year.

"'The question of police jurisdiction beyond the 3-mile limit places the remedy in the hands of the companies operating these boats. The question of patronage rests with the public.'"

The Chicago Herald of the same date verifies the same news item, as follows:

"EXCURSION BOATS HELD MENACE TO THE YOUNG—PERSONAL SAFETY AND MORAL WELFARE ENDANGERED, SAYS REPORT TO BODINE—BOYS AND GIRLS DRUNK—GAMBLING FLOURISHES AND LIQUOR LAWS ARE IGNORED, SAY INVESTIGATORS.

"Conditions that are a menace to the personal safety and moral welfare of Chicago school children exist on Lake Michigan excursion boats, acording to a report submitted yesterday to Peter Reinberg, president of the board of education, by W. L. Bodine, head of the compulsory education department of the board.

"Gambling flourishes openly, he says, and intoxicating liquors are sold to minors, without regard for the law. Rowdies are permitted to insult women and children, and a clique of young men infest the boats, who look upon unescorted girls as legitimate prey, according to the report.

"Mr. Bodine's findings are based upon information gathered by a corps of investigators, who rode on the boats plying out of Chicago from June 29 until July 8.

"FINDS GIRLS DRUNK.

"The report says in part:

"'Boys only 17 years of age and girls under 16 were found drunk during a Fourth of July crush.

"'A vicious and degenerate element travels on some of the boats, including a clique of young men who look upon unescorted girls as legitimate prey. Some women, on the other hand, have developed the "excursion" habit to lure susceptible youths.

"'Anyone with the price can obtain a drink or a stateroom on the average steamer, the only exception being the *Eastland*, which has no staterooms.

"'Petty gambling, slot machines, wheel and paddle games, and raffles are in full operation on most boats. They are merely marine kindergartens of gambling. A system of mean gambling exists, in which a second-grade child with a nickel or a dime in hand is permitted to take the first lesson if he is big enough to toddle to the front with the small change.

"'Poker games, with money in sight, were among the features on one Fourth of July excursion.

"'CHILDREN DRINK BEER.

"'Boys and girls between 15 and 17 years old openly drank beer between Chicago and Michigan City. On the return trip two couples, both under 18 years and intoxicated, sat in the stern of the boat, the boys sitting on the girls's laps.

"'On the dance floor there was no restriction to any kind of dancing, and a number of young persons under the influence of liquor were on the floor.

"'The stateroom patronage on most of the daylight boats was brisk, especially on the return trips.

"'Personal safety of passengers is imperiled by the limited supply of lifeboats and life rafts on the average excursion boats. Life preservers are available, but many of them are stored on deck ceilings beyond the reach of women and children, or even men of short stature. The staterooms are, of course, supplied with life preservers, but are locked up, except when the staterooms are in use.

"'The question of police jurisdiction beyond the three-mile limit places the remedy in the hands of the companies manning these boats. The question of patronage rests with the public.'"

These reports were published on front pages of the papers named. No Billy Sunday was then holding a meeting in Chicago. The statements show a public revolting against the most monumental curse any nation has ever known.

Juvenile organizations have taken the matter up. Mrs. Joseph Tilton Bowen, of Chicago, president of the Juvenile Protective Association, wrote the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DONOHOE] recently as follows:

As president of the Juvenile Protective Association I have seen much of the evil effects resulting from the sale of liquor to minors in the excursion boats which ply on Lake Michigan. Many of these boats say that they sell liquor only in unbroken packages, and it is not an uncommon thing to see boys and girls consume a bottle of whisky between them. I am inclosing a report of a recent investigation made by our association. We were unable to secure any improvement, so we called in the help of the Union League Club, and they laid the result of our investigation so forcibly before the directors of these boat lines that the most decided improvement was effected in these boats last summer and fall. The investigation I am sending you was made a year ago last summer.

Read this, and see if you are still proud of having voted against the Hobson amendment. It is taken from a report from Philadelphia, submitted by Mr. DONOHOE:

The boat is usually packed to its utmost capacity, and has scarcely left the wharf until "criers" at the foot of the stairs leading to the lower deck begin to call out, "Checks for the bar; here you are, boys; get your checks for the bar," which is kept up during the whole trip, while waiters, two or three for each deck, go about taking orders from those who wish the beer brought to them on deck.

The members of these social groups are usually quite young, as is the majority of the crowd on these excursions. No objection is made to selling beer in any quantity to minors, and almost every boy is more or less intoxicated before the end of the trip. Many boys may be seen lying on the floor or on benches in a drunken stupor, who will have to be aroused and helped by some of their companions who are more used to the drink to walk home or to the house of some friend, as some of them frankly admitted that they would not dare to go home and have their parents see them in such condition.

Upon investigation concerning the license for boats I found that only a Federal license is necessary to sell liquor on navigable waters, no State license being required unless they desire to sell at the wharf. I then sought what Federal regulation there might be for selling liquor to minors, and in getting the information from the assistant district attorney concerning the case he gave it as his opinion that there is no statute making it a misdemeanor or crime to sell liquor to minors, and that the only way to reach this case would be by interstate regulation. Certainly there is urgent need for some legislation to regulate this evil.

Remember, please, that this limitation of State jurisdiction is all folderol, not a word of truth in it. Every inch of the Great Lakes is a part of one of the American States, except such as extends over into Canada. Present State laws reach every inch of American jurisdiction in the Great Lakes. If a man steals a loaf of bread out of your lunch basket 4 miles out of Chicago, there is no trouble about trying him for violating a State law—not at all. But let a white-aproned agent of a dividend-seeking liquor vendor steal your daughter, and the infamous grafters charged with enforcing the State law on the Great Lakes will tell you there is no law, and then they are helped to hold their political jobs by the liquor gang and the steamboat owners, who get the loot from the liquor business.

For my part, the sentiment and the remedy suggested by Mr. Frank E. Herrick, of Wheaton, Ill., in the following poem is the only one that reaches the proposition:

THE PIRATE SHIPS AT BAY.

We've found the range of the pirate ships
That have raided the seven seas
Since the birth of the world
With their flags unfurled
Polluting the wholesome breeze!

Against the cross-bone blazoned ships
Now let the great guns roar
And the thunders sweep
O'er the trackless deep
Till the black fleet floats no more!

The pirate crews of the pirate ships
With the death's-head coat of arms
Are pale with fear
As when sailors hear
The ship bell's loud alarms!

The rum-rigged fleet of pirate ships
Is ranged behind the strand
Where every crime
Within our time
Has made its final stand!

Behind the rights of States these ships
Lie low where slavery bled
And polygamy bold
And the gambler's gold.
For a refuge vainly fled!

Broadside blast the black-hulled ships
And let the turret guns
Shake all the shores
With wrathful roars
Where the tide of battle runs!

Woes for the world these pirate ships
Bear in their groaning hold;
('Tis a lie abhorred
That a State or ward
Can grant them life for gold!)

To the endless deep give the pirate ships
And the crews to the red-jawed sharks
And let every sea
Of the globe be free
From the raids of the demon barques!

There was considerable good cheer at the hearings on the bill for which the bill passed to-day was a substitute, and Mr. SABATH, of Illinois, chairman of the committee, did not believe the reports already detailed as to the necessity for this measure, as the following excerpt from the hearings will show:

Mr. ROBERTS. I am a new member of this committee and have tried to make myself thoroughly conversant with all the duties and responsibilities of a position on this committee. I have sampled the various viands in Washington. I think I am thoroughly familiar with all of them, but I do believe this bill is a good bill and ought to pass; that it ought to be recommended by this committee, and I can see nothing wrong in it. I think, like the gentleman at the head of the table, we ought to do what we can to protect the minors.

Mr. SABATH. If there is anyone who desires to be heard on the bill, why, I have no desire to say anything now, but I reserve to myself the right to answer Mr. DONOHOE on a few matters that he brought before this committee; I think it is my duty to do so. Personally, I can not see wherein this bill would harm anyone. I think it is a well-drawn bill, and I am satisfied that the introducer of the bill meant well and is meaning well and is desiring to reach a certain evil that he believes exists, and as some people make him believe exists. All I desire to say is that the reports from the people of the city of Chicago are not absolutely correct. There was a certain amount of evil in the city of Chicago some years ago, but that has been remedied, and the majority of the boats plying between Chicago and other ports and harbors are now complying with the law and do not sell liquors to minors; and if there are any, I know that there are city authorities, and the State attorneys are very strict in enforcing the law. If there is any violation, however, by any one of these boat lines, I am willing that it should be stopped; and if this bill will strengthen the State law, why, I have no objection, but nevertheless I think we should carefully investigate the bill and see how far it goes and what it aims to do.

The foregoing statement shows that Mr. SABATH knew there were State laws on this subject, and that the sale of liquor to minors, if carried on on vessels on the Great Lakes, violated the law. The State law continues beyond the 3-mile limit. It continues to the State line, and the State line is generally the middle of the lake. They have State laws, and only State laws, for murder and arson and embezzlement and perjury and all other crimes on the Great Lakes, except when you pass over into Canada, and there you have the law of the Province. Why is it necessary to have a different jurisdiction in this case?

You say, for the sake of enforcement. All right; let us see. If a Federal law will help, I am for it. I am no stickler for State rights. But do not anybody forget that these very men claimed when the Hobson amendment was up that to let the Federal authorities take up the enforcement of liquor laws would overturn State governments. I say they have not changed their minds, for there is no chance of enforcement of the law we passed to-day.

Who will enforce this fake we passed to-day? Read it and faint. It says: "The master of the vessel will enforce it." That silly proposition is amazing and beyond explanation. The "master" will report the ship owned by the man who pays him his salary, and the master will cause the Secretary of Commerce to fine the ship. Any attorney who ever handled a liquor case can see how silly this bill is, and any individual able to keep out of an institution for the feeble-minded can understand why it was not to be amended in the slightest particular. I give here the law of Illinois and this fake in parallel columns. Remember, they say they can not enforce the Illinois law. How will the Secretary of Commerce, who has not a single enforcing officer at his command, enforce this weak subterfuge? He has no right to arrest if he had officers.

ILLINOIS LAW.

Whoever, by himself, or his agent or servant, shall sell or give intoxicating liquor to any minor without the written order of his parent, guardian, or family physician, or to any person intoxicated, or who is in the habit of getting intoxicated, shall, for each offense, be fined not less than $20 nor more than $100, or imprisoned in the county jail not less than 10 nor more than 30 days, or both, according to the nature of the offense. (Ill. Stat. Ann., 4605.)

THE FAKE WE PASSED.

Whoever shall sell, give, or dispense in any manner intoxicating liquors of any kind as a beverage to any person under the age of 21 years, within the admiralty and maritime jurisdiction of the United States, shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $500 for each offense. The master of every vessel is directed to enforce this prohibition, and in case any violation of this act is permitted or is committed upon any vessel by any officer or employee of said vessel then said vessel shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $500, the amount of the fine to be determined by the Secretary of Commerce in the same manner that other fines for violation of the navigation and inspection laws are now determined under section 5294 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.

The committee report contains this statement:

Nearly every State in the Union has laws against the sale of intoxicating liquors to minors, but they have no jurisdiction over these vessels, and therefore are helpless to prevent this practice. At the present time there is no law on the statute books prohibiting the sale of liquors to minors within the admiralty or maritime jurisdiction of the United States.

That statement is entirely erroneous. It is true that the laws of all the States prohibit the sale of liquor to minors and provide a jail sentence for violation, but it is not true that such laws do not apply to waters within the State or in the ocean out to the 3-mile line. The 3-mile line applies only to ocean borders, for the State line goes out that far. On the Great Lakes the State area goes to the middle of the lake.

The State law is final in those waters on all such matters till Congress acts. But the right to divest the States of all jurisdiction lies with Congress on account of the admiralty grant of jurisdiction in the Constitution. I understand that the constitutional provision which protects a person from being placed twice in jeopardy would give to the admiralty court exclusive and sole jurisdiction over sales to minors within its jurisdiction if this act should become law. The case of double penalty for the same offense in violating a city ordinance and a State law by the same act is not parallel, for the city gets its power to pass its ordinance from a charter by the State, while the State loses all power and jurisdiction when the admiralty power of the Federal Government is asserted. I can not cite authorities, as I would like, for I am preparing this extension in the RECORD on the spur of the moment, but I will call attention to one or two authorities.

Congress may pass all laws which are necessary for giving the most complete effect of the exercise of the admiralty and maritime jurisdiction granted to the Government of the Union; but the general jurisdiction over the place, subject to this grant, adheres to the territory, as a portion of territory not yet given away, and the residuary powers of legislation still remain in the State. (United States *v.* Beavans, 3 Wheat., 336; 4 L. ed., 404.)

Where the admiralty courts of the United States have jurisdiction over the subject matter their jurisdiction is exclusive. (Rio Grande *v.* Rawson, 42 Ala., 133.)

The State laws of the State of Washington now prohibit sale of liquor to minors, and we can prosecute and place in jail any person who sells liquor to a minor in any part of the State, whether on Puget Sound, on the rivers, or within the 3-mile limit on the ocean. We can jail any such person, and we are able to enforce the law, and we do enforce it.

In fact, we have total prohibition in effect on the waters of our State now, and have had for a long time, because the State laws require a license from every county through which a boat runs or else jails the man for selling liquor without a license. The effect is that all boats selling liquor are "blind pigs," or, legally speaking, are public nuisances. Of course, our prohibition amendment goes into effect on January 1, 1916. Our State law is emphatic and to the point. Our sheriffs go on board the boats and confiscate the liquors and put the officers of the vessel in jail. Do you suppose we want to substitute for that a Federal act which places the enforcement in the hands of the master of the vessel and provides as the sole remedy a lien on the vessel?

Here is the law in the State of Washington:

Every person who shall sell or give, or permit to be sold or given, to any person under the age of 21 years any intoxicating liquor, cigar, cigarette, cigarette paper or wrapper, or tobacco in any form shall be guilty of a gross misdemeanor. (Pierce's Code, title 135, sec. 385.)

The penalty is not exceeding $1,000 fine or one year in jail, or both.

Then, another section provides:

Any person under the age of 21 years who shall purchase, or shall have in his or her possession, any intoxicating liquor, cigar, cigarette, cigarette paper or wrapper, or tobacco in any form shall be guilty of a misdemeanor.

Then I offered an amendment to this act to increase the maximum penalty to $1,000 and to permit imprisonment as well for not more than a year, if so ordered by the court, on which a subsequent amendment would have conferred jurisdiction. Of course under my amendment imprisonment would not be required and the term could be less than a year. But my amendment was voted down on roll call by a tremendous vote. Many who voted against it would gladly have changed their votes when they understood the nature of the amendment.

Not only Illinois and Washington have laws on this subject, but Wisconsin and Ohio and Michigan and Pennsylvania all provide heavy penalties. If this proposed act is to be substituted for the laws of these States on the Great Lakes on this subject, a great mistake will be made.

EFFECT IN DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

On excursion boats in the Potomac River for about 5 miles, till after they get beyond the District line, this act being the latest enactment would ordinarily be substituted for the present Jones-Works law, which is the present legislation in the District as to sales to minors. This act would be a very poor and inadequate substitute. The Jones-Works law is so worded and the regulations are so grouped and combined that probably it would stand up in lieu of this fake statute we voted on to-day.

LET US ANALYZE THIS BILL.

In analyzing the provisions of the bill which I to-day went on record against, I direct attention to the substitution of a second bill after the hearing on the bill which the gentleman from Idaho [Mr. SMITH] introduced.

THE ORIGINAL ENFORCING PROVISION.

The master of every vessel is directed to enforce this prohibition, and to this end to keep posted notices of this section, and for failure to execute this direction he shall be liable to the suspension or revocation of his license in the manner prescribed for the suspension and revocation of licenses by Title LII of the Revised Statutes and acts amendatory thereto.

THE FINAL ENFORCING PROVISION.

The master of every vessel is directed to enforce this prohibition, and in case any violation of this act is permitted or is committed upon any vessel by any officer or employee of said vessel, then said vessel shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $500, the amount of the fine to be determined by the Secretary of Commerce in the same manner that other fines for violation of the navigation and inspection laws are now determined under section 5294 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.

It was just too bad to leave that penalty in the bill. As it stands, the master is to report his own vessel and get his own boss fined. Is not that preposterous?

Then observe also that the prohibition is against selling intoxicating liquor "as a beverage" on a boat to a minor. A 15-year-old girl may come up to the bar and say she is sick and wants a flask of whisky, and the barkeeper will say, "Are you sure enough sick?" and she will say, "You bet I am," and then the master of the vessel will not report his vessel and get his boss fined.

Of course, if a man who is 30 years old has a 17-year-old girl for his companion, he can buy beer and whisky and share with the girl.

If he is reported by the master of the vessel to Mr. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Redfield can fine him; but he will say, "My dear Mr. Redfield, I am flat broke; I have no money whatsoever." In such case the Secretary can not detain him. He owes the fine and he will owe it for a long time. There is something in the act about how the Secretary is to determine the amount of the fine, but not a word about how he will collect it, except when it becomes a lien on the vessel

which is owned by the boss of the master who is to enforce the law.

No wonder the wets are satisfied with this law, provided it is not amended. Oh, I hate a fake. Yes; I was against this bill, and was practically alone, as the record shows.

WHAT ARE WE GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?

I beg every prohibitionist and hater of the abominable liquor traffic to get to work on the Senators, and see to it that Senators JONES, KENYON, SHEPPARD, and others make a good prohibitory law out of this faking thing. Let it prohibit totally the sale of liquor to anybody in the admiralty jurisdiction. Why permit floating saloons, whisky joints, brothels? Let us put this branch of the rotten business out of existence. The act ought then to be extended to include the islands and Alaska. These wets say they opposed the Hobson amendment because it conflicted with State rights. There is no State rights in Alaska or the Philippines.

Manufacture of Munitions of War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT CROSSER,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 5, 1915.

Mr. CROSSER. Mr. Speaker, one of the principal causes of war and of preparation for war is the private interest of the sellers of war munitions. The Steel Trust, the Powder Trust, the Shipbuilding Trust, and all the hundreds of persons, firms, and corporations engaged in selling munitions of war, ammunition, armor plate, and supplies of all kinds to the Army and Navy are interested in the continuance of war preparations, for the very simple reason that the success of their business depends upon continued and large preparations for war—the larger the better.

It would be bad enough if these private interests which are now engaged in furnishing all kinds of war supplies to the Government were doing so at reasonable prices. If this were the case, the only question to be considered would be whether it is advisable to leave in the hands of private corporations Government work of this character, with the inevitable tendency which they would have to maintain lobbies and seek to influence public opinion in favor of large expenditures for military preparation, in order to increase their own profits. But when, in addition to this, it is found that these firms are continually charging the Government exorbitant rates, the reasons for having the Government manufacture materials and equipment for war are increased.

In his annual report for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1913, a year ago, Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels, discussing this question, said:

The time has come when the department should be freed from excessive prices charged by private manufacturers of armor plate, guns and gun forgings, powder, torpedoes, and other supplies and munitions. Most of these necessaries for the Navy are made by a very few manufacturers, and the prices charged are so much too high that I earnestly recommend that appropriations be made for an armor-plate factory and an increase in the gun factory, the powder factory, and the torpedo works. The ability to make part of the powder used has effected some reduction, but the department is forced to buy too large a quantity from the Powder Trust at an exorbitant price. It has been demonstrated that the department can save money by making its powder, guns, and torpedoes. It is not open to doubt that it can save larger sums when it can make its own armor plate and gun forgings.

In the same report, discussing the advisability of a Government armor-plate factory, the Secretary of the Navy pointed out that the Government is at the present time at the mercy of three concerns—the Carnegie Steel Co., the Bethlehem Steel Co., and the Midvale Steel Co.

It is evident—

Said the Secretary at that time—

that without an armor plant of its own the Government in time of war or impending war would be entirely at the mercy of these three manufacturers and obliged to pay practically whatever price they asked. History does not warrant an assumption—

He goes on to say—

that the patriotism of these companies would prove superior to their desire for profits, inasmuch as during the time that war with Spain was imminent, these companies refused to accept the price fixed by Congress after investigation as a just rate and declined to manufacture any armor until they got their own price of $100 a ton more than that which Congress had determined on. In this connection it is well to note that the love of country possessed by these companies did not prevent them from furnishing armor to Russia, as reported to Congress, in 1894, at $249 a ton, while they were charging the United States $616.14 a ton upon purchases under the contract of March, 1893, nor did it hinder them from furnishing armor to Italy, in 1911, at $395.03 a ton, while they were charging their own Government $420 a ton, and that even at the present day, according to information that seems reliable, they are furnishing the armor for the *Haruna*, now being built by the Kawasaki Co., at Kobe, for Japan, at $406.35 a ton, as against the price, ranging from $504 to $440 a ton, which they are now charging us for the armor of battleship *No. 39*.

This report was written in 1913. The Secretary was then commenting upon the interesting fact that these three supposedly competing steel-manufacturing firms were in the habit of submitting identical bids, "seldom varying over a few dollars, and in many instances being identical to a cent," on Government armor-plate contracts.

In his annual report for the fiscal year ending 1914, just submitted to the President, Secretary Daniels has reviewed his efforts to secure a Government-owned armor-plate factory, and says he is convinced that enormous sums could be saved to the taxpayers by the erection of a Government plant.

It became even plainer than last year—

He says—

that the Government is at the mercy of the three manufacturers of armor plate, whose policy is to make the Government pay prices much beyond a fair profit. The three companies make affidavits that they are in no combination and have no agreement affecting prices, as they are required by law to do. This does not, however, prevent their availing themselves of a mental telepathy which works against the Government and denies real competition in the bidding.

Secretary Daniels estimates that the Government would save between a million and three million dollars annually, depending on the size of the plant, if it should manufacture its own armor plate.

Taking the highest estimate which has been submitted to me by the experts of the Bureau of Ordnance—

He says—

as the probable total cost price of Government-made armor, the Government can achieve a saving by the erection of a 10,000-ton-a-year plant of $1,061,360 per annum, after deducting 4 per cent as interest on the money used in erection and installation of plant, and $3,048,462 a year on the basis of a Government plant capable of producing 20,000 tons a year. If these figures are correct, as I believe them to be, and as Congress can easily ascertain for itself, I do not see how it is possible for Congress to justify to the people a refusal to erect a Government plant, nor how it can answer the charge that will invariably be brought up—that the same mysterious providence which saved this profitable business to the steel companies three times in the past, even after money for a Government plant had actually been appropriated, is not still at work exercising its beneficent protection over these lusty specimens of infant industries.

(Proof on pp. 40 and 41, Annual Report Secretary of the Navy, 1913.)

What is true of armor plate is practically true of all kinds of war munitions, both for the Army and Navy. In his last annual report, submitted two or three weeks ago, the Secretary of the Navy makes the flat assertion (p. 9):

Contrary to popular idea, the Navy Department in what it manufactures does so, from a superdreadnaught to a gallon of paint or a pound of powder, cheaper than the same can be purchased. This is particularly true of the most expensive instruments of war, but is equally true of gasoline engines, electrical supplies, engines for dreadnaughts, shrapnel, clothing for marines and sailors, accouterments, and a multitude of other articles required for the fleet and shore stations.

The Secretary's report shows that as a result of the enlargement of the Government powder factory large savings have been made (Annual Report Secretary of the Navy, 1914, p. 10):

Before the Government began to manufacture smokeless powder—

Says the Secretary—

it paid 80 cents a pound for it. Government competition, coupled with better methods, have brought down the price at which the department purchases this powder to 53 cents. The department is now manufacturing it at Indianhead at a cost of 36 cents a pound, and when the enlarged plant is completed may be able to still further reduce the cost of production. If the department had bought what it manufactured last year, the powder bill would have been $397,536.16 more than it was. In addition to effecting this saving by manufacture, the department reworked 1,013,940 pounds, at 11.9 cents per pound, and this method insures the use of much powder every year that would otherwise be useless.

Another specific instance of the elimination of private profits, or partial elimination, by Government operation is in the case of the manufacture of torpedoes.

In the two years that the present torpedo works have been in full operation at Newport, R. I.—

Says the Secretary, on page 10 of his last annual report—

the cost of manufacture of each torpedo has been reduced from $4,200 to $3,200. These torpedoes, if bought at the only private torpedo plant in the country, would cost $5,000. The enlargement of the torpedo works will not necessarily cause the Navy Department to manufacture all its torpedoes, but ability to make a large proportion of the number needed will result in securing better prices from manufacturers. This is true of all other munitions of war. Ability to make them secures reduction in cost.

In other words, the private manufacturers of war supplies are playing a hold-up game. Having a monopoly of the business, they are patriotically gouging Uncle Sam to the limit. And

experience has shown that the gouging stops in direct ratio to the ability of the Government to undertake the work itself. When it does all the work, all of the gouging is eliminated, and not before.

The Secretary of the Navy sums up the two reasons why we should have Government manufacture of war munitions:

> The department should be able to demand competitive bids by having potential facilities to manufacture anything needed for armament or equipment which may at any time be controlled by those who demand excessive prices. There is another reason why the Navy Department should be able to manufacture munitions of war; that policy would prevent effective agitation or organization for big preparations for war conducted by those who make profit by the manufacture of war supplies. It has been suspected—

Goes on the report—

> in some countries that makers of armor and powder, guns, and fighting craft have promoted steadily increasing equipment for giant navies and large armies for their personal enrichment, as others have practiced "philanthropy and 5 per cent." The incentive of personal aggrandizement by preparations for war should not be permitted to exist in the United States. The effective way to prevent so baneful an influence is for Congress to give the department authority to manufacture implements of war, an authority which could be employed when necessary. (Annual report, 1914, pp. 10–11.)

What is true of the manufacture of naval supplies is equally true of the Army supplies. Congressman CLYDE H. TAVENNER, of Illinois, in a speech in the House of Representatives, gives some surprising figures as to the comparative cost to the Government of private and Government manufacture. I quote at this time one illustration from the very exhaustive speech which he made on this subject in the House on June 2, 1914 (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 10508):

In a brief table of comparisons he there shows that on an order of $1,900,064 worth of field-artillery ammunition given to the Frankford Government Arsenal, at Philadelphia, instead of outside manufacturers, the Government saved $979,840, or a saving, in round numbers, of $1,000,000 on a $2,000,000 contract. Another of his tables shows that on an order of $800,120 worth of artillery ammunition now under manufacture by the private manufacturers the Government is losing $312,214, based on what it would cost to have duplicated the order in the Government arsenals. In other words, practically one-half of the entire amount of the order could have been saved had this work been done in the Government arsenals. These figures are based on compilations made by Col. George Montgomery, commandant of the Frankford Arsenal, and they include 15 per cent to cover administration, depreciation, insurance, and interest on money invested.

Is it any wonder that the armament and ammunition and powder gentlemen want big war preparations? And is it any wonder that we have wars in consequence?

In passing, it may be said, too, that Government manufacture, as compared with private manufacture, means an 8-hour workday for the men in Government employment, compared with 9 and 10 hours a day under private operation. The Government's workmen get 15 days annual leave of absence, 7 national holidays, and 13 Saturday afternoons in summer, during which they receive pay. And yet the Government manufacturing cost, including 15 per cent for overhead charges, is from 20 to 60 per cent below the prices of the Ammunition Trust.

Pages of illustrations of this character could be compiled, but these will suffice for the present.

Some means should be adopted to eliminate private profit in war preparation. We do not want private manufacturers to be making enormous profits and goading us on to more and more armament, nor do we want the Powder Trust, the Steel Trust, and the Ammunition Trust manufacturing war materials and selling them at a profit to foreign Governments with the possibility that they will be used for aggression against our own people. I believe that H. R. 20147, introduced by me, will do much to overcome this evil.

We should not tolerate the possibility of our private manufacturers of war munitions to export the instruments of war to be used against our own people because of the sacred profits. For these reasons the bill prohibits exports absolutely. If this bill should be enacted into law, the makers of war munitions would be effectually restrained. Their business would not be prohibited; but unless they could get big contracts from our own or some foreign Government they could not exist. The demand for guns and ammunition from Mr. Rockefeller's private army in Colorado or the Copper Baron's private army in Michigan or the Coal Trust's private army in West Virginia would not be sufficient to justify the continuance of their plants, and they would cease to exist, and with them one potent cause of war.

The bill which I shall incorporate herein as a part of my remarks seeks to remedy some of the evils pointed out. It does not pretend to be a complete remedy for the war malady; it simply seeks to remove one of the main causes of wars—the private interest of those who benefit by war and war preparation.

On a program such as this everybody, whether he is in favor of disarmament, increased armament, or maintaining the present armament, can find a common ground. Whether he believes in large or small armies, large or small navies, does not affect the proposal that whatever armament, ammunition, and military supplies may be needed should be manufactured by the Government. The proposition to eliminate private interest in war and preparation for war by providing Government facilities for producing and manufacturing military and naval equipment, by prohibiting the export of privately made munitions of war, and by reservation to the Government of coal and fuel oil in the public lands is one which will, in some measure at least, do away with one of the causes for war. It is a measure in the interest of peace, and all people really interested in securing peace ought to support it.

I here insert a copy of House bill 20147:

> A bill (H. R. 20147) to eliminate private interest in war and preparation for war by providing Government facilities for producing and manufacturing military and naval equipment, by prohibiting the export of privately made munitions of war, and by reservation to the Government of coal and fuel oil in the public lands.
>
> *Be it enacted, etc.*, That after July 1, 1920, all armament, equipment, and supplies used exclusively by the Government for military purposes shall, so far as practicable, be manufactured by the War Department, and the Secretary of War is hereby empowered, authorized, and directed to immediately begin to provide facilities for such Government manufacture.
>
> That after July 1, 1920, all war vessels and auxiliaries, armor plate, and all other armament, equipment, and supplies used exclusively by the Government for naval purposes shall, so far as practicable, be manufactured by the Navy Department, and the Secretary of the Navy is hereby empowered, authorized, and directed to immediately begin to provide facilities for such Government manufacture.
>
> SEC. 2. That on and after July 1, 1920, it shall be unlawful for any person, firm, partnership, or corporation to export or contract to export any arms, ammunition, artillery, vessels of war, armor plate, torpedoes, or any other thing designed to be used for military or naval purposes. Any person violating this section shall be fined not more than $100,000 and imprisoned not more than three years, and any arms, ammunition, artillery, explosives, or other supplies the exportation of which are attempted in violation of this section shall be forfeited to the use of the United States, and one-half the appraised value thereof shall be paid by the United States to the informer.
>
> SEC. 3. That so much of the coal and fuel oil contained in any of the public lands of the United States as in the judgment of the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy may be necessary to insure an adequate supply of such materials for future military and naval purposes shall be reserved by the Secretary of the Interior, upon request of the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy, for the use of the Army and Navy; and the designation and reservation of suitable lands by the Secretary of the Interior shall be made as soon as practicable and in any event within one year after the passage of this act.
>
> The Secretary of the Navy is hereby empowered, authorized, and directed to carry on the operations of mining, transporting, and storing coal, and drilling for, piping, refining, transporting, and storing fuel oil from the lands so reserved as provided in this act for military and naval purposes.
>
> SEC. 4. That the sum of $2,000,000 is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be expended by the Secretaries of War and Navy, under the direction of the President, said sum to be immediately available and to remain available until expended, for the purpose of beginning the construction and operation of the Government works provided for in this act, and the said Secretaries of War and Navy are directed to report to Congress at the earliest practicable date what total appropriation will, in their judgment, be necessary to comply fully with the provisions of this act.

Industrial Alcohol.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. A. FALCONER,

OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 6, 1915.

Mr. FALCONER. Mr. Speaker, the placing of the manufacture of industrial alcohol on a practical economic basis is a matter of world interest. The several discussions on the subject in the House demonstrate its importance.

The amendment in the Underwood tariff bill presumed to make possible the manufacture in small, farm stills, but it does not meet the problem; a small appropriation is necessary. Local, State, and National grange organizations are persistent in demanding the advantages to be derived from proper legislation.

Extract from the report of the committee on resolutions of the Forty-eighth Annual Session of the National Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, Wilmington, Del., November 11 to 20, 1914:

[From the printed proceedings of the National Grange.]

RESOLUTIONS—"ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION" AND "DENATURED ALCOHOL."

The speech of the Hon. J. A. FALCONER relating to denatured alcohol and the Rockefeller Foundation, in pamphlet form, introduced by Brother C. B. Kegley and referred to your committee, were gone over carefully and in accordance with Brother Kegley's motion.

Recommendation No. 3. We recommend that a copy of same be secured by all subordinate granges, to be read and studied carefully.

Recommendation 3 adopted.

Away on the other side of the earth, Russia, a nation in the throes of war, does not abandon its internal economic interests. I read the following:

OFFERS PRIZES FOR NEW METHODS OF UTILIZING INDUSTRIAL ALCOHOL.

[Correspondence of the Associated Press.]

PETROGRAD, *December 18.*

The Russian Government announces that it has set aside a considerable sum of money for the purpose of organizing an international competition for the discovery of new technical methods of utilizing industrial alcohol.

Prizes amounting to over $50,000 will be awarded.

The people of this Republic are not willing to concede that Russia is more considerate of her people than are we, nor that the Russian Government is more of a people's Government than ours. In the face of the accumulating evidence of the great importance of industrial alcohol, will this Congress turn a deaf ear to the farmers' request for a small appropriation to demonstrate the practical value of farm denatured-alcohol distilling under the new denatured-alcohol law? Congress should, without delay, make this appropriation and establish the industrial alcohol commission provided for in the Falconer bill, H. R. 18479. When this is done, not only will industrial-alcohol development be speeded on its way in this country, but American inventors and scientists may then win some of the prizes of the international competition now being organized by the Russian Government.

Have We To-day a Government of the People, for the People, and by the People?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTIN B. MADDEN.

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 7, 1915.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, "a government of the people, for the people, and by the people." No simpler definition was ever given of our Government than that from the lips of the immortal Lincoln, and none has been more quoted by Americans of all party affiliations and all respectable political opinions. You gentlemen on that side of the House are as fond of quoting this sentiment of the great emancipator as are we on this side, and I think you believe in it in the abstract as sincerely as we do. We also all believe in government by majorities, and we follow that law in this House, except when revolution charges the atmosphere and there is an opportunity to form alliances to defeat the majority.

Four years ago we had such a revolution in this House, and there followed a new policy, fathered by that new majority, of electing committees by the House instead of permitting the Speaker to perform that service for the House as its chief servant. We are now operating under that new policy, and our honored Speaker has become the moderator over our deliberations instead of the great majority leader, for which he is so well qualified, as was demonstrated by his tact and courage and generalship when he led the minority and by an alliance with the insurgents on this side took command in the most successful revolution we have ever had in the House. That revolution was in the name of greater individual liberty and responsibility for the Representatives, and the overthrow of bossism and Cæsarism in the organization of the House. There were then sounded many eulogies on the new system of government of the House, and there are still some—not many, but some—Members of the majority who still defend it as a great reform, but we have had manifestations here, even on the majority side, of dissatisfaction and complaint that the individual freedom and responsibility for the Representative has not come into full realization; that caucus rule has suppressed that individualism even more than did the power of the Speaker and the Committee on Rules in the older days of "Cannonism."

I propose to discuss one phase of this new control. I am not opposed to caucus rule on political questions, and I have no criticism of the plan of the majority party in settling its political policies in caucus. I would do the same. But the caucus is supposed to represent the majority of the party, and the majority of Democrats ought to be able to declare the party policy to be followed in legislation. It may be that it does, for I have no means of knowing how you vote in caucus, except from the complaints I hear from those who have not been able to control, and I have heard complaints from so many Democrats of caucus rule and presidential dictation that I have wondered where the caucus votes came from that controlled.

This is a great country, with nearly 100,000,000 people, and they have 435 Representatives on this floor to transact their business. You of the majority have 290 of these Representatives, while we of the opposition—Republicans, Progressive Republicans, and Progressives—have only one-half that number. The Democrats on this floor come from every part of the Union more generally than ever before. Only the States of Vermont, Idaho, Nevada, North Dakota, South Dakota, Wyoming, Utah, Oregon, and Washington are without Democratic Representatives here. So the legislation of this House, by the Democratic majority, ought to fairly represent the whole country. Does it?

The Census Office, in its last abstract of the population, divides the country into three grand divisions—the North, the South, and the West. The North includes New England, the North Atlantic, the East North Central, and the West North Central divisions extending from Maine and New Jersey to the Rocky Mountains, taking in 21 States. The South includes the South Atlantic, East South Central, and West South Central divisions, with 16 States. The West includes the Mountain and Pacific divisions, with 11 States. The 21 States here given as North had, in 1910, 55,757,115 population, with 32,669,705 given as urban and 23,087,410 as rural (the rural population being that outside of cities of 2,500). The 16 States given as South, including all the old Southern States and Oklahoma, had 29,389,330 population, divided as 6,623,838 urban and 22,765,492 as rural. The 11 Western States had 6,825,821 population, divided into 3,329,840 urban and 3,495,981 rural. This grouping and these figures are those of the Census Office—not mine.

From them it will be seen that the North had nearly 10,000,000 more urban than rural population, the South more than three times as much rural population as urban, and the West 166,000 more rural than urban. In the South the rural population still dominates in the proportion it did in the whole country 50 years ago. The North and the West have changed in the character of population. I do not complain of the condition in either section of the country. The dominance of the rural may be a good thing in the South, and it might be better if it also dominated in the North, but it does not. We must deal with conditions as they are, not as we would have them. We are here to represent the people, whether they live in town or country, whether they are in the shops or on the farms. This obligation ought to rest on Democrats and Republicans alike. But does it? You have 290 Members here, and from these three grand divisions of the country I have named there are 154 Democrats from the North, 125 from the South, and 11 from the West. You have adopted the policy and the rule of electing the committees of this House, and how have you done it?

The Democrats from the South are not in the majority, but they control and dominate the legislative machinery of the House. They have the chairmanships of all the great committees with the exception of those on Appropriations and Invalid Pensions. The able gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD] is chairman of the Committee on Appropriations and the old war veteran, Gen. SHERWOOD, is chairman of the Committee on Invalid Pensions. I might add that my friend and colleague, Dr. FOSTER, is chairman of the Committee on Mines and Mining. The Committee on Appropriations prepares the appropriation bills to meet the necessary expenses of the Government, without which it must stop, and it has done its work well, but no man in the House has more often warned us of the extravagance of the majority of the House in spending the peoples' money than the gentleman from New York.

The other great committees which report appropriations, which might be called desirable rather than necessary, have southern men for chairmen. They have the chairmanships of the Committees on Agriculture, Foreign Affairs, Rivers and Harbors, Military Affairs, Naval Affairs, Post Office and Post Roads, and Indian Affairs, which handle appropriation bills, and

they have the chairmanships of the Committees on Ways and Means; Banking and Currency; Coinage, Weights, and Measures; District of Columbia; Census; Claims; Education; Immigration and Naturalization; Patents; Public Lands; Insular Affairs; Public Buildings and Grounds; Judiciary; Revision of the Laws; Territories; Interstate and Foreign Commerce; and Rules. Southern men are chairmen of 35 of the 58 committees of this House, and they are the most important committees in preparing the legislation and controlling the machinery of the House. How did they get them under this rule of electing committees and by the votes of the majority in the Democratic caucus?

The North has the Speaker, but he is not a czar, not even a member of the board of directors who control the business of the House. The South, with considerably less than a majority in the Democratic caucus, managed to pick most of the plums. They are able, experienced, and honorable gentlemen, but they do not represent the majority of the majority under this new order of selecting committees, and they represent less than one-third of the whole population. With the exception of the genial and able majority leader, they represent the rural population of the country. Mr. UNDERWOOD represents a great industrial city, but I had to get a gazetteer to locate the homes of the other great Democratic leaders from the South who sit at the head of the great committees of the House.

So you gentlemen of the South have come back into your father's house with more power than you ever had, not only to direct the House but to control the majority of the House with a minority membership of that majority. You also have control in the Senate, with southern men sitting at the head of all the great committees, except those on Military Affairs, Pensions, Public Lands, Indian Affairs, Interstate Commerce, and Territories. You also have a southern man for President, elected from New Jersey, it is true, but with all the ideals of the South and the lack of experience and interest, I sometimes feel, with the teeming urban population of the North. In his Cabinet are four southern men, in control of the Treasury Department, the Navy Department, the Department of Justice, and the Post Office Department. Then we may add Mr. Bryan as another member of the Cabinet who is distinctly rural in all his tastes and understandings.

Your party still looks to the old ideas of legislating for the people who live in the country, and yet you were perfectly willing to sacrifice the farmers of the North and West by striking down the tariff on all their products. You were willing to try to reduce the cost of living for our northern cities by taking it out of the northern farmers.

You have, however, shown great interest in the work and condition of the farmers of the South and Southwest. With the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture in the House from South Carolina and that in the Senate from Oklahoma, it is perhaps natural that there should be more attention given to the crying needs of the farmers of the southern section than to those of the North in the Agricultural appropriation bill, and that we should now be appropriating millions of dollars to destroy the boll weevil, the cigarette beetle, the prairie dog, and the snapping turtle—some one suggested in the Senate. We had a filibuster here because the bill for rural credit banking had not been put on the program. Here we have been for months talking about how we can help the farmers of the country, when the estimates of population by the Census Office indicate that 49 per cent of the American people live in cities of more than 2,500 and 40 per cent live in cities of more than 8,000.

My own city of Chicago has a larger population than that of any State in the South, except Texas. New York has more people than have a half dozen States in the South, and there are more people living in cities of more than 100,000 than can be found in all the States of this ruling section of the country. And yet the policy of the Democratic Party here has been to legislate for the rural population and against the people who live and work in cities and help to maintain this Government. You have gone on the theory that the man who has his home in the city is living off the farmers, that there is no legitimate trade except from the tail gate of a farmer's wagon, and that the man who seeks any other safety for his money than an old stocking is trying to corner the money of the people. You are anxious to improve the condition of the farmers, but you leave the men in the shops to take care of themselves and compete with all the world.

You are frightened by the word "subsidy" except when it gets into the Agricultural appropriation bill. You are fearful that the railroads may earn dividends, and you are willing to build railroads at Government expense in Alaska and wagon roads in every country district to facilitate the rural delivery of the mails, which is now costing many millions more than its revenues. Your sense of proportion is not fully developed to enable you to appreciate the full meaning of "a government of the people, for the people, and by the people." Your leaders live in the rural districts, and they see only the country and its products, forgetting that the manufactured product of this country is double in value that of the agricultural product. The chairman of the Senate Committee on Agriculture the other day asserted that the farmers of this country paid 70 per cent of the cost of the Federal Government, when any child knows that the people in the cities pay the great bulk of the customs tax—if it is paid by the consumers, as you say—and that they pay three-fourths of the internal revenue, the corporation tax, and the income tax. You are still living in the past, but the country has grown, and the city man now has a right to some consideration from Congress. He has been going along supporting his own municipal government and contributing the larger share of the cost of State and Federal Government, and he has not complained; but the time is here when he will send men to Congress who will have a broader view of a government of the people, and not simply legislation for the rural districts.

Only a year ago you gentlemen from the South were almost stampeded from the constitutional amendment for the election of Senators by the people when the Bristow amendment appeared to continue the control of Congress over the times and places for election. You complained that it would be the end of State rights and permit the Federal Government to send the Army into the States to control your elections with the bayonet; and our impetuous leader from Alabama, Capt. HOBSON, then declared that "the integrity, the prosperity, and the perpetuity of the United States depend more upon safeguarding the principle of local self-government in the individual States than upon any other principle of government."

But now comes the gallant captain with another constitutional amendment by which he proposes to have the Federal Government go into every State and city and town and regulate their domestic affairs. Capt. HOBSON goes a little further than some of you, but he represents the new centralizing theory of the Democratic Party, especially to employ Federal power in meddling with the business and industry and domestic life of the people. You forget all your old State rights doctrine when you are in control here. You boast that your President has set business free, and we admit that he has set millions of men free from daily labor and the wages that went with that labor. He has built a gallows higher than Haman's and has hanged prosperity. He has assumed the leadership of the Democratic Party, in legislative halls as well as in the Executive office, and has here set aside your own chosen leaders to command the caucus, with invisible government. He has made the Congress of the United States his stenographic corps to write into law what he dictates, and in this he has his eye only on his own old ideas, formulated in the privacy of his study, without taking a comprehensive view of the United States. You and your President have lost sight of the idea of a "government of the people, for the people, and by the people."

There are at the present time 289 Democrats in the House and one vacancy in a Democratic district—Judge Clayton—which will return a Democrat.

On the basis of 290 Democrats, the Democratic majority over all is 145.

A quorum of the Democratic caucus is 146, and a majority of that caucus—74—has the power to make a caucus decree. Several times in this and the last Congress a bare quorum transacted business in the caucus, and it is said that on several occasions business was transacted without a quorum. Anyhow, 74 members, a majority of a quorum, have the power and have exercised it of decreeing what shall be the legislative program and in what form bills shall come before the House. The action of this majority of a quorum in a Democratic caucus absolutely binds the other 216 Democratic members, except the few who, for constitutional reasons or because of promises made to their constituents, as in the cases of the Louisiana Members respecting sugar and Mr. SISSON, of Mississippi, on the currency bill, refused to be bound. The southern Democrats have 35 chairmanships, including Maryland, one of the South Atlantic States.

You were in favor of free silver to put up the farmers' prices, and in favor of free trade to put them down. You destroyed the sugar industry of Louisiana and Texas by putting sugar on the free list, because you said it was an artificial and not a legitimate industry, and should not be fostered by the Government; yet you appropriate $100,000 in the Agricultural bill to encourage cattle raising and general production in the sugar-growing sections of the South.

By putting sugar on the free list you take $50,000,000 annually from the Treasury and increase the price of sugar. To

supply this revenue you have imposed an income tax upon the American people. The result of your action is that you impose additional burdens on the people by the income tax, add to the price of the sugar they use, take away $50,000,000 revenue from the Treasury, and add to the profits of the Sugar Trust.

I have often tried to study why the Democratic Party is unsuccessful in its conduct of the affairs of the Nation. I have never had the opportunity of serving in Congress during a Democratic administration until now, and that opportunity to study the reasons for Democratic failure at close range has given me the information which I have all my life unsuccessfully endeavored to obtain.

Whenever the Democrats are in control of the Nation the South dominates. A study of the question at close range, with the Democrats in control, convinces me that the failure of the Democrats in national affairs is in a large measure due to southern domination.

The South, with its 29,000,000 people, 23,000,000 of whom live on farms, sends 125 Democratic Members to the House of Representatives. This number comes from the South in season and out, regardless of what the politics of the Nation may be. The men from the South rank on the committees. They obtain the chairmanships when the Democrats come into power. They shape the policies of the Democratic Party. Their business is that of cotton raising. The world is their market. They are for free trade because of their desire to exchange their cotton for European-made goods, believing that they can get them cheaper than by buying them at home. They have no concern for, and no knowledge of, the industrial needs of the North, and all the legislation enacted by a Democratic Congress is sure to be detrimental to the industrial development and against the welfare of the North.

The North has 71,000,000 people. It has 165 Democratic Members in the present Congress. One would naturally believe that 165 is more than 125, but in this instance that is not the case, for the 125 Democratic Members from the South dominate the 165 Democratic Members from the North and bind and gag them in caucus, so that they are obliged to vote for whatever the southern Democrat proposes or be considered disloyal to their party.

The Democrats of the South do not understand the needs of the North. They can not be expected to. And although of the 71,000,000 living north of the Mason and Dixon line there are 10,000,000 more living in the cities than in the country all the legislation proposed and enacted under the present Democratic administration has been against the industrial worker of the North.

You have increased the imports by your free-trade policy; you have decreased the exports; you have reduced the revenue; you have taken 4,000,000 workmen out of employment; you have destroyed investment, discouraged enterprise; you have created chaos in the industrial world from one end of the country to the other because of your legislation which admits free into American ports the products of European labor.

You came into power on the promise of economy, but you have been recklessly extravagant in the expenditure of the public money. You have taken no account of the Nation's needs; you have destroyed the opportunity of the people to make a livelihood; you have taxed them in the name of war to meet your extravagant expenditures. The appropriations during the session of Congress recently closed amounted to approximately $1,117,000,000 and were $90,000,000 more than those ever appropriated by a session of Congress under Republican rule.

You have found yourselves unable to raise revenue to meet the ordinary running expenses of the Government without new taxation, and the President in his message to the joint session of the House and Senate on September 5, 1914, recommended that a new tax be levied upon the people to meet the extravagance indulged in by the administration. The general fund on the day of the President's message showed a balance of $120,000,000, $75,000,000 of which was on deposit in the national banks drawing 2 per cent interest, but the President said it would not be wise for the Government to draw checks against its own deposits to meet the Government's obligations, but on the other hand he considered it wise to keep the Treasury strong by levying a new tax on the already overburdened people.

The banks that had this $75,000,000, on which they were paying 2 per cent, were drawing from 7 per cent to 12 per cent interest on it, depending upon the location of the bank, but the administration did not think it wise to draw its checks against its own funds on deposit in these banks, and instead of doing that induced you gentlemen of the Congress to pass a law levying a tax upon the peoples' necessities, which compels them to draw their checks against what little balance they may have in the bank.

Under this law the people are obliged now to pay a tax on telegrams and on telephone messages, to pay a tax on a mortgage which they may be obliged to place upon their homes, and in fact pay a tax on every activity in which they may be engaged, in order that you may continue on in your mad race of extravagant waste of public funds. Economy is an unknown quantity with the Democrats in control. You not only deprive the Government of the revenue which it should naturally receive by admitting foreign-made goods into American ports free, but you take away the opportunity of the American workman to make a livelihood and hand that opportunity over to the workmen of the world. You see nothing but the South; you know nothing of the North or of its needs; you have destroyed the fabric of prosperity; you have created adversity, poverty, want, and despair throughout the land.

The 125 men in the House, representing the 23,000,000 people living on farms, dictate to all the rest of the American people without knowing anything at all of their needs.

Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri, and California—12 States—elect 230 of the 435 Members of the House. These 12 States have 50 per cent of the population, three-fifths of the voters, five-sixths of the wage earners in manufacturing institutions, fifteen billion of the twenty billion of value of manufactured products, 50 per cent of the farm values; they pay $282,000,000 of the $380,000,000 collected from internal revenue, $33,000,000 of the $43,000,000 paid in corporation taxes for 1914, $24,000,000 of the $28,000,000 income tax; they have four billion out of the five billion of savings deposits, and are certainly entitled to the consideration which their importance in the fabric of America's activities justifies, but they have not had it under the present administration. Do you wonder that they complain?

You have passed legislation to regulate the conduct of the ten thousand different kinds of business in which the American people are engaged, in which they have $250,000,000,000 of capital invested, and not a man north of Mason and Dixon's line, not even a Democrat, was allowed to serve on the committee that drafted the legislation and engineered it though the House. None but men living in that section whose business is cotton raising were given an opportunity to make a suggestion as to what the legislation should be.

You have thrown the business of the country into chaos by this legislation. No man knows how he is to be affected by it. The Clayton bill does more to disturb the business of the country than any legislation which has been considered by this or any other Congress during my recollection, and yet it will be noted that the industrial and financial interests of the North, where the greatest development along these lines has taken place, had no part in the preparation of the legislation which so vitally affects these interests; that no Representative of either the Democratic or Republican Party north of the Mason and Dixon line was permitted to assist in the preparation of the Clayton antitrust bill.

The section of the country represented in Congress by men having experience in business and understanding the country's business needs was ignored in the preparation of this bill, and the subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee which framed the bill consisted of three southern Democrats—FLOYD, of Yellville, Ark., a town of 400 people, at the foot of the Ozark Mountains, where no business transaction exceeding $1,000 has probably ever been heard of; CLAYTON, of Eufaula, Ala., a town whose most important business is conducted by a man who sells hard-boiled eggs; and CARLIN, of Alexandria, Va., a town which Mark Twain said "was the most finished city in the world, the last nail having been driven in it, and that grass was growing on its streets."

Do you wonder, and can the people of America wonder, that the business of the country is paralyzed by legislation coming from such a source?

The people of the United States will not continue to submit to this kind of administration of their affairs. They have the right, when they select men to speak for them, to expect these men to speak along economical and conservative lines. They have a right to expect their representatives here to protect their rights, conserve their interests, and protect their investments; not to destroy them or to use them merely as instrumentalities to fill the Treasury of the United States for the purpose of feeding a lot of job holders.

The people are the Government. They have the power. They can supply the remedy, and that remedy is to elect men to the Congress of the United States and to the Presi-

dency who will represent not only the South but the North as well, and not only the agricultural interests but the industrial interests of the country; men who will conserve and not destroy industry; men who will encourage investment, not drive it away; men who realize the importance of prosperity and who believe in the encouragement of American business, in protecting the American market for the American people; who have a comprehensive knowledge of the Nation's needs in all its varied industries, and who will legislate to meet these needs and protect them from invasion by the products of European factories and workshops.

The motto of the American Government should be "the welfare, the prosperity, and the happiness of the American people." The legislation should tend toward opening the American workshop, giving the American workman employment, bringing happiness to American homes. In short, our policy should always be America first.

Tuttle Standard-Barrel Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS C. THACHER.

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 6, 1915,

On the bill (H. R. 4899) to fix the standard barrel for fruits, vegetables, and other dry commodities.

Mr. THACHER. Mr. Speaker, the Tuttle bill (H. R. 4899), entitled "A bill to fix the standard barrel for fruits, vegetables, and other dry commodities," is substantially the same as what is known as the Weeks bill, which passed the Senate last winter. The Tuttle bill fixes a standard barrel for fruits and vegetables, and also fixes a standard barrel for cranberries of the same dimensions as the standard cranberry barrel authorized by the legislatures of the principal cranberry-producing States, including Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Wisconsin. Permit me to state that in 1913 the total crop of cranberries of the United States amounted to about 700,000 barrels, of which a little over one-half, or about 400,000 barrels, were produced in the sixteenth district of Massachusetts, the district which includes Cape Cod, and which district I have the honor to represent in Congress. We import no cranberries, but we export a considerable quantity, which I trust may be increased, to Canada and Europe.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that this bill benefits alike the fruit and vegetable growers and also the consumers. At present there is an universal distribution of the products of the field which by the trainload cross the State lines daily, furnishing the food supply of the people. Should not the Congress facilitate this traffic instead of leaving the regulation of the size of barrels, for example, to the legislatures of the 48 States, who, because Congress does not act, pass legislation without uniformity, which is a serious handicap to this interstate trade? That at present a shipper is unable to comply with the regulations of the different States with any one package was well pointed out by the testimony before the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures of the House of Representatives on March 18, 1914, by Mr. N. P. Westcott, of Onley, Va., representing the Eastern Shore of Virginia Produce Exchange, a cooperative organization of about 3,000 small growers.

He stated on page 10 of the printed report of these hearings:

We are constantly confronted with this fact: Every State has a law fixing the size of barrels. In this bill you would not be doing any new thing. You are not really establishing an innovation, you are not imposing a requirement where no requirement has existed before.

The effort is to substitute for all these various standards a uniform requirement, so that the farmer, the small farmer more especially, can understand just what the standard is.

We ship our goods into 40 different States. Every one of those States has its own law fixing the size of the barrel. But there is no uniformity in the requirements of the different States. There is the greatest confusion. We find that one State may have a standard which is below that of another State, and then we go into still another State and find that the standard established by that State is above the standard established in some other State. For instance, if we want to sell sweet potatoes in Massachusetts, we find we have to put 150 pounds of sweet potatoes in a barrel, and 172 pounds of Irish potatoes. In some other States it is a question of volume. The whole thing is vastly conflicting, confusing, and chaotic.

If we were to adopt a barrel, if we could adopt a barrel that would meet the requirements of the most extreme of the State laws in States, for instance, in which the requirements were not as high as the requirements in our State, we would be selling our goods in competition with the local producers, and thus we would be at a great disadvantage.

In the actual conduct of our business we have found that that difference in the requirements of the various States has imposed every year upon our producers a large aggregate expense which is a waste. It does not mean anything; it does not serve any useful purpose in our work of distributing these goods.

It puts a tax upon our industry which has to be paid, partly by the farmer and partly by the consumer, in the cost of the goods.

He also stated, on page 11:

I believe that this measure is more in the interests of the individuals and unorganized farmers than any other person or interest in the United States of America.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that if the Members of the House will take the trouble to read the statements of Mr. Westcott and Mr. John C. Makepeace, president of the Cape Cod Cranberry Growers' Association, and Dr. Stratton, the director of the Bureau of Standards, and other experts they will be convinced forthwith of the necessity for the passage of this bill.

Mr. Speaker, it may be asked why should there be a barrel of different size for the cranberries, and also why should not the provisions of the bill be permissible instead of mandatory. While I should like to dwell upon the wonderful development of the cranberry industry, with which so many able men on Cape Cod are identified, I shall confine myself to merely stating here some of the reasons why these cranberry growers and experts have found a special barrel for cranberries absolutely necessary.

REASONS FOR A SPECIAL CRANBERRY BARREL.

They are as follows:

First. It is the only berry or small fruit shipped in barrels and is entirely different in character from any other commodity marketed in barrels. Trade customs and general convenience demand this.

Second. It is a perishable fruit, and must be treated as such throughout the process of storing, curing, transporting, and marketing.

Third. While produced mostly in three States—Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Wisconsin—it is marketed in every part of North America.

Fourth. For such a wide distribution the package must be suitable. An act of legislation can not, of itself, make any other sized barrel suitable for cranberries.

Fifth. All berries must reach destination tightly packed. This means they must be well shaken and pressed into barrel. A barrel with little curvature of stave is necessary for this purpose.

Sixth. Cranberries can not be stored in barrels or other packages having great bulk; the small size of the fruit retards circulation of air, which is essential to prevent deterioration.

Seventh. The flour barrel—7,056 cubic inches—was tried in the early days of cranberry shipments and found unsuitable, and its use had to be eliminated. It gave too large a mass of fruit; its contents were short lived and liable to fermentation. It was impossible to pack it so as to arrive at destination in tight condition.

Eighth. The cranberry barrel is embodied in laws of the principal States where cranberries are grown commercially, and this standard is universally recognized and accepted by the buying trade throughout the country.

Ninth. Time and experience have demonstrated that this barrel is the most economical and convenient size for marketing cranberries. It is well defined by State laws and well known in the trade, affording the best possible guaranty against short measure.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that the reasons why the provisions of this bill should be mandatory and not permissible are equally strong. They are as follows:

REASONS FOR THE MANDATORY PROVISIONS.

First. There is no reason for establishing a standard unless it is mandatory. A "permissive standard" is a misnomer. You may as well have a "permissive dollar," a "permissive bushel," a "permissive yard."

Second. In practice nine hundred and ninety-nine out of a thousand of the intelligent producers, distributors, and those having to do with administration of standard-measure laws want mandatory national standard barrels for the same reason that they want standard bushels—to prevent fraud, to insure uniformity, to inspire confidence, to facilitate trade.

Third. It is a mistaken idea that the small isolated producer is protected by the right to ship in any sized barrel. A standard-sized package of produce will command a standard price. A package which is off size is without a standard of value and affords a splendid excuse for the unscrupulous dealer to pay the shipper whatever he likes. Such a package is always a handicap to its contents and an expense to the original user.

Fourth. There is economy and profit in the use of standardized packages, and the farmer or producer, be he ever so small or isolated, knows it, and will always aim to reap the benefits

of it. He is not the fool that advocates of a permissive standard represent him to be; they are trying to picture a man who does not exist.

Fifth. It is a mistaken argument that the small isolated producer can not readily obtain supplies of standard packages. Distribution is surprisingly complete, even to the most remote producing localities.

Sixth. The argument that an innocent producer may by mistake get hold of an off-sized barrel, and thereby be liable to punishment, is hardly worthy of serious consideration. Off-sized barrels are going to be increasingly difficult to obtain. This innocent producer is not prevented from putting his produce into any sized barrel he sees fit to use, so long as he does not try to make an undersized barrel take the place of the national standard package in trade; if he persists in this, it is questionable how long he is entitled to the designation of "innocent."

Seventh. Moreover, the farmer who thinks he wants the right to use any sized barrel in order to save himself labor or expense or to save prosecution is putting forth much effort to prevent others from getting what they need and at the same time is building up a lot of trouble for himself. When he encounters the pure-food regulation requiring net weight to be stamped on packages, he will be obliged to provide himself with weighing apparatus and stamps and use them for each package—a considerable work to undertake. With a uniform standard package, weighing of each is unnecessary.

Eighth. Why should not the producer or farmer, be he large or small, expect to deal on the basis of standardized, uniform, and well-known measures, the same as everyone else?

Ninth. Enforcement of law becomes exceedingly difficult for officials and unsatisfactory to public when permissive standard is attempted.

Tenth. The distribution of common products of the field is universal. Thousands of carloads cross State lines daily. It is the food supply of the people. It must move smoothly, without interruption, without danger of hold up. Stop this traffic a day and distribution is seriously affected; stop it a week and there is suffering in the centers of population. It is the duty of Congress to facilitate this movement, instead of leaving its regulation, as to packages, to the legislatures of 48 States, which are obliged, because of the inactivity of Congress, to take separate action for their own protection. This State legislation lacks uniformity and is a serious hindrance to interstate trade, a hindrance which, as to barrel laws and regulations, is having an amazing annual growth and calls for immediate check. The time has arrived when a shipper can not comply with the barrel regulations of all States with any one package, try as hard as he may.

Mr. Speaker, in conclusion, inasmuch as both mandatory features and the provisions for a special barrel for cranberries are necessary and as a standard barrel for fruits and vegetables will benefit alike the farmers and fruit growers, the distributors, and last, but not least, the consumers, I ask the Members of the House to join together in the support of this splendid bill, upon which the distinguished Representative from New Jersey has given so much intelligent work. I sincerely trust that this meritorious bill may receive the hearty indorsement of the Members of this House.

Indian Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN H. STEPHENS,
OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, January 9, 1915,

On the bill (H. R. 20150) making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes, and for other purposes, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HARRISON] seeks to amend the item in this bill seeking to pay each member of the Choctaw Tribe $200. The item is as follows:

That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized to pay to the enrolled members of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Tribes of Indians of Oklahoma entitled under existing law to share in the funds of said tribes, or to their lawful heirs, out of any moneys belonging to said tribes in the United States Treasury or deposited in any bank or held by any official under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior, not to exceed $200 per capita in the case of the Choctaws and $100 per capita in the case of the Chickasaws, said payment to be made under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe: *Provided*, That in cases where such enrolled members, or their heirs, are Indians who by reason of their degree of Indian blood belong to the restricted class, the Secretary of the Interior may, in his discretion, withhold such payments and use the same for the benefit of such restricted Indians: *Provided further*, That the money paid to the enrolled members as provided herein shall be exempt from any lien for attorneys' fees or other debt contracted prior to the passage of this act.

The amendment offered by him at the end of the above provision, now in the bill, is as follows, namely:

Provided, however, That the provisions of the preceding paragraph of this act with respect to the Choctaw Tribes shall not be operative until Congress shall have determined the rights of the Mississippi Choctaws whose names do not apear upon the final rolls of the Choctaws in Oklahoma.

Mr. Speaker, if this amendment should be adopted by this House, it would cause much suffering among the Choctaw Indians now legally on the rolls in Oklahoma. It is well known that these Indians are mainly dependent on their cotton crops for money to live upon. The low price of cotton this year has left many of these Indians without anything for their support, and unless this Congress gives them this money many of them, including women and children, will suffer for the necessaries of life. I submit that this House should for this reason give these Indians the payment that the Department of the Interior has asked for, namely, $200 per capita. This is their money, and if they have to wait for their money until the Harrison bill passes both Houses of Congress and becomes a law they will never get their money from the United States Treasury. Mr. Speaker, the Secretary of the Interior opposes the passage of the Harrison bill in the following letter just received by me. It is as follows, namely:

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR ON THE HARRISON BILL (H. R. 12586).

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, January 8, 1915.

MY DEAR MR. STEPHENS: I have the honor to refer herein to a communication of August 12, 1914, from Hon. C. D. CARTER, then acting chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs of the House of Representatives, with which was inclosed a copy of H. R. 12586, entitled "A bill to reopen the rolls of the Choctaw-Chickasaw Tribe and to provide for the awarding of the rights secured to certain persons by the fourteenth article of the treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, of date September 27, 1830." He also referred to H. R. 4536 and requested that I consider the two bills together and make a report thereon.

Upon examination of H. R. 4536, I find that said bill is identical with H. R. 19213, introduced by Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi in the Sixty-second Congress, second session, upon which last-mentioned bill the department submitted to your committee a report dated July 2, 1912. H. R. 12586, introduced in the present Congress by Mr. HARRISON, is a similar bill to the above-mentioned bills except that in said H. R. 12586 an additional paragraph is included in section 2 to provide for the enrollment of all persons who were identified as Mississippi Choctaws by the Dawes Commission in its report of March 10, 1899, commonly known as the McKennon roll, and of all persons identified as Mississippi Choctaws by the Dawes Commission from March 10, 1899, to March 4, 1907, whose identification was approved by the Secretary of the Interior but whose names did not appear on the final citizenship rolls of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations.

The claims of Mississippi Choctaw Indians to recognition as citizens of the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma and to share in the property of said nation are based upon article 14 of the treaty of September 27, 1830. (7 Stat. L., 335.) Pursuant to the terms of the treaty, a large number of Choctaws were transferred from Mississippi to the country west, later known as Indian Territory. These Choctaws who so removed and their descendants now constitute the main body of what is known as the Choctaw Nation. There were, however, a considerable number of Choctaws who remained behind in Mississippi, some of them under the provisions of article 14 above mentioned.

Said article 14 provided that the persons who claimed thereunder should not lose the privilege of a Choctaw citizen, but if they ever removed were not to be entitled to any part of the Choctaw annuity. The Indians who remained behind under the provisions of said article 14 received either land in Mississippi or scrip, which gave the applicants the right to enter public lands in certain Southern States. A part of said scrip, however, was later commuted by a money payment. Some of the fourteenth-article claimants later made their way west and joined the main body of the tribe in the Indian Territory. The Choctaw Council by various acts recognized the right of said absentee Mississippi Choctaws to remove to the nation, and actually invited them to do so.

Under the provisions of the Atoka agreement with the Choctaw and Chickasaw Tribes contained in the act of Congress of June 28, 1898 (30 Stat. L., 495), the supplemental agreement contained in the act of July 1, 1902 (32 Stat. L., 641), and later acts of Congress for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of said agreements, the claims of individual Mississippi Choctaw Indians to be identified and to be enrolled as entitled to share in the property of the Choctaw Nation were fully considered by the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes and by the department after full hearing, at which the claimants had ample opportunity to present all the evidence which they could procure in support of their claims. Very few claimants were able to prove descent from an ancestor who received or applied for benefits under the provisions of article 14 of the treaty of 1830.

The history of the Dawes Commission enrollment work relative to Mississippi Choctaw claimants is very fully set out in a communication of April 14, 1914, from William O. Beall, at one time secretary of the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes. A copy thereof is inclosed for your information.

For your further information as to the history of the Mississippi Choctaw claims and of the department action in the preparation of the final rolls there is inclosed a copy of department letter of July

2, 1912, to the chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs of the House of Representatives.

Judge William H. H. Clayton, in his decision in the case of Jack Amos *v.* The Choctaw Nation, a copy of which may be found in the appendix of the annual report of the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1901, said that no treaty or acts of the Choctaw Council or of any officer of the Choctaw Council since the treaty of 1830 could be cited, or at least he had not found them, whereby any right or privilege had been conferred, granted, or recognized in or to a Mississippi Choctaw so long as he remained away from his people, and that no right was recognized or conferred upon such absent Indian except upon the condition that he should remove to the nation, and the right was not to be consummated or enjoyed until actual removal.

Mississippi Choctaw Indians who, while the opportunity was theirs under the privileges accorded them, refused to emigrate with the tribe to the new country west, and who never shared in the burdens and hardships of the pioneer life incident to the establishment of the new tribal government west of the Mississippi, have at this late date (now that the tribal property of the Choctaw Nation made valuable by the emigrants is being divided per capita among the enrolled recognized citizens of the nation) no equitable right to share in said property.

With respect to the persons who were identified by the Dawes Commission as Mississippi Choctaws under the provisions of the act of Congress of June 28, 1898 (30 Stat. L., 495), but who failed to remove and make settlement in the Choctaw-Chickasaw country, as required by the act of Congress of July 1, 1902 (32 Stat. L., 641, secs. 41, 42, 43, and 44), it may be said that, irrespective of their unfortunate condition of poverty and ignorance, there is no ground, legal or equitable, for holding the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations responsible for the failure of said identified persons to comply with the law as to removal and settlement. No obligation rested upon the United States to provide means for the removal of such Indians.

Referring to the class of claimants whose names were contained in an identification roll submitted by the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes on March 10, 1899, but never approved by the Secretary of the Interior, your attention is invited to the fact that the commission soon recognized the inaccuracy and incompleteness of that roll and requested the department to disregard it and to return the same to the commission. In order that there might be no doubt as to the standing of said roll, it was disapproved by the department on March 1, 1907. The larger part of the persons whose names were contained on that disapproved roll were afterwards placed on the approved identification rolls, and those who complied with the law as to removal and settlement were enrolled on the final rolls of Mississippi Choctaw Indians.

In the investigation and examination of Mississippi Choctaw claims made in 1900 and the years following by the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes every effort that was possible to be made was made by said commission to reach all persons who had any equitable claim to recognition as Mississippi Choctaws, and especially to find those who were full-blood Choctaw Indians.

H. R. 4536 and H. R. 12586 in effect provide, so far as the Mississippi Choctaw claimants are concerned, a general reopening of the rolls of the Choctaw Nation, necessitating a review of all the cases which had been adversely decided by the United States courts, the Department of the Interior, and the Choctaw and Chickasaw citizenship court, as well as the consideration of claims not heretofore presented or considered, and empower the Secretary of the Interior to determine the rights of the claimants upon such evidence as may be produced by the applicants, without regard to any adverse judgment or decision heretofore rendered by any court, or Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes, or the Department of the Interior, and without regard to any condition or disability heretofore imposed by any act of Congress.

The records of the department show that Mississippi Choctaw claimants have been to an unusual extent the victims of numerous extortionate contracts, and the correspondence in many cases indicates that contracts were obtained through misrepresentations as to the facts, and in some cases that such contracts were obtained from claimants who believed that the persons obtaining the contracts were Government agents. Your attention is invited to the report of Inspector McLaughlin, of this department, which report appears in print in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of July 10, 1914, commencing on page 13022.

Referring to section 9 of said bills I am of the opinion that, in view of the large amount of tribal property yet to be disposed of and of other matters affecting the tribes, it would be inadvisable to abolish the tribal organization of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations at the present time.

In view of the facts as presented to me I am of the opinion that no legislation should be enacted for the reopening of the rolls of the Choctaw Nation for the benefit of the Mississippi Choctaw claimants.

Very truly, yours,

FRANKLIN K. LANE,

Hon. JOHN H. STEPHENS,
Chairman Committee on Indian Affairs,
House of Representatives.

Mr. Speaker, this same bill of Mr. HARRISON'S, H. R. 12586, was by myself as chairman of the Indian Affairs Committee of this House submitted to a subcommittee of five members of that committee. That subcommittee made an adverse report on the bill to the full committee. This bill is now the pending business before our committee, and I submit that it would be highly improper for this House to pass upon this great question by adopting the Harrison amendment to this bill, which amendment, if adopted, would presuppose the action of that committee and decide upon the merits of the Harrison bill, H. R. 12586, above alluded to, and override the adverse report of Secretary Lane and of the subcommittee of the Indian Committee on the Harrison bill.

Mr. Speaker, that report is as follows:

REPORT ON H. R. 12586.

JANUARY 2, 1915.

Hon. JOHN H. STEPHENS,
Chairman Committee on Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C.

SIR: Your subcommittee appointed to investigate and report on H. R. 12586 begs leave to submit the following observations:

A careful and painstaking investigation of all treaties, laws, and other records bearing on this claim, including hearings lasting from April 1, 1914, until August 27, 1914, was gone into by your committee.

H. R. 12586 directs:

1. The Secretary of the Interior to enroll certain Mississippi Choctaws upon the rolls of the Choctaw Nation in Oklahoma with a full participation in their tribal estate.

2. To reopen the Choctaw rolls for the adjudication of 20,000 or more alleged claimants.

There are some Choctaws still remaining in Mississippi who have persistently refused and successfully resisted all efforts of the Federal Government and the Choctaw Nation to have them move West and affiliate with the tribe.

The testimony before the subcommittee discloses many thousands of persons of doubtful descent, African and other, living in Mississippi and surrounding States, who have attempted to assert claims as Choctaw Indians.

Such Indians of real Choctaw blood as still reside in Mississippi appear to take little interest in the claims asserted by their alleged attorneys. On the other hand, those claiming remote Indian blood and of doubtful descent have manifested much interest in being enrolled and sharing in a division of the Choctaw funds in Oklahoma.

The contention of these latter seems to have been inspired and augmented by certain attorneys who have sent agents among these people advising them that they were Indians and taking contracts for their enrollment for a contingent fee of from 30 to 40 per cent of recovery, and in many instances a small cash retainer in addition.

According to statements and admissions of these attorneys and their agents, two firms alone, those of Cantwell & Crews, of St. Louis, Mo., and Ballinger & Lee, of Washington City, D. C., and Ardmore, Okla., hold contracts with 15,596 individuals, carrying provisions for fees aggregating $10,882,815.

The testimony further shows that a syndicate for the purpose of securing the enrollment of Mississippi Choctaws and a participation in the tribal estate of the western Choctaws has been formed under the name "The Texas-Oklahoma Investment Co.," capitalized at $100,000, $25,000 of which has been paid in and used. The directors of this corporation are S. L. Hurlbut, of El Campo, Tex.; H. Masterson and W. A. Smith, of Houston, Tex.; and T. B. Crews and H. J. Cantwell, of St. Louis, Mo.

This claim of the Mississippi Choctaw attorneys for enrollment of their clients and participation in the Choctaw Nation's estate is by no means a new contention. The claim was, under direction of law, fully adjudicated by the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes (House Doc. 274, 55th Cong., 2d sess.) and afterwards by the Federal court, to which appeal was taken (Jack Amos et al. *v.* The Choctaw Nation, Decisions of United States Courts in Indian Territory, 465), both decisions being adverse to the Mississippi Choctaw contention for enrollment.

In rejecting the claim of nonresident Mississippi Choctaws the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes said, in part:

"This historical review of the acquisition of this territory by the Choctaw Nation and its subsequent legal relations to it makes it clear in the opinion of this commission that the Mississippi Choctaws are not under their treaties entitled to all rights of Choctaw citizenship, except an interest in the Choctaw annuities, and still continue their residence and citizenship in Mississippi." (House Doc. 274, 55th Cong., 2d sess.)

In affirming the decision the United States District Court for the Central District of Indian Territory closed its decision with the following paragraph:

"To permit men with, perchance, but a strain of Choctaw blood in their veins, who, 65 years ago, broke away from their kindred and their nation, and during that time, or the most of it, have been exercising the rights of citizenship and doing homage to the sovereignty of another nation, and have become strangers to the people, to reach forth their hands from their distant and alien homes and lay hold on a part of the public domain, the common property of the people, and appropriate to their own use, would be unjust and inequitable. It is therefore the opinion of the court that the absent Mississippi Choctaws are not entitled to be enrolled as citizens of the Choctaw Nation. The action of the Dawes Commission is therefore affirmed and a decree will be entered for the Choctaw Nation." (Jack Amos et al. *v.* The Choctaw Nation, Decisions of United States Courts in Indian Territory, 465.)

An appeal was taken from these decisions by the attorneys for the Mississippi Choctaws to the Supreme Court of the United States and the Jack Amos case was dismissed upon motion of the attorneys for the Mississippi Choctaws (190 U. S., 873).

Several years subsequent to the date of these decisions excluding the Mississippi Choctaws from enrollment this matter was again taken up and readjusted by the legally constituted authorities of the Federal Government and the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations in Oklahoma, by which agreement the Mississippi Choctaws were given additional time for identification and establishment of bona fide residence in the Choctaw Nation in Indian Territory. (Supplemental agreement, "An act to ratify and affirm the agreement with the Choctaw and Chickasaw Tribes of Indians, etc.," approved July 1, 1902.)

The Choctaw Nation in Oklahoma has dealt justly and liberally with the Mississippi Choctaws, always granting them full citizenship in their nation with all emoluments thereto whenever they would agree to affiliate with the tribe, and the Choctaw Nation in Oklahoma is under no legal, equitable, or moral obligation to enroll the Mississippi Choctaws as citizens of the tribe in the West at this time.

By the agreements negotiated between the Federal Government and the Choctaw Nation all native western Choctaws were required to be on the reservation by June 28, 1898, or stand debarred from enrollment and participation in the tribal estate forever thereafter, and this rule has been strictly adhered to.

The time for establishment of residence on the reservation was extended to the Mississippi Choctaw claimants until July 1, 1903, giving the Mississippi Choctaws five years to move on the reservation after the time for establishment of such residence had been closed to the native Choctaws.

After 11 years were consumed by the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes in making up the rolls of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, such rolls were affirmatively closed by action of Congress on March 4, 1907.

The rolls of the Choctaw Nation were held open to the Mississippi Choctaws from 1830 until March 4, 1907, giving the Mississippi Choctaws 77 years in which to complete enrollment, with full benefits of citizenship.

The Federal Government as such is neither legally nor equitably obligated to enroll Mississippi Choctaws with the Choctaws west, and is under only such moral obligation to the Mississippi Choctaws as is due to dependent North American Indians who were originally occupants and owners of the soil and who have been deprived of their patrimony by white settlers.

The passage of H. R. 12586 would completely upset and undo 11 years of careful, painstaking work of the Interior Department in settling the affairs of the Five Civilized Tribes, turn the wheels of progress backward for more than 20 years, and, as has been said by President Taft, "open up a Pandora's box of troubles which the life of the present generation might not see closed."

The passage of H. R. 12586 would doubtless result in stupendous claims of millions of dollars against the Federal Government on the part of the Oklahoma Choctaws because of a division of their funds among persons whom the Federal commissions and Federal courts have decided were not entitled thereto.

Its passage would lend encouragement to grafting attorneys with contracts for enormous attorneys' fees, running into millions of dollars, and hold out inducement for procuring additional contracts from spurious claimants.

Your subcommittee therefore recommends that the Harrison bill (H. R. 12586) be not favorably reported by the House Committee on Indian Affairs.

Respectfully submitted.

C. D. CARTER, *Chairman.*
J. D. POST.
ROBT. P. HILL.
P. P. CAMPBELL.

Mr. Speaker, this bill, in plain language, would direct the Secretary of the Interior to within nine months put on the rolls of the Oklahoma Choctaws all of the Mississippi Choctaws, and, in effect, this bill would do so without regard to any adverse judgment or decision of any court or commission or of the Department of the Interior or any act of Congress.

Mr. Speaker, in all of my legislative history I have never found a bill that proposes to set aside with impunity acts of Congress, judicial opinions, and the acts of the Department of the Interior. The only thing it does not set aside is the attorney's fees, but confirms them in the following language, namely:

Any contract now or hereafter made between any applicant—

For enrollment—

and attorney * * * shall govern the amount of such fee.

The subcommittee hearings show that this bill was drawn by a firm of attorneys whose contract fees run into the millions, and the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HARRISON] stands sponsor for this legislative monstrosity.

Mr. Speaker, this is the gentleman who, on the floor of this House during the debate on this bill, caused the following colloquy (see RECORD of January 8, 1913, page 1301):

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman has studied this matter and has been investigating it for a number of years, and I know that he has greatly benefited all of us by his arguments. The question I desire to ask is this: Whatever equities these Indians may have—those that have never moved to Oklahoma and still reside in Mississippi—must be against the United States Government for misleading them and not against the Choctaw Indians who are in Oklahoma and who have obeyed the Government in every respect, and who have had the lands patented to them and have had possession of them for 75 years.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Chairman, I could not quite agree with that statement of the gentleman from Texas.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Minnesota has again expired.

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman two minutes more. Mr. Chairman, I want to ask the gentleman a question. I notice that in 1910, on February 2, the gentleman who just asked that question used this language in offering an amendment to the Indian appropriation bill to take care of the Mississippi Choctaws. That was four years, practically, after the final rolls had been closed. Among the other language used by the gentleman from Texas, chairman of the committee, he said this:

"Mr. Chairman, there are yet 400,000 acres of land unallotted and funds unallotted still belonging to the Choctaw tribe, and before these funds are allotted, before this land has gone from the power and possession of the United States and into the hands of innocent purchasers, these Mississippi Choctaw Indians should be protected, and every one entitled to enrollment should be enrolled and receive their pro rata share of the tribal estate. If that is not done, they will be knocking at the doors of Congress for the next 50 years, stating that their claims were rejected when they were just. It is the duty of this Government to ascertain who its wards really are and to legally enroll them and set apart to them their property; and if we do not treat them thus justly and fairly, we will have committed a great moral wrong. This moral obligation rests upon us and can never be paid until justice is done to these Mississippi Choctaw Indians."

Mr. Speaker, this unfounded and misleading statement made by the gentleman from Mississippi does me a great injustice in this: He tried to make the false impression on the House that I was then advocating by my amendment the same thing that he is now by his amendment trying to accomplish.

Mr. Speaker, the two amendments are as wide apart as the poles. My amendment is found on page 2218, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 22, 1910, and is as follows, viz:

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment which I desire to offer—

And so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read—

And so forth.

Provided, That said commission—

Meaning the Dawes Commission—

shall be required to enroll all of the Mississippi Choctaw Indians who removed to the Indian Territory, now Oklahoma, prior to February 1, 1907, and made application for citizenship, where it appears by said application that the applicant or ancestor of the applicant has received patent of land under the fourteenth article of the treaty of 1830, or scrip in lieu thereof, if found entitled to enrollment.

Now, Mr. Speaker, this amendment was a direction to the commission to enroll only Indians who removed to Oklahoma prior to February 1, 1907, and made application for citizenship. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HARRISON] stated to the House, as I have before quoted, that—

I notice that in 1910, on February 2—

It should have been February 22—

the gentleman who just asked that question—

Meaning myself—

used this language in offering an amendment to the Indian appropriation bill to take care of the Mississippi Choctaws.

He then proceeds to read what I said about the Mississippi Choctaws in Oklahoma—and not in Mississippi—who had removed to Oklahoma and there applied for citizenship. I made no reference whatever in my resolution or speech thereon to the Mississippi Choctaws in Mississippi, and did not then, do not now, and never have, advocated the placing of the Mississippi Choctaws residing in Mississippi on the rolls, and the gentleman from Mississippi shall not make the false impression on the country that I have done so. To do so would be a great injustice, if not a crime, against helpless wards of the Government.

Pay of Rural Letter Carriers.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD W. AUSTIN,

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, December 30, 1914,

On the bill (H. R. 19906) making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, and for other purposes.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker, I desire to trespass upon the time of the House long enough to express my views on the provision of the pending bill directing that the pay of a rural carrier on a route of 24 miles shall be $1,200 per annum, or $100 per month. That is what we had in mind last year when we voted an increase of $100 per year, and little did we dream that any change in our plain intentions would be effected without our knowledge or consent. I am sure after full investigation and consideration we were all virtually of one mind, namely, that these efficient and worthy carriers deserved and were entitled to this increase in compensation.

I not only favored the increase, but was and am still of opinion an allowance should be granted to cover the cost and maintenance of the carrier's outfit. He should be treated in this matter of extra allowance like a mounted city carrier.

We have not only had to meet this plain disregard by the present administration of an act of Congress and an injustice to a deserving class of officials, but an attempt to have us change the method of paying for the Rural Mail Service by legislating out of office 43,534 rural letter carriers—have them practically lose outfits, stock, and so forth, to the value of $20,000,000—and substituting an unsatisfactory contract service. In this connection I wish to quote some official figures, which testify to the high standing of the men engaged in this service. It is a record that should command the admiration of every Member of Congress, as well as every American citizen. Listen to this: Last year, out of this great army of 43,534 men, representing every State and practically every county, only 375 were removed, and of this number 74 for intoxication and 38 for incompetency. I venture this excellent record can not be excelled by any 43,534 men in other occupations or callings in this or any other country. This showing makes the rural letter carriers' roll one of honor.

The vote cast against the special rule clearly demonstrated that the Members of this House, regardless of politics, were unwilling to do an injustice to the rural carriers, whose unselfish sacrifices, untiring efforts, and hard work have built up the Rural Mail Service, made it a Nation's pride, a blessing and a boom to the farmers, and aided in increasing the revenue of the Post Office Department until for the first time in years it shows a surplus.

The attempt to inflict an injustice of the kind mentioned upon the rural letter carriers was not only an unexpected shock to the Members of Congress, but has been condemned by the press of the country and the millions of farmers, who know and justly appreciate the splendid service rendered them by the carriers.

In the fight to maintain the justness of their cause no agency outside of Congress has rendered the carriers such valuable service as the Rural Free Delivery News of this ctiy. It has always been their active and faithful friend and champion.

This contract scheme was never proposed until it was clearly demonstrated that the new tariff law was a failure, not only in furnishing prosperity and employment to our people, but a decided failure by many millions of dollars in supplying sufficient money to meet the running expenses of the Government, even under an administration pledged to strict economy. Because this tariff law would not produce sufficient revenue it was deemed best, right, and patriotic to cut off fifteen or eighteen million dollars of the amount needed per annum for the Rural Delivery Service, turn out of office 43,534 honest, capable, and faithful carriers, and take from the deserving farmers, the mainstay, the backbone of this Republic, the blessing of an efficient, up-to-date mail service. If economy was required, if Government expenses needed reduction, why accomplish it at the expense of the honest and industrious farmers? If placing this service under contract in order to save money is the correct thing to do, then a greater amount could be saved by putting all Government work or officials under contract, from Cabinet officers and Members of Congress, all down the line. The administration did not think it extravagant to spend $37,000,000 for building railroads in far-away Alaska, or $40,000,000 to purchase second-hand ships for a so-called merchant marine. The people of this country are not going to permit any administration or political party to cripple or destroy the present high-standard rural mail system.

The people demand that this service be continued and extended, and they further demand substantial Government aid in the construction and maintenance of their public highways. The question of transportation from the farm to the markets, rural credit, the making of country life more comfortable and attractive are uppermost in their thoughts, and they expect their Representatives in Congress to find an early way and method of bringing about these desirable results.

If we neglect, fail, or refuse to heed their demands, which are just and reasonable, they will soon find others who will write upon the statute books their decrees.

Post Office Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. CULLOP,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, December 30, 1914,

On the bill (H. R. 19906) making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, and for other purposes.

Mr. CULLOP. Mr. Speaker, the bill under consideration, making appropriations for the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, carries the enormous amount of more than $320,000,000. This is the largest sum ever appropriated for this department for any one year in its entire history. This department is self-sustaining, and therefore pays its own way. The department comes in direct contact with the people, and serves them as no other department of the Government. It renders service to more people than any other, and for this reason its efficiency and expense should be carefully looked after in order that it shall meet every requirement demanded by the people.

Each year it is the policy of the Government to extend its usefulness to the public and make it, if possible, of greater service and reduce the expense to the public. Only recently its service to the people has been extended very much for their benefit by adding the Parcel Post Service, which has reduced the cost of transportation on small packages, bringing the producer and consumer closer together, affording markets for products heretofore wasted and extending the opportunities for merchants and their customers. This has proven a great boon to the people, and will be of much greater benefit as the system is developed, carrying larger packages and reducing the cost of the service. The people are beginning to realize the value of it, and as they become better acquainted with it they will utilize more extensively the splendid opportunities it affords.

The Post Office Department employs and requires more people to operate it than any other department of this great Government, and its employees come in direct contact daily with more people all over the country than any other. Its opportunity to be potential among the people, to direct thought, and mold public opinion is greater than any other department. Its thousands of city and rural carriers and postmasters are in constant touch with the people, and both have and exercise the opportunity to manufacture public sentiment. They would differ from other people if they did not exercise this opportunity. They constitute a formidable army, penetrating every neighborhood in this great country, couriers of the news from house to house, arousing interest which manifests itself through public channels and frequently decides the fate of questions of great public concern.

I know that some hold that the men thus employed do not exercise this opportunity, but all who maintain this position indulge in a theoretical view which is an idle dream and one that will never be realized. This is a Government of parties, and well it is for the welfare of the people who support it. Parties are essential to its good administration. Contending parties for power serve as checks and balances for good administration, for economical expenditures, and for wise, progressive, and constructive legislation. Changes are made from one party to another for the purpose of improving the administration of public affairs, securing economy, improving the public weal, and the adoption of wise, progressive, and constructive legislation.

Bipartisan cooperation has always proven futile to secure the proper safeguards essential to wise, frugal, and progressive administration. It is destructive of the principle upon which our Government was founded, a Government of parties, one to guard the work of the other, to criticize, so that the people may investigate and understand the purpose of every public act. Bipartisan administration fails to produce this result and therefore falls short of this beneficial purpose.

Partisanship is defensible if properly exercised, as it is a proper means for the protection of the rights of the citizen and an assurance to him of a better administration of his Government.

The right to select public officials should not be abridged, but should be extended as public requirements are enlarged. The tendency of late to abridge this privilege is the result of the growth of centralization of power, which sooner or later will prove injurious to the welfare of the citizen and result in the administration of public affairs inimical to the best interests of the people who must bear its burdens and execute its laws. The sooner this power is decentralized—the sooner the rights of the people thus taken away are surrendered back to them—the better it will be for the future of this Republic.

For years the tendency to centralization of power has been growing with alarming rapidity. It augurs no good for the public. It is taking the people's Government away from them, and the farther it is taken away the less interest they will have in it and the less fealty for it. A cardinal principle upon which this Government was founded was the closer the relation between the Government and the people the more the people would be interested and the more enduring and substantial the Government would be, the greater its benefits to the people. We are drifting gradually but certainly away from this cardinal principle, one of the best in our faith.

No more striking example of this is to be found than in this great department. In 1910 President Taft, by a blanket Executive order, placed all assistant postmasters under the classified service. Thus with one stroke of the pen thousands of men who held office for a fixed term of four years without examination to determine their qualifications—and many of whom could not have passed—had their tenure of office fixed for life. Again, in October, 1912, this same President, by Executive order, placed fourth-class postmasters, without regard to qualifications, under the classified service, again changing the fixed tenure of office of thousands of officials into a life tenure. Both of these were rewards for political services. This last order was so obnoxious to the public sense of propriety that President Wilson modified it by throwing all these offices open to competitive examination. Here were examples of the abuse of Executive authority in rewarding "political heelers" for political assistance. A more glaring example of "machine methods" search would be made in vain to find.

Would any man attempt to defend or even justify this bold effort other than for party expediency? This transferred the selection of more than 50,000 public officials entirely away from the people, beyond any voice of theirs, to a commission here in Washington City. Is this method employed for the selection of officials calculated to increase the interest of the people in their Government? Is it fair to say to the people. "You can pay the official, must accept his service, but shall have no voice in his selection"? Does anyone flatter himself with the belief that this will bring the Government closer to the people and carry out the hope of its founders?

Are not the people qualified to select the officials who are to serve them? Has the spirit of Jefferson forever vanished, no longer a living hope of the endurance of the great Republic? Has the doctrine of Alexander Hamilton taken root and supplanted that of the immortal Jefferson? Can it be that the people are degenerating from the high plane of liberty established by Jefferson and zealously guarded for over a century by freemen who accepted his doctrine as the established faith for the perpetuity of this Republic, after a century of trial forming the most glorious achievements ever penned by the historian in recording the march of the nations of the world? The century which has elapsed since he set in motion the splendid achievements of this great Republic, which bear the impress of his wisdom more than that of any other man who participated in its founding or in its administration since it was founded has not been in vain, but the patriotic sentiment has grown in strength, increased in wisdom, and further inspired with patriotism, and the people now are better qualified for self-government and abundantly more able to select their own officials and regulate their own domestic concerns.

The centralization of power thus assumed will soon call down upon it the condemnation of the people who constitute this Republic and believe in the wholesome principles of self-government, and decentralize the arbitrary power which has been attempting to fix a life tenure of officials on the people of this country. That it is inimical to their best interest is rapidly becoming apparent to them as well as obnoxious to a good administration of public affairs. The people stand as a unit for good public service, and if left to them to select their officials for a fixed tenure, they will have good service, a vast improvement over what they now have. It is not true that the people who oppose the present system of selecting their officials are "spoilsmen," and if those who uphold the system have no better argument to sustain it than to denounce those who oppose it as "spoilsmen" their defense is hopeless, and must yield to public censure.

Is there any good reason to be offered why the people should not elect their postmasters as they do other public officials for a fixed period, let them appoint their subordinates and hold them responsible for the administration of the offices, and then if it is satisfactory they can be reelected, and if not satisfactory some one else can be selected for the place? Would not this be bringing the Government closer to the people, requiring them to have more interest in it and soliciting a closer scrutiny by them of public affairs? Are they not qualified as electors to perform this function as committed to them? Why not? They are empowered now with the franchise to elect many officials for most important positions, and certainly if qualified to elect the officials who fill these positions they are equally as well qualified to name the persons who are to fill them. To clothe them with this power would deepen their interest in the affairs of the Government.

It is not alone sufficient to extend to the people the right to elect their postmasters, but it should go much further and invest them with the power to elect other Federal officials now appointed by the President, and this would bring about a much better administration in these offices and assure a much more satisfactory service. If this plan was adopted, it would reduce the operating expenses of this Government at least $25,000,000 per year and furnish a more efficient and satisfactory administration of public affairs as well as elevate the standard of public service. The right to reelect and continue such officials as the patrons desired should be preserved, and hence the objection that frequent changes would demoralize the service would be obviated.

Elections for this purpose could be held at the same time as the quadrennial national elections, and hence would entail no additional cost to the people. Having it at that time would insure a full vote, and thereby secure the expression of the patrons of the office.

The method now employed is most unsatisfactory to the people, as it deprives them of the right and opportunity to select their own officials and secure a high and faithful standard of service. In a government like ours the people do not take kindly to the selection of their local Federal official by a commission who are not in touch with local conditions, the likes and dislikes of the patrons of the office; they believe, and correctly so, that they know better than any commission of strangers who should be selected for these public positions. They pay for the service, use it, and public justice requires they should name the officials. The system now employed is indefensible, and people resent it as an encroachment upon their personal privilege, the usurpation of a function which they should be permitted to perform. This resentment is yearly growing stronger and will continue to do so until the method is changed. It is a menace now to the administration of public affairs; its strength in directing the course of public business must not be overlooked or its influence minimized. We have in the classified service of the Government, outside of the Army and Navy, about 400,000 public officials whose combined salaries annually amount to approximately $480,000,000, too much power and too valuable a patronage to be committed to any three men serving as a commission in the city of Washington or elsewhere. This great army of officials permeate every part of the country, exerting influence in the selection of candidates for office, in the elections, molding public opinion, and directing legislation. Instead of the people's servants, they are attempting to become their masters. These are in office for life. The same commission which secures their appointment passes upon their qualifications, can prevent their removal and continue them in office. These men are loath to see undone the work they have done; they passed upon their qualifications; they object to having their judgment set aside, their verdict reversed. They have declared their competency and resent any attempt to establish their incompetency.

The system is hostile to the principles of our Government, because the people have nothing to say in the selection of such officials. Consider what this system is bringing upon the people. Already bills are pending in Congress for the enactment of an old officers' pension law, and behind it is this vast army of Federal officials pressing the passage of such a law. Some have proposed these officials shall be retired after 30 years' service, or at the age of 65 years, on three-fourths pay. What a burden that would impose on the taxpayers of this country, a burden from which they never could escape. Once fastened it would remain as long as the present form of government exists. Under such a law it would be possible for an additional expense of $360,000,000 per year to be imposed to pay these pensions. Add this to the already enormous expense of this Government and the taxpayer would have occasion to groan, to appeal for relief. But once enacted, he would appeal in vain. This vast army of public officials is rapidly growing in number, and as it grows the expense will correspondingly increase. As its numbers increase its power in directing public affairs multiplies and soon, if not now, it will be able to shape the destinies of the Republic. This class already is attempting to dictate the policies of the Government, but as it grows stronger it will wield greater influence in shaping the legislation of the country. Their official tenure is for life, and they are independent of public opinion and public requirements. If elected by the people for a given period, they would be more responsive to public wants; and then, if the people desired, they could be reelected as often as their constituents deemed best. In such event they would realize the people were their masters, and they would regard their power as supreme. This would promote good service and a higher order of efficiency in the administration of public offices. In fact, this would enable the people to rule in public affairs. It is idle to talk about the people ruling when they are denied the right to select their public officials. This would strike down the great official "bureaucracy" which for the last 16 years of Republican rule constituted the greatest political machine ever constructed operating under the name of "Civil Service Commission." Every person who watched its administration during that period knows what a farce it was, how ingeniously it was manipulated to secure official positions for partisans as political rewards.

To demonstrate this proposition it is only necessary to call attention to the fact that practically all of the offices filled under it during that period were from one political party. "No others need apply" was apparently the word passed along the line, and no others were admitted in official circles as a rule. Does anyone flatter himself in the belief that such a system will long be tolerated by the people of this country? If any such be found, they should banish the belief at once and forever. The people as a rule love fair play and are determined to have it. They are entitled to have it as much in the selection of their officials as in other public matters.

The sentiment for the election of all public officials is rapidly growing in favor with the people, and it will continue to grow until they secure the cherished privilege—a reasonable one—emphasizing their right to rule by having a potent voice in the selection of those who administer public affairs. In demanding this right they are only contending for the continuance of that great principle which prevailed in the founding of this the greatest of all Republics, emphasizing the sentiment which stirred the patriotism of the men who endured the hardships incident to the formation of this great Government upon the hope that the rights of the citizen should be inviolable and that equal opportunity should be the common heritage of all.

Inland Waterways—National Defense.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, January 9, 1915.

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, at the recent convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, Mr. Theodore Justice, of Philadelphia, who has traveled extensively over Europe and whose study of inland waterways in England, Germany, France, and other countries entitles his views to careful consideration, made an address which, in view of the public discussion of our national defenses, is appended to these remarks, under leave granted to extend.

Since Members of Congress themselves have generally abstained from discussing the European war upon the floor of the House, I have taken the liberty of eliminating from the address of Mr. Justice a few paragraphs relating to war conditions that would otherwise have been entirely appropriate.

Mr. Justice's address was as follows:

WATERWAYS FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE.

[Address of Theodore Justice, of Philadelphia, at the National Rivers and Harbor Congress, December 11, 1914.]

"The United States Navy possesses 134 armed vessels, consisting of 21 torpedo boats, 62 destroyers, 20 revenue cutters, and 31 gunboats, all of which, with drawbridges, could pass through the locks of the new Erie Barge Canal, but since these bridges are fixed none of them can now go through. On the other hand, similar craft in the hands of Germany or any other enemy could enter our Great Lakes via the canals of Canada.

"The Middle West has never realized that all of the lake cities of the Middle West could easily be destroyed or held for a ransom equal to the whole cost of our Civil War by an enemy approaching through the Canadian canals, while the United States, owing to the need of dredging a few feet out of the Hudson River and of converting the 198 fixed low bridges over the Erie Barge Canal into drawbridges, is now totally unable to defend the lake cities of the Middle West against possible destruction from a fleet that may reach the Great Lakes via the Canadian Canals.

GUARANTEE AGAINST INVASION.

"We do not require the huge armament of Europe. We have in the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans allies which outweigh thousands of guns and hundreds of thousands of men. We do need, however, to supplement these natural defenses by a military and naval establishment that will guarantee our shores from invasion. This may be supplied in part by an intercoastal belt line of waterways.

NO NATION WAR PROOF.

"Europe will have been consumed in vain, so far as we are concerned, if we do not realize from the terrible conflict now going on that only by being prepared to defend ourselves can we ever be assured of lasting independence and security. Yet every attempt to provide against the ravages of war when it is brought, as any day it may be, to our shores is howled down by those in whose hands we have placed the keeping of the Nation, and the loudest by those highest in office.

"The man who sits on his roof while the property of his neighbors is going up in flames and the burning embers are falling all about him is a subject for pity rather than admiration.

"But the hour of universal peace has not yet struck. The lesson of these recent months is that war lurks in the dark corners of the world.

HISTORY BELIES PROPHECY.

"Two generations and more have passed since Victor Hugo presented to the International Peace Congress of 1849 his conception of a United States of Europe and prophesied its early consummation, yet what a caricature has history made of these prophecies. While our voice should never be raised except in tones of peace, we can not until those who surround us have struck the same note afford to ground our arms and turn our cannon into plowshares.

"The experience of the present European war will revolutionize naval warfare. High explosives utilized by submarines or torpedo boats may send the dreadnaught to the scrap heap. Small craft that can not carry sufficient supplies to remain long at sea may constitute the most effective portion of the navies of the future. For this reason the development of inland waterways becomes of the greatest importance as a means for national defense.

AMERICAN INLAND WATERWAY PLAN.

"By connecting Massachusetts Bay by canal through the Taunton River with Narragansett Bay, Narragansett Bay by canal inside of Point Judith with Long Island Sound, Newark Bay by canal with Delaware Bay, Delaware Bay with the Chesapeake Bay, and the Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds by canal with the Gulf, by connecting Lake Erie through a canal to the Ohio River, or Lake Michigan by canal to the Mississippi, and thence by both routes through the latter river to the Gulf, we may, in the next generation, develop the most complete and effective method for inland defense ever possessed by any country in the world. Many forms of naval craft that can not voyage around the world would be eminently practicable for national defense through such of our inland waterways as are connected with our great seaports.

PREPAREDNESS MEANS PEACE.

"It is being widely said by a certain class of thinkers that 'there is no surer way of provoking war than by being prepared for it.' And they point to the great war now being waged in proof of this assertion.

"Much as we deplore war, much as we desire peace, much as we may earnestly work and pray for peace, based upon the experience of the past, there is no ground whatever to justify us in looking confidently for universal peace in the future.

"Kipling says: 'There are no ten commandments east of Suez.' What we may expect from the Orient is shown in what Germany has experienced in China. Does not this warn us, when treaties are regarded as mere scraps of paper, to be prepared for defense not only against the Far East but the West as well?

* * * * * * *

"There is nothing to provoke war in the United States arming for defense. Indeed, the surest way of preserving peace for the United States is to be adequately prepared. And there is no such easy and peaceful way of securing that strength as by making full use of the inland waterways for purposes of defense.

CHANNELS FOR SMALL BOATS.

"It is manifest that inland waterways in no way lend themselves to aggression upon distant nations, but, on the other hand, are purely for self-defense. Moreover, defensive waterways lessen the likelihood of aggression, inasmuch as they lessen the need of numbers of warships.

"A large part of the coastwise commerce may pass through inland waterways. Therefore such vessels of commerce as do not require to pass along the coast outside may dispense with naval convoy in time of war, and fewer warships of the aggressive battle class are required in proportion as inland waterways are developed and become the ideal channels for submarines and destroyers which may freely pass from one port to another, issuing forth when required for defense. Amply protected by coast fortifications and inland waterways, and with a sufficient number of submarines and destroyers, the United States, secure in herself, depending upon the outside world practically only for luxuries, and sufficient to herself for all the necessities of life, may bid defiance to the world.

DUE TO SINKING OF "MAINE."

"How many of us realize that, but for the incident of the sinking of the battleship *Maine*, the Panama Canal to-day would not have been begun.

"When we were suddenly facing war we found our fleet divided, part of it being in the Pacific Ocean. Each division then was liable to the hazard of being defeated in detail.

"The long, hazardous trip of the *Oregon* around the southern end of the South American continent was a matter of intense daily anxiety to the whole Nation, and aroused the sense of the need of the Panama Canal as a matter of importance in national defense.

"The Nation was thus aroused to the necessity of extending our coast line so that instead of having two small fleets we could, in case of need, unite both sections in one mighty fleet in either ocean."

* * * * * *

THE DEFENSE OF LARGE CITIES.

Referring to the possibility of trouble at Panama and the consequent mobilization of our fleet at that point, Mr. Justice continued:

"Then our greatest cities of New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and the Capital at Washington may be at the mercy of united European fleets—a danger that may be averted if the links that now connect New York Bay with the Delaware and Chesapeake are deepened to torpedo-fleet requirements, which

will be safe from attack from battleships, but so protected by our coast line as to have all the advantages of a short inside line or segment of a circle for retreat, and from which offensive warfare may also be made.

"The broad, national value of such an expansion of our waterways will be of far more value to the people of the United States than even that of the Panama Canal, conceding, as I do, quite as much for the national value of the latter as its most sanguine advocate.

CONNECTING THE LINKS.

"Immediate expansion of the short connecting links, that lack only 15 per cent to unite the 85 per cent of deep water already provided by nature, is the most imperative call upon Congress at this moment.

"Therefore I submit the question as to whether it is not incumbent upon the United States to immediately prepare, in advance of all other projects, this greatest of them all—ample facilities for national defense.

"Will any broad-minded and patriotic citizen of the United States not concede that matters for national defense should have precedence at all times over the many other meritorious projects that have been proposed? All of the latter contain great commercial value to the Nation, and I hope that within the course of reasonable time all of them will be developed. But, in the interest of the whole Nation, the greatest project of them all is the immediate preparation for national defense contained within the plans of the Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association extending all the way from Maine to Florida."

Franchise for Women.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. A. FALCONER,

OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 12, 1915.

Mr. FALCONER. Mr. Speaker, the significance of the issues involved in the votes for women movement is pretty generally understood by the people of this country. Knowledge of the issues involved may or may not lead to the support of the movement. Every question having to do with the economic and moral status of all our people has its opponents as well as proponents. Opinions differ very generally because of the different viewpoints or interests of the individual.

The Congress of the United States, evidently through no desire of its own, is called upon to vote on a constitutional amendment extending to the women of our country the voting privilege on an equality with men. The American woman desires to possess power to exercise her voice in effecting changes in social and industrial conditions essential to higher standards of life.

Mr. Speaker, is this an extraordinary desire, asking for the voting privilege, and to that end demanding that the Congress through this resolution grant to the people of the several States of this Union, through their respective legislatures, the opportunity to register their will on a constitutional question involving their individual and united welfare?

To anyone who has become convinced that this movement found its origin in and is being continuously sustained by the vision of higher standards of living and the desire for a nobler race, the right and the wisdom of affirmative action here in the Congress is a settled conviction.

Why this national and, indeed, sir, world-wide movement? Is there a cause, and, if a cause, does any sane man think it is a passing whim, to be voted down here and thus have an end? Let us see. Foreign countries have been confronted with the question and were early impressed with its justice. Norway, Finland, Iceland, New Zealand, and Australia disposed of the question in the affirmative.

In May, 1914, 22 of the leading countries of the world represented by over 4,000 women met in the seventh quinquennial congress on the International Council of Women in Rome and presented their right to suffrage.

A characteristic of this meeting was the able discussions on economic lines embracing the social, industrial, and political welfare of the peoples of the earth. Comprehensive in scope and sound in reason, this movement is on, and the demand ever increasing. The action of this Congress is a mere incident in a contest that can not fail. Funny stories, the swinging of arms, and great volume of voice attending the arguments of the opposition shall be of no avail in the final analysis. The desired vote will come to the American women and for the sufficient and persistent reasons that there are 9,000,000 wage-earning women in the United States; there are 1,750,000 children working in the mines, factories, and mills in the United States; there are 30,000 women over 65 years of age earning their own livelihood in the United States; there are women working in all trades and professions in our industrial United States; there are 390,000 women out of 490,000 teachers in the schools and colleges of the United States; there are over 1,000 suffrage associations in the United States; there are millions of people outside of these associations who have indorsed the movement; in practically one-half of the territory of the United States suffrage now exists. One-fourth of the States, including Washington, Oregon, California, Idaho, Nevada, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Arizona, Kansas, Montana, Illinois (partially), and Alaska have granted suffrage.

Yes; it will come, because it is right, and the individual who opposes it will be as ineffective as the "fly on the ox's horn," or—with apologies to my friend from Kentucky [Mr. THOMAS]—will draw about as much water as a "tomtit tetering on a pump handle"—and the world will laugh.

One of the surprising features of this question is the assumed or real earnestness with which opposition attacks the suggestion of woman suffrage. Mr. Speaker, picture the spectacle of a real live man—a Member of Congress, for instance—quitting all consideration of constructive legislation to combat giving women the franchise. Why any opposition? Is there a man in America who thinks that a woman's vote might lower the standard of American citizenship? Does any normally minded individual, man or woman, venture the suggestion that substantial economic questions involving the welfare of men, women, and children might be less favorably settled by a woman's vote? But the suggestion is made that some women do not want to vote and should not be required to exercise the privilege simply because other women desire it. This objection is met by reminding these overly sensitive souls that those who do not want honors thrust upon them may join the "stay-at-homes" on election day; they will not want for company, for facts produced prove that 40 per cent of the men eligible to vote are "stay-at-homes."

There are men whose phlegmatic brains have never been aroused to an appreciation of the privilege and the rich heritage of casting a ballot having to do with the welfare of this great country. There are men so dead to the possibilities of the ballot in refining and enriching American life, who, "staying at home" on election day, have become so obtuse and dense in matters public that the State, having never benefited by their life, shall miss them very little when they have "passed on" and the worms have perforated their pelt. With such as these, other would-be "stay-at-homes" may join in harmless inactivity. What kind of man is he who does not care to vote? He is the self-satisfied individual who, centered and absorbed in himself, thinks he knows that the world goes well with him, and little he cares about conditions involving his less-favored neighbor. He does not know or, if he knows, he does not care about the struggles and vicissitudes of millions in the thickly populated centers where anarchist and outlaw are bred—bred from a poisoning and festering cause which his vote might help eradicate.

Mr. Speaker, the citizen who fails to vote is not worth while. He is a blank in the governmental fabric-building of our country.

The strong, active citizen, the man who has interested himself in the welfare of his people and his country always votes. He knows, and is a man worth while.

Thousands are engaged in social settlement work shaping the lives of the homeless youth of our land, combating evil, poverty, and distress, and without exception they stand and to-day are appealing to this Congress for the opportunity to register their vote.

Recall, if you will, women who have adorned American history, standing out in American life as earnest workers for the uplift of our people and you will find them recorded favorable to all the voting privileges.

One of the richest features of our national heritage is that of such women.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, born just one century ago, as a young woman with brilliant intellect she was denied the right to enter any college or higher institution of learning because it was unbecoming that women should hope to hold a class or educational record with men. Barred from our public institutions she took to her father's law office and equipped herself for life's battle. In a convention at Seneca Falls, N. Y., in

1848, she lighted the slumbering fires of women's rights, and until 1902 she blessed our country with a life rich in service.

Lucy Stone (Blackwell), editor of the Boston Women's Journal, exponent of temperance and freedom, was the founder of the National Association of Woman Suffrage.

Mary A. Livermore, a woman of grace and refinement, international lecturer, authoress, urged votes for women.

Lucretia C. Mott, the sweet Quakeress of old New England, lecturer, advocated woman suffrage.

Julia Ward Howe, author of the Battle Hymn of the Republic and founder of the New England Woman's Club, supported woman suffrage.

And, Mr. Speaker, another American woman, whose name is held in highest honor, known as the strongest exponent of temperance and righteous living, and loved because of her useful life, Frances E. Willard, during the last year of her life said that fundamentally woman suffrage was a most important question and should be granted. Frances E. Willard, born in New York State, carrying her useful life into Wisconsin, and from there finally settling in Illinois, where as president of a woman's college, at Evanston, she spent the energies of her life in character building.

Under the great white dome of this Capitol Building, leading to this Chamber, is Statuary Hall, where the several States have done in lasting marble and bronze their favorite sons, there stands a statue of the uncrowned queen of America. The citizenship of the great State of Illinois has honored our country by erecting this statue to the memory of Frances E. Willard, and on the pedestal upon which this statue stands are engraven the words:

Oh, it is women who have given the costliest hostages to fortune.
Out of the battle of life they have sent their best beloved with fearful odds against them.
Oh, by the dangers they have dared, by the hours of patient watching over beds where helpless children lay—
By the incense of ten thousand prayers wafted from their gentle lips to heaven—
I charge you give them power to protect along life's treacherous highway those whom they have so loved.

Who can answer this woman's prayer with a thought of indifference?

A man who thinks and acts the true American will not spend his time and energy opposing so just a cause.

Congressional Report, Third Oregon District.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. W. LAFFERTY,

OF OREGON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 12, 1915,

On the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 1) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Mr. LAFFERTY. Mr. Speaker, it is my belief that every Congressman and Senator should make a regular report to his constituents at least once a year, giving in detail what he is doing and what he is trying to do in their behalf. I hope the time will soon come when each Representative and each Senator will pursue this course. As it is now, the people only hear so much of what is going on as the newspapers want them to hear. In this way the newspapers control the trend of public thought. The special interests control the newspapers. Therefore the special interests control the public. If it is found that some Representative or Senator has proposed something that will benefit the common people, but which would reduce the profits of the special interests, the policy is for the newspapers to either ignore it or to misrepresent and distort it to such an extent as to bring it into disrepute.

There are as many newspaper correspondents in Washington as there are Representatives and Senators. In other words, there is at least one newspaper correspondent for each Representative and Senator. It may be interesting to the public generally to know how these newspaper correspondents are used by their employers to influence and coerce the Representatives and Senators into following such a course of action as is desired.

There is scarcely a Representative or Senator that is not called on each day by the correspondents of the big daily newspapers, unless he has let them know that he will not be controlled by them. In some instances a correspondent is kept here solely to report the doings of one Congressman, and in such cases the correspondent practically makes the office of the Congressman his headquarters. The paper at home, in no uncertain way, soon lets the Congressman know its "policies." Whenever the Congressman makes a speech that fits in with these "policies," he gets a good write up. When he offers a bill in line with these "policies" he is likewise favorably mentioned. But if he gets out of line and runs counter to the "policies" of "the press," he thenceforward gets it in the neck. By this process Congressmen soon learn how to get favorable publicity and how not to get it. The poor Congressman, well knowing that the great majority of his constituents never know him in reality, but only know him as he is pictured to them in his home papers, generally yields to this insidious coercion, and quits trying to do anything except what meets with the approbation of those interest-controlled papers.

I was first elected in 1910, when my district included all of eastern Oregon as well as Hood River, Multnomah, Columbia, and Clatsop Counties. In 1912 I was reelected, although the district had been cut down to one county, Multnomah. The city of Portland makes up the greater part of Multnomah County, and the four daily newspapers of that great city wield a powerful influence on public opinion in the district. Men may say they are not influenced by the newspapers, but all students of the subject agree that when certain facts are dinned into the public ear day after day for a few years, to the utter exclusion of other facts probably of greater importance, the public will forget the more important facts for those that are made the subject of continual publicity. The result of this process is what we call "The power of the press."

Yet the public must educate itself out from under this control or else it will continue subject to the domination of the press, and, as stated, the press is controlled by the special interests.

In this report I propose to give some facts which will be eye openers, and I challenge any Member of this House to call me to account if I misstate any fact, and I challenge any newspaper to call me to account if I misstate any fact.

Public sentiment is a sort of composite thing, and when it once sets it requires time to change it. Looking backward, I can very well see that I was not defeated in 1914 for renomination by any sudden change of sentiment, but I can now see that my defeat in 1914 was due to the bitter fight made on me by the press in 1912 and continued to 1914. I knew that I could not be defeated in 1912 and made no special effort to answer many of the villainous charges that were made by the newspapers that year. But I have found since, to my sorrow, that they sunk into the public mind, and that the slanders of that year militated against me in 1914 and were responsible for my defeat in the primary.

On the other hand, while the time was too short for me to change that public sentiment in time to be reelected as an independent in the fall of 1914, still the fight I made as such independent candidate completely refuted the previous slanderous newspaper campaign that had been waged against me, and when time is given for the public to fully weigh the facts and arguments that I produced during my independent campaign the verdict will again be in my favor. You can not change public sentiment in a day any more than you can sow wheat to-day and reap the harvest to-morrow. But the fight which I made as an independent last fall, and which was fully justified—which was, in fact, demanded by the slanderous campaign that had been made against me—will bear its fruit in due season. I fully retrieved my lost political fortunes in that campaign, and I came out of it with the respect of my enemies. I received nearly 17,000 votes without a party and without a paper, something never before accomplished by any independent candidate in Oregon. I gave up my last dollar, my last ounce of available energy, and almost my health in that fight; but it was either that or disgrace by acquiescence, which would have been worse than death. I am glad I made the fight.

But now for the facts which I am to give the public in this report:

First, the Portland Oregonian is receiving yearly from the Post Office Department a mail subsidy of $69,950.31, and that arrogant paper refused to allow me to tell the voters that fact by a paid advertisement during the late campaign. The Journal is receiving a subsidy of $60,491.69, and Jackson, publisher of that hypocritical sheet, likewise refused me the privilege of telling this fact to the voters through a paid advertisement.

The letter of the Post Office Department to me, dated September 24, 1914, says that it costs an average of 8 cents a pound to transmit, handle, and deliver newspapers and magazines, according to the report of the Commission on Second-Class Mail Matter; and the further letter of the department to me, dated September 29, 1914, states that for the year ending June 30, 1914, the Oregonian sent through the mails at the

1-cent-a-pound rate 956,433 pounds, and that the Journal sent 864,167, and that the Saturday Evening Post sent 37,013,634 pounds. Multiplying the number of pounds sent by the net loss to the Government, 7 cents a pound, you will see that during the past year we gave to the Oregonian and the Journal free mail service amounting to over $125,000, which is far in excess of the pay of the entire Oregon delegation in Congress per year, and that we donated to the Saturday Evening Post $2,590,954.38, which is more than the annual appropriation for rivers and harbors in Oregon.

Yet all three of these papers claim that every honest and fearless Congressman who advocates Government ownership in place of Government subsidy to privately owned enterprises is a Socialist, and that he wants the public to give the poor people something for nothing. They are just simply plain liars, and they know it. The plain poor people do not want the public to give them anything; nor do they want any person or corporation to sell them anything for less than it is worth; nor do they believe in confiscating anybody's property; but they do want common honesty in public affairs, and that is what they are going to have.

The idea of the insolent owners of the Oregonian and the Journal saying that the poor people "merely want those who have something to divide up." That contention on their part is the height of impudence. But what the Oregonian and the Journal want is for the poor people of Portland, who have little, to give to those two papers over $125,000 a year in mail subsidy, and that is exactly what the poor people of Portland are doing. If the Oregonian or the Journal will disprove the figures I here give, I will agree to leave the State, never to return.

The second-class mail graft now amounts to $75,000,000 a year, according to the Post Office Department's letter to me, dated September 29, 1914. In other words, the department advises me by that letter that it costs us $85,000,000 a year to transmit, handle, and deliver the second-class mail matter—newspapers and magazines—and that they pay for the service only $10,000,000, leaving a deficit each year on second-class matter of $75,000,000. The poor people make up that deficit when they buy stamps. Every time a poor widow buys a 2-cent stamp she gives 1 cent to the big, arrogant, bullying newspapers. And these newspapers are not serving the public, but they are the tools of the special interests. They refuse to expose their own graft, and they likewise refuse to expose the graft of the railroads, the banks, the street car companies, and other lines of big business, all of which are living off the sweat from the foreheads of the poor. And when I say "the poor" I do not mean merely the day laborers, but I mean the average man and woman of this country.

Seventy per cent of the wealth of the United States is to-day owned by 200,000 men. The remaining 99,800,000 people are practically slaves. The means of collecting all the annual profits of industry are in the hands of the 200,000 men. That group is headed by the Rothschilds, the Rockefellers, the Morgans, the Goulds, and the Vanderbilts. That group owns all the railroads. It owns all the street car companies and other public utilities. It owns nearly all the big banks and trust companies. It owns the steel and the coal industries. It is rapidly getting control of the lumber mills, the woolen mills, the cotton mills, and all the land of the country.

We will soon have a small leisure class, living in luxury and idleness, as in Europe, and their agents will collect our rents and our interest and all the dividends from the factory stocks and the rest of us will be reduced to serfdom. We will belong to the servant class, or at best to the shopkeeping or struggling professional classes, neither of which will be considered worthy of being addressed on the street by the leisure class, unless it be in the condescending London style, "John, my man, here is a sixpence for you."

How did 200,000 men acquire 70 per cent of the wealth of the United States? How did it happen that such an astounding state of affairs came about without your being apprised of it through the newspapers? The money power obtained all this wealth by acquiring, as stated, all the means of collecting the annual profits of industry—the railroads, the street railways, the electric-light and gas plants, the banks and the trust companies, and the big mining and manufacturing industries, as well as mortgages upon all the lands from which hundreds of millions of unearned interest is collected yearly. You did not hear about it while it was going on, because your big newspapers were given a part of the graft to keep you in ignorance. The same gang is still robbing you and the same newspapers are still keeping you in ignorance. Unless leaders arise out of the ranks of the common people who have the stamina to withstand the attacks of these wolves and to fight on and win in spite of them, then we are doomed to the same serfdom as has overtaken all older countries. But I believe we are going to win.

What specific laws would give justice to the public and turn the tide of wealth naturally back to where all would have an equal opportunity to acquire a home and a competence?

Government and municipal ownership of all public utilities, Government control of credit through an enlargement of the functions of the postal savings banks and the issuance of agricultural asset currency, and the Government ownership and operation of all monopolies that can not be controlled by law.

The immense profits that the money power is collecting annually through its public utilities and gigantic financial institutions will be shown by a few figures.

The railroads of the United States in 1913 collected a gross income of $3,057,000,000, or $30.57 from each man, woman, and child in the United States, or $152.85 from each family of five. The average family income per year is only $625, so each head of a family of five is working now over one day out of every six for the steam railroads, as he pays out of his income $152.85 per year to the steam railroads. These railroads are capitalized for $20,000,000,000 and must have rates that will give them dividends on that capitalization, while the best disinterested experts put their actual physical valuation at not more than $10,000,000,000. Therefore, under Government ownership of the steam railroads it is fair to presume that the annual cost of this service to each family would be reduced one-half, or $76.40 per family.

We can not hope for relief by "regulation" through the Interstate Commerce Commission, because after 28 years of that commission rates have actually increased, and they are still going up. And this in spite of the fact that the railroads made more net in 1913 than in 1912—nearly $100,000,000 more. I say, in spite of this showing the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1914 authorized the eastern railroads to raise their freight rates 5 per cent, and "the press" reported next day that President Wilson was delighted, because, in the opinion of the President, the entire country will be prosperous if the railroads are made prosperous.

I do not know how it sounds to others, but to me it is a strange doctrine that we, the people, can make good times permanently for ourselves by raising railroad rates. It reminds me of the man who tried to raise himself over the fence by his boot straps. But from the viewpoint of the money power it is logical enough. They say to us in effect: "We now have 70 per cent of all the wealth; let us acquire the remaining 30 per cent from you and we will give you a full dinner pail in the meantime—we will employ labor."

The Portland Railway Light & Power Co. for the year 1913, the latest year for which I have complete official figures, collected gross $6,723,742. Its operating expenses and taxes were $3,298,310. Its net earnings, all of which were sent east to Philadelphia, New York, and London, were $3,425,432, or over half of its gross collections. Yet the company, through the Portland newspapers, would have the public believe it is barely making a living.

The company's gross income for 1913 was the largest in its history, as was also its net income, and both its gross and net annual incomes have steadily increased each year since 1907, during which time all private business has declined. The company collects yearly from the citizens of Portland $26 per head, and sends over half of this money back East to the money power. This company's own records show that it issued all of its stock 65 per cent paid, and that only $5 per share has ever been paid in cash. Therefore, according to the company's own books, its stocks are 95 per cent water. Upon these stocks the people of Portland are called upon to pay dividends at the par value of $100 per share when, as stated, only $5 per share in cash has been paid in on the stocks.

Cleveland, Ohio, now has 2½ cents street car fares under practical city ownership. Let anyone doubting this assertion write a letter to the mayor of Cleveland. No newspaper will ever tell you of the success of the Cleveland demonstration for fear the "movement" would spread.

San Francisco, during the past three years, has built and is operating as a city utility the great Geary Street line. It is costing the city less than 2½ cents to carry a passenger. The profits are being used to pay off the bonds and to extend the municipal lines. So successful has the San Francisco experiment proved to be that the privately owned system there has already made overtures to the city to sell out its entire plant to the city. The newspapers tell you nothing about this because the "disease," as the interests call it, might be aided in spreading thereby.

But the money power gets in its greatest graft through the loan of credit. There are only $3,500,000,000 in the United States—$35 per capita. That is our total stock of money—gold, silver, and paper. Yet the money power has loaned to the farmers and small home owners alone $8,000,000,000, or nearly three times as much money as there is in existence. On this loan they are collecting in interest annually the enormous sum of $500,000,000. You may be aided in comprehending how much interest $500,000,000 is when I say that it would build and fortify the Panama Canal and leave a surplus of $100,000,000. It would build two trunk lines of railroad from the Atlantic to the Pacific, a distance of 6,000 miles, at a cost of $80,000 per mile, and leave remaining $20,000,000. Think of it! The farmers and small home owners pay to the money power each year in interest enough money to build two trunk lines of railroad from New York to San Francisco, and for the loan of what? Not money, but credit. How does the money power manipulate things so as to loan $8,000,000,000 on real estate alone when there are only $3,500,000,000 in existence in the United States? They do it by having their trust companies borrow from their banks, the trust companies merely giving their notes for the money and depositing bonds as collateral security, and then loaning the money out to the farmers and small home owners.

In a few weeks the money finds its way back into the bank, and the process is repeated. The same dollar is loaned over and over again. Each time some public-utility bonds or stocks are deposited as collateral in place of the cash. So the money power is really loaning credit to the farmers and other real estate owners based on the bonds and stocks they hold. In that way the money power realizes another source of income from its railway, street railway, gas, and electric light bonds and stocks. In that way the money power has gotten 70 per cent of all the wealth of the United States, and it is gradually and surely getting the other 30 per cent.

We must call a halt. We must turn the tide of wealth back toward the people. That is what Government ownership of public utilities and Government control of credit and direct Government loans to the farmers will do. That is what I stand for. That is why the money power has temporarily downed me. It is for my constituents to say whether they will help me in my fight, now that they know the facts. If I come back, it will be a greater victory for the public than if I had never been defeated, for I have certainly defied the powers that be. If I can come back in spite of that, I can accomplish something and inspire confidence in others when I get back.

My first public service of consequence in Oregon was the filing of a suit for John L. Snyder, of Columbia County, before Judge Wolverton, United States judge at Portland, on September 16, 1907, to compel the Oregon & California Railroad Co. to disgorge the 2,300,000 acres of land which it still owns in Oregon, and which it received under the acts of Congress of April 10, 1869, and May 4, 1870, upon the express provision that it would sell the lands "to actual settlers only in tracts not greater than 160 acres to any one settler and for prices not exceeding $2.50 per acre." That was a test suit, and was the first case ever brought in any court to compel the company to live up to the law. I filed a notice lis pendens and prevented the company from ever selling another acre of the land pending the litigation. One year later the Government intervened and filed its forfeiture suit. My suit was for enforcement, and the Government's suit was for forfeiture. The judge ordered my suit and the Government's suit consolidated. The case is now in the Supreme Court of the United States, and I am doing all in my power to bring it to an early final decision. It is not yet set for argument for a day certain, but it is expected that it will be argued early this year. I shall appear and argue in favor of the enforcement theory. I shall fight this case as long as it lasts, and I shall do all within my power to have the 2,300,000 acres sold to actual settlers in small tracts. I am chafing under the long delay of the case, but if it had not been for me the case would never have been started; and having been started, if I had not kept up the fight it would have died long ago. At least, that is my honest belief about it. No newspaper has had a word to say in favor of prosecuting the case. The railroad company has maintained a press bureau in Oregon to control public sentiment and to suppress unfavorable agitation in the valley papers in reference to the long and disgraceful delay of this case.

I favor conveying Oregon's 16,000,000 acres of forest reserves in trust to the State, to be owned and operated by the State in perpetuity for forestry purposes without any power of alienating an acre of the land and allowing the State only to cut the ripe trees each year, permitting the young trees to grow up and replace the old, thus preserving our great national forests forever, but giving to Oregon home rule and the benefit of her own great natural resources. More than one-fourth of the State's area is now in the forest reserves and kept off the tax roll. Under my bill the State would get the profits from the sale of the ripe timber each year, which would reduce taxes in the State at least one-half. The total value of Oregon's national forests is estimated to be $400,000,000. If the sale of ripe timber each year only netted the State 3 per cent, it would turn into the State treasury $12,000,000 annually, and that is more than half the State, county, and city taxes in Oregon. The local timber barons and private lumber manufacturers are strenuously opposed to my plan, and their newspapers are opposed to it of course. They do not want any competition from a State-owned and operated forest. Of course they do not put their objection on that ground, which is their real ground, but they have their hypocritical vassals and newspapers assert that the conveyance in trust to the State would be the first step toward putting the lands in the hands of the "exploiters." They know that under a conveyance in trust to the State for forestry purposes only, allowing no power of alienation of the land, it would be impossible for any "exploiters" to get control. They are themselves the "exploiters," and they do not want any competition from the people.

All of the measures I have herein advocated I have proposed by bills in Congress. I shall propose them again and with success, if I am ever sent back to Congress, as I believe I will be. It requires a majority who are not afraid of the newspapers, and who are not afraid of the money power, to pass any law for the benefit of the public.

During my four years in Congress I have voted for every measure calculated to give any measure of relief to the public, however slight. I had as much to do with the enactment of the parcel post as any Member of the lower House. That was in 1912, during Mr. Taft's administration. I secured the first vote on the measure ever had in Congress, when I offered an amendment to the Post Office appropriation bill providing for a parcel post. My amendment was voted down and the bill went to the Senate, where Senator Bourne, as chairman of the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, secured an amendment to the bill providing for the parcel post. The parcel-post law as passed was not as far-reaching as I favored. I wanted the Post Office Department to carry all packages now carried by the express companies, and to thereby supersede the express companies. As it is, we have taken away from the express companies, which are owned by the railroads, at least $100,000,000 a year and given it to the people in lower transportation rates on small parcels. But now the Interstate Commerce Commission by its recent order, applauded by the President, allows the eastern railroads to raise their rates 5 per cent on freight, and to thereby collect from the people several times the amount that we saved to the people by the parcel-post law. That is how we are making progress—backward.

I worked and voted for the bill to appropriate $35,000,000 to build a Government railroad in Alaska. That will be a great help to this country as well as to Alaska, and while it will be the severest possible test as to the feasibility of Government railroads, because of the rough and frozen country, I believe it will demonstrate that Government owned and operated railroads are a success even under the most unfavorable conditions.

Of course I shall vote for President Wilson's ship-purchase bill, the bill which has been introduced both in the House and Senate with his approval. I wish the country owned enough ships to carry all of our commerce on the seas to all parts of the world. Then every man and woman fortunate enough to be a citizen of this country could some time during his or her life visit the other parts of the globe in safety and comfort and at small expense.

The President stated in his address to us December 8, 1914, that as soon as the Government ships shall establish new trade routes the Government will withdraw from the business and turn it over to private shipowners. The money power now owning all transportation lines is too wise to be fooled by that promise, even though no one doubts that the President made it in good faith. But anyone as wise as are the agents of the money power knows full well that when Government owned and operated ships are once put into commission they will prove so successful in reducing rates and in improving service that this country will never consent to give them up to any private corporation. Therefore the money power will try to prevent the ship-purchase bill from coming to a vote. If it comes to a vote, they will try to kill it or to nullify it by amendment.

I voted for the constitutional amendment providing for direct election of United States Senators, which became effective during my service. I voted against the Underwood tariff law and against the war-tax law. I voted for the regional reserve banking law and for the anti-injunction law.

It was my pleasure to be the first Congressman ever to introduce bills providing for an eight-hour day for women in the District of Columbia and for public ownership of the street railways in the District of Columbia. Later Senator LA FOLLETTE took up the eight-hour law and put it through, and Congressman ROBERT CROSSER, of Cleveland, Ohio, took up the street railway ownership bill and it has been favorably reported. The money power will try to prevent the Crosser bill from coming to a vote this session, but I shall vote for it, of course, if I get a chance. Public ownership in the National Capital would be a demonstration to the rest of the country that would have a powerful effect in favor of the people against the money power.

It has been charged that during my four years in Congress I have sent out more pamphlets than any other Congressman or Senator, and I am proud to plead guilty to that charge. I paid out of my salary for the printing of the pamphlets. My district has given me the high honor of serving four years in Congress, and I am glad that I have devoted the little salary attached to the office to their benefit and to my own education.

During my service here I also visited Europe for two months, something that I hope each one of my constituents will be able to do sooner or later. What I learned of human conditions and progress through the trip, I consider the best part of the education of my life. All that I am, all that I may ever be, and all that I may ever have will be devoted to the welfare of the people of this country.

Immigration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. H. SELDOMRIDGE,
OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 7, 1915,

On the bill (H. R. 6060) to regulate the immigration of aliens to and the residence of aliens in the United States.

Mr. SELDOMRIDGE. Mr. Speaker, I am emphatically opposed to the passage of the amendment inserted by the Senate in the immigration bill which provides that all members of the African or black race shall be excluded from admission into the United States. The language of the amendment as drawn, in my opinion, would clearly exclude from admission to this country any negro American citizen, or any member of his family, who should leave this country temporarily and seek to return. The purpose of the amendment is to defeat this legislation. The President would be justified in vetoing the bill if this language should be retained, and the Congress would never override his veto.

The debate in the Senate when this amendment was under consideration discloses the fact that it was considered solely in relation to its effect upon African immigration from the West Indies. No Senator seems to have opposed it upon the ground of its effect on our own negro citizenship. It is a source of regret that we have such deep racial antagonisms in this country. These antagonisms will always exist and, in my judgment, can never be removed by any legislation. The Creator, in His wisdom, ordained that men should separate into different races, and that they should dwell apart under conditions of their own making. All efforts to bring about racial amalgamation will only lead to strife and degeneracy. There is no reason, however, why one race should not deal justly and fairly with other races. We have a race question in this country which we brought upon ourselves, and we should not strengthen antagonisms, but rather strive to remove them. Few people in the history of mankind have accomplished more for themselves in as short a period of time as members of the African race living in the United States. We should be most considerate in any legislation affecting their interests. Whether we will it or not they are a part of our body politic; their future is related to our future; we should endeavor in every way to minister to their welfare; they should have equal rights to all the advantages of citizenship which we enjoy. What education and environment will do for the Caucasian it can do for the Mongolian and African if given time and patience. I believe the time will come when this Nation will be obliged by force of circumstances to adopt a more friendly attitude toward the Japanese and Chinese peoples. We can not place upon them the stigma of inferiority and at the same time expect them to open their doors to our trade and commerce. There must be exclusion of undesirables of every race in order that our American ideals and institutions may be guarded and developed; but when individuals of so-called inferior races have fitted themselves by education and training to properly understand our Government and are willing to conform to our standards of living there is no reason why we should deny them entrance to our country under proper and salutary conditions. This amendment goes far beyond the purpose of this bill, and therefore should be defeated.

Immigration—Glassworkers' Wages in Belgium.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 7, 1915,

On the bill (H. R. 6060) to regulate the immigration of aliens to and the residence of aliens in the United States.

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, some doubt having been expressed as to the accuracy of my statement that the wages of glassworkers in Belgium were far below those paid to similar workmen in the United States, I desire to extend my remarks, under leave granted, by inserting an extract from a brief submitted to the Ways and Means Committee two years ago on behalf of American plate-glass establishments in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Indiana, and Missouri. A perusal of this statement will be interesting, in view of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. CULLOP] in favor of the exemption of Belgium glassworkers from certain features of the immigration bill. The statement referred to is as follows:

BELGIAN WAGES LOW.

"The foreign plants have the advantage of labor that is better trained and more skillful than American labor, as abroad the trade descends from father to son, and here the laborer has to be trained and developed.

"The rate of wages in Belgium, the chief producer and exporter of plate glass, is less than one-third that which is paid in this country, and enables the manufacturers there to produce glass cheaper than any other country in the world.

"The producing countries are Belgium, Germany, Austria, France, England, Italy, Spain, and Russia. As Belgium produces more glass than any of the other countries, at the lowest cost, and exports 95 per cent of its product, we submit herewith a report of the consul general residing at Brussels giving rates of wages in Belgium, to wit:

"UNITED STATES DAILY CONSULAR AND TRADE REPORTS, OCTOBER 31, 1912, PAGE 566.

"FOREIGN WAGES AND COST OF LIVING.

"[From Consul General Ethelbert Watts, Brussels, Belgium.]

"According to data published by the Government, wages in Belgium are lower generally than in any other European country. The Annuaire Statistique, which gives the official figures for 1910, shows the following daily wages:

Number of wage earners.	Daily wages.	Number of wage earners.	Daily wages.
Male, under 16 years:		Male, over 16 years—Continued.	
4,667	Less than $0.10.	1,653	$1.25–$1.35.
12,748	$0.10–$0.19.	4,357	$1.35 and over.
15,090	$0.19–$0.29.	Female, under 16 years:	
10,128	$0.29 and over.	3,575	Less than $0.10.
Male, over 16 years:		8,480	$0.10–$0.19.
20,883	Less than $0.29.	6,946	$0.19 and over.
28,638	$0.29–$0.38.	Female, over 16 years:	
62,195	$0.38–$0.48.	6,609	Less than $0.19.
87,011	$0.48–$0.58.	22,420	$0.19–$0.29.
100,367	$0.58–$0.67.	21,349	$0.29–$0.38.
65,781	$0.67–$0.77.	13,429	$0.38–$0.48.
50,874	$0.77–$0.87.	5,362	$0.48–$0.58.
21,134	$0.87–$0.96.	2,233	$0.58–$0.67.
13,832	$0.97–$1.06.	652	$0.67–$0.77.
5,776	$1.06–$1.16.	395	$0.77 and over.
3,668	$1.16–$1.25.		

"About 65 per cent of men workers over 16 years earn less than 68 cents. Of the women, 67 per cent earn less than 39 cents and 93 per cent less than 58 cents.

"In 1907 inquiry was made at the public schools of 18 towns, distributed over the country, into the quantity and kind of food each one of the children had had during the preceding 24 hours. The answers compiled have shown that 21.33 per cent of the children were insufficiently nourished.

"The rates of wages paid to Belgian plate-glass workers are no higher than the general rates above given, while the average rate of wages paid by the American plate-glass manufacturers is about $2.30 per day."

Immigration—Belgian Amendment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SIMEON D. FESS,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 7, 1915,

On the bill (H. R. 6060) to regulate the immigration of aliens to and the residence of aliens in the United States.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, I can not support this amendment, not because I do not sympathize with the suffering of the Belgians, but at such times we must avoid taking any position that violates this Nation's obligation to maintain strict neutrality.

Such exemptions extended to citizens of Belgium might be demanded by other countries. Since the 1st of last August the people of this Nation, as well as of all the world, have had an object lesson that taxes the brain of the greatest of our time.

When mankind is forced to witness the horrors of war, and especially of modern war, immediate causes are sought. The inevitable impatience of an aroused public seizes upon the first and most probable explanation of the crisis. It is not easy to suspend judgment until a balance of elements can be weighed.

In the frightful holocaust into which Europe has been thrown, which has involved much of Asia as well, mankind asks why the assassination of an heir to a throne by a citizen of a foreign country should cause such horrors, which have been rightly called the crime of all ages. How could a quarrel between two European countries produce such universal warfare among the most enlightened and progressive people of the earth?

The cause can not be located in the capital of Bosnia. It did not occur on June 28, 1914. It was not a difference between Austria and Servia. It was not the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand and his consort. That was but an incident, and the acute difference between the two countries was but an occasion. The war reverts to causes of vastly larger significance. It is the world struggle, or the first phase of it, predicted by scholars and statesmen in the last century. It possesses many elements—industrial, commercial, political, religious, and, especially, racial. To this must be added the personal, which is but temporary. While the Balkan question is of nearest significance and the Eastern question of equal importance, the future course of events will most certainly prove that the real cause is found in the fear aroused by the growing and aggressive influence of Russia.

When Bonaparte, at the beginning of the last century, with a half million soldiers invaded Russia and invested Moscow and was compelled to retrace his steps with less than 50,000 troops, all that was left out of the entire army not lost either by death or capture, he announced to the world a coming final struggle, not between the Latin and Anglo-Saxon, as heretofore prophesied, but between the Anglo-Saxon and the Cossack. While his generation regarded this announcement as an effusion from a brain that was jaded by defeat, later generations realized the significance of the statement. Russia in the Crimea, in the Balkans, in Poland and Finland, and in the Far East, are but comments.

If the Tsars have had an ambition some day to rule this planet, they have thus far moved in the right direction. Behold that wonderful country, with an area of one-sixth of the inhabitable globe, and not a foot of territory detached. Starting from the Baltic on the west, one may travel toward the rising sun, a distance of 7,500 miles, to the eastern ocean without leaving Russian territory; then, starting in the frozen seas of the north, he may travel in the direction of the glacier's movement a distance of 2,500 miles and still be on Russian soil. Within this vast area will be found a population of 172,000,000 people, the most prolific in the world. Vast as is this territorial domain, the actual boundary lines do not measure the Russian power. Its sphere of influence over countries not Russian must be considered. Its power is felt in the Danubian Provinces and the Balkan States, most of which are peopled by Slavs. It has already covered all of Turkestan, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Pamir, and is now extending over Persia. This mighty empire has financed the railroad building in Persia, and over these fingers of steel she touches the southern waters on the English line of commerce from the Orient to the Occident. This influence already impinges upon England in India and in recent times has threatened China. These ominous movements were not without contests. The advance to the Black Sea produced the Crimean War, while her activities in that region saw numerous Balkan uprisings. Her advance eastward was checked by the war with Japan, while her activities in the region of Tibet called forth the English expedition headed by Younghusband. Our own country was most aroused over the great Eastern question during the Boxer uprising in China, which offered a pretense to Russia and other countries for the partition of China. It is not too much to say that the integrity of the Celestial Empire is due to our own country's decisive stand.

This empire expansion may not mean land hunger; it may express Russia's method of fulfilling the decree of her greatest mind—"a nation to become a world power must take her position upon the sea." While Russia in area is larger than either North or South America, while it is many times larger than all Europe, and while in resources it has the promise of being the greatest food producer on earth, as well as the richest in mineral wealth, yet its entire ocean trade is but a bagatelle as compared with the trade in the port of the city of New York. Russia's western outlet through the Baltic is next to no outlet at all. She is virtually closed out from the west. Her fight to get to the Black Sea was long and fierce; and while she won the fight to keep a fleet on that sea, the struggle ended in a virtually closed sea. The Crimean War promised her an outlet until Italy, England, and France joined Turkey and denied Russia the right to take her fleet out of the Black Sea. Turkey's position in Europe is due to the friendly assistance of Italy, England, and France, who are dominant in the Mediterranean, neither of which is willing to see Russia in a position of influence in the Mediterranean. Russia, closed out of the middle sea, will take care that the countries between her and the open sea shall not become provinces of her rivals, especially when the intervening countries are of the Slavic race.

As Gortchikoff pointed to the importance of an outlet into the Mediterranean, so Witte pointed to the possibility, as well as the importance, of an outlet to the Pacific. The fulfillment of this purpose saw the governmental construction of the Trans-Siberian Railroad, to connect the Occident with the Orient. This completed enterprise was not a commercial success, since its eastern terminus, Vladavostok, was a winter port, icebound for half the year. When Japan, at the close of the war with China, demanded from China an indemnity of $180,000,000 or concessions in Manchuria, and when China, unable to pay the indemnity, agreed to make the concessions, Russia proposed to assist China in the payment, and, in turn, in due time secured concessions in the East Chinese Railroad from Harbin to Port Arthur, which supplied the indispensable summer port in the Orient.

Differences growing out of this transaction led Japan finally to demand Russia to withdraw troops from this portion of China. Troops of all other countries had been withdrawn after the Boxer episode. Russia's failure to do this is the occasion for Japan's bombardment of Port Arthur and the Russo-Japanese War. Russia was again denied an ocean outlet for the time at least. No one will seriously doubt the ability of this "Giant of the North" to go to the sea in her own good time. With Russia in control of an overland route from the Orient to the Occident, England sees a commercial rival which will test her supremacy in the world of trade. The English policy for at least 100 years past is to be and remain the world's carrier of commerce. She has the ships, the coaling stations, the open ports, the cables, and all that enter into a great sea power. Her ships if placed side by side would reach 14 miles. Gibraltar, the most heavily fortified citadel on earth, commands the occidental terminus, while Hongkong, the most heavily fortified citadel in Pacific waters, is at the oriental terminus of what promises to be the greatest trade route of the world. Between them are coaling stations at convenient distances. This line of 13,500 miles and which requires at least 51 days of sailing for the rapid freighters is but a cordon of English stations in English waters or waters open to these boats. A great freighter en route with bunkers filled with coal would be at its own coaling station before its coal would be exhausted.

On the other hand, the Russian overland route will require but 17 days to cover it, or almost one-third the time required over the water route. No one will doubt which route the mails will take, or the small packages, the parcel post. The only question will be whether the freight will take the shorter route. It will be a question of rates. Can Russia with a Government-owned railroad compete with England?

These parallel trade routes controlled by the two rivals have new significance when studied in the light of Russia's impinging on China and India, her extension of influence over Persia to the South Sea, and her activities in the Balkan region as well as on the western borders. The question at once arises what means the line-up of the parties in the present war. England has always heretofore stood with Turkey against Russia.

Without England's influence Turkey long ago would have been driven out of Europe. Commercially this was expected, but religiously it was unnatural. To-day England is with Russia against Turkey. The significance of this is yet to appear. It would seem from every point of contact England should be with Germany against Russia, but not so. This reversal of the course of history and self-interest causes thoughtful students to predict a contest between Russia and England in case this war ends with defeat for Germany. They assert if Germany ceases to be a bulwark against Russian aggression in the west, England must make the contest. Few thoughtful people, students of world politics, will deny the strength of this assertion, otherwise history has no lesson for the future.

With the last 75 years of Russian activity before us it becomes of intense interest to note the movements of this country in the days preceding the outbreak which now has involved half the population of the world.

June 28: Ferdinand murdered in Bosnia.

July 9: Results of Austrian investigation made known.

July 23: Austria presents ultimatum to Servia and asks for reply within 48 hours.

July 24: Russia begins military preparations.

July 25: Servia rejects the conditions.

July 25: Sir Edward Grey proposes a conference of representatives of England, Germany, France, and Italy to mediate between Austria and Russia.

July 26: Grey repeats his request. Russia announces she can not remain indifferent to Servia's fate.

July 27: Grey appeals to Germany.

July 28: Austria declares war on Servia.

July 29: Russia's mobilization announced.

July 29: Germany asks England's aid in case of war.

July 30: England declines.

July 30: Germany asks Russia why the mobilization, when mediation had been requested by the Czar, upon which the Kaiser was acting. Reply was to the effect that it was not intended to be offensive to Germany.

July 31: General mobilization in Russia discovered. Germany asks its discontinuance. Russia replied it was but partial and could not be discontinued. Germany issues an ultimatum.

July 31: England asks Germany and France whether they will respect Belgian neutrality. France agrees, but Germany expresses a doubt.

August 1: Kaiser reports to King George if France and England will remain neutral he will remove his troops from French frontier and respect Belgian neutrality.

August 1: France orders general mobilization.

August 1: Germany orders general mobilization.

August 1: French aviators alleged to have dropped bombs in Nuremburg; Russian troops alleged to have crossed into German territory. Germany declares war on Russia.

August 2: England assures France that English fleet will protect the northern coast of France.

August 2: Germany's ultimatum to Belgium.

August 2: Germans cross into Luxemburg and enter French territory.

August 3: English fleet mobilized. Italy declares neutrality.

August 3: Belgium appeals to England. England announces she will protect Belgium.

August 4: England presents ultimatum to Germany. British Army mobilized. Germans cross Belgian border.

August 4: England declares war on Germany.

August 5: Germans besiege Liege.

August 6: Austria declares war on Russia.

August 7: Germany makes second offer to Belgium and was refused.

August 7: Montenegro declares war on Austria.

August 9: The Japanese fleet sail for Kiaochau.

August 10: France declares war on Austria.

August 11: England declares war on Austria.

September: Turkey joins Austria.

This recital of rapid movements of the most horrible conflict of all history leads away from Servia's offense to Austria to a contest of the giants. In the time it takes to tell it, from a state of profound peace throughout the Old World universal war exists. Most natural the query, Why all this? What have these nations at stake?

Within the borders of Servia are found dangerous juntas whose activities have spelled murder. The Servian King met death at their hands, and now the heir to the Austrian throne has met a like fate The Austrian ultimatum to Servia demanded of the latter Austria's collaboration with Servia for the suppression of these organizations. Servia, mindful of the fate of Bosnia and Herzegovina, declined to accept the ultimatum on the ground that it was a virtual loss of Servian independence. She proposed to leave that item of the ultimatum to The Hague tribunal. The 48 hours given Servia to decide was sufficient announcement to Europe of the critical situation. On the 9th of July the London Times warned Servia of the danger. A few days later the Frankfurter Zeitung warned Austria of precipitation. Many European papers encouraged Servia to friendly positive action. The episode at once became a European question rather than a dispute between Austria and Servia. It but reminds the world of the sensitive Balkan problem. For more than 60 years whenever one of this group of States—Roumania, Bulgaria, Servia, Montenegro—shows an uprising all Europe is alarmed. This is no less true when either Greece or Turkey displays activity. Turkey in Europe has been a constant bone of contention during most of the last century. These Balkan States present a veritable moving-picture performance ever since the Crimean War of the fifties. That part of Europe's map has served as a national checkerboard upon which the great powers are the chief players and upon which every move changes the position of the nations involved. It at the same time affects all the nations whose interests might become involved. The Prussian seizure of Schleswig in 1864 is a good example. The Venetia episode of 1866 is another. The Franco-German War of 1870 has a similar effect. The Berlin Congress of 1878 by reversing prior adjustments was far-reaching in arousing Russia to a possible future situation. The Austro-German alliance of 1879 and the triple alliance of 1882 are momentous scenes in this national play, as were the Anglo-French entente of 1904 and the triple entente of 1907. Alliances and counter alliances are at best ominous. All these have more or less significant meaning in the Balkan realm, any one of which might have involved all Europe.

In this present contention between Austria and Servia the latter insists she is fighting for her independence and national autonomy. The former places her aggression upon national honor and continued existence. While Servia is justified in desiring autonomy, she deserves punishment for the crimes of the hordes within her borders. While Austria is justified in demanding redress, the world doubts the justice of her demands, the extent to which they go. The crime of an irresponsible junta within a nation does not justify spoliation of the nation.

Why should Russia become so active so suddenly against Austria? Russia has ever claimed the Balkan problem as hers. In most cases she has been a participant and in all cases an interested onlooker. Russia will never willingly submit to any other great nation dominating these countries. The real reason may be found in her hope that she will some day hold the key to Europe by occupying Constantinople and by controlling the Bosporus and Dardanelles, which will give her the long-deferred entrance to the middle sea, where she will become a party to all the problems of the Mediterranean. This position would give her the dominance in Europe. While this is the real crux of Russian concern, she has a more plausible ground for immediate action in her demands for independence of the Balkan States, which are largely Slavic in nationality. The gateway leading from the Cossack domain into the waters that connect with the Mediterranean is more likely to be open to Russia when under Slavic rule, although independent, than under Teutonic, which is Russia's fear in the present war. National rumor has it that Austria hopes to exercise an overlordship over the Balkans, and Germany hopes to establish an empire in Asia Minor.

Up to date Russia's control of Turkey in Europe and entrance into the Mediterranean has been successfully obstructed by England. Her advance westward has been checked by the Teuton. Her ambition has thus been defeated by England and Germany. Then why is England an ally of Russia rather than her racial kinsman the Teuton? England is recognized as Europe's most progressive country in matters of modern government. She has more points in common with us than any other nation. Russia is the one great power in Europe that is retrogressive, somewhat autocratic, if not despotic, as revealed in her administration in Poland and Finland and in the Jewish pogroms of recent years. Two countries could scarcely stand for more diverse policies than these great rivals. They represent two distinct civilizations. They are organically and constitutionally differentiated. The one is matured, while the other is still struggling with primitive conditions. This is the basis of the general belief widely prevalent in portions of the world, that if Russia is not held back by the German bulwark England will be compelled to meet her in combat in due time. This is the forthcoming struggle to which Europe's greatest military genius referred at the opening of the last century.

Germany's position is partly racial, partly political, and partly commercial, all of which are intensified by her geographical situation. Here is a compact nation almost totally surrounded by countries that might become enemies. She has devoted the most of the last 50 years to national development. Her population has reached about 70,000,000. Her people are the most virile in Europe. Her growth of industries has surpassed all other countries. Her research in science has led the world. She enumerates on her rolls leading men in all lines of invention and discovery. She has become a rival in every domain of advancement. With this development there has grown apace the spirit of militarism as reflected in the army equipment and personnel. Her soldiers are the most perfect fighting machines on earth. The military policy has proceeded upon the basis that Germany must either fight or be so well prepared as to command peace. Hence the attention given to soldiery. In the course of this policy the Empire has had an unbroken progress of peaceful growth for over 40 years. Yet who can say that this very preparation is not the specific item which opened the batteries of warfare? Is it credible that without this equipment the world would now be at war?

True, the Kaiser, upon the invitation of the Czar, was endeavoring to mediate between Austria and Servia. All Europe seemed to turn to the Kaiser as the one man who could call off Austria, his ally. But while he was negotiating Russia was mobilizing. This was placed upon the ground that the Kaiser would not seriously interfere with Austria. A dispatch from the eastern border of Germany declared the whole frontier was full of Russian soldiers and inquired what the Government was doing to protect its citizens. In the midst of these provocations the German ultimatum was given. This haste precipitated war. The world will likely hold the Kaiser responsible because he did not withhold until a conference of powers could be had. The Kaiser will defend his position on the ground that the Czar was playing for time to mobilize his army, which necessitated much time because of the vast territory over which the army must pass. To thus withhold, contends the Kaiser, would be to knowingly play into the hands of an enemy which must be crushed or suffer national disgrace and destruction.

France entered the war because of the obligation of the Triple Entente. The conviction is well defined that she desired to be on the ground when Germany would be compelled to return Alsace-Lorraine, wrested from her in the Franco-German war of 1870. It appears there is little, if any, resentment in Germany against France for her action, as it was anticipated. Her reply to Germany was that she would go with her interests. Belgium, the caldron of Europe, is the one pitiable country. Her life depended upon her neutrality. She had no choice. It seemed death either way she looked. She is the one country of which it can be truthfully said, "She will be ruined if she does and ruined if she does not." If she resists the German army, she will be laid waste. If she permits it to cross her borders, she thereby, in a sense, becomes her ally and will be laid waste by the allies.

While the world will concede the critical situation of Germany, due to the entrance of France, and while it will grant the possibility of Germany's charge of the violation of Belgian neutrality on the French border, it will be slow to agree with the position of the German chancellor who openly avowed the violation of neutrality and placed it upon the necessity of national defense. Such claim will not appease the Christian world's condemnation of such treatment of a prosperous and happy nation of 7,000,000 people, rendered hopeless and helpless objects of pity the world over. If treaties are not made to be kept, lives and property should be respected. The suffering of the innocent is the greatest argument against a resort to arms to redress wrongs. Belgium is the greatest comment upon this fact known to history.

All the world asks why England entered this conflict. Germany agreed to withdraw from the French border and not to violate Belgian neutrality if England would keep France neutral. England's inability to do this left her to the alternative of remaining neutral or risking all in a world-wide war. She responded to the appeal of Belgium's King and entered the vortex as a defender of the principle of respect for treaties of neutrality. While much of the world applauded the heroic position, it asks why she did not require Japan to respect Chinese neutrality when a Chinese railroad on neutral soil was seized by Japan. This latter incident has dampened our ardor somewhat.

In view of the entrance of Turkey, this war may mean more to England than to any other country. If the Mohammedan influence could make it a holy war, what will be the attitude of the 52,000,000 Mohammedans in British India, of the 9,000,000 in Egypt under a British protectorate? In case England's Empire may be called to suppress insurrections in the Far East, what will be the effect upon Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Canada, which may be called upon to give assistance?

Most scholars of constitutional and political history believe the time will come when these wholly independent entities will ask the privilege of complete autonomy in national as well as local affairs. When England's defense is broken the tie that binds is loosened. It is the cementing quality of the Empire. England has been a great civilizer; wherever her flag goes her language follows; her laws, her customs, her religious freedom, her institutions, her civilization. Her commerce pervades the entire world. Her language is spoken by 160,000,000 people. It can be heard in every port of the world. The mere fatality of this Empire which to-day encircles the globe should be appalling to the inhabitant of the island of Great Britain, as well as to all who appreciate what the nation has stood for.

The outcome can not be predicted. Germany and Austria must fight alone, save what help they obtain from Turkey. Italy can not join them, notwithstanding the treaty of alliance. Her internal situation will not permit Italy's assistance of an ancient enemy—Austria. Such a step would undoubtedly produce a revolution. Her geographical situation, with her three sides exposed to the sea controlled by England and France, makes her helpless as an ally of Germany. She will remain neutral, unless she joins the allies. The Balkan States will naturally remain with Russia as against both Austria and Turkey. With this line-up, it is difficult to see how Germany can succeed. She will be able to feed her people for some time, unaided by the outside world. With Italy neutral, she will be able to secure some supplies from the outside. Her army is the finest-trained soldiery of history. Her discipline will enable her to continue gaining victories for some time. But to win permanently against such odds does not seem possible. The end of the struggle is not in sight, nor any indication of it. It will furnish the supreme test of all history, and may continue at length.

The burden of debt alone is the greatest determinant. It costs Germany and Russia each $15,000,000 daily. Since August 1 the increase of debt has been as follows: England, $2,250,000,000; Germany, $2,825,000,000; France, $1,140,000,000; and other countries in proportion.

The United States must maintain a neutral and friendly relation to all countries. This people must reprove its prejudices, suppress its bitterness. Feelings must give place to judgment now, if ever. We are a composite people. In our civilization we have all the national elements now at war. Here in the United States are more Germans than in any city of Germany. Here are more Irish than in Ireland. Here are more Italians than live in any city of his native country. In New York City alone are more Jews than live in Jerusalem. We have the French, the Belgian, the Russian, and the Balkan. In every quarter of our country we find representatives of the countries at war. We can agree that the war is the crime of the century, but not all the cause is found in one nation. Aside from Belgium, causes are found in all the countries in arms. Our country must keep friendship with all, that we may, when the time comes, offer mediation by interpreting the various peoples to each other and finding a common ground for a settlement of differences. This is our crowning opportunity.

To this end we must avoid undue complications. We should not invite trouble on the sea. We can protest on behalf of respect for treaties and the rights of neutrals. We may insist upon our commercial rights without an offensive intermeddling in the affairs of other nations. We must keep cool-headed and maintain a balance of judgment in times of world-wide distress, which disarranges much of the sea trade of the world. This does not mean we are to remain silent when the most fundamental rights of neutrals are violated under the claims of conditional contraband. In this welter of war it is difficult to conceive of probable results which could justify the suffering. The careful observer predicts some possibilities. It is not improbable that the suddenness in which half the world's population was transformed from peaceful, happy citizens into warlike nations, driven by a spirit of hatred, may compel a larger participation in government by the people and less authority in the rulers. This does not intimate a lack of loyal support of the ruler, for in times of war a nation's citizens loyally support the army and its leaders. Note the position of the Socialists in Germany, Ulsters in Ireland, and Boers in South Africa, as well as Jews in Russia. While our own people are more or less volatile, it is not possible to go to war without consulting public opinion. Indeed, public opinion usually goes beyond our leaders. This world war may therefore see a lessening hold of monarchy and a deepening grasp of democ-

racy. This result would be rational and not far-fetched. It already reveals the danger of militarism, which may subject civil to military authority. Many students of world politics predict disarmament as the most likely and vital result of the war. This may come from sheer compulsion. Already Europe's armed camps are taxing the producers to feed the nonproducers. Whenever any country must depend upon the outside world to feed its people it is an important situation, demanding thoughtful attention. But when a country can not raise enough within its borders to feed its nonproducing population, it is ominous and means, sooner or later, bankruptcy. This position is reached in places in Europe.

The campaign in armament is frightful and must cease. It long ago reached the danger point. This war has demonstrated that preparedness does not prevent war. Then why continue the campaign? The way out is disarmament and a resort to deliberative council to adjust differences. This is a suggestion of the federation of Europe over the plan of our own Government in which differences will be carried before a judicial tribunal for hearing and adjustment. The suggestion is not far-fetched. It is possible, and the settled conviction that brute force, tried out on the battle field by instruments of death that know no humanity can not be excused by our Christian standards, may compel a federated Europe to succeed a government by armies and navies.

No one would seriously argue that the European condition would justify our Nation to refuse national defense while Europe remains an armed camp. The disarmament must come as a world movement, in which our Nation will gladly join. As we now find ourselves, we must hold aloof from entangling alliances ready to bring the warring nations together for settlement. In the meantime we can not gain any prestige for this great work by allowing great nations to override treaties, violate neutral rights on the sea, without protest.

While the heart of all America goes out to the suffering of other lands, we pledge our devotion to our own national ideals and beg the near opportunity to bid the warring countries to seek better methods of adjustment than the test of battle. Herein lies this Nation's greatest opportunity. To this end we must stand for law and order, for respect for treaties, for the rights of all nations, great and small. We must be ready to interpret each warring nation to the other and, if necessary, be the just man armed, that we may fulfill our mission as the peacemaker when half the world is in arms.

Immigration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. S. KIRKPATRICK,
OF IOWA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 7, 1915,

On the bill (H. R. 6060) to regulate the immigration of aliens to and the residence of aliens in the United States.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK. Mr. Speaker, this Senate amendment to the immigration bill in which we are requested to concur, if enacted into law, would prohibit the landing of blacks and negroes on our shores.

Now, if there were none of the race in this country, it might be well to consider the propriety of continuing the segregation of the Caucasian and the African races; or if, by consent of the latter, their race could be transported to the country from which they originally came, then, in such event, I would agree to seriously consider an effort of that character. Still such a measure would be a trial of no small magnitude.

Mr. Speaker, these people are here and make up fully one-tenth of the composite of our entire population. Why were these people brought here? For what purposes? Nearly 300 years ago the ancestors of this race were caught up by force in the wilds of Africa and brought to America, shackled as slaves, and soon became a commodity and subjects of barter and sale, and in this connection I can find some palliating excuses and mitigating circumstances.

The introduction of this race into this country even as slaves has been in a measure a blessing in disguise, and as evidence of this we have but to compare the condition of the race here with that of their counterpart across the sea.

The impending crisis brought about by their presence here came and our people would no longer tolerate the rights of property in human flesh, and the shackles of 4,000,000 slaves were loosened at one fell stroke of the pen, enforced and supported by the militant power of the sword, and on my own volition I became a party to the contract in support of the fact declared through the instrumentality of President Lincoln that the Union of the States could not exist under such conditions.

Slavery is dead, and its twin relic, Mormonism, is dying. In my home town there are fully 100 colored voters, and with a magnanimity unparalleled these men, though dark in color, expressed their confidence, their appreciation, and gratitude for my action in assisting in the abolition of the bondage which had oppressed their race, and I can not harmonize my actions in the past with turning my back on these people now.

The blacks were loyal to our forefathers in their struggle for liberty in the days of the Revolutionary War. They participated in many of the engagements of the War of 1812, and they were likewise faithful to the Union in the War between the States.

The cuticle covering of this race is darker than that found among Anglo-Saxons, but there burns within the breasts of this unfortunate people a firm belief under existing laws of their divine right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Female Suffrage.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN H. STEPHENS,
OF TEXAS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 12, 1915,

On joint resolution (H. J. Res. 1) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the resolution under discussion, and on which we must soon cast our votes as Representatives of our constituents, is a resolution of great importance to our country. The question is, Shall we as legislators permit woman to step down from the high plane of social and moral superiority where the chivalrous men and voters of our common country have placed her to engage in politics? If we do, we will open up a Pandora's box of evils from which, in my judgment, she will never escape until she is dethroned as the queen of our homes, as the idol of society, as the sex to whom all true men owe allegiance, and would now protect from serious wrong, even if they should lose their lives thereby. When she descends to the lower level of the politician she comes in competition with men and assumes the duties and responsibilities of men in choosing officers and in running the Government. Men are admittedly on a much lower moral plane than women, and woman suffrage will therefore bring her down to the level of the common herd of mankind, which God forbid!

Mr. Speaker, the resolution under discussion is as follows:

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 1) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE —. SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

Mr. Speaker, this question has been passed upon by the Democratic caucus of this House and it adopted a resolution declaring that this question should be passed upon by the States separately. I shall vote against this resolution because I do not believe in national female suffrage for the following reasons:

At present no exigency can be shown to exist for demolishing the very foundation of State sovereignty and investing the Central Government with the power of determining the quality of the electorate, thereby taking from the States the very corner stone of self-government.

Woman suffrage would increase the negro's power in politics, as the per cent of negro women to all women over 21 in the United States is 9.9 per cent—census of 1910—while the per cent of negro men to all men is only 9.1 per cent. In the 11

Southern States the per cent of negro women to all women is 35.3 per cent, while the per cent of negro men to all men is 33.6 per cent.

Who would doubt that negro women would vote more generally than white women?

In 1910 Michigan defeated woman suffrage by about 700 majority, in 1913 the same State defeated it by over 96,000. Ohio defeated woman suffrage in 1912 by 87,455, in 1914 by 182,905. The per cent of voters voting for woman suffrage having declined greatly from 1912 to 1914 in Ohio and from 1912 to 1913 in Michigan, which shows beyond question that the tide has turned against woman suffrage, the fallacy of which has been proved in the States where it has been tried from 2 to 44 years.

Every vote given in Congress for the submission of the question furthers the cause of woman suffrage, for the people generally believe such a vote will not be given unless the Congressman believes it would be beneficial to our form of government to change from State to Federal control.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH W. MOSS,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 14, 1915.

Mr. MOSS of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I desire to avail myself of the privilege given to me to extend my remarks on rural credits by reprinting certain parts of my remarks on this subject made in the House of Representatives on the 16th day of October, as follows:

Many bills dealing with rural credits have been introduced in Congress. In the main these several bills represent the individual views of their authors. There are two bills, however, each of which represents the conclusions of a group of men after careful study and wide consultation. I refer to the Moss-Fletcher bill, framed by the United States Commission on Rural Credits, and the Bulkley-Hollis bill, framed by the joint Subcommittee on Banking and Currency of the House and Senate. I desire to present a comparison of these two bills, referring to them as the commission and committee bills, respectively.

The commission bill seeks to organize a system of pure mortgage banks, limited to loans on rural real estate for productive purposes and within certain limitations as to amounts which can be loaned to any one person. This principle was accepted by the committee practically as proposed. Their limitation as to purpose and amount is more severe, while their central bank is given the right to purchase mortgages on urban real estate. The proposal to exempt capital stock, mortgages, and bonds from all State and National taxation was also accepted and appears in the committee bill. This was the most radical feature of our bill, and the only one which contains a subvention from the public or a special privilege which in effect amounts to a subvention. In Indiana mortgages are now taxed at their face value; the average rate of taxation is around 3 per cent. It can readily be seen that an exemption from such taxation is the equivalent of large favor or indirect subsidy from the Government. On the other hand, our commission deemed this concession of vital consequence, and that without this exemption it would be impossible to organize such banks in many States of the Union. As some States tax mortgages at full value, some tax them only partially, while others exempt them entirely, uniformity of conditions can not be produced in any other manner. Again, the credit instrument created is a land bond. This bond is in the nature of a duplicate for the mortgage on which it is based and instead of which the bond is issued. To tax both bond and mortgage is to impose double taxation on debt. The commission frankly rested its bill on the acceptance of this feature, and, in my opinion, no bill can be drawn which will be successful in operation without the incorporation of this provision. The acceptance of a land bond as the credit instrument to be issued by the banks, based on their assets and credit capital under rigid governmental supervision and without express Government guarantee, is the basis of both bills.

The essential feature of mortgage credit as proposed by rural credits and as differentiated from other investment banking is a guaranty fund maintained by the bank issuing land bonds to insure the prompt payment when due of both principal and interest on the bonds. The principal security for the ultimate repayment of all liabilities is the land values pledged under mortgage; but to guard against temporary default in payment by the real borrower, the mortgagor, and thereby insure the prompt redemption of every promise to pay to the real lender, the bondholder, the banks issuing these land bonds are required to collect and to maintain a security fund pledged for this particular purpose, and which can not be diverted to any other purpose. This surety fund is required to bear a certain fixed proportion to the volume of bonds in circulation. Both bills seek to provide this insurance but devise different machinery and distribute the burden in different degrees between the borrower and the shareholder. Each bill requires certain cash and credit capital; broadly speaking, the commission bill requires the carrying of a larger cash capital and the committee bill pledges a larger credit capital. In addition to the capital and surplus of the bank, each bill authorizes the accumulation of a special redemption fund out of the interest charges. This reserve is mandatory on part of the commission bill and is permissive in the committee bill. The commission bill requires the bank to maintain a 5 per cent special fund, which is accumulated out of the administrative charges or profits of the bank. The burden of this fund is thus laid exclusively on the stockholders of the bank. The shareholders receive the profits and are required to meet the losses.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for an interruption there? I would like to ask him a question for information.

Mr. MOSS of Indiana. Certainly.

Mr. BORLAND. What becomes of this redemption fund? Where is it invested, and how is it reserved?

Mr. MOSS of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I will say to the gentleman that I will discuss that matter in a moment.

The committee bill authorizes but does not require the central bank to create a special redemption fund, but secures it by imposing a higher interest rate than could be otherwise charged; that is, by charging a rate on mortgages in excess of the 1 per cent margin which is permitted to be charged as an administrative charge, thus imposing this fund directly and wholly on the borrowers. To state this feature more clearly, each bill limits the bank for its services to a charge not exceeding 1 per cent on the face of the bonds it may have in circulation; but the committee bill permits the bank to increase the interest rate higher than the 1 per cent and to hold the additional interest money as a special surety fund. At the close of a five-year period the bank may make application to the Federal Reserve Board for permission to prorate among the borrowers any balance which may remain in the special fund after paying all losses.

I think that answers the gentleman's question.

Mr. BORLAND. Not quite. What is done with the fund in the meantime? Is it invested or loaned out, or is it held in cash?

Mr. MOSS of Indiana. It is held by the regional bank and, of course, invested as it invests any portion of its capital.

Mr. TOWNSEND. It is a balance held by the regional banks?

Mr. MOSS of Indiana. Yes; it is a special fund held and invested for a special purpose. To go a little further—I do not wish to go into details, as I do not have the time—I may state that this special reserve fund must be segregated as to States, and is held as a special fund to secure the loans held in that particular State. For instance, if the regional bank were to accumulate such a fund to secure Indiana loans, the rate would be imposed only upon the borrowers in the State of Indiana. It would be held by the regional bank as a separate fund to be applied in liquidation of any losses which may arise out of loans made in the State of Indiana; and when this reserve is finally prorated it would go back to the borrowers in Indiana. I think that is a fair statement, is it not, Mr. BULKLEY, of the special reserve fund?

Mr. BULKLEY. That is a fair statement, as far as it goes. I want to make a statement of my own at the proper time.

Mr. MOSS of Indiana. The bill does not require this fund to be thus prorated; it only permits it.

It is thus possible under the terms of the bill for the bank to accumulate a reserve fund which in reality belongs to the borrowers, but which it is not compelled to pay over to the rightful owners. Under the commission bill the bank can in no instance charge a higher interest rate than the 1 per cent over its rate on the land bonds. The net result of the committee method of raising this guaranty fund, even if the balance were to be faithfully prorated to its real owners, the borrowers, would, in my opinion, be to impose higher interest rates during at least the first five-year period.

Both bills are identical in requiring all long-time loans to contain a compulsory amortization provision. This feature makes

these banks to be saving institutions in the best sense of that term and prevents any person going in debt through their agency for long periods of time without a gradual saving, which is applied toward the reduction of the principal of his debt. Both bills fix the limit of mortgage indebtedness at 50 per cent of the actual value of the land mortgaged and require the banks to hold valid first mortgages equal in face value to the land bonds outstanding. The commission bill fixes the maximum rate of interest charged on farm mortgages by the rate paid on the land bonds; the committee bill lets the legal rate in the various States control unless modified by the order of the Federal Reserve Board. Under the powers given to this board in the committee bill it can name the interest rate for any local association, provided such rate does not exceed the legal rate in the State where such association is located and without undue discrimination between locals in such State.

The commission bill presents an outline for a system of independent banks, each having the full functions of a mortgage bank, and in its organization, administration, and supervision closely modeled after the national-bank law. This law admirably adjusts itself to the machinery of the bank with independent functions, as that was the character of all American banking institutions until the adoption of the Federal reserve system. The committee bill agrees with the commission bill in seeking to organize a system of mortgage banks after American models, but chose the Federal reserve system as the guide. In order to accept this form of organization, a central bank with large capital was authorized to be chartered in each Federal reserve district, which has the sole power to issue land bonds. It is at this point that the two bills diverge so widely in their administrative organization that they can not be harmonized. If either bill is to be accepted without substantial modification, Congress will have to choose between a strongly centralized system and a decentralized one; between independent banks, each exercising the full functions of mortgage banking and a central bank with federated members and the functions of banking divided between the central organization and the federated members, but with the supreme control vested in the central.

It is in the latter power given to the central bank in the committee bill which centralizes power more strongly than in the Federal reserve system. In the latter scheme of banking, member banks are not deprived of their privilege to solicit business independently of the central bank or to contract a line of lawful business which is within their ability to handle. An independent national bank, in becoming a member bank, is permitted to act with all its former independence within the limits of its loanable funds. At its own peril it may discount paper which is not prime within the definition of the banking law and which will not be rediscounted by the regional bank. The penalty imposed by the new system on such action is the refusal of rediscount; but no member bank will apply for such rediscount as long as its own reserves are ample to meet its demands, and it is easily within the range of possibilities that many member banks will rarely apply to the regional bank for rediscounts. It is evident that State banks are not applying for admission to the federated system, though the door stands wide open and every special privilege granted by law to member banks is being jealously guarded for their exclusive benefit.

This liberty of independent action is not extended to mortgage associations in the committee bill, and we do not have under its terms that happy compromise between centralized and decentralized systems which secures the conservatism of centralization without destroying the utmost development of local business and the fullest utilization of local opportunities. The committee bill reduces all mortgage associations to the level of mere local societies without independent funds, power, opportunity, or prestige. The general character of the proposed mortgage associations is thus described by Senator HOLLIS, one of the joint authors of the bill:

> These local associations will approximate the size and functions of ordinary building and loan associations. The office may be in a country store or with a local insurance agent. They will never have a large amount of money on hand. A single officer will care for their simple routine. They will not receive deposits subject to check or loan money on anything but first mortgages.

If to the Senator's description is added the fact that these local associations can not sell or assign a mortgage to any purchaser except to a local association within the system or to the regional bank, their extreme dependence is very well depicted. The local associations can grant loans only as the regional bank will accept mortgages from the local on assignment, and under the terms of the bill the regional bank can exercise full liberty of action and can decline any or all mortgages tendered by any local association. As exclusive territory is allotted to each local association, it follows that only those farmers can be accommodated under the terms of this bill whose mortgages are accepted by the regional bank. The question of giving service to the patrons of the local association is decided, not by the officers of the bank where the farmers live but in the offices of the huge regional bank, located perhaps hundreds of miles away in some other State.

The general scheme of the Federal reserve system is not well suited to the functions of mortgage banking. As applied to commercial banking, the efficiency of the reserve system lies in its ample powers to rediscount prime securities held by member banks. The National Government under our Constitution is given the sole power to issue money, and in the new banking system this power is delegated to the regional banks under certain conditions. The regional banks can control the volume of money available for rediscount purposes, and in this way can accept all lawful business which any member bank may tender. It thus has ample power to insure the proper discharge of all its responsibility.

The regional bank in the rural credit system of banks does not have such power, and it can not be delegated to it. The regional bank can not issue bonds except as it may find a purchaser for them; it can not sell its shares except on the same terms. The regional bank in the one system has the power to issue money and can thus increase the supply of currency; the regional bank in the other system does not have the power to secure money by issue, but is dependent upon negotiating the sale of its securities in the open markets of the world. This is a very important difference in fundamental powers. Because of this power of issue it is very proper that the first bank be given a monopoly of supplying credit. Under the limitations imposed on the second it is fatal to the largest usefulness of the system to clothe it with exclusive rights and jurisdiction.

As the question of independent or federated banks is a fundamental one to determine the administrative machinery, and, I also believe, to determine the ultimate success or failure of any system which may be organized, I wish to discuss it in some detail. As stated, the history of European mortgage banking is against the federated and in favor of the independent bank. The history of our own country is equally emphatic when rightfully studied. The building and loan societies are conducting a business in many respects similar to the proposed scheme of mortgage banking. In Indiana we have modified our State law to permit them to issue land bonds, and the State acts as fiscal agent in both appraising the lands and in holding physical custody of the mortgages to secure outstanding bonds.

Mr. PLATT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MOSS of Indiana. With pleasure.

Mr. PLATT. Before the gentleman gets too far into that I want to see if I get the gentleman's main point. The gentleman does not object so much to the federated scheme of mortgage associations as to the fact that none of them will be allowed to sell bonds on their own hook. Is that the idea?

Mr. MOSS of Indiana. Precisely. I am aiming my argument against that feature of the committee bill which does not give any liberty of independent action to the local bank to take advantage of local opportunity. It is my belief that in many sections of the United States where agriculture is well developed that independent mortgage banks will be stronger than any system of federated banks.

These associations are moving gradually but surely in the direction of making farm loans on the amortization or fixed payment plan. No financial institutions in the United States can show a better record for achievement than can these associations, and this record has been made as independent societies which have been able to attract capital to their enterprises by reason of their solvency, their successful management, and to the most important fact that they are devoted to the permanent improvement of local interests.

Under the terms of the committee bill there can be but one bank in every Federal reserve district which has the power to issue land bonds. No member bank of the federated system—that is, no local mortgage association—has the right to dispose of its mortgages except to a bank within its own system. All mortgages must be assigned to the central bank or disposed of to some other local association. These associations must either be able to accept all applications for loans or else will have to exercise the right of selection among applicants. That will mean that certain citizens will be favored and others equally deserving will be denied service by a governmental agency, and one endowed in part at least with public moneys. It ought to be accepted as an axiom that where the Federal Government enters a field of legislation it should fully occupy that field. That is, the law should be broad enough in its terms that any citizen who can comply with its terms, and is willing to do so, may secure service or protection under the statute. But under the committee bill a monopoly of issuing credit

instruments is given to one agency with the full knowledge that such institution can not serve all qualified citizens who apply for service, and which may, indeed, be able to serve but a very small portion of the public who are entitled under the law to share its benefits.

For example, a local mortgage association is organized in my home county, which is one of the best agricultural counties in the Union. Under the terms of the committee bill any resident owner of farm lands within the territory assigned to the association is entitled to make application for a loan for certain specified purposes. The association, however, can grant loans only as the central bank will accept mortgages on assignment. The central bank can secure loanable funds only as it may be able to sell shares and land bonds. It is easily conceivable that the central bank will not be able to supply the money to accept all or even a considerable portion of the loans applied for. Under the terms of the bill it may refuse to accept any mortgages. The operations of the various central banks are under the direct supervision of the Federal Reserve Board; it is left to the discretion of this board to purchase all or any part of $50,000,000 of land bonds in any one year. Here are all the elements for undue favoritism if not for political pressure. If the result of the system is not to give lower rates and more favorable terms, it is a failure; if important advantages do follow and are given to only a portion of the applicants, we will have strong dissatisfaction if not political scandals and absolute political manipulation.

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. MOSS of Indiana. I do.

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. If the prevailing rate of interest in the various localities is to govern on these loans, where is the farmer to secure special benefits from the proposed legislation?

Mr. MOSS of Indiana. Under the bill framed by the commission, the bank could not charge the farmer borrower a rate more than 1 per cent higher than it paid to the bondholder. The bonds are freed from taxation, and are made absolutely safe investments by safeguards which have been thoroughly proven. Naturally, under these conditions, the rate will fall to the lowest level which the prevailing financial conditions will permit. The farmer borrower benefits directly, because his rate will fall precisely in the same degree that the rate on the bond falls. I am positive that under open competition among banks this administrative charge will fall well below the maximum of 1 per cent. Whatever reduction is made in this charge means an equal reduction in the farmer's rate. In Europe well-established banks charge only thirty-five one-hundredths of 1 per cent for their services. As land bonds are sold at as low a rate of interest as Government bonds, it follows that farmer borrowers get their money at an interest charge of only thirty-five one-hundredths of 1 per cent higher than the Governments of Europe borrow for public purposes. When the system becomes well established in this country, under exemption from taxation, it is absolutely certain that interest rates on farm mortgages will closely approach the rates of money paid by municipalities, States, and Nation for money for public purposes. We are not asking for greater results.

There can be no justification for that provision in the committee bill which forbids a local association from assigning its mortgages to any purchaser except the central bank or a local association federated with the central bank. The central bank is not obligated to accept the mortgages when offered by the local association, but the local association is forbidden to dispose of its securities in any other manner. The result is that the activities of the association are limited to whatever business the central bank may allot to it. The requirements of different sections of our country for capital will vary widely. Generally speaking, that section where farming is most highly organized after intensive methods will absorb largest volumes of money. It is in such sections that local tax rates will be highest, and therefore the favors extended under the bill will be greatest. It is in such sections that a volume of capital can be attracted to local securities based on local real estate. If these transactions could be granted the exemptions from taxation, the aggregate volume of such capital would be immense. The rates in such communities would be lower than those now generally prevailing over large areas of average farm territory in the United States, and the consequent advantages to agriculture would be transcendent. To illustrate this thought, I may say that we in Indiana are selling tax-free 4½ per cent bonds at a premium. These bonds are issued by the various townships in our State, and are sold by inserting advertisements in our local and State papers. There are many million dollars of these bonds now in circulation, and more are being sold every business day in the week.

Mr. CULLOP. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MOSS of Indiana. With pleasure.

Mr. CULLOP. Will the gentleman permit a correction? They are county bonds instead of township bonds, but the property of the township in which the improvements are made and for which they are issued is alone taxed to pay the bonds so issued.

Mr. MOSS of Indiana. The gentleman's statement is technically correct. The county issues the bonds, though they are township bonds in every sense of the word, and are issued by the county in order to avoid our extremely low constitutional limit in our State of 2 per cent. By this legislative device it is often possible for a township to exceed its constitutional limitation of indebtedness. The county is in no sense responsible for any payment in case of default in payment.

Last April the great State of Tennessee offered an issue of State bonds bearing a rate of 4½ per cent at par, and not a single subscription from any source was received. At that very moment hundreds of lots of township bonds bearing 4½ per cent were being sold in Indiana at a premium. Indiana farmers were denied the benefit of this low rate on money because of our law taxing mortgages. In Ohio a change of law, whereby municipal bonds were made subject to taxation, stopped the sale of such bonds until the rate of interest be raised. Under date of September 26, the Brazil Trust Co., a local financial institution in my home county, purchased $12,000 of local bonds at par and accrued interest; on the same day Mr. Thomas Wirt, a citizen, took $2,000, paying a premium to secure them. In contrast to these modest transactions, which are truly representative of a very large volume of similar transactions, I may mention that the State of Tennessee has had serious trouble to place an issue of its State bonds. If press reports be true, a bankers' commission representing the State, and working in cooperation with the United States Senators from that State, failed to sell an issue of a million dollars in bonds at 6 per cent, and the Secretary of the United States Treasury only succeeded in negotiating the sale by making a special deposit of $400,000 of public funds in the bank which purchased the $1,000,000 of Tennessee State bonds.

The city of New York recently paid a syndicate of bankers 6 per cent for a hundred-million-dollar loan; at the same moment bonds bearing a rate of 4½ per cent and issued by our townships are actively selling among our own people at a premium. Yet the committee would have us believe that it will require an elaborate selling agency, under control and domination of the Federal Reserve Board, to sell bonds based on improved Indiana farms and underwritten by an association of Indiana farmers, for this is the committee plan.

The method of securing capital stock for the proposed regional banks does not insure that these banks will be able to discharge the full duties imposed upon them under the terms of this bill. Of course, a failure at this point is a failure of the whole system. The bank in each reserve district can be organized with a minimum capital of $500,000; this amount must be subscribed by the Secretary of the Treasury if the full amount is not taken by other subscribers within 90 days from date of offering. The power of the Secretary to subscribe to the capital stock in these banks is limited to the first issue. Thereafter all increases in capital must be secured from the federated associations, individuals, or the governments of States. The local associations are not required under the terms of the bill to take capital stock in the regional bank in excess of 10 per cent of their own capital, but under the ratios fixed in the bill the central bank is compelled to sell nine dollars in capital stock to individuals, firms, corporations, and States to every dollar which is required to be subscribed by the local association. The power of the central bank to issue land bonds is limited by its amount of capital stock. It therefore follows that if any central bank were to meet with difficulty in selling its capital stock it would be embarrassed in accepting mortgages from the local associations, and could not furnish these associations with loanable funds.

Personally I am opposed to the placing of the system of rural-credit banks under the control of the Federal Reserve Board. This board is rightfully to become a powerful agency in the control and supervision over commercial banking. The removal of the Secretary of Agriculture as a member of this board, as suggested in the early drafts of the Federal reserve act, was an expression by Congress that this board was to devote its services exclusively to commercial banking. Surely no friend of rural credits would propose to remove the Secretary of Agriculture from a board which was to control and supervise rural banking. Under the committee bill this board is given the extreme power to control the interest rates, subject only to the State laws of usury.

It is not conceivable that the Federal Reserve Board will ever order a lower rate in rural-credit banks than in commercial

banks. It is the high rate of the commercial banks that this movement is projected against. Ultimately we propose to organize a system of personal credit rural banks. The mortgage bank is but the first step in the campaign for a complete system of rural banking with short-time and long-time credit for the farmers of the United States. This campaign can never be successful if we place the absolute control over interest rates in the same board which supervises and virtually manages the commercial banks of the Nation. There will be competition between the two systems of banks. This is inevitable and it is desirable; but what chance will there be for successful competition if at the very beginning a monopolistic system of banks is created, with the supreme control—even to the extent of dictating absolutely the rates of interest to be charged—given over to the same body or board which will supervise the system of commercial banks of the Nation?

Whatever may be said of the defects of the commission bill, it is free from monopolistic control and is not guilty of seeking to appropriate public money for private uses. Its opportunities are open to all citizens on equal terms. The farms of the United States are now valued at nearly $40,000,000,000, agricultural products were never selling at a higher level of values, and no generation of farmers since the days of Adam have ever enjoyed so great advantages or had such splendid opportunities. The one crying need is better credit facilities that our farmers may go forward, feed and clothe the world, and enrich themselves by their industry. Here is the most inviting field for the investment banker in the wide world to-day. It is a field which will absorb vast sums of money. In looking about for sources to secure these funds we need not deceive ourselves—this money must come from the American people. The present world war will utterly destroy the so-called world's market for our securities. We will be called upon by impoverished Europe to buy back existing issues of American securities rather than to place new issues in their markets. This striking change in economic conditions has come about since the committee bill was written, but it should be apparent that we must finance our own enterprises. For this reason among the others enumerated it will be an act of folly to enact a monopolistic system of subsidized banks and deny to private capital and private initiative all opportunity to enter this vast field of investment and share a part of the great burden of improving American agriculture.

Woman Suffrage.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK W. MONDELL,

OF WYOMING,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 12, 1915,

On House joint resolution 1, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, under the privilege granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD I shall insert in the RECORD certain facts relating to and arguments in favor of woman suffrage.

Hundreds of organizations have indorsed woman suffrage. The following are a few of the most important:

International Council of Women, about 7,000,000 members, and national councils in a score of countries.
General Federation of Women's Clubs, 1,700,000 members, and fully half of the State federations.
American Federation of Labor, 2,000,000 members.
Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 300,000 members.
Anti-Saloon League.
International Nurses' Association.
National Grange, over 1,000,000 members.
United Mine Workers, nearly 1,000,000 members.
International and National Bricklayers and Masons.
National Letter Carriers.
National Teachers' Association and many State associations.
International and National Women's Trade Union Leagues.
Ladies of the Maccabees, 50,000 members.
Tri-State Grain Growers' Association.
National College Women's League.
International Retail Clerks' Protective Association, 300,000 members.
Western Federation of Miners.
National Association of Post Office Clerks.

POLITICAL PARTIES INDORSE SUFFRAGE.

Equal-suffrage planks have been adopted in more party platforms this year than ever before.

The Republicans have recommended the submission of a constitutional amendment to the voters in New York, Maine, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Iowa, and Vermont, while in Illinois, Maryland, North Dakota, Montana, and Arkansas they have gone further and declared for the principle. The Democrats have recommended the submission of a constitutional amendment in New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Illinois, and Connecticut, and have come out in favor of the principle in North Dakota, Pennsylvania, and Vermont. The Progressives and Socialists have adopted suffrage planks practically everywhere.

In several of the States where women already have full suffrage, both Republicans and Democrats have this year for the first time adopted planks calling for a Nation-wide woman suffrage amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

WHERE WOMEN VOTE.

Norway.

Municipal franchise granted tax-paying women	1901
Full franchise granted tax-paying women	1907
Municipal franchise extended to all women	1910
Full parliamentary franchise extended to all women	1913
Approximate number of women having the full franchise	500,000
Percentage of women eligible who use their vote	20 to 55
Population:	
Men	1,155,773
Women	1,236,009
Total	2,391,782

Finland.

Municipal franchise granted tax-paying women in country districts	1863
Municipal franchise granted tax-paying women in city districts	1872
Full franchise granted all women	1906
Number of women having the franchise	707,000
Percentage of eligible women who vote	54 to 60
Population:	
Men	1,520,810
Women	1,538,514
Total	3,059,324

Sweden.

Municipal franchise granted tax-paying widows and spinsters	1862
Municipal franchise granted all women on the same terms as men	1909
Approximate number of women having the municipal franchise	1,400,000
Percentage of women eligible who vote	15.2 to 32.9
Total population	5,521,939
Men	2,698,975
Women	2,822,968

HISTORY.

Sweden was the first country in the world to extend to women any measure of suffrage whatever.

Iceland.

Municipal suffrage granted tax-paying widows and spinsters	1882
Municipal suffrage extended to all women	1909
Full suffrage extended to all women	1914
Approximate number of women eligible	11,000
Estimated percentage of eligible women who vote	50 to 80
Total population	85,188
Women	41,083
Men	44,105

Denmark.

Municipal franchise granted tax-paying women and wives of men who pay taxes	1908
Number of women enfranchised	422,999
Percentage of women eligible who vote	38 to 70
Total population	2,757,076
Men	1,337,900
Women	1,419,176

New Zealand.

Municipal suffrage granted all women	1886
Full suffrage granted all women	1893
Approximate number of women eligible	300,000
Percentage of eligible women who vote	74 to 85
Total population	1,008,468
Males	531,910
Females	476,558

HISTORY.

New Zealand was the first country to give full suffrage to all women.

Australia.

State suffrage granted in South Australia	1895
State suffrage granted in West Australia	1900
State suffrage granted in New South Wales	1902
State suffrage granted in Tasmania	1903
State suffrage granted in Queensland	1905
State suffrage granted in Victoria	1908
Full suffrage granted throughout Federated Australia	1902
Number of women having franchise in Federated Australia	1,100,000
Percentage of women eligible who vote	40 to 60
Total population	4,455,005
Females	2,313,035
Males	2,141,970

Isle of Man.

Full parliamentary suffrage granted to women property owners	1881
Full parliamentary suffrage extended to women taxpayers	1892
Total population (1911)	52,034
Males	23,953
Females	28,081

England and Wales.

Municipal suffrage granted women	1869
Women made eligible to city and county councils	1907
Total population (1911)	36,075,269
Males	17,448,476
Females	18,626,793

Scotland.

Municipal suffrage granted women on the same terms as men	1881
Women made eligible to city and county councils	1901
Total population (1911)	4,759,445
Males	2,307,603
Females	2,451,842

Canada.

Municipal suffrage granted property-owning widows and spinsters:

Ontario	1884
British Columbia	1888
Northwest Territory (now Alberta and Saskatchewan)	1888
Prince Edward Island	1888
Quebec	1892

Municipal suffrage granted tax-paying widows and spinsters:

Manitoba	1888
New Brunswick	1886

Municipal suffrage granted to all property-owning women, including married women whose husbands are not voters:

Nova Scotia	1887

The United States.

School suffrage granted certain classes of women subject to various restrictions:

Kentucky	1838
Kansas	1861
Michigan	1875
Minnesota	1875
Colorado	1876
New Hampshire	1878
Oregon	1878
Massachusetts	1879
Vermont	1880
New York	1880
Mississippi	1880
Nebraska	1883
Montana	1887
New Jersey	1887
North Dakota	1887
South Dakota	1887
Arizona	1887
Oklahoma	1890
Connecticut	1893
Ohio	1894
Delaware	1898
Wisconsin	1900

Suffrage on taxation and bonding propositions granted certain classes of women subject to various restrictions:

Montana	1887
Iowa	1894
Louisiana	1898
New York	1901
Kansas	1903
Michigan	1908

Municipal suffrage granted all women:

Kansas	1887

Vote for presidential electors, for certain county and certain State officers, and for all municipal officers granted all women:

Illinois	1913

Full suffrage granted all women:

Wyoming	1869
Colorado	1893
Utah	1896
Idaho	1896
Washington	1910
California	1911
Kansas	1912
Oregon	1912
Arizona	1912
Alaska	1913
Montana	1914
Nevada	1914

Wyoming.

Full suffrage granted	1869
Number of women eligible (Bull. U. S. Census for 1910)	28,840
Estimated per cent of women eligible who vote	80 to 90
Population (1910), total	145,965
Males	91,670
Females	54,295

HISTORY.

Wyoming is the pioneer equal-suffrage State in America, full political equality having been the basis of its government as long as it has had a government at all. Very significantly, the words "equal rights" form the motto on its State seal. The very first legislative council, after its organization as a Territory, passed, in 1869, a bill providing that women should have the same rights as men to vote and hold office; and when it was admitted as a State in 1890, before any other State had given women the vote, equal suffrage was made a part of its constitution.

During the early days of woman's enfranchisement in Wyoming several ineffectual attempts were made to secure a repeal, but for nearly half a century now the status of the women of Wyoming has been unquestioned in their own State. At the time statehood was applied for a determined opposition was made in Congress to the admission of a Territory with a woman-suffrage clause in its constitution. So violent was the feeling that the Territorial delegate in Congress, Joseph M. Carey, now governor of the State, telegraphed the legislature that he feared statehood would not be granted if the suffrage clause were not abandoned. The legislature, which was then in session, telegraphed back, "We will remain out of the Union a hundred years rather than come in without woman suffrage."

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Colorado.

Full suffrage granted	1893
Number of women eligible (bulletin U. S. Census Bureau, 1910, "Females of voting age for certain States")	213,425
Estimated percentage of registered women who vote	75 to 85
Total population (1910)	799,024
Males	430,697
Females	368,227

HISTORY.

Colorado conferred suffrage upon women in 1893 by enactment of a law which was submitted to the voters and carried by a majority of only a little over 6,000. In 1901, after women had been exercising the privilege for eight years, the measure carried by implication as a clause of a constitutional amendment by a majority of 18,000. (It has been frequently stated that the majority for equal suffrage was on this occasion 30,000, but this is an error.)

No attempt at repeal has ever been made. On the contrary, practically every public man of importance in the State has at one time or another placed himself on record as commending the participation of Colorado women in public affairs, while not six men of standing have been induced to assert over their own signatures that woman suffrage has brought about one single evil, or even that it has failed to effect improvements.

Owing to the fact that conditions are more like those in the typical American Commonwealth than conditions in any of the other States that have enfranchised women—with the exception of Washington and California, in which the measure is still very young—Colorado has been chosen for most of the investigations that have been made into the workings of equal suffrage. The few unfavorable reports that have appeared—all, it must be said, in publications of known anti-suffrage tendencies—have called forth an avalanche of indignant refutation from the most representative men of the State.

In 1898, as a result of certain misrepresentations, a statement approving equal suffrage was issued, signed by the governor, three ex-governors, both United States Senators, two ex-Senators, two Representatives in Congress, the chief justice and two associate justices of the supreme court, three judges of the court of appeals, four judges of the district court, the secretary of state, the State treasurer, the State auditor, the attorney general, the mayor of Denver, the president of the State University, the president of Colorado College, and the presidents and officers of numerous women's clubs.

In 1899 the Colorado Legislature passed, by a vote of 45 to 3 in the house and 30 to 1 in the senate, a resolution declaring that during the time that equal suffrage had been in operation women had used the vote as generally as men, with the result that better candidates had been selected for office, election methods had been purified, the character of legislation improved, civic intelligence increased, and womanhood developed, and recommending the adoption of the measure by all the States and Territories of the Union.

In 1911, as a result of an attack upon the workings of equal suffrage in Colorado, the men of the State formed the Colorado Equal Suffrage Aid Association in order to supply accurate information with regard to the system and to correct misrepresentations. Its president is ex-Gov. Alva Adams, and its vice president and secretary are Hon. I. N. Stevens and Hon. Omar E. Garwood, both leading lawyers. On its executive committee are United States Marshal Dewey C. Bailey, ex-Congressman John A. Martin, District Attorney George A. Carlson, ex-Judge Grant L. Hudson, Judge Harry C. Riddle, Congressman EDWARD T. TAYLOR, Congressman A. W. RUCKER, District Attorney Walter M. Morgan, Deputy City Auditor Joseph J. Vick Roy, Dr. Barton O. Aylesworth, formerly president of Colorado Agricultural College, and Hon. W. W. Garwood, a leading lawyer.

EXTENT OF WOMAN VOTE.

While no accurate figures are available, it is probable, judging from estimates furnished by various State and county officials, that 75 to 85 per cent of the eligible women actually cast their ballots. The number of women voting varies with the importance of the election or with the special interest to women in the issues involved. * * *

EFFECT UPON LEGISLATION.

(For a more detailed list of laws attributable to the influence of women in Colorado, see Senate Document No. 722, Sixty-second Congress, second session, speech of Hon. EDWARD T. TAYLOR, delivered in the House of Representatives April 24, 1912.)

The statutes of Colorado present a most imposing array of laws affecting the welfare of women, children, and the home. A large number of these must unquestionably be attributed to the work of women. In this State, where the sexes are more evenly distributed than in any of the other older suffrage States, the women voters have used their political power to influence legislation more consciously and deliberately and over a longer period of time than anywhere else. Women have introduced many of these laws into the legislature, where in most sessions they had the advantage of women members to look after them.

Every woman's club has its legislative committee, which scrutinizes every bill introduced and makes recommendations as to whether it should be supported or opposed. Among the laws most easily traceable to women's influence are measures making mothers joint guardians with the fathers over their children; raising the age of protection of young girls to 18; establishing a juvenile court; making parents responsible for the offenses of delinquent children when they have, by neglect or any other cause, contributed to such delinquency; forbidding the employment of children in certain industries; making the wife the head of the family in cases where she provides the principal support; providing for supervision of lying-in hospitals and maternity homes conducted by private individuals; compelling men to support their families and making wife desertion a felony; providing penalties for the punishment of male and female procurers; making it a felony for any person under 18 to work as a servant or employee in any house of ill fame; making immoral solicitation a felony; imposing heavy penalties upon men for living upon the earnings of immoral women; forbidding the insuring of the lives of children under 10 years; establishing State parental schools; establishing a State home for dependent children, two of the five members of the board to be women; requiring that at least three of the six members of the board of county visitors shall be women; establishing a State industrial home for girls, three of the five members of the board to be women; requiring one woman physician on the board of the insane asylum; providing for the care of the feeble-minded; making father and mother joint heirs of a deceased child;

establishing a State traveling library commission, to consist of five women from the Colorado Federation of Women's Clubs, to be appointed by the governor; prohibiting the gift or sale of cigarettes to children; prohibiting the sale of opium; making employers liable for industrial accidents; removing the emblems from the Australian ballot (an approach to an educational qualification for voting); establishing the indeterminate sentence for prisoners; making the Colorado Humane Society a State bureau of child and animal protection; providing for the teaching of humanity to animals in the public schools; establishing mothers' pensions; creating a minimum-wage board to determine minimum wage for women; establishing an eight-hour law for women; providing for the initiative, referendum, recall, and for direct primaries. Before the franchise was granted women's property rights had already been fairly well secured, and now the last discriminations have been removed, so that, with respect to property, women are on a basis of perfect equality with men, the old laws of dower and courtesy having been replaced with measures even more favorable to women.

	1896
Full suffrage granted	
Number of women registered (bulletin United States Census Bureau, 1910, "Females of voting age for certain States")	85,729
Estimated percentage of eligible women who vote	85 to 90
Total population, 1910	373,351
Males	196,853
Females	176,488

HISTORY.

In 1870, before Utah was admitted as a State, the Territorial legislature passed a measure adopting equal suffrage, and for 17 years women voted at all elections and acted as delegates to political conventions and members of Territorial and county committees, but they were not eligible to office. In 1887 Congress passed a bill taking away the rights granted by the Territorial legislature, and during the remaining nine years of the Territorial period Utah women were without the vote. In 1896, however, when statehood was conferred, equal suffrage was included in the constitution. Since then women have been unquestionably accepted on an equal political footing with men in all respects.

EXTENT OF WOMAN VOTE.

In a letter to the author, January 17, 1912, H. T. Haines, commissioner of the State bureau of statistics, said that women vote in as large or larger numbers than men—from 85 per cent to 90 per cent of those eligible casting their ballots.

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EFFECT UPON LEGISLATION.

Since their enfranchisement they have aided in securing measures providing for equal pay for equal work for teachers; raising the age of protection for young girls to 18; establishing free public libraries in cities and towns; requiring in all schools and educational institutions supported wholly or partly by public funds systematic instruction in psysiology and hygiene, including the effects of stimulants and narcotics; providing for a course of free lectures every year at the capital on sanitary science, hygiene, and nursing; providing for a curfew bell at 9 p. m. to keep children off the streets at night; making it a misdemeanor for any minor to buy, accept, or have in his possession cigarettes, tobacco, opium, or any other narcotic; providing for the protection of dependent, neglected, or ill-treated children and for the punishment of the persons responsible; requiring the establishment of kindergartens in towns of a specified size; prohibiting traffic in women; giving cities the power to suppress and prohibit disorderly houses; prohibiting pandering; prohibiting the employment of children in certain industries; prohibiting the employment of women more than 9 hours a day or 54 hours a week; providing for medical examination of school children; authorizing boards of health to take certain steps to protect the public against venereal disease; providing for sanitary inspection of slaughterhouses and other places where foodstuffs are prepared; creating a juvenile court commission; creating a minimum wage for women; requiring that seats shall be furnished where women are employed; providing for mothers' pensions; making mothers equal guardians with the fathers over their children; compelling wife deserters to pay a specified amount for the support of their families; giving local option on the liquor question. Women have practically the same rights over their independent property as men, the old laws of dower and courtesy having been superseded by more modern statutes.

Idaho.

	1896
Full suffrage granted	
Number of women eligible (bulletin United States Census Bureau, 1910, "Females of voting age for certain States")	69,818
Percentage of women registered who vote	75 to 85
Total population, 1910	325,594
Males	185,546
Females	140,048

HISTORY.

In 1895 the Idaho Legislature voted unanimously in the senate and 33 to 2 in the house to submit a woman-suffrage amendment to the State constitution, and in 1896 the measure carried by a majority of 5,844.

EXTENT OF WOMAN VOTE.

Despite the unsettled state of the country, which makes it difficult for women to get to the polls, women in Idaho have exercised their rights as fully as men, and sometimes in considerably larger numbers, the percentage of eligible women who vote ranging from 75 per cent to 85 per cent.

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EFFECT UPON LEGISLATION.

In the first session of the legislature after they got the vote women aided materially in getting through a measure of the utmost importance to the young State, namely, an antigambling law. In the six sessions since then they have helped to secure measures raising the age of protection for young girls to 18; prohibiting the employment of children in certain industries; creating a juvenile court; creating a State humane society; increasing the control of married women over their independent property; establishing libraries and reading rooms and a State library commission, consisting of the president of the State university, the State superintendent of public instruction, the secretary of state, and the attorney general; providing for a department of domestic science in the State university and for a course of lectures on the subject in the Academy of Idaho; establishing an industrial school; providing for the inspection and regulation of places where foods and drugs are prepared; providing for the commission form of government; providing antitrust regulations; establishing measures for the control of the sale of liquor; prohibiting persons of lewd lives, both men and women, from voting; establishing a nine-hour law for women; creating mothers' pensions; prohibiting traffic in women; giving cities and villages the power to regulate and suppress prostitution.

TESTIMONY FROM IDAHO.

Idaho extended the franchise to women in 1896. After 16 years her public men are practically unanimous in declaring it to have been an unqualified advantage to the State. Statements, unsolicited, from some of them are herewith given:

Hon. John M. Haines, governor of Idaho: "I am clearly of the opinion that woman suffrage has brought us much that is good in politics and very little, if anything, that is bad or even questionable. The influence of women in politics has been good and always in favor of clean candidates and honest administration."

Hon James H. Hawley, ex-governor of Idaho: "I have stood for woman suffrage for 41 years. Woman exercises the franchise quite as intelligently as man, and with a higher degree of conscientiousness. All our best women vote, and by so doing exert a powerful influence for good in the administration of public affairs."

Hon. JAMES H. BRADY, ex-governor: "Politically the effect of woman suffrage has been immeasurably uplifting and beneficial. Woman suffrage has been an unqualified success, not only in Idaho but in all the other Western States that have adopted it. The West has but set the pace for the rest of the country in giving justice to women."

Hon. Frank W. Hunt late ex-governor: "Woman suffrage has purified politics. The woman vote compels parties to select the cleanest and best material for public office."

Hon. WILLIAM E. BORAH, United States Senator: "The presence of woman in politics, armed with the power to enforce her demands, has been substantially for the benefit of society. It is sometimes argued that women will vote largely with their brothers or husbands, but I have observed that there comes a time upon certain questions when the husband and brothers vote with the women."

Hon. Weldon B. Heyburn, late United States Senator: "The general tone of political affairs in the State has been improved since the adoption of woman suffrage. In particular, greater care is exercised in the selection of candidates for office. While the women of Idaho do not, as a rule, participate personally in the primaries and conventions, the fact that they are able to express their will with respect to men and measures at the polls exercises a powerful influence."

Hon. BURTON LEE FRENCH, United States Representative: "I confess that I was not in favor of woman suffrage at the time it was adopted by the State, in 1896. From practical experience with it, however, I have become a convert. I believe it has raised the moral tone of political life throughout the State, particularly in county politics. Forty per cent of the voters are women (although women form a minority of the population). They are much more independent than men. They will not vote the straight ticket unless they approve the individual candidates. They are free from blind party loyalty, which sometimes leads men to vote for a man whose record is bad simply because he is on their party ticket."

Hon. Ralph P. Quarles, former justice of the supreme court: "Equal suffrage has resulted in much good in Idaho. The participation of women in the conventions of our various political parties and in elections has a tendency to relegate the professional politicians and bring forth a better class of people."

Miss Margaret S. Roberts, president of the Columbian Club: "In Idaho we women do not want to take the men's place. We want to do the work they haven't time to do. The men are busy developing the country. We want to see that the homes and the children are properly cared for. To do that we need the ballot. Nothing puts the fear of God into the hearts of men like the ballot in the hands of good women."

Washington.

	1910
Full suffrage granted	
Number of women eligible (bulletin United States Census Bureau, 1910, "Females of voting age for certain States")	277,727
Percentage of women registered who vote	85 to 95
Total population, 1910	1,141,990
Males	658,663
Females	483,327

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EXTENT OF WOMAN VOTE.

Shortly after Washington women got the vote, an initiative petition was circulated for the recall of Mayor Hiram C. Gill, of Seattle, because of his policy with respect to commercialized vice. The referendum on this petition—which, it is generally admitted, could never have received the requisite number of signatures but for the women voters—brought out a record woman vote. Out of the 72,000 voters registering, 23,000 were women, although in Seattle men greatly outnumber women; and of the 23,000 registered 22,000 actually cast their ballots. Gill, who had been elected by a majority of 4,000, was recalled by a majority of 6,000. In the next city election he presented himself as a candidate for the mayoralty, and received the nomination, but was defeated—again by woman votes. In 1914, secure of Gill's defeat, the interest put in the field a man whose election they particularly desired. Mayor Gill, in his manifesto, acknowledged his conversion, promised a clean administration, and was elected by the help of the women's vote. After election he adhered strictly to his promises. Women are also credited with having brought about the recall of the mayor and city commissioners of Tacoma for the same reasons that they had opposed Mayor Gill. In the State elections of 1912 women polled a large vote and are credited with having elected the gubernatorial candidate of their choice, Ernest Lister, although he was not a member of the dominant party which overwhelmingly carried the rest of the State ticket.

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EFFECT UPON LEGISLATION.

Since women were enfranchised they made an excellent record. Among the measures which they introduced or to which they gave special support, the following were successful: Measures creating an eight-hour law for women; establishing an industrial welfare commission to fix hours of employment, standard conditions of labor, and minimum wage for women; providing for workmen's compensation; creating a teachers' retirement fund; creating mothers' pensions; adopting the model Iowa red-light injunction and abatement act for the suppression of disorderly houses; regulating the milk industry; providing for juvenile courts; providing for penalties for child desertion; creating a State school for delinquent girls; introducing improvements into the public-school system and establishing free kindergartens; providing that school buildings

may be used as social centers; abolishing the death penalty; and adopting the initiative and referendum.

California.

(For further data on the history and results of woman suffrage in California, see "What California's women did with their ballots," by Lewis Edwin and Mary Bartol Theiss, Pictorial Review for March, 1913, and "How the women of California are preparing for citizenship," by Lewis Edwin and Mary Bartol Theiss, Pictorial Review for April, 1913.)

Full suffrage granted	1911
Number of women eligible (bulletin U. S. Census Bureau, 1910, "Females of voting age for certain States")	671,386
Estimated percentage of women registered who vote	85 to 99
Population (1910):	
Men	1,322,978
Women	1,054,571
Total	2,377,549

HISTORY.

In 1896 a woman-suffrage amendment to the State constitution was submitted to the voters by the California Legislature and defeated by a vote of 26,744. In 1911 the amendment was submitted for the second time and carried by a majority of 4,000.

This was an even greater victory than the one preceding, as conditions in California are even more typical of American civilization in its most advanced stage than those in Washington. It doubled the number of women voters, and added to the number of presidential electors elected by the votes of both men and women as many as Utah, Idaho, and Wyoming or of Washington and Colorado put together.

EXTENT OF WOMAN VOTE.

Never in the history of American politics has there been such a registration of voters as that immediately following the enfranchisement of the California women. In Los Angeles, where the first city election was held, practically all women of voting age hastened to place their names upon the rolls, and from 95 per cent to 99 per cent of those registered actually cast their ballots, outnumbering the men in almost every district.

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The results of this investigation indicate that about 251,847 women voted at this election—Secretary of State Frank C. Jordan puts the figures at 313,883. This is an average for the 37 counties, taken at random, of 61.3 per cent of the registered women voting.

EFFECT UPON LEGISLATION.

The women's first care after their enfranchisement was to put through a most extraordinary legislative program, which, while it was probably not designed, except incidentally, to demonstrate the fact that they knew how to use their political power when they got it, actually did serve that end most admirably. The list of laws passed in this one session is as follows:

The mothers' pension law, granting aid to needy parents in order to keep the children at home rather than have them committed to institutions.

The health-certificate law, requiring a certificate of freedom from venereal diseases of all men before obtaining marriage licenses.

The minimum-wage law, creating a commission to investigate the conditions of industry of women and children, with power to invoke a minimum wage in industries paying less than a living wage.

The red-light abatement and injunction law, placing the responsibility of disorderly houses upon the owners and lessees rather than upon the inmates, and forbidding such houses.

The joint guardianship law, giving mothers equal rights over their minor children.

The juvenile court law, separating dependent from delinquent children.

The extension of the eight-hour law for women to include workers in apartment houses and nurses in training.

The age-of-consent law, raising the age from 16 to 18.

The State Training School for Girls, providing a separate institution for girls, with the most approved correctional methods and thorough vocational training.

The teachers' pension law, granting pensions of $500 a year to all teachers who have been in service 30 years.

The net-container law, specifying that packages shall show the amount of net contents.

The weights-and-measures law, providing for a complete standard of weights and measures and regular inspection of dealers.

The Roberts bill, forbidding the destruction of any foodstuff fit for human consumption.

The State civil-service law, bringing practically all State employees under the merit service.

The creation of a State housing and immigration commission to prepare for the coming of immigrants with the opening of the Panama Canal.

Prison reform: All sentences except for murder are made indeterminate; strait-jackets and cold showers are prohibited; and arrangements are made for the payment of wages to State prison convicts and for assistance to discharged prisoners.

The milk-inspection law, providing for strict regulation of dairies.

The white-slave law, prohibiting traffic in women between counties.

The tuberculosis law, providing for the reporting of all such cases.

Amendment to the liquor laws, forbidding the sale of liquor between 2 and 6 a. m.

The creation of a commission to investigate the question of old-age pensions.

The workmen's compensation law, requiring compulsory compensation for injuries, and establishing a system of State industrial insurance.

The water-conservation law, establishing a water commission with authority over all water in the State. Conservation is a subject in which the women in California have taken keen interest.

The psychopathic parole law, providing for the parole of persons mentally abnormal but not dangerously insane, under the custody of psychopathic parole officers.

The billboard law, limiting billboards to 10 feet in height and prohibiting spite fences of more than that height.

The bastardy law, requiring fathers to help support illegitimate children.

A law providing for the sterilization of inmates of insane asylums and certain convicts.

The creation of mosquito-control districts.

The requirement of the wife's signature to legalize the assignment of a man's wages.

The amendment to the child-labor law raising the age limit of child workers from 12 to 15.

THE PROOF IN CALIFORNIA.

[From the Woman's Journal, Jan. 2, 1915.]

The vote at the last three gubernatorial elections in California was as follows:

In 1906	312,030
In 1910	385,713
In 1914	926,689

The vote in 1910 was almost 124 per cent of that in 1906. If the same percentage of increase had held true, the vote in 1914 would have been 478,294. But instead of increasing to 124 per cent it increased to 241 per cent. The reason was that women voted in 1914. If 478,294 men voted in 1914, then the number of women voting must have been 448,395. In other words, women would have cast 48 per cent of the vote and men 52; men would have cast only 4 per cent more of the vote than women, although the number of adult men in California is 16 per cent greater than the number of adult women.

Whatever the exact proportion of men and women voting, it is patent that the women of California are fully awake to their new responsibilities.

Kansas.

Municipal suffrage granted	1887
Full suffrage granted	1912
Estimated number of women eligible	439,000
Estimated percentage of women eligible who vote	60 to 80
Total population (1910)	1,690,949
Males	885,912
Females	805,037
Full suffrage for women granted in	1912

In the election of 1914, which was the first general State election following the enfranchisement of Kansas women, it was estimated that women cast 40 per cent of the vote. Out of a total of 87,220 ballots, 37,318 were cast by women, as opposed to 49,902 cast by men. In 1912, which was a presidential years, the vote of the men was only 50,904.

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Oregon.

Full suffrage granted	1912
Estimated number of women eligible	168,300
Percentage of women registered who vote	No figures available.
Total population (1910)	672,765
Males	384,265
Females	288,500

HISTORY.

The granting of full suffrage to women in Oregon in 1912 ended the longest continuous organized struggle for enfranchisement ever made in this country. There the amendment was submitted six times. * * *

EXTENT OF WOMAN VOTE.

There has been no general election since the women got the vote, and no figures have been kept for the local elections. It is reported, however, that the women have taken advantage of every opportunity so far to avail themselves of their newly acquired rights.

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Arizona.

Full suffrage granted	1912
Estimated number of women eligible	43,891
Percentage of women registered who vote	No figures available.
Total population (1910)	204,354
Males	118,574
Females	85,780

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EXTENT OF WOMAN VOTE.

It is reported that women have taken a lively interest in all the local elections which have taken place in Arizona since their enfranchisement, the percentage of eligible women voting about equaling the percentage of eligible men.

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EFFECT UPON LEGISLATION.

In the legislative session of 1912–13 certain measures in which women had been interested for years, but with respect to which little progress had been made, received conspicuously favorable attention from their representatives. An eight-hour law for women in certain industries was passed.

Alaska.

Full suffrage granted	1913
Estimated number of women eligible	No figures available.
Percentage of women eligible who vote	No figures available.
Total population (1910)	64,356

HISTORY.

In 1912 a Territorial legislature for Alaska was convened, and the first bill to be introduced, and the first bill to pass, was one enfranchising women. There was not a dissenting vote in either house.

EXTENT OF WOMAN VOTE.

There have been no elections since women were enfranchised.

OFFICE HOLDING.

Women have as yet had no opportunity to present themselves as candidates.

EFFECT UPON LEGISLATION.

The mere fact that women were to be on a basis of political equality with men, caused the legislature to place them on a basis of perfect equality in every other way as far as this lay within its power. Section 495 of the Compiled Laws of Alaska reads: "All laws which impose or recognize civil disability in a wife which are not imposed or recognized as existing as to the husband, are hereby repealed; and for any unjust usurpation of her property or natural rights she shall have the same right to appeal in her own name alone to all courts for redress that the husband has."

Illinois.

Suffrage for presidential electors, for county officials, and for all municipal officers granted to women	1913
Estimated number of women eligible	1,567,401
Percentage of women registered who vote	No figures available.
Total population (1910)	5,638,591
Males	2,911,674
Females	2,726,917

HISTORY.

The difficulties of obtaining an amendment to the constitution in Illinois caused the women to turn their attention to an attempt to secure by legislative enactment the large measure of suffrage which the legislature, under the constitution, had the power to extend.

In this they were successful in the summer of 1913. The enactment of this law gives them the right to vote for presidential electors, for State board of equalization, clerk of the appellate court, county collector, county surveyor, board of assessors, board of review, sanitary district trustees, and for all municipal officers except justices of the peace—all the officers not created by the State constitution. They may also vote on all questions or propositions submitted to a vote of the electors of the municipalities or other political divisions of the State. The possession of this much political power will greatly assist them in their efforts to secure a constitutional amendment completing their enfranchisement.

CHICAGO RETURNS SHOW BIG VOTE—OFFICIAL RETURNS GIVE NUMBER OF WOMEN WHO WENT TO POLLS AS 123,991.

Officials returns from the November election in Chicago were available November 28 for the first time. They showed that 123,991 women voted at that time, despite the fact that women had no voice in the most important offices to be filled. This is about 75 per cent of the registration, which was 166,277.

The men's vote in Chicago was 351,741, or about 90 per cent of the registration, which was 394,015.

A SUMMARY OF 10 FACTS ABOUT WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Fact 1. In the male-suffrage States only about 60 to 65 per cent of the men vote. In equal-suffrage States from 70 to 90 per cent of the women vote; and, as a rule, the men's vote is higher also.

Fact 2. One hundred and forty mayors in cities and towns of the four oldest suffrage States—Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and Idaho—affirmed that women voted in large numbers, that they were public spirited, and that the vote of disreputable women was a negligible quantity.

Fact 3. The Interparliamentary Union has declared that Colorado has the most advanced laws of any State or country in the world for the protection of women and children.

Fact 4. California, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Oregon, and Washington give pensions to widowed destitute mothers in order that they may care for their young children at home instead of sending them away to institutions.

Fact 5. In Colorado, Kansas, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming women have absolute control over their own separate property and independent earnings; and in Arizona, California, and Idaho, where the community system still prevails, women have control over their property and earnings if living separate from their husbands.

Fact 6. A number of the most progressive and enlightened countries of the world—Norway, Finland, Iceland, Australia, New Zealand, and the Isle of Man—have given full suffrage to women.

Fact 7. In every one of these countries the municipal franchise was granted first and full suffrage granted only after the smaller measure had been thoroughly tested.

Fact 8. Both houses of the Australian Parliament have passed resolutions declaring woman suffrage to have been an unqualified success in that country.

Fact 9. In Denmark, Sweden, England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and nine of the Provinces of Canada women have the municipal franchise, and the Parliaments of the first two are on the point of extending the full suffrage. In the cities of Belize, in Honduras, Bombay, in India, and Rangoon, in Burma, the women share whatever municipal voting rights the men have.

Fact 10. Not one country, State, or community which has granted women any measure of suffrage has ever permanently taken it way; but, on the contrary, has enlarged and extended it.

A FEW LEADING QUESTIONS.

Q. Under a representative form of government such as ours who should make the laws?—A. The people.

Q. Do the people make the laws?—A. No; one-half the people are forbidden any share in lawmaking.

Q. Who do make the laws?—A. Men.

Q. Who gave men the right to make the laws?—A. Men.

Q. Do not the laws concern women?—A. They certainly do.

Q. May not women take part in making the laws which they must obey?—A. They may not. Men alone make the laws for women and men.

Q. If a woman transgresses the law, who decides the penalty, tries, convicts, and punishes her?—A. Men.

Q. Who sit on the juries before whom women are tried?—A. Men only.

Q. Is this what the Constitution means by "the judgment of his peers"?—A. Evidently not.

Q. May not mothers help make the laws which decide their legal relations to their children?—A. No; men make the laws; and in only 16 States in the Union and the District of Columbia—besides Idaho and Utah, whose guardianship laws are, in effect, practically equal—has the married mother the legal right to her children.

Q. Why is the law so one-sided?—A. Because it is the product of one sex alone.

Q. Who make the laws which decide the rights of husband and wife in case of separation?—A. Men only.

Q. When a husband brutally assaults his wife who determine the penalty?—A. Men.

Q. Who make the laws concerning the property rights of husband and wife?—A. Men.

Q. Who pay the taxes?—A. Men and women.

Q. Is the property of women taxed the same as that of men?—A. Often higher.

Q. Who assess, collect, and expend the tax money paid by men and women?—A. Men only.

Q. May not a woman who manages her own business have a vote in elections which directly concern her own interests?—A. No; but the most incapable man in her employ may do so.

Q. May not an educated, temperate, moral, and law-abiding woman vote?—A. No; but an ignorant, intemperate, immoral, and law-breaking man may do so.

Q. May not women who teach the boys in our schools vote?—A. No; but the boys they teach, when 21, may do so.

Q. The mothers who have brought forth, carefully reared, and given their sons to the State—may they not vote?—A. No.

Q. Why not?—A. Because they are women.

Q. Would women vote if the privilege were granted them?—A. Judging from experience, they would, since they always have voted in about equal numbers with men in all the States and countries where they have been given a chance.

Q. Why do women want to vote?—A. First. Because they are American citizens, and the United States Constitution says: "The citizen's right to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

Second. Because they are taxpayers, and it is a principle of our Government that taxation and representation ought to go together.

Third. Because every citizen should help select those who make the laws which he or she must obey.

Fourth. Because every citizen in a free republic is entitled to representation, and no person having but one vote can represent himself and another, even with the latter's consent.

Fifth. Because a vote means power, and women need this power to protect the interests of themselves, their children, their homes, and society.

Sixth. Because politics, which means the government, needs the combined influence of men and women. Without the ballot, woman's influence is indirect, negative, and irresponsible. Votes talk, votes count, votes compel respect, votes decide every question.

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SOME COMMON QUESTIONS ANSWERED.

[By Sarah Platt Decker, late president General Federation of Women's Clubs and of the Denver Women's Club.]

So much has been said and written on the matter of the working of equal suffrage in Colorado that it is difficult to present it in any new phase. I shall attempt to give only an individual opinion upon the following much-disputed questions:

1. Do the earnest, high-minded women of Colorado vote? Yes, most emphatically. I do not hesitate to say that the best women of Colorado have far more conscience in filling their responsibilities as voters than the men of the same class. It is also true that women of standing in the community have great influence with men who are not particularly interested in public affairs. We are constantly asked by visitors to Colorado, "How do you have time to vote?" as if voting was like eating or bathing. It takes just about one hour in a year to cast all the ballots necessary and allowable.

2. Does not the vote of the disreputable, low class of women counterbalance the better element? No; the women of the half world generally do not vote. They are constantly changing their residences and their names. They do not wish to give any data concerning themselves, their age, names, or number and street. They prefer to remain unidentified. Occasionally some disreputable master compels these slaves to vote for his own purposes, but that is a rare occurrence.

3. Is it not the case that women generally vote as the men of their household dictate? No. Such has not been my observation or experience. Among the laboring classes, if the wife can not vote as her husband desires, and he is not willing she should make her own choice, she refuses to vote at all. I have been surprised at the honest maintenance of opinion in this regard among the wives of laboring men. One of the most cultivated, beloved, and influential women of the State was sitting as a delegate in one party convention not long since, while her husband was at the same time addressing another assembly representing opposite party views. But the situation excited no comment. Suffrage makes women individuals.

4. Has the woman vote wholly purified politics, and has it banished saloons? No to both questions. It would be beyond reason to expect such a result. Women have been in churches and in society since the beginning of time, but there are still vicious minds and sinful deeds in both religious and social circles. The most we assert is that if we pour a clear stream into a muddy one we shall have a "moving of the waters" for betterment. The presence of women at the polls as officers and voters has brought quiet and order, while party conventions are much freer from personal wrangles, profane language, and vulgar allusions, because women are sitting as delegates.

5. Has woman suffrage been a success? Yes. All thinking women admit that we have made some mistakes since we have had the right of suffrage. But that has been the experience of all newly enfranchised people. In the beginning of equal suffrage in Colorado the woman voters had no guide except the traditions and advice of the men of their families and acquaintance. That teaching was the old one of party politics. We followed a blind lead; and to me it was a terrible awakening to discover that my party was just as bad as the other, and the other party fully as high minded in its purposes as mine. But in spite of mistakes, disappointments, or discouragements, there is an indescribable uplift in the thought that one is no longer classed with "criminals, paupers, and idiots." There is a splendid womanly independence in being a voting citizen and an absorbing interest in fulfilling the duty of citizenship, and there is a much more chivalrous devotion and respect on the part of men, who look upon their sisters not as playthings, not as property, but as equals and fellow citizens.

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ANSWERING THE OBJECTION—ALL WOMEN DO NOT CARE TO VOTE.

THE REAL POINT.

[By Mary Ware Dennett.]

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1. The first voters got their rights by the original colonial charters, most of them including religious qualifications, and all of them including property qualifications, thus restricting the ballot to relatively few men.

2. After the Revolution, for the sake of the "common defense" and the "general welfare," the religious qualification was removed. A large number of men were then enfranchised, but they did not ask for the vote nor did they promise to use it well or to use it at all.

3. In 1790, by the naturalization act of Congress, another large number of men were enfranchised, which act also enfranchised their descendants, and again they did not ask for the vote nor promise to use it well.

4. When the negroes were given the vote it was not at their request, nor were they required to show that they would make good use of it.

5. The same has been true of the enfranchised Indians.

Now, what is required at present of a man before he can vote in the United States?

He must be 21 years old.

He must be native born or naturalized.

In some States he must be able to read. (In a few Southern States there are additional educational and property qualifications affecting the negro voters only.)

That is all.

He is not asked whether he will use his vote.

He is not asked if all men want to vote.

He is not asked if he thinks the laws need changing.

He is not asked if he will promise to better the laws.

He is not asked to give statistics showing whether men have previously used their votes to better the laws.

He is not asked if he is sure he can still be a good father.

He is not asked to "remain attractive" after he votes.

But all such requirements, and more, are made of women when they aspire to vote.

Mrs. Catt said at the Senate suffrage hearing in April, 1910: "In the 120 years of national life no class of men have been forced to organize a movement in behalf of their own enfranchisement. Yet American women, who have conducted a persistent, intelligent movement for half a century, which has grown stronger and stronger with the years, appealing for their own enfranchisement and supported by a petition of 400,000 citizens of the United States, are told that it is unnecessary to consider their plea, since all women do not want to vote."

Just so long as the opposition can keep the suffragists busy giving promises and proof that women will use the vote to good advantage when they get it, just so long will the opposition keep on asking for more promises and more proof. (Who forms the opposition? Not the organized antisuffragists—they hardly count—but "the special-privileged classes and the professional politicians who are constitutionally opposed to more voters and to the extension of more power to those who vote.")

It is time to stop that sort of work, as suffrage work, and concentrate all our energies on the real point, namely, that the qualifications for voting shall be made without regard to sex.

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SUFFRAGE AND SOCIALISM.

[By Alice Stone Blackwell.]

In these days the opponents of equal rights for women are continually harping upon socialism. "Suffrage means socialism" is their constant war cry, both in their public addresses and in their official publications.

There are as many different kinds of socialism as there are of Heinz's pickles, and the antis always pick out the most extreme variety, and usually caricature even that. "All Socialists are suffragists," they are constantly telling us; and they predict that granting votes to women will mean the speedy bringing in of the socialist state.

Now, the Socialists themselves do not think so. All Socialists have woman suffrage as a plank in their theoretical platform, but many of them confess that they do not want it to come until socialism comes, just because they believe that it would delay the coming of socialism.

The Socialist Party admits women to membership on the same terms as men, but not nearly as many women as men have joined it. The proportion is said to be about 1 to 10. In every State in the Union the Socialist vote cast at the presidential election of 1912 showed an increase over that cast at the presidential election of 1908. Its average increase in the country at large was 112 per cent. But in every State where women have had the ballot long enough to compare presidential election with presidential election, the growth of the Socialist vote was below the average. The general public does not know these things, but the Socialists know them. They are aware that in the United States not nearly as many women as men believe in socialism. Hence there is a sharp division of opinion among the Socialists, the more consistent members of the party standing up for woman suffrage, while the opportunist Socialists want to keep it from coming until after they have won a Nation-wide Socialist victory.

They recall that at the first election in Los Angeles at which women voted the Socialist ticket was snowed under, and that all the non-Socialist papers attributed it to the women. In short, while the anti-suffragists are declaring suffrage to be a menace because it would bring in socialism, a large part of the Socialists look upon it as a serious menace to their success, because of women's conservatism.

In the 1912 elections not one of the old suffrage States elected a Socialist to the legislature. The States where women had just got the ballot, Washington and California, elected one Socialist apiece, as did Massachusetts and a number of other nonsuffrage States. On the other hand, Illinois, by the vote of men alone, elected four Socialist legislators; and Wisconsin elected seven, and on the same day defeated woman suffrage by an enormous majority. The strongly Socialist wards of Milwaukee, which gave a majority of three and four to one for the Socialist candidates, gave a majority against woman suffrage.

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SUFFRAGE AND TEMPERANCE.

[By Alice Stone Blackwell, editor of the Woman's Journal.]

Ill-informed antisuffragists often claim that equal suffrage has nowhere lessened the number of saloons.

The Pacific, a journal representing the Congregational Churches of the Pacific coast, said in its issue of December 4, 1912: "Two years ago we had but 200 dry towns in all California. To-day we have about 675." The editor of the Home Alliance, a temperance paper published at Woodland, Cal., gives the exact number of California's dry towns at present as 682.

The State president of the Wyoming Woman's Christian Temperance Union writes the Woman's Journal that before the granting of equal suffrage all Wyoming was wet and that now 90 per cent of the State is dry territory.

The State president of the Utah Woman's Christian Temperance Union writes us that when the Utah Legislature in 1911 passed a State-wide local-option law 110 cities went dry and only 18 went wet—and out of these 18 so-called cities, 16 were mining camps. Every county in Utah but one is now dry.

In Colorado, within four years after the granting of equal suffrage, the number of no-license towns had more than quadrupled, and it has increased still more largely since. When State-wide prohibition was lately defeated in Colorado, Ellis Meredith, the head of Denver's reform election commission, and a strong advocate of the "dry" policy, wrote in the Woman's Journal for November 16, 1912, concerning the result of the election: "It is because under our local option law conditions are so good and dry territory increasing so fast that many people feel we shall come nearer regulating the traffic in this way than by so-called total prohibition, with the police power in all the big towns opposed to it." The organ of the brewers in Denver says Colorado made a great mistake in giving votes to women. So far as we know it is the only paper in the State which takes this ground.

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Oregon, Washington, Colorado, and Arizona were carried for prohibition in 1914.

In Illinois, since the woman-suffrage bill passed the legislature, in June, 1913, a long string of towns have gone dry through the women's vote; and the liquor interests are making a great effort to have the woman-suffrage law set aside as unconstitutional.

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Equal suffrage has nowhere led to State-wide prohibition, but it has everywhere led to a large extension of no-license territory. Rev. Dr. B. F. Crary, who was for years presiding elder of the Methodist Episcopal churches in northern Colorado and Wyoming, says of woman suffrage: "Liquor sellers and gamblers are unanimous in cursing it."

An effort is being made by opponents of equal rights in Michigan and elsewhere to show that it is the suffragists and not the antis who are in alliance with the liquor traffic. The audacity of this is enough to make a mummy smile. Suffragists as well as antis are divided in opinion as to whether license or no license is the wiser policy; but the liquor interest is practically unanimous in its conviction that votes for women would be bad for its business. Moreover, it is willing to back up that conviction with unlimited cash.

Asked why the liquor interest opposes equal suffrage, Mrs. A. J. George (herself an advocate of license) answers, "It does not." This is so contrary to universal knowledge that it is hardly worth denying.

The official organ of the Retail Liquor Dealers' Association in Wisconsin bears the inappropriate name of "Progress." It fought equal suffrage bitterly all through the campaign of 1912, and afterwards boasted editorially of having helped to defeat it. Mrs. Maud Wood Park, who took part in the Ohio campaign of 1912, says she never saw anything like the ferocity of the fight the liquor dealers put up against it. She brought home samples of the antisuffrage cartoons that were hung up in the barrooms, and no doubt she would be willing to show them to anyone who calls to see them at the office of the Boston Equal Suffrage Association, 585 Boylston Street.

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At the elections held in Illinois outside of Chicago on April 7, 1914, the women voted dry much more generally than the men. Thus in Rockford, 5,155 women voted dry and 1,048 wet; 4,480 men voted dry and 5,155 wet; in Bloomington, 3,806 women voted dry and 2,311 wet; 2,655 men voted dry and 3,896 wet; in Freeport, 2,890 women voted dry and 1,877 wet; 1,984 men voted dry and 2,867 wet; in Pontiac, 1,137 women voted dry and 364 wet; 768 men voted dry and 797 wet, and so on.

According to the official returns published in the Chicago Tribune of April 22, 1914, in all 121,315 women voted dry and 67,418 wet, while 144,925 men voted wet and 98,179 dry. Out of the 329 townships that voted, there were only 20 where a majority of the women voted wet. There were 115 townships formerly wet that went dry, and 83 of these went dry because of the women's vote. There were 41 townships formerly dry that stayed dry, and 13 of these stayed dry because of the women's vote. Of the women 64.3 per cent voted dry and 35.7 per cent wet; of the men 59.7 per cent voted wet and 40.3 per cent dry.

On April 21, 1914, a large number more cities and villages went dry, largely by the women's vote.

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CATHOLIC OPINIONS.

1. There exists a widespread belief that the Catholic Church is officially opposed to woman suffrage. In a reply to a direct question concerning the church's attitude, His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons, under date of March 27, 1914, stated:

"The church has taken no official attitude on the subject, but leaves the matter to the good judgment of her children as to what they think best. The statement that the church is opposed to the enfranchisement of women is incorrect."

2. Most Rev. Patrick W. Riordan, archbishop of San Francisco, Cal., in a letter to his pastors, read in all the churches of his archdiocese on Sunday, August 11, 1912, said:

"While our Catholic people, with the high ideals which the church holds before them, ought to be models of right living and exemplars of the highest Christian virtue, they should also possess a high degree of civic virtue. The enjoyment of the privileges and blessings of citizenship impose correlative duties and obligations which no citizen should ignore. Among these duties the chiefest is voting. * * * In California woman suffrage is now an accomplished fact. Women ought not, therefore, to permit their traditional love for the virtues of the home, their innate dignity, and becoming reserve to prevent them from discharging the chiefest of civil obligations. I wish, therefore, that you would take a seasonable opportunity of advising our new electors to register, that they may be at all times prepared to give their services in making California a model State and of handing down to their children that come after them a tradition of righteousness and of unselfish patriotism."

3. Right Rev. Paul P. Rhode, auxiliary bishop of Chicago, Ill., on hearing that many foreign women hesitated to register without the sanction of the church, issued the following letter, which was read in all the churches of Chicago on Sunday, March 15, 1914:

"Catholic women of Illinois, in complete harmony with the teachings of the church, should all accept the new prerogative of their citizenship with which they have been invested by the extension of suffrage to them by law. Conditions demand that they be not reluctant to exercise their right of voting, but, on the contrary, that they take a lively interest in the political life of the country. * * * Let the Catholic women remember the debt of gratitude to society and to the State for the benefits which they and all enjoy under its protection. When entering the polling place or voting booth no other motives should actuate them than the welfare of the State, the good of society, and, above all, the protection of the family life of the Nation and of sound principles."

4. Rev. Joseph H. McMahon, Ph. D., rector of the Church of "Our Lady of Lourdes," New York, in a lecture delivered January 15, 1913, said in part:

"It is well for Catholics particularly to take note of this, as far as there is a tradition it is in favor of woman suffrage. * * * To say that the exercise of the right to vote will mean that a woman must neglect her home duties is to utter a smug commonplace that shows how little given to reflection we are. * * * Purify your social life, but do not be guilty of the stupidity of saying that the exercise of the right to vote would degrade any virtuous woman in the world. As long as you send your daughters out into the busy market place, with all its dangers, and expect them to escape the pitfalls, which are, alas, too common, please do not commit intellectual suicide by declaring that they can not vote because their modesty or reserve might suffer."

5. Rev. John A. Ryan, of St. Paul's Seminary, St. Paul, Minn., author of the "Living Wage," stated under date of March 24, 1914:

"I am in favor of woman suffrage because I believe that its net results would be beneficial to the community as a whole and to working women in particular."

6. Rev. J. E. Ross, C. S. P., of Chicago, Ill., author of "Consumers and Wage Earners," said:

"It is not only just and proper to give women the vote, it is good policy, for we need the influx of their humanity in dealing with our problems. Man has by long absorption in commerce been trained to think in terms of property, whereas woman by immemorial custom has been trained to think in terms of humanity, the home, husband, and children. I would give women suffrage for three reasons: That they need it for their own spiritual and intellectual development, as well as for a protection against man-made laws; that men need that women should vote; and that there is no reason against giving them the suffrage." (From the New World, Chicago, Ill., Jan. 9, 1914.)

7. Rev. George M. Searle, C. S. P., of San Francisco, Cal., under date of April 16, 1914:

"It is true that I am and have been all along in favor of woman suffrage. I regard the argument so commonly advanced about woman's sphere being the home as simply and obviously absurd. One might as well say that the doctor's sphere is his office or the hospital or his patients' homes. The point is that no time needs to be taken from one's regular duties in order to vote. It is quite plain that with regard to moral questions the interests of morality would be advanced by woman suffrage."

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WOMEN IN THE HOME.

[By Susan W. Fitzgerald.]

We are forever being told that the place of woman is in the home. Well, so be it. But what do we expect of her in the home? Merely to stay in the home is not enough. She is a failure unless she does certain things for the home. She must make the home minister, as far as her means allow, to the health and welfare, moral as well as physical, of her family, and especially of her chidren. She, more than anyone else, is held responsible for what they become.

She is responsible for the cleanliness of her house.

She is responsible for the wholesomeness of the food.

She is responsible for the children's health.

She, above all, is responsible for their morals, for their sense of truth, of honesty and of decency, for what they turn out to be.

HOW FAR CAN THE MOTHER CONTROL THESE THINGS?

She can clean her own rooms, but if the neighbors are allowed to live in filth she can not keep her rooms from being filled with bad air and smells or from being infested by vermin.

She can cook her food well, but if dealers are permitted to sell poor food, unclean milk, or stale eggs she can not make the food wholesome for her children.

She can care for her own plumbing and her refuse, but if the plumbing in the rest of the house is unsanitary, if garbage accumulates and the halls and stairs are left dirty she can not protect her children from the sickness and infection that these conditions bring.

She can take every care to avoid fire, but if the house has been badly built, if the fire escapes are insufficient or not fireproof she can not guard her children from the horrors of being maimed or killed by fire.

She can open her windows to give her children the air that we are told is so necessary, but if the air is laden with infection, with tuberculosis and other contagious disease she can not protect her children from this danger.

She can send her children out for air and exercise, but if the conditions that surround them on the streets are immoral and degrading she can not protect them from these dangers.

Alone she can not make these things right. Who or what can?

The city can do it, the city government that is elected by the people to take care of the interests of the people.

And who decides what the city government shall do?

First, the officials of that government; and, second, those who elect them.

Do the women elect them? No; the men do. So it is the men and not the women that are really responsible for the unclean houses, unwholesome food, bad plumbing, danger of fire, risk of tuberculosis and other diseases, immoral influences of the street.

In fact, men are responsible for the conditions under which the children live, but we hold women responsible for the results of those conditions. If we hold women responsible for the results, must we not, in simple justice, let them have something to say as to what these conditions shall be? There is one simple way of doing this. Give them the same means that men have—let them vote.

Women are by nature and training housekeepers. Let them have a hand in the city's housekeeping, even if they introduce an occasional house cleaning.

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WOMAN'S PLACE.

[By Mary Alden Hopkins.]

A woman keenly interested in the well-being of children approached a legislator to ask his support of a bill concerning medical examination of school children. The delicate susceptibility of the legislator was outraged by the unwomanliness of her "lobbying." He rebuked her sternly for meddling in politics, ending with the impressive words: "Madam, a good woman stays at home to take care of her children."

The woman withdrew, somewhat puzzled. The compulsory-education law took her children out of her home to put them in a schoolroom, and too exalted idealism forbade her trying to influence school policies. As she thought about the matter, she decided that the puzzling contradiction lay in limiting "home" to the cubic space included between house walls, cellar, and roof. It seemed to her that wherever her little children went she must go; that she must concern herself with all that touched her children's interests; that her "home" was really the entire city, the State, the country, perhaps the whole world.

Here are two incidents that confirmed her in her decision:

The water supply of Fairholm was contaminated by the sewage from the towns up the river. Typhoid fever floated leisurely down with the current, pausing for its handful of lives from each town. The city council said decisively that the city could not build a filter plant without increased taxation. At the words "increased taxation" the majority of the men assured their wives that the best method was to boil the water. They squelched wifely discussion by remarks like, "My dear, if you want a new filter plant you must change our State constitution on the bonded indebtedness of third-class cities."

That sounded more like politics than like woman's concerns, and the housewives set to boiling. Mrs. Homer, among others, boiled water to drink, water for bathing "above the neck," water for washing vegetables; and scalded her hands along with the dishes. She forbade the children's tasting water outside the house. Disobedient Jimmy on the baseball field drank water from a tin bucket without getting the fever; Janet sipped dubious drinks at the ice-cream emporium, likewise without harm; while little Josie, despite hours of conscientious thirst, got the fever from milk in her own blue china mug. The cow's drinking water had not been boiled. The mothers of Fairholm had not attacked the source of danger, because of their narrow definition of "home."

Mrs. Roscoe canceled her subscription to a certain magazine because it contained too many articles on tragic conditions among city working women. Said Mrs. Roscoe: "If I bring up my own five children well in my own home I can be excused from worrying about sweatshops 500 miles away." But the dinky little winter coat she bought for Bobby had sewed into its wellfinished seams some slivers of scarlet-fever germs. The manufacturer had found it cheaper to send his work out into tenements for "finishing," and no city has adequate official inspection of tenement-house sweatshops.

Story after story could be told of food contaminated before it entered the house; bread handled warm by a scrofulous baker; shiny red apples sold to school children by a vender with a loathsome disease; food on which flies had tramped; and adulterated raw material. What does it profit a cook to fight vermin in her own cellar if the State inspection of slaughterhouses is lax, the bakeshops insanitary, and street selling unsupervised?

It is a mother's business to buy warm clothing; but the amount of wool in baby's 25-cent shirt is determined by the tariff. Nursery hygiene is written in Schedule K.

More and more each year the initial processes of manufacturing food and clothes slip out of the hands of the mothers into the hands of men whose first interest is money-making. From yeast and soap to Ray's stockings and Dorothy's bonbons, articles come ready-made into the house. Yet the children's welfare still depends upon the wholesomeness of their food and the warmth of their clothes.

What is the mother to do about it? Does her interest in the food begin only as it comes up the back steps? Has she no responsibility for fire-trap buildings, uncensored moving pictures, unkempt parks, and dirty streets because these matters have moved into "politics"—are even election issues whereby candidates stand or fall?

Some mothers say that, since a new method of production has come about, mothers must learn to understand that method. They say that municipal housekeeping is not so very different from family housekeeping. They say that, after all, the Nation is simply an overgrown family, and that, just as a complete family group must have both father and mother, so the Nation needs both father care and mother care. (From Boundaries of Home, in the Congregationalist.)

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DOROTHY DIX ON WOMAN'S BALLOT.

Women ought to vote because taxation without representation is tyranny, whether the individual who pays the taxes wears trousers or petticoats, and because all just government must rest upon the consent of the governed.

Women form one-half of the population, and as long as they have no voice in the government they are held in serfdom. It is not just that, merely by reason of sex, one-half of the people of the country should rule the other half.

It is folly to say that women are represented by the votes of the men of their family. No man is willing to sacrifice his suffrage and let his father or brother vote for him.

Women should vote because they are unlike men, because they have different aspirations, different needs, a different point of view, a different way of reaching conclusions. Feminine talents, which are invaluable everywhere else in life, should be equally useful in politics.

Women should vote because every question of politics affects the home, and particularly affects the woman in the home. Out of the woman's housekeeping allowance, which has not increased, come the increased profits of the Beef Trust and the Milk Trust and the Sugar Trust and the Canned Goods Trust. If women had a say so in making the laws, they would have long ago clipped the wings of the predatory combinations that have increased the cost of living so greatly.

Women should vote because their vote would supplement man's and, while he looked after the big things, they would look after the little things. The man might interest himself in making his country a world power, the woman voter would see that the street cleaner did his duty so that her children might not be killed by diphtheria.

Women should vote because they would look just as much at the candidate as they would at the platform upon which he stood. It is practically impossible to put the party yoke on women. This has been proved in the States in which women have suffrage. When a clean man was put upon either the Democratic or the Republican ticket and a corrupt man named on the other ticket, the woman vote invariably has flopped over to the good man. It was the women of Denver, irrespective of party, who kept Judge Lindsey in office after the party committees had turned him down, and thus enabled him to continue his great work of child saving.

Women should vote if for no other reason than because women, if they had a chance, would be just as potent a factor in politics as they are in religion. They would compel men's interest in the subject.

Everybody knows that if women ceased going to church, shut up all the missionary societies and preachers' aid societies, nine-tenths of the churches would have spider webs growing across their doors inside of a month. Practically all of the men who go to church and contribute to religious causes do so at the instigation of wife, mother, sister, or sweetheart.

The majority of good men are responsible for the rottenness of politics and for our plundered and misruled cities, because they are careless about voting, and often do not trouble to vote at all. Women would have a better civic conscience, and if they were given the ballot they

would not only vote themselves, but see that their husbands and brothers and sons did.

It is often said that if women had suffrage, it would increase the number of votes cast without affecting the result, as every woman would vote like her husband or her brother or her father. The chances are that the influence would work the other way, and men vote with their women folks.

In America the majority of girls are given a better education than boys. They go to school longer, and they read more after they are out of school than young men do. There are also millions of middle-aged women banded together in all sorts of study clubs all over the country, and it is folly to claim that these women are not as well qualified to understand any political question as their husbands are.

That all women would not vote wisely, that they would be swayed by eloquence, by the personal charm of the candidate, that even the ballot would not bring the millennium to women is freely conceded. But the majority of men are Republicans or Democrats for no better reason than that their fathers were before them, and this is still a very badly governed world. Yet no one would advocate that man's most precious right—the right of suffrage—should be taken away from him.—Dorothy Dix.

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THE JUSTICE AND THE EXPEDIENCY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

[By Maud Nathan.]

I believe in equal suffrage because it is just and because it is expedient. In a democracy, where the people are supposed to govern themselves, the ballot is the direct method of self-expression. A government that denies expression to one-half the people can not justly be termed a democracy. How can the men represent the women? A man casts one vote, representing his own views; if there are three women in his household, each with dissenting views, how can his one vote represent theirs? It is not the men alone who have built up this great Republic. All women pay taxes, either directly or indirectly. Six million women are engaged in the industry and commerce of our Nation. Legislation is enacted regulating and controlling their lives, and yet their point of view is not considered. Legislators defer to their constituents, who have the power to reelect them to office or to defeat them.

The trend of modern activities makes it expedient to enfranchise women. One by one woman's duties have been taken away from her and placed in charge of city or State officials, appointed by the mayor or governor, who are elected by the votes of men. Every department of a woman's household is regulated or controlled by officials more or less involved in politics. To procure pure milk for the babies, pure drinking water, meat from nontuberculous cattle, nonpoisonous canned foods, the housekeeper must depend upon the efficiency and incorruptibility of the various commissioners. She also depends upon the fire, police, and street-cleaning departments to protect her home.

Her home is no longer isolated; it is part of the community. Whereas formerly her interests centered in her home, they must now embrace the public schools, the public hospitals, the public parks, and playgrounds. The care of the young, the feeble, the delinquent, the sick, and the aged has always been woman's function, but now that philanthropic activities have gradually changed from private to public auspices, women find themselves excluded from their management. Women formerly received little or no education; to-day girls as well as boys are graduated from colleges with trained minds and alert to the necessity of solving economic and civic problems.

The old-fashioned housewifely tasks are no longer pursued in the home; even the clothing is purchased ready made. What, then, are the tasks which prevent a housekeeper and mother from taking an intelligent and active interest in civic and national questions, many of which touch her life very closely? Bestowing upon women the responsibility of citizenship broadens them, makes them more companionable as wives, enables them the better to teach their sons and daughters, by example as well as precept, the true meaning of patriotism, and the duties incumbent upon citizens of a democracy.

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SUMMING UP THE CASE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

[By Justice David J. Brewer, of the United States Supreme Court.]

The real question is a practical one. How does woman suffrage work when tried? In this Nation nine States—Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, Idaho, California, Washington, Kansas, Arizona, and Oregon, and the Territory of Alaska—have granted full suffrage (in 1913 the Legislature of Illinois passed a law extending to woman all the franchise rights within the power of the legislature to bestow, including all municipal offices, some State and some county offices, and presidential electors), and in at least the first six of them it has been in existence long enough for substantial results.

One thing is true of all; there has been no organized effort to repeal the grant. Whatever may be isolated opinions, the general mass of the voters are satisfied. Indeed, few have expressed antagonistic views. If the citizens of these States find nothing objectionable in woman suffrage, a natural conclusion is that no injury has resulted. Especially is this true when the declarations of its friends in its favor are many and strong.

Doubtless some opposition may come from personal ambition defeated by the woman voters. Thus Judge Lindsey, of the juvenile court in Denver, who has attracted much attention by his good work in that court, after having been denied a renomination by each of the great political parties, came out as an independent candidate, and was elected mainly, it is said, by the votes of women who appreciated his labors and determined that the young culprits of that city should not be deprived of the benefit of his judgment and experience. It would be strange if the defeated candidates did not feel and express themselves against woman suffrage. But their complaint is really testimony to its value.

The change in the position of woman in the past 50 years must be noticed. Then the only vocations open to her were teaching and sewing. But within the last half century she has entered into active outdoor life and is no longer a necessary homebody. Not that home has lost its charms, or that it will ever cease to be the place which she most loves and where she reigns supreme, but choice or necessity has driven her into varied pursuits, many of them calling for familiarity with public affairs and executive ability.

You see them not only doing clerical work in offices, but acting as shopgirls in stores, or laborers in a factory. Many have charge of large administrations, are presidents of colleges, heads of corporations, and indeed engaging in almost every avocation of their brothers, and doing so with success. There is a host of female doctors. Women have invaded the pulpit and are pastors of churches. They are found in the court room, and not a few are efficient and successful practitioners. Indeed, it may truly be affirmed that they have fully entered into the active life of the world.

Female suffrage will come. Not fully at once, but by varying steps. Woman's broader education, her increasing familiarity with business and public affairs, will lead to it. And why not?

The chief reply is the home. God forbid that it should be jeopardized. But female suffrage will not debase the home or lessen its power and influence. On the other hand, it will introduce a refining and uplifting power into our political life.

Union in effort is the growing lesson of the time. Our first parents, guilty of a mutual sin, were, according to the allegory in Genesis, driven out of Eden, that garden which gave men all things to live with and nothing to live for. Hand in hand they went out of Eden; hand in hand they must enter the new paradise, grander and nobler than the pristine Eden, because wrought out of the thorn-growing earth by their united labors. (Condensed from article in The Ladies' World.)

Woman Suffrage Amendment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CYRUS CLINE,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 12, 1915.

Mr. CLINE. Mr. Speaker, I have no purpose to enter into an argument of the proposition, Shall the right of elective franchise be granted to women? There are grounds for a discussion on both sides of this question. I simply desire to give my views, very briefly, stating the reasons that induced me to support the resolution. Gentlemen say that this question ought to be settled along the same lines of reasoning that were applied to the question of national prohibition. The reasons why the elective franchise should be extended to women occupy entirely different grounds than those for the support of national prohibition. There is no demand that the Federal Government shall invade the rights of a State and supplant the police powers of a State with Federal agencies for the enforcement of woman suffrage. That question is wholly eliminated from consideration in the adoption of the suffrage amendment. The preservation of the police powers of the State for the correction of local wrongs and local evils was one of the controlling elements in the vote against Federal prohibition.

The doctrine that the States ought to be left to the exercise of its police powers where the exercise of those powers are necessary for the preservation of public morals is an unanswerable argument against national prohibition. Neither is there any question of sumptuary rights involved in the adoption of this amendment. That problem was a very serious objection to Federal prohibition. There are two sufficient reasons for voting for this resolution. The State of Indiana permits and encourages women to engage in all lines of commercial, business, and professional activity. She is made personally responsible in her individual contracts and must face her creditors under her obligations with her own money. She is placed on an equal footing under the law with men, with but two inhibitions. She may not encumber or alienate her separate real estate without her husband joining, and she can not pledge her individual property as surety for the debt of another. Very many women in the district I represent are engaged in business, both in associate and corporate capacities. Their investments represent many thousands of dollars. They own stocks and bonds and run their own businesses. The Federal Government reaches its hands into their pockets and takes out what it wants for excise and corporation taxes, regardless of their approval or disapproval. If a woman has an income of more than $4,000 a year, the Federal Government takes a part of it. Her husband, who may have an income of more than $4,000, may go to the polls and vote for and against the man who levies these taxes on his property and directs the expenditure of the Government's collections. His interests are represented in the taxing power. Hers are not. He may say what his policy is by his vote. She can not have a policy, let alone expressing one. Why should not the wife or the daughter whose energies, capabilities, and interests are equal to those of the husband and father have the same rights to protect that property by legislation enacted, through which she speaks, that he has? No man or woman's property ought to be taken from them "without due process of law"; an enforced legal taking of property, without representation, without a voice either of appeal or protest, hardly can be said, morally speaking, to be a taking with due process of law.

The fundamental concept of democracy lies in representation of every individual in the affairs of the Governemnt. Taxation is the most powerful instrument that men can establish in a civil state. In that principle lies the perpetuity of every State and Federal function. It has often been said that "the

power to tax is the power to destroy." Such potential forces in the government of men ought not to be exercised except by representation of every person that may be reached by its activity. On that doctrine and in that theory we divorced ourselves from the sovereignty of Great Britain and made a Government of our own with the right to representation as its chief cornerstone. That fact is persuasive in my decision to support this amendment. Nor shall it be said that we are by the adoption of this resolution invading the rights of the State to determine the condition under which and to whom the State may extend the right of franchise. Under the seventeenth amendment to the Constitution Congress said the Federal power might, if it deemed proper, invade the State and supervise the election of United States Senators and Representatives in Congress. So it may not be said that the passage of this resolution would be an innovation—trespass upon the rights of a State to determine the control of its local elections.

I am impressed also with another fact—that women, as a class, stand for cleaner citizenship and for those things that lead to the purification of public morals and a higher plane of living for the general public. I believe they stand for those larger equities that ought to be recognized in general legislation. If that be true, they are an auxiliary force and ought to be recognized for the betterment of the social state. Furthermore, I have investigated the result of extending the franchise to women in several States where it already exists, and I find no disposition and no purpose of the voter to repeal the statute that created this equality of citizenship before the law.

The War Terror.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD W. SAUNDERS,
OF VIRGINIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 15, 1915.

Mr. SAUNDERS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an article by Hon. JAMES HAY, which is printed in the Sunday Magazine of the Sunday Star, of Washington, D. C., of January 10, 1915.

The article is as follows:

THE WAR TERROR.

[By JAMES HAY, chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, House of Representatives.]

Ever since the European war broke out the militarists—and by "militarists" I mean those who advocate a big standing army for this country and the consequent expenditure of tremendous sums of money for military purposes—have been raising with renewed energy the cry that the United States is in danger of attack and invasion by an enemy. The "war terror" has been played on and manipulated in every way possible, always with the exciting and inciting assertion, "Look what happened in Europe! If it could happen there, it will happen here. We must prepare for war. We are helpless. We have nothing with which to stop the first foe that strikes us."

As a matter of fact the United States is in less danger of conflict with a foreign power than has been the case since the war with Mexico. Who is to attack us? And with what means? When peace does come to Europe the great powers and those embroiled with them—Germany, Great Britain, France, Belgium, Russia, Austria, Servia, Portugal—will find themselves bankrupt, their population decimated, their manufactories silent, their commerce a mere remnant of what it once was, their industries destroyed or crippled, their ammunition shot away. Not one of them will be able to contemplate war. All of them will have to address themselves to the gigantic task of conquering the famine or the nakedness that comes in the wake of war. They will be practically penniless—and their credit, so much as they may have, will have to be devoted to their own salvation. In view of the exhausted condition in which they will be, the pictures the alarmists draw of hostile battleships pouring soldiers on our soil, of foreign flags flaunting over our seaport cities, and of this country being unable to stem the tide of invasion, become more than comic.

Who is to attack us when the whole of Europe is past fighting? The militarists answer at once, Japan. But Japan herself has been drawn into the present struggle, and, not yet recovered from the blows she received in her war with Russia, is receiving another setback in her commercial and financial development. Therefore, excluding all Europe and Japan, who is left to turn covetous eyes upon the United States? Not China. Not even the Celestial Empire can be worked up as a bugaboo; for she always has before her the specter of Japanese domination. There are left, then, as material out of which the war bogies may be made, such names as Brazil, Mexico, the Argentine Republic, Chile, the Republics of Central America, Spain, and a few other countries of small means. It is impossible to conceive of any danger of our having a real war with anybody. You can not fight with great powers whose soldiers have been killed. Great powers that have put their all into the biggest struggle in history can not look for new worlds to conquer. To try to recreate the war terror at this time is the very height of absurdity.

But, granting, for the sake of argument, that war may confront us, are we so helpless, so unprotected, and so unprepared as the militarists would have us believe? The report has been circulated time and time again in the newspapers and magazines by men who should have known better that we are without any reserve supplies of war material. Outside of the rifles that are in the hands of our regular troops and the Organized Militia we have in reserve to-day in our arsenals, ready for immediate use, 850,000 rifles. The regulars and the militia have 150,000, making a total of 1,000,000. For these rifles we have in reserve and ready for instant use 206,000,000 rounds of ammunition. We have, it is true, not enough field artillery guns and ammunition; but we have in use with the Army and in reserve 860 such guns, and almost enough ammunition to supply them.

In addition to this we are now making big appropriations—bigger than ever before—for the field artillery, and it is estimated by the Chief of Ordnance of the Army that if we continue these appropriations at the rate on which we had begun long before the European war started, we shall have accumulated in five years the guns and ammunition to meet any emergency. We have also on hand 1,300 quick-firing guns, and, according to plans already laid down, we shall appropriate in the immediate future the money for enough of this type of gun to be ample. Then, as the complement to all this, there are in reserve the necessary clothing, harness, camp equipment, etc., all of which can be thrown into immediate use under the excellent plans for distribution now in vogue in the War Department.

A consideration of the amount of money we spend each year on our Army shows conclusively that we can not be unprepared for war. The Committee on Military Affairs appropriated for the fiscal year that will end June 30, 1915, $101,000,000 for the maintenance of the Army. The fortification expenses carried in the fortifications act, handled by the Committee on Appropriations, were $5,218,250, and the sundry-civil act gave $643,000 for armories and arsenals and $805,428 for military posts. All this runs into a large total, so large that the economists complain of the burdensome taxation made necessary by the maintenance of any military establishment at all. To say that the use of such money in the hands of officers of the United States Army does not make us efficient in a military sense is to attack unjustifiably the ability of a set of men famous the world over for their contributions to military science.

But in order to make more evident what Congress has given to the Army and the consequent results that must have been obtained therefrom, let me call attention to the fact that during the last 10 years the appropriations for the support of the military establishments of this country have amounted to the grand total of $1,007,410,270.48, almost as much as is required to pay all the other expenses of the Government, all the salaries, all the executive machinery, all the judiciary, everything, for an entire year.

Thus, during this period, the Army appropriations have annually been from $70,000,000 to $101,000,000; the Military Academy appropriations, from $673,000 to $2,500,000 a year; for fortifications, from $4,000,000 to $9,300,000; for armories and arsenals, from $330,000 to $860,000; for military posts, from $320,000 to $4,380,000; by deficiency acts, Military Establishment, from $657,000 to $5,300,000; and for Pacific railroads transportation and the enlisted men's deposit fund, a total for the 10 years of $11,999,271.

The totals for the 10 fiscal years 1905 to 1915 have been as follows:

Permanent appropriations (including Pacific railroads transportation and enlisted men's deposit fund)	$11,999,271.00
Fortification acts, armories and arsenals, and military posts in sundry civil acts, and deficiencies for military establishment in deficiency acts	113,071,133.17
Army appropriation acts	868,536,993.31
Military Academy acts	13,802,873.00
Total	1,007,410,270.48

However, in spite of this showing of the great expense of maintaining a small army, the militarists keep up their clamor—particularly at such a time as this, and again whenever a military appropriation bill is up for consideration in the House—that this country be saddled with a great standing army. There is not the slightest need of such an establishment. But if there were some slight indication of trouble with a fully equipped great power, would the people of this country be ready to embark on a policy that would mean the permanent maintenance of a regular standing army of 500,000 men? It would cost this country, at a conservative estimate, $600,000,000 a year to go through with such an undertaking.

Under existing conditions and in the circumstances that surround us it is incredible that anything but disapproval would greet a serious proposal to put such an expense upon the public. It must be remembered that we are not obliged to have an army for offensive purposes. What we need is a force sufficient for defense. And it is the part of wisdom to have such a force with the least expense and the least burden upon the people. It must not be forgotten that we have not the compulsory military service that obtains in every country in continental Europe, and that therefore it would be an enormous if not impossible task to raise under our system an army of 500,000 men in time of peace. Even now, with an army of 85,000, the War Department spends money advertising for recruits, and the recruiting officers are hard pressed to get the men they desire. The expense of $600,000,000 a year would necessitate the immediate imposition of burdensome taxes, far in excess of anything this country has ever known except in the time of the Civil War.

For this reason alone—the heavy taxes—it would be impossible, I am convinced, to increase the Army appreciably without entirely changing our military system. If anybody doubts that the public would protest against the increased taxation, let them remember the objections that were made in person and through thousands upon thousands of telegrams and letters to Members of Congress when the war-revenue bill was in course of preparation by the Committee on Ways and Means. And every discussion of the big standing army question should take into consideration the fact that, while the Europeans pay their soldiers a few cents a day—some of them as little as 2 cents—the United States pays its men $15 a month. And again, in spite of the ridiculously low rate of pay that is the universal rule in Europe, the big powers were swamped under their army and navy debts before they went into the present conflict. A big standing army in the United States is financially impossible, just as much as it is unnecessary from the military viewpoint.

Military authorities, backed by the opinions of many persons high in civil life, insist that we should be provided with an adequate reserve of men, so that we may in any time of trouble have men who will be prepared to enter the Army fully trained for war. In this I concur; but in a country where military service is not compulsory the method of providing a reserve is an extremely complex problem, one that has not yet been satisfactorily solved by anybody. It is proposed, among other things, to have short enlistments, and thus turn out each year a large number of men who will be trained soldiers. Let us examine this for a moment and see where it will lead, and whether any good will come out of it, either for the Army or for the country.

After giving this question of a reserve for the Army the most careful thought, after having heard the opinions of many officers of our Army—and those, too, best qualified to give opinions on a matter of this sort—I am convinced that, under our system of military enlistment, it is impracticable to accumulate, with either a long-term or a short-term enlistment period, a dependable reserve force of fairly well trained men. To use our Army as a training school would destroy the Army as such and fail utterly to create any reserve that could be depended upon as a large body of troops.

The proposal of the General Staff of the Army has been that the men should enlist for two years and then spend five years in the reserve. The five years in the reserve is impossible in this country, because we have no compulsory military service and because it is intended by the authors of the plan not to pay the reserve men. And it is an open-and-shut proposition that men can not be expected to enter the reserve voluntarily, without pay, when the regulations would require them to submit to such inconveniences as applying to the department for leave to go from one State to another or into a foreign country, and when they would be compelled to attend maneuvers, often at distant points, at least twice a year.

Much has been said about other systems, notably that of the Swiss; but Switzerland has compulsory military service, and it is useless to attempt to fashion ourselves upon a system that can not be introduced here—a system that is repulsive to the genius and traditions of our people. The evils of the short enlistment term in an army under the voluntary system are manifold, not the least of them being that if enlistment be for one or even two years in a short time our Army would be a mob of recruits and fail us at any time that we might need a real army.

Moreover, with our present system of four-year enlistments it is hard enough to keep the Army up to the size desired, about 85,000 men, and it is easy to see how much harder it would be to re-create practically a whole army every year, or to get enough recruits to take the places made vacant by the expiration of enlistments every 12 months. The short enlistment, according to the overwhelming sentiment in Congress, is impossible and vicious and it would not create an active, organized reserve, such as Army officers and other prominent men desire to have.

But there is a reserve force in the United States; that is, a body of men who have had military training and could be utilized in time of emergency. In the first place, there will be after 1916 at least 15,000 men discharged from the Army each year after having served their four-year terms of enlistment, and approximately that number are being discharged each year now after the expiration of their three-year terms (the term was lengthened from three years to four in 1912). This means that every year there are being returned into the body of civilians 15,000 men who have learned military tactics and seen military training; in other words, expert soldiers. In the Organized Militia there are about 120,000 men, and at a conservative estimate it can be stated that 20,000 of them, after serving their full term of enlistment, are discharged each year. This provides an annual total of 35,000 men who return to civilian life each year after having been trained as soldiers in the Regular Army and the State militia.

But there is still another source whence come young men who have had good military training. I refer to the military schools and colleges. These—without reference to the high schools in which military training is a feature—turn out each year at least 26,000 who know about fighting, drilling, and marching. They bring the annual supply of trained soldiers in this country up to 61,000. The product of the military school or college does not get so thorough a training, of course, as is given at the West Point Academy, but it is thorough enough to make soldiers out of them in a very short time.

After all, therefore, we are not so poor in actual military reserves as many would have us believe. It can be safely asserted that the United States contains more men ready to go to war with military training behind them than is the case in any other country where compulsory military training does not obtain.

It has been asserted that, while we may have the men, we could not find the requisite number of officers in case of a war emergency. Right here it might be well to point out that when the Civil War started Norwich University furnished in its graduates many drill masters and commanding officers for the Northern Army, just as the Virginia Military Institute performed the same function for the Southern Army. An inspection of the records in the War Department will show how these schools contributed to the brilliance and effectiveness of their respective armies. This I mention as an example of the real efficiency of the numerous military colleges scattered throughout the country.

But even if enough officers could not be obtained from such sources, there need not be any cause for worry on the part of the militarists. To forestall any possibility of a shortage in officers at any time, K. D. McKellar, of Tennessee, a member of the House Committee on Military Affairs, has introduced a bill which is expected to have the sanction of Congress and be voted into law. It provides for the establishment of a military training school in each State, each school to be financed two-thirds by the Federal Government and one-third by the State government. Each will have as its commandant an officer of the United States Army. When all these State military training schools are in full operation, it is calculated, they will turn out every year 5,000 young men trained in all branches of military service. These graduates will not have, perhaps, the perfect training of West Point, but they will be amply instructed for the duty of commanding troops whenever they are needed. They will be qualified in every particular for the successful discharge of the duties of company officers.

The figures I have given, it seems to me, are sufficient to convince any impartial student that this country is on a safe and sane military basis, that we do not depend in time of emergency on the Regular Army of 85,000 men, that we have what is in

reality a tremendous body of men trained to go into war as privates or officers, and that all this is true in spite of the fact that the public is not subjected to that burdensome taxation which has impoverished the masses of Europe for the sake of supporting their war machines.

At the outset of this article I mentioned the fact that the present bloodshed and consequent impoverishment of Europe were enough to shear the "war terror" of all the picturesque "dangers" the militarists have given it. There is one other thing along this same line—the fact that geographically the United States is practically impregnable. Its very vastness is enough to assure the impossibility of conquest by a hostile nation. We are in all important respects a self-sufficient Nation. We can produce all that we need to eat, all that we need to wear. We can manufacture our own ammunition and weapons. We are wealthier than any other part of the world. And it is a long march from New York Harbor to San Francisco Bay, not to mention the distance from Chicago to New Orleans.

It would be interesting to hear the estimate made by the militarists of just how many men a hostile country would have to throw into our midst for the purpose of beating us and conquering us. I personally have never seen or heard such an estimate. I doubt if anybody has been able to imagine it, much less to figure it out. Also, before any men could get here, they would have to traverse thousands of miles of water, and would have to overcome our fleets, escape our submarines, and dodge the mines that would be used to protect all our harbors.

The lessons of the European war are being studied and learned by our experts. The efficiency of submarines, the deadly effect of carefully laid mines, the comparison of the battleship with the torpedo—all these things are now being mulled over every day in the Navy Department. We are definitely embarked on the policy of maintaining a great and powerful Navy. Last year Congress appropriated for more submarines than were requested by the Secretary of the Navy. Unquestionably there will be another generous appropriation for a similar purpose in this session. Isolated as we are, safe in our vastness, protected by a great Navy, and possessed of an Army sufficient for any emergency that may arise, we may disregard the lamentations and predictions of the militarists.

The mention of submarines reminds us that, as the Navy is being amply provided with this branch of her fighting apparatus, the Army is now forging to the front among the powers in the development of aviation as a military science. Last July the House Committee on Military Affairs reported to the House a bill, which became a law, creating the aviation squadron. The committee also reported a bill, which was enacted into law, appropriating $250,000 for the purchase of the best and newest type aeroplanes. I refer to this because it is an example of the fact that this country does not neglect anything that can be done to make herself efficient in a military sense, so long as this does not bring in its wake a burden of taxation that simply would not be tolerated by the people.

So much has been said by the alarmists regarding our alleged lack of reserve material for fighting that I secured from the War Department and reproduce here a table showing exactly what we have now in reserve, what is about to be put into reserve, and what is needed to complete the reserve. This table is the first complete statement I have seen of the situation, and is as follows:

Memorandum of the state of preparation in the principal items of fighting material of the United States Army for entering upon a war that would require the equipment of an army of about 460,000 mobile troops and 50,000 Coast Artillery troops.

	On hand.	Additional provided for by appropriation.	Total provided for.	Total in project.	Required to complete project.
Rifles	1,037,000	36,749	1,073,749	600,000	.....
Pistols and revolvers	145,579	31,271	176,850	172,378	97,020
Sabers	68,763	5,000	73,763	41,006	11,006
Ball cartridges, caliber .30, models of 1906 and 1898	196,000,000	45,000,000	241,000,000	196,000,000	.....
Pistol and revolver cartridges	31,196,227	11,500,000	42,696,227	31,942,600	.....
Personal equipments (sets)	476,161	27,839	504,000	504,000	.....
Horse equipments (sets)	55,122	3,200	58,322	94,349	39,227
Machine guns	1,236	66	1,302	1,633	331
Field batteries complete, 4 guns each	169	46	215	325	110
Ammunition trains	.....	3	3	63	60
Harness, wheel (sets)	2,808	527	3,335	7,500	4,165
Harness, lead (sets)	5,412	1,071	6,483	16,000	9,517
Ammunition for field artillery, rounds	177,800	402,200	580,000	1,137,000	557,000

In my discussion of the Army here there has been nothing of a political or partisan nature, just as in Congress there could not be anything materially political in the handling of the appropriations for the Army. Through Republican and Democratic administrations the land military forces have been treated in response to the spirit of the American people. By that I mean that both Democrats and Republicans have responded to the underlying and cardinal fact that the spirit of this country is unalterably opposed to a big standing Army. Our people are against it. They would not favor it. They would recognize the folly of paying out hundreds of millions of dollars every year for such a purpose. They see too clearly that there is no need for it; and, too, there is the belief in the mind of almost every American that when the time comes he can take care of any military emergency that may confront him. He has done it in the past. He can see no reason why he can not do it in the future.

My service on the House Committee on Military Affairs has covered 18 consecutive years, and in all that time there has been nobody at its head who did not realize the utter impossibility, the absolute absurdity, of seriously proposing to saddle on the country the unnecessary burden of a standing army comparable to the armies of continental Europe. Each year the militarists clamor for tremendous appropriations and vast bodies of troops, and each year, with unfailing regularity, the congressional representatives of the people ignore these claims. The action of Congress on a matter of this sort must be taken as a direct reflection of popular opinion throughout the country. If the people wanted a big standing army, they would have had it long ago. Congress would have yielded to their importunities if there had been any importunities to hear.

And the reason they do not want an immense military establishment is because they refuse to regard with serious eyes the "war terror" that is held up to their gaze by the militarists every year.

Woman Suffrage.

REMARKS
OF
HON. S. KIRKPATRICK,
OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 12, 1915,

On the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 1) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK. Mr. Speaker, I am frank in saying to this House and to the world that I am not a full-fledged suffragist. I am also frank in saying that I am on horseback, going in that direction, and it is an adage as old as the recollection of man that it does not pay to stop in the middle of a stream to trade horses.

The right of petition was denied to the Colonies, but when the representatives of a people like those whom we have with us on this occasion rise to the dignity of seeking an audience with this the greatest legislative body on earth, then, in my judgment, it is high time to take notice. Hence I am going to vote for submission.

Go to the polling places of this country and you will pass billingsgate on the outside and hell's gate in the interior. Some may say this would be an ordeal for woman, but her presence will clean these Augean stables as none other can or will. Even though the road to success be paved with obstacles, those who bear the cross will in the end be crowned. It was a woman last at the cross and first at the sepulcher.

The result of the vote in this House may not be all that is desired on the part of these women, but the faces of Jane Addams and her coworkers will not be turned aside by reason of temporary defeat.

These are the closing scenes of the first real battle, and the friends of good government and clean politics will remain on the firing line, and no effort of mine will ever menace their pathway to ultimate success.

Some have said that women clothed with the ballot would not inquire as to real live, practical issues. Let me say, that while in Kansas during the recent campaign I listened to a legion of inquiries from women along the following lines relative to the fitness and qualifications of candidates; that is, "Is he honest?" "Does he drink?" "Does he provide for those dependent upon him for support?" "Does he gamble?" "Does he pay his

honest debts?" "Does he use profane language?" and so forth. Mark ye well, all ye who have to run a gantlet like this. I have passed through 26 biennial political campaigns and without a single exception all parties have undertaken to pave their way to success by advertising their meetings in burning capitals, that is, "The ladies are specially invited," and so forth. Yes, Mr. Speaker, men are willing to use women as mops attached to the end of a stick or as "shoofly's" to secure their election. In this I have no false pride or illusions, but my statements are borne out by the facts in the case, and I trust that none of the germs of hypocrisy will be used to place me in a false attitude.

In this, as well as in all other political questions, no one has to turn the searchlight of investigation on me. I do not harbor any resentment against those who differ with me, but I am willing to accord to the patriotic, intelligent women of America a hearing in the court of last resort.

Report of John L. McLaurin, State Warehouse Commissioner, to the General Assembly of South Carolina.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. HENRY,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 15, 1915.

Mr. HENRY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a report of John L. McLaurin, State warehouse commissioner, to the General Assembly of South Carolina.

The report is as follows:

REPORT OF JOHN L. MCLAURIN, STATE WAREHOUSE COMMISSIONER, TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF SOUTH CAROLINA, JANUARY, 1915.

Gentlemen of the General Assembly:

Under an act passed at the extra session of the general assembly last year, and approved October 30, 1914, the sum of $15,000 was appropriated for the purpose of establishing and putting into operation what is commonly known as the State warehouse system. That system has been organized and is now in operation, and the expenditures up to this time are less than $2,300, including all bills payable.

This report covers the period of operation from the middle of November, as we could not get our blank forms before that date.

Beginning so late in the season, in the face of unprecedented financial conditions, a small appropriation, and an amendment forced on the bill in the House forbidding payment of rent for warehouses until after all of the operating expenses were paid in full, I only attempted to organize the system and perfect the machinery, depending upon this general assembly to enlarge the powers and provide the means for its development.

We now have 28 warehouses, with an aggregate capacity of 45,000 bales.

I will file a supplemental report as to the amount of cotton on hand, rates of insurance, and every item of financial transactions.

PLAN OF ORGANIZATION.

I did not have funds to pay insurance in advance and operating expenses, as the standard warehouses connected with a bank have, and I devised a form of contract taking over warehouses at a nominal rental of $1 per year, allowing the lessor to fix the rate of storage and pay all operating expenses, including 3 cents per bale per month to the State, which I calculated, if 50,000 bales were stored for 10 months, would pay the expenses of the system.

This does not, however, carry out a proper conception of a State warehouse system, which should provide as follows:

First. Cheap storage, with a low interest rate, so as to encourage the gradual marketing of the crop.

Second. Reducing the cost of marketing by bringing farmer and spinner into direct contact, eliminating middlemen's profits, to the advantage of producer and manufacturer.

Third. Transforming cotton into a negotiable security that will pass current in the money markets of the world and afford an acceptable collateral for use under the agricultural section of the new currency law.

The last named has been accomplished, but I have not been able, under the terms of the present law, with the $15,000 appropriation, to build warehouses, nor have I been able to equip them with proper fire protection and mechanical appliances for handling cotton so as to give the cheapest storage obtainable. As I have stated, I have only been able to lease them at a nominal rental.

I desire also to call your attention to the fact that there is no authority provided under the warehouse act for me to aid persons with cotton on storage to negotiate loans, nor is there any authority to make sales of cotton to either domestic or foreign spinners.

WHAT CAN BE DONE.

After careful investigation I am prepared to say that the State of South Carolina can build warehouses and store cotton at a rate of 10 cents per bale per month and put by a sufficient amount in a sinking fund to pay for the property in a period of 20 years.

With a compress, and with authority to act, I could sell cotton direct from such a warehouse to the foreign mills, saving the charges of from six to eight middlemen in each case.

A small commission on such loans or sales would soon pay for warehouses and provide funds after that for constantly adding to the number.

MIDDLEMEN'S PROFITS.

If the State had one plant, as a beginning, located in Columbia, with a compress, just at this time, the sale of a single cargo of cotton in Europe at 25 cents a pound, which is being paid there, would have a tremendous moral effect in advancing the price of cotton. The enormous profits which have been made in buying cotton at 6 cents and shipping it to Europe is well illustrated by a statement made to me in writing by a well-known citizen and former newspaper writer of this State, that certain brokers in Savannah made up a pool and floated bonds for a half million dollars to finance the purchase of several vessels in which cargoes of cotton were shipped to Germany. This cotton was sold there, these gentlemen stated to my informant, at a net profit of 14 cents a pound.

If any argument were needed, this mere statement should be enough. Here is one man producing a bale of cotton at a loss of $20; here is another making $70 clear for finding a market. What excuse has a Government for existence which can not correct such gross inequalities in the distribution of wealth?

In time of peace I have seen the estimate of expense from farm to mill placed at from $7 to $10 per bale. A saving of $5 per bale would amount to $5,000,000 annually. When we consider that the price of cotton is fixed abroad, and that which is sold abroad makes the price of that entering into domestic consumption, it is easy to see that an increased price in the foreign market would raise the price of every pound sold to our own mills.

CREDITS LOCKED UP.

No man can accurately predict the length of this war, nor just what the consumption of cotton will be, but this is a 16,000,000-bale crop, and it is evident that a large surplus must be carried over into 1916. The borrowing power of this surplus cotton will be fixed by the price which we are able to force for the cotton which enters into consumption. Never in the world has there been a finer spirit shown than by the South in this great crisis. There has been the utmost forbearance on the part of the merchants and banks, with the most perfect willingness on the part of the farmer to warehouse his cotton and give the receipts to his creditor to enable him to finance himself.

This great holding movement I attribute in large measure to the agitation in South Carolina and Texas for State warehouse measures, and the extra sessions of their legislatures. This has been the potent factor in this splendid holding movement, and the present advance of 2½ cents from the low level is due largely to these two States. It has saved millions of dollars to the South, but it has nearly reached its limit, and something further must be done.

Seven hundred and fifty thousand bales of cotton, with all its potential credits locked up, is paralyzing the industries of this State. With the same conditions existing all over the South, it means that the purchasing power of our section is curtailed, and business all over the country stagnates.

This condition will continue until these credits are unlocked by a sale of cotton.

Other factors are now coming in to sustain the price of cotton, and if a foreign selling movement can be started, while there may be recessions in prices, we are over the worst. Foreign spinners are buying futures in New Orleans and New York at constantly advancing prices. The short sellers know that spots will be demanded, and that they are in for a loss if the holding movement continues, and it can only be successfully continued by taking advantage of the high price offered abroad.

The marketing of cotton is of world-wide import, because when the gold standard was finally adopted cotton became the corner stone of international finance. There can be no solid improvement in business until our cotton goes abroad and starts the tide of gold to these shores. It is through cotton that the United States controls the balance of world trade, and the great aim of the South should be not only to export its cotton from southern ports but that the gold which it yearly brings in should be deposited in southern banks instead of going to New York to maintain a supremacy which rightfully belongs to the section which produces the only distinctively gold crop.

REDUCTION OF ACREAGE.

Of course any student of the economic situation realizes that the future price of cotton is going to depend upon the acreage and production of 1915. One of the reasons why cotton is now advancing, under very difficult conditions, is that astute observers gather from the wheat acreage figures, recently made public by the Agricultural Department, that acreage reduction is becoming a certainty. If the June acreage report on cotton confirms the small-grain figures, there will certainly be a sharp advance in prices.

Last year the cotton States had 6,253,000 acres of winter wheat. This year there is about 15,000,000 acres. The increase in South Carolina is, I regret to say, only 20 per cent, while Alabama shows an increase of 185 per cent, Mississippi 125 per cent, Georgia 118 per cent, and North Carolina 75 per cent. Add to this the enormous increase in oats and rye, and the knowledge of the fact that the *increase* is taken from the lands heretofore in cotton, and it would appear that there must be a reduction now of about 40 per cent in the cotton acreage.

It must also be remembered that fertilizers will not be used as heretofore.

If intelligent restraint is exercised as to acreage, and we can find an outlet abroad, the price of cotton will within one year compensate us for the sacrifice which good citizens are now making to prevent the confiscation of our property, not through the lack of money, but the destruction of credits.

THE TRUST PRINCIPLE.

The principle upon which rests the prosperity of this country, as a whole, is cooperation. The power concentrated in the hands of a few to fix prices makes the so-called trust. Every article entering into consumption, except raw cotton, has its price fixed in this way. This price should never be so high as to check the consumption nor so low as not to yield a fair profit to the producer.

With all the other business interests of the country conducted upon this basis, we have reached the point where it is impossible to continue to raise cotton at a profit unless the producers control the surplus and, through it, fix a minimum price for the commodity.

Voluntary organizations among 20,000,000 people scattered from the Atlantic to the Rio Grande will always fail. The warehouse systems of South Carolina, Louisiana, and Texas are attempts, through our State governments, to secure that cooperation which, in the nature of the case, is otherwise impossible.

The civilization of South Carolina and the well-being, directly or indirectly, of every citizen depends upon our cotton crop. Therefore

the conservation of its profits demands and should have our best thought and wisest statesmanship.

It costs, including interest on the investment, 10 cents a pound to produce cotton. If more is placed on the market during the fall than can be absorbed at a profit the price must fall to a point under the cost of production to induce purchase on the investment basis.

To secure its full intrinsic value we must, to some extent, not only control production, but provide the means to withhold the surplus from the channels of trade, so as at all times to maintain the equilibrium between supply and demand.

If the Southern States last August had each had warehouse systems in operation, it would have been easy to have secured concert of action through the heads of the respective systems, and, under the ruling of the Secretary of the Treasury, a comprehensive use of State warehouse receipts would have transformed our cotton into a negotiable security which would have prevented the terrible depression of the past three months. We could have established 12 cents a pound as a minimum price for cotton, and 75 per cent of that value would have been the loan basis. This would have established prices, and the domestic mills would have taken cotton at that price, and knowing that it could go no lower, would have been spared the heavy expense they are now undergoing in making hedge sales and continuing a form of speculation which has ruined many of the ablest mill men in the South.

In finance, England is the model for all the nations. Here is what she did for her Indian and Egyptian cotton planters: She passed a decree forbidding more than 40 per cent of the lands heretofore in cotton to be again planted in cotton. *In addition, she has been lending money direct to the cotton planters to purchase their cotton from them at a stated price, and they have fared far better than the people in this country.*

I think that the following extract from the London Statist of November 28, 1914, will be of interest to you in this connection:

"At the beginning of this month the Egyptian Government announced that it was enabled, owing to the action of the British Government, not only to provide for advances being made to cultivators on their cotton crops, but also to purchase from the fellaheen whose crops are too small to allow them to obtain an advance on them, and who might otherwise be compelled to sell their cotton at prices much below the ruling rates. Therefore, it was prepared to buy from small cultivators in lots not exceeding 100 cantars, and to pay at the prices fixed by the Government's agents at various places. The prices so fixed are low. We learn that the mere fact that the Government has fixed a minimum price has gone far toward allaying the apprehensions that have been excited, for the fellaheen are not coming forward to sell in large numbers at the prices fixed. In other words, knowing that the Government will buy at a fixed rate, they are waiting in the hope that the trade may bid somewhat higher. It is earnestly to be wished that it may do so. In any event, the alarm which had seized the fellaheen that they might be obliged to sell at ruinous rates has greatly abated, and there is a much better feeling amongst them. Furthermore, the trade, seeing that the price can not fall below what has been fixed by the Government, is likely to bid somewhat higher; while the readiness of the Government to lend upon cotton tends greatly to restore confidence."

Germany did much the same thing for the protection of beet sugar. This is the big-money crop of Germany. When the war began Germany immediately bought the beet sugar and provided ships from Holland and Norway. England had been in the habit of buying this sugar and was obliged to have it. She winked at this action on the part of Germany, until England got her supply, and then she declared an embargo. It is not far from the truth to say that Germany largely financed her war by selling her sugar crop to England, and England appears to be trying to finance her war through the cotton crop of the South.

If cotton were a monopoly in Germany, England, or France, who doubts that they would promptly nationalize it and hold the balance of the world in tribute by its power?

No other country has such a monopoly as the South has in her cotton.

Germany has pursued the policy to which I have called attention with her potash. England has pursued this policy with her gold, by becoming the world's banker. Sweden and Norway do the same thing with iron and steel.

No people have such an opportunity as we have, through our State governments, to establish a credit system of our own, entirely independent of outside aid. All that we have to do is to make our own ports cotton-distributing centers and our own banks the depositories for the gold for which our cotton sells, instead of being, as we now are, the mere agents and vassals of New York and London.

A STEP FORWARD.

The present warehouse act is but a small beginning in so great a work, but it is a distinct step forward.

I realize that the fiscal condition of this State precludes the possibility of a large appropriation, but there are two pieces of property in the city of Columbia belonging to the State, or virtually belonging to the State, which can be acquired and made to answer the purpose of the warehouse commission at comparatively small cost.

SUGGESTIONS.

The State has an equity in the State dispensary property, on Gervais Street, of about $100,000. The State owns the 8 acres on which is situated the Richland Distillery. No one is using these buildings and they are rotting down. The purchasers of the State dispensary property are willing to let the State have it back. It has a three-story brick warehouse, with a sprinkler system, capable of storing 7,500 bales of cotton.

Why not utilize the money invested in one property to develop the other?

There would be nothing to buy, then, except a compress, and if the sinking fund were authorized to borrow money it could be repaid from the profits which would accrue. The commission, on placing a few cargoes of cotton in Germany at present prices, would pay for the entire plant. There is absolutely no risk, because the property purchased and its improvements would stand for itself and be self-sustaining.

I recommend to your earnest consideration that the sinking-fund commission be authorized to use the proceeds arising from the sale of the old State dispensary building to provide a compress and suitable warehouse facilities on the property known as the Richland Distillery, so as to enable the State warehouse commissioner to build modern warehouses, with every mechanical appliance, to give cheap storage.

AMENDMENTS SUGGESTED.

I suggest that the law creating the warehouse system be amended in the following particulars:

1. That the State warehouse commissioner be authorized to make sales, when requested by parties having cotton on storage, to either foreign or domestic spinners, and that you provide the sum of $10,000 to be used in the inauguration of this feature.

2. That the provisions in the act as to certain counties being permitted to build county warehouses to operate under State management, so as to get the advantage of the State receipts, be extended to all the counties of the State, and thus localize the system in the various counties, and thereby cheapen the cost of operation without weakening in any way the strength of the State warehouse system.

Cotton from these county warehouses could be shipped on milling rates, via the compress, and go at one rate of freight from the farm to a mill in Europe or elsewhere.

INSURANCE RATES.

One of the most expensive features connected with the operation of the State warehouse act is the heavy rate of insurance. If there is any way in which it can be done through the sinking-fund commission, so as to get a cheaper rate of insurance, I would be glad to avail myself of the opportunity.

I think, however, if I am given the funds to put in the double-sprinkler system, to which I have called your attention, that, under the rates now offered, I could get insurance at 10 cents per hundred instead of the present rate, which averages about 2.25 per hundred dollars.

I will include in my supplementary report, as directed by the act, a list of the warehouses, locations, names of managers, amount of cotton on storage, and such other details as may be necessary for your full information.

I have the honor to be, your obedient servant,

JNO. L. McLAURIN,
State Warehouse Commissioner.

So, Mr. Speaker, from this strong and illuminating report we find what England, Germany, and France have done and are willing to do for the tillers of the soil while the cruel effects of the war is working havoc with their people. Well might America emulate their example and lift up and do even-handed justice to her cotton farmers.

National Woman Suffrage.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE J. KINDEL,

OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 12, 1915,

On House joint resolution 1, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Mr. KINDEL. Mr. Speaker, it was not my intention to make a speech on the national woman-suffrage amendment; but since it has been charged on the floor of the House by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN] that those representing suffrage States would not dare to vote according to their honest convictions, if opposed to the present amendment, I could not refrain from availing myself of the privilege of extended remarks, and thus explain, in a measure, why I, from a suffrage State, voted against the proposition of national woman suffrage now before the House.

Mr. Speaker, notwithstanding I firmly believe in women sharing in the affairs of government, and that they should enjoy every privilege vouchsafed to man, I can not and do not believe that the people of Colorado should dictate to the people of other States that they must adopt the same rules of enfranchisement for their citizens that prevail in Colorado.

In the South the rank and file of women are not educated up to the average of the standard of the women of my section. The southerners know this; therefore their vigorous protest to outsiders to dictate what they term as being strictly local affairs.

In my opinion the States that desire woman enfranchisement should do as Colorado and the other 10 States have done, namely, hold an election and vote for its adoption independent of any other State or of the Nation. When that question was up in my State, I voted against it, because I, of German origin, believed women to be above politics, and that we should regard them as our queens and treat them accordingly, as the beloved queens of our most sacred edifice—the home. Since the women have had the franchise in my State I had hoped that they would make a much better job of government than we men folks have done. That there are some of the most estimable, intelligent, and patriotic women engaged in politics it would be folly to deny.

The most prevalent trouble I find is the indifference and the apathy of most good women to study political questions, and then their neglect or refusal to vote, this being generally emphasized in my own family and kinsfolk.

Mr. Speaker, in my maiden speech in the House I pointed out that the women of Wyoming, who have been voting for 45 years, were not feasting on prunes, because prunes were too high priced, for the reason of the discriminative freight rate

from California to Wyoming points, which is $1.63 per hundred, while if they are shipped on farther to New York, 2,000 miles away, and where women do not vote, they are but $1.10 per hundred. It is to be noted that the women of Wyoming did not heed my suggestion, for they reelected the estimable gentleman, Mr. MONDELL, at the recent election, which would seem that they prefer prunes at $1.63 as against $1.10 for twice the distance, which is only one of many discriminatory rates they pay for the privilege of voting for their representatives in the two Houses of Congress. The women seem to forget, though they have been told repeatedly, that everything they put in their mouths and on their backs is subject to transportation tax, which I shall here demonstrate as always excessive in my section.

The women of Colorado, who have had the man-given right of voting since 1903, scarcely have done any better than their sisters in Wyoming. In my colleague, Mr. TAYLOR'S district, the same discriminatory rates as to prunes and many other commodities prevail, notwithstanding that we in Colorado have women State senators and legislators. It is to be observed that our commercial condition has grown worse and will continue to do so if transportation discrimination is allowed to go on unchecked.

I shall here mention a few facts, and in so doing my purpose is twofold: First, to point out again to the good womenfolk of my section that here was and is a splendid field for real reform; and, second, to leave a legacy to my successor and colleagues who, either in ignorance or indifference, complacently subject our State to these injustices.

In Colorado we pay as much as 40 mills a ton per mile rate on coal, in spite of the fact that it is a down-hill haul, like a toboggan slide. Can you beat this for coal rates in any anti-suffrage State?

Our sugar rate from California to Colorada is 60 cents per 100 pounds, while if it is destined to Missouri River points—antisuffrage States, 600 miles longer distance—then it is only 50 cents per 100 pounds.

I present here a table of commodity rates, being carload and less-than-carload rates on boots and shoes, both leather and rubber, from Boston and New York to various western commercial centers. I present these rates only as an example of the hundreds of commodity rates in effect to the points named.

Rates per 100 pounds on boots and shoes.

BOSTON TO ST. LOUIS.

	Leather.		Rubber.	
	Less than carload.	Carload.	Less than carload.	Carload.
All rail	$0.88	$0.88	$0.88	$0.76
Sea and rail	.83	.83	.83	.72
BOSTON TO OMAHA.				
All rail	$1.43	$1.43	$1.43	$1.31
Sea and rail	1.38	1.38	1.38	1.27
BOSTON TO COLORADO COMMON POINTS.				
All rail	$2.50	$2.50	$2.50	$2.50
Sea and rail	2.34	2.34	2.34	2.22
BOSTON TO WESTERN COLORADO POINTS.				
All rail	$3.15	$3.15	$3.15	$2.40
Sea and rail	2.99	2.99	2.99	2.03
BOSTON TO SAN FRANCISCO.				
All rail	$2.75	$2.75	$2.00	$1.50

Who can reconcile the following rates? Rates on beer and cotton piece goods in carloads from New York to western Colorado points and New York to Pacific coast points, 1,000 miles greater distance, but less rate.

From New York, N. Y. to—	Beer in wood, carload.	Cotton piece goods, carload.
Mississippi River points	$0.35	$0.55
Western Colorado points (Mr. TAYLOR'S district)	1.05	2.11
Pacific coast points	1.00	1.10

In southern Colorado, where my colleague [Mr. KEATING] hails from, the following discriminations prevail:

The first-class rate from New York via Galveston to Trinidad, Colo., is $2.34, while from New York via Galveston to Omaha—in an antisuffrage State—it is but $1.38. Yet Omaha, which is 200 miles farther in distance, is given a 96-cent less rate per hundred on first-class goods. Expressed in percentage, to Trinidad it is 70 per cent higher rate than it is to Omaha.

In 1895 the rate on rails and all products of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Co., located in Mr. KEATING'S district, was $1.60 per hundred. By the suit in court, before the Interstate Commerce Commission, we reduced the rate to 45 cents per hundred from Pueblo to Pacific coast points. This matter being out of woman's sphere, I venture that not one in a thousand women gave it a thought, much less any consideration, whatever.

When the express rates were attacked by me about eight years ago in two trials, and reduced from $8.50 to $5.70 per hundred from New York to all Colorado common points, exceptionally few women took any notice of the issue; likewise, when my case, known as No. 951, reduced the rate from Chicago to Colorado points on first-class goods from $2.05 to $1.80 per hundred. According to the sworn statement of the railroad officials, this has saved our section a million and a half dollars a year, and yet only a few women of the type of the late Sarah Platt Decker and Mrs. Helen Grenfell, who did such heroic work in the recent coal strike, also Mrs. Eliza Lentz, who is a member of the Suffrage Association of Colorado, have commented on the importance of my efforts or expressed their approbation.

On my vote on the suffrage question the last-named lady, Mrs. Lentz, sent me a message, saying:

> I was glad you voted nay on woman suffrage for all the States. You and President Wilson were wise. Let each State decide for itself, as Colorado did. * * * I am a member of the Suffrage Association of Colorado, but I stand by our noble and wise President always.
>
> (Signed) ELIZA LENTZ.

There is as much occasion to battle for fair transportation rates to-day as there ever was. Are not our passenger rates grossly out of line East and West? Are not our Pullman rates nearly a hundred per cent higher for the first half than the second half of the distance to Chicago? Are not our Denver freight rates 100 per cent higher per ton per mile than any city of its size in the Union? What more than freight rates have militated against our industries, and which lost us four soap works, two woolen mills, a million-dollar paper mill, a million-dollar cotton mill, tin-can factory, stove works, match factory, and so forth?

Are not our express rates 130 per cent higher west of Colorado common points than they are east of the Mississippi River points, and are not our parcel-post rates on edibles between New York and Colorado common points over 200 per cent higher than the express rates? Are not the parcel-post book rates from New England States to Colorado points 100 per cent higher than from same point via Colorado to China (12 cents as against 6 cents)?

For several years past the merchants of our country have agitated the reduction of letter postage from 2 cents to 1 cent. Surprising as it may seem, I have not heard of one woman's club joining in this movement. If our Post Office were run on proper lines, some of the big publishers, like that of the Saturday Evening Post and the Ladies' Home Journal, would not enjoy 1 cent a pound periodical rate, which gives these two journals and many others an advantage of 7 cents per pound over the general public rate, which amounts to an advantage for the Curtis Publishing Co. on these two journals alone of $3,624,232.29 per year, which is only a small part of the graft of $75,000,000 per year on second-class mail matter. Does anyone challenge this statement?

When the women voted for Representatives in the last election, did they for a moment consider the advisability of selecting champions that were pledged to right this gross injustice, which robs the millions to make a few publishing houses rich? Here is food for thought. You will observe that my statements of facts and figures are never questioned. I have always believed that politics is business and that fair transportation rates are one of the economics; i. e., that legislative bodies are intended to regulate and control. Are they doing it? If not, why do not the women voters get busy? Has anybody heard any protests on the part of enfranchised women on this question?

In conclusion I quote a paragraph from the remarks of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WEBB], as published in the RECORD under date of January 12, as follows:

> The suffragists have always claimed that the reason why none of the woman-suffrage States had been voted "dry" was because there were so many more men than women in those States. Two years ago Colorado voted "wet" by about 40,000; this year by 10,000 "dry." As

the same proportion of men and women still exist, it must have been the men and not the women who caused that State and the other three to join the dry column. The women of Colorado can not claim the credit. The proportion of women to men in Colorado is much greater than in the three other States that voted "dry." At any rate, if they voted "wet" two years ago and "dry" now, it was not the women's vote that made the State "dry," but the general public sentiment which was worked up for prohibition, the same as the sentiment for prohibition in Virginia was worked up, where men alone vote.

Here I am reminded by Robert Burns to be charitable:

Gently scan your fellow man,
Still gentler sister woman.

Halting Coal Shipments.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 15, 1915,

On the bill (H. R. 20189) making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes.

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, extending my remarks on the Delaware River project, under leave granted by the committee, I submit that a port which does an annual business of more than 26,000,000 tons, valued at $1,200,000,000, as the port of Philadelphia did on the Delaware River in 1913, is entitled to generous consideration at the hands of Congress, more especially since that same port collected in revenue for the use of the Government approximately $200,000,000 in the 10 years from 1904 to 1913, inclusive. The average revenue collections at Philadelphia approximate $20,000,000 per annum, which is substantially $3,000,000 more than has been spent by the Government in improving the Delaware River since the foundation of the National Government. There is no other inland river that can show such a fine commercial record nor such momentous serviceability to the Government. It excels in shipbuilding as it does in commerce, being not only the birthplace of the American Navy but the rendezvous for shipbuilding establishments that have produced a greater number of our merchantmen and naval vessels than any other river of the United States.

In the year just passed the arrivals from foreign and coastwise ports at Philadelphia numbered 5,626 vessels and the character of their cargoes was as varied as the products of nature. Close to the greatest of anthracite-coal fields, surrounded by industries supporting a population running far into the millions, trading with all the nations of the earth, and serving all the States of the Union, the port of Philadelphia is as fairly entitled to rank as a port of the Nation as any other, and yet some Members of Congress, without fully appreciating the situation, I am sure, would treat the Delaware River as a local enterprise and would hold down appropriations for its betterment upon the ground that the Government is unduly taxed when it contributes to the support of a 35-foot channel that leads out of Pennsylvania by way of New Jersey and Delaware to the sea.

SMALL APPROPRIATIONS UNECONOMICAL.

It is the purpose of this address to call attention to the inadequacy of appropriations thus far made under the 35-foot-channel project to properly complete the work. The long and short of it is that we have not had enough money under the project approved June 25, 1910, to economically keep up with the work as the Army engineers intended should be done. The total cost of this project was estimated at $11,000,000, and the plan was to complete it in six years. That would have necessitated appropriations of about $2,000,000 per annum. But the Government has not kept up to that standard and much of the money appropriated has been diverted to maintenance, so that the entire project is only 26 per cent complete, as per the last official report. The fact that small appropriations for a great project like this are neither wise nor economical ought to be self-evident. It was painfully proven when, in October last, the *Crown Point*, a British vessel, which did not wait to avail itself of the high tide, went aground for a spell in the upper Delaware below Port Richmond. It was about that time that the channel work was being held up because the moderate appropriation previously made by Congress had been exhausted. But when it developed a few weeks ago that the Navy Department, which sought to break down a coal combine, desired to come to Philadelphia for Pennsylvania coal, which it could obtain much cheaper than elsewhere, concluded not to use its big colliers because of the depth of channel on the upper Delaware, the seriousness and wastefulness of a lack of appropriations were forcefully apparent.

I believe with the Pilot Association for the Bay and River Delaware and with the Maritime Exchange authorities at Philadelphia that there is a sufficient depth of water on the flood tide at Philadelphia to properly care for the naval vessels referred to, but I do not believe we can lightly overlook the harmful consequences and the wasteful tendencies of reducing or withholding the money necessary to promptly complete for commercial and naval purposes so valuable a national asset as the Delaware River. Unless Congress shall keep up the appropriations to an amount commensurate with the importance of the project, which ought to be at the rate of $2,000,000 per annum, the delay in final completion must necessarily prove expensive and detrimental to the public interest.

PRESENT DEPTH AND RISE OF TIDE.

There is now an assured depth of 30 feet at mean low tide in the Delaware River from Philadelphia to the sea. Upon that there is a rise of tide of from 5 to 6 feet. The 35-foot channel is going along just as rapidly as the appropriations will permit. With a 40-foot channel assured to New York, 35 feet to Boston, Baltimore, and Norfolk, there is every reason why the oldest, and in tonnage the second, of the ports of the country should be given the biggest help that Congress can afford. It is a willing work horse of the Nation, producing its full share of commerce and revenue, while it also exercises for the inland States the functions of a steady and economical export center for all their products. Despite the handicap which the river has suffered, it is constantly entering of record new steamships and new steamship lines the business of which is not in any sense confined to Philadelphia or Pennsylvania.

NAVY SEEKING CHEAPER COAL.

In connection with the coal contracts to which I have made reference I desire to submit certain correspondence, together with data pertaining to the facilities of the river and harbor, and the extent of the business which they now sustain.

From the testimony of Assistant Secretary Roosevelt, of the Navy Department, before the Committee on Naval Affairs in December last I extract the following:

"Mr. ROOSEVELT. * * * Last year it was determined to see if real competition could not be secured in the purchase of steaming coal without in any way lowering the quality of the coal purchased. The essential things which had brought about the elimination of real competition were:

"1. The restriction of the mines to a limited area.

"2. The restriction to the owners or selling agents of these mines.

"Investigations were made by the department as to the possibility of enlarging this field. It was found that if Pennsylvania coals could be used there was a prima facie saving of 15 cents per ton for delivery at Philadelphia over delivery at Hampton Roads, the Hampton Roads coal all coming from the West Virginia fields. The quality of various Pennsylvania coals was examined, and one coal was given a practical steaming test. As a result of the preliminary examination, it had passed a thoroughly successful test and was put on the accepted list of the Navy. I will add that the coal from Pennsylvania was used the other day on the trial trip of the battleship *New York* when she exceeded her contract speed by about 1 knot."

THE OPPORTUNITY AND THE CHANNEL.

On January 5, 1915, in consequence of information received by me, I addressed the following letter to the parties named:

JANUARY 5, 1915.

Messrs. J. H. WEAVER & Co.,
Land Title Building, Philadelphia, Pa.

GENTLEMEN: I have been advised that you have a contract with the Navy Department to supply it with 200,000 tons of bituminous coal from Pennsylvania mines, to be delivered via the Delaware River, and that after partial delivery the question has arisen as to further shipments because of channel depths in the vicinity of Port Richmond. If there is such a contract and there has been such a stoppage of delivery for the reason stated, I should like to be apprised of the facts, since my information as to harbor depths at Philadelphia would not seem to justify the withdrawal of Government colliers on that account. You will further oblige me if you will let me know whether, in this connection, there has been any diversion of coal shipments from Philadelphia to any other ports.

Very truly, yours,

J. HAMPTON MOORE.

And in reply thereto received the following:

PHILADELPHIA, *January 12, 1915.*

Hon. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We have your favor of the 5th instant, and in reply beg to say that in April, 1914, the Navy Department sent out Schedule 6609, asking prices at New York, Philadelphia, etc., and among other classes they asked for a price on 600,000 tons at Hampton Roads.

We conferred with the Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt, stating that in asking for 600,000 tons at Hampton Roads exclusively he was discriminating against Philadelphia for Pennsylvania coals. After some thought he withdrew the former specifications and issued a supplementary schedule calling for a price on 600,000 tons to be supplied at either Hampton Roads, Baltimore, or Philadelphia. This was actuated by a desire to get better prices and at the same time give all the fields a fair opportunity to compete.

We, along with others, on June 18, 1914, submitted a price, which resulted in the Navy Department awarding to us a contract for 200,000 tons at Philadelphia. This had hardly been done when it was intimated to us that the large colliers could not come to Philadelphia on account of insufficient water in the Delaware River channel; whereupon we got in touch with the Philadelphia Maritime Exchange, Pilots' Association, War Department, United States engineer's office, Philadelphia, the Philadelphia & Reading Railway, and the department of wharves, docks, and ferries, Philadelphia, copies of correspondence with them being attached, and which should remove any doubt as to the ability of the large colliers coming to the piers at Philadelphia and depart in safety.

The Navy Department subsequently assigned several vessels to Philadelphia, among which was the collier *Proteus*, which reported at Port Richmond November 1, 1914, and we gave her a cargo, as you will find from the copy of commander's note of November 7, attached, wherein he reported that it was his opinion that it was not safe to send these large colliers to Philadelphia.

Learning of this we again took the matter up and visited the several departments in Philadelphia, who did not care to give a letter but who stated that there was absolutely no doubt as to the safety for such ships to navigate the Delaware River; in fact, we inclose a copy of a letter from the pilots' association, wherein you will note that they state they have piloted 41 vessels drawing 29 feet and over and 262 vessels drawing 28 feet and over in six months prior to the date of their letter.

It is our firm belief, which is concurred in by others, that there is no danger in sending these large colliers to Philadelphia for coal; indeed, the steering gear of the *Proteus* broke and they were compelled to steer by propellers, which possibly annoyed the commander of the *Proteus* to such a degree as to actuate him to write the Secretary as he did.

The Navy Department has taken only a very small amount of the coal contracted for, and as our coal is highly satisfactory for their use we are hopeful that something can be done to induce the Navy Department to send their large colliers to Philadelphia.

We give all credit to the Assistant Secretary, Mr. Roosevelt, for awarding us the contract as he did. He has not only helped to treat Philadelphia fairly but it has resulted in a very substantial reduction in price to the Government. That is to say, had an opportunity not been given Pennsylvania shippers to bid he would have certainly confronted a very much higher price in the southern fields.

Very truly, yours,

J. W. WEAVER & Co.

DIVERGENT VIEWS ON NAVIGATION.

Since receiving that letter I have read the reports of the commanding officer of the U. S. S. *Proteus*, following his trip to Port Richmond, and also that of the Navy hydrographer, and I note that the latter supports the captain of the *Proteus*, stating, however, that a vessel of her type "could undoubtedly run the river successfully many times," thus in turn confirming the views of the Delaware River pilots with regard to vessels of that type. But, so far as the Navy Department is concerned, the reports of these officers prevail for the present and apparently until, through larger appropriations, the channel shall be deepened in the vicinity of Port Richmond, presuming of course that vessels such as the *Proteus* are to load at their full capacity.

It is most unfortunate that such a question should have arisen, but sometimes it is good for a port as it is good for a nation to have a little plain speaking, and the truth is that while Philadelphia does an enormous business with all the nations of the earth and with all the States of the Union, it has not received that equitable governmental consideration to which it is fairly entitled. It is well that the facts should be fully understood. The people of Philadelphia and of Pennsylvania, as well as those of New Jersey and Delaware, are proud of their noble river and the splendid record it has made. They provide for it terminals and facilities for shipping to which the Government should freely and liberally respond. The pilots who guide the ships from the city and the sea stand up for the river, as the maritime interests earnestly and loyally defend it, but it needs Federal consideration to a greater extent than heretofore and it deserves the treatment already accorded to rival ports.

I append hereto the views of the Philadelphia Maritime Exchange and of the Pilots' Association for the Bay and River Delaware, with respect to the channel depths. These are incident to the attitude of the Navy Department in the matter of the shipment of coal upon colliers of the *Proteus* or 19,000-ton type:

THE PHILADELPHIA MARITIME EXCHANGE,
Philadelphia, September 9, 1914.

GENTLEMEN: We are in receipt of your communication of the 9th instant having reference to the depth of water in the Delaware River Channel. In your letter you refer to a telephone conversation with this exchange, when you were informed that there was a depth of 30 feet of water between Philadelphia and the sea at mean low tide, and that a vessel drawing 30 feet, when loaded, would safely take cargoes from this port.

At this writing we see no reason to change our views, although we are informed that owing to the discontinuance of maintenance operations by the Government dredges, caused by the failure of appropriations, there has been a slight shoaling in various sections of the river, but that said shoaling is of very soft material and would not interfere with the passage of high-powered steamers. There is a rise of 6 feet of tide in the Delaware River.

Very faithfully, E. R. SHARWOOD, *Secretary.*

—

THE PILOTS' ASSOCIATION FOR THE
BAY AND RIVER DELAWARE,
319 Walnut Street,
Philadelphia, Pa., January 4, 1915.

In reply to your letter of January 4 would state that 29 or 30 feet can be taken up and down the Delaware Bay and River to or from the port of Philadelphia with safety.

On October 21, 1914, the U. S. S. *Mars*, drawing 29 feet, was taken to sea from League Island, without stopping anywhere or touching the ground anywhere. The U. S. S. *Proteus*, drawing 29 feet, was taken to sea from League Island on November 4, 1914, and made but one stop, which was Reedy Island. After leaving Reedy Island her steering gear got out of order, and she went on down for several miles, being steered by her propellers, and she did not touch the ground anywhere. On December 4, 1914, the U. S. S. *Jupiter*, drawing 28 feet, went to sea without anchoring from League Island.

We have piloted 41 vessels drawing 29 feet of water and over and 262 vessels drawing 28 feet and over.

The pilots do not concur with the commander of the U. S. S. *Proteus* that it is not safe for ships of the *Proteus* type to come up the river and go down drawing 29 or 30 feet.

Very truly,

JOHN P. VIRDEN, *President.*

BIG BUSINESS OF THE PORT.

For the information of the House, and in support of the argument that the Delaware River is a national stream of great importance, I append the report of the statistician of the Board of Commissioners of Navigation for the River Delaware and its Navigable Tributaries for the year 1914:

REPORT OF STATISTICIAN.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *January 5, 1915.*

To the President and Members of the Board of Commissioners of Navigation for the River Delaware and its Navigable Tributaries.

GENTLEMEN: Although the last five months of the year just closed was a very unsatisfactory period for the foreign trade because of the European war and interruption of shipping, it is gratifying to note the great growth of the business between this port and the Pacific coast in consequence of the opening of the Panama Canal. Since the opening of the canal last August the American-Hawaiian Steamship Co., the Luckenbach Steamship Co., and the Dodge Line have established regular services between Philadelphia and the Pacific coast ports, bringing in record cargoes of canned goods, dried fruits, salmon, lumber, wine, and other products of California, Oregon, and Washing-

ton, returning with cargoes of manufactured goods. In addition to the regular lines of steamships, several transient vessels have arrived here and returned to the Pacific with general cargoes.

While the shipments of wheat during the last three months of the year were heavy, the exports for the year show a slight loss compared with the same period of 1913. From January 1 to December 31, 1914, the exports of wheat totaled 19,273,883 bushels, compared with 19,627,691 bushels for 1913. Exports of oats for 1914 were 2,437,436 bushels, compared with 385,239 bushels for 1913. While all other commodities show a slight decrease, the greatest loss is shown in the export of refined petroleum, only 141,887,342 gallons having been shipped from the various refineries to foreign ports, as against 229,690,238 for 1913.

The imports show gains in the receipt of bananas, copper ore, crude petroleum, molasses, sugar, and laths.

Anthracite-coal shipments to foreign and coastwise ports for 1914 were 1,448,710½ tons, compared with 1,460,478 tons during 1913. The bituminous-coal shipments for the 12 months ending December 31, 1914, were 2,459,148 tons, as compared with 3,456,562 tons during the same period of 1913.

The arrivals from foreign and coastwise ports during 1914 numbered 5,626 vessels, with a gross tonnage of 9,859,976, as against 5,908 vessels, with a gross tonnage of 10,358,389 for 1913. Of this fleet 1,297 vessels, with a gross tonnage of 4,590,781, were from foreign ports, compared with 1,467 vessels, with a gross tonnage of 5,345,203, for 1913. The coastwise arrivals for 1914 numbered 4,329 vessels, with a gross tonnage of 5,269,195, as against 4,441 vessels, with a gross tonnage of 5,013,186, for 1913.

The sailings for 1914 to foreign and coastwise ports number 5,598 vessels, with a gross tonnage of 9,822,414. For 1913 the sailings were 5,870 vessels, with a gross tonnage of 10,470,871. The foreign sailings for 1914 numbered 1,287 vessels, with a gross tonnage of 4,480,430, as against 1,438 vessels, with a gross tonnage of 5,359,787, for 1913. The coastwise sailings for 1914 numbered 4,311 vessels, with a gross tonnage of 5,341,984, compared with 4,432 vessels, with a gross tonnage of 5,111,084, for 1913.

Attached are tables showing in detail the business of the port.

Respectfully submitted.

ARTHUR F. RENNER, *Statistician.*

TABLES THAT TALK ELOQUENTLY.

I also append three tables taken from the report of Col. George A. Zinn, Board of Engineers, United States Army, in charge, to the War Department, relating to freight, imports and exports, and shipbuilding on the Delaware River during the year 1913.

Aggregate freight movement on Delaware River from Trenton, N. J., to the sea.

	1912		1913	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
Foreign:	*Tons.*		*Tons.*	
Imports	3,113,336	$92,566,087	3,254,760	$91,947,390
Exports	2,853,436	72,769,617	2,799,298	72,236,967
Coastwise and domestic	20,300,563	1,069,770,917	20,515,294	1,065,270,605
Total	[1] 26,267,335	1,235,106,621	[2] 26,569,352	1,229,454,962

[1] Of this quantity about 4,685,234 tons were carried on car floats between Philadelphia and Camden.

[2] Of this quantity about 4,535,134 tons were carried on car floats between Philadelphia and Camden.

Comparative statement of quantity and value of exports, imports, and revenue collected.

Years.	Exports.		Imports.		Revenue.
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	
	Tons.		*Tons.*		
1904	2,552,065	$66,539,909	1,057,348	$53,852,194	$17,997,700
1905	3,267,439	70,645,103	1,365,245	67,913,822	20,022,804
1906	3,800,995	88,276,315	1,732,935	72,137,678	20,505,545
1907	4,056,716	106,570,527	1,800,520	80,693,327	21,044,374
1908	3,532,472	95,533,079	1,551,015	57,407,935	16,963,929
1909	3,041,433	80,503,231	2,234,039	78,001,804	20,810,442
1910	2,532,677	65,256,949	2,948,179	89,646,337	21,888,285
1911	2,945,686	70,869,648	2,662,336	80,526,519	19,571,389
1912	2,853,436	72,769,617	3,113,336	92,566,087	21,545,507
1913	2,799,298	72,236,967	3,254,760	91,947,390	19,340,300

Vessels completed and under construction at the principal shipyards along the Delaware River during the year 1913.

Kinds.	Completed during year.	Under construction.	Gross tons.	Approximate value
Battleships	1	1	51,472	$11,852,000
Cruiser		1	2,600	1,825,000
Gunboat		1	1,425	1,098,750
Destroyer tender		1	7,150	1,310,000
Torpedo destroyers	1	12	12,600	9,904,000
Steamships	5		32,785	4,500,000
Steamboats	2	1	7,678	1,403,176
Steamers	7	4	32,687	1,100,000
Colliers	1	1	8,248	1,500,000
Ferryboats	3	1	3,583	654,000
Steam yacht	1		552	500,000
Barges	27		12,525	400,000
Car floats	14	4	17,800	900,000
Scows	9		8,325	250,000
Total	71	27	199,430	37,166,926

TIMELY SUGGESTIONS FROM HIGH AUTHORITY.

I also submit the following extracts from the annual report of the director of the department of wharves, docks, and ferries of the city of Philadelphia for 1913, which are unusually appropriate in view of the controversy that has arisen:

"There is no disposition to criticize the United States Engineer Department in its management of the work, which it is believed to be handling in a most efficient manner, but Philadelphia's and Pennsylvania's Representatives in Congress must strenuously urge their colleagues to recognize the importance of the Delaware River and to make appropriations for its improvement on a much more liberal scale than heretofore. The $1,000,000 or the $1,500,000 per year which has been allotted for the past few years is insufficient and should be largely increased.

"It must be remembered that the necessary funds for maintaining the 30-foot channel, amounting approximately to $300,000 per annum and over, come first out of these appropriated amounts, thus reducing by a large percentage the amount available for work under the 35-foot project, and postponing by just so much the completion of the larger work. It is not possible to reduce these maintenance charges; in fact, a considerably larger annual amount should be allotted for this purpose, so that not only should the 30-foot channel be maintained, but that the various sections of the 35-foot channel as soon as completed be immediately placed under maintenance operations.

* * * * * * *

"More money is needed both for maintenance and original dredging, probably $500,000 per annum for the former and $2,500,000 per annum for the latter if the channel is to be completed within a reasonable time. These are large sums, but this is a day of large improvements, and this work is one of them. No saving can be effected by doling out money for it in a spirit of miserly, mistaken economy, and the work dragged out for an inordinate number of years as was the 30-foot channel work, as under these circumstances it will be a source of credit and satisfaction to no one and of expense and chagrin to everybody interested in the commerce of the Delaware River."

Indian Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. B. THOMPSON,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, January 9, 1915,

On the bill (H. R. 20150) making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes, and for other purposes, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916.

Mr. THOMPSON of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, in the various questions in this bill affecting Oklahoma I am, of course, deeply interested. I wish conditions were such that the ever-recurring Indian question could now be finally settled, the affairs of the Five Civilized Tribes wound up, and their funds paid out and distributed among them while they yet live. In expressing this view I am sure I reflect the sentiment of all Oklahoma people, Indian as well as non-Indian. Our people occupy a very peculiar position in the winding up of this great Indian estate. They have no interest in it whatever except to see that it is honestly distributed and goes into the hands of those who are

entitled to receive it. They are compelled, by reason of the Indians and their property being located in Oklahoma, to bear the additional expense rendered necessary by the large volume of probate business.

There are pending in the probate courts of our State more than 40,000 probate cases, whereas there would not be 4,000 if it were not for these Indian estates. Where there is so great a volume of business, and where, as is often the case, these estates are of great value by reason of being underlain with oil and gas, naturally some graft, some misappropriation, and some wrong will occur. I do not say such has not occurred in Oklahoma, but I do affirm that the proportion in Oklahoma has been no greater than in other States when the volume of business transacted is taken into consideration. I go further, Mr. Chairman, and say—and the election returns will bear me out in this statement—that the people of Oklahoma will not elect to office any man who does not stand for the strictest economy and the most scrupulous honesty in the administration of these Indian estates.

I repeat, our people occupy a peculiar position in the winding up of these Indian estates. Without any interest in them, except to see that justice is done, they bear the burden of increased court expense to distribute these estates, and in payment they are held up to ridicule and denounced as thieves and grafters every time some guardian betrays his trust. I resent this, for the people of Oklahoma are as honest as any citizenship in any State in this Union, and they are much more interested in seeing the Indians' estate preserved for the benefit of the Indians than are the outside people, for they know that when that estate is dissipated and gone if any of these Indians become a charge upon society it will be the Oklahoma people who will be taxed to bear that burden.

AID TO COMMON SCHOOLS.

I had hoped that the item for $275,000 in aid of our common schools would not be objected to, as it has been, and stricken from this bill on a point of order. Of course we all know this item will go back and be carried in the bill when it finally becomes a law. The justness of this provision, when it is understood that more than 10,000,000 acres of our land is nontaxable, can not be disputed. Some day when the injustice of requiring the property owners in the towns and cities and the owners of personal property in the country to pay all the taxes for the support of all our various and multiplied forms of government—city, school district, road, township, county, and State—is fully and fairly presented to this Congress, not only will $275,000 annually be appropriated but the vast loss which the Oklahoma school system has sustained by reason of these lands being nontaxable, and which will amount to many millions of dollars, will be given to Oklahoma.

MISSISSIPPI CHOCTAW CLAIM.

I shall not attempt a discussion of the Mississippi Choctaw claim. Men of great ability, members of the Indian Committee, who have given that matter many months of thought, after extensive hearings and much argument, have made a report on the subject, accompanied by the hearings, and they will discuss it. I am sure the House, after hearing what they have to say, will be in position to pass on this matter finally and not delay further payment to the Oklahoma Choctaws and Chickasaws on account of this troublesome question.

PER CAPITA PAYMENT.

It is with the payment of the $200 per capita to the Choctaws and the $100 per capita to the Chickasaws that I want to deal. The conditions in Oklahoma render these payments of the greatest importance to our people, noncitizen as well as citizen. These payments will distribute among our people, in round numbers, $5,000,000 in money. No better or more opportune time for the distribution of this money could be chosen than the present. Our people are staggering under the blow of a great disaster. In Oklahoma during the year just passed we produced a cotton crop which will exceed a million and a quarter bales, of value in excess of $75,000,000 in an ordinary year. This cotton has been thrown upon the market under conditions brought about by the European war, for which our cotton farmers are not responsible, and the producers have not realized more than $45,000,000 for this great crop. This Congress, on two different occasions, by its vote has refused to extend our farmers any relief from the crushing blow which fell on them, and they, alone and unaided, have been compelled to bear the loss of $30,000,000 in the value of the products of their toil. This small payment of $5,000,000 will go a long way toward restoring normal conditions in our sorely afflicted State. Mr. Chairman, interest rates are high in Oklahoma—from 10 to 36 per cent. Seven million dollars or more is on hand, bringing the Choctaws and the Chickasaws less than 4 per cent interest. I do hope, under the circumstances, that this small payment will not be denied our people.

Address by Hon. J. W. Alexander, Chairman of the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the House of Representatives, Before the Boston Chamber of Commerce January 5, 1915.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUFUS HARDY,
OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 15, 1915.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an address by Hon. J. W. ALEXANDER, chairman of the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the House of Representatives, before the Boston Chamber of Commerce January 5, 1915.

The address is as follows:

ADDRESS BY HON. J. W. ALEXANDER, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, BEFORE THE BOSTON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, JANUARY 5, 1915.

Mr. President and gentlemen, on September 4, 1914 (2d sess., 63d Cong.), I introduced in the House of Representatives (H. R. 18666) a bill to authorize the United States, acting through a shipping board, to subscribe to the capital stock of a corporation to be organized under the laws of the United States, or of a State thereof, or of the District of Columbia, to purchase, construct, equip, maintain, and operate merchant vessels in the foreign trade of the United States, and for other purposes. The bill was referred to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, of which I have the honor to be chairman.

That I would introduce such a bill, and the time when it would be taken up by the committee for consideration and public hearings on it held, were given wide publicity through the press. I was disappointed that those who should be interested in all matters affecting our merchant marine, and especially those opposed to the measure, did not appear and give the committee the benefit of their views and afford the committee an opportunity to weigh their objections to the measure. If any interests opposed to the bill had indicated a desire to be heard, the hearings would have been extended over a reasonable period of time to give them an opportunity to do so.

Suffice it to say, none came, and in due course the bill was reported to the House of Representatives, where it is now pending on the Union Calendar.

On December 8, at the beginning of the present session, the President, in his address or message to Congress, referring to this, among other important legislation, said:

> But I think you will agree with me that this does not complete the toll of our duty. How are we to carry our goods to the empty markets of which I have spoken if we have not the ships? How are we to build up a great trade if we have not the certain and constant means of transportation upon which all profitable and useful commerce depends? And how are we to get the ships if we wait for the trade to develop without them? To correct the many mistakes by which we have discouraged and all but destroyed the merchant marine of the country, to retrace the steps by which we have, it seems almost deliberately, withdrawn our flag from the seas, except where, here and there, a ship of war is bidden carry it or some wandering yacht displays it, would take a long time and involve many detailed items of legislation, and the trade which we ought immediately to handle would disappear to find other channels while we debated the items.
>
> The case is not unlike that which confronted us when our own continent was to be opened up to settlement and industry and we needed long lines of railway, extended means of transportation prepared beforehand, if development is not to lag intolerably and wait interminably. We lavishly subsidized the building of transcontinental railroads. We look back upon that with regret now, because the subsidies led to many scandals of which we are ashamed; but we know that the railroads had to be built, and if we had it to do over again we should, of course, build them, but in another way. Therefore, I propose another way of providing the means of transportation which must precede, not tardily follow, the development of our trade with our neighbor States of South America. It may seem a reversal of the natural order of things, but it is true that the routes of trade must actually be opened—by many ships and regular sailings and moderate charges—before streams of merchandise will flow freely and profitably through them.
>
> Hence, the pending shipping bill, discussed at the last session, but as yet not passed by either House. In my judgment such legislation is imperatively needed and can not wisely be postponed. The Government must open these gates of trade and open them wide; open them before it is altogether profitable to open them or altogether reasonable to ask private capital to open them at a venture. It is not a question of the Government monopolizing the field. It should take action to make it certain that transportation at reasonable rates will be promptly provided, even where at first the carriage is not profitable; and, then, when the carriage has become sufficiently profitable to attract and engage private capital, and engage it in abundance, the Government ought to withdraw. I very earnestly hope that Congress will be of this opinion, and that both Houses will adopt this exceedingly important bill.

On December 9 the bill S. 6856 was introduced in the Senate by the senior Senator from Missouri, Senator STONE, and referred to the Committee on Commerce, and was reported back to the Senate with amendments on December 16, where it is now pending.

This course was taken to meet the wish of the President that this legislation might receive early consideration in the Senate, and while the general supply bills were being considered in the House.

In explaining the provisions of the bill I shall address myself to the amended Senate bill S. 6856. I assume that the bill in its amended form has the approval of the President.

The bill provides that the United States, acting through a shipping board, may subscribe to the capital stock of any corporation or corporations now or hereafter organized under the laws of the United States or of any State or of the District of Columbia, the object of such corporation to be the purchase or construction, equipment, maintenance, and operation of merchant vessels in the trade between the Atlantic, Gulf, or Pacific ports of the United States and the ports of Central and South America and elsewhere to meet the demands of the foreign commerce of the United States, or to charter vessels for such purposes and to make charters or leases of any vessel or vessels owned by such corporation to any other corporation, firm, or any individual to be used for such purposes, subject to the approval of the shipping board.

The initial stock of the corporation shall not be over or in excess of $10,000,000, the shares to be of the par value of $100. The capital stock of the corporation may be increased from time to time by the shipping board, with the approval of the President, as the interests of the corporation may require.

The United States shall subscribe for 51 per cent of the original stock and each increase. The remainder may be subscribed for by the public, or by the United States if not subscribed for by the public.

The United States, through the shipping board, with the approval of the President, is authorized to purchase or construct vessels; to transfer them to such corporation; and to pay for same the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to issue and sell what are known as Panama Canal bonds.

The bill further provides that upon the transfer to such corporation of the vessels purchased or constructed as herein provided such corporation shall issue to the United States in payment therefor its gold bonds, bearing interest at not less than 4 per cent per annum, such bonds to constitute a first lien upon the vessels transferred and upon all other property of such corporation. The bonds received by the United States in payment for such vessels shall not be less at their par value than the amount expended by the United States in the purchase or construction of the vessels. The Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion and with the approval of the President, may sell such bonds to reimburse the Treasury.

Such corporation shall make provision for sinking fund and for depreciation charges, under rules and regulations to be prescribed by the shipping board.

The vessels purchased or constructed under the act shall be entitled to registry under the laws of the United States and shall be subject to our navigation laws, but may engage only in trade with foreign countries or with the Philippine Islands, Hawaiian Islands, and the islands of Guam and Tutuila.

The Secretary of the Treasury, the Postmaster General, and the Secretary of Commerce, subject to the direction of the President, are to constitute the shipping board. They are vested with power to vote the stock of the United States in such corporation and to do all other things necessary to protect the United States and to carry out the purposes of the act, and with the approval of Congress the shipping board may at any time sell the stock of the United States in such corporation.

The President is given power to charter, lease, or transfer such naval auxiliaries and vessels belonging to the War Department suitable for commercial uses and not required for naval or military purposes in times of peace and vessels now owned and operated by the Panama Railroad Co. to the corporation to be created by the act, the vessels purchased or constructed by the United States to be of a type, so far as our foreign trade may permit, suitable for naval auxiliaries. The President is authorized, upon written notice to the corporation or corporations using vessels under the provisions of the act, to take them over for use as naval auxiliaries or for other purposes and at a reasonable price for rental.

Detailed statements of all receipts and expenditures under the act are required, and the sum of $10,000,000 is appropriated to carry out the provisions of the act.

While the bill provides that the vessels purchased or constructed by the shipping board shall be operated through the corporation therein provided for, the Government retains control through stock ownership and the powers to be exercised by the shipping board. This will insure that the vessels may be employed in such foreign trades as will develop and extend our foreign commerce and at reasonable rates therefor.

If the vessels are chartered to any other corporation, firm, or individual, the terms and conditions of such charter parties shall be approved by the shipping board, which will insure fair treatment to the shippers. I have no doubt these powers will be exercised by the shipping board with wise discretion, with a view to the extension of our foreign commerce by private enterprise whenever and wherever possible, but at all times keeping in mind the general welfare and that no unreasonable limitations will be placed on private enterprise. On the other hand, all things reasonable will be done to encourage and aid private enterprise to engage in and to develop our foreign commerce. The concern of the Government will be to see that ample facilities are afforded at reasonable rates. If capital is timid or can not be had, or if for any reason private enterprise fails, the Government will undertake to develop the trade routes and to perform the service in the interest of all the people of the United States.

We occupy an anomalous position as a nation. Although our foreign commerce amounts to more than four and a quarter billions of dollars annually we are dependent upon the ships of other nations to carry 92 per cent of our commerce; and at this time, with five of the great maritime nations at war, we are practically limited to the shipping of Great Britain. It is manifestly to the interest of Great Britain to cripple and, if possible, destroy the commerce of the nations with which she is at war.

Our rights as a neutral nation to trade with the belligerents is fully recognized by international law and our duties clearly defined. I would not relinquish any of our rights as a neutral nation or fail to perform every duty imposed upon us as such.

Either belligerent has a right to demand impartiality from neutrals, whereas, on the other hand, neutrals have a right to demand such behavior from either belligerent as is in accordance with their attitude of neutrality. Neutrals have a right to demand that in their intercourse and, in especial, their commerce with the enemy shall not be suppressed; whereas, on the other hand, either belligerent has the right to punish the subjects of a neutral for breach of brockade, carriage of contraband, and the like, and accordingly to visit, search, and capture neutral merchantmen. This latter right should be exercised by a belligerent, however, in a reasonable way, and should not be used to hamper or destroy commerce of a neutral and to promote her own commerce.

Great Britain and France have agreed with our Government that cotton shall not be regarded as contraband, and we are now free to ship cotton to any of the belligerents. The lack of ships and exorbitant freight rates are the obstacles in our way, and it is proposed to remove these obstacles by the proposed legislation. But the proposed legislation is of far-reaching importance to our commerce in time of peace as well as in time of war.

It is well known that the great merchant fleets of England have been the growth of centuries. The strongest lines have been built up by the great exporting and importing houses in England, who have used the merchant ships to extend their trade to every quarter of the globe, and their profits have been made not only from the transportation of their commodities, but from the barter and sale of them as well.

The time was when the merchants of Boston owned ships and loaded them with their wares and sent them into all the ports of the world, and those ships came back laden with the commodities of other nations. If this bill is enacted, will the great commercial interests of Boston be slow to share in its benefit?

We have a greater opportunity now than ever before to develop our trade with South and Central America. It is possible now to get cargoes for South America, but ships outside the conference lines must usually return in ballast.

Why is this so? Read the report of the Committee on the Merchant Marine on shipping combinations and you will find that an effective weapon used by the conference lines to shut out all competition is a system of deferred rebates.

Will not the inducement be very great for the exporters and importers of Boston to organize a company with ample capital, charter Government ships, establish regular and frequent service to South America and other nations, and in this way promote the welfare of New England and add to the wealth and prestige of this great port?

The same may be done by all of the other great ports on the Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific coasts, and in that event the Govern-

ment will not have any occasion to operate ships to develop our foreign trade in that direction.

But many objections are urged against Government ownership and operation of ships, some trivial and others worthy of serious consideration. It will be possible for me to notice only a few of them in this address.

It is an interesting circumstance and worthy of note that every bill pending before my committee intended to build up our merchant marine provides for Government ownership in some form. Some of them would have that control exercised through the Navy and would provide for the construction of naval auxiliaries of a type suitable for commercial purposes in time of peace, while others give emphasis to the importance of building merchant vessels, but of a type as far as the commercial requirements of our foreign trade may permit suitable for naval auxiliaries. As I have already pointed out, the bill vests in the President and the shipping board the power to utilize the naval auxiliaries, the vessels belonging to the War Department and the vessels owned and operated by the Panama Railroad under the conditions named to carry out the provisions of the act.

It is urged that under Government ownership it would be impossible to operate merchant ships except at a loss. Possibly, but the statement to carry weight with thinking people should have substantial proof offered in support of it. The objection may not have any more merit than the statement that there are plenty of ships available but no cargoes.

It is also urged, and with more plausibility, that the cost of operating ships under the American flag is so great that they can not compete with foreign ships.

Mr. Phillip Manson, of New York, a man with large experience in the shipping business, in a letter addressed to the editor of the Journal of Commerce, in answering this objection, has this to say:

I can prove to you that the increased cost of operating under the American flag is not as great as alleged by those who would put the American ships on the same basis as foreign ships. Nevertheless, it does cost more to operate American ships, and as a consequence American shipowners in the foreign trade quite naturally operate their ships under a foreign flag.

They do this not that they can not operate profitably under the American flag, but because they can operate more profitably under a foreign flag.

The profits in the steamship business are so large that frequently the entire cost of a new ship is earned in two years. You have only to examine the annual statements of earnings of the regular lines for further confirmation.

As the Government will be content with only a fair return on its investment, it will not be influenced, as are private owners, by a desire for the greater profits under a foreign flag.

The same interests that would have us expend vast sums in the increase of our Army and Navy, at a time when the armies and navies of Europe are daily becoming relatively weaker than in years preceding the war in Europe, view with alarm the proposal to appropriate $10,000,000 out of the Treasury and utilize $30,000,000 of Panama Canal bonds to build up our merchant marine and characterize the proposal as a waste of the people's money. The objection is laughable, if not convincing.

If it were a proposition to spend millions of dollars in subsidies to favored shipping concerns it would be regarded in the same quarters as worthy of the consideration of statesmen.

But whether we would build up our merchant marine by discriminating duties or by Government ownership experience teaches us that obstacles will be thrown in our way—that we will tread on the toes of somebody.

It is hardly necessary for me to discuss the desirability of having an American merchant marine. There should not be any difference of opinion on that point. The fact that we pay a sum variously estimated to be from $200,000,000 to $300,000,000 annually to vessels under foreign flags to transport our commerce should be a sufficient reason. It is a very important item in the adjustment of our trade balance with other nations.

The Government has no supervision or control over passenger or freight rates on ocean-borne commerce. The lines charge all the traffic will bear without reference to the cost of the service. The investigation recently made by the Committee on the Merchant Marine into steamship conferences and agreements in the domestic and foreign trade disclosed that in the three years prior to 1913 ocean freight rates increased from 50 to 200 per cent, and that the increased cost of the service bore slight relation to the increase of the rates. The profits of the regular lines in most of the trade areas were exceedingly large.

If this bill becomes the law, it will serve at least a twofold purpose in the trades in which Government-controlled vessels are employed.

First. Lines of vessels may be projected to Central and South America and elsewhere, as needed to improve our mail facilities and meet the demands of our foreign commerce.

Second. It will not be necessary for the Government to furnish vessels to carry all of the traffic, but the Government will have the power to keep the rates for mail, passenger, and freight service within reasonable limits.

It is right here the shoe begins to pinch.

The establishment of the Government line from New York to Panama had the effect of cutting the rates to less than half what they formerly were, and yet no one, so for as I know, has ever complained that the lower is not a reasonable rate. It saved the Government many millions in the construction of the canal; at the same time the Government vessels carried but a small part of the material for the work.

Some express the fear that it will create a Government monopoly of the shipping business. If the prophesies of some are fulfilled that monopoly will be short lived. But it is not intended to create a Government monopoly; nor in my view is it desirable to do so, if privately owned vessels will perform the service and give us facilities to expand our foreign commerce equal at least to the facilities enjoyed by foreign nations to competitive markets.

By whatever means we may rehabilitate our merchant marine in the foreign trade, whether by subsidies, by discriminating, or by Government owned or controlled ships, we should not be content to carry less than one-half of our foreign commerce in vessels under the American flag.

This legislation is intended to promote American commerce, to aid our industries and shipping interests in opening up new and profitable trade, and the Government will be only too glad to cooperate with privately owned lines or vessels to that end. If private capital is ready to take over this business and perform the service, they can charter Government ships at reasonable rates.

It has been gravely urged as an objection to this bill that the shipping board to be created by this act would blindly purchase or have constructed a job lot of vessels without reference to their type or suitableness for the trades to be served.

I assume that it will be the concern of the proposed shipping board to investigate with utmost care the type of vessel needed by the Government or by private corporations, firms, or individuals, and if vessels can not be purchased, to cause them to be built. More than 550,000 tons of German and Austrian shipping is interned in American ports, and fear is expressed that should the Government buy any of these ships it might violate our duties as a neutral and involve us in serious trouble with some of the other belligerents.

A sufficient answer should be that we have never had a President more careful to observe our international obligations than the present occupant of the White House, Woodrow Wilson.

But it is asserted that we are vesting too much power in the President. Those who make the assertion seem to forget that the Congress vested in the President of the United States the power to build the Panama Canal and to make the laws governing the Canal Zone, and that the Congress has vested in the President the power to build the Alaska railroad.

IS THERE A SHIP FAMINE?

In the New York Herald of Wednesday, December 2, 1914, Mr. James A. Farrell, president of the United States Steel Corporation, is quoted as saying:

At present there is no lack of shipping facilities, as there are more ships than cargoes to all parts of the world. We are now sending ships from one port to another in ballast because we can not get cargoes for them. We need more trade, not more transportation.

Mr. Farrell's statement has been given wide publicity by the opponents of the administration shipping bill now under discussion. If time would permit, I could overwhelm you with testimony that the statement of Mr. Farrell has no foundation in fact.

In the New York Journal of Commerce of December 3, 1914, a paper unfriendly to the proposed legislation, the following report of the shipping and chartering market is made:

LIGHT OFFERING OF TONNAGE, RATES CONTINUE TO SOAR, WITH OWNERS DEMANDING ADDITIONAL ADVANCES.

There is an urgent demand for steamers for December and January loading in several of the trans-Atlantic trades, particularly for grain and cotton; but the scarcity of available boats and the almost prohibitive terms demanded by owners serve to greatly restrict trades. Tonnage is also wanted in other of the trans-Atlantic trades, as well as for the West Indian, South American, and long-voyage business. A few boats were reported for grain cargoes to various European ports at the highest rates recorded during the recent rise.

The New York Journal of Commerce of December 4 states:

FOREIGNERS STILL BUYING OUR WHEAT—FREIGHT ROOM SCARCE—RATES REACH NEW RECORD.

Despite the difficulties attending shipments, grain exports continue from day to day apparently without abatement. * * * Actual shipments of wheat from Atlantic and Gulf ports have from July 1 to November 30 already averaged 1,000,000 bushels a day, according to official figures, while there is enough business booked ahead to keep up this pace for some weeks.

The result of all this is the extreme scarcity of ocean freight room, a factor that is undoubtedly restricting the volume of sales which, it

is asserted, would be larger than they are now if there were any certainty as to shipments. As it is, many buyers are taking chances, and rates are now the highest on record. It was said yesterday that 21 cents had been paid for berth room to Genoa, while as high as 7s. had been paid for cargo boats, with the prediction that 10s. would be paid before long. December boats are almost unobtainable, while January offers are very scarce. Practically anything that will float is being taken, and even boats so small that they can carry only 40,000 bushels have been chartered, whereas an ordinary cargo boat takes from 150,000 to 200,000 bushels.

The demand for American grain comes from all countries, and Italy is particularly urgent. Her agents are willing to take the grain at the prevailing market price without question if the transportation can only be arranged.

In the Journal of Commerce of December 5, 1914, the following report is made:

OCEAN FREIGHTS.

Rates on full cargo steamers for December and January advanced further, and the prospects are that even higher rates will prevail within the next few days, as boats of all sizes in near-by positions are exceedingly scarce, and the owners are holding for rates that a few weeks ago would have appeared absurd. For a good-sized, prompt boat 20s. was paid for a trip on time charter from Norfolk to the west coast of Italy, and a boat for December-January delivery was paid 7s. 4½d. on grain from the Atlantic range to the west coast of Italy. There is an urgent demand for boats for grain, cotton, and general cargo to Europe, and tonnage is also wanted in a number of other trades, but the cargo will not stand present rates in many cases. Shippers of cargo such as coal, timber, etc., are seeking to cover a part of their orders with sailing vessels; but up to the present but little has been accomplished, owing to the scarcity of vessels of suitable class.

In the Journal of Commerce of December 7, 1914, appears the following:

FIVE MILLION TONS OFF SHIP MARKET—LOSS IN SUPPLY OF VESSELS SENDS UP FREIGHT RATES.

A total of 5,000,000 tons in mercantile ships have been lost for a time to the world's commercial activities, bringing an era of high charter and berth rates as one of the direct and important results caused by the European war.

With 7 shillings 9 pence the top figure paid for grain tonnage and 20 shillings per gross ton per month for a general cargo boat, rates for full cargo steamers continue their upward advance, with little indication that the crest of the ascending movement has been reached. Throughout the past two weeks factors in the chartering market have been watching rates increase, and in view of the extraordinary tendency in this direction have not been inclined to commit themselves as to future prospects. The dominant factors in the present chartering situation are as follows:

1. The complete tie-up of the German and Austrian mercantile marines, with their many ramifications in the seven seas, is an important factor in the movement of the world's commerce.
2. The continued withdrawal of British steamers from commercial service for use by the Admiralty. This has been variously estimated, but authorities figure that at least 500 vessels formerly employed in commercial services are now unavailable.
3. The improvement in the foreign exchange situation, enabling the financing of cargoes, creating a speculative activity in exports of food products, shippers being assured of quick and profitable returns.
4. The increasing demand for grain from Europe, it being estimated that export purchases in this country were amounting to 1,000,000 bushels a day.
5. The comparatively low levels at which war-risk insurance is obtainable, removing one of the important obstacles that hampered commerce at the outbreak of hostilities.
6. The reduced services by the regular lines operating to Europe, forcing American manufacturers who have taken contracts for supplying war materials to charter vessels in order to make agreed deliveries.
7. The high space rates charged by the regular lines, berth charges being from 100 to 250 per cent higher than before the war.
8. Owners of vessels available for charter are demanding compensation on a time basis in order to avoid losses in the event of being held up by the British authorities for examination and the probability of delay at the discharging ports in Europe, where the best dock facilities have been commandeered by the warring Governments.

In the same article, under the heading "Predict 10 shillings for grain," it is stated that—

Chartering factors who were interviewed on Saturday declared that 10 shillings for grain tonnage was a probability before the end of the year, while rates for other commodities would also continue to advance.

The New York Times, a journal unfriendly to this bill, in its issue of Sunday, January 3, 1915, has this to say:

AVAILABLE SHIPS NOT TO BE HAD—BUT SHIPPING MEN SAY THAT GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP SHOULD NOT BE ATTEMPTED.

The favorable report made in the Senate the past week on the bill for the purchase and operation by the Government of a fleet of vessels to handle American export business owing to conditions brought about by the European war has had the effect of focusing the attention of shipping men, exporters, and vessel charterers on the measure. While there appears to be a great diversity of opinion among merchants in these lines as to the measure of relief to be experienced by the Government entering the field as an ocean carrier, it is almost unanimously agreed that something must be done to remedy conditions if the export business of the country is not to come almost to a standstill.

In the Journal of Commerce of December 22, under the headline "Steamer market strong," the following statement is made:

The continued shortage of tonnage hampers chartering greatly, as the orders for prompt boats are considerably in excess of the available supply.

Other quotations might be made from the same or other journals to disprove the accuracy of the statement made by Mr. Farrell. In fact, the above statements and the further facts I shall submit for your consideration show conclusively that there are absolutely no foundations for the statements of Mr. Farrell.

The Charleston Evening Post of December 30, 1914, contains the following item from Savannah, Ga., of that date:

OCEAN FREIGHTS DEPRESS COTTON—EXCESSIVE CHARGES FOR TRANSPORT KEEP PRICES DOWN AT HOME.

Owing to scarcity of neutral ships and the risks which must be taken in transporting freights, the trans-Atlantic rates on freight room from Savannah are now showing at new record high levels.

The quotations per bale on cotton yesterday compared to normal times, according to a representative exporter here, were:

To Bremen, present rate $18.75, against $1.75 a bale.
To Gothenburg, present rate, $11.25, against $3.
To Rotterdam, present rate $12.50, against $8.75.
To Havre, present rate $5.50, against $2.
To Genoa, present rate $5.50, against 2.75.
To Liverpool and Manchester, present rate $4.35, against $1.75.
To Barcelona, present rate $5, against $3.25.
The average price of a bale of cotton now is $35.

Cotton factors here pointed out that the effect of the enormous increase in freight rates was largely responsible for the low prices the staple now is bringing in domestic markets. It would be impossible, they said, to pay more than $35 a bale here, meet the high freight charges, and sell the cotton at even a modest profit in European markets.

The Washington Evening Star of December 31, 1914, contains the following:

OCEAN RATES ON COTTON INCREASED BY THE WAR.

Increases in ocean freight rates for cotton from Galveston to European ports since the outbreak of the war range from 55 cents to $2.85 per 100 pounds. Before the outbreak of hostilities rates to Liverpool, Havre, and Bremen were approximately 45 cents per 100 pounds; to Barcelona and Genoa, 65 cents; and to Gothenburg and other Scandinavian ports, 50 to 65 cents. Rates for other commodities have advanced proportionately.

Present quotations to these ports are: Liverpool, 1 per hundred pounds; Havre, $1.20 to $1.25; Bremen, $3 to $3.25; Gothenburg, $2.50; Barcelona and Genoa, $1.25. For many years the highest ocean rate for cotton to any European port was 60 to 65 cents per hundred pounds, and as low as 30 to 35 cents were recorded.

Scarcity of neutral tonnage is given as the reason for the high rates prevailing to Bremen. Those to Liverpool, Havre, Barcelona, and Genoa are much lower, due to the ability of the shippers to secure British ships.

A recent ruling of the British Admiralty requiring a ship flying the British flag touching at any port of the United Kingdom to give 48 hours' notice of intended sailing adds another difficulty.

Under this ruling when a vessel is offered for charter ship agents must accept the offers promptly and then wait at least 48 hours before they can secure the vessel. Because of this delay, they say, cargo space can not be as promptly offered shippers as heretofore.

On December 24 the secretary of the National Lumber Manufacturers' Association inclosed to me a resolution adopted at the regular meeting of the manufacturers of yellow-pine lumber, held in New Orleans on December 9, 1914, stating, in substance—

that the lumber manufacturers and exporters are unable to make shipments because of the shortage of vessels on the high seas, and that the absence of ocean transportation is creating a congestion of lumber at the docks and export mills, as well at at interior sawmills, compelling such mills to close down and thereby throwing out of employment thousands of men who would otherwise be wage earners, and calling upon Congress to adopt such measures as may be necessary to provide for an increase in facilities for ocean transportation, to the end that the products of the United States may be freely moved to the markets of the world.

In the report of the Committee on Commerce to the Senate, accompanying the ship-purchase bill, a vast fund of valuable information on the question of the shortage of ocean tonnage and the enormous increase in freight rates is given.

After discussing the many obstacles in the way of rehabilitating our merchant marine and referring to present conditions, the report states:

There is at present a lack of vessels, even of those flying foreign flags, and a far greater lack of vessels under our own flag. This has resulted in a grievous advance of freight rates to almost all portions of the globe. The least advance which has come to the knowledge of your committee is 10 per cent on Asian business, but on certain goods, such as steel and iron, rates have advanced more than this. To South Africa the advance has been 20 per cent; to South America, 25 per cent; and to European ports, from 50 to 1,000 per cent, depending upon the merchandise carried and the ports of destination. The present rate upon cotton from Galveston to Bremen is ten times that which prevailed a year or more ago; this in spite of the fact that cotton is not contraband and that the belligerent Governments permit its free passage. As this report is written, shipowners, chiefly foreigners, are reaping a rich harvest of profits at the cost of American producers, whose prices are necessarily diminished in proportion to the excessive tax put upon their wares for the benefit of the owners of ocean transportation lines. When it costs $15 a bale merely to transport cotton across the ocean it is evident that this charge is a heavy handicap upon our entire cotton-producing interest at a time when we have the largest crop in our history.

While Germany is willing to pay from 19 to 21 cents per pound for our cotton, the producers of cotton in the South are only receiving from 6½ to 7 cents per pound for their product. The difference is absorbed by the transportation companies, chiefly English.

Need I ask a great body of intelligent business men like yourselves what this means to the prosperity of our country? Great Britain and France have finally agreed that cotton shall not be regarded as contraband of war if transported to the ports of the

belligerents in Europe in neutral ships—American ships. It is stated in the press that Germany is anxious to purchase from two to three million bales of our surplus cotton at 19 cents to 21 cents per pound. What would it mean to the agricultural and commercial interests of the South if the cotton crop of the South could be sold at from 10 to 12 cents per pound? What would it mean to the manufacturers, jobbers, and bankers of the North if the South were able to realize on her cotton crop and discharge her debts to the manufacturers and jobbers of the North? What a great help it would be to us in increasing our trade balance with Europe if we had the vessels to move this crop at reasonable rates to the markets of Europe, particularly to Bremen, and how much better would it be under existing conditions if these ships were Government controlled, which would insure a reasonable transportation charge instead of the current rate of $15 per bale for cotton?

The report of the Committee on Commerce further states that since July 1, 1913, the New Orleans Cotton Exchange certifies that the rates on cotton from New Orleans to Liverpool have advanced from 28 cents on July 1, 1914, to 85 cents on December 11, 1914—or more than 200 per cent since July 1, 1914.

In a memorandum from the Treasury Department to the Committee on Commerce concerning the rise in freight rates from New York to Liverpool the following rates are shown:

Grain from December 12, 1913, to December 12, 1914, from 2d. to 8d.
Cotton per hundred pounds from December 12, 1913, 30 cents, to December 12, 1914, 75 cents.
Flour per hundred pounds from December 12, 1913, 14 cents, to December 12, 1914, 26 cents.
General cargo, per ton, from December 12, 1913, 17s. 6d., to December 12, 1914, 30s.
Provisions per ton from December 12, 1913, 20s., to December 12, 1914, 30s.

The memorandum referred to quotes the following from the New York Journal of Commerce of December 12, 1914:

The full cargo steamer market continues exceedingly strong, influenced by a steady demand for tonnage and a very limited supply of same available before the middle of January. The bulk of the demand continues to come from the shippers of grain, cotton, coal, and general cargo to European ports, principally to the Mediterranean, and rates have advanced steadily, until at the present they are at their highest, with every indication of further advances being recorded within the next few days.

The memorandum further states:

This scarcity of ships has resulted in the tremendously increased freight rates, as shown by the above table. Comparing the rates current on December 12, 1913—when world conditions were normal—with rates at the present time—December 12, 1914—when available tonnage has been greatly diminished through the effects of the war—we find the following very marked increases in the trans-Atlantic freight rates for the staple articles of export: Freight on provisions, 50 per cent; on general cargo, 70 per cent; on flour, 86 per cent; on cotton, 150 per cent; on grain, 300 per cent.

And yet wise men, captains of industry, assert "at present there is no lack of shipping facilities, as there are more ships than cargoes to all parts of the world."

While this may be a temporary condition, and it may be argued that our shipping policy should not be framed to meet the extraordinary conditions prevailing, growing out of the war in Europe, yet the public mind has been brought to realize our utter helplessness as a Nation in times like this when dependent upon foreign countries for transportation facilities and the necessity of having a merchant marine of our own. I am not one of those who are willing to continue the policy of laissez faire. The disease is chronic and calls for a heroic remedy. I can well understand and discover a motive for the opposition to this bill that comes from the shipbuilding industry and from the great interests that control the domestic shipping and foreign lines, but it seems to me that those who oppose the bill on the ground that the Government should not engage in the transportation business are not aware of the great activities already assumed by the Government and the vast sums of money expended, the purpose of which is to promote the financial welfare of the American people.

As was said the other day by Mr. BULKLEY, Member of Congress from Ohio, in discussing rural-credit legislation and advocating Government aid and answering the objection made by a distinguished gentleman whose name is now mentioned as a possible candidate for the Presidency in 1916:

If he means that our Federal Government has no function but to gather taxes and to keep order; if he means it is not proper for the Federal Government, through its departments, to enter into such business as may best promote the prosperity and moral and material interests of the people, and that without regard to whether such business may be primarily of some incidental benefit to an individual or a class, then he is not abreast of the spirit of the times.

For years the Government has spent many millions annually, for which it has no hope of being reimbursed, in the improvement of rivers and harbors, and it has not hesitated to continue this expenditure for the general welfare because of the fact that it involves certain direct benefits to communities, to shipping interests, and to owners of docks and wharves. We have constructed great irrigation works to be sold to settlers at actual cost, and we allow them many years to make payments, yet we do not charge them interest on the investment. We have given away countless acres of the public domain to homesteaders for the purpose of developing our country, encouraging agriculture, and the increasing of numbers of home owners. Yet we do not hear that the direct beneficiaries of these vast gifts from the Government have lost their virility by having had the door of opportunity opened to them by a beneficent Government.

The Government maintains diplomatic and commercial representatives in foreign lands, and no one questions the propriety of the necessity of this service, though its direct primary benefits can go only to travelers, importers, exporters, and those who have investments abroad, the vast majority of the American people being benefited only indirectly. Public opinion has approved the building of the Panama Canal, though some of our citizens will receive from it more direct benefits than others. Public opinion approves the building of the Alaska railway, though in the development of that great country certain private owners will secure a greater benefit than the rest of us.

And referring to the bill under discussion, Mr. BULKLEY adds:

And now we are proposing to put Government money into the purchase and construction of ships, the operation of which will unquestionably benefit the whole country, but more directly those communities which are situated on the seaboard, those merchants who have foreign connections, and the seamen who may be employed in operating the ships.

Although the Government has assumed the function of deepening our rivers and harbors and has built the Panama Canal, at an expenditure of nearly $400,000,000, in the interest of our national defense and to promote our world commerce, and is building a railroad in Alaska to develop its vast wealth, and although the Government is reclaiming the arid lands of the West and proposes to reclaim the swamp lands of the South, and has spent millions for the extermination of the boll weevil in Mississippi and other cotton-growing States, and for the eradication of the cattle tick in Texas, and for the reforestation of large areas of waste land in the Appalachian Range of mountains—all great and worthy projects—wiseacres say it will not do for the Government to enter upon the operation of ships in the foreign trade; that to do so is going outside of legitimate Government functions. We can deepen our harbors for the great ships of other nations; we can dig the Panama Canal to give the shipping of other nations ready access to our markets and to the markets of the Occident and Orient, but it is out of the question—it is unthinkable to these wise men—that the Government should engage in the shipping business to promote the welfare of our own Nation on the high seas. These gentlemen seem to overlook the fact that the Government is already and has been for years past engaged in operating a line of ships to the Panama Canal Zone. These ships are operated under the charter of the Panama Railroad Co., of which the Government became the owner of the stock when it acquired the property of the French company. The Government is not only operating the ship line, but it is operating the Panama Railroad, and has been doing so since we began the construction of the Panama Canal.

It seems to be taken for granted by those who object to this bill that it would be impossible for the Government through the corporation named in the bill to render economical and efficient service in the ownership and operation of ships in our foreign trade. The United States Steel Corporation and the Standard Oil Co., through their agents, can operate ships to advantage in extending the foreign markets for their commodities, but it is unthinkable that the Government should use like instrumentalities to do so in the interests of all our people. It is not altogether the fear that the Government would not by the proposed instrumentality be an efficient agent in restoring our foreign commerce under the American flag; but the real basis of the opposition to this bill from many quarters lies in the fact that the Government would be a potent instrument in regulating ocean freight rates in the interest of the vast agricultural and manufacturing and commercial interests of this country and take away from the shipping combines the power they have exercised for many years past to charge all that traffic will bear, and thus hinder the healthy expansion of our trade.

Mr. Drake, vice president of the Panama Railroad Co., in a letter to me of date September 7, 1914, states:

I acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 16th instant and take pleasure in submitting the following replies to your specific inquiries:
First. The average rate on freight between New York and the Canal Zone at the time the Government took over the operation of our line was $8 per ton. This was gradually reduced to the present rate of $3.50 per ton for rough goods and $4.50 per ton for general cargo.
Second. The reductions made by our line similarly affected the rates of the other lines, all of which were of foreign registry, that operated between New York and the Isthmus, because shippers would not pay higher rates for their service than for ours.
Third. Our line has not been operated at a loss.

So much for the Government-owned line of merchant vessels in operation between New York and Panama, which is an object lesson worthy of thoughtful consideration.

OPPOSITION TO THE BILL—WHERE DOES IT COME FROM?

Let me give you a chapter from the recent investigation of the so-called Shipping Trust.

AMERICAN SHIPPING INTERESTS.

As I have said, this bill has the approval of the administration—in fact, is an administration measure—and it is believed will bring the much-needed relief to the commercial interests of the country.

There has developed, however, considerable opposition from certain quarters. The cry of paternalism has been raised, the criticisms of Government ownership have been advanced, and several of the large news and financial papers of the eastern cities appear daily with editorials denouncing the administration's policy. These papers, being the recipients of large incomes from advertising contracts with the steamship companies, are naturally opposed to a plan inimical to interests of their customers. This fact may affect their vision. The greatest opposing power, however, to the policy of the Government is the steamship companies themselves.

An investigation of the shipping question and the interests that are involved reveals some very interesting facts. In the report of the proceedings of the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries in the investigation of shipping combinations the methods of the shipping interests are fully set forth. It is shown that a regular system of agreements and pools prevails, against which the independent shipper has no chance to live.

The committee, in its recommendations, states:

The committee believes that the disadvantages and abuses connected with steamship agreements and conferences as now conducted are inherent, and can only be eliminated by effective Government control; and it is such control that the committee recommends as the means of preserving to American exporters and importers the advantages enumerated, and of preventing the abuses complained of.

In the investigation by the committee it developed that certain ships were regularly used solely for the purpose of killing competition. To quote the exact words of the report:

Thus, in the North Atlantic passenger traffic, the evidence presented in the suit against the Hamburg-American Line et al. shows that in about the year 1908 the conference lines authorized the appointment of a committee for the purpose of selecting fighting steamers to destroy the competition of nonconference lines. This committee, according to the evidence, would select suitable steamers from any of the conference lines to sail on the same days and between the same ports, the regular rates being reduced to a point sufficiently low to secure the traffic. As already stated in this report (p. 46), "the evidence in the Government's suit shows that such opposition sailings were repeatedly instituted against certain independent lines. Any surplus of passengers which were booked for the fighting steamer, but which could not be carried by the same, would be transferred to other conference line steamers at the reduced rates. The expenses and loss from the lower rates, resulting to any line whose vessels had been selected, were distributed over the members of the conference. It was thus a case of all the lines, united in conference, opposing every sailing of a single opposition line. By distributing the loss over the several members of the conference, each constituent line would suffer proportionately much less than the one line which was fighting the entire group, and which would inevitably soon exhaust its resources in the conflict with the combined power of the large lines with their superior speed and better third-class accommodations."

The report shows that the same methods are still in vogue, not only in passenger but in freight traffic as well.

The shipping interests look with concern upon the entrance of the Government into the field, therefore they oppose the Government's policy of purchasing ships. It is believed that it is not so much Government competition that is feared, for it is generally acknowledged that there is sufficient business, but they fear that the entrance of Government-owned ships will mean Government regulation of rates and seriously interfere with the existing control of the conference lines over the foreign commerce of the United States.

THE PERSONNEL OF THE SHIPPING INTERESTS.

The question arises as to who composes the American shipping interests. An examination of the personnel of those interested in the various steamship lines reveals the system of interlocking directorates and a community of interest probably unparalleled in the history of modern financiering. By consulting Moody's Manual of Railways and Corporations and the volume entitled the Directory of Directors, one can readily appreciate that the administration, in its desire to benefit the people, has "stepped on the toes" of the most powerful financial interests of the country.

The same interests are associated both in the foreign and coastwise shipping. The most prominent shipping corporations controlled by American interests are owned by the International Mercantile Marine, a New Jersey corporation. This company owns the capital stock of the Oceanic Steam Navigation Co. (Ltd.), known as the White Star Line, which flies the British flag; the International Navigation Co., which owns the American Line (American flag) and the Red Star Line (Belgian flag); and the Dominion Line. The parent corporation also owns the controlling interest in the Leyland Line. The Atlantic Transport controls the National Steamship Co. (Ltd.). The number of steamers owned by these corporations on July 1, 1913, including those under construction, was 137, with a gross tonnage of 1,280,410 tons, exclusive of tugs, lighters, and so forth. A large majority of their ships are under foreign flags. Moody's Manual states that the majority of the stock of the International Mercantile Marine is deposited under a voting-trust agreement. The voting trustees are J. P. Morgan and Charles Steele, both members of the Morgan firm, J. Bruce Ismay, P. A. B. Widener, and Lord Pirrie; transfer agents are J. P. Morgan & Co.; and the register of certificates, Guaranty Trust Co., of New York. Among the directors are J. P. Morgan, Charles Steele, George W. Perkins, and E. J. Berwind.

The fleets of the United States Steel Corporation, Standard Oil Co., and the United Fruit Co. have been registered under the American flag. While the Standard Oil Co. and United Fruit Co. have considerable fleets of ocean-going vessels, the United States Steel Corporation has only a limited number of ocean-going ships, this fleet being composed principally of Lake steamers. An examination of the personnel of the directors of these companies shows that J. P. Morgan, George W. Perkins, and Elbert H. Gary are on the executive committee of the United States Steel Corporation, and that Mr. William Rockefeller, largely interested in Standard Oil, serves on the board of directors of the National City Bank with Mr. J. P. Morgan and Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip and others, who it will be later shown are largely interested in coastwise shipping. The United Fruit Co. is largely composed of Boston interests, though it is said the Standard Oil Co. interests are large investors.

Investigation of the coastwise shipping interests develops a situation equally interesting. Nine-tenths of the Atlantic coast shipping is owned by the railroads and two corporations. The report of the House Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries says:

The steamers of the railroad-controlled lines, combined with those of the Eastern Steamship Corporation and the Atlantic, Gulf & West Indies Steamship Lines, number 199, or 84.7 per cent of the above-mentioned total for the 28 lines, and represent 516,055 gross tons, or 93.9 per cent of the total gross tonnage. Not only do the railroads and the two shipping consolidations dominate more than nine-tenths of the tonnage, but it is significant that very few of the principal routes on our entire Atlantic and Gulf coasts are served by more than one regular steamship line.

The railroad-controlled lines referred to in the report of the committee are the Southern Pacific, or Morgan Line, the Old Dominion Steamship Co., and the Ocean Steamship Co., or Savannah Line. These, with the Eastern Steamship Co. and the Atlantic, Gulf & West Indies Steamship Lines, generally known as "AGWI," constitute practically the entire coastwise shipping for the Atlantic seaboard. It is a remarkable fact that the interests allied in the ownership and control of all these coast lines are also associated in the foreign American shipping. Taking the companies in the order above named, we find that in the Southern Pacific Mr. Henry W. De Forrest, a prominent director, serves on the board of the National Bank of Commerce with Mr. Henry P. Davidson, with J. P. Morgan & Co., with Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip and Mr. William Rockefeller, of the National City Bank. Mr. L. F. Lores, another director, is on the board of the Seaboard Air Line Railroad and part owner of the Old Dominion Line. Mr. Ogden Mills, another director, is associated with the Pacific Mail Steamship Co., and he, with Mr. Cornelius Bliss, another director, are on the board of the United States Trust Co., on which board the same interests are found dominant.

The Old Dominion Steamship Co. is controlled by the Atlantic Coast Line, Seaboard Air Line, Southern, Chesapeake & Ohio, Norfolk & Western Railroads. The same interests appear here. Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip, of the National City Bank, appears on the boards of two of the railroads. Mr. Charles Steel, member of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co.; Mr. Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the board of directors of the United States Steel Corporation; Mr. Victor Morrowitz, a prominent member of the board of the National Bank of Commerce, and others of the same interests are found on the boards of these railroads. The Merchants & Miners Transportation Co. was, until recently, owned by the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad, which, from recent investigations by the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Department of Justice, was disclosed to have been controlled by J. P. Morgan & Co. The Government required the railroad to sell the Merchants & Miners interests. The new owners, however, belong to the same aggregation. The chairman of the board of directors of the Merchants & Miners is on the board of the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad, of which J. P. Morgan & Co. are the fiscal agents, and others have similar affiliations. The Ocean Steamship Co. (the Savannah Line) is owned by the Central of Georgia Railroad. On its board are found gentlemen who are interested in New York banking houses with the Morgan and Rockefellers.

The Eastern Steamship Co. is a holding company which controls and operates 11 different steamship lines of the New England coast and controls practically the entire trade of that region. According to Moody's Manual, on June 30, 1913, the New England Navigation Co. owns two and a half million dollars in the stock of this company. Mr. J. P. Morgan is a director of the New England Navigation Co. The Eastern Steamship Co., it is understood, is financed and largely controlled by Hayden, Stone & Co., of Boston and New York. G. L. Stone and J. W. Hayden, of that firm, are on its board of directors. The same firm are understood to control the Atlantic, Gulf & West Indies Steamship Lines, of which company G. L. Stone is vice president and H. R. Mallory, a member of the board of directors of the Eastern Steamship Co., is president. This company owns the majority of the stock in the Clyde Line, the New York & Cuba Line, Mallory Line, and the entire stock of the New York & Porto Rico Line and the Texas City Steamship Co. Mr. Edward J. Berwind, one of the directors of the Atlantic, Gulf & West Indies Steamship Lines, the holding company for the various subsidiary lines, is also a director of the Guaranty Trust Co. and on the board of directors of the National Bank of Commerce with Vanderlip and others. Mr. Berwind is also the head of a big coal company in New York City, whose business is that of furnishing coal to the various lines, one of which is said to be the Hamburg-American. His brother, Mr. John E. Berwind, is also an official of the Porto Rico Line, and is president of the Maritime Register, the leading shipping paper of the country.

To sum up the entire situation, an investigation will prove that over 90 per cent of the regular line coastwise and practically the entire foreign American shipping is allied through interlocking directorates with the National City Bank, United States Trust Co., National Bank of Commerce, Guaranty Trust Co., all of which have for their fountain head the Rockefeller-Morgan-Perkins interests.

It is against this aggregation that the administration, representing the American people, finds itself. The shipping interests realize that the entrance of the Government into the field will break the chain by which they have the independents shut out. Government-owned vessels are what they most fear, for it means a breakwater, a protection for the independent who now dares, at his peril, to invest a dollar in shipping against the powerful organization, but who would be willing to invest if fair play were allowed. It is said the same interests own or are interested in several of the big eastern newspapers. The vision of these papers is colored and others are affected by revenues of steamship advertising. Therefore you find a stalwart opposition by the eastern newspapers to the Government policy.

The act of August 18, 1914, admitting foreign-built ships to American registry for the foreign trade is good, but of what benefit is it when the small investor meets the death throttle of underbidding competition, such as a congressional investigation proves is in vogue? The Government-ownership bill is spoken of as an "emergency measure." It should not be so called. European Governments have in the past laid the foundation for their merchant marine by Government protection. The bill for the Government ownership of vessels which will bring relief to the American people should be properly called the Magna Charta of American shipping, proclaiming freedom from the feudal barons of maritime commerce.

The present administration has to its credit much constructive legislation of vital importance and benefit to the American people. It has set about the task of making a start in the rehabilitation of our merchant marine in the over-seas trade.

Criticism of any plan proposed may be expected. For decades we have been halting between many opinions and have failed to agree on any plan. A concrete proposition is now pending before the Congress. For the most part the people and the independent shipping interests approve the plan.

The administration is fully aware of the powerful interest opposed to it. While heed will be given to just criticism, the commercial interests and prosperity of 100,000,000 of American citizens are in the balance and should outweigh the selfish interests of the few.

The President and the Committee on Commerce in the Senate and the Committee on the Merchant Marine in the House have presented this measure to the Congress and to the country as a rational measure to meet a great emergency, and I hope that after due consideration it may have the approval of this great commercial organization.

I am sure we all cherish the hope that some day in the near future we may have an American merchant marine that will meet the demands of our expanding commerce and reflect credit upon our Nation.

Woman Suffrage.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FINLY H. GRAY,
OF INDIANA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 12, 1915,

On the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 1) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, the resolution before this House raises the one primary question of the necessity of an amendment to the Federal Constitution to enable the right of suffrage to be granted to women.

The Federal Constitution does not prevent or in any way forbid woman suffrage in any State in the Union. No amendment of the Federal Constitution is required to allow the people in every State in the Union to grant the full right of suffrage to woman. Without any amendment to the Federal Constitution the people of many States of the Union have already granted the full right of suffrage to woman. Without any amendment to the Federal Constitution the people of every State in the Union may grant the full right of suffrage to woman. Without any amendment to the Federal Constitution the people of every State in the Union may grant the right of suffrage to woman as fully, effectually, and completely as if all the States had acted together or as if this amendment had been made and the action was by the General Government.

The Federal Constitution did not prescribe any of the qualifications for suffrage. The Federal Constitution did not prescribe the qualifications for suffrage to be exercised by men. The Federal Constitution did not limit the right of suffrage to men. The question of suffrage was debated in the Constitutional Convention, and on full consideration it was decided by the delegates from every State in the Union which was to form the Central Government that suffrage was a question for the people of the different States and not one to be exercised by the Central Government.

We are asked to assume jurisdiction here to grant to women what their home people have full power and authority to grant to them. We are asked to assume jurisdiction here and to submit to the legislatures of the different States for decision a question which the people of their home State have a right to have submitted to them for their own decision. We are asked to assume jurisdiction here and to usurp the power of their home people and take it away from them and transfer it not alone to their own legislatures but to the legislatures of the different States.

The two greatest protections which the founders of our Government provided for the preservation of our free institutions were the separation of jurisdictions and the division of powers to safeguard against concentration in the hands of a few and the direct vote of the people to safeguard the will of the many.

Our dual form of government was framed with a view to prevent such concentration and to preserve such exercise of power. In this separation of jurisdiction the Central Government was given power over all questions as between the different States and as between citizens of different States, and as between the States acting as a whole under the Central Government and foreign nations, and all questions which the people of the different States could not act upon separately for themselves. And the people of the different States reserved to themselves the exercise of power and jurisdiction over all other matters. This was the principle upon which the different States and the Central Government were to exercise power and jurisdiction in unison and as a harmonious whole. And in still further pursuance of this principle the power of the General Government and the authority of the several State governments were divided into the legislative, the judicial, and executive departments acting separately and independent of each other.

This amendment would not of itself destroy our dual form of government and the division of powers, and it might never seriously jeopardize these great safeguards. It would only establish a precedent for those who come after us to justify the Central Government assuming jurisdiction to take other matters from the direct vote of the people. A precedent of procedure to give effect to a good principle may be used with equal force to justify the same procedure to give effect to a bad prin-

ciple. It would only pave the way; it would only make a breach and an opening through which in time the Central Government might absorb the powers reserved to the people in the different States and concentrate the same in the hands of the few.

If this qualification can be prescribed by the Central Government, other qualifications for suffrage can be fixed by the same power and authority, and the Central Government could likewise go into all the matters of civil and religious life—the education of the people, the control and direction of charitable and benevolent institutions, the law of all business operations, and the agencies of commerce, industry, and trade; and to include all that the Central Government could thus acquire jurisdiction and control of would include all the civil relations of man.

The amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people is urged as a precedent in support of the proposed amendment. But this amendment not only involved a question peculiarly and wholly pertaining to the General Government and providing for the election of one branch of the National Legislature, but was one to recover back to the people the right of the direct vote, and one which the people of the different States could not act upon separately and determine independently for themselves. And likewise the amendment to the Federal Constitution to empower the General Government to impose an income tax is urged as a precedent in support of this amendment to enable the General Government to assume jurisdiction to grant what the people of every State in the Union already have the full power to give. The collection of an income tax is purely a Federal question, and the amendment was to enable the General Government to provide revenues for the support of the General Government, and from the very nature of which the same could not be considered and determined upon by the people of the different States separately for themselves.

It is likewise insisted that the Federal Constitution was amended to grant suffrage to the colored man, and that certainly the same jurisdiction can be invoked to grant the right of suffrage to women. But it must be understood that the action by the National Government to enfranchise the colored men was taken under extraordinary circumstances and by reason of the existence of extraordinary conditions and was more in the nature of a revolution than a civil proceeding. It was not only taken as a war measure, but by reason of slavery and involuntary servitude the colored race was prejudiced before the electorate of the States where they were to become citizens and from whom they would be compelled to obtain the right of suffrage. By reason of such prejudice existing, consideration from the electorate of those States was at once foreclosed and precluded against them.

But no such odium or prejudice exists against women in any State in the Union, and certainly no such prejudice as to call for extraordinary proceedings and the withdrawal of the submission from the direct vote for determination indirectly by legislatures. But if such an odium or prejudice ever existed, it can not be said to exist to-day to such an extent as to invoke the extraordinary proceedings of the Central Government assuming jurisdiction to grant that which every State in the Union has the full power to grant by the direct vote of the people. The voters of many States of the Union have not only already granted to women the full right of suffrage, but so general and rapid is the policy of equal suffrage being approved by the people that even before this amendment could be ratified by the legislatures of the different States in the regular course of proceedings for amending the constitution many other States, by the direct vote of the people, would have already granted to women the full right of suffrage. No such prejudice against women exists. It is a difference of opinion and conviction among women as well as men as to the wisdom of the proposed extension of the right of suffrage to woman with the additional responsibilities, obligations, and the burdens of government to be assumed by its exercise.

The fundamental principle of a pure democracy is the direct vote of the people, both in the enactment of legislation and in the election of legislative and administrative officials. While the pure democracy is the safest government under which to preserve the rights, liberties, and the welfare of the people, it is not conveniently and practically workable in a government with jurisdiction over a large population and a wide area of territory. The practical democracy with such jurisdiction is where the people by their direct vote, exercised under the safeguards of the ballot, enact the primary and fundamental laws fixing the rules and limitations to which all legislation must conform, and by such direct vote electing the legislative body to make laws in conformity therewith and choosing public officials for the administration of such laws. This is the legislative system we have in force in the United States to-day. It embodies all the safeguards of a pure democracy and all the merits and advantages for legislation in detail of representative government; and as long as this system of government is preserved the rights, the liberties, and the welfare of the people will be secure and safe from infringement.

Many persons asking Congress to submit amendments to the Federal Constitution do so acting under the belief that the submission of the same will be to the people throughout the different States for their decision by direct vote. They do not understand that amendments to the Federal Constitution are submitted to the legislatures of the different States, and that, where the question involved is one which can be acted upon by the people under the State governments, has the effect to take the submission away from the people for their decision by direct vote and transfer it to the legislatures of the different States for determination indirectly.

The necessity and vital importance for observing judicial, legislative, and executive procedure is not always fully appreciated by many earnest and sincere men. They are honest and believe that the end to be reached justifies the means employed. Many honest and sincere men, for the punishment of certain crimes, believe in taking the law into their own hands for execution. They do not realize the importance or appreciate the necessity of always and uniformly observing the constitutional rights guaranteed to the accused—the right to have counsel, the right to have compulsory process for the production of witnesses in his own behalf, the right to face the accusing witnesses, and the right of impartial trial by jury. They believe the accused is guilty of the crime and mistake the purpose of all who are holding out for a constitutional trial as seeking to justify the crime or to aid the accused to escape punishment. They do not know that they are endangering their own lives and liberty. They do not know they are jeopardizing their own safety and welfare, establishing a precedent, paving the way and breaking down the constitutional safeguards thrown around them for their own protection. And so it is with many earnest and sincere men in support of a principle or policy which they conscientiously believe to be vital to the enjoyment of human right and the welfare of society. In overlooking procedure and in seeking to promote their cause, without regard to precedent established, they would endanger the stability of free institutions and jeopardize the safeguards for the preservation of constitutional government.

But I resent the charge of boldness against women in asking for the right of suffrage. There is nothing immodest or unbecoming a woman in manifesting an interest in public affairs and a desire to participate in the administration of government. It is her right to make such claim, and in the exercise of which she is entitled to every respect and consideration accorded to women who, likewise acting upon conscientious convictions, oppose woman suffrage. This charge has been disproven by the experience in every State where the people have already granted the right of suffrage to women. And likewise I resent the charge against the intelligence of women, their ability to exercise the right of suffrage and participate in self-government. Their intelligence everywhere measures up with men. In schools and colleges women as often lead their classes and graduate with equal honors. In every line of intellectual activity where women have applied their minds they have achieved equal success and attainments. And there is no defense against the principle of equal suffrage. There is no defense against the principle of political equality. There is no defense against the right of those who must obey the laws to have a voice in making them. There is no defense against the right of those who pay taxes to have a voice in their assessment and expenditure.

But even these high considerations would not justify the Central Government assuming jurisdiction where the people in every State of the Union have the power under the direct vote, with all the safeguards thrown around the ballot, to grant the full right of suffrage as effectively and completely as if the General Government had assumed such jurisdiction and acted, unless the public will is shown thwarted and defeated or been found impossible of expression by reason of influences operating locally.

With the right, the power, the means at hand, and every facility and instrumentality provided for the people in every State of the Union to consider and determine for themselves by direct vote under all the safeguards thrown around the ballot every qualification for suffrage, and to grant the full right of suffrage to women, and to consider and determine upon any other like measure, as effectively and completely as the Central Government could act if the Federal Constitution was amended for that purpose, no necessity is shown for such

amendment. No necessity is shown for an amendment to the Federal Constitution to secure the full and proper consideration of woman suffrage or the speedy advancement or the immediate consummation of such object or of any cause or any meritorious principle or policy.

No necessity is shown for establishing a precedent nor for paving the way, nor for making a breach in our system of free institutions by, over, or through which to dethrone or supplant the direct vote of the people in the enactment of primary and fundamental law, nor for the invasion of our dual form of government, the separation of jurisdiction, and the division of powers created by our forefathers to safeguard against usurpation and the concentration of authority in the hands of the few.

A Home.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. W. LAFFERTY,

OF OREGON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 18, 1915.

Mr. LAFFERTY. Mr. Speaker, I desire to say a word about the institution which we call the home. By this I mean an established place of abode for the family.

It was my good fortune to be born and raised in such a domicile. It was a home on the farm. It was a house situated upon a small piece of ground through which brooks ran. Upon a part of the land trees grew. My father and mother dwelt there in peace and happiness.

In the springtime it was my pleasure to wander among tender wild flowers, to listen to the song birds, and to inhale the perfume of crab-apple blossoms. Through the early autumn days I listened to the rustle of the ripening corn and gazed into the fleecy clouds floating in the ocean blue overhead. The snows of winter only meant rosy cheeks, sleds, Santa Claus, and happiness for all the children of the neighborhood.

It was there and amid those surroundings that the spark of ambition was kindled in my breast. It was the same ambition that I cherish still. It was an ambition to some day have a home of my own and to help all others to share the same blessing.

My motives have been misconstrued and I have been called low, mean, base, and vile. In the past four years I have learned more of the ways of the world than I ever knew before. In that time I have become a seasoned and hardened soldier, and from this day forward my blows struck in the cause of justice will be better aimed.

History reveals a continual struggle of the poor to acquire homes. My happy experience as a child came about only because my birth happened to occur during the pioneer period of the West. It was a time when land was cheap and when the first homes were being carved out of the virgin forests. It was a day which preceded the mortgage. The profits of those same lands are now going to the money kings, and much of the land of that vicinity is now occupied by tenants.

In years gone by the sturdy poor pushed forward and went to new lands, when the money kings had acquired title to those that their labor had improved. Where is the American who knows the dramatic circumstances under which his ancestors took leave of the other side? Nearly every such case would show a pathetic struggle for a home that would bring tears to the eyes of anyone who might know the story. Perchance it was a sunny day at London, Liverpool, Plymouth, Southampton, Dublin, Havre, Bremen, Hamburg, Copenhagen, Glasgow, or one of the ports of southern Europe. A weaver, a fisherman, a day laborer, or a peasant and his wife of advancing years had come to the dock. They were there to bid a fond farewell which would be the last on this earth to a young married son or daughter, who was going to sail away for America. They were to look for the last time on this earth upon their own flesh and blood. But they were willing to make the sacrifice. Their child was going where it would have what had been denied to its parents—a home.

When I went to Oregon in 1905 I soon learned of its great possibilities for homes. My heart went out in sympathy to the poor who were struggling to obtain homes there. It was a State of large area and sparse population, except for the city of Portland and a few of the older-settled valleys in the western part of the State. I found that 16,000,000 acres—one-fourth of the State's area—had been placed in permanent forest reserves. I found that poor settlers on homesteads outside the forest reserves were being harassed by Federal agents, and that their claims were being canceled upon every possible pretext. I found that the same Government agents who were so severe on the poor homesteaders were letting a great railroad company get away with 2,300,000 acres of the best lands in western Oregon, contrary to the plain letter of the statute, which provided that every acre of these lands should be sold by the railroad company "to actual settlers only, in quantities not greater than 160 acres to any one settler and for prices not exceeding $2.50 per acre."

Here was my chance to do something. I took case after case for homesteaders, agreeing to make no charge unless they won and secured their patents. In 1907 I was consulted by John L. Snyder, of Columbia County, who had made settlement on a quarter section of the railroad land grant. This was a chance to file a test suit to see whether or not that law meant what it said, and accordingly, on September 16, 1907, in the Federal court at Portland, I filed a suit for Mr. Snyder to compel the company to give him a deed. Later the Government intervened in the suit I had started. That was nearly eight years ago and the case has just reached the highest court in Washington. I expect to win the case in the Supreme Court and to compel the sale of the 2,300,000 acres to actual settlers. If the court decides in my favor, receivers will be appointed and all persons desiring to acquire a home on these lands will be given an equal opportunity to do so. Doubtless all the lands except the few claims now covered by actual settlers would be disposed of by the receivers through a drawing system. The land would make 15,000 homes of 160 acres each, or 60,000 homes of 40 acres each. Less than 100 settlers are now on the land. I shall recommend that the lands be disposed of in tracts of 40 acres to each settler, and through a drawing system.

In the midst of this land-grant litigation I was elected to Congress, and partly because of my promise that I would use the powers of the office to see that the case was not permitted to die in the courts. I kept my word, and my first speech in this House—July 15, 1911—was delivered for the purpose of calling the attention of Congress and the Attorney General to the snail-like progress of the case and to the importance of pushing it to a final decision. Since that speech was delivered the answer of the railroad was filed in the court of first instance and the case has gone forward with reasonable speed.

A few days after I delivered that first speech a former Member of this House, whose name I will give to anyone desiring it, called at my office in company with a man whom he introduced as James Y. Iddings, of San Francisco. He said he and Mr. Iddings, with others not named by him, were engaged in building a new line of railroad in Oregon from Coos Bay to Grants Pass, to be called the Coos Bay & Eastern Electric Co. He called with Mr. Iddings three times in less than 10 days. They first asked me to introduce a bill to give their proposed company a right of way over the public lands and also over the railroad lands. I told them such a law was unnecessary, as a general statute already gave such a right over the public lands and that over private lands a condemnation suit was necessary. They said they would desire my services in several matters. I told them that I could be of no further service to them or their company. Later I saw this former Member on the floor of the House many times. No Coos Bay & Eastern Electric Co. was ever organized so far as I know. A few days after I declined to have anything to do with the scheme a newspaper campaign was started against me that has not stopped yet. I state these facts for what they are worth. I believe I was tried out to see if I would take money that I knew I was not earning by accepting employment for the Coos Bay & Eastern Electric Co. And I believe that it was because it was found I could not be reached that the poison was turned loose through the newspapers.

I shall return to Oregon shortly to continue my fight for the majesty of the law and for the rights of those whom the Congress of the last generation said should have homes upon this railroad land grant. I shall continue my fight for common honesty in public affairs.

My fortunes to-day are at their lowest ebb. Were I to be taken ill the day I arrive home, I should have no place to go but to the Multnomah County farm. But I am not discouraged. I believe in a Divine Providence. I believe that things will presently grow brighter. I believe I shall return here in triumph and live to witness complete victory in the battle for justice in which I have enlisted.

And when I have finished this life I hope that I will have made it easier for all to acquire homes in Oregon. But if I fail, my conscience will not upbraid me because I did not try when I had the power placed in my hands, and it will be with peace and contentment that I shall fill one of the graves waiting for the present generation in Oregon. There we shall lie side by side—whether friends or enemies in life—gone to a common hereafter. May each Oregonian of my day, whether friend or foe, pauper or millionaire, have a final resting place such as that described by the late Senator Latham in his eulogy in the Senate upon Edward Dickinson Baker:

The restless waves of a great ocean will moan for ages to come beside his grave, and his honored ashes will rest in peace in the shadow of that lone mountain, the natural monument for the loved and lost of our new empire.

The Income Tax.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. HUMPHREY,

OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 19, 1915.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Washington. Mr. Speaker, of all the inequalities, misfits, and demonstrations of misinformation and lack of wisdom in the present tariff law perhaps the misshapen, abortive, and sickly child, born of ignorance and egotism, called "the income-tax section," is the most troublesome, annoying, and complicated, and "past all understanding." The "authors and finishers" of this monstrosity did not know what it meant, and none since then have arisen wise enough to tell us.

I print herewith some clippings taken from the Washington Herald in reference to this matter:

[From the Washington Herald, Jan. 1, 1915.]

VAGARIES OF THE INCOME-TAX LAW.

When all the vagaries of the income-tax law have been located and classified Congress should proceed to the task of amending that loosely drawn measure. A number of its provisions are not susceptible of logical interpretation; some of them are amusing, even though unjust and harmful. For instance, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue had no choice but to interpret the law as putting a premium on divorce or the living apart of husband and wife.

The law actually imposes a penalty upon married persons living together. Under a ruling of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue an unmarried person or a married person not living with husband or wife shall be allowed an exemption of $3,000. When husband and wife live together they shall be allowed jointly a total exemption of only $4,000 on their aggregate income. Surely this could not have been the intention of the framers of the law, and yet no other interpretation seems possible.

Another effect of the law, which it is unreasonable to believe was contemplated, is to tax offerings to the church, though in this respect the law might perhaps be regarded as susceptible of a more liberal construction. It has been decided, however, that Easter offerings and fees received by clergymen for funerals, masses, marriages, baptisms, etc., are taxable incomes. Christmas gifts, however, are not so regarded. It would seem that if it is possible to exempt Christmas gifts it should not be obligatory to tax the other free-will offerings. Clearly such gifts to the church and its representatives should not be the objects of taxation. To regard as commercial revenue offerings freely made by the people as a part of their religious duty is not only without justification but repugnant to the higher ideals. Such offerings in reality are not fees, not payment for services, and should not be considered as taxable revenues. Services rendered by the clergy at funerals, marriages, and baptisms are not purchasable; they are free to the poor and lowly; but where gifts are made to the church for its support they should be safe from the hand of the tax collector.

If the collector of internal revenue is compelled to place such interpretations upon the law in the cases mentioned, it is obvious that the law should be amended without delay.

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[From the Washington Herald, Friday, Jan. 1, 1915.]

SAYS TARIFF AND INCOME TAX OPPRESS THE WOMEN—PREMIUM PLACED ON DIVORCE AND PENALTY ON HOME LIFE, SAYS LETTER TO SUFFRAGISTS.

A protest by a woman against the income-tax section of the Underwood tariff law, on the ground that it discriminates against women, was forwarded some time ago to Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, accompanied by the following letter:

"DEAR MADAM: I am inclosing a criticism, sound in law and sound in fact, of the tariff act of October 3, 1913, which discriminates outrageously against the voteless American woman. Please have it read before your association and have such action taken to remedy the discrimination complained of as your honorable body may deem fit and proper. Unsurmountable obstacles affecting my position prevent my openly joining your movement, but I am with you in spirit to the end.

"From what I learn from conversations, legislators favorable and women citizens unfavorable to votes for women, I conclude a modified vote for them could be more easily obtained. That modification is, votes for tax-paying women. Indiscriminate or unqualified votes for women appear to be the stumblingblock.

"Sincerely, S. G. E."

The article, which is an interesting analysis of the effect of the law on the women of the country, is entitled "Discrimination against women without votes by the tariff act of October 3, 1913." It follows:

"That the tariff act of October 3, 1913, unjustly discriminates against women can not be denied. Will women supinely submit to such injustice and discrimination? Should they submit? They should not and will not.

"American women having no vote, while abroad this summer, purchased aigrettes and paid their honest money for them to foreign shopkeepers before the new tariff act became a law, but arriving afterwards in their alleged land of the free and home of the brave were, without previous notification, ruthlessly and forcibly despoiled of their property, the said aigrettes, by offensive customs 'subs' of the United States. So much for the effect or operation of the new tariff law on importations by 'voteless American women.' How were 'men with votes' affected in their importations by this same tariff law? We shall see.

WHAT THE MEN DID.

"The United States Government, through the Treasury Department, the same which seized and confiscated the aigrettes from women without votes, willfully and knowingly permitted and assisted 'men with votes' to import dutiable goods during the operation of the high tariff act actually amounting to value of $106,000,000, deposit the same 'in bond' in Government warehouses, retain them there 'duty free,' for several months, and subsequently remove them under the low rates of the tariff act of October 3, 1913, thus defrauding honest taxpayers and the United States Government through evasion of the payment of the lawful higher duty in force or legal at the date of importation. Is this equal or fair treatment of American citizens, or is it a discrimination against women without votes in favor of men with votes?

"It is safe to say no American woman citizen, without votes, escaped the vigilance of the United States Treasury customs 'subs' and retained her aigrette, but has the same Treasury Department been equally vigilant in preventing men with votes from violating the statutes and the treaty with Mexico by smuggling munitions of war across the border of that nation with which we are at peace, as evidenced by the disposition of our battleships in her harbors?

A PREMIUM ON DIVORCE.

"Section 2 of this tariff act, the income-tax law (see A and C, pp. 3 and 5), provides a punitive measure for married persons, and, according to the financial status of single persons, is a protective or prohibitive tariff against matrimony, a financial premium on divorce and separation, or the disruption of the marriage vow, race suicide, and indecent living of married persons, by inflicting upon taxable married persons who live together with their own husbands or wives an annual impost or fine of $2,000.

"Read the law yourself. It places the burden of its construction upon the taxable individual and provides a penalty for misconstruction or violation of its terms. Consult your attorney, if you are in doubt, as to the accuracy of this statement.

"Under section 2 ('C,' p. 5) of the tariff law all taxable single persons and all married taxable persons living apart—that is, separated, divorced, or living alone, or possibly with another person—are allowed an annual exemption of $3,000 each on their individual net incomes. For two such persons the total annual exemption amounts to $6,000. For two taxable married persons who are living together in accordance with moral, civil, and social laws, possibly hampered by a large family and other dependents, the total annual combined exemption for both is limited to $4,000, as against $6,000 annual exemption for two persons living otherwise. This is a fine, impost, or financial loss of $2,000 to each taxable family living together.

PENALTY FOR DECENT LIVING.

"Married taxable persons who are living apart, though they may engage in the white-slave trade, keep houses of ill repute, sell liquor in violation of law, etc., are allowed an annual exemption of $3,000 each, or $6,000 total, which would be reduced by this law to $4,000 total for both should they abandon their dissolute living, reform, and live decently together in holy wedlock.

"Consider seriously these horrible features and provisions of this law. Is it possible that the Congress which passed this law and the President who signed it did so knowingly or in ignorance of its provisions? Either horn of the dilemma is equally indefensible. This loosely and carelessly drawn law is the result of haste, without due consideration by Congress, a 'party caucus law.' Will the decent women and men of this country permit such a vicious law to stand without amendment?

"Bear in mind the fact that the women of this country have been struggling under high prices to provide their families with food and other necessities of life and at the same time paying a tax to the Government, as required by the high-tariff law in force until October 3 last, when the new tariff law went into effect. Since then the cost of living necessities has not been reduced; but, on the contrary, increased.

WOMEN DOUBLY TAXED.

"What has this Congress and the President done for the relief of the woman without a vote other than make empty promises and raise false hopes? I will tell you. They have double taxed her. After collecting a tax from her under the high tariff law, the new tariff law imposes a second tax during or covering the same period during which she had been taxed, viz, from March 1 to October 3, 1913, thus further, through an unfair and unnecessary retroactive tax law, passed as a 'party caucus measure,' without due and careful consideration, study, and analysis, increased her already too heavy financial burden, plus an additional tax, fine, or impost of $2,000, if she be a married woman, maintaining the family by living with her husband, as God and our laws intended she should. Failure to pay this impost subjects her to a further fine or imprisonment by a Government of which she is not a part or in which she has no voice. The party caucuses, in their haste to pass this measure for political purposes, evidently overlooked the well-known fact that it costs more to marry and raise a family decently than it does to live singly. This law in its wisdom provides a remedy, however, which is, if married, break up your family, live apart, and thereby save $1,000 each per annum; if single, do not marry, and thus avoid a Government fine, impost, or loss of $2,000 per annum.

"To the credit of women, in the States where they do vote, let it be remembered, no such atrocious law has ever been enacted by their votes, and never will be. Woman is to the home and children what the compass and anchor are to the ship.

"The women without votes demand of the men with votes the immediate repeal of the unjust and unfair discrimination against women imposed by the tariff law of 1913.

"S. G. E."

[From the Washington Herald, Wednesday, Jan. 13, 1915.]

THE OPEN FORUM—WOMAN WRITER COMPLAINS OF OPERATION OF INCOME-TAX LAW.

EDITOR OF THE WASHINGTON HERALD: Your morning contemporary, on the 8th instant, in an editorial, "Crisis in national finances," in which it predicted all kinds of terrors in increased and new taxes, queries: "Will incomes below $3,000 be taxed to make up the deficit?" As usual that publication is asleep when accuracy is most necessary.

You pointed out in your editorial on the 5th instant, "Vagaries of the income-tax law," some eye openers and thoughts for reflection, both for the United States Government and the penally taxed married woman who dares to live with her husband.

Will you please jog up sleeping contemporary and inform it, that its fears for the future taxation of incomes below $3,000 arrived long ago; in fact, it is provided in the organic law—the income-tax law of October 3, 1913, and has been rigidly enforced by the Treasury Department against married women who live with their husbands.

See income law, page 5, section C, which says: "*Provided*, That only one deduction of $4,000 shall be made from the aggregate income of both husband and wife when living together." The restricted deduction does not apply unless husband and wife live together.

As a specific application of the law to me, please note: "My husband, who is a cripple, most temperate in habits and speech, has a small business, and for the past 12 years has been paying on our small home, works faithfully to keep his family comfortable, and pays his bills promptly. Last February he prepared an honest financial statement of his business from March 1 to December 31, 1913, and was overjoyed to find that he had just escaped payment of income tax under the exemption of $4,000 allowed married persons living together. His joy was not long lived.

"My father, an old invalid soldier, had saved some of his pension money, and just before he died gave to me all he had to help me and the children during a rainy day, when my husband had lost what little health he had, or would pass away. I put it in the bank, getting 2 per cent on it. I tell you I felt like a rich bondholder when I would use this small interest money to buy some little extras for the children or put some of it in the church box on Sunday.

"Our cousin, a young lawyer, whom we consulted without charge—he being in the family—told my husband he must add my interest to his statement, though it was only a very small amount, in order to comply with the law. This almost broke my heart, but we could not be dishonest and cheat the Government, though it would never be found out.

"Adding my interest to my husband's income increased the total above the limit, and I had to pay an income tax on my small amount of that year's interest. I wonder how many other poor women are similarly situated and how a rich Government knowingly could take my money and deprive me and my children of its pleasures, when 1 cent to us is as big as $10 to some other persons. How I will be treated this year I don't know, but being honest with the Government will not lose my soul. These are surely hard times for good women.

"'Stop, look, and listen' would have prevented the French Revolution.

"M. F. S."

Government Ownership and Operation of Vessels Engaged in Foreign Trade.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. GREENE,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 18, 1915.

Mr. GREENE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I present a letter addressed to me by the Boston Chamber of Commerce and also the report of a special committee of said chamber of commerce upon the bills H. R. 18666 and S. 6856, providing for Government ownership and operation of vessels engaged in foreign trade. The conclusions of the special committee and their recommendations are also presented, showing their disapproval of Government ownership and operation of vessels in the foreign trade.

Also an article published in the New York World of the date of January 10, 1915, as the result of an interview with me upon the request of the publishers of the New York World.

The matter is as follows:

BOSTON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
Boston, January 16, 1915.

Hon. WILLIAM S. GREENE,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The board of directors of the Boston Chamber of Commerce at their meeting on January 14 unanimously adopted the report of the chamber's special committee on merchant marine, in which it recommended that the chamber oppose the bills now pending in both Houses of Congress (H. R. 18666 and S. 6856), providing for Government ownership and operation of vessels engaged in foreign trade, for the reasons set forth in the report, a copy of which is sent you herewith. The committee also makes specific suggestions as to the preferable methods of creating a strong and enduring merchant marine.

In arriving at its conclusions, the committee not only carefully considered the proposed measures now pending in Congress, but invited JOSHUA W. ALEXANDER, chairman, and Congressman E. W. SAUNDERS, of the House Committee on the Merchant Marine, and ex-Congressman J. Sloat Fassett, who addressed the members of the chamber at a public dinner and presented the arguments for and against the proposed measures. This was done in order that the chamber should not take action until it had been fully informed upon the different phases of the question.

After careful consideration of the arguments presented, the board of directors are unanimous in their opinion that the present bills for Government ownership and operation of merchant vessels would discourage private capital and personal initiative, and deter the development of an American shipping industry, so vital to the commercial progress of Boston, of New England, and of the whole United States.

As a substitute for the plan proposed by the Government, the chamber makes six specific suggestions for creating an American merchant marine, which they believe to be much preferable to Government ownership.

We sincerely hope that you will carefully consider the recommendations and suggestions set forth in the chamber's report, and that you may see your way clear to oppose the bills providing for Government ownership and operation of our merchant marine.

Very truly, yours,

E. J. BLISS, *President.*
JAMES A. MCKIBBEN, *Secretary.*

[Report of committee on merchant marine relative to pending congressional bills providing for Government ownership and operation of merchant vessels "in the trade between the Atlantic, Gulf, or Pacific ports of the United States and the ports of Central and South America and elsewhere."]

JANUARY 9, 1915.

To the executive committee and board of directors:

There is some precedent in the practice of other nations for Government ownership of railroads; there is none whatever for Government ownership of a merchant marine.

Such experience in this direction as exists is either an accident or a fragment. The United States bought a small steamship line from New York to Colon as a part of the assets of the old French Panama Canal Co. and has operated that line as an incident to canal construction (statement of Mr. E. A. Drake, vice president Panama Railroad Steamship Co.), at a nominal bookkeeping profit of about 2 per cent for 10 years, with insurance, depreciation, and interest disregarded—imperative charges of a regular steamship concern, which, if paid by the Government line, would have involved a huge deficit and bankruptcy. The Government of Western Australia has owned and operated a small coastwise steamship line for two years (report of attorney general of Western Australia), with a loss of $114,000 the first year and of $96,000 the second. It is now believed that this enterprise will be abandoned.

This is the net experience in Government ownership which the world affords—two lines, both of them financially failures. Yet the ocean steamship business as a whole, in private hands, is and has been reasonably prosperous—as prosperous, on the average, as other industries, or it could not have procured capital for its great and constant growth. Twenty-five years ago the tonnage of all nations recorded by Lloyd's was 22,151,000; 10 years ago it was 36,000,000; now it is 49,089,000.

There has been almost no increase in the over-seas tonnage of the United States in this period, but the causes are well known. This is not the place for their discussion at length, and they can not be remedied by a mere expedient of Government ownership. Steamers of a Government-owned line would, if built in the United States, cost more than competing foreign-built ships, or, if bought abroad, would cost no less than such competing ships and would cost considerably more to operate. They would, of course, equally with privately owned American ships, be debarred from the subsidies of foreign Governments. A half a century of actual trial proves that under such conditions, and with only such exceptions as serve to prove the rule, American ships can be maintained in over-seas commerce only at an annual loss that finally becomes prohibitive.

MORE COSTLY THAN A REGULAR SUBSIDY.

This inevitable loss under these bills will have to be made up out of the Treasury of the United States through appropriations for the maintenance of the Government-owned steamship service. There is no proof or suggestion that a Government-owned line under the American flag can be operated at any less expense than a privately owned line. In fact, the expense of a Government-owned line would certainly be greater, for it has been established again and again that the Government can not conduct any business so economically as private individuals trained from youth in that business and dependent on it for profit or for livelihood.

Experience has shown that it costs about 20 per cent more to build battleships in Government navy yards of the United States than in private yards under like systems of accounting, and it is a fair assumption that there would be at least an equal contrast in the cost of ship operation. Therefore it is a reasonable expectation that if a subsidy of a given amount were required for the profitable maintenance of a private-owned merchant marine, a Government-owned merchant fleet would demand a subsidy at least 20 per cent, and probably much more than 20 per cent, greater, in the form of appropriations from time to time for the Government steamship corporation, of whose stock the Government holds 51 per cent, while private capitalists may own the remainder.

Without entering on a consideration of the expediency or justice of a subsidy system, it is indisputable that this Government-ownership project involves a particularly wasteful form of subsidy expenditure, inasmuch as trained and responsible private shipowners would be able to provide a given service at a lower cost, or for the same amount to render a more efficient and comprehensive service.

SHIPOWNING A SPECIALIZED BUSINESS.

The proposed bills hold that the Government-owned merchant marine shall be managed by a shipping board composed of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Postmaster General, and the Secretary of Commerce, not one of whom, probably, would have had the slightest experience in or knowledge of the ocean shipping business, which is a profession by itself, complex and difficult, requiring intense application and exceptional aptitude. It is not to be expected that Cabinet ministers, even of the highest general abilities, could compete in this highly specialized calling with men who had made it the one thought and effort of their lives.

The Panama Canal Line is a conspicuous case in point. Its president is and has been Col. George W. Goethals, the distinguished builder of the canal. This Government line, though favored in the transportation of officials and employees, supplies and materials, has failed to earn a sum equivalent to its insurance, depreciation, and interest, which must be regularly met by all private steamship companies.

DOES AN EMERGENCY EXIST?

It is said that an emergency exists because of the great European war, and that this emergency justifies a disregard of all precedents, and demands immediate and extraordinary legislation. We deny that there

is any such extreme emergency. Chartering is active; vessels long idle are being employed; freight rates have advanced. But these higher rates are due in chief part to risks incident to the war, to higher insurance rates, and to an increased cost of coal, supplies, and wages. Shipowners and merchants who have been questioned state that there is ample tonnage offering in the world in general for the reduced amount of trade that is being transacted. In South American commerce especially, on which stress is laid by the proposed bills, there are said to be more ships than cargoes. A widespread business depression, due to the war and other causes, has suddenly reduced the purchasing power of the South American Republics. (The United States & Brazil Steamship Line, under the auspices of the United States Steel Corporation, operates three American freight steamers from New York to Rio de Janeiro and Santos. Norton, Lilley & Co. operate three American freight steamers from New York to Montevideo, Buenos Aires, and Rosario. W. R. Grace & Co. (Merchants Line) and the New York-South American Line both operate American freight steamers from New York to Chile and Peru. The Red D Line operates four American mail, passenger, and freight steamers under ocean mail pay to Venezuela. The United Fruit Co. operates several American mail, passenger, and freight steamers from New York to the Isthmus of Panama and Colombia. The Panama Railroad Steamship Line operates several American mail, passenger, and freight steamships from New York to the Isthmus of Panama, connecting at Balboa for ports on the west coast of South America.) A new American freight steamship line has recently been established to Brazil. Other American steamships naturalized under the new free registry law are scheduled to sail at frequent intervals for Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, and Peru. There is and long has been an American line to Venezuela, and there are two or three American lines, one the Government-owned service to the Isthmus of Panama, aside from the six American lines regularly plying through the canal in the coastwise trade between the Atlantic and Pacific seaboards. The managers of the lines to the farther countries of South America state that because of the prevalent business dullness they are finding it difficult to load their ships and maintain their sailings without the additional handicap of having the Government of the United States as a competitor.

AS TO THE LACK OF COTTON SHIPS.

There is some difficulty in securing a sufficient number of ships on the route from the southern cotton ports to Bremen. But it should be understood that because of mines and other conditions this is an extra-hazardous service. British and French ships, of course, are not available for the carrying trade to Germany, and the German Government has stipulated that cotton shall be brought to German ports only in ships of American register, which are also preferred for the export of German dyestuffs and chemicals. Twelve or more American steamers from the coastwise service have accepted charters in the Bremen cotton trade during the few weeks since that trade was opened.

The information of the committee is that the real difficulty in the Bremen trade is not lack of ships, but lack of marine insurance on hulls and cargoes. A Federal war insurance board has already been instituted for temporary service through the European war. Proposals to extend the authority of this board so that it can assume marine risks for the time being, while conditions remain as abnormal as they are now, are already before Congress. Such an expedient would solve the problem without any need of resort to the costly and dangerous expedient of Government ownership. If proper insurance can be had more ships will be available. There are still suitable American steamships not yet chartered. From this fleet, with return cargoes practically assured, enough tonnage should be had to carry all the cotton required for direct import by Germany. In addition to these steamships there is a large fleet of seagoing sail vessels capable of carrying cotton or other cargoes with reasonable safety if insurance can be had. Indeed, several American sailing craft have been chartered in the past few days for lumber freights from the Gulf of Mexico to the Mediterranean.

A HAZARD TO NEUTRALITY.

There are large considerations of national prudence why any American ships employed to carry cotton or other goods to German ports should be private-owned ships instead of the property of our National Government. Hon. Robert Lansing, the counselor of the Department of State, recently emphasized before a subcommittee of the House Committee on Naval Affairs the grave risks that would be run in the transportation of conditional contraband to a belligerent port in a public ship of the United States. Raw cotton is regarded as noncontraband, but the very appearance of a national-owned ship in belligerent waters is fraught with a peculiar hazard to neutrality that does not attach to the voyage of a private-owned vessel.

An accident or affront to a Government-owned ship would be a vastly more serious affair than a similar happening to an ordinary commercial vessel not of a public character. A Government-owned merchant marine created in the stress of war would be a potent agency for the embroiling of the United States in the terrible catastrophe now convulsing Europe.

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP WILL NOT INCREASE TONNAGE.

No considerable increase in the amount of tonnage actually available for the carrying of our over-seas trade in any direction can be anticipated from this proposed expedient of Government ownership. All the American ships and all the neutral ships that could be bought and utilized for this purpose by the Government can be had equally well for charter for export at current rates on application to their present owners. Government ownership has no magic power to increase the tonnage of the world. New ships can not be constructed in either American or foreign yards in a period less than 7 months—9 or 10 months or a year would be required for the largest cargo vessels. The British Government on December 23 proclaimed an embargo on the transfer of British ships to foreign flags without the assent of the British Board of Trade, which in present circumstances would hardly be forthcoming. Dutch, Scandinavian, Spanish, Italian, and other neutral steamers are in such active demand and are earning such unusual rates of freight that it is not probable that our Government could purchase them now without the payment of inordinate prices. A scheme of Government ownership and operation, hazardous and difficult at any time, could be effected at the present juncture only by a prodigious expenditure.

Thirty or more German steamships, some of them of large tonnage, are interned at present in ports of the United States. The Hamburg-American Co., the larger of the concerns owning them, has recently declared that its ships were not for sale. Moreover, last August a rumor that these German steamers might be bought by the American Government immediately drew a notification from both Great Britain and France that the purchase and operation of these belligerent vessels under the American flag would be regarded as an unfriendly act and as a violation of neutrality.

The committee is deeply interested in the real revival and restoration of the American merchant marine in over-seas trade, but is profoundly convinced that an ambitious scheme of Government ownership would discourage and delay and not promote this great object, dear to the hearts of the entire Nation. Shipowners and shipbuilders state that the introduction of these proposed bills has had the unfortunate result of halting private enterprise and defeating important plans for the extension of steamship services and for new construction. No business man, no business corporation, however resolute and resourceful, desires to have as a possible competitor the Government of the United States.

MENACING THE COASTWISE TRADE.

The proposed bills profess, in general language, to provide Government-owned ships only for "the foreign trade"; but this profession is thrown to the winds by an amendment adopted in the Senate Committee on Commerce which includes Hawaii among the regions to which a Government-owned fleet shall operate. Hawaii is not a foreign country. It is not a dependency, like the Philippines or Guam. It is a regularly organized Territory of the United States, and its ports are ports of the United States, exactly as are Boston and New York and Philadelphia and San Francisco. Trade with Hawaii is and has been since 1900 American coastwise trade, in which none but American vessels may lawfully participate. There has not been a word of suggestion or complaint that the war in Europe affected in any way the transportation of merchandise between Hawaii and the American mainland, for which a large, new, and increasing American fleet is available. The inclusion of Hawaii among foreign ports in foreign trade is without a shadow of excuse; all interested in the American merchant marine will rightfully regard it as an ugly menace, as an "entering wedge" to Government competition in the entire great coastwise commerce of this country, reserved for more than a hundred years to American ships and American owners and now employing a vast shipping of upward of 7,000,000 tons. Any plea that the help of the Government is needed in this mighty trade is wholly baseless and indefensible.

THE LEASING CLAUSE.

The amendment added to the bill in the Senate Committee on Commerce, authorizing the Government to charter, lease, or transfer its ships to private corporations, is a frank recognition of the force of the criticism which the original plan has met with everywhere from the representative mercantile bodies of the United States. But this modified proposal also is essentially unsound. So long as merchant ships cost more to operate under the American flag than under foreign flags no Government-owned ships will be chartered by experienced shipowners unless the amount of this additional cost of operation is subtracted from the charter price, leaving that price merely nominal. Under such conditions the Government, of course, will actually be paying a concealed subsidy, which might much better be a frank, open, and stated one.

CONCLUSION.

The committee on merchant marine of the Boston Chamber of Commerce, therefore, disapproves the bills pending in both Houses of Congress (H. R. 18666 and S. 6856) for Government ownership and operation of vessels in the foreign trade for the following reasons:

(a) It is a sound principle that the Federal Government should not engage in a business which under suitable conditions can be conducted to equal or better advantage by private enterprise.

(b) Such an undertaking would be an unwise departure from the traditional policy of the American people, would involve a wasteful expenditure of public money, and would imperil our neutral position in the great European war.

(c) No personal emergency justifies the Government in embarking in the ocean shipping business; increased governmental facilities for marine insurance will largely solve the immediate problem of the cotton trade; Government ownership could not immediately add to the number of ships afloat upon the seas; and wherever there is a real need for vessels they can be as easily supplied by other means without resorting to this unsound and hazardous experiment.

(d) The proposed legislation would discourage private capital and personal initiative, and thereby indefinitely defer the development of an American ocean shipping industry, so vital to the commercial progress of Boston, of New England, and of the whole United States.

We make the following suggestions as to methods for the creation of a strong and enduring merchant marine, which would be preferable to Government ownership and operation as proposed in the pending bills, and urge their consideration by Congress:

SUGGESTIONS.

1. The establishment in the Department of Commerce of a shipping board of five members, after the example of the British Board of Trade and similar organizations of other maritime Governments, such a shipping board to be composed of the Commissioner of Navigation, a representative of the shipowning interests, of the shipbuilding interests, and of the shippers in water-borne trade, and an expert in marine insurance; this board to have general supervision of the American merchant marine.

2. A prompt revision and modernizing of our navigation laws and regulations, so far as they unnecessarily increase the cost of operating American ships as against foreign vessels.

3. An amendment of the ocean mail law of 1891, so that the compensation now paid to 20-knot ships to Europe can be paid to ships of less speed, of the second class, suitable to establish regular mail, passenger, and fast-freight services in naval reserve ships on the longer routes to South America, Australasia, and the Orient.

4. In place of an investment of $40,000,000 in Government ownership and operation a Federal fund of the same amount, to be administered by the shipping board above referred to for the purpose of guaranteeing mortgages examined and approved by the board or for careful loans upon shipping built or purchased for over-sea trade and fitted for auxiliary naval service.

The sum of $40,000,000 devoted to ownership and operation of a Government-owned fleet would produce only a relatively small fleet; but a proper use of a Government fund in the manner indicated would provide a large one, of far greater value to the commerce of the Nation.

5. Annual retainers of a proper amount to citizen officers and men of merchant vessels of the United States, after the practice that has proved so successful, particularly in the British mercantile marine, and special compensation to steamships not under contract for carrying mails but built on designs approved by the Navy Department and pledged to the service of the Government as fuel ships, supply ships, or transports, so that the Government may be able to control an adequate

American auxiliary fleet and a naval reserve of officers and men in time of need.

6. To meet a present condition, an extension of the powers of the existing Bureau of War Risk Insurance to cover marine insurance on hulls and cargoes, with the understanding that this bureau shall be discontinued when the war has ended.

Respectfully submitted.

ELWYN G. PRESTON, *Chairman*,
EDWARD E. BLODGETT,
L. A. COOLIDGE,
PAUL E. FITZPATRICK,
FREDERICK FOSTER,
THEODORE JONES,
WINTHROP L. MARVIN,
ROBERT S. PEABODY,
GEORGE F. WILLETT,
Committee on Merchant Marine.

AN UNSOUND PLAN AND A BAD BUSINESS PROPOSITION.

[By WILLIAM S. GREENE, Congressman from Massachusetts.]

The proposal put forward by the administration that the Government of the United States should own and operate merchant vessels engaged in the foreign trade is one which involves such far-reaching consequences that it would be highly improper to inject into a discussion of the project any element of political partisanship. The whole idea must, in fact, stand or fall upon the test of business principles applied to what is essentially a business proposition.

Apart from the very real danger that our present plan of building up a merchant marine may involve us in serious international complications, my objections to the proposed measure fall chiefly under two heads—that it is not, as its advocates assert, an emergency measure, and that it is not a sound business proposition.

IT IS NOT A MEASURE OF URGENCY.

The plea of urgency is made upon two grounds, first, that the present war in Europe offers a very favorable opportunity to restore the American merchant marine to its former position of glory and profit on the high seas; second, that the people of this country are suffering severe hardship because the export trade to Europe has been practically suspended.

In regard to the first of these points, it is a very short-sighted view of the commercial relations of the world which imagines that all the various circumstances which during the many years of European peace have combined to drive the American mercantile marine out of existence are going to be brought to an end by the present war. It is true that while the war lasts a considerable carrying trade might be developed in American ships, but it is absurd to suppose that once the war is over and the shipping of the present combatants is again free to range the oceans there will not immediately reassert themselves all the conditions which made shipowning in the foreign trade impossible for American citizens.

The building up of a great fleet of American merchant vessels is a project which, in principle, has the support of all Americans; but such a project can not depend for its success upon the existence of temporary and wholly exceptional circumstances 3,000 miles from our shores. If an American merchant fleet is to be created, the measures to that end will have to be based upon the recognition of the fact that the obstacles in the way are of domestic and not of foreign origin, so far as they lie outside the field of ordinary commercial competition.

OBSTACLES INHERENT, NOT COMPETITIVE.

The second argument used to give the shipping bill an appearance of urgency, namely, that American exports are held up because there are no American ships to carry them, will not stand a moment's analysis. There are plenty of vessels lying idle in our ports waiting for cargoes. What keeps them idle is not the fact that they do not fly the Stars and Stripes, but that the conditions of credit, exchange, and insurance have been thrown into the utmost confusion by the war. If the difficulties created by these upheavals in our ordinary commercial arrangements can be overcome, there is no reason why American exports can not be carried in the idle ships now anchored in our harbors or tied up to our docks.

So long as the war continues the risks of the foreign carrying trade will in practice be no less hazardous for an American ship than for other neutral ships, and but little less hazardous than they are for the ships of France, England, and Russia.

If an American ship leaves our shores with a cargo consigned to a European port, it runs neither more nor less risk than any other ship of being seized by the allies if it is bound for a German port or by Germany if it is bound for an English port; and if it is bound to a neutral port with contraband or with conditional contraband, it can be held up by any vessel of the combatant navies which challenges the neutral character of its trade.

Under the actual circumstances, therefore, it is clear that there is no urgency about this shipping bill, for its immediate passage can have little, if any, effect upon the volume of our exports, and in so far as it is designed to create a merchant marine under the American flag it is in the last degree improbable that any legislation carried through without more thorough preliminary investigation can accomplish any useful purpose.

IT IS NOT A SOUND BUSINESS PROPOSITION.

I now come to the question of the proposed Government-owned, Government-operated merchant marine as a business proposition. Concerning this aspect of the matter the first thing the public will want to know, if $40,000,000 are to be taken out of its pocket (as a starter) to set the new commercial armada afloat, is whether the administration proposes to run the enterprise at a loss or at a profit.

If it is proposed to run it at a loss, we may as well give up at once the pretense that any proportion of the capital of the venture will be subscribed by American business men. And even if it were expected that large profits might reward the backers of the scheme there is nothing in the history of American finance to warrant the assumption that any large sum of privately controlled money is seeking investment in an enterprise of which 51 per cent of the shares will be controlled by one shareholder (the Government), who has no direct interest in earning a dividend.

But if it is indeed the hope of the administration that it will be able to run its ships at a profit, it becomes a matter of great difficulty to discover any reasonable grounds on which such a hope can be founded.

COSTS MORE TO RUN OUR SHIPS.

The principal reasons why American ships do not engage in our foreign trade are that it costs more to build a ship in the United States and more to run it under the American law than it does to build it in a foreign country and run it under foreign laws. This is largely a question of the high wages paid to American labor, and, although the right to purchase foreign-built ships would remove the difficulty so far as first cost was concerned, yet the legal requirement that American ships must be officered by American citizens and the fixing of the seaman's wage at a higher average cost than is provided in the foreign service will always combine to keep up the cost of running ships under the American flag.

In open rivalry with the ships of other nations an American merchant marine can only pay its way if it is protected from the competition of cheap foreign labor, just as our manufacturing industries are protected, and just as our ships in the coastwise trade are protected—the former by our tariff laws, the latter by our navigation laws.

I believe that it would be a great advantage to this country to carry its own trade in its own ships. We used to carry 90 per cent of it; now we only carry 10 per cent of it, and we pay foreigners anywhere from one hundred million to two hundred million dollars a year to carry the rest of it. But a great merchant marine can no more be created overnight by a decree of Congress than a great foreign trade can be so created.

Protest Against the Smith-Burnett Immigration Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ISAAC R. SHERWOOD,
OF OHIO,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Monday, January 18, 1915.

Mr. SHERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a protest against the Smith-Burnett immigration bill.

The protest is as follows:

PROTEST AGAINST THE SMITH-BURNETT IMMIGRATION BILL.

Whereas there is now before the Congress of the United States a bill providing for the regulation of the entry of aliens into the United States, known and described as the Smith-Burnett immigration bill; and

Whereas the said bill contains among other provisions requiring educational tests, to which all aliens desiring admission to this country will be subjected, and their inability to meet the said tests will constitute a bar to their admission to the United States; and

Whereas conditions in many foreign lands render it impossible for countless thousands of people to secure an education in the land of their birth, as result of the tyrannical attitude of foreign Governments toward the people of countries that have been taken by force and deprived of their liberty; and

Whereas many people residing within the boundaries of the former Commonwealth of Poland are among these, who, as a result of years of oppression on the part of hostile foreign Governments and their despotic desire to destroy them as a nation and a people, have been deprived of the rights and opportunity to attend schools and colleges in their native land, and have at their first opportunity sought liberty and freedom by immigrating to the United States; and

Whereas the downtrodden and oppressed of every clime for years have looked upon these United States as a land where all honest people, irrespective of nationality or creed, could enter and enjoy the blessings of liberty, freedom, and justice; and

Whereas the history of our country shows that from its very foundation, through its most trying moments, the vote, work, and efforts of immigrants have been the support of this American Nation and this American country and its institutions; and

Whereas the people coming here from Poland and, in fact, the peasants, artisans, and workingmen of European countries in general have upon their arrival proven themselves to be industrious, home loving, moral, saving, and law-abiding—not drones in the beehives of our industries, not parasites upon the country, and not exploiters of their fellow men, but a desirable, healthy, and strengthening element, which has worked hard not only to better their own conditions, but to make this country great and to perpetuate this free Government and its great principles; and

Whereas so far as the Polish and other Slavonic people are concerned there has been no fair, just, and intelligent investigation or report made of the immigration problem by any commission of our Government, for no commission and no Government report upon the subject has included in these conducting the work anyone whom as of, in sympathy with, or familiar with either the language, customs, conditions, or principles of the Polish or other Slavonic people; and

Whereas that a healthy, moral, honest, industrious immigrant coming to this country after the period of helpless childhood as an adult is an asset and not a drain to this country, for the expense of bringing such immigrant to the condition of becoming a self-supporting producer has been before his coming here by the country from whence he comes; and

Whereas we know that literacy or educational tests do not indicate the morals, conscience, honesty, integrity, or industry of an immigrant; and

Whereas the present immigration laws and restrictions which are being rigidly enforced are sufficient to keep out of our country all vicious, unhealthy, and undesirable elements: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the members of Branch 520 of Polish National Alliance of United States of North America, residing in the city of Toledo and State of Ohio, citizens of these United States of America, having the well-being and future of this great country and its Government and institutions at heart, and as a part of that element of this country's population which came here from Poland, hereby protest against the enactment of the proposed restrictions requiring educational tests as being unfair, unjust, and un-American. Be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the Hon. ISAAC R. SHERWOOD, Congressman from the State of Ohio, for submission to Congress.

JOSEPH S. KARPANTY, *President*.
JOHN GAWRYS, *Secretary*.

[SEAL.]

Army and Navy Manual for Debaters and Others—Facts Shown by Extracts from the Official Documents—I Challenge Contradiction of These Facts.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 14, 1915.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Speaker, we are the most prosperous Nation on earth, and to the south of us lies the wonderful South American Continent, which we have closed to European colonization by the Monroe doctrine. I simply can not understand how any intelligent student of history can fail to see that we are impotent to defend ourselves and to enforce the Monroe doctrine by moral suasion and financial might alone.

The state of our national defenses ought to be looked into and a comprehensive plan for the future prepared. This inquiry and report should be made by an independent commission, so that unprejudiced minds may be brought to bear on the question. The work can not be done by existing committees of the House and Senate, first, because eight separate committees of the two bodies have jurisdiction of different parts of our national-defense problem; second, because the older members of all those committees, especially in the House, must necessarily be prejudiced in favor of their own work done in the past.

OUR NEEDS.

The General Board of the Navy, of which Admiral Dewey is chairman, is the official adviser of the Navy Department.

For many years the General Board has reported that for purposes of defense against the strongest nation, *except Great Britain*, as a foundation of fighting ships we need 48 battleships, less than 20 years old, and 192 destroyers.

Instead of this we have built, building, or authorized only 37 battleships less than 20 years old, and 68 destroyers.

Admiral Badger, recently commander in chief of the Atlantic Fleet, and Assistant Secretary of the Navy Roosevelt have testified that we need 71,000 men to man only that part of our present fleet which would be useful in time of war and to perform necessary shore duties. This estimate makes no allowance for the additional trained men required for signal and tactical work, etc., on board all the auxiliary vessels, which we must obtain in case of war, nor does it allow for the additional men needed to man the warships now under construction.

Instead of this we have only 52,300 men.

Admiral Badger and Admiral Vreeland testified that we need 100 submarines. (Admiral Vreeland testified that we needed that number for harbor defense alone.)

We have only 58 submarines built, building, or authorized, and many of them are absolutely obsolete and worthless.

We need an ample supply of aeroplanes and a few Zeppelins or other type of dirigibles.

We have only 23 aeroplanes (none of them armored) and not a single Zeppelin or other dirigible.

We need as big guns in our coast defenses as the modern foreign superdreadnaughts carry. The most powerful cannon in any fortification on the Atlantic coast are only 12-inch guns. Superdreadnaughts of the *Queen Elizabeth* type each carry eight 15-inch guns.

We need a large number of men in the Naval Militia and a large number of men in the Naval Reserves.

We have only 7,700 men in the Naval Militia, we have no Naval Reserve, and sailors in the merchant marine are not trained for the highly specialized duties of modern men-of-wars-men.

According to the estimate of the General Staff of the Army, prepared before the outbreak of the European war, we need a field army of 460,000 men, composed of regulars, militiamen, and reserves, ready to take the field at once at the outbreak of war.

According to the Secretary of War's annual report, we have only 29,405 regulars available for a field army, together with 119,087 militiamen if they all came to the front in time of war, and 16 men in the Army Reserve.

According to the last report of the Chief of Staff, United States Army, we need 11,790,850 rounds of artillery ammunition and 646,000,000 rounds of rifle ammunition.

Instead of this, we have on hand and being manufactured only 580,098 rounds of artillery ammunition and 241,000,000 rounds of rifle ammunition.

According to this same report we need 2,834 field and artillery guns. Instead of this we have on hand or being manufactured only 852 field artillery guns.

We need a supply of heavy field artillery such as the armies of Europe are using—9½-inch howitzers, 12½-inch howitzers, and perhaps even 16½-inch howitzers, like the gigantic German guns.

We have only thirty-two 6-inch howitzers and smaller pieces, but none larger.

THE NAVY.

[Extracts from testimony by Congressman GARDNER before the House Committee on Naval Affairs. From official printed report of committee.]

Out of 33 completed battleships do you know that 12 of them are unfitted for service without long delay? That is all on account of the refusal to pay the bill for manning them properly. We have 33 battleships, and 12 of them are in cold storage, where we can not get them when we want them. (P. 1060.)

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Do you know that if we had gone to war with the rest of the civilized world at the beginning of last August that nine of our battleships would not be ready to fight yet? We have three battleships in reserve, six in ordinary, and three out of commission. That is to say, we have three battleships that need to be put in training, we have six of what Assistant Secretary of the Navy Roosevelt calls the graybeards of the fleet, and we have three in their second childhood. That is the situation in regard to the battleships, and he tells us that to put the vessels in "reserve" into fighting trim takes three months, and that to put the six battleships that are in "ordinary" into fighting trim will take six months, and that would mean the 1st of February, if we had gone to war with the rest of the powers. (P. 1060.) (Reference: Hearings, Roosevelt testimony, pp. 939, 940, 942.)

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Now, in company with those battleships, to keep them company in cold storage, let us see what we have. We have 15 cruisers, 22 destroyers, 18 torpedo boats, 12 submarines, and perhaps a dozen miscellaneous fighting ships kept in cold storage with the battleships. In other words, we have 80 or more fighting vessels of our modest Navy not fit for battle in case of an emergency. (P. 1061.) (Reference, Asst. Sec. of Navy Roosevelt press memo., Oct. 21, 1914.)

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We have had testimony here before this committee that it would take five years to get a reserve of 25,000 sailors. (P. 1061.)

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I charge that our Navy is 18,000 enlisted men short of the number of men that they ought to have in peace as a preparation for war, and, in addition to that, there is a shortage of 4,000 more men in sight. That is, there will be an increase required of 4,000 more men to man the vessels coming in commission in 1915 and 1916. (P. 1061.)

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In support of my charge I call to witness the evidence of Assistant Secretary Roosevelt, and I also cite the evidence of Rear Admiral Charles J. Badger as it appears on page 482 of your hearings. Both of these men say the Navy is 18,000 men short, not counting the sailors needed for the vessels now building. (P. 1061.) (Reference: Hearings; evidence of Admiral Badger and Hon. F. D. Roosevelt, December, 1914.)

* * * * * * *

The General Board, which actually has made out our war plans, estimates the enlisted forces of the Navy as between 30,000 and 50,000 men short for war. (P. 1061. Reference: Hearings, evidence of Hon. F. D. Roosevelt.)

* * * * * * *

How about air craft? Other nations have been developing air craft. Before the war broke out France had 1,400 aeroplanes and Germany had 1,000 aeroplanes, with other nations in close pursuit. At that time Servia had three times as many aeroplanes as Uncle Sam (p. 1065). Uncle Sam had 23, while one of the other nations had 1,400; and of the 23 which Uncle Sam had, half of them were in the Army and the other half in the Navy, and they were of the oldest type, and none of them were armored (p. 1065).

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Now, how about the dirigibles and Zeppelins? How many of these do you suppose we have? Uncle Sam has not one single, solitary airship of that kind with which to face his enemy. (P. 1065. Reference: Hearings, evidence of Capt. Bristol.) Page 299 of Capt. Bristol's evidence before the committee shows that France has 22 dirigibles and 1,400 aeroplanes; Russia, 18 dirigibles and 800 aeroplanes; Great Britain, 9 dirigibles and 400 aeroplanes; Belgium, 2 dirigibles and 100 aeroplanes; Germany, 40 dirigibles and 1,000 aeroplanes; Austria, 400 aeroplanes and 8 dirigibles; and the United States 23 aeroplanes (p. 1066).

* * * * * * *

We have, as I said, a dozen aeroplanes in the Navy, and I am informed, or was informed in October last, that only seven of those could get out of their own way (p. 1067). So last year the aeroplane board appointed by the Secretary of the Navy to investigate the whole question recommended an appropriation of $1,300,000 for that year; and that is as far as they ever got, because, according to the evidence of Capt. Bristol, we let the Aviation Service spend the magnificent sum of $350,000 last year (p. 1067).

* * * * * * *

Speaking of the relative standing of the United States Navy—

Let us see how we stood on July 1, 1914, as compared with other nations. On that date the war tonnage of Great Britain was 2,157,000; the war tonnage of Germany was 951,710; the United States had 765,133 tons. (Page 1075. Reference: War Ship Tonnage Bulletin, United States Navy Department, July 1, 1914.)

* * * * * * *

Now let us see how we would have stood if all the vessels which were building on July 1, 1914, had been complete. This is the total of the war tonnage built and building July 1, 1914: Under those circumstances Great Britain would have 2,700,000 tons; Germany, 1,300,000 tons. Who do you suppose comes third? France would be third with 899,000 tons and the United States fourth with 894,000 tons. (Pages 1075 and 1076. Reference as above.)

Did you know that only 1 submarine out of 12 on the Atlantic coast was in condition to dive when the mobilization was ordered last November? (Reference: Hearings, Commander Stirling's evidence.)

ADMIRAL FISKE'S VIEWS.

[Extracts from testimony by Rear Admiral Bradley A. Fiske before the House Committee on Naval Affairs, from official printed report of committee.]

I think, of course, it is very well known we are behind other nations—for instance, the two great naval nations in Europe—in the matter of mines and air craft. I think that in case of an attack on our coasts by one of those powers our inadequacy would be very keenly felt. (P. 1007.)

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As to scout ships, the policy of the General Board is to cut down what we think we really ought to have, because if we told Congress what we really think we ought to have they would say we are crazy. (P. 1017.)

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I would say it would take about five years to get ready with our Navy to fight successfully and effectively against an effective navy. (P. 1023.) I am not thinking so much of the material of the ships as of the operations. What I have in mind all the time is what I would do if we were to have war to-morrow or next month. When I think of the number of things that we would have to do in order to get the Navy into really effective shape—by which I mean having plans, plans of preparation and plans of conduct of the war, and properly drilled mine layers and mine sweepers, and the aeronautical branch—when I think of all that has to be done in preparing general plans and detail plans of war, in getting the personnel enlisted and trained, ready to fight our battleships that are now in reserve and in ordinary, and figure it all out, I conclude that it will take at least five years. (P. 1024.) I doubt if in five years we could get the Navy up to a state of efficiency, for instance, such as that of one of the navies of Europe now. I doubt it very much. (P. 1024.)

* * * * * * *

We lack a general staff, which shall arrange the plans, that is fundamental; we have not enough personnel to man all the ships. We have not any mining equipment to speak of, or any aeronautical equipment or personnel. Besides the battleships we need small auxiliaries in the fleet, such as have been proposed by the General Board. (P. 1047.)

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Mr. GRAY. Has it not been said, Admiral, that to make effective even the ships we have, we need more scout cruisers? I believe you testified to that this morning. I believe, even to make more effective the ships we already have, we need an increase in scout cruisers.

Admiral FISKE. To make the Navy more effective; yes.

Mr. GRAY. And we need more air craft, you say, to make effective the Navy we have now?

Admiral FISKE. Yes.

Mr. GRAY. And we need more submarines, you say, to make effective the ships we now have?

Admiral FISKE. I do not think I said submarines. I said mines.

Mr. GRAY. It also has been said here that we need submarines.

Admiral FISKE. Yes; I agree with that; but I think I spoke of mines.

Mr. GRAY. And we need more destroyers to make more effective the ships we now have. Is not that true?

Admiral FISKE. Yes.

Mr. GRAY. And, also, we require more officers, do we not, to make effective the ships that we now have?

Admiral FISKE. Yes.

Mr. GRAY. And we require more training for those men to make more effective the ships that we now have?

Admiral FISKE. Yes. (P. 1050.)

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It would be necessary to supply submarines for only a few individual harbors. That is a small part of the problem. Most all of them should go with the fleet. But in the Canal Zone, which is the most vulnerable part of our entire possessions, anybody can go there and take it that wants to; I think we should have a few submarines. (P. 1053.)

NO DEFINITE POLICY.

[Extract from the Report of the General Board of the Navy, 1913.]

The absence of any definite naval policy on our part, except in the General Board, and the failure of the people, the Congress, and the executive government to recognize the necessity for such a policy has already placed us in a position of inferiority which may lead to war; and this inferiority is progressive and will continue to increase until the necessity for a definite policy is recognized and that policy put into operation.

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[Extracts from the Report of the General Board of the Navy, Nov. 17, 1914.]

This shows that we are now deficient 10 battleships, built, building, and authorized, from that contemplated in the 1903 program. (P. 56.)

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The General Board believes the policy it has consistently advocated for the production of an adequate Navy is to the best interests of the country, and that any Navy less than adequate is an expense to the Nation without being a protection. (P. 56.)

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The General Board in its indorsement No. 449 of August 30, 1913, and accompanying memorandum brought to the attention of the department the dangerous situation of the country in the lack of air craft and air men in both the naval and military services. (P. 58.)

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At the present time, more than a year later, the total number of air craft of any kind owned by the Navy consists of 12 aeroplanes, not more than two of which are of the same type, and all reported to have too little speed and carrying capacity for service work. (P. 59.)

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In view of the advance that has been made in aeronautics during the past year and the demonstration now being made of the vital importance of a proper service to both land and sea warfare, our present situation can be described as nothing less than deplorable. As now developed air craft are the eyes of both armies and navies, and it is difficult to place any limit to their offensive possibilities. (P. 59.)

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In our present condition of unpreparedness, in contact with any foe possessing a proper air service, our scouting would be blind. (P. 59.)

THE TORPEDO SITUATION.

[Extract from the report of Rear Admiral Joseph Strauss, Chief of the Bureau of Ordinance, United States Navy.]

The torpedo situation is developing very satisfactorily with the exception of modern torpedoes for battleships anterior to the *Nevada* and *Oklahoma*, for cruisers of the *Tennessee* class, and for the scouts. At present all these vessels are equipped with a short-range torpedo which may be considered obsolete for the battle fleet. (P. 8.)

NOTE.—As neither the *Nevada* nor *Oklahoma* is yet completed, this statement means that every United States battleship afloat is equipped with obsolete torpedoes.—A. P. G.

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THE ALTANTIC SUBMARINE FLOTILLA.

[Extract from the evidence of Commander Yates Stirling, jr., Dec. 15, 1914.]

Representative ROBERTS. I am asking you that question because some newspapers state that there is only 1 submarine out of the 17 that will dive.

Commander STIRLING. I think I can explain where they got that impression. The commander in chief ordered a mobilization of the Atlantic submarine flotilla at Hampton Roads on the 1st of November of all available vessels. He left it to me to say what vessels I would bring down there. He did not consider the 5 at Colon. That reduced the submarine flotilla to 12. * * * So when we got down there the admiral wanted to know what we could do. I told him we had then only 1 submarine that I thought could efficiently take part in the maneuvers at sea off the coast. (P. 866.)

[From bulletins of Office of Naval Intelligence, United States Navy Department, July 1, 1914.]

VESSELS BUILT.

	Battleships, dreadnaught type.	Battleships.	Battle cruisers.	Armored cruisers.	Cruisers.	Destroyers.	Torpedo boats.	Submarines.	Coast-defense vessels.
England	20	40	9	34	74	167	49	75	0
Germany	13	20	4	9	41	130	0	27	2
United States	8	22	0	11	14	51	13	30	4
France	4	18	0	20	9	84	135	64	1
Japan	2	13	2	13	13	50	27	13	2
Russia	0	7	0	6	9	91	14	30	2
Italy	3	8	0	9	6	32	68	19	0
Austria-Hungary	3	6	0	2	5	18	39	6	6

VESSELS BUILDING OR AUTHORIZED.

	Battleships, dreadnaught type.	Battle cruisers.	Cruisers.	Destroyers.	Torpedo boats.	Submarines.
England	16	1	17	21	0	22
Germany	7	4	5	24	0	18
United States	4	0	0	11	0	19
France	8	0	0	3	0	22
Japan	4	2	0	2	0	2
Russia	7	4	8	44	0	19
Italy	7	0	2	15	2	8
Austria-Hungary	4	0	5	1	24	6

NOTE.—Attention is invited to following testimony of Assistant Secretary of Navy F. D. Roosevelt (hearings before Committee on Naval Affairs, p. 980, Dec. 16, 1914):

Mr. ROOSEVELT. I think I can say this: That from confidential reports, the source of which I could not make public, I am led to believe that certain other nations have very greatly increased their submarine strength over the strength as shown in this table.

RELATIVE ORDER OF WARSHIP TONNAGE.

Present order (tonnage completed).		As would be the case if vessels now building were completed.	
Nation.	Tonnage.	Nation.	Tonnage.
Great Britain	2,157,850	Great Britain	2,714,106
Germany	951,713	Germany	1,306,577
United States	765,133	France	899,915
France	688,840	United States	894,889
Japan	519,640	Japan	699,916
Italy	285,460	Russia	678,818
Russia	270,861	Italy	497,815
Austria-Hungary	221,526	Austria	347,508

ACTIVE PERSONNEL.

	England.	Germany.	United States.	France.	Japan.	Russia.	Italy.	Austria-Hungary.
Total (officers and men)	150,609	79,197	66,273	63,846	55,736	52,463	39,913	19,531

THE ARMY.

[Statement by Congressman GARDNER to House Committee on Military Affairs, Jan. 4, 1915.]

SOLDIERS.

There are 29,405 regular United States soldiers available for a field army, according to Secretary of War Garrison. If all of them were ordered into trenches, they could man a single line about 14 miles long. There are 119,087 militiamen or national guardsmen in the United States, and there are just 16 men in the United States reserve. In other words, until a new army could be organized, drilled, and equipped we have just 148,508 men to summon to take the field. If every one of them answers the summons, they can man a single line of trenches about 65 miles long, just about two-thirds the circumference of Greater New York, by the way.

Our whole field army—militia, regulars, and all—would just about garrison Paris.

But can our militia all be counted on to stem the first onslaught of invasion? Has history shown us any such thing? Is it not a fact that before militia is to be relied upon it must go through an arduous training in a camp of instruction? Will even the best friend of the Militia or National Guard, whichever you call it, claim that it is to-day in a healthy state?

How can anyone make such a claim? The Chief of Staff tells us that in the last year, out of 120,000 militiamen, 23,000 failed to present themselves for the annual inspection, 31,000 absented themselves from the annual encampment, and 44,000 never appeared on the rifle range from one year's end to the other.

ARTILLERY.

The Russian Army in a single battle of the Japanese War had 1,204 field guns engaged. Japan had 922 guns extending over the same front. (Fortifications bill hearing, Dec. 9, 1913.)

We have in our possession only 634 completed modern field guns and howitzers altogether. (Letter from Secretary Garrison to Representative A. P. GARDNER, Dec. 23, 1914.)

That is to say, we own a little over half the guns which Russia had at the battle of Mukden. Yet any ordinary engagement of this European war makes the battle of Mukden look like a peace conference.

Gen. Wotherspoon, Chief of Staff of the United States Army, tells us in his recent report that European armies average more than 5 field guns for each 1,000 men. So our 634 guns would only equip a modest little army of 127,000. To be sure, we have appropriated for 226 more guns, but they are not ready.

In the testimony before the Fortifications Committee in 1913 it appeared that Russia has 6,000 field guns, France 4,800, and Germany about 5,000. It will take us quite a while to raise our modest 634 to those figures if the information given us by the War Department is correct. Last session Gen. Wood testified that the entire capacity of this country, working night and day, is 500 guns in a year.

AMMUNITION.

After all, what good would the guns be without ammunition? The Secretary of War expects us to have 580,000 rounds of artillery ammunition ready by July 1. I hope he is right. It is worth remembering that in a single battle of the Japanese war Russia shot away nearly half that amount. Gen. Wood tells us that 200 rounds of ammunition a day is a fair expenditure for a gun under battle conditions, so you see that our 634 guns can next July be provided with just about four days' ammunition apiece, if Secretary Garrison's hopes are fulfilled.

Last year the Ordnance Department estimated that the Government arsenals, running night and day, with three shifts, can turn out 1,600 rounds of artillery ammunition daily. In other words, eight field guns can shoot away ammunition just as fast as Uncle Sam can make it. Private manufacturers can not help the situation for three or four months after they get their orders, says Gen. Wood. Listen to this sentence from the general's evidence: "The best estimates indicate that at the end of the first six months not to exceed 350,000 rounds could be procured from all sources, including the Government plant."

Think of that! Three hundred and fifty thousand rounds to be made in half a year. Why, Russia shot away 250,000 rounds in the nine days' battle of Mukden alone.

WHAT THE CHIEF OF STAFF WROTE TO SECRETARY GARRISON.

Seven weeks ago Maj. Gen. Wotherspoon, Chief of Staff of the United States Army, wrote to the Secretary of War informing him that for the full equipment of an army of 800,000 men in case of war we are short 400,000,000 rounds of rifle ammunition and 11,000,000 rounds of artillery ammunition. Of course, you gentlemen with your ideas will laugh to scorn the idea that we might possibly need 800,000 men in case of war. That is because you will not listen to unpalatable evidence. That is because you shun a real inquiry. Mr. Chairman HAY, I asked you to summon Gen. Wotherspoon; I asked you to summon Gen. Wood; and you flatly refused both requests. Yet President Wilson intimates that this committee can be trusted to make an adequate investigation and an adequate report. How have you investigated? What have you done, I should like to know? Why, you summoned Gen. Crozier, who has been Chief of the Ordnance Department for 13 years, and you extracted from him the admission that his own work was most commendable. It is true that you put to him a few questions as to his recommendation for artillery and ammunition, but you didn't put the right questions. You did not drive home the questions which I would have driven home if I had not been muzzled. Why didn't you follow up the question of heavy field guns when you had Gen. Crozier on the stand? Why didn't you ask him to point out why Germany uses 11-inch guns to batter covered trenches if 3-inch guns to scatter shrapnel are all that is needed? You know, Mr. Chairman, that the biggest movable gun in the United States Army is the 6-inch howitzer, and we only have 32 of them completed. Yet the Germans have 16½-inch howitzers and 12⅔-inch howitzers and 8-inch mortars and the English have 9½-inch howitzers. What big guns the French may have I do not know.

LITTLE AMMUNITION.

[Extract from the report of Brig. Gen. William Crozier, Chief of Ordnance, United States Army, 1914.]

The amount of ammunition on hand for field guns is far short of that considered advisable, although appropriations for this purpose have been materially increased.

No permanent ammunition trains have been provided (p. 22).

WHAT SECRETARY GARRISON SAYS.

[Extracts from the report of Hon. Lindley M. Garrison, Secretary of War, 1914.]

Whatever the future may hold in the way of agreements between nations, followed by actual disarmament thereof, of international courts of arbitration, and other greatly to be desired measures to lessen or prevent conflict between nation and nation, we all know that at present these conditions are not existing. We can and will eagerly adapt ourselves to each beneficent development along these lines; but to merely enfeeble ourselves in the meantime would, in my view, be unthinkable folly. By neglecting and refusing to provide ourselves with the necessary means of self-protection and self-defense we could not hasten or in any way favorably influence the ultimate results we desire in these respects. (P. 6.)

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In continental United States we had in the mobile army on June 30, 1914, 1,495 officers and 29,405 men.

We have a reserve—that is, men who have been trained in the Army and under the terms of their enlistment are subject to be called back to the colors in time of war—consisting of 16 men.

The Organized Militia of the various States totals 8,323 officers and 119,087 men. The enlisted men thereof are required, in order to obtain the financial aid which the Congress authorizes the Secretary of War to extend under certain conditions, to attend 24 drills a year and 5 days annually in the field. If all of the National Guard could be summoned in the event of war, and should all respond (an inconceivable result), and if they were all found fairly efficient in the first line—that is, the troops who would be expected to immediately take the field—we could summon a force in this country of Regulars and National Guard amounting to 9,818 officers and 148,492 men.

And this is absolutely all. The only other recourse would then be volunteers, and to equip, organize, train, and make them ready would take, at the smallest possible estimate, six months.

Anyone who takes the slightest trouble to investigate will find that in modern warfare a prepared enemy would progress so far on the way to success in six months, if his antagonist had to wait six months to meet him, that such unprepared antagonist might as well concede defeat without contest.

* * * * * * *

For the purpose of information the table which follows is presented, showing the area, population, and military resources on a peace and war footing of other nations in comparison with ours.

	Land forces of various countries.			
	Area (square miles).	Population.	Peace strength.	Total trained war strength.
Germany	208,830	64,903,423	620,000	4,000,000
France	207,054	38,961,945	560,000	3,000,000
Russia	8,647,657	160,095,200	1,200,000	4,500,000
Great Britain and colonies	11,467,294	396,294,752	254,500	[1] 800,000
Italy	110,550	32,475,253	275,000	1,200,000
Austria-Hungary	261,035	49,418,596	360,000	2,000,000
Japan	147,655	53,875,390	230,000	1,200,000
Turkey	1,186,874	35,764,876	420,000	1,200,000
Spain	194,783	19,503,008	115,000	300,000
Switzerland	15,976	3,741,971	140,000	275,000
Sweden	172,876	5,476,441	75,000	400,000
Belgium	11,373	7,074,910	42,000	180,000
United States (including Philippine Scouts)	3,026,789	98,781,324	97,760	[2] 225,170

[1] Excluding native army, 160,000.
[2] Including Organized Militia and Philippine Scouts.

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MAJ. GEN. LEONARD WOOD'S WARNING.

Statement of facts by Maj. Gen. Leonard Wood, United States Army, when Chief of Staff. Submitted December 9, 1913; hearings on fortification bill, pages 13, 14, 15, and 16:

I am submitting, for the information of your committee, a statement which shows in detail the condition of the field artillery matériel of the United States Army and the available ammunition for these guns, and I trust that the members of this committee may find time to read this, for it shows that we have neither guns nor ammunition sufficient to give any general commanding an army in the field any assurance of success if attacked by an army of equal size which is supplied with its proper quota of field artillery.

The fire of modern field artillery is so deadly that troops can not advance over terrain swept by these guns without prohibitive losses. It is therefore necessary to neutralize the fire of hostile guns before our troops can advance, and the only way to neutralize the fire of this hostile field artillery is by field artillery guns, for troops armed with the small arms are as effectual against this fire until they arrive at about 2,000 yards from it as though they were armed with knives. This field artillery matériel and ammunition can not be quickly obtained. In fact, the Chief of Ordnance estimates that almost one year would be required to supply the field artillery guns needed with one field army of a little less than 70,000 men. No war within the past 45 years has lasted for one year, so that after war is declared it would probably be over before we could manufacture an appreciable number of guns; and the same applies to ammunition.

The Ordnance Department states that by running night and day with three shifts Frankford Arsenal could turn out about 1,600 rounds of ammunition per day, and that if private manufacturers were given orders to run under war conditions they could begin deliveries of ammunition in from three to four months, and after getting under way could turn out about 100,000 or 200,000 rounds per month for two or three months, and after a total time of six months the production would perhaps equal 250,000 rounds per month. The best estimates indicate that at the end of the first six months not to exceed 350,000 rounds could be procured from all sources, including the Government plant. After this six months there would be no particular difficulty in securing ammunition as rapidly as might be needed.

I will state to the committee that it is my belief that no modern war between first-class powers will last for one year, and unless private manufacturers are now encouraged to manufacture ammunition for our guns after war is declared they will not be in any condition to do so until after the war is finished, and the supply of ammunition during the war will be limited to what the arsenals can turn out. At present this is about 1,600 rounds per day, running three shifts, and this ammunition, under ordinary battle conditions, could be fired by eight guns in one day of battle. If guns are not supplied on the battle field with the ammunition which they can be reasonably expected to use, they are not efficient, and when a gun has exhausted the ammunition supplied it becomes as perfectly useless as junk; in fact, it is worse than junk, for it must be protected by other troops.

In the Russo-Japanese War the Russians expended during the war, exclusive of the action around Port Arthur, 954,000 rounds.

At Mukden in nine days they expended 250,000 rounds.

One battery of eight guns at Mukden fired 11,159 rounds, or 1,395 rounds per gun.

At Liaoyang eight Russian guns fired in three hours 2,500 rounds, or 312 per gun.

During August 30 and 31 the First and Third Siberians, with 16 batteries of 8 guns each, fired 108,000 rounds, or 844 rounds per gun.

At Schaho, in a four-days fight, the artillery of the First Infantry Division—48 guns—fired 602 rounds per gun.

At this same battle in 45 minutes, 20 minutes of which were not occupied by firing, 42 guns fired 8,000 rounds, or 190 rounds per gun in 25 minutes of actual firing.

The War Department believes, after extended study, that in case of war with a first-class power an army of 500,000 men will be needed to give this country any chance of success against invasion, and that this force will be needed at once. To make it efficient it must be given its proper quota of field artillery. To do this this artillery must be on hand, for it can not be supplied after war is started. A municipality might as well talk about buying its fire hose after the conflagration has started. A fire department without its proper equipment is worthless, irrespective of the number of men it has; and so would your armies, unless you provide in peace the material which will make them effective in war. (Pp. 13, 14, and 15.)

* * * * * * *

I invite the attention of the committee to the fact that to October 1, 1913, total appropriations have been made by your committee and the Military Committee for only 245,098 rounds of ammunition for our modern field guns. All of this ammunition will not be manufactured until June 30, 1914.

Of this ammunition for modern guns we have at present in this country—with troops, in depots, or under manufacture—186,508 rounds; and for the 2.95 mountain gun 15,106 rounds; a total of 201,614 rounds, and this is all we have.

At Mukden in 9 days the 1,204 Russian guns expended 250,000 rounds.

The present daily output of the ordnance factories is, for three shifts running night and day, not above 1,600 rounds. It is at present manufacturing about 600 rounds of assorted sizes per day with one shift (p. 16).

SHORTAGE OF MUNITIONS OF WAR FOR FIELD ARMY.

(Table prepared from figures given on page 12 of the report of Maj. Gen. W. W. Wotherspoon, Chief of Staff, United States Army, Nov. 15, 1914:)

	Munitions required as a reserve in anticipation of war.	Munitions on hand or in process of manufacture.
Rifles	642,541	698,374
Rifle cartridges	646,000,000	241,000,000
Field guns (exclusive of giant guns)	2,834	852
Field-gun ammunition, rounds	11,790,850	580,098

AS TO COAST DEFENSES.

[Extract from the report of Brig. Gen. E. M. Weaver, Chief of Coast Artillery, United States Army, 1914.]

From the foregoing it will be seen that the present authorized strength of the regular Coast Artillery Corps is short 564 officers and 10,988 enlisted men of the strength required to man our coast defenses under the adopted policy outlined above.

The defenses outside the continental United States are practically ready for their garrisons, and when these are provided there will remain for home gun defenses 176 officers and 7,543 enlisted men, which is about one-third of one relief.

In order to provide for our primary home defenses, to wit, coast defenses of Portland, Boston, Narragansett Bay, Long Island Sound, eastern New York, southern New York, Chesapeake Bay, Pensacola, San Francisco, and Puget Sound, there are required 662 officers and 16,251 enlisted men.

It will thus be seen that there are now provided about one-fourth of the officers and one-half of the enlisted men necessary for this purpose. Unless provision is made in the near future for additional Coast Artillery personnel, it will be necessary to reduce the garrisons to mere caretaker detachments at some of the defenses of lesser importance, including Portsmouth, Delaware, Charleston, Savannah, Key West, New Bedford, Potomac, Tampa, Columbia, Baltimore, Cape Fear, and Mobile (p. 15).

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[Extract from the report of the Chief of Staff, United States Army, 1914.]

There is a serious deficiency, however, in ammunition for these coast defenses, the supply which the department has been attempting to maintain being on the basis of approximately an hour's full and active operation of the guns in the United States proper and a two hours' full and active operation of the guns in over-sea fortifications. According to the report of the Chief of Coast Artillery, the amount of ammunition now available and provided for by appropriations is equal to about 73 per cent of this requirement for the guns and 50 per cent for the mortars. * * * The deficiencies in the matter of fire control and searchlights are of the most serious character. As a matter of fact, proper fire control and searchlight installation is only maintained in a limited number of first-class defense areas, the remainder of the fire-control systems and searchlight equipment being deficient or improvised (p. 6).

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CHESAPEAKE BAY UNFORTIFIED.

[Extract from the report of the National Coast Defense Board, Feb. 1, 1906.]

Commercially and strategically, Chesapeake Bay is to-day, as it always has been, of the very first importance. With the entrance, as it is now, unfortified, a hostile fleet, should it gain control of the sea, can establish, without coming under the fire of a single gun, a base on its shores, pass in and out at pleasure, have access to large quantities of valuable supplies of all kinds, and paralyze the great trunk railway lines crossing the head of the bay. (The situation is the same to-day as nine years ago, when the above was written. The entrance to Chesapeake Bay is still unfortified. A. P. G.)

ENEMY COULD LAND.

[Extract from the evidence of Rear Admiral Frank F. Fletcher, Dec. 9, 1914.]

Representative WITHERSPOON. How many unharbored places are there on the coast where they (the enemy) could land?

Admiral FLETCHER. In smooth water and fine weather, they could land almost any place, as we did from the open sea at Santiago. (P. 536, official printed hearings of House Committee on Naval Affairs.)

THE RANGE OF OUR COAST GUNS.

Correspondence between the Secretary of War and Congressman A. P. GARDNER relative to the comparative range of foreign naval guns and the guns of our seacoast defenses:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *December 14, 1914.*

The honorable the SECRETARY OF WAR.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Would you be kind enough to answer the following questions:

1. How many 14-inch guns are there in the coast defenses of the United States, and where are they situated?

2. Are there any guns of a larger number of inches in caliber, except the 16-inch gun destined for the Panama Canal?

3. Referring to page 7 of the current report of the Chief of Coast Artillery, how large is the caliber of the guns which "foreign warships of the latest design are carrying"?
4. How much do these foreign guns out range our 14-inch guns?
5. How much do they out range our 12-inch guns?

Very respectfully,

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DECEMBER 15, 1914.

Hon. A. P. GARDNER,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. GARDNER: I am in receipt of your letter of even date and answer the inquiries therein as follows:

1. None.
2. No.
3. 15-inch, 45 calibers.
4. The guns just mentioned carry at their maximum elevation 21,000 yards. Our 14-inch guns if mounted so as to shoot at their maximum elevation would carry as far. On the present carriage they would carry 18,000 yards.
5. The foreign guns, just mentioned, as above stated, carry at their maximum elevation 21,000 yards. Our 12-inch guns on their standard carriage carry 13,000 yards. They could be mounted so as to carry a similar distance to the foreign guns just mentioned.

In regard to the question that you put to me orally at your visit yesterday afternoon I repeat the answer which I made to you. In view of the increased size and caliber of guns now on, or contemplated to be placed on, naval vessels and the caliber, mounting, and range of our coast defense guns and the question which has arisen as to their defensive strength against the offensive strength of naval ships with their increased armament I had ordered a board to study this question and report to me thereon.

Sincerely, yours,

LINDLEY M. GARRISON,
Secretary of War.

REPORT OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF,
Washington, November 15, 1914.

SIR: I have the honor to submit the following report for the period from April 22, 1914, to November 15, 1914:

STRENGTH OF THE ARMY.

According to the latest returns, the actual strength of the Army, exclusive of the Philippine Scouts, is 4,572 officers and 88,444 enlisted men. The authorized strength of the Army is 4,726 officers and 95,977 enlisted men. The Army is therefore 154 officers and 7,533 enlisted men below its authorized strength.

Of the total present enlisted strength of the Army, 22.50 per cent, including recruits and recruiting parties, belongs to the noncombatant and noneffective class, and is not with the colors; 19.45 per cent is in that branch whose special function is coast defense; and 58.05 per cent belongs to the mobile forces (Engineers, Cavalry, Field Artillery, and Infantry).

Of the actual strength of the Army from the latest returns, 1,067 officers and 19,899 enlisted men (including recruits and men engaged in recruiting) belong to the staff, technical, and noncombatant branches of the Army.

Seven hundred and forty-six officers and 17,201 enlisted men belong to the Coast Artillery and 2,738 officers and 51,344 enlisted men belong to the mobile army (Engineers, Cavalry, Field Artillery, and Infantry).

MOBILE ARMY.

The total strength of the field or mobile forces in our Army is therefore less than 52,000 enlisted men. If from this strength the noncombatants and noneffectives, belonging to the regimental, troop, battery, and company organizations, such as the noncommissioned staff, musicians, cooks, scouts, etc., which aggregate 5,376, are deducted, the actual fighting strength of the Army with the colors, and without deductions for officers and men sick, on furlough, detached service, etc., would be 2,738 officers and 45,968 enlisted men.

There are in the line of the United States Regular Army (including Coast Artillery), not including the two battalions of the Porto Rican Regiment, 65 regimental and 758 troop, battery, and company organizations. Under existing laws there belong to these organizations 322 regimental field officers and 2,358 company officers. Of these officers, according to latest returns, 93 field and 675 company officers are at present absent from their commands on detached service, on leave, or sick. This important branch of the Army is therefore at the present time 28.656 per cent short of the officers who are deemed necessary under existing laws for its instruction, training, and discipline. As the department draws mainly upon the units of the forces in the United States proper for officers for detached service, maintaining as far as possible the full complement of officers with the organizations on foreign service, the percentage of regimental and company officers absent from their organizations is far higher for those organizations in the United States than the above percentage would indicate.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE MOBILE ARMY.

The enlisted men of the mobile Army are distributed as follows:

In the United States proper	30,481
In our foreign possessions	20,863
Distributed as follows:	
In the Philippines	7,212
In the Hawaiian Islands	6,832
In the Panama Canal Zone	1,681
In China	690
In Alaska	431
In Vera Cruz	3,434
In Porto Rican Regiment	583

Of the enlisted men of the mobile Army in the United States, 18,954 are in the field in Texas and on the Mexican border, 1,665 are in the field in Colorado, 245 are temporarily in Montana, 300 are in Arkansas, and only 9,317 are at their home or permanent stations. It may be added that the department is under the necessity of dispatching in the near future at least one additional regiment of Infantry to Panama, and that this action will still further reduce by at least 1,200 the number of troops of the mobile Army remaining within our continental limits.

MATÉRIEL FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF THE MOBILE ARMY.

A fairly adequate supply of ammunition and other matériel to maintain the mobile army in the field for a period of six months is now on hand and available.

COAST ARTILLERY CORPS.

As to the Coast Artillery branch of the Army, the strength of that corps must necessarily depend on the number and character of the coast defenses which it is required to man. Its strength has no relation to the strength of the mobile Army other than that the strength of the latter must be adequate to protect the fortified positions from attack from the rear.

Under the present approved policy of the War Department the Coast Artillery defenses in our foreign possessions are to be manned entirely by organizations belonging to the regular service. The Coast Artillery defenses in the United States proper are to be manned at the rate of 50 per cent of the gun and mortar defenses by the Coast Artillery Corps of the Organized Militia.

The strength of the Coast Artillery of the Regular Army, from latest returns, is 746 officers and 17,201 enlisted men. The estimate of the Chief of Coast Artillery shows that 1,312 officers and 30,309 enlisted men of the Regular Army in addition to the 740 officers and 18,531 enlisted men of the Organized Militia required to man 50 per cent of the gun and mortar defenses in the United States are necessary to man the seacoast defenses now existing at home and in our foreign possessions. As the authorized strength of that corps of the Regular Army is 748 officers and 19,019 enlisted men, it is at present 2 officers and 1,818 enlisted men below its authorized strength and 566 officers and 13,108 enlisted men below the necessities as estimated by the Chief of Coast Artillery, in addition to the deficiencies in the Coast Artillery Corps of the Organized Militia. The total deficiencies in the Coast Artillery Corps of the Regular Army and the Organized Militia are, therefore, 856 officers and 24,489 enlisted men.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE COAST ARTILLERY.

The companies of the Coast Artillery Corps are distributed as follows:

	Companies.
On the Atlantic, Pacific, and Gulf coasts of the United States proper	140
In Texas (equipped and acting as Infantry)	5
In our foreign possessions	25
That is:	
In the Philippine Islands	11
In the Hawaiian Islands	8
In the Panama Canal Zone	6

The aggregate enlisted strength of the Coast Artillery Corps required to man the coast defenses in the United States is reported by the Chief of Coast Artillery to be 24,075; the actual number available is 14,633. The aggregate enlisted strength required to man the coast defenses in foreign possessions now completed, or to be completed in the near future, as reported by the Chief of Coast Artillery, is 6,234; the actual number now in those possessions is 2,568. It therefore appears that there is a deficiency of 9,442 enlisted men for the home coast defenses and 3,666 for those in our foreign possessions.

Naval armament in the last few years has rapidly developed, particularly in respect to the caliber of the guns, their ranges, and the rapidity with which fire from these guns can be delivered. At the present time the tendency is to place on the higher type of battleships guns as large as 15 inches in caliber. These guns, whilst carrying a projectile of less weight than those used with our direct-fire type of seacoast guns, have, owing to the greater length of the guns and the higher powder pressures used, a very distinct advantage in range, their range exceeding that of our 14-inch guns from 2,000 to 3,000 yards. Whilst this advantage in range is to a degree offset by the instability of the naval platforms and the less accurate methods of obtaining ranges from ships than from land defenses, there still appears to remain a distinct advantage in this respect, which, coupled with the number of these caliber guns now being carried on the stronger type of naval ships, makes it necessary to give careful consideration to the question whether there should not be a change, not only in the length, caliber, and powder pressures of our heavier type of guns, but whether there should not be a change in the emplacements so as to give overhead protection to the crews operating the guns. In other words, it is my opinion that careful consideration should be given, at least in the establishment of new defense districts, to the question of the caliber, length, and range of the seacoast guns, as well as to the question whether the turret system for the protection of the gun and its crew should not be adopted, in order to put the land defenses somewhat nearer on a parity with the naval guns which are liable to attack them. As a fleet of 8 battleships of the most modern type can throw against a single target 118 projectiles per minute, the danger that must arise from the possibility of fragments of these shells and the débris thrown up from their impact against the concrete parapets which protect the guns, to the crews as well as to the delicate and complicated machinery which operates the guns, would indicate that overhead protection against such fragments should be provided in order to insure the most effective operation of the coast armament.

MATÉRIEL FOR THE COAST ARTILLERY DEFENSES.

Matériel for the coast artillery defenses as at present established and under construction is fairly adequate in the matter of guns, mortars, and mine matériel. There is a serious deficiency, however, in ammunition for these defenses, the supply which the department has been attempting to maintain being on the basis of approximately an hour's full and active operation of the guns in the United States proper and a two hours' full and active operation of the guns in over-sea fortifications. According to the report of the Chief of Coast Artillery the amount of ammunition now available and provided for by appropriations is equal to about 73 per cent of this requirement for the guns and 50 per cent for the mortars. The amount of explosive necessary to load and operate the mines now provided at our various coast defenses for one charge is complete. The deficiencies in the matter of fire control and searchlights are of the most serious character. As a matter of fact, proper fire control and searchlight installation is only maintained in a limited number of first-class defense areas, the remainder of the fire-control systems and searchlight equipment being deficient or improvised.

ORGANIZED MILITIA.

According to the latest returns, the total reported strength of the Organized Militia is 8,323 officers and 119,087 enlisted men. Of this force, 855 officers and 5,026 enlisted men belong to the staff and non-

combatant branches, 450 officers and 7,150 enlisted men belong to the Coast Artillery, and 7,018 officers and 106,911 enlisted men to the mobile forces (Engineers, Cavalry, Field Artillery, and Infantry). Of this force there were present at the annual inspection 692 officers and 4,090 enlisted men of the staff corps, 439 officers and 5,989 enlisted men of the Coast Artillery, and 6,553 officers and 85,541 enlisted men of the mobile forces, a total absenteeism from inspection of 639 officers and 23,467 enlisted men. Reports as to the attendance at camps of instruction show that 568 officers and 3,744 enlisted men of the staff corps, 423 officers and 6,135 enlisted men of the Coast Artillery, and 5,904 officers and 77,353 enlisted men of the mobile forces attended these camps of instruction, showing a total absenteeism of 1,428 officers and 31,855 enlisted men from these camps.

As regards practice with the rifle, there were 111,140 officers and men in organizations armed with the rifle. The total number who fired the rifle during the range-practice season, 1913 (the last report available), was 66,974. The total number who fired the rifle during the range-practice season, 1913, and qualified as second-class men or better, was 42,599 officers and men.

From the above figures it will be seen that only 81.07 per cent of the total reported strength of officers and men of the Organized Militia attended the annual inspections; that only 73.87 per cent of officers and men attended the camps of instruction; that the number of men who had any practice with the rifle during the target season 1913 was 52.56 per cent; and that the number who qualified as second-class men or better was 33.43 per cent.

The requirements of the regulations are that units of the Organized Militia shall have at least 24 drills of one hour each per annum. Reports indicate that whilst in a majority of States these requirements were fully met as regards the organizations, yet in a majority of organizations there were a number of enlisted men who failed to attend 24 times for drill and instruction during the calendar year 1913. The total number so failing to attend during the year 1913 was 37,874 men out of a total of 119,087.

There is no indication of the number of practice marches held by the units of the Organized Militia during the year, and it is believed to be a safe conclusion that not a single unit at its maximum strength marched a distance of 10 miles fully equipped and armed.

The above figures, taken in conjunction with the fact that the number of companies, troops, batteries, etc., is 2,000, and that of this number, 1,120 organizations are below the prescribed minimum strength, would indicate to a degree the dependence to be placed upon this force.

As organized the militia is deficient in the following units to make it a properly balanced and efficient field force:

Cavalry, number of troops	54
Field Artillery, number of batteries	79
Engineers, number of companies	14
Ambulance companies	34
Field hospitals	12

The deficiency in its Coast Artillery branch is 290 officers and 11,381 enlisted men.

As to the matériel necessary to put this force into the field and maintain it there for a period of six months, there is a very decided deficiency in many important respects. For instance, there are but 550 horses available for the use in drill and instruction of the Cavalry, which aggregates 4,940 officers and enlisted men. The deficiency in horses for the Field Artillery is even greater than that of the Cavalry. There are no animals for the signal or sanitary troops. As regards wagon transportation, the militia as now organized is deficient 1,934 wagons. Should the militia be assembled into divisions and separate brigades, the deficit would be 5,836 wagons. There are no draft animals available. These deficiencies in matériel are very important, inasmuch as they must be supplied before the Organized Militia forces can be made available for field operations.

As regards Field Artillery matériel for the Organized Militia, should this force be called into service with its present number of batteries, the total amount of ammunition necessary therefor would be 1,300,000 rounds of 3-inch ammunition, based on an average of 5,000 rounds per gun, which is equivalent to the best standards of supply of this character of ammunition in foreign armies. To completely equip the proper number of batteries for the 12 militia divisions, including the auxiliary divisions, there would be required, in addition to matériel now in the hands of the Organized Militia, 316 field guns and 1,322,384 rounds of ammunition.

MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

If it is deemed that the condition and strength of our military establishment (including the Organized Militia) as above set forth is satisfactory and adequate to our needs at home and in our foreign possessions under modern conditions and existing circumstances, there appears to be no necessity for special action beyond maintaining that establishment at its present strength and in about its present condition. To make even this force effective, however, by proper training and instruction, a number of additional officers and noncommissioned officers of the Regular Army are urgently needed—first, in order that a full complement of these instructors may be kept with the units of the Regular Army; second, that we may have available an adequate corps of trained instructors for the militia.

In case, however, the strength and condition of that establishment as set forth is deemed inadequate and unsatisfactory, it is pertinent to make suggestions as to what should be done to correct this condition and provide a military establishment adequate to our needs and responsibilities. These suggestions, in my opinion, should be based upon study of conditions as they are in our country and in our foreign possessions, including home needs and the needs which might arise in our relations with other countries.

In looking over the strength of our garrisons in foreign possessions it becomes at once manifest that the garrisons we are maintaining there or propose to maintain there under the scheme of distribution of our Army as it exists at present are entirely inadequate to the needs of those possessions. That an effective defense against an enterprising enemy in the Philippines could be made with a deficiency of 33 per cent of the manning details of the coast defenses of Manila and Subig Bay and with a mobile force of a little over 7,000 American troops, supplemented by less than 6,000 Philippine Scouts, is manifestly impossible; that the great waterway of the Panama Canal can not be protected against the operations of a first-class military power by the present or proposed garrison we contemplate placing there without the power and ability to reenforce it rapidly by troops from the United States is equally manifest; that we can retain our valuable Territory of Alaska in its isolated position against an enemy with any military power by placing there a garrison of less than 500 men verges on the ridiculous unless we have ample forces at home to occupy that Territory in the very earliest stages of an impending conflict. As regards the Hawaiian Islands, all military persons will recognize that the proposed garrison in this possession is far below what it should be to meet a serious attack unless, in this case again, we have an adequate force on the Pacific coast ready to dispatch to the islands when trouble is impending. It must therefore be frankly admitted that the present garrisons of these outlying possessions are entirely inadequate for the purpose for which they have been sent there, and that without a material change in conditions at home we have no available resources from which to reenforce them, even should time be given to us to do so. As the Philippines are too distant from the United States to be reenforced when war is impending, it would seem necessary that the garrison of those islands should be at least a full manning detail for the Coast Artillery defenses and one complete division at full war strength plus the necessary administrative staff. As to our other outlying possessions, it may be said that the garrisons proposed for those possessions, with the exception of Alaska, may be considered adequate only under the contingency that we have available in the United States sufficient thoroughly trained troops in excess of our home needs to warrant us in heavily reenforcing the peace garrisons.

As to the necessities within the continental limits of the United States, whilst our isolation by water from the other great powers is an undoubted protection, that protection is limited by two main factors:

First. The power of our fleet to protect the country from invasion over those seas.

Second. Our ability to assemble rapidly at the points of debarkation selected by an enemy an adequate force to delay, if not prevent, his effecting a lodgment on our shores.

Whether or not our Navy is adequate for the purpose indicated, i. e., to protect our country from over seas, is a question beyond the scope of this report. That we can not, with our present strength, rapidly assemble a sufficient force, fully equipped for field operations, to meet such an expedition as might be dispatched against our shores is evident. The very fact that an enemy traversing the seas would have a wide choice of landing points, or points of attack, at once evidences the difficulties attending the assembly of organizations of sufficient strength to meet him at the point he may select. It therefore appears to be necessary that the general distribution of forces to meet such a situation would be on a very wide front if prompt opposition to a landing is to be effected.

Fortunately there is no apparent need for garrisons of any great strength on our northern frontier. This, however, is not true as regards our southern frontier, where for the greater part of the last three years we have been compelled gradually to increase the number of troops until at the present time over two-thirds of the mobile forces of our Army in the United States are concentrated.

Careful consideration of our needs would indicate the advisability and necessity for having at all times available at home and, in addition to the necessities in our foreign possessions, in the first line of our military establishment a mobile force of at least 500,000 thoroughly trained and thoroughly equipped fighting men, with adequate supplies for the operation of this force for a period of at least six months. This is a conclusion that seems to have been reached by all those who have given careful consideration to this question. It is also agreed that we should have, as a second line, a thoroughly equipped and trained force of Organized Militia of not less than 300,000 men, properly proportioned as to its staff and several arms, with stores and supplies necessary for its operation in the field for a like period. The smaller units of the standing Army and the corresponding units of the Organized Militia must manifestly be organized into the higher units of brigades and divisions and be susceptible of assembly for drill and field exercises, for without such organization and power of assembly the troops themselves, not to speak of the higher commanders, would be without that experience which is essential to effective operation in war.

As stated elsewhere in this report, the strength of the Coast Artillery Corps bears no relation to the strength of these mobile forces; that corps is charged with the manning and the operation of the seacoast defenses. The mobile army, on the other hand, must not only be prepared to meet the forces of the enemy after they have effected a lodgment on our coast, but must be prepared, at least in the initial stages of war, to guard all the fortified positions on our coasts from attack from the rear by landing parties from naval vessels and such transports as they may be able to convoy. While the strength of the Coast Artillery Corps therefore depends upon the number of fortified positions it has to operate, the strength of the mobile forces will depend upon the number of fortified positions it must defend from attack from the rear or turning point, plus the necessities which may arise to meet and oppose the landing of an expeditionary force in a region beyond the range of our seacoast guns.

In any scheme to create such a force of mobile troops, as is above contemplated, we can not do better than to follow the example of the master minds in military organization for national defense. The policies developed in this direction all include, amongst others, the primary plan of using the standing Army as a school for the training of men who, on graduation from that school, pass into the reserve and constitute the real national military strength. Experience has shown that from two to three years of active service in the standing Army is the lowest possible limit of time within which the average man can be converted into a disciplined, trained, and effective soldier. After passing through the school and gaining experience, the men under this plan are separated from the active Army and go into the reserve for periods varying from five to a greater number of years, being held at all times, whilst allowed during peace to pursue with the utmost freedom such civil occupations as they may select, under obligation to respond to a call to the colors in case of national need. This system is economical in the highest degree, as the officers and men receive pay only during their active service, and, on being called to the colors, the period spent in the reserves involving no expense in the way of emoluments.

In arriving at a conclusion as to what the size of the regular mobile army should be, in order that the country may eventually and within a reasonable time have a military establishment adequate to its needs, it is necessary to decide what the size of the Regular, or standing, Army should be in order to provide the 500,000 men believed to be necessary with the colors and in the reserves. Assuming the adoption of a short term of enlistment—say, three years—for the passage of the men thoroughly trained in the school of the Regular, or standing, Army into the reserve, and that men so trained should not be held in the first reserve for a longer period than five years, it would appear that the size of the Regular, or standing, Army to be used as a school for the training of reservists should be about 205,000 enlisted men. If from such an army, organized on a basis of three years' training, we discharge yearly that increment below the grade of sergeant which had completed its three years' training, we would have, with due allowance for deaths, etc., in the first year of its complete operation an army of 263,700 (205,000 plus 58,700 reserves); in the second year an army of 322,400 (205,000

plus 117,400 reserves); in the third year an army of 381,100 (205,000 plus 176,100 reserves); in the fourth year an army of 439,800 (205,000 plus 234,800 reserves); in the fifth year an army of 498,500 (205,000 plus 293,500 reserves). After this the Army would be maintained at the last figure, and in addition we would be accumulating trained men in the second reserve at the rate of about 55,000 each year.

The rule as to the accumulation of reserves for the operation of the Coast Artillery Corps does not seem to have the same force as when that principle is applied to the mobile army, inasmuch as it is necessary for the Coast Artillery at all times to man their defenses with practically the full complement, and that corps, as it is not charged with any greater requirements as to strength in war than in peace, does not require expansion in war. However, the principle applies to a degree, at least, to this corps in order that its ranks may at all times be readily filled with experienced men when war is imminent.

Whether our country could adopt the principle of creating a reserve without compensation to the reservists whilst not actively serving with the colors is doubtful, but it would seem that a small remuneration might be given for the retention of their services.

No reason is seen why the same principle as to reserves should not be applied to the Organized Militia, and the men trained in its units be bound for service for a period corresponding to that of the reservists for the Regular Army. It must, however, be admitted that unless there be a material change in the laws governing the Organized Militia which will bring about a greater reliance upon and an increased control by the General Government, that branch of our military establishment can not be regarded and depended upon as a reliable force. Such a modification in the law to meet this end might be brought about by placing the Organized Militia under pay by the General Government and, under a binding obligation, to serve at its call. This, it is thought, would produce a state of affairs where the Organized Militia will be much more thoroughly trained than it possibly can be under existing laws, and to that extent can be more surely depended upon. In any regulations or modifications of law looking to the better organization of the militia as a national force it naturally follows that the United States should have the power to create in the Organized Militia that parity of the several arms of the service and staff which is essential for effective operations in war. It should also have the power to detach from the Regular Army such numbers of officers and noncommissioned officers as it may find necessary to place on duty with the Organized Militia to aid and assist the officers of that branch of the national defense in a thorough training of the units.

The question of supplies and equipment necessary to make such forces as we may organize effective is of primary importance. No matter what size force we may have, it will be ineffective without proper and adequate supplies and equipment. It would therefore appear that we should establish depots in which should be deposited all those supplies necessary to the effective operation of our Army which can not be readily and rapidly procured in the first stages of war.

OUR SUPPLY OF MUNITIONS MOST NECESSARY IN WAR.

No attempt will be made to enter into particulars as to the character of supplies that it will be necessary to accumulate and store for the use of such forces as are contemplated in the above scheme; that is, a regular mobile army, including its reserves of 500,000 men, and a force of 300,000 mobile Organized Militia troops, including its reserves. One illustration will be sufficient, and that will be taken from the munitions most necessary in war, as rifles and field artillery. The proper proportion of rifles in a force of this character, including the Cavalry, which is armed with the rifle, would be 642,541. The minimum accumulated supply of rifle ammunition, based on 1,000 rounds per rifle, should be 646,000,000 rounds. The proper proportion of field and heavy guns of the mobile type, and exclusive of the gigantic engines of war of more recent introduction, drawn by tractors, no types of which have as yet been developed in this country, would be 2,834. The ammunition for this type of guns, based upon a supply of 5,000 rounds per light field gun, with a corresponding proportion for the heavier field guns, a conservative estimate, if we regard the examples of the great military nations, would be 11,790,850 rounds. It is sufficient to point out that at the present time we have on hand and being manufactured 698,374 United States rifles (model 1903) and 241,000,000 rounds of ammunition for these rifles, 852 field guns and 580,098 rounds of ammunition for these guns. The number of guns per thousand men used in the calculation as to the total number required in the above estimate as to force is five, that number being considerably below the average in European armies. It should also be remembered that large numbers of guns and large masses of ammunition are, in an active war, liable to capture and destruction, and that to start into field operations with the expectation that the proportions given will be maintained without large sources of manufacture would be fallacious. As the factories and works in this country which can produce munitions of war of the above character are exceedingly limited, it is evident that a full supply of this type of matériel must be stored and ready for use before war is undertaken.

DEPOTS.

As regards the depots in which supplies for the military establishment should be stored, their distribution should be in the immediate vicinity of the troops, both of the Regular Army and the Organized Militia, which are to be equipped from them. The distances in this great country between the present limited number of depots and the stations of the troops or the areas from which the troops will mainly be drawn are so great that an effective distribution from them to troops organized under the general scheme here contemplated would be ineffective in that it would consume a great amount of the limited time which modern warfare indicates would be at the disposal of a country subject to attack whose plans contemplate the mobilization of its forces only after war is immiment or has been declared.

OPERATIONS OF THE ARMY.

On the 22d of April, 1914, the naval forces occupied the city of Vera Cruz, Mexico. In accordance with the directions of the President, so much of the Fifth Brigade of the Second Division, with certain auxiliary troops, as could be accommodated on the transports at that time available were ordered dispatched from Galveston, Tex., to Vera Cruz. Brig. Gen. Frederick Funston, with 225 officers and 3,832 enlisted men and a limited amount of transportation, sailed with the major portion of his reenforced brigade from Galveston on the 24th of April and arrived at Vera Cruz on the 28th of April. At noon on the 30th of April, Gen. Funston took over the command of the city of Vera Cruz from the naval authorities, and with his force of 3,832 enlisted men of the Army and 3,333 enlisted men of the United States Marine Corps, ordered to report to him for duty, making a total enlisted force of 7,165 men, occupied the immediate suburbs of the city, and extended his lines to include El Tejar, about 9 miles distant, where the main source of fresh water supply for the city is located. A large proportion of the reenforced brigade was necessarily left in Galveston on April 24, due to the lack of water transportation facilities. Owing to changed conditions subsequent to the occupation of the city of Vera Cruz by our forces, the original strength of Gen. Funston's command which landed at Vera Cruz has not been augmented, and certain elements of the brigade which properly belong to it, such as parts of its Field Artillery, Cavalry, and transportation, have been retained ever since at Galveston. The latest reports indicate that the enlisted forces of his command have now shrunk to about 3,434 men of the Army and 2,500 men of the Marine Corps, an aggregate enlisted strength of 5,934, this shrinkage arising mainly, so far as the Army is concerned, from the discharge of time-expired men and sickness.

The health of the command during the time it has been in Vera Cruz has, owing to the unremitting attention given to sanitation, been remarkably good, the sick rate steadily decreasing until, as indicated by the last reports, it was between 1.35 and 1.93 per cent.

It is due to this command to call particular attention to its having been able to avoid friction with the foreign elements of the population and the armed forces which have at all times confronted it. The situation was a delicate one and called for the greatest tact on the part of both officers and men. No instances have been brought to the attention of the department of any serious friction between the troops and the inhabitants of Vera Cruz or with the armed bodies of Mexicans outside the city.

The 1,703 miles of Mexican border from Brownsville, Tex., to the vicinity of San Diego, Cal., was, on the 22d of April, kept under observation and patrolled to the extent possible by 359 officers and 8,260 enlisted men under the command of Brig. Gen. Tasker H. Bliss, who, as commanding general of the Southern Department, controls the border from the mouth of the Rio Grande to the Colorado River, and Maj. Gen. Arthur Murray, who, as commanding general of the Western Department, controls the border from the Colorado River to the Pacific coast.

When the news of the occupation of the city of Vera Cruz by United States forces reached the border a marked increase of the feeling of uneasiness and apprehension became manifest, both on the Mexican and on our side. Conditions there became such that it was deemed advisable to make a material increase of the forces at the disposal of the commanding general of the Southern Department, and to that end the Eighth Brigade from the Western Department, the Second Brigade from the Eastern Department, the Sixth Field Artillery from the Central Department, and five companies of the Coast Artillery Corps from the coast-defense district of the Gulf, aggregating 193 officers and 5,545 enlisted men, were ordered to report to the commanding general of the Southern Department for assignment to station, and were by him distributed along the border. This movement, together with the changes made in the Western Department, brought the strength of the Regular Army forces on the border and in Texas up to over 20,000 men. The duties performed by these troops have been of a very arduous and exacting character. Living for the most part under canvas or improvised shelter, they have had the task of patrolling and guarding the very long line, much of which is desert, all of it exceedingly hot. They have been called upon to prevent not only the incursion of hostile parties into our own territory, but to receive and disarm considerable numbers of Mexican troops driven into our territory by stress of war. A good part of the time has been spent by the troops in efforts to prevent the passage of munitions of war from entering into Mexican territory. Whilst it was impossible under conditions to accomplish fully the task of preventing the passage of these munitions across the border, great success has attended the efforts to stop the incursion of armed parties and to disarm Mexican troops driven into our territory. First and last, over 5,000 Mexicans driven into our territory were disarmed and held as prisoners until very recently, when they were released, and the enlisted men amongst them returned to their own country. The total approximate cost attending the care and maintenance of these prisoners was over $719,883. The skill and forbearance shown by the officers and men in this arduous frontier service warrants the highest commendation, particularly in view of the fact that in their operations 1 of our men has been killed and 9 wounded by bullets fired from the Mexican side of the border; in addition, a number—about 20—of our citizens have been killed and wounded in like manner. Conditions on the frontier continue to be such as to give little hope of relief coming in the near future to these troops, many of whom have been absent from their permanent stations, living in tents, for over two years.

Late in the month of April, 1914, a situation arose in the coal regions of Colorado which necessitated the dispatch of United States troops to that region. The Eleventh Cavalry, from Fort Oglethorpe, Ga., the second squadron of the Fifth Cavalry, from Fort Leavenworth, and seven troops of the Twelfth Cavalry, from the Central Department, were sent, and have been on duty there ever since. Good order has been preserved by the troops since they have been there, and no overt acts of a serious character have been committed in the regions under their control.

Early in the month of September conditions in Butte, Mont., were of such a character as to render it necessary for the governor to dispatch the militia of that State to the Butte region, and, incident to this state of affairs, a battalion of the Fourteenth Infantry was moved from Fort Wright, Wash., to Fort William Henry Harrison, Mont. Recently it was found necessary to transfer this battalion to Fort Missoula, where it is now temporarily stationed.

Early in November conditions in the coal regions of Arkansas developed to a state where it was deemed necessary to dispatch troops to that region in support of the United States courts. The first squadron of the Fifth Cavalry was ordered to proceed to Fort Smith, Ark., for duty. These troops are still on duty in the State of Arkansas.

Owing to the pressing necessity for troops for more important duties and with a view to their being better prepared for the purpose for which troops are maintained, early in the year orders were issued relieving the troops to a great extent from the guarding of the national parks, and leaving these parks under the control of the Interior Department. To this end, the troops dispatched to the Yosemite National Park, Cal., were withdrawn; the usual orders for the guards to proceed to the Sequoia and Grant Parks were not issued, and the second squadron of the First Cavalry, with its machine-gun platoon, was relieved from duty in the Yellowstone Park and ordered to join its regiment in California, a military guard consisting of a detachment of about 200 mounted men drawn generally from the Cavalry of the Army being left at the Yellowstone Park to perform the duties heretofore performed by the troops relieved.

Very respectfully,

W. W. WOTHERSPOON,
Major General, Chief of Staff.

The SECRETARY OF WAR.

Home Owning Among Workingmen.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK BUCHANAN,
OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 20, 1915.

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of September 22, 1914, pages 16962–16966, I endeavored to give some idea of the need of public aid in the matter of home owning among the workingmen of the cities of the United States. I would like now to present figures in proof of a like need of the use of Government funds, particularly the trust funds of the United States, such as the receipts of the postal savings banks, in the interest of home owning of all classes, farmers and workingmen alike. Bills have been introduced in this Congress not only by myself—H. R. 8472—but by other Members having for their object the relief of citizens struggling to obtain homes and farms in their own right. These bills slumber in the committee to which they were solemnly consigned. In my opinion, they will not be reported during this session. But there will be other Congresses, and it is to get the facts before the country and give the Members of the next Congress time to think these problems over that I wish to present here some of the facts and give in outline the remedies that have been applied in foreign countries. We are a Nation of tenants; as a people we live in rented homes or in mortgaged ones. Of the 20,255,555 homes in the United States 10,697,895, or considerably more than half, are rented outright; 2,931,965 are mortgaged; and only 5,984,284, or 29 per cent, are owned free from mortgage. These figures are for all homes, whether on farm or in city or village. In the cities, of course, the conditions are more acute than in the country, as a whole. In the 50 cities with a population of 100,000 or more, there are 4,424,326 homes, and 74 per cent of them are rented outright; that is to say, 3,196,941 of these homes are rented; 547,723, or 12.8 per cent, are mortgaged; and only 13 per cent are owned free of encumbrance. I will insert here a table showing the condition of home ownership in these 50 cities, for these are facts we need to keep before us, and the details for these 50 cities will interest many of these millions:

TABLE 1.—*Distribution of homes according to proprietorship and encumbrance in cities having, in 1910, 100,000 inhabitants or more.*

[From Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, vol. 1, Population, p. 1313.]

Cities.	All homes.												
	Total.	Owned.				Rented.	Unknown.	Per cent of total.				Per cent of owned.	
		Total.	Free.	Encumbered.	Unknown.			Owned.	Rented.	Owned, free.	Owned, encumbered.	Free.	Encumbered.
Albany, N. Y.	24,069	6,338	4,347	1,885	106	17,189	542	26.9	73.1	18.8	8.1	69.8	30.2
Atlanta, Ga.	35,813	8,580	5,553	2,947	80	26,213	1,020	24.7	75.3	16.1	8.6	65.3	34.7
Baltimore, Md.	118,851	38,400	26,795	11,006	599	75,381	5,070	33.7	66.3	23.9	9.8	70.9	29.1
Birmingham, Ala.	31,050	8,910	5,475	3,303	132	21,115	1,025	29.7	70.3	18.5	11.2	62.4	37.6
Boston, Mass.	139,700	23,496	10,540	12,731	225	114,312	1,892	17.1	82.9	7.7	9.3	45.3	54.7
Bridgeport, Conn.	21,689	4,671	1,531	3,055	85	16,504	514	22.1	77.9	7.4	14.7	33.4	66.6
Buffalo, N. Y.	91,328	30,592	14,277	16,033	282	58,745	1,991	34.2	65.8	16.1	18.1	47.1	52.9
Cambridge, Mass.	22,765	4,282	2,187	2,064	31	18,378	105	18.9	81.1	9.7	9.2	51.4	48.6
Chicago, Ill.	473,141	121,447	55,025	64,981	1,441	342,472	9,222	26.2	73.8	12.0	14.2	45.9	54.1
Cincinnati, Ohio.	87,541	19,965	12,983	6,801	181	66,153	1,423	23.2	76.8	15.2	8.0	65.6	34.4
Cleveland, Ohio.	124,822	43,473	21,701	21,526	246	80,005	1,344	35.2	64.8	17.7	17.5	50.2	49.8
Columbus, Ohio.	42,645	14,862	7,468	7,184	210	26,787	996	35.7	64.3	18.2	17.5	51.0	49.0
Dayton, Ohio.	28,370	10,596	5,425	5,071	100	17,244	530	38.1	61.9	19.7	18.4	51.7	48.3
Denver, Colo.	51,339	17,774	10,732	6,779	263	31,342	2,223	36.2	63.8	22.2	14.0	61.3	38.7
Detroit, Mich.	100,356	40,471	20,752	19,501	218	57,831	2,054	41.2	58.8	21.2	19.9	51.6	48.4
Fall River, Mass.	24,378	4,317	1,881	2,411	25	19,926	135	17.8	82.2	7.8	10.0	43.8	56.2
Grand Rapids, Mich.	26,925	12,599	6,184	6,230	185	13,690	636	47.9	52.1	23.9	24.1	49.8	50.2
Indianapolis, Ind.	58,645	19,036	9,829	8,985	222	38,702	907	33.0	67.0	17.2	15.7	52.2	47.8
Jersey City, N. J.	56,790	11,209	4,899	6,104	206	44,394	1,187	20.2	79.8	9.0	11.2	44.5	55.5
Kansas City, Mo.	59,296	20,711	8,595	11,870	246	36,537	2,048	36.2	63.8	15.2	21.0	42.0	58.0
Los Angeles, Cal.	78,678	34,159	17,249	16,671	239	42,202	2,317	44.7	55.3	22.7	22.0	50.9	49.1
Louisville, Ky.	52,155	13,603	10,232	3,251	120	37,621	931	26.6	73.4	20.2	6.4	75.9	24.1
Lowell, Mass.	21,932	4,848	2,689	2,132	27	16,761	323	22.4	77.6	12.5	9.9	55.8	44.2
Memphis, Tenn.	31,154	7,541	4,906	2,441	194	22,363	1,250	25.2	74.8	16.3	8.9	64.6	35.4
Milwaukee, Wis.	80,566	28,824	12,875	15,720	229	50,352	1,390	36.4	63.6	16.4	20.0	45.0	55.0
Minneapolis, Minn.	63,241	24,539	13,571	10,515	453	36,195	2,507	40.4	59.6	22.8	17.6	56.3	43.7
Nashville, Tenn.	26,077	7,879	5,797	1,972	110	17,868	330	30.6	69.4	22.8	7.8	74.6	25.4
New Haven, Conn.	29,271	7,326	2,792	4,467	67	21,394	551	25.5	74.5	9.8	15.7	38.5	61.5
New Orleans, La.	73,377	16,273	12,615	3,058	600	54,113	2,991	23.1	76.9	18.6	4.5	80.5	19.5
New York, N. Y.	1,020,827	117,740	34,951	81,007	1,782	884,616	18,471	11.7	88.3	3.5	8.2	30.2	69.8
Manhattan Borough	493,545	14,103	5,356	7,909	838	468,927	10,515	2.9	97.1	1.2	1.7	40.4	59.6
Bronx Borough	93,897	12,071	2,654	9,267	150	80,114	1,712	13.1	86.9	2.9	10.2	22.3	77.7
Brooklyn Borough	353,666	63,842	17,335	45,954	553	284,739	5,085	18.3	81.7	5.0	13.3	27.4	72.6
Queens Borough	62,001	21,176	6,410	14,601	165	40,020	805	34.6	65.4	10.6	24.0	30.5	69.5
Richmond Borough	17,718	6,548	3,196	3,276	76	10,816	354	37.7	62.3	18.6	19.1	49.4	50.6
Newark, N. J.	77,039	15,119	4,979	9,999	141	60,473	1,447	20.0	80.0	6.6	13.4	33.2	66.8
Oakland, Cal.	36,723	16,870	9,683	7,084	103	19,263	590	46.7	53.3	27.0	19.7	57.7	42.3
Omaha, Nebr.	26,359	10,095	5,739	4,178	178	15,269	995	39.8	60.2	23.0	16.8	57.9	42.1
Paterson, N. J.	27,978	6,538	2,695	3,770	73	20,714	726	24.0	76.0	10.0	14.0	41.7	58.3
Philadelphia, Pa.	327,263	83,262	35,950	46,312	1,000	229,354	14,647	26.6	73.4	11.6	15.0	43.7	56.3
Pittsburgh, Pa.	110,457	29,983	16,052	13,445	486	77,288	3,186	28.0	72.0	15.2	12.7	54.4	45.6
Portland, Oreg.	42,029	18,509	11,089	7,131	289	21,495	2,025	46.3	53.7	28.2	18.1	60.9	39.1
Providence, R. I.	49,129	10,071	4,785	5,107	169	38,276	782	20.8	79.2	10.1	10.7	48.4	51.6
Richmond, Va.	26,914	6,255	4,609	1,318	328	19,801	858	24.0	76.0	18.7	5.3	77.8	22.2
Rochester, N. Y.	46,787	19,321	7,876	11,306	139	26,525	941	42.1	57.9	17.3	24.8	41.1	58.9
St. Louis, Mo.	155,555	37,761	22,178	15,197	386	113,515	4,279	25.0	75.0	14.8	10.1	59.3	40.7
St. Paul, Minn.	41,548	16,665	10,910	5,621	134	23,826	1,057	41.2	58.8	27.2	14.0	66.0	34.0
San Francisco, Cal.	86,414	27,500	16,329	10,996	175	55,946	2,968	33.0	67.0	19.7	13.3	59.8	40.2
Scranton, Pa.	26,312	9,711	5,524	3,935	252	16,116	485	37.6	62.4	22.0	15.6	58.4	41.6
Seattle, Wash.	51,042	22,167	13,464	8,508	195	27,245	1,630	44.9	55.1	27.5	17.4	61.3	38.7
Spokane, Wash.	22,676	11,165	5,889	5,112	184	10,610	901	51.3	48.7	27.4	23.9	53.4	46.6
Syracuse, N. Y.	31,551	12,202	4,873	7,225	104	18,547	802	39.7	60.3	16.0	23.7	40.3	59.7
Toledo, Ohio.	39,677	17,170	9,622	7,438	110	21,609	898	44.3	55.7	25.0	19.3	56.4	43.6
Washington, D. C.	71,339	17,375	9,918	7,178	279	51,607	2,357	25.2	74.8	14.6	10.6	58.0	42.0
Worcester, Mass.	30,743	7,431	2,196	5,162	73	23,057	255	24.4	75.6	7.3	17.1	29.8	70.2
Total, 50 cities.	4,424,326	1,119,631	558,206	547,723	13,702	3,196,941	107,754	25.9	74.1	13.1	12.8	50.5	49.5

I will not go further into detail at this time, except to say that in Chicago, in the eighteenth ward, there are 4,905 homes, and only 105 of them are owned free of encumbrance. In New York City, in the eighth assembly district of the Borough of Manhattan, there are but 6 homes owned free of debt by the occupants, while 11,962 are rented. These are but a few samples of the

miserable conditions that sleep in the census reports while the dance goes on. The Bureau of Labor Statistics, in its Bulletin 158, on "Government aid to home owning and housing of working people in foreign countries," goes fully into the laws and the machinery through which foreign countries exercise their activities in the matter of loaning public money on long-time mortgages to workingmen for home-building purposes. This bulletin is for free distribution among our people, and by the time the next Congress convenes everyone will have an opportunity to convince himself of the practicability of a law such as I have proposed in H. R. 8472.

I will not, therefore, go into the detail of this phase of the subject, except to say that if Germany, as you will see from the bulletin referred to, page 20, can use $114,867,745 of its workingmen's old-age and sickness insurance fund to loan to workingmen on first mortgages to build homes, then we can take these postal savings bank funds, picked up from the poor of our cities, and reloan them to the workmen of our cities to enable them to have homes of their own. I tell you now that H. R. 8472, or some revision of it, will be introduced by some one in the next Congress, and by some one in the next and the next, until a real home-owning Nation is built up out of this foundation of the people's money. I have no doubt that in the next Congress my bill will again be referred to the committee and there remain unconsidered and unreported, and maybe the next man's bill will be, too; but in time some power, the power of public opinion and public poverty, will force consideration and favorable action upon legislation of this character. Cato voted alone in the Roman Senate for 40 years, and then secured a majority for his, at first, lonely measure. There will be a few men in this House from now on that will vote and talk until we shall no longer as a Government collect trust funds and institute reserve banks to loan money to banks to reloan to "big business" and the despoilers of men, but until the Government shall loan its funds direct to those who wish to borrow for the ownership and development of our farm lands and for the building and owning of our homes.

As I have said, the machinery used by foreign countries to loan State funds to workingmen in cities can be easily studied in and ascertained from Bulletin 158 of the Bureau of Labor Statistics; as to what is being done in the way of laws and legal machinery for loaning public money to farmers in foreign countries, I propose to submit a brief outline here. But, first, let us consider what are the facts as to farm mortgages and farm tenancy in this country.

There were 6,361,502 farms reported in the census of 1910; of these, 2,354,676 were operated by renters, 1,312,034 were operated by men who, while nominally owning them, were carrying mortgages on their farms, and 2,588,596 were operated by their owners free from encumbrance. There is hardly a State in the Union that does not show an increased percentage, not only of renters but of mortgaged farms, if we compare 1910 with 1890.

Even my own State of Illinois, with the best soil to be found on earth, has 104,379 rented farms out of a total of 251,872; and of 145,107 farms operated by nominal owners, 55,792, or 39.2 per cent, were mortgaged, whereas in 1890, 36.7 per cent were mortgaged.

Mortgages—credit may be a good thing; I believe it very often is, but let us make the burden of carrying it as light as possible. I insert here Table No. 2, to show how farm ownership is distributed by States:

TABLE 2.—*Number of farms operated by owners, tenants, and managers, and number and per cent of farms operated by owners that were mortgaged.*

[From Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Abstract, p. 294, and vol. 5, Agriculture, pp. 129–132.]

States.	Number of farms operated by owners in 1910.[1]				Percentage of farms operated by owners reported as mortgaged.[2]			Number of farms operated by—		Total farms in 1910.
	Total.	Free from mortgage.	Mortgaged.	Not reported.	1910	1900	1890	Tenants in 1910.	Managers in 1910.	
Alabama	103,929	74,504	27,457	1,968	26.9	19.2	4.4	158,326	646	262,901
Arizona	8,203	7,038	1,043	122	12.9	6.0	6.8	861	163	9,227
Arkansas	106,649	82,321	22,374	1,954	21.4	14.3	4.2	107,266	763	214,678
California	66,632	39,368	26,749	515	40.5	32.2	32.5	18,148	3,417	88,197
Colorado	36,993	26,822	9,636	535	26.4	27.0	25.5	8,390	787	46,170
Connecticut	23,234	13,080	9,958	196	43.2	40.7	31.1	2,632	949	26,815
Delaware	6,178	3,817	2,264	97	37.2	36.5	29.4	4,535	123	10,836
District of Columbia	118	93	21	4	18.4	18.9	4.1	84	15	217
Florida	35,399	29,614	5,160	625	14.8	10.3	2.9	13,342	1,275	50,016
Georgia	98,628	78,004	18,257	2,367	19.0	14.7	3.4	190,980	1,419	291,027
Idaho	27,169	17,933	9,010	226	33.4	16.4	16.3	3,188	450	30,807
Illinois	145,107	86,713	55,792	2,602	39.2	39.3	36.7	104,379	2,386	251,872
Indiana	148,501	89,847	56,914	1,740	38.8	36.5	33.1	64,687	2,297	215,485
Iowa	133,003	63,234	68,045	1,724	51.8	53.0	53.3	82,115	1,926	217,044
Kansas	111,108	60,582	49,249	1,277	44.8	41.8	55.5	65,398	1,335	177,841
Kentucky	170,332	135,505	33,039	1,788	19.6	15.2	4.1	87,860	993	259,185
Louisiana	52,989	42,011	9,834	1,144	19.0	17.7	4.0	66,607	950	120,546
Maine	56,454	41,309	14,948	197	26.6	26.7	22.1	2,563	999	60,016
Maryland	33,519	21,084	12,127	308	36.5	36.8	30.0	14,416	988	48,923
Massachusetts	32,075	18,768	13,014	293	40.9	38.6	30.5	2,979	1,863	36,917
Michigan	172,310	88,705	82,631	974	48.2	48.3	49.4	32,689	1,961	206,960
Minnesota	122,104	65,038	56,145	921	46.3	44.8	46.4	32,811	1,222	156,137
Mississippi	92,066	60,543	29,693	1,830	32.9	27.1	7.7	181,491	825	274,382
Missouri	192,285	102,514	88,486	1,285	46.3	42.4	36.4	82,958	2,001	277,244
Montana	23,365	18,014	4,820	531	21.1	14.0	15.6	2,344	505	26,214
Nebraska	79,250	47,435	30,839	976	39.4	45.4	52.0	49,441	987	129,678
Nevada	2,175	1,805	361	9	16.7	19.3	17.2	333	181	2,689
New Hampshire	24,493	18,119	6,234	140	25.6	25.5	21.8	1,879	681	27,053
New Jersey	24,133	11,983	11,793	357	49.6	51.9	48.9	8,294	1,060	33,487
New Mexico	33,398	31,382	1,775	241	5.4	2.3	3.0	1,957	321	35,676
New York	166,674	93,118	72,311	1,245	43.7	46.3	44.2	44,872	4,051	215,597
North Carolina	145,320	117,028	26,642	1,650	18.5	15.8	4.9	107,287	1,118	253,725
North Dakota	63,212	30,651	31,727	834	50.9	31.4	48.7	10,664	484	74,360
Ohio	192,104	135,616	54,997	1,491	28.9	29.8	28.9	77,188	2,753	272,045
Oklahoma	85,404	46,889	36,036	2,479	43.5	[3] 9.2	.....	104,137	651	190,192
Oregon	37,796	24,855	12,632	309	33.7	25.2	23.4	6,859	847	45,502
Pennsylvania	164,229	112,156	50,699	1,374	31.1	32.3	27.4	51,105	3,961	219,295
Rhode Island	4,087	2,811	1,180	96	29.6	27.1	19.1	954	251	5,292
South Carolina	64,350	47,535	15,020	1,795	24.0	20.6	8.0	111,221	863	176,434
South Dakota	57,984	35,101	21,691	1,192	38.2	36.7	52.4	19,231	429	77,644
Tennessee	144,125	118,285	24,006	1,834	16.9	11.5	3.2	101,061	826	246,012
Texas	195,863	128,082	64,008	3,773	33.3	23.4	5.7	219,575	2,332	417,770
Utah	19,762	15,131	4,492	139	22.9	11.1	5.5	1,720	194	21,676
Vermont	28,065	14,851	13,140	74	46.9	46.9	44.3	4,008	636	32,709
Virginia	133,664	111,474	21,182	1,008	16.0	14.7	3.2	48,729	1,625	184,018
Washington	47,505	30,979	16,026	500	34.1	21.7	26.8	7,726	961	56,192
West Virginia	75,978	66,093	9,525	360	12.6	14.1	13.0	19,835	872	96,685
Wisconsin	151,022	72,941	77,129	952	51.4	45.8	42.9	24,654	1,451	177,127
Wyoming	9,779	7,815	1,923	41	19.7	12.2	13.1	897	311	10,987
Total	3,948,722	2,588,596	1,312,034	48,092	33.6	31.1	28.2	2,354,676	58,104	6,361,502

[1] Includes those whose owners rented additional land. [2] Percentages based on total of farms free from mortgage and mortgaged. [3] Includes Indian Territory.

I wish to submit now what I believe to be a carefully prepared condensed digest of what other countries are doing for their farmers in the way of loans of money on long-time mortgages from State funds. Brief as many of these surveys are, enough is given to show in a general way the legal machinery used and the accomplishments under the various plans.

TENANCY AND MORTGAGE INDEBTEDNESS IN THE UNITED STATES—STATE LOANS TO FARMERS.

INTRODUCTION.

Certain facts are generally recognized and accepted regarding the nature and import of tenancy in the economics of agriculture. The situation arising in the discussion of this problem may, by superficial analogy, perhaps, be likened to that arising in tariff discussions. Examples may be found of an agricultural system efficient in productive results, but conducted under a tenant system of land tenure, while other systems equally successful are based on the ownership of property by the agriculturist. Of the former type England occurs as a pat example, while the second type finds its representative in Denmark, where ownership extends to over 80 per cent of the number of cultivated farms.

Whether or not a tenancy system of land tenure is an evil to a country is perhaps more to be determined by the temper and past experience of a people. Thus in England years of *landlordism*, fostered by a peculiar system of inheritance and entail and a very adaptable system of long-time leases, has habituated the farming population to the system, or rather it has created a stable class of tenant agriculturists. (There is on foot in England a movement to-day to make the tenant farmer an owner of his acres. In this movement the State is active and has been for years. For a concise statement of the facts see The Yearbook of Social Progress for 1913–14, London.) The large farms have facilitated the extensive use of machinery and at the same time an intensive system of agriculture has prevailed. The landlord, by reason of his large-scale farming and business methods, has been able to secure credit as has any other business man. The financing of the farm therefore being in his hands, the need of the tenant for liquid capital has not been urgent. Quite different have been the past associations and experiences of the farmer in the United States, so much so as to militate quite strongly against the belief that he will become satisfied in time with the status of tenant farmer. His past generations have felt the magic of property and independent ownership. The young farmer who does begin farming as a tenant—and the majority of tenant farmers are generally conceded to be those of the younger generation getting a start—looks upon his tenant status as a temporary condition out of which he hopes to elevate himself to the rank of independent proprietorship. Thus the natural development of agriculture in this country, as conditioned and influenced by the past experience and temper of our farmers, points toward the need of maintaining an agricultural system based on free ownership.

As the difficulty of obtaining capital to start on a farm grows, and as the available amount of land continues to decrease as population increases, there is danger that the young prospective farmer be not merely compelled to start farming as a tenant but remain in that condition, unless some means are found to facilitate the transition from that state to free ownership. Briefly, the escape for the young tenant farmer lies in providing capital for him through an efficient and just system of credit adapted to his peculiar needs.

TENANCY IN THE UNITED STATES.

For the United States as a whole the census of 1910 (5 Thirteenth Census, 97) reports that 62.1 per cent of all the farms in the United States were operated by their owners, less than 1 per cent by managers, and 37 per cent by tenants. Based not on mere numbers of farms but on total farm acreage and an improved acreage, the results show up as follows:

Per cent of farms in the United States operated by owners and tenants, respectively, in the United States in 1900 and 1910.

[Thirteenth Census, 1910, vol. 5, p. 98.]

	Number of farms.		All land in farms.		Improved land in farms.	
	1910	1900	1910	1900	1910	1900
Farms operated by owners and managers	63	64.7	74.2	76.7	67.3	69.8
Tenants	37	35.3	25.8	23.3	32.7	30.2

If these figures mean anything, they indicate that, looked at from three points of view, tenancy in the United States has increased steadily between 1900 and 1910. Tenant farmers constituted a larger proportion of the number of farms, the amount of all land in farms, and the amount of improved land in farms in 1910 than in 1900. This indeed marks the lengthening shadow of tenancy in the United States. In fact, the amount of tenancy has increased steadily between all the censuses from 1880 to 1910 for which figures are available.

Here is the result, showing the continuous increase of tenancy over a period of 30 years:

Number and per cent of farms of specified tenure in the United States, 1880–1910.

[Source: Thirteenth Census, 1910, vol. 5, p. 102.]

Years.	Number of farms operated by—		Per cent of farms operated by—	
	Owners and managers.	Tenants.	Owners and managers.	Tenants.
1880 [1]	2,984,306	1,024,601	74.5	25.5
1890 [1]	3,269,728	1,294,913	71.6	28.4
1900	3,712,408	2,024,964	64.7	35.3
1910	4,006,826	2,354,676	63.0	37.0

[1] Not including farms with areas of less than 3 acres reporting sale of less than $5 of produce during the year.

Thus, since 1880 farms operated by tenants have increased more rapidly than farms operated by owners. During these 30 years it is also shown (5 Thirteenth Census, 102) that the number of tenant farms increased 129.8 per cent, while farms operated by their owners and by managers increased only 34.3 per cent.

It should, however, be said, by way of extenuation, that this increase in tenancy has not been accompanied by a parallel increase in the concentration of land ownership (compare 5 Thirteenth Census, 102). On this point no figures were gathered by the census of 1910, but a casual examination of the farm schedules of the 1900 census showed in one instance that 1,934,346 tenant farms, representing 95 per cent of all tenant farms, were owned by 1,257,716 separate owners. Furthermore, the average size of farms has decreased between 1900 and 1910 from 146 acres to 138 acres. (5 Thirteenth Census, 37.)

Thus, to state the case concisely, tenancy in the United States has increased 129.8 per cent between 1880 and 1910, while population as a whole has increased 83.4 per cent for the same 30-year period. Much more alarming does the increase of tenancy become when this 129.8 per cent increase is compared with the 58.7 per cent which is the amount of increase for this 30-year period in the number of farms. (5 Thirteenth Census, 57.)

Conditions vary greatly as between different sections of the country. (5 Thirteenth Census, 105.) Thus the number of farms operated by tenants is proportionately larger in the Southern than in the Northern States (49.6 and 26.5 per cent, respectively), generally explained as due to the transition through which the colored laborer is going from slavery on a large plantation to the necessary status of tenant, because of his poverty and consequent lack of capital. Tenancy decreased between 1900 and 1910 in the New England States 9.4 to 8 per cent; in the Middle Atlantic States, 25.3 to 22.3 per cent; the Mountain States, 12.2 to 10.7; and in the Pacific States, 19.7 to 17.2 per cent; while it increased in all the other sections of the country, as follows: East North Central, 26.3 to 27 per cent; West North Central, 29.6 to 30.9 per cent; South Atlantic, 44.2 to 45.9 per cent; East South Central, 48.1 to 50.7 per cent; and West South Central, 49.1 to 52.8 per cent. The general average increase throughout the country between 1900 and 1910 was 16 per cent.

To repeat, it is conceded that the status of tenancy may be a stage in the progress toward ownership, and the existence of a certain amount of tenancy in a country may or may not be a menace if the means are at hand to facilitate this progress. (See Carver, Thomas N., Principles of Rural Economics, Boston, 1911, pp. 114, 377–379; Taylor, H. C., Agricultural Economics, New York, 1911, ch. 12, 13.) It is to insure this evolution that the legislation proposed by my bill (H. R. 8472) seeks to make certain to the purchaser of a home farm access to the needed money.

MORTGAGE INDEBTEDNESS IN THE UNITED STATES.

This leads to the second feature of the discussion—mortgage indebtedness. The amount of mortgage indebtedness is at once an index of economic success, as well as a menace to the agricultural prosperity of a country. Unfortunately the census data relating to mortgage indebtedness, particularly as regards its significance, are very defective. Some unpublished schedules of the census were made use of to bear out Mr. Coulter's statements before the committees of the House and Senate to investi-

gate rural credits. (Rural credits. Joint hearings before the subcommittees of the Committee on Banking and Currency of the Senate and of the House of Representatives charged with the investigation of rural credits. 63d Cong., 2d sess., Washington, 1914, pp. 154–160 et passim.)

There has been a relative increase in the number of farms mortgaged in the United States from 1890 to 1910. Thus about 34 per cent of all the farms in the United States were mortgaged in 1910, as compared with 28 per cent in 1890.

Number and per cent of farms in the United States mortgaged and free from mortgage, 1890 to 1910.

[Thirteenth Census, vol. 5, p. 163.]

Years.	Number.		Per cent.	
	Mortgaged.	Free from mortgage.	Mortgaged.	Free from mortgage.
1890	886,957	2,225,789	28.2	71.8
1900	1,127,749	2,510,654	31.1	68.9
1910	1,327,439	2,621,283	33.6	66.4

Taken by itself this development of mortgage indebtedness would mean that the farmer is adopting to a greater extent the credit methods of business, indicating, perhaps, greater business success on his part. It is therefore necessary to know what relation the average mortgage indebtedness of the country bears to the value offered as security for it. Thus when it is shown that the average mortgage indebtedness is only 27.3 per cent of the total value of the security, we are in a position to safely infer that this mortgage indebtedness is not a menace to our farming interests. This is further borne out by the fact that the ratio of mortgage indebtedness to the value of the farms mortgaged has declined from 35.5 per cent in 1890 to 27.3 per cent in 1910.

From the unpublished schedules of the Thirteenth Census it appears that "owners mortgaged" averaged about 145 acres to the farm, while those free from mortgage averaged about 135, the former thus having larger farms to the extent of 10 acres. In 1910 the average mortgage debt per farm was $1,715 as compared with $1,224 in 1900, which is an increase of 40.1 per cent for the 10-year period. Furthermore, the average value of land and buildings per farm increased for the same years 82.6 per cent, the mortgage burden thus indicating no lack of prosperity. (5 Thirteenth Census, 163.)

Mr. Coulter's statements before the joint committees of the House and Senate as to the relation of mortgage indebtedness to prosperity are in point:

> But what was more significant the "owners mortgaged" had more improved land per farm. The owners who were free from mortgage had 64 acres per farm for the whole country, while the owners with mortgages had nearly 82 acres per farm. There were 18 acres more per farm being cultivated by those farm families who had mortgages.
>
> It seemed that they were using that money to improve and develop the farms. I found that the average value of land per farm free from debt was $3,588, and for those which were mortgaged it was $4,913; in other words, it was $1,400 more per farm. The farmers with mortgages have more valuable farms.
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> For the whole United States the "owners free" have buildings on their farms with an average value of $1,093. The "owners mortgaged" have buildings with an average valuation of $1,284; that is to say, there is nearly $200 per farm more invested in buildings by the mortgaged farmers than the free farmers. But I raised the question, Do they cultivate better; do they farm better——
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> * * * * * * *
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> The average value per acre for all land in "owned farms free from mortgage" is $26.46, and for mortgaged farms it is $33.87. And, as I say, I raised the question, Does the farmer who has a mortgage farm better than the farmer who is free? Are they likely, after all, to turn out to be, generally speaking, more progressive and to be the farmers who have more business knowledge? And I found this fact: That the average value of implements and machinery per farm, the equipment of the farm for farms owned free from debt, was $194, and for farms mortgaged $271. There was over $75 per farm more of equipment for the mortgaged farmer.
>
> On the question of value per acre, the average value of implements and machinery per acre of improved land—assuming that all of the implements and machinery are used on the improved land, and bearing in mind that this is an average for two and one-quarter million owned farms free and over 1,000,000 owned farms mortgaged—the value of implements and machinery per acre of improved land for owners free was $3.01—of course that is getting down to details merely by division—and for owned farms mortgaged the value was $3.33. In other words, the farmer with a mortgage had 32 cents per acre more invested in implements and machinery than did the farmer free from mortgage, thus showing the more intensive cultivation.

MORTGAGED FARMS AND TENANCY.

As a further indication of the fact that the greater evil confronting our farming is the tenancy problem rather than the mortgage problem is indicated by the fact that the States of the United States where the greatest amount of tenancy prevails are those of relatively less mortgage indebtedness. This is shown by the table which follows, the sections of the country being arranged in the order of the per cent of tenancy:

Per cent of farms operated under tenancy system compared with per cent mortgaged, and the value of land and buildings per acre as at the Thirteenth Census, 1910.

[Thirteenth Census, 1910, vol. 5, pp. 65, 105, 160.]

Geographical divisions.	Per cent tenancy.	Per cent farms mortgaged.	Average value per acre of land and buildings.
United States	37.0	33.6	$39.60
West South Central	52.8	30.6	18.50
East South Central	50.7	22.7	21.32
South Atlantic	45.9	18.8	23.96
West North Central	30.9	46.1	49.92
East North Central	27.0	40.9	75.25
Middle Atlantic	22.3	38.3	56.56
Pacific	17.2	36.8	48.28
Mountain	10.7	20.8	22.16
New England	8.0	34.9	36.45
The South	49.6	23.5	20.75
The North	26.5	41.9	57.20
The West	14.0	28.6	34.24
East of the Mississippi	37.2	30.9	44.41
West of the Mississippi	36.8	38.0	36.17

The only note this table calls for is that the truth of the general statement is made the most evident by observing the percentages for the larger geographical groupings. Also note that the value of land and buildings is greater per acre in those sections of the country where the tenancy is lower. Mortgaged farms are owned farms, the implication being, therefore, that farmers who are owners are more successful than tenant farmers judging from the value of land and buildings owned by the former. These two resultants, a proportionately high average of mortgaged farms and value per acre, flow from the same general cause, agricultural prosperity, the measure of which it is not necessary to go into in this discussion.

INTEREST RATES.

Knowledge of three facts is necessary to judge the import or onerousness of a mortgage: (1) The equity of the mortgage (value of security on which it is based); (2) rate of interest charged; and (3) method of repayment. Omitting discussion of the third, which will be adverted to later, reference is made to the fact that as regards the first point, mortgage indebtedness in the United States, as elsewhere reported above, forms only a small percentage (27.3) of the value of the equity supporting it, indicating the general conservativeness and safety under which the business is conducted, as well as the prudence of the mortgagor. Thus, in general, mortgage indebtedness per farm has increased only 40.1 per cent while the average equity of mortgages per farm has increased 106 per cent. (5 Thirteenth Census, 163.) This may of course mean that money lenders are loaning less in proportion to value, not that farmers want or need less. This would be remedied by my bill.

Taking up now the matter of the rate of interest, there is little doubt that American farmers pay a much higher rate of interest than do European farmers. Investigations by the Department of Agriculture as reported in hearings before the House subcommittee of the Committee on Banking and Currency, December 3, 1913 (p. 9), showed on the basis of returns from 30 States that the average rate of interest was 7.66 per cent. These represented straight interest and did not include costs for abstracts. There were great variations in the rates of interest as between the States; thus in Pennsylvania the rate on mortgage loans was 5.3 per cent; Illinois, 5.5; Iowa and Wisconsin, 5.6; Indiana, 5.7; Ohio, 5.7; Massachusetts, 5.5. High rates of interest were found in the West. Thus in Montana the rate was 9.3 per cent; Wyoming, 9.2; Utah, 8.7; Arizona, 10; Texas, 8.5; Arkansas, 8.8; Oklahoma, 7.2; and Alabama, 8.8.

On the other hand, the discussions of the various State mortgage systems in other countries show that the farms in those countries rarely pay a rate of interest in excess of 6 per cent. About the only one of the States that showed a rate of 6 per cent on State mortgage loans was Tasmania, a new and undeveloped country. Instances in excess of this rate should be noted in the case of Egypt (9 per cent) and in the Philippines, where the rate is now established at 8 per cent. In continental European countries the maximum rate was 5 per cent. Furthermore, attention should be called to the fact that the charges for the negotiation of mortgages, fees, and so forth, are very much reduced in these countries, in some cases, indeed, such charges being entirely remitted.

STATE LOANS TO FARMERS.

INTRODUCTION.

It is indeed a lamentable fact that the United States is one of the few civilized countries in the world where the mortgage-loan business has not been organized on a scientific basis.

Speaking before the State governors' conference at Colorado Springs August 26, 1913, Senator FLETCHER, of Florida, president of the Southern Commercial Congress, and chairman of the United States and American Commission which traveled in Europe in 1913 to study the whole question of agricultural credit, said:

The worst feature of the farm mortgage in this country is in its individual character. An investor buying a farm mortgage must determine the sufficiency of the security offered; must attend to collections of principal and interest; must see that the taxes are paid and that the property is not allowed to depreciate in value.

The second, and perhaps the greatest, disadvantage is the limited time for which a farmer may borrow money on a mortgage and the fact that he is required to pay back in a lump sum the entire principal of the loan at the end of that short time or else secure a renewal.

The creation of a new system of long-term credit for the farmers of this country contemplates two purposes, namely, (1) the diminution of tenancy, and (2) the refunding of the present large mortgage indebtedness of the farmers of the country now held on onerous conditions of high interest rates and terms of repayment.

The proposition of having the Government assist in the furthering of any economic enterprise is not a new or untried one. The Federal Government in early days assisted railroad development by general grants of land; it has assisted manufacturing industry through a protective tariff; it lends its funds to banks at a low rate of interest. In foreign countries the field of the activity of State aid is wide and all pervasive. Particularly is this the case in the matter of State aid to farm loans. For one of the most striking features of the European agricultural-credit system is the intervention of the State either by grant of direct money subvention or through a system of rigorous control. This interference of the Government extends both to personal and real credit. It is, however, with the latter system alone that this memorandum is concerned.

In the American Economic Review of December, 1912 (p. 863), Prof. Kemmerer has very concisely delineated the methods of supplying agricultural credit as follows: (1) Establishment of Government agricultural banks; (2) organization of banks with private capital and Government guaranty; (3) encourage farmers to organize cooperative credit societies on the plan of Raiffeisen or Schulze-Delitzsch in Germany; (4) utilize present banking machinery, improving this where necessary. The first two plans are very nearly related and shade off one into the other. For there is little difference between the State actually supplying the fund and its guaranteeing an income on private funds, because in the latter case the control of the Government must be very close, amounting almost to actual operation.

Referring to the proposition to use the present banking system, it is to be noted that this system is based on short-term loans and rapid turnover of funds. It supplies personal credit of which the farmer may avail himself much as any other business man, provided he, the farmer, observes ordinary business methods in his operation, such as the keeping of proper accounts, records, and so forth. But the real problem to the farmer at the present time is how to obtain suitable long-time real credit; that is, mortgage loans bearing a low rate of interest, nonforeclosable and easy of redemption. To secure this facility of redemption there is needed a scheme of amortization of loans whereby the farmer may gradually pay off his principal and interest in equal annual installments instead of, as under the present system, being called upon to make a final lump-sum payment of the principal. It is but natural that private lenders on real estate should be unwilling to accept repayment on the installment plan unless the rate of interest be excessively high. A small investor of money would find his interest consumed in continual reinvesting of his funds. To conduct a proper system of amortization loans requires large capital and continuous years of operation. These two conditions seem to be fulfilled by the Government acting as a money lender. The Government is a large holder of funds, offers the greatest security, and can therefore lend in the money market at the lowest rates of interest.

To carry out a scheme of Government loans to farmers, whether the Government makes those directly to the individual farmer or through an intermediary association, the natural administrative unit for carrying out the project may be the individual State rather than the Federal Government. Speaking on that point, Mr. H. C. Price, dean of the Ohio State Agricultural College, says (Marketing and Farm Credits. Proceedings of the First National Conference on Marketing and Farm Credits. In Chicago, Apr. 8, 9, and 10, 1913. Published by cooperating farm papers, pp. 192–194):

There are three ways that land-mortgage associations in this country might be organized and operated to accomplish the same results as the German landschaften societies—that is, to make loans and issue mortgage bonds in exchange for the mortgages accepted on farm land. First, to form a cooperative association of landowners who desired to borrow capital on their farms, just as the German landschaften societies are organized. Although from a theoretical standpoint this is the ideal organization and for nearly a century and a half has been in successful operation in Germany, yet, for American conditions, unused as our farmers are to cooperative organization, to hope to bring about the successful organization of a land-mortgage association through cooperation I believe is entirely visionary.

The second method is to leave the organization of such institutions to private initiative, as our building and loan associations in the cities have been developed, or the land-mortgage banks of Germany are operated, which are associations doing business similar to the landschaften societies, but are stock companies instead of cooperative companies. There are several drawbacks to leaving the organization of such institution to private initiative. In the first place, there is not enough of prospective profit to induce private interests to undertake to develop anything like a general system. In some localities there would be successful private organizations, just as we now have, but there is no reason to believe that such organization would become anything like general. In the second place, an association organized by private interests will be operated in the interests of those who loan money rather than those who borrow, and farmers can not expect to get any great relief through such organizations. There is still another drawback to privately organized land-mortgage associations—the success of such institutions as a means of extending credit depends upon the confidence the investing public has in the bonds that they issue. It is reasonable to expect that in the beginning investor and borrower would hesitate to do business with such institutions, and any system that is left to develop by means of such organizations would make little progress.

The third way that land-mortgage associations might be organized and accomplish everything that has been accomplished by the German landschaften societies, and to my mind the only feasible plan for American conditions, is for the respective States to organize and operate land-mortgage associations. Such a plan would involve the establishing of a State land-mortgage bank as a State institution, for the purpose of furnishing an adequate system of credit for farm owners in the State through the sale of bonds secured by mortgages on farm real estate. The bank itself would not have the funds with which to make the loans, but in exchange for accepted mortgages would issue bonds of equal amount in denominations of $25, $50, $100, $250, $500, and $1,000, and bearing interest at 3, 3½, 4, and 4½ per cent; the denomination of the bond and the rate of interest they bore to be optional with the borrower. The borrower could either take these bonds and sell them himself or have them sold through his local bank or have the State bank sell them for him. The farmer borrowing in this way would pay on his loan the same rate of interest as the bonds issued in exchange for his mortgage bear, plus one-half of 1 per cent to pay the operating expenses of the State bank and to build up a reserve fund. The German landschaften allow only one-fourth of 1 per cent for this purpose, but we will put it at one-half of 1 per cent to be conservative.

In addition to this would be added the per cent or fraction of a per cent that is to apply to the amortization of the principal. For example, a farmer makes application for a loan of $1,000. His application is granted, and he is given in exchange for his mortgage ten $100 bonds bearing 4 per cent interest; these are sold at par, so that he realizes $1,000 in money. He pays 4 per cent, and one-half of 1 per cent to pay operating expenses of the bank, and he wants to pay enough additional with his interest to pay off his loan in 25 years, in which case it would be necessary for him to pay $33.52 semiannually, or the equivalent of 6.7 per cent semiannually.

A land-mortgage association organized as a State institution would at once give its bonds the standing of State or municipal bonds, and they would command as favorable rates of interest. They would also command the confidence of investors, as the bonds of privately or cooperatively organized associations could not possibly do. The objection may be raised that such a plan means that the State is going into the banking business, but such institutions would not carry on a commercial banking business; they would simply be the intermediary between borrowers and lender. They would be entirely self-supporting, and would simply mean that the State had taken over a fundamental public utility, namely, converting farm real estate securities into a more stable, uniform, secure, and negotiable form that would be of mutual advantage to both investor and borrower. It would be a matter of prime importance to the public welfare, because it would provide a means of developing our agriculture and increasing our agricultural production far beyond what is possible under our present conditions.

SUCCESS IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

It is this last idea, namely, that the State would be taking over "a fundamental utility" that has animated the establishment of State land-mortgage associations in European countries and the conduct of the mortgage-loan business by Government funds and by Government official by directly negotiating with the borrower in the colonies of the British Empire. The same is true as regards eight States in the United States and in the Philippines, which lend State funds directly to the farmers.

Among the leading States of Europe which have State land-mortgage institutions are practically all of the States of Germany, also Austria, Russia, Egypt, Hungary, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Italy, France; and in South and Central America there are Argentina, Costa Rica, and Mexico. In addition, practically all these countries use State funds in various ways to aid the farmer, such as lending funds to cooperative societies and to loan associations engaged in supplying short-term credit to the farmers. This is particularly true in the German States,

England, Ireland, and Scotland. In Germany there are also agricultural improvement institutions which loan funds to farmers or associations of them for the purpose of making large improvements, draining of submerged areas, irrigating, deforesting, and so forth.

In all instances the effect of State activity has been to lower interest rates and to facilitate the burden of repayment by spreading it equally over a long term of years. Money losses through foreclosure have been none or practically negligible. Although the United States commission did not favor a system of State aid in the supplying of mortgage credit in this country, it was nevertheless forced to admit (Report Washington, 1914, p. 22; 63d Cong., 2d sess., S. Doc. No. 380, pts. 1 and 2) that "in every instance in Europe where Government capital has been granted to establish mortgage credit, the results have been favorable to the agricultural interests of that nation."

Particular attention should be called to the system in the British colonies of Australia, Canada—two Provinces, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia—New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa, because of the very simplicity of the systems in force. In these countries the law creates a governmental department which deals directly with the individual borrower and lends him money provided by the State through the issue of bonds, takes his mortgage security, and collects payments, all the business usually being done through the medium of the local post office, precisely as it is proposed to do in this bill. The situation can best be summed up in these words of Mr. Henry D. Lloyd:

> The world over one of the greatest obstacles in the way of the small farmer—and the large one—is the difficulty of getting capital. Often there is no money to be borrowed in the district where he lives, or if there is, it is in the hands of rich neighbors or banks, who know nothing but their bond and the pound of flesh. But in New Zealand the settler has only to go to the nearest post office to get into communication with a money lender, who charges no commission or brokerage, and no fees, except for actual expenses, never exacts usury, offers no cutthroat mortgages for signatures, will let him have any amount from as little as $125 to as much as $15,000, has never foreclosed (this was written in 1900), does not try to induce him to borrow more than he really needs; if he has no freehold, will lend on leasehold and good will and improvements, gives him 37½ years to pay the money back, and accepts it from him in small installments of principal with every payment of interest, so as to make it as little of a burden as can be; will allow him, if he happens to have $25 to spare, to pay it in at any time to reduce his indebtedness, and when it finds itself making a profit out of its business, instead of accumulating a fortune, gives him the benefit by reducing his rate. (Henry Demarest Lloyd: Newest England. Notes of a Democratic traveler in New Zealand, with some Australian comparisons, pp. 299–300.)

For further details as to the mortgage-credit system of certain leading countries where it has been most extensively developed, reference is made to the pages following:

UNITED STATES.

[Wisconsin State Board of Public Affairs. Report on Agricultural Settlement and Farm Ownership. Part 1, State Loans to Farmers, Madison, Wis., 1912.]

The States of the United States now lending money to farmers are eight in number, including Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, and Utah. Three other States have at some time or other loaned money to farmers on mortgage security, but have later on abandoned the system on account of political mismanagement, which wrecked them. These States were New York, New Jersey, and Wisconsin. Illinois loaned its school funds on farm mortgages so long as it had such funds to loan.

The fund from which these loans were made has in all cases consisted of the educational or school fund of the State, except in the case of Utah, where the land-grant funds derived from the sale of lands granted to the State by the United States in 1896 and from lands granted by Congress in 1855 for the support of the university and other public institutions have furnished the fund. Indiana was the first State to adopt the system, including the authorization thereof in its constitution of 1851. In Iowa and Oregon the system has been in force since 1857, in North Dakota since 1899, in Idaho since 1890, in Utah since 1895, in South Dakota since 1904, and in Oklahoma since 1907.

The terms on which the loans are made in different States differ a trifle, although all require a first-mortgage security. None of them appear to have adopted the system of paying off the principal in equal annual installments except North Dakota, where only interest is paid for the first five years, and the principal is thereafter to be reduced 10 per cent annually. In Indiana, Iowa, and Oklahoma the amount loaned may not exceed one-half the value of the land offered as security, while in Idaho, North Dakota, Oregon, and South Dakota it may not exceed one-third the value of the land; Utah loans up to two-thirds the assessed value of the improved land, exclusive of improvements. The interest rates vary from 5 to 7 per cent.

The amounts that have been loaned at the dates indicated are as follows:

Amounts of mortgage loans to farmers made by specified States in the United States.

States.	Date.	Amount loaned.	Amount outstanding.
Idaho	Sept. 1,1912	.....	$1,509,191.33
Iowa	June 30,1910	.....	4,595,731.19
North Dakota	June 1,1912	$1,680,012.00	.....
Oklahoma	Aug. 2,1912	4,079,225.00	.....
Oregon	Oct. 1,1910	5,078,144.95	.....
South Dakota	Sept. 30,1912	6,216,405.61	.....
Utah	Oct. 14,1912	.....	701,934.50

SUCCESS OF THE SYSTEM OF FARM LOANS IN THE UNITED STATES.

During the 22 years that the educational funds of Idaho have been loaned to farmers "very few foreclosures have been made, possibly not over six altogether," and "in no instance where foreclosure of mortgages have been made necessary is any loss reported," as reported by the State board of land commissioners. During the year 1911 the applications received were far in excess of the funds available to meet them. From January 1, 1911, to January 1, 1912, $1,008,600.33 in loans have been made. The rate of interest now charged is 7 per cent, which rate, however, is not large in Idaho, as private money lenders get from 8 to 10 per cent.

As regards the success of the system in Indiana, no figures are available. The only thing to indicate the success of the system is its continuance.

In Iowa loans have been made to farmers and holders of other real estate for about 25 years. Up to 1860 an unsuccessful experience with the system was reported, due to the fact that no adequate provision was made for the administration of its funds to secure accurate data regarding the value of the security on which loans were made. This deficiency in the law was amended and the system started on the way to success. The counties are now held responsible for all moneys from the school funds handled by them. The system has not worked badly on the whole, but such losses as have occurred are due to a lack of proper supervision over the security offered for the loan. Although the interest charged in Iowa is a trifle higher than that charged by a private lender for similar loans, nevertheless the State has been able to keep invested all its funds.

In North Dakota the success of the system may be indicated by the following letter written by Mr. W. E. Sellens, the officer in charge of the system in North Dakota. This letter was written August 1, 1912, and is as follows:

> There has been one mortgage foreclosure, and the land was sold afterwards on contract at a profit to the State. The State has never lost a cent by such investments, and this system has in all probability had some effect in reducing the rate of interest as charged by private money lenders. It is hard to determine as to this, however. There are no changes in the system contemplated.
>
> * * * The worst difficulty that we have to contend with is the handling and investing of these funds in an impartial manner. Last spring about $320,000 was loaned to the farmers, and our correspondence at that time indicated that we could have loaned perhaps $1,000,000 if it had been on hand, and it is rather difficult to place these loans in a way that those who are not successful in getting a loan will not feel aggrieved and think that others have been especially favored. Since that time I have adopted a system of placing the names of those who indicate a desire for a loan on a list and take care of them in the order in which they appear on the list, and I believe that this system will be successful and satisfactory.

Speaking on the Oklahoma system, before the First National Conference on Marketing and Farm Credits, at Chicago, April, 1913, Dr. Connell, connected with the agricultural college of that State, said:

> And throughout that entire State this money went into improvements at the willing direction of the farmer, and resulted in an equipment that was absolutely impossible and beyond the reach of those people who had settled upon those fertile lands had not this financial assistance come to them in this manner. That money is being repaid from day to day into the treasury and being loaned again upon this land and upon that, and so becomes a revolving fund for the improvement of farm life in that State.

Regarding Oregon, satisfactory details are not available on which to base an estimate of the success of the system. It is estimated, however, that the number of foreclosures up to July 18, 1912, does not exceed 500 since 1887—that is, 5 per cent of the 10,000 loans made by the State within that period. From 1900 (Jan. 1) up to September 30, 1910, the State sold 119 farms acquired by foreclosure. The aggregate obtained for these farms was $597,462.57, as compared with $480,393, the principal of the loans secured by the farms, and $709,533.80, the cost of the loans to the State, including interest to date. This shows that the State got back all of the principal plus $117,469.57 of the $229,140.80 interest and expense involved.

In South Dakota during the 20 years of the operation of State loans to farmers it has been necessary to foreclose in only one instance. In this case the county netted a profit on the loan.

The rate charged by the counties is 5 per cent and is slightly lower than rates for similar loans by private lenders. On date of September 30, 1912, the State commissioner of school and public lands had on file applications for loans amounting to nearly $1,000,000, which could not be filled because of a lack of funds.

Regarding the success of the system in Utah the board of land commissioners reported as follows:

During the 15 years in which the State has made loans of this character there have been only two cases of foreclosure, one on August 15, 1910, for $1,000, and one being conducted at the present (Oct. 14, 1912) for $2,000.

Foreclosure on August 15, 1910, netted the State $1,000 principal and accumulated interest at the rate of 6 per cent, so that no money was lost on the transaction.

While private loans range from 7 to 10 per cent in Utah, the State makes loans at the rate of 6 per cent.

By way of contrast to the success of the system of State loans in these States attention is called to the attempt to establish cooperative credit associations among farmers in Massachusetts by an act which was approved April 21, 1909. The purpose of this law is to free credit associations from the restricting condition of the general banking law of the State; nevertheless only 22 cooperative credit unions had been established under the act, and none of these had been organized among farmers.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

[Source: Philippine Commission. Reports, 1908–1913.]

The Federal act of March 4, 1907, authorized the Philippine government to guarantee for 25 years a yearly income of 4 per cent upon capital invested in agricultural banks by private enterprise for making loans to farmers. As indicated, the bank was to be conducted by private capital and management, but owing to the hesitancy of capital in the islands to avail itself of this opportunity the Philippine government itself decided to carry out the plan. On June 18, 1908, therefore, the Philippine government, after getting the advice of the Attorney General of the United States as to the constitutionality of its proceeding to establish a bank under the Federal act of 1907, created an agricultural bank. A bank was therefore organized with a capital of ₱1,000,000 ($500,000) and began operations October 1, 1908.

The act provides that the bank shall be managed by a board of directors consisting of the secretary of finance and justice, the insular treasurer, and three resident citizens of the Philippine Islands or United States. The officers were paid out of the appropriation of treasury until the year 1911–12, when they were paid by the bank. There are 24 agencies throughout the Provinces.

The maximum loan to any individual is ₱25,000 ($12,500) and a minimum loan of ₱50 ($25). Loans are payable in 10 years or otherwise as the board of directors may declare. There is an interesting provision which provides that 50 per cent of the bank's capital is to be used for making loans not over ₱5,000 ($2,500). This is done in order to favor the small needy agriculturist.

In 1909 the act was so amended as to make loans apply for repair or maintenance, drainage and irrigation work, to aid in purchase of agricultural lands, clear lands, to pay labor employed in agricultural work, and to meet expenses in connection with raising and planting of crops.

Regarding the operations of the bank during the five years of its existence, it is interesting to note that the first loan was made to an American farmer. The minister of finance and justice in his report for 1907 and 1908 states that "it seems beyond question that this bank will prove an important factor in the restoration and promotion of agriculture in the Philippine Islands." (Report of the Philippine Commission, 1908, p. 12.) In his 1910 report, though discouraged as to the amount of business done by the bank because of the difficulty of defective titles, the minister of finance and justice nevertheless reports: "One of the good results already accomplished consists in the decrease of usury in the Provinces." Previous to the establishment of the bank farmers had been paying 10 to 40 per cent interest and, in addition, had been required to sell their products to the lender at the price fixed by the latter.

Up to October 1, 1911, loans were made by the bank at 10 per cent. By resolution of the board of directors the rate was made 8 per cent thereafter on loans guaranteed by property registered under the land registration act. "This will have a stimulating effect, both on the registration of titles and on applications for loans, thus removing the chief obstacle in the way of increased business for the bank, namely, the lack of sufficient title by intending borrowers." (Philippine Commission Report, 1911, p. 145.) That this prophecy has come true is borne out by the results of the operations of the bank in the years following the reduction of the interest rate.

Since its opening—October 1, 1908—the agricultural bank has made 390 loans to the close of the fiscal year 1913, amounting to ₱1,760,253 ($80,126.50), or an average of ₱4,513.46 ($2,256.73) per loan. The largest number of loans, or 155, ranged from ₱1,000 ($500) to ₱5,000 ($2,500), and the next largest number, or 122, were for amounts not in excess of ₱1,000 ($500).

There have been only five foreclosure proceedings instituted since the bank's organization. In all the foreclosures the security has been sufficient to protect against loss except in one case, where there is probably a loss of ₱150 ($75).

So great was the business of the bank during the fiscal year 1912–13 that the ₱1,000,000 ($500,000) of capital appropriated became exhausted; and to replenish its funds it was decided to make the bank a provincial depositary, with the right to invest in loans an amount equal to 20 per cent of the minimum reached by these deposits during the past six years. "This was the only practical solution of the difficulty encountered by reason of the lack of capital to meet the demands for loans." (Report Philippine Commission, 1913, p. 224.)

The following table will show certain operations of the bank since its opening for business October 1, 1908:

Table showing certain operations of the Philippine Agricultural Bank.

Years.	Number of applications for loans.	Number of loans granted.	Amount of loans granted.
October 1, 1908, to June 30, 1909	417	23	$27,725.00
July 1, 1909, to June 30, 1910	148	89	114,500.00
July 1, 1910, to June 30, 1911	123	61	115,225.00
July 1, 1911, to June 30, 1912	170	69	108,351.50
July 1, 1912, to June 30, 1913	.....	148	514,325.00
Total	.....	390	880,126.50

Of the above sum granted in loans there were, in 1913, outstanding $811,325, $68,801.50 having been repaid on principal loaned.

The increase in the business of the bank in 1912–13 was very remarkable. Loans to an amount of $514,325 were made, this amount being not only $403,673.50 in excess of the previous year, but also in excess of the total loans made during all the previous years by $148,523.50.

The latest report on the bank's operations states that "the borrowers, with very few exceptions, are prompt in paying interest." The amount overdue, however, in 1913 was $2,658.98, as compared with $2,849.38 the previous year.

The bank has been a profitable institution. The net profit at the close of the year, June 30, 1913, was 95,410.45 pesos ($47,705.22), showing an increase of 80.2 per cent over the preceding year. The total surplus of net profits of the bank during its years of operation is 211,313.68 pesos ($105,651.84).

NEW ZEALAND.

[Source: Official yearbook compiled in the registrar general's office, 1913.]

State loans to farmers have been made in New Zealand since 1894. Legislation for this purpose has since been amended and is now contained in the State advances act, 1913, which is a consolidation of all prior acts. This act authorizes the borrowing of money by the State for the purpose of lending to settlers, workers, and local authorities.

The system under the act is administered by the New Zealand State Advances Office. The office is in charge of a superintendent appointed by the governor. All acts of the superintendent and his office are subject to oversight of the New Zealand State Advances Board.

Money is advanced to settlers on first-mortgage security and improvements on lands held under various kinds of security indicated in the act. In general, it is required that the land shall be held in fee simple or on the basis of some lease created by various acts of the State. Loans may be granted to an amount of three-fifths of the value of freehold estates, provided, however, that in case of first-class agricultural land the loan may amount to two-thirds of the value; on leaseholds the loan may be up to three-fifths of the lessee's interest. For the purpose of determining the term for which the loan shall run the board classifies loans as 36½-year loans, 30-year loans, and 20-year loans. These loans are called first, second, and third class loans, respectively. A loan is considered as first class when the value of the land or the applicant's interest therein, exclusive of improvements, is not less than three-fourths of the amount of the loan; the security is second class if the value of the

land or the applicant's interest therein, exclusive of improvements, exceeds one-third, but does not rise to three-fourths of the amount of the loan; and it is third class if the value of the land or the applicant's interest therein is not in excess of one-third of the amount of the loan.

Loans may be paid in lump sum or in installments as the work progresses, if the loan is for building purposes.

No loan of less than $1,216.63 nor in excess of $9,732 may be granted. Applications for loans not in excess of $2,433.25 shall have preference to applications for loans for larger sums, thus showing the intention of the system to favor the small borrower.

Mortgages are repayable in semiannual installments of principal and interest combined. They may also be paid in lump sum at any one time. The rate of interest charged is 5 per cent, which is reducible to 4½ per cent if payment is made not later than 14 days after the date due and no arrears are outstanding.

TRANSACTIONS DURING THE YEAR 1912–13.

The report of the operations under the act during 1912–13 shows that 3,187 applications were made for loans, as compared with 5,355 in the previous fiscal year. The amount requested during this same year amounted to £1,164,225 ($5,665,700.96), only £854,300 ($4,157,450.95) of which was actually advanced.

Inasmuch as advances are made on both rural and urban and suburban property, distinction should be made as to the actual amount loaned in the agricultural regions. Since the creation of the fund there has been advanced in all on rural property approximately £4,873,592 ($23,717,334.47), which is approximately twice the amount loaned on urban and suburban property. The average amount of each advance on agricultural property has been £421 ($2,048.80).

The gross profits for the year ended March 31, 1913, were £85,502 ($416,094.48), and the cost of management £11,386, or 0.14 per cent on the capital employed. The net profits amounted to £73,864 ($359,459.16).

The borrower enjoys great facility in making his repayments. Thus, to illustrate: On a 36½-year loan at 5 per cent a borrower would pay in 72 semiannual installments £1 13s. 10d. (about $8). On a 30-year loan the borrower would pay £3 4s. 8d. ($15.98) on every £100 ($486.65) in 60 semiannual installments, while on a 20-year loan of £450 ($2,189.93) the weekly payment amounts to only 12s. 11d. per week, or less than 7½ per cent per annum, including repayment of principal on a 20-year loan. On the 30-year term it amounts to about 10s. 4d. ($2.51) per week, or less than 6 per cent, including repayment of principal. On the 36½-year term it amounts to about 9s. 10d. per week ($2.19), or 5½ per cent, including repayment of principal.

The mortgagor may also pay up the whole mortgage at any interest period on payment of the proper fee for the discharge of the mortgage. Also, on the due date of any installment, after at least one-tenth of the loan has been repaid, the mortgagor may be permitted to readjust his loan by treating the balance of principal then unpaid as a fresh loan to run from that date. But it is provided that no readjustment of loan is permitted unless the principal unpaid at the time amounts to at least £100 ($486.65). This privilege relieves the mortgagor of paying interest on the original amount of the loan.

To provide for a long and cheap method of making remittances borrowers are permitted to pay their installments through the local branch of the post-office department. Loans are also made through the post office.

SUCCESS OF THE SYSTEM.

The conditions in New Zealand which preceded the Government's determination to make advances to farmers were very similar to the economic conditions prevailing in the United States in the early nineties, namely, general economic depression, low prices, and high interest rates. Many farmers had been closed out and the remainder were hanging on with a load of debt about their necks. The effect of the Government's enterprise was instantaneous; the rate of interest fell at once to 5 per cent, and since then no farmer has had to borrow money on mortgage security at a higher rate.

Guy H. Scholefield in his book, New Zealand in Evolution (1909), summarizes the results of the activities of the advances-to-settlers office as follows:

* * * High rates of interest were gradually eliminated from agrarian economy. Farmers' sons clamored for land. Every year more estates were bought and handed over to them; more tracts of the brooding bush fell to the axes of the sturdy yeomanry who were willing to carve out new homes in the wilds. Back-blocks pioneering became a fashionable occupation for young men from the colleges, who passed straight out to the fringe of the bush to break in the land for themselves, willing and anxious to toil for a year in the fastnesses for the joy of a holiday amongst civilized men in the simmering Christmas of the Antipodes. (Pp. 188, 189.)

There is another interesting phase which has grown out of the system of Government advances to settlers in New Zealand. It was immediately charged at the time of its inception that the scheme was ultrasocialistic; but quite the contrary has been the result, as summed up in the words of Le Rossignol (Le Rossignol and Stewart: State Socialism in New Zealand, p. 302), who summarizes the results of the legislation as follows:

The land legislation of the Liberal Government was socialistic, in a sense, but its effects were anything but socialistic, for it converted land-hungry laborers into prosperous farmers, strong supporters of the freehold and the sanctity of private property.

AUSTRALIA.

In view of the somewhat fuller statement regarding State loans to farmers in New Zealand, it has been deemed sufficient to present the main facts concerning the situation in Australia in a very brief summary statement. All of the six States of Australia have established a system of loans to farmers from funds supplied by the State. These funds are raised by the issue of bonds, which have an extensive sale in the foreign markets, particularly in London. During the operation of the systems in force since 1894 there has been little or no loss to the State. Such losses as there have been have been temporary and have been covered by later operations. The dates of the original establishment and of the amending acts organizing the system are as follows:

(1) The western Australia agricultural bank act, 1894; 1906, 1907, 1909.

(2) The State advanaces act of South Australia, 1895, 1896, 1901.

(3) The State savings-bank amendment act of Victoria, 1896, 1900, 1901, 1903, 1910.

(4) The State advances on land act of Tasmania, 1898; new act, 1907.

(5) The advances to settlers act of New South Wales, 1899, 1902, 1906.

(6) The agricultural bank act of Queensland, 1901, 1904, 1905.

There are certain well-defined purposes for which loans may be made, differing very little as between the various States of the Commonwealth. Among the purposes for which loans may be made to the individual farmer are: First, improvements in the way of fencing, draining, building, and repair of structures; second, purchasing of new land; and, third, paying off existing mortgages.

Not merely farmers alone are permitted to borrow funds, but other producers, laborers, and so forth, are permitted to secure loans for the purchase of small holdings on which to build houses for themselves or carry on market gardening.

Practically all the States limit the amount that may be loaned to a single individual, varying from £25 ($121.66) to £5,000 ($24,332.50).

Queensland and New South Wales give preference to loans not over £2,000 ($9,733). All of the States require a first mortgage as a security, and permit the repayment of the principal by a series of equal annual installments distributed over a period of years, varying from 7 years to 36, as may be arranged between the borrowers and the Government. In West Australia, South Australia, Victoria, New South Wales, and Queensland the interest rate is 5 per cent, while in Tasmania it is 6 per cent. Generally speaking, only the interest is paid for the first five years, after which repayment of the principal commences.

Payments on the principal may be annual or semiannual, while opportunity is always given to the borrower to complete his payments at any time, usually after five years. This last provision is inserted in order that the borrower may take advantage of any reduction in the interest rate and thus refund his debt at a lower rate.

THE SUCCESS OF THE SYSTEM.

The success of the system is indicated by the large amounts of money that have been advanced by the Government for the development of the agricultural resources of the country. Up to January 1, 1912, there had been advanced by the six States of Australia $45,566,629 to farmers and home builders. Great as was the advantage to those who were able to take advantage of these loans, it should nevertheless be noted that these States had not been conducting their business without some degree of profit to themselves. Thus at the same date noted above, January 1, 1912, accumulated profits accruing to the system in the various States were $1,081,745. During the last three years the average annual profits have been something over $130,000. It should be remembered that before these profits are calculated administration expenses are deducted. The detailed results of the system in the six States of Australia are indicated in the tables which follow.

Amounts advanced to farmers in the six States of Australia, as of Jan. 1, 1910, 1911, and 1912.

[Commonwealth Yearbook, No. 6, 1901–1912, p. 417.]

States.	Amounts advanced.		
	1910	1911	1912
New South Wales	$6,632,324	$7,870,065	$9,484,249
Victoria	12,933,760	13,613,172	14,378,649
Queensland	1,147,487	1,493,743	2,094,556
South Australia	7,518,480	8,695,277	10,047,293
West Australia	6,117,590	7,495,583	9,471,104
Tasmania	44,708	71,100	90,692
Commonwealth	34,394,349	39,238,940	[1] 45,566,629

[1] As reported. The correct footing is $45,566,543—£17 difference.

States.	Balance due.		
	1910	1911	1912
New South Wales	$3,869,417	$4,516,530	$5,228,363
Victoria	6,367,450	6,358,846	6,539,768
Queensland	796,354	1,007,351	1,487,456
South Australia	3,456,753	3,989,644	4,704,300
West Australia	4,554,849	4,753,651	6,232,682
Tasmania	41,468	65,995	80,745
Commonwealth	19,086,291	20,692,017	24,273,314

Profits on Government advances to farmers in the six States of Australia as of Jan. 1, 1910, 1911, and 1912.

[Commonwealth Yearbook, No. 6, 1901–1912, p. 417.]

States.	Annual profits.			Accumulated profits.		
	1910	1911	1912	1910	1911	1912
New South Wales	$26,230	$39,905	$46,441	$39,122	$75,947	$123,361
Victoria	28,839	14,706	14,935	398,630	413,341	428,281
Queensland	9,606	12,400	16,147	29,213	41,613	57,761
South Australia	22,323	32,421	30,606	185,832	218,253	248,858
West Australia	33,204	32,863	39,224	151,241	184,104	223,333
Tasmania	[1] 477	234	394	[1] 477	[1] 243	151
Commonwealth	119,725	132,529	147,747	803,561	933,015	1,081,745

[1] Deficit.

The Government seems to have been very conservative in the management of its funds inasmuch as approximately only one-half of the applications for loans have been granted, showing that careful examination is made of the value of the security offered for a loan. Thousands of farmers in Australia have been assisted in building up their farms and equipping them, or even purchasing additional land, by the aid of these State funds.

In New South Wales since the commencement of the act—1899—11,279 have received loans from the Government fund; in Victoria since 1896, 7,459 have received such loans, while in Tasmania, since 1898, 155, and in Queensland since 1901, 1,417 have received loans. The total number of farmers who have been thus assisted in South Australia and West Australia is not reported, but the average number who have been assisted during the years 1908 to 1912 was 300 in South Australia and 2,722 for the same period in West Australia.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

The Union of South Africa was created as a Federal union of the British colonies of South Africa in 1909. Prior thereto each colony was independent, legislating as a separate State. In 1907 all the four States organized agricultural land banks on the plan of those in Australia whereby the Government raises funds by the issue of bonds and reloans them through an office or branch of the administration specially created therefor at a rate sufficiently in advance of its borrowing rate to pay expenses, usually 1 per cent over former rate.

So successful and popular were the individual State banks that it was deemed advisable to consolidate their efforts and give unity to the work so as to the more effectively develop the agricultural resources of the country. This was done in 1909 by the passage, June 22, of an act to take over the funds of the various State banks and to administer them through the Federal ministry of finance.

On October 1, 1912, by virtue of the above act and a proclamation by the governor general September 24, 1912, the Land and Agricultural Bank of South Africa was established. The main object of the bank is to assist the farming population by providing bona fide deserving applicants funds for their capital needs, repayable in installments over an extended period and at a low rate of interest.

Ordinary advances are made for a term of 30 years, although during the first 5 years the applicant pays only interest and during the last 25 years reduces his principal and interest gradually, being permitted at any time to pay as much as he sees fit, provided it is in multiples of £5 ($24.33). Annual payments for interest and principal are about 7 per cent of the total advance made.

In all cases there is required a first-mortgage security on landed property, but in cases where the property has been purchased from the Government and the balance of such purchase price has been arranged for by the drawing of a bond, bearing no interest, a second mortgage may serve as security for a loan.

The minimum amount which may be loaned any individual farmer is £50 ($243.32), while the maximum amount is £2,000 ($9,733), except where large agricultural works and improvements have been specially authorized by the Government, in which case advances are made up to £5,000 ($24,332). Advances are made up to 60 per cent of the value of the property offered as security, the valuation of which is determined by the Government board.

In addition to these ordinary loans, the Government grants advances upon land held under various kinds of tenure; for example, upon land held under a lease from the Crown, provided the unexpired period of such lease is 10 years or more. In this latter case advances are made up to 50 per cent of the value of the lessee's interest, as determined by the board. Also, a loan may be made upon Crown lands up to 50 per cent of the purchase price, which latter is only partly paid. These special advances may not exceed a term of five years.

Personal short-term loans are made, but not in excess of £1,000 ($4,866.50), on which loans 6 per cent interest is payable on the monthly balance remaining during the time which the farmer gradually draws upon his credit.

Advances may also be made to cooperative societies, the members of which become jointly and severally liable for the repayment of the whole advance.

As already stated, the capital of the bank consists of the funds of the three provincial banks in existence prior to the creation of the Federal bank, together with such amounts as are recovered by the Government from any advances previously made under special acts for the erection, construction, or repair of fences and dipping tanks, and such funds as may be specially voted by Parliament from time to time.

SUCCESS OF THE SYSTEM.

The board administering the act in the Union of South Africa has granted approximately a little over 50 per cent of the applications received for loans, indicating a fair degree of conservativeness in making loans. During the year and three months that the act has been in operation 2,923 farmers have been benefited by the receipt of loans amounting to $7,965,974. The largest proportion of these loans has been for the purchase of land, $2,670,502 of the above amount having been placed for that purpose.

The two tables which follow show in some detail the financial operations of the bank:

Advances paid out since the establishment of the bank, Oct. 1, 1912, to Dec. 31, 1913.

Years.	Advances.		Average amount.	Value of security.	Per cent loans form of value of security.	Repayments.
	Number.	Amount.				
1912 (3 months, October–December)	287	$519,036.86	$1,810.34	$1,292,158.20	40.2	$373,151.24
1913	2,636	7,446,036.99	2,842.04	16,636,960.97	44.8	2,547,223.51
Total	2,923	7,965,973.85	.....	17,929,119.17	.....	2,920,374.75

Purposes for which advances were paid out since the establishment of the bank, Oct. 1, 1912, to Dec. 31, 1913.

Years.	Amount advanced for—					Total.
	Improvements.	Purchase of stock.	Discharge of existing liabilities.	Purchase of land.	Other.	
1912 (3 months)	$97,933.45	$71,157.96	$239,149.54	$110,858.87	$837.04	$519,936.86
1913	1,052,477.95	609,942.78	3,222,197.25	2,559,642.74	1,776.27	7,446,036.99
Total	1,150,411.40	681,100.74	3,461,346.79	2,670,501.61	2,613.31	7,965,973.85

As shown by the above table, the bank appears to have been careful in placing its loans on adequate security; that is, amounting to approximately a little over 40 per cent of the value of said security.

Although cooperative societies are permitted to receive loans from the Government fund, no advances were made in 1912, while in 1913 loans to the amount of $267,657.50 were granted. To show how far short of the actual needs of the agriculturists of South Africa the funds have been it is interesting to note that applications from cooperative societies were in amounting to $939,234.50. Relative to cooperative societies, the board reports that its greatest difficulty consists in compelling the keeping of a uniform system of accounts and otherwise to maintain adherence on the part of the societies to the prescribed by-laws. Nevertheless the lending board continues to be strict in its rules, endeavoring scrupulously to maintain them.

Reports of the operations of the bank show that, unfortunately, there have been some arrears in the repayment of loans, these amounting to $7,533.82 at the close of the year 1913. As an offset to this somewhat discouraging feature of the bank's operation mention should be made of the fact that its business has not been without its profit. Thus during the first three months this profit amounted to $42,216.97, which, as required by the law, is placed to the credit of a reserve fund. In 1913 the profit amounted to, in round numbers, $147,910, and the total reserve fund at that date was, in round numbers, $575,918. In 1913 the total earnings were 5.6 per cent on the bank's capital, as compared with 5.9 per cent in 1912. Frankness requires that attention should be called to the report of the committee on public accounts (Union of South Africa, first report of select committee on public accounts, March, 1914, Cape Town, 1914, p. xii), March, 1914, wherein it is pointed out that, while the bank pays on its capital—borrowed fund from the State—3¾ per cent, the State, on the other hand, pays 4¼ per cent on the money which it has borrowed and advanced to the bank, thus making it impossible to determine the actual amount of profits which the bank is making. It can not be other than a mistaken financial policy on the part of the State to thus loan its funds to the bank at a lower rate than it itself is required to pay in the money markets of the world. In the words of the committee:

> In the opinion of your committee it is essential that, if the true position of the bank is to be known, the interest charged by the treasury to the bank should be governed by the actual cost to the Government of the sum so provided.

Except for this one mistaken policy on the part of the bank, it would seem that the institution as a whole has been a success. Its administration expenses amounted to 0.878 per cent of the amount invested in mortgages in 1912, while in 1913 it was 0.662 per cent, indicating a substantial reduction in that respect.

CANADA.

Two Provinces in Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, enacted laws in the spring of 1912 authorizing their governments to extend credit to farmers for the purchase and improvement of farm lands.

The law for Nova Scotia was passed May 3, 1912, entitled "An act for the encouragement of settlement on farm lands." The government extends its credit through private companies, which lend money on real estate. There are three methods by which the farmers may obtain credit from the government. By the first method the farmer must secure a guaranty for a part of a loan made to him by a private loan company. For example, the government may guarantee a private company lending $800 to a farmer offering security to the value of $1,000 against any loss on the principal to an amount of $500, say. Under the second plan the Province advances the actual cash to the borrower for his use. In this instance the loan in no case can exceed $2,500 to any one person. The third plan of supplying credit on the part of the State consists in the purchase of privately owned property and its resale to farmers.

New Brunswick passed an "Act to encourage the settlement of farm lands" April 20, 1912. Under this act there is created "a farm settlement board," which is given power to buy, improve, and sell land to settlers for farming. This farm settlement board is composed of three commissioners, who are appointed by the lieutenant governor in council, although one shall be the superintendent of immigration for the Province.

The terms on which the property is sold differ according to the value of the property. For example, if the price paid is to be less than $800, the settler is required to pay 25 per cent of the price in cash and the balance with interest as agreed upon between the settler and the board. This balance must be paid within 10 years, although an extension of two years is permitted, at the discretion of the board. If, on the other hand, the purchase price of the property exceeds $800, the settler is required to pay 35 per cent of the purchase price in cash, with the same privilege as to the payment of the balance as in the preceding instance. The price of the land sold to the settler must not exceed the price paid for it by the board. Thus the cost of maintenance and administration is borne by the board and not by the settler.

Besides this power to buy land the board is authorized to take agricultural land belonging to the Province, to divide it into farm lots, and to improve it for settlement purposes. These improvements may consist in clearing the land, not to exceed 10 acres in each 100 acres, and in erecting dwelling house and outbuilding. This land so improved is to be sold to settlers upon the same terms as land purchased from private owners.

The board retains all title to the land until the last payment is completed, and if the settler defaults in payment of interest the board may begin eviction proceedings at its own discretion upon one month's notice, and may resell the property to another settler.

Relative to the discussion of the subject of State loans to farmers in Canada, Mr. Arthur Hawkes, the special commissioner of immigration appointed by the Canadian minister of the interior, in November, 1911, has this to say regarding his suggestion that the Provinces work out plans for the settlement of special localities with the aid of public credit:

> The financing of settlement as a function of government now seems to be inevitable. It contains nothing revolutionary in principle. It would be difficult for those whose railway dividends are founded on government guaranties and subsidies to oppose the application to Canada of a principle that is operating in the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand and is about to be applied in South Africa. It may be objected that it is unfair to afford to present-day pioneers facilities that were not available for heroic old-timers. The objection might be good if you refused to give a new district a railway because your grandfather had none when he started his farm. The governing factor in the use of public credit is the object to be achieved, and not the incidental advantage that may alight on an individual here or there. (P. 37 of Mr. Hawkes's report.)

EGYPT.

This information relative to the agricultural bank of Egypt is taken from a report on that subject to the Secretary of War and to the Philippine Commission by E. W. Kemmerer, who was instructed to make a study of the agricultural bank of Egypt and to prepare a report on it.

The agricultural bank of Egypt is owned and financed by private capital, but with a Government guaranty of principal and 3 per cent interest. The Government further assists in lowering the expenses by permitting the use of its taxgatherers as the collectors of the installments of the loans of the bank. In 1894 the first step was taken by the Government to provide agricultural credit for the peasant proprietors—the fellaheen—of Egypt by an advance of 27,000 bushels of seed. This amount was increased to nearly 44,000 bushels in 1895 and in 1896 to 46,000 bushels. The purchase money was made payable in equal installments during the last quarter of the year. It was not until June, 1898, however, that the national bank of Egypt was established. The conditions that led up to its establishment was the excessive rate of interest which the Egyptian peasants were forced to pay the money lenders. Mortgage indebt-

edness had become very heavy. The national bank met two needs: First, it permitted sums borrowed in the early part of the year to be paid in the fall after the sale of the cotton crop; second, it made loans of larger amounts for a period of years—usually five years—at 9 per cent interest. The continued success of these Government advances led to the establishment of the agricultural land bank June 1, 1902, having a capital of $12,357,000, of which $6,179,000 were paid up. To this bank all agricultural loans were transferred. The interest rate was fixed at 9 per cent and the concession to the bank was to continue for 50 years.

The following table is taken from the report mentioned above:

Years.	Number of loans.	Total amount.	Average amount.	Number of loans.	
				Under $98.86.	$98.86 and over.
1902	46,572	$5,972,133	$128	.....	.....
1903	78,911	10,854,042	138	13,156	65,755
1904	134,207	19,456,844	145	17,498	116,709
1905	185,530	28,499,717	154	21,829	163,701
1906	.....	34,766,521	.....	.....	.....

According to this report the table seems to justify the following conclusions: First, the development of the bank has been rapid, and it has been a boon to a surprisingly large number of Egyptian peasants. The outstanding loans have increased from December 31, 1902, to March 31, 1906, 482 per cent. Second, the number of loans from 1 Egyptian pound up to 20 pounds increased during the three years ending December 31, 1905, 66 per cent, while the larger loans over $98.86 increased 149 per cent. Third, the rather small average amount of the loans shows that the humbler peasant is being reached and benefited.

Although the success of the bank has not been such as to get the peasant proprietors out of debt yet, it has not been without its benefits to the peasants of Egypt. The peasant proprietors are now assured of reasonable rates of interest, for though 9 per cent may seem a high rate of interest, yet it is low compared to what the Egyptian peasant paid prior to the establishment of the bank. The Earl of Cromer, in his report of 1895, as quoted in the report under consideration, on the Egyptian bank, tells how the Egyptian peasant was treated by European money lenders:

> A small cultivator in Upper Egypt borrowed $49.43 from an European money lender. In order to obtain the money he was obliged to sign a bond for $74.14. He states that for three years he paid $24.71 at the end of each year. At the end of the third year he was asked to repay the capital sum of $74.14.

He goes on to tell how legal proceedings were instituted on refusal to pay the sum, but the debtor finally yielded with the result that he "paid no less than $168.06 in the shape of interest and legal expenses in return for a loan of $49.43 for a little more than three years." In addition, therefore, to lowering the rate of interest the bank has been instrumental in securing for the peasants of Egypt peaceful possession of their property, giving them an incentive for the exercise of thrift and probably encouring them to expend their money more wisely than heretofore.

To sum up, it will be possible to note the financial condition of the bank as shown in the latest available Government report for 1910 concerning its operation. (Great Britain parliamentary papers. Egypt, No. 1, 1911.) This report on its operations speaks favorably of its prospect, although the percentage of collections upon loans still in arrears has been growing considerably since 1904. The percentage of arrears to annuity uncollected in 1910 amounted to 18.9 per cent. This was due, the report explains, to an insufficiency of the cotton crop in certain regions. The report regards this as a temporary setback, and states that "the prospects for these Provinces are distinctly more promising." There seems on the whole, then, no desire to abolish the bank but to improve its methods in making and handling loans by restricting them in districts where there are large arrears and making closer examination of titles to land upon which loans are made and to inquire carefully into the purpose for which loans are made. In short, therefore, the evils lie in the economic condition of Egypt, crop failures, etc., rather than in the fundamental principle of the bank.

IRELAND.

A very comprehensive report on agricultural credit in Ireland was made by a departmental committee at the department of agriculture and technical instruction for Ireland in 1914 (Great Britain Parliamentary Papers, Cd. 7375). The information which follows has been obtained from that report. Long-term agricultural loans have been extended in the aid of Irish agriculture by the State since the early part of the nineteenth century. These State funds and free grants are at present made through four different departments—(1) the board of public works, (2) congested-districts board, (3) the estates commissioners, and (4) the department of agriculture and technical instruction.

The board of public works since 1831 has been authorized to make long-term loans for drainage purposes, which loans have been taken advantage of almost exclusively by the large landholders. Another class of loans made to individual owners have been advances for the purpose of carrying out permanent agricultural improvements, such as irrigation, subsoiling, clearing, erection and improvement of buildings, and so forth.

One of the most important results obtained through the use of this class of loans has consisted in making possible the erection of dwellings for agricultural laborers. Thus, by the aid of these loans since 1860 there have been made 1,011 advances (p. 292), amounting to a total of £407,814 ($2,376,798.60). The congested-districts board was authorized to make loans for the purchase of land by people in the congested districts in Ireland desiring to settle in the country.

The powers of the board authorize it to aid emigrants from congested districts to increase the size of their holdings and develop agriculture by improvement of live stock and methods of cultivation, both by direct and indirect means. The board is also empowered to aid and develop the small handicraft industry. Since its establishment in 1891 up to the year 1912 the board has made, for agricultural purposes, 1,384 loans, an average of about 69 per year during the 20 years. The total amount loaned was £26,464 ($128,787.06). A slight loss has been suffered to the amount of £58 ($282.26). This does not include its loan for dwelling-house purposes, of which it has made a considerable number since 1909. Thus, in 1911–12 it sanctioned 66 loans, to an amount of £2,720 ($13,236.88).

It should be noted that the functions of the board are entirely secondary as regards the extension of credit, its main work being to purchase, improve, and resell estates fitted up for the small holders.

The department of agriculture and technical instruction for Ireland is one of the governmental bodies more recently authorized to extend its credit in the aid of Irish agriculture. Since 1900 the department has been active in supplying loans to meet the capital requirements of the farmer in the way of equipping and stocking his holdings. The department has also aided the local agricultural credit societies by supplying them with working capital. During the period 1901–2 to 1912–13 the department has made 3,262 loans, involving £106,776 ($519,625.40). The committee reports that the repayment of the advances to the department has been, on the whole, very satisfactory.

The work of the estates commissioners in advancing credit to Irish farmers has been somewhat along the line of that done by the department of agriculture. This board has been active in supplying capital with which the farmer could equip and stock his holdings. The work of this board has been very effective in clinching the results which have followed from the creation of a peasant proprietary in Ireland, which was made possible by the land-purchase act in Ireland. To quote from the report:

> The great legislative measures of land purchase, under which the fee simple of the soil is steadily passing by means of State credit into the hands of a peasant proprietary, have laid the foundation upon which may be gradually built up a sound and prosperous rural economy, with the assistance of the various voluntary and State organizations at work in their respective spheres. The evidence received by us has been unanimous upon one point—the great improvement usually wrought in the condition and whole outlook upon life of those farmers who have obtained the complete ownership of their holdings, as compared with those who are still in the position of tenants.

The estates commissioners have expended for the benefit of new holders from November, 1903, to March, 1913, £247,029 ($1,202,166.63), which has been made in the shape of loans, while £320,460 ($1,559,518.59) additional consisted of free grants or subsidies. An attempt is being made to reduce the number of free grants, which have been found necessary in the case of evicted tenants who have been in a greater or less condition of poverty. There has been no difficulty in the matter of repayment of the land-purchase annuities administered by these commissioners, and in the words of the report "the regularity of the repayment of land-purchase annuities furnishes one of the strongest proofs of the credit worthiness of the Irish agricultural classes" (p. 328).

The table which follows gives a summary review of the operations of the four governmental bodies in Ireland engaged in

extending credits to Irish farmers. The total covers the operations for the year ending March 31, 1913:

Loans and free grants made by state departments in Ireland for various agricultural purposes in the year ended Mar. 31, 1913.

	Loans.	Advances repayable with annuity.	Free grants.	Total.
BOARD OF WORKS.				
Drainage, maintenance, etc.	$3,075.63			$3,075.63
Field works	14,039.85			14,039.85
Farm buildings	501,862.68			501,862.68
Laborers' cottages	15,339.21			15,339.21
	534,317.37			534,317.37
CONGESTED DISTRICTS BOARD. (Figures for year 1912.)				
Improvement of dwellings of tenant purchasers not exceeding $34.07 valuation (£7)	13,236.88			13,236.88
Erection and improvement of dwellings of tenants on estates purchased by board		$22,084.18	$14,643.30	36,727.48
Free grants through parish committees for erection and improvement of dwelling houses and out offices to landholders not exceeding £7 ($34.07) valuation			66,987.37	66,987.37
Purchase of live stock	16,628.83			16,628.83
	29,865.71	22,084.18	81,630.67	133,580.56
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION.				
Purchase of bulls	25,719.45			25,719.45
Purchase of stallions	9,684.33			9,684.33
Fencing	13,382.88			13,382.88
Agricultural implements	8,623.44			8,623.44
Miscellaneous	1,294.49			1,294.49
	58,704.59			58,704.59
ESTATES COMMISSIONERS. (Expenditure for improvement of estates and untenanted land, reinstatement of evicted tenants, etc.)				
Building and repair of houses		128,334.47	45,384.98	173,719.45
Drainage, fencing, and amalgamation of holdings and parcels, etc.		55,001.18	19,840.72	74,841.90
Purchase of stock, seeds, implements, and manures			55,385.64	55,385.64
Miscellaneous		1,946.60	2,262.92	4,209.52
		185,282.25	122,874.26	308,156.51
Grand total	622,887.67	207,366.43	204,504.93	1,034,759.03

ARGENTINA.

[Int. Inst. of Agriculture, Bull. of the Bureau of Economic and Social Intelligence, Rome, 1911, 2d year, No. 8, August, 1911, pp. 184–186.]

Mortgage institutions in Argentina are of two classes, official and private.

There are three official institutions: The National Mortgage Bank, the Buenos Aires Province Bank (mortgage section), and the Mortgage Bank of the Capital.

We shall only deal with the working of the first of these, the most important for rural-land credit.

1. BANCO HIPOTECARIO NACIONAL.

The National Mortgage Bank was founded by the law of September 24, 1886, to facilitate loans on mortgage in the Republic by issue of notes of hand, repayable in installments. The law—No. 1804—of September 24, 1886, has been amended by the chamber of representatives as follows:

Article 34 of the reform provides that the bank commission, which had till then amounted to 1 per cent of the sum borrowed for the whole term, shall be only 1 per cent for a third part of the period, one-half per cent for the second third, and one-fourth per cent for the last. Article 56 introduces another reform by which the loans to one person may not be less than $1,000 gold or more $1,000,000 gold.

If the total of the loans made by the bank exceed $250,000,000 gold, new loans can only be granted to the amount of 40 per cent of the estimated value of the property.

The rate of interest on the notes of hand varies between 5 and 7 per cent; that on sinking fund from 1 to 4 per cent. The management of the bank proposes in future only to issue "ceduls hipotecaris argentins" at 6 per cent, repayable in installments in from 21 to 33 years.

Although the reform is not yet an accomplished fact, the bank is already rendering very important service, as may be seen by its balance sheet for 1910. We find there that official statistics show 7,125 applications for loans for an amount of $199,278,549 gold on real estate valued at $434,175,242 gold. We see further that it has granted $123,986,900 gold, but for various reasons only 4,409 loans have been registered for an amount of $98,804,700 gold, which, according to M. Smets, have been entirely acquired by the debtors, in consequence of the high quotations of the notes of hand, at a monthly average of between 98.93 per cent and 103.81 per cent, and an annual average of 100.54 per cent.

As a result of this special issue, which marks the highest level attained by the bank, its circulating capital amounted on December 31, 1910, to $287,617,026 gold, or very nearly the maximum of $300,000,000 gold.

Further examination of the tables show a large number of small loans, as many for amounts under $10,000 gold as for over that sum. It would thus appear that the bank is of enormous advantage to the Republic.

Again, of the 4,405 loans granted by this bank 2,876 were granted in the capital (for an amount of $52,237,700 gold), and only 1,533 for $46,567,000 gold in the rest of the Republic; 3,599 of the properties mortgaged are situated in towns, and 810 in the country.

AUSTRIA.

[International Institute of Agriculture. Bulletin of the Bureau of Economic and Social Intelligence, Rome, 1912. (No. 4, Apr.; No. 9, Sept., 1912.]

It was not until 1850, when the transfer of land became free in Austria, that the problem of mortgage credit came to the front. Mortgage indebtedness early became heavy. In 1858 the amount of land-mortgage credit amounted to 2,244,000,000 crowns ($231,152,000), and has shown a steady increase up to 1908, when it amounted to 13,808,000,000 crowns ($2,803,024,000).

By 1910 there were 15 provincial mortgage-credit institutions whose foundation capital had been supplied by the State. Practically all of these make their loans in the form of bonds and not in cash, the individual borrower realizing his cash by selling the bond. The amount of issue must not exceed the value of the property pledged, and upon the gradual redemption of the mortgage an equal amount of bonds must be retired.

The term of amortization is usually 30 to 60 years, the principal and interest being repaid in equal annual installments. The rate of interest on their bonds or notes issued has waivered in the last 15 years from 2 to 5 per cent.

Mortgage loans granted by the credit institutions and mortgage banks may be repaid at any time by the borrower without the payment of any premium, and the mortgage can not be foreclosed except for reasons specified.

The principal aim of these institutions is in assisting to convert existing mortgages at a high rate of interest into those bearing a low rate of interest, subject to redemption by partial payment, thus facilitating the payment of the debt by means of small annuities, continuing over a period of years. In considering the utility of these institutions one must bear these facts in mind rather than the volume of business done by them. The borrower is protected from the private capitalist and institutions which operate a mortgage-credit system for profit.

In 1908, 1909, and 1910 there was outstanding in mortgage loans by the 15 Austrian mortgage-credit institutions 1,208,000,000 crowns ($245,224,000), 1,266,400,000 crowns ($257,079,200), and 1,229,700,000 crowns ($249,629,100), respectively.

In 1910, 14 of these institutions supplied about 17 per cent of the mortgage credit in Austria.

FRANCE.

The Crédit Foncier de France was established December 10, 1852, for organizing and improving agricultural and land credit in France. In 1858 the permission to make loans on drainage operations was extended to the bank. By the act of January 11, 1860, the bank extended its operations into Algeria. At the opening of its operations the bank was granted a subsidy of 10,000,000 francs ($1,930,000).

The Government exercises control over the institution by the appointment of two governors and two deputy governors, and a board of directors, whose decisions are not valid without the approval of the governors. Every issue of bonds requires Government authorization. In lieu of this Government control over the bank it is given the special privilege of issuing bonds at fixed rates of interest on first mortgage. The amount of the loan in any case is limited to one-half the value of the improved property on farms, houses, and so forth; in the case of vineyards, woods, and so forth, it is limited to one-third the value thereof. It may not exact a commission on its mortgage loans of over six-tenths of 1 per cent. Borrowers make a repayment

of the principal on the amortization plan, such that the annual interest and the sinking fund amounts to 12.52 per cent for a loan of 10 years, while for a loan of 75 years the annual payment amounts to 4.66 per cent of the principal.

The operations of the bank are large and extensive. Its present capital of $38,600,000, divided into shares of $96.50, may ultimately be increased to $48,250,000. One-fourth the capital must be in French treasury bonds, one-fourth in the buildings and property of the society, or in loans to French colonies, or deposited as a guaranty in securities left with the Bank of France. Shares may not be issued below par.

The Crédit Foncier may take short-term mortgages, although its real business is the granting of long-time loans. Its present rate of interest on such loans is 4.3 per cent, while it loans at a rate of 4.1 per cent to public establishments and at a rate of 3.85 per cent to municipalities. The bank is enabled by law to exercise a summary and expeditious process of foreclosure in the event of the failure of a borrower to meet his obligations.

It is stated that (agricultural cooperation and rural credit in Europe. Information * * * secured by the American commission * * * and the United States commission, 1913, Washington, 1913, 63d Cong., 1st sess., Senate Doc. No. 214, pt. 1, p. 663)—

> The part played by Government intervention in our system (of farm loans) is exclusively that of encouragement. Its purpose is to assist the free development of organizations resulting from individual initiative. The State only intervenes to control and regulate the proceedings and to give the whole system that high guaranty of probity and disinterestedness which are the best patents of nobility of all democracies striving to promote social progress.

In France, as elsewhere, the moving cause compelling the State to act was a high rate of interest—8 per cent—which farmers were compelled to pay in discounting their notes.

To show how the bank aids the farmer a concrete case is in point. Thus a farmer may go to the Crédit Foncier and borrow 10,000 francs for 30 years, and pay 4½ per cent interest and 1½ per cent added to pay off the principal in equal annual installments.

Under the old system the farmers paid 5 per cent all their lives, and at their death the only way to satisfy their mortgage was to sell the estate over the heads of their families.

It is claimed by the president of the National Federation of Mutual Agricultural Cooperative Associations that—

> the Crédit Foncier compares favorably with the German land-mortgage banks. The rate of interest is no higher and the administration is as good if not better. (63d Cong., 1st sess., S. Doc. No. 214, p. 660.)

By a series of enactments commencing in 1894, with changes and additions in 1896, 1899, 1906, and a new law in 1910, the State placed funds at the disposal of the original banks for distribution to the local banks, for the purpose of making short-term agricultural loans.

The local banks pass upon the safety of loans for which applications are made and form the first security for all loans.

The original banks disbursed, in 1912, for the purpose mentioned 85,000,000 francs ($16,405,000), of which 60,000,000 francs ($11,580,000) was from State grant and 25,000,000 francs ($4,825,000) from their own assets.

In 1911 the 4,000 local banks having a subscribed capital exceeding 18,000,000 francs ($3,474,000) granted loans to farmers amounting to 82,000,000 francs ($15,826,000), in addition to the outstanding loans, which amounted to 52,000,000 francs ($10,036,000). During the year 72,000,000 francs ($13,896,000) of this sum was repaid, leaving the outstanding loans at the end of the year at 62,000,000 francs ($11,966,000).

On March 19, 1910, a law was enacted providing for a long-term credit to peasant farmers. The loan can not exceed 8,000 francs ($1,544), and the maximum period of repayment is fixed at 15 years, with interest at 2 per cent. The loan may be for the purpose of taking up a small farm, transforming a farm from one class to another, or reconstituting one after damage by flood.

Several kinds of security may be accepted—mortgage on the farm, life insurance, personal security, and so forth.

During the two years the law has been in operation long-term credits have been extended to the amount of 12,000,000 francs ($2,316,000).

In the words of the president of the Central Society for Real Estate Credit and Cheap Dwellings:

> The laws of April 12, 1906, on cheap dwellings; of April 10, 1908, on small holdings; of July 12, 1909, on the homestead; of March 19, 1910, on individual long-term credit for the benefit of small farmers, are all laws which indicate a notable progress in the improvement of the economic and social conditions of the rural population and are the fruit of our agricultural credit system.
>
> The diversity of these social laws clearly shows what has been done in France and that the French system of agricultural credit is a highly effective instrument of social conservation. Services which it renders the rural population of France have made our agricultural credit system a prime factor in national consolidation. It is securing day by day the economic emancipation and the moral and social redemption of the agricultural laborer. (63d Cong., 1st sess., S. Doc. No. 214, p. 663.)

GERMANY.

[Agricultural Credit and Cooperation in Germany, report of the British board of agriculture and fisheries by J. R. Cahill, London, 1913 (reprinted, Washington, D. C., 1913. 63d Cong., 1st sess. S. Doc. No. 17).]

Germany has a great variety of agencies through which the borrower may obtain long-term credit on mortgage security. There are the long-term credit associations of the larger landowners, the savings banks which rank as public corporations; there are the State mortgage institutions, the joint-stock mortgage banks, and various others too numerous to mention.

STATE MORTGAGE INSTITUTIONS.

Taking up now the mortgage-credit banks which have been established for a whole State or Province we note that there are 16 of these throughout the Empire. Their liabilities are guaranteed by the Government authorities of the State or Province in which they are located. They make loans on all forms of land, except that the mortgage institution for Hanover restricts its loans to those on rural property. The original purpose of many of these banks was to assist landowners, by loans on reducible mortgages, to redeem feudal burdens and servitudes, which at one time attached to their holdings. This special character has been lost, and practically all of them have developed into ordinary mortgage institutions.

The total outstanding loans of these State mortgage institutions, 1910, amounted to about $500,000,000, of which half was placed on mortgage security. Funds are obtained generally by the issue of bonds, which are recognized as trust securities, while working capital is provided by deposits, repayments by borrowers, accumulated funds and grants or loans from the State or other governmental authority. The bonds of these banks are redeemable at their discretion by a system of drawing. These banks make their loans in cash and not in the form of bonds as is the case with the land-credit associations of landowners (landschaften).

The special service of these State mortgage institutions is to afford loans to farmers of average and small means at moderate rates of interest, not subject to recall and repayable in equal annual installments, with the privilege of completing payments at any time on notice of three to six months. As low as $75 are lent by at least six of these banks, while the report which is authority for these statements noted above states that one bank grants loans as low as $10 approximately. The rates of interest range from 3½ to 4 per cent, to which must be added from one-half to 1 per cent for the repayment of principal and an additional one-fourth to one-half of 1 per cent for administration expenses.

In addition to making loans, the State exempts these banks from stamp taxes and court fees. They are further assisted by the corporation of local revenue authorities or other public officials.

In order to maintain an adequate knowledge of the business and credit of the borrowers these banks usually have their local agents. These local agents also tend to aid in bringing the credit facilities of the bank into each locality. The banks advertise their business in the daily papers, thus not hesitating to attract clients.

The value of the bonds in circulation issued by these mortgage banks amounted to approximately $215,000,000 in 1900 and to $440,000,000 in 1909, thus showing an increase of approximately 105 per cent. The total of the loans outstanding at the same date was $245,000,000 and $485,000,000, of which $135,000,000 and $240,000,000, respectively, were assigned to mortgage loans. (Report cited, p. 60.)

SUCCESS OF THESE BANKS.

[Report cited, p. 61.]

These State or semi-State banks have fulfilled their purposes with success. They were created in parts of middle and northwest Germany at a time when practically no suitable institutions existed for the grant of long-term credit to farmers. They have served in an especial manner the needs of medium and small landowners who predominate in their respective areas and afforded them the advantage of being able to obtain loans at moderate rates of interest, not subject to recall and repayable in small annual installments. The principle of compulsory reduction of debt by annual payments to sinking fund, which was not adopted by the mortgage credit associations till comparatively late in their history (about 1820–1840), was applied apparently universally by these institutions from the beginning; and unlike many credit associations of the older type, they did not frustrate, in fact, the reduction of mortgage charges by permitting borrowers to utilize accumulated sinking-fund payments toward removal of indebtedness and to charge forthwith their property to the old amount. The relative freedom from excessive indebtedness enjoyed by medium and small landowners in Brunswick, Hanover, and Cassel is attributed partly to this compulsory system of paying off mortgages by convenient installments. Its educational influence in this direction was not confined to actual borrowers from these institutions. They have shown also that mortgage credit in the most favorable terms may be afforded on sound business lines not only to large but also to small and medium landowners. By their business organization at once centralized and decentralized, they

secure not only the necessary supervision over their borrowers but also bring their benefits more easily within the reach of farmers in every district. Not aiming at profits beyond the payment of expenses—although, in fact, considerable sums are usually allocated to public purposes as the result of their operations—they grant loans more cheaply than the joint-stock mortgage banks. The majority of the latter do not find it profitable to lend at all upon small properties, and other institutions which possess the advantage of being accessible for small farmers without incurring expense, namely, the public savings banks, not only charge higher rates but may grant only loans subject to recall and only agree to gradual amortization for a limited portion of their loans. Certain drawbacks are associated with the management and the control of the banks now being considered by the State or public assemblies of districts or Provinces. Thus the necessity of obtaining the sanction of a representative assembly for changing the rate of interest payable on bonds or chargeable on loans, the strict adherence to formal rules (e. g., as regards lending over 50 or other percentage of the assessed value), for whose alteration similar authority is required, may often prove disadvantageous in practice.

OTHER STATE AIDED CREDIT INSTITUTIONS.

In addition to these State mortgage institutions the various provincial governments of the Empire, Prussia in particular, have established what are known as rent-charge banks in order to facilitate the paying off of certain feudal burdens attaching to the holding of land. Their present purpose is somewhat different from that of their original establishment. Their functions are to (1) issue bonds on certain conditions to members desiring to sell their property and converting it into small holdings; (2) to grant loans for land settlement, paying off preliminary charges or erecting buildings; (3) to settle with coheirs to properties coming under the home colonization acts by cash loans granted under certain conditions.

The rates of interest on their loans varied from 3½ to 4½ per cent.

The Prussian rent-charge banks are authorized to grant cash loans to pay off debts upon property which is to be subdivided for settlement and to set up the first necessary dwelling and farm building. Under a special act (1900) granting this authority the loans for this purpose were to be drawn from the accumulated reserve of the banks and not to exceed a total of about $2,500,000. In 1911 the maximum to be applied in this way was increased to $3,750,000, approximately.

These cash loans may be granted not only to prospective purchasers of small holdings but also to individuals or associations undertaking to establish small holdings. No maximum loan is fixed for individuals, its amount being dependent upon the security for its repayment. The rate of interest charged is 3½ per cent.

The total value of the bonds issued by the Prussian rent-charge bank since 1850 amounted to approximately $155,000,000 at the end of 1909. The total issue since 1891 upon the security of small holdings amounted to about $25,000,000. These banks in Prussia have rendered notable service in the eastern Provinces; also, to a large extent in Pomerania, to which Province about one-half of the loans issued since 1891 have fallen. Land settlement in Posen has been carried on by a special commission created in 1886 and amply endowed with State funds, it being reported that these State funds amounted to approximately $150,000,000.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RENT-CHARGE BANKS.

The importance of these banks for agricultural policy consists in the fact that they are the agencies by which the State, while leaving the actual settlement of land by small and medium holders to private enterprise and risk, yet gives them the advantage of its credit. By their instrumentality the persons of this class are enabled to enter into possession of land and to obtain loans for establishment expenses at rates which, inclusive of sinking-fund payments, amount to probably quite one-half per cent less than they would pay for credit elsewhere. Landowners desirous themselves of dividing their estates into small holdings or who hand over this task to others may also, under certain conditions, reap advantage from the fact that they receive an immediate and final settlement in State bonds.

INSURANCE INSTITUTIONS AND AGRICULTURAL CREDIT.

The insurance institutions created under the German imperial insurance act are permitted under certain conditions to lend a portion of their funds for agricultural purposes, and these loans are not made directly to individuals, but only to the municipalities or other public corporations. Loans are granted for the improvement of housing or for new buildings for the benefit of both rural and urban workingmen. In some cases there is a limit set to single loans. Thus the Weimar institution does not make a loan to a single borrower in excess of approximately $1,250; likewise Baden, as well as Wurzburg, Bavaria, does not lend over approximately $1,750. Mortgage loans are usually made up from 50 to 75 per cent of the value of the property offered as security by the borrower.

The usual rates of interest range from 3 to 3¾ per cent, with an additional payment of at least 1 per cent per annum to the sinking fund.

At the end of 1908 the total of the mortgage loans of all these insurance institutions—31—amounted to approximately $85,000,000 as compared with $65,000,000 at the end of 1905.

AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION AND STATE AID.

[Report cited, p. 33.]

For nearly a generation the systematic furtherance of rural cooperation has been a matter of settled policy in the various German Federal States, and public aid has been liberally granted for this purpose. Financial assistance has usually taken the form of small grants to cover the expenses of establishing credit societies, contributions to unions toward the cost of auditing, of propaganda, and of courses of instruction for persons holding office in rural societies, advances of capital at low rates to central banks, or endowments of capital or grants toward establishment expenses of such banks, or both. Occasionally it has taken the form of assisting central societies to secure advantageous terms at large banks. Direct financial assistance has also been given to rural productive or trading societies of various kinds. The cooperative movement has been substantially promoted by the district governors, agricultural inspectors, rural teachers, and other public officials, while one of the primary aims of the semiofficial chambers of agriculture in Prussia and of the similar bodies in other States is the spread of cooperation among farmers.

The most signal acts of the Prussian Government in this respect has been: In 1895 the establishment of the State Central Cooperative Bank, which has received up to date a total capital of £3,750,000; in the period 1896–1906 the construction and equipment of granaries, at a total cost of £250,000; and in 1902 a loan of about £80,000 to the Berlin Central Cattle-Selling Society at 3½ per cent interest, subject to an annual sinking-fund payment of 1 per cent. At the present time annual grants are made by nearly all the provincial governments, and the chambers of agriculture established in each Province usually work in close association with the cooperative unions, give to the latter the constant or temporary services of their officials free of charge, or make money grants, or do both.

In Bavaria the State has, among other things, made a loan of £200,000 at 3 per cent to the Central Loan Bank to serve as working capital, and arranged for this bank a credit at the Royal Bank of up to £50,000 at 1 per cent below the official rate of that bank—but not at less than 3 per cent. It has advanced to the Bavarian Agricultural Bank, a cooperative society with limited liability, £50,000 without interest and £200,000 at 3 per cent, besides providing £3,000 toward its establishment expenses; and advances and grants on a considerable scale have been accorded to granary undertakings, breeding societies, and vine-growers' societies. The cooperative granaries obtain support in an especial measure from the State. Since 1904 the Bavarian National Union has received annually £1,700 toward the cost of audit; and other grants are made for general cooperative purposes in Bavaria. It may be added that the insurance societies for live stock also receive considerable State assistance.

In Saxony, Baden, Hesse, Wurttemberg, and Alsace-Lorraine substantial public aid is also accorded. In each of these cases, except in that of Hesse, central credit or central trading organizations, or both, obtain financial support from the State.

HOLLAND.

[Agricultural cooperation and rural credit in Europe. Information secured by the American and United States Commission. Washington, 1913. 63d Cong., 1st sess., S. Doc. No. 214, p. 522.]

The local savings banks are the rural-credit associations in Holland. The State, however, assists agricultural credit by granting loans to the central banks and giving subventions to branch banks.

These sums are used in meeting the expenses of supervision, inspection, and operation, and at the close of the year the excess of such sums over the expenditures have at times been refunded to the banks.

In 1910 the State expended in the interest of rural credit 16,000 florins ($6,432), of which 6,500 florins ($2,613) went to central banks and 9,500 florins ($3,819) to local banks.

The interest charged for loans varies from 3.75 to 4.5 per cent.

HUNGARY.

[Agricultural cooperation and rural credit in Europe. Information secured by the American and United States Commission. Washington, 1913. 63d Cong., 1st sess., S. Doc. No. 214, pp. 129–152 passim.]

INTRODUCTION.

Following the crisis of 1856, owing to the restrictive policy of the Government toward the Hungarian savings banks and the difficulty of securing loans from charity trust funds, which had formerly advanced loans to landholders, a condition approximating a catastrophe threatened the agricultural interests of the country. For several years thereafter farmers were unable to make any considerable improvements tending to a more modern system made necessary by the emancipation of "cheap labor."

The opening of the mortgage-loan department of the national bank did but little to relieve the situation.

The establishment of some form of Hungarian agricultural credit became of vital importance. The organization of institutes, which to some extent satisfied the requirements of large landholders, opened the way for the development of the Hungarian system of agricultural credit.

Beside the State-endowed land-mortgage institute the system includes the National Small Holdings Land-Mortgage Institute (established in accordance with the provisions of the law of 1898, No. 23), the Central Hungarian Credit Cooperative Society, and the National Association of Hungarian Land-Mortgage Institutes.

None of these are State institutions, but the State supports them financially and exercises a supervisory control.

The number of private banks is limited and are found only in the larger towns. They make but few loans to agricultural

interests. Most credits of this class are granted by limited companies or cooperative societies and the mortgage institutes.

HUNGARIAN LAND-MORTGAGE INSTITUTE.

This was established to control the land mortgages of the larger estates and was the first of the altruistic credit institutes in Hungary to receive State favors. In 1863 the State contributed 500,000 florins ($203,000) toward its establishment, and since that time the State has further favored it by granting exemptions from taxes, stamp and other duties. This fund since its organization has granted 27,387 mortgage loans amounting to 876,296,560 crowns ($17,788,800) on real estate.

MORTGAGE INSTITUTE FOR SMALL HOLDINGS.

As the activities of the Land Mortgage Institute were confined to the large estates, and as the chancery trust funds, Catholic chapters, and savings banks were insufficient to meet the demands of the enormously increasing number of small landholders and their modern intensive system of agriculture, a pressing need of a credit fund for the small holders was becoming more and more imperative.

In 1879 the National Small Holdings and Land Mortgage Institute was authorized by the State, which contributed to its funds 500,000 florins ($203,000) and extended the same benefits as regards exemptions, and so forth, as had been granted the older institute. One of its original objects was the granting of small personal credits, but as experience showed this to be impractical and unsafe this feature of its activity has been abandoned.

The results anticipated from its activities have been fully realized. It has advanced 288,000,000 crowns ($58,463,000) on 66,264 loans on mortgage bonds, an average of 4,340 crowns ($881) for each transaction. Its minimum loan is 300 crowns ($60.90), and no loan is granted in excess of 40,000 crowns ($8,120) as long as an application for a smaller amount is on file.

The loans granted by joint-stock banks and savings banks are a very important item in the sum total of farm mortgages. In 1911 the claims of the institutes amounted to 660,000,000 crowns ($133,980,000), while those of the joint-stock and savings banks on mortgage loans for agricultural purposes amounted to 1,679,000,000 crowns ($340,837,000).

The country banks advance money to farmers on mortgage for a period of six months. In general, the period may be extended for a determined or indetermined period. While the rate of interest paid by these banks for savings deposits requires the exaction of a high rate on loans granted to farmers, the rate is still lower than that demanded by private capitalists.

When as the result of a crisis the banks recall their loans there is usually no difficulty in finding some larger bank willing to assist in carrying the loans, or even should such difficulty appear the State lends its aid, thus avoiding the dangers which short-term recall loans engender.

HUNGARIAN CENTRAL COOPERATIVE CREDIT SOCIETY.

After several attempts to form comprehensive cooperative societies under the patronage either of the leading classes in the country, or of that of a central cooperative society established with the purpose of aiding all associated country cooperative societies had failed, the Government in 1898 extended to such societies as conformed to certain requirements not only State favor, but established a central cooperative credit society which should supply, direct, and control such financial aid as was necessary for the local societies to properly perform their functions.

Under this act such societies may be formed by local government administrative authorities, by public corporations, or by the Hungarian Central Cooperative Credit Society, with their sphere of activities limited to certain defined districts. A member's liability is limited to five times the nominal value of his stock. Loans are granted to members only. All members must be shareholders. While not a State institution, the society is under strict supervision by the State, and the president of the central society is appointed by the Crown.

The State contributed to the fund of the central society 1,000,000 crowns ($203,000), and as a guaranty fund for the security of the society's debentures a further sum of 3,000,000 crowns ($609,000).

The societies are exempt from trade taxes and certain stamp and other duties, while the central society is further exempted from payment of postage dues.

The central society supplies the affiliated societies with capital for loans. The funds are derived from its capital, current deposits, and so forth, and by issuing 4 and 4½ per cent debentures based on bonds transferred to it by associated societies.

In the 14 years of operation the number of societies formed has been 2,412, and its activities extend to more than half of the parishes in the country. The central society has extended credit to affiliated local societies exceeding 100,000,000 crowns ($20,300,000).

FEDERATION OF NATIONAL LAND-MORTGAGE INSTITUTES.

Another medium of credit is found in the National Federation of Hungarian Land Mortgage Institutes, an institute founded by the State in conjunction with the two land-mortgage institutes and the Hungarian Central Cooperative Credit Society.

The functions of this federation include the parceling of landed property, settlements, acquirement of common pasturage, measures of land policy, as well as satisfying the need of credit in consummating these transactions and for the building of agricultural workers' dwellings.

The State contributed 8,000,000 crowns ($1,624,000) and the two land-mortgage institutes and the central cooperative society collectively contributed 7,000,000 crowns ($1,421,000) toward its foundation. In addition, they may place at the disposal of the institute securities having a value of 10,000,000 crowns ($2,030,000) as a guaranty of the debentures issued by the federation.

The peculiar workings of this chain of loan institutes are as follows:

The loans required by the purchasers of landed property sold in lots by the National Federation of Hungarian Land Mortgage Institutes are, in the first place, advanced by the local cooperative societies affiliated with the Hungarian Central Cooperative Credit Society. The local cooperative societies, in return for an entry in the land registry with priority of claim, cede the loans to some land-mortgage institute in return for an entry with deferred (second) claim to the national federation, and, finally, in return for a deferred (third) claim to the central cooperative credit society. The manipulation of these collective loans is carried out by the last-named institute.

The institute purchases estates for sale in small lots, leases church land holdings and subleases them to small farmers, assumes control and management of entailed estates, loans money to parishes for acquiring common pasturage, and grants loans for the purpose of building agricultural laborers' dwellings. For the two last-named purposes in 1912 it granted loans amounting to 3,800,000 crowns ($771,400) and 712,000 crowns ($144,536), respectively.

The above account by no means covers all the activities of the State in lending its financial aid to agriculture. Thus mention may be made of its subsidies granted to raise funds for short-term personal credit to farmers, its aid to farm laborers and others to buy their own homes, and many other like activities too numerous to mention.

ITALY.

In Italy (Report of the Agricultural Credit Commission of the Province of Saskatchewan, 1913, Regina, 1913, p. 78) the State has been obliged to make provision for rural credit in Liguria, the Marches, Umbria, Latium, south Italy, and the islands. It has passed a series of agricultural-credit laws, notably that of July 7, 1901, authorizing the savings bank of the Bank of Naples to engage in rural credit business in the southern Provinces of Italy and in Sardinia, and that of March 29, 1906, creating a special rural credit section of the Bank of Sicily. Other laws (Dec. 21, 1902; Mar. 31, 1904; June 25, 1906) dealt with the same problem in other sections.

In Sardinia and the Basilicata the interest payable on long-term mortgages may not exceed 4 per cent, and advances to be used in the erection of cottages and improved farm buildings must be granted at 2½ per cent. The State undertakes to pay the difference between this and the normal rate.

The amounts which special laws place at the disposal of farmers in Italy, either through the State or savings banks and credit institutions, are:

		Lire.
Central Provinces and Sardinia		29,000,000
Sicily		16,000,000
Southern Provinces and Sicily (provincial agricultural credit banks)		14,000,000
Sardinia (Ademprivile banks)		6,350,000
Basilicata		2,600,000
Calabria		2,000,000
Latium		1,700,000
Umbria and the Marches		1,100,000
Liguria		500,000
Total	($14,137,250)	73,250,000

AGRARIAN CREDIT INSTITUTE OF LATIUM.

[Statement by Mr. G. Venti, director.]

[Agricultural cooperation and rural credit in Europe. Information secured by the American and United States Commission, Washington, 1913. (63d Cong., 1st sess., S. Doc. No. 214, p. 28.)]

The Agrarian Credit Institute of Latium was founded under the provisions of a special law 10 years ago, which endowed the institute with a capital of 1,000,000 lire ($193,000). This sum has not been given by the Italian Government, but the Government invited the Bank of Italy and the savings banks of Milan and Rome to provide the capital. The Bank of Italy contributed 500,000 lire ($96,500), the

Savings Bank of Milan 300,000 lire ($57,900), and that of Rome the remaining 200,000 lire ($38,600).

Under its charter the Bank of Italy can not donate money, so the Agrarian Credit Institute of Latium must pay the bank on its annual profits a percentage proportionate to the capital provided. The rest of the profits belong to the agrarian institute for the formation of a reserve fund, which, in about 10 years, has reached the amount of 109,000 lire ($21,037).

The Agrarian Credit Institute of Latium may only transact business in the Province of Rome, and it supplies credit to agriculturists through the agency of various cooperative organizations and associations. Much of its activity has been devoted to promoting the organization of such bodies, through which it carries on its work. Still another main branch of its work has been that of educating the rural population to an understanding of the use of credit, as when you get out to these small townships and villages of one, two, and three thousand inhabitants you find very little understanding of financial or business methods.

The small rural banks and cooperative associations send their bills to the Agrarian Credit Institute of Latium, and the institute discounts them by charging 1 per cent more on the rate of discount. The intermediate association may also charge an additional 1 per cent, so that the total charge for the loan may not exceed 2 per cent over the rate of the Bank of Italy.

The Agrarian Credit Institute of Latium has been of great service to the Province of Rome, as it supplies a large proportion of the money required for agriculture. The loans made have to be repaid within one year, but three years are allowed if the money is required for machinery or live stock. The agrarian institute can also lend money directly to the farmers, especially when the latter reside in a district where there is no cooperative association.

Various precautions may be taken to insure the safety of loans. For instance, a farmer comes to the office and states that he has prepared his land for sowing and requires money in proportion to the produce the cultivated land will yield. The office sends an expert to investigate and find out whether the investment is likely to prove safe for the farmer, and in the event of a favorable report the loan is made. When harvest time comes a representative of the institute inspects the crop, and when the produce is sold the farmer pays the bill to the institute. Sometimes the farmers ask for loans after harvesting, and in such cases the loans are secured by the produce of the land.

RUSSIA.

[Agricultural cooperation and rural credit in Europe. Information secured by the American and United States Commission, Washington, 1913. (63d Cong., 1st sess., S. Doc. No. 214, pp. 237–259, passim.)]

State aid to rural credit in Russia takes on three different forms: First, aid and subsidy to agricultural cooperative associations; second, capitalizing of land-mortgage banks, one for the peasantry, another for the nobility; and, third, loans to those agricultural associations offering grain as security.

Loans and subsidies to cooperative agricultural societies were definitely organized by the act of 1904, whereby there was established in the State bank a general administration of small credits. On January 1, 1907, the total amount of capital borrowed from the State by these credit associations was 4,729,480 francs ($912,789.64).

In addition to advancing foundation capital and granting subsidies from time to time to associations already organized, the State also makes loans to them for definite periods to facilitate their current transactions. According to the report of January 1, 1907, 990 credit associations had borrowed under this head 7,591,640 francs ($1,465,186.52), and 841 loan and savings banks had borrowed under the same head 1,095,220 francs ($200,425.26). All of these loans are personal or short-term loans as distinguished from land-mortgage loans.

The Peasants' Land Mortgage Bank is a Government institution authorized to purchase land, divide and sell it directly to peasants, and to loan them money, holding the borrower, under its new policy, individually liable. During its existence it has purchased and resold approximately 53,000,000 acres of land. Its credit system is most liberal.

The period of payment generally extends over a period of 55½ years. The rate of interest charged, including amortization, cost of administration, and repayment of loan, amounts to only 4½ per cent. The State bears any amount over this rate. The Government loans money to the peasant, the funds for this purpose being secured by the issue of 5 or 6 per cent bonds. This bank had outstanding in January, 1912, bonds to the amount of 1,223,588,015 rubles ($530,044,827.73). (The Russian Yearbook for 1913. London (n. d.), p. 550.)

The Nobility Land Mortgage Bank performs the same functions for the nobility as the Peasants' Bank performs for its clients. Both banks received the same foundation capital from the Crown. In January, 1912, there was outstanding on its various issues of mortgage bonds 774,540,100 rubles ($398,888,151.50).

In addition to these governmental activities the Government, through the Imperial Bank, grants loans through the associations, taking grain as security, thus preventing speculation in grain at the season when the producer is in urgent need of funds and is willing to sell his holding at almost any price.

FINLAND.

[Source: Int. Inst. of Agr. Bull. of the Bureau of Economic and Social Intelligence, 3d year, No. 10, October, 1912, p. 176, 177.]

Two funds administered by the State treasury, "The Charity Asylum fund" (Fattig og arbetshusfonden) and "The Military Hospital fund" (Krigmanshusfonden), provide the amounts for the long-term loans on mortgage of rural real estate. The conditions on which loans are granted out of these funds are determined by the decrees of the Imperial Senate of Finland of May 24, 1884, and November 19, 1889. Out of the "Charity Asylum fund" loans are granted of a minimum of 1,500 marks ($289.50) and a maximum of 10,000 marks ($1,930) at 4 per cent interest. Besides interest the borrower must pay large installments of the principal beginning with the sixth year, so that the debt may be completely extinguished in 15 years. According to data supplied by the treasury only 400,000 marks ($77,200) have been invested in such loans. Out of the "Military Hospital fund" loans of from 2,000 marks ($386) to 40,000 marks ($7,720) are granted. The rate of interest is fixed at 4½ per cent and sinking fund at 1½ per cent. In this way the loans are repaid in 32 years. The loans out of this fund amount to 8,300,000 marks ($1,601,900) (January 1, 1912).

Scandinavian countries.

The intervention of the State and the agriculture of the Scandinavian countries has been well recognized since as early as the seventeenth century. The State has assisted agriculture in these countries by means of loans and direct subsidies.

DENMARK.

Denmark has perhaps the largest proportion of owners to tenants in agriculture of any country, approximately 80 per cent of its farmers owning their own properties.

STATE MORTGAGE BANK.

[International Institute of Agriculture Bulletin of the Bureau of Economic and Social Intelligence. Rome, 1911, 2d year, No. 4, April 30, 1911.]

There is in existence a loan-credit branch to the State bank of Denmark which loans money to owners of real estate and large occupiers. Cooperative land-credit associations of borrowers of the German Landschaften type have been in existence in Denmark since 1850, although they were proposed and discussed as early as 1839. They went through a more or less haphazard development until it was declared that they should be created only by special laws, the first of which was the act of May 28, 1880, at which time two credit associations were created for peasant proprietors. During the subsequent period of their history down to 1906 their chief difficulty seems to have been in marketing their bonds, on the basis of which the members made their loans to each other. To give their bonds stability the State determined to guarantee and supervise their issue, and for carrying out that purpose created a mortgage division in the State bank by the act of April 6, 1906. The State granted the mortgage bank a foundation capital of 20,000,000 crowns ($5,360,000) in State bonds at 3½ per cent. The bank may issue its bonds to an amount equal to eight times this initial capital. With the loans it thus raises the bank buys bonds of three types of land-credit institutions—first, the mutual cooperative credit association; second, the bonds of the title bank, a special institution created for the conversions of the titles; and, third, obligations guaranteed by the State, authorized by the law, granting State loans to peasant proprietors discussed below.

In 1906 the bank borrowed 20,000,000 crowns ($5,360,000) additional to its capital supplied by the State to the same amount. This loan was negotiated in 3½ per cent bonds, while a later loan of the same amount in 1908 called for 4 per cent interest. (Int. Inst. of Agriculture. Bulletin of economic and social intelligence. Rome, 1913, 4th year, No. 1, January, 1913, p. 100.)

With this capital it bought land-credit association bonds to an amount of 33,840,200 crowns ($9,678,297.20). In August, 1912, the bank negotiated a further loan of 15,000,000 crowns ($2,895,000), which will enable it to keep up the price of Danish farmland bonds.

STATE AID TO SMALL HOLDERS.

The special facilities which have existed in Denmark for the peasant proprietors since March 24, 1899, are of much greater interest and of greater importance for the agricultural development of Denmark. By this act of March 24, 1899, there is furnished to rural laborers of small means funds with which to purchase their few acres. Certain conditions necessary for the safe loaning of the funds are laid down by the State. An applicant must be between 25 and 50 years of age and show himself to be a responsible individual. The amount of ground he is permitted to purchase with the State money ranges from 1.1 hectares (2.72 acres) to 4.41 hectares (10.89 acres), and the purchase price of his holding may not exceed 4,000 crowns ($1,072), upon which value the State grants him a loan of nine-tenths thereof.

Under this act 2,000,000 crowns ($736,000) were appropriated each year for five consecutive years. This act was revised April 22, 1904, and the value of the purchasable property under it was raised to 5,000 crowns ($1,340), and the annual amount

appropriated by the treasury was increased to 3,000,000 crowns ($804,000). This law likewise was to continue in force for five years. When the law came up for revision again in 1909 the value of the property purchasable was again increased, this time to 8,000 crowns ($1,624), while the treasury made available annually 4,000,000 crowns ($1,072,000). In other respects the law has remained unchanged. The latest revision took place June, 1914, at which time the law was reenacted for only three years instead of five, and the total available was 5,000,000 crowns ($1,340,000). The borrower is required to pay interest at the rate of 3 per cent per annum, and payments of principal and interest may be made by a system of equal annual installments.

The law has been remarkably successful. The total number of peasant proprietors who, by the assistance of the State fund, became owners of their properties from 1900 to 1911, the latest report available, was 5,777. The State had loaned in all approximately 35,400,000 crowns ($6,907,200). That the State has been successful in permitting the younger farmers to establish themselves as owners is shown by the fact that 3,895 (71.6 per cent) of the 5,441 borrowers, concerning whom information is available, were between the ages of 25 and 40, and 1,274 (or 23.4 per cent) were from 40 to 50 years of age. Over four-fifths (82.2 per cent) of the purchasers of peasant properties were married.

The average size of holding purchase was 3.16 hectares (7.81 acres), under the law of 1899, but since 1904 there has been a gradual increase in the size of the farm purchased. Thus under the act of 1909 the purchase size was 4.22 hectares (10.42 acres). An inquiry made by the board administering the State fund shows that the quality of the soil of the farm purchased has greatly increased from year to year.

An inquiry by the administering officer also shows that the farmers on these estates have been successful and compare favorably with those occupying other farms.

The State feels that it has been well compensated for any loss which it may have suffered, and very few farms have been taken over by foreclosure proceedings, although the total losses amount to 10,000 crowns ($2,680), which is, of course, a mere bagatelle.

NORWAY.

STATE MORTGAGE BANK.

A mortgage bank with a capital endowment from the State was established in Norway under the law of June 28, 1887, with later amendments (1892), and a somewhat extended revision in 1907. There had been one in existence, however, since 1851. The headquarters of the bank are at Christiania, with branches at various places, as designated by the Crown. The capital endowment of the State is unrecallable until the dissolution of the bank. This capital amounted to 27,000,000 crowns ($7,236,000) in 1912. One-fourth of the capital may be in Norwegian Government bonds payable in 30 to 80 years. The bank pays interest of 4 per cent upon this capital from the State after paying interest on its own money and its administration expenses. All net profits go to a reserve fund.

The amount of the loan on any piece of property is limited to three-fifths of its value. The security in every case shall be a first mortgage up to 60 per cent of the value of the property mortgaged, the only claims taking precedence being State treasury dues, claims of the Bank of Norway, and public endowed funds. The term for any loan shall not exceed 40 years. Loans are repaid semiannually by a system of amortization. They may be recalled in case the security is diminished or because of default in payment of interest upon six weeks' notice. A borrower may increase his installment payments by giving three months' notice.

The administration of the bank is in the hands of three directors, two selected by Parliament and one by the Crown.

A report on the operations of the bank covering the period 1910–1912 (Statistisk Aarbok for Kongeriket Norge, 1913, p. 124) shows that it was in possession of assets amounting to 212,739,275.98 crowns ($56,914,095.26), of which 191,986,143.03 crowns ($51,450,486.33) was the balance of loans outstanding on December 31, 1912.

On its capital the administration expenses for the years 1910, 1911, and 1912 were, respectively, 184,445 crowns ($49,432.26), 185,207 crowns ($49,635.48), and 192,890 crowns ($51,694.52), or 0.785 per cent, 0.699 per cent, and 0.714 per cent, for each of the years mentioned.

SMALL HOLDINGS BANK.

In addition to the mortgage banks in Norway there was created by act of June 9, 1903, a bank making a specialty of loaning money on small holdings and for building purposes. The duty of the bank is to make loans to those of moderate means on the guaranty of a town or commune. The purpose of such loans is to be for the improvement of certain small holdings and for the purchase of large estates to be cut up into small holdings. The interest on such loans is not to exceed 3½ per cent—the law also loans at 4 per cent money for building purposes. The State guarantees any loan and furnishes the capital in amount determined by Parliament. The total amount of the bank's outstanding loans may not exceed six times the amount of its capital. The outstanding securities or bonds of the bank shall run for a term of not less than 30 years nor over 80. They are to be withdrawn gradually by a system of public lots.

Loans to borrowers are made to individuals in cash, repayable in semiannual installments, with no payments for the first five years; but payments must be completed in 42 years thereafter. The bank is given summary powers to proceed in case of default of payment on six weeks' notice. All interest on installments not met at date due is collectible at 5 per cent interest. Following are the principal conditions for a loan: First, citizenship; second, moderate means—that is, being in possession of property of 1,500 crowns ($402) or less; third, taxable property of at least 50 are (1.24 acres), improved or arable and not over 200 are (4.94 acres); fourth, loan not in excess of 3,000 crowns ($804), of which not over 2,000 crowns may be on the ground value.

The security for each loan is twofold: First, as indicated above, the guaranty of the commune wherein the land is situated; and, second, the requirement of a first mortgage on the property on which the loan is made. The amount of the loan is up to nine-tenths of the value of the land and improvements or nine-tenths of the purchase value of any property purchased by the borrower.

The supervision of the loan is in the hands of the local committee of inspection and is guaranteed by the commune. After being passed upon by the commune the loan is paid by the bank to the local communal treasury, which in turn passes it over to the borrower.

The actual management of the bank is in the hands of the directors of the Norwegian mortgage bank described above. In each locality there is sent a supervising committee of three to seven members to inform the directors of the bank as to the value of all property offered as security.

The bank has been very successful in its operation. (Sociale Meddelelser, Christiania, 1914, No. 1, p. 8.) Since the time it was established—October 1, 1903—up to June 30, 1913, it has advanced in all approximately 32,000,000 crowns ($8,576,000), of which approximately 2,000,000 crowns ($536,000) have been repaid. At the above date there was outstanding 29,954,983 crowns ($8,027,935.44); by means of this fund 22,600 loans have been placed, making possible the purchase of 13,140 small holdings and 9,460 homes by their owners. The fund has, in fact, not been sufficient to meet the applications for loans.

The bank has been very successful in reaching the small native farmer, one-third of its loans having been made in amounts of 1,000 crowns ($268) or less, while a trifle over one-half have been above that amount, but not over 2,000 crowns ($536).

SWEDEN.

[Sweden; its people and its industry. Historical and statistical handbook, published by order of the Government. Edited by Gustav Lundbarg, first actuary at the Royal Swedish Central Bureau of Statistics. Stockholm, 1904, pp. 598–603 et passim.]

Mortgage credit for farmers and landowners in Sweden is in the control of the State and rests upon State subvention, granted in bonds whose value is so stable as to put them on the par with Swedish State bonds. The mortgage-loan business as early as 1668 was put into the hands of the Bank of Sweden, but, owing to the fact that this line of business was entirely incompatible with an ordinary banking business, tying resources up for too long a time, it was deemed advisable to establish special mortgage-credit associations, the first of which was established in 1836. These were at first independent, private associations organized to secure loans on the amortization system of repayment for their members on the security of a first mortgage of the landed property of their members.

And here a very natural consequence of competition in the mortgage-loan business arose, namely, rivalry in the share market, with its mischievous consequences. This led to the establishment of the General Mortgage Bank of Sweden in 1861. The purpose of its organization was to create a central institution to negotiate all loans to secure funds for the mortgage societies. For this purpose a loan of 6,000,000 crowns ($1,608,000) was made over by the Bank of Sweden on the security of mortgage in landed property. The bank was also given a monopoly of issuing bonds on the basis of the mortgage securities held by it from the local societies, while the State further handed over to it 8,000,000 crowns ($2,144,000) in Government bonds. In 1890, or about 31 years later, this amount was increased to 30,000,000 crowns ($8,040,000).

The bank administration is distinctly in the hands of the Government, being administered by a board of five members, whose president is chosen by the Government and the vice president by the public-debt commission, while the other three members are chosen by the interested local mortgage societies. All the regulations of the bank must receive Government approval, and no changes can be made without the consent of Parliament. Even the local mortgage societies are controlled by the Government through a system of State sanctioned by-laws. The rules regarding proportion of loan to security—one-half—are strictly maintained and appraisements are most carefully conducted.

Thus it is to be noted that the bank does not deal directly with the individual borrower, quite contrary to the system in Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, and in a few of the States of the United States. All the bank's business is conducted through the medium of the local associations, which in turn treat with the farmer. In fact, the members of the local associations are the borrowers themselves.

Loans of three types are made, depending on the conditions on which they are granted. First, there is the 4 per cent loan, with one-half of 1 per cent additional as repayment on principal by a system of equal annual installments. Second, there is the 4 per cent additional for amortization. For these two classes of loans the security must be twice the value of the loan, and borrowers may give notice to repay loan after 10 years. Third, there is the 4 per cent loan not paid by a system of equal annual installments, in which case it may amount to only one-third the value of the land offered in security.

The members of the mortgage society are jointly responsible for the bonds of the society in proportion to the amount of their unpaid debt to the society. In the same way the societies are responsible to the General Mortgage Bank.

The use of credit for his capital requirements is a familiar practice to the Swedish farmer. For the country as a whole mortgage indebtedness amounted to 37.1 per cent of the assessed value of all real estate; in 1890 it was 44.8 per cent; in 1900 it was 47.8 per cent, while in 1910 it was 55 per cent, and in 1912 57.7 per cent. These figures, of course, include both urban and rural parts of the country, and in the term "real property" are included buildings as well as land merely.

There has been a large increase in the number of members of the mortgage societies. Thus in 1870 there were 38,316 members, while in 1910 there were 72,300 (Statistisk Arsbok for Sverige, forsta argangen, 1914, Stockholm, 1914, p. 122), an increase of 88.7 per cent. This is a more rapid increase than population, which only increased 32.5 per cent during the same period (1870–1910).

From 1870 to 1910 the amount loaned by the General Mortgage Bank for farm loans increased from 181,885,810 crowns ($48,745,397) to 364,007,800 crowns ($97,554,090), or 101 per cent, while taking up to the year 1912 this increase was 102.2 per cent, 367,736,650 crowns ($98,553,422) having been loaned that year.

No data are given as to the average amount of each loan, but it may be inferred that this has increased somewhat, as the relative increase in the number of members (borrowers) in the local societies increased from 1870 to 1910 only 88.7 per cent, while the amount loaned in 1910 as compared with 1870 increased 101 per cent.

In addition to thus taking over into its own hands the monopoly control of the mortgage business and supplying its capital, the State in Sweden has gone further and made loans and subventions to aid strictly agricultural improvements, drainage of lakes and low ground, cultivation of drained land. For this purpose there have been established two agricultural improvement funds administered by the treasury department. One fund is limited to loaning a million crowns ($268,000) a year. The other fund depends on an annual appropriation by Parliament. State grants are also made to agricultural societies on prescribed terms. Thus in 1900 the State aided such societies to an amount of 340,116 crowns ($91,151.09), while in the same year certain counties granted 182,935 crowns ($52,319.42).

Mention should also be made of the fact that beginning in 1904 the State created a fund for persons of small means who wished to borrow money to buy their own small holdings in country districts. This was a laudable attempt to colonize in the country the surplus labor in the cities and to make possible an extension of the agricultural resources of the country. For the purpose 10,000,000 crowns ($2,680,000) was made available for five years, to 1909. During 1909 to 1912, 5,000,000 crowns ($1,340,000) was appropriated annually for this same purpose, and in 1913 this was increased to 7,500,000 crowns ($2,010,000). These funds are placed out through intermediary companies. The interest charged may not exceed 3.6 per cent, and the maximum value of the property purchased may vary from 7,000 crowns ($1,876) up to 8,000 crowns ($2,144). Interest and principal are payable in equal annual installments.

Considerable beneficial work has been accomplished by this fund. From 1905 to 1911 there were disbursed nearly $5,000,000, making possible the purchase of holdings by 6,220 borrowers. (Great Britain report of the departmental committee on the equipment of small holdings, London, 1913 (Cd. 6708), p. 44.) This is considerable, inasmuch as the number engaged in agriculture in Sweden is about 2,500,000.

The State has still another fund of 2,000,000 crowns ($536,000) set aside to make loans to associations to purchase and subdivide land for small holdings.

The Shafroth-Palmer Woman Suffrage Resolution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL HAYDEN,
OF ARIZONA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 12, 1915,

On joint resolution (H. J. Res. 1) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. Speaker, almost every gentleman who has spoken in opposition to this resolution has, first or last, announced himself as a stanch advocate of State rights. This defense of the rights of the States has not been confined to the Democratic side of the House, but many able speeches have been made by Republican Members, who insist that we should not take away the right possessed by each State from the foundation of the Government to determine, each for itself, the qualifications of the electorate. The words of the fathers have been quoted at length to show that it was the intention of those who founded this Government that the question of suffrage was to be left for settlement to the States and to the States alone.

In view of the vigor and earnestness with which gentlemen have announced their adherence to the doctrine of State rights, I have wondered if the cause of woman suffrage might not be materially advanced by the acceptance of House joint resolution No. 245, by Mr. PALMER, of Pennsylvania, as a compromise. I sincerely regret that the parliamentary situation prevents a test of the opinion of the House by a vote on this resolution as a substitute for the pending Mondell resolution. The Palmer resolution was introduced on April 6, 1914, and is identical with Senate joint resolution 128, introduced by Senator SHAFROTH, of Colorado, on March 20, 1914. The text of the Shafroth-Palmer resolution is as follows:

Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE —.

"SECTION 1. Whenever any number of legal voters of any State, to a number exceeding 8 per cent of the number of legal voters voting at the last preceding general election held in such State, shall petition for the submission to the legal voters of said State of the question whether women shall have equal rights with men in respect to voting at all elections to be held in such State, such question shall be so submitted; and if, upon such submission, a majority of the legal voters of the State voting on the question shall vote in favor of granting to women such equal rights, the same shall thereupon be deemed established, anything in the constitution or laws of such State to the contrary notwithstanding."

The Shafroth resolution was favorably reported to the Senate by Senator OWEN, of Oklahoma, on April 30, 1914, and is now on the calendar of that body. The Senate report is as follows:

"Mr. OWEN, from the Committee on Woman Suffrage, submitted the following report:

"The Committee on Woman Suffrage, to whom was referred the joint resolution 128, for an amendment to the Federal Constitution providing that 'whenever any number of legal voters of any State, to a number exceeding 8 per cent of the number of legal voters at the last preceding general election held in such State, shall petition for the submission to the legal voters of said State of the question whether women shall have equal rights with men in respect to voting at all elections to be held in such State, such question shall be so submitted; and if, upon such submission, a majority of the legal voters of the State

voting on the question shall vote in favor of granting to women such equal rights, the same shall thereupon be deemed established, anything in the constitution or laws of such State to the contrary notwithstanding,' report the resolution and recommend that it be adopted.

"The spirit of the constitutions of the several States is that the question of woman suffrage shall be decided by the voters in such States; but in a very large majority of the States this spirit is made inoperative because of the restricted machinery provided for giving it expression, and the voters of the State are prevented from exercising this their constitutional right by cumbersome and ineffectual legislative machinery. The barriers which must be overcome before the people may express their will amount in many instances to a prohibition against them of such expression. In many States two successive legislatures must be passed, in some instances by a majority vote, in some by two-thirds, and in others by three-fourths, before the voters may express themselves upon the proposition. In some instances after the legislative barrier has been passed, a majority of all the people voting at an election must vote upon the proposition. In some instances two-thirds of all the votes cast are necessary to its adoption; in others, three-fifths of all voting. And in one State after passage through the legislature by a three-fourths vote in each house such an amendment must be accepted by three-fourths of all the people voting in the whole State and two-thirds of all voting in each and every individual county. Indeed, if nine-tenths of all the people in all the counties except one voted for such an amendment and in one county one-half of 1 per cent less than two-thirds of the voters in such county voted for such an amendment, then it would fail to become law.

"Such a provision is repugnant not perhaps to the spirit of this State constitution, but to the spirit of the Federal Constitution itself.

"This amendment would insure uniformity of law. It is in no way restrictive of the rights of the people in the various States; it is not adverse to the doctrine of State rights. There is no right inherent in a legislature. The members of the legislatures are the representatives of the people themselves, and by no stretch of the imagination could an added privilege to the people of the States be regarded as an invasion of the rights of the legislatures. This amendment does not direct the only way the people shall decide this question, it simply provides an additional means.

"In one State of the Union, and only one, the legislature may decide the question of suffrage without submission to the voters of the State. There the right would not be taken from the legislature; it might decide, but in addition to that, if the legislature fails or refuses so to do, the people may, at their pleasure, decide it for themselves. This amendment is in accordance with the broadest ideals of democracy.

"In effect the passage of the suffrage amendment by the Nation's Congress would give the cause a tremendous advance from coast to coast. Without further delay the legislatures in every State in the Union would give dignified and simultaneous consideration to suffrage, and at the same time create an overwhelming cumulative impetus to the movement, increasing suffrage activity inestimably. Federal sanction would dignify this great movement so vital to one-half of the entire citizenship of the United States.

"The ratification of this amendment would mean that at least 36 States would have already experienced effective suffrage activity, and the effect would be the same as if the legislature of every State in the Union had already passed a State suffrage amendment. The hard, laborious, and ofttimes impossible task of getting by the State legislatures would be accomplished and the battle two-thirds won.

"The State-rights doctrine is the great objection that is raised to Federal issues that come before Congress. It is recognized as a valid objection by Members of Congress, and many Members from the North feel that they owe to Members from the South the courtesy of refraining from interference in matters vital to the South. Moreover, the question of State rights, when carefully analyzed with relation to the suffrage question, is really the great race problem, and this problem is no longer confined to the South, but is one seriously in the minds of Senators and Representatives from Western States, having to deal intimately and immediately with the race question growing out of immigration or attempted immigration to our shores by the Asiatic. This resolution is in no way embarrassing to those statesmen and citizens who have to face this problem, but it leaves the State free to act as a State upon this question at such time as the people themselves decide they are ready. Under this resolution the voters of the States will be able to decide this question when and how they want to without asking their Representatives for permission.

"This amendment will either directly or indirectly be the means of bringing a great number of new States into the suffrage ranks and will so increase suffrage activity that its effect can not be overestimated.

"For these reasons we recommend that the Senate joint resolution be adopted."

In order to ascertain the methods of amending the various State constitutions, I have requested the Legislative Reference Division of the Library of Congress to prepare the following table, which I shall print as a part of my remarks:

Amendment of State constitutions.

States.	Legislature.	Legislative vote.	Restrictions.	Election.	Popular vote.	Initiative.
Alabama	1	Three-fifths		G. S.	E.	
Arizona	1	Majority		G. S.	A.	[1]
Arkansas	1	....do	[2]	S. R.	E.	[3]
California	1	Two-thirds		L.	A.	[3]
Colorado	1	....do	[4]	S. R.	A.	[3]
Connecticut	2	First proposal, majority of lower house alone; second proposal, two-thirds of each house.		S.	A.	
Delaware	2	Two-thirds		G.	[5]	
Florida	1	Three-fifths	[6]	G.	A.	
Georgia	1	Two-thirds		G.	A.	
Idaho	1	....do		G.	A.	
Illinois	1	....do	[7]	S. R.	E.	
Indiana	2	Majority	[8]	L.	E.	
Iowa	2	....do		L.	A.	
Kansas	1	Two-thirds	[9]	S. R.	A.	
Kentucky	1	Three-fifths	[9]	G.	A.	
Louisiana	1	Two-thirds		S. R.	A.	
Maine	1	....do		T. M.	A.	
Maryland	1	Three-fifths		G.	A.	
Massachusetts	2	Majority of upper house, two-thirds of lower.		L.	A.	
Michigan	1	Two-thirds		G.	A.	[10]
Minnesota	1	Majority		G.	E.	
Mississippi	1	Two-thirds		G.	[11] E.	
Missouri	1	Majority		G.	A.	[12]
Montana	1	Two-thirds	[2]	G.	A.	
Nebraska	1	Three-fifths		G.	E.	[13]
Nevada	2	Majority		L.	A.	
New Hampshire	[14]				[15]	
New Jersey	2	Majority	[16]	S.	A.	
New Mexico	1	Majority. For certain amendments, including elective franchise, three-fourths.		Z.	[17] A.	
New York	2	Majority		L.	A.	
North Carolina	1	Three-fifths		G.	A.	
North Dakota	2	Majority		L.	A.	[18]
Ohio	1	Three-fifths		L.	A.	[19]
Oklahoma	1	Majority		G.	E.	[1]
Oregon	1	....do		G.	A.	[3]
Pennsylvania	2	....do	[16]	L.	A.	
Rhode Island	2	....do		T. M.	[20]	
South Carolina	1	Two-thirds		S. R.	[11]	
South Dakota	1	Majority		G.	A.	
Tennessee	2	First proposal, majority; second, two-thirds.	[21]	L.	R.	
Texas	1	Two-thirds	[22]	L.	A.	
Utah	1	....do		G.	A.	
Vermont	2	Senate: First proposal, two-thirds; second, majority. House: Majority.	[23]	S. R.	A.	
Virginia	2	Majority		L.	A.	
Washington	1	Two-thirds		G.	A.	
West Virginia	1	....do		G.	A.	
Wisconsin	2	Majority		L.	A.	
Wyoming	1	Two-thirds		G.	E.	

[1] 15 per cent.
[2] Only 3 amendments at 1 election.
[3] 8 per cent.
[4] Not more than 6 articles amended at a time.
[5] None; action of legislature is final.
[6] At regular sessions only.
[7] Only 1 article amended at a session. Same article not oftener than once in 4 years.
[8] No amendment may be proposed while another is pending.
[9] Only at regular sessions. Only 2 amendments at 1 election. Same amendment not oftener than once in 5 years.
[10] 10 per cent.
[11] Legislature can afterwards reject.
[12] 8 per cent in two-thirds of congressional districts.
[13] 15 per cent in State and 5 per cent in two-fifths of counties.
[14] Constitutional convention only can propose amendments.
[15] Two-thirds of vote on measure.
[16] No amendments oftener than once in 5 years.
[17] For certain amendments, including elective franchise, three-fourths of electors voting in State, two-thirds of those voting in each county.
[18] 25 per cent in one-half counties.
[19] 10 per cent in State and 5 per cent in one-half counties.
[20] Three-fifths of vote on measure.
[21] No amendments oftener than once in 6 years.
[22] Only at regular sessions.
[23] No amendments oftener than once in 10 years.

EXPLANATION OF THE TABLE.

Column 1. Legislature: Shows whether the vote of one legislature or of two successive legislatures is necessary to the proposal of an amendment.

Column 2. Legislative vote: Shows the vote in the legislature necessary to the proposal of an amendment. The indicated proportion is a proportion of the "members elected" to each house, except in the following States: Connecticut—First proposal, "Majority of the house of representatives"; second proposal, "Two-thirds of each house." Idaho—"Two-thirds of all the members of each of the two houses." Maine—"Two-thirds of both houses." Massachusetts—"Majority of the senators and two-thirds of the members of the house of representatives present and voting" on the amendment. Minnesota—"Majority of both houses of the legislature." Mississippi—"Two-thirds of each house"; "a two-thirds vote of each house, respectively." North Carolina—"Three-fourths of each house." Vermont—First proposal, senate, "A vote of two-thirds of its members." Wyoming—"Two-thirds of all the members of each of the two houses."

Column 3. Restrictions: Shows the restrictions imposed in certain States upon the proposal of amendments.

Column 4. Election: Shows the election at which the voters act upon an amendment which has been proposed.

Column 5. Popular vote: Shows the popular vote required to adopt an amendment.

Column 6. Initiative: Shows the percentage of the voters of the State which must act in order to propose an amendment by initiative.

EXPLANATION OF SIGNS.

A. Majority of the persons voting on the amendment.
E. Majority of the persons voting at the election.
G. Next general election.
G. S. Next general election unless legislature orders a special election.
L. Time to be fixed by the legislature.
R. Majority of the persons voting for representatives.
S. Special election.
S. R. Next election for senators and representatives.
T. M. Next annual town meeting.
Z. Next regular election after adjournment of legislature, or a special election not less than six months after adjournment.

To illustrate the difficulty of amending State constitutions in order to obtain woman suffrage, this table shows—

First. That in 15 States affirmative action at two successive sessions of the legislature is necessary in order that a proposed amendment may be submitted to a vote of the qualified electors. In New Hampshire amendments may be submitted only by a constitutional convention.

Second. That in 20 States a two-thirds vote of each house of the legislature is required in order to submit amendments. A three-fifths vote is necessary in 6 States. The constitution of Massachusetts provides that a majority of the upper house and two-thirds of the lower house may submit amendments. Vermont requires a two-thirds vote of the State senate on the first proposal. New Mexico makes it practically impossible to submit an equal-suffrage amendment by requiring a three-fourths vote of each house.

Third. That 11 States have restrictions either as to the number of amendments that may be submitted at an election or the frequency with which the people may vote to change the State constitution. In Illinois and Indiana proposed changes must be considered one at a time. The people of Kentucky may vote on two amendments at the same election, but not oftener than once in five years. The constitutions of New Jersey and Pennsylvania may be altered only once in 5 years, Tennessee once in 6 years, and Vermont once in 10 years.

Fourth. That in nine States a majority of the votes cast at the election are required in order to amend the constitution. This means that the ballots of all those who fail to vote are counted against the proposed change. The vote on amendments is usually small, so that this condition is practically equivalent to the two-thirds vote which is required in New Hampshire. The constitution of New Mexico approaches the limit of conservatism. In that State an amendment affecting the elective franchise must receive a three-fourths vote in the State and a majority of two-thirds in each county.

Constitutional amendments may be proposed by initiative petitions in 11 States, the required percentages being 8 per cent in five States, 10 per cent in two States, and 15 per cent in three States. I understand that the 25 per cent requirement in North Dakota makes the initiative method of amending the constitution of that State practically inoperative.

The merits of the plan proposed in the Shafroth-Palmer resolution deserve careful consideration by Congress. The Senate has already voted on a resolution identical in language with the Mondell resolution which we are now considering. In that body the proposed amendment failed, as it will in this House, for lack of a two-thirds majority. While I sincerely hope that the day is not far distant when this particular amendment may be submitted to the States, yet I must in all frankness say that the prospects for early action are not encouraging. Under the circumstances, therefore, I feel justified in bringing to the attention of the House this well-conceived compromise, which ought to quiet the fears of the advocates of State rights, while at the same time it makes easy the way for an extension of woman suffrage by the will of the majority in a larger part of the United States.

I realize that it has been found to be a difficult task to make an appeal to the entire body of qualified electors in a State in order to receive their approval of votes for women. It is much easier to discuss the question of suffrage with the representatives of the people who have been elected as members of the State legislature. But those of us who believe in the rule of the people do not seek to avoid the effort necessary to consult the great body of voters who are, and of a right ought to be, the final arbiters of a question of this kind.

Civil Service Applied to Fourth-Class Post Offices.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL J. TRIBBLE,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 19, 1915.

Mr. TRIBBLE. Mr. Speaker, owing to numerous contests over fourth-class post offices in my district and considerable misunderstanding of the civil-service rules applied to this class of post offices I am extending my remarks in the RECORD, that I may publish a letter of the Second Assistant Postmaster General construing the civil-service regulations applied to fourth-class post offices. Many of my friends seeking these post offices do not understand why the Member of Congress does not have them appointed without regard to rules governing the selection by examination.

Mr. White, of Canon, sent me a petition of patrons, and the petition recited, in part, that these petitioners were proud of the fact that they were represented in Congress by a man they could petition, and one who would have regard for their wishes. The office at Canon being a fourth-class office, and knowing that these good citizens petitioning me believed I could name their postmaster, I wrote the Postmaster General. My letter and his reply I now insert in the RECORD.

JUNE 22, 1914.

Hon. A. S. BURLESON,
Postmaster General, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BURLESON: Two of my correspondents sent me circular letters, which they informed me were sent out by the Civil Service Commission.

One of these constituents sent me a petition signed by numerous patrons of the office. He makes the following statement accompanying same:

"These petitioners are my friends and your supporters, and said when signing they were glad they had a Representative in Congress they could appeal to and would consider such signatures."

The letter sent out by the Civil Service Commission is construed to mean by this constituent that out of the first three on the eligible list the Member of Congress can make selection of his choice. I am not able to see any other construction to be placed upon this letter. It is true this is not the construction placed by the Post Office Department, but the man desiring the appointment can not be convinced that the construction placed by the Post Office Department is followed, but is an excuse on the part of the Congressman for not securing the appointment of the applicant should he appear one of the first three on the eligible list.

I have been in the Post Office Department recently requesting the appointment of one party who was not the first on the eligible list, but who was third, and the Post Office Department refused to make the appointment recommended by me, stating that reasons must be shown why the first and second eligibles were not selected.

In other words, I consider the circular letter sent out by the Civil Service Commission misleading. The Post Office Department tells me there is a more recent order than the one sent out by the Civil Service Commission, justifying the Post Office Department in taking the position it does.

It seems to me there is a conflict between the Civil Service Commission and the Post Office Department. It is embarrassing to me and to other Members of Congress. I am writing to protest against the commision sending out circular letter of November 17, 1913, unless the Post Office Department will appoint the nominee of the Member of Congress from the eligibles.

Please let me hear from you.

Yours, very truly,

S. J. TRIBBLE.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL,
Washington, July 3, 1914.

Hon. S. J. TRIBBLE,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. TRIBBLE: In reply to your letter of the 22d ultimo I beg to advise that the plan which the Postmaster General has adopted for the selection of fourth-class postmasters from eligible lists furnished by the Civil Service Commission is as follows:

It is desired that the persons with the highest rating be chosen, unless good and valid reasons are submitted to the department showing that this would not be in the best interest of the service. If reasons are submitted sufficient to make the selection of the first eligible inadvisable, then it is my desire that the person with the next highest rating be chosen, unless good and valid reasons are submitted to show

the inadvisability of his appointment. In such case the third eligible may be selected.

In no case should the second or third eligible be chosen unless the appointment of one of the highest standing eligibles has been shown to be inadvisable from the standpoint of the greatest efficiency in the Postal Service.

In accordance with your request the inclosures which accompanied your letter are herewith returned.

Sincerely, yours,

DANIEL C. ROPER,
First Assistant Postmaster General.

Mr. Speaker, the language used in this decision naturally causes many contests to be filed protesting against the first eligible, making charges as set out in the Roper letter. You will note the statement of the Post Office Department that the first on the list shall be selected unless cause be shown why such selection should not be made. This responsibility of showing cause rests upon the patrons. No reasonable man would expect the Representative in Congress to assail with personal charges the applicants making best mark and second-best mark throughout his district. What does he personally know susceptible of proof against true and tried citizens that he would be justified in making wholesale charges against the many applicants? The great majority of post offices in my district are fourth-class offices. All offices paying less than $1,000 are fourth class, and the selection is made by civil-service examination except a few very small offices selected by an inspector. The first, second, and third class offices pay over $1,000. Nominations for postmasters at first, second, and third class offices are made by the Representative in Congress, and his selection is usually appointed during the Democratic administration, but the situation is very different in the selection of postmasters for fourth-class offices.

My inability to have all my friends and constituents who apply appointed to positions grieves me inexpressibly. If I have made mistakes at first, second, and third class offices, then I must bear the full responsibility of such mistake, but when my friends censure me for the application of civil-service rules to fourth-class offices the censure is unjust.

One office has a disappointed applicant who was my supporter, but he failed to make sufficient rating on examination to obtain an eligible standing. He knew he could not be appointed, but I have been informed that he immediately became disgusted with my record in Congress and proceeded to show his disapproval of same by voting against me for Congress at the next election and cast his vote for a person very objectionable to the southern people as an officeholder. It does not seem just to hold me responsible for the fact that he failed on examination and an applicant who did not support me made the highest mark and received the appointment.

Another office presented an applicant who supported me, but on account of residence eligibility I advised against making the application in writing and contested the eligibility of this applicant in the Post Office Department. This was known to patrons as well as by applicant. The applicant insisted on standing examination, made the highest rating, and was appointed. Many patrons familiar with my attitude immediately found objections to my record in Congress and expressed their disapproval by striking my name from the party ticket. They objected to the new postmaster, but refused to file any kind of objections. Another office presents a few voters who threaten me with political destruction because an active supporter made the highest rating and a nonsupporter made the second on the list, and it is expected of me that I express a desire to have the nonsupporter second on the list appointed. Yet those criticizing me know that there are four other offices in the same county where the first on the list was appointed postmaster.

One postmaster seeking reappointment assails me bitterly because he must give up the office. The facts are that he has been a postmaster of the Republican administration 16 years. Over his own signature he says he voted against the Democratic national ticket in 1912 and also votes against the State Democratic ticket. Furthermore, he says he intends to continue to do so. Still he thinks the President, against whom he voted, and the Democratic Party, for which he claims no allegiance, should maintain him, a Republican administration postmaster, in office in the South. To the party and President he tried to defeat he appeals to give him reappointment and has alienated many of my friends in his community because he expected me to see that he was reappointed as a personal and political friend.

A prominent citizen and friend at another office wrote me, strongly urging the appointment of the applicant finally selected. In a few days thereafter the Republican appointee applied for reappointment. The prominent citizen then wrote me, strongly urging the reappointment of the Republican administration postmaster. This postmaster refused openly to vote the Democratic national ticket, contributed to the Republican campaign funds, and secured his appointment by very objectionable methods to the southern citizen. I refused my friend's request. He then applied for the office himself and receiving no encouragement he proceeded to withdraw and indorse the fourth applicant. When the appointment was made and I nominated his first selection, he wrote me that he would help to bring about my defeat on account of the "dirty deal" given the patrons of that office by my selection, and he has exerted himself to make good his threats.

A prominent applicant at a certain office proposed to the other applicant to retire from the contest if the other applicant would pay him monthly a specified amount of the salary. He was to do no work for the Government at the post office, and yet was willing to receive a portion of the Government salary. His proposition was rejected. Furthermore, this prominent applicant was not appointed. He writes letters to prospective candidates seeking opposition to me and asserts that the record in Congress of the Representative from the eighth Georgia is so very bad that an immediate change is demanded by the people, and that a man of high integrity should be elected.

Mr. Speaker, the civil-service regulations applied to post offices in making selection are new and untried by the people. The regulations are sometimes not understood, and I thought it wise and proper to publish the letter of the Post Office Department with these comments, that this information in this public way may reach those interested, and that errors prevalent in the minds of some citizens may be corrected.

River and Harbor Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM P. BORLAND,
OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 19, 1915.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, I desire to submit some recent statements showing the progress of navigation on the Missouri River between Kansas City and the mouth of the river.

The matter referred to is as follows:

KANSAS CITY MISSOURI RIVER NAVIGATION CO.,
Kansas City, Mo., January 5, 1915.

Hon. WILLIAM P. BORLAND, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: For your information, beg to advise that we have handled this season a total of 14,000 tons of merchandise on the Missouri River, the entire movement amounting to 5,300,000 ton-miles. This shows an increase of 40 per cent over the 1913 season.

The 1914 fleet consisted of the steel-hull steamers *Advance* (stern-wheel towboat), 600 horsepower; *A. M. Scott* (twin-screw towboat), 600 horsepower; *Chester* (twin-screw packet), 700 horsepower; and the following all-steel, cargo-box barges:

	Tons.
Endeavor, 231 feet long, 41 feet wide, 7 feet deep	1,400
Alpha, 200 feet long, 36 feet wide, 8 feet deep	1,000
Beta, 200 feet long, 36 feet wide, 8 feet deep	1,000
Gamma, 156 feet long, 30 feet wide, 8 feet deep	600
Delta, 156 feet long, 30 feet wide, 8 feet deep	600
Epsilon, 156 feet long, 30 feet wide, 8 feet deep	600
Handy, 100 feet long, 21 feet wide, 6 feet deep	200
Open steel barge Delaware, 135 feet long, 30 feet wide, 8 feet deep	400
Total barge capacity	5,800
Plus freight capacity packet Chester	350
Total freight-carrying capacity of fleet	6,150

This capacity is predicated upon a draft of 6 feet, and is subject to reduction during lower stages of the river.

Our experience has taught us the necessity for using "lighters" during the low-water season. These are decked steel barges (without cargo house) of relatively small size, one of which can accompany each tow without the expenditure of much power, to be used for lightering cargo from the larger barges to enable the tow to pass over any shallow crossing which may develop. Transfer of freight to the lighters can be performed while the tow is under way and before reaching any shallow crossing that may be reported. Without this arrangement, you will understand, the loaded draft of our barges is limited to a few inches less than the depth of water over the one or two shallowest crossings—and there are usually only one or two troublesome crossings to contend with on each trip during low-water season.

During good stages of water these lighters or flats will accompany tows to carry structural steel, reinforcing iron, lumber, logs, sacked wheat, and such freight as does not require careful protection from the elements. They will also be equipped with oil tanks below decks to carry fuel oil for the towboats, giving each power boat a greater steaming radius of fuel and enabling us to bunker all fuel at the cheapest supply market. We have requested bids on, and expect to put in service early this season, four of these lighters, each with a carrying capacity of 200 tons, thereby increasing the total capacity of our fleet to 6,950 tons. This additional equipment will also enable us to handle structural steel and iron, logs, lumber, and other low-grade commodities which can not now be handled profitably in our cargo-box barges.

The matter of an additional towboat is being considered, and, while I can not of course say definitely at this time, I am of the opinion one will be authorized by the board.

Our towboat *Advance* was equipped with new machinery and boilers last spring, and owing to delay on the part of the engine and boiler builders we were unable to have the boat ready for service before

August 1. Most of the season's freight was therefore carried by the packet *Chester* and barges towed by only the *A. M. Scott*.

Our tonnage was also affected by business depression following the outbreak of the war in Europe. Early in the season and until the war began we handled 3,800 tons of export flour; after that, not a pound. The movement of dry goods dropped to practically nothing for a time, the merchants waiting for the cotton market to hit bottom before placing their orders; and all other lines were more or less affected. Somewhat offsetting this loss of regular tonnage, we had been gradually widening the scope of our service, increasing the number of customers and lines of commodities so that we are now serving a great many more industries with a greater diversity of freight, and thus demonstrating the feasibility and economy of river transportation to more and more shippers.

The record of actual miles traveled by the different boats during 1913 and 1914 is as follows:

	1913	1914
Towboat Advance	5,712	4,803
Towboat A. M. Scott	5,750	10,000
Packet Chester	7,344	7,344
Total miles	18,806	22,147

You will note that with the towboat *Advance* in service only a part of the 1914 season an increase of 3,341 traveled miles is shown.

Comparing the 1914 with the 1913 season, the following percentages of progress may be of interest:

	Per cent.
Tonnage increase	40
Ton-mile increase	37
Horsepower increase (towboat)	33
Boat-mile increase	17
Fuel enconomy increase	13

In the spring of 1914 we filed joint tariffs with the Atlas Transportation Co., operating a monthly towboat and barge service between New Orleans and St. Louis; this enabled us to move some freight all-river from New Orleans to Kansas City at 80 per cent of the rail rate. In fact, some coffee moved all-water from Brazil to Kansas City. This movement will naturally grow as the Mississippi River service is improved and sailings made more frequent.

We are now endeavoring to establish through water rates in combination with Panama Canal lines and the Mississippi River between Kansas City and Pacific coast points to give our people the advantage of Panama Canal rates on canned goods and west coast commodities.

The improvement work which the Government has done on the Missouri River is very satisfactory and has been of great benefit to navigation. Within a few days, as soon as it is received, I will forward you a letter from one of our oldest and most experienced pilots, giving you his views of the benefits resulting from the work already accomplished by the engineers.

Our annual audit will be completed to-morrow and I will then mail you the annual statement. Roughly, we have on hand $334,000 cash; $8,600 bills receivable; a few hundred other accounts receivable; $500,000 in boats, barges, terminals, shipyards, and other equipment; material and supplies, $25,000; accrued interest on deferred stock payments, about $50,000, and various smaller book accounts.

Stock subscription collections to December 31 amounted to $995,749.06.

If you desire information on any points not here covered, please wire and it will be furnished promptly.

Very truly, yours,

A. W. MACKIE,
Assistant to the President.

P. S.—You probably realize that we suffer more or less channel trouble in the low-water season, due to the fact that the United States Government improvement work must of necessity be carried on during the navigation season and while we are operating through the stretches of river under improvement. For instance, we lost a great deal of time this fall at Isbell on this account. Three wing dikes were constructed on the north bank of the river, across the channel we had been running, to throw the water to the south, or rock, shore. As these dikes were extended out into the river, the longest being 1,500 feet, our boats were forced farther and farther toward the south shore, around the end of the dikes, which finally forced us into about 3 feet of water. This caused no end of trouble until such time as the channel "made" along the south shore—that is, until such time as sufficient sand and drift was precipitated behind the dikes to build up dams high enough to force a large volume of water in the desired direction. Of such things, of course, we do not complain, as the temporary interference with navigation can not be avoided; but I cite this for your information, as showing at least one reason why it is difficult to operate profitably during low-water season on a river which is undergoing improvement.

Our loss this season is apparently less than that of last season, but we who are in the work are more than ever convinced of eventual success of the enterprise, and feel encouraged over the general development. Our equipment is in prime condition; we are very proud of our two towboats—if there are any better on the inland waters, we have not been able to find them—and we hope and expect to "get over the hill" on a season of normal conditions.

A. W. M.

EFFECT UPON THE COMMERCE OF THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY OF THE THROUGH ALL-WATER SERVICE FROM COAST TO COAST VIA THE PANAMA CANAL.

Letter from Mr. R. D. Sangster, transportation commissioner, the Commercial Club of Kansas City, to Mr. W. D. Wells, jr., traffic manager W. S. Dickey Clay Manufacturing Co., Kansas City, Mo., relative to the effect upon the commerce of the trans-Mississippi territory of the through all-water service from coast to coast via the Panama Canal. Filed by Hon. WILLIAM P. BORLAND at hearing on the subject of the improvement of the Missouri River before the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, House of Representatives, December 14, 1914.

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF KANSAS CITY,
Kansas City, Mo., December 4, 1914.

Mr. W. D. WELLS, Jr.,
Traffic Manager W. S. Dickey Clay Manufacturing Co.,
Kansas City, Mo.

DEAR SIR: Referring to your telephone call of last evening respecting exchange of telegrams between your Mr. Walter S. Dickey and Mr. W. P. Trickett, traffic director of the Minneapolis Civil and Commerce Association, relating to the impending national rivers and harbors congress in Washington, to which I understand Mr. Dickey will be a delegate from Kansas City, together with other gentlemen, to secure further recognition in the way of national aid from Congress for Missouri River improvement:

It seems perfectly clear, in view of recent threatened transcontinental freight-rate disturbances, due to the opening of the Panama Canal, that the question of inland waterway improvement in this country must become an issue of transcending import at once to the trans-Mississippi section and indeed the Nation.

Through water service from coast to coast via the canal has been a reality less than 90 days, but the sworn evidence before the Interstate Commerce Commission in its fourth-section cases, Nos. 203, 305, etc., wherein the transcontinental railroads are seeking further relief from the provisions of the commission's fourth-section order No. 124 in the Spokane rate cases, is conclusive that exceedingly great impetus has recently been given to water transportation and that the commerce of this country is bound to largely drift to the seaboard and Gulf coast territory, to the detriment and distress of inland communities.

So far as the trans-Mississippi section is concerned, while we have been in the enjoyment of rates via rail to the Pacific coast substantially as favorable as the Atlantic seaboard, we are now confronted with the possibility of a material handicap against us in freight rates in favor of coast-to-coast traffic tributary to ocean service, even should the Interstate Commerce Commission conclude that rates to so-called intermountain territory from the Missouri River and east may not be affected by the adjustments which the rail carriers are permitted to make in competition with the water carriers for the reason that they do not propose to exactly meet the port-to-port rates by rail.

The rail carriers propose to establish lower rates from New York to San Francisco than they have been operating, but will not exactly meet the rates via the steamship routes. The rates by rail as proposed are as much as 200 and 300 per cent of the rates now being quoted by the water carriers. For example, the rate on soap, carload, from Missouri River to New York, inclusive, by rail to Pacific coast, Columbia River, and Puget Sound, port cities, is 80 cents per 100 pounds, whereas the steamship lines are quoting a rate of 40 cents, or were doing so quite recently.

This product is manufactured quite extensively on the Atlantic seaboard, and manifestly the interior manufacturer must absorb the difference in freight rates of 100 per cent in order to lay his goods down on the Pacific coast in competition with Atlantic seaboard manufacturers. The carriers by rail will not be permitted by the Interstate Commerce Commission to, under any circumstances, participate in traffic that does not produce out-of-pocket costs and something besides.

The zone of sea influence does not stop at the Atlantic seaboard, but extends inland as far west as Chicago, to which point the rate to-day on canned salmon, for instance, is 60 cents per 100 pounds, based upon the combination of rates from the Pacific coast by water to New York, thence by rail. This rate is 10 cents less than the rate to Missouri River.

The trans-Mississippi section must suffer from these inequalities in freight-rate adjustments. An alternative, however, presents itself forcefully in the opportunity in existing circumstances for the National Government to vitalize the commerce-carrying capacity of our inland-waterway system with which this great region is blessed, and, by so doing, follow the precedent it has so well established in the construction of the Panama Canal.

There can no longer be any doubt about the situation to which we refer and the effect upon the commerce of the trans-Mississippi territory of the through all-water service from coast to coast via the Panama Canal.

During the calendar year 1913, the year immediately prior to the opening of the canal, the total water tonnage of those commodities covered by the transcontinental railroads' recent application to the Interstate Commerce Commission for further relief from its Spokane case opinion was 421,359 tons. The total rail tonnage from territory north of the Ohio and Potomac Rivers and east of Pittsburgh, of the same commodities, was 537,609 tons. The tonnage referred to represents those articles most susceptible in trade to the freight rate and cover about one-half the total tonnage. They have been designated in the proceedings before the Interstate Commerce Commission as Schedule C commodities.

The ships already in service prior to the opening of the canal had a carrying capacity of 1,239,200 tons, and it is quite apparent that without the addition of a single ship the vessels in service prior to last September could more than take care of the entire tonnage of these commodities from that territory east of Pittsburgh and have additional carrying room for 267,476 tons. As an illustration of the effect of the canal's opening, the tonnage moved via that route for the month of September, 1914, was 78,000 tons, thus forecasting an annual tonnage upon the basis of that month alone of 936,000 tons. It is a matter of record that for the years 1912 and 1913, respectively, a little less than one-twelfth of the total tonnage via the Panama route moved in the month of September each year.

To illustrate the effect the opening of the canal has had upon rates via all-water routes, the sea rate, for example, upon iron and steel, carloads, from coast to coast was formerly 60 cents on a large number of such items, and 50 to 55 cents on those remaining. Since the opening of the canal the sea rate has been reduced to 30 cents. The sea service was confined to sailings from New York, but since the opening of the canal sailings have been announced from Philadelphia and from Boston and regular dates of sailings established. The local rate from Pittsburgh to New York on iron and steel articles is 16 cents, making, when added to the 30-cent water rate, a through rate of 46 cents from Pittsburgh to San Francisco. The railroads have been operating a through rate of 80 cents from Pittsburgh to San Francisco, but they propose a rate of 55 cents in competition with the sea route, or 9 cents higher than the rail and ocean combination via New York.

This is a fair example of the effect of the Panama Canal, and it shows that the interior manufacturers in trans-Mississippi territory will find it difficult, if not impossible, to compete with manufacturers on and adjacent to the seaboard and Gulf coast, and it seems inevitable that inland manufacturers will be unable to profitably reach the Pacific coast from their present inland locations. The alternative will be either to abandon the Pacific coast markets or move their plants to the seaboard or Gulf coast.

Therefore it seems proper to say that the intermittent and inconstant policy of Congress toward inland waterway improvement must give way to a broad, comprehensive plan of development to meet the problem which the Panama Canal has introduced in order to maintain an

equilibrium of natural, commercial, and industrial development of the country at large.

The undersigned, together with representatives of Minneapolis, St. Paul, and other Missouri River territory cities, has followed very closely the recent proceedings before the Interstate Commerce Commission and has pointed out the disaster and destruction which would follow the literal application of the commission's order in the Spokane cases upon the products and commerce of this section and that has been fully submitted to the commission.

But this territory is blessed with natural arteries of transportation which our representatives at the impending National Rivers and Harbors Congress in Washington may well urge, with greater insistance than ever before, that the National Government enter upon the work of perfecting the commerce-carrying functions of.

Yours, very truly,

R. D. SANGSTER,
Transportation Commissioner.

Personal.] THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF KANSAS CITY,
Kansas City, Mo., December 4, 1914.

Mr. O. V. WILSON,
Care of Ryley-Wilson Grocery Co., City.

DEAR SIR: In connection with your trip as a delegate to the National Rivers and Harbors Congress in Washington, D. C., next week, I invite your attention to the inclosed copy of communication.

Yours, very truly,

R. D. SANGSTER,
Transportation Commissioner.

The following account of a shipment of coffee from Brazil to Kansas City by water appears in the Kansas City Star of October 7, 1914:

Just 59 days after leaving Brazil a shipment of coffee consigned to the Ennis-Hanly-Blackburn Coffee Co. reached the municipal wharf in a barge of the boat line company. In that time it never touched land. At the New Orleans wharf it was transferred to a Mississippi River barge and thence to one of the boat line's barges at St. Louis. A saving of freight rates of 20 per cent over the water and rail route was effected. The recent extension of marine insurance to Mississippi River cargoes has opened up the new route for South American imports.

The "Pork Barrel."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN H. SMALL,
OF NORTH CAROLINA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 15, 1915.

Mr. SMALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing a speech of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE], delivered at the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, December 9, 1914.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by printing a speech by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE] upon the subject of rivers and harbors. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The address is as follows:

THE PORK BARREL.

[An address by J. HAMPTON MOORE, M. C., of Pennsylvania, president Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association.]

Mr. President, ladies, and gentlemen: The topic assigned to me was not of my own choice. It was selected for me. It would have pleased me much if our distinguished president of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, the Senator from Louisiana, had taken this topic to himself. He is a Member of the Senate of the United States, while I am only a Member of the House; and they know much more about "pork" in the Senate than we do in the House. [Laughter.] There is another reason why I should like to have had the Senator respond to this subject. He comes from a farming community down on a plantation in Louisiana, while I come from a great city, Philadelphia, which we regard as the second port of the United States [applause], and the "pork barrel" is distinctly an agricultural product. [Laughter.] We have no use for it in urban life; it belongs to the farm. How the Senator would define the term I do not know; neither can I tell how the magazine writers acquired their knowledge of it. They are perched up yonder in the eighteenth stories of their skyscrapers in New York, most of them; and as their hands are not calloused from toil upon the dredge or from work along the canal, it is difficult to determine where they get their sensational information about rivers and harbors.

I hold no brief for them, nor for the lexicographers of the railroads, who also seem to be intensely familiar with the "pork barrel" when it suits their purposes. In this I do not refer to the "big men" of the railroads, only to those little brains who think they are doing something big for the railroads when they oppose waterways. [Applause.]

DEFINITION OF THE "PORK BARREL."

I can give a commonplace definition of the term, however, what the boy on the street understands it to mean, and it is this: A "pork barrel" is not what you get for your own river and harbor, but what the other fellow gets for his. [Laughter and applause.] You never hear of "pork barrel" when things are coming your way; you always hear of it, and only hear of it, when things are going the other fellow's way. Even at that, if there is evil in it, I would not want to defend it.

There are many men of many minds in this country of 100,000,000 people, and they are represented in the Senate and in the House of Representatives at Washington. If you who come in from various States of the Union think you will find here one homogeneous mass of public opinion, you are very greatly mistaken, because in the Senate there are 96 ways of thinking upon a public question and in the House there are more than 400. It takes a pretty clever leader to get us together upon one line of thought, and therefore we may not all agree upon all the matters affecting our transportation affairs, nor upon the size or effect of our appropriations.

REFORM AND REFORMERS.

And besides, what we have here in Washington in the way of Representatives, there are many other men of many minds in this country who have their influence upon Congress and Congressmen, and some of them have turned reformers. It is odd how some of us can swing around from our known and natural methods of life to become reformers. Only this morning I was discussing this anomaly with a delegate from Virginia, who gave me a new thought on reformers. He said "the two greatest reformers in the world are poverty and old age." [Laughter and applause.] It seems easy for men to reform when they have got enough for themselves, or when some other fellow begins to get something. There are reformers who have a purpose in preaching reform. Some of them have noble aspirations, but others may be "Greeks bearing gifts." We have observed all of these varieties in the waterways movement.

[At this point Mr. MOORE made some humorous references to James J. Hill, Andrew Carnegie, and THEODORE E. BURTON, of Ohio, and their interest in peace, war, and waterways. He continued:]

These reformers are entitled to our consideration. But even they do not complete the picture. There are others who believe in "principle," to the extent that they would not even accept public office. [Laughter.] In one of the leading addresses this morning, that of the distinguished Secretary of State, it was said that the people generally stuck to principles and that they would not be bothered with the details of projects. The reference, of course, was to the motto, "A policy and not a project." That is an excellent idea, Mr. President, but we need not deceive ourselves; few men come here to talk "policy" who do not have in mind a project for which they intend to stand. It is like coming to talk "principles" and then asking for an office. We all believe in the "policy," but most of us likewise believe in our "projects."

I am one who believes in a "project." If there be any of you who do not believe in a "project," it would be interesting to have you rise and tell whether I am mistaken in my judgment of human nature. How many of you are not interested in some project in your own vicinity that you would like to see advanced? I pause that you may think it over. I see no one rise.

APPROPRIATIONS SHOULD NOT BE SECTIONAL.

Call it "pork barrel" if you please, I shall stand by the Delaware River and its improvement as long as I am honored by the people of Pennsylvania as one of their Representatives in Congress. [Applause.] That great river works for the whole country, and properly improved is capable of greater work. Call the great Atlantic coastal project "pork barrel," but I will stand for it so long as the people of the Atlantic coast insist by convention and resolution that it is needful to commerce and the progress and safety of the country. [Applause.] That project means big business and the saving of life and property. Call your great Mississippi River 9-foot channel project "pork barrel," Mr. President, and you would be seemingly untrue to the people of Louisiana, to the people of the Mississippi Valley whom you represent. Call the Columbia River and the Snake River "pork barrel," then the gentlemen who sit here as representatives of the commercial forces at that corner of the United States would be answerable to the people back home. Mr. President, we are expected to look after our projects, not in a sectional spirit, but for the welfare of the entire country.

The "policy" defined here, and for which we are presumed to unite, is the securing for the approved projects of all the States of an annual appropriation bill of not less than $50,000,000. This convention, as I understand it, is for the purpose of helping that each may have a square deal and equal rights in the apportionment of appropriations for the improvement of our respective sections of the country. [Applause.] We should not be dejected because, perchance, some Member of Congress invites criticism striving to obtain recognition for his own locality, nor because some editor whose magazine is enjoying second-class postage at the expense of the people of the United States discovers in the cry of "pork barrel" a convenient medium for increasing his circulation. Nor should these great public works be made the sport of statesmen brought to the bar of repentance by "poverty or old age," or those disciples of reform who, seeing all evil in others, live on in the hope that their sanctified countenances may some day adorn the pages of the "pork-barrel" magazines. [Applause.]

A TRANSFORMATION ON THE TRINITY.

We have said there are "many men of many minds" in the Congress. Among them are the discoverers of the "pork barrel." In the last session of Congress they made much of the Trinity River in Texas. I ought not to say much about it, because I have criticized the Trinity project myself when comparing it with other and more important streams; but in 1909 the distinguished Representative from Ohio, Mr. BURTON, a member of my own political party, who made an enviable reputation as chairman of the Rivers and Harbors Committee, said that the Trinity River in Texas was good enough for him. He was then preaching the doctrine of peace. He said there were great commercial possibilities ahead of the Trinity, and that it ought to be improved to the extent of hundreds of thousands of dollars, which he authorized to go into a bill. [Applause.] At the last session, only a few months ago, when the coastal States—and all others, in fact, except one or two of the inland States that have no rivers—were waiting with bated breath to know their fate, the same distinguished Representative—now become a Senator, though the change of title does not of necessity imply a real reform [laughter]—thumped and pounded the Trinity River and other items in the rivers and harbors bill until all the projects, regardless of their importance, went down with the measure.

Like our friend, Mr. Carnegie, who easily evoluted from a maker of war materials to an apostle of peace, Mr. BURTON departed from his advocacy of the Trinity River improvement to become its bitter opponent upon the floor of the Senate. [Laughter and applause.] I like the Senator for his many excellent qualities of statesmanship, and it may be that he is right about some of the individual projects which he picked out of the last rivers and harbors bill. But the Senator is human, like the rest of us, and some of his earlier contributions to the literature of waterways may have put a few of us to a disadvantage in attempting to follow his footsteps. I trust the distinguished and able Senator from Ohio is doing some good. I am not sure he is, but, just between us waterway men and women, I would venture to say that if anyone were looking forward to presidential honors, a clever campaign manager would think it fine capital if the dear, good people of the Middle West could be made to believe that you "pork-barrel" devils in Oregon, Louisiana, Maryland, and Florida, in your efforts to obtain competitive transportation to the country's markets, were actually looting the honest farmers who are suffering because they can not now get sufficient prices for their products—— [Applause drowned the close of the sentence.]

ARMY APPROPRIATIONS COMPARED.

Let us say something about this "pork-barrel" business in the aggregate. I am not pleading for an unjust cause, nor for an unworthy stream. Much of my waterways information and much of my instruction comes from those who defeated the rivers and harbors bill in the last session of Congress. I have taken the trouble to have the figures collated with regard to certain other branches of the Government of the United States for the last 40 years—actually, 39 years—but we will call it 40 years. Let us see what they are. Since 1875 we have appropriated—and these gentlemen who are arguing for peace on sea and land, and who object to the opening of our coastal canals, voted for these measures as they came along—we appropriated for the Army of the United States, in these 40 years, approximately $2,000,000,000; they voted for it and there was no "pork barrel" in it nor scandal attached to it; and you and they should remember that while the Army is a protective arm of the Government service it is not a productive arm of the Government service. Somebody must work to maintain the Army of the United States; it is not the Army itself that raises revenue and gets the money to maintain the Army. The Army is our creature, and while we are glad to support it, we must work elsewhere than in the Army to raise money for the cost of war. [Applause.] But in 40 years we have raised this approximately $2,000,000,000 to support the Army of the United States, which, though small it is, we are proud to call our own. [Applause.]

NAVY DEPARTMENT AND PENSIONS.

During this same period of 40 years, due very largely to the lesson we learned in the Spanish-American War, we have appropriated for the support of the Navy of the United States more than $2,000,000,000; and proud as we are of it as a protective arm of the Government, the Navy is not a productive arm; it does not delve in mines; it does not work in the mills or on the farms. It is supported by those who work in the mines, by those who work in the mills, and by those who work on the farms; yet we dedicated more than $2,000,000,000 of our money to the maintenance of the Navy of the United States in the last 40 years. There was no "pork barrel" attached to that. [Applause.]

I hesitate to make another comparison, yet I think I will. We are a grateful Nation, the most grateful of all the nations upon the face of the globe, for during the last 40 years, the period of which I am now speaking, we have appropriated from the men who worked in the mines, and the men who worked in the mills, and the men who plowed the seas, and the men who worked on the farms—we have taken from them and given to the old soldiers of this country who sustained the Union in 1861–1864 more than $4,500,000,000. [Applause.] We have sustained them. We have kept the old soldiers. We have been faithful to them, as they were to us. We have stood by them, and we have paid our debt to this enormous extent, equal to the entire amount that we have appropriated to both the Army and Navy of the United States during the last 40 years. There was no "pork barrel" there. [Applause.]

WHERE THE REVENUE COMES FROM.

Now, where did we get this money? We got it out of business. We got it out of labor. We got it out of commerce. We got it out of that intercourse between men which we call trade; and with this intercourse, with this intercommunication between the active spirits of the laboring and the industrial and the manufacturing and the commercial world we have maintained these old soldiers and we have kept this Army and Navy going. We have looked out for every other branch of the Government service to the tune of a billion dollars every session of Congress. One-third of all the revenue of the Government used in order to meet these enormous bills comes in at the ports along the coast of this country. It comes in through these harbors which the Government is supposed to maintain. We collect it at the customhouses. Another one-third comes from the internal revenue laid upon the labor and commerce of the people. We are taxing them very heavily now in every direction. We are not taxing the Army and Navy and the pensioners; we are taxing labor, commerce, and trade, and the burden is borne largely by those who deal in that intangible commodity known as transportation.

SQUARE DEAL FOR WATERWAYS.

If it were not for what we do for transportation, most of us would still be living in the old thatched log houses, digging our own potatoes and cooking our own meals. It is transportation that has brought together you men from Maine to California, from the Lakes to the Gulf; it is transportation that has given you the facilities of life and happiness of which the world did not dream a hundred years ago. [Applause.] Do you give the railroads credit for all of this? They are entitled to much of the credit, but not to all, although, in a practical sense, they do most of it. Relatively up to a year or two ago they carried eight or nine hundred million tons of the commerce of the country, and the boats on the rivers and on the lakes carried 100,000,000 tons. But as to the cost of it—and this is why we ask a square deal for waterways—you can carry a cargo of clay from over yonder in France, 3,000 miles away, and land it at the port of New York by boat cheaper than you can deliver it from New York to the city of Trenton, N. J., 58 miles away, by rail. The farmer has had to pay, according to figures furnished by the Director of the Census a couple of years ago, 1.6 cents more to carry a bushel of wheat 9 miles from his farm to the railroad than it could be carried 3,000 miles from New York to Liverpool. And what has this burden bearer of the country, this waterway carrier, this commerce maker of the country, this labor dispenser of the country, supporting all these other great arms of the Government, protective and otherwise, what has it received from the Government of the United States in the last 40 years for the improvement of rivers and harbors? Six hundred and ninety-three million dollars all told. Compare that with what

went to the Army and the Navy, compare it with what went to the dear old soldiers of this country. Yet this great burden bearer, the greatest burden bearer of them all, except the railroad, received the least at the hands of the Government and must stand the greatest amount of abuse. It is an outrage which the waterways men of this country ought to resent. [Applause.]

Ladies and gentlemen, the president tells me I have talked five minutes overtime. I have not started, but I am going to quit in the five minutes he gives me. I shall respect the Chair. [Cries of "Go on!" "Go on!"]

NO "NEW PROJECTS"—ECONOMY.

Well, then, let me talk a minute about something that is very dear to many of us. We are told that the coming rivers and harbors bill is not to carry any new projects. That was the scheme upon which the filibuster succeeded in the last session of Congress—no new projects—economy! Economy on useful works, while we have been spending more money on other things this Congress than we ever did in other years in the history of this Nation!

Who is it that says we shall not spend money to open up the streams of this country? Is it the President? If it is, he should be frank and let the country know, but I do not want to believe it is the President. Is it the Secretary of State, who spoke to us this morning? He is an advocate of peace, and I do not blame him for that; but does he want us to be unprepared upon our rivers and harbors to do business, or to meet an enemy in the event of war? If he is opposed to such improvement, which I would not like to believe, he should speak out, for we ought to know where he stands on that question. Is it the chairman of the Rivers and Harbors Committee, or the members of the committee? I should not want to think so. The truth is the people of this country want us to do business for the country, and they would not excuse us if we were bottled up along the coast in event of war. So those who oppose these improvements ought to speak in order that the people here can take the word home and let their communities know just what our Representatives stand for in Washington.

IMPORTANCE OF ATLANTIC COASTAL WATERWAYS.

We have asked for the opening of certain coast canals. It is important that we should connect up the God-given waterways of the Atlantic coast. It is not a new suggestion. The demand has been before Congress since the days of Washington and Monroe. We have been put off until our patience is sorely tried. Why? Some wise old men of both parties have told us we had no right to ask for such improvements when we had the great bosom of the Atlantic Ocean to come and go on. Why, gentlemen, you have come to this convention in the midst of one of the frequent storms that rage along our coast.

If you look at the newspapers to-day, you will find reports of wreckage and devastation that has gone unchecked. There has been loss of life and property. It is but one of many similar visitations. In 10 years we have lost more than 2,200 lives on the Atlantic coast, because we must take the risk of the open sea. What we have asked for in particular is a cut of 13 miles from Delaware Bay to Chesapeake Bay. That would reduce an outside sailing of 325 miles, and give the Nation much-needed communication between the navy yards and repair stations and the base of supplies for our naval vessels in the event of need. I refer to the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, that neglected old waterway which, back in the days of the Civil War, when the railroads were incompetent, carried troops to Washington at Lincoln's call—the troops that saved the Capital. [Applause.] I mean that old canal which, if it remains inadequate and under private ownership as it is, would, in the event of a foreign invasion, find Washington in relatively the same position it was in during the War of 1812, when the British were in possession of the Capital and the President was obliged to seek a haven across the Potomac.

WATERWAYS FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE.

I do not know whether you who come from the mountains back yonder, where the streams are not burdened with commerce, fully understand this question. I do not believe you would feel secure even in your remoteness from the scene of activity if an attack were made upon the coast. In such a case you would be called upon, and as loyal Americans you would promptly respond to the call, to defend the honor of the flag, but you would be ashamed to find that such canals as the Chesapeake and Delaware, capable of the greatest possible service, were unfitted for the passage of the smallest Government craft to carry men or supplies. In a matter so vital should we wait until another country has sent its battleships to bottle up our ports? We need the inside passages now for business purposes; that's the essence of our agitation, but once we have them for business purposes we are always prepared for what may happen. What would Germany do without the Kiel Canal, its key to the ocean and the Baltic Sea? Oh, we could take a chapter from the history of those European countries now so unhappily engaged in war. They have not neglected their waterways as we have. It has cost them money to build their waterways and inland passages, but it seems to have been worth the price. It will cost us less to improve our waterways now than to wait until war obliges us to improve them. Even now the naval vessels of the Government are unable to navigate such streams as the Hudson River. One of them went aground at Albany only a few weeks ago because of the uncompleted works there; nor could they pass through the old Chesapeake and Delaware Canal even in times of peace; we have tried it to our dismay. If, then, in times of peace these costly craft of the Nation must take a dangerous outside route and be driven ashore, as they sometimes are, endangering the lives of the men and risking the property of the Government, is it not time we should insist that some of the enormous sums of money that go into other branches of the Government service shall be appropriated to the Government needs for the defense of the country? [Applause.]

I wish I could go on. [Cries of "Go on!"] I wanted to discuss the waste and loss incurred by the filibuster, but the Chairman says my time is up. [Applause.]

Income Tax.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CORDELL HULL,
OF TENNESSEE,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 20, 1915.

Mr. HULL. Mr. Speaker, I noticed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 19 what purports to be an "Extension of remarks of Hon. WILLIAM E. HUMPHREY" on the income tax.

I pass by with absolute unconcern and indifference the cheap, coarse, and abusive language which the gentleman from Washington [Mr. HUMPHREY] has written as an introduction to three or four newspaper clippings which he thus inserts in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. If the gentleman from Washington imagines that he is either injuring the "authors" of the law or helping himself by the use of coarse epithets that would not be very creditable to a vulgar or ignorant person, he is welcome to continue this practice; but no one will expect Members of the House to take notice in kind of all such ranting as he may thus indulge in.

With regard to the new income-tax law, it may be said in all truth that the enactment and launching of this law has not created one-fourth the controversy and criticism that has been experienced by other income-tax laws in the more than 50 States and countries where they are in operation, during the first stages of their introduction and operation. There was more confusion and complaint in connection with the introduction of the Spanish War revenue tax in 1898 than has attended the introduction of the income-tax law. Any one of our State general-property tax systems when first introduced and while new to the people was even more difficult to understand and afforded even more complaint than the present income-tax law has produced.

If any person will take the time to read and examine the various income-tax laws now in existence throughout the world and some of the decisions construing and applying them, it will be seen that almost every paragraph and sentence contained in our income-tax law has a settled and well-defined meaning. It is readily agreed that no law is perfect in its provisions, or could be made satisfactory to every person, even if perfect. It must be admitted, however, by any fair-minded person who will familiarize himself with this class of legislation that most of the "vagaries" alleged against the present law come from persons who merely desire to discredit the law in order to avoid paying their fair share of taxes, or from those who have not given it sufficient attention to understand it. One of the greatest tax authorities in the United States, Dr. E. R. A. Seligman, closed a recent article on our income-tax law with the following language:

Taking it all in all, the law must be pronounced an intelligent and well-considered effort. It will need amendment in detail to make it completely equitable in principle and fairly smooth in operation. But

when we compare it with our preceding ventures in this field we may be proud of what has been accomplished. Indeed, the law may be declared to be in many respects superior to any other existing income-tax law.

I am entirely content to place the judgment of the best and most unbiased tax authorities of the country against the superficial or prejudiced utterances of the gentleman from Washington [Mr. HUMPHREY] or any other enemy of just, fair, and honest taxation. The attempted criticisms of the law contained in the newspaper clippings above referred to are neither sound nor accurate. Practically every income-tax law that has ever been enacted makes the family the unit of taxation for manifest reasons. This is just as fair to the woman as it is to the man.

It is not surprising that some hidebound protectionists would oppose an income tax or any other honest tax designed to compel the wealth of the country to do what it has never done—bear its fair share of taxes. Neither is it surprising that the large owners of our wealth would, through any subservient newspaper or other available source, seek to prejudice any law of this character, either by superficial criticism or by grossly misleading statements. Every reasonable person who is willing to be at all fair must concede that the income tax is more just and equitable than any other tax law thus far devised, and that laws imposing such tax are in successful operation everywhere. It will also be agreed that from one to two years are necessary in which to place in satisfactory operation any new income-tax law and get it adjusted to our intricate and complicated business conditions and to enable it to reach its normal revenue yield. I assume that the gentleman from Washington is undertaking to speak for the Republican Party in the House and to raise an issue having for its object the repeal of any and all income-tax legislation in this country. Not only the Democrats but the people generally will welcome this issue.

Army Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK T. O'HAIR.

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 22, 1915,

On the bill (H. R. 20347) making appropriation for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916.

Mr. O'HAIR. Mr. Speaker, upon one thing we will all agree, and that is efficiency must be maintained in our military organization. The question upon which we disagree is as to the size and magnitude of our armed land forces. Recent events in the European war show that in all probability any war we might have would be with a combination of nations. It would not be of much profit, therefore, to maintain an armed force capable of coping with one nation, so that if we are going to really arm ourselves as though we were going to have war tomorrow we must prepare to meet a number of nations in combination. We ought, therefore, to maintain at least 2,000,000 of thoroughly trained, armed, and prepared men, and since it costs about $1,000,000 to keep 1,000 men prepared for war for one year the expense of maintaining an adequate force to meet all possible danger from outside would be about $2,000,000,000 per year. Of course that is absurd, but it is no more ridiculous than to stop anywhere else along the line of preparedness to meet an invasion.

I maintain that our battleships will take care of foreigners and the standing Army should be used for maintaining domestic tranquillity. We have the best Army for its size there is on earth, and it is big enough to police our peaceful Nation. Every man I ever defended who was charged with the crime of murder was armed and prepared for a fight at the time of his trouble. Nations are only an organization of men and subject to the same rules and regulations. We are to-day prepared for every emergency for which our Army can legitimately be used. As long as a statesman and patriot like President Wilson sits in the White House we will have little use for any armament, either naval or military.

Mr. Speaker, there is a subject in the minds of our people of very great interest and importance. The members of the committee and others of this House have ably and exhaustively discussed the features in this bill, and to that other subject I desire to address a few remarks.

In the interest of education, in the interest of history, and for the cause of justice let us examine into a matter of world-wide interest, a matter which should be the pride of all Americans, the subject of the greatest geographical discovery since the discovery of America—the subject of the discovery of the North Pole.

The nations of the world have spent millions of dollars and sacrificed many scores of lives in an international race to reach the North Pole. It is a matter of general public opinion that the honor of first reaching the spot known as the boreal center belongs to the American Nation, but the fact has never been officially established by the National Government that an American was really the first to discover the North Pole. A careful and thorough study of facts and data presented by the different explorers seems to prove that such honor does belong to an American citizen, in substantiation of which statement I shall quote a few facts from various authorities on the subject.

I wish first to present a brief outline of a statement made by the man who claims to have been the first to reach the North Pole, to whom, if his statements are true—and the consensus of scientific opinion seems to prove that such truth has been well established—belongs the honor of being the discoverer of the North Pole.

Dr. Frederick A. Cook says:

In the specially equipped schooner yacht *John R. Bradley* we left Gloucester, Mass., on July 3, 1907. In the end of August we arrived at Annoatok, North Greenland, at a point 700 miles from the North Pole. There, aided by John R. Bradley, I finally organized an expedition to reach by sledge the Boreal Center. Supplies were landed and a permanent camp was erected at Annoatok. Rudolph Franke remained as my sole civilized companion. During the long Arctic night that followed sledges were built, the equipment was perfected, men and dogs were trained for the later sledge journey over the Polar Sea.

At sunrise of 1908 (February 19) my expedition started for the pole, aiming to force a new route over and among the lands discovered by Capt. Otto Sverdrup.

On March 20 the last of the supporting parties returned. I had selected as my companions for the last dash two young Eskimos, Ah-we-lah and E-tuk-i-shook. We were then approximately 60 miles north of Cape Svartevoeg in an air line 460 miles from the pole. To this point no one has ever denied my progress northward. The only point of my journey to the pole, therefore, which remains to be proven is the last 460 miles.

It is further conceded by everybody that when we were later carried adrift westward on the return that we traveled southward to Jones Sound and from there back to Annoatok and south to Upernavik. The total conceded distance therefore covered by my expedition, including the detours, was approximately 3,000 miles. Even if we exclude the 460 miles under dispute, my journey over the pack ice multiplies by three the longest journey over pack ice on record before or since. For the longest other journey claimed over pack ice is that of Engineer Peary, and since he seems to have traveled practically in an air line from Cape Columbia to the pole his greatest distance is 840 miles; therefore if my detractors concede that I am able to cover three times the record distance on pack ice, then they also prove without further argument the efficiency of my expedition. All discussion, therefore, on the complex problem of food and equipment is met by this doubly verified journey of 3,000 miles.

Now, as to that last 460 miles which our opponents have chosen to challenge. At the very outset they keep us in idleness on the lifeless waste of the polar ice, without explaining our movements. Less than a hundred miles to the south were game lands. To the north was the reachable glory of polar attainment. It is known that we did not go south at this time. It is not reasonable to suppose that one would sit on the ice for two months to deceive himself and the world. The only rational conclusion is that we did go north, for to do so was to satisfy an ambition nursed for 20 years.

In going northward as we reached the eighty-third parallel, we crossed a great gap dividing the land-adhering pack from the more active circumpolar drift. As we neared the eighty-fifth we discovered land westward. Between the eighty-seventh and eighty-eighth we crossed what seemed like ice-covered land. We reached the pole on April 21, 1908, and noted for the first time in history the physical conditions about the top of the globe. I have given along this line an abundance of scientific data by which subsequent explorers can affirm or deny my work.

In the brief cable dispatch published in the New York Herald September 2, 1909, is given the most general scientific data. Within a few days thereafter there was turned over to the New York Herald the complete original narrative as written while in the Arctic, from original observations, before civilization was reached. This was published under the title, "The Conquest of the Pole," in instalments, from September 15 to October 7, 1909.

The final and complete record of the important results of my polar expedition is published under the title, "My Attainment of the Pole," and upon the data thus published history must judge my polar effort.

Through all ages explorers have been rated not by disconnected field notes, not by a mathematical test of calculation for position, but by the careful reexamination of all the data as presented in the final publications. When to this is added the verifying and corroborative evidence of subsequent explorers, the pioneer's effort is substantiated for all time.

As pointed out by Edwin Swift Balch in his book, The North Pole and Bradley Land, my first reports were published and placed on record at a time when it was impossible for me to know of the work of any subsequent explorer. For this reason it is well to get a clear grasp of the physical conditions about the North Pole as first published.

Engineer Peary left the last civilized port for the pole about three months after I had reached the North Pole. His work was therefore about a year later than mine. His first report was sent by wireless about a week after my report had been published; and as noticed at once by all other Arctic explorers, Peary's report confirmed mine in every important scientific detail. My account of the physical conditions about the pole did not fit any previous theory. Peary's report in substance was a parallel of mine. Peary denied my success and said that he was the only one who had reached the pole. If he therefore unconsciously proves my case he is a witness of double value. The existence of the lands which I have reported are proven by Peary's description

of land-divided ice farther east and by other similar parallel data, and thus my position is absolutely established to and beyond the eighty-eighth parallel. This leaves only about 100 miles of the disputed 460 miles to verify. Over this last 100 miles and about the pole I have reported an absence of land and life; a sea of highly colored moving ice, composed of large, smooth ice fields. Here and elsewhere I have reported winds, thermometric records, tidal action on the ice pack, physical conditions of the sea ice. These and all the minutest detail, down to the psychology of the men with me, are confirmed by parallel statements of Peary in his official narrative.

Rear Admiral W. S. Schley was one of the first to note that Peary's report was in reality a scientific duplicate of mine, and that by his parallel material my position was verified and proven. In the end of 1909, when it was popular to belittle and ridicule my work, Schley said his judgment was made upon his knowledge of Arctic conditions; that he had gone over both accounts carefully and that it would take more than an academic lever to change his mind. Again, a year later, Admiral Schley placed himself on record by the following letter:

1826 I STREET,
Washington, D. C., January 7, 1911.

DEAR DR. COOK: I thank you very much for your kind letter, and I assure you that I have never varied in the belief that you and Civil Engineer Peary reached the pole. After reading the published accounts daily and critically of both claimants, I was forced to the conclusion from their striking similarity that each of you was the eyewitness of the other's success.

Without collusion it would have been impossible to have written accounts so similar, and yet in view of the ungracious controversy that has occurred since, that view—collusion—would be impossible to imagine.

While I have never believed that either of you got to within a pin point of the pole, I have steadfastly held that both got as near the goal as was possible to ascertain, considering the imperfections of the instruments used and the personal errors of individuals under circumstances so adverse to absolute accuracy.

Again, I have been broad enough in my views to believe that there was room enough at the pole for two, and never narrow enough to believe that only one man got there.

I believe that both are entitled to the honor of the achievement.

Very truly, yours,

W. S. SCHLEY.

This letter was sent out by the Associated Press on January 11, 1911. When one of Peary's experts read it in the papers he telephoned Admiral Schley and asked if he had written it. Admiral Schley answered, "Yes; what is the matter with it? Isn't it a good letter?"

Fifty other Arctic explorers and scientific experts have either in private letters or published statements expressed a similar opinion.

By a careful search through the published official records, Mr. E. C. Rost has plotted this parallel scientific data on a pictorial map. This map has been verified by S. J. Entrikin, second in command of the Peary expedition of 1894; Ralph L. Shainwald, explorer; Maurice Connell, of the Greely expedition; L. C. Bement, explorer; Capt. Edward A. Haven, master mariner and member of the Ziegler expedition; Dr. Middleton Smith, observer and naturalist of the Point Barrow expedition, and others.

This, with the detailed records as published in my narrative from original documents and photographs, I offer as proof to substantiate my claim as being the first to reach the North Pole.

And as further proof, let us note that my opponents do not argue on the merits of polar exploration but by a series of side issues, such as the distorted news reports on the Mount McKinley ascent, the yellow-journal "confessions," the false reports of the Danish verdict, and other press explosions. I am ready to go before a committee acting for the United States Government to present the scientific results of my polar effort, and also to meet one and all of the insinuations aimed to undermine the sincerity of my work.

FREDERICK A. COOK.

As Dr. Cook says, the only points in rebuttal of his claims, as above stated, are:

First. His disappearance at an early stage of the controversy.

Second. The Copenhagen verdict as given out by the press.

Third. The so-called "confession" as published in the now defunct Hampton's Magazine.

Fourth. His opponent's version of the Mount McKinley ascent.

I shall reply to these charges in the order presented:

First. At the time of his alleged "disappearance" Dr. Cook had not recuperated from his strenuous experience in the North nor from the physical strain occasioned by the arduous duties thrust upon him immediately after his arrival in civilization. He therefore, with his family, went away for a year's rest. When he was prepared to fight for his vindication he returned to this country about four years ago. As Dr. Cook expresses it, he came back at that time and "is still coming back."

Second. The Copenhagen verdict, rendered in December, 1909, was never truthfully presented to the public. The Danes, after due investigation, presented Dr. Cook with a gold medal and conferred upon him the degree of doctor of physics for the discovery of the North Pole. The Danes never said that Dr. Cook did not reach the North Pole. In verification of that statement is the fact that Salmonsen's Encyclopædia, published in Copenhagen, Denmark, in 1911, two years after the famous Copenhagen verdict was rendered, makes the unqualified statement that Dr. Cook arrived at the North Pole April 21, 1908.

Third. The much-heralded so-called "confession," which ran through four numbers of the now defunct Hampton's Magazine, was no confession of Cook's, but was purely a fabrication of Hampton's Magazine, as is clearly proven by the following sworn statement:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *July 1, 1914.*

To whom it may concern:

While employed as editorial stenographer by Hampton's Magazine it fell to my lot to take the story entitled "The Discovery of the North Pole" which ran in Hampton's in 1910. This story was published over the name of Robert E. Peary, was dictated to me by a woman (Mrs. Elsa Barker), and of it Mr. Peary wrote not one word. I still hold in my possession my stenographer's notebooks containing my original shorthand notes of this story.

Later in the year a member of this same enterprising, unscrupulous editorial staff manufactured and dictated to me a faked "statement" for the press, to which I was commanded to sign the name "Frederick A. Cook" by typewriter, but of which Dr. Cook had absolutely no knowledge until it appeared in the public press.

This faked "statement" (commonly called "the Cook confession") appeared simultaneously with the issue of Hampton's Magazine for January, 1911, which contained the first installment of what was known as "Dr. Cook's Own Story," in which, after Dr. Cook had O. K.'d the galley proofs, I helped to insert certain insanity and "confession" clauses.

The above is a voluntary statement made by me in the interests of justice, without the knowledge of Dr. Frederick A. Cook.

LILIAN E. KIEL.

CITY OF WASHINGTON, *District of Columbia, ss:*

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 1st day of July, 1914.

[SEAL.] EUSTACE C. OWEN,
Notary Public, District of Columbia.

4. THE MOUNT MCKINLEY CLIMB.

The opponents of Dr. Cook, falling back on the principle of the old proverb, "Falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus," tried to discredit Dr. Cook's discovery of the North Pole by attempting to disprove his ascent of Mount McKinley. The details of the various ascents of Mount McKinley are fully set forth in a masterly book by Edwin Swift Balch, the noted mountain climber and geographic historian, entitled "Mount McKinley and Mountain Climbers' Proofs"; and the same ascents have been critically analyzed in a brochure by E. C. Rost, which is indorsed by the leading explorers and mountain climbers. Dr. W. H. Axtell, of Bellingham, Wash., a man who has himself "mushed" over the mountain regions of the Northwest, writes of this analysis:

I have read the booklet (on Mount McKinley) with a great amount of interest and profit. It is, I think, one of the best articles of refutation of Dr. Cook's detractors I have read.

W. H. AXTELL.

I quote from this brochure: "Mount McKinley; Its Bearing on the Polar Controversy":

MOUNT MCKINLEY, ITS BEARING ON THE POLAR CONTROVERSY.

"During the last decade six attempts have been made to reach North America's highest peak—the summit of Mount McKinley. Of these the second, third, and sixth were successful.

"In 1903 Dr. Frederick A. Cook, with three companions, Ralph Shainwald, Robert Dunn, and Fred Printz, made his first and unsuccessful attempt.

"Three years later, in 1906, Dr. Cook organized and led a party of 10, including Belmore Browne and Herschel C. Parker, to the base of the mountain, but one after another of the party dropped out until only Dr. Cook and his packer, Edward Barrill, were left. These two men, with courage undaunted by apparently insurmountable obstacles, continued the trip, and finally succeeded, on September 16, 1906, in attaining the 'top of the Continent.' The weather was favorable, the temperature —16° F., the air at the top clear, and Dr. Cook secured a splendid photograph of the summit, with his companion, Barrill, holding the American flag on the highest point of the North American Continent, an altitude of 20,390 feet. Of this photograph more later.

"In 1910 the Lloyd expedition, comprising a party of three men, ascended the southern peak of the mountain, and not content with this achievement, immediately thereafter carried a flagstaff to a height of 20,000 feet on the northern peak, and planted it there so firmly that it was still plainly visible in 1913.

"The same year (1910) Belmore Browne and the pseudo Prof. Parker made a trip to Alaska for the nominal purpose of climbing Mount McKinley, but turned back at a height of 10,300 feet. In 1912 they made another attempt, which they claimed was almost successful.

"The latest expedition, that of Dr. Hudson Stuck, archdeacon of the Yukon, attained the summit on June 7, 1913, having followed a route which, when near the top, gradually merged with that which Dr. Cook and Barrill traversed seven years previously. Dr. Stuck's first narrative was published in Scribner's Magazine of November, 1913.

"The ascent of Mount McKinley, while an admittedly difficult feat, was inevitable sooner or later by some intrepid explorer. In 1906 and 1907 Dr. Frederick A. Cook was universally accepted as the first man to set foot on the 'top of the Continent,' as was shown by the following announcement, copied from page 714 of the National Geographic Magazine for December, 1906:

"December 15, annual banquet. The New Willard. The guests of the evening will include * * * Commander Robert E. Peary and Mrs. Peary; Mr. Morris K. Jesup, of New York, president of the Peary Arctic Club, and Mrs. Jesup; * * * Dr. Frederick A. Cook, who has been the first to ascend Mount McKinley."

The January, 1907, number of the National Geographic Magazine, giving a detailed account of the above-mentioned dinner,

contains the following remarks by Alexander Graham Bell, contributing editor of the National Geographic Magazine and member of the board of managers of the National Geographic Society:

I have been asked to say a few words about a man who must be known, by name at least, to all of us—Dr. Frederick A. Cook, president of the Explorers' Club, New York.

We have with us and are glad to welcome Commander Peary, of the Arctic regions, but in Dr. Cook we have one of the few Americans, if not the only American, who has explored both extremes of the world—the Arctic and the Antarctic regions. And now he has been to the top of the American continent, and therefore to the top of the world; and to-night I hope Dr. Frederick Cook will tell us something about Mount McKinley.

Doubtless to-day Dr. Frederick A. Cook would hold undisputed title of the first conqueror of this monarch of North American peaks had it not seemed desirable to his opponents in the polar controversy to cast a shadow of doubt on his mountaineering feat, in the hope to thereby discredit his discovery of the North Pole. To this end methods were employed which will not bear the searchlight of honest investigation.

A campaign of dishonor was inaugurated, the initial step in which was the perjured affidavit made by Edward Barrill, for which he was promised $25,000, and was paid $1,500 at the time the affidavit was made. For three years Barrill had proudly boasted to friends and strangers alike of how he and Dr. Cook had climbed Mount McKinley. But he was a man of moderate means, with a family, and needed money. However, he refused moderately large amounts; and it was not until the proffered bribe was increased to $25,000 that he finally consented to make the false affidavit. This valuable (?) document in the hands of the pro-Peary interests served as a newspaper sensation for a time, and no doubt had weight with that portion of the public which allows the press bureaus to think for it; but reasoning persons argued that an affidavit purchased from a self-confessed liar was worth but little, pro or con. Other steps must be taken. Other steps were taken.

Mr. Peary's press agent offered $3,000 and Lawyer J. M. Ashton, of Tacoma, Wash., a like amount toward financing an expedition to climb Mount McKinley in 1910. To this offer "Prof." H. C. Parker and Belmore Browne, both "quitters" from Dr. Cook's 1906 expedition, responded. J. A. MacDonald, who was in the foothills of Mount McKinley when Dr. Cook's party landed at the headwaters of the Yentna River, writes of this same "professor" as follows:

Dr. Parker should be the last one to say anything about mountain climbing or anything where it takes a man and pluck to accomplish results—good results—as he showed himself to be the rankest kind of a tenderfoot while in the foothills of Mount McKinley, and was the laughing stock of the country. Mount McKinley and the country around there was too rough for him. He got "cold feet" and started back for the States before he had even seen much of the country around there.

This choice combination went to Alaska and engaged in mining and hunting for a time in the foothills of Mount McKinley. When the season was well advanced they started up the northeast side of the mountain, but were turned back by rotten ice; after this futile attempt they ascended to a height of 10,300 feet on the south side and returned with a number of photographs and sketches, some of which were afterwards published by Belmore Browne in magazine articles and later in his book, The Conquest of Mount McKinley.

In Parker's account of the 1910 expedition, he claimed that—

The northeast ridge, the one used by Dr. Cook—north of Ruth Glacier—was absolutely insurmountable.

But in 1912 Messrs. Browne and Parker made yet another attempt to scale the mountain—again financed by the Peary interests—and this time "Prof." Parker found reason for a change of thought regarding the route to the top, for of this trip he said:

The northeast ridge is the only feasible ridge, and whoever goes up will follow in my footsteps.

Parker was advised to take this route by Engineer R. C. Bates, United States revenue inspector of mines, who in 1911, with a party of two, explored the mountain and selected the northeast ridge as the only feasible route to the top. He ascended to 11,000 feet and told the exploit to the Parker party, who took the same route and with an able guide ascended nearly to the summit. Of this trip the Associated Press said that its principal result was to show that the northeast ridge was climbable. In 1913 Hudson Stuck ascended by the Muldrow glacier and the northeast ridge.

Dr. Cook's judgment in his selection of the northeast ridge as his route to the top was thus vindicated by three different parties, among them the men who started out to discredit him.

* * * * * * *

In addition to various magazine articles by different explorers, three books have been published describing the ascent of Mount McKinley—one, "To the Top of the Continent," by Dr. Frederick A. Cook, relating the history of his first attempt and his later success; another by Belmore Browne, "The Conquest of Mount McKinley," which gives a brief outline of his trip with Dr. Cook in 1906, an account of his expedition with "Prof." Parker in 1910; also the story of his near ascent in 1912. The third and latest book is "The Ascent of Denali (Mount McKinley)," by Hudson Stuck, D. D., archdeacon of the Yukon.

The interest in Mr. Browne's book centers in Chapter X, which he calls "The End of the Polar Controversy," and Chapter XXVI, in which he relates the story of his last vain struggle to reach the actual summit.

In Chapter XXVI Mr. Browne describes in detail the ascent to an altitude of 19,300 feet, at which point they encountered a severe blizzard. Although they persevered for a time and managed to proceed a short distance higher, the blinding storm rendered it impossible for them to distinguish objects or even read the dials of their barometers, and they were eventually forced to turn back without reaching the summit. Mr. Browne says, on page 346: "* * * We had not stood on the top."

Belmore Browne asserts that Dr. Cook's photograph of the summit of Mount McKinley is not a photograph of the summit, but was taken in the foothills, 20 miles from McKinley's highest peak. He also asserts that his own picture of what he calls the "Fake Peak" was taken at the same spot as was Dr. Cook's photograph, and therefore he considers it a "conviction" of Dr. Cook.

In chapter 10, opposite page 122, Mr. Browne publishes a picture, underneath which appears the following legend:

"The author photographing the Fake Peak. Tucker standing where Barrill stood. This view including the author is used for a special reason. As short a time ago as March, 1913, a geographer accused the author of painting—by hand—the views of this peak, with which we convicted Dr. Cook! (Photo by H. C. Parker.)"

Mr. Browne does not take his readers into his confidence sufficiently to mention the name of the "geographer" who made the above accusation, because the name would stand for an authority beyond dispute. Even a 12-year-old boy, who has spent his holidays roaming about with a kodak, can see at a glance that the picture with which Mr. Browne claims he "convicted Dr. Cook(!)" is not a photograph per se, but a drawing made over a photograph. This picture certainly bears conviction of fraud—but not of Dr. Cook. On this point Mr. Browne is caught in his own trap and "convicted" by his own work. He is a clever artist, indeed, but not so clever that he can disguise a combination photograph-drawing-painting successfully enough to deceive even an amateur photographer, to say nothing of an expert professional. As a matter of fact, one need be neither amateur nor professional—just plain layman—to discern the glaring differences between Mr. Belmore Browne's composite picture of the so-called "Fake Peak" and Dr. Cook's bona fide photograph of the summit. Since Mr. Browne admits that "We had not stood on the top," and since he further admits that he was unable to see anything of the mountain higher than a point of 1,000 feet altitude below the summit, he is not in a position to say what the summit looks like or whether or not Dr. Cook's photograph is a true picture of the highest point.

Personally, in my work as a magazine writer and special correspondent for various publications, I have had much experience in photographic work at high altitudes; my work in this line has been highly approved by the heads of several departments of our Government, and some of it has been accepted for use in official publications; therefore I am competent to make the unqualified statement that Dr. Cook presents a photograph from nature, while Belmore Browne's picture is obviously faked.

Although Mr. Browne prints under his picture which he calls the "Fake Peak" the words, "Photo by H. C. Parker," his memory apparently slipped a cog at this point, for, on page 121, he writes:

* * * While we stood there, lost in thought of the dramatic side of our discovery, Prof. Parker (not Tucker) walked to the top of the rock at the point where Barrill had posed when Dr. Cook exposed the negative. His figure completed the picture.

The above is only one more proof of Mr. Browne's inaccurate and careless statements.

In his story of his 1912 expedition, on pages 340 and 341, Mr. Browne says:

Report has it that the Lloyd Mount McKinley party had reached this peak or one of its northern shoulders, and there raised a pole above a pile of rocks. * * * On the last days, close to the southern summit every rock and snow slope of that approach had come into the field of our powerful binoculars. We not only saw no sign of a flagpole, but it is our concerted opinion that the northern peak is more inaccessible than its higher southern sister.

A year later Archdeacon Stuck wrote in Scribner's Magazine for November, 1913:

All at once Walter cried out, "I see the flagstaff!" eagerly pointing to the rocky peak nearest the summit. * * * Whipping out the field glasses, one by one we all looked and all saw it distinctly standing out against the sky. Through the glasses it rose sturdy and strong, one side covered with crusted snow; and we were greatly rejoiced that we could carry down confirmation of the matter.

While Archdeacon Stuck in November, 1913, thus directly contradicted the statement of Belmore Browne, at the same time, in word and illustration, he corroborated Dr. Cook's account of his ascent to the summit, published six years earlier. This corroboration was doubly striking because it was unconscious and unintentional. Note the similarity in the following parallel columns:

On page 218 of "To the Top of the Continent" Dr. Cook says:

"As we dragged ourselves out of this icy ditch of terrors (in the northeast ridge) we were able to see that we had passed the barriers to the ascent. The slopes above were easy, safe, and connected, but the bigness of the mountain was more and more apparent as we rose above the clouds. The task enlarged with the ascent. * * * Soon after noon we swung from the Arete easterly to the glacier. The snow was hard and the slope such that but little step cutting was now necessary. Along the glacier to the gathering basin near the summit the prospective route rose in easy slants to our goal."

On page 225 Dr. Cook says:

"During the frequent breathing spells we examined the upper reaches of the mountain. We had seen the summit from various sides, but we were not prepared for the surprise of the great spread of surface. From below the apex appears like a single peak with gradual slopes. From the northern foothills we had previously discovered two distinct peaks. But now, from the upper slopes, we saw that there were several miniature ranges running up to two main peaks, about 2 miles apart. To the west a ridge with a saddle, to the east a similar ridge, with one main peak to the southeast. This peak was the highest point, and to it we aimed to take our weary spirits."

Of the final climb to the top Dr. Cook wrote on pages 230 and 231:

"The last few hundred feet of the ascent so reduced our physical powers that we dropped onto the snow, completely exhausted, gasping for breath. We puffed and puffed, and after a while the sickening thump under the left fifth rib became less noticeable. Breath came and went easier, and then the call of the top was again uppermost. * * * Just below the summit we dropped over an icy shelf on the verge of collapse. After a few moments we gathered breath and courage, and then for the last stage the life line tightened with a nervous pull. We edged up along a steep, snowy ridge and over the heaven-scraped granite to the top. At last, the soul-stirring task was crowned with victory; the top of the continent was under our feet."

On page 544 of Scribner's Magazine for November, 1913, Archdeacon Stuck says:

"With the exception of this ridge (the northeast ridge) Denali (Mount McKinley) is not a mountain that presents any special difficulties of a technical kind. Its difficulties lie in its remoteness, its size, the great distances of snow and ice its climbing must include the passage of. * * * But the northeast ridge in its present condition adds all of sensation and danger that any man could desire."

Note Archdeacon Stuck's narrative, page 548:

"At last the crest of the ridge was reached and we stood well above the two peaks which rise at the ends of the horseshoe. We had been aware for some time that we were above the north peak, for its apex had been like an index as we rose, and we had paused and noted the spot where we seemed level with it. But still there stretched ahead of us, and perhaps 100 feet above us, another small ridge with a pair of haycock summits. This is the real top of Denali (Mount McKinley). From below it merges indistinguishably, even on a clear day, with the crest of the horseshoe ridge, with which it is parallel, but it is not a part of it, but a culminating ridge beyond it."

Archdeacon Stuck's experience is given on pages 548 and 549 of Scribner's:

"The writer's shortness of breath became more and more distressing as he rose. * * * Yet a few moments' rest recovered him as completely as ever, to struggle on another 20 or 30 paces and to sink, gasping, on the snow again. * * * The last man on the rope, in his enthusiasm and excitement somewhat overpassing his narrow wind margin, had almost to be hauled up the few final feet and lost consciousness for a moment as he fell upon the floor of the little basin that occupies the summit."

The only deduction to be made from these two narratives is a confirmation of Dr. Cook's story, unwittingly, by Archdeacon Stuck.

The fact that Archdeacon Stuck failed to bring back with him the brass tube left by Dr. Cook proves nothing. In common with other glacial peaks, the summit of Mount McKinley is at times windswept, "heaven-scraped granite"; at other times covered with a great depth of snow. When Archdeacon Stuck made the ascent in June, seven years after Dr. Cook's conquest of the mountain in September, the summit was covered with snow. This alone, irrespective of the other natural changes which are constantly taking place in a glacial summit, would account for Archdeacon Stuck's failure to find Dr. Cook's records, even if he had looked for them, which apparently he did not do.

Although Stuck's first story of his ascent is fairly entertaining, some of his statements were rather sharply criticized by other writers and travelers. Under date of December 30, 1913, the noted geographical historian, Edwin Swift Balch, in an open letter to the New York Sun, said:

[From the New York Sun, Dec. 31, 1913.]

To the Editor of the Sun.

SIR: In the November Scribner's Magazine, page 552, Archdeacon Stuck makes the following statement:

"The English geographers prefer K2, the surveyor's designation of the second highest peak of the Himalayas, which the Duke of the Abruzzi climbed in 1909, the highest point ever reached by man."

This will undoubtedly be news to all mountain climbers and geographers, and especially to the Duke of the Abruzzi himself, to whom the archdeacon should cable at once the glad tidings.

EDWIN SWIFT BALCH.

To this Archdeacon Stuck replied:

[From the New York Sun, Jan. 3, 1914.]

To the Editor of the Sun.

SIR: I have waited more than two months for Mr. Edwin Swift Balch's letter, and am glad that he has at length discovered my mistake. I discovered it myself weeks before the article was published in Scribner's Magazine, but not in time to get the correction made. The annoying thing about it is that K2 and the Duke of the Abruzzi were a mere flourish of embellishment to show how much I knew about mountain climbing—dragged in by the scruff of their necks, so to speak. * * *

HUDSON STUCK,
Archdeacon of the Yukon.

So much for the magazine article.

In February, 1914, Archdeacon Stuck published his book, The Ascent of Denali (Mount McKinley), Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, in which he makes copious and elaborate additions to, as well as important omissions from, his original narrative, with apparently but one object in mind—to discredit Dr. Cook.

Why this sudden change of attitude? What influence—financial or otherwise—was brought to bear on the reverend gentleman to induce him to make such pathetically strenuous, though futile, efforts to discredit the straightforward, truthful account of one brother explorer, Dr. Cook, and bolster up the tottering structure of flimsy statements erected by another, Belmore Browne? I will not attempt to answer this inquiry, though the inference is plain. It must also be remembered that this pious missionary, in his ambition to prove himself the first to stand on the top of the continent, fails to credit Lloyd with his ascent.

The dedication of the book to Sir Martin Conway seems a little presumptuous on the part of the author, as there is small community of achievement between one of the world's greatest travelers, climbers, and explorers and the itinerant Alaskan preacher who was literally dragged to the culmination of his highest climb by his sturdy companions.

Stuck's carelessness in detail is plainly shown in his attempted Scriptural quotations. Although a "D. D." and an archdeacon, presumably familiar with his Bible, neither of the two quotations from the Psalms, on page 110, nor the one on page 115, nor the one from Matthew on page 13, preface, is correct. (See Psalm 148, verse 8; Psalm 65, verse 6; Psalm 50, verse 1; and Matthew 12, verse 34.)

On page 13, preface, Dr. Stuck says he is "no professed explorer or climber or 'scientist,' but a missionary, and of these matters an amateur only." If inaccurate in the quotation of the most familiar lines of the textbook of his chosen profession, what dependence can we place on his observations and conclusions in a field where he is admittedly a novice, but nevertheless considers himself competent to criticize and condemn an experienced explorer?

As already noted, Archdeacon Stuck in his magazine article directly contradicted Belmore Browne's statement relative to the flagstaff planted on the North Peak by the Lloyd party. In his book he attempts to reconcile this discrepancy by saying, on page 172:

It—the flagstaff—is, indeed, only just visible with the naked eye from certain points on the upper glacier and quite invisible at any lower or more distant point.

And again, on page 173:

It would never be seen with the naked eye save by those who were intently searching for it.

This friendly effort to put Messrs. Browne and Parker right on the subject fails of its purpose, however, for Mr. Browne says in his book, on pages 340 and 341, as previously quoted:

Every rock and snow slope of that approach had come into the field of our powerful binoculars. We * * * saw no sign of a flagpole—

And so forth.

Mr. Browne was certainly "intently searching for it," and not with "the naked eye." Try again, Brother Stuck.

Stuck reports that he was unable to find Parker's thermometer, which was left "in a crevice on the highest rock of the main ridge" (see p. 349 of "The Conquest of Mount McKinley," as quoted by Stuck), "in a crack on the west side of the last bowlder of the northeast ridge." Stuck accounts for

his failure to find this thermometer by saying, on page 120, when referring to his own record, which was left much lower than Parker's thermometer:

There would, however, have been little use in leaving it amid the bowlders where we hunted unsuccessfully for Prof. Parker's instrument.

Also, on page 119 he says:

Above we had not found any distinctive place in which a record could be deposited with the assurance that it would be found by anyone seeking it.

Is it not inconsistent to lay great stress on the fact that Dr. Cook's record, left in a brass tube a few feet below the summit, has not been found?

It is on pages 161 to 166, inclusive, however, that Archdeacon Stuck makes his most direct attack on Dr. Cook's veracity. If veracity is to be questioned, however, it is not that of Dr. Cook in his narrative, but that of Stuck in his criticism. It is irritating to the point of exasperation to find a man whose profession lends weight to his unsupported word guilty of such inaccuracies, and worse, in his attempt to deny the achievement of a fellow traveler. On page 165 Stuck says:

Dr. Cook talks about "the heaven-scraped granite of the top" and "the dazzling whiteness of the frosted granite blocks," and prints a photograph of the top showing granite slabs. There is no rock of any kind on the south (the higher) peak above 19,000 feet. The last 1,500 feet of the mountain is all permanent snow and ice.

On page 233 of "To the top of the Continent," Dr. Cook mentions as most impressive—

the curious low, dark sky, the dazzling brightness (not "whiteness") of the frosted granite blocks—

And so forth, and his photograph of the summit certainly shows rock.

Archdeacon Stuck's statement that "there is no rock of any kind above 19,000 feet" is especially interesting, for opposite page 102 of his book he shows a picture of "Denali's Wife from the summit of Denali," in which bare, "heaven-scraped" granite is plainly shown but a short distance from the summit of Denali (Mount McKinley).

Apparently a misstatement on the part of some one, but not Dr. Cook.

Again, Stuck says of Dr. Cook (p. 165):

In his account of the view from the summit he speaks of "the iceblink caused by the extensive glacial sheets north of the St. Elias group," which would surely be out of the range of any possible vision, but does not mention at all the master sight that bursts upon the eye when the summit is actually gained—the great mass of "Denali's Wife," or Mount Foraker, filling all the middle distance.

First. Dr. Cook does not, "in his account of the view from the summit," speak of the iceblink, and so forth. On page 229 of his book he writes:

* * * We started for the culminating peak (2,000 feet above). The sun soon rose far above the green lowland beyond Mount Hayes and moved toward the iceblink, caused by the extensive glacial sheets north of the St. Elias group.

(It is certainly difficult for Archdeacon Stuck to correctly quote anything.)

Second. In his description of the summit Dr. Cook says:

Fifty thousand square miles of our arctic wonderland was spread out under our enlarged horizon, but we could see it only in sections. Various trains of morning clouds screened the lowlands and entwined the lesser peaks.

On page 104 Stuck writes regarding the view from the summit:

Only once, perhaps, in any lifetime is such vision granted. Not often in the summertime does Denali completely unveil himself and dismiss the clouds from all the earth beneath.

And again on pages 107–108:

In all human probability I would never climb that mountain again, yet if I climbed it a score more times I would never be likely to repeat such vision. Commonly, only for a few hours at a time, never for more than a few days at a time, save in the dead of winter, when climbing is out of the question, does Denali completely unveil himself and dismiss the clouds from all the earth beneath him. * * * As the needle turns to the magnet, so the clouds find an irresistible attraction in this great mountain mass.

Does not a thoughtful person find in the above a logical reason for Dr. Cook's failure to report the "master sight" of Denali's Wife (Mount Foraker)?

But, as previously stated, Archdeacon Stuck's strongest criticism of Dr. Cook's picture of the summit is the fact that his photograph shows rock, and that he mentions "heaven-scraped granite" in his description, while Stuck claims there is no rock of any kind on the highest peak within 1,500 feet of the summit. Yet on page 102 of Stuck's book is a fine photogravure picture, taken from the summit by Stuck himself, which plainly shows "granite slabs."

Archdeacon Stuck attempts to discredit Dr. Cook's ascent of the mountain by claiming that Cook's picture of the summit shows rock where he—Stuck—claims none exists. How, then, does Stuck explain the "granite slabs" in his own picture of the summit?

And this is the man—himself not an American—who makes an impassioned appeal in his book for the removal of the name of an honored, martyred President of the United States from the highest mountain on the North American Continent, situated on United States territory, and the placing thereon of the name "Denali," which this itinerant circuit rider claims is the Indian name. As a matter of fact, the name "Denali" is unknown among the Alaskan Indians, except by one small tribe. Other tribes had other designations for it, but in 1896 the mountain was seen by W. A. Dickey and by him named Mount McKinley. Let the name of McKinley stand.

In Belmore Browne's book the picture called by him "The Fake Peak" is his "star" picture, and is considered by him his strongest argument against Dr. Cook. Note the errors in comparison made by Mr. Browne:

On page 122 of his book Belmore Browne states that he found much more snow than did Cook. Granting that, how does Mr. Browne explain the fact that in his own picture there is no snow at all over that part of the peak which in Dr. Cook's photograph shows a clear outline against the sky?

With a greater depth of snow, why are the rocks in Mr. Browne's picture as clear-cut as on a sunny summer day?

How does Mr. Browne explain the sharply cut dark outline between the snow and rock of his picture?

How does Mr. Browne explain the three sharp peaks on a level with the man's feet in his picture?

How does Mr. Browne explain the fact that the man in the foreground of his picture is apparently standing in the snow halfway to his knees, and yet no footprints are visible? How could a man walk to the place where he is shown in the picture without leaving footprints in the snow? In Dr. Cook's photograph the footprints are seen all along the line of the "hogback."

Mr. Browne claims that he photographed his picture from exactly the same point as did Cook; yet Browne is looking at the peak or summit in a direction almost at right angles to the line of the hogback, while Cook looks at the peak in a direction parallel with and along the line of the hogback; not across it.

On page 117 of his book Mr. Browne claims that Dr. Cook's camera was pointing upward. How does Mr. Browne explain the fact that Cook's photograph shows more below the line of footprints on the hogback than it does above that line—that is, a greater depth than elevation? In Dr. Cook's picture one looks down a greater distance than up; also one looks down into every footprint along the hogback. Thus the camera was not pointing upward, as Browne claims.

On page 346 of his book Mr. Browne says, "We had not stood on the top."

On page 342 he states that during the last 1,000 feet of their upward climb, owing to the raging blizzard which they encountered, they were unable to read the dials of their barometers or distinguish objects. Even the forms of their companions were but indistinct blurs.

With these statements in mind, on what authority does Mr. Browne assert that Dr. Cook's close-range, detailed photograph of the summit is not a view of the summit? Since Mr. Browne himself admits that he did not stand on the top and was unable to see anything within 1,000 feet of the top, how does he know what the top looks like?

Many other points of difference are easily detected, all of which expose Mr. Browne's weak, childish attempt to palm off his composite picture as a photograph from nature, while Dr. Cook's picture is unmistakably a photograph from nature.

Thus Belmore Brown and Archdeacon Hudson Stuck are both convicted, each on his principal picture by which he sought to convict an innocent man.

But what bearing has Mount McKinley on the so-called polar controversy?

Why does Belmore Browne entitle a chapter in his book "The end of the polar controversy"?

Because thousands of people assert that their only reason for disbelieving Dr. Cook's claim of polar discovery is the doubt that has been cast on his ascent of Mount McKinley; and if his veracity concerning his climb of Mount McKinley could be established beyond question they would unhesitatingly accept his claim to the discovery of the North Pole.

Until Dr. Cook's return from the North in 1909 his truthfulness, honor, scientific ability, and attainments were unquestioned; indeed, Robert E. Peary is quoted as publicly saying:

If anybody can discover the North Pole, Dr. Cook is that man.

Cook's fortitude and ability while with Peary on his northern trip when he discovered that Greenland was an island so gained

the respect and admiration of Peary that he made the above statement while on a lecture tour of the Southwest and at various other times. (See New York Herald, Sept. 9, 1909, p. 4.)

Not only verbally did Mr. Peary speak in the highest terms of Dr. Cook, but in his book, "Northward Over the Great Ice," he makes personal mention of Dr. Cook—who was official surgeon and ethnologist of the expedition—eighty-five times. On page 423, which is especially referred to in the index, he pays Dr. Cook the following tribute:

To Dr. Cook's care may be attributed the almost complete exemption of the party from even the mildest indispositions, and personally I owe much to his professional skill and unruffled patience and coolness in an emergency. In addition to his work in his especial ethnological field, in which he has obtained a large amount of most valuable material concerning a practically unstudied tribe, he was always helpful and an indefatigable worker.

Pages 114 to 121, inclusive, of the above-mentioned volume are devoted to Dr. Cook's report of special work among the Eskimos, and on page 438, among the recorded "results of the expedition," Mr. Peary includes the following:

The first complete and accurate information of the peculiar and isolated tribe of Arctic Highlanders by Dr. Cook.

Nor was Mr. Peary alone in his high opinion of Dr. Cook. Raoul Oliview, a member of the executive committee of the Belgian Antarctic Expedition of 1897, in an interview with a representative of the New York Times on September 18, 1909, expressed the opinion that Belgian scientists generally had full confidence in Dr. Cook, who won the esteem and admiration of the Belgian committee and the Belgian Antarctic Expedition, of which he was a member, by his quiet and unassuming demeanor, his integrity, and his determination.

Prior to Dr. Cook's return from the north in 1909 it was universally conceded that he was the first man to attain the summit of Mount McKinley. When his defeated rival in the race for the North Pole made his nefarious attempt to discredit Dr. Cook's Mount McKinley ascent, many were convinced that if Cook's climb of Mount McKinley could be proven beyond question, no further cause would exist to doubt his polar attainment. The crucial problem of Cook's detractors, therefore, was to effectually discredit his Mount McKinley ascent, a problem which they proceeded to meet by the most cruel, cowardly, and dastardly methods imaginable. The weapons, however, with which Dr. Cook's enemies attacked him have proved boomerangs that have only served to demolish their own claims; and since none of them, or any other, has produced one iota of proof that Dr. Cook did not reach the summit of Mount McKinley, but, on the contrary, other explorers have unwittingly and unwillingly corroborated his successful ascent, is it not time for the people of this country and for the Representatives of the people in the Congress of the United States to give due credit and recognition to Dr. Frederick A. Cook, who was actually the first man to conquer Mount McKinley's formidable height, and who, by every logical deduction of practical reasoning and by every scientific fact is proven to have been the first man to reach the North Pole?"

PHOTO BROMIDE ENLARGING CO.,
329 PLYMOUTH COURT,
Chicago, April 11, 1914.

Mr. E. C. ROST, *Chicago, Ill.*

DEAR SIR: After a careful examination of the picture opposite page 122 of Belmore Browne's book, Conquest of Mount McKinley, under which appears the following—

"The author photographing the Fake Peak. Tucker standing where Barrill stood. This view including the author is used for a special reason. As short a time ago as March, 1913, a geographer accused the author of painting (by hand) the views of this peak with which we convicted Dr. Cook"—

and also after a careful examination of the 8 by 10 enlargements made from said picture, I am absolutely convinced beyond doubt that the picture is a retouched reproduction, not made from nature.

Very truly, yours, J. A. BURGESS.

STATE OF ILLINOIS, *County of Cook, ss:*

J. A. Burgess, being first duly sworn, deposes and says that he has been a commercial photographer by profession for 15 years last past and can detect a photograph made from nature from one not made from nature; that the contents of the above letter signed by him are true.

J. A. BURGESS.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 14th day of April, A. D. 1914.
[SEAL.] FRANK M. FAIRFIELD,
Notary Public.

To whomsoever this may concern:

Refer to Belmore Browne's book, "The Conquest of Mount McKinley," published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, 1913. In Chapter X, headed "The End of the Polar Controversy," facing page 122, are two pictures, the upper one of which has the following title:

"The Author Photographing the Fake Peak. Tucker standing where Barrill stood. This view, including the author, is used for a special reason. As short a time ago as March, 1913, a geographer accused the author of painting (by hand) the views of this peak, with which he convicted Dr. Cook. Photo by H. C. Parker."

I will stake my professional reputation as an artist and a photographer on the statement that the picture referred to above, facing page 122 of Belmore Browne's book, is faked. It is a drawing made over a photograph.

In a letter written by H. C. Corbin, Adjutant General of the United States Army, to Maj. Gen. E. S. Otis, commanding Department Pacific, Manila, P. I., Gen. Corbin says:

"MAY 3, 1899.

"* * * The bearer comes to the Philippines for the purpose of making photographic views of all objects of interest, and will furnish this office with copies of all pictures made. We have already a very interesting collection of photographs of places of interest in camps, etc., in Cuba and Porto Rico. Those made by Mr. Rost excel those of any other artist. * * *

"Very truly, yours,

"(Signed) H. C. CORBIN,
"Adjutant General."

Another from the office of the Chief of Staff, Washington, D. C., says:

"Mr. E. C. ROST:

"I have sent to the Isthmian Canal Commission a commendatory letter, recommending you for the position of photographer * * *."

Still another from the Department of the Interior, United States Geological Survey, dated October 31, 1904:

"Mr. E. C. ROST:

"* * * I consider that you have been very successful in overcoming the enormous difficulties involved in making photographs in the tropics * * *.

"Yours, truly,

"GEORGE F. BECKER,
"Geologist in Charge."

A fourth from the National Museum, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.:

"Mr. E. C. ROST:

"* * * You should be able to obtain results of much scientific value. Of this I feel certain from the many pictures of your making which I have seen. * * *"

"Very respectfully, yours,

"RICHARD RATHBUN,
"Assistant Secretary in Charge, National Museum."

I also quote from the Annual Report of the Department of Public Instruction, State of New York, chapter on American Museum of Natural History, New York City, for 1901:

"The only way to secure the illustrations which our teachers required for lectures was for me to send one of our photographers, Mr. Ernest C. Rost, entirely around and across that continent (South America) * * *.

"ALBERT S. BICKMORE, A. M., Ph. D.,
"Department of Public Instruction,
"American Museum of Natural History, New York City."

Leslie's Weekly for March 31, 1900, contains an article signed "Ernest C. Rost," profusely illustrated with photographs of my personal making, and headed:

"An artist's strange experiences. The first visit that Guam had ever received from a photographer. The difficulties that Leslie's Weekly's photographer had to meet and overcome in getting photographs."

On the foregoing recommendations, and many others which I can furnish, I again make the statement that the picture referred to above is a drawing made over a photograph.

The above statement is not made merely for effect or bluff. I am willing to go into any court of proper jurisdiction and stand cross-examination on the subject.

This is a voluntary statement, made by me in the interests of truth and justice, without consultation with or the knowledge of Dr. Frederick A. Cook.

[NOTARY'S SEAL.] E. C. ROST.

By the most comprehensive method of examination the geographic historians have rendered a verdict for future generations.

So far as I can ascertain there does not exist a scientfic paper, authoritative book, or official report in the English or any other language which denies Dr. Cook's success in attaining the pole on scientific grounds. From a historic standpoint all that he claims for his polar attainment is thoroughly vindicated by many publications. Among these I refer to "The North Pole and Bradley Land," by Edwin Swift Balch.

In this connection it should be recalled that the work of our American Admiral Wilkes in the Antarctic came under the unfair criticism of rival interests, as has Dr. Cook's journey to the North Pole. For more than 50 years the name of Wilkes was taken from the map. Balch analyzed this injustice, fought the battle for Admiral Wilkes during 15 years against critics, including the Encyclopædia Britannica, and at last the Australian expedition rediscovered Wilkes Land, and Balch won against Sir Clements Markham and others in his vindication of Wilkes's discovery. He has worked out the study of the polar controversy in a similar manner.

If the data and description of the physical conditions at the North Pole furnished by Mr. Peary establish the fact that he reached the North Pole—and Congress decided that they do—then I insist that every fair-minded person must admit that since Dr. Cook gave those same data and those same descriptions to the world before Mr. Peary returned from the north—this well-known historical record establishes beyond question the fact that Dr. Cook also reached the North Pole, and therefore was the first man to "discover" the North Pole.

If Admiral Peary attained the pole, then it can not be denied but that he is the great discoverer of that point of the surface of the earth which has been unattainable since the creation of Father Adam unless some other man preceded him. Millions of American citizens believe and always will believe that Dr. Frederick A. Cook was the first man who ever stood at the

apex of the world and there unfurled the American flag. It therefore seems inconceivable to all fair-minded men and women that the admiral and his frantic supporters should not be intensely zealous in their efforts to procure an official investigation of Dr. Cook's remarkable exploration. If Dr. Cook is unable to prove to the American Congress that he attained the pole, then Peary would stand supreme as the most courageous and successful explorer since the landing of Christopher Columbus, and the cloud upon the title to his achievement would be forever removed.

If Dr. Cook did attain the pole, then I say that a generous and chivalrous nature would congratulate him and glory in the priority of his achievement.

The foundation rock and the fundamental principle of American greatness rests upon our adherence to and our belief in fair play and a square deal. Nothing else will reach the marrow of real men.

All of the power, prestige, cunning, slander, and technical devices of any man or set of men can not prevent this investigation. Until the claims of Dr. Cook are determined Peary will be called a hypocrite and Cook a fraud. These men are both great Americans, and they are great explorers. In the name of decency, in the name of honor, in the name of all that is glorious, let us settle this question with the light that is before us. Let us be worthy of the proud heritage of our fathers and an honor to posterity.

Woman Suffrage.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD WAYNE PARKER,

OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 12, 1915,

On the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 1) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey, under the leave of the House granted to extend his remarks, submits the following:

Mr. Speaker, I must oppose this resolution. I am a Representative from the State of New Jersey.

I was elected to support the Constitution of the United States and the reserved rights of the States which were guaranteed by that Constitution.

I was not elected to offer to other States the power to alter the very foundations of the government of my State nor to claim for any State any such power over other States.

It is not my duty to try to amend the Constitution except where amendment is necessary, and no such amendment is necessary when the States have full power over the subject.

It will not tend to good politics to inject such a question as this into our elections for years to come.

Nor do I think it fair to women who love and bless their homes and are fully occupied with home duties to put new political duties upon them and to force them into politics.

It is the foundation of the United States Constitution that every State reserves supreme control over its own affairs and over its own government. The electorate lies at the very foundation of that government, and to interfere with suffrage is to interfere with the State's fundamental management of its own affairs, which the Constitution solemnly agreed to guard.

The question of suffrage was wholly controlled by the State. Electors are chosen as the States shall please. Senators were formerly chosen by the legislature, and are now chosen, like Members of Congress, not by such voters as the United States shall ordain but by the voters that are by State law qualified to vote for the most numerous branch of the legislature.

It may fairly be said that it was not intended that this fundamental right of the States should ever be interfered with by any amendment of the Constitution. The State's control over suffrage is much more fundamental and essential to the independence of the State than the right of each State to equal representation in the Senate, which is guarded by a provision that it shall not be changed without the consent of every State.

As a matter of mere law, we can not, of course, deny that amendment may be made even in such a fundamental matter. Just after emancipation it seemed necessary to pass the fifteenth amendment. This was in a special situation existing at the close of the Civil War. But it is not necessary to make this amendment, because every State can adopt woman suffrage if it pleases, and by the United States Constitution amendments are to be proposed only when it appears necessary to amend the Constitution and not merely when it appears advisable.

As a believer in local self-government by the various States, I do not think that I was sent here as a Representative from New Jersey in order to give up any of her fundamental State rights or to take away any of the fundamental rights of another State. This Congress was elected on no such issue, and we have no moral right to surrender the rights of our respective States by submitting them to the votes of other States, except in a case of supreme necessity.

It is perhaps not advisable to argue the merits of woman suffrage. The question belongs to the legislature of my State rather than to Congress. It can be said, however, that woman suffrage involves tremendous changes. Are we to force women to go into matters outside of the home? Is there not enough to be done there and enough subjects to be discussed and settled in the family circle without introducing politics? Does home mean peace even with divergent views or must all such views be put into action? Will this be peace or a sword? Are husband and wife to be ordered to act separately in what concerns them both? If one or the other rules, is it for the good of the community that the ruler should control two votes instead of one? Will the unreasoning vote be sometimes doubled in this way and will the debate of a reasoning family often end in canceling its vote? Shall the voter be eligible to office? Shall the mother be asked to leave her home to fulfill public duties? Shall women fill executive positions and control great affairs of peace and war, in which they have had no experience? Shall the fascinations of sex introduce new influences into legislatures and interfere with the hard sense, practical consideration, and the give and take of hard knocks that seem essential to good law making? Do we wish our women to submit to these amenities of debate; do we wish to hear from them what chivalry forbids us to call in question?

These are questions which we need not answer here.

Why should we wish woman to be like man? It is her unlikeness to man that is her charm.

> Let her make herself her own
> To give or keep, to live and learn and be
> All that not harms distinctive womanhood.
> For woman is not undevelopt man,
> But diverse: could we make her as the man
> Sweet love were slain; his dearest bond is this:
> Not like to like, but like in difference.
> * * * * * * *
> Self-reverent each, and reverencing each,
> Distinct in individualities.
> * * * * * * *
> May these things be!

It is no answer to say that the influence of woman on politics will be beneficial. Her influence is now felt through all the Nation. Good women supervise schools, churches, libraries, hospitals, Red Cross, and everything that is good. Their influence is felt in politics, and is strong there. But they are not forced to be there.

This proposition forces all women to be in politics, including the large number—perhaps the majority—who do not wish to be in politics or in business or anywhere but in the home, where the good woman rules with absolute sway and where the cares of business and public life and bitterness and conflicts can never enter. It is there that man is hers and she is all her own, and reigns the queen of her own realm.

To quote some of the closing lines of the poet laureate's poem on this whole subject:

> I loved the woman; he that doth not lives
> A drowning life besotted in sweet self,
> Or pines in sad experience worse than death,
> Or keeps his winged affections clipt with crime;
> Yet was there one thro' whom I loved her, one
> Not learned, save in gracious household ways,
> Not perfect, nay, but full of tender wants,
> No angel, but a dearer being, all dipt
> In angel instincts, breathing paradise,
> Interpreter between the gods and men,
> Who looked all native to her place, and yet
> On tiptoe seem'd to touch upon a sphere
> Too gross to tread, and all male minds perforce
> Sway'd to her from their orbits, as they moved,
> And girdled her with music.

If this question were proper for us to handle, I would express my views fully. But it belongs properly to each State, and we are not called on to answer whether any benefits that might come by woman suffrage would be sufficient to make us favor such a change. We should certainly not attempt to interfere with the independence of our States by the passage of this resolution.

Safety First.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Friday, January 15, 1915.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Speaker, in accordance with the permission granted me by the House on January 15, I print the following two articles which I have recently published in the newspapers:

Chapter I. What is the matter with the Navy?
Chapter II. What ails the Army?

I. WHAT IS THE MATTER WITH THE NAVY?
ALWAYS SOME OTHER DAY.

"The rule is jam to-morrow and jam yesterday, but never jam to-day," said the white queen in "Through the Looking Glass."

The white queen did not happen to be talking of the American Navy, but she might just as well have been doing so.

Listen to the debates in Congress and you will be convinced that the pages of history furnish an impregnable defense for this country. If John Paul Jones could change a peaceful merchantman into the *Bonhomme Richard* and defeat the British man-of-war *Serapis*, why can not the like be done again? What man has done, man can do—such is the burden of the song of the gentlemen who believe that American genius and American freemen need no preparation for war. Is anyone such a dastard as to deny that our gallant Naval Militia admirals can on any pleasant afternoon forsake their counting houses for the quarterdeck and smash the British superdreadnaughts to smithereens with a fleet of converted Long Island Sound steamers? Perish the thought.

But if you are so skeptical as to be dubious lest the school history book and the Chautauqua lecture may not be adequate to repel the attacks of the effete monarchies of Europe and Asia, then peruse the hearings for the last 10 years before the congressional Committee on Naval Affairs and you may be comforted. A more complete docket of experiments about to be made and contracts shortly to be entered into and reports to be ordered in the near future and boards soon to be appointed can not be found outside the records of the circumlocution office about which Dickens wrote.

The American air man, Wright, was the first in the wide world to build an aeroplane which would actually fly, and ever since that time we have been experimenting and inspecting and reporting and contracting and considering—in fact, we have been doing everything except *building* aeroplanes. On July 1, 1914, France owned 1,400 aeroplanes, while Uncle Sam owned 23, most of them out of date. However, we recently ordered from abroad an up-to-date French aeroplane with two Salmson motors and an up-to-date German aeroplane with two Mercedes motors. We were in hopes that at last we were in a fair way to establish a little brood of air craft; but just then the European war broke out. Wicked foreigners commandeered our purchases; so here we are again just where we started.

We have as many as 12 submarines on the whole Atlantic coast, not counting those at Colon in the Canal Zone. To be sure, no one has accused the outfit of being any too new fangled; but, then, pray remember that we are still arguing about the best type with which to experiment. Meanwhile the modest proportion of 11 out of those aforementioned 12 divers were not in diving trim when Commander Stirling reported his fleet last November in obedience to the mobilization order.

Instead of the fleet of fast scout cruisers which the General Board of the Navy has told us that we need for our safety we have built just three, and they never were of much account, even when they were new. For about 10 years we have been considering and contemplating types for scouts; but before long it is confidently expected that a satisfactory conclusion will be reached.

Admiral Strauss in his annual report tells us that every American battleship in commission to-day is equipped with obsolete torpedoes, but that orders have been given and plants are being enlarged, and that in two years relief will be in sight.

DAWDLE, DAWDLE, DAWDLE.

So it goes dawdle, dawdle, dawdle all along the line from voter to President. The fact is that the whole Navy has got into a rut. It needs a good hard jolt to get it out of the rut, and then it needs to be trimmed up and enlarged until it is a strong weapon fit for the defense of a strong nation.

Now, do not blame it all on poor old Secretary Daniels. It is only partly his fault, even if he did deprive the seadogs of their grog and enter the sailormen in the lowest grade of the kindergarten.

Of course, Daniels with his super-peace ideas ought not to be Secretary of the Navy any more than a liquor dealer ought to be chairman of a temperance rally, but that is a small matter.

Neither is the blame to be imputed to the Navy bureau chiefs. There has not been one of them for years who at heart would not have been glad to speak right out in meeting and tell the country the whole truth as to our needs. But the country has hitherto been in no listening mood, and it would have been a bold bureau chief, indeed, who cared to face the molten lava from the tongues of the "little Navy" men. Let an officer speak up and he was damned up and down as a seeker for increased rank and power. Let a civilian speak up and he was muckraked from stem to stern as a minion of some armor-plate concern. Let an association or a league speak up and its membership was grilled to find out whether any one of them had a share of steel stock or copper stock or any other kind of stock in the family unto the third or fourth generation. Neither is the blame to be visited on Congress. If any one of us talked about national defencelessness, some one else talked about jackasses in solon's garbs.

There is just one party who ought to bear the blame, and that is the great American Republic, whose exact mirror we Congressmen are. Six months ago, if I cared to empty a room, all I need do was to discuss our national defenselessness. To-day, if I am anxious to fill a hall, I have but to say that our Army and Navy will be my topic. Six months ago I should have been a mighty poor politician if I had preached about our lack of national defense. To-day I should be a mighty poor politician if I were to drop the subject.

If I were a real hero, I should promise to keep up this crusade as long as the Lord might grant me grace. Not being a real hero, I content myself with a promise to keep on shouting so long as the press will grant me space.

A COMMISSION TO INQUIRE AND RECOMMEND.

One disease from which both our Army and Navy are suffering is mortmain, especially mortmain of ideas. Mortmain is an old English law term, which signified the "rule of a dead and gone hand." We ought to have this case of mortmain treated by an impartial commission of inquiry with some new blood and no arteriosclerosis of the intellect among the commissioners. What we need is a definite plan for the future. What sort of a plan for the national defense can we get out of four different full committees and four different subcommittees of the House and Senate? Yet it was those committees to which we were referred when a commission of inquiry into our defenselessness was refused us by the administration. Moreover, it does not do to forget that those committees, so far as the experienced members are concerned, are practically invited to inspect the results of their own handiwork.

Let us see how the inspection is faring. Just how far have they gone with this investigation? Both the House Committee on Military Affairs and the House Committee on Naval Affairs have now closed their hearings. Both committees confined themselves almost entirely to the examination of the graybeards of the service and to the particular graybeards whom the committees selected, at that. My requests for the summons of Admiral Wainwright, Admiral Winslow, Admiral Brownson, Gen. Wood, and Gen. Wotherspoon were absolutely and preemptorily refused.

A commission of inquiry, such as I advocated, would summon not only bureau chiefs in all their panoply but the hard-worked juniors and the experienced enlisted men as well. A commission of inquiry would allow the complainant to produce witnesses, a privilege which has been denied me by the committees to which I have referred.

SHORTAGE OF MEN PUT SHIPS OUT OF COMMISSION.

Assistant Secretary Roosevelt and Admiral Badger have testified that we are now 18,000 men short of the number required to man the serviceable part of our present fleet. This estimate takes no account of the crews requisite for vessels now building. The General Board of the Navy maintains that in case of war we should need from 30,000 to 50,000 additional trained men-of-warsmen, and there is no source of supply except about 8,000 naval militiamen.

On the other hand, Admiral Blue has testified that we are only 4,565 men short in case of war and that there is little doubt that this demand would be met by ex-service men now in civil life.

To this Admiral Fiske replies that it would take five years to get our Navy up to a state of efficiency necessary to fight a first-class enemy.

Let us see what all this juggling and counterjuggling of figures means. Does it mean that these admirals differ as to the number of men needed to man any particular vessel? Not a bit of it. It means that they differ as to how many vessels we need and how many vessels we have which are worth manning. The next time, gentle reader, that you hear about our fleet of 33 battleships ask how many of those battleships are in "cold storage" to-day with fragmentary crews or no crews at all. You will find that no less than 12 of them are launched on their way to that bourne whence no traveler returns. Naval authorities euphoniously term the three stages of a warship's road to oblivion as "in reserve," "in ordinary," and "out of commission." To be sure, those same naval authorities gravely inform us that our "cold-storage" fleet can be got ready for battle in from 3 to 12 months, but they are put to it to explain exactly what the resuscitated veterans would be good for when ready for battle. By the way, for fear that these 12 battleships should feel lonely, there are nearly 80 more of our fighting craft "out of commission" or "in ordinary" or "in reserve" to keep them company.

ONLY EIGHT FIGHTING FIRST-CLASS BATTLESHIPS COME NEXT MARCH.

Perhaps you are saying to yourselves, "Even if 12 battleships out of 33 are out of the game, that still leaves a mighty tidy fleet." But how about the other 21 battleships, which constitute our fighting force? Are they 100 percenters? Not by a long shot. Ten of them belong to the so-called first line and 11 of them belong to the so-called second line. Of the first liners, 2 ships, to wit, the *Michigan* and the *South Carolina*, are to be relegated to the second line on March 3, 1915. The honest fact is that on March 4, 1915, we shall have just 8 first-class battleships in full commission. Now, where is the common sense in prating about our 33 battleships?

If anyone tells you that our second line of battleships is a formidable part of our defense, just pin him down and find out how he makes that fact out. I have heard a Navy official testify that the second line would be of service if our first line was destroyed and the other fellow's first line was destroyed as well. So would a police force of octogenarians be of service if policemen were not called upon to handle any criminals under 80 years old. In private most naval officers regard our second liners as an admirable force wherewith to soothe the nerves of the timid in case of war. Perchance for that purpose they might be as useful as the venerable culverins hastily installed at sundry places on the Atlantic Coast at the outbreak of the Spanish War. It would be cheaper, however, for Uncle Sam, when he puts his war paint on, to conduct a daily clinic for the free administration of anesthetics.

Yet the General Board of the Navy says that we need 48 battleships under 20 years old for our defense. For our defense against what nation? For our defense against any nation except England, so we are told.

Ask any member of that General Board which he would rather have:

1. A fleet of 48 battleships ranging in age uniformly from 20 years old down to brand new; or

2. A fleet of 24 battleships, all of them less than 6 years old.

What the American people want, in my opinion, is a Navy up to date, even if it is necessary to enlarge the scrap heap to an extent which would make the bureau chiefs' hair curl if you could find any bureau chiefs with the requisite quantity of thatch for curling purposes.

THE CRUX OF THE PROBLEM.

Permit this ignoramus to make a suggestion:

First. Appoint an independent commission of level-headed men, and see to it that not too many of them are imbued with the idea that they know it all about the national defense.

Next, require that commission to summon the best naval experts we have and find out—

First. What war vessels do we need to make us safe against any nation on earth?

Second. How many of those vessels is it safe to put in "reserve"; that is to say, with skeleton crews?

Now, if it is decided that we are aiming too high in taking leave to ask for a Navy capable of swapping shots with John Bull, why then we can cut down the estimates accordingly; but, for heaven's sake, let us know the truth.

The problem as to the number of ships which we can safely keep in "reserve" depends very largely on two factors:

First. How long does it take to make a landlubber into a man-of-war's man?

Second. How many former men-of-war's men, adequately trained, can be depended on to return to the Navy in time of war?

On those two questions I should as lief have the opinion of a few intelligent junior officers and enlisted men as the opinion of all the naval experts who ever poured over an encyclopedia.

On the answers to the question as to the number and types of war vessels needed and on the answer to the question as to the proportion which can safely be kept in "reserve" with fragmentary crews, depends the preparation of any intelligent plan for the future. On the answers to those questions depends the number of officers and enlisted men which we ought to authorize. Do not forget that our Naval Academy can not be enlarged in a day without serious deterioration, and that the standard of the American man-of-war's man ought not to be lowered by the incorporation in our Naval Establishment of vast drafts of hastily trained recruits. On the answers to those questions depends our building program, and I hope that no one is so ignorant as to fail to realize that a very long time is required for warship construction. So the inquiry can not begin too soon.

MINOR DEFICIENCIES.

The shortage of ammunition to which Secretary Daniels testified before the Committee on Naval Affairs, the shortage of mines which was admitted by Admiral Fiske, the antiquity of the battleship torpedoes which Admiral Strauss pointed out, even the pitiable air-craft situation which Capt. Bristol revealed; all these facts are startling enough, but a determined General Staff of the Navy with plenty of funds could remedy them in a year or two. Not so the deficiencies in the ranks of our fighting vessels nor the deficiencies in the personnel which is to man them.

Dreadnaughts and crews can not be improvised when the war cloud appears above the horizon. Admiral Fiske states that it would take five years to get our Navy in a condition to fight an efficient foreign enemy. This opinion is not indorsed, perhaps, by the Secretary of the Navy, but it is most distinctly in line with what Navy men say when they express their private opinions of the privatest kind.

II. WHAT AILS THE ARMY?

There is still truth in the old, old story that it is the man behind the gun who counts. But for heaven's sake, how far behind the gun do you want the man to be? Must he be so far behind the gun that he has not even a bowing acquaintance with it until war breaks out? Yet that is where we stand to-day. Our Regular Army is an admirable handful. Our reserve army is a farce. A good deal over one-third of our militia absolutely struck their guns off their visiting lists during the whole of last year.

THE MEN.

We have only 30,000 Regulars available for a field army and 120,000 militiamen besides, so says the report of the Secretary of War. In other words, if every mother's son of them answers the call, we shall have 150,000 men to defend us while a new army is being made. That means that we could cover a battle front of 30 miles on the old Civil War reckoning of 5,000 men to a mile. Thirty miles is a long, long way from the distances which modern battle fronts cover.

How about it? Will all our militiamen turn up if they are summoned, and what will they do when the howitzer begins to howl? It is the correct thing for really patriotic orators to say that by nightfall every militiaman will be on hand, bubbling with heroism.

The fact is that this fiction of a trained citizenry rushing head over heels to arms in time of war is purely the creature of a deft imagination adroitly interpreted by a clever tongue. The strength of the trained-citizenry argument does not lie in its own soundness, but in the fact that most of us are politically estopped from saying what we really think about the militia, or National Guard, as it is called. Owing to the blessed circumstance that my congressional district is amazingly one-sided, I shall make bold to say what I really think. I believe that most men are actuated by the very best and most unselfish motives when they undertake the thankless duties of militia service. I believe that militiamen are keenly conscious of the fact that many persons scoff at them as "tin soldiers." At all events, I know that when I was a militiaman I was sensitively alive to the good-natured superciliousness with which my friends regarded what to them appeared to be my harmless vanity. I believe, moreover, that as the duties are made more arduous and more serious the militia steadily improves, although it becomes harder and harder to fill its ranks. On the other hand, I do not believe that over two-thirds of our militia would materialize in war time, and I do not think that dependence could be placed upon them until months of severe training and a weeding-out process had hardened them into military shape.

I can not forget that no less than 16 States of the Union fell short by greater or less amounts of furnishing their quotas of troops during the Spanish War. I can not forget that after the first burst of enthusiasm was over cities and towns offered bounties in order to fill their quotas of troops in the Civil War.

I can not forget that the National Government later on gave a large sum of money to each veteran who would reenlist, nor that both the North and the South were eventually obliged to resort to the hateful necessity of compelling men to join the army against their wills. All those things are none the less facts because they are unpopular facts and because it is the fashion to blink at them.

Neither can I shut my eyes to the report of the Chief of Staff on the record of the militia for the year ending June 30, 1914. Out of 120,000 militiamen, all told, 23,000 failed to present themselves for the annual inspection, 31,000 absented themselves from the annual encampment, and 44,000 never appeared on the rifle range from one year's end to the other.

WHEN THE CAPITOL WAS BURNED.

The President says that we have always found means to defend ourselves against attack, but the President is quite mistaken. "We shall take leave to be strong upon the seas in the future as in the past," says he in his annual message to Congress. That was the very same position which President Madison took at the time of the War of 1812. "We shall take leave," quoth Madison, and take leave he certainly did, bag and baggage, militia, statesmen, clerks, lobbyists, julep mixers, and all. Down into Virginia he went, leaving the Capitol and the White House to be burned by the victorious British.

Poor Dolly Madison! She saw it all, and she wrote her sister Anna these bitter lines:

Alas, I can descry only groups of military wandering in all directions, as if there was a lack of arms or of spirit to fight for their own firesides.

But there was no lack of spirit in those militiamen from Maryland and Pennsylvania and Virginia. Far from it. They had spirit enough and arms enough to defend their own firesides, but they did not know how to do it, because they had not been molded into an army. They were but a mob of citizenry under arms. The sad part of it all was that they had had two years in which to prepare, for these events did not occur until the summer of 1814. But the administration of that day had fostered the belief that the country had been misinformed and that the Government had not been negligent of the national defense. Hence it was that these poor militiamen were not ready when the day of trial came. A maddened Nation roared for a sacrifice and a sacrifice was vouchsafed unto them. Armstrong, the Secretary of War, was made the scapegoat, just as Alger was made the scapegoat for our unreadiness to fight Spain, and just as Garrison would be made the scapegoat to-morrow if we were to attempt unsuccessfully to put a large force of men into the field.

But the removal of Armstrong did not erase an exceedingly distressing passage from this Nation's history. That disastrous story harasses us to-day as it harassed our fathers before us. It will fulfill a useful purpose, perhaps, if it serves us as a bitter warning against being unprepared. On the coast of beautiful County Down, in Ireland, stands the picturesque town of Rosstrevor. For all its picturesqueness, I shall never visit that town and I shall never see the granite shaft which dominates its market place. That graceful monument was erected to the memory of Gen. Robert Ross, who burnt the Capitol at Washington, and its cost was defrayed by the officers of the Chesapeake force. I do not care to see it.

So much for our Regulars and our militia. There remains to be considered our reserve army of former enlisted men. We can dismiss it with a word, for President Wilson says that we are not to depend on a large reserve army. Perhaps it is just as well not to depend on it entirely, for at present it consists of but 16 men.

THE GUNS.

Come to think of it, I have got quite a distance away from the gun in following the man who ought to be behind it. If by the word "gun" a rifle is meant, then we have plenty to give to all comers; that is, at the outset of any war. If, however, when we say "gun" we mean cannon, then the first difficulty facing the man would be to find the gun to get behind.

Nine weeks ago, Maj. Gen. W. W. Wotherspoon, Chief of Staff and virtually head of the United States Army, made his annual report to the Secretary of War. If Gen. Wotherspoon had never done anything in life except write page 12 of his report, he would deserve the thanks of the Nation for that superb act of courage alone. I know of nothing of the sort which approaches it except the courage of Admiral Fiske when last month he testified to the condition of our Navy. Perhaps I ought to include in the same category the fearlessness of Capt. HOBSON, who for years has stood the gibes of his colleagues and faced the ridicule of the press while he thundered in the ears of an unattentive public the sad story of the dwarfing of our Navy's normal growth.

But to return to page 12 of Gen. Wotherspoon's report. He tells us that before a war breaks out we must accumulate rifles, cartridges, field artillery, and field-artillery ammunition. He tells us how much we ought to have and how much is actually on hand or in sight. Here is the table:

Chief of Staff's report, Nov. 15, 1914 (p. 12).

	Munitions required as a reserve in anticipation of war.	Munitions on hand or in process of manufacture.
Rifles	642,541	698,374
Rifle cartridges	645,000,000	241,000,000
Field guns (exclusive of giant guns)	2,834	852
Field gun ammunition, rounds	11,790,850	580,098

So you see that we are short 400,000,000 rifle cartridges, 11,000,000 rounds of artillery ammunition, and 2,000 field guns, if Gen. Wotherspoon's judgment is sound.

Of course, I am not an expert in these matters, but 580,000 rounds of field artillery ammunition seems rather inadequate as a reserve in the light of Gen. Wood's testimony that Russia shot away 250,000 rounds against the Japanese in the Battle of Mukden alone; yet 580,098 rounds is all we have on hand. I am told that Lieut. Hunsaker's report, lately sent over from France to the War Department, tells of a French cannon firing 500 shots in a day. Of course, that must be an extreme case. But cut the figure in half and you will find that 1,000 such guns would shoot away in two days all the artillery ammunition which we have now plus all which we shall manufacture up to July 1. By the way, Russia had 1,204 guns engaged at Mukden and Japan had 922 guns extending over the same front, so 1,000 guns is not an imaginative figure. I do not know whether Gen. Wotherspoon's estimate of 2,834 field guns is excessive or not. The testimony before the fortifications committee in 1913 showed that Russia at that time had 6,000 field guns, while Germany had 5,000 field guns.

The horrid significance of the whole business lies in the fact that it takes so long to make these munitions of war, even with unlimited appropriations. The good Lord knows that we never shall have unlimited appropriations for public undertakings in defense of our Nation so long as we need unlimited appropriations for public buildings in defense of our seats in Congress.

SLOW WORK MAKING GUNS AND AMMUNITION.

Last year and this year the Committee on Military Affairs took up the question of the length of time required to make munitions of war. The following facts stand out impressively: Working three shifts night and day, all the factories in this country, Government and private as well, can turn out in the first six months after war is declared but 400,000 rounds of artillery ammunition, or only 150,000 more rounds than Russia shot away in a single battle. They can make about 1,600 rounds per day, or enough to keep 8 guns going under an ordinary battle condition of 200 shots per day. In one year all Government and private factories put together can turn out 500 field guns, or one-quarter of our shortage, as Gen. Wotherspoon estimates it.

FRIEND HAY'S TABLES.

My friend HAY, chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, publishes a table of our requirements in the way of munitions of war which differs vastly from Gen. Wotherspoon's table. Three times I have publicly asked Chairman HAY to summon Gen. Wotherspoon and put him through his paces for his temerity in ignorantly setting up his opinions against a Congressman's. The first time, the good chairman pointed out that the general had gone on the retired list a few days ago; the second time, he invited my attention to the fact that the hearings before his committee were closed; and the third time, he told me that it was no use summoning Gen. Wotherspoon, because he knew all about his ideas already.

Incidentally my efforts to secure the summons of Maj. Gen. Leonard Wood have been equally unsuccessful. Yet, Gen. Wood is not on the retired list. He preceded Gen. Wotherspoon as Chief of Staff, and he now commands the Department of the East.

As to Chairman HAY'S tables, I note, for instance, that he estimates 200,000,000 cartridges as a sufficient equipment for a field army of 460,000 men. That estimate is just one-third of the estimate made by the General Staff of the Army for that identical number of men. It is true that 200,000,000 cartridges will equip the machine guns and will fill the men's belts and will suffice for the combat train and the first ammunition train, but 400,000,000 additional cartridges are needed for the advance basis and the general bases. At least, the General Staff says so. However, Gen. Crozier, the star witness for the defense,

coincides with Chairman HAY on this point. It is fair to admit that the general was frank enough to admit that Army men do not agree with him.

WHY NOT A FEW TITANIC GUNS FOR US?

But where are all the giant guns which we progressive Americans ought to have? How are we off for these wonderful implements of warfare with which other nations have been arming themselves? We still are shaking hands with ourselves over our biggest gun, the 6-inch howitzer, and doubting those newspaper stories about the big field guns in Europe.

Tradition hath it that after the Battle of Crecy a board of French generals was called together to report on the new-fangled weapons called cannon which England had used in the fight. After profound cogitation, the generals decided that no dependence whatever could be placed in gunpowder and that cannon could be useful only under exceptional circumstances never likely to occur again. By a unanimous vote, so the story runs, they reported to their ruler that the trusty manganel and the stout catapult would triumph in the future as in the past. If anyone wishes to know the moral of this tale, let him inquire of our ordnance experts. It may be that we have no need of guns with greater diameters than 6 inches. Still Germany's 16½-inch howitzers and Austria's 12½-inch guns seem to be fairly serviceable in battering to bits anything from an impregnable fortress or a venerable cathedral down to a covered trench. Sir John French—foolishly, perhaps—seems to place some reliance in his 9½-inch thunderers. We smile at their puerile performances and continue to estimate and plan and report and consider and congratulate ourselves that we have the tidiest little 3-inch field guns which can be made, even if we are a little bit slow in rushing into the making of big ordnance. Let those foreigners waste their money on perfecting submarines and aeroplanes, Zeppelins and howitzers. We propose to keep our money in our pockets. That is the way to talk if you want to catch the votes. Let us waitfully watch and then proceed to reap the benefits of the foreigner's experiments without costing us a cent. All of which is vastly crafty, no doubt, provided no foreigner starts to experiment on us.

THE DOWNY DOVE.

Oh, well, what's the odds, since the apostles of pudginess tell us that they are going to put an end to wars by the brotherhood of man. In the sweet bye and bye, perhaps, when we have abandoned the Monroe doctrine and when the Californian intermarries with the Chinaman and the Mississippian intermarries with the negro. Until that day is at hand, do not forget the parable of the foolish virgins, who had no oil in their lamps when the fateful moment came.

Red River Improvement.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. GOODWIN,

OF ARKANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, January 16, 1915,

On the bill (H. R. 20189) making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes.

Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, I had intended to offer an amendment to provide funds for the further improvement of Red River, Arkansas and Louisiana, had not the present amendment been submitted by my colleagues from the State of Louisiana, who have considerable more mileage along this stream in their districts than I have in mine. I had intended, however, to ask this House to make the sum $380,000 instead of the sum named in this amendment pending.

The stream has been included in the provisions for rivers and harbors made by Congress since 1828. Red River was originally navigable to within the vicinity of Shreveport, La., near which place it was filled with what was known as the "Great Raft," completely filling the bed of the river for a distance of more than 90 miles. The Government first undertook the removal of this raft in 1828, and the work was prosecuted intermittently until the outbreak of the Civil War. At times as much as 15 years would elapse between appropriations. Much of the raft removed was permitted to reaccumulate, requiring much extra work and expense. According to the reports of the engineers, there has been endless duplication of work on account of small amounts that have been available from time to time. During the early period of work on this stream it was being extensively used by the Federal Government for the transportation of the Indians from the southeastern States to the Indian Territory selected for them in the West.

The Great Raft was finally broken up, removed, or new channels made, until the upper and lower stretches were united and continuous navigation made possible from the mouth of the Wichita River, of Texas, to the Gulf of Mexico.

In 1891 Capt. Willard, of the Engineer Corps, made a report on that part of the stream embraced in this item we have under consideration, from Fulton, Ark., to the mouth, and recommended that the improvement of the stream be undertaken by the Government along certain lines. In the rivers and harbors appropriation act of 1892 Congress adopted the plan as outlined in Capt. Willard's reports in the following language:

Improving Red River, Ark. and La., from Fulton, Ark., to Atchafalaya River: Continuing improvement according to plan of Capt. J. H. Willard, Corps of Engineers, United States Army—

And so forth.

The next rivers and harbors act, in 1894, contained the identical language, and this plan of Capt. Willard is the present project under which the Government is operating—when it operates.

In order that we may see just what the difference is between the present, or Willard, plan and the proposed, or Bixby, plan, I submit herewith the two in parallel columns:

FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF RED RIVER.

PRESENT, OR WILLARD, PLAN.	PROPOSED, OR BIXBY, PLAN.
1. The systematic clearing of the banks for some distance back far beyond the limits of this district.	The continuation of improvement along the lines of the existing project.
2. An efficient snag-boat service for general work, patrolling the river, preventing jams, removing logs and snags from the channel and banks, and dredging towheads and obstinate shoals.	(See first paragraph.)
3. Extending the survey to embrace the whole valley.	The protection of the river banks so fast and so far as the landed interests shall build satisfactory levees.
4. The construction of a system of substantial levees to restrain the greatest flood, either alone or in partnership with riparian States.	The completion of the system of levees in cooperation with riparian States and local levee boards.
5. Closing gradually every outlet through which the main streams are depleted at various stages above low water.	(See first paragraph.)
6. Fixing caving banks to confine the main stream to the selected channel.	Revetment of banks to prevent cut-offs and protect important bends.
7. To exercise a watchful care from first to last to prevent injury to the regimen of the streams by cut-offs or outlets and to keep the building of bridges within reasonable bounds.	(See paragraph above.)
(No estimate of cost for completion can be given. See Report of Engineers, 1914, vol. 2, p. 867.)	The bank and bed improvement up to a total estimated cost of $6,020,000 for first construction work and of $165,000 for annual maintenance, provided local interests shall provide for the construction and cost of proper levees—estimated at $4,548,000—acceptable to the Engineer Department; the work of bank protection to accompany closely that of the corresponding levee construction in such way as to prevent undermining of levees when once properly built; these estimates being based upon a first appropriation by the United States of $270,000 for revetment and dredging plants, and $110,000 for the first year's clearing, dredging, diking, and revetting work within the banks and bed, and from $165,000 to $600,000 yearly thereafter in proportion as the State or other local levee work progresses, with a view to completion in 12 years.
(Estimated annual cost maintenance, expended principally for snagging operations in bed, $100,000.)	

Thus you will see that under the present project we are practically accomplishing nothing, and it is a well-known fact in our section that steamboats are and have been tied up on the river because the snags and obstructions prevent navigation except at great hazards. The cost of the present project is indefinite and indeterminable and only attempted in part, and in no wise accomplishes the object for which the improvement was undertaken.

The proposed project differs from the present in two essential details, namely, first, a definite time and cost limit, and, second, the cooperation of the riparian States and levee boards to the extent of about $4,548,000.

The development of the system of levees considered of primary importance by all authorities for the proper improvement of

this stream is taking place at a far more rapid rate than anyone has dared even dream was possible, and, as I have said, more than $1,175,000 has been expended within my State alone in the first construction of levees, to say nothing of what has been expended for rebuilding, repairing, and strengthening those already constructed, nor of other considerable sums spent in paying interest on bond issues and other outstanding obligations for the maintenance of these levees. The expenditures of State and local levee boards in Louisiana and in my State immediately north of the stretch of river under consideration has been enormous. Doubtless the expenditures within the State of Louisiana has been several million dollars, and the sum total expended by levee boards and districts along the river from Fulton to its mouth since the survey upon which Gen. Bixby based his recommendations will probably exceed already the sum it was estimated would be required of them.

The circumstances and difficulties under which the local boards and districts are compelled to carry on this work of levee building can not be appreciated by those who do not make a special study of levee building on streams of this character. The people do not wish the Government to construct the levees for the protection of their lands. They are willing and anxious and are rapidly constructing the levees at their own cost. The engineers admit that no permanent improvement of the stream for navigation can be accomplished until the system of levees is constructed. The riparian States and districts are constructing the levees. What they want is that the Government cooperate with them in the location of the levees and undertake to keep the river from undermining them when they are properly constructed as located. They are willing to abide by the judgment and decision of the War Department as to the place, size, and character of levees; but when the levees are thus constructed at their expense they wish and have a right to expect the Government to keep the river away from the levees by preventing caving banks, cut-offs, and the like, and by taking other proper care of the channel and bed of the stream.

Mr. Speaker, the present project contemplated doing all these things, and the recommendations of Gen. Bixby merely makes more specific how the most essential details are to be carried out, substituting a general, comprehensive, systematic plan for cooperating with our people, who are anxious and willing to meet the Government more than halfway.

River and Harbor Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE WHITE,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 19, 1915,

On the bill (H. R. 20189) making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, I am not unmindful that we are approaching the hour of midnight, after 11 hours' continuous discussion of the pending rivers and harbors bill; and inasmuch as a point of order has been reserved on my amendment, I will speak briefly with reference to the conditions out of which have grown the demand for governmental aid relative to flood control.

The verbiage of the amendment follows the recommendations of the Secretary of War as reported in House Document No. 914. The recommendations of the Secretary followed the disastrous floods of 1913. I am sure the membership of the House recalls the great loss of life and property resulting from those floods in the spring of 1913.

The subject of flood protection and flood prevention is one of great national import, and I feel that it is our duty to take some step toward ameliorating conditions in the most afflicted districts in the various parts of the United States without delay.

Speaking to the point of order raised by the gentleman from Illinois and the gentleman from Texas against the amendment, I submit that the interests of navigation and the direct connection of flood with governmental work on the river puts the amendment well within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, and therefore, Mr. Speaker, the point of order should be overruled. The people of the Ohio Valley and its tributaries are asking—yes, demanding—that that most efficient arm of the Government service, the Army Engineers, give their attention to the study of the conditions with a view of bringing about economical and efficient cooperation on the part of local interests. From Pittsburgh down the Ohio River the municipalities and communities have contributed their funds and time in an effort to work out some practical plans for relief from the almost annual losses by reason of floods. The citizens of Pittsburgh have contributed some $80,000 and have employed competent engineers to make surveys and recommendations as to plans for flood protection. Will Congress refuse to allow an authorization for the Federal Government to lend its aid in unifying and guiding the different reports that have already been made?

If this amendment be adopted, the Government will do for the citizens of my district and the citizens affected by the flood conditions in the Ohio Valley and its tributaries the same thing that the Government has repeatedly done in appropriating millions of dollars for flood prevention for citizens who live along the lower Mississippi. The people of my district are asking the question, and I am representing them on the floor of this House, as to why it is that the Committee on Rivers and Harbors has jurisdiction over flood prevention and control with reference to the banks of the Mississippi River, into which the Ohio River flows, and at the same time claims to have no jurisdiction over the banks and territory adjacent to the Ohio River and its tributaries. Year after year Congress makes appropriation for levees on the Mississippi River. It is true that the language of the bill does not mention flood control, but the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HUMPHREYS], a member of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, in his speech with reference to the levee appropriation, made practically no mention of navigation and dwelt entirely on the protection from flood afforded by the levees. In fact, the chart he presented to the House showed plainly the vast area so affected.

I was glad of the opportunity of supporting the appropriation for the lower Mississippi, but I believe the Members from the districts surrounding the Ohio and its tributaries are also justified in asking the Members from districts afforded relief by the levees to reciprocate by supporting this amendment, carrying, as it does, a few thousand dollars for a preliminary survey.

The gentleman from Mississippi called the attention of the House to a significant statement printed in large letters at the bottom of a chart in these words: "The process in which the country above is relieved is the process by which the country below is ruined." I call the attention of the gentleman to the fact that the country above, which is the country affected by my amendment, is not relieved and is suffering almost annually from flood conditions.

It is possible that no practical plans can be worked out by the Army engineers, but we feel that Congress should at least authorize them to study and collect additional data in the way of rainfall statistics, gauging of streams, and special maps of drainage areas that must be obtained before specific plans can even be considered. The Secretary of War states that some of the data can be obtained from the local offices of the United States Weather Bureau, the United States Geological Survey, and of the citizens, counties, and States, and so forth, in the areas involved, under the system which has existed in the past, but that a large part of it can best be obtained by field parties organized in each of the engineer districts of the area under consideration—Pittsburgh, Wheeling, first Cincinnati, second Cincinnati, and Louisville. The cost involved in collecting these data and preparing plans will be relatively small in comparison with the benefit hoped to be derived, and this same method can readily be applied, if necessary, to the drainage area of all rivers throughout the country which are subject to disastrous floods. I believe I am warranted in stating that there is no subject approaching in importance to the people of the flooded districts as this question of flood control, and I appeal to my colleagues to-night to approve the amendment.

Mr. Speaker, to sustain the point of order raised against the amendment will result in practically demonstrating to our people that Congress is not interested in solving the problems that are involved in the navigable streams mentioned in the amendment.

There is a general belief that the fixed type of dam increases materially the frequency of floods. I am not advised as to the merit of the contention, but is not Congress charged with the responsibility of answering the question, and should not the Rivers and Harbors Committee have jurisdiction over the authorization of a survey looking to definite settlement of the question? I trust, Mr. Speaker, that you will overrule the point of order and give the membership of the House an opportunity to express an opinion upon the merits of the question involved in my amendment. [Applause.]

Speech of David Clark on Child Labor.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWIN Y. WEBB,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, January 23, 1915.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I desire to insert in the RECORD the speech of Mr. David Clark, editor of the Southern Textile Bulletin, published at Charlotte, N. C., before the National Child Labor Conference, recently held in the city of Washington.

The speech is as follows:

A DEMAND FOR A SQUARE DEAL.

I come before you to-day to make a plea for a square deal for the cotton manufacturers of the South.

I do not come at the instance of the cotton manufacturers, in fact, up to the time of accepting your invitation no one of them knew that I contemplated addressing you, and even now only four or five of them are aware I am here.

I am editor and sole owner of the Southern Textile Bulletin, a journal that covers the textile industry of the South, and goes not only to the cotton-mill officials but to the superintendents, overseers, and other practical men in the mills.

Prior to entering journalism I was for eight years in the cotton-manufacturing business, beginning as an operative, and at one time or another filled practically every position in the cotton mill. For a considerable portion of the time I lived with mill people, ate with them, and I therefore know how they work and how they live.

The cotton manufacturers have no financial interest in my publication, either directly or indirectly, and I have never hesitated to take issue with them upon any matter where I consider them to be in the wrong.

I stand very close to the men in the mills, including the operatives, and I have my hand on the pulse of the industry. I know what they are thinking and what they are saying, and I am endeavoring through my journal to aid them not only in their practical but in their moral development and to put into their minds thoughts and ideas that will do much toward causing them to live clean and moral lives. Probably my greatest field of endeavor has been to promote good feeling and square dealing between the mill officials and the operatives, and I do not believe that any other industry in this country can to-day boast of as much good feeling, confidence, and cooperation between these two classes as exists in the textile industry of the South.

I have explained to you at length the position which I occupy and the work in which I am engaged in order that you may know that I have more than a theoretical knowledge of my subject, and I now wish to tell you where I stand upon the subject of child labor. I wish you to remember that I speak from practical knowledge and contact with the subject.

I have never advocated child labor and I have never believed that any child of less than 12 years of age should be allowed to work.

I do not believe that a girl under 14 years of age should be allowed to work, but I have never seen any evidence that a boy above 12 years of age was injured by cotton-mill work, except in so far as it prevented him from attending school, and wherever and whenever it is possible for a boy under 14 years of age to attend school, I believe that it should be illegal to employ him in a mill during the school term.

I do not believe that any woman under 18 years of age should be employed on night work, and in taking this position I take issue with many of our manufacturers.

This is, briefly, my position upon the so-called child-labor question; but at the same time I wish to say that I can show you strong, healthy men, many of them filling high positions in the mills, whose appearance will compare favorably with any of the gentlemen before me, who began work as cotton-mill doffer boys at 8 or 9 years of age, when there were no age restrictions.

I can show you strong, healthy women in the cotton-mill villages, mothers of large, healthy families, who began work as spinners at the early age of 8 or 9 years.

On the other hand, in spite of all the pictures that your organization has printed and all the statements that have been made, I have failed to note where you have shown one man or one woman whose health has been wrecked by early work.

There is a misunderstanding on the part of the public relative to the work that is being performed in the cotton mills by young boys and girls.

I have seen your statements about the "child at the loom," but it is an impossibility for a child to reach from the front of the loom to the place where the broken threads must be tied. Your representatives have seen small children playing around the looms operated by their parents or assisting those parents, but it was a misrepresentation to picture those children as running looms.

The young girls in the mills are employed almost exclusively at the spinning frames where it is their duty to watch the threads that break and "piece up" or replace them. When there are no broken threads they sit on the boxes at the ends of the frames and make occasional trips down the alleys. Their work is not continuous, and requires very little physical energy. It can not be compared to the endless, unceasing strain upon a girl at a sewing machine in one of your New York sweat shops.

When the bobbins on the spinning frames become full the young boys remove them from the spindles and put on empty bobbins. This is called doffing, and the boys are called doffers. Between doffs—that is, while the bobbins are filling up—the boys are at leisure and lay usually outside but near the mill door so that they can be called when needed.

Those of us who have had experience with doffer boys, with their infinite capacity for using their surplus energy for all manner of mischief, can hardly recognize them as the weaklings as painted by the members of your organization. If any of you have doubts upon this subject and wish to spend a lively and interesting two weeks, I will secure for you a position in charge of the doffer boys in a southern cotton mill, and if you retain your mental faculties at the end of that time you will paint a different picture of the doffer boy from that you have been accustomed to see. They are full-blooded American boys with health and energy and an infinite capacity for doing the things that they should not do, and, boy for boy, I believe that they can lick any other class of boys in this country.

The trouble with your organization is that your representatives do not present the true facts. They take exceptional cases and give them to the world as average and usual conditions. You tell about the millman violating the laws of his State, but your organization often violates a higher law than that of man, which says, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor."

I do not mean to give offense, but I am here to tell facts, and I do not believe that the donors and patrons of this organization intended that their money should be used to misrepresent conditions.

Speak of child labor in southern mills to the average man or woman, and immediately a mental picture arises of a girl of 4 or 5 years of age, ragged and exhausted with a heavy burden, and standing over her a brutal man with a whip. It is the picture that has been created in the minds of the public largely by the efforts of the National Child Labor Committee, and in creating that impression you have borne false witness against your neighbor.

I hold in my hand the editorial page of the latest number of the Good Housekeeping magazine. It contains an editorial intimating that children of 5 and 6 years of age are employed in the mills of North Carolina. On this page is a picture of a monument on which is written the word "Profit," and at the base of the monument lies the ragged figure of a child of not over 5 years of age.

Why did they illustrate this picture with a girl of 5? Why did they not put there the figure of a girl of 13 or 14 or 15 years?

I charge that it was done purposely to create in the minds of the public the idea that the North Carolina cotton manufacturers are employing children of that age, whereas the minimum age limit is 13 years, and only in rare cases and in violation of the law are children of fewer years being employed.

The picture was a violation of fact, and the man who produced it told an untruth as much as if he had used words.

I could cite many similar cases where a half truth has been told and the wrong impression created, and I can say honestly that I have never seen a statement issued by the National Child Labor Committee relative to the southern cotton mills that did not exaggerate conditions or contain half truths.

When your investigators come South they seem to be looking for the unusual, exceptional cases, and to have no idea of giving a square deal to the cotton manufacturers.

A mother, especially one who is working on the spoolers, where there is considerable space, often prefers to take her little

child in the mill and let it play around her rather than leave it with neighbors.

Where a family lives a considerable distance from the mill it is the custom to send the dinner pail to the mill by the young children and they usually reach the mill before stopping time. Such children are seen and, either through ignorance or intentionally, are represented as being employed.

There are, I am sorry to say, mills that violate the age-limit law, but the Southern States are essentially law abiding, and sooner or later every mill will be forced to comply with the legal requirements. The changes in such laws have been rapid in late years and it naturally requires time for mills, especially those that fought against the changes, to adjust themselves to the new conditions, but it will be done.

I do not think your organization has been granted any commission to enforce the laws of North Carolina, and, coming from States whose violations of laws, including those of child labor, are far in excess of those of my State, I say that you should clean up your own back yards before you attend to ours.

I do not wish to paint the condition of the southern cotton-mill operative as ideal. They work and they work hard, and their surroundings and lives are not all that could be desired.

However distasteful the idea of manual labor may be to those who live by their wits, we have not yet reached the state where most men do not have to earn their living by the sweat of their brows.

Many of you have read Thomas R. Dawley's book, The Child that Toiled Not. The cotton manufacturers of North Carolina purchased a considerable number of those books and distributed them, but I condemned them for their action.

Dawley's book contains a great deal of truth, but he selected the exceptional and unusual cases and it is not a true picture of the section which it is supposed to cover. Dawley painted the picture as some mill men wanted to see it, just as your representatives paint their pictures as they believe you want to see them.

It is a fact, however, that a majority of the people who have gone from the mountains or the small farms to the mills have immeasurably benefited their conditions, and it is also a fact that the child on the farm does harder and more injurious work and has less opportunity for enjoyment than the children in the mill.

I have never heard of your organization advocating age restrictions for the child on the farm, and it is openly charged that you are afraid of the political influence of the farmer.

Volume 4 of the 1910 United States census on occupation statistics gave the following for North Carolina as regards boys between 10 and 13 years of age:

Total engaged in gainful occupations	53,457
Engaged in agriculture	47,884
Hired out for farm and dairy work	7,560
In the cotton mills as bobbin boys, doffers, carriers, and spinners mainly	2,304

The figures for girls of these ages in North Carolina are even more striking:

Total engaged in gainful occupations	30,822
Engaged in agriculture	26,196
Hired out for farm and dairy-farm work	3,648
In the cotton mills as spinners, winders, spoolers, weavers, and knitting-mill operatives	2,319

These figures show that out of 84,279 children employed in gainful occupations only 4,623, or 1 out of 16, were employed in cotton mills.

If it is your Christian duty to strike the shackles from child labor, why devote all of your time to 1 and allow the other 15 to continue their labors?

Before closing I wish to say a few words relative to your proposed national child-labor law. The child-labor question is not a national one, and there being different conditions in different States, I believe that it is a question that should be regulated by the States.

The whisky question is a national one, because whisky can be carried or shipped from one State into another and there be used to debauch its citizens.

The fact that a boy of 13 works in North Carolina can in no way injure the citizens of New York or Massachusetts, and, plainly speaking, it is none of their business.

Because the citizens of North Carolina will not do your bidding you now seek to force your views upon them through the National Congress. North Carolina has always shown a regard for the welfare of her citizens, no matter how humble, and has been a leader in the enactment of laws for their moral uplift.

We have driven from our State the barroom with its insidious influence, the gambling halls and the dens of vice, and the observance of the Sabbath is rigidly enforced.

Most of you come from cities where the barrooms and the gambling dens hold full sway, where the dens of vice are filled to overflowing, and where theaters and places of amusement run full blast on Sunday.

Until you bring the moral stamina of your own States on a plane with North Carolina you can hardly claim the right to dictate the laws by which we shall be governed.

In conclusion, I wish to say that the cotton manufacturers of the South are entitled to a square deal, and I demand that your representatives cease misrepresenting conditions.

If you feel that the enforcement of our laws is your business and your duty, I wish to make to you a practical suggestion. When you find a case of employment of children under the legal age publish the name of the mill and that of the child and its parents. Such an act will cause the violation to cease, and is far better than telling the world that you know of such a case and intimating that it is usual.

I have not intended that this address should give offense, because I believe that most of those who are supporting or conducting your organization are Christian men and women, actuated by an honest desire to help humanity.

I have stated plainly the facts as I see them, and I thank you for your attention.

Federal Reserve Board.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARTER GLASS,

OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 20, 1915.

Mr. GLASS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following letter which I had occasion to write to Henry B. Joy in connection with the same matter referred to by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. LINDBERGH]:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, January 12, 1915.

Mr. HENRY B. JOY, *Detroit, Mich.*

DEAR SIR: I am to-day in receipt of your letter of January 7 addressed to Mr. F. A. Delano, vice governor of the Federal Reserve Board, at Washington, D. C., in which you call attention to an article said to have been printed in the Chicago Tribune, giving an alleged interview with me and with other Congressmen, which alleged interview you moderately characterize as "a lot of pure, unadulterated slush to stir up prejudice and trouble," and in connection with which you suggest that politicians of my type indulge in that sort of talk "because it pays."

It seems not to have occurred to you to inquire whether or not I gave an interview to the Chicago Tribune or made any comment, for publication or otherwise, upon the Lindbergh resolutions or upon matters appearing in the Chicago papers in reference to the conduct of the regional reserve bank of that district. You do not appear to have sufficiently appreciated the dignity of your own position as director of the Chicago Federal reserve bank, or the responsibility of my position as chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee of the House of Representatives, to have taken the precaution to be sure that you knew what you were talking about before making haste to engage in a wanton aspersion of public men.

Speaking for myself, I gave no interview to the Chicago Tribune, nor to any other newspaper, and have made no comment, for publication or otherwise, upon statements appearing in the public press concerning the administration of the Chicago regional bank. There is absolutely no excuse for any newspaper or person to undertake to represent my views upon the episodes to which your defamatory letter has reference.

I know nothing about the facts involved in the alleged maladministration of the Chicago regional reserve bank. I have not yet read the Lindbergh resolutions, but entertain a rather general prejudice against a sweeping investigation of a banking and currency system which has not been two months in operation. Nevertheless, the incident brings me firmly to the conclusion that if the other directors of the Chicago regional reserve bank are men of your temperament and your disregard of the ordinary amenities of public life, the sooner there is an investigation of the bank and a summary dismissal of its administrators the better it would be for the system. I shall unhesitatingly say to members of the Federal Reserve Board and to the Congress that, in my judgment, your letter to Mr. Delano clearly demonstrates your unfitness for the position which you occupy, and that your longer incumbency of it would be a distinct reproach and peril to the Federal reserve system; that is, if you are of sufficient consequence to impress your views upon the other members of the Chicago directorate.

Yours, very truly, CARTER GLASS.

Mr. Speaker, realizing that some significance might attach to anything that the chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee of the House of Representatives would say about the official action of the Federal Reserve Board or the operations of the Federal reserve banks, I have scrupulously refrained from making any comment upon newspaper reports affecting the management of Federal reserve banks or concerning any of the rulings of the Federal Reserve Board. In

my view, any criticism that I might desire to make in this respect should be made in a dignified way upon the floor of the House after a careful ascertainment of facts. So far am I from thinking that political influences should relate themselves to the management of the Federal Reserve System and such an utter distaste have I for bothering with patronage, that I have consistently declined importunate applications from my own and other States for letters of recommendation to the Federal Reserve Board and to regional banks. In view of these facts I resent the coarse imprecations of this Mr. Joy, who seems to have an itch for the very sort of notoriety that he pretends to disdain and deplore. The Federal Reserve System should no more be made the victim of official snobbery than of political demagogy; and while I agree with Mr. Joy that sensational newspaper criticism is calculated to harm the new banking system, it likewise is obvious that a sensational bank director can do the system infinitely more damage. Therefore, I venture to hope that not many of the regional reserve banks made the mistake of selecting men of Mr. Joy's type as their directors. I am rather astonished that the Chicago bank should have evinced such a lack of discrimination.

Immigration Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN L. BURNETT,

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 15, 1915,

On the bill (H. R. 6060) to regulate the immigration of aliens to and the residence of aliens in the United States.

Mr. BURNETT. Mr. Speaker, I desire briefly to answer some of the erroneous statements made by Congressmen and others in regard to the illiteracy test embraced in this bill.

The Washington papers a few days ago quoted Miss Jane Addams as saying in an interview with President Wilson a few days ago that the illiteracy test would keep out the aged parents of admissible aliens already here.

Nothing is further from the truth. The bill on this point reads as follows:

Provided, That any admissible alien or any alien heretofore or hereafter legally admitted, or any citizen of the United States, may bring in or send for his father or grandfather over 55 years of age, his wife, his mother, his grandmother, or his unmarried or widowed daughter, if otherwise admissible, whether such relative can read or not; and such relative shall be permitted to enter.

A Senator, speaking on this subject a few days ago, quotes from an address of President Wilson, which he says was sent out by the Democratic national committee as an assurance that this restrictive legislation would not be adopted. If that statement refers to a circular on the front page of which is President Wilson's picture, and which contains an address of President Wilson before a delegation of editors of newspapers published in foreign languages before his election, I state that I have seen the circular, and it bears no evidence that it was sent out by authority of any committee whatever. But the distinguished Senator stops short of quoting the entire address of our President. He must inadvertently have left out the following portion of the address:

I am speaking to you as also Americans with myself, and just as much American as myself, and if we all take the American point of view, namely, that we want American life kept to its standards, and that only the standards of American life shall be standards of restriction, then we are all upon a common ground, not of those who criticize immigration, but those who declare themselves Americans. I am not saying that I am wise enough out of hand to frame the legislation that will meet this idea. I am only saying that it is the ideal, and that is what we ought to hold ourselves to. * * * Of course, if the immigrants are allowed to come in uninstructed hosts and to stop at the ports where they enter and there to compete in an oversupplied labor market, there is going to be unhappiness; there is going to be deterioration; there is going to be everything that will be detrimental to the immigrant.

That, Mr. Speaker, is the crux of that address.

The illiteracy test will exclude the very ones who do not keep American life to its standards.

The assertion has been made recently that President Wilson gave preelection promises to veto any illiteracy test bill for restricting immigration in case of his election. No man who knows our President believes that he or any other man big enough to be President made any such statement. This was no party question, and no man big enough to be President would make any such promise or in any way pledge himself until he had seen the bill and given it thorough consideration.

Mr. Hilles, the secretary of the Republican national committee, sent out a statement before the last presidential election that Mr. Taft, if reelected, would veto the bill, and no one doubts that this statement helped to bring to Mr. Taft the most overwhelming defeat ever suffered by any nominee of a great party.

President Wilson, in his recent Indianapolis speech, did say:

There is not a single act of this present great Congress which has not been carried out in obedience to the public opinion of America, and the public opinion of America is not going to permit any body of men to go backward with regard to these great matters.

Applying that test to this bill, I will say that there is not a single act that has been passed by the present Congress that more fully represents public opinion than this one.

It has been agitated ever since 1896, and the great heart of the people has as the years have come and gone more and more cried out for its passage.

In 1897 Mr. Cleveland vetoed it, but for the whole of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1897, the entire immigration to this country was only 230,832, which was about 1,000 less than those that came from southern Italy alone during the last fiscal year.

True, Mr. Taft vetoed a similar bill two years ago, but he did so, as all believe, because he fell overnight into the hands of evil influences.

A recent issue of the Boston Transcript has the following timely editorial on the subject:

THE IMMIGRATION BILL.

Following the precedent set by his predecessor, President Wilson is to give a hearing on the immigration bill, which is now in his hands. But, unfortunately, such a hearing will not give any real indication of the national sentiment on the bill in question. The opposition to the measure is naturally admirably organized, well supplied with money, and marshaled by able attorneys. Those who favor the bill are the great body of the American people, scattered broadcast over the country, unknown and unorganized, but whose opinions are represented in the large votes which both Houses of Congress have repeatedly passed in favor of the principles embodied in the present bill. Those who doubt the existence of a widespread demand for some further restrictive or selective immigration legislation need only observe the persistently large majorities which during the past 18 years have been piled up in Congress in favor of the reading test. Congressmen may usually be relied upon to vote in accordance with the wishes of their constituents.

We have no doubt that nine-tenths, if not all, of those who will appear at the White House on Friday of this week in opposition to the immigration bill and who will center their opposition on the reading test are in reality opposed to any and all further restriction. The issue is clearly drawn between those who believe that our present immigration laws are inadequate and those who for one reason or another wish things to continue as they are, or would even lower the bars still further. The opponents of the reading test would be just as violent opponents of a numerical limitation of immigrants, or of consular certificates, or of any other plan to reduce, or even to select, our alien arrivals. The sooner this fact is recognized the better for the country.

It is singular that so many people miss the whole point of this reading test. The argument most frequently advanced against it is that it would not exclude the educated rascal; that it is no test of character. No advocate of this test ever claimed that it would exclude all rascals and criminals. That is not what it is intended to do. We have already done what we can by law to keep out alien criminals. That our law is unsatisfactory on that point is no argument against the addition of a mild reading test, which is to be an addition to, not a substitute for, existing provisions. When practically our only means of detecting rascals is by asking them whether they are rascals, it is obvious that we are in a very sorry plight indeed. Yet that is about all that we have so far been able to do. If those who spend so much time in attacking the reading test because it will not exclude educated rascals would devise some means for keeping out those same rascals they would be doing their country a really effective, constructive service. It is just as logical to object to typhoid inoculation on the ground that it will not prevent diphtheria as it is to object to the reading test because it will not exclude educated criminals. Typhoid inoculation was never intended to prevent diphtheria. Neither was the reading test ever intended to be used as a test of character. Supporters of the reading test do not claim that ability to read necessarily makes a man a desirable citizen, or that illiteracy necessarily means that he will be a bad citizen or an inefficient laborer. Supporters of the reading test do not claim that ability to read is a test of character. It is the interests which are fighting the immigration bill which persist in bringing forward that argument, and thereby mislead many of our most intelligent citizens.

No test can be devised which will shut out every undesirable alien and admit every desirable one. It is not without significance that all the experts who have made a sufficient study of the immigration problem to write books upon this subject in recent years have, with a single exception, become strongly convinced of the necessity of restriction, and have favored the reading test, viz, Messrs. Mayo-Smith, Commons, Jenks, Hall, Warne, Fairchild, and Ross. The one author who reached a different conclusion is Dr. Hourwich, and he has been severely criticized by other economists as to his figures and his methods of argument. Although only two members of the United States Immigration Commission were strongly in favor of the reading test at the start of their investigation, eight out of nine finally favored the test as the best single method of restriction.

The present immigration bill embodies a number of excellent provisions which would make the mental and physical examination of our arriving aliens more effective and would exclude a larger number of those whose coming here will inevitably tend to lower the mental and physical standards of our people. These provisions have been indorsed by medical bodies all over the country, and by our own Massachusetts Medical Society at its annual meeting last June. All these most necessary and most rational amendments to our immigration law will be lost if the President vetoes the present bill and Congress fails to pass

it over the veto. The reading test in the form in which it appears in the bill is a mild measure, which, in the opinion of experts, would never seriously reduce immigration, but which would operate as a selective test in raising the general standard of intelligence of our alien arrivals.

The increase of inmates of insane and charitable institutions in States where the new immigration has been so great has become positively alarming.

So much is this the case that the governor of New York recently sent a message to the House Immigration Committee urging the Federal Government to take some action looking to assuming a part of the burden of expense which that State was forced to bear.

Some have argued that this increase of insane patients was due to the older immigrants, but that contention is utterly refuted by the New York State Board of Alienists in their report for the year ending September 30, 1911.

On page 22 that report says:

"For the first few years after the commencement of that remarkable migration of the races of southern and eastern Europe to this country (to which Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia have contributed nearly 500,000 persons a year) it is noted that the increase of patients of those nationalities in the State hospitals was gradual. By 1905, however, it was possible to predict that when the effects of the 'new immigration' commenced to be felt the 'old immigration' (of Germans, Irish, and Scandinavians) would be outdone in the numbers of insane added to the foreign-born population of our State hospitals. To-day that prediction is fulfilled, and during the year more than 55 per cent of the aliens deported by the United States Immigration Service were natives of those three countries."

The New York Times of March 28, 1912, says:

INSANE ALIENS.

"The Times is informed by Secretary McGarr, of the State commission in lunacy, that of the 31,432 insane patients under treatment in the 14 State hospitals on February 10 last, 13,163, or 41.9 per cent, were aliens. Foreign-born patients have increased since the Federal census of December 31, 1903, by 1,552, or 13.4 per cent. In the two State hospitals for the criminal insane there were 1,230 patients on February 10, of whom nearly 44.4 per cent were of alien birth; the Federal census of 1910 showed a percentage of aliens to total population in this State of 29.9 per cent.

"The prevalence of insanity among immigrants is evidently much greater than among the native born. Of the 5,700 patients admitted to the civil hospitals for the year ending September 30, 1911, 2,737, or 48 per cent, were aliens, and 1,481, or 26 per cent, were of alien parentage, while only 1,224, less than 26 per cent, were of native stock. Of the whole number, the nativity of but 218, which is 3.8 per cent, was not ascertainable. Insanity among the foreign peoples of this city occurs in a still larger percentage of cases. Of the first admissions to the hospitals, 2,006 out of 3,221 residents of the city were of foreign birth; that is, 64.1 per cent, although the foreign-born population is but 40.4 per cent of the whole."

This report also states that many foreign countries encourage the emigration of their insane and diseased people to this country, in order to rid themselves of their care and expense.

The following extracts from the New York State Hospitals Bulletin of April, 1912, show an appalling condition. On pages 5 and 6 it is said:

"In February, 1912, there were 31,432 patients in the 14 State hospitals, 41.9 per cent of whom were of foreign birth. Careful studies have shown that the frequency of insanity in our foreign population is 2.19 times greater than those of native birth."

On page 13 the following is stated:

"The relatively large contribution of Italy to the population of the hospitals for the criminal insane is worthy of comment. Although the Italians constitute but 5 per cent of the foreign-born insane population of the civil hospitals, they number 23.1 per cent of the foreign born of the hospitals for the criminal insane. This nationality also contributes largely to the prison population of the State. The report of the State superintendent of prisons for the year ending September 30, 1910, shows that the Italians constitute 36.6 per cent of the foreign-born prison population of the State.

"Relatively, the Germans and Irish contribute a much smaller percentage of insane with criminal tendencies."

* * * * * *

On page 36 it is said:

"13. The larger part of the immigrants who are admitted to a State hospital within five years after landing come from Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia.

"14. The foreign-born first admissions show a higher rate of illiteracy than the native born.

"15. The largest percentages of foreign-born illiterates are found among the Austrians, Russians, and Italians."

On page 46 it is said:

"At $262 per patient the total annual cost to the State of the hospital care of the foreign-born patients now in the civil hospitals is $3,448,706. So long as the yearly addition of immigrants to the hospitals continues to increase this annual burden will continue to grow.

"At the rate of $2,882 per patient the admission of 2,737 new foreign-born patients to the State hospitals in 1911 will involve a total expense to the State before these patients are finally discharged of $7,888,034."

The New York Herald of April 13, 1912, speaking of conditions in that State, said:

"Recently the Herald published statistics showing that more than 60 per cent of the occupants of charitable institutions and insane asylums in New York were foreign born and likely entered here under the lax system of the immigration authorities.

"For the most part the immigrants come from the unhealthy parts of southern Europe and carry contagious diseases. Many are weak-minded, a condition difficult to detect, especially in children, and they are sent here by their relatives abroad because they can receive better care in American institutions. A majority of the immigrants get no farther than this city, and prominent medical authorities here have often declared that the foreigners are responsible for much of the disease in the tenement quarters."

The crime record of the new immigration is also becoming appalling.

A few years ago Police Commissioner Bingham, of New York, aroused by the wave of crimes against women and children, said to the Associated Press:

There is another very important thing about this crime business. I don't want to say anything that would be indiscreet, but unquestionably the hordes of immigrants that are coming here have a good deal to do with crimes against women and children.

You will notice that these particular crimes are done by fellows who can't talk the English language. It is this wave of immigration that brings to New York the hundreds of thousands of criminals who don't know what liberty means, and don't care; don't know our customs, can not speak the English language, and are in general the scum of Europe.

From the State of New Jersey comes the following letter of Frederick A. Pope, prosecutor of pleas of Somerset County, N. J., addressed to President Taft on February 8, 1913:

My duties as prosecuting attorney of Somerset County, N. J., have given me an excellent opportunity to check up in one important particular the investigations and conclusions of the Immigration Commission with reference to the illiteracy test. During the last two years I have kept a careful record of the last 114 criminal cases that I have prosecuted against aliens, with the following interesting results:

	Illiterate.	Literate.
Homicide	3	.....
Atrocious assault and battery	34	6
Simple assault and battery	9	2
Larceny	14	2
Sexual crime	7	1
Perjury	2	1
Excise	11	5
Marriage	3	1
Frauds	2	4
Miscellaneous	6	1
Total	91	23

The following conclusions are deducible from the above:

(1) Of the 114 crimes committed by aliens 54 were acts of personal violence; and of these 54, 46 were committed by illiterates, while only 8 were chargeable to those able to read and write.

(2) Of the 46 committed by illiterates, 3 were homicides, 34 were atrocious assaults (by maiming and wounding with a deadly weapon), and only 9 were simple assaults, showing conclusively that the illiterate alien 37 times out of 46 makes use of a deadly weapon in order to avenge his wrongs, fancied or real.

(3) Out of 16 cases of larceny (stealing of all kinds), 14 defendants were illiterate.

(4) Out of 8 sexual crimes, 7 were committed by illiterates, 3 of these being carnal abuse of infants under 10 years of age.

(5) Out of 3 perjury cases, 2 were against illiterates; that is, of those brought to justice.

(6) Out of 16 cases for violation of excise laws, 11 were illiterates, showing an utter disregard for laws.

(7) Of the 4 crimes against the institution of marriage, 3 were illiterates.

(8) Only in cases of fraud did the literate exceed the illiterate.

I am, Mr. President, sincerely, yours,

FREDERICK A. POPE,
Prosecutor of Pleas, Somerset County, N. J.

I have heard the old worn-out argument of the alien pushing the American laborer up. This is fine theory, but is a fallacy in practice. Listen to what John Mitchell, ex-president of the American Mine Workers, said when asked as to whether the new immigrants pushed up those who were here:

No; not at all. If it was, then I would say that there ought to be about 15,000 John Mitchells who were ex-presidents of the United Mine Workers of America, and who are now prominently before the people of the United States. Probably of the thousands of men who, like myself, were pushed up, I was the one who rose where the rest fell. * * * But I do know hundreds of men, Mr. Secretary—I have seen them in my life and talked with them, because I have been interested in these problems—I have found hundreds of men who were not quite so sensitive as I was, but whose hardships had hardened them so that they forgot their desire to rise in the world, and, as a result of unemployment, had got into a state of mind and into a condition where they did not want work.

* * * Sometimes like a dream these men look back to the pinnacle on which they once were, when they were wage earners, but they have been driven down and have become of the type that has been described. They are tramps, bums, and finally hoboes—men who no longer want work because they have got away from it, just as we find men in other classes of society who go down, down, down, until the better part of their manhood is submerged and they can not rise again. So, instead of these immigrants pushing men up to better planes of society, they push them out. Of course, I know—I have read the books that have been written about one class being supplanted by another in whole communities. I suppose you are familiar with the Slav invasion of the anthracite coal fields; how the English, Irish, and Scotch employees were there first, and then came along the Slavs, and slowly but surely drove them from place to place, and drove them up the valley. Mr. Powderly knows more about it than I do—how the English-speaking men made their last stand right up at Mr. Powderly's home, and now they are going from there. True, some of them have entered the railway service; we have lots of them who are railroad men now, and others have become policemen—strong, big, fine men. But there are hundreds of them, you will find, wandering up and down in America.

This, Mr. Speaker, is from a man who has worked with his hands and touches shoulder with the man who toils, and it is a sad picture of what is called pushing men up.

Mr. Speaker, the most terrific war that ever spread its besom of destruction over the world is now raging in Europe. When it ends the nations of the Old World will by every means possible keep the able-bodied and the literate within their borders to rehabilitate their ruined and devastated countries. The weaker ones and the illiterate will be urged to seek their homes in the Eldorado of the Western Hemisphere. It has been prophesied by those who have studied the question that 2,000,000 a year of those who are undesirable in their fatherlands will be pushed off to our shores. Gentlemen, if you defeat this bill, or the President by his veto shall assume the responsibility for its defeat, you will before many months have the anathemas of those begging for bread heaped upon your heads. Why, even before this European war we have the testimony of an official of our Government that some of the European nations were deliberately making us the dumping ground for the most undesirable of their people.

A few years ago Marcus Braun, of New York, an immigrant inspector, was detailed by our Government to make investigation of immigrant conditions in Europe. In his report to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor he says:

It was at this time that I learned of that famous clause contained in the agreement referred to between the Hungarian Government and the Cunard Line, by the terms of which said Government guarantees to the Cunard Steamship Co. for their line, "Fiume to New York," 30,000 third-class (steerage) passengers per year, or a penalty of 100 crowns for every emigrant lacking said number.

I could not possibly believe this to be true, and all my efforts to obtain some definite information in this respect proved futile. I finally decided to take the bull by the horns, as it were, and called on the above-named Mr. Selley, who, in his capacity as councilor, is not only the head of the police department of the Kingdom of Hungary, but has also had charge of the emigration and the laws governing same; he was the sponsor of the new Hungarian emigration law, and made all the arrangements for its execution. Mr. Selley was exceedingly proud of his achievement, and, directing my attention to what he termed the signal success of said law, wished to know my opinion about it. I replied that from my standpoint, as a United States emigrant official, I thought this law to be a very good one, provided it would be executed, but I suggested that in my opinion a serious mistake had been made by guaranteeing a specified number of emigrants to the Cunard Steamship Co., to which Mr. Selley replied as follows—I am quoting his language literally: "Why, we can very readily guarantee 30,000 a year, since we had 106,000 emigrants last year."

I told Mr. Selley that I believed that particular provision of the agreement to be wrong in the extreme, and that it might meet with serious objection in the United States. This remark was met by Mr. Selley with the intimation that the matter was an entirely Hungarian affair, and none of our business.

The Mr. Selley that he refers to he says in his report was the royal Hungarian councilor to the Ministry of the Interior.

Further on in the report he says:

To sum up the situation, as illustrated, appertaining to the question of Hungarian emigration to the United States, I desire to direct attention to the fact that there is a small proportion of the Hungarian people called the "Agrarians," who make sincere efforts to restrict emigration, who, however, are in a very deplorable minority. (The majority do advocate emigration and exert themselves in every particular and any way and manner possible to promote, induce, and assist emigration. The objects and reasons for this constant agitation are obvious and manifold, but they are all concentrated in one particular proposition, and that is the obtaining and earning of all the money they possibly can in the United States, and then either send or bring it back to Hungary, buy land therewith, or apply it in some other way for the benefit of the country of their nativity.)

The trend of the prevailing opinion in this respect is very comprehensively illustrated in a most enthusiastic exposé of Mr. Sigmund Kornfeld, the director of the "Hungarian credit bank," which appeared in the public press recently, and also in speeches and lectures which he made and gave, and in the course of which he proved logically the wonderful advantages of Hungarian emigration to the United States, citing, among other things, that through his bank alone 139,000,000 crowns had come into the country from the United States during last year, and that in certain counties the value of land had increased to unheard-of proportions. He advocates absolutely emigration en masse to the United States, advising those who heed him to do what those of their countrymen have been and are doing who had been in America and are still there, saying literally, "Let all go who can, earn all the money they can, learn the practical ways of the American laborer, and come home with both the money and experience thus gained."

In regard to the Italian immigration, Mr. Braun says in his report:

The Italian Government, however, goes even further in directing and regulating its emigration in a manner detrimental to the United States than does Hungary. Every steamer which leaves an Italian port for the United States has a so-called "royal commissioner" aboard, who instructs and coaches his protégés during all of the two weeks' trip across, devoting an appreciable portion of that time to warning his Italian fellow passengers against becoming American citizens.

This apprehension and fear that the United States might restrict immigration is universal all over Italy, it being claimed that such restrictions would cause an inevitable famine, some going even so far as to claim that a rebellion in their own country might be the natural consequence.

Italy, being overpopulated, and, what is more, having a large pauper population, considers the United States its best safety valve for the discharge of its superfluous people, and at the same time a convenient source of income which the Government derives from such unrestricted emigration. The Italian Government is too clever to charge any emigrant tax, as does Hungary, but it derives its income therefrom just the same. It is characteristic that an Italian subject can depart to any place on the globe, excepting the United States, without requiring a passport; just as soon, however, as an Italian subject is to leave for the United States he must in every case secure a Government passport, for which 8 lire is charged. The more than successful and flourishing condition of the steamship agencies in Switzerland, close to the Italian border, is largely due to this Italian Government tax for passports. The prospective Italian emigrant can readily and without the requirement of a passport cross over to Switzerland, whence he is then shipped to his port of embarkation without any further requirements.

That the Italians are justified in every respect in fearing a restriction of immigration on the part of the United States is evident from the information I received in interviews with Italian bankers, steamship agents, etc., to the effect that the amount annually received in Italy from the United States averages $1 a day for every Italian who comes to this country for temporary labor.

Italian emigration, too, is continually instigated and induced by certain classes of people residing in the United States, such as publishers of Italian newspapers, bankers, padrones, etc.

On page 27 of the report he says:

Geographically speaking, the immigrants coming from the north of Europe, if not afflicted with any disease, are the best we get; those from eastern and southern Europe are very rarely desirable, even though they may not be afflicted with any disease or moral defect, for, as is evident from the facts enumerated in this report, they only come here for a temporary stay, procuring labor at any price, expending in the United States only what is absolutely necessary to maintain life and sending the balance to their native country, whither they return after a time.

These can hardly be styled immigrants at all, and in Europe would be termed so-called "Sachsengaenger," a characterization which originated in Saxony some centuries ago, and survives to this day, from the fact that at the time of gathering crops in Saxony a goodly proportion of the population of Poland and Bohemia journeys over to said country, gathers in the crops, and then, with the money earned, returns to its native countries. Furthermore, these immigrants are mostly contract laborers, as appears more clearly from the statements made to me verbally by official and semiofficial persons, as well as from publications of semiofficial government organs, as hereinbefore specified.

The immigration from the Turkish dominions, both European and Asiatic, is nothing short of a menace to this country; from there we positively get the worst kind of people in the world. Either by nature or by centuries of oppression, the Armenian and Syrian has become a habitual and almost hysterical liar and intrigant, and if he comes to the United States he does so with the distinct and premeditated purpose to earn dollars, obtain American citizenship, return to his native country, and involve our Government in constant conflicts with Turkey. He uses his American citizenship to surround himself with all its benefits and the protection it guarantees and to defy the laws of the country where he intends to spend the balance of his days. The same thing can be said of a great many Hebrews who, ostensibly for reasons of piety, desire to spend the balance of their lives in Jerusalem, but who first come to the United States to obtain certificates of citizenship and the protection incident thereto. This is likewise true of the Greek who, with the American citizenship thus obtained, carries on business in the Turkish Empire, frequently in violation of the laws of that country.

If these were but isolated cases, the question of desirable or undesirable immigration would, to a certain extent, be idle. There are people of all lands, and even citizens of the United States, who go to other countries temporarily for purposes of business and to earn money in various capacities. This is legitimate, and no one can take exception thereto; but it is an entirely different matter with the great horde of immigrants who have flooded this country during the last decade. They come here not because of our free institutions or because they here have the opportunity to advance themselves both materially and intellectually, but because the American dollar has a much greater purchasing value in their native countries, to which they always remain loyal. They make no effort to learn our language nor our customs and views. They do not think of ever becoming citizens or to contribute in the least to further the development of this country, and if, perchance, some do take the oath of citizenship it is only because it facilitates their purposes here and protects them abroad in legal or illegal occupations.

When they think that they have gathered a sufficient amount of dollars they return to Italy, Hungary, Galicia, southern part of Austria, Syria, or Greece, as the case may be, and those who have procured American citizenship forget and disregard its obligations the very moment they leave our hospitable shores. During their temporary stay in this country they live in a manner unbecoming and unworthy of America. Their whole effort, energy, and mind are concentrated upon the one thing—to earn all the money they can and return "home." During their stay here they are all instrumental in reducing the price of labor, for to them a dollar is a fortune, while to the American laborer it frequently represents an insignificant amount.

On page 34 he says:

The conditions I have here depicted will, perhaps, be better and more earnestly appreciated if I state that, based upon these foreign efforts, it has become a favorite expression abroad, especially in Austria, Hungary, and Italy, to speak of "Our colonies in America."

Having arrived at the above conclusions, it is but just and proper that I should differentiate between good and bad immigration, in so far as the countries are concerned whence we get most immigrants, and I respectfully submit that the very best material reaching the United States comes from Germany, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and Switzerland; in fact, from all western and northern countries of Europe.

It is deplorable that we do not get more of this class of immigration, and I found the reason to lie in the fact that we are getting too much of an inferior immigration, with whom the German, Swede, etc., can not very well compete. My contention in this particular was fully borne out by an interview which I had with Herr von Pillis, a gentleman semiofficially connected with the German Government, whose business it is to induce the Germans from other countries, such as Russia, Hungary, and others, to settle in Germany, provided they have money enough to buy land. He remarked to me as follows:

"We view with great satisfaction the fact that few Germans emigrate to the United States, which is not due so much to the excellent conditions existing here as to the fact that by your present immigration labor has been mercilessly cheapened in America."

In concluding his report he says (p. 49):

I believe I have shown conclusively, in my said various reports of this year, as well as in my report of August, 1904, that several European governments, and more particularly the Governments of Italy and Austria-Hungary, are encouraging the temporary exodus to this country of those of their people whom they can not support, and that they

employ every possible means to keep these aliens grouped together in this country, and under their influence, for the purposes of avoiding their assimilation with our customs and institutions, and I have likewise shown in these reports that considerable propaganda is carried on in the United States to assist these Governments in their attempts. There is, in the first place, the foreign priest and the minister, who preaches to the foreign-born residents of this country that their greatest sin would be to forswear allegiance to the country of their nativity, and become American citizens, and therefore I believe it will be rather difficult in the future to distribute, to any appreciable extent, immigrants into the rural districts of the South and the West, unless it could be done with the cooperation of European governments.

Seventy-five per cent of the aliens who worked for three or four years in the industrial centers of our Eastern States return to their native land with an average saving of about $1,000, having spent not one penny more in this country than was absolutely necessary to keep life together according to their own frugal customs and habits. Every one of such returning aliens is, in a measure, an agent in inducing about 10 others to do likewise. I repeat most emphatically that this sort of emigration is not only viewed with friendly eyes by some European Governments, but is positively fostered and helped along. On this sort of traffic Governments collect taxes and corrupt officials make money. The Chinese exclusion acts were passed for just such reasons, and some way should be found to stop this kind of immigration.

Mr. Speaker, is it any wonder that 2,000,000 American workingmen are crying out to us against such conditions? Is it any wonder that 5,000,000 farmers, North and South, are beseeching you to check it?

Is it any wonder that 500,000 members of patriotic organizations, who love our flag and our country, are begging you to deliver them and their children from this living death?

The Immigration Commission, after four years of ceaseless toil and study, said the illiteracy test is the most feasible and practicable way of saving our country and our institutions.

Choose ye this day whether you are on the side of the Ship Trust, the Steel Trust, the Brewers' Trust, or on the side of your own flesh and blood.

It is utterly impossible to correct these evils on the other side or to prevent the occurrence of such outrages. The illiterates are the ones thus played upon, and when we check them we check such infamies.

Will we do it?

Labor asks us to do it! Patriotism asks us to do it! Americans ask us to do it!

The ghost of a veto is held up before us. Are we truckling sycophants or are we men?

The legislative is as much a department of the Government as the executive. Shall we stifle our consciences and betray our constituents because we fear an Executive veto?

Not if we are worthy to represent the brave people whose commissions we hold.

Coast Guard.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 20, 1915.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, I wonder how many gentlemen on this floor would support the pending measure if the money to meet its provisions were coming directly out of the pockets of the people instead of indirectly? Proposals of this sort meet with little, if any, popular opposition, because few people realize the burden they impose. Taxes are collected so stealthily, as a rule, through tariffs or through internal levies on whisky and tobacco that those who pay them know nothing of it. The goose is plucked without causing it to utter a single squawk. Nine men in ten seem to think that money grows on trees, as far as Uncle Sam is concerned, and that he has only to shake the branches to fill his lap with a golden shower.

This bill is widening the pension area. It is creating a new body to be supported in whole or in part out of the Public Treasury. There is no question about the bravery, the self-sacrifice, the hard service of the men affected. But they are not alone in taking risk. The men in mill and mine out in my district also take risks. They also brave death almost from day to day and every day in the year. The casualties in the steel mills, in the mines, and in the railroad service must equal if they do not exceed those in the Life-Saving Service. Yet who is proposing to put the steel workers, the miners, or the railway trainmen on the pension rolls of the United States?

I do not forget, I can not forget, that every dollar we appropriate here must come out of the sweat of men in mill, in mine, on farm, and in workshop. It must come from farmers and ditch diggers, from clerks and scrubwomen, from blacksmiths and track hands, from quarrymen and carpenters, from those who do the humble services which make society possible. I do not forget the services of the Coast Guard; I do not forget their daring; I do not forget the risks they freely take; nor, Mr. Speaker, can I forget that if we set them up as a privileged class, quartering them as pensioners upon all the rest, the burden must rest upon your constituents and mine, whose backs are bowed already under a heavy load of taxes, none the less grievous because these taxes are collected by stealth.

Rivers and Harbors.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 19, 1915,

On the bill (H. R. 20189) making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, opportunity was not offered me in the general debate for making some observations which this measure has suggested, so I seize upon this chance to say that in my judgment a great, if not the greater, part of the huge sums we are spending on our waterways is almost clear waste. The waterway has ceased to be what it once was. It can no longer compete with the railway. We have been told during the consideration of the bill that New York has spent or is preparing to spend $150,000,000 on the Erie Canal—apparently as an insurance policy against railway extortion. But would it not be an infinitely cheaper and a more reasonable proposition to take over the railways themselves? What use has a dog for two tails? Why should the people maintain two systems of transportation when one would serve the purpose if rightly managed?

I do not know the figures, but can it be doubted that within the last 40 years enough money has been spent on the inland waterways of the country to build and equip railway systems which would better serve all the territory affected than the rivers can ever do? Yet year after year we go on pouring the people's money into these "improvements" under the pretext that thus we are safeguarding the commercial and industrial interests of the country. What we are doing is to pursue a crooked way to a dubious end. There is no clear evidence that the game has been or is worth the candle.

I do not pretend to be familiar with the particular items in this great bill. It is obvious, however, that the committee is obsessed with the notion that it has been amazingly conservative in framing it. It has excluded all new projects, but it is dealing most liberally with a myriad of old projects which call for nearly $35,000,000 of the taxes wrung from the people in a time of stress and strain, when the most rigid economy should prevail. Of course, I understand very well that the expenditure of all these millions in favored localities will "put money in circulation"; but the same plea can be made for bank robbers, highwaymen, and train looters. The footpad who relieves you of your purse at the point of a pistol does not bury his ill-gotten gain in a back yard. He spends it for food and clothes and shelter. He puts money into circulation. Perhaps the fact that it is your money and not his is unimportant; yet you will be the poorer.

And so, Mr. Speaker, the country will be the poorer and not the richer for the money put in circulation through many of the schemes embodied in this measure; but I hope members of this great committee will not think that I question their good faith or their good intentions. They are merely mistaken in judgment, according to my estimate. I may be wrong. My ideas of economy may be confused. It is barely possible that the insurance rate we are paying for protection of this sort against railway extortion is moderate; yet the premiums in the aggregate are appalling and the results but meager. The question, therefore, irresistibly suggests itself whether we might not better spend the people's money—if we insist on taking it from them by taxation—in the building or in the taking over of those modern highways which run where they are needed and which invariably describe the shortest and best routes between given points.

Radium-Bearing Ores.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. WALSH,
OF MONTANA,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Friday, April 10, and Monday, April 13, 1914.

The Senate had under consideration the bill (S. 4405) to provide for and encourage the prospecting, mining, and treatment of radium-bearing ores in lands belonging to the United States, for the purpose of securing an adequate supply of radium for Government and other hospitals in the United States, and for other purposes.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I was adverting to the comments upon the bill which have been read from the desk. The bill met with the most determined opposition in the committee—opposition to the measure as a whole, to the principle of the bill—notably from the Senator from Colorado [Mr. SHAFROTH] and the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. FALL]. If, however, any man shall undertake to assert that either of those Senators was actuated by any except the very highest motives, or that he was moved by any consideration except a desire to promote the public good as he saw it, I shall not hesitate to denounce him here and anywhere as a calumniator and a vilifier. So, Mr. President, with reference to the members of the committee upon whose initiative were offered the amendments reported by the committee: One and all they labored to perfect the bill, and labored conscientiously, in the light of their intimate acquaintance with the business of mining, with a sincere purpose to promote the ends had in view by the men who are responsible for the introduction of the bill.

Mr. President, to seek now to excite against them a suspicion in the public mind as to the rectitude of their purposes appears to me to deserve the reproofs which have been heard in this Chamber this morning. Such wanton malevolence directed against Members of this body may call for more attention than mere animadversion. It by no means follows that because a man does not entertain the same views as those held by the president of the National Conservation Association in relation to questions affecting the disposition of the public lands, at least in matters of detail, he is necessarily either a thief or a villain. It ought to be recognized that there is an opportunity for an honest difference of opinion with reference to these matters. Some of us here from the West, in a spirit of accommodation, are disposed to surrender something of our own views in order to meet those which, in their extreme expression, are represented by the president of the National Conservation Association. We, too, it appears, are to be the victims of malignant vilification, misrepresentation, and abuse.

It may suit some purpose thus to reward the men who have tried to compose the differences which have made the word "conservation" signify the locking up of the natural resources, but I am very sure it is not a purpose in which the public are particularly interested. The committee welcomes any criticism of the bill, but it resents the imputation that any delay in reporting this measure, or that in any amendments that have been offered to it, they have been prompted by any desire or any willingness upon the part of any Member to do anything that might seem to sacrifice the public interest upon any consideration or in behalf of any individual or association.

Mr. President, it will be understood that at the present time lands containing radium-bearing ores are open to location and appropriation under the general mineral act. Any person making a discovery of ores of this character is entitled to locate a claim 1,500 feet in length and 600 feet in width, and by the performance of $100 worth of work each year he is entitled to continue in the occupancy of that piece of ground, extracting the ores from it. After he has done $500 worth of work upon the property he may apply to purchase the ground, and pursuing the procedure required by the statute obtain a patent for it upon the payment of $5 an acre.

Senate bill 4405 contemplates that anyone may locate lands of this character under the provisions of the existing law, but it requires the appropriator to sell the ores extracted by him from the claim to the Government at a price to be fixed by the Secretary of the Interior, or rather to be determined by the Secretary of the Interior—the going market price. Then it is provided that the ore thus secured by the Government and such other ores as it may purchase shall be reduced in works constructed by it, and the radium they contain extracted, the purpose being to supply the Government hospitals of this country, 23 in number, with so much radium as is necessary for their use, the remainder to be disposed of in such way as Congress may subsequently direct or as the Secretary of the Interior may determine.

Mr. President, I wish to say something to the Senate concerning the question addressed to me at the opening of this discussion, as to the value of this metallic substance for the cure of cancer. As you have heard this morning in one of the documents read, there are about 75,000 deaths annually from cancer in this country, and there are usually about 300,000 cases pending; that is to say, there are about 300,000 people continually afflicted with cancer in this country and about 75,000 deaths annually ensue. The mortality from cancer is only a little less than that from tuberculosis, and the best reports attainable indicate that the cases are increasing continually in number; that is to say, the proportion is increasing.

If we should gather our information upon the curative value of this agency from newspaper and magazine comments, it is possible that varying opinions would exist concerning its virtue. Indeed, quite a number of newspaper articles, editorial comments, and excerpts from magazine contributions, more or less skeptical or derogatory, were read into the record at the hearing. But, Mr. President, I prefer to go to the very source for the information I shall lay before you in relation to this particular subject. There are two men in the United States who have had more experience in the handling of radium as a curative agency in cases of cancer than all the other men in the United States put together, and perhaps as much experience in the handling of radium for that purpose as any physician or surgeon in the world. They are men of the very highest standing in their profession. They have testified here, and so you have the information at first hand. One of them is Dr. Howard Kelly, of Baltimore, and the other is Dr. Robert Abbe, the senior surgeon of St. Luke's Hospital in the city of New York. Dr. Kelly has been operating with about 1 gram of radium, Dr. Abbe with about 350 milligrams. There is no such quantity of radium in the hands of any other operator in the United States, and the information that the public generally has concerning the curative value of this mystical substance comes from the experience of these two physicians and surgeons.

They were called before the committee to testify concerning radium and its uses, and they gave their views as to its value rather by reference to the operations which they have conducted than by any statement of the deductions which they have made from them. I am going to trespass upon your patience long enough to read from the record briefly some things that they said concerning the matter. Dr. Kelly told us as follows:

> I spoke to Dr. Halstead the other day, and said, "Dr. Halstead, this radium is offering us a definite hope in curing a certain number of cancer cases, and if we have a chance to experiment further there is no telling what we can do with it." He said, "Wouldn't it be splendid if you could take all that class of cases out of the hands of the surgeon?" Surgery is mutilating, particularly to the face. You have a little cancer in the corner of the eye; I have seen two cases within 24 hours. Another gentleman had had his eye taken out. He said, "Doctor, I have had nine operations." One treatment of radium cured that man. You have a man that has a nose as big as a baby's fist. What can the surgeon do? You have to cut off all the face of the man. It may be his ear; you have to cut off his ear. You will soon have nothing of him left.
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> Mr. HAMLIN. If I understand it, the poison from the cancer—I am not sure that I used the proper terms.
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> Dr. KELLY. The cells; the individual organisms.
>
> Mr. HAMLIN. They will extend through parts of the face, and you might cut off a portion of the face and still not get it all out?
>
> Dr. KELLY. That is just the trouble with surgery. If the cancer is discovered in the very earliest stages, it may be cured by surgery, and this radium propaganda will be doing wonders for the country at large if it will lead people to look attentively at every little disfigurement of the body which they do not understand. It is doing a great amount of good, and we are getting cases earlier. If it is discovered in the very early stages, surgery can handle it easily, but only through an operation, which is mutilating, with attendant pain, anesthesia, delay, and occasional recurrences. In the more advanced cases recurrence is the rule. You can not get at the roots. These little microscopic cells remain in the tissues, invisible, and will carry on the growth exactly as if you had not operated or touched it at all.
>
> Mr. HOWELL. Is there any difficulty in diagnosing an incipient case of cancer?
>
> Dr. KELLY. As a rule there is no difficulty at all. It is usually so easy to perform an operation and examine it microscopically and see if there is any doubt in those early cases. And it is not a dangerous operation in those early cases. Or, if we have radium, we apply radium, and the radium relieves it without disfigurement.
>
> In the older cases surgery is helpless because of the deep invasion and diffusion of the growth; but radium will attack cancer and halt most of those cases without blemish, without sacrificing the tissues. It melts the tissues back into the normal form. As Dr. Abbe has a happy way of expressing it, it drives the anarchistic cells back into the ranks of the normal cells and makes them do their part.
>
> Radium also goes further than surgery, because surgery only treats that which is visible, and the surgeon is under the constant impulse and desire to save the face of the patient. He does not want to mutilate the patient, and so he thinks that taking out just so much will do. He fails, and there is a recurrence. But the radium, like the blessed light from heaven above, bathes the part, throws its gamma rays, which are its active rays, into the part, acting on all the myriad micro-

scopic cells, not only the manifest, gross surgical lesions, but all those little cells through the surrounding tissues, and it acts like millions of microscopic knives to destroy them, or like a lash to drive them back. In other words, radium will not only do what surgery does, but it goes beyond and takes a class of cases which are utterly beyond surgery.

I want to present in evidence just one picture [exhibiting a portrait]. This is a work that radium does that no surgeon would dare attack. You would have to cut the man's brains out and take off three-fourths of his face to save that man's life. That is one of the worst and most rapidly growing forms of cancer that is known.

Mr. AUSTIN. How old was this cancer?

Dr. KELLY. "Uncle John," I think, had had that about six or eight months. He came from Missouri.

Mr. HAMLIN. And that was cured?

Dr. KELLY. We gave 50 hours' treatment with radium, and 48 hours afterwards here is the result [exhibiting another picture]. To us it was just as miraculous as if we had just put our hands over the part and said, "Be well."

I refer to another case which he tells us of briefly in this language:

Mr. AUSTIN. Are there many cases among children?

Dr. KELLY. Yes.

Mr. McCUMBER. Will the Senator tell us how the radium is applied in those cases, so that we may better understand the process?

Mr. WALSH. It will be understood that the metal itself is exceedingly rare. A gram is, according to my recollection, about one-thirtieth of an ounce, and that is sold to-day at $120,000. It is handled by being incased first in a small glass tube. It is put into the tube, which, being heated in a flame, is sealed at the top so that the precious content is hermetically inclosed. It is so precious that it is not safe to carry it in a glass tube, even though it could be utilized in such; so the glass tube is inserted within another tube of silver or platinum, the top of which is screwed on. That tube, then, is either embedded in the affected part or simply laid upon it.

Now, you will understand that the gamma rays, and, indeed, all three of the rays—the alpha, beta, and gamma rays—given off by this peculiar substance are very similar to the rays generally spoken of as X-rays. They penetrate solids so that the rays escaping from the radium on the interior penetrate the glass of the inner tube and pass through the silver or platinum of the outer tube. It continually throws off small particles called electrons. These give off the rays which penetrate through the solids and thus attack the diseased parts.

Another reason for inclosing it in the metallic case is that it would burn if brought into close juxtaposition with the flesh in the glass tube alone.

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. If the Senator will yield just a moment, I think a statement I rose to make would be very interesting here at this point.

Mr. WALSH. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. During the late illness of Robert Bremner, a Representative in Congress from New Jersey, who was a victim of cancer, he was taken to the Dr. Kelly hospital, in Baltimore. I visited him there two or three times during his illness and obtained an idea of the effectiveness or capacity of the radium rays. I visited "Smiling Bob," as they called him, as he lay in his bed. I asked him if he had found any relief from radium. He thought he had. He said, "I have three or four of these little tubes embedded in my flesh." He said his neck then became very stiff, and he applied to the doctor for something to give him relief for his neck. He said they took one of these tubes and bound it on the outside, as the Senator from Montana says, near the ear, and the pain from it was so intense as to make his ear tingle and burn. As he described it he said, "Have you ever been out in the cold and had your ear well frost-bitten and then come into a warm room? If so, you can get some idea of the uncomfortable sensation. The rays produced such a burning in my ear that I applied to the doctor for relief, and they bound up my ear." He had a belief that it was curing him, but as we know he collapsed under it.

Mr. WALSH. I wish to say in this connection, simply in addition to what has been said by the Senator from New Jersey, that in cases such as that of Representative Bremner, which are hopeless from the start, radium providentially does much toward alleviating the suffering which the patient would otherwise endure, even though he is not cured by it.

Mr. McCUMBER. If I understand the facts aright, the cancer growth is not a germ, but the development of cells.

Mr. WALSH. That is the best information which, as I understand, the profession has to-day. They do not attribute it to a germ, but say that it is an abnormal growth of cells; that the cells do not arrange themselves in the orderly manner they should in the body.

Mr. McCUMBER. And these rays are supposed to destroy those abnormal cells?

Mr. WALSH. I speak with some diffidence about that, because my understanding is that the exact effect is not even understood by the profession itself. I inquired definitely about that, because, as has been suggested here, the ulcer in a case of cancer under ordinary treatment—that is, a superficial cancer—yields rapidly. For instance, "Uncle John," referred to in the testimony read, was two days under treatment. Pictures were shown us, exhibiting startling results. The rapidity with which the sore disappears is remarkable. The suggestion was made that, with respect to perhaps a good many of the cells that have not degenerated, the effect of the radium is possibly to make them take their ordinary place, so that those cells which might be said to be anarchistic become regular law-abiding cells instead.

I continue——

Mr. SHAFROTH. At what page?

Mr. WALSH. At pages 4 and 5 of the House hearing:

Dr. KELLY. Yes; cases are not uncommon among children. The forms vary. There are many forms of cancer. Among children we have sarcoma, which is cancer of the connective tissues of the body. It is a very dangerous form of cancer, and one that I shall speak of later as particularly amenable to the kind of treatment we are going to speak of to-day. Only a few weeks ago I had a child come to me with the eye popped out until it looked as if it had an enormous elephant eye. In fact, the eye had been removed, but the cancer had come back, and the growth had spread until it was a cancer of the tissue of the brain. We applied the radium, and in several weeks the child was perfectly well. I received a telegram on the 25th of December from the father saying: "This is the happiest Christmas I have ever spent." I can show you the pictures of this case later if you desire to see them.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you permit me, Doctor, to ask you a question there? Is that disease curable now by any known means except radium?

Dr. KELLY. I will assert here, in the presence of some of the best authorities in the world, that such a case has never been cured since the world began—a case of this particular kind, a recurrent myoma. If I could get all those cancers of that kind to treat, one person at least could be kept busy treating those cases in this country.

Now, I will read you from what Dr. Abbe says. You will bear in mind, Mr. President and Senators, that these two men stand at the very top of their profession in this country and have been engaged in the use of radium in the treatment of cancer for, now, a period of 10 years.

Mr. WEST. May I ask a question right there? Have they gone so far as to say whether the cancers return or not? That is the great trouble in the local treatment of cancer.

Mr. WALSH. Undoubtedly. They advert to that in the course of the portion of the testimony I intend to read. They state how long since their patients have been treated and what the difference has been.

Mr. THOMAS. I should like to inquire of the Senator if Dr. Kelly made any statement before the committee as to the percentage of the cases which he treated which had been cured and the number of cases where radium did not effect a cure?

Mr. WALSH. I have not in mind that he did. My impression is that there is some testimony on that subject. I have heard Dr. Kelly say, however, outside of the record, that he would think that of the cases which ordinarily come, advanced as they usually are, not recognized as cancer until they had developed to an advanced stage, perhaps 25 per cent would be amenable to treatment.

Mr. THOMAS. That is, it would save one out of every four?

Mr. WALSH. One out of ever four.

Mr. VARDAMAN. I suggest to the Senator from Montana he also stated, I understand, that if taken at the proper time a very much larger percentage of the cases would be cured.

Mr. WALSH. Yes. He said, further, that the agitation to which the effort represented by this bill has given rise will undoubtedly result in bringing many more people to recognize the danger of small blemishes upon the skin and will prompt those affected to come for treatment, either surgical or by radium, very much earlier now than heretofore, and that for that reason the number of cases which can be successfully treated will be found to be continually increasing.

Mr. SMOOT. I should like to ask the Senator if it is not also a fact, testified to by many doctors, that many cases which could be cured by radium treatment could be also cured by the X-ray treatment?

Mr. WALSH. Yes; I have the testimony here showing the difference between the two. I will be very glad to read it to the Senator now. I read from page 27 of the record, as follows:

We talk about the value of X-ray and radium. They are not the same. They are allied to each other.

Mr. THOMAS. This is Dr. Kelly?

Mr. WALSH. This is Dr. Abbe. Let me remark, Mr. President, that by means of the X-ray, developed by electrical processes, it is known we are able to photograph through solids; that is to say, the X-ray is able to penetrate the solid and make a photograph of the object beyond. In exactly the same way the radium rays will penetrate a solid. The photographic plate is very sensitive to these rays also; and a photograph may be made of the object beyond the solid. Indeed, Mr. President, that is the way ores are tested to determine whether or not they con-

tain radium. If a sensitized plate gives evidence of being affected upon bringing the ore into contact with it, we have evidence that it contains radium.

Mr. McCUMBER. Merely for information, let me make an inquiry. If I understand correctly, the X-ray will not pass through metal, while the radium will; in other words, there are some solids, like flesh and, to a certain extent, bone, and so forth, that the X-ray will pass through, but it does not pass through metal. Is not that correct?

Mr. WALSH. I think that is correct. I continue:

We may get them in line after awhile, but they are not the same. Many of the early users of X-ray have died. The rays have caused cancer on the skin, starting in at the hand and working up to the body with fatal end. This is true of some of our noblest workers. If you should meet a score of the finest of the older X-ray workers, you would see six or eight men with one hand or one finger or both hands gone, because they have had parts amputated to save their lives. The X-ray may cause cancer on the skin by years of irritation, but those beginnings of cancerous growth radium will cure just as easily as it cures on the face.

Here [exhibiting] is a photograph of a man who had X-ray cancers all over his hands. He had lost one finger, which had been amputated for cancer. It went up into his arm and his shoulder, and he has since died. Although the disease had fatally invaded his system, he desired to test radium on 30 small X-ray cancers on his hand. Every one disappeared in four weeks after one little tube of radium had been laid on it for 30 minutes, and as they dropped off left his skin healthy and smooth. Other splendid men are now using it in the early stages and saving their lives.

I continue now reading from Dr. Abbe's testimony. He preserved plaster casts of some of the cases treated by him, concerning which he testified as follows:

Dr. ABBE. I was asked to bring some demonstrations here which it would take a few minutes to exhibit, if the committee care to see them. Ten years ago when I started to use radium—in order not to deceive myself, in seeing what changes took place—I made plaster models which I colored and kept, and as patients got better and better I took a new model, to see and demonstrate to myself and friends what things were happening. The results were definite and showed radium had a distinct effect on malignant growths. For instance, I spoke of "bone tumor." There was a young boy with malignant sarcoma of the jaw. I made this little wax model of the jaw. I simply put radium in the tumor and left it alone, and the malignant growth went back to the normal. It has now been 10 years and the boy is perfectly healthy, his teeth are solid, and you would not know the difference in the two sides of the face. [At this point Dr. Abbe exhibited models to the committee.] If you care to pass these models around they will prove convincing. On bone sarcoma, radium uniformly acts as a specific cure.

Mr. BYRNES. How do you apply the radium?

Dr. ABBE. We simply make a little stab wound, put the tube in it and leave it there a number of hours, determined by experience—maybe two or three hours, maybe all night, maybe six or eight hours, according to the way you filter the different rays.

Mr. HAMLIN. What is the composition of the tube, glass?

Dr. ABBE. Formerly glass, but now I have platinum tubes, which are safer. This model [indicating] shows a cancer of the eyelids. The man came to my clinic. I simply laid on a little glass tube like that, and let him sit in the clinic an hour and a quarter. In eight weeks he was perfectly cured. Nothing else was done. That illustrates the type of its influence in a relatively small way, but still, nothing surgery has ever done can touch it.

Here, for instance [exhibiting], is one that has been extremely interesting to me, because it shows a malignant tumor on the lower eyelid. I laid a radium tube against it, to see if anything could be done. After two weeks it grew smaller, in four weeks he was further improved, six weeks better, and in eight weeks perfectly well. After nine years that eye remains perfectly well.

I invite the attention of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. WEST] to that statement as an answer to his question.

That photograph was made nine years afterwards. It illustrates very well the type of persistence of the cure by radium. It is not imaginary; it is the real thing.

Mr. BYRNES. Was radium applied after eight years?

Dr. ABBE. It was never touched after the first day.

Mr. BYRNES. And the disease has never come back?

Dr. ABBE. It has never come back, and you can not tell on which eyelid that tumor grew. I have had him submit it to medical men once or twice and challenged them to say on which eyelid it occurred; they were unable to do so. The hair has returned and everything is normal.

Another class of cases will prove of interest:

Here is the case of the "smoker's tongue." It is a thing that is very horrible. Perhaps out of a hundred cancers of the mouth, tongue, and throat, 99 are in men, and they are all smokers. It does not come unless they smoke very hard for 10 years. After 10 years they may get smoker's tongue, and if they stop then they are all right. If they do not stop, they get little patches of cancer and go on.

Mr. President, inasmuch as I have read here about smoker's tongue, I send to the desk to have read an article which appeared in the Rocky Mountain News of last Sunday, April 5, concerning a man who was treated at Johns Hopkins Hospital for smoker's tongue.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey in the chair). Without objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

DENVER VICTIM OF CANCER, BACK FROM JOHNS HOPKINS INSTITUTE, DECLARES METAL IS GREATEST BOON OF AGE.

"Radium, the life-giver, saved me from a slow and gruesome death," declared Franklin Pierce Gelvin, who returned to Denver Friday after undergoing successful treatment at Johns Hopkins Institute for cancer of the tongue.

Gelvin brought back to Denver a remarkable testimonial of the cures effected by radium, and the first authentic story of its powers. Gelvin, who is 62 years old, is the first Colorado man to be cured of cancer and is the first person to have been treated successfully for cancer of the tongue by radium.

CURED OF DEAFNESS.

In addition to being cured of cancer, Gelvin was cured of deafness and catarrh, two ailments which had not been superinduced by his cancer. He declares he returns to his family, a wife and daughter, living at 524 West Eleventh Avenue, as vigorous and healthy as he was when at 25 years of age. He calls radium the "life-giver," and says it is the most wonderful boon of the age.

"I was the first Coloradoan to be cured by the radium treatment," said Gelvin yesterday, as he visited and chatted in the office of the Rocky Mountain News. "I am the first person, say my physicians, to be cured permanently of cancer of the tongue."

HAS BEGUN A NEW LIFE.

"It is as if I have begun a new life instead of being past the threescore mark in life. Radium, the life-giving metal, is without doubt the marvel of the age and the greatest boon given to mankind.

"I went to Baltimore with the intention of trying the metal as a last resort. I never would have consented to have undergone the knife, I had made up my mind fully that if the metal failed to save me I would take my own life. I never would have had my tongue removed by the surgeon.

"I had a cancerous growth on my tongue which was 1¼ inches long by three-quarters of an inch in diameter. It choked me constantly. I ate with the greatest pain. I slept but little and with difficulty. I could scarcely breathe.

"Life two months ago was unbearable. I was prepared to die. Only the love of my wife and daughter led me to undertake the treatment. I had known but little of radium treatments and had but little faith in the heralded cure for cancer.

ALMOST A WRECK WHEN HE BEGAN.

"I was almost a wreck when I was being prepared for the first treatment, which was administered under the supervision of my physician, Dr. Curtis F. Burnham, at the Johns Hopkins Institute. The treatment is simple enough.

"The radium, very small quantities of it, are kept in glass tubes about 1 inch long and one-eighth of an inch in diameter. An attendant placed six of these tubes on my tongue.

"The treatments vary from 30 minutes to 4 hours. I didn't know whether it would kill or cure me; and, to be frank, I didn't much care, although thoughts of my family in Denver led me to accept all that was possible to save me from the dread malady.

"The first treatment consisted of an application of radium for about two hours. After three treatments the cancerous growth had begun to disintegrate.

TOLD HIM HE COULD BE CURED.

"The experts examined me after the third treatment, as is the method when treating cancer patients with radium. They told me that I could be cured. I could scarce believe them, but the pains in my mouth and throat had begun to lessen, and from then on I took a new lease on life.

"For five weeks I took daily treatments of the life-giver. I am confident that there was no trace of the cancer left after the third week, but my physicians wanted to be sure that I had recovered.

"I saw many people treated. Of the entire number of cancer patients who seek a cure, 25 per cent of them are healed. The other 75 per cent come to the life-giver too late, for the advanced stages of cancer can not be coped with in every case as yet.

"Radium will cure hardening of the veins, hardening of the arteries, and hardening of the liver. There is no limit to the possibilities of the life-giver. I have been deaf for years. Yet now I can hear the ticking of a watch and can not stand to have one under my pillow while I sleep, the ticks seem so loud.

"I was a patient at the same time that Dr. E. F. Lake was at the hospital.

"I have gained 24 pounds since leaving the hospital. I am hale and healthy and only a scar on my tongue remains as a reminder that I owe my life and my happiness to radium. And I predict that in a very few years radium will be applied with such a knowledge of its properties that most of the advanced cases of cancer will be cured permanently."

Mr. WALSH. I now read hastily the conclusions of these eminent surgeons concerning the matter, and first as they are stated by Dr. Abbe. I read from page 21, as follows:

When radium was first announced, and the first radium could be gotten in this country in 1903—11 years ago—I cabled over to Mme. Curie's laboratory and succeeded in getting a considerable amount and was able to put it in active use. Just as soon as I satisfied myself of its value I cabled for more. Later, I got a very much higher grade, which was produced in Germany, that was as fine as anything that has ever been made, and I am still using it with the same effectiveness that I did 8 or 10 years ago.

Mr. AUSTIN. Did they give you full weight or cheat you?

Dr. ABBE. No; they gave me full weight. The German radium I procured from the Stahmer Co., in Hamburg, which is not now able to get the material out of which to make it. The radium that I then procured has always worked, and it is superb material. With that I have been able to demonstrate that the effects of radium on malignant cells are such that nothing in surgery has ever been seen like it. Surgery has always expended its utmost force in cutting out tumors far beyond what ordinarily would be seen as a tumor, as in breast cancer, where the growth runs up into the arm and neck. And so in Germany we have had the Wertheim operation for uterine cancer, cutting out far and wide, and by that method cancer has been extensively operated on all over the world. That has been adopted as the Wertheim operation, because in this field of surgery that has been as far as surgery could go. Burning out and the freezing processes for cancer have all had their limits. Now we are going forward from that. Sometimes surgery cures the patient; it never cures the disease; it only removes it. There is the starting point.

At page 27 he gives his conclusions, as follows:

We have in radium an unquestioned new agent, which needs investigation. It must be investigated in the laboratories and large clinics by scientific men of surgical experience who know what they are doing, who keep their records well, and for the next 10 years it

must be sacred to study and use—study most of all—if we are to learn more about it.

Radium is by no means a cure for all cases of cancer, nor for any cases in the advanced stages.

I invite your attention to that particularly because everything that can be said against radium as a cure is embraced in those two sentences of this distinguished surgeon—

Radium is by no means a cure for all cases of cancer, nor for any cases in the advanced stages, but in the early stages it has produced changes somewhat resembling X-ray results, which give the promise of the greatest hope and helpfulness.

As one of those who have helped establish the true value of the usefulness of radium, I urge the immediate production of ample quantity for official research workers and surgeons.

Now I will read you what Dr. Kelly says as to the nature of cancer and the way in which it is attacked by radium:

Dr. KELLY. It is important to recognize the fact that cancer is an anarchistic growth of cells which begins locally. It is not a blood disease at the beginning; in fact, it is not often a blood disease at all. It is not disseminated; it is not a tendency of whole organism to produce cancer, but is local, beginning independently of the vital mechanism which keeps cells in their proper habitation and doing the work of the part in which they are located. The cells run riot; they choke out the other cells, not so much by eating them up as by robbing them of their pabulum and depriving the other tissues of their source of life. So the other tissues die, and so the cancer cells themselves die in the central parts while spreading the peripheral parts, skipping, by metastasis in the parts, to other parts of the body.

And again Dr. Abbe says, at page 22:

Now, let us consider cancer, small or large. With a small cancer we can see and study its effect, and we find on applying a little radium to it, holding the radium over the cancer and letting it bombard it with its peculiar qualities or electrons, that with that bombardment is carried something that reduces that malignant growth and devitalizes it, so the cells are reduced to their normal growth; in other words, we have cured the disease instead of simply removing it. That is only in a limited field at present. We know, too, that the extreme Wertheim operation which originated in Europe is being used much less by Wertheim himself.

Mr. AUSTIN. Doctor, will you please describe that method?

Dr. ABBE. The removal of the entire cancerous uterus and glands running out from it—and they are very extensive—leading from the original source in the pelvis. That is as far as it is possible for surgery to go, and even then the disease usually comes back.

In brief, by using radium we are facing a new method of treating the question of tumor—I will not say malignant growth, and will drop the word "cancer"; let us say "tumor." It is demonstrable that most new growths which the surgeon cuts out are favorably affected and often cured by radium. This includes uterine fibroid tumors or warts or early cancer and central-bone tumors; a tumor is simply an overgrowth of the cells that are normal to the part which it invades. It starts locally as one cell, begins to double, then quadruples, and soon multiplies, so that in a few months it has become an enormous tumor of cells. You reduce those cells by applying radium. Instead of cutting them out, you drive them back, and bone becomes healthy again, an eyelid is restored, and lips are healed. There you have a new phase of work.

Now, Mr. President, just to show that this is not simply a fad of these surgeons, however eminent they may be, I send to the desk two articles, one coming from Berlin and the other from Paris, indicating how this method of treating cancer is regarded by the surgeons of Europe. I ask that the articles be read in the order in which I present them.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Secretary will read.

The Secretary read as follows:

PRAISES DR. H. A. KELLY—AMONG BEST RADIUM EXPERTS IN THE WORLD, SAYS DR. PAUL DE GRAIS—HE INSISTS CANCER IS CURED—CHIEF DIFFICULTY IN GAUGING THE RIGHT STRENGTH OF THE DOSE, DECLARES PARIS PHYSICIAN.

PARIS, *April 5.*

Dr. Paul de Grais, officer and laureate of the Academy of Medicine and joint founder with the late Dr. Louis Wickham, of the Biological Laboratory of Radium and a pioneer in the use of radium as a curative agent for cancer, has given an interview in which he bestows praise upon the American physicians now using radium and, at the same time, criticizes German operators. He says:

"I regard American physicians, and notably Drs. Abbe and Kelly, to be as good as any in the world in the cure of cancer by radium. They are proceeding on exactly the same line as ourselves. The only claim that we may now have to superiority is that we have had more practice by treating a greater number of cases and have a more accurate knowledge as to the exact doses of radium and the length of time it should be applied.

"Radium gives out three sets of rays—90 per cent alpha, 9 per cent beta, and 1 per cent gamma—of which the last have the greatest curative value, owing to their great penetrant power. They can penetrate a six-inch lead. But the alpha and beta rays are useful for skin troubles and superficial cancer. The alpha and beta rays are radiators of atoms moving with the rapidity of light. The gamma are the vibrations of ether.

SALTS ON ALUMINUM PLATES.

"In addition to applying radium in tubes which are imbedded in cancerous growths, I am now treating patients by the means of plates of aluminum coated with a varnish containing radium salts. In both cases the strength of the penetrating force of the rays is limited to the exact point required by means of screens of lead and of aluminum.

"It is this point, namely, the accurate gauging of the right strength of dose and the right length of time of application, which is of supreme importance in curing cancer by radium.

"I may say that, given this accurate knowledge, the cure of cancer is not only possible but actually attained. Even cancer of the tongue, which at present baffles us almost completely, does so chiefly on account of the difficulty of keeping radium of the required force in position for the right length of time.

"It may be objected that 'cure' is too strong a word, but I have treated cases that were given up as hopeless, and where an operation was quite impossible. Not only has the cancer been eliminated, but there has been no return in a period of three or four years, whereas a cancer nearly always returns after an operation.

DECLARES TREATMENT SUCCESSFUL.

"We have treated successfully all forms of cancer in all parts of the body, internal and external, with the exception only of cancer of the tongue. Even there in most cases we have relieved the patient and prolonged his life.

"As is the case in America, we apply radium in fairly large doses, 80 to 200 centigrammes at a time. Larger doses cause a burning of the healthy tissues. I have had to deal with some horrible wounds caused in this way by German specialists who erred on the side of quantity. We avoid such results by using a number of small doses, and where the cancerous growth is extensive we arrange so as to cross-fire the cancer without injuring the surrounding flesh.

"In such cases we have even injected paraffin wax containing radium, so as to attack a larger area than would be possible with a tube. In some cases also it is impossible to use the varnished plates.

"My most recent efforts have been directed against what is called 'port-wine stains,' disfiguring birthmarks, and similar growths on the head and face, often of malignant nature. With such growths I have had remarkable success, the disfigurement being cleared away as if by magic, often after one or two applications."

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RADIUM CURES SOME CANCERS, SAYS CZERNY, BUT DOES NOT GUARANTEE AGAINST RECURRENCE NOR ALWAYS PREVENT SPREADING.

BERLIN, *April 8, 1914.*

In his report on 4,000 cases of cancer treated with radium mesothorium, Prof. Vincenz Czerny, the famous surgeon and expert on cancer, formerly of Heidelberg University, says that radium can cure superficial cancer when not deeper than five centimeters, but that even the so-called Y-rays are ineffective in the case of deep growths.

The radium cure does not guarantee against the recurrence of cancer, Prof. Czerny states, nor does it always prevent its spreading to another part. He strongly urges that surgical treatment should not be abandoned where it can be carried out with comparative safety, but after the excision the part should be treated with radium as an aftercure. The professor says it is impossible to state yet whether the large doses of radium now advocated produce dangerous aftereffects.

Last year, on attaining the age of 70, Czerny retired from his position as head of the surgical department of Heidelberg University, but he has not ceased his experimental investigation of cancer. He states that his best results have followed the combination of radium with intravenal injection of enzytol, with which he has completely cured many patients of stomach cancer, which is not treatable surgically; but, he adds, some forms of cancer are unaffected even by colossal doses equivalent to the application of 130,000 milligrams of radium for one hour.

Czerny is the founder of the Institute for the Experimental Investigation of Cancer, at Heidelberg, which was dedicated in 1906 before the International Cancer Congress, after the professor had himself raised $200,000 for an endowment. He is the leader of the world movement to stamp out cancer, and has treated distinguished patients in all parts of the world, including the late Baron Speck von Sternberg, German ambassador to Washington.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I now desire to invite the attention of the Senate to the fact that, relatively speaking, a very considerable quantity of radium is necessary in order to be of any use at all. Dr. Abbe has supplied himself with 350 milligrams and is laboring to get more. He has a contract for an additional quantity, which it will be impossible to fill before the first of August next. Less than 200 milligrams, let me say, would be of practically no value to a surgeon at all, and for general purposes a hospital ought to be supplied with at least 1 gram, which represents an expenditure at the present cost of about $120,000.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. WALSH. Certainly.

Mr. VARDAMAN. I desire to ask the Senator if after the use of the radium in the tubes which he has described there is any perceptible diminution of that material from the radiation or use?

Mr. WALSH. I will answer the Senator that there is no practical diminution. When radium was first discovered it was supposed to have the property of giving off something and at the same time not diminishing in weight, an apparent contradiction of the laws of nature as we had theretofore understood them. By delicate tests, however, it is found that that is not the case.

Mr. VARDAMAN. I want to ask the Senator another question, following the question I asked a moment ago. Have any casings been discovered which will prevent loss by radiation? I understand that the treatment is given by inserting a glass tube containing the radium. Now, is there any casing which goes over that radium which prevents loss by radiation? Radiation goes on all the time, whether the radium is in the patient or not, does it not?

Mr. WALSH. There is no casing that I know of that will intercept the gamma rays. The alpha and beta rays are intercepted by metallic substances, but the quantity——

Mr. WEST. Mr. President, before the Senator——

Mr. WALSH. If the Senator will pardon me—but the quantity is reduced by the emanations, if we may so speak of them, although the reduction is so small that it has been estimated

that a given quantity will retain its value for a period of 2,000 years.

Mr. WEST. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from Georgia?

Mr. WALSH. Certainly.

Mr. WEST. Is the diminution any greater while the radium is being used than when it is not being used?

Mr. WALSH. Not at all, except that when it is not being used it is kept in additional cases. My recollection about it is, however, that none of those cases intercept the passage of the gamma rays. Mr. President, I now conclude the reading of the testimony touching the nature and therapeutic value of radium with these remarks from Dr. Abbe:

He says:

I believe sincerely that we have simply scratched the surface, and that if we have a sufficient amount of it we shall be able to do vastly more, but that is simply my belief. If it is not conserved, it will be sold everywhere by the makers who have the ware to sell, and it will be bought up by doctors all over the country, who would simply want to have a little as a toy, who do not know how to use it, and will not know for 10 years how to use it, because the use has not been standardized. It will open up a fool's paradise. It appears to my mind that the great need for our country is that the use of radium should be put in the hands of the Government laboratories or the Government hospitals or very large institutions of merit. The latter will probably be able to purchase their own material.

As to the source of supply:

The ore from which Mme. Curie first extracted radium came from Joachimstahl in Bohemia, and the Austrian mines providing pitchblende have been, until comparatively recently, the chief source of supply of the world's radium. Fortunately, however, it was discovered in 1906 or thereabouts that the carnotite ores found in the States of Colorado and Utah, which theretofore had been mined for the vanadium which they contained, are productive of radium, and now these ores provide practically three-fourths of the world's supply.

I have here a small specimen of pitchblende and a very attractive specimen of carnotite ore. Pitchblende is not infrequently found as a part of the gangue material in veins of gold, silver, copper, and other metals. It is not infrequently found in combination with them in that way—a fact which will be of some importance in the consideration of a section of the bill to which your attention will be invited later on.

The carnotite ore is never found, so far as experience shows, in connection with other metallic ores. It is found in beds lying between the strata of sandstone, usually quite flat, occurring in pockets or lobes more or less extensive.

In addition to these supplies, the mines of Cornwall produce some pitchblende; some antenite, an ore bearing radium comes from Portugal, and deposits producing it have been discovered in Japan and in Australia.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. WALSH. I yield.

Mr. THOMAS. I merely wish to remind the Senator that the mines of Gilpin County, in Colorado, also produce radium in the form of pitchblende ores.

Mr. WALSH. Yes; they produce pitchblende. That is correct; and that is an instance in which pitchblende is found in connection and in combination with ores of gold or silver, I do not now recall which.

As to the outlook for the year 1914, careful estimates have been made which show that we may look for a production of practically 48 grams during the current year. It is believed that the laboratories of Europe will produce 12 grams of radium from American ores, 12 grams of radium from ores gathered from other quarters, and that the American reduction works will produce 24 grams.

There are now two companies in this country engaged in the production of radium—the Standard Chemical Co., operating at the city of Pittsburgh, and the Radium Co. of America, whose plant is at Canonsburg, in the same State.

The necessity for preserving their supply of radium has presented itself to many of the countries of the world. Austria furnished the chief supply when this remarkable discovery was first made. A demand immediately developed owing to the interest displayed in the laboratories throughout Europe. The supply was so limited that the Austrian Government prohibited the exportation of either radium or radium ores, and it now has obtained a monopoly of that source of supply.

The Emperor of Germany, recognizing the immense value to his people of having an adequate supply of this great curative agency, has urged upon the municipalities of the empire that they supply themselves with a liberal quantity; and many of them, acting on his suggestion, have secured a considerable quantity, largely from the laboratory of the Standard Chemical Co., of Pittsburgh.

The King of England has interested himself in the remarkable use to which Madam Curie's discovery is being put. He is one of the trustees of an institute established in the city of London for the treatment of cancer cases, which institute is likewise making special efforts to accumulate a liberal supply of radium for use in England.

Our neighbors on the north, the Canadians, recognize the necessity for action to stimulate prospecting for and to conserve whatever deposits of radium their territory may contain. The Province of British Columbia has already passed an act the purpose of which is practically that of the bill before us—to protect their own supply of radium and to promote, so far as possible, prospecting for it. Their act reads as follows:

An act respecting the discovery and conservation of radium.

His Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of British Columbia, enacts as follows:

1. This act may be cited as the "radium act."

2. "Radium" means all deposits of carnotite, pitchblendes, or other ores containing radium in sufficient quantity for commercial extraction.

3. The lieutenant governor in council is hereby empowered and authorized to place a reserve on all radium within the public lands of the Province and at pleasure to cancel such reserve.

To the first person proving to the satisfaction of the lieutenant governor of the council that he has discovered radium within the Province the lieutenant governor in council may pay a reward not exceeding $5,000.

4. The lieutenant governor in council may make rules and regulations for the exploration, occupation, and purchase of radium-bearing ore lands, and may apply any or all of the provisions of the "mineral act" to such exploration, occupation, and purchase, with full power to make such other rules and regulations for conserving and developing radium within the lands of the Province as may seem proper, and also to make provision for the retention by the Crown of an interest, not exceeding 50 per cent, in all radium produced from the radium-bearing ore lands of the Province or for the levying and collecting of a royalty on such production of radium.

5. Every order, rule, or regulation made by virtue of the provisions of this act shall have force and effect only after the same has been published for two successive weeks in the Gazette, and such orders, rules, or regulations shall be laid before the legislative assembly within the first 15 days of the session next after the date thereof.

That, however, was the act only of the Provincial Government. The Dominion Government, recognizing the importance of making some special provision respecting lands containing radium-bearing ores, has withdrawn all such by the following order:

AT THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT OTTAWA, THURSDAY, THE 12TH DAY OF MARCH, 1914.—PRESENT: HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL:

Whereas by an order in council, dated the 13th August, 1908, regulations were established for the disposal of quartz-mining claims in Dominion lands in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, the Northwest Territories, and the Yukon Territory, which regulations define "mineral" as meaning all valuable deposits of gold, silver, platinum, iridium, or any of the platinum group of metals, mercury, lead, copper, iron, tin, zinc, nickel, aluminum, antimony, arsenic, barium, bismuth, boron, bromine, cadmium, chromium, cobalt, iodine, magnesium, molybdenum, manganese, phosphorus, plumbago, potassium, sodium, strontium, sulphur (or any combination of the aforementioned elements with themselves or with any other elements), asbestos, emery, mica, mineral pigments, corundum, and diamonds, but which declare that limestone, marble, clay, gypsum, or any building stone, when mined for building purposes, shall not be considered as mineral within the meaning of the said regulations; and

Whereas it would appear to be in the public interest that radium, which means and includes all deposits of carnotite, pitchblendes, or other ores containing radium in sufficient quantity for commercial extraction, the property of the Crown, should be for the present withdrawn from disposal: Therefore

His Royal Highness the Governor General in council, under and by virtue of the provisions of section 37 of the acts 7–8, Edward VII, chapter 20, is pleased to authorize the minister of the interior to withdraw from disposal and to reserve to the Crown all rights within the said Provinces and Territories to radium, and to other minerals which may contain radium in sufficient quantity for commercial extraction.

RUDOLPHE BOUDREAU,
Clerk of the Privy Council.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. WALSH. I do.

Mr. SMOOT. I understood the Senator to say that there were only 2 grams of radium in the United States.

Mr. WALSH. Yes.

Mr. SMOOT. I also heard the testimony of Dr. Kelly at the time he was before the Secretary of the Interior, in which he made the statement that there were only 30 grams in the world to-day.

Mr. WALSH. That is the testimony.

Mr. SMOOT. The Senator has just made the statement that this year, 1914, there would be produced 48 grams, or an increase in one year in the total amount of radium in the world amounting to about 160 per cent. The Senator knows that there are very few radium mines open to-day. I suppose within the last year there have been twenty times as many locations made of

radium-bearing lands as in any previous year; yea, more than that. Does the Senator know the amount of radium that Dr. Kelly thought the United States ought to own and have for medical purposes?

Mr. WALSH. The committee called before it Dr. Anderson, the representative of the Public Health Service, who told us that the hospitals operated by the Government ought to have at least 20 grams of radium.

Mr. SMOOT. If I remember correctly, Dr. Kelly said that we ought to have in the United States not less than 30 grams of radium, and if anything, more. I wish to say that Dr. Kelly admits that the Standard Chemical Co., of Pittsburgh, can easily fulfill their contract for delivering 12 grams this year. The Senator also made the statement that there will be produced in this country this year 24 grams of radium; so it seems to me that it will be very few years, indeed, until enough radium will be produced in this country, if it is allowed to be produced, to take care of every need in the United States.

I simply ask the Senator if the figures I have given and the statements I have made are not in accordance with his understanding as to the amount of radium we have, the amount that will be produced, and the amount that will be required in the United States?

Mr. WALSH. I will say to the Senator that I do not recall any testimony given by Dr. Kelly being an estimate by him of the needs of the country. Dr. Anderson said that the Government hospitals ought to have from 20 to 30 grams. There are 23 hospitals now operated by the Government of the United States—the Naval hospitals, the Army hospitals, and the Public Health Service hospitals.

Mr. SMOOT. I do not want the Senator to misunderstand me. I did not imply that Dr. Kelly had testified before any committee of Congress. I remember well, however, attending a meeting held in the office of the Secretary of the Interior at which Dr. Kelly spoke upon the wonderful properties of radium. I believe the two Senators from Colorado were also at that meeting. I am quite sure that at that time Dr. Kelly made the statement that there were but 30 grams of radium in all the world to-day, and that the United States ought to own that much radium itself. I will ask the Senator from Colorado if he remembers that statement?

Mr. THOMAS. Such is my recollection.

Mr. SMOOT. That is as I remember it.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I think it is repeated in the testimony that is here.

Mr. SMOOT. What I thought was this——

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I think there is no question about that. There are about 30 grams of radium in the world, and the Government of the United States, for its own hospitals, ought to have at least that much.

Mr. SMOOT. What I wanted to bring to the attention of the Senator was that if 30 grams of radium is all that is required in the United States, or if twice that amount of radium is all that is required in the United States, with a production of 24 grams this year, and with a possibility of an increase of 100 per cent next year, it will not be very long before the production will be equal to the demand of this country.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I wish to say to the Senator that I do not know of any estimate made by anybody as to what the needs of the people of the United States are. I feel entirely satisfied that 30 grams will be nowhere nearly equal to the necessities of the case, because almost if not quite that much is necessary for the Government hospitals, which are limited by law to treating Government employees or those engaged in the military or naval service and not more than 10 additional patients.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. WALSH. I do.

Mr. THOMAS. The Senator is better informed than I am about these subjects; so, if I commit an error in what I am about to say, he will correct me.

My information is that cancer is a much more prevalent disease than is generally supposed, and that perhaps 10 per cent of the people are infected with that malady in more or less aggravated form. If that be true, then there are some 10,000,000 people in the United States who may be said to be afflicted with cancer. I do not vouch for that proportion, because my information is second hand; but I have also been told that the mortality of cancer patients is about 75,000 per annum. That being the case, it would seem to me that if radium is a cure for this terrible malady, very much more than the amount produced is essential for use not only in the United States but throughout the world, because of course the disease is not confined to any one country.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I think the number of cases the Senator gives is higher than the testimony leads us to believe.

Mr. THOMAS. I did not hear the testimony, Mr. President.

Mr. WALSH. I think the testimony is that there are probably 300,000 cases of cancer in the United States.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Two hundred thousand, I think.

Mr. THOMAS. The information I have proceeded from another source, and it seemed to me to be absolutely incredible. Of course 200,000 or 300,000 is bad enough. That is a frightful number to be afflicted with this disease.

Mr. WALSH. But, Mr. President, one would be entirely in error if he reached the conclusion that 30 grams of radium is believed by anybody to be sufficient to supply the needs of the people of the United States.

In explanation of the rapid increase in the output of radium, to which reference was made by the senior Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT], I ought to say that the production in this country during the ensuing year is going to be unusually large. Both of the institutions of which I speak—the Standard Chemical Co., at Pittsburgh, and the Radium Co. of America—are new in the field. The latter produced no radium at all prior to the present year, and commenced producing only a month or two ago. Prior to the 1st of January the other company, the Standard Chemical Co., had produced, my recollection is, only about 2 grams, but it is contemplating putting out a gram a month from this time on.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Montana further yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. WALSH. I do.

Mr. THOMAS. Is not that due to the fact that the processes which they use have only recently been completed and made successful?

Mr. WALSH. That is very largely true.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Montana further yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. WALSH. I do.

Mr. SMOOT. In that connection I wish to say that Dr. Kelly himself said in the testimony as follows:

> That is the Standard Chemical Co., of Pittsburgh, and I am quite sure that they are able to live up to that contract—

That is, one gram per month—

> They have been making a splendid quality of radium and delivering full measure.

Then the doctor goes on to say that the foreign manufacturers, in delivering radium to this country, have not delivered full measure. I wish to say further that Dr. Kelly himself said that the Standard Chemical Co., of Pittsburgh, is perfectly able to deliver the 12 grams this year.

Mr. WALSH. I do not think there is any question about that.

Mr. President, I now pass to consider the appropriation of our lands containing radium-bearing ores.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from Nevada?

Mr. WALSH. I do.

Mr. PITTMAN. Before the Senator passes from that I want to read from the hearing a paragraph which will answer partially the question of the Senator from Utah as to the requirement for radium in this country. The estimate was not that 30 grams of radium would be required in this country, but that 30 grams are required by the Government. The language of the hearings is as follows:

> The Army and Navy surgeons have asked for the hospitals operated by the Army and Navy a supply of 10 grams of radium, and the Public Health Service has asked for 20 grams for its 21 hospitals.

Mr. SMOOT. I wish to say to the Senator——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. WALSH. I do.

Mr. SMOOT. I had no reference whatever to the testimony given before the committee of either House. I referred to a statement which was made by Dr. Kelly at a meeting held in the office of the Secretary of the Interior. I do not profess to know whether 30 grams will be sufficient or not. If I were going to express an opinion, I would say that it would not be sufficient for the use of the United States.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, we need not concern ourselves particularly with any deposits of pitchblende there may be in this country as a source of radium supply, because practically the entire supply comes from the deposits of carnotite, which, as I said before, so far as they have been worked, lie within the States of Colorado and Utah. That field has been prospected for ores of this character since it was first discovered, in

1902, that they contain radium-bearing ores, but the field has been worked for practically only three years.

In this connection, Mr. President, I send to the desk and ask that it be printed as an appendix to my remarks, without reading, an historical account of the early efforts to secure and reduce these ores, after the discovery of the fact that they are radioactive, by Stephen T. Lockwood, of Buffalo, N. Y. I ask it not only because of the historical value of the contribution, but because it pays a just tribute to a distinguished citizen of the State of Colorado, Mr. Thomas F. Walsh, now deceased, who at an early stage in the development of the industry to which the discovery led, gave it his attention and aided with characteristic liberality in the researches which were necessary to make the deposits available for the relief of the afflicted.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. WALSH. I yield.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I will state to the Senator that Mr. Thomas F. Walsh was very much interested in this ore and established a fund with the school of mines at Golden, Colo., and that they extended experimentations and investigations in relation to it with great success.

Mr. WALSH. The article recites the fact to which the Senator from Colorado has now directed our attention.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the matter referred to will be printed in the RECORD.

The matter referred to is as follows:

RADIUM RESEARCH IN AMERICA.

[Statement of Stephen T. Lockwood, 1914.]

Thomas F. Walsh, of Washington, D. C., and Colorado, as everyone doubtless remembers, was a millionaire who had accumulated most of his great fortune from the ownership of the Camp Bird gold mine, of Ouray, Colo. Now, Ouray is not far from the carnotite country of Colorado. He became interested in the production of radium early in the year 1908. On March 23, 1908, he appeared before the House committee in support of the bill providing for the creation of a Government Bureau of Mines. I might say properly that he had a large influence in the ultimate establishment of the present Bureau of Mines, which was subsequently organized and has undertaken the much-needed Government work of assisting in the production of radium since Mr. Walsh's death. In his talk before that committee he mentioned the production of radium particularly as a reason for the establishment of the bureau.

When Walsh became interested in radium, viz, March, 1908, the Rare Metals Reduction Co. had completed its reduction works at Lackawanna, N. Y. (South Buffalo), and had demonstrated the commercial possibilities of the reduction of the so-called carnotite mineral for the production of the uranium oxide and the ferro-vanadium of commerce, and had produced and sold both in a commercial way early in the year 1906. The production of pure radium salts was not, however, undertaken in a commercial way, but the radium by-product was saved and not refined commercially. The writer, however, made many experiments in perfecting himself in the technique of refining radium residues. The cost of refining appeared at first blush to represent the whole commercial value of the radium, and more. At this time it is to be noted that every milligram of radium produced by the so-called Austrian Government monopoly, at Joachimsthal, was produced and sold for scientific purposes at a loss.

The Rare Metals Reduction Co. had also in 1906, continuing in March, 1908, an arrangement with the American Mineral & Alloy Co., of New York City and Denver, to furnish the works with a 30-ton car of carnotite monthly. This arrangement the second company found impossible to fulfill, because of the scarcity of ore and lack of information, and in consequence the two companies had placed in the field in Colorado an organization to explore and locate new deposits.

Mr. James N. McBride, now a member of the Michigan Legislature, of Burton, Mich., and Cashin, Colo., was acting with this organization. A statement of Mr. McBride is appended at the end of this paper.

Mr. McBride was, during the period of 1900 to 1906, the general manager of the La Sal Copper Mining Co., at Cashin, near the Paradox Valley, and as such had been induced to make the first effort to mine, mill, and ship carnotite ores regularly from the carnotite ore field of southwestern Colorado.

Mr. McBride produced at that early date a 17-ton car of carnotite concentrates (15 per cent U_3O_8 and 19 per cent V_2O_5) by the process of milling the ores, sliming out the oxides, drying, and bagging for shipment. This car went to the then well-known chemical firm of John C. Wiarda & Co., of Brooklyn, N. Y., realizing $5,400. At that time radium was not generally known or admitted to exist in carnotite, and the use of vanadium as a steel alloy had not been developed. Wiarda & Co. purchased for the uranium oxide contents alone, and their purchase was sufficient to stock them up for several years. McBride, under these conditions, abandoned his efforts.

The results, however, to March, 1908, were all negative, and the experience of everyone was negative. The united wisdom and effort of everyone, financial and physical, were unable to produce enough ore to keep the plant at Lackawanna running in a commercial way. New deposits of new minerals of vanadium were found in Peru in 1906, enabling Mr. Flannery to engage in the vanadium business on a large scale. The market for uranium oxide was limited, and the production of radium was not to be contemplated as a commercial money-making project.

A week after Mr. Walsh's appearance before the House Committee on Mines and Mining, about April 1, 1908, I received a message from Mr. Walsh asking me to meet him in New York City. He wanted me to advise him concerning the production of radium from American ores, either pitchblende or carnotite. Upon this request I went to New York and gave to Mr. Walsh a complete history of American radium to that date, as well as that of the infant industry of the associated rare metals, uranium and vanadium. At that time our organization for securing information was such that we had the names and correspondence with every person connected, even remotely or slightly, with the production or sale of either carnotite or pitchblende. We also had samples from every known deposit in the United States, as well as from foreign countries, and we had a record of all ores above ground. When Mr. Walsh was told that there was but 1,800 pounds of pitchblende of suitable grade for reduction mined and for sale he could not believe it. When he was told that we must resort to carnotite for the production of radium and that there was no owner or operator of carnotite claims who would contract to deliver or could deliver as much as a carload of low-grade carnotite ore he could not believe that.

He did decide, however, to attempt the production of the equivalent of 250 milligrams of radium bromide, and at once organized a private exploration bureau for the purpose of making a thorough reexamination into rare metals resources of Colorado and adjoining States. The writer, for the purposes of this bureau, became the personal adviser of Mr. Walsh, and continued as such up to the date of his untimely death, just two years later. During these two years Mr. Walsh expended perhaps $20,000 in investigations, the results of which were all either directly or indirectly made public for general use. He established the Vinson Walsh Research Fund, with the trustees of the Colorado School of Mines, Golden, Colo., and the work of the investigators under this fund gave to the public three quarterly reports of the school of mines, viz:

January, 1909, "Rare Metals."

October, 1909, "Preliminary Report on the Radioactivity of the Carnotite in Southwest Colorado."

April, 1910, "Radium and Radioactivity."

Mr. Walsh also commissioned special mining engineers to visit, check up, and report upon known or reported deposits of rare metals, and in many other ways actively encouraged prospecting and research.

During the summer of 1909 Mr. Walsh maintained a summer home at his Colorado estate of Wolhurst, near Denver, and from this point, as a working base, Mr. Walsh and the writer made short trips of investigation and personal exploration to the pitchblende country in Gilpin County, about four hours' ride by rail from Denver. Here we found the 1,800 pounds of pitchblende before mentioned still unsold, and Mr. Walsh purchased it for the Colorado School of Mines.

The most interesting mine was the Kirk mine, which has probably produced more pitchblende than any other in the United States. The then owner or lessee of the mine, Mr. Loring Gale Nesmith, and his wife were in occupation of a summer cabin at the mine, but the mine was not in operation. We were shown some beautiful specimens of high-grade pitchblende, allowed to scramble over a dump of low-grade ore, and delightfully entertained at a noonday luncheon, but no one was allowed to enter the mine and no ore was for sale. This dump of low-grade ore ran about 3 per cent of pitchblende, but Mrs. Nesmith loved it as a little girl loves a rag doll, and even told us that it sparkled with radium in the pitch darkness. As I had never been able to get pure 100 per cent pitchblende to sparkle with radium under like circumstances, I was mutely from Missouri as to the 3 per cent. It may be interesting to know that this dump of low-grade ore was still unsold in April of the following year, at the time of Mr. Walsh's death.

By December, 1909, after nearly two years of extra investigation, Mr. Walsh had practically decided that my original plan of operations was the one which held good. This plan involved sending Mr. Andrew Richardson, of Ouray, Colo., Mr. Walsh's pioneer manager at the Camp Bird mine, and Mr. James N. McBride, of Burton, Mich., the pioneer and best qualified man to mine and concentrate carnotite ores, into the carnotite country to buy ores and operate a concentration mill which he had set up there years before.

Low-grade ores, as in the case of McBride's early 17-ton shipment, were to be concentrated to sufficiently high grade to stand wagon and mule-back shipment to the railway at Placerville, and thence 30 tons of concentrates per month were to go to Buffalo regularly for reduction by the plant of the Rare Metals Reduction Co., at Buffalo (Lackawanna).

But Mr. Walsh was ill in December, 1909; on January 11, 1910, he was very ill and scarcely survived the crisis of pneumonia, and after fighting off death for three months, finally died in April, 1910. Mr. Walsh died with his purposes and wishes relative to the production of radium unrealized.

During all the years, from September, 1902, until the date of the death of Mr. Walsh, in April of 1910, and continuing, but in a lesser degree, from that time to this, the writer has devoted his avocational time and no inconsiderable amount of money in a research concerning radium. The chemical reduction of carnotite ores for the complete and efficient extraction of the radium in the form of either a radium-barium sulphate or a radium-barium carbonate was evolved almost in the first instance.

Pierre Curie, in his correspondence with the writer, suggested—to translate his language—the attack with hydrochloric or nitric acid. The question whether radium barium in carnotite existed in the form of a carbonate or sulphate, or both, was thoroughly considered by Prof. Alexander H. Phillips, of Princeton University, in 1903. Our tests on Richardson ores showed almost complete extraction of radioactivity by a thorough digesting in hydrochloric acid without the boiling first with sodium carbonate. It is to be remembered, in this connection, that the Curies extracted the first radium from the residues of the sulphuric-acid reduction of the Austrian pitchblende, and the radium in these residues was therefore sulphate, so that the Curies were compelled to first boil this sulphate in sodium-carbonate solutions and to wash many times to remove the soluble sodium sulphates in their entirety before the "attack" with hydrochloric acid.

The secret process for the production of radium, if it can be said to exist at all, relates solely and only to the refining of the radium-barium sulphates, or the radium-barium carbonate derived from the previous gross reduction of the carnotite ores.

The process of refining delineated in the original thesis of Mme. Curie, published in the Chemical News of September 18, 1903, states that the sulphates are first converted into carbonate by boiling in sodium carbonate, and freeing the carbonate thus obtained from sodium sulphate; that these carbonates are then converted into chloride salts of radium barium with pure hydrochloric acid. These salts are refined for the elimination of the gross barium chloride by the process of fractional crystallization. This process is described in her language in the thesis as follows: "At the beginning of the fractionation the chloride is dissolved in pure distilled water and the solution is raised to the boiling point and allowed to crystallize by cooling in a covered capsule. Beautiful crystals form at the bottom and the supernatant saturated solution is easily decanted. If a part of this solution—the decanted portion—be evaporated to dryness, the chloride obtained is found to be five times less active than that which has crystallized out in the first instance."

A practical illustration of this process is as follows:

One hundred grams of water, at 40° Fahrenheit, dissolves 32.2 grams of radium barium chloride forming a saturated solution.

One hundred grams of water, at boiling point, 212° Fahrenheit, dissolves 58.8 pounds of barium chloride forming a saturated solution, at that temperature.

Starting, therefore, with the last solution and cooling it to 40° Fahrenheit, 20.6 grams of chloride must crystallize out of the solution, and 38.2 grams will remain in the solution. If the 20.6 grams of crystals are removed by decanting, and the remaining 38.2 grams are evaporated from the decanted solution, it is found that one gram out of the 20.6 grams is five times as active in the radium element as 1 gram of the 38.2-gram portion. As Mme. Curie pointed out in her thesis, the bromide salt of radium might be used and the refining conducted in the same way with considerable more of rapidity, because 100 grams of pure distilled water dissolved 149 grams of radium barium bromide at 212° Fahrenheit, and deposited 52 grams of bromide crystals on cooling to 32° Fahrenheit.

This process of fractional crystallization was, as far as the writer could ever ascertain, the only process of refining radium barium salts for the elimination of the gross barium contents, and for the production of a salt of radium relatively free from barium salts.

In the operation of the reduction works of the Rare Metals Reduction Co., assuming that we had been able to secure at that time sufficient ores to keep the plant in operation, the radium barium carbonate or sulphate residues were a by-product which cost us nothing. As to the cost of refining these by the process of fractional crystallization, some light may be shown by the comparison between the selling price of radium bromide salts of varying degrees of purity in 1908. The following is the price list of Ambrecht, Nelson & Co., at 71–73 Duke Street, Grosvenor Square, London, W. C., England: The price of 5 milligrams of 5 per cent of radium bromide with 95 per cent barium bromide was £4 ($19.464) for a 5 milligram tube. The price of 10 per cent radium bromide with 90 per cent barium bromide was £8 ($38.928) for a 5 milligram tube. The price of 30 per cent radium bromide, with 70 per cent barium bromide was £24 ($116.784) for a 5 milligram tube. The price of 40 per cent radium bromide, with 60 per cent barium bromide was £32 ($155.712) for a 5 milligram tube. The price of 50 per cent of radium bromide, with 50 per cent barium bromide was £40 ($194.640) for a 5 milligram tube.

It will be seen, therefore, that the price of the contained radium bromide in absolute quantities did not increase with the relative purity, but was at the rate of £4 ($19.464) for each 5 per cent increase in purity; so that a milligram of actual radium in a 5 per cent compound costs at the same rate as a milligram in a 50 per cent compound.

Under date of September, 1903, we required some foreign radium bromide of established purity for the purposes of making a comparison of prices and products. Messrs. Harrington Bros., manufacturing chemist, 4 Oliver Yard, City Road, London, E. C., furnished the quotations and the material.

We purchased a gram tube (1,000 milligrams), said to contain radium bromide of 1 per cent purity. Its activity, as compared with a gram of pure uranium metal, free from radium and other radioactives, should have been 20,000 units, and it should have contained the equivalent of 10 milligrams of absolute radium bromide. It cost 110 shillings English money, or $27 American. At the same time Messrs. Harrington Bros. quoted us pure radium bromide crystals in 5 milligram tubes at 55 shillings English money, or $13.50 American money.

William J. Hammer, the electrical expert of New York City, who wrote a book on radium at that early date, arranged the importation, and the tube was sent to Dr. George B. Pegram, of Columbia University, for testing. He unsealed the tube, took out 100 milligrams, which were given to Mr. Hammer, and 10 milligrams for his test sample, and sealed the tube, returning it to the writer. The activity, as determined by Pegram, was 7,000 units instead of 20,000. This tube, containing 890 milligrams, was placed in the custody of Dr. Roswell Park, just deceased, of this city, and there remains to this date.

It will be seen in this instance that the price of 10 milligrams in a 1 per cent compound is the same as 10 milligrams in a 100 per cent compound, being pure radium bromide, assuming that the degree of purity as alleged at the offering was equally in error.

It will be seen, therefore, that in the early days the cost of refining from 1 per cent pure to 100 per cent pure did not more than offset the cost of selling in retail as against wholesale.

Notwithstanding this, the process of fractional crystalization was and is a supertedious process. On cooling the boiling solution the crystals do not immediately commence to form, and it usually requires 24 hours to complete a fractionation.

Early in the technology of refining radium from barium a specific reagent was sought for the separation of radium from barium in one operation, say, in a precipitation operation covering a few moments of time. In this connection alone can a secret process exist, and whoever has taken pains by continued experiment to discover the reagent has the process.

Based on reduction costs, therefore, of crude carnotite ores and upon the cost of refining the radium barium residues the price of $120 per milligram for pure radium bromide is not justified.

The cost of the primary or crude reduction of carnotite ores so as to obtain (1) commercial uranium oxide, (2) vanadium iron oxides suitable for furnacing to ferrovanadium, and (3) the radium-barium residues, is as follows:

Per ton of carnolite 2.37 per cent U_3O_8, and 3.18 per cent V_2O_5:

Labor	$11.40
Soda ash	7.51
Acid	17.61
Minor reagents	1.00
Natural gas	2.29
Coal steam	2.14
Oil	.00
Maintenance, renewal, repair, taxes, plant (cost unit ton plant, $6,000)	3.00
	45.04

Capacity of unit ton plant, 1 ton in 24 hours.

The cost of reduction of a high-grade concentrate, say of 17 per cent U_3O_8, and 21 per cent V_2O_5, in this unit ton plant would be higher. A carefully calculated cost sheet, calculated as of date of April 30, 1907, made it about $80.

A letter covering this entire subject as of that date is illuminative and is appended at the end of this paper.

The business arrangement which the writer had with Mr. Thomas F. Walsh at the time of the latter's death was as follows:

The writer gave to Mr. Walsh, with full authority and intention that it be given to the public, the full sum total of his knowledge and activities concerning the subject of radium to the date of and during the continuance of the arrangement; and continued to act as his advisor, with respect to that research, up to the date of his death. For this service no money compensation was received, and in every respect Mr. Lockwood sustained his own expense account, except that in the instance of the special trip to Colorado, which consumed nearly a month of Mr. Lockwood's time, Mr. Walsh, for that trip, bore his expense.

The actual consideration for this service, however, was that Mr. Walsh undertook to finance the organization of a large business in ferrovanadium, taking in Mr. Lockwood as a partner, provided a deposit of vanadium ores could be found, either in America or elsewhere, which might become the basis of an organization employing at least $1,000,000 of capital. Mr. Walsh did not wish to become identified with a small business unit.

Simultaneously with the radium research work, the writer advised, investigated, and reported concerning supposedly large projects in vanadium.

In this connection, under date of March, 1909, the writer came in contact with T. F. V. Curran, then of 452 Ella Street, Wilkinsburg, Pa., who was seeking to approach Mr. Walsh with his promotion of the "General Vanadium Co. of America."

Mr. Curran had been associated with the American Vanadium Co., of Pittsburgh, Pa., from the date of the inception of that company (about September, 1906) to March 2, 1909, as the confidential man of Mr. Joseph M. Flannery, of that company.

Mr. Curran claimed to have discovered "an immense deposit of vanadium sulphide in southwestern Colorado containing 10 per cent V_2O_5," but upon a thorough examination the writer became satisfied that Mr. Curran was entirely mistaken and was wholly unfamiliar with the then existing situation in Colorado as regards vanadium (Curran's specialty) and absolutely ignorant of any facts concerning uranium and radium products derived from the carnotite ores of that place. I had one interview with Mr. Curran, lasting about four hours, in which he stated his case, he being at the time wholly ignorant that I was the president and active manager of the Rare Metals Reduction Co. After he had finished, I then very frankly told him of the real situation, and told him very many facts about the vanadium resources of southwestern Colorado and the collateral possibilities of the production of uranium oxide and radium in the event that carnotite should be used as a basis of operations instead of the Roscoelite, which was most abundant, and located on the railway, but very difficult of reduction.

This interview and much correspondence with Mr. Curran leads me to conclude that Mr. Curran's activity in carnotite can not antedate March 29, 1909.

The writer has a report of Mr. Eduardo Higginson, Peruvian consul general at New York City, on "A new vanadium deposit in Peru owned by the American Vanadium Co. (Mr. Joseph M. Flannery)." This deposit was visited by the Government engineers of Peru about the middle of 1906. Shortly thereafter it was visited by Mr. Hewitt, engineer for Mr. Flannery, just starting the American Vanadium Co., and purchased by him. It was the basis of the American Vanadium Co.'s development of the vanadium business in the United States. (See Hewett, Foster, Eng. and Min. Jour., vol. 82, 1906, p. 385.)

In 1911 the American Vanadium Co. issued a booklet on "Vanadium steels," and in the introduction on the sources of vanadium does not even mention carnotite, and therefore I must conclude that Mr. Flannery's interest in that mineral could not antedate that date, viz, 1911; and certainly could not antedate March, 1909, at which time his confidential agent, Mr. Curran, left his employ, seemingly wholly ignorant as to the use of carnotite as a source of vanadium.

On January 12, 1906, the Rare Metals Reduction Co. shipped 10 bags of uranium oxide to New York City via Pennsylvania Railroad; price bid, $2 per pound U_3O_8. On January 27, 1906, a ton of vanadium-iron oxides went to Niagara Falls to the Niagara Research Laboratories for a test furnace run on this material.

On July 9, 1906, the ferro-vanadium from this was returned; it was sold to Mitsui & Co., Yokohama, Japan; price, $5 per pound vanadium metal, and a double repeat order was received.

Our conclusions are that Mr. Flannery and Mr. Curran are not pioneers either in the vanadium business or in the use of carnotite as a source of uranium and vanadium and of radium, for the purpose of considering the merits of their opposition to this bill.

STATEMENT MADE, 1906.

The writer, James N. McBride, is 43 years old. A graduate of the University of Michigan. Has spent seven years in the western Colorado country as general manager of La Sal Copper Mining Co. In order to secure some expert chemical operations I secured Charles Poulot, a graduate of Freiburg (Germany) Mining School. Poulot was an experienced rare-metal chemist and has sold uranium ores in Europe, and was the best-posted man in those lines I had ever met. We were practically the pioneer exploiters and explorers of mineral deposits in that section.

Our laboratory gave us opportunity to test samples, then we explored the field. Uranium is found with vanadium, and the latter element was not then a commercial article. Our effort was to produce as high-grade uranium ore for shipment as possible and then make a high-grade, acid, leaching product, to save freight on the waste and on the vanadium, which was waste also. Several hundred tons of uranium was treated at Cashin, Colo., and a larger amount at a mill located in San Miguel County, at Snyders, a local place. The expense of acid in those sections made the work costly. Finally one lot of concentrates were made which was merely finely crushed and washed. The uranium and vanadium contents were, as I recollect, 15 per cent uranium oxide and 19 per cent vanadic acid. This carload, 17 tons, was sold to Jon. C. Wiardi, through Ledoux & Co., bringing $5,400 for the uranium content alone. The vanadium was simply so much waste. Various experiments to separate the vanadium and find a market for it were tried. The various steel companies wanted the material, but not in the shape we were able to offer it, viz, a concentrate carrying uranium and vanadium. Often deposits of low-grade uranium and high-grade vanadium ore could not be handled, for vanadium was no more marketable than so much sand. Finally it was determined to wait until a process was found to cheaply separate the elements and market the vanadium. This Mr. S. T. Lockwood has done, and will make the ores approximately 100 per cent more valuable.

Uranium-vanadium ore is a double potassium salt associated with silica in a soft sandstone and in other places with clay. The oxides of the two elements are lighter than the silica and go off the finely crushed ores as slimes when stirred with water. The slimes are decanted off the washed ore and run into canvas strainers and dried in the sun. The clay deposits offer more difficulties, since the clay is more

soluble and produces a low grade of concentrates, although the ores are usually richer, which offsets the condition in some respects. The original deposits were worked on a basis of a 4 per cent uranium oxide, and this was often shipped crude. In sampling the dumps of workings after the high-grade ore had been sorted my notebook shows:

	U_3O_8	V_2O_5
	Per cent.	*Per cent.*
Low grade, upper group, Snyders (1)	2.34	3.3
Black Rock (rejected material)	Tr.	2.6
Little Sadie (2)	1.23	1.7
Lower claims, low grade (3)	1.92	2.6

These (1, 2, 3) concentrated in laboratory purely mechanical and in no way different from millwork to 11.96 per cent, 20.3 per cent, with an average loss of 20 per cent. The value of these concentrates on the railroad would be at $1.25 per pound for the uranium and 25 cents per pound for the vanadium, would be $496 per ton. Sampling a pile of ore in Roc Creek district from which the high grade had been sorted there measured 23 tons, of an average value of 2.67 per cent U_3 O_8 and V 4.05 per cent. The ores in San Miguel and Paradox divide will average as they stand about 3 per cent U_3 O_8 and 4½ per cent V_2 O_5. The difficulty in sampling is that if the ore is followed to the limit of mineralization the average grade is reduced.

An estimate of the available deposits can not be made with engineering exactness. These deposits are on bluffs of the Dolores, Grand, San Miguel Rivers, Roc Creek and La Sal Creek, over an area of 100 miles in length. A very promising deposit ceases to continue and a small indication opens up a big field. At Snyders probably 1,000 tons have been produced, and there is a vast amount left. Roc Creek has produced probably 500 tons from a single deposit. An engineer can presume that from districts already partially explored that 10,000 tons of ore is extremely probable. A market that would stimulate prospecting would probably discover much more. No one can actually estimate and can only figure probabilities. I have seen promising indications where no work had ever been done.

From experiences of every sort, I regard crude concentration as the only available method. The ore is crushed to 60 mesh or thereabouts in a Krupp ball mill and kept agitated, maybe reground and washed, or possibly run over a "slimer"; whichever process is simply to eliminate the silica, a portion of the alumina, and produce a product as merchantable as possible. This product depends on the grade of the ore in the beginning and its associated elements. There are times when it would be profitable to make a lower-grade product than a minimum standard, since the low-grade ore must often be mined with the high grade, and the ore costs nothing. It is probable that no concentrate would run below 8 per cent U_3 O_8, 15 per cent V_2 O_5. An average would probably be 10–20. An average concentration would be a saving equivalent to U_3–V_4 maximum to $U_{1\text{-}2}$–V_3. Five tons crude into one concentrate. The loss of 20 per cent not being reckoned, since the average of ore includes the deduction. The concentrates then would be 10–20 to 7.5–15 per cent, or approximately $300 per ton. This ore if bought outright or mined on royalty would cost at the mill $20 per ton of crude, or $100 for ore. Labor and mill operation, with freight, wagon to railroad, $50 to the ton of concentrates, all of which operations would be done in 10 hours. The net proceeds would approximate $150 per day. On high-grade ore much more profit would result. If the ore were mined on ground now vacant, which I would locate for the company, the profit would be increased by $50 per day. The average claim owner does not want to mine; he wants to sell his claim. Buying claims is hazardous; yet ore must be had.

The most effective method is to buy under lease with royalty payments, and, while not desirable, you must do your own mining. Pay the royalty as long as the claim is productive, otherwise vacate the lease. When the claim owners become unreasonable go to another part of the district 50 miles away and secure 1,000 tons or more. The nature of the operations demands a knowledge of the deposits and the owners as well. Probably one-half the claims are open to relocation at the present time.

A concentration plant involves power. Steam is cheaper than gasoline, since the latter costs 50 cents per gallon in that section. A boiler and engine equipment costs $600, a ball mill $1,000, tanks and other equipment with buildings for mill, quarters for men, costs approximately $3,000. If a slime table is used, $500 more should be added. A crude assay laboratory, platform scales, etc., are needed. Five men will operate the mill for 8 to 10 hours per day. Colorado statutes compel an eight-hour day in mills and mines. Possibly since the mill is so small in results 10 hours per day might be possible.

RARE METALS REDUCTION CO.,
April 30, 1907.

LOUIS WEILL, Esq.,
770 Ellicott Square, Buffalo, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: You have asked me to tell you something about the above company, and I take pleasure herein in so doing.

The company is organized under the laws of the State of New York with a nominal capitalization of $4,000. The actual replacement value of the real estate, plant, and equipment of the company, located at the Buffalo, Rochester & Pittsburgh Railway crossing of South Side Parkway in the industrial section of West Seneca, is over $6,000. The company has coal and reduction supplies on hand of value of $200 and a cash working capital subscribed of $5,000. Each share of the nominal 400 shares of stock represents an actual cash value of $28.

The company has also all the advantages of all the preliminary work in the investigation of raw materials and ore supplies, reduction processes, and experimental apparatus; and of the markets for finished products heretofore conducted by the Welsh-Lofftus Uranium & Rare Metals Co., and the American Mineral & Alloy Co., the actual cost of which was between $4,500 and $5,000, none of which has been capitalized. The company has its plans and organization completed and is now in the market for a supply of concentrates of the raw material consumed by it, viz, concentrates of uranium-vanadium oxid ores.

There are several possible sources of supply of this material, but the company has been slow to act in entering into a contract by reason of a desire to close a contract only with responsible parties having the organization and the financial ability to deliver the goods. Negotiations are now pending and working to a close for a contract with such parties for the delivery of a full supply of ore at figures considered remunerative by both parties in interest.

These figures are based upon the delivery of—

	Per ton.
(A) 100 tons concentrates per annum containing 17 per cent uranium oxide and 21 per cent vanadium oxide, at $1.25 per pound uranium oxide contents and 25 cents per pound vanadium oxide contents, making total cost (f. o. b. Colorado railway points nearest source of supply)	$520.00
(B) 200 tons concentrates per annum, containing 7 per cent uranium oxide and 19 per cent vanadium oxide, at $1.10 per pound uranium oxide contents and 25 cents per pound vanadium oxide contents, making total cost (f. o. b. Colorado railway points nearest source of supply)	249.00

Proposition (A) would mean to the company the following manipulations and costs based on actual experience and the estimated profits per ton handled, also based on actual transactions in trade:

	Per ton.
Cost ore or concentrates, f. o. b. railway	$520.00
Freights	12.00
Sampling and assaying	3.00
Packages and reloading at sampler	5.00
Total cost of ore or concentrates, f. o. b. Buffalo	540.00
The cost of chemical treatment and reduction at Buffalo works covering all items of superintendence, labor, chemicals, fuel, oils, gas, and the maintenance and repair of the plant is	80.00
The recovery of products from this reduction is 90 per cent of the 340 pounds of uranium oxide contents equals 306 pounds of a sale value of $2 per pound; total	612.00
90 per cent of the 420 pounds of vanadium oxide contents equals 378 pounds of an ultimate sale value computed from experience as follows: 378 pounds of vanadium oxide contains 56 per cent, or 211 pounds, of metallic vanadium and are smelted at a loss of 20 per cent of this metal, leaving 168 pounds of actual metal returned with a smelting charge of $0.60 to $1.60 per pound of metal so returned, viz	268.80
The sale value of the metal returned in the form of a ferro-vanadium containing vanadium, 22 to 25 per cent; carbon 2 per cent or under; silicon, 1 per cent or under; sulphur, 0.05 per cent or under; phosphorus, 0.05 per cent or under; copper, aluminum, and arsenic, trace; iron by difference is $5 per pound of vanadium metal contents, or	840.00

Summary proposition (A).

Cost ore	$540.00	Selling value uranium oxide	$612.00
Cost reduction	80.00	Selling value vanadium metal	840.00
Cost smelting	269.80		
	889.80		
Cost selling, 10 per cent	145.20		1,452.00
	1,034.00		1,034.00
Net profit per ton handled			418.00

Proposition (B) would mean to the company as follows:

	Per ton.
Cost ore concentrates f. o. b. railway	$249.00
Freights	10.00
Sampling and assaying	3.00
Packages and reloading at sampler	5.00
Total cost of ore or concentrates f. o. b. Buffalo works	267.00
Cost of reduction at Buffalo works	60.00
Total	327.00
The recovery of products from this reduction is: 90 per cent of 140 pounds of uranium-oxide contents equals 126 pounds, of a sale value of $2 per pound; total	252.00
90 per cent of 380 pounds of vanadium-oxide contents equals 342 pounds, of an ultimate sale value computed from experience as follows: 342 pounds of vanadium oxide, containing 56 per cent of vanadium metal, or 191.5 pounds, are smelted at a loss of 20 per cent of the metal, leaving 153 pounds of actual metal returned with a smelting charge of 60 cents to $1.60 per pound of metal so returned, viz	244.80
The sale value of the metal so returned in the form of ferro-vanadium is	765.00

Summary proposition (B).

Cost ore	$267.00	Selling value uranium oxide	$252.00
Cost reduction	60.00	Selling value vanadium metal	765.00
Cost smelting	244.80		
	571.80		
Cost selling, 10 per cent	101.70		1,017.00
	673.50		673.50
Net profit per ton handled			334.50

I may say that our reduction plant will easily take care of the tonnage named and that there are two electro-smelting concerns that would be glad to get the smelting work at the price named. This part of the business if taken over would be a nice proposition in itself.

Trusting that this will give you some insight relative to the proposition that we are engaged in, I am,

Yours, very truly,
STEPHEN T. LOCKWOOD.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Montana yield further to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. WALSH. I yield.

Mr. SMOOT. I should like to ask the Senator if the history of the development of radium as outlined in this article also gives the history of the process of extracting radium from the ore?

Mr. WALSH. No; it does not, but it states in a general way, so much as is known of the processes of extracting radium,

and because some controversy has arisen about that, I desire to say that, of course, Mme. Curie, on making her very famous discovery, at once gave to the world the laboratory process by which she was able to extract this exceedingly rare metal. Now, the process is known to the scientific world, but, of course, when you undertake to extract radium in commercial quantities there are problems which are not confronted in laboratory work. Some of those processes are not entirely known to the scientific world.

Mr. SMOOT. I fully agree with the Senator, and I was only in hopes that in this connection we could have also made public, as far as possible, the history of the development of the processes that have been found for the extraction of radium from the ore. I understand that the Bureau of Mines have a complete process at the present time, and that the Bureau of Mines would not hesitate to let it be known. If that is the case, I thought it would be very enlightening to the American people if we could have that also in the RECORD in connection with the history of this wonderful mineral.

Mr. WALSH. I am very glad the Senator spoke of that, because the process which has been worked out by the Bureau of Mines is now being tried out in a commercial way in reduction works that have been recently completed in the city of Denver. I had intended to speak about that later, and I might as well say now that those works were constructed by an association called the Radium Institute of America. It really consists of Dr. Kelly, of Baltimore, and Dr. James Douglass, of the city of New York. Dr. Douglass is not a surgeon; he is a mining engineer of eminence who is at the head of the engineering corps of the celebrated firm of Phelps, Dodge & Co. Each of these gentlemen has contributed the sum of $75,000 for the construction of these works, and they are utilizing in them the process which has been worked out by the Bureau of Mines. That process is now undergoing a practical test, and it is the purpose of those gentlemen as well as of the Bureau of Mines to give to the world the details of the method followed just as soon as its efficacy shall have been developed and determined.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Montana yield to the junior Senator from Utah?

Mr. WALSH. I yield.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. The Senator from Montana has said two or three times during the course of this discussion that the carnotite ores are confined to the States of Colorado and Utah. They are found, I understand——

Mr. WALSH. If that was the impression gained, I did not mean to leave it, because I have definite information, fortunately, that valuable deposits have been discovered recently in my own State.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I was going to say to the Senator that this discussion all through the country seems to have proceeded upon the theory that the mineral is confined to those two States, and that it is necessary for the Government to seize those lands in some form or other, or the ores would be entirely monopolized. I understand these ores occur in the sandstone formation, and that sandstone formation is quite extensive in both those States. Can the Senator tell us whether the same sandstone formation, the same geological structure, is to be found in Arizona, in Wyoming, and in New Mexico?

Mr. WALSH. No; Mr. President, I can not; but I will say to the Senator that no deposits of commercial value, at least of such value as to invite development or even exploration, have been shown to exist in any other States.

Likewise I desire to say, in answer to the question of the Senator, that even though this sandstone should be found in a very extensive area, it has been disclosed that the carnotite deposits, curiously enough, lie simply between beds of one particular class of sandstone and another. Indeed, you can trace through the country that horizon, and it is practically useless to look anywhere else for deposits of carnotite. The contact may be seen the same as you see the cornice about the top of this room and trace it from one side to the other. So the skilled eye directed over the landscape may trace this particular sandstone, and wherever it is exposed mark the line which differentiates it from the underlying sandstone. It is there, and there alone, that the deposits of carnotite have been found. Sandstones might extend over a vast area, and yet unless that particular sandstone is there the promise of finding deposits of carnotite would not be inviting; indeed, so far as we now know, there would be none.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Mr. President, the Senator from Montana is very familiar with the development of the mining industry in the West. He knows, for example, that 50 or 60 years ago substantially all that was known about the deposits of gold was in California. It was not supposed that gold would be found in any great quantity in Nevada, for example, or in Colorado. That was not supposed until recent years; but as the prospector was given the opportunity, as the demand for gold increased, the prospector went out and found it. Now, does the Senator doubt for one moment that if the prospector is given the same opportunity with reference to this character of metal it will not be discovered in various States of the West?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I was going to answer that inquiry, which is a most natural one, from the testimony here. The Chamber of Commerce of the city of Denver appointed a committee, of which Mr. D. W. Brunton was the chairman. He was long a resident of the State of the Senator from Utah, and I knew him well as an engineer of great capacity in my own State. That committee has answered the question which the Senator from Utah now addresses to me. The committee reports, Mr. President, in that connection—and it was my purpose to read what it says—that the fields of Utah and Colorado have been thoroughly prospected; that the carnotite is of such a character that, where it is exposed, it is readily discerned, so that all exposures are found with reasonable ease. These have been very largely located, so that hereafter explorations of the most careful character must be carried on in order to make discoveries justifying location.

Now, I think it not at all unlikely, answering the Senator frankly, that other deposits will be found. In fact, I do not entertain very much doubt that they will be found, but, Mr. President, I desire to say in the same connection, lest I should be misunderstood, that this is an exceedingly rare metal. You will observe that the fields in Utah and Colorado are now producing three-fourths of all the radium which the world commands. With the whole of Europe being prospected, and Australia, and Japan, this is the field to which the whole world now practically has recourse. Under those circumstances I think it would be exceedingly strange if we did find anywhere in the West anything like the quantity which has been discovered in those States. I hope that we may find it in equal abundance in Montana, but whether we shall or not the future alone can tell.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. And yet, Mr. President, for 40 years the people passed over the land about Goldfield and in other parts of Nevada without discovering any of those numerous gold deposits that were there, but they were discovered within very recent years. Great gold deposits have been discovered in Colorado that the expert did not suspect and that the prospector did not find at once. I know silver and lead mines in my own State, some of the most productive mines there, were discovered at places where the expert insisted that nothing of the kind could possibly exist. I know of one mine that was discovered by a prospector where all the experts and indeed all the other prospectors insisted that it was utterly impossible that any such deposit could be found in that neighborhood. Yet Mr. Jesse Knight, having faith in his own judgment, spent a good many thousands of dollars driving and tunneling into the hillside and finally developed one of the very large deposits in that district. So I do not pay much attention to the prognostications of the average mining expert.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I should like to add, if the Senator from Montana will permit, to what the Senator from Utah has said, that radium seems to be blended by nature with uranium. There is a very small proportion of radium in uranium wherever found, existing in greater or less quantities. Where uranium can be found to the extent of 2 per cent or more in a ton of ore it is commercially profitable now for the radium contents. Uranium is the element in carnotite and in pitchblende which carries radium; and wherever uranium will be discovered—and the chances are that it will be discovered in other places, perhaps in unexpected places, as the Senator from Utah suggests—there will be also found blended with it this element called radium.

I have profound respect for Mr. Brunton; he is certainly one of the most eminent members of his profession; but it is a fact not confined to any particular locality in the West that most of our large deposits of metallic wealth have been discovered in places and under circumstances which do not appeal to the professional expert. Consequently, while this report is entitled to every consideration, it is by no means conclusive of the proposition that these deposits are not liable to be found elsewhere, especially as prospecting has been stimulated by the use to which radium is now being put.

Regulation of Immigration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. REED,
OF MISSOURI,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Wednesday, December 30, 1914.

The Senate had under consideration the bill (H. R. 6060) to regulate the immigration of aliens to and the residence of aliens in the United States.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, the bill excludes all immigrants who are unable to comply with a prescribed literary test. The amendment now under debate proposes to exempt from the literacy test those immigrants who have fled to our shores to escape religious or racial persecution.

I intend to discuss the merits of the amendment, but before doing so I propose offering a preliminary observation. I shall also reply to one or two arguments advanced by those who oppose the amendment.

I have already said, and now repeat, that I desire the passage of a proper immigration bill, but I am appealing for a bill that will work no great injustice; that will be consistent with our ancient policies and yet will exclude from our shores all men who are incapable of adapting themselves to the life, genius, and citizenship of the Republic.

However, I differ radically from some of my associates as to the character of the tests to be applied. Clearly it is our duty to stop the importation of contract labor and the immigration of undesirable races. In some respects I am willing to go further than this bill. I am willing to expressly exclude peoples who are not of the white race, or, being of that race, still belong to that portion of it which has adopted oriental ideals and civilization. At the same time, I insist that no human being otherwise fitted for citizenship in the Republic shall be excluded solely because he can not pass a prescribed literacy test. Especially do I urge that exclusion upon the ground stated should not be applied to a refugee seeking sanctuary from religious or racial persecution.

Before further discussing that question, let me remove, if I can, the false impressions that have been left by the arguments of certain Senators.

Some very singular propositions have been advanced. One is that many immigrants remain here but a short time. It is, therefore, argued that they are bad immigrants. The inference seemingly being that by going away they have injured this country.

In the same breath these gentlemen argue that if the foreigner remains and becomes a voter, he thereby lowers the standard of our electorate and injures the country.

Both of these arguments can not be sound. If by becoming naturalized and taking a part in the elections the voter injures this country, then the sooner he returns to Europe the better for us, because we thereby escape the alleged injury. If, upon the other hand, his failure to become naturalized is just cause for complaint, it must be because the failure of the immigrant to become a voter has deprived this country of a benefit which, of course, concedes that his presence here is desirable. I repeat, both arguments can not be sound.

It is said, however, that large numbers of the people coming to our shores do not intend to become citizens, and that as soon as they have accumulated a small amount of money they return to their European homes, and that by this means they drain our country of its wealth. There are two observations proper to make in answer to this charge:

First, as I have already indicated, if the coming of these people was a curse, their going must constitute a blessing. But if their coming was a blessing and their going was a disadvantage, then we surely ought to be glad because so many remain.

The second observation is this: That even if an immigrant does carry his savings back to Europe with him, it by no means follows that his presence among us has resulted in a financial loss to our country.

Allow me to state my reasons for the statement just made. I affirm that upon the average the wage earner does not receive to exceed 50 per cent of the value of that which he produces. No man ever employs another if he expects to pay him in wages all he has created. If an employer were to pay his man all the man produces, there would be no reason for the employment. Accordingly, when a man hires another he does it because the employee will create more than the wages paid. The difference between the wages paid and the value produced represents the net profit of the employment.

An example will serve to illustrate: If an immigrant employee creates $1,000 of wealth and only receives $500 in wages, all of which he sends or carries to Europe, he has, nevertheless, increased the wealth of this country by $500.

So that if a foreigner comes to this country and sends a part of his wages back home, nevertheless it follows that he has benefited this country by the difference between the wages that were sent home and the wealth he produced. Somebody said if foreigners come here, obtain work upon our railroads, and carry their wages back to Europe, "they nevertheless leave the railroads here." That exactly expresses the case. The claim, therefore, that when these men send a part of their wages out of the country they are draining it of its wealth is not altogether sound.

However, I view with disfavor the custom I am speaking of, not because it drains the country of its wealth, for these men produce more and leave behind more than they can send away, but because the influx of great numbers of people who do not come here intending to remain is injurious to our laboring men. Therefore I am willing to add such restrictions as will effectually prevent temporary immigration. I will go with the committee in that direction as far as it desires to go. But I will do so because I want to protect our own labor from unfair competition.

I call attention to another fallacy. It is urged that the immigrant lacks the independence and assertiveness of the American laborer; that he is subservient, truckling, humble, cringing; that he will work for starvation wages, and hence is an undesirable.

Mr. President, that argument sounds very well stood out by itself, but in the same breath its authors are heard inveighing against the foreign laborer because he strikes for higher wages. If the foreigner does not strike, he is to be condemned, because he is too humble, too subservient, too willing to take a small wage; but if he does strike, as the American citizen strikes for higher wages, immediately he is a villain, an enemy of all law and all order. No matter which way the immigrant turns he is condemned.

The strike at Lawrence, Mass., has been adverted to. It is said that a great number of foreigners were employed in the mills of Lawrence, Mass.; that these foreigners struck for higher wages; and that, because they struck, they were bad and wicked people. Yet the very men who make that argument also insist that foreigners have been working for starvation wages and therefore are bad people. The arguments taken together lead to this: If a foreigner works for starvation wages and continues to starve, he is unworthy of residence here; but if he rises in protest he also is unfit for residence among us. That kind of logic does not even leave to the foreigners the poor privilege of peaceful starvation; it condemns them whether they starve or whether they protest.

But how about the strike in Massachusetts? What was at the bottom of that strike? It is admitted that these people were working for very low wages. It is admitted that their employers were American citizens, and that the American employer fixed the wages. It is admitted that the starving employees rose in a strike, and it may also be admitted that in striking they accepted the advice of extreme and radical men—possibly of very bad men. It may likewise be granted that during the strike they violated the statutes of the land, and that they should not have done so. But I call your attention to three things:

First. That the wages were fixed by American corporations at a point so low that starvation drove these creatures on to desperation.

Second. That the wicked and radical men who advised the immigrant employees were, for the most part, American citizens.

Third. That every act of violence perpetrated by the half-starved foreigners at Lawrence, Mass., has been duplicated hundreds of times by American employees.

The bed of injustice is the birthplace of revolution.

The great railroad strike occurring during the Cleveland administration had for its purpose the tying up of the commerce of the country. Yet who does not know that the railway trainmen, as a class, are Americans. Let me add—a very good kind of Americans. They felt they had a grievance; and so feeling, they struck. The strike seemed to them the only means of redress. There were some acts of lawlessness and violence. In so far as there was lawlessness and violence, I can not approve that strike, but in so far as it was a protest of men having no other weapon I do not disapprove it. And yet these were American citizens.

I was told by one of the Senators who investigated the recent strike in West Virginia that a great proportion of the striking

miners were native-born American citizens. Nevertheless they struck. I do not intend to go into the merits of that contest. We all know there was violence, bloodshed, and homicide. Probably both sides violated the law. Yet, according to the information given to me, at least, that strike was carried on principally by native-born American citizens.

We have strikes in every town and in every city in some trade, some branch of industry, almost every day of the year. They are not confined to foreigners. The strike is peculiarly the weapon of the native-born American artisan and mechanic and laborer. So if there was a strike in Lawrence, Mass., by some foreign-born citizens, if there were some acts of violence, that is no argument against foreign-born people as a class. If you seek to condemn them, you should find some sin which can not with equal justice be laid at the door of the native American.

While I am speaking of the Lawrence strike let me call your attention to the fact that if the laborers violated the statutes of Massachusetts the authorities of Massachusetts violated the Constitution of the United States—the bill of rights of the American people—and the constitution of Massachusetts when they went to the depots and tore from the arms of mothers the children they were sending elsewhere in order that they might be kept from starving during the time the strike was in progress.

But in considering a bill of this kind we gain little by discussing single instances. The truth is that the foreign-born citizen of the United States is not a lawless creature. The statistics will not bear out such a charge.

I challenge the distinguished chairman of the committee to show that there is a greater proportion of crime among our foreign-born citizens than there is among our native population. I challenge him to name a single white race that has a representation in this Republic in which the proportion of criminality is so great as it is among the colored population of his own State. The Senator has said to me, in an aside remark, "I hope you do not call that American." Perhaps it is not American; but the condition exists in the Senator's own State. I remark, in passing, that the Senator seems to prefer the colored brother to the white Belgian, to the white Irishman, to the white Englishman, to the white Welshman, to the white German, provided that white man can not read or write.

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from South Carolina?

Mr. REED. I do.

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. The Senator knows very well that the argument he is attempting to make and the parallel he is attempting to draw as to my attitude toward our brother in black is not a good one, for the reason that I certainly do not consider him a desirable citizen; but, owing to conditions over which I have no control, he is here. We find him here. He was thrust upon us, as the Senator from Georgia [Mr. HARDWICK] suggests, and he has proven himself incapable of assimilation into the civilization that characterizes the white race. The racial characteristics of some who are white would be as objectionable. I wish to call the Senator's attention, however, to the fact that this bill simply attempts, without regard to certain nations whose emigrants may come here, to set certain American standards as a test of fitness to come in.

I do not think the committee or any Member of the Senate who is in favor of the restrictions set forth in this bill is open to the charge of inhumanity or any invidious method by which we propose to oppress anyone. What we are attempting to do is to protect Americans. Any man who is worthy of being here, and any man who is worthy to stand in this Chamber and pass laws to control and govern the standard of citizenship, has a right to say what we shall do.

Later on I propose to give the Senate some statistics to show that only five States in the Union have not some form of compulsory education. The others actually go into the home and, in a manner, assume the function of parenthood in order to fit and prepare those we have for the high calling of American citizens in a free country that has to depend upon the will of each individual for the proper maintenance of the law, and not under the *ipse dixit* of a few, such as characterizes imperial governments—monarchical governments. We are simply laying to the foreigner the same test that we are laying to our own children.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I deny that we "lay the same test to our own children as this bill lays to the foreigner." This bill provides that a foreigner who can not read can not even live upon our soil. No native-born inhabitant is denied the right to live here because he is illiterate. The learned Senator confuses the right to vote with the right of residence; the right to take part in the Government with the right of harbor under a government.

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Missouri further yield to the Senator from South Carolina?

Mr. REED. Certainly.

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. The Senator from Missouri is familiar with the laws governing education in the different States; and he certainly must be aware of the fact that a great many of them have State-wide compulsory educational laws, compelling children over a certain age to attend school and providing the means for their education. I have sent for the statistics, and hope they will be here in a few minutes, at which time, or at the proper time, I shall refer to them.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, that has about as much to do with the question at issue as the story of the flood. I have already pointed out the distinction.

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. Mr. President——

Mr. REED. True, we have in some of our States compulsory education. I wish to heaven that system obtained in every State. I wish the States would see to it that every child of school age not only goes to school, but, if the parents are impoverished, is furnished by the State with the means to enable it so to do. I would like to see our educational system advanced so that the boys and girls who reside in country districts would have provided the opportunity near at hand to obtain a high-school education. Upon all of such questions there can be no disagreement between the Senator and myself. But that has nothing to do with the proposition before us, which is, Shall we deny refuge to the man who is forced to flee his own country because of his race, simply because the same tyranny which drove him in his maturity from the land of his birth also drove him in his youth from the door of the schoolhouse?

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Missouri further yield to the Senator from South Carolina?

Mr. REED. I do.

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. I was under the impression that the Senator was arguing, and his speech seems to have indicated that he was arguing, largely upon the literacy test. I find now that it is upon the exemption proposed by the Senator from Colorado and the Senator from New York, which is to allow this exemption in the case of religious persecution to extend to political and racial persecution. In other words, the effect of the amendment proposed is simply indirectly to nullify the literacy test, because we have not yet arrived at the point where we can adequately define what may be called political persecution, and Heaven only knows where it would stop if we were to swing wide the door for racial persecution. That includes about all that those who are opposed to the literacy test desire; so that the adoption of those amendments, an indirect method of getting at it simply means the elimination of that test.

If the Senator will permit me a minute further, he says there is no parallel between compulsory education of the native-born child and an educational test for the immigrant. One is brought in through the natural law of God by natives here, and we say to the mother and father, "You can not bring your child into the citizenship of this country, you can not allow it to come to maturity and enter upon the functions of a citizen, without an education; we will compel you by law to educate your child, even though it may be in the earning period of its life," which statistics prove is true. "We will take your children under our own servants and see that they are properly educated, so that when they arrive at the point where they become citizens they shall be educated."

I should like to know if that is not a dead parallel to standing on the shore, where men are born into citizenship by virtue of a corporation or a steamship company or their personal desires, and saying, "Before you shall enter the domain of citizenship you shall stand on an equal footing with the native-born child"?

Mr. REED. No, Mr. President; the parallel is not there, as I shall undertake to show. First, however, I want to say to the Senator, who rather intimates that I have shifted my ground, that he will find in the RECORD of this morning my remarks of yesterday in which I pointedly discussed the pending amendment. That statement I have repeated this morning; I am not in the habit of shifting my position.

I shall now show that the Senator's "parallel" argument fails simply because it does not present a parallel. If the States of this country place upon their statute books a compulsory educational requirement, it applies to all children between certain ages. But it applies only to children. It does not affect adults, whether native or foreign born. It will, however, apply to the children of the foreigner who comes here exactly as it does to the native-born child.

There is not a single State of the Union that deprives any native-born citizen of the right to live upon our soil because he

can not read and write, and I do not think there are many that now deny him the right to vote because he can not read and write. There are some States that have clung to that old rule, but they to-day are in the minority.

Mr. HARDWICK. If the Senator will pardon me, I will state that there are about 20 Commonwealths in the American Republic that require an educational qualification in some form, and instead of being ancient it is new, comparatively.

Mr. REED. I should have made allowance for the fact that statutes have been passed in certain Southern States aimed particularly at the colored man and brother.

Mr. HARDWICK. If the Senator will pardon me, such statutes have been passed by Northern States, New England States, and Western States.

Mr. REED. Not very many Western States. I think none.

Mr. HARDWICK. Yes; two or three.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Illinois?

Mr. REED. I do.

Mr. LEWIS. Since the able chairman of the committee has called the attention of the Senator from Missouri to a matter which is really very pertinent as a justification for this peculiar limitation, that certain States of the Union have prescribed and enforced a form of education, I take the liberty of asking the Senator from Missouri if he does not feel that there is one distinction that should be observed? As meeting the position of the Senator from South Carolina, so far as it applies to this limitation, it is this: The basic principle, as I understand, and objection to this literacy test is that it deprives the individual of the right of citizenship and opportunity of freedom because the individual has not had the opportunity of sufficient education; that it punishes him by depriving him of the opportunity of liberty because he has been deprived of the opportunity, while I understand the distinction applicable to this measure in instances where States have enforced education is this: The State suggests enforced education, but also provides in the liberality of its institutions the method and means for giving that education to the American, while in the other instance he is being deprived of the opportunity of liberty because he is deprived of the opportunity and means of that education by the country from whence he came. That, I understand, is the real distinction, so far as it applies to this particular measure.

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. Will the Senator from Missouri allow me to make an observation to the Senator from Illinois?

Mr. REED. Certainly.

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. Following that line of argument and the logic, if we are to enter this domain of world-wide improvement of illiterates, then it would be our manifest duty by some means to compel the European countries to prepare their children, because, as you say, we do not provide the means to educate the immigrant, but we do provide the means to educate our own native born. Therefore I ask the Senator, would he go so far as to provide the means by which all immigrants coming here unable to read and write shall be sustained as we sustain our native born? Would the Senator go that far?

Mr. LEWIS. In answer to the Senator, I would go so far as to induce each State wherein the individual may locate to adopt any measure among its citizenship or by legislation that would give an opportunity to those who came without education to attain it by night schools or in any other form of restrictive enforcement. But the point I want to urge upon my able friends is this, that from my point of view there is no parallel between the position urged by the junior Senator from Georgia and that of the chairman, the Senator from South Carolina, against the argument of the Senator from Missouri. We—and I use "we"; I say, myself, the Senator from Missouri, and those for whom we may be permitted to speak—we object to the limitation against the human being on the ground that he has no education standing against this opportunity of enjoying freedom according to the basic principles of this, our country, to give freedom to those who have been oppressed and thus denied the opportunities of their liberty of education. In instances where a State enforces public education the parents invariably reside there, the child is in our own community; and where we seek to enforce education upon the theory of providing citizenship we also provide the method by which the child shall have it. We do not lay down a law to compel the child to be educated and deny the liberty and give him no privilege of getting an education; we give the liberty of education. But in the instances suggested by the able Senator from South Carolina we keep the individual out because he has not had the opportunity of getting an education at home, and make no provision whatever by allowing him to come here to rescue him from the conditions, while we are opening our gates on the ground of liberty from oppression.

I beg the pardon of the Senator from Missouri for this long interruption.

Mr. REED. I am much obliged to the Senator from Illinois. He has very clearly covered a question that I later intended to speak of.

Mr. President, referring further to the question of illiteracy, allow me to call attention to a few facts. The State of South Carolina, so ably represented by the Senator who is in charge of this bill, has a foreign-born population of only four-tenths of 1 per cent. Yet of its white inhabitants 10.3 per cent can not read, while the illiteracy of its colored population reaches the alarming figure of 38.7 per cent. In contrast with these lamentable conditions found among the natives of South Carolina is the fact that only 6.8 per cent of its foreign-born population are illiterate. It seems to me that the general average of literacy in South Carolina has been improved by immigration. Neither is there such an influx of foreign population into that State as to constitute ground of complaint.

It is a singular thing that so many Senators who are exercised about the dangers of foreign immigration come from States containing but few people of foreign birth. Let me give a few illustrations. In the State of Georgia there are of foreign-born whites only six-tenths of 1 per cent. In contrast with Georgia is the State of Illinois, with a foreign-born population of 21.4 per cent; and yet the State of Illinois, through both its Senators, is here favoring the amendment which we are now discussing.

The foreign-born population of New York is 30.2 per cent, and at least one of its Senators is protesting against the literacy test.

In the State of Missouri there is a foreign-born population of 7 per cent. Both Missouri Senators favor the amendment now under consideration.

Speaking generally, the protests against foreign immigration for the most part come from the representatives of States in which the percentage of foreign population is very low. There are, I believe, some exceptions to be found in the New England States. It is a thing passing strange that we who live where foreign-born citizens are found in great numbers do not fear them, while those gentlemen who come from States containing but few foreign-born people violently protest. There being no danger in the States of these alarmists, it must follow that they modestly consider themselves qualified to act as guardians ad litem for the rest of the country.

The real explanation, however, lies in the fact that the less a man knows about our foreign-born population the more he is prejudiced against them. The more he knows about them the less he is prejudiced. I have seen the immigrant land in my State clad in his immigrant garb. I have seen him within a few days' time transformed, as to external appearances, into an ordinary American laborer. I have seen him go to work at whatever employment his hand found to do. I have seen him save his money, pinch, and almost starve himself until enough could be accumulated to bring his loved ones from Europe to this land of freedom and equality. I have looked upon the family reunion—the father with tear-filled eyes rushing to the embraces of the wife of his bosom and the children of his loins. I have seen him take out his naturalization papers, attend night schools and public gatherings, striving to become acquainted with our institutions, Government, and laws. I have seen him, upon monthly installments, purchase a humble home, wherein he set up his household goods and, in the light and shadow of the fireside, with wife and children, bow the knee to the great God who made the poor immigrant as he made us. I have seen these immigrants—Irish, Scotch, German, Austrian, French, Greeks, Polacks, Croatians, Bohemians, Hungarians, and Belgians—all pursuing the paths I have described. I have also observed all of them sending their children to the public schools. And let me, in passing, say that these children of misfortune are not unwilling students. They approach the fountain of learning as the thirsty traveler a long-desired fountain of water.

A few years later we find the immigrant children entering every avocation of life, not only aspiring to but achieving every prominence and every eminence.

I talked to-day with a citizen of Missouri, who is himself a distinguished lawyer, and whose brother is, in my opinion, the profoundest legal student in the United States. The father and the mother of those lawyers were German immigrants who could not read or write.

My attention has this moment been called to another citizen of my State—I shall not name him publicly—who has held a

distinguished position in the legal department of the United States. He is perhaps the most learned lawyer in the great Central West, a student, a philosopher, a great citizen, and I am just told that his parents emigrated to this land from Germany and that neither could read nor write.

The test is not what a man was when he had no opportunity, but what will he become when he has opportunity. A child starved from birth should not, because it is emaciated, be condemned to perpetual want. It should be fed. What do these people become after they have arrived here? That is the question. Who dare attack the second generation and say they have not made good citizens? Who shall assert that the first generation born here is a class of undesirables? Who can successfully maintain that those immigrants who arrived here before maturity have not qualified in every walk and vocation of life?

I am not speaking now of a lazzaroni, who may come temporarily, or of those who represent a civilization different from ours. I am referring to races of men who have our color of skin and our character of civilization. What of these men after they come? How do they behave? Are they progressive? Are they patriotic? These are the questions we must answer.

Only last May this country stood with bowed head as a great battleship, its flags at half-mast, swung into one of our ports. It bore the dead bodies of American soldiers who had given up their lives at Vera Cruz. We had tears for the dead. We had sympathy for the fathers and mothers—some of whom voiced the anguish of their hearts in broken speech—but we were also a little proud that "our boys," as we loved to call them, had not flinched; that calmly and resolutely they performed their duty; with high courage had moved forward at the command; with splendid self-restraint controlled the savage instinct of battle; that they violated no law of war or principle of humanity. With military honors we consigned the bodies to the grave. We covered them with a wilderness of flowers moist with a Nation's tears. Committees of Congress, bearing the official tribute of the country's respect to heartbroken parents, found them dwelling in humble homes. In more than one instance they were of foreign birth, some being scarcely able to even speak our tongue.

Why, here is the list published in the Washington Post under the headline, "The heroic dead." Let me call the roll of those who gave their lives for the flag:

George Poinsett, Louis Frank Boswell, Gabriel A. DeFabbio, Francis P. DeLowry, Frank DeVorick, Elzie C. Fisher, Louis Oscar Fried, E. H. Frohlichstein, Dennis J. Lane, John F. Schumacher, Charles Allen Smith, Eric Alvin Stream, Walter L. Watson, Daniel Aloysius Haggerty, Samuel Martin, Edward Rufus Percy, Randolph Summerlin, Clarence E. Hirschberger, Harry Pulliam.

Mr. LEWIS. Samuel Martin was Samuel Meisenberger, a little Jew boy, of Chicago, who left off his last name in order that he might not be prejudiced from enlisting.

Mr. REED. The names speak for themselves. There is the Bohemian; there is the Jew; there is the German; there, of course, is the Irishman; there, if I may judge by the name, is the Polack.

The President laid aside pressing matters of state to pay official and personal tribute. Let me quote:

I listened again to this list with a profound interest at the mixture of the names, for the names bear the marks of the several national stocks from which these men came. But they are not Irishmen or Germans or Frenchmen or Hebrews any more. They were not when they went to Vera Cruz. They were Americans, every one of them, and with no difference in their Americanism because of the stock from which they came. Therefore they were in a peculiar sense of our blood, and they proved it by showing that they were of our spirit; and that no matter what their derivation, no matter where their people came from, they thought and wished and did the things that were American.

How exalted the sentiment! How noble the humanitarianism thus appropriately expressed in polished rhetoric!

Mr. President, it may be that some of these parents could not read or write. "All the same," if I may use a colloquial expression, their boys knew how to gallantly fight and bravely die for the flag of the United States.

There is nothing so hateful as proscription in this land. There is nothing so narrow as the spirit of the man who, having gained the deck and being himself in a position of safety, thrusts back into the flood of waters a struggling fellow man who also seeks refuge from drowning.

It is said we are passing in this country compulsory educational laws. Well and good, but what does that argue? It argues that in this land of the free and home of the brave, where the American resides, there are a portion of the people unwilling to acquire an education, hence the State forces them to attend school. If that be true of our people, we might well look with charity upon those unfortunates who lack learning because the inexorable ukase of a tyrannical government or the brutal decree of fate denied them an education. For these this amendment is offered. It is for them I now appeal.

Mr. President, the chairman of the Committee on Immigration has said a number of times that if we admit immigrants upon the ground that they are victims of race persecution we do not know what races may come to our country. The committee has not yet found out. Well, sir, we are adopting a new test, and if the committee has not ascertained to whom that test will apply they ought not to ask us to accept it. It is incumbent upon the committee to know what the effect of this bill will be or to abandon the air of superior wisdom it has so often exhibited during the course of the debate.

The proposed amendment will, under present conditions, affect to a considerable extent the Polish people, but it will chiefly give relief to the Jewish race.

I say frankly that one reason for my contention that the literacy test should not be applied to those who are driven from their country by race persecution is because I am unwilling to close the doors of this country in the face of those Jews who in order to escape the intolerable condition of certain European countries seek refuge here.

I sympathize with the Jewish people, because their lack of education, whenever it exists, is directly chargeable to lack of opportunity. The failure of the Jew to possess an education springs neither from intellectual sloth nor mental incapacity. Its sole cause is found in that vindictive spirit of persecution which for centuries has driven the Jew from country to country and from clime to clime. He is in one or two countries practically excluded from the public schools and other seminaries of learning. He is almost completely barred from the learned professions. He is not permitted to establish his home in any part of the land, as are other people, but is compelled to live within a restricted area. He is there subjected to every conceivable abuse, to the most intolerable tyranny. Struggling to escape from the oppression of despotic government, seeking to break the shackles of prejudice and race hate forged for him by relentless foes, he turns his eyes toward this land. He approaches our shores with a heart overflowing with love of liberty, a soul inspired with hope for himself and his children.

It is now proposed by this bill to send him back to the land of darkness and despair if, because of the abuses under which he has there suffered, he has been unable to acquire an education.

Mr. President, we ought to be consistent. Only a few months ago a commercial treaty between this country and Russia was by the almost unanimous vote of the two Houses of Congress rescinded. We are to-day without any commercial treaty with that country. The sole and only reason why we rescinded that treaty was because Russia had so mistreated the Jews that we as a nation thus expressed our protest.

Mr. HARDWICK. Mr. President, will the Senator allow me to interrupt him?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Georgia?

Mr. REED. I do.

Mr. HARDWICK. Is it not the fact that the real reason, the expressed reason, for the abrogation of that treaty was because the Russian Government refused to honor passports issued by this Government to American citizens who happened to be Jews?

Mr. REED. Oh, yes; the Senator is correct; that was the expressed reason. But the real reason was the general mistreatment of the Jew by the Russian Government. Technically we bottomed our action upon the fact that our naturalized Jews were, upon temporary return to Russia, subjected to hardships; but back of that we all know lay a greater question; that question was the persecution of the Jews in Russia. It was because of that persecution this country made its protest, as I have stated.

Mr. President, may we not without peril to the Republic permit the Jew to find here a spot on earth whereon he may live in contentment and die in peace? Are we compelled to force him back into the arms of his enemies? Shall we become aiders, if not parties, to the tyranny, persecution, and proscription of Russia?

A correct answer to these questions involves an inquiry into the reasons for the persecution of the Jews. At the same time the relation of the Jew to education, his love of learning, and his desire to acquire knowledge are pertinent matters of inquiry.

During the Dark Ages Jewish savants possessed and preserved the ancient learning, especially the knowledge of medicine and surgery. They assisted in maintaining the few educational institutions then existing. Learning was almost universal among

the people of the race. They were students of science and history. They produced great philosophers, poets, and scholars. They also took an active part in all public matters. They were the bankers of the leading nations. They filled positions of honor and trust in the various Governments of Europe.

Suddenly, without assignable cause, that remarkable spiritual and intellectual convulsion known as the Crusades seized upon Europe. In a moment the world was aflame with religious fanaticism. Rushing from every hamlet and home the maddened populace assembled in countless multitudes. They marched forth an undisciplined, half-armed mob, bent upon the recovery of the Holy City. The insanity culminated when 30,000 helpless children, armed only with crosses, sought to invade the Holy Land, lost their way, and, wandering from place to place, miserably perished.

That was a warfare by Christendom to rescue from Moslem rule the Holy City, the home of Judaism. Yet, singularly, just at the time the Christians were pouring out their blood to recover the ancient capital of the Jews, they began a fanatical and merciless persecution of the people who had builded Jerusalem, consecrated its temples, defended its altars, and made it the most sacred spot of earth.

The Jew was driven from France, Spain, and other European countries. He was slaughtered by the hundreds of thousands; his property was confiscated; he was thrown into prison; he was made a beggar, an outcast, and a wanderer upon the face of the earth.

He who seeks the cause of this persecution will find its roots in religious intolerance—that evil spirit which at one time set the Calvinist at the throat of the Catholic and caused the Catholic to wage war upon the Calvinist; that lighted the fires of the auto-da-fé; illumined the night with the flames of martyrdom; invented the rack, the thumbscrew, the collar, the wheel; deluged the world with blood; and filled the caverns of hate with the bones of countless victims. For centuries this fanatical fury sent the Christian forth to slaughter his fellow Christian.

Then came the age of reason. The sun of intelligence rose above the horizon of the night of ignorance. As wild beasts flee from civilization, so did the spirit of intolerance disappear before the light of learning. It lurks only in the jungles of ignorance and caverns of fear. Its home to-day is darkest Russia; its victims the Jewish people herded within the pale.

As a nation rises in intelligence, it grows tolerant, humane, kindly, generous. As it sinks in ignorance, it becomes intolerant, inhumane, unkindly, ungenerous.

The most enlightened nations of to-day accord to the Jew every civil and religious right granted their own people. It has hitherto been our proud boast that in this land of the free every shackle has been broken, every chain severed, every religious prejudice dissolved; that all men of all creeds here stand equal before the law, to be judged only by their character as citizens. This bill is out of harmony with our national traditions.

But I return to a consideration of the Jew in Russia. Driven from land to land, he many years ago took refuge within that empire. For a long time he enjoyed many rights and privileges. But, within a comparatively recent period, restrictive measures began to be adopted against him. The Jew entered Russia as an educated man. The percentage of illiteracy among the Jewish people of that day was probably much less than among the gentile races of Europe. The Jew became a proprietor of land. He engaged in every line of business. The liberal professions opened their doors to him. Industry, thrift, and intelligence brought success. He began to crowd into positions of honor, profit, and trust.

His very prosperity aroused the latent fires of religious and race hatred. Restrictive measures were adopted. He was compelled to live within certain limited areas. Again and again have the cords been tightened, the bonds multiplied, the shackles more tightly riveted, until to-day the Jew is for all practical purposes excluded from twenty-eight twenty-ninths of the territory of Russia.

Within that limited area he is subjected to every abuse, torture, insult, and discrimination which diabolic ingenuity, superstition, and hatred can invent.

He can not own real estate outside of the pale. His right to acquire land within it is circumscribed by numerous harassing limitations. In numerous instances almost the entire taxation for the support of the public schools is wrung from the impoverished Jew. At the same time, by a tyrannical decree, it is provided that only 5 Jews can attend certain schools for every 200 Gentiles. That rule means the denial of education to the Jew. In effect, the Jew is forced from the schoolhouses of Russia by the bayonets of Cossack soldiers.

The whole policy of Russian bureaucracy, the whole force of her police is given over to the task of crushing this people.

In order to escape from this tyranny the Jew has resorted to every conceivable expedient and sacrifice. He has served in the wars of Russia under a solemn pledge that, surviving the conflict, he would be permitted to reside in any part of the Empire and be granted an enlargement of civil rights. And he has seen himself defrauded of the privilege he has purchased with his blood upon the field of battle.

The awful condition of the Russian Jew can not be adequately portrayed were I to stand here until the midnight hour. It beggars speech. It defies description. It shocks the conscience. It appals credulity.

It is now proposed by this bill that we shall drive the Jew who does not possess an education back to the land which denied him an education—to that autocracy which said to him, "We will herd you within the pale. You shall be denied education and civil rights. You shall be barred from the learned and liberal professions. If you possess talent, it shall be suppressed. If you have genius, it shall be denied expression. You must bear the heaviest burdens of the State, but you can not participate in the affairs of Government. You shall be treated as a pariah and an outcast. You shall remain a creature of contempt and contumely. Every man's hand shall be against you, but you may not lift your own hand in self-defense. You shall be made to cringe and cower before authority. You shall be treated as a thing scarcely human. So you shall live within the pale, without opportunity and without hope, until death shall bring a respite from your wrongs."

And now, when this oppressed creature, who for generations has been crucified upon the cross of ignorance by the votaries of religious intolerance, comes to the land of freedom, equality, justice, and religious tolerance it is proposed that we shall say: "America joins with your oppressors and drives you back to the hopeless pale within which Russian autocracy and tyranny have confined you. We make common cause in your persecution. We reject you because you are not able to read and write, although through all the days of your youth and early manhood you stood at the door of the schoolhouse with tearful eyes begging the opportunity of education. We close the door of hope. You shall be denied admission to the land of the free because Russian tyranny denied you admission to the schoolhouse."

I put it hard upon the consciences of men who believe in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man whether we should become the aiders and abetters of Russian persecution.

Mr. President, the proposition is, Shall a human being be denied admission here on account of illiteracy who has been driven from his own country by race persecution? That is the sole question we are about to vote upon. I want to present to you a picture of how the literacy test might operate.

Here come two Russian immigrants. One, a Jew, is fleeing from persecution. In youth he sought admission to the schools and was driven away by Cossack bayonets. Beside him, also asking admission, is the soldier who drove him from the school. The soldier can read the magic 40 words that are to be written on a card. The Jew can not. The man who sought to enter the school is to be driven back into the hopeless night of tyranny under which he was born and reared. The man who forced him from the school is welcomed within our gates. Yet the Jew all his life hated tyrants. The soldier all his life served tyrants. The Jew all his life strove for liberty. The soldier all his life crushed liberty. The Jew would give his all to sustain our liberties. The soldier would assist in destroying the liberties of America as willingly as he served the enemies of freedom in Russia.

I would rather have as a citizen one man who tried in vain to acquire an education—who fled here for a broader liberty—than a million men who, in obedience to the mandate of an autocracy that shames the earth, were willing with guns and bayonets to drive human beings from the door of the schoolhouse.

Here comes another wretch who loved freedom so much that he rose in rebellion against a tyrant. He was, with scarcely the pretense of a trial, condemned to life imprisonment in the mines of Siberia. After infinite torture he escaped to this country. Because he can not read he is delivered to the representatives of the despot, and is dragged back into the hopeless night of the Siberian mines.

Beside the refugee stands one of the butchers who stood guard at the mouth of the mine, who knouted prisoners to death. The butcher can read; he is hence regarded as desirable and is admitted.

Which of the two do you think will make the best American citizen? Which of the two will most love liberty? Which of the two will better sustain and serve a free government? Which of the two? In such a case who dare defend the literacy test?

The Jewish people of Russia have been hounded beyond belief. Recently I read the advertisements of a play called The Yellow Ticket. At the time I regarded the statements of the advertisements as wild exaggerations, but I have here a book which bears out all of the assertions referred to.

The author of this work is Mr. Lucian Wolf, a writer of eminence and care. Let me read you a paragraph. It will stir the blood of every man who reveres his mother, who loves his wife, or respects womanhood. If it does not arouse your anger, then are your veins filled with a very sluggish stream. If the allegations of this book are true, then the horrible conditions of the Jews of Russia can not be overstated.

After commenting upon the fact that the Russian Jew is denied the opportunity of education, that he is immediately arrested if he sets foot outside the pale, that even within the restricted territory he is subject to all kinds of searches, that his home can be invaded at night, and unless certain official papers are constantly on hand the entire household is thrown into prison, after setting forth other oppressive practices, Mr. Wolf states:

The barbaric restrictions imposed upon the Jews in Russia admit, however, in one department a characteristic exception in favor of Jewish women—to Jewish prostitutes the whole Empire stands open. The police, with shameless cynicism, keep strict watch to see that a Jewess who has proclaimed herself a prostitute, and on the strength of this is enjoying the domiciliary right outside the pale, is really following her degrading profession. Jewish girls have been banished on the formal ground that instead of abandoning themselves to vice they were making a living by teaching or were attending lectures, neither of which pursuits earned them the right of domicile. Who can realize the torments of those Jewish girls who, in their despair, have resolved upon such a humiliating line of conduct in order to avoid the persecution of the police, and yet have been discovered and driven forth from their domiciles? Modest and virtuous girls having to label themselves officially as prostitutes in order to have peace and quiet—one might well take this statement to be the fabrication of an overexcited imagination if these diabolic happenings were not confirmed by the authorities themselves. True, only isolated cases of this kind have come to the knowledge of the public, since surely very few Jewish girls can have taken refuge in such sad self-degradation, but these instances suffice to depict the lot of the Russian Jew and to brand the system of Russian bondage to all eternity.

Imagine, now, the character of a despotism which ordains that liberty of residence, liberty to teach, liberty to earn a livelihood, liberty to enjoy God's air and sunshine, can be purchased by a daughter of Rachel only at the price of her honor. Conceive, if you can, a tyranny so diabolic as to place such a premium upon dishonor, as to invent such an inducement to degradation.

Are you prepared to join hands with autocratic Russia by saying to these persecuted people, "You can not enter here. Go back to the pale. If your women desire to live elsewhere, let them secure the 'yellow ticket' of dishonor, and the police of Russia will see to it that they industriously follow the prostitute's loathsome trail; the police will see to it that these women work no fraud upon the Government by remaining virtuous."

Mr. President, down the long centuries the Jews have walked a stony path. They vastly contributed to the greatness of Spain. Their fidelity was requited with torture and murder. It may have been a mere coincidence, but the fact remains that with the expulsion of the Jews Spain began her long period of degeneration. France slaughtered, robbed, and expelled the Jews, but was soon, in self-preservation, compelled to recall the exiles. Many years ago England generously opened her doors to the Jew, and England has ever since waxed in greatness and power.

We welcomed the Jew to our land. Who can justly say he has not demonstrated his capacity for citizenship? In law, medicine, science, literature, art, music, poetry, and oratory he has won his way to the very top.

Devoted to charity, he does not limit his benefactions to his own blood. I cite but one recent example. A few years ago we felt the pinch of hard times. Thousands of the poor in New York City were starving. A great breadline was formed every morning. The hungry came—men, women, and children—of all races and classes, both native and foreign born. The man who stood at the head of the line and, with generous hand, gave bread to assuage the gnawing of want was on old Jew. He never asked a hungry soul, What is your race? What is your religion? Where were you born? Have you an education? It was enough that a human being needed food.

I am unwilling that a single one of God's creature's shall be driven back to the land of persecution, tyranny, and despair simply because he does not possess learning.

I call attention to a matter that is especially pertinent to this educational test. The people who come here of advanced years live only a little while. They do not affect our civilization. The question we ought to turn our attention to is their offspring. How do they rear their children? Measured by that test, the Jew need not be feared.

I read a telegram just received from Mr. David M. Bressler, of New York City, a man who has given much time to the study of this question:

Proportion illiterates among adult Jewish immigrants is as follows: Male, 18 per cent; female, 30 per cent. No data available showing proportion of illiterates among minors, but practically all minors immediately attend public schools for full course; large proportion adults utilize night and immigrant schools. Truancy and child labor practically unknown among Jewish children. Repressive legislation and restrictions, educational facilities, wholly responsible for illiteracy of Jews in Russia and Roumania.

I call attention also to a telegram from Mr. Jacob Billikopf, of Kansas City. This man now possesses a university degree. He fled from Russia to obtain an education. His mother undertook to gain him entrance to the high school and paid a thousand rubles to a Russian official to enter her boy. The money was pocketed and the boy refused admission, whereupon he was sent to this country to secure the learning denied him by the land of his birth. Mr. Billikopf is engaged to-day in maintaining a Jewish eleemosynary institution which devotes itself to receiving Jewish immigrants, attending to their wants, giving them advice with reference to securing homes, procuring situations for them, and generally starting them upon the road to self-maintenance and good citizenship. He conducts both a night and day school. Frequently men and women of mature years are found in this school diligently seeking an education. The younger generation are, along with ordinary school work, taught music and the language of their adopted country. Mr. Billikopf tells me every single Jewish child who has come within the care or under the surveillance of his institution is an attendant at school or has been during the ordinary years of school life. I read his telegram.

Your views on page 373 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD absolutely correct. Took hurried census this afternoon and find nearly 200 Jewish boys and girls attending our high schools. Come from homes, heads of which would have been excluded under proposed literacy test. My own father illiterate, but there never was a time when he would not have sacrificed everything in world to enable six children to obtain education similar to that I possess. Case typical of thousands of others. Criminality among Jews in Colorado, Kansas, Ohio, Kentucky, Missouri, and Indiana 50 per cent less than among native population. Am sending you my printed report on subject.

I have another telegram from this same gentleman, a part of which I read:

Truancy and child labor among immigrant Jewish children unknown. All attend school and are among brightest. Literacy test absolutely no criterion of adult immigrants desirability. Most of our substantial and law-abiding immigrants would have been excluded if literacy test were applied to them. Of 2,400 immigrant men and women who came to Kansas City via Galveston past three years only one family dependent on charities. No criminality whatever. Can not estimate this moment proportion of illiteracy in above group.

Mr. President, I know Mr. Billikopf intimately. He is a man of the highest intelligence who has devoted his life to the service of humanity. What he tells us may be absolutely relied upon.

Let us not join Russia in crushing this people by forcing them to remain under its autocratic rule. Let us not say to poor human beings, "You have been deprived of an education yonder, you shall therefore be deprived of all opportunity in life here."

If these immigrants joined the criminal classes, if they made bad citizens, another question would be presented. In that case the entire race ought to be excluded, not merely those who can not read or write.

And now a final word in regard to this test. We are told that anarchists come to this country, that extremists come to this country, and that they sow the seed of their dangerous doctrines. Mr. President, the literacy test will not exclude one of that class. It may exclude some one who is an anarchist, but it will not exclude the one who is capable of teaching anarchy. However, all anarchists are covered by another clause of this bill. The literacy test is not necessary, and if it were applied it would be worthless.

I say again, taking our foreign-born population as a whole, it can not be justly asserted and can not be proven that they are not, on the average, as law-abiding as the native-born American. It can not be truthfully asserted that they commit even as many crimes in proportion to their numbers as the native-born American. The statistics collected at the doors of our prisons give an answer that is highly favorable to our foreign-born population.

I have taken a great deal of the Senate's time. I wish the committee could accept this amendment. Should it do so, the injustice of the literacy test would be greatly minimized. However, I have but little hope that the committee will concede anything. It seems determined to force the bill through. If time has been consumed, it is because of the gravity of the question presented.

Let me conclude by expressing the hope that the people of the United States are not yet willing to close the door of opportunity in the face of any of God's creatures who have been guided to our shores by the light of the star of liberty, and who are capable of becoming good citizens of the Republic.

Universal Peace.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. W. LAFFERTY,

OF OREGON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 22, 1915.

Mr. LAFFERTY. Mr. Speaker, I feel my responsibility as a Member of the American Congress in voting for this bill—the Army appropriation bill—which appropriates $101,000,000 for the support of the Army for the coming year. In a few days we shall be called upon to pass the annual Navy appropriation bill which carries $148,000,000 for the coming year, making the total burden we are putting on our country for war purposes for the coming year amount to $249,000,000. That is $2.49 for each man, woman, and child in the United States. It is a tax of $12.45 per year on each family of five.

In time of peace we are appropriating these vast millions for war purposes. Our appropriations are not increased this year from ordinary years. It is our established habit to put this annual burden on our people. And other civilized nations are accustomed in times of peace to put even greater burdens on their people to maintain their armies and navies.

Our annual appropriations in the United States for war purposes would build a trunk line of railroad from New York to San Francisco each year, costing $80,000 per mile, and leave a surplus over of $9,000,000. Let any thoughtful person contemplate what it would mean if our quarter of a billion dollars now going each year for war forces could be used in building railroads, merchant ships, art galleries, and other aids to the advancement of civilization and the happiness of humankind. And how much more would it mean if all the nations of the earth could do likewise. The opportunities that would be ours in a few years under such a change would make our present civilization look crude, indeed, in comparison.

Take this illustration: Our country is now all worked up over the question as to whether we shall appropriate the paltry sum of $30,000,000 toward the purchase of Government merchant ships in order to establish new trade routes for our producers and to protect them from the extortionate rates demanded by the private shipping companies. Yet we are to appropriate in a few days $148,000,000 to maintain war ships for one year only, and no one is raising any complaint whatever. If we could only eliminate the necessity for the war ships, see how easy it would be for us, without the expenditure of any more money than we are now expending, to build the finest fleet of merchant ships in the world. The latter would contribute to the wealth and happiness of every American citizen. They would enable our people to make more money, and they would enable us to travel and see the beauties and the wonders of the world in comfort and at small expense.

Contemplate what it would mean if all the nations of the world would use the money and the energy that are now going to the maintenance of war forces in the building of internal improvements, peaceful merchant ships, art galleries, schools, colleges, and universities. This would then, indeed, be a world worth living in.

As it is to-day the Government must do nothing to promote human happiness and comfort lest its action be denominated "socialistic." I, for one, am getting tired of that aged chestnut. I have found out where it comes from, and I think everyone else has. It is the last argument of the special-privileged few of all nations against the advancement of civilization.

This special-privileged few now own all the private steamships. They send our loved ones to sea in old, dilapidated vessels in order that they may get a few more sordid dollars. It is not safety and comfort that they have uppermost in their minds, but money. This same privileged few own all the railroads in this country, and they own the bonds representing the Government debts of European countries that have taken over the railroads. The money kings are running things in this and every other country.

Why do we have large war forces in all the civilized countries of the world? It is to protect these money kings in their property. Why are wars brought about? They are the result of the greed of the money kings for trade, or jealousy lest great fortunes be reduced by the extension of the trade of the money kings of rival countries. Besides, great wars make great national debts, and these great national debts enslave the peasants—99 per cent of the people—to the 1 per cent represented by the money kings. Therefore a great war once in a while is a good thing for the money kings. We must have one in America before long to set back our civilization or our people are liable to get out of bondage.

Either the conscience or the latent instincts of Mr. Andrew Carnegie have caused him to establish a great peace foundation. Much of the wealth of Mr. Carnegie was made by selling armor plate and other munitions of war. His successors are now making millions by manufacturing and selling such armor plate and munitions of war. About a year ago the Carnegie Peace Foundation franked out at Government expense a half million copies of a certain speech of a United States Senator favoring the repeal of our law providing for free tolls for our coasting vessels at Panama, this supposedly in the interests of peace.

We shall never have world peace until Governments shall be administered in the interest of the general public as distinguished from the interests of the money kings. And when Governments shall be so administered we shall have universal peace. There will no longer be any motive for war. The poor peasants of Europe to-day have no desire for war. They are driven to it by the money kings of London, Paris, Berlin, and St. Petersburg, and the poor boys in the trenches who are having their lives shot out—perhaps by shrapnel from the factories of Mr. Carnegie's successors—do not know what they are fighting about.

A thoroughly authenticated story was printed in the Illustrated London News, which I read last night, and which to me presents one of the most pathetic sides of this war, or any other war, for that matter. At Christmas time, during a lull in the fighting, German boys in the trenches placed a bottle on a stick and raised it in view of the English trenches. This was at once understood as a banter for a target contest, and a given number of shots were fired by the English, a new bottle being hoisted whenever a hit was made. Thereupon the English troops raised a similar target, and the Germans took the same number of shots. It was simply a friendly contest, and the young men, lying in trenches within 100 yards of each other, were following their natural bent. The great surprise came when, at the close of the bottle contest, a young German stepped out unarmed from his trench, and after putting a tomato can on a stick which he drove into the ground, he yelled at his English cousins to try their luck. Not a word had been spoken, but this young German lad had felt the bond of sympathy and knew that he was in no danger. At another place a football game was arranged for Christmas Day, but this was under a flag of truce. Tell me that such men would not settle this war, if it were left to them to do so? Yet this is the bloodiest war in the history of the world. Men are doing what we all predicted would never be done—fighting at close range, and in solid formation, with modern guns.

The explanation of the present war in Europe is simply this: The young men there are the same as our young men here; they are not cowards, and they are willing to obey their country's call. Many peasants, held down to a humdrum life in a small community, grasp with eagerness an opportunity to visit foreign places and to see the world. They do not hesitate to embrace such an opportunity even when it involves the dangers of war. The same is true in America. Thousands of boys, with little opportunity in sight, would gladly enroll at our country's call and go to any part of the globe. I would do so myself. I would rather be in a war any time than to be on the political rack, so far as the pleasures of the two occupations are concerned.

But if we had Government ships, and if we had Government railroads, and if we had Government agricultural asset currency—meaning thereby genuine rural credits—so that we would all have an equal opportunity to satisfy our ambitions to see the world, and to acquire a competence, and to have a home, supplied with art, music, books, athletics, and all that goes to

make up a real life, no man would want war, and the implements of war in a hundred years would be found only in museums. Such will be true when democracy shall rule the countries of the world. God speed the day. My life shall be given to its realization.

I am not a Socialist. But I do pronounce the following essay by Allan L. Benson to be the most powerful argument in favor of universal peace that has ever come to my notice. While our citizens are spending millions for peace conferences at The Hague, and while we are appropriating millions to prepare our country against war, it is certainly an economy to give to Mr. Benson's article space in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Here it is:

"WAR AND SOCIALISM.

[By Allan L. Benson.]

"A man who is not a Socialist wrote a letter to the editor of the Springfield Republican in which he said: 'If Socialism will put an end to war, let us have it, and quickly, too.' The editor of the Springfield Republican, who is not a Socialist, wrote an editorial reply in which he said: 'Socialism never looked more attractive than now.'

"Good sometimes comes as the result of driving iron into the souls of men. This tremendous war in Europe is driving iron into the souls of men as no other event ever did. By the light of gunfire we are seeing our civilization as it is. Gentlemen who in the past have indorsed this civilization may well be asked what they now think of it.

"Let us look facts in the face. This is a civilization rooted upon the private ownership by a few of what everybody must use. It is a civilization of barter and trade, supply and demand, plunder and profit. It is a civilization in which the few always have the supply and the many always have the demand. It is a civilization that gives the greatest possible incentive to selfishness and the least possible incentive to brotherly love. It says to all of us: 'There is but one law in this world and that is the law of get.' It says to all of us: 'Everything that material earth can offer shall be the prize of those who can get.' Which makes it certain that everything that hell can inflict shall be the punishment of those who can not get. From the cradle to the grave they must be clad in a mantle of fear. They must try to wrest a living from an earth they do not own. They must know the tortures of summer heat and the rigors of winter cold. Everything that poverty and ignorance can do to harry and torment human bodies and human souls is done to them. I often wonder why the disinherited, when they look up into the starry heavens and see some of the 20,000,000 suns, each of which is surrounded by several planets—I often wonder why they do not ask: 'Why did God send us here? Is there no place in the universe where men might live without being preyed upon in peace and butchered in war?'

"We who are Socialists ask you who are defenders of the present system to survey what you have wrought. You say your civilization is based upon Christianity. We are compelled to ask you if you know what Christianity is? Does Christianity mean slums? Does Christianity mean ignorance? Does Christianity mean race hatred? Does Christianity mean Gatling guns for those who strike for more wages? Does Christianity mean Homestead, Ludlow, and Louvain? Does Christianity mean Rockefeller, the Rothschilds, and Morgan? Does Christianity mean battleships, battalions, and bombs dropped from the air? And, if Christianity means none of these things, why do you say this civilization is Christian? Why do you taint the name of Christ by mentioning it in the same breath with the existing industrial order?

"LET US LOOK FACTS IN THE FACE; THIS IS A CIVILIZATION OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND. A FEW ALWAYS HAVE THE SUPPLY, YOU ALWAYS HAVE THE DEMAND. YOU GET ONLY WHAT PROFITS THE FEW.

"You oppose Socialism. You say it would destroy the home. You say it would destroy initiative. You say it would introduce chaos into civilization. What is capitalism doing? Is capitalism breaking up any homes in Europe? Is capitalism destroying any initiative? Is it introducing any chaos? If the public prints may be believed, a war is at this moment in progress in Europe that may conceivably destroy civilization. It is desolating hundreds of thousands of homes. Twenty millions of men are fighting each other with every deadly weapon to which they can lay their hands. Fighting each other for what? Fighting each other that the capitalist groups of some countries may hold their trade and their profits or gain the trade and profits of some other countries. For no other reason under the heavens is this war being fought. In no conceivable circumstances can any gain come to the working class of any of the nations, irrespective of which group of nations may be victorious. Such gain as there may be will be only for the group of capitalists who happen to be upon the winning side.

"Are these the acts of a Christian civilization? Do you believe Christ would set 20,000,000 men fighting to determine which group of capitalists should derive profits from the slaughter? Do you believe Christ would sanction slaughter for profit? Then why do you say your civilization is Christian, bottomed as it is upon the private ownership by a few of what all must use; bottomed as it is upon poverty, profit, and plunder?

"If this civilization is Christian, what would be devilish? If a devil were actually in existence and ruling this world as the capitalists are ruling it, would you approve his acts? If America had produced record-breaking crops, as it has this year, and the masses of the people were yet hard put to get bread for their mouths, would you still say: 'We are indeed ruled by a wise and benevolent devil; I shall vote for his candidates at each opportunity?'

"If the devil denied work to millions of Americans, though all about them were the materials with which they might make themselves comfortable, would you still say, 'By no means must we forsake our grand and noble devil. Without him, God knows what we shall do?'

"And if the devil, to increase his profits, were occasionally to set millions of his subjects to slaughtering each other, would you say, 'Do not blame our dear devil. It is not his fault. His heart bleeds to see us murdering each other, but we are just naturally wicked and stupid enough to do so?' Would such actions be 'Christian,' even if performed by the devil? If not, how can they be Christian when performed by capitalists?

"We Socialists lose no opportunity to paint capitalism black. You who support capitalism often accuse us of indulging in too much denunciation. Will you be kind enough to read what the great spokesmen of capitalism say to each other? Emperor William, in his cablegram to President Wilson, declared that—'After the capture of the French fort of Longwy my troops found in that place thousands of dumdum bullets which had been manufactured in special works by the French Government'; that 'the way in which this war is being waged by my opponents is making it one of the most barbarous in history'; and that the Belgians, like the French, had been guilty of enormous atrocities.

"YOU MAY SAY OUR CIVILIZATION IS BASED ON CHRISTIANITY. WHAT IS CHRISTIANITY? DOES IT MEAN SLUMS? DOES IT MEAN IGNORANCE? DOES IT MEAN FIGHT, WHEN MEN WANT GOOD WAGES?

"At the precise moment when this message was coming under the ocean a commission of Belgians were coming over the ocean to make even worse charges against Germany. And within 36 hours the President of France cabled to President Wilson that every word cabled by the Emperor of Germany was a lie; that Germany herself, 'since the beginning of the war,' had used dumdum bullets, and 'violated daily the law of nations.'

"Now, in the German Emperor we have not an irresponsible German soldier babbling about a rumor that some other soldier may have told him. Nor in the Belgian commission or the President of France have we irresponsible men. Nor do these responsible men qualify their charges by saying that 'it is reported' that dumdum bullets were used or other atrocities committed. Each of these men makes the unqualified charge that his country's enemies are outrageously offending against the law of nations, while the German Emperor says that barbarity of his enemies is 'making this one of the most barbarous wars in history.'

"From these statements there can be but three inferences. One inference is that capitalism in Europe is represented in one or more nations by barbarians. One is that it is represented by liars. The other is that it is represented by both barbarians and liars. We who are Socialists leave this to you who are not Socialists for your consideration.

"The fact is that capitalism is barbaric and mendacious at all times—in peace no less than in war. If you want to see barbarism of the most atrocious kind, go to any great industrial center and observe the conditions that capitalism enforces upon the working class. Go to Gary, Ind., and see the shacks covered with tar paper in which the employees of the prosperous Steel Trust live. Go to the coal-mining regions of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, or Illinois. Go to the mining towns of Michigan or Colorado. Go to the East Side of New York or the stockyards district of Chicago. Go even to the smallest industrial cities and villages and there you will find patient men and women industriously toiling for enough to keep soul and body together. Belgium mourns for but one loved and lost Louvain, but in the heart of almost every working man and woman more than 40 years old is a blackened, desolated city—the ruins of the City of Hope. Barbaric capitalism, for no other reason than to obtain profits, strikes down this city in millions of breasts

and leaves the workers to live from hand to mouth until death closes their eyes.

"Nor is this all. When barbaric capitalism is threatened with the loss of any considerable part of its prey, barbaric capitalism becomes a liar. If a great strike becomes formidable, press agents are hired to flood the country with lies about the strikers. According to these lies, the labor conditions in the strike regions are always 'the best in any similar territory in the country,' with wages the highest and general working conditions the most satisfactory; the strikers are always declared to have been perfectly satisfied with conditions until 'agitators' invaded the region and by threats and violence actually drove the workers out. If trouble occurs, it is always because the strikers attacked the millionaires.

"But why go on with these familiar facts? It is enough to say that capitalism, both in peace and in war, is a liar. Who would take a capitalist's mere word for any sum of money large enough to make it to his interest to break his word? Certainly not any capitalist. When these gentlemen—who know each other—do business with each other everything of importance must be in writing and, if possible, with some sort of forfeit attached. It is not that they are intrinsically bad men, but the system under which they live is bad. It is this system that makes the monarchs of Europe liars or barbarians, or both.

"Never within the lifetime of anyone now living can the world be what it might have been if the capitalist system had been destroyed before it plunged Europe into war. Europe will bind up its wounds, but for many a year it will be a pale, shaken Europe. The blood of a continent can not be drained from its veins without producing a profound effect, both upon the continent and the world.

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"A FEW YEARS AGO YOU SAID THAT THE GOVERNMENT COULD NOT DO SEVERAL THINGS IT IS DOING. IF IT CAN DIG THE PANAMA CANAL FOR COMMERCE, WHY CAN IT NOT BUILD HOUSES FOR HUMAN BEINGS?

"Who can go to the battle fields and pick out and bring back to life the dead Marconis, the dead Edisons, and the dead Watts? Genius is so erratic in choosing its parentage that millions of men, even though they be poor, can not be shot down without danger of snuffing out some star that would have developed into first magnitude. Edison, if he had been a year or two older, might have been killed in the Civil War without anyone suspecting that in the death of this poor Michigan boy the world had lost a genius of the first order.

"If it were only in war that capitalism is murderous, if it were only in war that undiscovered genius is snuffed out before it can bloom, the case for capitalism would still be black, but it would not be so black. While 'Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war,' it is also true under capitalism that peace hath her industrial murders, even more numerous than war.

"Every year capitalism by failure to provide safety appliances, the cost of which would reduce dividends, slays the miners who dig our coal and iron.

"Every year capitalism, by enforcing unjustifiable poverty upon the land, kills 150,000 Americans with tuberculosis (see Report on National Vitality, made to President Roosevelt by Prof. Irving Fisher, of the department of political economy, Yale University), though tuberculosis is purely a preventable disease.

"Every year the scourge of typhoid—the disease that killed Wilbur Wright—goes on, though the means of destroying typhoid are well known.

"Year after year millions are compelled to live in squalor in the great cities, often unable to get work, never able to get any of the comforts nor more than the barest necessities of life, always the prey of the diseases to which their declining vitality and their unwholesome surroundings make them subject.

"Every year millions of the children of the poor are taken from the schools before they have obtained any groundwork of education that is adequate to make them able citizens of a great republic.

"Every year the high schools graduate less than 5 per cent of those who entered the elementary grades, the remaining 95 per cent representing—ordinary mortality excepted—those whom poverty compelled to become breadwinners while they were still children.

"All of these evils are upon us because capitalism is upon us.

"After painful research we have learned how to stamp out tuberculosis, only to discover that we can not apply our knowledge because of the fact that to do so would compel some capitalists to destroy their foul tenements and other capitalists to pay enough wages to enable their employees to maintain their physical efficiency.

"We have learned, after painful research, how to destroy the sources of typhoid infection, only to discover that our knowledge can not be applied without the expenditure of more of the capitalists' money than they are willing to contribute in taxes.

"TALK ABOUT WHAT SOCIALISM MIGHT DO! LOOK AT WHAT CAPITALISM IS DOING. GO TO ANY INDUSTRIAL CENTER AND SEE THE LIVING CONDITIONS IMPOSED UPON WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

"We know how to build sanitary houses and we know how to make food that is not poisoned nor vitiated by the substitution of cheaper, though harmful, ingredients, but our knowledge does us little of the good it might. Every city is largely composed of houses that are palpably unfit for human habitation; the forests and the earth abound with materials with which good houses might be made; the streets swarm with idle men who would gladly earn a living for themselves by building the houses we need. But under the capitalist dispensation these men are not permitted to build houses nor to do anything else; and the same class of men who prevent the idle from doing the work that we need done also fight us tooth and nail if we try to compel them to make food that is fit to eat. Anyone who considers the last statement an exaggeration would do well to communicate with Dr. Wiley. The pure-food cause is making progress, but it is doing so only as it fights and defeats the persistent capitalists who, for no other reason than the desire to increase their profits, are eager to rob, starve, and poison their fellow men.

"What shall we say of a class against which such charges can be truly made? Is civilization based upon this class a Christian civilization? If it were not for the 'right of private property,' which carries with it the desire to profit from the labor of others, none of these charges could be made. The institution of private property is the very heart and soul (if there be heart and soul) of capitalism. Yet it is this institution of private property that, in this country alone, annually kills hundreds of thousands and condemns millions of the working class to an existence that is void of hope and full of misery. The Rev. Holden E. Sampson, of Corpus Christi Church, New York City, even went so far as to declare:

> The war in Europe, the most decimating of all wars in history most probably, is more merciful, less cruel, than peace, as times are. To many thousands it is far better, happier, to die on the battle field than to live in our present "civilization." The death roll of "civilization" is vastly greater than the death roll of all the battle fields the world has ever witnessed.

"All that this gentleman says about the death roll of civilization is true. All of it is important. What are you going to do about it? Do you want it to continue? Are you going to call it 'Christian'? Do you doubt that it will continue so long as the underlying cause continues? Do you doubt that the underlying cause of inadequate wages is the private ownership of the industries that pay the inadequate wages?

"What are you going to do about the school question? You believe in free schools. Why don't you also believe in free school children? Are you willing that nine-tenths of our children shall forever be driven out of school by poverty while they are still in the grammar grades? What kind of citizenship do you expect from ignorance? A republic can be no wiser than its people. What kind of a republic do you expect to rear upon education that is stopped in the grammar grades? How monstrous is a civilization that denies to millions of adults the right to work while compelling children to leave school to work!

"We Socialists tell you that this might be a Nation of happiness in so far as a sufficiency of needed material things can create happiness.

"We tell you that the natural resources of this country, if developed solely for the country's good and without thought of private profit, are sufficient to care for a population of 500,000,000.

"We tell you there is no reason except capitalism why all the men in this country can not be employed all of the time, as we tell you there is no reason except capitalism why any of the children should be hired out to wage slavery any of the time.

"We tell you there is no reason except capitalism why great military establishments should be maintained at the expense of the people or wars fought by the people at their own expense.

"NOW, TAKE THIS HOME TO YOURSELF, COULD SOCIALISM BE WORSE THAN THIS? THE PROFIT SYSTEM HAS PLUNGED THE WORLD, AT CIVILIZATION'S HEIGHT, INTO ITS WORST WAR. COULD ANYTHING BE WORSE?

"By voting against us, you challenge every statement that we make.

"But in the white light of war will you kindly take paper and pencil and point out our errors?

"We want beef. Is there any reason except capitalism why the United States Government could not raise cattle in sufficient numbers and market the beef at the cost of operations? The United States Government is carrying parcels, though a few years ago you said it could not. The United States Government, at an expenditure of $400,000,000, is carrying steamships across the Isthmus of Panama. Why can not the United States Government raise and market beef, dig and market coal, grind wheat and market flour, dig iron and market steel, weave and market cloth, own and operate railways?

"Why can not the United States Government build houses and rent them for a sum that represents only the annual depreciation? Little New Zealand is doing it. The United States can build floating fortresses that cost $10,000,000 each—fortresses in which death is dealt out to human beings. Why can not the United States Government as well build houses in which life and comfort are dealt out to human beings?

"Why can not the United States Government take this tremendous army of unemployed that is now going to worse than waste and set it to work raising beef, weaving cloth, operating trains, and producing those things of which we stand so much in need?

"To say that the United States Government, if permitted to do so, could not do all of these things and more is to say that the United States Government is administered by fools. Such is not the fact. The United States Government is administered by men far above the average in intelligence. But the United States Government is also administered by men who are pledged to the support of the capitalist system. If these gentlemen did not so believe they would not have the Government in their charge.

"It is no answer to the foregoing questions to say that Mr. Wilson and his associates are wise men and that, if it were well to perform the acts herein suggested, they would perform them. The administrators of every system have always supported the system. The leading savages supported head-hunting. The leading barbarians supported barbarism. The nobles and the kings supported feudalism. But such civilization as we now have is due to the fact that, one after another, savagry, barbarism, and feudalism were banished from our part of the world. Moreover, they were banished not by the leaders—they were banished by the people who refused longer to be led by such leaders. They were banished and the world was made better by lowly men who, to the marrow of their bones, felt that the things the wise men indorsed were evils of the vilest sort.

"We Socialists make a practice of taking nothing for granted. We accept nothing merely because it is. We have some sort of knowledge of the route by which humanity has emerged from the jungle, and we know that the thing that is impossible can be done. The thing that is impossible has always been done. Only by the doing of things declared to be impossible has the human race advanced a foot. Edison himself told me that when he set out to make a dynamo that Ohm's law—a formula laid down by a great German electrician—made the creation of a dynamo for commercial purposes impossible, or, at least, so he was informed by electricians, who advised him to save his time. Edison had no respect whatever for Ohm's law. He determined to prove it no law. He did it. You tell us that the people of the United States, acting through their Government, can not feed, clothe, and house themselves. We frankly say we do not believe you. By the power of our press and the men in our trenches we are going to drive you from your position. We are strong in the sense that we have right on our side and the needs of humanity upon our side. We will not be denied. By constant reiteration, by constant agitation, we will yet make the reasonableness of our demands so apparent that no well-disposed man or woman will think of challenging us.

"YOU SAY THAT WE, ACTING THROUGH OUR GOVERNMENT CAN NOT FEED, CLOTHE, AND HOUSE OURSELVES UNLESS SOMEBODY MAKES MONEY OUT OF IT. WHY? ANSWER THAT HONESTLY AND SATISFACTORILY TO YOURSELF.

"We are in this fight to stay—every one of us—and we are going to stay until the undertaker puts us away. In our fight against needless poverty and the capitalist power that makes needless poverty we feel that we are engaged in as holy an undertaking as ever called men to action. We are resolved to be true to the end.

"We hope the end will not be too long delayed. The human race has within it possibilities altogether too splendid to be wasted in the wars and woes of capitalism. We ask you to help us realize those possibilities. We ask you to come into counsel with us. We ask you to come with an open mind. We ask you to bristle with interrogation points as we ourselves bristle with interrogation points. We are eager to defend and explain. But, above all, we ask you to consider the God of things as they are, as Edison considered Ohm's law. Don't come incrusted in the past. Be willing to look out and look up. Whether you help or not, the world is going to move on. With your help it will move on more quickly, but without your help it will move on. The processes of evolution have not stopped. The world is not finished. Indeed, it is hardly begun.

"In a little while at longest you will be dead. The gentle rain at night will patter down upon your earthen roof and the morning sun will seek you out in vain. In a little while nothing that you have done will remain to show that you ever lived.

"Before that time comes do something for humanity!"

First Message of Gov. James E. Ferguson to the Texas Legislature.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTIN DIES,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 25, 1915.

Mr. DIES. Mr. Speaker, I have just read the first message of Gov. James E. Ferguson to the Texas Legislature, and it contains some observations that are so sensible, so practical, and so timely that I venture to ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by having an extract from the message printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The message is as follows:

"The government of Texas was, in the wisdom of the fathers, divided into three branches—the executive, the legislative, the judicial. It was wisely intended by those early pioneer statesmen that these three departments should be separate and supreme, and the rights and privileges of one should never be invaded by the others. Before we enter upon the momentous duties before us I deem it well for us at this time to again revive, renew, and reconsecrate our belief and respect for these sacred provisions of our organic law.

"I pledge myself to a strict observance of the rule. Acting only under the constitutional duty resting on the governor of the State, do I transmit for your consideration those matters which pertain to the condition of the State, necessary legislation, and the expenditure of the public money.

"No previous legislature has ever assembled under just such peculiar conditions and environments.

"The country is confronted with grave problems arising at home and abroad. We are to-day face to face with the mysterious spectacle of our people having raised and gathered a bounteous harvest, and yet distressing disasters disturb and deter us. In other words, we are broke with a pocket full of money. What are the causes? At once you say the low price of cotton. To a great degree this is true. But that is not all. Then you say the high cost of living. To a great degree this is true. But that is not all. Then you say the foreign war, and this is true. But that is not all.

"There are evils the cause of which is not to be found in the low price of cotton, the high cost of living, or the horrors of war.

LIVING BEYOND OUR MEANS.

"Let us again turn to first principles. Can the average man to-day, who finds his troubles enveloping him, conscientiously say to himself, 'I have spent less than I have made. I have bought less than I could pay for. I have lived within my means. I have been frugal and economical. I have been free from wasteful and riotous living. I have made investments in reasonable proportion to my own worth'?

"No people who do not recognize and respect these simple truths can ever survive misfortune, let alone rise to prosperity and affluence.

"We must start again and start aright. As a lawmaking body, you will be beset and besieged by persons and petitions seeking in different forms and ways to cure these simple evils by legislation.

"No law can be passed that will provide against wasteful extravagance, excessive expenditure, or incorrect living.

"The Government can do much to protect property, but only the individual can produce property. The Government can do much to aid in the marketing of crops. But the individual must produce the crop. The Government can do much to see that

there is a fair division between those who labor and those who do not, but the Government can produce no actual values. You, as a legislature, can regulate many things, but you can not produce wealth by statute.

"The public must sooner or later learn that the Government is not an apple tree whose fruit can be plucked at will and resupplied by nature. The Government is the people, and whatever burdens the Government must in the last analysis burden the people.

"I have great respect for your knowledge of these principles, and I am sure you will not consume your time in the consideration of legislation which is impractical or extravagant or beyond the province of your function."

Carl Schurz on Peace and War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY,

OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 26, 1915.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a speech delivered by Carl Schurz on "Peace and war."

The speech is as follows:

CARL SCHURZ ON PEACE AND WAR.

Carl Schurz, a distinguished American of German birth and education, a revolutionist at home, a soldier in America, addressed a meeting favorable to arbitration April 22, 1896, immediately following our difficulties with England following Cleveland's Venezuelan message. In that address Mr. Schurz said:

"As an American citizen I can not contemplate this noble peace mission of my country without a thrill of pride. And, I must confess, it touches me like an attack upon the dignity of this Republic when I hear Americans repudiate that peace mission upon the ground of supposed interests of the United States requiring for their protection or furtherance preparation for war-like action and the incitement of a fighting spirit among our people. To judge from the utterances of some men having the public ear, we are constantly threatened by the evil designs of rival or secretly hostile powers that are eagerly watching every chance to humiliate our self-esteem, to insult our flag, to balk our policies, to harass our commerce, and even to threaten our very independence, and putting us in imminent danger of discomfiture of all sorts, unless we stand with sword in hand in sleepless watch and cover the seas with warships and picket the islands of every ocean with garrisoned outposts, and surround ourselves far and near with impregnable fortresses. What a poor idea those indulging in such talk have of the true position of their country among the nations of the world!

"A little calm reflection will convince every unprejudiced mind that there is not a single power, nor even an imaginable combination of powers, on the face of the globe that can wish—I might almost say that can afford—a serious quarrel with the United States. There are very simple reasons for this. A war in our days is not a mere matter of military skill, nor even—as it would certainly not be in our case—a mere matter of preparation for the first onset. It is a matter of material resources, of reserves, of staying power. Now, considering that in all these respects our means are substantially inexhaustible and that the patriotic spirit and the extraordinary ingenuity of our people would greatly aid their development in the progress of a conflict; considering that, however grievous the injuries a strong hostile navy might inflict upon us at the beginning of a war, it could not touch a vital point, as on land we would be immensely superior to any army that could be brought upon our shores; considering that thus a war with the United States, as a test of endurance, would, so far as our staying power is concerned, be a war of indefinite duration; considering all these things, I am justified in saying that no European power can engage in such a conflict with us without presenting to its rivals in the Old World the most tempting opportunity for hostile action. And no European power will do this unless forced by extreme necessity. For the same reason no European power will, even if it were so inclined, insist upon doing anything injurious to our interests that might lead to a war with the United States. We may, therefore, depend upon it with absolute assurance that, whether we are armed or not, no European power will seek a quarrel with us; that, on the contrary, they will avoid such a quarrel with the utmost care; that we can not have a war with any of them unless we wantonly and persistently seek such a war; and that they will respect our rights and comply with all our demands, if just and proper, in the way of friendly agreement.

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"In the face of these indisputable facts we hear the hysterical cries of alarmists who scent behind every rock or bush a foreign foe standing, with dagger in hand, ready to spring upon us and to rob us of our valuables, if not to kill us outright, or at least making faces at us and insulting the Stars and Stripes. Is not this constant and eager looking for danger or insult where neither exists very like that melancholy form of insanity called persecution mania, which is so extremely distressing to the sufferers and their friends? We may heartily commiserate the unfortunate victims of so dreadful an affliction; but surely the American people should not take such morbid hallucinations as a reason for giving up that inestimable blessing of not being burdened with large armaments and for embarking upon a policy of warlike preparation and bellicose bluster.

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"I have seen war; I have seen it with its glories and its horrors; with its noble emotions and its bestialities; with its exaltations and triumphs and its unspeakable miseries and baneful corruptions; and I say to you, I feel my blood tingle with indignation when I hear the flippant talk of war as if it were only a holiday pastime or an athletic sport. We are often told that there are things worse than war. Yes; but not many. He deserves the curse of mankind who, in the exercise of power, forgets that war should be only the very last resort, even in contending for a just and beneficent end, after all the resources of peaceful methods are thoroughly exhausted. As an American, proud of his country and anxious that this Republic should prove itself equal to the most glorious of its opportunities, I can not but denounce as a wretched fatuity that so-called patriotism which will not remember that we are the envy of the whole world for the priceless privilege of being exempt from the oppressive burden of warlike preparations, which, when it sees other nations groaning under that load, tauntingly asks, 'Why do you not disarm?' and then insists that the American people, too, shall put the incubus of heavy armament on their backs, and which would drag this Republic down from its high degree of the championship of peace among nations and degrade it to the vulgar level of the bully, ready and eager for a fight.

"We hear much of the necessity of an elaborate system of coast fortifications to protect our seaports from assault. How far such a system may be desirable I will not here discuss. But I am confident our strongest, most effective, most trustworthy, and infinitely the cheapest coast defense will consist in 'Fort Justice,' 'Fort Good Sense,' 'Fort Self-respect,' 'Fort Good Will,' and, if international differences really do arise, 'Fort Arbitration.'

"Let no one accuse me of resorting to the clap-trap of the stump speech in discussing this grave subject. I mean exactly what I say, and am solemnly in earnest. This Republic can have no other armament as effective as the weapons of peace. Its security, its influence, its happiness, and its glory will be the greater the less it thinks of war. Its moral authority will be far more potent than the heavy squadrons and the big guns of others. And this authority will, in its intercourse with foreign nations, be best maintained by that justice which is the duty of all; by that generous regard not only for the rights but also the self-respect of others, which is the distinguishing mark of the true gentleman; and by that patient forbearance which is the most gracious virtue of the strong."

Army Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, January 23, 1915.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, this bill is a great disappointment to me. It carries recognitions which it had been my earnest hope it would not present. It is not so much the money which it appropriates, though this is far in excess of any real need; it is the implications which run through almost every paragraph—implications of militaristic expansion, of wider military activities, of preparation against some need which all of us should pray God may never arise.

Nor are its implications its most unfortunate feature. What grieves me most and most alarms is the yielding it shows to the warlike spirit which animates the jingo press and the jingo propaganda which is fanning the country into a flame over the "unpreparedness" of the Republic. Instead of presenting a determined front to the men who would force the people of the United States into a sort of armed camp, it so far defers to their clamor that on practically every controverted point the argument is surrendered to the advocates of martial aggrandizement. It is to be lamented and most deeply deplored that these evangels of darkness were not given an answer which they would have understood and which the country and the world would have interpreted as a high assurance that the United States is not to repeat the monstrous blunder which was responsible for the immitigable horror which now enshrouds our brethren across the sea.

Mr. Speaker, I said on this floor some months ago, soon after the conflagration broke out in Europe, that it was the inevitable climax to an era of preparation. For 40 years the activities of European nations had tended irresistibly toward war. Great fighting machines had been laboriously built up at staggering cost. The people had been sedulously filled with thoughts of bloodshed. From infancy to manhood there had been instilled into all lives the poison which we here and now are instilling into the lives of our sons. In the name of patriotism, in the name of king or kaiser, in the name of motherland or fatherland, the warlike spirit had been invoked. It was in terms of battle and sudden death that youth was taught. Patriotism came to mean in the common mind a bloody conflict with some enemy. In the perverted fancy of misguided peoples it became sweeter and nobler to die for one's country than to live for it and serve it in the quiet walks of peace.

Mr. Speaker, how many people in the United States stop to realize with what rapid strides we have been progressing

toward the very precipice from which Europe has leaped into a caldron of blood and fire? It was only a few years ago when our standing Army numbered but 25,000 men. To-day it numbers 100,000; and the tendency is toward a further augmentation of this fighting force. In addition to the standing Army we have a militia force of 120,000 men at the command of a hotspur President, if there were one in the White House, which, thank God, there is not. Our Navy has grown in even greater and more menacing proportions, and its cost has reached almost unbelievable figures. But is jingoism content? Has it been in the least satiated in its appetite for preparedness by the hundreds of millions which have been poured out in profligate measure to meet its demands? Not at all. Its hunger is keener than ever. It is more rapacious, more insistent, more callous to all pleadings of moderation. The horse leech's daughter was no match for jingoism. She was a princess of modest abstinence by comparison.

This bill carries appropriations of more than $100,000,000. It adds just $1 to the tax burden of every living soul in this Republic. To every family it means an outgo of $5. For what? What is the present or the prospective return? What service to the man on the farm, in the mill, in the factory, in the forest, in the mine is to be rendered for this huge expenditure? Can *anyone tell*? We are taking 100,000 men, the flower of our young manhood, from gainful occupations and herding them in camp and barrack to rust in something worse than idleness, to pursue rounds of duty, to be sure, but to what useful end? At the close of the year who is the richer, by how much is the wealth of the world increased, to what extent has society been really benefited? These 100,000 men in gainful employments at the end of the year would have to their credit a wealth production of more than $60,000,000. As it is they represent to society an unrequited outgo of an equal or greater sum. The country is $60,000,000 or perhaps $100,000,000 poorer by reason of their withdrawal from the productive channels from which they were recruited and in which they would have remained but for the glaring and deceptive posters which challenge the eye in every city and almost every town of the land.

But we are told that this Army of unemployed men is a guaranty of peace. It is likened to the police force of the city. But who is roaming about with burglarious intent through our domain while we slumber in peace under the domestic roof? Who is robbing our henroosts or invading our cellars? Who is hiding at dark corners to pounce upon us as we wend our way homeward by night? Where is the marauder who would disturb our rest and terrorize our little ones but for the watchful guardian of the peace whom we have armed with a rifle and clothed in a uniform? As a matter of fact, the standing army has little likeness to our police. Since the civil conflict of 50 years ago it has been employed very little except in wanton acts of aggression, for we now see that even the excursion to free Cuba had an ulterior aim. Beyond Cuba lay the Philippines and the Orient.

The propaganda which inflamed the people of this country with a passionate zeal to break the clutch of decrepit Spain on the Queen of the Antilles permitted no pent-up Utica to confine its vision. It had nothing more modest than the exploitation of the untouched Chinese Empire as the goal of its ambition. There were 400,000,000 of people in that Flowery Kingdom without a street car, without a telephone, without an electric light, without a modern water supply, and almost without a railroad. Was it not worthy of a Whitney and his associates that they should have planned far ahead with the thought in *their minds of* the illimitable possibilities there awaiting development? But it was clear to them, as it must be clear to us now in the retrospect, that some such event as the Boxer uprising of 1900 would have to be encountered, and that if exploitation was to succeed it must have adequate forces to defend their interest. A Philippine base was essential to the success of their dream of industrial and economic empire.

However, this is of the past. Jingoism since that day has shifted its ground. It is thinking less in 1915 of exploiting the Orient than it was prior to 1898. Mexico and the islands of the sea are perhaps more alluring. But the pretense is maintained that we have some foe to fear, some enemy with savage designs upon our soil, some commercial antagonist who is plotting in the dark to destroy us when the opportune moment shall arrive. And all this militaristic preparation is justified on this shadowy ground. Of course we shall get into only such trouble as we may invite. No one is hungering for our land as we seem to have hungered for the land of the Filipino. No one is challenging us by land or by sea. The whole world is on neighborly terms with us. There is not a power on earth which would dream of conquest where we are concerned, cut off from every one of them by thousands of miles of salt water. Yet we are spending more money in preparation than any other country on earth and maintaining an evangel of "preparedness," which has been extended to every town and village and through the schools into every home in the land.

Mr. Speaker, it is reassuring to find, however, that in some of the schools at least this evangel is meeting with a challenge. I have in mind that body of students in Columbia University led by my young friend and constituent, John H. Cover, '15. Early in December last this young patriot joined with other young men in the great university of equal patriotism in a movement which culminated in a mass meeting called to protest against the growing spirit of militarism manifest in the country. This protest was evoked more particularly by propositions lately put forth looking to military instruction in all the colleges and schools of the country. At the Columbia mass meeting the resolution which follows was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That we, the students of Columbia University, in mass meeting assembled, hereby go on record before Congress and the people of the United States as opposed to militarism in general and an increase in our Army and Navy in particular.

These young patriots of Columbia were not content, however, with meeting and resolving. They set about with all the zeal and energy of youth to enlist the young men in other like institutions in the movement for disarmament and peace. The work of organizing to this end is already in progress, and there is a response to the call of Columbia from other seats of learning which may well encourage John Cover and his colaborers in a worthy cause. At another mass meeting of Columbia students held January 15 the following was adopted, also by unanimous vote:

Whereas the futility of armed peace as a preventive for war has been clearly demonstrated by the present war in Europe; and
Whereas it is especially desirable at this time that the United States should adopt a friendly, rather than a hostile, attitude toward all nations: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, students of Columbia University, in mass meeting assembled January 15, 1915, while not opposing any movement to increase the efficiency of our present military force, do hereby declare ourselves to be in favor of the follow proposals:

1. Limitation of the country's naval and military armament to its present size.
2. Discontinuance of drill duty and summer drill camps for college men.
3. Abandonment of the proposed citizen army.
4. Government ownership of all factories making munitions of war.
5. Prohibition of the exportation of munitions of war having as their ultimate destination warring nations.
6. Prohibition of the granting of war loans by American capital.
7. Approval of President Wilson's stand in resisting American militarism.
8. Direction of human energies into channels of constructive citizenship instead of war.

To this program we invite the cooperation of all college students and of all persons who are in sympathy with the movement against militarism.

Resolutions were also adopted indorsing President Wilson's Mexican policy, "because we believe he has worked to preserve American lives rather than to make profitable Mexican property owned by American capitalists," and urging our Government "to call a conference of representative delegates from other nations to discuss possible measures for the promotion of international interests and the prevention of warfare."

How much better engaged are these young men, Mr. Speaker, who are thinking and acting in terms of peace, than those in school and out who are thinking and acting in terms of warfare! These are finer and truer patriots by far than those who devote their light and their learning to thoughts of strife and to preparation for troubles invited by the preparation. I take heart of hope from this brave work of really brave young men in Columbia and elsewhere who are preaching the gospel of amity and who are helping to bring about that era of which the poet sings:

When the armies of earth are disbanded,
And their trappings are coated with dust;
When the musket forever is silenced,
And the cannon is cankered with rust;
When the sword and the helmet lie tarnished,
'Mid the rubbish of pomp and display—
We shall 'wake to the glorious dawning,
Of the promised millennial day.

And that day shall bring joy to the nations;
And the glow of its generous light
Shall invade the morasses of darkness
And dispel the miasmas of night.
And the empire of right shall be founded
And the sway of its scepter increased,
Till mankind shall stand shoulder to shoulder
In the ranks, not of war, but of peace.

And the throne of oppression shall crumble,
And the heart of the tyrant shall quake;
And the haughty shall learn to be humble,
And the mighty their mockings forsake.
And the spirit of truth shall reign o'er us,
And humanity's banner float free,
Till Immanuel's message be wafted
To the uttermost isles of the sea.

Army Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LUTHER W. MOTT,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 22, 1915,

On the bill (H. R. 20347) making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916.

Mr. MOTT. Mr. Speaker, a large military force will, I hope, never be needed in the United States. Our geographical position should count for a million armed men who would otherwise be needed, and our traditional foreign policy, though I believe this is now menaced by the proposal to violate the neutrality laws, in spirit, at least, by buying ships from the nations at war, is a source of protection. But we must have trained soldiers, guns, and ammunition enough to protect ourselves. The peace propagandists are honestly and faithfully endeavoring to do a great work, but we know how much it availed in Europe. I hoped the Army appropriation bill this year would in some way reflect the growing feeling that we should take some heed of the lessons we can learn from the European war—the lesson that we must always have the fear of war in times of peace—but apparently there is no change in the policy of those responsible for the maintenance of the Army.

Four thousand miles of border between this country and the Dominion of Canada have been practically undefended for a hundred years, and show that two great nations can live in neighborly friendliness; but for months and years we have had camps and forts on our southern frontier, and there has been many a night in the last two years when we have expected the order to go out for our troops to cross the boundary for one purpose or another. We have grown accustomed to thinking that our Regular Army was inadequate in numbers for an emergency, and we have been hoping against hope that the emergency might never come. We can never expect with our American ideals to have a Regular Army large enough for the purpose of defense. Under our present system of recruiting we could never get a great army in times of peace, and conscription would never do in our free country. There are bills pending to increase various branches, such as the Coast Artillery, but the increases proposed are comparatively small, and it is safe to say that our Regular Army must remain as it is now, with but little change.

If our Regular Army is not to be greatly increased, then it is obvious we must depend on our citizen soldiers. This we have done in the past with good success, but it has been because they have fought against enemies with but little, if any, more training than our men have had. Our training of volunteers has been done after war was declared. We can never do this again. It is true, as an eminent speaker on peace has said, that a million men would instantly answer a call for volunteers if that number should be demanded, but they would be almost useless when we contrast them with the soldiers of the countries we might contend against. Their soldiers would be ready when war was declared. While we were thinking of war, the armed battalions of our possible enemies would be waiting for the word to march or entrain. The position of Great Britain at the outbreak of the present war should carry its lesson to us. With all the immense resources of that great country four months after war was declared Great Britain had only in the field her regular army with small bodies of her trained militia. But had Great Britain been invaded, and it is only because of her navy that she has not been, she would have been as helpless as we would be could a foreign power land an invading army on either coast.

Many plans have been suggested as to how we can have a trained force ready for defense and yet not keep them under arms all the time as a part of the Regular Army. Some plan we should adopt now. We should not wait as we did in the case of the War with Spain. The public demands a plan which will be the most effective and the least expensive. With this in view, I have introduced a bill which I believe is warthy of study and discussion. The bill is H. R. 21095 and is as follows:

A bill (H. R. 21095) to increase the military strength of the United States.

Be it enacted, etc., That hereafter the land forces of the United States shall consist of the Regular Army, the National Army, the Organized Land Militia when in the service of the United States, and the Volunteer Army when authorized by Congress.

SEC. 2. That the President may organize a corps, to be known as the "ensign corps," to consist of not greater than two companies of Infantry, two troops of Cavalry, one company of Coast Artillery, and one battery of Field Artillery; said companies, troops, and battery to be organized as is now provided by law, except that the President may authorize not exceeding 10 additional privates of the first class in each company, troop, or battery to be used as laborers or cooks' assistants; that all enlisted men above the rank of private shall be enlisted as prescribed by law, except that the privates of the companies, troops, or battery of said ensign corps shall be enlisted for one year, unmarried, and be between the ages of 21 and 27 years, said privates to be graduates of some standard college or university, or be able to pass an examination which may be prescribed by the President; that the officers shall be detailed from the corresponding grades, arm, and corps of the Regular Army: *Provided*, That at the end of one year's enlistment such privates of the ensign corps who are recommended by their superior officers and who so desire will be examined. Those found qualified may be commissioned by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, as third lieutenants in the Regular Army for the term of one year: *Provided further*, That at the end of one year such third lieutenants as may be recommended by their commanding officer and who so desire will be examined. Those found qualified may be commissioned by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, as second lieutenants in the Regular Army to fill such vacancies as may exist after the West Point graduating class of that year have been commissioned: *And provided further*, That such third lieutenants that have qualified as second lieutenants in the Regular Army and are not commissioned as second lieutenants may be commissioned as officers in the National Army or in the Volunteer Army: *And provided further*, That the commissions as third lieutenants may be terminated at will by the President: *And provided further*, That no person shall be enlisted as a private in the ensign corps for more than one enlistment or be commissioned more than once as a third lieutenant: *And provided further*, That the pay of a third lieutenant shall be $1,200 per annum, with the allowances of a second lieutenant.

SEC. 3. That the National Army shall be raised, organized, and maintained as is hereinafter provided; that in time of peace the National Army shall consist of not more than 600 enlisted men in any one congressional district or 2,000 enlisted men in the District of Columbia or in the Territory of Hawaii; that the term of enlistment in said National Army shall be the same as the Regular Army, exclusive of the reserve period; that the qualifications of members of the National Army shall be prescribed by the President; that the members of the National Army shall be assigned to the different arms, corps, or departments as may be prescribed by the President; that the different arms, corps, or departments shall be organized with units, the same as is now provided by law for the units of the same arm, corps, or departments of the Regular Army, except that the companies of the Coast Artillery shall be organized into regiments corresponding to an Infantry regiment; that, when the military conditions so require, the President may organize the Regular Army and the National Army, together or separately, into brigades, divisions, and such higher units as he may deem necessary, and the composition of units higher than a regiment shall be as he may prescribe; that when brigades, divisions, and other higher units are organized the officers required to command such organizations will be detailed by the President from the general officers of the line of the Regular Army or the colonels of the line of the Regular Army or of the National Army, to serve four years, unless sooner relieved by the President, and while so serving shall receive the rank, pay, and allowances of the grade to which they are detailed; that the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall commission all officers of the National Army; that the President may appoint staff officers in the various staff corps or departments, the proportionate strength of regular officers of the corresponding grade as established by law for the corresponding staff corps or departments of the Regular Army; that the President may appoint a chaplain, not exceeding one for each regiment of Infantry, Cavalry, Coast and Field Artillery, with the rank to correspond to that established by law for chaplains of the Regular Army; that the President may appoint not exceeding five line officers of the Regular Army not below the rank of captain as field officers in the different regiments of the National Army; that the officers of the Regular Army commissioned as field officers in the National Army shall have the same rank, pay, and allowances of corresponding grades of the Regular Army; that the line officers so appointed shall be from the same arm or corps of the Regular Army to which they are appointed in the National Army; that the officers of the Regular Army may be appointed in time of peace for four years, unless sooner relieved by the President; that no officer of the Regular Army shall serve in the National Army in time of peace more than four years out of the preceding six years; that officers appointed under this act as field officers in the National Army shall be subject to the provisions of section 27 of the act approved February 2, 1901, with reference to details to the staff corps; that the officers of the Regular Army appointed field officers in the regiments of the National Army shall be in addition to the 200 extra officers authorized by the act of Congress approved March 11, 1911: *Provided*, That not more than 1,000 officers of the Regular Army may be detailed in time of peace on duty with the National Army at one time; that the pay of the enlisted men serving in the National Army shall be 20 per cent of the pay of enlisted men holding the same grade in the Regular Army; that at maneuvers or when in the service of the United States his pay shall be the same as the pay of the enlisted men holding the same grade and length of service in the Regular Army; that when in the service of the United States his allowances will be the same as is provided for the enlisted men of the Regular Army: *Provided further*, That in time of peace his allowance for clothing shall not exceed the value of $15 annually; that when any enlisted man of the National Army qualifies as marksman or better he shall be paid an additional $2 a month; that whenever in the opinion of the War Department any first sergeant, quartermaster sergeants, or cooks belonging to the National Army are deemed qualified for their positions, and will devote such time to their duties as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War, they shall receive the pay and allowances allowed by law for the same grade in the Regular Army; that the pay of officers serving in the National Army shall be 15 per cent of the pay of officers holding the same grade and length of service in the Regular Army; that at maneuvers, or when in the service of the United States, their pay and allowances shall be the same as for the same grade in the Regular Army; that all service in the Regular Army, National Army, the Volunteer Service, and Organized Militia shall be counted when computing the length of service of enlisted men in the National Army; that all service as officers of the Regular Army, National Army, the Volunteer Service, and the Organized Militia shall be counted when computing the length of service of officers of the National Army; that any member of the National Army furnishing any suitable mount, artillery horse, or draft animal to be used by the National Army during maneuvers shall receive $2 per day for the use of each animal furnished;

that in case of injury, damage, or death of any animal caused while in the service of the United States the owner shall be duly compensated therefor; that any officer or soldier belonging to an organization mounted upon motor cycles who shall furnish his own motor cycle while at maneuvers shall receive $2 a day for the use of said motor cycle; that the United States shall furnish the necessary oil and gasoline for the use of said motor cycle during maneuvers: *And provided further*, That when the Organized Militia of any State has reached a standard of efficiency as may be prescribed by the President, and the total enlisted strength of said Organized Militia is equal to or greater than 75 per cent of the number of enlisted men required to be raised in said State under this act the President may, upon the application of the governor thereof, exempt the said State from the provisions of this section of this act.

SEC. 4. That the National Army may be called into the service of the United States when deemed necessary by the President: *Provided*, That the restrictions placed by law for use of the Regular Army shall apply to the National Army: *Provided further*, That the National Army shall not be called out to suppress insurrection or rebellion or to enforce the law unless the available forces of the Regular Army are deemed insufficient: *Provided further*, That for the purpose of training the President may call out the National Army not to exceed 21 days of each calendar year.

SEC. 5. That the Organized Militia shall be as is now constituted by law: *Provided*, That when any company, troop, or battery, or other organization authorized by law reaches a standard of efficiency as may be prescribed by the President, such men and officers of said company, troop, battery, or other organization authorized by law shall receive the pay and allowances authorized by this act to the National Army.

SEC. 6. That the Volunteer Army shall be as now constituted by law: *Provided*, That any person in time of peace who passes an examination as may be prescribed by the President, or who has as a third lieutenant been found qualified as a second lieutenant in the Army, may be commissioned in time of peace in any grade below the rank of major for which he is qualified in the Volunteer Army: *Provided further*, That no pay or allowances will be paid to said officers unless they are called into active service by an act of Congress.

SEC. 7. That the National Army, Organized Land Militia, when in the service of the United States, and the Volunteer Army, when authorized by Congress, shall be subject to the laws, orders, and regulations governing the Regular Army, in so far as such laws, orders, and regulations are applicable to officers or enlisted men whose permanent retention in the military service, either on the active list or on the retired list, is not contemplated by existing laws; and no distinction shall be made between the Regular, National Army, Organized Land Militia when in the service of the United States, and the Volunteer Army in respect of promotion or to the conferring upon officers or enlisted men of brevet rank medals of honor, certificates of merit, or other rewards for distinguished service; nor in respect to the eligibility of any officer of said armies or militia for service upon any court-martial, court of inquiry, or military commission.

NEW METHOD OF TRAINING OFFICERS.

It is not men to fight we would need in time of war so much as it would be officers to train and lead them. We would have untrained men by the thousands, but no leaders. In section 2 of this bill an ensign corps is provided. This is made up of unmarried men between the ages of 21 and 27. They are only enlisted for a year, and must be graduates of a standard college or university or able to pass an examination prescribed by the President. They will be trained by officers detailed from the Regular Army, and at the end of the year those who have done satisfactory work and are qualified will be examined. If they pass this examination satisfactorily, they will be commissioned for a year as third lieutenants in the Army. At the end of this second year they may be examined to fill vacancies in the list of second lieutenants, just as candidates from civil life are now. If there are not enough vacancies to go around, they may be commissioned in the National Army, for which provision is made later. This system gives a much better method of working for a commission than does the present habit of enlisting in the ranks of a regular company, where 95 per cent of the privates never hope or expect to rise above the grade of noncommissioned officer.

DEFECTS OF THE PRESENT VOLUNTEER SYSTEM.

Should Congress authorize the calling of volunteers at the present time there would be few outside of the service who could recruit them, much less train and organize them, and it would be weeks before anything could be done, as officers would have to be selected and instructed in what to do. The task of selecting officers would alone be stupendous, and there would be little chance of knowing whether the men selected were competent until it would be too late.

It can easily be shown there is no comparison between the two methods. Take an example: Under the system prepared we will assume that in every community there are many men capable of leading troops, and that some of them have been sought out in time of peace, commissioned and instructed in examining and determining the qualifications of recruits, also in organizing and training them. When Congress calls for volunteers the War Department issues the necessary orders and the work begins.

Take the system we now have. Again we will assume that in every community there are many men capable of leading troops, but few know who they are; certainly not the War Department, for it has had no reason to seek them out. When Congress calls for volunteers the War Department is at sea, for it knows no one to call upon to recruit and train them. Of course thousands will offer their services, but much time will be lost determining the fitness of the different applicants. After a time the officers needed will be chosen. We will assume they are the same men chosen under the first method; yet though the need may be great, little can be accomplished, as the officers will not have been instructed in their duties. It will be noticed that in both cases we have chosen the same men, yet the difference is marked because in the first case they know what to do, and in the second case they do not, which is only natural, for why should a man keep up with military training when he has no reason to believe that his services will ever be needed or even desired?

NEED OF A TRAINED FORCE.

States are friendly just so long as their interests do not conflict, and no country is justified in determining the size of its military force because of these relations. The size of an army should be fixed by a country's foreign policy, geographical position, and its vulnerability to attack. A nation that is not aggressive and its position is such that an attack is improbable does not need an army the size of one which is trying to extend its domain or whose boundaries are open to invasion. We are not an aggressive Nation, and are so situated that our neighbors both north and south are weak, while the ocean lies between us and the other great powers. Yet we can easily be invaded on account of the enormous extent of our coast line. The Navy will be our chief protection; but it may be swept from the seas by a combination of two or more great countries.

In modern times battles are often fought before war is declared. If we are ever attacked, plans will be completed in every detail long before hostilities have begun. Transports will be loaded and ready to sail the instant the sea is clear of our ships; and when it is, it will not be long before an invasion will be attempted. The place selected will naturally be near one or more of our great coast cities, but out of range of the forts guarding them, where, if a landing is made, the fortifications can easily be taken, as there is no protection from the rear. With a coast city in the hands of the enemy and the harbor and docks at their disposal, a large army can be landed without hindrance or delay.

To prevent such a catastrophe we must have a trained mobile army of sufficient size. As I have shown, a regular army large enough for this purpose is impracticable, and therefore we must depend upon trained citizen soldiers to supply the deficiency. To do this we can either use the militia or create a new force under that section of the Constitution that gives Congress the power to raise and support armies.

THE PRESENT ORGANIZED MILITIA.

In framing the Constitution of the United States the makers evidently intended that there should be but one naval force, and that to be controlled by the Federal Government. The land forces were of two kinds, one to be organized and controlled by Congress and the other, called militia, to be raised by the several States. At this time most of the States were sparsely settled, and many contained bands of hostile Indians. Due to the slowness of transportation, it was necessary to have a force at their disposal to meet any emergency that might arise. The use of the militia by the Federal Government was also allowed, for the Constitution provides that Congress may call them out to enforce the law, suppress insurrections and rebellion, and to repel invasion. To insure uniformity, it also provides for its training and organization, and also to make laws governing it when called into the service of the United States.

It will be noticed that while Congress may prescribe the training, the training itself is left to the State. That this is often neglected is shown by the last report of the head of the Division of Militia Affairs. From the wording of the Constitution it can be easily seen that the States have supreme power over the militia when it is not in the service of the United States, and Congress has no power to enforce them to train or even appoint the necessary officers.

In the War of 1812 Congress did not avail itself of the power given it by the Constitution to raise and support armies, except in a limited extent, but decided to use the State militia instead. This decision was most unfortunate, as is shown by the history of that time. The militia of that period was composed of the best men of the land, and their failure can only be charged to the lack of training given them by the States and the dual control exercised over them by their State and the Federal Government. An order given by one was often revoked by the other, and on one occasion Massachusetts and Connecticut refused to furnish any militia, while Vermont would not allow them to leave its boundaries. At another time they refused to enter Canada, claiming that they could only be used for repelling invasion and not for the purpose of invading.

Due to our experiences in this war and the various Indian wars of that period Congress decided at the outbreak of the Mexican War to use only such troops as it raised, and the army

sent to Mexico was composed of Volunteers and Regulars. The contrast between these two wars is startling. In the War of 1812 we practically lost every battle, although we usually fought on our own soil and often outnumbered the enemy, while in the Mexican War we won every battle, although the fighting was done in a foreign land and where we were outnumbered on every occasion. Strange as it may seem, the experience gained in the two wars mentioned was soon forgotten, for at the outbreak of the Civil War another attempt was made to use the militia, which ended in the disaster at Bull Run. Since that time the militia has not been used by the Federal Government, the Regulars and the Volunteer Armies being used in its stead.

The Organized Militia of to-day, created under the Dick Act, is an entirely different organization from the militia of former days. It is better organized, disciplined, and trained, and in such States as New York, Massachusetts, and Wisconsin it has reached a high degree of efficiency. However efficient they may be, their use is still limited by the provisions of the Constitution. They can still refuse to go beyond the border, and the disastrous dual control still exists.

Assuming that other States should follow the example of the States mentioned and bring their militia up to their standard—and that it should be decided by the Supreme Court that the militia could be used outside the confines of the United States—they would still fail to answer the purpose for which they were intended because of the smallness of their number. With 90,000,000 of people to draw from, they have not over 120,000 members. This is due to the unpopularity of the militia service. As is shown above, the States have absolute control of the militia when not in the service of the United States, and can therefore use them to suppress domestic riots and disorders, which is the most disagreeable work a soldier is ever called upon to do.

The performance of this duty necessitates calling them out at any time, causing its members to leave their work or business, often at a time they can ill afford it. If they remain away any length of time, they usually lose their salaries, if not their positions, for few employers can afford to have men absent when their services are needed, much less pay them while they are away. It is a well-known fact throughout the militia service that after organizations have been on strike and riot duty they soon lose many of their members, and the work of enlisting and training men has to be started anew.

Though I have tried to show that the trained citizen soldiers needed can not be supplied by the militia, yet I believe they should be given every possible encouragement. It is only fair that they should be paid when they reach a prescribed standard of efficiency, as they keep the military spirit of our people alive, and in time of war these organizations will be the nucleus around which we will build our great Volunteer Army.

THE PROPOSED NATIONAL ARMY.

Under the section of the Constitution giving Congress the power to raise and support armies it is possible for them to provide any kind of force they may deem necessary. To properly defend this country we need an army of citizen soldiers; and as the militia is unsuited, Congress could, under the power given it, create one of its own—one that will be absolutely under its control.

If such an army should be raised, it should primarily be used for the purpose of national defense, and only in rare cases should it be available for other purposes, and then when there is no Regular Army on hand. The law creating such an army should be explicit on this subject, for if it is not it will languish, just as the militia is languishing to-day from the same cause.

When men give their time and energy to perfecting themselves in the military art they should be paid. No military force will ever become efficient unless they are. The pay of the officers should be large enough for them to provide themselves with decent uniforms and equipment, but should not be large enough for any man to live on; for if $50 monthly salary is sufficient for some men, it will find many $50 men attempting to obtain the position of officers for the salary alone, which would be unfortunate and would be a potent factor in killing an organization. In a force of this kind the men needed for officers should be the best in the community, who will serve for the love of country and not for the few dollars paid as salary. Provided they are qualified, first sergeants, quartermaster sergeants, and cooks should be given pay as in the Regular Army, for if these men know their duties it will relieve the officers from the burden of petty details and will give them more time to be devoted to the training of their men. No company in the Regular Army could get along without trained men in these positions, and if it is so in their case it is doubly so in the case of citizen soldiers. These men could also be used as instructors when they are not performing their other duties. Men who are willing to furnish motor cycles or horses should also be paid for their use, and additional pay should be given to encourage marksmanship.

ORGANIZATION OF THE NATIONAL ARMY.

To make a force of this kind a real national army, a portion of it should be raised in each congressional district. By this means military instruction will be evenly divided over the Nation and such money as is spent on it will be equally distributed. I have selected 600 as the proper number, as this amount corresponds to a complete organization of a battalion at war strength.

The organization of a force of this kind should be left to the President, as has been done when volunteers are called, with the same restrictions that the units shall be organized as provided by law for the units of the Regular Army. If this should be done, the force raised, when combined with the Regular Army, should be perfectly balanced in all its parts. If an arm or corps of the Regular Army should be deficient in men or units, they could be supplied by the National Army. As an example, the Coast Artillery is now short officers and men. The numbers needed could easily be supplied from the congressional districts along the coasts, and a contemplated increase of that arm would not be necessary. This power would also allow the President to organize aeroplane companies, and infantry regiments mounted on motor cycles—such organizations here mentioned are being used to a great extent in the war now raging.

The President should also have the power to organize the troops in brigades, divisions, and higher units when deemed necessary, this for the purpose of drill and training if for nothing else. If he were allowed to detail colonels for this duty, he could find out whether they were competent or not, and when making permanent appointments in the Regular Army he would know what kind of a man he was selecting. Men who have fine records do not always make good generals, and there is no way under our present system of knowing until it is too late. Citizen colonels should be available for this duty as well as the colonels of the Regular Army, for they should be given the opportunity in time of peace to show whether they are fit to be put in command of brigades in time of war.

To get the best results from citizen soldiers the officers placed over them should know their duties, otherwise it will be the blind leading the blind. As a rule field officers of such a force should be trained officers of the Regular Army, though where civilians are found competent they should be given the preference.

In his book Gen. Grant stated that if he had had the power at the outbreak of the Civil War he would have disbanded the Regular Army and appointed the officers over the Volunteers. This is what the South virtually did during the Civil War. As the officers of the old Army joined the Confederacy they were given commands of regiments or higher units, and much of their early successes can be charged to this. In the North the idea seemed to be prevalent that officers of the Regular Army should not be placed over the Volunteers. Those that did get Volunteer commissions got them through their State governors. The result was that many of the regiments and most of the brigades and divisions of the South had trained officers over them, while the North did not. This condition caused Gen. Grant to make the comments quoted above. Trained officers are as necessary now as they were then, and if a citizen army is to be brought to a high degree of efficiency it will be necessary to have as field officers men who are learned in the military art.

The Army as here outlined can not be raised in a day, month, or year, but if it is gone at thoroughly and systematically, it being explained to the people that it is intended primarily for the country's defense and not to quell strikes and disorders, it can be raised, and in time will become a force that will be a credit to the Nation. Though opposed to militarism and a large standing Army, our people are really imbued with a military spirit. This is shown by the fact that most private schools are military, as it appeals to the parents as well as to the boy. In addition, many people of prominence take pride in their military titles, whether earned on the battle field or not. The glitter of the uniform always appeals to the public, and no parade is considered complete without the militia or Regular Army taking part.

The organizing of this Army will not be an easy task, and the men placed on this duty should not only be men of ability but men of tact. The officers selected should not only be men of probity, but should be those who have influence in the community. Advantage should be taken of clubs or organizations already formed, and special effort should be made to raise companies among the factories, stores, and shops that employ large numbers of men. By this method cooperation of employers, as well as employees, would have to be gained. As an example,

suppose we go to Gimbel's store in New York, and get the head of that firm interested, and he encourages his employees to join, it being explained to them that the men, except for maneuvers, would be ordered out only in a great crisis. Say we call the company Gimbel's Light Infantry, a name which the employer, as well as the employee, would be proud of, just as Col. Astor was proud that his name was given the Astor Battery. If this could be done in one store, many others would follow suit, and we would have companies at Macy's, Altman's, and other large stores, battalions at the Ford automobile plant and at the General Electric Works, while the steel works at Pittsburgh and Gary would probably raise regiments.

I know many will say such a course is undignified, but they forget that what we are after is men who are willing to serve, and that anything that is honorable should be done to accomplish this purpose. No one would object in time of war if companies were raised by the great stores or factories throughout the country; in fact, they would be lauded to the skies for their patriotism; so why may it not be done in time of peace when we are preparing for war?

SPECIAL DETACHMENTS AND STAFF OFFICERS.

To continue this organizing, whenever it is learned that a man is running an aeroplane for business or pleasure, he should be sought out and offered a commission. Such men are bold, the kind we want for work of this description. They will be competent, for when he takes up this work he either becomes an expert or is killed trying. If this were done, instead of having a small aviation corps we would have one of respectable size, for most men who go into the business of flying aeroplanes would be glad to receive a commission, even although it entailed some study of military work. Doubtless most of these men would volunteer their services in time of war, but they would not have the knowledge required of a military aviator, as they would have if their services were obtained in time of peace. In organizing regiments of motor cyclists a great field would be opened. Men mounted on these machines would be a great factor in time of war. We have none in our Army, yet the Middle West is teeming with men who could be organized into mounted infantry regiments. Most men who ride motor cycles own them, for they can rarely be rented, and they are usually young and fearless, as this sport does not lend itself to the old and timid. In many cities they are already organized into clubs, and if it were explained to them that they were wanted in the Army, that they would be paid for the use of their machines when at maneuvers, and that they would rarely ever be called out to suppress riots or strikes, many would join. If there should not be enough in one place to organize a company, enlist what you could, as distance in their case is a small factor. The cavalry could be organized in counties given to horse raising, signal troops among the telegraph and wireless operators, engineers from those permanently engaged in construction work, and hospital corps from the numerous hospital workers. The pay, though small, will attract many, for $3 to $5 a month added to a man's salary of $30 to $50 per month will mean much.

One of the greatest troubles in time of war is to find men who are competent and honest enough to inspect the enormous amount of clothing, commissaries, and other supplies needed. These men should be selected in time of peace, commissioned in the National Army, and assigned the work they will have to perform in time of war. The expert buyer of shoes could be selected now, as could the buyer of automobiles, horses, wagons, boats, underclothes, and foodstuffs. There are hundreds of competent and honorable men in the country who would be glad to have a commission, knowing that they could do something for their country in case of need. As it is now, if we went to war the work would have to be done by an officer who would know little about it and who would be needed elsewhere or be left to men appointed on the spur of the moment, who might or might not be honest and competent.

In time of peace a wonderful transportation corps could be organized among the high railroad officials of this country. Men who are heads of the trunk-line passenger associations could be commissioned as colonels and their assistants in lesser grades. In case of war these men could act in a dual capacity, serving the Government and the railroads at the same time without ever leaving their desks. In this way the railroad system would not be disorganized and better service would be rendered the Army.

EQUIPMENT AND TRAINING.

Though necessary in the cities, large halls or armories would not be necessary in the country or small towns if each man could be issued his equipment like it is done in Switzerland or Servia. This we have never done, because we are afraid to trust our people for fear of loss or neglect. Probably some of it would be lost or neglected, but if the man is made responsible the loss could be made good from his monthly salary. Unless men are allowed to keep their arms we will never be able to organize citizen soldiers in the country, where there are thousands of young men willing to join—a field that is practically untouched. Many think that nothing can be accomplished in this line unless there are enough to form a company. This is a fallacy. All that is needed is enough for a squad. Enough squads in an adjoining locality could be formed together as a company for administration. Of course they would be assembled for drill at every opportunity, which might not occur until the training or maneuver period. I know objection will be raised that these men will not be properly drilled or instructed. True, they will know little about company drill, but they could be taught their squad drill and could be given far better instruction in patrolling, which is one of the most important duties of a soldier in time of war and one where his initiative and intelligence will be brought into play. Little of this kind of instruction can be given companies formed in cities. Take my own city of Oswego, N. Y., as an example. Here there is a company where practically all the men are from the urban population, though there are thriving villages all around it from which it is impossible to draw men, due entirely to the lack of transportation. If men were allowed to keep their equipments, there is no doubt that squads could be organized in all of these places. If the company had a paid first sergeant, quartermaster sergeant, and cooks who could be sent out at different times to instruct these squads—meeting at some house or barn nearest the central point—it would not be long before they would be well trained. It will be seen that the problem of transportation is simplified, for instead of eight men coming to the city it would mean only one man going to the country. It is not necessary for the troops to have a complete supply of uniforms issued them, and all they would need would be a campaign hat, woolen shirt, breeches, leggings. At the headquarters of the company there should be kept one pair of shoes, sweater, two suits underclothes, stockings, pea-jacket overcoat, blankets, shelter halves, and so forth, to be used during the training or maneuver period. At the headquarters of a regiment should be kept the additional tentage and equipment; also such additional clothing as would be needed in a campaign.

CONCLUSION.

It is realized that this National Army will be lacking much in drill and discipline, but it should be as good as the citizen soldiers of other countries and should be better if we make an effort to reach the earnest and intelligent men. To make this force a success we will have to cut away much red tape. But when we have put it into effect, if we ever do, we will find that a large share in the defense of the country will be taken by the National Army.

Facts and Figures on the Food Question.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. FARR,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 20, 1915.

Mr. FARR. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include certain facts and figures on the food question furnished by the Department of Agriculture to Chairman LEVER, of the Committee on Agriculture, in response to a resolution offered by me on January 9.

The matter referred to is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
Washington, January 19, 1915.

Hon. A. F. LEVER,
Chairman Committee on Agriculture, House of Representatives.

SIR: In anticipation of the adoption of House resolution 701, Sixty-third Congress, third session, submitted by Mr. FARR on January 9, 1915, I have had prepared and submit herewith the following tabular statements:

Table I: Production in the United States of corn, wheat, oats, and rye, 1904–1914.

Table II: Production of wheat flour, corn meal, rye flour, and preparations of cereals for table food in the United States, 1904–1914.

Table III: Number of cattle, sheep, and swine in the United States, 1904–1914.

Table IV: Production of various meats in the United States, 1904 and 1909; and number of slaughtered animals inspected by the United States Department of Agriculture, 1904–1915.

Table V: Estimated consumption, net exports, and production of corn, wheat, oats, and rye for the United States, 1904–1914.

Table VI: Rough estimate of meat consumption in the United States, 1904–1914.

Table VII: Cash prices per bushel for wheat in Chicago, Ill., on the first business day in December, 1904–1914.

The information set forth in these tabular statements cover the questions raised in the numbered paragraphs of the resolution, except the sixth. This department has no data from which it can estimate "the residue or surplus, if any, of the yield, production, or manufacture, as the case may be, of each of said articles, after deducting the quantity consumed in and the quantity exported from the United States, in each of the years from 1904 to 1914, inclusive," nor is it known where such information can be obtained.

Respectfully,

CARL VROOMAN,
Acting Secretary.

TABLE I.—*Production in the United States of corn, wheat, oats, and rye, 1904–1914.*

[Census figures for 1909; other data are estimates of the U. S. Department of Agriculture.]

Year.	Corn.	Wheat.	Oats.	Rye.
	Bushels.	*Bushels.*	*Bushels.*	*Bushels.*
1904	2,467,481,000	552,400,000	894,596,000	27,242,000
1905	2,707,994,000	692,979,000	953,216,000	28,486,000
1906	2,927,416,000	735,261,000	964,905,000	33,375,000
1907	2,592,320,000	634,087,000	754,443,000	31,566,000
1908	2,668,651,000	664,602,000	807,156,000	31,851,000
1909 (census)	2,552,189,630	683,379,259	1,007,142,980	29,520,457
1910	2,886,260,000	635,121,000	1,186,341,000	34,897,000
1911	2,531,488,000	621,338,000	922,298,000	33,119,000
1912	3,124,746,000	730,267,000	1,418,337,000	35,664,000
1913	2,446,988,000	763,380,000	1,121,768,000	41,381,000
1914	2,672,804,000	891,017,000	1,141,060,000	42,779,000

TABLE II.—*Production of wheat flour, corn meal, rye flour, and preparations of cereals for table food in the United States, 1904–1913.*

Year.	Wheat flour.		Corn meal, United States Census.	Rye flour, United States Census.	Hominy and grits, United States Census
	United States Census.	Total of private estimates for 12 cities. [1]			
	Barrels.	*Barrels.*	*Barrels.*	*Barrels.*	*Pounds.*
1904	104,013,278	23,423,000	23,624,693	1,503,100	756,861,398
1905	.....	25,749,000	.....	.....	.....
1906	.....	26,887,000	.....	.....	.....
1907	.....	26,073,000	.....	.....	.....
1908	.....	26,175,000	.....	.....	.....
1909	105,756,645	27,836,000	21,552,737	1,532,139	827,987,702
1910	.....	29,387,000	.....	.....	.....
1911	.....	29,398,000	.....	.....	.....
1912	.....	31,326,000	.....	.....	.....
1913	.....	32,890,000	.....	.....	.....

[1] Minneapolis, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Milwaukee, Buffalo, Toledo, Detroit, Chicago, Duluth and Superior, Kansas City, Indianapolis, and Galveston.

TABLE III.—*Number of cattle, sheep, and swine in the United States, 1904–1915.*

[Census figures for 1910; other data are estimates of the U. S. Department of Agriculture.]

Year.	Cattle.		Sheep.	Swine.
	Milch cows.	Other cattle.		
	Number.	*Number.*	*Number.*	*Number.*
Jan. 1, 1904	17,420,000	43,629,000	51,630,000	47,009,000
Jan. 1, 1905	17,572,000	43,669,000	45,170,000	47,321,000
Jan. 1, 1906	19,794,000	47,068,000	50,632,000	52,103,000
Jan. 1, 1907	20,968,000	51,566,000	53,240,000	54,794,000
Jan. 1, 1908	21,194,000	50,073,000	54,631,000	56,084,000
Jan. 1, 1909	21,720,000	49,379,000	56,084,000	54,147,000
Apr. 15, 1910 (census)	20,625,432	41,178,434	52,447,861	58,185,636
Jan. 1, 1911	20,823,000	39,679,000	53,633,000	65,620,000
Jan. 1, 1912	20,699,000	37,260,000	52,362,000	65,410,000
Jan. 1, 1913	20,497,000	35,030,000	51,482,000	61,178,000
Jan. 1, 1914	20,737,000	35,855,000	49,719,000	58,933,000
Jan. 1, 1915	21,262,000	37,067,000	49,956,000	64,618,000

TABLE IV.—*Production of various meats in the United States, 1904 and 1909, and number of slaughtered animals inspected by the United States Department of Agriculture, 1904–1914.*

Year.	Weight of dressed carcasses, as reported by the United States Census. (Covers only wholesale slaughtering establishments.)				
	Cattle.	Calves.	Hogs.	Sheep and lambs.	Total, four kinds.
	Pounds.	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*
1904	4,066,264,877	161,049,581	5,048,832,850	464,872,621	9,741,019,929
1909	4,409,718,922	262,315,076	5,201,902,778	496,640,869	10,370,577,645

Year ending June 30—	Number of slaughtered animals inspected by the United States Department of Agriculture.				
	Cattle.	Calves.	Sheep.	Goats.	Swine.
	Number.	*Number.*	*Number.*	*Number.*	*Number.*
1904	6,350,011	764,590	8,261,051	.....	24,128,462
1905	6,096,597	845,862	7,872,671	.....	25,323,984
1906	6,925,526	1,102,775	8,223,630	.....	26,649,353
1907	7,621,717	1,763,574	9,681,876	52,149	31,815,900
1908	7,116,275	1,995,487	9,702,545	45,953	35,113,077
1909	7,325,337	2,046,711	10,802,903	69,193	35,427,931
1910	7,962,189	2,295,099	11,149,937	115,811	27,656,021
1911	7,781,030	2,219,908	13,005,502	54,145	29,916,363
1912	7,532,005	2,242,929	14,208,724	63,983	34,966,378
1913	7,155,816	2,098,484	14,724,465	56,556	32,287,538
1914	6,724,117	1,814,904	14,958,834	121,827	33,289,705

TABLE V.—*Estimated consumption, net exports, and production of corn, wheat, oats, and rye for the United States, 1904–1914.*

[These figures for consumption include all quantities retained in the United States for all purposes. Data for net exports, taken from reports of the United States Department of Commerce; for production, from the United States Department of Agriculture.]

Year beginning July 1—	Corn, including meal.			Wheat, including flour.		
	Production.	Net exports.	Estimated consumption.	Production.	Net exports.	Estimated consumption.
	Bushels.	*Bushels.*	*Bushels.*	*Bushels.*	*Bushels.*	*Bushels.*
1904	2,467,481,000	90,278,000	2,377,203,000	552,400,000	41,416,000	510,984,000
1905	2,707,994,000	119,884,000	2,588,110,000	692,979,000	97,380,000	595,599,000
1906	2,927,416,000	86,358,000	2,841,058,000	735,261,000	146,707,000	588,554,000
1907	2,592,320,000	55,045,000	2,537,275,000	634,087,000	162,831,000	471,256,000
1908	2,668,651,000	37,437,000	2,631,214,000	664,602,000	113,815,000	550,787,000
1909	2,552,190,000	38,128,000	2,514,062,000	683,379,000	86,685,000	596,694,000
1910	2,886,260,000	65,615,000	2,820,645,000	635,121,000	68,167,000	566,954,000
1911	2,531,488,000	41,744,000	2,489,744,000	621,338,000	76,134,000	545,204,000
1912	3,124,746,000	49,913,000	3,074,833,000	730,267,000	141,681,000	588,586,000
1913	2,446,988,000	[1] 1,638,000	2,448,626,000	763,380,000	143,960,000	619,420,000
1914	2,672,804,000	.....	.....	891,017,000	.....	.....

Year beginning July 1—	Oats, including meal.			Rye, including flour.		
	Production.	Net exports.	Estimated consumption.	Production.	Net exports.	Estimated consumption.
	Bushels.	*Bushels.*	*Bushels.*	*Bushels.*	*Bushels.*	*Bushels.*
1904	894,596,000	8,339,000	886,257,000	27,242,000	9,000	27,233,000
1905	953,216,000	48,395,000	904,821,000	28,468,000	1,388,000	27,080,000
1906	964,905,000	6,379,000	958,526,000	33,375,000	70,000	32,665,000
1907	754,443,000	2,195,000	752,248,000	31,566,000	2,445,000	29,121,000
1908	807,156,000	[1] 4,252,000	811,408,000	31,851,000	1,296,000	30,555,000
1909	1,007,143,000	1,733,000	1,005,410,000	29,520,000	242,000	29,278,000
1910	1,186,341,000	3,749,000	1,182,592,000	34,897,000	40,000	34,857,000
1911	922,298,000	68,000	922,230,000	33,119,000	31,000	33,088,000
1912	1,418,337,000	35,736,000	1,382,601,000	35,664,000	1,855,000	33,809,000
1913	1,121,768,000	[1] 18,809,000	1,140,577,000	41,381,000	2,272,000	39,109,000
1914	1,141,060,000	.....	.....	42,779,000	.....	.....

[1] Excess of imports over exports.

NOTE.—Flour and meal were reduced to terms of grain by assuming: 1 barrel of wheat flour to be the product of 4½ bushels of wheat; 1 barrel of rye flour to be the product of 6 bushels of rye; 18 pounds of oatmeal to be the product of 1 bushel of oats; 1 barrel of corn meal to be the product of 4 bushels of corn.

TABLE VI.—*Rough estimate of meat consumption in the United States, 1904–1914.*

[Computed from official reports as to number of slaughtered animals inspected by the United States Department of Agriculture from average dressed weights as given in the United States Census for 1904 and 1909, and by assuming that the total dressed weight of the inspected animals represents each year 58 per cent of the total dressed weight of all meat animals slaughtered in this country.]

Year ending June 30—	Rough estimate of total production.	Net exports.	Retained for consumption.
	Million pounds.	*Million pounds.*	*Million pounds.*
1904	13,800	1,800	12,000
1905	13,800	1,800	12,000
1906	15,100	2,200	12,900
1907	17,400	2,000	15,400
1908	17,900	1,800	16,100
1909	17,400	1,500	15,900
1910	16,000	1,000	15,000
1911	16,500	1,200	15,300
1912	17,700	1,300	16,400
1913	16,700	1,200	15,500
1914	16,500	1,100	15,400

CAUTION.—The above figures (Table VI) are not in any sense authoritative estimates; they are merely rough computations offered, in the absence of better information, as an approximate measure of meat consumption in the United States.

TABLE VII.—*Cash prices per bushel for wheat in Chicago, Ill., on the first business day in December, 1904–1914.*

[Compiled from the Daily Trade Bulletin, Chicago, Ill.]

Date.	No. 2 red winter wheat, cash.		No. 1 northern wheat, cash.	
	Low.	High.	Low.	High.
Dec. 1, 1904	$1.11¼	$1.12½	$1.16	$1.19
Dec. 1, 1905	.86	.87	.87	.90
Dec. 1, 1906	.72⅝	.73¼	(1)	(1)
Dec. 2, 1907	.95⅝	.97½	(1)	(1)
Dec. 1, 1908	1.04	1.06½	1.08	1.10
Dec. 1, 1909	1.16	1.18½	1.08	1.09
Dec. 1, 1910	.90	.94	1.06	1.07
Dec. 1, 1911	.93½	.96	1.06	1.08
Dec. 2, 1912	1.00	1.02	.85	.86
Dec. 1, 1913	.93⅜	.96	.89½	.90¼
Dec. 1, 1914	1.13⅜	1.15¼	1.15	1.17¼

[1] No quotations. On Dec. 26, 1907, quoted $1.10 @ $1.12.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. W. LAFFERTY,

OF OREGON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, January 23, 1915.

Mr. LAFFERTY. Mr. Speaker, I have listened with much interest to the many speeches that have been made upon the subject of rural credits during the general debate upon the Agricultural appropriation bill. As no actual legislation upon this subject is contemplated by Congress for at least several months to come, gentlemen are now, of course, merely expressing their views. It seems, also, that quite a number of gentlemen have introduced bills providing for rural credits, some of which are supposed to have at least the partial approval of the administration and some of which only represent the individual judgment of the Member introducing the same.

The Moss-Fletcher bill, for example, is not only supposed to reflect the views of the administration, but is said to have the approval of the "commission" that went to Europe in 1913 to examine into the question of rural credits there. The Bulkley-Hollis bill goes a little further and provides that the Federal Government shall lend its aid by purchasing a limited amount of the farm-mortgage debentures each year, thereby giving other investors confidence in the system.

There is not a great deal of difference between the Moss-Fletcher bill and the Bulkley-Hollis bill. Both bills contemplate the organization of one local land-mortgage bank in each county, one State land-mortgage bank in each State, and one central land-mortgage bank, all of these banks to be affiliated together in one system. The local bank is to loan direct to the farmer and take a first mortgage, and upon a group of these mortgages is to issue debentures or bonds. The affiliated banks higher up will "guarantee" these debentures or bonds and sell them upon the open market. They will draw a much lower rate of interest than farmers are now paying. At least, it is contemplated that by this system of affiliation and guaranty the securities will be salable in the money markets bearing rates of interest much lower than farmers are now forced to pay when acting singly and alone.

Both bills limit the profits of the county, State, and central banks to a very modest amount and provide that all excess profits shall go into a fund to reduce the interest charges of the farmers borrowing through the system. To that extent it is a mutual benefit association. Both bills provide that the farmers themselves may own stock in the local bank, and that the local banks combined shall own the stock in the 48 State banks, and the 48 State banks shall own the stock in the one central bank.

All the Government has to do with the matter in the one case is to authorize by law the organization of the land-mortgage banks and to exempt its debentures or bonds from the payment of taxes, and in the other case it provides that the Government shall buy a limited quantity of the land-mortgage bonds each year, in order to lend Government sanction to the plan in such a way as to encourage other investors to buy the bonds.

The gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. CARAWAY] has spoken ably upon his bill, which varies from the others in that he provides that the county and State banks and the central banks shall be cut out and the Government shall undertake to bring the borrower and the lender together and shall guarantee the loan made to the farmer. The Caraway bill provides that any farmer desiring a loan may apply to the local postmaster, who shall appoint a committee to appraise the land. After the Government is satisfied as to the value of the land, based upon the report of the postmaster and this committee, and is satisfied as to the title, based upon an abstract furnished by the applicant, the Government offers to guarantee the desired loan and offers it on the market.

The Caraway bill provides that no one except an actual resident upon the land shall have this aid of the Government, thus cutting out absentee landlords and speculators. It provides against consolidation of lands in the hands of speculators, bearing low-interest-bearing Government-guaranteed loans, by making such loans immediately due and payable when lands bearing more than a certain amount shall fall into the hands of one man. The Caraway bill has much to its credit.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. PATTEN] spoke interestingly, but cautioned us that we ought not to expect too much from any rural-credit system. He said no miracles would be wrought. He said lower interest rates might be obtained, and probably would be, by such a law as that proposed in the Moss-Fletcher bill, to which he seemed to give his preference. The distinguished minority leader [Mr. MANN] asked the gentleman from New York [Mr. PATTEN] if it would be practical to have the Government guarantee the payment of the securities put out by whatever system of land mortgages may be adopted. The minority leader [Mr. MANN] said he was sure many people would be glad to invest in securities so guaranteed, if paying 5 per cent, and many others would be glad to so invest if the securities paid interest of 5½ per cent. The gentleman from New York did not seem to think that the Government should guarantee the payment of the securities, but should only go as far as is provided in the Moss-Fletcher bill.

To my mind it is very doubtful whether the farmers are going to get much lower rates of interest than they are now getting through either the Moss-Fletcher bill or the Bulkley-Hollister bill. They would get lower rates of interest through the Caraway bill, cutting out the profits of the complicated series of land-mortgage banks altogether and placing the mortgage securities upon the market guaranteed by the Government.

It must be apparent that in no case is the farmer going to be given much help, unless the Government does something more than merely authorize the organization of land-mortgage banks. The farmers could organize such banks without an act of Congress, at least in each State. I very much fear that the expense of all the intervening land-mortgage banks, extending from Washington to every township and county in the Union, would be so heavy as to increase rather than diminish the present cost of farm loans, unless, indeed, the debentures or bonds should ultimately be sold with a guarantee of the Government that they would be paid.

And if the Government is going to guarantee that the farmer will pay his loan to the private lender when due, why should not the Government make the loan direct? In the latter case the Government would be getting the profits of the loan, with no added responsibility. It seems to be contemplated that these

loans will be made, even when guaranteed by the Government, at from 5 to 5½ per cent interest. If that be true, the Government could make millions in profits per year by making the loans direct, for the Government can borrow all the money it desires for 3½ per cent.

For the reasons here given, I favor a law providing for direct Government aid to the farmers in the matter of rural credits. For two years I have had a bill pending here which so provides. My bill goes even further than this and provides that the Government shall issue gold Treasury notes against the farm mortgages held by it, thereby saving to the Government the necessity of borrowing the money it loans to the farmers. This latter system would yield enough profits to the Government each year to build a trunk line of railroad from New York to San Francisco.

New Zealand is already loaning direct to the farmers at 1 per cent in excess of the rate at which the New Zealand Government can borrow in the open market, and it has been found that this 1 per cent margin has accumulated millions of profits in the public treasury of New Zealand.

America can at least do as well as New Zealand. We should not be ashamed to profit by the example of that country. One of our greatest reforms, the Australian ballot, was borrowed only a few years ago from New Zealand's sister colony of Australia.

A British member of Parliament, the Hon. J. R. Macdonald, recently said that New Zealand had avoided a serious Socialist Party because Mr. Seddon had led the Liberal Party into the Socialistic fold. I presume the law for direct loans to farmers was one of the provisions to which Mr. Macdonald referred. But if it is socialistic, what of it, if it is a success and if it gives to the farmers lower rates of interest and at the same time gives a profit to the Government? If our Government is better able to act as fiscal agent and hold these securities than is any private corporation, why not let our Government serve us? We are ready to lay down our lives for our Government in time of war, and our children will be equally as patriotic, so why not let the Government do something for us in time of peace?

The truth is that no one would be hurt by direct Government loans to the farmers except the big money loaners of Wall Street. But the Wall Street crowd have great political power, and they are now carrying on a propaganda to defeat genuine direct rural credits in America. In my opinion, they will not succeed; but we, the common people, have one of the biggest fights on our hands we have had for some time. I call upon all honest, patriotic men and women to help in this fight. It will last for several years, and the backslide toward standpattism of last November will encourage the money power to renewed efforts to defeat a genuine rural-credit law.

The matter of credits is one of the least understood questions in the world. In America, for example (and the same is true in proportion in all other countries), we have a per capita circulating medium, gold, silver, and paper, of $35 per person, or $3,500,000,000 in the United States. Yet, the farmers and small home owners alone have borrowed $8,000,000,000, or nearly three times our total stock of money. How is it possible? It is only done by loaning the same dollar over and over again. It is estimated that every dollar in the United States is now loaned at least 8 times. The bankers are simply walking on a tight rope all the time with a balancing pole, deposits being on one end and loans on the other. They are supposed to balance each other. But as for actual cash no bank in the United States could pay anything like the amount of its deposits if called upon suddenly to do so.

The commercial banks are making the cash of America work overtime, in order that they may collect interest eight times from each dollar. Then when the slightest flurry comes they call in all available loans and times get hard. No matter how much property you have you can't get money in such a stringency.

Yet the bankers pronounce as "economically unsound" any law which proposes to give to our Government the power to issue agricultural asset currency. Such currency would be secured by real estate of double the value of every dollar put out, and would be the soundest money in the world. It would relieve our present financial stringency, and would prevent the possibility of a stringency in the future. It would not create "cheap money" as they claim, but every dollar would be backed by property of double value to guarantee its redemption in gold upon demand. It would have the effect of creating a much larger volume of money it is true, but it would not create a dollar of fiat money or of "cheap money."

The money power ridicules any such system as I here propose, and we are idiots enough to be influenced by their ridicule. They have made us believe that any such system would ruin the country for all time to come. All property would vanish, and we would be left in a cold, desolate world without food or shelter.

The money power says that all we need is to have "confidence" in their present system of credits. By that system they are collecting interest eight times on every dollar in existence, and meantime are keeping us in such a continual strain that we are constantly threatened with panics. Their system is the "wildcat" system, and ours is the sound, businesslike system. But they have the newspapers with which to preach to our brethren the beauties of their system, and we must depend upon the schoolhouse or street-corner meetings. But we are going to win inside of the next four years. It is in the air. The American people have suffered in financial and industrial bondage long enough.

The money power may succeed in getting a makeshift rural-credit law passed within the next few months, hoping thereby to close the question. But when the people get a majority in the House and in the Senate any such makeshift law will soon be replaced with a genuine direct-aid rural-credit law. I should regret to see the farmers of America enslave themselves to the money power for 30 years under any pretended rural-credit law, if such a one should be passed, and I do not believe that the American farmers will be foolish enough to do so. The pending bills provide for mortgages of that length of time, and we had better think well before we lend our assistance to such a law, and the farmers had better think twice before they tie up themselves and their heirs and assigns to Wall Street under any such mortgages. A better day and better terms are coming before very long.

They say the "commission" that went to Europe in 1913 found land-mortgage banks existing there similar to the ones now proposed here. That is true, but it is also true that the peasants of Europe are owned body and soul by the money-lending classes, just as our land-tilling population will be in this country if they enter into any 30-year loans for "credit" from the money power at high rates of interest under any makeshift rural-credit law.

The Late Representative Bremner.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. BROWNING,

OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, January 24, 1915,

On House resolution 711.

Mr. BROWNING. Mr. Speaker, on "fair Scotland's strand," away up on the North Sea, we go back only to the year 1873, when "BOB" BREMNER was born; he came of sturdy and steady fisher folk. His short life period is replete with the kind of struggles which only the truly brave and heroic character can make successfully.

When ROBERT BREMNER was a lad his father emigrated to Canada, and the young son's work began as a schoolboy in a village school; after some years in the high and normal schools he was found teaching for a short time; then, reaching out for the practical, he mastered the carpentering trade and later engaged as an electrical worker. Ripe with theoretical and practical experience, it is not surprising that in his newspaper work he very soon found himself in the forerank of editors, and his friends paid him a high tribute when they sought to utilize his varied and splendid talents by electing him to represent them in Congress.

It was not my good fortune to know Mr. BREMNER before he entered this House, but my first impression of him was one never to be forgotten. I beheld the countenance of a man suffering all the tortures that physical pain can inflict, and I saw over and above the expression of physical distress that rare smile revealing a nobility of character, intelligence, patience, and even sympathy which told me that I had met an able, strong, and loyal brother worthy of the friendship and love of his colleagues and countrymen. His wonderful patience and sublime fortitude in the very face of death can be dwelt upon with only admiration and envy by the legion of his friends.

It is not given us to understand why he, who was so full of energy and courage, should be called away. We can only realize

the loss of his companionship which was dear to us, the loss to the community to which he was so useful, and the loss to those whose heartbreaking grief we hesitate to intrude upon.

You shall shortly know that lengthened breath
Is not the sweetest gift God sends His friend,
And that sometimes the sable pall of death
Conceals the fairest boon His love can send.
If we could push ajar the gates of life
And stand within, and all God's workings see,
We could interpret all this doubt and strife
And for each mystery could find a key.

The President's Indianapolis Speech.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SIMEON D. FESS,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, January 23, 1915.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, as a principle I do not believe in the practice of general criticism of the Executive, either on the floor of Congress or outside. I have felt that the head of the Nation should command such regard as would be proof against offensive criticism. I am convinced that too great a freedom is exercised against our public servants, and therefore hesitate to assume the rôle of the critic. I would not at this time make these observations upon this, in many ways, very remarkable speech were I not persuaded that the conviction has been steadily growing upon the country for months that the President was not respecting his position as the President of all the people, but rather the head of a party. His public utterances have been invariably severely partisan. Last July, at Philadelphia, when he honored the city and the occasion with his presence and by an address clothed in faultless English, of which he is a past master, he seized upon the occasion to make a severely partisan speech, notwithstanding one-half of the invited guests representing Congress on that occasion did not belong to his party.

The President's partisan attitude as displayed in his Indianapolis speech, in which he reminds the public he speaks as a historian rather than as a politician, relieves all Republicans from further embarrassment from at least calling attention to some of the remarkable statements of this recent utterance.

The speech has cleared up some things for the public. The Baltimore platform is to have no binding effect on the one-term plank. It removes all doubt of his candidacy in 1916. This intention was specifically couched in his challenge:

> There may come a time when the American people will have to judge whether I know what I am talking about or not. But at least for two years more I am free to think that I do, with a great comfort in immunity in the time being.

Aside from this specific announcement the general tenor of his words and setting of the day can point to no other purpose. His reference to the independent voter is suggestive. This element of the electorate is important. The President hesitated to inflate him, but was compelled to recognize him "as my boss."

His bidding the independent come in out of the cold to bask in the warmth of Democratic favor, probably Executive patronage, has the pull of a magnet. His call to the patriot in his appeal, "I do not love any party any longer than it continues to serve the continued and immediate pressing needs of America. I have been bred in the Democratic Party, but I love America a great deal more than I love the Democratic Party," would ring truer had it not been on such partisan plane.

This appeal to the independent voter—the irregular in party affiliation—his touring the city with Mr. Taggart, the erstwhile national Democratic chairman and the regular of the regulars, these two items taken together ought to be well understood from an Indiana standpoint.

Whether the one-term plank will play any part in the choice of standard bearer is a matter of future development and not present Executive intention. Patronage is a powerful lever, but there have been times when machinery became top-heavy and crashed under its own weight. Surely if the President desires he will head the party in 1916. Why not? Is he not the Democratic Party? However, the solidarity of which the President speaks is but a wish which is somewhat clouded by the symptoms of a feud so apparent, both in what he said and what is observed in Congress, especially the Senate. His felicitating the country that he does not need to lie awake at night wondering what the two Indiana Senators were going to do must be a rather painful reminder to others not from Indiana that his nights are broken by some Senators who choose to do their own thinking, or at least seem to act independently. His assurance that the Democratic Party "will not allow any enemy to break its ranks," and his declaration that "this country is not going to use any party that can not do continuous and consistent teamwork," are most significant when supplemented by the warning that—

> If any group of men should dare to break the solidarity of the Democratic team for any purpose or from any motive, theirs will be a most unenviable notoriety and responsibility which will bring deep bitterness to them.

Can any doubt be entertained of the author's meaning when he says, "If a man will not play in the team, then he does not belong to the team."

Men have been taken off the team and sent to the benches when some order has been disobeyed or when some one fumbled the ball, and so have men been read out of the party when they refused to follow the head. These enemies refer to party recalcitrants, not to members of the opposition party, for the men who refuse to do teamwork are in the party which placed the team in the field, over which the captain has control.

The imminence of a fued is apparent. The President's language is militant. His phraseology is redolent with command. His tones are of the drum and trumpet. In the first few paragraphs of the address appear such phrases as "our sinews," "moral powder," "compelling influences," "in fighting earnest," "ready to fight," and his reference to the Jackson method. His familiarity with this country's history and his admiration for Gen. Jackson's type enable him to pursue a course toward the Senate with such moral inspiration as may be supplied by this patron saint.

The general enforced the law, but only as he understood it, not as the courts interpreted it. He ordered his Cabinet to do, and when such men as McLean or Duane questioned his constitutional authority, he removed them and appointed his "kitchen cabinet." He even exerted his authority over his official family.

When Mrs. Calhoun and other ladies of the official family hesitated at first, and at last declined to receive a wife of a fellow Cabinet member, the general simply commanded that they must receive her. His wish when spoken became law. When Congress sent him bills which he did not like near the close of the session, he both refused to sign and return, but simply pocketed them, to allow them to die by adjournment, within 10 days of adjournment, and hence his famous "pocket veto." When the Senate declined to confirm appointments upon which he insisted, he simply permitted the matter to lapse until adjournment, when he made recess appointments. The most famous recess appointment in our history was the case of his appointing his great favorite, Martin Van Buren, as minister to England. Van Buren went to assume his duties. When the Senate came into session a vote on confirmation resulted in a tie, leaving the casting vote to the Vice President. It seemed the irony of fate when Calhoun, the Vice President, cast the casting vote of rejection, and compelled the future President to return home.

While the country knows that President Wilson is a great admirer of the qualities of Gen. Jackson, it also knows he has many of his qualities of will power, and in consequence is prepared to view with much interest the imminent feud, if such difference can be so styled, between him and the Senate, unless the latter surrenders its function, as the House has done, which is hardly credible. The President's keen partisanship, as displayed in this speech and observed in his administration, has no parallel save Jackson. This is a matter with him of political theory as well as governmental practice. It appears in his political writings and is confirmed by his acts. He aims to be the real head of his party, and as such feels the responsibility for its policy, and is the most ardent party man since the thirties.

When some of us objected to the Federal Reserve Board as provided in the reserve act upon the ground that it would become a partisan board, protestations of administration leaders were loud and virulent against any man who would suggest such a possibility. Notwithstanding the President was unable to find in our great country but one man out of the seven who was not a voter in his party; and had the Senate been subservient on behalf of Jones, the board would have had no one who was not a Democrat. That smacks of the Jackson spoils policy. If there can be a greater danger than partisan control of the banking powers, I know it not. In the address he informs the country that, speaking as a historian, the Republican Party had not a new idea for 30 years. This may explain his failure to avoid partisan bias. Evidently the President congratulates himself that his ideas of the "new freedom," what-

ever that means; "psychological business conditions," whatever that means; "emancipation of credit," whatever that means; "constitution of peace," whatever that means; and "watchful waiting," the meaning of which everybody knows, are his justification of his reference to the Republican Party as moribund. This reminds one of another author of whom the world has heard, "A book is a book, whether there is anything in it or not." The admirers of the President will keenly regret this outburst, which reflects no credit upon its author.

The misfortune is augmented by his emphasis that he does not "speak as a politician, but as a historian." Neither egotism nor arrogance is a trait of mind that the average citizen of this Republic would look for in the President of the Nation. While the country will readily concede to the head of a great party the right to be partial to his party in his administration of affairs, it will not excuse the dogmatist who presumes to represent the only progress in this great Nation.

Within the 30 years to which he referred the country under Republican leadership buried the free-silver 16-to-1 dogma and established upon a sound basis the gold standard. It undertook and completed the Panama Canal, the most gigantic work of engineering ever attempted. It did this by drawing upon the current funds, necessitating an issue of but one-half the bonds authorized for the work.

It created a new Cuba and a new Philippine civilization, and has taken steps to develop the commerce of the Orient by acquiring the Hawaiian Islands. It inaugurated the policy of reclaiming arid lands by irrigation and safeguarding the vast resources for the benefit of the people.

It has conserved the public health by pure-food legislation and an enlargement of the Public Health Service. It has fostered an aggressive development of the Nation's productive ability by the creation of the Departments of Commerce and Labor, and by enlarging the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission to deal with regulation of rates and safety appliances. It has enlarged the various research departments, such as the Department of Agriculture, the Bureau of Mines, and the Bureau of Standards, all of which are proving the wisdom of the promoters. It authorized the Monetary Commission, whose recommendations served as a basis of the Federal reserve act. It created the Bureau of Corporations, which developed into the Interstate Trade Commission, in accordance with the recommendation of a Republican President and a Republican platform. It developed the postal savings bank and the parcel post. It built up an effective Navy and provided an Army of efficient defense, but still cultivating the fruits of peace. It has during the last 30 years fostered such productive ability in the arts of industry that no country has experienced in the history of the world. During the last 30 years the Nation's wealth has almost doubled, in which all had a share.

It turned over to Woodrow Wilson the country in its acme of prosperity. It left him a Nation with all its labor employed at good wages, all its capital invested at reasonable profit, a revenue system that kept our industries going, and raised sufficient revenue to run the Government, without resorting to direct taxes upon the people. It left a balance in the Treasury of $104,000,000, which is reduced to but a little over $40,000,000, of which nearly $30,000,000 is made up of subsidiary coin, and an alarming deficit of much over $100,000,000 promised by the end of the year.

These ideas may not be new to our President, but at least they are to be preferred to his "New Freedom" as the country knows it to-day. Old though they may be, yet they are not to be despised when viewed in the light of the new ideas of the present régime.

Among the new ideas the President has voiced, that of his address relating to his justification of heckling business is the most illuminating. He assures the country that "there is nothing the matter with business except a state of mind," and then offers this consolation: "I never was in business, and therefore I have none of the prejudices of business." Control of business must be under the leadership of one who was never in business, to avoid prejudice. This is one of the new ideas of Democracy, as now led, which the Republican Party can not boast of.

"I know what a team means when I see it, and I know what the captain of a team must have if he is going to win. It is no idle figure with me." This expresses another new idea of Democracy, as now led, which the Republican Party may not recognize. The captain makes up the line. He places the players; he takes this man off and places that man on; he orders the play; he gives the signals. If Oscar is to make a skin tackle, the captain informs him by signal; if Claude fumbles, some one, perhaps Finis, will take his place. If Champ plays center, it is because the captain places him there. If he flukes in passing the ball, he will be penalized. The men who do not keep the captain awake at night, because they play guard or end just as the order is given, without fumbling, hold their places to the end of the game. No one knows this better than the captain. It is no idle figure with him. But this conception of the relation of the Executive and the Congress may be a new idea to the President, wise or otherwise. It is but an application of his theory as frequently expressed. The Republican minority, which refuses to be disciplined by this captain of an opposing team, are either misguided, blind, or ignorant.

The most preposterous utterance of this address, which sounds very unlike the words of a nation's Chief Executive, is the following, spoken in reference to members of a great party which gave to this Nation the greatest era of national welfare known to history. The three men who deigned to raise a voice in the Senate against the President's ship-purchasing bill were ROOT, LODGE, and BURTON. All of these had spoken a few days prior to January 8. I am anxious to know to which class they belong—misguided, blind, or ignorant.

> Who commissioned them, a minority, a lessening minority? For they will be in a greater minority in the next Senate than in this. You know it is the peculiarity of that great body that it has rules of procedure which makes it possible for a minority to defy the Nation, and these gentlemen are now seeking to defy the Nation and prevent the release of American products to the suffering world which needs them more than it ever needed them before. Their credentials as friends of business and friends of America will be badly discredited if they succeed.
>
> If I were speaking from a selfish, partisan point of view, I could wish nothing better than that they could show their true colors as partisans and succeed. But I am not quite so malevolent as that. Some of them are misguided; some of them are blind; most of them are ignorant. I would rather pray for them than abuse them.

Another new idea of legislation or method of lawmaking not appreciated by Republicans is found in the following passage:

> The Democrats have heard the Republicans talking about the scientific way in which to handle the tariff, though the Republicans have never given any exhibition of a knowledge of how to handle it scientifically. If it is scientific to put additional profits into the hands of those who are already getting the greater part of the profits, then they have been exceedingly scientific. It has been the science of selfishness; it has been the science of privilege.
>
> FOR SCIENTIFIC HANDLING OF TARIFF.
>
> That kind of science I do not care to know anything about, except enough to stop it. But if by scientific treatment of the tariff they mean adjustment to the actual trade conditions of America and the world—then I am with them; and I want to call their attention—for though they voted for it they apparently have not noticed it—to the fact that the bill which creates the new trade commission does that very thing. We were at pains to see that it was put in there.

The President here asserts that the tariff commission is provided in the Trade Commission bill.

It is well understood the Democratic Party and leaders were against such a commission, especially did CLARK, of Missouri, UNDERWOOD, and FITZGERALD oppose it in the Sixty-third Congress. Did the President in his seeing "that it was put in there" surreptitiously inject a joker into the law to deceive the party leaders into adopting what they were openly opposed to? Or did he anticipate what a future Republican Congress would do, create a tariff commission? In either case is this method of legislation one of the new ideas of which the Republican Party knows nothing, and is the country to expect such methods from the head of the Nation?

The truth about it is the tariff commission is not provided for in the trade bill. The only provision in reference to the foreign trade is the following:

> (h) To investigate from time to time trade conditions in and with foreign countries where associations, combinations, or practices of manufacturers, merchants, or traders, or other conditions may affect the foreign trade of the United States, and to report to Congress thereon with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

The chief work of a tariff commission is not to investigate trade conditions where associations, combinations, or practices may affect the foreign trade of the United States. That is the work assigned to the much-vaunted Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. Whether trusts in Europe are advantageous or not is important to know, but that is not enough.

The tariff commission goes beyond mere trade relations. Its chief purpose is to gather data upon which legislation is to be based covering the subjects of revenue and American industry in their relation to foreign industry, cost of production, and so forth.

The President is not happy in his insistence that there is nothing the matter with business. The country would deny that he was the author of such statements attributed to him, but here are his words:

> There is nothing the matter with American business except a state of mind. I understand that your chamber of commerce here in Indianapolis is working now upon the motto, "If you are going to buy it, buy it now." That is a perfectly safe maxim to act on. It is just as safe to buy it now as it ever will be, and if you start the buying, there will be no end to it, and you will be a seller as well as a buyer. I am just as sure of that as I can be, because I have taken counsel with the men who know. I never was in business, and therefore I have none of the prejudices of business. I have looked on and tried to see what the interests of the country were in business; and I have taken counsel with men who did know, and their counsel is uniform, and all that is needed

in America now is to believe in the future; and I can assure you as one of those who speak for the Democratic Party that it is perfectly safe to believe in the future.

Such dogma can appeal only to one who has not felt the legal obligation of a contract which the law requires the obligor to satisfy. It will not pay the rent, the interest, the insurance that come due to-morrow. It will not employ the 4,000,000 men out of employment, nor shorten the bread line, nor lessen the number of soup houses. It will not relieve the distress so prevalent in every city of the land. Soft and honeyed words are poor substitutes for hunger and cold.

After months of congratulation, first on the state of the country, assured of unheard-of prosperity on its way, the President repeats on January 8 what he said to the representative employers of labor in my own State when they called upon him: "Nothing the matter with business, merely psychologic state." Soon after giving this consolation the editors of his native State were assured that a revival of business was on the way. Then, again, the country was assured that business was looking up. Advanced publicity agents insisted that a wonderful era unheard of in the Nation's life is near; but now we have it that business is not bad, the country only thinks it is; men are not out of employment, they only think they are; children are not hungry, public soup houses are not real, the longest bread lines in our history are purely imaginary. If this be the explanation, then why his proposed Democratic bureau of employment for the unemployed?

Sometimes when I look abroad, my friends, and see the great mass of struggling humanity on that continent, it goes very much to my heart to see how many men are at a disadvantage and are without guides and helpers. Don't you think it would be a pretty good idea for the Democratic Party to undertake a systematic method of helping the workingmen of America? There is a very simple way in which they can help the workingmen. If you were simply to establish a great Federal employment bureau it would do a vast deal; by the Federal agencies which spread over this country men could be directed to those parts of the country, to those undertakings, to those tasks, where they could find profitable employment. The labor of this country needs to be guided from opportunity to opportunity. We proved it the other day.

There is one bureau of employment that this country should foster—American industry. If we would open our mills to American workingmen instead of our markets to European-labor-made goods the problem of unemployment would be solved. Those who have studied the President's past utterances are somewhat surprised. Only a mind of keenly socialistic convictions could justify a policy of displacing American labor, by preferring a foreign product, thus closing up American industrial establishments, on the ground that a Federal bureau of employment can and should care for the unemployed. Wise policy would concern itself with helping to keep men employed rather than finding employment for them after depriving them of it. A removal of the cause is better than experimenting with effects. Prevention in this, as in all other cases, is better than cure. The President makes a very suggestive comment on the business situation that will not be overlooked by the public:

I want to ask the business men here present if this is not the first January in their recollection that did not bring a money stringency for the time being because of the necessity of paying out great sums of money by way of dividends and other settlements which come at the first of the year? I have asked the bankers if that happened this year, and they say, "No; it did not happen; it could not happen under the Federal reserve act."

There is universal agreement that banks are not embarrassed by the necessity of supplying money to pay dividends. While he is in error in his maxims of money rates, he is right in his statement. The industries which have not been compelled to pass their dividends are few. The widespread distress in industrial centers has no parallel. It is difficult to understand the source of choler so prevalent in this administration against all men who have had success in the business world. The time was when our country held up to the youth of the land the men and women of achievement. These have little standing in this administration. To-day we see this class penalized.. If any success is won, the winner must at once have the searchlight turned upon him. Success in business indicates some advantage somewhere. Lord Macaulay years ago declared that in America would come the time when the man who walked would deny the right of his neighbor to ride. While we have not reached that stage yet, many symptoms of its approach are visible.

This may be the manner in which the President has cleared the decks for the service of its business.

The Democratic Party does know how to serve business in this country, and its future program is a program of service. We have cleared the decks. We have laid the lines now upon which business that was to do the country harm shall be stopped and an economic control which was intolerable shall be broken up. We have emancipated America, but America must do something with her freedom.

The Underwood bill is one of the steps of freedom of which he speaks. What are its symptoms? Prices going higher, domestic enterprise paralyzed, foreign trade crippled, deficiency in the Treasury of over $60,000,000 in spite of the war tax. The only remedy is an issue of bonds, another war tax, or revision of the tariff. In the face of these stubborn facts, we hear of the Democratic Party serving business.

The Clayton bill is another step, the measure which instead of encouraging enterprise compels honest business men to be more concerned about keeping out of the penitentiary than to conduct a business on a profitable basis, without which no business can be conducted.

Of all utterances, those pertaining to Mexico are most disappointing. Reference to the Mexican policy was purely political. Some of the Republicans of this Congress took the position from the very outset that in a foreign complication all party lines should be eliminated. Some of us urged upon this floor that criticism should cease because steps of war had been taken and a united front should be presented against the enemy.

Most of us had questioned the steps as wholly unwarranted which had led to that situation. Republican Members suppressed their criticisms when it would have been political capital to do otherwise. That did not mean they condoned the mistakes of this administration. Few Americans could justify the head of our Nation giving orders to a neighboring country as to who should be or not be its head. The President said to Congress, when he appeared in person, "Huerta must go." He had already said in case of an election in Mexico, "Huerta must not be a candidate." He acted upon information not given to the public. To make sure that Huerta must go, he allowed his enemies to purchase munitions of war, and gave them such moral courage as would come from a virtual alliance with the forces of Villa. He asked Congress to support him in his policy, without giving reasons, and before Congress gave its consent he landed at Vera Cruz, which was an act of war. It is pertinent to ask, Why this? But we get no response. Whether it was done to prevent the landing of munitions for Huerta or to compel a salute to our flag, it matters little, for both were unsuccessful. The munitions were landed at another port, and the flag was not and will not be saluted, notwithstanding the loss of a score of American citizens and at least 200 Mexican citizens. Members of Congress, realizing that the war power was a function of Congress rather than of the Executive, were asking what of the future. After Huerta, what? If our President would drive Huerta out, is he ready to assume the responsibility of what will follow? Surely, if he destroys the only Government there, he must accept that responsibility. There are Mexicans in Mexico whose rights humanity demands must be considered. There are citizens of European countries there whose wrongs must and will be redressed. If the Monroe doctrine prevents Europe from doing so, are we ready to assume that duty? There are American citizens there by invitation. Have they any rights to be respected? Has the flag of the Nation any meaning at all? What is the answer? The President makes it clear in the following words:

I hold it as a fundamental principle, and so do you, that every people has the right to determine its own form of government; and until this recent revolution in Mexico, until the end of the Diaz reign, 80 per cent of the people of Mexico never had a "look-in" in determining who should be their governor or what their Government should be. Now, I am for the 80 per cent. It is none of my business, and it is none of your business, how long they take in determining it. It is none of my business, and it is none of yours how they go about the business. The country is theirs. The Government is theirs. The liberty, if they can get it, and God speed them in getting it, is theirs. And so far as my influence goes while I am President nobody shall interfere with them.

NOT TO DENY RIGHT TO SPILL BLOOD.

That is what I mean by a great emotion, the great emotion of sympathy. Do you suppose that the American people are ever going to count a small amount of material benefit and advantage to people doing business in Mexico against the liberties and the permanent happiness of the Mexican people? Have not European nations taken as long as they wanted and spilt as much blood as they pleased in settling their affairs, and shall we deny that to Mexico because she is weak? No.

This orgy of blood spilling continues. Can we say with the approval of our President? It began with the death of Madero, followed by Huerta, followed by Carranza, followed by Carbajal, followed by Gutierrez, followed by Garza, to say nothing of Villa and other lesser lights.

The President has made this a political issue, which relieves any man from further silence. In the campaign of 1914 the issue was made by the Democrats by appealing for the support of the President in his "watchful-waiting" policy. No man should hesitate longer to repudiate the most indefensible operations that have made the Nation's foreign policy inexcusably weak in the eyes of the world. No student of international relations can fail to see what the future will bring unless a change of policy will soon be adopted.

The President's optimism is wholesome. In the election of 1914 he sees a distinct triumph of his policies. He declares had it been a presidential year his party would have been successful by about 80 majority in the Electoral College. Most of the

country are asking how many such triumphant elections any party could stand. In this connection the following statement by the secretary of the national Republican committee may be enlightening. Figures tell their own story:

The result of the elections of November last proves three very important political facts:

First. The Republicans carried upon national issues States that would give a clear majority in the Electoral College and elect a Republican President.

Second. The Democratic majority in the next House is only the result of the Progressive vote in certain districts of the country, and the Democrats will be really a minority party in the House of Representatives.

Third. Two-thirds of the Progressive vote of 1912 has not only ceased to support third-party candidates but has returned to the support of Republican principles and candidates.

This is the story that is told by the official figures of the last election just compiled by the Republican national committee. They are the official figures of 38 different States, representing all sections of the country.

The Republicans carried 23 States which in the Electoral College cast 288 votes for President, a clear majority of 22 over the 266 necessary for a choice. There are three States which may be temporarily classed as doubtful, as on national issues they divided their allegiance. These are Oregon, South Dakota, and Nevada in which Democratic Senators were chosen but Republican congressional delegations were elected.

At this election 230 Democratic Members of Congress were successful. In 39 of the congressional districts of the country, however, the Progressive vote was larger than the Democratic plurality, so that had it not been for the Progressive vote the Democratic membership in the next House would be only 191, with 218 necessary for a majority. The Progressive vote also elected four Democratic Senators—those in California, Colorado, Indiana, and Oregon.

The question of what has become of the Progressive vote of 1912 is well answered in these official returns. In the 38 States whose returns have been compiled there is a Republican gain of 2,489,588 over the Republican presidential vote of 1912. There is a Progressive loss of 2,507,811, as compared with the presidential vote of that party two years ago. In other words, the Progressive loss is within less than 1 per cent of being the same as the Republican gain.

In these 23 States which put themselves in the Republican column the Republican plurality over the Democratic vote was over a million, whereas in 1912 the Wilson vote in the same States was larger than the Taft vote by over 1,000,000. Of the total vote cast by the three parties in these States in 1914 the Republicans cast 49.6 per cent; the Democrats, 38.9 per cent; and the Progressives, 11.5 per cent. In 1912 the presidential vote cast was, Republicans, 28.4 per cent; Democrats, 39.7 per cent; Progressives, 31.9 per cent.

The States carried by the Republicans at the election are shown in the following table, together with the electoral vote of each State and the comparative election figures of 1914 and of 1912. In this table the senatorial vote is indicated, also the total congressional vote of the several districts of each of the States:

States.	Electoral vote.	Vote.	1914			1912		
			Republican.	Democrat.	Progressive.	Taft.	Wilson.	Roosevelt.
Connecticut	7	Senatorial	89,983	76,081	6,853	68,324	74,561	34,129
Delaware	3	Congressional	22,922	20,681	1,653	15,998	22,631	8,886
Idaho	4	Senatorial	47,486	41,266	10,321	32,810	33,921	25,530
Illinois	29	do	390,661	373,403	203,027	253,613	405,048	386,478
Iowa	13	do	205,832	167,251	15,058	119,811	185,376	161,783
Kansas	10	do	180,823	176,929	116,755	78,844	143,670	120,123
Massachusetts	18	Congressional	222,831	179,197	30,120	155,948	173,408	142,228
Michigan	15	do	218,445	149,662	47,700	152,244	150,751	214,584
Minnesota	12	do	181,482	87,305	2,473	64,334	106,426	125,856
New Hampshire	4	Senatorial	42,123	36,382	1,938	32,927	34,724	17,794
New Jersey	14	Congressional	198,290	167,521	14,753	88,835	178,289	145,410
New Mexico	3	do	23,812	19,805	1,695	17,733	20,437	8,347
New York	45	Senatorial	639,112	571,419	61,977	455,428	655,475	390,021
North Dakota	5	do	48,732	29,640	2,707	23,090	29,555	25,726
Ohio	24	do	526,115	423,742	67,509	277,066	423,152	229,327
Pennsylvania	38	do	519,830	266,436	269,175	273,305	395,619	447,426
Rhode Island	5	Congressional	39,001	35,190	1,321	27,703	30,142	16,878
Utah	4	Senatorial	56,261	53,128	.....	42,100	36,579	24,174
Vermont	4	Congressional	36,980	13,685	9,545	23,305	15,350	22,070
Washington	7	Senatorial	130,479	91,733	83,282	71,752	87,674	111,977
West Virginia	8	Congressional	111,387	102,223	8,605	56,754	113,197	79,112
Wisconsin	13	do	159,369	115,501	.....	130,878	164,409	58,661
Wyoming	3	do	21,363	17,246	.....	14,560	15,310	9,232
Total	288		4,113,319	3,215,426	956,467	2,477,372	3,495,704	2,805,748

In this summary no attention is paid to the election of governors, because of the local character of governorship contests and the fact that the real tests on national issues come in the election of United States Senators and Members of Congress. How essentially local is the governorship issue is shown by the fact that in the States in the above table which elected Democratic governors Republican lieutenant governors were chosen at the same time. Wisconsin is put in the table of Republican States, even though a Democratic Senator was chosen, for the reason that local conditions were an element in this senatorial election, and that the Democratic senatorial candidate was successful by a plurality of less than 1,000, while the Republicans carried 8 congressional districts out of 11 and carried the State on congressional vote by a plurality of 44,000.

Of the total Progressive vote cast by these 23 States, it is interesting to note that half of it was cast by two States, Illinois and Pennsylvania, and nearly two-thirds of the total by the three States of Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Kansas.

The three doubtful States, according to the last election, were Nevada, Oregon, and South Dakota. In Nevada the Democrats won the Senatorship by 40 votes and the Republicans won a Congressman at large by a plurality of 877. In Oregon the Democrats and his own personal popularity reelected Senator CHAMBERLAIN by a margin of 23,000, while the Republicans carried all three congressional districts and had a plurality of the congressional vote of 35,000, besides electing a governor by 27,000. South Dakota elected a Democratic Senator by 3,800 and at the same time elected two Republicans out of three Congressmen; the Republicans carried the governorship by 15,000 and had a like plurality of the congressional vote.

Taking the total of the senatorial and congressional votes in each of these three States, and dividing by two to get the average party vote in each State on national issues, the result would be: Oregon, Republicans, 95,200; Democrats, 89,500; South Dakota, Republicans, 48,500; Democrats, 42,900; Nevada, Republicans, 8,471; Democrats, 8,054. This would at least entitle the Republicans to claim half of the electoral votes of these three States, which amount to 13, and would thereby raise the Republican electoral vote won in the election to 295.

Figures have been compiled from 12 States in which Republicans were not successful at the election, and these are representative States in different sections of the country. In the total votes cast in these 12 States the Democrats won by a plurality of less than 200,000. In 1912 the Democratic plurality in these same States was over 1,000,000. A very small percentage of Republican gain would have put 3 of these States into the Republican column, as an increase of a little over 5,000 Republican votes would have carried Nebraska, Colorado, and Maine, with their 20 votes in the Electoral College.

The following is the detailed vote of these States for both 1914 and 1912:

States.	Vote.	1914			1912		
		Republican.	Democrat.	Progressive.	Taft.	Wilson.	Roosevelt.
Alabama	Senatorial	12,320	63,389	4,263	9,731	82,439	22,689
Arizona	do	9,183	16,617	2,608	3,021	10,324	6,949
California	do	254,159	279,896	255,232	3,914	283,436	283,610
Colorado	do	98,728	102,037	27,072	58,386	114,223	72,306
Indiana	do	226,766	272,249	108,581	151,267	281,890	162,007
Kentucky	do	144,758	176,605	14,108	115,512	219,584	102,766
Maine	Congressional	60,318	60,683	17,958	26,545	51,113	48,493
Maryland	Senatorial	94,864	110,204	3,697	54,956	112,674	57,786
Missouri	do	257,056	311,578	27,614	207,821	330,746	124,371
Montana	Congressional	26,151	37,012	6,694	18,512	27,941	22,456
Nebraska	do	110,839	112,309	3,141	54,216	109,008	72,689
North Carolina	Senatorial	87,095	121,241	.....	29,139	144,507	69,130
Total		1,472,237	1,663,820	470,968	733,020	1,767,885	1,045,252

Taking all of the 48 States together, the Republicans at the November election cast 47 per cent of the total Republican, Democratic, and Progressive vote. The Democrats cast 41 per cent of this, and the Progressives 12 per cent. In 1912, in the same States, the Republicans cast 26 per cent of this total, the Democrats 43 per cent, and the Progressives 31 per cent.

The House of Representatives chosen at the November election will contain: Republicans, 195; Democrats, 230; Progressives, 6. In addition to these, there are from California a Progressive-Republican, a Prohibitionist, and an independent, and from New York a Socialist. The House of Representatives elected in 1912 contained: Republicans, 122; Democrats, 292; Progressives, 15; Progressive-Republicans, 5; and independent, 1.

The following is a comparative table of the Members of the House of Representatives elected in 1914 and 1912:

States.	1914				1912			
	Republican.	Democrat.	Progressive.	Others.	Republican.	Democrat.	Progressive.	Others.
Alabama		10				10		
Arizona		1				1		
Arkansas		7				7		
California	3	3	2	3	4	3	1	3
Colorado	1	3				4		
Connecticut	5					5		
Delaware	1					1		
Florida		4				4		
Georgia		12				12		
Idaho	2				2			
Illinois	16	10	1		4	20	2	1
Indiana	2	11				13		
Iowa	10	1			8	3		
Kansas	2	6			2	5	1	
Kentucky	2	9			2	9		
Louisiana		7	1			8		
Maine	3	1			3	1		
Maryland	1	5				6		
Massachusetts	12	4			8	8		
Michigan	11	2			9	2	2	
Minnesota	8	1	1		9	1		
Mississippi		8				8		
Missouri	2	14			1	15		
Montana		2				2		
Nebraska	3	3			3	3		
Nevada	1				1			
New Hampshire	2					2		
New Jersey	8	4			1	11		
New Mexico	1					1		
New York	22	19	1	1	11	31	1	
North Carolina	1	9				10		
North Dakota	3				3			
Ohio	13	9			3	19		
Oklahoma	1	7			2	6		
Oregon	3				2			1
Pennsylvania	30	6			17	12	6	1
Rhode Island	2	1			1	2		
South Carolina		7				7		
South Dakota	2	1			3			
Tennessee	2	8			2	8		
Texas		18				18		
Utah	1	1			2			
Vermont	2				2			
Virginia	1	9			1	9		
Washington	4	1			3		2	
West Virginia	3	3			4	2		
Wisconsin	8	3			8	3		
Wyoming	1				1			
Total	195	230	6	4	122	292	15	6

It was the Progressive vote that saved the control of the House of Representatives to the Democrats. They elected 12 more than a majority of the House, whereas in 39 congressional districts Democrats were chosen because of the candidacy of a Progressive.

There follows a table showing the congressional districts in which Democratic candidates were successful because of Progressive candidates, and also giving the majority of Republican and Progressive vote over that cast for the Democrat in each district:

Districts.	Republican.	Democrat.	Progressive.	Majority of Republican and Progressive over Democrat.
Ninth California	25,176	28,097	27,560	24,639
First Colorado	21,569	26,169	8,729	4,129
Sixth Illinois	17,382	23,103	6,161	400
Seventh Illinois	20,143	22,377	6,724	4,490
Fourteenth Illinois	16,132	17,221	4,272	3,183
At large, Illinois	373,682	375,465	113,510	111,727
First Indiana	17,681	20,488	3,519	712
Second Indiana	19,145	21,451	5,087	2,781
Fifth Indiana	17,552	21,785	5,254	1,021
Sixth Indiana	14,880	18,371	9,443	5,952
Eighth Indiana	13,160	21,841	10,785	2,104
Ninth Indiana	21,035	21,992	6,198	5,241
Tenth Indiana	16,999	20,666	8,106	4,439
Twelfth Indiana	15,052	18,612	3,976	416
Thirteenth Indiana	19,771	25,134	8,542	3,179
Eleventh Iowa	22,300	25,329	4,510	1,481
Second Kansas	24,732	28,412	12,271	8,591
Fourth Kansas	19,331	23,894	6,626	2,063
Fifth Kansas	22,756	25,142	7,083	3,697
Sixth Kansas	21,353	27,359	6,847	841
Seventh Kansas	26,181	27,740	12,537	10,978
Eighth Kansas	11,520	21,512	11,907	1,915
Second Maine	11,335	16,508	6,539	1,366
Fourteenth Massachusetts	12,556	13,246	9,147	8,457
Second Michigan	17,876	18,085	3,345	3,136
Sixth New Jersey	15,880	16,286	1,549	1,143
Twenty-third New York	12,000	18,822	8,228	1,466
Twenty-fourth New York	16,554	17,605	3,143	2,092
Forty-first New York	11,324	11,915	6,488	5,897
Forty-second New York	12,633	13,081	1,265	817
Twelfth Ohio	22,499	25,608	3,278	169
Thirteenth Ohio	22,011	22,085	1,640	1,566
Sixteenth Pennsylvania	9,129	12,982	4,719	966
Nineteenth Pennsylvania	14,503	14,993	9,166	8,676
Twenty-fifth Pennsylvania	9,222	10,025	3,988	3,195
Fifth Washington	20,033	24,410	15,509	11,132
First West Virginia	20,652	21,115	2,131	1,668
Second West Virginia	19,309	20,659	1,715	365
Third West Virginia	21,457	21,890	1,969	1,536

The President's address reveals the characteristic of the schoolman in many ways. Petulance and fretfulness under criticism. His shot at the editors is in evidence when "Woodrow just sits back and chuckles." The preacher, teacher, settlement worker, and all altruists are usually immune from bitter criticism because of the character of their work. They are named to be praised, and very infrequently to be blamed. When the professor leaves that field for one where he invites criticism he becomes restless, if not irritable. The college president expects obedience. His life demands it. The college head administers the year round, and meets only occasionally with his trustees, who usually expect him to make recommendations to be ratified. The head is looked to for such service and is held responsible for it. Partisan politics is a field quite unlike his. His work invites criticism from some; praise from others. The

professor's life does not discipline him to harsh criticism from those who differ. The command "Do this" when given, although it be done in the interest of party, may not be obeyed because of adverse opinions. To resist is too often looked upon as personal, hence the extreme fretfulness. This speech reveals the danger of a strictly dignified personality assuming the commonplace. It shows the danger of an aristocratic mind talking down to the populace. It invariably undershoots. The keenest critic in America of a public man's words is the mass. Interesting scenes are due the next two years. The gauntlet is thrown down. Will it be taken up? The immediate interest is in an imminent family row that but a few paces removed is soon to appear. In 1916 the country will relieve the family of further dissension by applying the same remedy of 20 years ago to cure a similar national disorder.

Philippine Islands.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BIRD S. McGUIRE,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 27, 1915.

Mr. McGUIRE of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following letter, which I received from Mr. C. C. McCollum, of Pawnee, Okla., and other documents accompanying the letter, not of very great length—in fact, very brief—but a comprehensive view of the situation in the Philippines as bearing upon the capability of the Filipino people:

DECEMBER 28, 1914.

Hon. BIRD S. McGUIRE,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: As per your personal request of last week, I have prepared certain comments and data on the subject of the Philippine Islands, which I am herewith handing you. The pieces are consecutively numbered, and attached to some of them are some comments made by myself.

I wish you would bear in mind in reading this material that politically I am a Democrat and am generally a strong supporter of the present administration; but when it comes to the question of dealing with Mexico or China or the Philippines we should not be a Democrat or Republican or a Socialist, but Americans only, and I venture the assertion that at least 95 per cent of the persons who have had any length of service in the Philippines will concur with me in most of my remarks. I have found that these people, regardless of age or political affiliations, are almost invariably of one mind and opinion regarding the Philippines; but our duty there, our best good efforts in discharging that duty, and our present mistaken idea of what our duty is, and it is such an elementary and potent fact to all of us that the Filipinos are wholly incompetent to govern themselves, that we feel ridiculous in discussing or arguing the question, but when our fellow countrymen so forget our high national duty toward the Filipino people and toward the social word as to favor a withdrawal, wholly or partly, from the Philippines, just because we want to shirk our duty or because this infant people ask for things which they should not have, when we are threatened with such an alarming state of affairs it becomes our duty to do what we can to keep the United States Government from permitting one of the greatest tragedies of political history, for that is exactly what it would be to turn loose of the Philippines. We owe a duty to the Filipinos to help them look out for the best social and economic progress of which they are capable. As a strong and intelligent nation we owe it to the rest of the world to assist civilization and progress to this extent by taking charge of this one backward group and aiding them to do their part in the business world. When we consider that England has done it so honorably and so well and has been so bounteously rewarded for doing so, it should make us ashamed, who are descendants of the same people and who have unlimited resources with which to operate, it should make us ashamed to be so selfish and cruel as to be unwilling to do this little part of colonial tutoring.

Last spring I sent to Mr. C. B. MILLER, Representative from the eighth district of Minnesota, two numbers of the Philippine Monthly, same being for December, 1911, and January, 1912, containing two articles written by myself on the subject of colonization, which I think you would find profitable to read in connection with this matter. Not having another copy available, I suggest that you call on Mr. MILLER and get these articles, in which I believe I have shown the falsity of the theory that it is a disgrace for a people to be a colony or dependents of another stronger and more highly advanced nation. In that I point out the fact that the United States was once a colony of England; that England was once a colony of Rome; that Italy was once a colony of Greece, and so on; in fact, every present important nation, with the possible exception of Russia, has at one time in its political history been a dependent student under the care of another nation. It is the rule, not the exception.

It must be obvious to you that I am very much interested in this subject, else I would not have taken so much time and trouble to prepare these things; but if anything I have said or done can be of any service to you or any of the other Members of Congress who will try to see the right on this subject I shall feel amply repaid, and if I can do anything at any time I shall feel very glad to do so and you can feel free to call upon me at any time.

Express my personal regards to Hon. C. B. MILLER, as I believe you two gentlemen are agreeing on this Philippine question. I am,

Very truly, yours,

CLAUDE C. McCOLLUM.

P. S.—Since writing the above letter and preparing the remarks to go along with it, I have seen several newspaper reports concerning an attempted uprising in Manila and vicinity on Christmas Eve. The press reports are quite conflicting, and it is natural for the Government to say that the only dependable report is the report of the Governor General, but I fear that that is not the case. It should be borne in mind that the Governor General has been in the islands but a short time and he might not understand these things as well as those who have spent more time there, and it should also be borne in mind that should Mr. Harrison report a bad condition it might be taken as a concrete example of the impropriety of his administration. It therefore behooves Congress to get first-hand information on this matter as well as all matters in connection with the Philippine Islands. Although I have seen only the press reports, I might say that I am sure that the officers are correct who say that no such a movement by the Filipinos could reach serious proportions. The islands are well policed and are covered by a network of secret service, and it is impossible for a movement of this kind to gain any headway before being discovered, but that is stating one fact only. The other fact is that if the Filipinos could get away with it and felt sure they could, they would start a revolution to-morrow. Their frequent abortive efforts in this line are not so much revolutions against the American Government as they are revolutions against government. A large majority of the Filipinos can easily be induced to undertake to overthrow any efficient government, because the efficient government stops plundering, robbing, embezzlement, and the other tricks by which so many Filipinos lived before the Americans established a stable government. The situation in the Philippines is not very different from the situation in Mexico. It is war of the "outs" against the "ins," and if the Filipinos had their independence given them next week or next year or 10 years from now we would have a repetition of the Mexican situation accompanied by immediate international complications, which in my judgment would in a very short time result in the islands going under the dominion of Japan or England, more probably Japan, as the Japanese need territory and have already made quite an invasion of the Philippines peaceably and could turn the islands to their great immediate advantage, and as England and Japan are closely allied, England would probably permit Japan to take up the job which we would have ignominiously abandoned before we had done half our duty.

The lack of time prevents my discussing this matter further. I hope that the foregoing remarks may be of some satisfaction and service to you.

CLAUDE C. McCOLLUM.

JANUARY 5, 1915.

Attached hereto is a clipping from the Manila Times for April 5, 1914, which comments on the existence of robber bands operating in the island of Cebu. I might say that I spent most of three years in the island of Cebu and several months on the west coast of this island, and that I do not doubt the statement made in the clipping. The island of Cebu is located in about the middle of the archipelago, is about 130 miles long, and averages about 18 or 20 miles wide, and is very densely populated, there being about 1,000,000 on the island at this time. It is inhabited by the Visayans, which is the most numerous tribe in the Philippines and is considered the most peaceable and among the most intelligent. It is significant that in such an island, so densely populated, so centrally located, and having as its provincial capital a city of importance second only to Manila, that this robbing should still go on, and in spite of the honest and energetic American administration for more than 12 years. While I was in Cebu—1909–1912—these robbers were operating more or less all the time in spite of the fact that each municipality has a large force and despite the fact that there are several constabulary posts situated in the island, the constabulary being a kind of military organization whose duty it is to hunt down and suppress the more violent lawbreakers. While in Cebu I heard several times of these robber bands operating and collecting tribute or blood money; that is, they would come to a Filipino's house and tell him that they were organizing a kind of rebel band against the Government, and that they had to have supplies to operate with, and that they would take his cattle or other property if he did not buy a cedula from them; that if he did buy this cedula his property would be protected. Many of them bought the cedulas, thinking that the cheapest way out, and were afraid to report the matter to the authorities for fear they would be murdered or plundered for so doing, as several were murdered for telling too much on the robbers; but when the Filipino had bought the cedula he was not secure, for within a short time another alleged rebel leader would approach him on the same proposition to extort more money. A very famous robber of this kind operated in Cebu from the American occupation up until 1912, and was then captured by being induced to visit the office of the provincial governor, Dioniso Jakosalem. These plunders are arrayed more or less under the guise of insurrections or revolutions and are encouraged in their work by any weakening of American authority, and the continual harangue about independence makes them believe that the Americans are soon to withdraw, and they feel sure that they will never be punished after they do withdraw.

I might remark in this connection that the speaker of the Filipino Assembly, Hon. Segio Osmena, resides in Cebu and is a mixed blood, being part Chinese; and it is the opinion that it is the Chinese mixture which makes him such a prominent leader in Filipino affairs. But Mr. Osmena has some Cebu friends who are not so praiseworthy. In 1911 and 1912 the presidente or mayor of the city of Cebu, Mr. Teves, and the treasurer of the municipality, Mr. Roda, both friends and supporters of of Mr. Osmena, were caught in the very reprehensible conduct of defrauding the municipality out of horses by taking the good horses which belonged to the municipality, shipping them off to some remote place and selling them, and putting in their places cheap, worthless horses. They were tried in the court of the first instance at Cebu before Judge Hurd, and both sentenced to terms in the Bilibid prison. On trial they were defended by Filamon Sotto, a member of the Filipino Legislature, whose brother has been a fugitive from justice for years, residing in Hongkong and issuing independence propaganda, and has only recently been caught and put in prison in Manila. This seems significant to me because of the fact that until these two gentlemen were caught they passed off as very reputable, worthy, and intelligent Filipino officials, and were well connected politically, and were not deserted by their political friends, even after they were found out. In fact, the average Filipino does not regard a public office as a public trust and an opportunity to serve his fellows, but regards it as a private graft and an opportunity to filch his fellows. They have an idea that the principal good thing about a government is the soft jobs that it furnishes and the opportunity to exercise arbitrary power and extort valuables from the citizens. I might say that this is pretty well trained out of the

young Filipino, who has good thorough high-school training under American teachers; but unless he is protected and supported after he gets out of school it will not take long for the old dogs to swing him into their way of doing; and it should be remarked also that the number of Filipinos getting training in school is small. When I was in the islands the bureau of education did not hope to reach more than 15 per cent of the population at all, and the Province of Cebu, with almost 1,000,000 population, supported but one high school, and in that high school there were less than 100 secondary students, and it graduated its first class in 1912, with about 12 to the class.

CEBU CLIPPINGS.

[From the Manila Times.]

Reports received at Cebu indicate that there is a reign of terror beginning in the west coast of the Province, due to the activities of numerous robber bands in the district. Stories have grown in number in the past week, and it has been learned from reliable sources that armed robber bands are now actively engaged in stealing and killing cattle, holding up and robbing the villagers, and burning houses and destroying other property.

Says the Cebu Chronicle: "It is indeed a lamentable picture that is presented to the world. Filipino politicians snarling at each other like dogs quarrelling over a bone, Americans quitting the islands by hundreds in disgust, business houses suspending all efforts at progress and asking only the chance to sell out at a price not entirely ruinous, Japs sitting back and waiting their chance, copra fronting a dropping market, sugar prices on the down run, and hemp facing dangerous competition."

Gov. Manuel Roa, accompanied by Engineer C. Russell, has left for Matutinaw to open the new concrete bridge across the river.

Fio Villanueva, postmaster at Zamboan, has been arrested pending the result of an investigation into the alleged robbery of the Zamboan post office. It is alleged that an attempt was made to set fire to the post-office building.

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FILIPINOS ARE LIKE CHILDREN, HE SAYS.

"No portion of the Filipino people which I have met seems to be ready for independence. The mass of the people are like children. Their leaders are intelligent men—men who compare favorably with Europeans and Americans—but the ordinary individual, Filipino or Moro, is a long way from fitness for the independence for which they seem to think the United States is preparing them."

In these words Ebbe Kornerup, noted Danish artist, author, and newspaper man, sums up his conclusions reached after a stay of two months in different parts of the Philippines. Mr. Kornerup, with Dr. Mortensen, the Copenhagen authority on marine biology, arrived from Zamboanga on the steamer *Romulus* Friday morning.

The pair have spent six weeks in Moroland. From Zamboanga Mr. Kornerup went out into the forests, where he lived with Moros, and he spent a short time at Jolo as the guest of Gov. Whitney. There he met the famous Sultan of Sulu.

To a reporter, who asked him for his impressions, Mr. Kornerup said: "Your Sultan of Sulu is not much of a Sultan. I have met men of far superior intelligence and greater seriousness in Egypt and in the Sahara among the Arabs.

"But I do like the Moros. I believe them to have the strongest minds and characters and the best brains of any tribe in the islands. But the Moro is a sort of anarchist and must prove a very difficult problem for his rulers.

"The Filipinos I have met around Cebu and Manila are more fitted to be good citizens, but they are slow in thought. Both peoples are too much like children to be ready for absolute self-government. I refer here to the masses, not to the leaders."

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Attached to this is a clipping from the Manila Times regarding the sending of a priest to Bilibid Prison. I was personally acquainted with this priest, who passed as a very substantial priest and a person of influence and importance of the community, as in fact all priests are. The prevalent religion in the Philippines is Catholic, and most of the priests are Filipinos and treated with tolerance by the government and with much veneration by the people in general. Although an exponent of a Christian religion, it is a regrettable fact that the example and influence of these priests is not very elevating. Nearly all of them drink more or less, and some to a very aggravated excess. Many of them, though not married, have children and several mistresses, and they are not generally friendly to the American administration and to the extension of learning and intelligence generally, because of the fact that the more intelligent the people become the more difficult it is for them to enjoy the numerous privileges and prerogatives which they now enjoy. It is not a very uncommon thing for a priest to be sent to Bilibid Prison for complicity in some crime or an attempted revolution or insurrection. This priest seems to have been found guilty of suborning and inducing witnesses to swear falsely against one against whom he had a personal grudge, and it furnishes an opportunity to make a few remarks on trials in the Philippines. Most of the judicial work in the Philippines is attended to by judges of the courts of first instance, who sit as tryers of both fact and law.

The jury system has never been used, and it would be absolutely impossible to use it and get any judicial results. There is no difficulty in getting a witness to swear to most anything. They can be bribed for small sums, or if they are dependent in any way upon another Filipino, as most of them are, their superior may bring pressure to bear on them to testify as he wants them to testify, and that is what occurs. The superior may be a landlord or he may be a loaner of money, and therefore, ipso facto, a usurer, charging from 1 to 5 per cent per month for the use of money, or he may be a municipal official or a master of household servants, and it requires the keenest insight of independent and conscientious judges to get anything like justice out of the courts over there. The judges are appointed by the Governor General, with the advice and consent of the Philippine Commission, and hold office during good behavior; and, with a strong and courageous Governor General keeping a hand on the appointments, the standing of the judges has been very high. Most of them in the past have been Americans. A few intelligent Filipinos have been made judges and have discharged the duties satisfactorily, but they have done so knowing that they would be backed up by the Governor General in discharging their duties carefully and fairly, and unless they did do so they would be demoted or fired. When the appointment comes to be made by a Governor General who is not familiar with the Filipino personnel and must take most of his advice from hearsay sources, and must get his appointments approved by a commission dominated by Filipinos, and undertakes to replace the American judges with Filipino judges, I very much fear for the standing of the courts of first instance in the Philippines; and if justice can not be had, of course, there will be little chance for progress of any kind. In Spanish days bribery of the judges was a most common thing, and I learned of one example there in Cebu where a judge of the first instance had a system of taking bribes from both sides and the one that paid the highest got the decision of the court, and he was a very wealthy man. It is true that the older Filipinos are thoroughly saturated with the Spanish standard and think that a Spaniard is far superior in every way to an American. They have a way of smiling at the American's honesty and integrity as being childish and weak, and if these Filipinos are put in power the Spanish standard of morals, vice, bribery, and general corruption will very soon prevail, to the total exclusion of any good seed that the Americans have sowed in the short time they have been there.

PRIEST TO BILIBID.

Bilibid will be the future home of Rev. Sancho Abadia, formerly parish priest of Moalboal, Cebu, and Felix Garcia, a Spanish landowner of the same municipality, who were convicted last week of subornation of perjury and sentenced by Judge Adolph Wislizenus to two years and six months and three years and six months, respectively.

The court scathingly rebuked the priest, who, according to the decision, conspired to convict two innocent men of murder to satisfy a personal grudge he held against them for denouncing him as a leper to the health authorities.

From the decision it appears that the accused procured the presentation of a complaint against Andres and Brigido Gaco for murdering Agaton Canece, suborning and inducing a number of persons to accuse falsely and knowingly Andres and Brigido Gaco.

In its finding the court further says that it appears extraordinary and incomprehensible that the sacred office of priest was an important factor in overcoming any scruples which the suborned persons might have had in giving their services as perjured witnesses. Nevertheless the fact that the order to put in jeopardy by perjured declarations the life and liberty of innocent men emanated from the lips of a minister of God did not fill them with horror, but, on the contrary, the principal motive was to them obedience.

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Attached is an editorial comment taken from the Manila Times of April 18, 1914. Mr. Phipps was insular auditor under the previous administration, and was one of the few personæ gratæ who were retained by the Harrison administration; and it is a lamentable fact that practically all of those men who were retained very soon quit the service in disgust. Mr. Phipps's words speak for themselves and are very significent and instructive, showing that the new Governor General is going headlong into discharging Americans and appointing Filipinos, regardless of the good of the service. He seems to have a mistaken idea that it is his function to confer favors on individual Filipinos rather than to work for the general good of the whole Filipino people. That this is a mistaken policy must be admitted by any thinking person. The public official must serve all the people and must depend for his popularity, if he is bent on having popularity, on lasting beneficial results for the whole social community, and not on a few individuals at the expense of all the rest. Mr. Harrison has not discovered, perhaps, that he lives in a land of Judases, that these fawning Filipinos who caress and embrace him do so only for the purpose of getting special favors for themselves. They are very skillful and diplomatic in this work and are able to get a good many things from a person who is not familiar with their style of diplomacy and trickery. An American Army officer many years ago sizes up the situation by saying, "A Filipino tells the truth when it is consistent with diplomacy to do so; an American is diplomatic when it is consistent with truth to be so." These Filipinos make a noise over Mr. Harrison, because by doing so they can get pie for themselves and friends. When he ceases to be of service to them for that purpose, they will have no use for him whatever; and not having made a record for the general or common good, where will Mr. Harrison's merit marks come from? Last April I received a letter from a gentleman in the Philippines, a graduate of one of our eastern universities, a man of long service in the islands, in which he made these remarks: "Some people think that the Government has about reached the end of the Filipinization; for the present the Filipino is all right, when he is held in check, but the more he is assisted the more he wants, and there has to be an end to all things. The Filipinos thought that Gov. Gen. Harrison came over here to give them their independence, and now they want him to do it and get out. Something was referred to him recently and one of the natives said that it was quite unnecessary, that the Filipino Assembly should have made its own conditions and let the Governor General mind his own business. Every now and then there is a break like that. Undoubtedly Harrison will go away a sadder and wiser man; and we will all be sadder, too. I suppose it is very wrong for us to care so much what becomes of the Filipinos, but it is an accepted fact that he will not advance unless he is forced to do so, as he was under the previous régime."

PHIPPS TELLS THE FOLKS AT HOME.

Once again W. H. Phipps, former insular auditor, is to the fore—not as a financial expert, or an adviser on legislation this time, but as a letter writer. He has told the New York Journal the story of the first few months of Gov. Gen. Harrison's administration as he conceives it, and it goes without saying that W. H. Phipps plays an important part in the events he describes. For instance, we learn that he "was preparing to leave the islands when Gov. Gen. Harrison arrived," which will be news to everyone in Manila. Then, at the suggestion of "some very substantial men," among whom he names "the Hon. C. W. O'Brien and Judge L. M. Southworth," he was persuaded to remain—at ₱15,000 a year. His duties were those of "financial adviser," and he tells how he advised with the Governor General "almost every day" and with the speaker "every day." Then, out of these advisings, things began to happen:

"I drew a bill for the abolition of slavery. It was passed by the assembly, but so badly amended as to be worthless.

"I wrote a letter to the governor, the speaker, and to members of the commission, each letter the same, excepting the address. I have copies of each letter. I sought and had interviews with each person to whom I sent such letter and said to him that if the bill as it passed the assembly became a law the effect would be worse than if they passed no law, as on its face it showed an intention to deceive the American people. The only thing to do, I told them, was to pass a bill which would reenact the United States statutes. I gave them the needed sections, as I had the original draft which I prepared.

"I kept at them and finally forced my bill through.

"QUEZON was much displeased with my slavery report, and he and I were not on very friendly terms. I attribute to him the attitude taken by the assembly.

"Nevertheless I attended a banquet where Harrison said he owed his appointment to QUEZON. As he spoke he put his hand on QUEZON'S shoulder. There were hundreds who say he put his arm around him.

"He did this same sort of thing in his inaugural address and on many other occasions. Many Filipinos and practically all the Americans did not like this."

He goes on to tell of how the heads began to fall into the basket, and speaks particularly of the appointment of Frank Carpenter as governor of the Moro Province. He says:

"Harrison proposed letting Executive Secretary Frank W. Carpenter, one of the ablest men in the service, out, and putting in Attorney Villamor, a Filipino. The latter, while a man of some ability, is not at all fitted for the place.

"I went to Mr. Bonsal and told him to tell Harrison for me that this was a very unwise move; that if he had fully decided to let Carpenter out he must put in a man in whom he had full confidence, and that I thought only an American ought to fill the place.

"My protest did no good. Carpenter was appointed governor of the department of Mindanao. I personally know he did not want the place, but was forced to take it.

"When Harrison had made his appointment of Villamor he called me to the palace and said, 'Well, what do you think of my executive secretary?'

"I said, 'Governor, I expressed myself before when I told you if this thing were done you would find yourself in the middle of the deep blue sea.'"

Then we come to the appropriations bill, that monumental piece of assembly folly. "Notwithstanding the fact that I was appointed as advisor to the assembly, I was not consulted as to its provisions," he says, and denies that he had "part or parcel in it." He tells of the reduction of the amount allowed the bureau of posts for printing postage stamps—one of the most glaring of the instances of foolishness in the assembly bill—and says he could cite scores of items almost as bad. However:

"Both Harrison and the speaker were in daily consultation with the appropriations committee, and this was the result.

"As soon as I got hold of the bill and saw what they had done I resigned and refused to stay longer, leaving the islands December 21, 2 months and 15 days after my appointment.

"When I left the islands business was stagnated and revenues were dropping off badly. It took a hardy American to speak well of the change. I was in China in September, the full month, and passed from Peking clear across the country. The new policy of letting Americans and their interests in foreign countries go to the bowwows was every where derided and deplored.

"I talked with many an American who was sick at heart over the attitude of the administration toward Americans who have business and investments in foreign countries.

"Many anxiously asked me if it could be possible that we would give up the Philippines. I told them I feared it was true, and they declared nothing could happen to hurt our prestige so much as that, for foreigners will not believe any notion but fear of Japan actuated our country, and Japan will see to it that such an impression is widespread."

In fine, it is a letter full of interest to residents of the Philippines for the sidelights it throws on legislation of recent times and on the personality of W. H. Phipps.

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The attached clipping from the Manila Times of October 11, 1914, shows how the Governor General has failed to get along with his new director of lands, Gen. Tinio. When Mr. Harrison became Governor General an American was in charge of the bureau of lands, and the bureau of lands was doing much to improve economic conditions by getting title to lands determined. In the Philippines different people claimed land, but nobody owned land. It is practically impossible to get real estate security on loans because the mortgage on real estate would be no good, the title being an uncertain proposition. The Governor General made the very great mistake of putting an incompetent ex-insurrecto general in this important position, from which he has recently been forced to resign.

TINIO NOW KICKS.

Complaining that his orders have been set aside during his absence by the assistant director, that his efforts to secure well-merited salary increases for certain Filipinos were thwarted by none other than that great exponent of ultra-Filipinization, the secretary of the interior, and that the estimates for the bureau for the coming fiscal year prepared by him had later been altered without his approval, ex-Director Tinio, of the bureau of lands, has incorporated his grievances in a lengthy memorandum, which he is about to submit to Speaker Osmeña.

La Vanguardia publishes in full the correspondence that passed between Señor Tinio and the secretary of the interior on the subjects mentioned. To a letter of Señor Tinio recommending a salary increase for Filipino surveyors the secretary of the interior replied, calling attention to the reduction of all salaries recently effected, and asking that no increases be recommended which are not in strict conformity with the civil-service rules.

Unconvinced by the secretary's economy pleas, Señor Tinio replied, pointing out the great difference between the compensations paid to American and Filipino surveyors in his bureau and insisting that the raise be granted to the latter. The Filipino surveyors, Señor Tinio said, are gradually acquiring greater efficiency, and as a matter of justice should be given a raise. By gradually increasing the salaries of these Filipinos, it would become unnecessary to continue the policy of importing high-priced American surveyors.

Secretary Denison then expressed his willingness to submit the question of all salary increases to a board vested with authority to act on all recommendations for raises submitted by the division chiefs. To this proposition Director Tinio was unwilling to agree, on the ground that the board would usurp the prerogatives of the director and that the division chiefs were not familiar with the interior administration of the office nor vitally interested in the proper administration of the same.

The next letter of Señor Tinio to the secretary of the interior has to do with the matter of changes effected by the assistant director in the estimates of expenditures for the coming fiscal year. On the very day Gen. Tinio left on his vacation, it appears the assistant director and other employees of the bureau got busy effecting changes to the budget in conformity with their own views of the needs of the office, which amended budget was then forwarded to the secretary of the interior. Upon his return to Manila Gen. Tinio was requested by the secretary of the interior to change the budget submitted in conformity with the results of a conference had between the secretary and the assistant director. Señor Tinio at once went to see the secretary of the interior, who asked him to submit his comment on the changes proposed by the assistant director. To this the director replied, charging Asst. Director Jones with violating the provisions of the reorganization law, which confers no authority upon an assistant director to change the action of the chief during the latter's absence. Mr. Jones, Señor Tinio said, in addition to changing the budget, had taken it upon himself to effect changes in an administrative circular issued by the director before he went on leave.

"Taking into consideration all these facts," Señor Tinio winds up his last communication to the secretary of the interior, "it is not difficult to understand who is the person that has fomented and is still fomenting disloyalty in this bureau. It is not my desire to attack anyone, but only to state the facts as they have occurred."

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A YEAR OF HARRISON.

What is to be said of conditions in the Philippines to-day, the anniversary of the arrival in Manila of Gov. Gen. Harrison, and the end of the first year of what has been styled the "new era"?

The question is not easy to answer, but some of its difficulties are removed if we personify the abstraction, if we consider the "new era"; that is to say, in and through the Governor General, its herald and its exponent. Admittedly, this may do Mr. Harrison an injustice. It is possible that he is the mouthpiece and the servant of the President of the United States to a degree unrealized here; that his dependence upon and subservience to Washington are greater than any previous Governor General has been willing, or has been asked, to allow. If this is so, it would be unfair to Mr. Harrison to visit blame upon him for acts or omissions traceable to presidential order, and equally unfair to the President to praise Mr. Harrison for accomplishments in which his part might be likened by analogy to the relation between the phonographic disk and the voice whose tones it reproduces. This, however, would not necessarily affect the justice of the praise or the blame, but only the destination to which they should rightly be addressed.

There are two things to be considered in any review of the first year of Mr. Harrison's administration—the degree of his opportunity, and the use he has made of it. Minor achievement might be highly laudable if it were snatched out of small opportunity; and, per contra, large accomplishment might be so sadly out of relation to the chances offered as to the matter for severe criticism.

All things considered, Mr. Harrison had such an opportunity as has been given to no Governor General before him. He was charged with a message which made him at once the hero of the hour; he began his work on the crest of a wave of enthusiasm which insured legislative approval of his policies, and he found a trained and efficient civil service awaiting his orders. He had all that his predecessor had, and one vastly important thing that he lacked—the sympathy of the legislature. It must be remembered that—much passionate protestation to the contrary notwithstanding—the long deadlock over the appropriation bill which characterized the last years of the Forbes régime was in the last analysis prompted by desire to hamper an administration which was known to be unfavorable to ideas of immediate independence. No such obstruction was to be feared by Mr. Harrison. He was a young Congressman in whom the taint of Tammany was offset by his known adherence to the tenets of the "anti-imperialist" school, and whose priceless distinction it was to have been chosen by MANUEL QUEZON. He was received with open arms, his actions were applauded, his words were accepted as the inspired utterance of one who would lead the people out of bondage. A hundred times it was said that under his direction the Filipino people—that is to say, the Filipino legislators—would at last be able to show their capacity, which, being interpreted, meant that they were prepared to comply with the august suggestions of their new chief, to the end that Washington might be satisfied of their good behavior. In short, Mr. Harrison was to initiate a "new era," for which the people had been sedulously prepared by their leaders.

This being so—and our statement of the situation in which the Governor General found himself last October will hardly bear denial—it remains to ask what Mr. Harrison has made of his opportunity. Are the people happier, more prosperous, more free for his coming? Has the country in this year measurably advanced toward the oft-named ideal of economic independence? Has the year seen the beginning of constructive work of any description which Mr. Harrison can claim to have originated? Since government, rightly regarded, is service, is the government to-day giving better service than before? Is there any spot in all the islands where, as the result of Mr. Harrison's work, two grains of rice grow where one grew before? Has he accomplished anything for our health, our education, our peace and order? In short, what is there to show for his 12 months as Governor General?

The apologist would doubtless here interpose the statement that, on his arrival, Mr. Harrison found the finances of the country in a serious state. There are two sides to that question, of course; but, for the sake of argument, let us admit that this was the case. What remedy did Mr. Harrison apply? He stopped public works, he cut salaries, and he abolished positions. All these are good things in their way and in their season, but it should be remembered that they are all negative things, and unless they are accompanied by something that is positive, that is constructive, they can not fail to do harm. In effect, all that Mr. Harrison did was destructive, and a child might have done as well. So complete a lack of understanding was displayed, indeed, that to-day we find the civil service destroyed, and as, for instance, in the case of the coast-guard vessels, the sum rightly chargeable to depreciation rapidly gaining upon the estimated saving by nonemployment. We find important positions held by incompetents, while the country suffers; we find politics triumphant while public need is unregarded; we find depression where there had been buoyant confidence; we find a government and a country to all appearances utterly unprepared to take advantage of the splendid opportunity which is offered at this crisis in the world's affairs. To say that all this is the result, first, of the financial situation of the Philippines at the time of Mr. Harrison's arrival, and, second, of causes which are common to the rest of the world, is to beg the present question. It was Mr. Harrison's duty and his privilege to have used his power and his tremendous influence with the people to better ends than mere stoppage of public works and cutting of salaries—the effect of which is but to deepen depression. The need of the time was for a man of constructive ability, a man of resource, not a politician of purely negative attainments.

The Times believes that only in the way it has indicated can a fair estimate be made of this year of Harrison. It believes that if all that the Governor General's most loyal and enthusiastic supporters can advance in his favor is weighed in the balance with the opportunity which was his from October 6, 1913, his achievement will kick the

beam. It believes that, in relation to what he might have done, what he has done is pitifully small. It has searched in vain for any indication which would give color to the belief that Mr. Harrison has in him the ability to meet a positive need with any other than negative expedients. It believes that, in the early days of his administration, he utterly failed to understand the situation, and that to-day a weak obstinacy is all too likely to prevent his applying such experience as the past 12 months have brought him. It believes that he is to-day estranged from all the country save only that small section whose political future he believes to depend on the fate of the preamble to the Jones bill. In fine, it believes that he has been tried and found wanting.

It may be said that a year is too short a time in which to form a right judgment of a man and his possibilities. If this is indeed so, and if in the time to come Mr. Harrison should display qualities which he has very successfully hidden hitherto, this paper will be profoundly thankful, and will not hesitate to pay him tribute. But to-day it confesses to the belief that Mr. Harrison is a failure. It can not forget the richness of his opportunity and the miserable poverty of his accomplishment.

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IN DEFENSE OF HARRISON.

It is pleasant to find El Ideal coming sturdily to the defense of Gov. Gen. Harrison, and if the editorial in which it replies to this paper's summing up of the past year fails to carry conviction, at least it lacks nothing in the matter of good will. There is an admission—"for sake of discussion"—that the year just closed "was largely devoted to undoing many of the blunders committed by the last administration," but El Ideal points out that "it is a truism * * * that every constructive work must be preceded by destruction." So sadly had the Republicans upset things "that not one year, but two years, was needed to effect the necessary house cleaning before the great plans of the new régime could get a proper start." Moreover, we are informed that Mr. Harrison met "the dogged opposition of his countrymen in every step he took in rectifying the serious mistakes of the Republican Party," and thus fought against "terrible odds."

This notwithstanding El Ideal urges that constructive work has not been lacking. It instances the "brilliant campaign against two powerful enemies of agriculture—rinderpest and locust—conducted under Gov. Harrison's wise guidance," as to which it must be admitted that the "dogged opposition" of the Amercan press to the spread of these pests stirred Mr. Harrison to effort once or twice. Next we are asked to admire "the splendid work being done in the Department of Mindanao and Sulu and in the mountain Province in the way of education, sanitation, self-government, and public order." Did this work, such as it is, originate with Mr. Harrison? Did it not antedate his arrival? And, finally, "Will the Times ignore the perfect peace and contentment which reigns in every nook and corner of the archipelago?" The Times will not ignore it, but will deny it. The fact is that there is less peace and contentment in the Philippines to-day than at any time during the past five years. If proof of the prevalence of discontent and the decline in public morals is needed, the columns of El Ideal and the editorials in that paper, in which present conditions are deplored, are sufficient testimony.

However, in matters affecting the administration of Mr. Harrison it is not to be expected that El Ideal, the organ of the Nacionalista Party, should see eye to eye with the Times. It may serve a better purpose if we turn to another Filipino newspaper, La Democracia, to see how the claim that "the Filipino people" to-day know that Mr. Harrison "has admirably acquitted himself" appears to a Filipino writer. La Democracia has at least as good a right to express an opinion and to have it considered authoritative as El Ideal. On the subject of the proposed demonstration next Sunday afternoon to celebrate the anniversary of Mr. Harrison's coming La Democracia says:

"Probably the organizers of this 'new-era' demonstration have deemed it prudent to keep their names from public print and to hide themselves under the thinly screened misnomer of 'some prominent Filipinos,' because they are well aware that such a demonstration, which is not justified by actual facts, would be taken by the people in general as something that could only be conceived by spineless sycophants."

Later we are informed that Gov. Gen. Harrison is "the defraudation of our great and flattering hopes to see the blunders of the former 'bottom-side-up' administration rectified." His "solemn and sententious declarations" are referred to; he is said to have "seemed to be resolved to reform and simplify the administration"; his "penchant for the decentralization of the government" is mentioned. And then this:

"But later on he displayed his irresolute infirmity of purpose and apprehensive vacillation, egged on and gagged by the vociferating criticism hurled against him and his administration policy by the Imperialists. His heralded policy of Filipinization has been paralyzed. He has hung in suspense his plan of decentralizing the government. And, as if contact with our people has convinced him of our many defects, he has unqualifiedly approved all the amendments introduced to the Jones bill, which are very restrictive. All of which shows that Francis Burton Harrison is one of those that have little confidence in our capacity for assuming the responsibilities of an independent government."

Then that nigger in the woodpile, the Mauro Prieto bank bill, is discerned, after which we are informed that one year of the "new era" having elapsed, "agricultural, industrial, and commercial conditions, instead of improving, seem to have fallen below normal."

Out of all this, one thing emerges clearly. If in the pressure of his many duties Gov. Gen. Harrison has found time to keep alive his sense of humor, he will gently but firmly indicate to those who would demonstrate before him on Sunday, in the name of the Filipino people, that the time is not propitious.

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Attached to this are two clippings from the Manila Times on the new collector of internal revenue. The insular government depends very largely on internal revenue, and the new Governor General put in charge of that important bureau J. J. Rafferty, who was distinctly persona non grata with the previous administration. Mr. Rafferty had been collector of customs at the port of Cebu, which is a very important port, but because of his blundering had been demoted and put in charge of a Moro port at a considerably reduced salary. He refused to take the suggestion to resign and, hanging on, was picked up by the new administration and made collector of internal revenue, with the result indicated by these clippings. Mr. Rafferty is of that alleged amiable type of public official who seeks by flattery and personal favors to employ himself and retain his position; and, of course, as collector of internal revenue has plenty of chances to deal out personal favors at the expense of the public treasury, and unless removed from that bureau will grow more and more lenient in the collection of duties and internal revenues, and receipts will continue to fall off. It is not surprising that Mr. Rafferty should grab a high position, but it will be very surprising if the administration does not run on financial rocks with such a man steering an important fiscal bureau.

BUREAU OF INTERNAL REVENUE SHOWS HUGE DECREASE—NET LOSS OF ₱685,873 IS DISCLOSED BY OFFICIAL FIGURES OF BUREAU COLLECTIONS FOR THIS YEAR.

Unless prompt action is taken by the Governor General in the reform of the bureau of internal revenue, the Philippine Islands are facing the possibility of bankruptcy. This is the result of an investigation which has been conducted for some time past by the Manila Times, the facts disclosed by which have now been supported by official figures obtained from the office of the insular auditor.

In the five months of the present year ending on May 31, the collections made by the bureau of internal revenue are shown to be ₱685,873.84 less than they were in the equivalent five months of 1913. Of this enormous decrease ₱432,075.75 is represented by the two months of April and May, and from these figures the speed at which the bureau is slipping downhill under Collector J. J. Rafferty and Assistant Collector Venancio Concepcion may be judged.

Comparative statement of internal-revenue collections during the period from Jan. 1 to May 31 of the calendar years 1913 and 1914, respectively.

Item.	1913	1914	Increase.	Decrease.
DOMESTIC.				
Distilled spirits	₱1,122,546.42	₱1,006,259.00		₱116,287.42
Fermented liquors	64,250.00	68,250.00	₱4,000.00	
Manufactured tobacco	103,975.88	81,477.06		22,498.82
Cigars	99,754.10	89,808.26		9,945.84
Cigarettes	1,942,380.84	1,842,936.72		99,444.12
Matches	109,100.00	84,480.00		24,620.00
Wines	30,545.59	34,944.43	4,398.84	
Total domestic	3,472,552.83	3,208,155.47	8,398.84	272,796.20
IMPORTED.				
Distilled spirits	117,522.61	122,438.70	4,886.09	
Fermented liquors	7,381.66	8,362.98	981.32	
Manufactured tobacco	51,612.66	53,869.97	2,257.31	
Cigars	5.86	31.55	25.69	
Cigarettes	1,247.38	3,410.69	2,163.31	
Matches	44,881.09	60,519.31	15,638.22	
Wines	44,233.38	47,997.14	3,763.76	
Total imported	266,914.64	296,630.34	29,715.70	
LICENSES.				
Dealers in alcohol and tobacco products	300,145.66	303,696.19	3,550.53	
Merchants, manufacturers, and common carriers	1,015,277.31	947,258.45		68,018.86
Occupations, trades, and professions	289,786.73	320,284.43	30,497.70	
Banks and bankers	142,524.34	130,867.99		11,656.35
Insurance companies	10,641.98	12,043.98	1,402.00	
Documentary stamp taxes	122,097.24	117,778.19		4,319.05
Cedulas	2,804,966.00	2,672,064.00		132,902.00
Forest products	181,376.83	187,042.81	5,665.98	
Miscellaneous	130.91	14.20		116.71
Total licenses	4,866,947.00	4,691,050.24	41,116.21	217,012.97
Total internal revenue	8,606,414.47	8,195,836.05	79,230.75	489,809.17
United States internal revenue collected in the Philippines	262,563.32	135,460.48		127,102.84
Opium	36,709.58	19,997.46		16,712.12
Weights and measures	60,274.03	57,182.98		3,091.05
Franchise taxes	73,534.29	78,646.18	5,111.89	
Justice of peace fines and fees	159,256.80	132,875.85		26,380.95
Income tax		260.28	260.28	
San Lazaro estate rents	24,486.07	6,188.50		18,297.57
San Lazaro court costs	7.24	163.40	156.16	
Sisiman matadero	33,652.94	25,743.25		7,909.69
Mining fees		2,267.00	2,267.00	
City of Manila taxes, charges, etc	1,145,212.66	1,061,616.13		83,596.53
Total	1,795,696.93	1,520,401.51	7,795.33	283,090.75
Summary total	10,402,111.40	9,716,237.56	87,026.08	772,899.92

Net decrease, ₱685,873.84.

Since the beginning of the year the issue by the bureau of 10-day statements of collections made has been abandoned. The plea was that the compilation of the necessary figures took too much time, notwithstanding that this compilation must be made for bureau purposes, if the collector is to keep in touch with the affairs under his jurisdiction. The application of the Manila Merchants' Association was met by the reply that the bureau could not undertake to continue the sending out of information, and as a matter of fact the only information as to the condition of the bureau which the public has had came from the quarterly figures issued officially.

These showed a heavy decrease, but in April and May facts came to the knowledge of the Times which showed that things were going from bad to worse. This paper undertook an independent investigation, and finally reached certain conclusions:

"It believes that conditions in the bureau of internal revenue are so bad that if not promptly and effectively remedied grave results will develop for the whole Philippine government.

"It believes that the moneys which the Government should derive through the collection of internal revenue are decreasing at a rate which, if maintained for a year, would produce a ruinous deficit.

"It believes that, while a certain proportion of the decrease is traceable to general business depression, by far the greater proportion is the result of disorganization in the bureau, the utter incapacity of its management, and the indifference, or worse, of those on whom rests the duty to collect the taxes."

The conclusions which follow from the facts which the Times has been able to gather and set out in this issue are irresistible; an alarming percentage of the taxes which should be collected upon the manufacture of tobacco products and distilled spirits is not being collected, while the way the collection of the cedula taxes is being handled would be positively humorous if it were not serious. It would appear that certain of the internal-revenue agents whose duty it is to collect these taxes are either grossly negligent or venal, and that the central organization of the bureau whose duty it is to supervise this work has ceased to supervise. Unless radical and prompt action is taken the financial integrity of the Philippines is threatened, the good name of the government will be smirched, and a lot of honest merchants and manufacturers will face appalling losses.

When the independent investigation conducted by the Times had disclosed certain conditions, an appeal was made to the insular auditor—and the Philippine Islands are fortunate in having a man in that position of the strength and courage of Mr. French. He recognizes that the financial position of this government and the condition of its revenues are matters which the public have a right to know. Not only are the collections of our revenues a trade barometer necessary for the information of the merchants, but the future prosperity of the islands is so closely wrapped up in the proper collection of the revenues that the fullest publicity and discussion of the manner of collection should come as a matter of course.

We publish on this page a comparative statement issued by the insular auditor showing the collections of the bureau of internal revenue for the period from January 1 to May 31 of the calendar years 1913 and 1914, respectively. This statement shows a net decrease in the collection of internal revenue of 1914 of ₱685,873.84, as against the same period for the year 1913. This statement is bad enough in itself, but when compared with a similar comparative statement issued some time ago for the first three months of 1913 and 1914 it becomes truly appalling. The three months' statement showed a decrease for 1914 as against 1913 of ₱253,798.09. The present statement shows a decrease for five months of ₱685,873.84, or, in other words, the decrease for the first three months of the year was ₱253,789.09 and for the next two months was ₱432,075.75. Thus the monthly decrease during the last two months has been two and one-half times as great as it was during the first three months of the year. If this rate were maintained to the end of the year, the country would be bankrupt.

In order to make a fair statement of the conditions of the bureau, the causes for the decrease, and the probable effect of the decrease on the general condition of the government, the Times has also investigated the general financial condition of the insular government. It finds that in spite of the fact that the internal-revenue receipts have decreased so alarmingly the revenues collected through the bureau of customs have increased during the same period 7.24 per cent, as against 1913, exclusive of the duties which in 1913 were collected on exports. The loss from the duties on exports was a known factor, which was taken into consideration in making the estimates of the government expenses for the current year, and this loss was discounted.

It also finds that, while the total revenues of the insular government for the first four months of the current year have decreased ₱777,-199.55, as compared with a similar period in 1913, the expenditures of the government for the first five months of this year have decreased ₱2,269,017.13, as against the equivalent period of last year. In other words, and aside from the conditions in the bureau of internal revenue, there is much that is reassuring in the general financial condition of the government. Actual economies are being carried out—made necessary by the anticipated reduction in our revenues—and the actual revenues being collected by the bureau of customs are better than the estimate. If the conditions at present existing in the bureau of internal revenue are promptly and effectively met and remedied, there is no reason why the government should not come through the present year in fairly satisfactory shape. If, however, conditions in the bureau of internal revenue are allowed to continue as they are at present, the government will face a deficit of at least a million and a half pesos, and probably considerably more.

The comparative statement for the five months shows a decrease in the collection of the internal-revenue tax on distilled spirits of ₱116,287.42. After a very careful analysis of the figures and investigation of the general conditions in the distilling trade and of general conditions of business in the Philippine Islands, the Times is convinced that this decrease is not due to any decrease in the manufacture of distilled spirits. On the contrary, it has evidence going to show that there has been an increase in the amount of distilled spirits produced, and it is thus clear that no tax is being paid on a very large part of the whole production.

The honorable distillers who are paying their taxes are meeting a competition which is ruinous. No figures were needed to show these men that something was wrong. Their business proved it conclusively. Distilled spirits are being sold at prices which are only made possible by the fact that the internal-revenue taxes have not been paid. The knowledge of this condition was one of the things which started this paper's investigation, and the figures bear out these facts.

While it is unquestionably true that there is a very serious depression in the Philippine Islands at present, as we have pointed out on numerous occasions, in an undeveloped country like the Philippine Islands this depression shows itself in the discontinuance of constructive work and the failure of new capital to come in. Crops have been good, and the prices secured for these crops have been high. The purchasing power of the Filipino has not decreased, therefore, and everything indicates that the total amount of trade in the way of purchase of the products of the islands and the supplying of the requirements of the inhabitants is at least up to normal.

What is true of distilled spirits is equally true in the manufacture of cigarettes. Here we find a decrease in five months of ₱99,444.12 in the revenue. Every fact which we have been able to discover aside from this figure would indicate that the total production of cigarettes in the Philippine Islands is on the increase rather than on the decrease.

With the exception of 1910–11, every year of the past decade has shown a steady increase in the number of cigarettes manufactured in the Philippines. Said one prominent manufacturer to the Times: "An increase in the number of cigarettes manufactured and consumed is natural, and we expect it. The only reason that we know at this time which would operate to reduce the consumption of tobacco in this form would be an increase in price, and this most emphatically has not taken place. Rather, there has been a steady decrease in the price of the cigarette."

Further inquiries were made as to this decrease in the price, and the manufacturer stated that in the last five years it had probably amounted to some 20 per cent; that is to say, that for a given number of cigarettes—say 10,000,000—the factory would receive 20 per cent less to-day than five years ago. This may not be apparent to the retail consumer, but it is apparent to the dealer, who is able to make small concessions to his purchaser for this reason, such as the giving of a box of matches with a packet of cigarettes, and the like.

Here we may refer to an item in the auditor's figures which throws a lurid sidelight on the situation in regard to distilled spirits and cigarettes. Among the few increases shown by the five-month statement is that represented by money paid for licenses issued to dealers in alcohol and tobacco products. While the taxes paid on these products have decreased ₱246,000, the number of licenses to deal in them has increased so as to show a money gain to the Government of ₱3,500. The inference is obvious—dealing in alcohol and tobacco products is getting to be one of the most profitable businesses in the islands.

When we come to investigate the matter of cedula collections, the results, as we said before, would be funny if they were not so serious. The comparative statement for the first three months of this year showed that the collection of cedulas in 1914 was ₱72,924 greater than in 1913. Two months later the increase has been wiped out, and there is a decrease of ₱132,902—in other words, a decrease for two months of ₱205,826.

The full significance of these figures can not be understood until a comparison is made of the collections of the cedula tax by Provinces. If the cedula taxes are being collected honestly and conscientiously by the bureau of internal revenue, then there has during the past five months of the year of our Lord 1914 been a shifting of the population of the Provinces in the Philippines which is going to change our map. We find, for instance, that in the Province of Occidental Negros, ₱110,152 has been collected in cedula taxes in the first five months of 1914, as against ₱59,440 in 1913, or an increase of 100 per cent. In a neighboring Province we find that the figures have decreased from ₱50,000, in 1913, to ₱23,000, in 1914, or a decrease of over 50 per cent. Surely the Filipinos are becoming a nomadic people and no longer can complaint be made that they refuse to leave home.

In one of the most populous Provinces near Manila we find the collection of cedula taxes has decreased just 50 per cent, while in the Province of Albay it has increased over 80 per cent. By taking the figures as an index, the little Province of Zambales has doubled in population. Year by year the collection of the cedula taxes in the Philippine Islands should increase with a normal increase in population. There has not been any shifting in the population, but what there has been is a shifting in the bureau of internal revenue, and the rotten conditions in that bureau have not struck all Provinces alike.

When it comes to the taxes paid on imported spirits and tobacco manufactures we find a uniform increase. These taxes are paid as the result of the returns from the bureau of customs, and it is certainly a significant fact and one shedding a wealth of light on general conditions in the islands, that there has been a uniform increase here. The conclusion is inevitable that if the internal-revenue collections had been as honestly, impartially, and effectively collected as those on imported goods we should have found in the internal revenue the same general increase that we find in the imported article.

Approaching the question from another point of view, that of the bureau of internal revenue itself, what is the condition in the bureau? What changes have been made in the bureau which would account for the falling off in the revenues? So far as the total expenses for its maintenance are concerned, for the first four months of 1913 they were ₱202,114.06, and for the first four months of 1914 they were ₱180,-293.54, or a decrease of ₱21,720.52. If this saving in expense has caused a loss in efficiency which has resulted in reducing our taxes ₱685,873.84, every peso of economy has cost the government in revenue something over ₱30. This, however, is not the cause. The cause is the substitution of inefficient and incompetent officials for efficient and competent ones; the substitution of the spoils system for the merit system in making appointments; the withdrawal of effective supervision by Americans.

RECOGNITION FOR RAFFERTY.

It is permitted—or, at any rate, it is not forbidden—to a newspaper to make a suggestion. In the case of Collector of Internal Revenue Rafferty, then, the Times hopes to see the achievement of which it was able to tell yesterday fittingly recognized by the Governor General. In the course of nine months Rafferty has managed to lighten the burden of taxation on the people of the Philippines to the extent of nearly ₱385,000. The fact that a cold and heartless legislature decreed the collection of certain imposts is nothing to Rafferty. His heart is wrung, his compassion is moved, and he takes it upon himself to correct the cruelty of the lawmakers by the simple process of omitting to collect. In the nine months of 1913 ending with September 30, at a time when the islands were suffering from the effects of a severe drought, the men of the department which Rafferty now conducts gouged (isn't that the word?) from an unwilling populace hundreds of thousands of pesos more than the soft heart of the collector would allow him to pry loose (isn't that the phrase?) in the equivalent nine months of 1914.

Nothing seems more clear to the Times than that there should be a bond of sympathy between a Governor General who hates to govern and a collector who hates to collect. Why not a letter of warm appreciation from Harrison to Rafferty, therefore?—the sort of letter which Rafferty would be glad to publish. It may be that the chief executive has already made up his mind to do something of the sort; but if not, this paper makes him a present of the idea. Such a communication would give a splendid opportunity for a slap at the previous administration, which disguised under the name of "efficiency" its base and unworthy greed. It might contain an eloquent passage descriptive of the divorce between the new era and the old taxes, and of sympathy with a Democratic bureau chief whose hatred of Republicanism was such that he revolted from the idea of enforcing obedience to laws which are a heritage from those wicked days. In short, it might be a document to which JONES, QUEZON, and the rest of them would point with pride.

And, when the letter was finished and dispatched, Mr. Harrison might return with zest to the consideration of the need of new taxes, as set forth in his inaugural message of October 16. The need is greater by at least ₱385,000 than it would have been if the position of collector of internal revenue had been filled by a capable man. Moreover, since it is sufficiently proved that Rafferty is only able to collect a certain percentage of domestic taxes, it follows that any additions to the list of these impositions must be more numerous and more heavy to offset his incapacity.

The suggestion of a letter from Harrison to Rafferty is made with diffidence and with some doubt that it will be entirely pleasing. If the Governor General should adopt it, however, it will at least prove that he is occasionally open to suggestion.

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THE EMANCIPATORS.

It will be no news to most of us on the spot that the Democratic majority on the Insular Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives had little information on the Philippines, and didn't want any. The extracts from a letter written by Congressman MILLER, which appear elsewhere, disclose a condition which has been known in Manila for many a month—a condition which will be better understood if the statement recently made by former Vice Governor Gilbert is remembered. Said Mr. Gilbert: "I was surprised to discover that the school of thought which Mr. JONES represents is in no sense actuated by a desire to help the Filipinos, but that they openly say that their purpose is to rid the United States of the Philippine Islands and their inhabitants, whom they regard as a menace to our peace and unworthy of serious American attention."

Some months ago Congressman JONES, in an interview with a Washington representative of the Times, frankly avowed that his desire, above and beyond all else, was to "get rid" of the Philippines. He even went so far as to admit that, if it were proved that this could only be done with grave danger to the people of the islands, he would still advocate American withdrawal.

These facts being known, is it any wonder that the Americans of the Philippines look with cynical amusement at the declarations in which JONES and his associates are hailed as emancipators, as true and noble-hearted friends of an aspiring people?

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HON. HEN. HURRIES HOME.

The Senate, it appears, is not to fall into the error of the House of Representatives. Information on the Philippines is desired by the upper House, and is to be supplied by Henderson Martin.

The question naturally arises as to the amount and the nature of the information which the vice governor will be able to supply. To be frank, the Times does not believe that his views will have an appreciable effect on the deliberations of the upper House, but it is, nevertheless, difficut to refrain from speculation as to the attitude which he will assume in Washington. There is little in his record which would assist in forming an opinion. With the exception of his prompt and patriotic offer of services at the time of the Mexican trouble, it is difficult to recall that the vice governor has at any time "gone on record," as the cant phrase has it. Like the Member of Congress in the classic cartoon, he "sets and thinks," or, when this occupation loses interest, "jest sets."

The habit of sitting and thinking, of course, may produce mental results in any direction. There may be surprises in store for the Senate and for the people of the Philippines—and, again, there may not. Henderson Martin may prove to be almost anything from a rank retentionist to a rabid anti-imperialist. Nobody knows, not even Henderson Martin. It is a fascinating puzzle for an idle day, but on other days matters of real importance are likely to overshadow it.

By the way, Sam Ferguson is also going along.

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A HAIR OF THE DOG.

There are certain assumptions in regard to the political situation of the Philippine Islands which can be made with reasonable certainty at this time. First and foremost, it is clear that, however much the radical section of the Democratic Party may desire to get rid of the islands, its members have signally failed to produce any workable scheme under which this would be possible. Second, there is a feeling in the Democratic Party that the passing at this time of a bill—such as the Jones bill—would serve the double purpose of pointing a pleasant comparison with the former Republican régime, and of allaying the unrest in this country which is caused by the wearisome cry of the Filipino politicians for absolute independence. It is the last of these considerations which will best repay examination just now.

There is but one issue on which political elections are decided in the Philippines, and that is the question of independence. The point has not yet been reached, and it is apparently still far in the future, when those desiring the suffrages of the electors will appeal to them on social or economic grounds. The power of the would-be elected over the electors is inextricably bound up with this question of independence of the United States. To assume, therefore, that these politicians would be quieted by anything short of independence is to assume that they would deliberately put away from them their only means of impressing the voter.

This is neither likely nor—from the Filipino point of view—would it be conceivable. There is classical warrant for the throwing of a sop to Cerberus, but in this instance it is a Cerberus who will not be appeased, who will growl for more. To dream that the passing of the Jones bill, even if there should remain to it the much-discussed preamble, would avail for an instant to still the cry for independence, to give the Philippines rest from the interminable and pernicious political agitation of years past, is to display either amazing ignorance of the situation or a childlike simplicity which has in all else been utterly foreign to the Democratic Party.

In the last resort, the mistake of the Democrats is that they have adopted the homeopathic method of treating the Philippine question. The "like cures like" principle is very well in its place, but its place is certainly not the domain of politics. You can not cure politics by more politics, which is precisely what the Democrats are attempting to do with the passage of the Jones bill. That measure deserves the most respectful treatment, of course, but the temptation to say that it resembles a "hair of the dog" is irresistible. It is as though the islands were suffering from an overindulgence in some stimulant, and the Democratic Party prescribed as a pick-me-up a further quantity of the same stimulant, in the fond hope that moderation would be observed. Vain hope!

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COMMENT ON THE NEW BILL.

Three New York newspapers took the new Philippine bill as the text of an editorial immediately the drafting of that measure was announced, and it is interesting to see wherein their opinions vary. First comes the New York Tribune, which wonders that, with Mexico on his hands, President Wilson could have decided to "stir up another hornets' nest" in the Philippines. It says:

"As if it hadn't already troubles enough on its hands the administration is going to encourage legislation for upsetting the political status in the Philippines. Representative JONES, of Virginia, the great Philippine emancipator, has again obtained President Wilson's ear and promises to introduce in a day or two a measure which will grant the Philippines a territorial form of administration, give them practical control of their local affairs, and pledge the United States to turn them loose as a nation as soon as they prove their capacity for self-government. Moreover, the United States will undertake to secure from the chief powers of the world a guaranty of the independence and neutralization of the archipelago. But considering the mess which the administration has made so far of foreign relations an internationally guaranteed Filipino Republic is a far more distant dream than a pacified Mexico, basking in contentment and plenty and cheerfully discharging under the supervision of the United States its domestic and international obligations.

"It shows some self-restraint on the administration's part that it has not put the Jones Philippine-for-the-Filipinos bill on the legislative program for this session. Congress, fortunately, has been occupied with more serious matters, and enthusiasm for the Baltimore platform's promise of 'an immediate declaration of the Nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands so soon as a stable government can be established' has reached a high pitch in few other bosoms than those of Mr. JONES and his mentor, Mr. MANUEL L. QUEZON.

"We think that the President will have all that he can do in the next couple of years in straightening out the Mexican situation. It would be folly for him to stir up another hornets' nest by turning control of the Philippines over to the Filipinos. It will be many years—another generation at least—before the Filipino people begin to master the art of self-government. To force them prematurely into an experiment which must be disastrous to them would be cruel and thoughtless. Their worst enemies in public life are mistaken enthusiasts like Mr. JONES. They will have no cause to remember Mr. Wilson gratefully if he should help Mr. JONES to thrust a burden on them which they are not fitted to carry."

The New York Times, on the other hand, finds the new bill "much nearer sanity in some regards" than "the wild scheme of two years ago." It has a good word for the feature which "gives up entirely the fixing of a date for independence, and makes the grant of that depend on the success of the islanders in running the government to the extent that it will be turned over to them." Commenting on what was known of the terms of the measure, however, it still believes that "the Government would largely be turned over to a relatively small class hitherto composed of, or led by, the native politicians," and holds that "at best the new plan would be a remote approach to that self-government of which its authors are professedly enamored."

Finally there is the New York American, whose attitude can best be judged from the following paragraph:

"It is fortunate that the administration has receded somewhat from the position into which the Bryanite element at Baltimore forced it. While it is unthinkable that Congress could have enacted any legislation which would have committed us to the abandonment of the Philippines at any definte time, it is reassuring to find that the President himself has abandoned so dangerous and unpatriotic a policy."

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MR. DENISON'S SPEECH.

The speech delivered to the members of the City Club Tuesday by Winfred Denison, secretary of the interior, was clearly the result of careful and unhurried preparation. It may be taken as the reasoned statement of Mr. Denison's attitude to the problems which are his immediate official concern, and generally to all the questions which come within the scope of the American executive in the islands. Obviously, it would be unfair to submit it in all its details to criticism which did not arise from closer examination than the rush of newspaper work permits on the day of publication. This hardly applies, however, to the principle which guides and informs the speech as a whole, the less since Mr. Denison gives us nothing new. His argument is that old hybrid whose sire is sentimentality and whose dam is indecision. The questions which he puts are 16 years old in these islands, and the presence here of the United States is the answer to them.

"Why," asks Mr. Denison, "should we insist upon hustling the East against its will and at its own expense if the East itself wishes to lie placid?" His answer is that it is the American duty here to spend Filipino money "for things that they want whenever there is a difference between what they want and what we think they ought to want." Therefore in the discharge of his duties he proposes "to consult their wishes to the utmost extent, and to spend none of their money in any way which they are not willing to vote that it should be spent." He finds himself forced to make certain exceptions, of course—"where the subject affects the international obligations which we have assumed, the primary essentials of order, and of sanitation to prevent injury to the other nations of the world." He admits that for these things the United States is morally responsible to the rest of the world, but he draws a distinction between them and "matters in regard to which our responsibility is exclusively to the Filipino people and not to the outside world."

Not to put too fine a point upon it, the Times considers this loose thinking and perilously near to nonsense. "In matters involving the responsibility of the United States to the rest of the world," says Mr. Denison, "we must provide the best that is in us, but in matters which concern only the Filipino people we must provide what they want, whether we hold it to be the best or not." In effect, this amounts to a denial of the principle under which Americans have worked here during the past 16 years—save only where they have been policemen or sanitary inspectors—and Mr. Denison has a perfect right to make the denial. It is interesting as indicating an attitude of mind, and no more. But if this denial of principle is to find expression in the offical acts of the secretary of the interior, then it is another and a dangerous matter. It means that Mr. Denison is to be led to a decision in questions arising in his department by what some inner and mysterious voice tells him is wanted at the moment by a backward and ignorant people, and not by an intelligent and educated appreciation of what is best. How this inner and mysterious voice is to get its inspiration is not clear. And on what authority Mr. Denison bases his assumption that police and sanitary duties constitute the whole of American obligation to the world in respect of the Philippines is still less clear—in fact, does not appear at all.

In this speech Mr. Denison puts from him the need of "accurate knowledge of details of fact," and squares his implied ignorance with his right to talk on the subject at all by referring to "general principles of conduct" and "fundamental political conceptions" which "no one will deny me the right to entertain." He is welcome to them, of course, but he should be reminded that their sanction must be found

in those "details of fact" which he does not yet possess. Let us suppose that for the past few years his principle in regard to domestic expenditure of funds had been applied. It would have meant that appropriations called for by the assembly would have been passed by the commission without question as being what the people want. And—if Mr. Denison will pardon a detail of fact—it would have meant that this country would long ago have been bankrupt. If he will take the trouble to inform himself of the total amount of money for whose expenditure the elected of the people expressed willingness during the last session of the legislature alone, he will be rudely awakened.

The fact is, however, that Mr. Denison is likely to have many rude awakenings unless the filmy and insubstantial theories he is swayed by are sufficient protection. And in proportion to the completeness of his awakening he will become of real value to this country. The Philippines have not yet reached the point where the realm of the practical can be invaded without danger by the academic—and more particularly by the academic as it is diluted and weakened by contact with a personality obviously lacking robustness. Mr. Denison as a private individual may generalize as much as he likes without doing appreciable harm, but as a public man it is his duty to keep his generalizations to himself until by a long and unwearied process of testing he feels reasonably sure of their approximate truth. And where the experience of other men, facing the same problem, making the tests which he has yet to make, has led them away from his generalization, he should be chary of exposing it for the exasperation of a community already overburdened with talk.

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THE DENISON SPEECH.

Careful reading of the speech in which the secretary of the interior, Winfred Denison, developed his theories of colonial government—theories acquired in an armchair and freshened by harmless adventures in a country where peace and order are legacies his predecessor has left him—leaves the reader undecided whether impertinence or ignorance is its chief characteristic. It is impertinent in the sense of irrelevancy, and in the later and derived sense of presumption; it is ignorant in its utter lack of comprehension of the forces which control the modern world, and in its parade of a form of democracy-cum-Denison which would be contemptuously denied by leaders of political thought in any country. Indeed, Mr. Denison can not by any stretch of the imagination be described as a Democrat—he is a reactionary, though happily a futile one.

It would be possible, of course, to analyze his speech and to answer him out of his own mouth, but this would serve no purpose other than to discover him as the possessor of the type of mind best described as yeasty. Admittedly in the majority of instances it is unfair to select a particular sentence from a man's utterance and to offer it as representative of the whole. Yet in the present case we believe that it is not doing Mr. Denison an injustice to say that all his instances, all his sounding periods, led up to the declaration that it is wrong to "hustle the East against its will and at its own expense if the East itself wishes to lie placid." Everything he said, every stupidity of which he was guilty, can be referred back to that precious piece of nonsense as the guiding principle of the address.

Let us assume that the phrase, "to hustle the East against its will and at its own expense," correctly describes the work which has been done here by the United States, and further that the desire of the people of the Philippines has been to lie placid, murmuring "Manana." Has Mr. Denison reflected—but of course he has not—that in order that the people might be saved from absorption by other and stronger races the country has been fenced off from China; that the attempt of the United States has been to hustle the Filipino into a realization of the promise and the menace of the future in order that, when artificial restrictions had been removed, he might not be hustled out of national existence by a better man? Has it occurred to Mr. Denison—but of course it has not—that whereas there is something to be said for immigration restrictions affecting Occidental and Oriental there is vastly less to be said where Oriental and Oriental are concerned, and that the day of free Chinese entry to the Philippines can not be indefinitely postponed? Has he a remote idea—but of course he has not—of what will happen on that day if in the meanwhile the Philippines are to lie placid murmuring "Manana"? Does his bewildered brain form any concept—but of course it does not—of the need of the world for the potential products of the fertile acres of the Philippines, or of the inexorable law which decrees the destruction of those who lie placid murmuring "Manana"? And, finally, does he realize—we hope he does—that he has made of himself a laughingstock, a thing of derision?

When all is said and done, however, there is a way in which the speech can be explained, and even excused. It can be explained as an expression of that dramatic instinct which resides in all of us, as an answer to the call which bids every man, at some time or another, to strive for a place in the limelight. It can be excused if a brief examination is made of the situation in which Mr. Denison finds himself.

The fact is that the position of secretary of the interior—alas!—is not what it was. The incumbent of that exalted post no longer takes his life in his hands when advancing to meet the assembled men of a tribe; he seizes a razor, hangs a mirror upon a convenient tree, and prinks himself for the encounter. No longer does he look on the bright face of danger as it is mirrored in bolo or spearhead; his enemy is the anopheles, and the face of danger is a bilious and a safron visage. Let it be admitted that these are things to try the very soul. They may be magnificent, but they are certainly not war. That a man should have within him possibilities of the heroism which is unbearable in obscurity, that fate and a Senate tardily compliant should have placed him in the one position of all others where this quality might be expected to find scope, and that he should discover that there is more danger in Broadway than in Benguet, that another has been before him, that the perils have been faced and overcome, is too much.

Obviously, there remains a choice of two things. The first involves a generous recognition of the work that has been done, a graceful acceptance of the fact that the new man must expect to be overshadowed until he has accomplished something, and a determination to pay unfaltering loyalty to the men who have borne the heat and burden of the day. This, however, is possible only to the few, at the cost of much self-denial and a foregoing of the pleasures of a place in the limelight. The second, and the easier thing, is to do what Mr. Denison did yesterday morning.

"To understand everything," says the French proverb, "is to pardon everything." Remember that the present secretary of the interior would be a bigger man than he has been found to be if he did not know the vague and restless feeling that the achievement in which he had no share is a much overrated thing. Remember how many there have been to aggravate this feeling. Do not forget that Mr. Denison is versed in democracy as they practice it at Harvard and has some acquaintance with political platitude. And, lastly, remember that a man must strike a new pose if he is to win to the limelight. Then read the speech again, and it will be found to have a fresh and vital interest, even if it does lose most of its effect.

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AN ANSWER TO DENISON.

Since the secretary of the interior achieved notoriety by the delivery of a speech at the City Club last Tuesday there has been much comment and criticism in the columns of American periodicals here. It must be remembered, however, that in each case the writer was addressing a public familiar with the facts of the Philippine situation, that he could, and did, assume general and detailed knowledge as the possession of his readers. There is a wider public, however, unfortunately not armed with this knowledge, and it has been suggested to the Times from several quarters that a good purpose would be served by the preparation of an answer to Mr. Denison which should take account of this wider public. The present article, therefore, is such an answer. It does not pretend to be a complete setting forth of the facts, and the permissible generalizations from these facts which could be marshaled to refute Mr. Denison for space and time would not permit of anything so ambitious. But it does pretend to be a fair and reliable statement of certain matters, the knowledge of which was within the power of the secretary of the interior to obtain, and obvious ignorance of which entirely destroys the value of his utterances.

First of all, it has to be said that Mr. Denison permitted himself to make several generalizations, admitting meanwhile that he was not in possession of facts. Since a generalization is unthinkable without the antecedent gathering of facts, it follows either that his generalization is foolishness or impertinence, or that he is presuming to fit United States facts to a Philippine generalization. In either case his position is not to be envied by one who desires the good opinion of thinking men. In his peroration he admitted that those who support the former régime in these islands have in America a monopoly in knowledge of the facts. Now it is a most significant thing that, while the adherents of the former régime are conceded to have this monopoly in knowledge of the facts, those who have a knowledge of the facts are unanimously adherents of the former régime. Mr. Denison's speech may be taken as conceding and demonstrating this, but it will be noticed that he undertakes no explanation of the phenomenon. In the absence of this explanation it is right to expect that the conclusion the American people will form—and the conclusion to which they are respectfully invited—is that a knowledge of the facts leads irresistibly to a support of the former régime. Moreover, it will be noted that the conclusions which Mr. Denison utters so firmly are wholly unaccompanied by any facts on which the American people should, or will, be willing to make any other decision than that we have indicated. Does he expect them to conclude, because a letter took two or three weeks to come to Manila from the Mountain Province, that the Filipino people prefer it so? Does he ask them to conclude, because certain wild men were ready to make a choice among gaudy cloths specially selected to suit their savage tastes, that the native peoples are fitted to govern themselves without firm and constant American direction? Does he believe that because the leaders of the Ifugaos in his awesome presence expressed a preference for schoolteachers over feasts the American people will agree that the administration had better be put under native control and direction, lest primary education suffer while molossuses are photographed? Will the American people conclude, because the secretary asked leading questions of the elders of the wild tribes and got the right answers, according to his standards, that his successor should be compelled to accept all future answers as right, regardless of standards?

And, on the question of Mr. Denison's facts, is he not guilty of a deliberate withholding of the truth in two important instances? A story has reached the Times, from sources which make its truth unquestionable, of the reply made to the secretary of the interior by an elder of the tribes when asked for a statement of the attitude of these tribes on a proposal to substitute doctors for feasts. "I suppose," said the old man frankly, "that those who are well would like the feasts and those who are sick would like the doctors." Why has Mr. Denison concealed this? Moreover, at a great gathering, at which Gov. Gen. Harrison and Secretary Riggs shared with Mr. Denison the center of the stage, is it not a fact that when the elders expressed their willingness to forego the feasts and to use the carabao as work animals there was so ominous a demonstration from the ninety and nine per cent in the background that Messrs. Harrison and Riggs—to Mr. Denison's annoyance—purchased two animals for slaughter and subsequent consumption? Why have we heard nothing from Mr. Denison about this?

It is a fact that the Filipino people a very short while ago did not know that a letter could be habitually and economically brought to Manila from the Mountain Province in less than two or three weeks. It is a fact that they scarcely recognized any advantage in quicker transmission. It is a fact that they were totally ignorant of the ways and means of accomplishing such a mail service. But it is equally a fact that the Filipino people to-day would be dissatisfied and discontent with a mail service typified by two weeks' delay between Baguio and Manila. To maintain the contrary is to be far more unfair and unjust than to point out the unpreparedness of the native himself to maintain such a service. A seeker after facts should consult the post-office statistics. He will find that the Filipino people in all parts of the islands have increased their patronage of the service to a remarkable extent, and always in the exact ratio that its efficiency became established and became popularly known. He will find the sale of postage stamps was at a low level for many years prior to 1898, but that each year since then it has cost the Government an additional 25 to 50 per cent to print these stamps for the use of the Filipino people. It is a fallacy—a grave and fundamental fallacy—to state that the postal service or any other of the great governmental agencies will fall into abandon and inefficiency because the Filipino people are not alive to their advantages and prefer to do things in their own way. The fall would come not because the Filipinos have no use for these advantages but because they are not yet ready to take up the work unaided and undirected and to carry it from the point which it has reached to a permanent conclusion.

It is a fact that the Filipinos fought the introduction of vaccination against smallpox, and that had their wishes been consulted the disease would have had the preference over the prevention. It is also a fact that, if native wishes are to be consulted and are to prevail, the scourge will return to its erstwhile ascendency. This would not be due to a lack of appreciation of the benefits and efficacy of vaccination or to ignorance of how to apply the virus, but because the Filipino people have not yet gained knowledge of the true purposes and functions of government and, left to their own devices, have not the hardihood to

adopt and enforce an unpopular measure. However, it will be remembered that Mr. Denison himself admits that in matters of public health a duty impels the enforcement of what is best over the wishes of the people. It is a fact that the Filipino dreads and abhors rinderpest, and earnestly prays for its extermination, that his very necessary draft animals may be spared. It is equally a fact that he will conceal its occurrence among his herd in order to avoid the quarantine of his animals. Here, then, the secretary of the interior would be faced with the nice problem, how to accomplish the native wish to exterminate the disease, which involves a general quarantine applicable to an infected community, without enforcing it against any member of the community.

It is a fact that, despite the enormous consumption of matches in the Philippines—where men, women, and children are habitual smokers—there was never a match manufactured in the islands before American occupation. It is a fact that upon the successful establishment of a modern match factory the native merchants desired to purchase it, and sought a law to compel its founder to sell. It is a fact that, while this factory at its utmost capacity is incapable of supplying more than a fraction of the demand, there has never been erected a second factory. It is a fact that native legislators, selected for their eminence among their people, when consulted as to a fitting site for the inauguration of a life-saving service, proposed an inland creek too shallow to drown a kitten. It is a fact that the same body, while discussing a maximum speed limit for trolley cars, solemnly proposed the establishment of a minimum speed limit. It is a fact that the successors to that body debated compelling the street cars to display illuminated signs at the rear, in order that those who missed a car might have the consolation of knowing the destination of the car they missed. It is a fact that native elections are characterized by more extensive and various frauds than the Australian ballot system has produced in any other country. It is a fact that in the last election a native governor, vainly endeavoring to defend his fraudulent reelection, repudiated certain specifications of fraud on the ground that he had been able to devise far shrewder and more effective methods than those imputed to him. It is a fact that the long record of successfully contested elections demonstrates conclusively that the secretary of the interior will find no little difficulty in ascertaining the true wishes of the community.

It is a fact that in this archipelago the natives turn to the left, build the roofs of their houses first, and in innumerable instances reverse American customs. But it is also a fact, and a supremely important fact, that there has never been any attempt to supersede in the slightest manner or degree the customs and practices of the native population by American customs and practices unless something positively harmful and injurious could be ended thereby. It is a fact, notwithstanding implications to the contrary, that there has never been an undertaking, great or small in which the American administration has said, "Do thus and so, because we are your masters." The injunction has always been, "Do thus and so, because for this or that reason it is unmistakably for your best interest." It is a fact that at no time under the American régime in these islands has anyone ever countenanced or even uttered the sentiment that the revenues of the Philippines were to be spent for America or Americans, whether because of the purchase of these islands by the United States or for any other reason. "The Philippines for the Filipinos" has been the slogan through all the years, and so completely and thoroughly is this the fact that it is impossible to conjure up a single general doctrine or concrete proposal that has been seriously advocated on other grounds than Filipino welfare. It is a fact that the United States have been and must continue to be, for a time at least, the judges and the administrators of Filipino welfare. It would be miraculous if this were not so. It is a fact that our duty in affairs of international import and of public health absolutely require this. It is a fact that the judgment, capacity, and enlightenment of the Filipino people are no better and no greater in countless other matters than they are in matters of international import and public health. And it is a fact that if we limit our administration to matters of international import and public health, and follow the dictates, or apparent dictates, of the Filipinos in all else, we may discharge our duties to the outer world, but we shall surely be derelict in our duty to our own wards.

What is written above is not a compendium of the material and relative facts in any discussion of Mr. Denison's speech. It is rather a random collection of facts, each of which may be taken to point a moral slightly different from the others, but all of which tend, as all truth concerning the Philippines must necessarily tend, to demonstrate the exact parity between the duties and responsibilities of the local American administration and those of the guardians of minor children. Under this concept of present American duty here Mr. Denison admits "greater material benefits, with more efficiency and less cost," could be produced, "but," says he, "we do not ask for it at home, and why should we ask for it here?" He talks of giving the Filipinos an exhibition, as it were, under glass of how well a group of selected and unhampered Americans could run things, and asks how the art of self-government is really and deeply to be advanced in this way. His simile is not quite what it should be. One does not learn arithmetic without practice, it is true; but it is also true that one does not put a person ignorant of arithmetic in charge of a bank. If Mr. Denison wished to imply that the Filipinos have never been given practice in government, he shamefully misrepresented the facts. Since 1902 every municipality in the islands has "elected" its own officers and conducted its own affairs, and since 1907 the Provinces have practically done the same thing. And some seven years ago it was found that most of the municipal revenues were being expended in salaries for the officials. Roads and streets were impassable, public buildings were falling to ruin, the jungle was entering the town, and instead of progress there was retrogression. In some cases over 90 per cent of the revenue was absorbed by the greedy "representatives." The people did not object. No complaint was heard. What happened? Unmindful of the fundamental principles of democracy-cum-Denison, a naughty government passed an act limiting salaries to 50 per cent of the revenues. What would Mr. Denison do in such a case? Would he remain a doctrinaire?

He had not a good word to say for ethnology, but it might at least have taught him one thing—that the treatment necessary to stimulate any race must depend upon the character of that race. In the main the Anglo-Saxon may be given what he wants because he generally wants what is good for him. But what would be nourishing food for an Anglo-Saxon might easily be political poison for a Malay. The Malay, that is to say, is a political child, and if the correctness of the statement be doubted a perusal of the acts introduced in the Philippine Assembly during any session Mr. Denison chooses to select ought to convince him, unless he is utterly blind. William Howard Taft found this, and the present secretary of the interior should study the case of that gentleman. The former President of the United States was at one time Governor General here, and he made a speech at Iloilo which had the same effect as the recent utterance of Mr. Denison. Mr. Denison should ask himself why it was that Mr. Taft was compelled subsequently to assume greater and greater control over the expenditure of Filipino money, although his desire for the good of the people in no way diminished. The answer is that Mr. Taft learned by experience what old-timers have learned in the same hard school, that the so-called representatives of the Filipino people in no way really represent that people; that there is no such thing as democracy in a true sense existent or immediately possible; that there is no true public opinion; that the so-called parties are nothing but herds of political brigands held together by promises of booty by self-appointed leaders, and that the "independence" preached to the masses is simply a condition in which there will be no taxes and little work. The real patriots in the Philippines—and there are a good many—never take office, seldom associate with Americans, do not fawn on "white" or "brown" hopes. They are obliged by terror of political bandits to remain inconspicuous; they deplore the absence of American control and believe in plenty of it, knowing it to be good.

Now for a word as to the spirit in which Mr. Denison undertook to exploit his ignorance. The instances which he took to point the moral of his speech were in two cases selected from requests for permission to make certain expenditures by the director of the bureau of science, an official subordinate to Mr. Denison. Citing them in that way amounted to a public attack on this bureau chief, whose zeal to carry out the work of his bureau should certainly not be made the subject of public denunciation. They showed clearly Mr. Denison's lack of executive ability and his indifference to the need of encouragement of those under him. From this it was easy for him to pass to a calm assumption that these expenditures would have been authorized at a time of stringency by the previous administration; to ignore—what as a lawyer he should have known—that he can not use money appropriated for the bureau of science to expend for the bureau of health; and to enter on a criticism of the previous régime by the questionable method of innuendo. Indeed, it was not only a criticism of the previous régime, but it amounted to an offense against his fellow Americans as a body which he is probably too unfamiliar with local conditions to realize, while as for their just and natural resentment he is perhaps too pachydermatous to feel it. Of the nature of that feeling, the following extract from one of many letters which have reached the Times is clear enough:

"We who have lived over here for many years, who have given up the best part of our lives, and who have come to love the country we live in, either are conscienceless exploiters or respectable citizens. Our opinions are worth nothing or everything in a discussion of this sort. We have it due us, if we are respectable and patriotic Americans, that American officials here shall not sacrifice us to their lust for political advancement. Remember, we have no vote and no voice in the government. Our influence is merely moral. We realize we can not help anyone to achieve political aspirations. We have had examples galore of Americans coming over here and securing political preferment by doling out green goods to the natives. Baiting Americans has proved the easiest and quickest way for an otherwise unworthy American to get into high office. So really we are not taken by surprise. Its the old, old story. * * * A certain Gen. Wright was removed from office because he was offensive enough to like his fellow Americans over here, and they were stupid enough to like him. About every time a boat comes in it brings some visionary, or worse, who immediately kids the public with the 'be nice and reason' idea—'rule by kindness,' etc. The idea is splendid, but whenever you expound it you give the native to understand that he has not heretofore been ruled in that way. You tell him that your countrymen have acted wrongly toward him, and when you do that you stir up race hatred. Of course, Mr. Denison would deny having done this, for he couldn't well do anything else. The old-timers say that, while you may achieve personal advancement by this practice, you are hurting your fellow countrymen, and the Filipino himself. You are causing the estrangement of races.

"These are things about which there can be no argument. Either they are facts or fancies. Whether the old-timers know better than a newly arrived politico is not hard to determine. No politics enter into this, so far as we are concerned. Most of us haven't voted for 18 years.

"We don't care whether the rulers are Republicans, Democrats, Mugwumps, or Denisons. We are for the Philippines and the Filipinos. Understand that—we are for the Filipinos! The native politicians who control the native press will tell you we are not. You simply have the choice of believing your fellow countrymen or the native. Our reputation for truth telling will compare very favorably with theirs. When you cause them to lose respect for us (and you) you are hurting us, and hurting them infinitely more. You don't know it yet, Mr. Denison, but they are laughing at you. They feel they have you in their pocket—and we guess they are right."

Should not this letter carry a message to Mr. Denison—and to Gov. Gen. Harrison, for the matter of that? If the old-timers in the Philippines feel, as the writer of this letter feels, that they have been treated as conspirators against the welfare of the Filipinos, as selfish exploiters of their patrimony, can it be wondered at, when the story of the Harrison administration is remembered and the Denison speech is fresh in the mind? Surely when a man has put the best years of his life into learning, unlearning, and relearning, working always with the best that is in him, honestly striving for the good of the whole country, it is a bitter thing that he should be slapped in the face by an ignorant countryman and told by implication that he is an interloper. Does it sweeten the dose that it is administered by the hand of a countryman, by an American who seeks in this way a cheap political notoriety? Men of all other races have fairly and frankly spoken out their admiration of what has here been done. They had no ax to grind, the sincerity of their praise need not be questioned. But it is an American who now is open in his disdain of the efforts of the past administration to enhance the material welfare of the islands. It was "out of sympathy with the people," declares Mr. Denison, whose experience of the people is almost nothing.

Perhaps he has been studying the records of his own department for justification of the phrase. In that case he must know that every advance in sanitation has been made by force; good naturedly applied wherever possible, but force, nevertheless. Inquiry of other departments would inform him how industrial and agricultural education had been fairly rammed down the throat of the unwilling Filipino, and how the best method of spreading the knowledge and encouraging the study of English—the making of it the official language—was bitterly opposed by the very men who are now in power. Admittedly, the people were not in sympathy with any of these things, but even Mr. Denison will hardly deny that the cause of democracy was served by insistence upon them.

Proverbially it is an ill bird that fouls its own nest. Had Mr. Denison been wise instead of cocksure he would have waited for experience before making his decision and his speech. He would have remained—if, indeed, he ever was—the "white hope," and he would at last have learned that in the true sense "white hope" and "Filipino hope" are synonymous; that the welfare of the Filipino masses still depends and will for a long time to come depend upon the guidance and control of the white man.

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MR. HARRISON AND MR. RIGGS.

There is a border line between the public and the private relations of public men which, as a general rule, need not be crossed by the newspaper. Ninety-nine times out of a hundred it is the part of wisdom and of courtesy to remain on this side of the line—to observe, as it were, a scrupulous neutrality in all that does not admittedly and notoriously concern their public life.

The hundredth time—the exception which proves the rule—is occasionally reached, and the Times would ask to be acquitted of too great an intrusiveness, to be given credit for sincerity of purpose, when it says that the case of Secretary of Commerce and Police Riggs is such a case. This paper is not even mildly interested in the opinion which the Governor General or Mr. Riggs may hold, the one of the other, but the position is radically altered when a reported cleavage between the two men arises from a fundamental difference in their attitude to the Philippine question. This touches us all, Americans and Filipinos, and it becomes legitimate matter for comment, always provided that such comment is confined to essentials and avoids any approach to an impertinent concern with matters of minor personal import.

At the outset be it said that the Times has no more knowledge of Mr. Riggs than of Mr. Harrison; that is to say, that it has been concerned and is concerned solely with their public life—their official acts. But for some time it has held the opinion that the conception of duty which moves the Governor General is radically different from that which guides the secretary of commerce and police, that, moving in opposite directions, it was inevitable that at some time the two men should come into collision. Reduced to its simplest elements, the difference is this: That whereas Mr. Harrison serves a political party Mr. Riggs serves the people of the Philippines and of the United States. Let it be said at once that this bare statement of the case, like any other generalization, tells at once more and less than the truth. It is quite possible that in serving a political party Mr. Harrison may at the same time serve the best interests of this people and of those who stand to them in loco parentis, and it is equally possible that Mr. Riggs may at times fall short of doing either the one or the other. Generally speaking, however, it would be natural and it would be right to expect that the spirit which we believe to actuate Mr. Riggs would be more fruitful of good than that which we believe to govern Mr. Harrison.

If a student of the question were to be asked to state in a sentence the rule which should be followed by those charged with Philippine Government at this time, we believe that he could find no better answer than this: Unremitting recognition of American sovereignty, with all that it implies—with all that it implies; that is to say, of kindness, of consideration for the rights of the individual, of justice tempered with mercy, but also of efficiency, of desire for progress, of uprightness, and of vigor. We believe that, to be successful in the broadest sense and fully to do its duty by the Filipino people as they stand to-day, the administration of the islands should be an American administration in a very special sense of the term. It should be more concerned with the formation of character than with the enunciation of theories, and it should be instant and unsparing in its condemnation of weakness, of sloth, and of failure when failure is clearly the fault of the individual. We believe that the American Government of the Philippines could have no higher duty than that of acting, so to speak, as an organized and powerful public opinion, taking the place of the Filipino public opinion which does not yet exist, and exercising the prerogatives which in democratic countries belong to public opinion with a rigor which is excused—and is even demanded—by the circumstances of the case. We believe that it is the privilege of the American Government of to-day to shape the tradition of public life for a to-morrow which belongs to the Filipino people, and that this is not fitly to be done by a weak acceptance of anything less than the best, even when this acceptance can be defended by a reference to the immortal words of the framers of the Constitution. And we believe that it is by strict and stern insistence on the maintenance of a high standard of public service, and not by a cruel kindliness of compliance in face of ineptitude, that the natural and inherited weaknesses of the Filipino people can be corrected, and the duty and the destiny of the United States in these islands fulfilled.

To say that Mr. Riggs has acted at all times in this spirit would perhaps be more than the occasion or his opportunities so far have warranted. But of Mr. Harrison it is possible to say that, judged by his public acts, he is far, indeed, from any such conception of his duty. His general course of conduct has been explained by some on the assumption that he was told to make ready for American withdrawal, and by others as the expression of weakness parading as amiability. Whether the reason is to be found in his obedience of orders or in himself, however, the fact remains that he has done nothing to raise and little to maintain the standard of public service, and a great deal which, as displaying the fatal ease with which he may be bamboozled, has tended to lower it. Where he should have been strong he has been weak, and where he might with advantage have been complaisant he has been obstinate. His vision of his duty has not overlooked the walls of party, and the desires—real or imaginary—of his political leaders in the United States have been the inspiration for certain public utterances here which were patently insincere.

Mr. Riggs, whatever else may be said, has at all times been honest. So far as the Times is aware, he has not found it either necessary or expedient to describe conditions in the islands as the Democratic leaders would like to have them, nor has he appeared willing to purchase a little immediate popularity at the expense of his convictions. Assuming that this statement does him no more than justice, then nothing was more certain that, as time went on, he should find himself estranged from men of the Harrison-Martin-Denison type, and the object of bitter hostility from their Filipino colleagues on the commission, who take color from them.

The general situation, then, seems to be this: That a man of sufficient ability, of sincerity of purpose, wholly desirous to make the office to which he is appointed a power for good, finds himself hampered at every turn, opposed by his associates, and heartily sick of a situation which to-day must be well-nigh intolerable. It is a bitter commentary on the condition of things to which we have been reduced in little more than a year.

Attached to this is a copy of a report on economic conditions in the municipality of Carcar and Barili, Province of Cebu, which was prepared for the purpose of furnishing data to the Bureau of Education, which was preparing a textbook on the subject of economic conditions of the Philippines. This report should prove an interesting, economic, and social study for those who are undertaking to legislate concerning the Philippines, and to those who are thus engaged and honestly and intelligently trying to do the best thing for the Philippines this report should be self-explanatory and unneedful of explanation or comment.

A REPORT ON ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THE MUNICIPALITIES OF CARCAR AND BARILI, PROVINCE OF CEBU.

MANILA, *February 13, 1912.*

Brief: The director of education acknowledges receipt of the report on economic conditions in Carcar-Barili district.

[First indorsement.]

BUREAU OF EDUCATION, DIVISION OF CEBU,
Cebu, Cebu, February 26, 1912.

Respectfully referred to Mr. Claude C. McCollum.

J. C. MUERMAN,
Division Superintendent.

—

[The Government of the Philippine Islands, department of public instruction, office of the director, bureau of education.]

MANILA, *February 13, 1912.*

MY DEAR MR. MCCOLLUM: I wish to acknowledge receipt of this office of your report on economic conditions in the Carcar-Barili district.

Upon glancing over it the report seems complete and well done. It will undoubtedly be of considerable assistance in the preparation of the text on economic conditions in the Philippines.

The information contained in the reports will not be considered in detail until all of them have been received. If at this time any questions arise or any points come up which should be made clear, requests for further information will be made.

Sincerely, yours,

FRANK R. WHITE,
Director of Education.

Mr. CLAUDE C. MCCOLLUM
(Through the division superintendent of schools),
Cebu, Cebu.

FOODS.

The chief food in both Carcar and Barili is corn. This constitutes the basic part, and in most cases the whole, of this food supply for all the barrio and mountain people. It is estimated that in Carcar one-fifteenth (and in Barili 6 families) of the people of the poblacion (the center of population in a municipality or township) use rice instead of corn as a staple food. The barrio and mountain people have rice only upon festal occasions. This would seem to indicate that corn is used because, being produced at home instead of being imported, as is most of the rice, it is cheaper than rice. However, it is observed that many families who could well afford to buy rice use corn. An inquiry regarding this matter elicited the information that the corn is actually preferred, but that rice is used by wealthier people and by poor people on festal occasions, because it is whiter and more presentable, and being a little unusual it is regarded as a kind of luxury. It is a known fact that all people, with pretended relish, sometimes eat things at banquets which do not please their appetites.

This staple diet of the people of Carcar and Barili is prepared by the women as follows:

1. The dry corn is crushed and ground into coarse meal by means of a circular millstone system, which is run by hand. Those not being equipped with this hand mill are permitted to use the neighbor's mill. No charge is made for such use. Small amounts are crushed at one time, the amount crushed seldom being more than will be needed for two days' food supply.

2. By a sifting and blowing process most of the husks of the corn are removed from the coarse meal.

3. The meal is then stirred into a pot of boiling water, where it is cooked about 15 minutes.

4. After cooling the dense mush is handed to the mouth with the fingers, or is put up in small blocks and covered with a woven coconut palm and then cooked. These small units are then portable and may be taken to the field for lunch, or may be offered for sale in the small tiendas (a small store) along the roads and trails.

This staple food is supplemented by:

I. VEGETABLES.

1. Camote (domestic or wild).
2. Ube.
3. Gabe.
4. Baliakag (a fleshy rooted plant with a vining top; grows wild; produces an enormous amount of root for a small amount of top).
5. Paw.
6. Beans.
7. Tomatoes.
8. Eggplant.

II. MEATS (A LUXURY).

1. Fish (imported from Bohol and Leyte).
2. Chickens and eggs.
3. Goat meat.
4. Beef.
5. Carabao meat.
6. Horseflesh (rarely).
7. Mutton (very scarce).

III. FRUITS.

1. Banana (much used; both raw and cooked).
2. Mangoes.
3. Guava.
4. April grapes (cultivated in Carcar by wealthy people)
5. Chicos.
6. Lanzones.
7. Tamarind.
8. Wild plum (dark blue, 1½ inches in diameter).

IV. OTHER CEREALS.

1. Millet (little used) of two kinds—one prepared like corn; the other is made into cakes.

2. Flour (used in small quantity by bakers, who make buns, cakes, etc., and sell them from house to house).

In time of famine, which comes every year in Barili, but less frequently in Carcar, and which is caused by (a) dense population, (b) improvident methods, (c) drought, (d) locusts (grasshoppers), people suffer greatly from hunger. They then resort to almost anything for food. The heart of the buri palm is pounded into a starchy meal, wild roots and herbs are eaten, fish, clams, shrimps of any kind are sought after. I am also informed that the locusts are sometimes used for food. But it seems never to occur to them that the enormous number of dogs which they have—from one to five for each family—consume a great amount of food which might be given to the children. These dogs usually eat at the same time and place, and much the same food as the people eat. Of the very few cats possessed a few are killed. I have known of a dog being killed, regardless of his age, uselessness, or disease. A dog tax strictly enforced would seem to be an expedient and beneficent measure. For example (peso worth 50 cents): ₱1 a year for each male dog and ₱2 a year for each female dog, and any dog not bearing the "tax-paid" tag after a certain date should be shot by the police. I am a strong believer in such a law, for economic and sanitary reasons and for public decency and safety. The tax on females might well be made ₱3.

Of course, the fighting cock, now rapidly decreasing in number, represents a waste in time, and in that the finest cocks are used for fighting purposes rather than for breeding.

MEAL HOURS.

In mountain, 8 a. m. (work before breakfast), 12.30 p. m., and 7.30 p. m.

In pueblo, 7.30 a. m., 12 m., and 8 p. m.

EXPORT CROPS.

The following products are exported from Carcar and Barili:

1. Corn.
2. Copra (dried coconut meat).
3. Abaca (a fiber plant).
4. Tobacco.
5. Palay (very little; unhulled rice).
6. Maguey (since 1906; a fiber plant).
7. Sugar.
8. Live stock (hogs, cattle, goats, chickens).
9. Fruits (not important).

Concerning the relative importance of the different kinds of crops and live stock, attention is invited to Form 28, made out quarterly by presidentes,[1] secretary and treasurer. One copy sent to Bureau of Agriculture, one to provincial governor, one to the delegate in the assembly, and one retained. Embodied in this report are extracts from the Forms 28 of both towns for a period of 12 months. It is believed by the writer of this report that the Form 28 of Carcar is fairly reliable, but there are reasons to believe that Form 28 from Barili is not at all reliable. However, these are the only available figures:

Live stock in Barili.

[Extracts from Form 28.]

	Horses.	Cattle.	Carabao.	Hogs.	Goats.	Sheep.
Mar. 31, 1911	260	141	1,255	10,290	2,325	309
June 30, 1911	272	136	1,259	10,627	2,440	323
Sept. 30, 1911	277	234	2,269	10,620	2,479	324
Dec. 31, 1911	369	224	2,235	10,650	2,830	265
Estimated value of each	₱90	₱50	₱125	₱10	₱3	₱8

As a result of live-stock census work being done by the bureau of agriculture, there were registered in Barili between October 1 and December 31, 1911:

Horses	112
Cattle	1,160
Carabao	1,064

Live stock in Carcar.

	Horses.	Cattle.	Carabao.	Hogs.	Goats.	Sheep.
Dec. 1, 1910	197	183	2,384	8,270	1,771	155
Mar. 31, 1911	532	369	2,662	8,400	1,853	161
June 30, 1911	531	368	2,635	8,700	1,906	167
Sept. 30, 1911	532	350	2,636	9,090	1,857	166
Estimated value of each	₱74	₱50	₱100	₱10	₱2	₱4

Agricultural products—Barili.

HECTARES PLANTED AND HARVESTED FOR FOUR QUARTERS.

		Palay.	Cane.	Tobacco.	Corn.	Hemp.	Coconut.[1]
First quarter, 1911	P.	7,500	1,000	550	21,700	13,750	57,000
	H.	7,500	.....	.....	1,200	1,500	135,000
Second quarter, 1911	P.	.....	15	550	30,000	13,500	60,000
	H.	.....	15	.....	10,000	500	150
Third quarter, 1911	P.	.....	15	550	26,000	23,750	62,000
	H.	.....	.....	.....	15,000	600	170,000
Fourth quarter, 1911	P.	.....	15	1,101	4,407	13,750	88,000
	H.	.....	.....	.....	4,407	.....	.....

[1] Planted—trees; harvested—nuts.

NOTE.—P. means "planted," i. e., total area planted at end of quarter. H. mean "harvested."

[1] The executive head of a municipality; a kind of mayor.

Agricultural products—Carcar.

HECTARES PLANTED AND HARVESTED FOR FOUR QUARTERS.

	Palay.	Cane.	Tobacco.	Corn.	Hemp.	Maguey.	Coconut.[1]	Cocoa
Last quarter, 1910:								
Planted	300	200	8	12,000	100	60	21,400	5
Harvested	180	.....	.....	7,000	10	3	7,000	.....
First quarter, 1911:								
Planted	180	500	8	5,000	100	60	22,400	5
Harvested	100	130	3	1,000	10	.....	1,000	.....
Second quarter, 1911:								
Planted	80	385	5	4,000	100	60	23,200	5
Harvested	80	10	2	.....	6	.....	8,000	.....
Third quarter, 1911:								
Planted	85	375	3	8,500	100	60	24,000	5
Harvested	.....	.....	2	4,000	5	.....	7,000	.....

[1] Planted—trees; harvested—nuts.

Quantities of products harvested and prices—Barili.

	Palay.	Sugar.	Tobacco.	Corn.
1911.	*Liters.*	*Kilos.*	*Kilos.*	*Liters.*
First quarter	225,000	3,415	7,977	650,000
Second quarter	.....	.....	378,000	1,875,000
Third quarter	.....	.....	.....	225,000
Fourth quarter	.....	.....	.....	450,000
Prices	₱0.05	₱0.07	₱0.44	₱0.06

	Hemp.	Maguey.	Copra.	Cocoa and coffee.
1911.	*Kilos.*	*Kilos.*	*Kilos.*	
First quarter	315,000	.....	2,846	.....
Second quarter	330,000	.....	23,625	.....
Third quarter	.....	.....	35,130	.....
Fourth quarter	.....	.....	.....	.....
Prices	₱0.01	.....	₱0.44	₱0.05

1,100 liters of oil also, valued at ₱0.10 per liter.

Quantities of products harvested and prices—Carcar.

	Palay.	Sugar.	Tobacco.	Corn.
	Liters.	*Kilos.*	*Kilos.*	*Liters.*
Last quarter, 1910	21,000	.....	.....	7,000,000
First quarter, 1911	12,000	342,000	3,000	1,000,000
Second quarter, 1911	9,600	26,000	2,000	.....
Third quarter, 1911	.....	.....	2,000	3,000,000
Prices	₱0.05	₱0.07	₱0.14	₱0.07

	Hemp.	Maguey.	Copra.	Coffee and cocoa.
	Kilos.	*Kilos.*	*Kilos.*	*Kilos.*
Last quarter, 1910	5,040	1,000	.....	.....
First quarter, 1911	5,040	.....	2,000	.....
Second quarter, 1911	3,500	.....	3,000	.....
Third quarter, 1911	3,000	.....	2,000	.....
Prices	₱0.20	₱0.10	₱0.18	.....

LOCATION OF CROPS AND AGRICULTURE.

There is very little to be said under this head. The municipalities of Carcar and Barili are located on opposite sides of a narrow, dry, and mountainous island. Of course, rice and sugar cane are produced mostly on the narrow, coastal plains and in the small valleys. Corn and other crops are produced on any available spot, the steepest and highest mountain sides being cleared and cultivated by hand. The dense, ignorant, and immobile population makes agriculture very intensive and conservative. No time or room is available for untried crops and methods. Both municipalities are well supplied with springs and running water, but much irrigation is impossible. The effect of the annual recurrence of wet and dry seasons may be observed on the extracts from Form 28.

Crops are occasionally destroyed by locusts. Almost no storms visit these municipalities.

Very little is done either in improving the native plants or in introducing new ones. Maguey has been taken up some since 1905. A few progressive planters in Carcar have bought some steel plows—are drawn by one carabao—and make experiments with commercial fertilizers. Ashes are used some for fertilizer. All waste plant matter is burned.

About two corn crops are produced annually.

There are several water-power possibilities, all undeveloped except one—a cane mill in Carcar owned by Thomas Osmena.

LAND TENURE.

There are absolutely no large haciendas—plantations or large farms—in these municipalities. There are some large landholders, but their holdings are scattered and are operated by tenants—one entirely independent of the other.

Most of the land is owned in small pieces. This has resulted from divisions of estates and from small sales and purchases. The tenant

system is much used, however. Some owners of only 1 or 2 hectares lease these to tenants and play the idle landlord rôle.

There seems to exist no written agreements between tenants and landlords. Verbal or implied agreements are usually entered into from year to year. It frequently occurs, however, that a tenant spends his life on one piece of land. Most landlords owning 10 hectares or more live in the poblacion and visit their land occasionally to see how things are going. This leaves most of the agriculture in the hands of ignorant, listless, and unambitious tenants, which prevents improved agricultural methods, proper care of land, permanent improvements, etc.

The tenant usually builds a very flimsy house of light materials, about which he quarters himself and family, his chickens, his hogs, his carabaos, and in which he stores his part of the crop.

The division of the crop is made on the following:

The labor and seed earn one-third. The carabao—a kind of water buffalo; a beast of burden—and plow earn one-third. The land earns one-third.

The tenants must harvest and deliver to the landowner's granary, on the land, the part due the landowner. In case the land is such that it can not be cultivated by plow, the laborer gets two-thirds of the crop. If the tenant finds it necessary to borrow 100 ears of corn from the landowner, he pays back 200 ears out of the next crop.

In case the landowner becomes displeased with the tenant, he may eject the tenant at any time. Also, in case the tenant considers himself ill treated, he may move off the land. Very few do this, however, since it would involve deserting work already done, and since also most tenants are bound to the landowners by some debt—does not usually exceed ₱10—tenants can not well escape the payment of these debts except by secretly emigrating to another municipality or island. They may even then be brought back for trial.

Not only is the tenant, or servant, bound to his master by debts which he owes the master, but also, and more effectively, is he bound by debts due the tenant from his master. The tenant is afraid to go away or become refractory in any way for fear that the master will not pay him. This is a very effective means of keeping the fickle or lazy servant on the job, and is used pretty generally, I believe, all over the Philippines.

Though the under man seems thus to be bound either way, yet little injustice or actual harm comes to him from it. The extreme ignorance, the characteristic laziness, the proverbial shiftlessness, and annoying fickleness of the average "tao" (a common laborer or workingman of the lower classes) is such as to make it impossible for him to do for himself and such as to make him useless to anyone else unless some system of compulsion is maintained.

In case the tenant cares for domestic animals belonging to the landowner, the tenant gets one-half of the offspring. If the parent animals belong to the tenant, all offspring belong to him.

It is estimated that slightly over one-third of the land is worked on the share system. It is rare for one tenant to take land from more than one landowner. Sometimes, however, a small landholder is also a tenant.

Ten per cent of land is owned in less than ½ hectare lots.
Ten per cent of land is owned in ½ to 1 hectare lots.
Twenty-five per cent of land is owned in 1 to 5 hectare lots.
Twenty-five per cent of land is owned in 5 to 10 hectare lots.
Thirty per cent of land is owned in 10 up hectare lots.

Below is given a list of 10 of the biggest landowners in each municipality, with an estimate of the amount of land owned by each. Since very little of the land is surveyed or held by title, it is not possible to give exact figures:

Barili.

	Hectares.
1. Bernabela Penalosa (hectare, a measure of land, 2.0471 acres)	500
2. Damasa Ricablanca	300
3. Procopio Paraz	250
4. Miguel Abad	200
5. Juliana Paraz	200
6. Mariano Fajardo	150
7. Ciriaco Paraz	125
8. Cenon Fernandez	100
9. Claro Causin	50
10. Martinianon Alquisola	25

Carcar.

1. Tomas Osmena	800
2. Florencio Noel	500
3. Pedro Cui	250
4. Farnando Yap	240
5. Ana Canarias	210
6. Hermanos Enriquez	195
7. Mateo Mercado	175
8. Narcario Gantangco	140
9. Salvador Gantangco	132
10. Vincente Jaen	113

Advance in land values may be seen from the following table for land in Carcar:

	First class.	Second class.	Third class.
1 hectare, 1832	₱125	₱100	₱75
1 hectare, 1902	(1)	(1)	(1)
1 hectare, 1912	500	400	300

[1] No market value, due to disturbed conditions and to death of animals.

A corresponding increase in prices of corn is shown:

1 cavan, 1892, at harvest	$0.75
1 cavan, 1892, at highest price	2.00
1 cavan, 1912, at harvest	3.50
1 cavan, 1912, at highest price	5.50

Men of wealth consider land the best investment. Most of them are "land poor." It does not seem that large landholders have, for the most part, acquired their land through oppressive or illegitimate methods, but rather through prudence, industry, and inheritance.

I found, however, that in a few cases money has been loaned and the land taken at about two-thirds its value for security, with the stipulation that until the debt was paid—usually a 4-year period was allowed—one-half of the crop should go to the loaner of the money. Obviously those conditions are very hard and inevitably result in the debtor losing his land. About one-third of agricultural work is done for hire. (See Labor.)

To make some short explicit statements concerning the share system as it exists in Carcar and Barili, I should say the following:

1. About one-half the farms are cultivated on the share system. The usual crop is corn.
2. The usual total amount so cultivated by one man is 2 hectares. The smallest amount is one-third of a hectare, and the largest is 5 hectares.
3. Plats as small as one-eighth of a hectare and as large as 5 hectares are leased.
4. Lessees occasionally lease several noncontiguous plats.
5. Small landowners become tenants of adjacent land in order to increase their possibilities.
6. The largest period of lease is 4 years; the shortest is 1 year. The usual period is 2 years, but since the agreements are oral or implied it is difficult to set exact periods.
7. Lessees usually reside for many years on the same piece of land.
8. The control of the landlord over the tenant and the question of debts is discussed elsewhere.
9. The recognized rights of the tenants against their landlords are few. In extreme cases of fraud or maltreatment the tenants appeal either to the justice of the peace or to the bolo (a kind of thick corn knife used for all domestic purposes and for fighting). Both are very rare.
10. The lease and share system is elsewhere dicussed. Cash rents are never contracted.
11. Outside of the production of the crop the landlord and tenant deal with each other as employer and employee. There is no free service either way.
12. The work of the household is divided as follows: The wife cooks the food, weaves and makes the clothing, cares for children, and prepares seed for planting. The wife is usually financial manager of the household. The husband does the field work, markets products, etc. The children care for the domestic animals and aid both parents.
13. The tiller of the small holding makes but a scant living for himself and family. Suppose there are five in the family and that it costs ₱0.30 a day to feed and clothe this family. This would mean a yearly value of ₱91.25. It is thought that this is about correct, since none accumulated anything and since laborers work for 40 to 50 centavos a day and furnish their own food. They live a scant existence, as does the tiller of the small holding, and yet the laborer does not work 365 days a year by any means.
15. The tenant usually regards the landlord as a business benefactor.
16. The landlord regards the tenant as a natural and easy means of getting his land worked. He does not abuse the tenant, as one does not abuse his domestic animals.
17. It does not seem that the landlord ever sells the tenant and his debts to another landlord.
18. Very few tenants make a very serious attempt to better their conditions. A few, however, save enough to buy a carabao, plow, and finally a bit of land.
19. The children of a deceased tenant are not held responsible for the parents' debts to the landlord.

It does not seem easy to offer a solution for the betterment of conditions. Some of the things which might be considered necessary to any improvement, however, are:

1. The tenant and poor class must be informed that there are better things so that they will want better conditions. As it is they are contented with the miserably meager existence they are dragging out.
2. Population is entirely too dense. It should be decreased by emigration and by instructing boys and girls that it is morally wrong to bring children into the world unless they can provide for them.

The dignity of labor must be emphasized, so as to do away with the large number of petty landlords and bosses. The country is poor and could support an industrious population of one-third the present size moderately well. But it can never be made to support as large a population of loafers as now live on it.

I should say, then, increase the wants, increase the knowledge of better conditions elsewhere to cause emigration and emulation; use drastic and continual methods to prevent further increase in population and to decrease the present number.

HOMESTEAD.

There is no land open for homestead in Carcar and Barili.

THE BARRIO SYSTEM.

In Carcar there are 10 barrios; in Barili, 21. These are really not villages. There may be a slight collection of houses in a barrio to distinguish it from the other parts of the municipality, but in most cases the name simply signifies a location. The location may be determined by a spring or the crossing of lines of travel.

There is usually a small chapel for religious purposes. These chapels are built by community labor. This is about the only community labor performed. In some few instances there is some "swapping of work," but a lazy penuriousness prevails in such cases more than the spirit of community work. The barrio people do not even work together to improve the roads or build bridges useful to all. The barrio people have never been attacked by enemies to amount to anything. Groups of ladrones (thieves or robbers) of their own people bothered them some in former times. But the influence of such attacks was not toward grouping, since the people did not attempt to defend themselves, but fled immediately to the poblacion, where the alarm was given. Having poor houses and almost nothing in them, they could lose them all and not be seriously handicapped.

For each barrio—sometimes for a group of two or more—there is one councilman, who usually resides in the poblacion. There are also a teniente (lieutenant) and a subteniente residing in the barrio. It is through the aid of these tenientes that the presidente or councilman publishes notices and executes certain duties relating to the barrio people.

Almost every barrio resident goes to the poblacion once a week. They bring to town certain of their raw products and take back—

1. Dried fish.
2. Petroleum.
3. Shoes and chinelas (stipper of cloth top over the toes only) (for dress occasions).
4. Rice (for festal occasions).
5. Clothing or cloth (two-fifths thus bought; three fifths woven in barrio).
6. Hats (but most people go without).

Their wants and purchases are increasing from year to year.

AGRICULTURAL LABOR.

The enormous population found in Carcar and Barili, and the scarcity of good land, convinces one that the law of diminishing returns should long since have begun to operate. Yet, considering the extremely small outlay that is required to feed and clothe the ordinary laborer, and considering the fact that whatever is exported from the municipalities has been collected bit by bit from numerous individuals, one is led to believe that a very peculiar condition exists here. The wants are so few and the indolence and ignorance so great—no improved tools or methods being used—that the law of diminishing returns has not yet begun to operate in most parts of the municipalities. Lack of wants and inefficiency of labor explains this situation. Consider the facts that these two municipalities, with a total area of less than 500 square kilometers, much of which is, from natural causes, untillable, have a population estimated at 75,000; and, further, consider the small exports; and one begins to realize how little actual labor is done per capita.

It is estimated that one-third of the agricultural labor is done for hire, at the rate of 30 to 40 centavos a day, the laborer furnishing his own tools and food; about one-third is done by tenants and one-third by the owners of small holdings. The laborer usually spends long hours in the field, but does not work rapidly and effectively. The laborer, as a rule, prefers to do agricultural work for a much less wage than to work on the roads or do other public works, not from any idea of the dignity of agricultural labor, but because (1) his work is nearer his house; (2) he can more easily stop for fiestas or other desired rests; (3) having no boss over him, he works slowly and more according to his own inclinations.

Labor is not quite so immobile and reticent as it was five years ago, yet there are almost no signs of changed methods or changed attitudes. Amusements, standards of living, tools, labor efficiency, etc., are practically the same as they were 10 years ago. Baseball, which is played much by the boys, is the single exception.

The laboring population constitutes a large, passive, unfeeling, uncaring, insensate mass, held in strong restraint by ignorance, poverty, custom, and superstitions; conservatism, schools, expositions, and other means of education seem to be the only possible way to wake them up to human ambitions and endeavors, and, with the best of means, it is a herculean task.

The above remarks, it should be observed, apply to the barrio and mountain people engaged in agricultural pursuits. Conditions in the poblacion of Carcar are quite different, and in the poblacion of Barili a little different.

It does not appear that there are many, if any, real bonded debtors. It is not necessary to have a debtor bonded to get him to stay. The dense population, the shiftnessness of all classes—and especially the servant class—and the extreme poverty make it easy for the better classes to have servants. Almost everybody has a servant. These servants do not constitute a separate class; but, while they are servants, they have a servant's fare and considerations. Their condition is not so grievous compared with that of their masters, but it is certainly inferior.

Most servants are given food, clothing, and a small monthly salary of from 50 centavos to ₱10. The latter salary is a higher one, and would be paid only to a good cook or some such servant. I have known of servants receiving 25 centavos a month. This small salary is usually spent for some necessity of clothing which the master has failed to provide. A few servants owe their master, but I think more masters owe their servants, which has the same effect, as above explained. In case of such debts, however, no interest is charged.

Labor is not mobile at all. Above descriptions of conditions should serve to explain why labor is not mobile. It is reported that five persons have gone to Hawaii to work on the sugar plantations.

THE ANIMAL INDUSTRY.

The unimproved native pony is used for transportation of people on the roads and is used some to turn sugar mills. (See Form 28, pp. 5 and 6.)

The carabao is the chief beast of burden, doing all agricultural and heavy transportation work. In Carcar goats are used a great deal to haul sacks of grain and other products. A few cattle are used for work.

Hogs, goats, chickens, and sheep are produced for food. The animal industry has not recovered from the losses caused by rinderpest and other diseases of 1897–1900.

FISHING.

A small amount of fishing is done for local consumption. Fish are imported from other municipalities and Provinces.

LUMBERING AND FOREST PRODUCTS.

The municipalities of Carcar and Barili are denuded of all forests. There is not even rattan (a kind of thorny vine, which is smoothed off and split into small strands and used as string or wire) or enough trees to make posts for the houses. Bamboo is present, but not abundant. Fuel is scarce and high priced.

IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION.

The population of Carcar is almost entirely unaffected by immigration or emigration. About 40 families leave Barili annually for East Negros. A similar number come into Barili from adjacent municipalities. Newcomers are neither greeted nor resented. They are received with an apathetic indifference. They try first to establish themselves by hiring their services. Only the poorest move. They have some hope of bettering their condition; they feel sure they can not easily make it worse.

POPULATION AND INDUSTRY.

It is hard to conceive of so simple a people operating a very extensive system of commerce or manufacture. Fish are not overly plentiful. If the raw materials could be made to grow, the people ought to learn to produce many articles of value, such as mats, baskets, cloth, etc. This would have to be a household work rather than factory work. As it is there is almost nothing in this line, either as household work, wage work, or as a handicraft.

TRANSPORTATION.

Transportation is, for the most part, by carabao and sled or cart (a cumbrous affair supported by two wooden wheels—disks). The cost in Carcar of transportating one cavan of corn 7 kilometers, over bad road, is ₱0.40; over good roads, ₱0.25. In Barili the cost is about ₱0.30, no distinction being made between good and bad roads.

MERCHANTS.

Chinamen are the chief merchants. There are about 10 Chinese merchants in the two towns. They buy all products of the community and sell to the people such cheap wares, canned goods, flour, petroleum, dishes, etc., as the public will buy.

There are also an indeterminate number of Filipino merchants who are part merchant, part farmer, and part loafer. Some of these are itinerant barterers, carrying out dishes, dried fish, clothing, nails, bolos, etc., and bringing back chickens, eggs, vegetables, etc. Formerly these barterers cheated their customers quite systematically and successfully. But the rustic has now learned town values too well to be much cheated. He also prefers to carry his products to the town, so that he may have an excuse to go in and loaf around a day or so each week. So dearly do venders love a trip to town that they frequently refuse a better price in the country than they get after carrying their load 4 or 5 kilometers to town.

MARKETS.

Markets exist in only three places: Poblacion of Carcar, poblacion of Barili, and in the barrio of Mantalongon, a midway station between Carcar, Barili, Aloguinsan, and Sibonga. The market day at the barrio is Thursday. In the poblacions Sunday is the big day of business. All kinds of agricultural products and many manufactured articles are bought and sold on market days.

CREDIT AND MONEY.

Since credit and loans usually result in disputes and loss to the creditors, very little crediting is done. The money borrower will offer to pay any rate of interest, but he has little idea of ever paying either interest or principal. Money is the only medium of exchange, and is used in all deals, great and small.

A satisfactory system of credit and bookkeeping is impossible among an ignorant and tricky people. They do not appreciate the value of time or the value of a general confidence in debtors. They do not understand the proper use of business credit.

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, it should be said that conditions are not the same in both municipalities. Carcar is far more progressive, awake, and modern in its spirit. Barili I believe to be one of the most lethargic towns in the Philippines. No one seems to be ambitious or to care materially about anything. Very few of her sons and daughters seek education or employment outside the town. The law of supply and demand does not seem to operate here at all. Prices on certain articles are fixed by tradition, not by supply and demand. Nor does an extraordinarily high price offered for some article seem to stimulate materially its production and sale.

Though this report may lack or may err in some respects, it is believed by the writer (who frequently visited both towns, having lived in Barili from Aug. 14, 1909, to April 1, 1910) that a fairly correct and ample statement of existing conditions is herewith most respectfully submitted.

CLAUDE C. MCCOLLUM.

River and Harbor Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK PARK.

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 20, 1915.

Mr. PARK. Mr. Speaker, on last Friday the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. FREAR] attacked in scathing manner the rivers and harbors bill, and in course of his general attack all along the line touched upon the $50,000 for Flint River, Ga.

This river traverses over 100 miles of the second district of Georgia.

A short length of the 77 miles above Albany, where the ruling depth is 2½ feet, touches the second district. This part is now navigable for small craft, but no appropriation is asked for it, and no part of the $50,000 is to be expended above Albany. Below Albany it is deeper and broader and can be rendered excellently navigable by expenditure of a sum commensurate with its commercial importance.

If the gentleman had analyzed the sum of the appropriations for the past 35 years he would notice that less than an average of $11,000 per year has been spent for improvement and maintenance, about $20 for each 1,000 feet of the stream, a bare pittance, calculated to starve any project of like dimensions and importance; yet, the gentleman advocates the killing of the great project which these small appropriations have starved, but which is growing in commercial importance in spite of the meager appropriations.

If the gentleman knew that the expenditure during the past 12 years was paid for work directed and superintended by a person with no scientific training or knowledge for this important work, he would realize, as do the people to be benefited, that much of it was for only temporary benefit.

The person referred to has lately been removed and a junior engineer put in his place, under whose supervision much is expected in permanent improvement.

If the $381,000 had been intelligently and scientifically expended over a period of four or five years continuously, there would doubtless be greater results of lasting benefit.

Five important counties of the second district of Georgia are largely affected commercially by the navigability, or lack of it, of this river.

During the last months of the expiring Confederacy of Southern States these five counties supplied provisions and clothing to the army to such an extent as to give them the name "Egypt of the Confederacy."

The important county of Baker is without transportation facilities except by this river and wagon trains.

On both sides of the 100 miles of navigable length of this river the lands are fertile and abundantly productive; and if navigation shall be rendered reasonably steady and safe, a locality of over 2,000 square miles will largely utilize this river to transport what they buy and sell.

The tonnage last year was thirty-three and one-half thousand tons, nearly 7,000 tons over the previous year.

The value of freight carried last year was above $2,000,000, an increase of nearly $600,000 over the previous year.

This is a worthy and a much-needed project among a people who are struggling and pushing onward industrially and commercially.

I trust the Congress will allow the appropriation and help those who manufacture little but produce much for manufacture.

A Delaware River Triumph.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 28, 1915.

On the bill (H. R. 20415) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916.

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the navigation item in the agricultural bill I wish to draw attention to the Delaware River, which was the subject of a brief discussion yesterday when we were considering the aids to navigation bill. My good friend, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. ADAMSON], and my distinguished leader, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN], indulged in a good-humored controversy over the aids to navigation already secured for the Delaware. They had in mind the item of $80,000 for new range lights made necessary by the completion of the 35-foot channel at Schooner Ledge, near by the city of Chester. I am satisfied both gentlemen were convinced of the wisdom of making this appropriation, as was also the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD], whose usual accuracy in debate was somewhat shocked by his criticism of the Delaware River and the Atlantic coastal project as part of a system for promoting moonlight excursions in motor boats of a 3-foot draft. If it were not for the tremendous importance of the commerce traversing the Delaware River and awaiting the opportunity to pass through the Atlantic coastal waterways and the risk of life upon the open sea it would be amusing to listen to those who think the rivers and harbors of the East deserve no further attention at the hands of the Government. I know my friends are not to be taken seriously with regard to the River Delaware, because the value of that stream and its preeminence as a common carrier of international consequence has been demonstrated upon this floor too often to need further recital. Only a few days ago I put in the RECORD some remarks upon this subject showing the Delaware to be the greatest of our inland rivers and quoting its revenue-creating ability as aggregating more than $200,000,000 during the last 10 years.

I said then, what I now repeat, that there is no river in the country upon which there is so much shipbuilding at the hands of American workmen. That the river needs additional aids to navigation, even beyond those provided in the aids to navigation bill reported yesterday by the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. ADAMSON], is demonstrated by the testimony of navigators and pilots who safeguard the property that is intrusted to the bosom of its waters. We have built the Nation's greatest battleships upon the Delaware, and we have built them well and economically. Since the beginning of our history we have been building merchantmen upon the Delaware, and we are continuing that line of work, with very great credit to our shipbuilders and mechanics, down to the present day.

AIDS TO NAVIGATION NEEDED.

It is rather a coincidence that about the time the friendly criticism of our item for new lights at Schooner Ledge was being made upon this floor the greatest of modern passenger vessels, so far as American construction is concerned, was being held up in the Delaware River because of a fog, which made it inadvisable to continue the initial passage of this great vessel to the sea. I refer to the steamship *Great Northern*, built in my district by Philadelphia mechanics on the Delaware River for coastwise service on the Pacific coast.

It is not safe to proceed upon a river or in the sea, except with very great caution, when a fog envelops a vessel. Recent accidents at sea and on the rivers have emphasized the necessity for caution under these untoward circumstances. The value of aids to navigation, such as lighthouses and buoys, are therefore easily apparent to anyone who undertakes to appreciate the perils of navigation. No one will dispute the value of these aids when a vessel is making progress in the dark. In darkness or in fog the lights and the buoys and the spars are of inestimable value in helping to shape a safe course for the mariner.

I do not want to be impatient with respect to the aids of this kind on the Delaware. We are doing a great business there and are giving an ample return to the Government for every dollar it spends either in aids to navigation or in its sluggish work upon our channel, but there are points along the river where additional lights would be of great service, and there is one stretch of nearly 14 miles along what is known as the Goose Island Bar, where it requires great skill in navigation by night to avoid the danger of running aground. Naval captains understand this situation as thoroughly as do the experienced pilots of the river, and some of them have recently obliged us to present our navigation proofs in order to retain our rightful hold upon Navy contracts for coal.

I shall not pursue this question further, however, because it is my purpose in extending these remarks to tell the story of the latest Delaware River triumph in shipbuilding, a triumph the celebration of which was halted temporarily on yesterday, not necessarily because of the lack of sufficient aids to navigation on the river, but because of that natural condition resulting from fog, which makes it so highly essential to have sufficient aids to navigation at hand.

TRIUMPH IN SHIPBUILDING.

I append the story of the *Great Northern* as it appears in the Philadelphia Record of this morning:

FOG DELAYS START OF SPLENDID STEAMSHIP—PHILADELPHIA-BUILT "GREAT NORTHERN" LEAVES THIS MORNING FOR THE PACIFIC—MANY NOTABLES ON BOARD—PASSENGERS FROM FAR AND NEAR CROWD VESSEL FOR TRIP VIA PANAMA CANAL.

Heavy fog on the river and a delay in the arrival of baggage belonging to the passengers caused a postponement until this morning of the sailing of the new $3,000,000 Philadelphia-built steamship *Great Northern* from the Washington Avenue Wharf yesterday on her maiden voyage to San Francisco by way of the Panama Canal. All of the 525 passengers, who will claim the distinction of being on the first passenger vessel hailing from this port to pass through the waterway, were on board early yesterday afternoon, but refused to leave when they learned that the time of sailing had been postponed.

Representatives of the Great Northern Pacific Steamship Co. who are accompanying the vessel and the officers held an informal reception on board last night as she lay at anchor in the stream, and apparently none of the passengers was disappointed in not getting started on scheduled time. The passenger list includes many persons, and every part of the United States is represented among those on board. In a number of instances the passengers traveled from various points along the Pacific coast to this city in order to accompany the vessel on its special cruise.

MANY INSPECT FINE SHIP.

During the afternoon hundreds of men and women from this city and New York inspected the *Great Northern*, and all pronounced the ship to be one of the most beautiful and best-appointed vessels that ever sailed. A large delegation from Cramp's shipyard, where the steamship was built, were among the visitors, as were also a score of members of the Maritime Exchange. Every part of the ship was inspected, and camera enthusiasts spent a busy afternoon snapping the interior and exterior of the vessel from every angle.

Capt. A. H. Ahman and the 225 members of the crew acted as guides, and explained every detail of the new steamship to the passengers and visitors.

NOTABLES ON THE TRIP.

Among the notables on board are ex-Gov. Martin H. Glynn and Mrs. Glynn, of New York; Norman E. Mack, national Democratic chairman, Mrs. Mack and daughter, of New York; H. J. Heinz, known internationally in Sunday-school work; Col. G. S. Young, commandant of the military post at Vancouver, Wash., and several other Army officers; Howard A. Banks, private secretary to Secretary of the Navy Daniels, who will install the Navy exhibit at the Panama-Pacific Exposition; Pierce Lyman Howe, director of the Great Northern Pacific Steamship Co., and wife, of San Francisco; Drake C. O'Reilly, Maurice Dooly, Ion Lewis, and G. M. Trowbridge, of Portland, Oreg.; J. L. Dalrymple and Mrs. Dalrymple, A. C. Von Hagen, and A. S. Brooks, of St. Paul, Minn.; Miss L. H. Tiffany, New York City; Commander Pryor, of Washington, the new Governor for the Samoa Islands; F. L. Parker and W. Madison, Astoria, Oreg.; R. W. Searle, Buffalo, N. Y.; J. H. Williams and Mrs. Williams, Tamaqua, Pa.; P. M. Sharpless, West Chester; A. C. Baxter and Mrs. Baxter, Camden, N. J.; Mrs. Hollingshead and Miss Hollingshead, Camden, N. J.; E. H. Moffett, Lewistown, Idaho; J. R. Moore, Stuart, Va.; J. J. McConville, St. Paul, Minn.

Capt. Ahman expects the *Great Northern* to arrive at Colon on the morning of February 2. The steamship will then pass through the canal to Balboa, where six hours will be spent sight-seeing. San Diego will be reached on February 10, where a stop of 17 hours will be made. The steamship is scheduled to arrive at San Pedro on the morning of

February 11, where it will remain 12 hours, and at San Francisco on the morning of February 12. The approximate distance of the cruise is 5,205 miles.

TOURISTS TAKE THEIR AUTOS.

The Panama-California Exposition opened in San Diego on January 1, and there the tourists will spend much of their time until the Panama-Pacific International Exposition opens in San Francisco on February 20. Five automobiles were taken on board by passengers, and it is the plan of the owners and their parties to return to the East in the machines. The big touring cars were lowered into the hold by the stevedores, and, according to the officers of the *Great Northern*, the shipment marked the first time automobiles have been lowered into vessels without being taken apart.

The *Great Northern* and the *Northern Pacific*, the sister ship now being constructed at Cramp's shipyard, are all-steel vessels, and will be the largest ships yet constructed for the Pacific coastwise trade. The *Great Northern* has a length over all of 524 feet, carries six decks, and is the most thoroughly equipped steamer ever built in an American shipyard.

Two days after the *Great Northern* arrives in San Francisco she will sail on a second special cruise for Honolulu. The steamship will arrive in Honolulu on February 21 and remain there three days and then return to San Francisco, where she will be expected on March 2. On March 15 the *Great Northern* will be placed in coastwise service between San Francisco and Portland, Oreg., by way of Astoria, Oreg.

Ship Purchase Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KENNETH D. McKELLAR,

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 28, 1915.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. Speaker, some time last fall Mr. C. P. J. Mooney, the able editor of one of our leading southern newspapers, published at Memphis, in my district, begun writing a series of articles on the ship purchase bill. These editorials are strong presentations of the question from the point of view of the section that I come from. I do not think the case could be better put than it is stated by Mr. Mooney.

Memphis is one of the largest cotton markets in the world. We handle about one-fifteenth of the entire American crop there. We raise 2,000,000 bales within a radius of 150 miles of our city. We are the largest hardwood lumber market in the world. The amount of hardwood lumber exported from Memphis is simply enormous. At present the lumber business is stagnant, because we have no ships to carry it to foreign markets. Our cotton while bringing a much larger price than it did is still distressingly low, and largely so because we have no ships to carry it to foreign markets. Mr. Mooney discusses the question fully in this series of editorials, and I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD so as to include this series of four editorials. They are as follows:

[Saturday, Dec. 5, 1914.]

COTTON AND SHIPS.

There is a report from Washington that Germany and Austria are eager to buy American cotton and pay a big price for it if the cotton can be delivered.

The difficulties of delivery are in ships and in marine insurance. That is just where the United States Government might perform a useful service. There is no objection to shipping cotton to Hamburg direct and to Amsterdam for reshipment into Germany. Cotton could also be shipped to Genoa and taken by rail across Italy and Switzerland into Germany.

Cotton not being contraband, the United States Government might at once renew negotiations with the allies and effect an agreement to take over the ships that are now interned in New York. A steamer like the *Vaterland* and some of the great German freighters could in two or three trips convey an enormous amount of compressed cotton to Europe.

Then the Government should send agents of the Department of Commerce to each of the ports in Europe and send other agents of the same department into the German importing cities and let them have immediate charge of the cargoes.

At every turn in this European war the helplessness of the United States is shown in the matter of ocean commerce.

When our 16 battleships went around the world to show the yellow men and the copper-colored men and other sorts of men our big sea power they were received with great respect. But the wise ones laughed when they saw that the transports bearing coal for the warships were flying the flags of other nations.

If while our American battleships were touring the Orient war had suddenly been declared against us, the merchant ships carrying coal would have been compelled to run away and leave us stranded on the high seas.

Before this war opened there were only four American trans-Atlantic passenger ships, and they were almost obsolete. A few other ships have come under American registry.

Ninety-five per cent of the ocean commerce of the United States was carried in foreign bottoms. If the United States carried ordinarily one-half of its sea commerce in its own ships, we could now have a fleet capable of delivering cargoes of cotton to any point in the world, with others left for carrying grain, live stock, and food products.

If we can not do any better, the Government should build a number of so-called auxiliary cruisers, which could carry commercial products in such times as this and could carry coal and war provisions for our battleships and could carry our soldiers in times of war.

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[Tuesday, Dec. 8, 1914.]

LET THE GOVERNMENT HUNT FOR SHIPS.

It is stated from Washington that Germany and Austria are in the market for cotton.

It is reported by a number of cotton men in Memphis who have had dealings with Germany in times of peace that as much as 1,000,000 bales of cotton could be sold in Germany and in Austria if the cotton could be safely landed there. There is a dearth of ships.

Ocean rates to Gothenburg and to Rotterdam are three or four times the regular rates. The few ships now available are used principally in carrying foodstuffs. The difficulties of transportation are such as to make it exceedingly serious for private enterprises independently to undertake trading in large quantities.

The United States Government desires to continue the balance of trade in favor of this country. When exchange runs against us, when our gold is being drawn out, the Treasury Department quickly becomes active.

The demand for foodstuffs and war material has turned the drift of credits to our favor. But the United States might add to our commerce, solve a difficult situation in this country, build up more credit in Europe, and bring about a desired prosperity by taking a hand itself in the over-sea cotton commerce.

The Government, through the Department of Commerce, might establish a base in continental Europe, to which point cotton could be shipped and distributed wherever there arose a demand for it.

The danger of mines and other hazards would be obviated by making Genoa the base. From Genoa the cotton could be shipped overland into Germany and into Austria.

After having provided these facilities, then the United States should look into the gathering of ships.

At the outbreak of the war there threatened to be a stoppage of ocean navigation. A bill was offered and passed permitting the Government to encourage the registration of ships under the American flag. Another bill was offered permitting the Government itself to provide ships for commerce. This second bill failed.

The Government might offer such encouragement to ships as would make them undertake the business of carrying cotton to Germany and to Austria, and at the present session of Congress the problem should be solved by further legislation.

In some parts of the world cotton is in great demand. We have the cotton in large quantities. The supreme work of the Government of the United States, then, is to give all of its aid toward bringing the buyer and the seller together in such a way as a transfer of commodities could be made.

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[Wednesday, Dec. 9, 1914.]

MR. WILSON'S MESSAGE.

President Wilson strikes a high note in his address to Congress.

While preparing it the President had always in mind the extraordinary confusion brought about by the colossal war.

Impressed himself with the thought that we are a Nation of peace and a peace-loving people, at the same time the conflict in Europe forces Mr. Wilson to suggest that while we are at peace we should give lively attention to such measures as will keep us from being at the mercy of any bellicose people.

The President utters no high-sounding platitudes about the forces of peace and love as being all powerful, but he does say that our warships should not be permitted to rot at their moorings, and that our land equipment should not be permitted to rust.

Without jingoism, the President intimates that the old proverb of keeping our powder dry while trusting in the Lord is a pretty fair rule of life for nations, as well as for individuals.

The President feels that the program of reform legislation involving business is over. The former twilight zone, under bills recently passed, has been narrowed. Business men and controllers of large corporations, he feels, have now a clear knowledge of what may be lawful or unlawful.

The President has cause to felicitate Congress on the success of the reserve-bank act.

Strongest is the President in an appeal for unlocking for the use of the public the forces of nature which have their being in water power.

The President is urgent for an American merchant marine.

The United States at the outbreak of the present war was almost as helpless on the sea for safe commerce as were the belligerents.

That any ships are coming into our ports now is due to the tremendous superiority of the English Navy. Had the Germans approached the English in sea power, and then had they resolved to take their chances on the high seas, there would be now in the Atlantic neither English nor French nor German ships carrying cargoes.

The only salvation in the foreign-trade field under these conditions would have been a fleet of our own and not one-half of 1 per cent of the over-sea trade of the United States was borne in American bottoms.

The word "subsidy" is peculiarly offensive to Democrats, but we have got to have ships flying the flag of the United States. We should have ships sufficient in number to carry at least half of the tonnage in and out of our ports.

If we can not enlist private enterprises in the construction and operation of these ships, then our Government must itself adopt some method—even if it builds ships—that will result in a United States merchant marine.

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[Jan. 24, 1915.]

WE MUST HAVE AMERICAN SHIPS.

Mr. Secretary of Commerce Redfield is doing a tremendous service to his fellow citizens of the South when he is advocating a system of ships by which things made and grown in the United States can be transported to all the other ends of the earth.

If the great war struck the exchange market, the stock and the bond market in the East a tremendous blow, it paralyzed for a time the commerce of the South, which is controlled more by international forces than the people had ever before realized.

The cotton that is every year shipped from seaports in the South goes, much of it, to the mills of interior England, to the great mills of eastern France, Alsace, and Lorraine.

In many spinning regions in Europe the roar of the machine gun has taken the place of the clatter of the looms. But there were other mills in Europe as distant from the scene of war, so far as immediate danger is concerned, as our own.

Cotton is not a contraband. After the first flurry of the beginning one of the quickest demands for things other than war material was for cotton.

German ships had been swept from the ocean. German ships were tremendous carriers of American goods. The English and the French ships were busy carrying their own stuff out and bringing war materials in.

The ships of Norway, under whose flag there is a great tonnage of seagoing vessels, were enlisted in carrying merchandise needed for immediate war purposes to French and English ports.

The United States had no trans-Atlantic liners except four vessels, which carry second-cabin passengers.

We were in exactly the same position as if we were to own our railroad beds and Canada owned all the equipment, and Canada suddenly gave orders that all the locomotives in the United States and all the cars be immediately run over the border.

The South is a great producer of lumber. The export business in lumber has steadily grown. It was all transported in foreign ships. These ships either hid in ports or came under the control of England, who controls the seas.

What would the United States do if Canada, owning all of the rolling stock of our American railways, should suddenly commandeer it. Naturally we would proceed either to build locomotives or to buy them already built or to rent some for temporary use from some neighbor, if such a neighbor were at hand.

There was a demand for cotton in Europe and there was a fair demand for lumber, but there were no ships.

The European nations were too busy saving their throats from being slit to give any attention to what the bystanders might desire.

Here and there a ship was picked up that might carry a cargo, but the demand was so much greater than the supply that the freight was almost prohibitive.

The blow clearing the ocean of ships struck not only lumber and cotton, but it struck wood products, the manufacture of which is a great industry in those parts of the South near the Gulf.

Mr. Wilson was quick to realize the gravity of the situation. Mr. Redfield himself, who is a man of business, gave to his chief the results of his investigations and submitted recommendations based upon these investigations and his experiences.

The bill modifying the shipping laws so as to enable ships flying foreign flags to register under the American flag was passed. But this bill was inadequate. A more elaborate shipping bill was proposed.

If the bill now under consideration is passed, this thing will happen: There will be more ships ready to carry American products not only to neutrals but to warring nations.

Therefore the passage of this bill is of immediate importance to us—more important to us than to the people of any other part of the country.

All the ships that are now afloat first carry food and war material. Unfortunately, we southern people export neither food nor war material.

If it became necessary, England would dismantle her five-day boats and fill the hulls with wheat. Lumber and cotton and turpentine and rosin would have to wait their turn.

Some of our southern Senators are fighting the present bill because they say it smacks of a subsidy.

Some of the Republicans are fighting it because it smells of Government ownership.

This is an extraordinary occasion. While we are not in the war we are suffering from a state of war.

The Government in the time of war takes over railroads, rolling stock, and, under certain conditions, even private property.

The writ of habeas corpus is probably the most prized instrument of human justice the English-speaking people have. Yet in a time of war even this writ may be suspended.

If we had been in possession of ships flying our flag in August, September, and October, cotton would not have dropped to 6 cents a pound.

If we had ships now, cotton would be higher than 8 cents a pound.

This war may last another year.

If we do not have more ships this fall, the new crop may not bring over 6 cents a pound.

If we had ships now and had been in possession of ships in August, there would not have been the paralysis in the lumber trade that has all but destroyed some of our strongest southern producers.

The necessity, then, is of supreme importance to the little sawmill man and of supreme importance to the man who toils in the forest, drives the logging wagons, sets the blocks at the mill, and offbears the sawed product.

The necessity of ships is of supreme importance to the small farmer who grows five bales and of equal importance to the small share cropper.

Therefore, when your southern Senators and Congressmen who are opposing Mr. Wilson's bill come back home and say they opposed it in the interest of the plain people, they are deceiving these plain people.

When they preach their devotion to Democracy and their devotion to the people, the people in turn may indict and convict them of preaching much and doing nothing.

The Republican opposition is a mere jockeying of a set of old-time reactionaries and standpatters who feel that they and their crowd were born and destined to rule and that the control on the part of others is an act of usurpation.

A nation that is strong at sea is always strong on land.

From the day that the Phœnicians sent their rafts with the colored sails out from Tyre into the Mediterranean, during the times when Carthage held sea power and when Rome wrested it from her, down through the period of sea control by Venice and Genoa, nations who were strong on sea were the dominating controllers of the commerce and destinies of the Governments of the world.

We must carry our own commerce in our own ships for the same reason that it is absurd to permit the hauling of our goods up and down this country on roads whose rolling stock might be owned by another people.

The United States, while it may keep out of the fights of other people, can not isolate itself from the rest of the world, and therefore if it is to be in the commercial affairs of the world it must have every instrumentality of commerce necessary for the successful prosecution of trade.

This is not only good Democracy, but it is good nationalism.

Existing Worthless Projects are no Better than Worthless New Projects.

Is this $34,000,000 bill a pork barrel? How many projects can stand alone? Of the total amount, 42 per cent is for three rivers. Of the 250 projects, 70 are for three States—Florida, North Carolina, and Texas.

This bill carries 172 new surveys aggregating over $50,000,000.

It increases future waterway obligations to over $400,000,000.

A retrenchment of 1 per cent would ordinarily pay for publishing the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for an entire session or pay the President's salary during his four years' term. A retrenchment of 10 per cent would save the Government $10,000 per day throughout the year.

Based on the Engineer's Report, a saving of 50 per cent could be effected without injury to any worthy improvement, thereby saving over $17,000,000 that will otherwise be squandered on wasteful or worthless projects—an amount equal to the average annual appropriations given for all agricultural purposes during the past four years.

If to be given to aid the unemployed, let us apportion the $17,000,000 among worthy people and not spend it upon valueless dredging or worthless canalization schemes.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. FREAR,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 19, 1915,

On the bill (H. R. 20189) making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes.

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Chairman, the American people do not grumble at legitimate Government expenditures. Waste and extravagance they denounce.

Let us take an inventory of stock and ask ourselves what justification can be offered for wasted finances and palpable fraud, the first evidenced by a cursory examination and the second by an honest appraisement of some of our national investments.

A leading economist and man of wide information has said that this Government wastes $300,000,000 annually through inefficient, unbusinesslike methods. Similar indictments have been presented by statesmen great and small. What are the facts?

The increase in national expenditures is not calculated to satisfy inquiring minds in this year of 1915 when a brand new war tax jostles a second-year income tax and a shopworn general tax in reducing the pocketbook surplus of private citizens.

A statement of Federal appropriations shows:

Appropriations 1875 to 1914, inclusive.

1875	$325, 666, 791. 89
1876	328, 128, 199. 32
1877	299, 591, 138. 07
1878	296, 006, 694. 21
1879	332, 407, 776. 68
1880	372, 119, 629. 30
1881	361, 572, 204. 39
1882	365, 965, 479. 83
1883	422, 138, 073. 31
1884	355, 297, 875. 23
1885	318, 829, 489. 13
1886	336, 439, 913. 20
1887	387, 330, 971. 99
1888	359, 011, 523. 52
1889	408, 624, 057. 37
1890	385, 522, 367. 61
1891	509, 368, 345. 86
1892	514, 424, 019. 49
1893	463, 684, 385. 20
1894	479, 932, 667. 08
1895	459, 925, 178. 62
1896	457, 088, 344. 72
1897	469, 494, 010. 41
1898	485, 002, 044. 72
1899	862, 682, 487. 06
1900	690, 667, 188. 54
1901	719, 278, 826. 89
1902	757, 607, 464. 72
1903	796, 633, 864. 79
1904	736, 378, 402. 76
1905	732, 197, 855. 84
1906	765, 553, 620. 06
1907	871, 041, 847. 40
1908	918, 362, 329. 07
1909	986, 251, 657. 60
1910	1, 028, 506, 570. 94
1911	1, 027, 901, 629. 18
1912	1, 026, 682, 881. 72
1913	1, 098, 678, 788. 40
1914	1, 116, 118, 138. 55

The foregoing does not include contract authorizations, which in 1913 and 1914 amounted to $68,505,174 and $40,333,000, respectively.

In view of present criticism stockholders in this great corporation of ours, the National Government, will wonder what we have to show for expenditures during the last 10 years for our Navy, as follows:

Navy appropriations.

1905	$97,505,140.94
1906	100,336,679.94
1907	102,091,670.27
1908	98,958,507.50
1909	122,663,885.47
1910	136,935,199.05
1911	131,350,854.38
1912	126,478,338.24
1913	140,800,643.53
1914	144,868,716.61

In like manner, stockholders are asking what use was made of the following moneys spent for our Army during the same period:

Army appropriations.

1905	$77,070,300.88
1906	70,396,631.64
1907	71,817,165.08
1908	78,634,582.75
1909	95,382,247.61
1910	101,195,883.34
1911	95,440,567.55
1912	93,374,755.97
1913	94,266,145.51
1914	101,019,212.50

With an aggregate 10-year expenditure of about $1,880,000,000 for our Army and Navy during times of peace, or over $100 average for the head of each family, we turn to the principal business occupation—agriculture—in order to learn what Congress has been doing during this same period toward giving instruction and aid to the people who feed the Army and Navy and who also feed the hundred million people now depending upon our own resources.

By separate years the report of Government aid to agriculture shows:

Agricultural appropriations.

1905	$5,902,040
1906	6,882,690
1907	9,930,440
1908	9,447,290
1909	11,672,106
1910	12,995,036
1911	13,487,636
1912	16,900,016
1913	17,986,945
1914	19,865,832

Agriculture received during the decade $1 for every $15 spent for war in times of peace. What have we to show for the war investment?

In order to understand another specific appropriation which has been taken from the regular Appropriation Committee and lodged with a special committee, I offer a further statement of expenditures to which I desire more particularly to address myself.

The following statement, taken from Army engineers' reports also contains food for thought when we realize that a war tax in times of peace is not caused by European troubles but by inexcusable waste and inefficient management of our own affairs:

River and harbor appropriations, 1875–1914.

1875	$5,218,000.00
1876	6,643,517.50
1877	5,015,000.00
1878	None made.
1879	8,201,700.00
1880	7,846,600.00
1881	8,951,500.00
1882	11,441,300.00
1883	18,738,875.00
1884	None made.
1885	13,949,200.00
1886	None made.
1887	14,473,900.00
1888	None made.
1889	22,397,616.90
1890	None made.
1891	25,136,295.00
1892	2,951,200.00
1893	21,968,218.00
1894	14,166,153.00
1895	20,043,180.00
1896	11,462,115.00
1897	16,244,147.00
1898	20,832,412.91
1899	14,627,449.56
1900	25,110,038.94
1901	16,285,605.75
1902	7,046,623.00
1903	32,540,199.50
1904	20,233,150.00
1905	10,872,200.00
1906	28,726,007.21
1907	17,252,052.04
1908	43,500,813.00
1909	18,092,945.00
1910	29,190,264.00
1911	49,380,541.50
1912	40,558,620.50
1913	51,115,889.00
1914	26,990,000.00

The force of the above table will be gained by comparisons. Taking biennial appropriations, in order to meet the former practice, we find—

1883 1884	$18,738,875
1893 1894	36,134,371
1903 1904	52,773,349
1913 1914	78,105,889

A diminishing river traffic and a 400 per cent increase in appropriations in 30 years are facts that deserve serious consideration.

We should remember also that a reduction in the 1914 appropriation was brought about after widespread public protest had been dinned into the ears of Congress, coming as it did from the press throughout the country. The river and harbor bill of 1914, including new projects and sundry civil items, reached the astounding sum of $93,000,000, the greater part of which was waste. Notwithstanding a strenuous fight and secret back fire conducted by the rivers and harbors lobby during last session the barrel was smashed in the Senate and a $20,000,000 fund was placed in the hands of the Army engineers for emergency work in addition to $6,990,000 appropriated by the sundry civil bill.

It is a common claim of waterway enthusiasts that we will soon have all projects cared for and expenditures will then decrease.

No man will be simple enough to be misled by such ridiculous statements when he realizes that although we have spent over $800,000,000 on our waterways, nearly half of which has been used within the past dozen years, we are digging a deeper hole every year.

According to Chairman SPARKMAN's statement, our obligations approximate—

Balance due on present projects	$250,000,000
Amount to be paid on 100 new projects	101,000,000
Forty per cent of 172 new surveys (1915)	69,000,000
Obligations with this bill	420,000,000

Hundreds of other new surveys are waiting approval. An increase of a 5-foot depth in a river or harbor may mean many millions, and these projects will be endless.

The Muscle Shoals project of $18,700,000 urged in this bill invites an astounding waste for similar water-power projects.

The waterway policy of this Government is a piece of monumental stupidity that has become a national laughingstock.

A portion of the money expended no doubt has been well invested, although no unsystematic plan can serve any great public good, but by far the greater part of the $800,000,000 we have dumped into our rivers and into our harbors has been wasted. Contained in those vast figures are private water-power projects, land-reclamation schemes, wasteful contracts that benefited only dredgers and material men, projects notoriously for special interests, all brazenly challenging public criticism or clumsily covered up by those who have unwillingly or unwittingly fostered these humbugs.

ECONOMY IS A DISCARDED POLITICAL ISSUE.

We nominate and elect men to the Presidency pledged to some special theoretical legislation. We are trying to overcome all business and moral evils by law. We promise to lower the high cost of living by a political and sectional reduction of tariff schedules; but we do not, and few people believe we can. It was a convenient political issue in the last national election, and one in which the blind were selected to lead the blind.

We promise in party platforms to practice governmental economy, but such promises are not fulfilled and experimental legislation registers many mileposts of growing waste and dismal failures.

Presidents may not determine the amount of appropriations, because that responsibility rests with Congress, but Presidents possess a veto power, and the American people will look with favor upon the candidate who comes with a pledge to investigate fraud and waste in Government expenditures and a sincere promise to increase business efficiency in the management of governmental affairs.

Such a candidate will present a genuine issue that will appeal to millions of war-tax paying citizens who are bewildered by time-worn excuses, and ask for relief irrespective of party politics. The party platform that gives a specific pledge to investigate recognized abuses in extravagant appropriations and to cut off waste in Government moneys will invite confidence. It is an issue too long honored by neglect.

No business man could survive for a moment under the wasteful methods we pursue in our Federal expenditures, and no Government will long consent to have appropriations given by

courtesy to statesmen, politicians, or favored local and private interests. No people will long close their eyes to an annual "humbug and steal," which masquerades under the elusive title of "waterway improvements."

Men who stood on the floor of the Senate and refused to be turned aside from their purpose; who exposed waterway humbugs and declined to accept a mixture of gold and dross; who refused to surrender convictions to senatorial courtesy; men who filibustered, if thorough discussion can so be called, acting on behalf of the tax-paying public, and thereby defeated grossly wasteful appropriations; such men performed a legislative service that invites and is receiving public confidence, a confidence which has too often been betrayed by party promises through political platforms.

It is difficult to delude the average voter with promises of governmental reform when he knows we wink at humbugs and steals by voting for scores of questionable projects scattered through every river and harbor bill. That is the system fastened upon us through the activities of a $50,000,000 waterway lobby.

Efficiency and business methods will save hundreds of millions of dollars annually to the country, eliminate inexcusable war taxes, and yet not sacrifice a single worthy project or injure any legitimate function of government.

The people are ready to drop political-platform phantoms, which are a shadow rather than substance, and they are willing to place the tariff, trusts, and waterways in the hands of high-class administrative boards, empowered to investigate conditions and to recommend proper legislation.

LEGITIMATE WATERWAYS DESERVE IMPROVEMENT.

Legitimate waterways are important to preserve, but practically every river in the country, excepting the St. Marys, a connecting lake link, has lost in commerce under the present lack of system or of intelligent improvement. Of all the hundreds of rivers, creeks, and rivulets receiving Government appropriations, not one in a dozen has maintained its traffic during the last 10 years.

Hundreds of millions of the people's money—not ours—has been frantically poured into the Mississippi, Ohio, Missouri, Tennessee, Cumberland, Arkansas, Red, and other streams, but dredgers, contractors, land-reclamation schemes, water-power projects, and other private interests have been served to the exclusion of commercial consideration.

Local contributions for harbor improvements, with guaranteed public free water terminals, would give some assurance that improvements were necessary and legitimate. To-day the Government Treasury is a huge grab bag, and while Congress holds the strings, investigation shows a multitude of private interests, from railroad-owned shipping and dredgers and land reclamationists down to electrical interests, all have their hands in the bag. This year the bag, or the barrel, is slightly smaller in size, but never before in the history of the country has a river and harbor bill been presented which contained any objectionable project surpassing the $18,701,000 Muscle Shoals water-power project, found hidden under the Tennessee River appropriation contained in this bill.

A SWARM OF 172 NEW SURVEYS.

Never in recent years have the engineers been directed in times of business depression to report on so many new surveys, reaching 172 in number, and never has any State with a total insignificant actual tonnage ever before placed over 30 projects, many of them questionable, in a single bill.

THREE GREAT RIVERS RECEIVE $14,421,000—A COMPARISON OF INLAND WATERWAY COMMERCE.

After first deducting floatable timber, sand, and construction material on the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers and duplicated commerce on the Ohio River—

	Tons.
Upper Mississippi (including duplications)	233,315
Lower Mississippi, no definite data.	
Missouri River, Kansas City to mouth, 400 miles	35,000
Ohio River, continuous traffic (see Kingman's letter), about	2,000,000

these three rivers will receive 42 per cent of the $34,000,000 bill.

SEVERAL LAKE PORTS.

	Tons.
Ashland, $20,000 item	5,623,309
Milwaukee, $15,000 item	8,647,230
Chicago, $464,000 item	13,275,000
Cleveland, $100,000 item	16,488,000
Buffalo, $187,375 item	18,920,000
Superior-Duluth	46,875,416

The lake shipments will average over 500 miles. For harbors accommodating over 100,000,000 tons of commerce in 1913, less than $1,000,000 is appropriated for all purposes by this bill. A similar proportion holds good for seaports in this economy bill, but through wasteful river appropriations in the past and by this $34,000,000 bill over $100 is spent per ton for river traffic in proportion to every single dollar that goes to ocean or lake tonnage.

Evidence as to the above river projects and the absolute waste thus brought about I desire to present, based primarily on the engineers' reports.

OUR DISAPPEARING RIVER COMMERCE.

The old river traffic can not be rejuvenated with Treasury elixir. It will return, if at all, through changed business conditions, through a control of both minimum and maximum railway freight rates, through Government owned or controlled waterway transportation agencies, and, finally, through a different form of craft to meet changed commercial demands that will serve to divert traffic from the Great Lakes and railways. Until commercial demands are manifest and actual we will continue to waste hundreds of millions of Government money, blindly chasing after our lost river commerce. Engineers may provide waterways, better craft may be devised than the old stern-wheelers, but the law of economies, of modern business methods, can not be set aside by lavish Government appropriations, however large and wasteful they may be.

Never before has the Mississippi River demanded $7,387,000, the Ohio $5,684,000, and the Missouri a paltry $1,350,000—totaling nearly fourteen and one-half millions out of a $34,000,000 bill. Over 42 per cent of the total amount is to be poured into these three rivers, notwithstanding engineers' reports show the Mississippi and Missouri commerce now exists only in name and the Ohio is also on the toboggan slide.

True, this bill has postponed some vicious projects. The $750,000 Oklawaha, and the Kissimmee, and the Trinity, and the Matawan, and a few of North Carolina's creeks have been told they must wait for the 1916 Santa Claus; but Cape Fear River gets $378,000 in this economy bill, and Beaufort Canal for floating timber is given $600,000 in this money saver.

Coosa's water powers are not forgotten in a $131,000 appropriation for a stream without traffic. Port Aransas, Sabine Pass, and the Houston project down in Texas together absorb a million dollars in this economy measure, while the busy Brazos contractors get over a quarter of a million to tide them over a hard winter.

Bad as ever in principle, containing millions of dollars in wasted moneys, committing the Government to an infamous private water-power project at Muscle Shoals, with nearly one-half of the total to be dumped into three rivers, this river and harbor bill is a hypocritical pretense to economize. We are told the President will sign it if it gets through Congress. We were also told the President was ready to sign the $53,000,000 bill that was recently killed in the Senate. Posterity will not search for the pen that signs such bills, but will look for the legisative ax that kills them, whether wielded by Senators on the floor of the Senate or by the Senate committee that rocked the boat with the last $53,000,000 bill.

When the present $34,000,000 bill was presented to the House, on January 14, for amendment I introduced the following amendment:

TO PLACE AN ADDITIONAL CHECK ON WASTE.

At the end of line 9, page 1, insert:

Provided, That before the payment of any moneys for projects hereinafter specifically mentioned a board consisting of the Secretary of Agriculture, Secretary of Labor, and Secretary of Commerce, to be known as the national board of waterways, shall, by written report to the Secretary of the Treasury, approve the public necessity for any expenditure on each individual project, and that such expenditure is to serve a public use in aid of navigation: *Provided further*, That said board may make or cause to be made independent examinations of the character of any and all projects and may call upon the Army engineers or employ the service of such other experts as may be necessary in determining the surrounding conditions, general character, and public use which such project is intended to serve.

With that provision in force an additional safeguard would be thrown about the Treasury doors in place of a farcical engineer's survey. No diagram of reasons need accompany the defeat of the amendment, which occurred by a viva voce vote. Then came the following amendment, which is self-explanatory:

TO REQUIRE PUBLIC WHARVES AND TERMINALS.

Page 2, after line 2, insert the following:

Provided, That no expenditure for any project shall be made until the Secretary of the Treasury shall be advised by the Board of Army Engineers that suitable public wharves and terminals have been provided by local interests sufficient in character to afford ample accommodations for all traffic upon said waterways, and that such public wharves and terminals, subject to general supervision and care of the local authorities, will be kept open at all reasonable hours for the free use of any and all persons desiring to use the same.

Railroad ownership of terminals and absence of public terminals have long since ruined competition at many points. In fact, the Government is blindly donating funds to different projects that are to-day supplementing railway interests and

not in any way serving the public purse or convenience, individually or collectively.

The second amendment went the way of the first.

Having confidence in the honest intentions of our distinguished President, and with a purpose of placing in his hands an opportunity to exercise a little genuine economy by striking out scores of wasteful items aggregating many millions that appear in the bill, I offered the following resolution:

AUTHORITY TO WITHHOLD ANY SEPARATE ITEM.

Page 1, at the end of line 9, insert:

"*Provided*, That if the President shall, upon investigation, ascertain and determine that any project or projects hereinafter provided for are not of material value to the public he may, in his discretion, withhold such specific appropriations until further action by Congress."

Notwithstanding we frequently place restrictions upon the Secretary of War and on engineers, who are directed by law to withhold appropriations if in their judgment conditions warrant, a point of order was made that this amendment is unconstitutional. Apart from the doubtful merit of the objection, we appear to have surrendered many more valuable legislative rights to the Executive than is involved in this proposal, which has to do with negative rather than affirmative action.

Again my well-meant efforts were unappreciated by the defeat of the amendment through the overwhelming repudiation of the proposal by the Democratic side of the House.

I have ever believed one sure way to diminish the number of wasteful projects that bob up in every bill would be by compelling local contribution from the community most directly benefited. For this reason I thereupon offered the following amendment:

TO REQUIRE LOCAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

Page 1, at end of line 9, insert:

"*Provided*, That one-half of each separate appropriation hereinafter specifically named shall be available whenever there shall be contributed by any State, county, city, or locality or localities an amount equal to one-half of such appropriations, which amount so raised shall be placed to the order of the Secretary of War and shall be expended by him pursuant to the report of the United States engineers on such project: *Provided further*, That the remaining half of each appropriation hereinafter provided shall be retained in the Treasury, subject to the order of the Secretary of War, and to be used by him whenever needed in the completion of the project for which such appropriation is made."

Again my good intentions failed to substitute the will of Congress in the matter of contributions for the flexible, wavering, and unreliable judgment of Army engineers.

The Government's grab bag would not prove so attractive with fixed conditions of equal local contributions. We adopt that plan when contributing Government highway aid to the several States. Why should we dump into inconsequential creeks or ravenous land reclamation projects millions of dollars in gold simply because a formidable $50,000,000 waterway lobby or strong political pull demands from us the money?

Of course this amendment fell by the wayside, although our Democratic friends have pretended in office and out that they were the anointed economy party chosen by the people to limit governmental extravagance.

After the defeat of these several amendments I called attention to appropriations proposed in this bill for harbors where no public wharves exist or where terminal facilities are practically all owned or controlled by railways or the shipping trust.

The first item in the bill is "Portland, Me." The president of the rivers and harbors $50,000,000 annual waterway lobby has frequently called the attention of Congress to the exclusive monopoly of terminal privileges in eastern harbors now possessed by railroads, and I desire to confirm his assertion by official statements all of which were more fully set forth in a speech made in the House by myself which appears in the RECORD of June 19 last.

I will cite a few notorious cases where the Government is engaged through this bill in serving as the handmaiden to railway interests. Just how public interests are aided or the high cost of living reduced by waterway competition in such cases is not made clear to a war-tax paying people.

PORTLAND, ME.

Portland, Me	$105,000
Balance on hand October, 1914	207,602
Past appropriations	1,877,727

I have been charged with sectionalism because criticisms were mainly leveled at southern projects contained in the last bill. That is partially true, but not because of any purpose to discriminate between northern and southern projects. An easy explanation is found in the large number of projects in the South usually accompanied by an insignificant annual tonnage after deducting sand and gravel and floatable timber. In reply to this charge, I will say that presumably many northern projects are equally indefensible, and as Portland, Me., asks for $105,000 in this bill, it is well to know that we have already appropriated $1,877,727 for the harbor and $207,602 was on hand last October with which to "restore a 30-foot harbor," to use the engineer's expression. That seems an extravagant sum for emergencies during this period of pretended public retrenchment, while other conditions warn us to make haste slowly with this project which has already swallowed nearly two millions of Uncle Samuel's dollars.

WATER FRONT OWNED BY RAILROADS.

In the report of the Commissioner of Corporations, volume 3, page 47, appears the following statement regarding Portland's $2,000,000 30-foot harbor:

About one-half of the active commercial water front of Portland is owned by railroads. No portion of it is owned by the city. That portion not owned by railroads is in the hands of individuals and private corporations. None of the wharves are either public or open.

Frankly there is not much difference between a fertilizing factory project at Matawan, N. J., or on the North East River, N. C., criticized in the last bill, and a railroad-controlled harbor, nor is there any great difference in purpose between aiding steamer companies owned by or affiliating with railroads and a land reclamation project on the Mississippi River or out on the Sacramento, both of which appear in this bill.

When we realize we have given nearly a couple of million dollars to this harbor and six months ago over two hundred thousand was on hand for emergencies it requires a severe wrench to give another hundred thousand dollars in this economy bill when engineers inform us, pages 51 to 54 of the 1914 report, that no definite statement of freight rates can be made, but "the capacity of the harbor has kept pace with the draft of vessels." If so, why not wait until the railroads really need another hundred thousand for their terminals before forcing money upon them? Such a proposition ought to appeal to a business administration that desires to economize.

The amendment to strike out was defeated.

BOSTON HARBOR, $200,000.

Balance on hand October, 1914	$746,326
Past appropriations	12,187,947

The last bill carried $400,000 additional for a 40-foot depth project in this harbor. On the advice of members of the committee in the Senate, to be found on page 16464 of last session's RECORD, we were told that Boston has as much water as any harbor in the country, New York excepted, and is in no immediate need.

Since sundry Indians dumped a cargo of tea into that harbor years ago the harbor has become an inveterate drinker and has swallowed $12,187,947 paid from the Federal Treasury, according to page 1548 of the report.

Boston has a large commerce and has had for many years, so that an extract from the Commissioner of Corporations report (vol. 3, p. 53) is surprising when it states:

The city owns almost none of the commercial water front.

Over on the next page the same official says:

A large part of Boston's water front and much of its most valuable wharf property are in the hands of the railroad companies.

The Metropolitan Improvements Commission discusses the center of culture in this wise (Commissioner of Corporations report, p. 55, vol. 3):

No one versed in sound construction can visit the dock terminals of Boston without realizing that they are in the main the product of haphazard and patchwork policy, largely unworthy of the port and unsafe for present and prospective passenger and freight business.

STEAMSHIP LINES ARE THROTTLED.

Getting down to brass tacks, the commissioner says in volume 4, page 14, of the transportation lines:

Four of the nine services connecting Boston with other important points are subsidiaries of shipping consolidations and four are controlled by railways.

Again, he says of coastwise business:

Boston has but one single steamship line to any port listed.

After studying over such reports the average taxpayer wonders just what public function of Government is called into service when we make appropriations for 35 and 40 foot harbor projects for the accommodation of two or three foreign-owned vessels. I will not discuss the proposition further than to say it is well to remember in these troublesome days of tax burdens a story told of Lincoln during the Civil War. When a delegation of Boston's choicest citizens waited upon him, demanding adequate protection for that harbor, the great emancipator suggested that if he had as much fear in his heart for his home city as the choicest citizens seemed to have, he would inaugurate a self-help endeavor society at home.

Why not invite to Washington the railroad officials controlling the four railroad steamship lines and the head officials of the Steamship Trust which controls all other lines with one exception? When they demand a new 40-foot channel for their boats, would it not be well to remind them of Lincoln's advice just a half century ago?

I do not overlook local improvements undertaken recently by the State, but I believe railroad-owned ships and trust-owned steamships should pay their fair share of improvements—at least until the Government undertakes to build tracks and terminals for railways that do not own connecting steamship lines. I further believe that some portion of the dredging expense should be borne by the municipality or the two or three very heavy-draft vessels which do not carry 5 per cent of the commerce handled at this port.

Contributions have been made by Massachusetts to work on Boston Harbor, but why not make a condition precedent to such appropriations that dredging projects will be undertaken when a proper portion of the expense is locally contributed?

PROVIDENCE, R. I.

Balance on hand October, 1914	$695,772
Past appropriations	2,766,353

Apparently this is not a very large appropriation, but Providence is rather exclusive, and so gets its gratuities from the sundry civil bill. About $2,766.353 has been appropriated for the 10-mile stretch below Fox Point to deep water, according to the report, and counting $500,000 received from the last sundry civil bill, a balance of $695,772 was available last October for use on this project.

The bill before us expresses some desire to have Providence do something for itself before we put any more money in the 2-mile stretch between Fields Point and Fox Point. The other 8½ miles are still included in a continuous performance of Providence to the Treasury and back again.

On pages 66 and 67, volume 3, Commissioner of Corporations report, occurs this interesting statement:

Practically all the wharves at Providence belong to private parties, including railroad and trading corporations. The city owns a small wharf below the Point Street Bridge, which it leases for a lumber wharf, and it also has a small wharf just above Sassafras Point, which is used by the various city departments. There are no open piers in Providence.

A statement that the New Haven Railroad owns most of the wharfage is probably superfluous, and although the belated effort to get Providence to do something for itself is not to be questioned, it does seem that after spending $2,766,000 on all projects, the real Providence is located on the Potomac rather than on Providence River. The latest and most fashionable project recommended by Army engineers for this popular city has received $595,280, according to page 119 of the Chief Engineer's report, and is now 7 per cent completed.

I am convinced we ought to withhold the balance of the money now on hand until we ascertain just what the Government is getting for that money.

The amendment to strike out was defeated.

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

New Haven	$10,000
Balance on hand October, 1914	101,853
Past appropriations	2,280,017

This carries a familiar name, due to temporary notoriety, which connects another enterprising project with this same name. As we are now dealing with $2,000,000 projects, according to the equitable distribution of funds by political pull and powers that be, it is not surprising to learn that behind this $10,000 is a total of $2,280,017 which has been given by a generous Government to New Haven Harbor and breakwater. Of equal interest, we learn that in last October over $100,000 was available for harbor work out of unexpended appropriations.

After spending over $2,000,000 at New Haven, I quote from the commissioner's report, volume 3, page 13, that "Most of the important New Haven frontage is railroad owned." Most everything around New England, including several legislative bodies, were once said to be owned by the enterprising New Haven system, so that $2,000,000 of Government money responded in like manner to the call of the railway magnet and magnate.

WATERWAY TRANSPORTATION LINES.

Just how far-reaching this influence becomes and just how little public interest is represented in the line of boats operating between New Haven and New York may be gathered from the commissioner's report, volume 4, wherein he says the New England Steamship Co. owns 31 vessels, with $6,000,000 in stock and $9,000,000 in bonds, all owned by the New England Navigation Co.

The New England Navigation Co. is stocked at $53,000,000, and all of that stock is owned by the New Haven Railway (pp. 20 and 21). In other words, the New Haven Railway owns the 31 boats engaged in the Sound traffic, and the Government is engaged in perfecting terminal facilities for these boats in a harbor most of the important frontage of which is owned by the same railroad company.

On page 1664, 1914 report, we are informed that traffic in the main harbor decreased 14 per cent since 1912. That is a serious loss after such large investments by the Government; but food for thought lies in the knowledge that New Haven Railway stock fell much faster, when the balloon collapsed.

HARTFORD, CONN.

Below Hartford	$30,000.00
Balance available July 1, 1914	70,998.99
Past appropriations	873,170.00

I do not desire to dwell at length on the splendid enterprise shown by captains of industry at the head of New England railways, but in mentioning this paltry $873,170 spent below Hartford, it occurs to me that the following may be of interest taken from volume 3, page 69, Commissioner of Corporations report:

Of the Hartford frontage, 18 per cent, or 1,280 feet, is owned by the New Haven Railway, about the same amount is owned by the gas company, the Hartford Electric Light Co., and two private estates. The balance is owned by the city for park purposes.

Again, the report says:

The New Haven Railway owns the greater part of the available frontage on the opposite bank.

If this condition exists to-day and Congress derives no information from the engineers' report, why should we continue to spend money on the project?

Harking back to the policy of local contribution invoked in different European countries, would it not be better for the Government to openly enter into partnership with the New Haven Co. and the gas company, inviting local contributions, rather than throw all the money into the harbor surrounded by such eleemosynary corporations?

The proposal to strike out did not meet with favor.

Above Hartford:	
Balance unexpended	$19,719
Past appropriations	155,000

Once on a time the accommodating engineers recommended for this project $1,015,600, but after $117,805 had been spent the following statement occurs in the 1914 report, page 146:

No permanent benefit has resulted from the work so far done in the river. There is no existing commerce of a commercial character other than the operation of excursion steamers in the reach above Enfield Rapids.

Naturally the supposition will occur that if the "existing commerce of a commercial character" is down to joy-ride trips on the upper reach of the river that commercial commerce, sympathetically with the river's stage, has reached low ebb. Yet the committee recommends turning over the balance in hand toward improving a negligible "commercial commerce" in these days of war-tax economies.

NEWARK BAY, N. J.

Newark Bay	$150,000
Balance on hand October, 1914	253,217
Past appropriations	2,192,350

Appropriations reach $2,192,350 for the bay and river, which shows that Newark, with Providence, Point Judith, New Haven, and Hartford, has reached the $2,000,000 class.

Originally the Passaic River possessed a 7-foot depth at Newark, but a 20-foot project is now being carried on, because, according to the Army engineers—

This improvement is necessary to the great industrial interests, and has reduced freight rates, and its continuance is necessary to the successful carrying on of the business of this locality.

It would be idle to reflect in any way upon the commerce or enterprising projects surrounding Newark, but it may be well to inquire, if "great industrial interests" desire a deepening of the river, why would it not be proper for such interests directly benefited to contribute toward such improvement? In other words, why should the taxpayer in North Carolina or Florida or Texas or Minnesota pay war taxes to help out the great industrial interests of Newark unless Newark helps herself?

In this connection the Commissioner of Corporations says, volume 3, page 102:

The New Jersey Terminal Dock & Improvement Co., incorporated 1905, acquired the Hackensack Meadows Co., which owns 33,090 acres of riparian land.

This land is opposite Newark and owned by a great New York company, which also owns vessels and dredging outfits. What increased value is contributed by this "great industrial interest" toward the harbor project? Is there any connection between this dredging company, its 33,090 acres of riparian land, and Government dredging work? If it does not benefit directly, it does indirectly, and ought to contribute.

Amendment to strike out was, of course, defeated.

HUDSON RIVER, N. Y.

Hudson River	$1,500,000
Balance on hand October, 1914	1,860,136
Total appropriations	9,466,524

The engineers jumped their estimates in four years on this project from $5,186,064 to $7,530,000, or approximately 50 per cent.

The project intends to afford a 12-foot depth on the Hudson River to the end of the State canal at Waterford. In view of the enterprise shown by New York State in providing $150,000,000 for a canal from Buffalo across the State, it would be captious to question the Government's duty to make suitable connections, and I do not assume to criticize this appropriation, although it may be unnecessary to add a million and a half, in addition to nearly two million reported in October. In war-tax times such appropriations are subject to critical inspection by every Member, but I desire to call attention to another matter connected with this same river.

On page 41 of the bill is a proposed survey to dredge the Hudson River from its mouth to Hudson to a depth of 30 feet, and to provide a 30-foot harbor at Hudson about 100 miles from the sea and a second 27-foot survey is contained in the bill from Hudson to the Troy Dam, 153 miles from New York City.

The River and Harbor Committee assures us it expects to eventually reduce appropriations, but offers these two samples of economy, which may absorb from ten to twenty million dollars, depending upon the plans.

These surveys are apart from the present 12-foot project. The debate on this item, contained on pages 1711 and 1712 of the January 15 RECORD, is illuminating.

SYRACUSE AN OCEAN PORT.

It appears that Albany and Troy and sundry other river towns wish to become ocean ports. In order to do so it is proposed the Government shall eventually dredge out the Hudson River 30 feet deep for 150 miles from its mouth in order to accommodate these cities.

What possibilities are unfolded when great ocean liners pass by New York City and Brooklyn, two way stations, in order to dock at Hudson or Albany or Troy, which are to become the real ports. Then we may dredge the $150,000,000, 12-foot State canal, at Government expense, to a 30-foot depth in order to reach Buffalo and Syracuse, which are sure to be jealous of Albany and Troy. The old, abandoned Fox River Canal, in my own State, built by a Government land grant, should then be deepened in order to divert trade from the Lakes right on through to the Mississippi River. By so doing we might sidetrack Chicago and other lower lake ports in order to make St. Paul or St. Louis the final destination of ocean liners. The possibilities of this transcendent scheme will appeal to every true friend of unlimited waterway improvements and unrestricted Government expenditures. But is it a wise policy? If so, we are seeking to divert trade instead of serving commerce.

COMMERCIAL STATISTICS.

In the RECORD for June 19 I endeavored to present conditions which surround many harbors. Railroad terminals and railway-owned shipping are profiting at Government expense when the Federal Treasury dredges harbors up to railway wharves. As well build trackage and depots for the railways. Neither policy can be successfully defended.

Again, on September 29, I endeavored to give to the House some facts relating to the $50,000,000 waterway lobby and its associated waterway lobbies. Original subscription lists from various interests were presented, and also evidences of indefensible methods pursued by the lobby to whip objecting Representatives and Senators into line.

On December 14 last I briefly presented a few facts shown by the engineers' report as to the Muscle Shoals water-power project and kindred water-power companies. In all of these discussions facts have been presented concerning the Mississippi, Ohio, Missouri, and other river projects.

QUESTIONABLE COMMERCIAL STATISTICS.

In this discussion I desire to show the unreliability and misleading character of commerce statistics presented by engineers' reports. Heretofore the committee members have asked questioners on the floor whether or not they appreciate the full value of commerce carried on at some particular harbor or on some river. The frequency of such inquiries and the doubtful character of several commercial propositions have caused me to make a slight investigation into the character of commerce, average value and haul, and apparent necessity for deep water demanded by some of the projects. Proposals for deepening streams in which over 90 per cent of the traffic is logs or lumber that floats are to be found in the bill before us. Why dig deep ditches to float timber with a decreasing commerce to accommodate?

Ports or rivers that float hundreds of thousands of tons of sand show an impressive total tonnage until the commerce is analyzed. In like manner a river's commerce is frequently boosted by duplications or, as Chairman SPARKMAN has said, by quadruplications of the same identical commerce.

By repetition, it shows a respectable tonnage to be served. Ferriage across the Ohio, Mississippi, and other rivers is used to swell questionable statistics.

Much cheap commerce is accommodated at lake ports, but it is genuine commerce; and it will be remembered that approximately one-half of Philadelphia's important commerce consists of coal, iron ore, and sand, having an average value of about $3 per ton.

Waterway commerce at interior points usually consists of cheap, bulky freight, but occasionally a little high-priced commerce will boost the average value and mystify the investigator as to the real value of the project or necessity for the improvement.

In order to aid to a better understanding of the commercial necessities of certain projects a brief analysis of commerce will be made occasionally.

SHREWSBURY, N. J.

Shrewsbury	$10,000
Balance on hand October, 1914	14,917
Past appropriations	449,500

Appropriations for this 10-mile project reach $449,500. Compared with Matawan Creek and Shoal Harbor, projects found in the last bill, the Shrewsbury project appears on the surface to be an important commercial enterprise. The Army engineer places emphasis on its commerce, which reached 1,306,188 tons in 1912. Such a large commerce naturally invites attention, and so we learn that of the total commerce 620,000 tons was "general merchandise," valued at $800,000. Conceding for the moment that this merchandise was of an unprecedentedly cheap character, we are mystified upon learning that 500,000 tons of "miscellaneous" tonnage was valued at $501,050, or at the rate of $1 a ton. The intelligent report fails to give the character of "general merchandise" and "miscellaneous" commerce, which reaches about 75 per cent of the total; and in view of the failure of any report on commerce for 1913 Congress has a right to know about this mysterious commerce and the 10-mile project on which it floats before appropriating anything more in these days of economical administration and war taxes.

MONONGAHELA RIVER, PA.

Monongahela River	$211,200
Balance on hand July, 1914	74,721
Past appropriations	6,181,762

We next jump across Pennsylvania, without the aid of any inland-waterway project, to land in the Monongahela River that has received $6,181,762 to its credit, according to page 2594 of the 1914 report. I do not overlook the fact that this stream has been able to hold its own during the past six years—a remarkable feat—when practically all other streams have been steadily losing commerce in recent years.

The report does not disclose any facts as to the particular interests to be aided, but I have been informed that the Monongahela Coal & Coke Co. is practically a monopoly; that it owns or controls practically all the boats on this river and on the Ohio, and more than any other one agency controls the output of coal and the price.

I do not vouch for the correctness of these statements, but if in part true the query will arise just what interests have been advanced by an expenditure of over $6,000,000 on this river, and who will be the direct beneficiary of $211,200 proposed to be given in this year of war taxes and economy. Is genuine competition in freight rates afforded; and if so, is the price of coal reduced?

MEETING AN OLD FRIEND ON THE RIVER.

Recognizing a familiar sound in the Monongahela Coal Co. name, I have glanced back over original subscription lists, and find this concern gave $500 in one year, as did the Carnegie Steel Co., out of a total of about $5,000, to push a waterway lobby that was in turn pushing the Monongahela River in the river and harbor bill. That the push was vigorous is attested by appropriations made by the Government as set forth in the engineers' report.

Traffic has steadily decreased on this system, although we are spending $80,000,000 in all on the Ohio River aside from $6,000,000 on the Monongahela. The continuous or through traffic on the Ohio, as shown by the different locks and at the mouth of the river, only amounts to about 1,000,000 tons of freight, nine-tenths of which is coal. Will coal shipments increase when 53 locks have been placed in the Ohio? No one familiar with river navigation will seriously contend that tows of a score of barges could be run through all these locks profitably.

It is an engineering triumph but an unbusinesslike proceeding, according to the judgment of practical rivermen.

I believe we ought to know where we are traveling in these reckless expenditures, and will discuss the Ohio River traffic later in the bill.

The amendment to strike out was rejected.

IMPROVING DELAWARE RIVER, $1,500,000.

Balance on hand October, 1914	$2,252,243
Past appropriations	20,220,466

We jump back across Pennsylvania again to take up a project or series of projects that have received $20,220,466. The existing project is for a 35-foot channel up the Delaware to Philadelphia. Pointless jokes have been cracked at Philadelphia's expense for many years, but the Army Engineer's Report for 1913, on page 1750, gives in full a letter from John Meigs, assistant director of wharves, wherein Mr. Meigs seriously tells a waiting world—

> The city of Philadelphia seems now to be on the point of awakening from a sleep of decades.

Presumably the period was longer than Mr. Van Winkle's celebrated trance, so we look for the cause of this awakening and find that after nearly a score of millions had been spent on the Delaware by the Government, the Commissioner of Corporations, in volume 3, pages 105–106, made an inventory of stock, with the following results: Ownership of Philadelphia's water front, railroads, 21,042 feet; private and corporations, 31,166 feet; city, 4,431 feet, or less than 8 per cent of the water front owned by the city. Again, the inquisitive commissioner learned that of the piers in use the Reading Railway owned 30, the Pennsylvania Railway owned 18, and the Baltimore & Ohio and Lehigh Railways held 15 between them. Cramps had 13 more, which made about 76 piers owned by these six interests.

Philadelphia city owned three recreation and freight piers and seven other piers, but all the latter were rented to railways. This shows that Father Penn turns a thrifty penny now and then.

The last Engineer's Report shows the city is still awake, and is building another pier, with two or three more in prospect. Philadelphia has a large commerce. For years it has come from across the seas and along the coast, and upon reaching Philadelphia the captains of vessels not owned or controlled by railways have been compelled to lease or rent wharfage rights while loading and unloading cargoes.

How far this is to be changed by the awakening of Philadelphia only time will show. But why should not Philadelphia contribute toward this 60-mile river improvement which has already cost the Government over $20,000,000? I am speaking of the principle of contribution that ought to be uniform, if ever adopted.

ANNUAL MAINTENANCE CHARGES.

One other Delaware River item is of interest.

We are told on page 307 of the 1913 report that maintenance work in 1913 cost the Government $319,674.78. The report adds, it resulted "in an increase of prevailing depth of one-tenth foot." "This is regarded satisfactory." The complacency with which Army engineers express satisfaction over about 1 inch increase in depth at a cost of $319,674.78 is encouraging to those who are now paying war taxes to meet such expenditures. Through such heroic means, financed by the Government, has Philadelphia been brought down to the sea, a distance of 63 miles.

No motion was made to change this or similar items because of the important commerce handled by Philadelphia, Boston, New York, and other great ports. In none of these cases has any reduction been suggested, because no one will question that under the present system such projects must be considered highly meritorious, and yet elements entering into this and similar large items deserve some consideration.

WILMINGTON, DEL.

Wilmington	$60,000
Available to June 30, 1915	207,572
Past appropriations	1,556,952

Appropriations on this project reach $1,556,952. Again it will be conceded that a considerable commerce goes to and from Wilmington, but, referring to the Commissioner of Corporations again, we find, in volume 3 page 114, the following:

> The city owns eight wharves on the Christiana averaging 50 feet in length, which are leased for three-year periods at an annual rental of $100 each. The lessees use the wharves principally for their private business, but nearly all of them will allow goods to be handled over their wharves for a nominal charge, so long as it does not interfere with their business.

To fully appreciate the irony of this situation after the Government has spent over a million and a half dollars on the project it is worth while rereading the commissioner's statement. He adds that about 15,000 feet of frontage are owned by industries having more or less wharfage facilities.

On March 9, 1901, the city of Wilmington appropriated $60,000 to aid improvements for the Christiana River.

To June 30, 1914, only $20,297 city money had been used, or a little more than 1 per cent of the amount paid by the Government to aid Wilmington. Where is the balance of the amount appropriated by the city? Why was it not used, and why is the Government paying a million and a half dollars to improve a harbor where the wharves are owned by or leased to private parties?

Nothing more clearly demonstrates the complete farce of local contributions to Government expenditures as now practiced by engineers. Without system or power to enforce, the engineers are between a local and a political fire.

JAMES RIVER, VA.

James River	$100,000
Balance on hand	14,357
Past appropriations	3,200,832

Richmond was a hard city to reach some 50 years ago, but Grant was an express train compared with this project. According to the Engineer's Report the project for a 22-foot depth from Hampton Roads to Richmond was started in 1884, and during the past 30 years over $3,000,000 has been spent by the Government on this river, although the present project is only 45 per cent completed. At the same rate of speed we may expect our children to celebrate a 22-foot depth about 40 years hence. According to the Engineer's Report during the last seven years the commerce has remained stationary.

During the discussion of this bill I have been honored by the attention of many able and courteous gentlemen and sometimes by gentlemen not so able and courteous, all because of my inquiries into pet local projects. The James River 22-foot channel for 100 miles from Hampton Roads to Richmond has been severely criticized by Senator BURTON, a great waterway authority, and also by others who ask why $5,374,943.15 is to be spent on this stream when, after an expenditure of over half that amount, the Government in 30 years has given to Richmond an 18-foot channel (p. 449), or more than is to-day found at the head of navigation on the Hudson River or on many other busy waterways. Several of Virginia's ablest Members have belabored the committee because of its neglect of real waterways in the Old Dominion; but the James is cared for with $100,000, and so its local Representative indulges in withering denunciation of those who venture to question his pet project. He credits me with an investigation of all the projects in the bill, whereas I never examined but one Virginia item—the James River. In fact, the RECORD will show his is the only one of fifteen projects in Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia which was criticized.

A $100,000 BIASED JUDGMENT.

The celebrated Cowpasture and Pagan Creeks that have cooperated with $3,200,000 of Government money in making the James River navigable have not been criticized. Neither have other Virginia projects been subjected to inquiry; but, coming to the defense of the committee on the defeated Muscle Shoals private water-power project, the James's Representative gives this bill and the James River $100,000 appropriation his unqualified support. Other Virginia Members do not agree with him and have criticized the committee without gloves. Who is right? To show his confidence in the $5,374,943 James River project the James Representative offered misleading statements as to comparative commerce of States. Some one has been stringing the gentleman, otherwise he would have known that according to the Engineer's Report one Wisconsin port has more actual commerce than the entire amount he credits to Virginia—saw logs and all—and this does not reflect on Virginia's large commerce.

The difficulty with the distinguished Member is that he persists in representing Richmond to the exclusion of Virginia or the Government that pays his salary and whose interests should equally command his attention.

ONLY A FEW PROJECTS HAVE BEEN EXAMINED.

From the nature of things I have been unable to reply to personal criticisms without distracting attention from some of the projects that appear in the bill. Neither have I examined nor objected to nearly all the items in the bill, as has been asserted by the several Members, nor to one-half nor one-quarter of them. A few here and there indicative of conditions surrounding others in the bill have been noted. The James River is no better and no worse than many others, but in the absence of positive information that Richmond requires a 22-foot hundred-mile channel to the sea, at a total cost to the Government of over $6,000,000, why is it not well to inquire what has been done with $3,200,000 given by the Government to that same river? If an 18-foot channel now possessed by Richmond will answer present needs—and the engineer gives no information to the contrary—why dump $100,000 in war taxes into the river this year just to keep dredgers and contractors busy? The engineer's estimate that $3,030,978.50 will be required to get an additional 4-foot depth on the James River, or $30,000 per mile, in addition to a like amount already spent for the 100-mile stretch. This is in addition to a large annual

maintenance charge. Irrespective of other projects in Virginia or elsewhere, what justification exists for an extravagant project that after 30 years is only 45 per cent completed and has received over $32,000 per mile during that period from a generous Government?

NORFOLK-BEAUFORT CANAL.

Waterway Norfolk to Beaufort	$600,000
Amount available July 1, 1914	820,115
Past appropriations	1,400,072

For what purpose is this large amount of money to be spent? What is the ultimate gain from a governmental expenditure of $5,400,000, proposed by Army engineers? A dozen years hence, after we have adopted some safe and sane system of waterway improvement, we will look back at this $5,400,000 project as a piece of monumental folly.

Even now engineers are unable to determine the route they intend to pursue, according to their report on page 461, and yet in their frantic desire to please their patrons they demand $1,000,000 in appropriations for present use.

They are building three bridges at a cost of $82,890, and the Government is to purchase land for hydraulic dumping. According to the report a traffic that reached 203,812 tons in 1903 dropped to 90,337 tons in 1912. However, the last report gives 1913 lockages at 258,441 tons, of which 195,000 tons was timber that has always been floated in rafts or barges. Just what proportion of the balance is for governmental material for the canal it is hard to say, but to anyone familiar with conditions along the canal and in the country reached by the canal the project of putting $600,000 into such a wasteful venture is unpromising. To levy war taxes for such a humbug is to advertise the extravagance of any administration. Not $100,000, presumably, could be raised by all the surrounding localities toward aid for the project. At points along the canal the desolate region is only sparsely inhabited, and for a hundred miles along the coast only life-saving men are found, and not one community of any size will be served by the canal, if we except Norfolk and Beaufort village, at the two extremities of this 186-mile stretch.

FOR NAVAL USE.

Army engineers may have some scheme for running dreadnaughts or submarines through this canal, but at present it only accommodates launches and little boats, according to all reports received, and no commerce present or prospective warrants an expenditure of one-tenth of the amount proposed by this item. This statement may be in direct contradiction of the judgment of Army engineers, who ask for $1,000,000 to use before June 30, 1916, but these officials have recommended all kinds of worthless projects that are now standing jokes, from the Kissimmee, Oklawaha, Brazos, and Trinity Rivers to the $63,000,000 canalization of the Ohio and the unlimited Mississippi land-reclamation scheme. Their last stretch of conscience occurs with the Muscle Shoals water-power project. Theoretically, they can do wonders, but their recommendations from a commercial standpoint, if they were given free rein, would bankrupt Rockefeller within 12 months.

Is this an exaggeration? I intend to point out a few projects during these remarks that will show the kind of judgment exercised by these guardians of the Treasury, whom Congress has selected to protect us from ourselves.

We discussed this project in the last bill, and I will only invite attention to one other point. Three months ago we had $800,000 on hand, and now the engineers are to be given $600,000 more when their reports show that the final location of portions of the canal have not yet been determined. Surveys are still under way. Like the carpenter who began construction with the cupola, these officials are beginning anywhere to come out somewhere, and Uncle Sam pays the bills.

The amendment to strike out was rejected.

NORTH CAROLINA HAS 20 PROJECTS.

Pamlico and Tar Rivers	$35,800
Amount available to June 30, 1915	19,038
Past appropriations reach	322,863

This project is for a channel to Washington, N. C., near the mouth. Thence to Greenville, 22 miles, it is 6 feet deep, and for the next 26 miles, to Tarboro, it drops to 20 inches in depth. To state the facts presents the argument.

In 1913 the Engineer's Report says the river was navigable above Greenville from three to six months during freshets (p. 1967). Even the Kissimmee claimed four months of water for navigation, but this North Carolina stream is of little service above the 26-mile stretch.

Nineteen hundred and thirteen, however, was an unusually busy season for the waterway, because during an eventful three to six months a snagging boat removed 5 snags, 510 stumps, 6 logs, 16 saw logs, 1 scow, and 1 old house. When it comes to removing boats and houses from a river to aid navigation it must be admitted that in North Carolina the ground of demarcation between town lots and navigable waters is not as clearly fixed as it should be. In view of $35,800 asked this year and $322,863 already expended by the Government, it is well to note that during the past 12 years commerce has decreased 70 per cent (p. 1968), and of the commerce reported downstream 90 per cent was floatable timber that could be rafted or sent by flatboats.

Apparently some real commerce at Washington, N. C., is used to give character to the rest of the river. In any event, it requires no stretch of imagination to determine where the best natural automobile track is to be found between Greenville and Tarboro during six to nine months in the year.

Motion to strike out rejected.

NEW RIVER AND WATERWAYS TO BEAUFORT, $37,300.

Balance on hand	$7,056
Amount expended	221,000

On this important waterway the Government has expended $221,000, which will reach over a quarter of a million when the 1915 war-tax contribution contained in this bill is added. Part of the money expended was used to cut 4-foot canals through Wrights Island and Cedar Bush Marsh. By this means sailors unfamiliar with their surroundings are now able to distinguish the island from the marsh and, in turn, the marsh from the canal. A generous investment by the Government of $221,000 has produced by 1913 nearly 30 distinct items of commerce found on page 1996 of the report which reach a "grand total" of 42,687 tons, according to the Engineer's Report. One item of floatable timber amounts to 39,865 tons, leaving 2,822 tons to be distributed among the remaining 29 items. It is a matter of speculation just what would become of the engineer's "grand total" if the portable sawmill that appears to be in that vicinity should move to some other waterway.

Motion to strike out was rejected.

HOLDING ON TO A 1-INCH CHANNEL.

North East, Black, and Cape Fear Rivers	$13,000
Balance on hand	6,000
Past appropriations	76,500

I quote literally from page 505 of the 1914 report in order to show the character of the North East River project, which is included in the above item:

Amount expended on present project up to June 30, 1913, was $33,738.86, of which $10,687.96 was for improvement and $32,050.90 for maintenance.

As a result of the expenditures to date, the channel has been cleared wherever needed. Six feet of water can be carried to Bannermans Bridge and 3 feet to Crooms Bridge during all stages of the water.

From Crooms Bridge to Kornegays Bridge, the head of navigation, the river is so shallow that navigation is practicable only when the water is up. This is liable to occur at any time, but during the summer low stages usually prevail.

The minimum low-water depth to Bannermans Bridge is 6 feet; to Crooms Bridge, 3 feet; to Hallsville, 0.5 foot; to Kornegays Bridge (the head of navigation), 0.1 foot.

From the report we are solemnly told that after spending $32,050.90 on this North Carolina "project" the Government has obtained a depth of 6 inches at Hallsville, and 15 miles farther up the river, at the end of the "project" and head of navigation, we have secured (in the channel) a depth of 1 inch—all for $32,050.90. The report says so.

Referring to the bill defeated in the Senate, we learn that it carried $38,375 for this raging stream that floats a little boat called the *Duplin* twice a week on its bosom. That project is shown by House Document No. 1356, Sixty-second Congress, to be for three fertilizing companies, and it fell by the wayside with the rest of the $53,000,000 bill.

It appears that to Bannermans Bridge, for a distance of 48 miles, there is some slight traffic. From Bannermans to Hallsville, 40 miles, the turbulent river falls to about 6 inches in depth, and from the 6-inch stage on to Kornegays Bridge, "the head of navigation," a distance of 15 miles, this famous waterway falls from 6 inches in depth to 1 inch. After deducting floatable timber and fertilizer for the three factories to be served, the commerce is nominal.

FIGHTING HARD TO KEEP THE CHANNEL.

Two thousand five hundred dollars, in addition to the $37,200 already spent, was given by the Army engineers in October, 1914, apparently to maintain a stage of water of 6 inches at Hallsville and, like Horatio, to defend 1 inch at the bridge. As the 1912 report contains this same identical information, it appears certain that by careful attention to duty the North East River, around the head of navigation, has not backslid from its permanent record of 1-inch depth, although the stream shows a loss in commerce during that year of about 30 per cent, and of the balance nine-tenths is timber and fertilizer.

In times of financial depression that bring us a heritage of war taxes it would be wise to strike out a few of North Caro-

lina's 20 different waterway projects contained in this bill. With a full belief that another good automobile track is being spoiled by Government dredges at Kornegays Bridge and that 1 inch in depth has no great commercial value, let us take the dredge away and give the highway commissioners a chance.

Motion to strike out was rejected.

A $6,000,000 NORTH CAROLINA PROJECT.

Cape Fear River (above)	$173,000
Balance on hand October, 1914	139,561
Spent on the entire river (p. 514)	5,805,790

On page 510 the report confesses that since the adoption of the present project closer investigation renders it necessary to increase the estimate of expense from $615,000 to $1,031,000—an increase of 75 per cent in the estimate for the same identical project in four years. The project calls for an 8-foot depth, Wilmington to Fayetteville, and after spending $346,160.68 on this particular project we are informed "the improvement has had no effect on freight rates so far" (p. 511). How can it affect freight rates when there is practically little river commerce?

In 1912 the engineers reported 213,181 tons.

In 1913 they report only 154,797 tons.

A loss in one year of 58,384 tons, or 27 per cent.

Of course, the 69 items in the Engineer's Report are somewhat impressive on paper, but over 80 per cent is covered by floatable timber, usually barged, and by fertilizer factories, that show a net 4-mile haul for 49,553 tons. Even the balance of the "traffic" is largely absorbed by governmental crews, according to advice of those familiar with this part of the river. Yet, with $139,561 on hand, we are asked to add $173,000, or $312,561 for this part of the river in a year of war-tax economies, all for a traffic that has fallen off 27 per cent in the last year and is not affected by any dredging proposition. Of equal interest and waste is the next project on this same river.

Cape Fear River at and below Wilmington	$205,000
Balance on hand October, 1914	187,610

Bearing in mind a past expenditure of $5,805,790 on the whole river we find $187,610 was available for this part of the river in October, 1914. Added to $139,561 on the upper reach it aggregates $327,171 on hand from past appropriations, with $378,000 more asked for in this bill for Cape Fear River.

While a considerable commerce is handled by Wilmington, it fell off 28 per cent during last year, and no data is submitted by the engineers to show any pressing necessity for a 26-foot channel on this 30-mile stretch. If commerce lost 28 per cent after the project reached 65 per cent of completion, it is due to fall to 50 per cent when Wilmington gets its 26-foot channel finished. Possibly the man who pays a war tax to keep the river and harbor bill afloat may fail to get the logic of the situation, but the facts are found in the Engineer's Reports from which I have been quoting.

No further argument is required to show that on most of these "projects" commerce is rapidly decreasing, largely because timber has been cut off and railways are dividing traffic. Glittering generalities fade away before the cold figures revealed in these Engineer's Reports. Allowing for duplications which are shown to occur in reporting commerce, what actual traffic is to be served by this large appropriation?

Motion to strike out was rejected.

WINYAH BAY, S. C.

Winyah Bay	$50,000
Balance on hand October, 1914	82,715
Past appropriations	2,980,664

This modest project has already received $2,980,664 from the Federal Treasury, but Uncle Sam has been so easy that $50,000 more is asked in this year of hard times to be supplemented by $15,000 turned over by the engineers from the October, 1914, river bill.

After spending nearly $3,000,000, two-thirds of which went for jetties, the engineers say, on page 527:

> The precise percentage of reduction of rates does not appear to be susceptible of determination.

A man who pays a war tax can determine his end of the proposition without trouble; but the question occurs, if the engineers, with their superior information and convenient judgment, can not tell about freight rates, who can?

Providing freight rates were reduced, where does the consumer come in? Does he get cheaper coal or a reduction on food or clothing? Who gets the freight reduction when rates are reduced?

Winyah Bay has a tragedy, told in three lines, as follows:

	Tons.
Commerce of 1912	309,673
Commerce of 1913	211,055
Loss in 1 year	98,618

Coupled with a loss of over 30 per cent in the traffic, we learn that of the 1913 tonnage 177,837 tons, or about 85 per cent, is timber that floats or can be barged with an existing 5-foot draft as well as with the 18-foot channel now being urged upon Congress by Army engineers.

I do not care to present any argument, further than to give the official statistics, which speak for themselves—motion to strike out rejected.

WACCAMAW RIVER, S. C.

Waccamaw River	$55,000
Available July 1, 1914	46,156
Past appropriations	253,162

If these projects receive especial notice, it is because a brief examination of their character seems to invite criticism. Take the Waccamaw River, which has received $253,162 from the Government. After 34 years it has secured 60 per cent of a proposed depth, and by digging cut-offs at Government expense the engineers triumphantly declare they have brought Conway down from 49 miles to 45 miles nearer to the mouth of the river—a gain of 4 miles for Conway. Conway appears to be a hamlet of about 1,400 people, and they have been saved the additional distance of 4 miles, due to the generosity of an engineering department superintending a canal built by Congress. The average haul on this stream is given at 35 miles.

	Tons.
Total commerce in 1913	85,287
Logs, timber, etc., that floats	64,164
Balance	21,123

Of this 21,123 tons balance, 45 per cent is fertilizer that does not necessarily require any deep-draft vessels for its conveyance. "No change in rates was noted during the year," say the engineers. With these facts confronting us, what excuse can be offered for bearing down upon a war-taxed people to accommodate Conway village or any other village further than has been done?

Fifty-five thousand five hundred dollars would buy a dozen high-priced automobiles or a half hundred Fords. Under favorable conditions these Fords could convey the 21,123 tons of truck, including the 9,000 tons of fertilizer, over a 35-mile haul in one day; or, differently expressed, one Ford could do the work during the summer, when creeks run dry, using the bed of the stream for a boulevard. Why not buy a Ford instead of further cut-offs for Conway—and why not save money?

Flint River, Ga	$50,000
Balance on hand	18,037
Past appropriations	381,500

Flint River has had a particularly rocky road from 1874, just 40 years ago, when the project was begun. Since those halcyon days of reconstruction of streams and people $381,500 has been sent by the Government down to that river to meet the demands of Flint and steel. Authorities differ in the correct spelling of the last word.

After that expenditure it is well to note the satisfied tone with which engineers announce that from the mouth to Albany vessels drawing less than 3 feet can crawl through, but from Albany to Montezuma only 2½ feet depth is afforded. This stream, we are further advised, is much obstructed, although repeatedly cleared of snags. Snagging seems to be a most profitable occupation on that stream, judging from a $381,000 investment, which only produces 33,594 tons of commerce in 1913, and a portion of that is timber, with an average haul of all commerce of 35 miles. Presumably this "commerce" begins and ends near the mouth of the stream, judging from its short haul.

Bearing in mind that this is about the same net traffic shown on the Waccamaw, with the same haul, and about the same appropriation, how would it do to save $105,000 on these two projects and keep a Ford machine in commission during the entire year, serving both streams? We criticize Democratic extravagance when an extra automobile is asked for by the Secretary of State. In fact, his temerity is greeted with economy speeches filled with patriotism and politics. Why not save the price of a score of good cars and buy a Ford to help out these two projects, neither of which appears to be in need of anything but commerce?

Motion to strike out rejected.

THE COOSA RIVER (GA.) PROJECT.

Coosa River between Rome and Dam 4	$75,000	
Locks and Dams 4 and 5	56,000	
		131,000
Amount available (p. 675)		170,058
Amount appropriated (p. 2175)		1,982,583

To my mind, this is one of the most indefensible projects in the whole bill. When the true story of the Coosa is written it will be shown to be a gross fraud upon our Government, per-

petrated under the name of navigation; that it has ruined lives and property through the agency of this Government, and already leaves a heritage of over 500 damage suits to greet poor residents along the river, who have stood in the way of a powerful water-power trust.

Apparently this river has been used to serve the purpose of a water-power company, and our Government is the worst offender of all against vested rights of hundreds of Georgia's citizens.

After spending about $2,000,000 on the river, its commerce, aside from that used in Government work, is too small to measure and reported to be even less than it was the year before. After spending $2,000,000 during the past 38 years we also learn this project is about 27 per cent completed. There is no humor in a letter I append concerning this project. Thus far, I have avoided the insertion of personal letters, hundreds of which are at hand, but have based criticisms on official engineers' reports. This letter is so specific in its description of conditions that I offer it without further comment than to say it confirms the belief that the Coosa River is one of the most vicious projects contained in the bill. If you would know how bad it is, study the reports and investigate the truth of letters, of which the following is a sample:

MONTGOMERY, ALA., *January 1, 1915.*

Mr. FREAR, *Congressman,*
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I noticed in a Birmingham paper, several days ago, where you had opposed the appropriation of the Muscle Shoals project of the Alabama Power Co., and that you intended to fight this to the end. I appreciated reading this very much. * * *

The Alabama Power Co. built a dam on the Coosa River up in Chilton County of this State, and they were going to give everybody cheap electricity and they claimed it would do great things for the surrounding country. Well, it did great things all right. They made hundreds of people leave their homes and caused great numbers to die with chills and malarial fever. They have ruined the country for 2 or 3 miles on each side of this river and up the river for 20 miles. They have covered something like 12,000 acres of land that the State and county will never get any taxes out of, and this was some of the best land in the State. The Alabama Power Co. is now furnishing Birmingham with electricity from this dam on Coosa River and the rates are the same in Birmingham as they have always been. This Alabama Power Co. and branch companies are trying their best to get a monopoly on the water power of this State and every other State that they can, and the people of this State do not want this. The Alabama Power Co. has numbers of attorneys and men employed all over this State, and they are the ones that write the beautiful pieces in the papers about the great things this development of Muscle Shoals will do for Alabama.

I can get a petition signed by thousands of men in Alabama condemning this project, and these are some of the best business men of the State. There have been filed in the courts of Chilton County some 200 cases for damages on account of sickness caused from this dam on the Coosa River, and there are something more than 200 filed in Shelby County, and about 200 in Coosa County, and some in Talladega County; these are the four counties which border on this pond of polluted water. Practically every man in these four counties of this State will sign petitions condemning the power companies' monopoly on the death devices they have caused.

If you will write to the law firms of Stallings, NeSmith, Hunt & Judge, of Birmingham, Ala.; Riddle & Burt, of Talladega, Ala.; Riddle & Ellis, of Columbiana, Ala.; Acuff & Pitts, of Columbiana, Ala., they will tell you all about how the Alabama Power Co. has done the poor people in the counties of Chilton, Coosa, Shelby, and Tallageda. These attorneys have over 500 damage suits against the power company.

The Central of Georgia Power Co., which is another branch, or, rather, is connected with the head of the Alabama Co., built a dam at Jackson, Ga., and they ran people away from their homes and killed numbers of them with malaria and chills; and if you will write to Col. C. L. Redman, of Jackson, Ga., he will tell you he has over 100 damage suits against the Georgia company, account of the destruction of homes and sickness.

The people of Alabama do not want any more dams built in this State where they have to be built by the Alabama Power Co. or their branches.

If you will write to Mr. J. P. Vanderveer, jr., of Clanton, Ala., which is the county seat of Chilton County, he will give you all the information you need about what the Alabama Power Co. has done to the people along the Coosa River, and he has a large acquaintance all over the State and can probably be of some service to you.

I have secured a copy of a newspaper published in Clanton, and I am sending you a copy under separate cover, telling something about the power company in Alabama.

Trusting that you may be successful in downing the Muscle Shoals project, I am,

Yours, truly, J. B. BENROM.

FLORIDA'S 30 MODEST PROJECTS.

St. Lucia, Fla	$100,000.00
Balance on hand July 1, 1914	99,927.08

It is well to correct an erroneous impression, that the river and harbor bill contains all the pet schemes of men who enjoy a pull with the committee. This is shown to be error, because while prominent statesmen from Florida at both ends of the Capitol have great influence in shaping its provisions, only 30 projects contained in this bill are apportioned to Florida. With commendable self-denial Florida places the Kissimmee and three-quarters of a million Oklawaha projects back on the waiting list during a vigorous effort to economize. While it is true that Florida gets from two to three times as many projects as its nearest competitors among the States, with the exception of North Carolina's 20 projects and Texas's 20 projects, it is not true that all of Florida's projects are in this bill. Some large ones are wating for the next bill.

St. Lucia is to get $100,000 and later $800,000 more.

On July 1, 1914, the appropriated balance on hand reached $99,927.08. It is practically a new project, and although the Engineer's Report, page 699, says there is "no water-borne commerce at this locality," at the present time, it is possible that 32 people living in St. Lucia, according to the 1910 census, now want to see business boom. For many centuries St. Lucia has slumbered, and the engineer reports (p. 598), "Inside inlet is a harbor of limited depth, suitable only for light-draft yachts." When Uncle Sam's $900,000 has been placed in good hands the harbor ought to be deeper, although no commerce is in existence or in prospective, according to the report.

Why not save this $100,000 by striking it out of the bill? Why not turn the balance on hand back into the Treasury and perform one meritorious act in connection with this bill?

A COMMITTEEMAN REVOLTS.

If any further testimony is desired as to the character of this project, I invite attention to the remarkable fact that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TREADWAY], an able member of the Rivers and Harbors Committee, presented the motion to strike out this item on **January 15.**

Referring to House Document No. 1312, Sixtieth Congress, he disclosed that the engineers reported against this indefensible project, but Gen. Bixby felt that Florida was not getting its full share of projects—over 30 in this bill—and so threw a life preserver to St. Lucia.

Only 16 votes could be rallied against this project, while 55 Members voted to keep it in.

Incidentally most of the committee members remained in constant attendance, and, aided by delegations from States having projects under consideration, it became practically an impossibility to knock projects, however worthless, out of the bill.

St. Lucia stays in the bill, which is nothing to the credit of the bill and no more meritorious, in my judgment, than the $47,000 Kissimmee or the $733,000 Oklawaha, Fla., projects knocked out of the preceding bill by the Senate committee.

ANOTHER OF THE 30 PROJECTS.

Miami-Biscayne Bay	$50,000
Balance on hand July 1, 1914	100,000
Past appropriations	661,000

This Florida project is fully as worthy as the Coosa or Kissimmee Rivers. Already we have spent $560,760 in developing its commerce, only to find from page 601 that—

No practical channel has been secured, as the channels dredged have filled up within a few months after completion.

On July 1, 1914, a balance of $100,000 was on hand to help needy dredgers out. The bay asks Uncle Sam to loosen his purse strings again.

Here is some additional information from the report:

Commerce in 1913 reached 123,850 tons.

Sand and rock amounted to 73,620 tons, indicating that the Government is a great booster for commerce when it begins operations, because the engineer's eagle eye counts everything, including construction material.

We learn, as an additional reason why more money is not needed, that only one steamer is in the trade—part of the year. Also, that the Van Steamship Co.'s line was abandoned last year. Also, that only 20 per cent of traffic is handled by water. Also, that a suit is pending against the Florida East Coast Railway Co. to compel compliance with a dredging contract.

With abandoned steamer lines and a small doubtful commerce to be served, it would be magnanimous for Florida to drop another of its 30 projects, just to help out the northern war-tax payer.

Again, Mr. TREADWAY, a member of the Rivers and Harbors Committee, moved to strike out from this bill, and presented an able argument against the indefensible project. His final remark was significant, when he said:

We are simply throwing $50,000 into the district of the genial gentleman from Florida, who has so ably defended the St. Lucia Inlet.

As the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CLARK] had just finished a lively flow of oratory against opposition to St. Lucia Inlet, wherein he placed in the Ananias class all opponents to his project, it becomes a matter of congratulation to know that he was in a genial frame of mind when organizing his class.

Biscayne Bay was shown to be a wasteful project, according to the statement of the gentleman from Massachusetts. He is personally familiar with the surroundings, and they corroborate the judgment formed by any unprejudiced person who studies the engineer's reports.

The motion to strike out was defeated.

ST. ANDREWS BAY, $36,000.

Balance on hand Oct. 2, 1914	$36,000
Past appropriations	239,560

Quietly nestling away down on the Florida coast far removed from commercial life and political strife is St. Andrews Bay.

Through Government contributions reaching $239,560, a 22-foot channel has been dug at East Pass.

This project is completed, yet on October 2, 1914, a balance of $36,000 was on hand to care for contractors and dredgers, who needed work during cold winter months in Florida. We are asked to give $30,000 more for this charitable purpose. Possibly no safer testimonial was ever offered by Army engineers than when, after viewing the completed work, the report says (p. 655):

> The completion of the project will serve to test the commercial value of the harbor.

No statement is made that it was needed, but we will now see what we shall see, after spending $239,560.

What was the commerce for 1913? One hundred and sixteen thousand six hundred and twenty-two tons.

What part was floatable timber? One hundred and two thousand five hundred and fifty-seven tons. What was the net commerce? Fourteen thousand and sixty-five tons.

What was the haul? Eleven miles.

And $239,560 was spent to develop such commerce that has an average haul of 11 miles. What is the name of the sawmill that furnishes the commerce? Florida is modesty personified when it comes to asking for something. Thirty-two projects have their hands out reaching for alms like so many disciples of Lazarus, and every other project must kotow to the superior claims of Florida or get an apple-core appropriation. Isn't it a remarkable spectacle? And yet the motion to strike out was defeated.

HILLSBORO BAY, FLA.

Hillsboro Bay	$120,000
Balance on hand July 1, 1914	660,868
Past appropriations	2,089,944

This is no petty Florida project. It is in the easy millionaire class, with a proud record of $2,089,944 squeezed out of the Federal Treasury. It is also a 9-mile arm of Tampa Bay and a type of engineering development that will be found with nearly every project. First a survey, then a modest appropriation, and afterwards a steady gnawing hunger for greater depth of water and Government gold. This project was begun in 1880 with an 8-foot depth; in 1899 it grew to a 12-foot depth; in 1905 it had metropolitan tastes, and was given 20 feet by the accommodating engineers; still hungry, it demanded and received 24 feet in 1910; and with the present popular political pull it ought to be extended to 30 feet by 1915. That is what puts Hillsboro on the map and in the millionaire class—nerve and Army engineers.

We are further informed that Yber City must construct 1,400 feet of public wharf acceptable to the Secretary of War. That is quite a concession to ask from Yber City after the Government has spent a few millions in the waters around about. When we realize that nearly a half million was on hand July 1, 1914, and $120,000 more is in sight through this bill, in these piping times of peace and war taxes, it is disquieting to read from page 622:

> The commerce for the year 1913 showed an apparent decrease of 33.4 per cent from 1912.

How is that for a $2,000,000 investment—one of 30 that Florida proudly presents in this economy bill?

During the discussion of this project, on motion to strike out, the distinguished chairman of the Rivers and Harbors Committee, who is familiar with the harbor, stated that the commerce reached over 2,000,000 tons, although the report shows 1,319,283 (p. 2122).

DID ANY COMMERCE GET AWAY?

Bearing in mind the fact that the chairman of the committee has stated that frequent duplications and quadruplications exist in commerce reports on our rivers, we may also find occasion to investigate reports of harbor traffic unless properly vouched for. Engineers get their statistics from local individuals or boards of trade; but where no reports are required to be kept by law we may well believe the commerce is not underestimated by local interests.

The same sources of information were afforded in 1912 and 1913, so that any attempted investigation of 1913 alone would not disclose the true relation with the preceding year.

With $660,000 on hand last July, and with commerce proceeding in adverse proportion to the increasing depth, I can not believe we should raise more war taxes to take care of this Florida project. I say this with regret, because I feel that the chairman has some pride in this project; and I have found it an unpleasant task to criticize propositions in which different Members are so deeply interested. It all tends to disclose the peculiar fact that this bill is one of personal projects, in which Members look to the item of local interest through colored glasses, to the exclusion of other projects in the bill.

Amendment to strike out was rejected.

A REAL RIVER AT LAST.

St. Johns River	$350,000
Balance on hand October, 1914	406,570
Past appropriations	6,306,562

A 30-foot channel has been dredged up this river, and $6,306,562 is the tidy sum that helps maintain the chiefest river in the land of perpetual youth and 30 Government projects. Possibly the commerce, 40 per cent of which is lumber and ties, floatable timber, warrants over a third of a million this year, but where there is so much that is dross it is difficult to repress noisy suspicions.

Take, for instance, in the same connection Palatka to Lake Harney, $10,000.

Here are the mortality statistics offered by the 1914 report:

Balance on hand October, 1914, $5,000.

Total appropriations, $185,440.

A 5-foot channel, 90 per cent complete.

A total traffic of 174,000 tons.

Logs and lumber compose 75 per cent of the total.

It also includes the tonnage of the Oklawaha.

Commerce decreased during last year 17.9 per cent.

A FAMILIAR FLORIDA FRIEND.

Oklawaha Creek	$10,000
Balance on hand July 1, 1914	10,046
Total appropriations	78,710

In the $53,000,000 bill killed last session was a husky Oklawaha project of $733,000 masquerading at $175,000 cash appropriation. It almost escaped attention, but was finally located with a spot light, so that the Senate committee struck out the item and also another popular Florida project, the Kissimmee, before the bill was reported. Since that episode three reputable citizens, one a prominent ex-governor and another a Member of the present Congress, have all declared to me personally that criticisms leveled at the wasteful project were fully justified.

The 1914 Engineer's Report says the existing project is to secure a 6-foot channel from the mouth to Silver Springs Run, 53 miles, and thence to Leesburg, 94 miles, a depth of 4 feet. To show the necessity for a lawn mower on the Oklawaha we learn, page 595, "navigation in upper river is much obstructed by hyacinths and eel grass." No true picture of navigation on the Oklawaha is had until we learn that in three months of 1914 Capt. Maguire and a dredge removed 1,298 snags, 991 overhanging bows, 478 logs, and 144 stumps. The wise sailor on this creek never fails to provide himself with a pair of shears for clipping branches in order to vary exercise when he gets fatigued from running the lawn mower that keeps down the eel grass. And in the stream where this $733,000 project was logrolled through the House last year we find a "commerce" of 14,622 tons, of which 6,210 tons were logs that rolled down the creek, leaving a balance of 8,412 tons for a 50-mile stream. This is another waterway investment to challenge attention if not our confidence.

Motion to strike out was rejected.

Crystal River	$3,000
Balance on hand July 1, 1914	4,000
Past appropriations	34,000

It is almost impossible to shoot into these projects without striking something, although shot bounce off without doing much execution. I have only had opportunity to examine a few of the Florida projects, but with few exceptions they are questionable monuments to the courtesy of accommodating Army engineers who approved them.

Crystal River, Fla., is a small 9-mile creek running to or from the village. Incidentally the 9 miles have cost the Government $34,000, or about $4,000 a mile for this creek. Nothing was spent in 1913, and a balance of $4,000 is now on hand, yet $3,000 more is demanded.

Here is the statement of a disgusted engineer, found on page 2127 of the 1914 report:

> Commerce, 1913, 1,240 tons.
> No regular steamers.
> Only 2 per cent of Crystal's trade is carried by water.
> Effect on foreign rates, none.

Small private launches alone use the stream. One week's work with that Ford machine would carry the total commerce over Crystal River's 9-mile route. In addition, it could furnish a joy ride for all the inhabitants of Crystal River who send 98 per cent of their freight by some other route. After spending $34,000 without affecting freight rates for the village,

why not appropriate $100 and hire a Ford for a week? Let us help the committee to save money on this project.

Motion to strike out rejected.

Anclote River, Fla	$5,000

Amount expended on this "narrow, crooked, 20-mile stream" (p. 626) has been $56,500. The 4-foot channel begun in 1899 has been completed, and we pause with pride to note a total for 1913:

	Tons.
Commerce	22,730
Logs and lumber	21,100
Net amount	1,630

Logs and lumber have floated since the Creator determined the specific gravity of wood, and such statistics justify an investigation. To make us easy, the engineer truthfully says "commerce" decreased 33 per cent during the last year. No regular steamers are in the trade, and the only boat line was abandoned last year, due to railroad rates.

Anclote wants $5,000 for a 1,600-ton annual commerce. What Anclote wants Florida demands.

Why not switch that Ford machine over to this 2½-mile project that rises in the marshes and runs to nowhere with any appreciable commerce save Government currency?

Let it not be supposed that I have selected many of these smaller projects. Those presented have been offered because they throw some light on general methods pursued or because my attention has been called to them because of their extreme wastefulness or worthlessness.

CHOCTAWHATCHEE RIVER, FLA.

Choctawhatchee River	$30,000
Balance on hand	20,079
Total appropriations	255,300

The project has been completed (p. 657).

There are several strange features connected with the engineer's report regarding the average haul of freight, and I will give the items on a completed project for which, in addition to the balance on hand, $30,000 is demanded in this bill.

	Tons.
1913 commerce	73,877
Logs and lumber	46,841
Net traffic	27,036

As an evidence of necromancy it is proper to quote from the Engineer's Report (p. 657):

There is no commerce on the river above the mouth of Holmes River, with the possible exception of a small movement of logs.

Also we are informed that—

From the mouth of the Holmes River to the mouth of the Choctawhatchee River is about 40 miles (p. 657).

With a total navigable distance of 40 miles on this river, we are next informed an average haul of the 73,877 tons of freight, including logs rafted—14,572 tons of which are turpentine and resin—is about 110 miles, indicating logs, resin, fertilizer, and all other items came down or went up on logs. How can commerce go 110 miles on a 40-mile stream? Such is the story told on page 2156, so that we are compelled to believe freight statistics are subject to investigation before acceptance at face value.

It has been said these creeks and rivulets are "arteries of commerce" that justify liberal treatment; and we are told we are not acquainted with this intricate waterway question. It is too deep for anyone other than Army engineers—deeper than the projects to which it relates.

A BUSY SNAGGING PROJECT.

Alabama River	$125,000
Balance on hand Oct. 2, 1914	63,609
Appropriations	1,214,000

This project that has been so generously treated by the Government had a commerce of 153,295 tons last year, but over 73,000 tons was rafted logs and floatable timber. Nine thousand tons of lumber was barged, and it would be interesting to know just what actual commerce is handled on the river—the haul, and what results have come from an expenditure of $1,214,000.

A snag boat's work for last year indicates a commerce in "timber" on the river that may have gone to swell the total. It says:

Trees removed	130
Saw logs	28
Stumps	91
Snags	145
Piles	138
Logs from banks	27
Trees cut	577
Trees trimmed	60
Total	1,196

And this refuse was taken out of the stream last year after we had already spent nearly $1,214,000 to make it navigable. One of the most significant parts of the report is that wherein it states a barge line established in 1910 was finally abandoned. All the money so generously donated could not maintain the boat line longer. We need not search for reasons, but with over $60,000 on hand in October, why spend $125,000 more now?

TEN MILLIONS FOR 16,000 TONS.

Tombigbee	$64,500
On hand October, 1914	1,169,584
Past appropriations	9,901,295

This is an imposing project that carries sundry locks and dams, including a 63-foot lock at No. 17, which can be utilized for water-power purposes without any stretch of imagination. Of course Army engineers constructed this dam and all the dams for purposes of navigation, so it is rather surprising to learn that after an investment of nearly $10,000,000 in this historic stream a total commerce was floated in 1913 of only 64,523 tons, of which 48,492 tons was floatable timber, and the high-grade freight amounted only to 16,031 tons, and included 2,579 tons of stone. Nobody seems to know when the project will be completed, and, judging from the steady flow of Government gold into the Tombigbee, nobody seems to care; but to show that trade does not follow the flag on this stream I quote from the Engineer's Report (p. 690):

A traffic was inaugurated by a fleet of six self-propelled steel barges, each of about 1,000 tons capacity, transporting coal from a point in the Black Warrior River near Gilmore to New Orleans. Due to the unfinished state of the project, upon the approach of low water operations had to be abandoned.

In other words, an impulsive effort to help waterway traffic was finished when the water was furnished. This would be a promising field, whether wet or dry, for a system of artesian wells similar to those recommended for the $10,000,000 Trinity project.

Motion to strike out rejected.

Mobile Bay and Mississippi Sound	$20,000
Balance on hand July 1, 1914	24,042
Past appropriations	37,277

This is a small project, but we are informed by the report that after spending $37,277 the project is 98 per cent completed, with $24,042 on hand with which to finish the remaining 2 per cent. Although the $20,000 was to be used for the Grant Pass survey, which has been abandoned, and notwithstanding liberal engineers only asked for $10,000, the committee that finds plenty of money for certain projects doubled the engineers' request.

Why was the $20,000 given for Grant Pass turned over to a project that does not include Grant Pass and is 98 per cent completed?

MISSISSIPPI WATERWAY COMMERCE.

Pascagoula Harbor	$125,000
Balance on hand July 1, 1914	30,123
Past appropriations	1,312,133

For an investment of a million and a quarter it is interesting to read this report. First, the commerce of 1,020,938 tons shrivels to a shadow after deducting 998,966 tons of floatable logs and timber. That leaves 21,972 tons of supposedly real traffic, but the logs and timber were turned into 15,750 tons of charcoal, which leaves a net traffic of 6,222 tons, after deducting timber and its products. That commerce will float in a barge with 2 feet of water, as well as in a 22-foot to 25-foot depth provided for this harbor. The project is only 22 miles long. In other words, 6,222 tons floated 22 miles on a 22-foot channel that cost over a million dollars, and it is asking for more. The query naturally arises, Who runs the sawmill?

To show Army engineers were shamefaced, the report says this improvement was conditioned on a $100,000 contribution by local interests and also an 800-foot wharf.

On page 703 we learn "no work has yet been done under this project, as local interests have not complied with requirements." To prove that hope springs eternal, we turn to page 2209 of the same report, where we are greeted with "it is believed the wharves will be built and payment of $100,000 will not have to be made by local interests." Now you pay it; now you do not. Why does the engineer perform this $100,000 sleight-of-hand trick? Does he ever increase the amount demanded or does he always decide against his employer and paymaster? Who gives him the right to decide?

AGAIN THE SAME COMMERCE.

Pascagoula and Leaf Rivers	$18,000
Balance available October, 1914	8,781
Past appropriations	106,250

Just 3,921 stumps, snags, and other obstructions were taken from this 46-mile waterway in 1913. It was a busy time on the Pascagoula during 1913, and we learn that incidentally 603,600 tons of logs and timber were floated down the stream just as they might have floated a century or more ago. Of the 23,356 tons remaining 15,556 tons were charcoal, leaving an irresistible inference that the traffic on Pascagoula Harbor was the same

traffic that had previously been reported on Pascagoula River, and that in determining the cost per ton-mile, which engineers delight to mention, it is necessary to get the cost of maintenance and interest earnings on both investments. In other words, the cost to the Government of floating that charcoal and 20 tons of other freight per day is only ascertained after counting the $1,312,133 sunk in the harbor and $106,250 additional sunk in the river, and it counts the products of the same sawmill in twice to make an apparent showing.

Leaf River—part of the above project.

No volume of maritime statistics will be complete without mentioning the "commerce" of Leaf River. According to trustworthy engineers, we are told that Leaf River totaled 335,010 tons of commerce in 1913, of which 335,000 tons were logs and hewn timber that floated to the mill, and 10 tons were merchandise to sustain the crew engaged in pulling 7,165 stumps, snags, and so forth, out of 10 miles of Leaf River during that same year.

Page 707 of the report reads like a novel. What a wealth of material has been dug from the depths of Leaf River before and since the advent of that sawmill. Nor should it be forgotten that this same tonnage appears to be part of the commerce mentioned in Pascagoula Harbor's report.

A note from the engineer, same page, says, "Tugboats, small sailing craft, and so forth, navigate this river from the mouth of Dog Run up to Dead Lake, a distance of 32 miles." Only a snagboat and saw logs jostle the rivulet above that point. And on this stream floated 10 tons of actual merchandise in 1913, with which to replenish the commissariat for a snagging crew. In order to secure a better understanding of this commerce to be served I submit a table furnished by a commercial club.

COMMERCIAL STATISTICS.

The following statement concerning the commerce of the Pascagoula River and its tributaries, the Leaf and the Chickasahay, for the calendar year ending December 31, 1913, was furnished by the Pascagoula Commercial Club, of Pascagoula, Miss.:

Articles.	Amount.		Valuation.
	Customary units.	Short tons.	
Pascagoula River:			
Round logs	275,000 pieces	275,000	$1,375,000
Piling	175,000 pieces	262,500	1,312,500
Crossties	475,000 pieces	47,500	237,500
Sawn and hewn timber	15,000 pieces	15,000	112,500
Hardwood	2,400 pieces	3,600	24,000
Turpentine	1,000 barrels	200	30,000
Rosin	3,000 barrels	600	12,000
Charcoal	420,000 barrels	15,556	126,000
General merchandise	7,000 tons	7,000	700,000
Total		626,956	3,939,500
Leaf River:			
Round logs	325,000 pieces	325,000	1,625,000
Hewn timber	10,000 pieces	10,000	75,000
General merchandise	10 tons	10	1,000
Total		335,010	1,701,000
Chickasahay River:			
Round logs	75,000 pieces	75,000	375,000
Hewn and sawn timber	7,500 pieces	75,000	56,250
Hardwood	1,500 pieces	2,250	15,000
General merchandise	5 tons	5	500
Total		152,255	446,750

It is impracticable to obtain ton-mile rates.

12,600 OBSTRUCTIONS.

Pearl River below Rockport	$24,000.00
Balance on hand July 1, 1914	25,731.62
Past appropriations	300,461.00

Leaf River and Pascagoula Harbor may well pause, so far as achievements in snagging operations go, for in that same notable season of 1913 two other snagging crews snatched from the Pearl just 12,651 obstructions above, below, and all around. So says the veracious report, page 2219.

In order to form a sober and intelligent judgment of this waterway project we are further informed it was adopted in 1880, just 34 years ago, and after spending $300,461 a depth of 2 feet has been obtained in the channel.

In harmony with the general character of this river is its "commerce," which I quote for 1912 and 1913, respectively. It consisted only of three significant items:

1912.	Tons.
Logs and timber	79,613
Sand and gravel	64,500
Crossties	47,000
Total	191,113

1913.	Tons.
Logs and timber	81,950
Sand and gravel	32,481
Crossties	1,150
Total	115,581

Loss in one year, 42 per cent.

The disturbing character of this startling showing is revealed in the fact that after removing 12,651 trees, logs, snags, stumps, and bushes, and after spending over $300,000 on this stream below Rockport, a net loss of 42 per cent in a commerce composed of sand and gravel is the 1913 dividend. Truly a pearl with an extravagant price is a doubtful asset.

MORE COMMERCE.

Big Sunflower	$215,000
Balance on hand October, 1914	8,000
Past appropriations	285,000

With a feeling of concern over the high cost of living, we turn from jewels to flowers only to learn the same desire for Government gold envelops all. Without argument I quote from the report (p. 889):

The proportion of the approved project to June 30, 1914, was 10 per cent completed—

after an investment of $285,000. Such discouraging statements as—

no work done in the open channel, no results yet evident, and no effect on freight rates—

seem superfluous after reading the 1913 "commerce," which contained 74,704 tons of lumber, timber, and gravel out of a total "commerce" of 92,024 tons.

For a net tonnage of 17,320 that has certainly not been underestimated. We may well inquire if $215,000 in good war-tax revenues can not be profitably held in the Federal Treasury until some apparent need for expenditures is developed apart from the demand of Army engineers.

AMONG MILLIONAIRE PROJECTS.

Galveston to Texas City	$50,000
Balance on hand October, 1914	1,314,956
Past appropriations	2,035,006

After following the fortunes of the Texas Angora in another bill, a famous steer appears to also run riot through this bill. Texas gets 20 projects, the same number that has been appropriated by North Carolina. With the 30 projects yielded to Florida, it makes 70 in all for three States, or more than one-quarter of all the projects contained in this economy bill. Nor is it well to forget 25 projects—good, bad, and indifferent—that go to Louisiana and Mississippi.

Texas City wants a 30-foot channel for 8 miles. The amount now available is $1,314,956, but Texas City wants more. After spending $708,388 in this last project, we learn that it lacks 89 per cent of completion. Based on the average estimates and proportionate work, we will spend from $5,000,000 to $7,000,000 more before Texas City gets a completed 30-foot project for its 8-mile waterway.

To show the procedure under which we are blindly acting, I quote from results achieved according to page 801:

The effect of the project on freight rates has been beneficial owing to the establishment of a line of steamers from New York to Texas City, thereby breaking up the rate agreement that had existed between the old lines between New York and Galveston. Prior to establishment of this line in 1908 the rates by the steamship lines from New York and points in seaboard territory to points in Texas were the highest figures that ever were in effect, notwithstanding the fact that the deepening of the Galveston Harbor channel had been continuously going on and at that date the depth was about 30 feet. But with the competing line in operation to Texas City the rates were reduced on an average of 51¼ per cent, and the volume of the business increased over 300 per cent. *However, during the past years the rates have advanced again, the average increase being about 75 per cent over the rates of 1908, and on a parity with Galveston.*

The italics are mine.

Motion to strike out rejected.

40 PER CENT LOSS IN 1 YEAR.

Galveston to Port Bolivar	$40,000
Balance on hand	32,363
Past appropriations	306,080

This Texas project is only 4 miles long, or just half the distance of the last one. In addition to $76,520 per mile already paid, we are asked to give $10,000 per mile more in this year of Democratic economy.

Port Bolivar has 83 population according to the last census, but, like the Angora goat, Port Bolivar knows no such word as fail.

According to the report, this Government money is being used to dredge 30 feet deep up to the slip and wharf of the Gulf & Interstate Railway Co. The railroad can not conveniently handle freight from its cars with a 25-foot depth, and Uncle Sam obligingly gives the Gulf & Interstate Railway Co. a portion of this liberal appropriation to preserve dividends that might otherwise be diverted from the company treasury into the harbor to meet its supposed needs.

In 1912 Port Bolivar boasted of 428,495 tons of freight.

In 1913 Port Bolivar claimed only 256,105 tons.

In one year Port Bolivar lost 172,390 tons, or 40 per cent.

What kind of freight was it that called for first aid for a needy railroad? Practically lumber, that did not require a 30-foot or 3-foot draft. Of the 256,105 tons in 1913, 168,000, or about two-thirds, were logs and lumber. Another item that did not require a deep-sea-draft vessel was 8,630 tons of sand and gravel.

To show that Texas overlooks the needs of the Trinity and recklessly wastes its resources, this same 1913 commerce included a shipment of 1,730 tons of water worth $520. That is a modest valuation, even where water has limited uses in dry Texas. Water below Dallas will cost this Government more per ton than at Bolivar, because artesian wells will be required to sprinkle the Trinity boulevard during summer months, so say the engineers.

Port Bolivar and Texas City will probably get what they want from this House, but both projects appear wasteful in character and hasten the day when Congress will gladly throw over unintelligent waterway improvements and respond to a demand for an economical development of worthy projects.

Motion to strike out rejected.

MILLIONS TO DEFEND THE PASS.

Port Aransas and Aransas Pass	$400,000
Balance on hand Oct. 14, 1914	830,353
Past appropriations	3,253,791

This is one of the cases where incompetency among Army engineers is shouldered onto civilians to cover up a loss of a half million dollars, according to page 834 of the report, which reads as follows:

Work was completed in accordance with the above-mentioned specifications June 11, 1906, at a cost to the Government of $546,703.10, but after the completion of the north jetty the channel became steadily worse, approaching dangerously near the jetty, and finally a secondary channel, 600 feet wide and 6 feet deep, broke through the gap between jetty and shore, with the result that for all practical purposes the channel was on the north side of the jetty instead of the south side, as intended by the plan adopted by the Aransas Pass Harbor Co.

After spending over $3,000,000 on the project we learn, on page 836, that two years ago the Texas State Railway Commission placed Aransas on a parity with Galveston, and that sailings of two or three vessels are made every month.

What do they carry? What was the $3,000,000 spent for, and who owns the oil well?

The engineers report 211,330 tons of commerce for 1913, of which 193,922 tons was fuel oil, leaving a balance of miscellaneous fright amounting to 17,408 tons.

We have spent over three and a quarter millions on this project, and with $830,353 more on hand ready to dump into the sea we are asked to pursue the judgment of a drunken sailor by throwing in $400,000 more of Government money, contributed in these days of war taxes and business depression.

Judging from past history, all the titanic struggles between Teutons and Muscovites for control of the Carpathians are sham battles compared with the victories won by the Texas board of strategy.

Sabine and Aransas will go down to history with the Carpathians.

They are all hard propositions to get through.

MORE MILLIONS SHELLED OUT.

Sabine Pass and Port Arthur Canal	$500,000
Balance on hand October, 1914	555,270
Past appropriations	5,716,550

This half million dollars is for a 16-mile canal of 25-foot depth. Over a half million dollars was on hand about three months ago, but the dredgers and contractors who swarm along Texas shores like blackbirds are loud in their demands for more.

After spending $5,135,037, we learn that 75 per cent of the dredging in the canal is completed, but only 13 per cent of the work on the jetties is finished.

When a board of waterway experts takes hold of the waterway problem it will place such projects under a strong magnifying glass. The reports of engineers and of shipping will be scrutinized. Great oil interests that monopolize this traffic will cease then to have any especial claim on the Government Treasury, and equal contribution will be demanded in return for every dollar expended on such projects. Millions are dumped into similar propositions and glittering figures of commerce offered in justification of prodigious expenditures.

An administration seeking to economize would use the ax early and often on some of these projects that benefit private concerns and not the people of Texas, nor of any other State that helps pay a war tax for such doubtful investments.

$16,686,931 FOR 5 PROJECTS.

Houston Ship Channel	$250,000
Balance on hand October, 1914	415,449
Amount expended to June, 1914	5,375,590

The total expenditures includes some local contributions. From page 805 of the 1914 report we learn that a 25-foot depth has been secured in this 57-mile canal, which is 99 per cent completed. When Houston learns that New York has 40-foot depth to its harbor, and Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, and a score of other cities are digging deeper holes in their own harbors, and incidentally in the Federal Treasury, Houston, like the Texas steer, will again become rampant.

Houston has a commerce in sand of 520,000 tons. It deals in the shell game to the extent of 750,000 tons more, of shells and lumber that floats, furnishes a round 200,000 tons. These three articles of "commerce" compose 80 per cent of the tonnage of this 25-foot canal. Incidentally, round numbers in these and other items show the character and unreliability of engineers, estimates. A liberal increase in the 1913 guess is explained by an increase of 422,000 tons of sand, shells, and lumber in one year.

Texas is demanding a quarter of a million in this bill, for Houston's commerce. Texas has grit—so has Houston's commerce—but it should not be overlooked that leaving out Galveston Harbor, we have already reached five doubtful projects that have received $16,686,931 in the past and are asking for $1,240,000 in this economy bill. Such propositions should be critically examined to ascertain their value.

That Houston has other pleasant surprises in store for the Federal Treasury is attested by the following newspaper clipping sent me:

INLAND-WATER ROUTE TO TEXAS FROM MISSISSIPPI DEMANDED IN RESOLUTION.

HOUSTON, TEX., *December 31.*

Prospects of a continuous inland-water route from all points on the Mississippi, Ohio, and Missouri Rivers to southeastern Texas, and consequently continuous inland waterway connection between Houston to the Great Lakes entered into the discussion of the special executive meeting of the Interstate Inland Waterways' League of Texas and Louisiana here to-day.

The meeting went on record as favoring a canal of 9 feet depth and 90 feet minimum bottom width connecting Galveston Bay and Sabine Pass and a similar canal connecting Morgan City with New Orleans.

The resolution calls upon the Senators from Louisiana and Texas to demand that an amendment be made to the rivers and harbors bill so as to provide for the proposed canal extension.

Congress will now sit up and take notice when Houston demands from its Senators and those from Louisiana that they in turn demand a few more waterway projects. It must be placed in this year's bill—so says the convention and waterway boosters.

Convention or waterway lobbies have had their way with Congress for some time. Indeed, the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, otherwise known as the $50,000,000 annual lobby, declares itself to be second only to the "Congress of the United States." So Houston's Senators and Houston's Representatives must get busy, because Houston has demands to make on the Federal Treasury, demands that must be acceded to at this short session. Houston wants deeper canals. What of these canals? Let us get some light on what Houston demands that Congress must do.

MORE CASH THAN COMMERCE.

West Galveston Bay-Brazos River	$15,000
Balance on hand October, 1914	18,372
Past appropriations	326,851

We have just left a 25-foot canal, and now we strike some of the abandoned, worthless canals the Government has kindly taken over to help out former owners and incidentally a few active dredgers and contractors, and these Houston would have us dig deeper.

Here are a few gems of thought hidden away in the 1914 report, all of which relate to this $326,851 project:

No commercial statistics could be obtained for year 1913.
The channel (5-foot) is used by small fishing boats.
The work has had no appreciable effect on freight rates.
The commerce is about the same as the Brazos and Matagorda.

Many inquirers might feel that after this category of disheartening results we would get inspiration from Matagorda, and so we turn over the report to find that commerce on the mythical Matagorda Canal reached 614 tons in 1912 (1913 report, p. 2264), and a bridge tender guessed it was 2,758 tons last year (1914 report, p. 2313).

This project only asks for $15,000, with $18,372 on hand, and 614 tons of freight have been produced by $326,851 of Federal money. Could it be possible that the fine Italian hands of one or more dredgers directed the activities of Houston's waterway con-

vention? Methods of the $50,000,000 waterway lobby, which tells Congress what to do, have been open to that same suspicion, but Congress will do well to heed the demands for a 9-foot channel for this project.

GREAT INLAND WATERWAYS.

Brazos River, Matagorda Bay	$30,000
Balance on hand October, 1914	24,427
Past appropriations	307,008

By referring to the last project it will be observed that the same 614 tons of commerce of 1912 and the bridge tender's guess of 1913 originated in this 32 miles of canal which is to be deepened to 9 feet when Houston's boosters get to Washington. Keeping in mind this is a 5-foot canal proposition, we are unprepared for the shock occasioned by reading "The recent shoaling of the canal has made navigation uncertain and prevents operation of boats on regular schedule." Before the "recent shoaling" occurred it managed to report 614 tons, but now it is reduced to a further discount on the bridge tender's guess. One small skiff might handle this traffic on a pinch, but an investment in a Ford or team of mules would be of equal benefit to a commerce that did not reach 1 ton per day up and down the canal in 1912. That result on a $307,008 investment looks worse than a deserted Texas oil well and returns about equal dividends.

The Senators who represent two great States are directed to get busy or Houston's waterway lobby will demand its rights from the Government.

Bearing in mind that Texas has received $35,000,000 from the Government for the 20 waterways and would-be waterways represented in this bill alone, it does seem as though some armistice might be agreed upon between the Federal Congress and the Houston waterway lobby providing the increased canal depth fails in the bill before us.

380 TONS OF "COMMERCE."

Aransas Pass to Cavallo	$45,000
Balance on hand October, 1914	25,237
Past appropriations	136,852

Here is an appropriation recommended by the Rivers and Harbors Committee, and incidentally by the Army engineers, that deserves attention. We have paid enough to buy all the produce that might be shipped on this streak of moisture for a hundred years to come. With $45,000 we could buy nearly a hundred Fords to carry all the actual traffic of these waterways of Texas, excepting, of course, Galveston, which has received $12,000,000. Here, however, is a canal that produced last year 380 tons, carried on "30 vessels," according to the Engineer's Report, page 2314.

What can be said to do justice to this showing? No explanation can explain, and it is immaterial who deserves credit for a $45,000 recommendation to Congress in 1915 for this "project." It speaks for itself.

Is this one of the canals that the Houston lobby demands shall be deepened to 9 feet? If so, why not increase to 25 feet, the depth of the Houston Canal, that carried 1,250,000 tons of sand and shells last year? By so doing we may start some commerce in dredging machinery and at least offer a showing for the money we have been using.

LOST 80 PER CENT OF COMMERCE IN ONE YEAR.

Mouth of the Brazos	$45,000
Balance on hand June, 1914	132,310
Past appropriations	751,250

It requires patience to discuss some of the "projects" found in this bill. According to the engineers, we have spent over three-fourths of a million dollars at the mouth of the Brazos to take care of an oil well, just as we have been taking care of private fertilizer factories, and private reclamation schemes, and private water-power steals, and various other humbugs conducted in the name of the public good. After spending over $100,000 a mile on this 6½-mile stretch, we learn that of a commerce of 123,750 tons in 1912, 112,750 tons was fuel oil, leaving a net balance of 11,000 tons, which was probably exaggerated.

The oil well went bump, and we find a "commerce" reported in 1913 of 24,575 tons, of which 13,848 tons was oil, or a net loss of 80 per cent in commerce in one year through a bad oil investment. As if to grind it in, we are advised by engineers that Government money is being used to dredge up to some of the railway wharves.

During these days of an economical Democratic administration I advise Members to note that on the projects so far reached in Texas, not counting Galveston, we have already spent $18,481,592, and in this bill we are asking $1,385,000 during these piping hard times.

[From Appendix T—Report of Lieut. Col. Riché, p. 2319 (1914).]

COMMERCIAL STATISTICS (1913).

Season of navigation, year ending December 31, 1913: Navigable the entire year.

Freight traffic.

Articles.	Amount (short tons).	Approximate value.
Ammunition	1,218	$1,461,600
Canned goods	239	20,800
Dry goods	1,518	759,000
Hardware	1,400	168,000
Iron and steel articles	1,200	589,600
Manufactures of iron and steel	1,000	
Machinery	748	
Oilcloth and linoleum	66	13,200
Paints and oils	204	24,480
Paper	334	15,030
Roofing material	221	11,050
Soda, lye, and potash	277	33,240
Twine	300	108,009
Miscellaneous	929	92,900
Books	456	228,000
Drugs	300	300,000
Fireworks	132	92,400
Wire and wire products	185	7,400
Fuel oil	13,848	93,756
Total	24,575	4,004,541

No vessel classification obtained. Two vessels, the *Kennebec* and *Hondurus*, are making regular sailings twice a month from this port.

This is the brief report offered for the preceding year when traffic was 500 per cent greater:

[From Appendix T—Report of Lieut. Col. Riché, p. 2269 (1913).]

COMMERCIAL STATISTICS (1912).

Season of navigation: Navigable the entire year.

Freight traffic.

Articles.	Amount.		Approximate value.
	Customary units.	Short tons.	
Cement	3,335 barrels	600	$6,670
Fuel oil	902,000 barrels	112,750	85,600
General merchandise	10,400 tons	10,400	461,330
Total		123,750	553,600

No vessel classification obtained.

THE $10,000,000 TRINITY.

Trinity River	$15,000
Balance on hand October, 1914	343,600
Past appropriations	2,207,638

This project has been discussed so frequently on the floor by the able gentleman from Texas [Mr. CALLAWAY] that I will not venture to add to his picturesque descriptions found on pages 1823 and 1824 of the RECORD.

Its ultimate cost has been estimated at $10,000,000 or over and the time required for completion over a hundred years. The Trinity finds vigorous defenders, and, of course, every project has two sides that ought to be presented. I am mentioning a few that need to be seriously considered before large amounts named in this bill are appropriated for such purposes. Limited and necessary expenditures for any proper public purpose ought to be made beyond question; but the Trinity and other questionable projects that must depend largely upon artesian wells and summer showers for navigation, that have no commerce, present or prospective, are in the discard class, and it does seem proper to call a halt until we can ascertain just where this headlong policy is going to land us.

The Trinity and the Coosa, and the Muscle Shoals on the Tennessee, and a few other navigation projects have each dragged many millions from the Government Treasury. Have we made bad investments? If anyone has doubts on the subject, they may be easily dispelled by referring to the official reports. I offer no criticism beyond the statement of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. CALLAWAY], borne out by official reports, that this project is indefensible.

A $400,000 WATERWAY FOR 1,000 TONS.

Velasco to Old Washington	$10,000
Balance on hand last report	37,288
Past appropriations	415,000

This project is part of the preceding Brazos River travesty. On page 829 it is stated a navigable channel of 4 feet exists four months during the year in intermittent periods. Again, the Engineer's Report says, page 830:

No commerce of any note has been developed, nor can any be expected until the Brazos River is improved from its mouth to Waco, a distance of 424 miles.

The only record of commercial statistics furnished is found on page 2319, where, we are informed, one boat makes trips every 10 days and last year carried in all about 1,080 tons.

The Brazos and the Trinity and the Coosa Rivers will ever remain lasting and expensive monuments to the cupidity of dredgers and contractors and the gullibility of the American public.

Somebody has said at some time and some place that this $34,000,000 bill is an economy measure. After presenting two scores of small projects that invite careful investigation, with larger ones to follow, will anyone be deceived as to the wastefulness of this bill and worthlessness of scores of projects it contains?

MILLIONS FOR DREDGERS, BUT NO COMMERCE.

Brazos, Old Washington to Waco	$200,000
On hand October, 1914	277,878
Past appropriations	1,150,000

This project is for 170 miles, from Old Washington to Waco. It was started in 1896 (p. 829), and no one knows what proportion of the proposed work has been completed. Not a ton of commerce is reported and none will be reported for many years to come. The protest of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TREADWAY], a member of the Rivers and Harbors Committee, who moved to strike out the item, is briefly quoted as it appears in the RECORD of January 16:

Mr. TREADWAY. Now, Mr. Chairman, the item of the Brazos River is sufficiently well known, and it is not going to take a great deal of the time of the committee to show just a little what we are paying here for it. It is shown by the report of the Board of Engineers that there has been already expended on the improvement of the Brazos, appropriated to December 1, 1914, $2,316,250; that the amount needed to complete is indefinite; that no commerce has as yet developed. I think that of itself——

Mr. COOPER. No commerce?

Mr. TREADWAY. No commerce has yet developed on the Brazos River. That puts the proposition in a very concrete form as to whether or not we wish to continue spending good money and chase it after bad, letting the good money become just as bad in the end as that already spent is now.

Mr. HUMPHREYS of Mississippi. Will the gentleman yield for just one question?

Mr. TREADWAY. Certainly.

Mr. HUMPHREYS of Mississippi. Will the gentleman state how much commerce passed through the Panama Canal before it was finished?

Mr. TREADWAY. Oh, well, we expect to get commerce through there, and we will never get any on the Brazos River. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi any comparison with the Panama Canal when he uses it to illustrate a stream that eventually is going to have some commerce on it; but if I can read figures right, if I can read these statements, if I can read the engineer's reports, the commerce that is going to be developed on the Brazos River is of a minimum amount, and the result would be just about as it is now after we have spent two and a quarter million dollars—"No commerce has as yet developed." When an indefinite sum is expended, which the engineers say will be needed to complete it as planned, then I prophesy the report can still come back here and be given in with all truth, "No commerce has as yet developed." And why? I hold in my hand the report of the engineer, which is made with all due consideration of the interest of the Brazos River and the people promoting it, and I quote:

"It is obviously difficult to determine with absolute accuracy the number of months in which the minimum depth for water in navigation will prevail, primarily because the rainfall varies greatly from year to year, and secondarily, on account of the great expense of obtaining all the exact data for each reach of the river."

Then they have on the next page of the report a table showing the depth of water and its stages over a certain average number of days during the years 1903, 1904, and 1905, and we find that for 252 days of that period—the average number of days per year during that period—the average depth was 3 feet; for 184 days, 3½ feet; for 136 days, 4 feet; and for 88 days they actually got 5 feet of water.

Then, again, I see this item:

"Experience with the shoals below Old Washington indicates that by dredging and contraction work a gain in depth over shoals of 2.6 feet can be readily made. The work is being done with that idea, and frequently depths of 3 feet and more result."

Is not that fine? Frequently there will be 3 feet of water!

"It therefore seems that the proper answer to the proposition proposed by the act of Congress, upon which the appropriation of the $75,000 depends"—

Do we not begin these big projects mighty modestly? The original project was $75,000—

"namely, the least number of locks and dams that will furnish navigation for four or six months, is eight, and that these eight will furnish a little over four months' average navigation."

And still my good friend and colleague on the committee wants to compare navigation on the Brazos River with the greatest engineering proposition ever undertaken by the United States, namely, the construction of the Panama Canal.

Motion to strike out defeated by a vote of 8 to 42.

MORE CRAZY CANALIZATION SCHEMES.

Ouachita River	$25,000
Amount available October, 1914	454,693
Past appropriations	3,605,616
Expended to June 30, 1914	3,145,385

When our Government invests over $3,000,000 in a waterway project, we ought to ask for an accounting. We learn that the total commerce reported on this river for 1913 amounted to 64,874 tons. Deducting floatable timber, reaching 44,175 tons, leaves a net "commerce" of 20,699 tons of low-priced freight, including over 2,000 tons of stone and including duplications of the same freight. Two locks, Nos. 6 and 8, were watchfully waiting for commerce all the past year, according to the report, but found none. A maintenance charge of $20,110 for these two locks brought no traffic. In fact, the report says:

These locks were not used during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914. (P. 2372.)

In the report for 1913 it is stated "no commerce passed through the locks." From this brief statement it shows the Government is paying from $8 to $10 for every ton of stone and other freight shipped on this river. After many years of watchful waiting we can do no greater public service than to wake up to the facts and cease wasting money on such projects. At least, let us have a report on its value before spending more money.

A HALF MILLION FOR 4 TONS PER DAY.

White River	$15,000
Amount on hand October, 1914	14,945
Past appropriations	554,415

Again does the deceptive commerce confront us when we learn that, apart from 245,783 tons of floatable timber and nearly 5,000 tons of sand and shell, only 14,219 tons remain that have an average haul of about 40 miles.

Bearing in mind Chairman SPARKMAN'S statement that river commerce is frequently counted and recounted several times, it is well to ask what return is being afforded for an expenditure of over a half million dollars. Let us not be prodigal in these distressing hard times, when the war tax disease is abroad in the land, but let us economize while inquiring into such questionable projects.

WHY NOT SAVE THIS $40,000?

French Broad and Pidgeon Rivers	$40,000
Amount available October, 1914	10,297
Past appropriation	210,000

After spending $210,000 we learn this is a 2½-foot project that will cost $150,000.

A genuine "commerce" of 50,896 tons of "sand" is hauled 4 miles, and of the remaining 16,000 tons over 10,000 is for floatable timber and marble, leaving less than 6,000 tons. Some of this commerce has value, but why should the Government be called upon to advance $40,000 for such a project in these days of war taxes and promised economy? During all the years that have passed since 1880, when the project was begun and actual commerce encountered, the Government has spent, on the average, about $7,000 per year.

After commerce has decreased in our inland waterways, it does not seem good business policy to spend nearly six times the average annual expenditure, as proposed by this $40,000 appropriation.

11 STATESMEN VERSUS 6 ENGINEERS.

Cumberland River, above Nashville	
Balance, July 1, 1914	$54,014
Past appropriations	3,317,500

Here is a peculiar item, because it provides that amounts appropriated for dams and locks and not needed may be expended for open-channel work.

Just what amount of money is contained in this item does not appear, the House does not know, and nobody seems to care, providing individual projects are passed undisturbed.

Considerable commerce is reported, but without allowing anything for duplications, it is illuminating to learn that sand hauled 10 miles and floatable logs and timber made up 84 per cent of the traffic.

This is the river on which nine Congressmen and two United States Senators joined forces, bore down upon the Army engineers, and after three rejections had been had and a renewal secured, in reply to a demand for equal contributions for a $4,500,000 appropriation, these statesmen convinced the engineers that contribution should not be exacted.

It will be up again many times. But what does this item cover and what is to be done with the money? The Cumberland River has had over $5,000,000 and expects many millions more.

Cumberland River below Nashville	$445,000
Amount available October, 1914	835,439
Past appropriations	2,103,000

This project, we are informed, includes seven locks.

We learn from the report that—

Cumberland River below Nashville is navigable for all boats six months in the year. Boats drawing 3 feet can be run from six to eight months, and a 16-inch depth is good the year around.

Of the 165,123 tons, 131,891 tons was composed of railway ties and timber that can certainly be floated the year round; 11,250 tons was sand hauled 6 miles, and the balance of 21,982 tons of all kinds of freight resulted from a past expenditure of over $2,000,000.

With $835,439 on hand three months ago, we ought to try and save $445,000 on this item to avoid another war-tax levy.

Motion to strike out was rejected.

THE TENNESSEE RIVER COMMERCE.

Tennessee, Alabama, and Kentucky Rivers..... $287,000

A pro forma amendment was offered in order to answer misleading criticisms as to traffic on the Tennessee River, on which the next item of Muscle Shoals is situated. In previous remarks my statements that the engineers' report showed less than 6,000 tons of commerce annually at Muscle Shoals was criticized by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MOON]. I desire to state the exact commerce on the Tennessee River as shown by the engineers' report, which report includes duplications and quadruplications through the loose practice pursued by engineers, according to the chairman of the committee [Mr. SPARKMAN]. The character of discussion is best shown on this item from page 1966 of the RECORD for June 19, as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wisconsin is recognized.

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Chairman, I do not desire to encroach on the time of the committee and will not take the full seven minutes if I can answer fully statements that have been made with reference to the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers in a shorter time.

As I said, Mr. Chairman, I was corrected a moment ago by a Member who is supposed to know conditions on a river in his own State. As I understood him to say, navigation is possible only for a few months on the lower branch of that river. Let me read the engineer's report, in which it is stated the Cumberland River below Nashville is navigable for all boats six months in the year. For boats drawing 8 feet of water it is navigable for four months in the year. It is navigable for small steamboats throughout the year. I suggested that five-sixths of all that commerce consisted of railway ties and sand and timber, carried 6 miles—things that could be hauled at that stage of water. I think I was fair in my statement. I do not want to misstate.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Wisconsin yield to the gentleman from Florida?

Mr. FREAR. I can not be interrupted unless I get more time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I notice the gentleman has mentioned several times, in criticism of the commerce on that stream, that it was only sand.

Mr. FREAR. Yes; and it was hauled only 6 miles.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Has the gentleman any particular antipathy for sand? I think it is about as good a class of commerce as you can carry.

Mr. MANN. If there were more sand in the House it would be a good thing. [Laughter.]

Mr. FREAR. The chairman has held us to 17 minutes on a $682,000 item. I want to get some of the facts in my possession into the RECORD, even if I can not get them before the House. I say a large portion of the commerce is sand, which is hauled 6 miles, and the river now offers a sufficient stage of water for all practical purposes throughout the year, according to the engineer's report. Now, the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. HULL]——

Mr. MOON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Wisconsin yield to the gentleman from Tennessee?

Mr. MOON. Just for a question.

Mr. FREAR. I can not yield to the gentleman at this time unless I get more time, Mr. Chairman. I want to be as courteous as possible to the gentleman, but I am tied down as to time, and I want to answer the gentleman as to a former statement.

Mr. MOON. The gentleman was talking to my colleague [Mr. HULL].

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MOON], the other day, followed me on this floor and criticized me severely. He did that, apparently, because I stated what was shown in the records upon Muscle Shoals—that between five and six thousand tons is all the traffic that goes through at this point, according to the engineer's report in 1912 and 1913. He said the traffic was $13,000,000 in value and 1,300,000 tons. Is not that right?

Mr. MOON. No.

Mr. FREAR. So the RECORD shows. I have the RECORD right here.

Mr. MOON. Let the gentleman be composed for a moment and I will show him where the mistake is. It is $23,000,000 instead of $13,000,000.

Mr. FREAR. I am glad the gentleman has made the correction.

Mr. MOON. No; you are not glad.

Mr. FREAR. Yes; I am glad. I want the House to know just what the commerce is on that stream. But here is the engineers' report. It says the total above Chattanooga was 469,685 tons. From Chattanooga to Florence it was 104,133 tons. From Florence to Paducah, Ky., it was 186,000 tons. The total, including duplications, all told, is 1,053,923 tons.

But, Mr. Chairman, of that total, sand and gravel made up 255,000 tons hauled 6 miles, and logs and timber that floats or is barged amounted to 523,000 tons, leaving a balance of 275,923 tons, which is reasonably large. But of that amount, 145,000 tons transported was iron ore, valued at $1.20 per ton, reducing 1,300,000 tons, valued at $23,000,000, to 126,923 tons, with the exception stated, according to the engineers' report. That is the report of the engineers, and when I was questioning the other day the advisability of putting $18,700,000 more into Muscle Shoals, to carry between five and six thousand tons through the canal at that point, criticism was made in reply that I did not know about the river. Here are the facts according to the reports of the engineers as to the rest of the traffic. The expenditure has already amounted to $8,658,000 on that river, as I find it in the engineers' report.

Mr. MOON. How much did the gentleman say?

Mr. FREAR. Eight million six hundred and fifty-eight thousand dollars, including locks and canals.

Mr. MOON. Oh, there has been $10,000,000 recently expended in one place alone.

Mr. FREAR. Then I accept the amendment.

Mr. MOON. That was expended by individuals, however.

Mr. FREAR. This $8,658,000 was Government money. I have no intention, Mr. Chairman, to misrepresent in any case, but I give you the facts as they are shown by the engineers' report. I gave you the facts before as to what the engineers say of the navigability of the Cumberland River—navigable for 12 months in the year as shown above Chattanooga.

AN $18,700,000 PRIVATE WATER-POWER PROJECT.

The Tennessee River between Browns Island and the railroad bridge below the city of Florence, Ala.: For the completion of the detailed surveys, borings, etc., for the purposes of navigation, combined with the development of water power by the United States alone or in cooperation with private interests, $150,000. (Doc. No. 20, 63d Cong., 2d sess.)

This is one of the most vicious proposals, in my judgment, ever presented to Congress under the misnomer of help to navigation. The Government has expended over $3,000,000 on this short Muscle Shoals Canal, and less than 6,000 annual tons of commerce has been produced. It has been estimated that every ton of freight carried through that lock and canal now costs the Government $25 per ton. With this startling evidence of waste and extravagance confronting us, we are asked to adopt a new water-power project at this point and to give to a private water-power company $8,575,000 in cash for approaches and other work ostensibly for navigation. In addition $1,750,000 is to be paid by the Government for flowage easements for this private water-power company.

After making a donation of $10,325,000 to this private interest, the Government agrees to loan to the same company for a period of 100 years $8,375,000, payable in annual installments, drawing 3 per cent interest.

On December 14 last I discussed this particular project for one hour on the floor of the House and pointed out some of the objectionable features it contains. It has been said that no project has ever been driven out of a river and harbor bill when it once receives the indorsement of the committee.

The $18,700,000 Muscle Shoals project carries only $150,000 in this bill as a pretended advance for borings, but it is intended to and does commit the Government to an extravagant $18,700,000 private water-power project which will be the forerunner for many other scandalous private projects if we take this step.

In order to show that honest differences of opinion as to this bill and the project under consideration may occur, I quote from the RECORD of Saturday, January 15:

EVERY PROJECT CAN SUSTAIN CRITICISM.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Alabama moves to strike out the last word.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. Chairman, I regard this bill as one of the cleanest rivers and harbors bills that has ever been reported to the Congress of the United States. [Applause.] I think the men who sat on the Rivers and Harbors Committee are entitled to be congratulated by the membership of this House on the bill they have reported to the House. Unfortunately, on account of the existing condition of the public finances, there are some meritorious propositions that it has been impossible for them to place in the bill, but that is not to the bill's discredit. There is not an item in this bill, in my judgment, that can not sustain any attempt to criticize it, and I think it is the duty of this House to stay here and uphold the hands of the chairman of this committee [applause] and allow him to attend to the business of the Government. * * *

There is no reason why this bill should not become a law. There is no reason why it should not be passed before we reach an adjournment to-night. [Applause.] If you go to your offices and leave this floor, then any legislative obstructionist can demand any unreasonable terms from the chairman of your committee. I believe that everybody who is interested in this bill should have opportunity to be heard, and it is far from my desire to interfere with anybody; but I do believe that no man who wants to obstruct legislation on the floor of this House should be furnished with the opportunity to do so merely because he can demand a quorum and thus waste 45 minutes of the Government's time by calling the roll.

So, in all good nature and in a perfectly friendly spirit, I rise now to appeal to the membership of this House, and especially to the Democratic membership, to stay here and see that this bill is passed, if we have to stay until 3 o'clock to-morrow morning. [Applause.]

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Chairman, may I speak in opposition to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Alabama?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I had intended to withdraw the pro forma amendment, but will withhold it if the gentleman desires to speak in opposition.

MANY PROJECTS INDEFENSIBLE.

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Chairman, I do not know whether the remarks of the distinguished gentleman from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] were intended in any degree for my benefit. I tender to him great respect as a gentleman of integrity and high standing. But when he says to the membership of this House that one of the cleanest river and harbor bills ever presented to Congress is before them, let me say to him unfortunately he has not been present at all the sessions of the committee. I doubt whether he would say so if he had been. But if so, it is because all other bills have not been good. I have shown on this floor from 20 to 30 projects that I can not see how he can defend, and there are others of like character in the bill.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Chairman——

Mr. FREAR. I can not be interrupted now, although I should be glad to yield if I had the time. When the gentleman from Alabama says there is not one item in the bill that can not sustain criticism, I say that is a statement I never heard before on the floor of this House as to a single appropriation bill. I would suggest to him that there are items even in Alabama, on the Tennessee River, that will be criticized on this floor, and I believe justly criticized, and we ought to be heard. I for one have not taken a single minute beyond what was necessary to make statement of conditions surrounding different projects criticized. I have not argued propositions. I have only presented facts here. The courtesy of the House which has been extended to me heretofore is appreciated. I have endeavored simply to present those facts, so that you would know what is in the bill. We ought to know the facts.

The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] says we ought to finish the bill to-night. Let us finish it if we have to stay 24 hours.

A few days ago we were given 11 hours at one sitting, and we sat here uncomplainingly. We are willing to stay here, but let us inquire into every item that appears to deserve criticism. And the gentleman to the contrary notwithstanding, there are items here that I believe the country will criticize, even if he does not. He stands here as the leader of the majority. His well-known ability is appreciated by all of us; but I can not believe that the country sustains his position, in view of business conditions that now exist, and in view of some facts that have been and others which will be presented before this committee. [Applause on the Republican side.]

A BAD PROJECT DEFEATED.

When the $18,700,000 Muscle Shoals project was reached in the bill it was vigorously defended on the floor by the distinguished majority leader [Mr. UNDERWOOD]. Several Members on both sides of the aisle found much to criticize in the item, notably my colleague from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT] and Judge TOWNER, of Iowa, and after a discussion of a couple of hours the following appears from the RECORD, page 1978:

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT] striking out the paragraph ($150,000 for Muscle Shoals). The question was taken, and the Chairman announced that the "ayes" seemed to have it.

Mr. SPARKMAN. A division, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Florida [Mr. SPARKMAN] demands a division.

The committee divided; and there were—ayes 86, noes 62.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I ask for tellers, Mr. Chairman.

Tellers were ordered; and the Chairman appointed Mr. SPARKMAN and Mr. LENROOT to act as tellers.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT] to strike out the paragraph.

The committee again divided; and the tellers reported—ayes 77, noes 62.

So the amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The motion to strike out is sustained and the paragraph is stricken out.

The foregoing extract from the RECORD discloses several interesting facts. First, that for the first time in many years an objectionable paragraph has been stricken from a rivers and harbors bill. Second, that this action occurred notwithstanding the project was valiantly defended on the floor by majority leader UNDERWOOD; and, third, that although the opposition to the paragraph lost 9 votes in as many minutes when facing the possibility of a leaders' displeasure, it was defeated by a substantial majority, and was one of the projects contained in this good and pure bill, which, apparently, could not withstand criticism.

We are advised that the amendment will be reinstated in the Senate, but many things may happen in the Senate before this bill becomes a law.

COMMERCE COSTS GOVERNMENT $300 PER TON.

Big Sandy	$25,000
Balance on hand July 1, 1914	93,387
Already expended	1,626,125

Here is a shining mark among the projects approved by Army engineers and recommended by the committee.

It produced a commerce last year of 172,403 tons, but all except 227 tons consisted of timber—that floats. Like Pears soap, these timber projects are famous, but why spend $1,626,125 to secure 227 tons? Counting interest and depreciation at $65,045, or 4 per cent on the investment, and maintenance at $31,998, the reported amount, it gives a total annual charge against the Government of $97,043, or at the rate of over $300 per ton. The net commerce of 465 tons in 1912 fell off over 50 per cent in one year, and to cap the climax the report adds:

It is believed that the completed works of improvement have had no material effect on freight rates.

How such projects can be defended by engineers as disinterested parties is beyond comprehension.

I quote briefly from the RECORD of January 19 on this project:

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Chairman, I desire to say that this is the last of a number of small items that I care to bring to the attention of the committee. I desire to present the facts shown by the engineers' reports. On this project of 57 miles, Big Sandy River, there has been expended by the Government $1,626,125. The main river is navigable from the mouth to Louisa, 57 miles in length.

The commerce is what I would like to call attention to. In 1913 the commerce amounted to 172,403 tons. Of that amount timber, poles, and ties amounted to 172,126 tons, leaving a net amount, after deducting the timber, poles, and ties, that float or go with a slight depth of water, 227 tons that averaged 38 miles. Interest and depreciation on this item would amount to $65,045, according to the average method of estimating. Maintenance on this item last year amounted to $31,998, or a total of $97,043 at Government expense last year for 227 tons of freight, after deducting the floatable timber, amounting approximately to $300 a ton of cost to the Government that furnishes the waterway.

OTHER EXTRAVAGANT PROJECTS.

In this connection, Mr. Chairman, I wish to refer to some figures that have been given by the senior Senator from Ohio [Mr. BURTON] to the press, in which he stated that on the Arkansas River, deducting timber, the cost to the Government has been $95 a ton for the year 1912. I find that on Red River the cost, deducting timber, was $68 a ton to the Government. On the Black Warrior River the average is about $73, as near as can be estimated, on an appropriation of nearly $10,000,000. On the Muscle Shoals, that we have just passed, the cost to the Government last year was approximately $25 a ton on $3,000,000, which was put through at this point. On the Big Sandy River, which we have just read, the cost to the Government per ton last year has been approximately $300, after deducting floatable timber. And I suggest that while it may be true, as was stated a few moments ago, at the beginning of the session to-day, that not an item in this bill can be subjected to any criticism, in view of the vote just had on the last amendment and in view of the facts presented on the Big Sandy River, it seems to me that criticism can be abundantly leveled at many of these items.

Mr. MURDOCK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield there?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Wisconsin yield to the gentleman from Kansas?

Mr. FREAR. Yes.

Mr. MURDOCK. I want to verify the gentleman's figures. Does he say that the report shows that on the Muscle Shoals proposition the cost has been $25 a ton, and that on this Big Sandy proposition it is $300 a ton?

Mr. FREAR. Yes; after deducting floatable timber.

Mr. HUMPHREYS of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FREAR. Yes.

Mr. HUMPHREYS of Mississippi. In ascertaining that the gentleman takes all the appropriations that have been made for the river since the Government has appropriated for it—in the case of the Arkansas River, for instance, for more than 60 years—and charges that against the river, and then credits it with the commerce that floated in one year?

Mr. FREAR. That is because this is all the commerce that has floated during the year. The interest charges and cost of maintenance are considered for the year, and the traffic for the same year shows the result stated. It is the only practicable way to ascertain the cost to the Government and the one generally adopted for ascertaining the cost of maintaining such waterways.

Mr. HUMPHREYS of Mississippi. But you do not credit it with the commerce that floated upon it during all those 60 years.

Mr. FREAR. No; because each year's commerce should be charged with the interest and maintenance for that year; but it has never decreased down to 227 tons before. According to the report last year it was 400 tons and some odd after deducting the timber. There has been a net loss during the last year of about 50 per cent in the net commerce, deducting the timber. I have endeavored to fairly determine the cost to the Government of carrying on the traffic that floats on this stream.

In view of some of the projects just discussed, which cost the Government from $25 to $300 per ton annually, I submit that the majority leader should amend his statement that this bill is beyond successful or merited criticism.

$5,000,000 FOR A $64,000,000 PROJECT.

Ohio River, continuing improvement, $2,500,000; and authorizing the Secretary of War to enter into contracts amounting to $2,500,000 more.

This is part of a $64,000,000 project, in addition to about $17,000,000 previously spent on the river by our Government. It is a very large appropriation item, and as I have been asked to present a consecutive statement of questionable items in the bill the following, taken from the RECORD of January 19, is inserted without further discussion:

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the paragraph with reference to the Ohio River, from line 19, page 26, down to and including line 2, page 27.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

"Strike out the paragraph beginning with line 19, page 26, and ending with line 2, on page 27."

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Chairman, the preceding item, agreed to without opposition, was for improving and maintaining open-channel work, Ohio River, $684,000, to which there can be no possible objection by any Member; but there may be some question as to this item of $5,000,000. I want to call the attention of the committee to the status of the Ohio River, on which over $16,000,000 has already been appropriated for slack water and over $18,000,000 toward a new system of dams; leaving about $45,000,000 more to be appropriated for this system of 53 locks on the Ohio River. I have spoken on this subject once or twice before in the House, and I do not intend to repeat anything along that line at this time. I wish, however, to call the attention of the committee to the remarks of the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BARCHFELD] the other day, wherein he said:

"To-day we have a cheaper rate from Pittsburgh to New Orleans by rail than they have from Birmingham, Ala., to New Orleans by rail, only made possible by the great and mighty Ohio."

Believing there might be something to it, although it was a surprising condition of affairs, I called up the Interstate Commerce Commission and ascertained from the traffic department that on soft coal—we were discussing soft coal at the time—the rate from Pittsburgh to New Orleans is $4.45 per ton, which, of course, is prohibitive, whereas the rate from Birmingham to New Orleans is $1.25. We find that less than 1,000,000 tons of coal are shipped down the Ohio River to New Orleans. That is in the last report we have, and all the rest of the coal used at New Orleans came from Birmingham and other adjacent points. We have spent about $10,000,000 on the Black Warrior River and its connecting links which bring coal to New Orleans from Alabama. The question for us to determine is whether or not there is any object in having the Government improve the Ohio River for the purpose of increasing competition from Pittsburgh to New Orleans and Birmingham to New Orleans when the Government is the party in interest at all times and pays the bills. Coal may be brought from Pittsburgh 2,000 miles down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers through 53 locks which are proposed to be put into operation by the $80,000,000 to be expended, but it is practically prohibitive on that kind of traffic, according to river men. Coal can not be profitably put through 53 locks, according to such authority. I wish to call attention to the expensive obstacle we are building through these 53 locks, which will become an annual maintenance charge to be paid by the Government of over $1,000,000, and in addition I desire to show where the coal from Pennsylvania does go. This last year something over 11,000,000 tons were shipped by rail across the State of Ohio to Ashtabula, or one of the lake ports, and from there up to the Duluth-Superior Harbor, and from there distributed throughout the upper country, first across the State of Ohio by rail to the lake and then on an 800-mile haul up to Duluth and Superior. In that country they depend very largely upon the coal which comes from the Pittsburgh district. The proposition was presented to us the other day by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BARCHFELD] that the people of Pittsburgh intend to put through a $60,000,000 canal from Pittsburgh to Lake Erie. I take it we need have no apprehension that private parties will enter into any such proposition. That will be another project

for the Government to prosecute. I have been unable to ascertain from any of the reports in reference to this $60,000,000 canal, but the Government surely will be called upon to make that appropriation if it ever goes into operation——

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. FREAR. I ask for five minutes more on this $5,000,000 item.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wisconsin asks unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

53 LOCKS FOR 1,000,000 TONS OF COAL.

Mr. FREAR. At the present time we are building 53 locks, according to the report. Thirty-one locks have been commenced; 22 more locks are to be built. If there is traffic upon that river sufficient to warrant the expenditure of $80,000,000 or $100,000,000, of course no man will question but that it is a proper expenditure. The question of traffic does enter strongly into this problem. I have examined, so far as I have been able to do so, all the engineers' reports; and I have consulted with rivermen familiar with the Ohio, and I have received a number of letters, all to the effect that I am right in my position that this is an extravagant, wasteful project. The traffic that goes through the Portland & Louisville Canal and through the open river at that point is a little over a million tons annually, and passing out of the Ohio at Cairo is about 1,000,000 tons. The engineer says that the river commerce reaches over 8,000,000 tons in the total, which amount is presumably arrived at by duplications. All the reports are unsatisfactory, and after all the expenditures we have made on the Ohio—already reaching over $33,000,000—it occurs to me we ought to know what we are up against. If we are to ship only a million tons of coal annually on this river, and this coal will have to go through 53 locks, we had better build a railroad down to New Orleans, if the coal has to go there, and ship the coal at Government expense. It would be far more economical.

Mr. CALLAWAY. What on earth do we want to prepare to ship coal from Pittsburgh to New Orleans for, when it is cheaper for them to ship it from Birmingham? They say they can get it cheaper than in any place on earth there, and now they prefer to ship it down from Pittsburgh.

Mr. FREAR. The gentleman is right. My purpose in bringing this before the House is to show the questionable character of the proposition.

* * * * * * *

I will not take the time of the committee further. I have discussed the Ohio River question before. I am not going to tire you with statistics, as I realize it would be useless. I present this brief statement to the House in order to have a vote on it.

Immediately following my statement of Ohio River commerce, based on the engineer's reports, the chairman of the Rivers and Harbors Committee [Mr. SPARKMAN] introduced a letter from the Chief of Engineers.

Nothing could more fully disclose the true facts regarding Ohio River commerce, which is conceded to rank first among all the rivers in the country, and to be made navigable at a prospective cost to the Government of $80,000,000.

RIDICULOUS REPORTS OF COMMERCE.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Florida [Mr. SPARKMAN] asks unanimous consent to print the letter referred to as a part of his remarks. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Following is the letter referred to:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF ENGINEERS,
Washington, July 27, 1914.

Hon. S. M. SPARKMAN,
Chairman Committee on Rivers and Harbors,
United States House of Representatives.

SIR: 1. Referring to the statement of the commercial statistics of the Ohio River, telephoned to you some time since, I have the honor to inform you that a report just received from the district officer states that the commercial statistics which he reported by telegraph have been found upon careful check to have contained some duplication. A corrected tabular statement of the statistics is herewith.

2. As to the reason for reporting the statistics at only six locks, it may be stated that the particular locks were selected with a view to obtaining as complete statistics as possible, and at the same time to eliminate duplication as much as practicable. Boats with through tows are required to report only at the first lock through which they pass. The item for open river commerce is the local commerce carried on between the various locks and dams.

Very respectfully,

DAN C. KINGMAN,
Chief of Engineers, United States Army.

Ohio River tonnage, calendar year 1913.

[Through lock and open river.]

	Tonnage.	Valuation.	Passengers.
Lock No. 1	1,982,257.5	$3,720,794.36	86,518
Lock No. 8	224,080.5	1,095,666.92	5,005
Lock No. 18	374,945.0	2,336,645.31	9,421
Lock No. 26	796,629.0	2,926,918.65	17,266
Lock No. 37	1,988,434.0	9,953,466.24	104,078
Lock No. 41	1,537,146.5	6,318,567.53	11,767
Open river	1,509,111.5	14,088,452.70	1,086,897
Ferries	1,401,519.5	36,086,390.07	2,949,834
Total	9,814,123.3	77,026,901.78	4,270,786

ENGINEERS' COMMERCIAL STATISTICS.

I call attention to the following peculiar facts in connection with the Chief of Engineer's letter just offered:

The Ohio River traffic for 1913 is given by him at 9,814,123 tons, valued at $77,026,901, but any schoolboy would be chastized for presenting such a misleading document, and its use in attempting to mislead Congress merits condemnation.

First, who ever before understood or believed that ferriage across the Ohio River was included in engineers' statistics in order to get approximately one-half the value of river commerce, or why add 1,401,519 tons of ferry traffic to show actual commerce down the river? Ferries crossing the river boost totals, but their relation to the $64,000,000 canalization project is about as close as the earth is to the moon.

Second, the Chief of Engineers takes the tonnage passing through six locks and adds it together to ascertain the river's commerce. What a travesty. As well add the number of passengers on a street car when it stops at different streets to take on or discharge passengers. It is stated that through statistics are only taken once, but a brief study of the fall in tonnage between Locks 1 and 8 reveals its own story, and the second tumble between Locks 37 and 41 is significant.

Third, the open-river traffic has existed since Indians first canoed on the river hundreds of years ago. Before any channel improvements were attempted, 50 years ago, the open-river traffic was larger by far than in recent years when railways have absorbed practically everything excepting short hauls of bulky freight by a coal monopoly that maintains a control of river boats and traffic and is also credited with a control of coal output and price. Railroad interests should be curbed, but other monopolies are equally bad. Millions of dollars have been spent on Ohio channel work, and yet counting together all the reports from different points, short haul and all, including duplications, open-river traffic aggregates only about 1,400,000 tons, much of which represents short hauls, duplications, and quadruplications, according to Chairman SPARKMAN'S speech.

ACTUAL TRAFFIC SERVED.

The Ohio River is 1,000 miles long, and the 1913 traffic through several locks is shown to average about 1,150,000 tons, while the length of haul by canal or open river is purely speculative. Statistics further show that nine-tenths of the traffic is soft coal of small value. Traffic through the open river and lower canal section combined reached about a million tons several years ago, and that passes out into the Mississippi. Every attempt to get at anything definite discloses the ridiculous methods pursued by Army engineers to deceive Congress as to actual facts. Instead of nearly 10,000,000 tons, aggregating $77,000,000 in value, both totals must be liberally slashed in order to get at true conditions. Traffic fell off 14 per cent last year, as shown by comparative estimates of 12 months' averaged traffic in 1912 and 1913. Assuming that it remains at its present stage during the next 10 years, a dangerous assumption, by that time we will have spent the last of the $80,000,000 which has gone and will go into the Ohio River.

A table offered by me last year was criticized because of its assumed inaccuracies. I have no desire to represent the facts any worse than they are, and in an effort to give a modest estimate of our Ohio River investment we discover the following probable results:

Investment $80,000,000, at 3 per cent interest annually	$2,400,000
Depreciation $80,000,000, at 3 per cent interest annually	2,400,000
Maintenance 53 locks, at $25,000	1,325,000
Annual cost to the Government (about)	6,125,000

I am assured that maintenance charges will be greater. Allowing $2 per ton for shipping soft coal by rail from Pittsburgh to Cairo, a figure equal to the value of the coal, it leaves a balance of approximately $4,000,000 to cover 122,000 tons of miscellaneous freight (p. 2776) and an average cost to the Government of about $33 per ton. Miscellaneous freight is shipped from 10 miles to 1,000 miles, and according to the itemized report it includes 8,000 tons of salt, 12,000 tons of lumber, and 85,332 tons of "miscellaneous," whatever that may be, in addition to a few smaller items.

VALUATIONS OF MISCELLANEOUS FREIGHT.

Shrewsbury, N. J., "miscellaneous freight" was valued at $1 per ton. Ohio River's miscellaneous freight, apart from transportation charges, will cost the Government over $30 per ton, according to conservative estimates offered. Four thousand seven hundred tons of hay, shown by the table, at $30 per ton would make a rapidly rising hay market, but that only represents the cost to the Government for furnishing a waterway for this hay. Does it not look like an unbusinesslike proposal; and what of engineers' reports, which throw ferriage, open river, and lock statistics into one hugh jumble in order to make some kind of showing for these tremendous expenditures on the Ohio? Adding together the lockages is about as clarifying as to attempt to determine the number of automobiles in Washington by sitting on different street corners and counting those in sight throughout the day. But what are you going to do about it? What actual commerce is to be served by this $80,000,000 expenditure?

I have taken some time to briefly call attention to this $5,000,000 item in the bill, but it is one that requires attention.

Motion to strike out rejected.

REAL WATERWAYS AT SMALL COMPARATIVE EXPENSE.

Many genuine waterways exist throughout the country, but no more significant contrast between lake and river commerce could be offered than that which relates to my own State. In reply to several caustic critics, who resent any inquiry into projects contained in the bill based on my own assumed lack of knowledge of waterways, I insert the following brief statement from the RECORD of June 19:

The Clerk read as follows:

"Harbor at Ashland, Wis.: Continuing improvement and for maintenance, $20,000."

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. Last year, when we were discussing the river and harbor bill, it was frequently stated that in my own State we had very little water traffic and that I knew little about the subject. I have no defense I feel impelled to offer, but to show the character of some Wisconsin items, I call attention to the one which has just been read. In 1913 the commerce of Ashland carried by water was 5,623,309 tons, carried for a distance of about 600 miles. In addition to that commerce, 18,131,000 feet of lumber was not included. The engineers do not include lumber, logs, or things of that kind which are rafted in. They are not considered with the commerce apparently, nor do the engineers include them in their report. With that Ashland commerce there were 57,000 passengers carried to or from this particular place.

Wisconsin has a large number of harbors, and three of them handle the following commerce of the country: Superior and Duluth, one harbor, 46,875,000 tons; Milwaukee, 8,647,000 tons; Ashland, 5,623,000 tons; a total of 61,245,000 tons for these three harbors, which are only a few of the harbors of the State.

It has been suggested that there was no river of any importance up in that country. I have stated before that the greatest river in the world flows past my district for 100 miles. Also, the St. Croix, a large river, averaging over half a mile in width, and capable of floating, when it is open, the largest boats on the Mississippi River, is opposite my home. Years ago we had more traffic there by far than is on the Ohio River to-day; in fact, more than was carried on the Mississippi at that time. To-day we have practically no traffic at all. There were shipped last year 219,000 tons at a valuation of $1,170,000. That looks big. It is as large as the average Florida project, but one man ran practically all that commerce, which consisted of logs and timber that was rafted. We do not count traffic which floats down in rafts. It is not like other traffic. It floats on the present stage of water. Every project in that State and all other States should be critically examined and the committee, not the Representative locally interested, should be prepared to defend its recommendation.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

This is another large project, and on this particular part of the river the item is for $5,000,000. In order to have the projects appear consecutively I quote briefly from the RECORD of June 19:

Mr. FREAR. I move to strike out the figures "$5,000,000," in line 23, page 30, and to substitute "$1,000,000."

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wisconsin offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

"Page 30, line 23, strike out the figures "$5,000,000" and substitute therefor "$1,000,000."

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Chairman, I do not assume to be a better judge than the engineers of the necessities of the lower Mississippi River. In view, however, of the fact that we are spending large sums of money at this time, I do believe it is well for us to economize, if possible, in some of these large appropriations. It appears from the engineers' report that October last $4,556,387 was on hand for further use on this project. If any portion of that money is to be used at this time, it appears it might relieve the situation which confronts us at the United States Treasury.

On several occasions I have spoken on the subject of the Mississippi River, and have given the opinions of critics, of engineers, of people who live on the river, and of newspapers at New Orleans and at Vicksburg and at Memphis criticizing the character of the appropriations on the Mississippi River and the improvements now being made. There is a well-grounded opposition, apparently, in the minds of many reputable people against the large appropriations that are being made at the present time for the Mississippi River. The complaint largely is lodged against the system of improvements. For that reason some time ago I introduced a resolution asking that a complete investigation of the present system be had and that the President appoint a high-class board, if necessary, for the purpose of making the investigation. In response to that I received many letters from engineers and others throughout the country urging that my proposal was good, in view of the many criticisms against the work now being conducted by the Mississippi River Commission.

The present system is declared by experts and by people living along the river to be a patchwork system of levees of no permanent value. It is also charged, and charged very forcibly, that the Mississippi River levee proposition is one for the reclamation of lands, as was stated on the floor a day or two ago, and that a great many acres of land are to be reclaimed by this system of levee construction. If so, it is not for the purpose of navigation. I believe it is improper to pay Government funds for such purposes, or at least there ought to be liberal local contributions, and they ought to be published, so that the people of this country whose money we are paying out on the Mississippi will know what is being paid by local communities toward the reclamation of lands.

Mr. GOULDEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FREAR. Yes.

Mr. GOULDEN. Can the gentleman tell how much money is on hand as of date January 1, and available for this improvement?

Mr. FREAR. I stated that over $4,000,000 was available in October last. That was after the allotment was had.

Mr. Chairman, I do not care to discuss this to any extent, because I realize that I have taken the time of the committee and of the House on this Mississippi River item heretofore, but I do wish to say this: We all know that the traffic on the Mississippi River has rapidly decreased—I think something over 80 per cent—within the last 15 years, and this appropriation is primarily for the building of levees and for land reclamation.

UNDETERMINED MILLIONS FOR LAND RECLAMATION.

We are placing in the hands of this commission a great deal of money—$77,000,000 or $80,000,000, as nearly as I can ascertain from the engineers' report on the lower branch of the Mississippi River. No one knows what this great scheme will cost. It is for us to handle the matter intelligently, remembering that we will have to face the results and be held responsible. We can go along in this reckless way under pressure that comes from one part of the country or the other, but eventually you have got to meet it.

On June 3, on pages 10591 to 10599 of the RECORD, appear my remarks before the House wherein I pointed out secret efforts to influence Congress on rivers and harbors bills from subscriptions of money to the use of threats against business men. At that time I presented the following subscriptions, running for five years, taken from what purported to be a photographic copy of a typewritten statement made by Col. John A. Fox, secretary and manager of the Mississippi Levee Association:

"It has been estimated that a minimum fund of $30,000 per annum is necessary for this organization to do its work in a complete and thorough manner, and already a considerable portion of this sum has been pledged annually for five years (of $150,000 in all). The subscriptions are as follows:

Southern Railway Co	$1,000
Mobile & Ohio R. R	1,000
Frisco R. R	1,000
Missouri Pacific R. R	1,000
Chi., R. I. & Pac. R. R	1,000
St. Louis & So. West. R	1,000
Illinois Central	1,000
Y. & M. V	1,000
Chicago Mill & Lumber Co	1,000
Caldwell & Smith, Memphis	1,000
International Harvester Co	1,000

"Assurance has been given of other substantial amounts."

I am reliably informed that Mr. Fox has been engaged within the past 60 days in collecting money to help the Mississippi River lobby get a larger fund with which to push its activities in favor of Government appropriations. It is stated to me that Mr. Fox has collected $250 from each of 15 or more counties bordering on the river—not from private individuals, but from the municipalities. This money is to be used in promoting larger Government appropriations for the Mississippi River 16,000,000-acre land reclamation project.

Why do we permit such notorious lobbies to influence legislation when we know the secret methods pursued in framing up a back fire to force through the last $53,000,000 pork barrel?

A thorough investigation would be of value to Congress and to the country.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER, $500,000.

Again I quote as to a second project on the same river:

"Mississippi River from the mouth of the Ohio River to and including the mouth of the Missouri River: Continuing improvement and for maintenance, $500,000."

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Chairman, on this part of the river—this 200-mile stretch of the river—I understand from the engineer's report that $17,223,000 has already been expended. That is according to the last report. I do not find the amount that is available.

Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the paragraph, if I have not already moved that.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. FREAR] moves to strike out the paragraph.

Mr. FREAR. I do not find the amount that was available for use, although $250,000 was allotted after the last appropriation.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Chairman, the amount on hand on November 1 was $376,000, in round numbers.

Mr. FREAR. It would appear to me, then, that there is a large balance available, unless that has already been disturbed.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I have not the figures myself, but I have no doubt that a great deal of that sum has been expended since November 1.

Mr. FREAR. I wish to state in regard to this 200-mile project, that it is one of the most expensive projects we have in the country to-day, according to reports. We have lost 30 per cent of the traffic on the Mississippi River in the last two years, according to the engineer's report.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FREAR. Yes.

Mr. CALLAWAY. You say there has been a loss of 30 per cent in the traffic within the last two years?

Mr. FREAR. I understand so; a loss from 435,040 tons to 258,709 tons, as shown by the St. Louis receipts and shipments.

Mr. CALLAWAY. And we had lost about 97 per cent prior to that?

Mr. FREAR. About 80 per cent.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Have you any figures on how much freight was carried on this river?

Mr. FREAR. I have it as 258,709 tons in 1914. (P. 2430.)

Mr. CALLAWAY. Is there any through traffic on the river at all between St. Louis and New Orleans?

Mr. FREAR. There is very little information that comes from the report.

I wish, Mr. Chairman, to read briefly from a statement made by a gentleman who knows a great deal about the waterways of this country and whose judgment we may well accept. He says the following in regard to this particular project. I quote from Senator BURTON of Ohio:

"We have expended more money on this stretch of the Mississippi than the Prussian Government has spent on the whole Rhine. While they carry an average of 45,000,000 tons a year, nearly 200 times the traffic on the Mississippi River on this 200-mile project, the fact is that the Mississippi has to-day a sufficient channel to handle the traffic of the Rhine, 200 times the present amount, and, despite that fact, waterways commerce on that historic river falls each year to a lower level."

Mr. Chairman, in view of that statement that we have spent more on that 200-mile stretch than has been expended on the whole river Rhine and have less than 1 ton conveyed on that stretch as compared

with 200 tons on the river Rhine, I say, Is it not time for us to inquire what we are doing, and how fast we are appropriating money? We have appropriated over $17,000,000 on that 200-mile project.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Do you reckon the committee intends to bring back the traffic to the river?

Mr. FREAR. I would not attempt to predict as to that.

Mr. CALLAWAY. You say the traffic in the last two years has fallen off, and they have expended enormous sums on it in the last two years in dredging and all kinds of work, and instead of the traffic coming up it is going back all the time. Does not that prove that the river transportation in this country is playing out?

Mr. FREAR. It would seem so. That is my judgment.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin.

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER, $1,200,000.

From mouth of the Missouri to Minneapolis, balance on hand October, 1914 ---------- $962,625

Again I quote briefly from the RECORD of June 19:

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Chairman, I move to substitute the figures "$600,000" in place of the figures "$1,200,000," appearing in line 15, page 32.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

"Page 32, line 15, strike out '$1,200,000' and insert '$600,000.'"

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Chairman, this is the only project in which I may fairly be charged to be concerned. I have made a motion to divide the amount appropriated, because I believe in these times we ought to economize, and the amendment is offered to that end unless we have greater need for this appropriation on the project than has been shown. This river flows 100 miles along my district, and its tributaries flow farther than that. There is not a single boat line so far as I know, with the exception of two or three months in the year, that goes through from St. Paul to St. Louis. There is very little traffic upon this river. Taking the engineers' estimate of the width where they have made the completed improvement, instead of a 6-foot channel, as they propose, it would be impossible to get more than 2 feet of water, because the water is not there and in all probability never will be except for short periods.

Commerce is reported in the engineers' report at 2,145,315 tons, and I wish to give the character of that commerce. Brush used in construction work, 82,450 tons; gravel, 398,178 tons; rocks, 708,000 tons; sand, 562,000 tons, aggregating 1,750,000 tons. In addition to that logs, 98,268 tons; lumber, 30,408 tons; wood, 34,000 tons, aggregating 1,912,000 tons. All of this, understand, is not carried by raft, but it does not require a 6-foot channel for that character of traffic, and it leaves a balance of a little over 200,000 tons. Referring again to the engineers' method of giving traffic upon a stream, they report 6,000 automobiles, at $945,950, making practically one-half of the total valuation of that commerce. I was interested to find out where those automobiles ran, and I find they ran 3 miles across the river, ferried across, and that appears as one of the greatest items of commerce upon that river. Now, Mr. Chairman, I was asked why I did not move to strike out the entire amount. There was $962,625 available October last. That is a very small proportion compared with the five million on the lower stretch of the river, but at the same time with that amount of money on hand, by dividing this amount and saving $600,000 to the people of this country, it will benefit my people, who will be saved in taxation, and it will benefit the people of the whole country, even if we strike out only one-half of one item. I am sure they will applaud you for it, because there is practically very little traffic along the river at that point and it leaves $1,562,625 for use on the river during the coming year.

Mr. GOULDEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FREAR. I will.

Mr. GOULDEN. What portion of the gentleman's district borders this river?

Mr. FREAR. About 100 miles.

Mr. GOULDEN. What important ports has the gentleman upon the river?

Mr. FREAR. There are several places, but there is no important port along the river in Wisconsin except two or three towns, but there is practically very little traffic along the river at that point.

Amendment rejected.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER, $235,000, BETWEEN ST. PAUL AND MINNEAPOLIS.

Again, I quote briefly from the RECORD:

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

"Page 32, strike out lines 16 and 17."

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Chairman, this is a project that has had in appropriations $2,354,600. We are proposing to give $235,000 in addition to the amount available last October, $216,624. I wish to present briefly a statement from a letter which I have received, coming from a former editorial writer on the Pioneer Press, the largest newspaper in the northwestern country for many years:

2219 KNAPP STREET,
St. Paul, Minn., December 9, 1914.

Hon. JAMES A. FREAR,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I want to thank you for the copy sent me of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

For many years I have recognized in "pork-barrel" methods the very worst obstruction to the progress of national waterway improvement. When the people see vast sums wasted on "fake" improvements, like that in "Dam No. 2" in the Mississippi at this point, they naturally lose faith in waterway improvement as a whole.

I want to suggest the following as an effective mode of testing the sincerity of those Congressmen who are asking big appropriations for insignificant streams and harbors in their respective States:

Let every appropriation by Congress for such improvement be conditioned on the appropriation, by the State in which it is located, of at least one-half as much as is to be paid from the National Treasury. If they really believe the improvement will be worth as much as is claimed for it, the Congressmen interested can hardly refuse to accept so liberal a condition.

I believe, in fact, that almost all river and harbor improvements should be carried through by cooperation between States and nations. The example of Illinois in appropriating $20,000,000 for the Lakes to the Gulf scheme, and of New York in voting $120,000,000 for the enlarged Erie Canal, should shame into silence those who would place upon the Federal Treasury the entire burden of improvements, the benefits of which are purely local.

Very truly, yours, C. R. BARNS.

I wrote practically all the waterway editorials which appeared in the Pioneer Press for nearly 14 years.

DEVELOPING PASSENGER TRAFFIC.

I do not know the gentleman personally, but upon the receipt of the letter I made some investigation into this project, which is not far from my own home. I call attention to the Engineer's Report, on page 935, giving justification for this expense, which already has amounted to $2,354,000. It is for building a dam between St. Paul and Minneapolis 30 feet high. The engineer says:

"The construction of the lock and dam may develop passenger traffic between St. Paul and Minneapolis, and it is expected to reduce the freight rate on flour and grain shipped from Minneapolis."

That is the project to which the gentleman refers in the letter. I will say in regard to the passenger traffic—this is written by the engineers, so that Members here can determine for themselves the value to be placed upon the report—St. Paul and Minneapolis are only 10 miles apart. Traveling on a street car, it takes about half an hour or a little more. The street cars are great, large cars, two or three times as large as those on the streets here, and they run every five minutes on two different lines; and there are eight trunk lines running between the two cities; yet the engineers say it is for the purpose of developing passenger traffic. And it would ordinarily take half an hour to get to the boat and half an hour to get back from the boat in order to make the trip. It would take nearly half an hour to go through the locks and three-quarters of an hour to travel up the current of the river. Yet the engineers say to us seriously—with 8 trunk lines and 2 street-car lines with, 50,000 people going to and from every day at 10 cents each—that there is a hope of developing a passenger traffic.

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FREAR. Yes.

Mr. MOORE. I have heard the gentleman make this statement several times about the railroads being accessible. If I understand the waterway movement, it is for the purpose of affording competition with the railroads—not necessarily against them, but competition with them. Do I understand the gentleman, from what he has just said and from what I have heard him say before, to mean that he would prefer to see no waterway competition at all because the railroads can carry the freight?

Mr. FREAR. No; certainly not. I am endeavoring to show to the gentleman and to the committee it is the greatest absurdity to say that any possible passenger traffic can exist for this reason. The street cars carry the passengers from one city to the other for 10 cents. In order to take the boats you would have to pay 5 cents to go down to the boat and 5 cents to get back from it, losing all the time in transferring on the boat.

Mr. MOORE. Let us take freight, bulky matter.

Mr. FREAR. I am speaking of this passenger traffic first. I am going to refer to the other.

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman's statement would seem to indicate that where there are railroads he would prefer there should be no water competition.

Mr. FREAR. No, Mr. Chairman; I have shown the utter absurdity in this case of any possible competition by water in passenger rates with street cars, where it only costs 10 cents to go between the two towns. Naturally, we desire reduced rates wherever possible to secure them and wherever the traffic warrants such expenditures. It is a waste of time of the House to discuss it further, I fear. Of course the gentleman does not mean that seriously.

Mr. MOORE. It would apply to a river like the Hudson, where the railroads parallel the river on either side. Would the gentleman say there should be no improvement of the river to afford water competition?

THEORETICAL COMPETITION.

Mr. FREAR. No; I did not oppose the Hudson River appropriation. I do question the proposed surveys covering the two projects, one a 27-foot depth and the other a 30-foot depth, for the Hudson River, which would involve an expense of possible ten to thirty million dollars, to be ascertained if both projects were put into force. There is only one other thing. I spoke of the absolute absurdity of the engineers' recommendation on this matter.

I have occasionally gone up to Minnehaha on the boat, and, as far as any passenger business is concerned, it is impossible to compete between the cities by waterway traffic. On the question of freight rates on flour and grain, I would not care to express an opinion, because that is in the future. No one can tell; but I will say this, Mr. Chairman, that last year there was brought from New Orleans to the city of St. Paul a boat, traveling the whole length of the Mississippi River. The gentleman who had the boat was entertained by a committee of business men at St. Paul. I recollect quite well the character of his remarks at that time. He brought his boat from New Orleans, and he was feasted, and the banqueters expressed the hope that he would continue in the business. They were very kind to him, but they did not give him business, and he said to them in a speech, "You have done everything except the one thing that is necessary—you have not given me any return cargo." Now, that is the only case to my knowledge of a boat going from New Orleans to St. Paul in recent years, and I doubt if any boats have gone down the entire length of the river. Of course we have hopes of the future, but we have a 30-foot dam and lock, and, as I said, it is a matter of speculation. We are going on with it, and we have to look to the future. I presume we ought to finish it as long as we have gotten so far along with it, but it is an absurdity and absolutely ridiculous from present prospects to speak of passenger traffic, because there is none.

Mr. MURDOCK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FREAR. I will.

Mr. MURDOCK. Did the gentleman state that the Government had spent on this stretch of river some $2,000,000?

Mr. FREAR. Two million two hundred and fifty-four thousand six hundred dollars has been appropriated.

Mr. MURDOCK. What is the tonnage on that stretch now?

Mr. FREAR. There is absolutely nothing. The only traffic is by an excursion steamer to Minnehaha Creek. The Engineer's Report says:

"The statistics of the excursion business done could not be obtained. The rafting of logs below Minneapolis has ceased."

That is found on page 2483 of the Engineer's Report. I have made the motion in order to present the facts set forth by the report on this project.

On the statement that this appropriation is for the completion of the work, the amendment was withdrawn. Possibly the hopes of engineers will be realized, and this is no more doubtful than many others I have discussed in the bill, but I am presenting the judgment of Army engineers as to commercial possibilities.

TWENTY MILLIONS WASTED.

Missouri River: Continuing improvement and for maintenance, with a view to securing a permanent 6-foot channel between Kansas City and the mouth of the river, $1,200,000.

When this project was discussed under the five-minute rule I offered the following statement on the floor:

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word in order to present the facts briefly. In order to anticipate whatever may be said in opposition regarding the commerce on this river, I desire to refer to page 2513 of the Engineer's Report, wherein it is stated that there were 347,235 tons of commerce in 1913. Of that amount 312,090 tons were sand and gravel hauled 1 mile. That is about nine-tenths of the commerce. Then there was cordwood and building materials and other articles hauled 10 miles, making 323,249 tons out of the 347,235 tons, leaving a net balance of 23,986 tons. This is a $20,000,000 project. We had spent over $7,000,000 before it was undertaken, making $27,000,000. I do not intend to discuss the merits beyond reading a brief statement. This comes from a man who, in my judgment, knows more about this project possibly than anyone on the floor, unless it is those who live in the immediate vicinity. This is what he says:

"The proponents of this monumental folly quote the general commerce carried on this river last year (referring to 1912) of 185,110 tons; and yet of this amount the official statistics show that 155,420 tons consisted of sand and gravel carried an average distance of 1 mile and worth less than 40 cents a ton. The engineers declare it will cost half a million dollars a year to maintain a channel on the Missouri from Kansas City to St. Louis, approximately the cost of maintaining the harbors of Boston, New York, Baltimore, Norfolk, and Charleston combined, with 5,000 tons to every single ton of actual commerce on the river."

I have been quoting from Senator BURTON'S statement given to the press some time ago.

The Missouri River project has been criticized without gloves, and the engineer's reports have shown that from the best available comparisons commerce on the river has decreased 80 per cent during the last 15 years.

To make clear the character of commerce reported on this 400-mile stretch of the Missouri for 1913, I submit the table of freight traffic found in the Engineer's Report on page 2513.

COMMERCIAL STATISTICS.

LOWER MISSOURI RIVER (MOUTH TO KANSAS CITY).

Season of navigation, year 1913: Opened March 15; closed November 30.

Freight traffic.

Articles.	Amount.		Valuation.	Average haul.	Rate per ton-mile.
	Customary units.	Short tons.			
				Miles.	
Grain	253,940 bushels	6,701	$195,303.38	123	$0.0091
Hay		114	2,049.66	105	.0156
Feed and flour		334	9,538.88	8	.0670
Oil	46 barrels	12	345.00	8	.0483
Manufactured iron and steel		1,655	897,790.50	291	.0089
Live stock	4,800 head	945	137,039.20	31	.0403
Salt	148 barrels	22	259.00	9	.0510
Sand and gravel	1,735 cubic yards	2,513	1,646.00	9	.0557
Brick	4,800	16	56.90	9	.0349
Cement	534 barrels	107	1,152.90	26	.0346
Lumber	75,360 feet b. m	183	2,976.60	13	.0333
Other building material		15	1,088.00	10	.0415
Railroad ties	128,908	10,312	62,607.50	14	.0085
Produce		196	22,370.40	125	.0114
Wood	591 cords	847	2,135.60	9	.1002
Miscellaneous		13,579	2,520,734.80	237	.0093
Logs and lumber rafted	43,600 feet b. m	107	473.00	150	(1)
Sand and gravel barged	238,136 cubic yards	309,577	71,555.00	1	(1)
Total		347,235	8,929,212.32		

[1] Owner.

Total ton-miles, 5,173,170.

From the foregoing statement it will be noted that 312,090 tons is of sand, practically all barged 1 mile by the owner, whether a Government contractor or private individual does not appear. Such freight does not require 9 feet depth, nor 6 feet—not even 3 feet—for use of barges. Neither is any special depth required for railroad ties or logs and lumber rafted, which make up 10,419 tons of this peculiar statement of traffic. Subtracting these items from the pretentious table leaves less than 25,000 tons of grain, "miscellaneous," and other items. This comparatively small traffic is to be given a $27,000,000 waterway when completed to the required depth. Estimating interest, depreciation, and annual maintenance at 5 per cent, a conservative figure where no canalization exists, the Government foots the bill for this waterway at $54 per ton, as follows:

$27,000,000 at 5 per cent $1,350,000
25,000 tons, at $54 1,350,000

We provide a track for the craft, whether ship, barge, or skiff, but what kind of business judgment is being exercised by Congress when we embark on such extravagant, wasteful, and indefensible projects that excite the ridicule of rivermen and the condemnation of business men?

CONTRACTORS' $925,000 OUTFIT HELPS COMMERCE.

Missouri River, Kansas City to Fort Benton $150,000

Although $1,049,000 has been expended on this part of the Missouri River, I wish to submit without amendment a statement of commerce, taken from page 2528 of the report.

COMMERCIAL STATISTICS.

UPPER MISSOURI RIVER (KANSAS CITY TO FORT BENTON).

Season of navigation, year 1913: Opened April 1; closed November 15.

Freight traffic.

Articles.	Amount.		Valuation.	Average haul.
	Customary units.	Short tons.		
				Miles.
Grain	786,108 bushels	23,776	$786,000.00	65
Coal		4,166	9,831.76	38
Manufactured iron and steel		499	101,927.00	65
Salt	100 barrels	15	250.00	50
Lumber and shingles		6,029	38,690.00	48
Lumber and piling, rafted		3,960	16,310.00	35
Other building materials		95	1,450.00	54
Miscellaneous		985	85,300.00	80
Sand, barged	88,735 cubic yards	115,685	39,348.00	2
Oil	500 barrels	106	5,000.00	50
Contractor's outfit		9,250	925,000.00	35
Willows used by R. R. Co	2,000 cords	1,200	4,000.00	10
Total		165,766	2,013,106.76	

Total ton-miles, 2,684,759.

Of the total commerce, 115,685 tons of sand was hauled 2 miles, 9,890 tons piling and timber is carried at small depth, 9,250 tons is for a contractor's outfit.

Of the $2,013,106 valuation, the contractor supplies $925,000.

I have cited this report, among others, to show the character of engineers' statistics and importance of taking total commerce with a few grains of salt.

Just what would show up in the tonnage with that 2-mile haul of sand deducted, and just how a presentable total of valuation could be offered if that contractor had not been on the job, is open to conjecture.

NEW SURVEYS, $250,000—172 OF THEM, GOOD, BAD, AND INDIFFERENT.

The choicest plums in the rivers and harbors bill are what were so aptly described by the gentleman from Illinois, Dr. FOWLER, as consolation prizes. In this bill $250,000 is stowed away for 172 consolation prizes, so that when Members are not tied to the bill by one of the 250 "projects" it contains they may be tempted by a "survey."

No trout takes the bait easier than an anxious Member whose constituency looks for him to bring something home, and, if it is nothing more substantial, he brings home a survey for Mud Creek, or Cowpasture Creek, or Mosquito Rivulet, or Fisheating Inlet, some of which are included in the bill under discussion. With the case of the Kissimmee, Scuppernong, or Oklawaha it is entirely different, because these creeks are now waterway projects, having received the official sanction of Army engineers.

All they now require is an opportunity to rush the Treasury; but it is different with Cowpasture Creek and Mud Creek and Mosquito Rivulet and Fisheating Inlet, all of which must first be surveyed and approved by our military forces.

When called upon to give an official O. K. to some of these creeks and "cricks" and rivulets, the conscientious Army engineer wonders who discovered the proposed waterway after its century of undisturbed solitude. His first advisers come from a committee of local citizens, members of the Cowpasture Board of Trade, all filled with enthusiasm over the possibilities of aid for the new waterway, which is to be connected with the necessary reservoir, located on the corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and Fifteenth Street, Washington, D. C.

The committee of local citizens expatiate on the commercial possibilities of their creek. To the north, east, south, and west lie virgin forests of pussy willows and hazel brush. When these are cleaned off in the course of events and all pussy willows and

other "timber" floated down to a movable stave factory, then a great agricultural region will be developed.

Our military defender begins sounding the creek and finds mud, marshes, overhanging boughs, and venerable snags just as they grew centuries ago, when Capt. John Smith first explored the James and the Cowpasture. After a brief examination the engineer, as conscientious and honest as any other man, sends in the facts and his adverse report.

LOCAL INDIGNATION MEETINGS.

When the report becomes public indignant communities living on Cowpasture Creek and Mud Creek and Mosquito Rivulet and Fisheating Inlet are, individually and collectively, insulted and enraged. They meet and resolve that their project has been unfairly examined. Thereupon Cowpasture's Congressman is notified without undue courtesy to get busy and to call for a resurvey, so that the local creek may have another civil-service examination and be placed on the eligible grab-bag list.

Again the Board of Trade of Cowpasture Township furnishes glittering estimates of commercial possibilities, and to prove the soundness of its theory of navigability a gasoline boat is built and run around a snag, up to a bar, thereby proving the creek can be made navigable and will be of commercial value. Streams from the size of the Mississippi and Missouri down to Cowpasture Creek have been subjected to such experiments, as will be discovered by reading the Engineer's Reports, from which I am quoting with slight poetic license.

Again the conscientious engineer gives his former impressions in a second adverse report; but that does not end the campaign. Something has to be done by Cowpasture's Representative. The good people living on the creek are now aroused to the injustice which has been handed out to them by a close-fisted Government. Led by a disinterested agent of the dredgers' secret combine, the people living on the Cowpasture and on the Mud and on the Mosquito and on the Fisheating, severally but firmly, resolve in unmistakable language, while sundry warm epistles are indicted and transmitted to the Member at Washington, who is asked to get something for his constituency, and to get it quick.

BRINGING UP THE RESERVES.

Whether it be in Virginia or North Carolina or Tennessee or Wyoming, the next step is for the Representative to get his delegation together, reenforced by a Senator or two, if possible, and this martial array of distinguished statesmen faces the Board of Army Engineers, demanding their rights as representatives of the good people of Cowpasture and Mud and Mosquito and Fisheating. On the upper Cumberland 11 statesmen, including 9 Congressmen and 2 Senators, turned the tide when things hung in the balance.

Occasionally the Board of Engineers remains obdurate, whereupon it becomes necessary to call in the Chief of Engineers, as in the case of St. Lucia Inlet and other needy waterways. If he is the right kind of a fellow, and sometimes he is found to be such, the Gordian knot is cut and Cowpasture and Mud and Mosquito and Fisheating are thenceforth projects only awaiting the wherewith to make them navigable. I have been giving the history of a number of vicious projects found in the Engineer's Reports, first rejected, then rerejected, and finally given the official O. K.

In the present bill we have in addition to 250 projects about 172 of these consolation prizes. This administration is bent on economy, so the 172 surveys will be passed on to the future, with a quarter of a million for present use. For over a century these 172 surveys were never discovered, but 172 creeks and would-be harbors each have a constituency that yearns for a chance at the grab bag. Forty per cent of the number will be passed favorably, according to usual practice, and 70 new projects, carrying approximately $70,000,000, are among the surveys modestly hidden away in the back of the 1915 bill.

Two surveys for the Hudson River will probably total from ten to twenty million dollars, and from that amount they dwindle down to $100,000 for mud rivulets or consolation projects for Cowpasture Creek and a hundred other creeks. It is all a part of the system. Just why intelligent men in days of war taxes and business depression will permit themselves to be worked by the time-worn trick is hard to say, but these 172 surveys lie smuggled away in the $34,000,000 bill we are asked to pass. All that is called for at this time is $250,000, but our grandchildren will be paying war taxes and income taxes in times of peace 50 years hence to cover some of these 1915 surveys.

This bill ought to be defeated if for no other reason than because of the unprecedented number of surveys it contains. The only way to stop the grab is by stopping it, and if we can persuade Mud Creek and Cowpasture Rivulet and Mosquito Marsh and Fisheating Inlet that this is not the appointed time for their prizes to be drawn it will be a step in the right direction.

The river and harbor bill is a barefaced fraud in another particular when it puts forward a $150,000 appropriation as an entering wedge for the $18,700,000 Muscle Shoals water-power proposal, or its dribbling $100,000 appropriation for a $5,000,000 James River project, or $131,000 for a $10,000,000 Coosa River scheme, or for scores of other proposals that masquerade in the bill under modest appropriations. Dribbling payments put off obligations, whether governmental or private, and they are ordinarily as reprehensible in one case as in the other.

A LIVELY LOBBY AT WORK.

Mr. Speaker, when the $53,000,000 river and harbor bill was before Congress last session we were deluged with letters demanding the passage of that vicious bill.

The Rivers and Harbors Congress has been shown to be a lobby backed by dredgers, contractors, railways, land-reclamation interests, and water-power promoters, but also includes many good men who are innocently used as a cloak to advance the lobby's purposes.

Last year that lobby, from its headquarters in this city and through its traveling agents, instigated a back fire of letters and telegrams to Members and Senators—letters secretly formulated or directed by the paid officers of the $50,000,000 lobby.

To meet the back fire instigated by the lobby I introduced several resolutions asking for an investigation of the lobby's methods. Criticism followed because of publicity sought for these resolutions, whereas that very publicity accorded by the press in fixing a spot light on the lobby caused it to slink into obscurity. Subsequently I presented to the House secret agreements, secret subscriptions, and secret methods employed by the lobby to force the Federal Congress to support that infamous "pork barrel" and other objectionable bills; but although the testimony submitted was original evidence and fairly conclusive to unprejudiced minds, not one word of condemnation or surprise came from those who defended that bill or who defend this bill.

The $50,000,000 annual lobby does not court the limelight, but its secret methods are already in evidence. A thorough investigation of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress lobby would put that second congress out of the back-fire business, because it would create a vigorous protest among many of its reputable members who would not approve its methods if fully understood.

LOBBIES ARE AGAIN ACTIVE.

In order to show the secret scheming of officials of this same National Rivers and Harbors Congress lobby, as applied to this bill, I quote from the remarks of the distinguished minority leader, whose action in exposing such methods will be heartily approved by every right-minded Member of either House.

On January 16 the RECORD shows:

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks by inserting a letter in the RECORD. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. MANN. It is from the secretary of the Illinois delegation to the 1914 National Rivers and Harbors Congress, Mr. John J. Commons, addressed to the members of the Illinois delegation to the Rivers and Harbors Congress, asking the people to write in reference to this resolution:

"*Resolved*, That each member of the Illinois delegation write each Senator and Representative from Illinois urging him to use his best endeavor to have the Committee of Commerce of the United States Senate restore to the rivers and harbors bill of this session the amounts recommended for Illinois projects by the House of Representatives at the last session of Congress."

The big business men think we have not provided enough, and the secretary of this delegation, for fear that the big business men might not have acumen enough to write a letter to a Member of Congress, says:

"I am inclosing a suggestion for a letter to our Senators and Representatives."

Here is the letter. I have received a number just like it. It is intended to be addressed to us:

"Knowing that you are interested in everything beneficial to the State of Illinois, and I being especially interested in waterway development, I take this means of urging the necessity of strenuous action on your part toward getting appropriations passed in the Senate and Congress as originally recommended by United States Army engineers. I was appointed a delegate to the Rivers and Harbors Congress and have given this matter much thought, and consider it extremely unfortunate that Illinois claims were ignored to the extent of cutting off parts of appropriation that were so badly needed.

"The people in our district are in sympathy with the original recommendations, and I personally would be greatly indebted if you would use your influence toward increasing instead of decreasing appropriations for waterways in Illinois."

The letter accompanying this form letter reads as follows:

"JANUARY 9, 1915.

"DEAR SIR: As secretary of the Illinois delegation to the 1914 National Rivers and Harbors Congress, I am instructed by the delegation to notify you that the following resolution was adopted:

"'*Resolved*, That each member of the Illinois delegation write each Senator and Representative from Illinois, urging him to use his best

endeavor to have the Committee of Commerce of the United States Senate restore to the rivers and harbors bill of this session the amounts recommended for Illinois projects by the House of Representatives at the last session of Congress.'

"It is imperative that you, and others who have influence with our legislators, urge them to make every effort to restore to the rivers and harbors bill the amounts recommended by the Army engineers. Chicago harbors need every dollar recommended by the engineers, and any amount less than the original recommendations should not be thought of.

"Each of the 132 delegates appointed by Gov. Dunne are being requested to write each Senator, as well as each Representative from their district, and I trust you will find time to give this matter your attention. I know you are busy, but busy men are the ones who do things, and your influence and the influence of the other delegates may force our lawmakers to give this matter the attention it deserves.

"I am inclosing a suggestion for a letter to our Senators and Representatives, but expect, of course, that you will use your own language. A letter along this line has the indorsement of Mr. M. F. Rittenhouse, chairman of the Illinois delegation; Mr. T. Edward Wilder, Illinois vice president of the Rivers and Harbors Congress; Mr. E. J. Kelly, of the sanitary district; and others.

"Please advise if we may expect your influence in our effort to restore the appropriation above mentioned, and oblige,

"Yours, very truly,

"JOHN J. COMMONS,
"Secretary Illinois Delegation to the 1914
"National Rivers and Harbors Congress."

That is the way the great business men act upon these propositions. [Applause.] They have a letter sent out, personal in character, to be sent to the Senator or Members of Congress, telling how much they know about the subject, when the man who sent it assumed that they did not know enough to write a letter about it. That is the way big business men handle these things. Thank Heaven, that is not the way Army engineers handle such propositions. They figure them out on their merits and not on personal solicitation.

RESPONSIBILITY OF ARMY ENGINEERS.

Mr. Chairman, no one familiar with the character of Illinois Representatives will question the small amount of weight given by them to such communications, and its exposure is a matter for general congratulation; yet many "of the 132 delegates appointed by Gov. Dunne" doubtless fell to the proposition and made spectacles of themselves.

Some criticisms of Army engineers have been offered by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. CALLAWAY] and by myself, and to these the latter part of the foregoing remarks probably apply.

It is useless to reiterate that Army engineers are as honest and conscientious as other employees similarly situated. For the sake of argument, I will concede they may hold to higher standards than the average employee, although that proposition would not go unchallenged. I will further concede that the fault does not lie primarily with Army engineers, but with ourselves, as the engineers' reports repeatedly show. For every case of political pull that is disclosed by the reports, a dozen cases probably exist in which it is secretly exercised. My own belief is that conditions will not be materially improved until the system is changed and a board, removed from political pull, first passes upon all waterway projects. Congress should take final action as now, but aided by the approval or rejection by a high-class independent board we would be better able to withstand pork-barrel measures. I quote briefly from the RECORD on this point immediately following the distinguished minority leader's remarks:

The Clerk read as follows:

"Pascagoula and Leaf Rivers, Miss.: For maintenance, $18,000."

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word, for the purpose of calling attention to a statement made by the Army engineers in reference to commerce at this point, characteristic of other items throughout the bill. The question is whether or not their judgment is to be accepted in reference to such items.

On Leaf River I notice that the commerce is 335,010 tons, according to the report of the engineers, of which timber and logs amount to 335,000 tons and the merchandise to 10 tons. I assume that that is a mill, because that would probably be the case in a project of this character. Ten tons of miscellaneous commerce is significant.

But returning to the question of the Army engineers, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] states, and very properly, that it would be unwise to leave these questions to men who have a personal interest. Why, certainly. If the gentleman will let me take the letterhead from which he read a moment ago—the gentleman states that the letter has gone to the Clerk's desk, but I had a copy of it in my hand this morning—it is from the Portland cement headquarters, and the writer of the letter sends out in the name of the Rivers and Harbors Congress to these various people who are members of that congress, asking them to write to the gentleman from Illinois and other Members who are interested in the Illinois projects, telling them what to do. No; you would not put men of that character in charge of an enterprise of this kind, to pass upon these projects. Portland cement people and dredgers and contractors should be left out. The suggestion is that men of standing throughout the country, like members of the Interstate Commerce Commission, men of that kind ought to be qualified—high-class men who would not be subject to political pull. No one says that Goethals is not qualified. No one says that Hodges and Gilliard are not of the same type. I have met them all.

Mr. MANN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FREAR. Yes.

Mr. MANN. I have received these letters from men drawing as high as $50,000 a year salary.

Mr. FREAR. I presume so. Salary means nothing at all.

Mr. MANN. Abler men than anybody here.

Mr. FREAR. Assuming that they are abler than the gentleman from Illinois, who is one of the ablest to be found, any man who is interested or likely to be interested in a project ought not to be appointed to such a place. Men who draw more than $50,000 a year have been hammering the Interstate Commerce Commission for months. But men of that type, appointed by the President, selected for the purpose of determining some system of waterway improvements and passing upon these projects, would be highly capable and ought to be removed from political influences. Think of the condition read here the other day when I showed a report where the Army engineers had rejected a project three times, and then 11 Members of Congress, 2 of them Senators, went before the board and demanded that they change their opinions, and they changed them. They had rejected the project three times. I can not believe, Mr. Chairman, that all the good is in the Army engineers, nor do I believe they should be intrusted with this important work. When I see these constant changes in projects, these constant amendments of opinions, these constant increases in amounts to be appropriated, and when I see the character of the propositions presented with the engineers' approval I can not believe the engineers are infallible. In fact, I believe we will get no material relief from present conditions until we take all projects out of the hands of Army engineers.

RAILROAD INFLUENCED PRESS.

The gentleman from Texas [Mr. HARDY] asserts that opposition of the public press to this bill and the $33,000,000 pork barrel killed at the last session is and was instigated by railway influences. No Member should make such charges unless governed by the same judgment that determined Brother Jasper who believed the earth stands still and the sun do move.

From the Engineer's Reports it will be found that many Texas waterway projects have had railway rates fixed at such points by the Texas Railway Commission. That same power rests with the commission at noncompetitive points, and also with the Interstate Railway Commission within its jurisdiction. A charge of railway influences against this bill, coming from Texas, discredits one of the ablest State commissions in the country.

The cry of railroad "wolf," once actual and potent, deceives no one to-day. An unquenchable thirst for Government gold for inconsequential creeks or useless waterways can not be defended by questioning motives of those who seek to prevent looting of the Federal Treasury through pork-barrel bills.

Colliers, Pearsons, La Follettes, Saturday Evening Post, Worlds Work, Outlook, Chicago Tribune, Herald, Christian Science Monitor, Advertiser, and many other leading magazines and papers in Chicago, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, and other cities, one and all have struck the wasteful pork barrel. They did more, they aroused public sentiment so that the lobby fled for the timber and fearless Senators put a quietus to the last bill.

To question the motives of any one of the publications named or to ascribe its good work to railroad influences is to discredit the ablest writers in the country and our own common sense.

These publications have pointed out the malign influence of pork barrels on legislative action and legislative morals. They have shown beyond argument that the river and harbor pork barrel is a wide-open door to governmental waste. No dust can becloud the issue.

IS THIS $34,000,000 BILL A "PORK BARREL"?

We have been entertained during the discussion of this bill by denunciation of those who call this and similar bills "pork barrels." A pork barrel is a bill that contains Treasury loot by irresistibly combining good and bad measures in its provisions. Its passage is made possible by enlisting the support of enough Members in their own local projects, good, bad, and indifferent, to carry the bill. This $34,000,000 bill contains in round numbers 250 projects scattered from Maine to Florida and Texas and on to California, Oregon, and Washington. It contains 172 new surveys covering nearly every part of the country, judiciously scattered around to bring aid to the bill.

To all this potent influence must be added new projects promised to be commenced in later bills and surveys to be undertaken by future allotment.

The bill contains projects like the Trinity, Coosa River, Brazos, St. Lucia Inlet, Muscle Shoals water power, and many other indefensible proposals, that would not receive 10 votes in the House if standing on their own merits.

I do not believe the Missouri $20,000,000 proposal or the Ohio River $63,000,000 canalization scheme would poll a corporal's guard if taken out of a pork-barrel bill. It is probable that the 16,000,000-acre Mississippi land reclamation project, masquerading under the title of flood protection, would fall by the wayside if left to its own resources, unaided by the 250 other projects and 172 surveys contained in the same bill.

FEW PROJECTS COULD STAND ALONE.

Good projects, and many of them, will be found in this $34,000,000 bill; but if left to ordinary legislative practices and introduced as independent bills, or if placed under the jurisdiction of a conservative appropriation committee, or if required to pass inspection before a high-class nonpartisan waterway board, the total amount would be cut more than half, and many worthy waterway projects now neglected would find recognition. Forty-two per cent of the total amount contained in this bill goes to

the Mississippi, Missouri, and Ohio, and presumably 25 per cent more to streams and rivulets that float little actual commerce apart from contractors' materials.

I have not attempted to make any thorough investigation of many doubtful looking projects, but have been content to offer a few brief facts revealed by the Government engineers' reports. If these facts arouse individual investigation of Members, we may hope to see the end of wasteful pork barrels, but it will not come about until the present system is changed.

The committee and those whose projects are at stake have every reason to stick together. Nobody doubts the resistless power of the combination, and for years we have been confronted with the proposition that never has a project been stricken from the bill and never has a roll call been had against such bills. That fact speaks for itself.

We can not expect the public to place confidence in our motives when we close our eyes to this legislative humbug. I appreciate the courtesy of the House and the committee, which has enabled opponents of the measure to show its general character. Members of this House are as honorable as any body of men who have ever sat here. To say otherwise is to insult the intelligence of this membership and of the general public. The fault does not rest with us primarily.

LOCAL CONSTITUENCIES ARE PRIMARILY RESPONSIBLE.

The pressure of local interests for some local project, the push of waterway lobbies that have secret interests controlling such lobbies, the demand to bring something home in the shape of an appropriation, big or little—these are no mean influences to withstand. All of us have felt them, and all of us will feel them until we throw off this yoke placed on our shoulders by other Congresses, a yoke that has grown doubly heavy during the past 10 years. In this bill we are facing future obligations, coupled with adopted projects, reaching nearly a half billion dollars. Through the system of dribbling appropriations we are digging the pit deeper every year. We are leaving to future generations the duty of passing judgment on many wasteful projects and of discontinuing many worthless ventures we have adopted. To defend the practice is to question our own honest judgment and admit our own incapacity to get rid of it.

Many Members have privately assured me they agree absolutely with these conclusions, and to keep up the fight for a better system. It is needless to say no Member cares to oppose the desires of other Members nor to invite personal criticism by so doing. Neither can any Member honestly arrogate to himself any higher standards than are possessed by every other Member. Let me add, we all realize no handful of men can hope to change the present system unless it appeals to a majority of those who occupy seats, both in this House and at the other end of the Capitol.

With the fact staring us in the face that waterway lobbies have helped dig the pit into which we have fallen, and that public sentiment is aroused over the scandalous waste in waterway improvements, let us unite in throwing off the yoke and adopt a system of comprehensive legislative procedure which will reduce waste and yet aid legitimate waterway development.

Let us devise a system that will do away with the present indefensible legislative practice of bargain and trade, of bluff and beg, all of which is comprehended in pork-barrel legislation.

Why not substitute the sane businesslike policy which we pursue with ordinary measures, requiring every project to stand on its own merits? By so doing we will remove improper influences of lobbies and other interests and not compromise individual judgment by voting for vicious bills which over 10 years ago were fitly characterized by TILLMAN as humbugs and steals. If they were humbugs then, they are doubly so now. If steals then, what defense can be offered for them now?

RECORDING A FIRM PROTEST.

At the conclusion of debate on the bill Mr. CALLAWAY offered the following amendment:

Page 55, line 5, after the word "war," insert: *"Provided*, That no part of the moneys herein appropriated by this bill shall be expended except to maintain existing projects in their existing condition."

This proposal would have reduced the bill to $4,760,540, claimed to be the amount required for actual maintenance.

The vote taken in committee was defeated by a vote of 57 ayes to 120 noes.

A substitute of $5,000,000, to be expended by the Board of Engineers, was thereafter offered by myself. It was the identical substitute offered in lieu of the $20,000,000 Senate substitute at the last session. On this amendment the vote stood ayes 68, noes 109.

On the passage of the bill by aye-and-nay vote January 19, the RECORD, page 2016, shows 164 ayes, 81 nays, and 64 pairs.

The Recent Improvement of the Missouri River.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM P. BORLAND,
OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 1, 1915.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, in view of the criticisms that have been so freely made on the floor of this House recently to the effect that the rivers and harbors bill is solely a pork-barrel measure, designed to expend the Government's money without adequate result and purely for political purposes, I desire to call attention to the following statement. It is prepared by an experienced river man and shows the work of the Government engineers in the improvement of the Missouri River under recent appropriations. It shows that on that river, at least, the Government work is proceeding with success and is a business enterprise of the most important type:

KANSAS CITY MISSOURI RIVER NAVIGATION CO.,
Kansas City, Mo., January 28, 1915.

Hon. WILLIAM P. BORLAND, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Capt. William L. Heckmann, who has been in our employ for the past 3 years and has seen some 35 years of service on the Missouri River, has been kind enough to "write up" the river from a standpoint of an operating pilot and master, with particular reference to the effect of improvement work carried on by the United States engineers. A copy of his statement is hereto attached, and I feel sure you will find some very interesting information in it. This is not alone the opinion of Capt. Heckmann, but I find it very generally concurred in by other men similarly engaged. One of the Government's pilots told me yesterday, without knowing what Capt. Heckmann had said, that, in his opinion, the river is more than 25 per cent better for operation between Kansas City and St. Louis than it was five years ago.

There is now a project on foot to establish a line of boats between Jefferson City and St. Louis, including the larger intermediate towns such as Hermann, Washington, and New Haven. These people have in mind and are discussing the matter of providing river terminals at the different river towns, there naturally being some disagreement as to the kind of terminals to be provided and a difference of opinion as to the amount to be expended by each point for terminals. This new line may not be established immediately, but the agitation is rather strong and indicates eventual success. The point is an acute interest has been awakened in all of these river towns by the regular passing up and down of our boats and barges, and the more active business men and shippers appear very desirous of securing the benefits in reduced freight rates from water service.

We are endeavoring to force the building of municipal terminals at river cities by taking the position that no city is entitled to water rates which does not provide proper terminals, and I think you will agree that not only is this the correct position to take, but that it will also prove to increase the local interest and effort to provide terminals.

There is quite a healthy sentiment developing along the Mississippi in this matter of municipal water terminals. As in many other things, Kansas City is a pioneer in the municipal water terminal idea. We have been invited, and will attend, a municipal water terminal meeting at St. Louis February 18 and 19, where delegates from many river cities will meet to discuss the subject, the idea being to hold a conference of interested business men rather than the usual big convention of delegates to listen to the speeches of a few men. As you know, Davenport, Iowa, is building an excellent terminal, and the work is well toward completion. Minneapolis has voted bonds and begun its work. St. Louis, while generally slow in matters of this kind, appears to be awakened now, and there is some hope of getting action there on a municipal water terminal.

Very truly, yours,

A. W. MACKIE,
Assistant to the President.

MISSOURI RIVER.

[By Capt. William L. Heckmann, Hermann, Mo.]

In going down the Missouri River from Kansas City, Mo., we find the Harlem revetted levee on the left, and the right bank is protected by dikes and revetment to Randolph Bridge, a distance of 3 miles; then we follow 6 miles of revetted shore in Randolph Bend and cross over to the right-hand shore revetted by Santa Fe Railroad and Standard Oil Co.; then we pass end of Government dike, which holds river out of Old Sissons Bend and makes it follow bluff shore into 3 miles of revetted Wayne City Bend; then follow Liberty Bend, revetted for 3 miles, and cross into Blue Mills Bend, protected by revetment; then down bluff shore and right-hand revetted shore until we cross into Irish Jimmies Bend, protected by dikes and revetment; then long circling crossing past Missouri City, to run 3 miles of revetted shore in Missouri City Bend; then over into Little Blue Bend, where about 3 miles of revetment have just been completed; then we run Jackass Bend, protected with dikes and revetment by Santa Fe Railroad; then we pass under Sibley Bridge and run 2 miles of bluff shore to cross over into Lady Lee Bend, protected by a system of Government and private dikes for 4 miles; then we run Napoleon Bend where Government is now building about 3½ miles of revetment to reach Camden; then 2 miles of natural confined river until we enter Camden Bend, where Government has made a good start on about 6 miles of revetment. When this is completed (say, in 1915) we will have this stretch of 63 miles of improved river, which to-day is 25 per cent better than it was five years ago, and most of this work has been done in the last three years.

Leaving Wellington, we run 1 mile of natural improved river and then make Wolf Island, crossing over one of the two gravel bars be-

tween Kansas City and St. Louis. This is a bad piece of river, and will be until confined. We then run right-hand shore for 6 miles to Lexington, protected by Missouri Pacific Railroad. Opposite Lexington we have a system of Government dikes that keep river confined. Then we find 23 miles of river to Waverly without improvement, except one new dike which holds river down Waverly Bluffs.

In this stretch of 23 miles we find Baltimore Bar, one of the shoal places in the Missouri River ever since low water bothered boats on this river, and here work is badly needed. Below Waverly we pass 3 miles of protected bank, two dikes at head of Cranberry Island, and go over into Bakers Bend, where they are now starting 3 miles of new revetment. Now we pass through Hills, Gilhams, Prunty, Tete Sean, and Thomas Bends to Miami, 24 miles of unimproved river out of one long bend into another where annually hundreds, yes, nearer thousands, of acres of land fell in the river.

Below Miami we find a system of three new dikes to straighten out a dangerous rock bend 2 miles; then we again have 20 miles of unimproved river except for 2 miles of protected shore below De Witt, which protects Wabash Railroad. This stretch is always shallow and bad.

From Cambridge to Glasgow we find 8 miles of partly improved river, mostly done to save Chicago & Alton Railroad and Glasgow Bridge.

Below Glasgow we have 8 miles of natural good river; then 3 miles of new revetment in Saline City Bend; then 1 mile in Nigger Bend, and then 44 miles of unimproved river to Providence, in which there are many shoal places badly in need of attention. In the last three years Providence Bend, 3 miles, and Sandy Hook Bend, 2½ miles, have been revetted and improved; also Eureka Bend, 4 miles, is protected by dikes and revetment; then we find a very shoal and bad crossing at Hanley Island, and about 4 miles of revetment and dikes in Murreys Bend, which brings us to Jefferson City.

Over the 80 miles of improved river from Jefferson City we will pass by lightly by saying this stretch is already 25 per cent better than it was 24 years ago, and, by giving new work—put in mostly between Gasconade and Washington—another season to wash out and settle down to place, you can add another 25 per cent.

This means, where we had 3 feet in standard low water 24 years ago we will now have 5 feet, and when all caving banks are protected above here we will soon have a 6-foot channel in low water; then everybody will be surprised at the tonnage of the Missouri River.

From Washington down we have 5 miles of river protected by bluffs and Missouri Pacific Railroad; then we have 32 miles of unimproved river, in which stretch we have several very shallow crossings and some very bad river. This brings us to head of Howards Bend, held by dikes and bank heads; then we have 3 miles of natural protected river to St. Charles. In front of St. Charles we have the shoals and piece of river between St. Louis and Kansas City. Here a system of dikes would make a big improvement to navigation.

Below St. Charles we have 5 miles of revetment made by the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway Co. and the Government; then 3 miles of natural improved river; then a new concrete pile dike to hold water out of car of Commerce Chute and make channel follow old Government revetment in Pelican Bend, also to straighten river through Bellefontaine Bridge. From this bridge out to mouth of Missouri River we have 7 miles of scattered bad cutting and swaggy river, badly in need of control. Then we float out into the waters of the upper Mississippi and Illinois Rivers to have easy sailing to the Mound City.

REMARKS.

[By William L. Heckmann, Hermann, Mo.]

By following my statement of work done on the Missouri River between Kansas City and St. Louis, a distance of 390 miles, we find 212 of improved river by the end of 1915 and 178 miles of unimproved river.

So our task is already over half completed, which is not a bad showing, considering that we have only been working on same some 30 years and most of this work has been done in the last 3 years, while on some of the foreign rivers more easily tamed and much smaller than the Missouri they have spent hundreds of years before they were under complete control.

On the whole, we find that this stretch of river is 25 per cent better for navigation than it was some 24 years ago, when our last big steamers, *State of Kansas* and *A. L. Mason*, ran on this stream.

These steamers were not a failure because the railroads cut rates, not because there was not freight enough, neither because they were antique—one and the only cause was shallow water.

Now, let the Government confine the river at St. Charles, and this same stretch of river will be 25 per cent deeper, and every inch means more tonnage and more boats.

We find that out of the total of over $15,000,000 spent on the Missouri River less than one-third of this has been spent in the last three years systematically, and has done more actual good than the first two-thirds accomplished in piecemeal work scattered over our whole river to benefit certain places and offering no permanent channel.

Besides, in the last four years the Government has built three new steel-hull towboats, two new wooden boats, and one building; also some two dozen all-steel barges and all other equipment new, such as mat boats, piledriver, and quarter boats, and they are now prepared to spend $1,000,000 per year safely and systematically. Also, in the last three years private capital has been invested in new plant to where they are able to spend $1,000,000 annually.

If any skeptic thinks there is any pork barrel in work done on the Missouri River in the last three years, let him examine the fine showing on work done on this river, and he will change his mind.

When our first steamers entered the Big Muddy they found that nature had protected our river banks with heavy timber, which confined the river, and they had ample water to open up our great West. Then we cleared off all our bottom land, and the river commenced to shift from bluff to bluff, which caused it to widen to where it had no depth. What nature did to half our western country we destroyed, and now progress calls on us to again confine our river to cause it to wash deeper, and no cry of pork barrel from our eastern Senators will make us halt one minute in our solemn duty to God and man. It is an easy matter to compare commerce carried on an improved river against a stream like the Missouri River, and, against Senator BURTON'S confirmed knocks, let me say that while the board of engineers that went down the Missouri River some seven or eight years ago and found it impracticable to improve, a later board, who studied conditions more closely, found that Missouri River improvement was practicable. Does anyone think that the people that live along a river that drains one of the most fertile valleys in the world and is one of the cheapest and most easily improved are going to sit still and be dictated to by one whose selfish interests are all in the East, that does not want our western river improved at all?

Does anyone deny that nine-tenths of the sand and silt pumped out of the channel of the Mississippi River, where millions have been spent, does not come out of the Missouri River, and does anyone deny the fact that Missouri River sand is one of the causes of higher levees in the South? Every dollar spent on the Missouri River means twice that much good for the Mississippi River, and the Missouri River is easily confined and banks are easy to hold, as it is a shallow stream. This alone should make our cause the strongest of western river improvements.

In one of Senator BURTON'S articles, so extensively copied, he shows a picture of Bates Bend, without any comment on same. He does not go on to say that this 3 miles of concrete revetment is a monument that will stand for the next 50 years and that it is one of the best and also one of the cheapest pieces of revetment ever put in one of our western rivers. Neither does he say that this same work, with the help of some picturesque bluffs of Warren County and 3 miles of bank revetment in Pinkney Bend, make one of the best stretches of 20 miles of finely improved river in any land. Besides, it offers protection to thousands of acres of land second to none in the world.

In conclusion, come to look at the Missouri River, you can not tell all about it without crossing the Ohio River; and my knowledge of these facts was pounded into me by my father, 40 years a Missouri River pilot, master, and owner, and my own life shows 35 years of close study of this stream from the decks of over 50 steamboats, which should allow me to publish these few facts that none can deny.

Resolution of Board of Aldermen of Holyoke, Mass., in Favor of Connecticut River Navigation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALLEN T. TREADWAY,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 29, 1915.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, it is with pleasure that I present to the House and ask to have referred to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors the resolution of the board of aldermen of the city of Holyoke, Mass., and the accompanying petition and resolution of a committee of that board.

The statement of the officers of the city of Holyoke is a very concise and correct expression of the views of the people of that section whom I have the honor to represent. For many years this project has been before Congress, while during the last two sessions there has been progress toward accomplishment. We now have a favorable report from the engineers upon the expediency of navigation combined with power development. It was expected that legislation would be secured before the close of the present session of Congress whereby such a combination could be legally made, but as the end of this session approaches the chances of such legislation becoming law are rapidly decreasing. I refer to the final passage and enactment into law of the Adamson amendment to the so-called dam act.

The people of Holyoke, however, are alive to the situation, and I am glad to say are not discouraged. They show an interest in the cause of Connecticut River navigation commensurate with its merit. I do not hesitate to say that no navigation project in the country is of more worthy consideration than that in behalf of the Connecticut River. The bill I introduced early in the Sixty-third Congress appropriating $1,015,600, or a similar one, will be promptly reintroduced at the beginning of the Sixty-fourth Congress.

I present the resolutions passed by the Holyoke board of aldermen and a committee thereof.

HOLYOKE, MASS., *January 26, 1915.*

Hon. ALLEN T. TREADWAY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At a meeting of the board of aldermen of the city of Holyoke, held on January 19, 1915, a resolution was adopted as follows:

Resolved, That the committee on river navigation be, and they are hereby, instructed to cooperate with Representative ALLEN T. TREADWAY, of Massachusetts, to obtain an appropriation from the National Government for the purpose of opening up the Connecticut River for navigation from Hartford to Holyoke.

Acting on the above resolution, the committee on river navigation of the board of aldermen held a meeting on Tuesday evening, January 26, 1915, and drew up the following petition, and request that you present it to the House of Representatives and have it referred to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

It is impossible to mistake the sentiment of the cities and towns of the Connecticut Valley. The citizens of the Connecticut Valley are demanding, not only in their own interest but in behalf of the commercial prosperity of the whole State, the opening of the Connecticut River to navigation from its upper reaches to the sea.

As river conditions between Hartford and Holyoke are what Massachusetts is particularly interested in at this time, the following will cover the subject with great detail:

The section of river between Hartford and Holyoke is 34 miles long, and in the several reports of the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, is divided into three distinct sections. From Hartford to the foot of the Enfield Rapids, 10½ miles, the river has a gentle slope with

a sandy, shifting bottom. From the foot to the head of Enfield Rapids, 5½ miles, the total fall at low water is 32 feet and the bed of the river is largely rock. From Enfield Falls to Holyoke, 18 miles, the river is of moderate width, gentle slope, fair depth, and stable bottom.

In its original condition the lower section had a navigable depth of 2 feet or less at low water. The second section could be navigated only with great difficulty, and only by boats of shallow draft. The third section was navigable by boats drawing 4 to 5 feet of water.

Therefore be it resolved—

First. That transportation by water should be established immediately as far up the river as Holyoke.

Second. That the prosperity of Massachusetts depends upon the encouragement of manufacturing in the interior and the development of commerce at the seaboard.

Third. That low cost of transportation for raw material and fuel to the manufacturing centers and for the finished product to the markets is essential to success in competition.

Fourth. That conditions here are favorable for the payment of high wages and production at low cost, and the tendency of these conditions would be elevating among the class of citizens who supply the skilled labor.

Fifth. That the opening of water carriage to railway centers insures low freights.

Sixth. That the beneficial influence of the direct advantages would extend broadly in many directions, while the indirect influences would be too diversified and numerous to set forth and yet would pervade the whole Commonwealth.

Seventh. That no reason exists which would justify Congress in denying to the inhabitants of the Connecticut Valley the benefits to be derived from improving the river for navigation as desired, in accordance with the policy of internal river improvements now settled for more than 70 years and generously applied in other portions of the country.

Very respectfully,

Alderman FREDERICK CHILDS, *Chairman*,
Alderman DANIEL M. LONG,
Alderman JOHN P. BLEASIUS,
Alderman ALBERT ARCHAMBAUTF,
Alderman HENRY F. THORP,
Committee on River Navigation,
Board of Aldermen, City of Holyoke.

The Shipping Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 1, 1915,

On the bill (H. R. 16637) to provide divisions of mental hygiene and rural sanitation in the United States Public Health Service.

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, there is decided opposition along the wharves and in the business circles of Philadelphia to the President's shipping bill and the various amendments that have been offered to it in the nature of substitutes. If the bill comes to the House—and I sincerely trust the Senate will spare us the necessity of considering a measure so fraught with danger—I shall be obliged to oppose it. Gentlemen have indicated in this discusion that the shipping bill is in the interest of peace and progress. To many of my constituents it looks like an invitation to involve this country in the most serious of entanglements. The bill threatens to destroy American shipbuilding, with the consequent ill effects upon American business and labor. Moreover, it is charged, by reason of the many international complications that must arise upon its passage, with the very essence of war. Oppose our navigation laws or correct them as we may, there is no warrant at the present time, when our Treasury is in straits, to still further endanger the peace of the country or to lessen the earning power of our people. I submit in connection with these remarks protests that have been handed to me by the Philadelphia Maritime Exchange and the Philadelphia Bourse:

PROTEST AGAINST THE PASSAGE OF BILL H. R. 18666, PROVIDING FOR GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP AND OPERATION OF MERCHANT VESSELS IN THE FOREIGN TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE PHILADELPHIA MARITIME EXCHANGE,
Philadelphia, December 31, 1914.

To the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

This memorial of the Philadelphia Maritime Exchange respectfully represents—

First. That a bill, H. R. 18666, providing for Government ownership and operation of merchant vessels in the foreign trade of the United States, is pending in the Congress of the United States.

Second. That by the provisions of the bill a shipping board, composed of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Postmaster General, and the Secretary of Commerce, may subscribe to the capital stock of any corporation now or hereafter organized under the laws of the United States, or of any State thereof, or of the District of Columbia, for the purpose of purchasing, constructing, maintaining, and operating merchant vessels in the trade between the Atlantic, Gulf, or Pacific ports of the United States and the ports of Central and South America and elsewhere, to meet the requirements of the commerce of the United States.

Third. That question is raised as to whether this proposed legislative action by the Government of the United States is justifiable and technically right, while the real question at issue is whether in the present emergency it is either necessary or advisable.

Fourth. That the advocates of the measure advance the theory that shipping facilities for the transportation of our exports abroad under existing conditions are inadequate, but appear not to accept the testimony of experienced and practical men that the present situation is due mainly not to any extensive lack of vessels, but to the present unstable foreign exchange operations, scarcity of foreign labor for handling commerce, and particularly to the high cost of marine insurance, and that with relief in these directions greater activity will follow and the present and future requirements of commerce amply be met by private enterprise.

Fifth. That from an investment standpoint it could not be expected to appeal to the public. Although the men selected for the posts of Secretary of the Treasury, Postmaster General, and Secretary of Commerce are of the highest mental and moral attainments, it is not probable that they would be chosen especially because they were experienced in the ownership and operation of merchant vessels, to be successful in which requires long years of training and an intimate knowledge of every detail of the business.

Sixth. That under our system of government the personnel of these offices, with rare exception, changes every four years. It is not likely, therefore, that with such a flexible and uncertain management the public could even be tempted to invest its capital in an enterprise in the control of which it can for all time hold only a minority representation.

Seventh. That if this conclusion be well founded the proposed legislation would place the Government in direct and complete competition with a large number of our citizens who, with investments of many millions of dollars, are engaged in a business essentially private in character and readily controllable both by competition and governmental regulation.

No private enterprise, however capably and economically administered, where the management is accountable to its stockholders, can compete with the Government in the same industry, where there is no such accountability.

Eighth. That under the terms of legislation recently enacted by Congress, providing for the transfer of foreign-built vessels to American registry, with necessary revision of our navigation laws to enable us to compete on equal terms with foreign shipping, instant impetus and a steady, wholesome growth should be given to our merchant marine, which, however, could not survive against Government competition.

The effect of this legislation should be fully demonstrated before any other is undertaken.

Ninth. That in dealing with this important subject the neutrality obligations of the United States should be seriously considered and any ground for criticism or even suspicion of our good faith avoided.

Tenth. That the Philadelphia Maritime Exchange, strongly advocating the upbuilding of the merchant marine of the United States, regards the provisions of the bill H. R. 18666 as dangerous in the extreme, and is of the opinion that the ownership and operation by the Government of merchant vessels is a backward rather than a forward step, and will not only discourage but destroy all private initiative in the direction so earnestly desired.

Eleventh. For these reasons the Philadelphia Maritime Exchange urgently protests against the proposed measure being enacted into law.

THE PHILADELPHIA MARITIME EXCHANGE,
By J. S. W. HOLTON, *President.*

Attest:

E. R. SHARWOOD, *Secretary.*

PROTEST AGAINST THE PASSAGE OF A BILL H. R. 18666—S. 6856 (63D CONG., 2D SESS.), PROVIDING FOR GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP AND OPERATION OF MERCHANT VESSELS IN THE FOREIGN TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Memorial of the Philadelphia Bourse, an organization composed of over 2,500 business men, firms, and corporations, having as one of its objects the improvement of the commercial interests of the city, State, and Nation, acting through its board of directors by its committee on commercial affairs at a meeting held January 22, 1915.

To the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled:

This memorial of the Philadelphia Bourse respectfully represents:

Whereas section 4132 of the Revised Statutes of the United States as amended by the act officially designated the "Panama Canal act," provides for the admission to registry as vessels of the United States foreign-built "seagoing vessels, whether steam or sail, which have been certified by the Steamboat-Inspection Service * * * not more than 5 years old at the time of application for registry * * * for trade with foreign countries * * * the Philippine Islands, etc.," with certain restrictions as to the citizenship of the owners or managers of such vessels; and

Whereas by House bill 18202, Sixty-third Congress, approved August 18, 1914, the restriction contained in the Panama Canal act reading "not more than five years old at the time they apply for registry" was repealed, and the President of the United States granted authority to suspend the provisions of law requiring inspection and measurement by officers of the United States of foreign-built vessels admitted to American registry; and

Whereas under the terms of the legislation above quoted American citizens desiring to engage in the operation of vessels in the foreign trade are free to purchase ships in the cheapest markets of the world, and obtain American registry for such ships; and

Whereas the failure of American citizens to take advantage of the opportunities afforded by the legislation hereinbefore referred to is conclusive proof that ships registered under the American flag can not be profitably operated in the foreign trade; and

Whereas before a merchant marine can be created under the American flag to compete with foreign ships engaged in the over-seas trade a complete revision of the navigation laws of the United States must be made, so that the cost of operating ships under the American flag may be reduced to the level of the cost of operating foreign ships competing for the same business; and

Whereas no such revision is proposed by the bill H. R. 18666—S. 6856—which provides for Government ownership and operation of merchant vessels in the foreign trade of the United States, in consequence of which the Government will operate under the same disadvantages that apply to privately owned vessels, magnified by the greater demands which will be made by seamen in Government employ; and

Whereas Government owned and operated ships operated primarily "to regulate the rates for carrying the mails, and for passenger and freight service" (see majority report of the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries No. 1149, accompanying H. R. 18666) will unquestionably be operated at a loss; and

Whereas such loss will be the most insidious form of subsidy or subvention appearing under the guise of a deficit incurred in operating such ships, with no limitations upon the amounts of such deficits; and

Whereas, according to the report of the majority of the committee hereinbefore mentioned, "the country is opposed to subsidies, and with good reason," and such granting of subsidies is opposed by all Democratic doctrines (see Rept. 2755, pt. 2, of the Senate, 58th Cong., 3d sess., accompanying S. 6291, submitted by Mr. Mallory, of Florida, for himself and Messrs. Spight, of Mississippi, and McDermott, of New Jersey, which stated, inter alia):

"These sections provide for direct subsidies and are so obnoxious to Democratic principles and to the economic sense of the country that we are compelled to enter our earnest protest against their enactment into law. Its chief difference from former direct subsidy bills—reference is made to a bill 'to promote the national defense, to create a force of naval volunteers, to establish American ocean mail lines to foreign markets, to promote commerce, and to provide revenue from tonnage,' introduced by Senator GALLINGER—is that it is not as honest as these bills were. It displaces the word 'subsidy' with the word 'subvention' * * * without any limitation of the subsidy * * * without any sort of limitation of the total to be paid out of the Treasury now or hereafter * * *.

"We mean no reflection of duplicity against our colleagues on the commission—Merchant Marine Commission—but the situation seems to be such that they can not get away from the idea of direct governmental aid * * *. Section 2 ingeniously introduces the subject by the sugar-coated expression 'In the interest of the national defense and for the performance of public services.' Will the Congress of the United States and the American people permit themselves to be deceived by this transparent disguise? Public sentiment and the sober judgment of the people's representatives have united to condemn every previous effort to enact such legislation, and surely this effort must meet the fate of its predecessors despite the canting phrase 'In the interest of the national defense and for the performance of public services' and the substitution of the euphonious title 'subvention' for 'subsidy.' * * *

"It will be observed also that unlike other previous bills which have been offered from time to time, there is absolutely no limit to the amount which may be expended under this bill."

Whereas, to still further quote the language of the committee, "Whatever objections to previous subsidy bills have been valid are of equal weight to-day against this section," there is every reason why the bill H. R. 18666—S. 6856—should be defeated and no valid reason for its enactment.

Therefore the Philadelphia Bourse earnestly opposes the passage of the bill H. R. 18666—S. 6856—believing it to be futile for the purposes sought to be accomplished, vicious in principle, and indefensible as a piece of economic legislation.

We hold that a temporary condition should not be met by paternalistic legislation subversive of all precedent and the traditions of our people; embarking our Government in business as a common carrier on the high seas in competition with the ships of the world, and not for gain, but to regulate rates, with the complications which would result with foreign nations from such "unfair competition"; denounced and prohibited by section 5 of the act creating a Federal Trade Commission; and further

We respectfully urge that the Congress should "strike the shackles from business" on the ocean by revising all those sections of the navigation laws which by their restrictions on American ships and shipowners enhance the cost of operation of vessels under the American flag.

PHILADELPHIA BOURSE,
By GEORGE E. BARTOL, *President.*

Attest:

EMIL P. ALBRECHT, *Secretary.*

The men who have forwarded these protests are experienced in maritime matters, and careful consideration ought to be given to what they say. I also submit a letter from the Midvale Steel Co., which throws additional light on this subject, and also a copy of a letter forwarded to the President of the United States by Mr. Frank Samuels:

THE MIDVALE STEEL CO.,
Philadelphia, August 15, 1914.

Hon. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
The Raleigh, Washington, D. C.

SIR: The expedient proposed in Congress for relieving the necessities of getting American-made goods overseas is one which should receive the most careful consideration with reference to its ultimate effect rather than the immediate effect.

2. The proposals now appearing strongest in Congress seem to us who are close to the shipbuilding industry in this country to be wholly mischievous, so far as the ultimate effect is concerned, and we firmly believe that something equally effective, without the attendant ultimate evils of the present propositions, can be worked out if a little care and thought be used.

3. Undoubtedly shipbuilding in this country will be injured beyond repair if the present proposals are made law, and with the shipbuilding industry there goes all the attendant contributory manufactures completing the equipment of ships for service, practically all of which is manufactured in this country to-day and has been for many years.

4. The provision in the recent Panama Canal shipping acts, that equipment intended for shipbuilding can be purchased abroad and imported free, has already made a marked impress upon the amount of this equipment formerly manufactured in this country, and to develop this mischief to the ultimate degree proposed by the present measures on the floor of Congress would throw many thousands of men contributing to the finished ship entirely out of work; and this, with the condition of the labor market already in an aggravated state, is the least of contentions which should cause Congress to pause before doing such irreparable damage to the development, naturally and normally, of the shipbuilding and maritime industries of this country.

5. With all our force, we urge you to avoid this blunder.

Yours, very truly,

W. P. BARBA, *Manager.*

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *January 27, 1915.*

Hon. THOMAS WOODROW WILSON,
President of the United States,
The White House, Washington, D. C.

SIR: The papers of this country at present are stating that the so-called Alexander bill is being pressed for passage by yourself. I take the liberty of addressing you as to this bill from an independent shipper's standpoint. For many years past, as an importer of iron shipped in bulk from Mediterranean, Russian, and South American ports to this country, I have been a direct charterer of tonnage in cargo lots. I have also been importing to this country from English and continental ports bulk commodities, such as ferromanganese, ferrosilicon, spiegel, etc., which are shipped in parcel lots.

This firm has no connection of any kind whatever and owns no stock in any ship or shipping company, and is absolutely independent in its views. I am unalterably opposed to the Government entering into a business operating ships in competition with independent shipowners and a business that should be done and carried on by private individuals in this country, who are perfectly capable of conducting this business if proper laws are made so that vessel ownership is possible.

Outside of all questions of the propriety of the Government entering this business and irrespective of complications which are sure to arise with foreign vessel owners, I consider the enterprise a most hazardous one and likely to cost this Government not only many million dollars, but complications and disputes with all foreign countries, owners of merchant marine.

If the merchants engaged in shipping in this country do not find it possible or profitable to own vessels, it is not for this Government to assume such ownership with the hope of creating by artificial means a merchant marine.

The Government in undertaking this with its eyes open is preparing itself for every international complication governing shipping and maritime law, and at the same time risking in a bad business venture a large amount of money.

I trust sincerely that this viewpoint may be considered from one who has some knowledge of vessels and shipping and the chartering and transportation of goods over seas.

Respectfully submitted.

Yours, very truly,

FRANK SAMUEL.

I also append hereto a thoughtful article from Mr. William D. Winsor, of Philadelphia, whose long experience as a shipowner and director is entitled to great weight:

TO GET AN AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE, THE MAIN THING IS TO GIVE THE AMERICAN SHIPOWNER A CHANCE TO COMPETE WITH HIS FOREIGN RIVAL.

[Written for the Public Ledger by William D. Winsor.]

In these times of the abnormal situation created by the present war, here is the old question coming up again—the need of a merchant marine.

The causes of the disappearance of American vessels in the offshore traffic between this country and foreign nations, the tonnage being now carried almost entirely in foreign bottoms, are as follows:

First. As the result of a high protective tariff, the price of all materials entering into the construction of a vessel were raised, and to this was added, at the instigation of the labor unions, the shortening of the hours of labor, so that the cost of building a steamship in this country is at least 25 per cent more than the same vessel could be built for abroad.

Second. By the enactment of our absurd navigation laws, again at the instigation of the labor unions, by which, among other things, a large percentage of the crew must be Americans, thereby increasing the wages, also a standard of living by no means necessary for their vocation, thus causing the running expenses of the vessel to be at least 30 per cent more than that of a foreign vessel.

Third. Onerous and unnecessary regulations in regard to equipment, bearing heavily upon the shipowner.

Fourth. The increased cost requires additional insurance on the capital invested.

Fifth. The vessels of many foreign nations are heavily subsidized, the nations in question thereby reaping the benefit of the many millions of freight money paid by this country.

The consequence of these burdens has been to drive American-built ships from the ocean trade.

There is only one way to place our own ships again upon the seas; i. e., the disadvantages under which they labor must be equalized so that they can compete on an equal basis.

To my mind, as an old shipowner and in the steamship business for many years, nothing can be more impracticable and clumsy than to attempt to do this by the project now before the country, as contained in the report above alluded to, for Government ownership and running of steamships to be acquired in the present emergency by the purchase of foreign vessels and admitting them to American registry.

What does a shipping board composed of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Postmaster General, and the Secretary of Commerce know about the running of steamships or the commercial matters connected therewith in the freight trade, which requires the keenest knowledge of business matters and can only be found among the merchants and steamship owners who have followed this vocation for many years?

All undertakings of a like nature conducted by the Government, while well done in many instances, are necessarily uneconomical, if not to say worse, and could be done much better by individuals having their own interest at stake.

It is proposed in this extraordinary project that the Government shall own 51 per cent of the capital stock and have control of the management. What a field for politicians it would afford for the appointment of officers and crew. Would any sane man invest in the remaining 49 per cent under such domination?

If this program were carried out, what would be the position of vessel owners now struggling for existence in competition with the Government, which does not even charge interest or depreciation against its investment and carries its own insurance at the cost of the people?

If in the present emergency it is necessary to acquire foreign vessels and admit them to our registry, open this door to private capital and limit the period to, say, six months in which to purchase and admit to American registry such foreign vessels and then close the door.

First. Suspend for 10 years the navigation laws as applied to vessels in the foreign trade, thus placing such vessels on a par in this respect with those owned by foreign nations.

Would any intelligent capitalist make the investment required under a suspension of these laws, subject to the will and power of the Presi-

dent to terminate them at any time? Capital must look far enough ahead to protect itself when the present situation has passed away and things have resumed their normal condition.

Second. A moderate subsidy must be paid to overcome the advantage of the subsidy now paid by foreign nations.

In no other way can American ships be placed on an even keel. What is the difference between meeting the deficit which will inevitably occur in a Government-owned and managed line by taxation or by a subsidy, which, in my estimation, would be very much less in amount?

Let the Government attend to its own affairs and not go into the mercantile business in competition with its own people.

If this were done and private capital again in use upon the ocean, it would stimulate shipbuilding in this country and give employment to our builders.

The Fight Between the Monitor and the Merrimac.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN G. HUMPHREYS,

OF MISSISSIPPI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 1, 1915.

Mr. HUMPHREYS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago, when the House was considering a proposition to erect a monument to Capt. John Ericsson, the statement was made that the *Monitor*, which he built, "fought a successful battle against the *Merrimac* at Hampton Roads."

It was also stated that the *Monitor* "completely revolutionized modern warfare."

The battle between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac* was the first battle ever fought by ironclads, and it no doubt revolutionized modern warfare. In order that the record may be kept straight and that credit may be given where credit is deserved, I asked permission to print in the RECORD the following article, written by Capt. J. S. McNeily, of the Vicksburg Herald. There are very few deeper students of our war-time history than Capt. McNeily and few, indeed, who are given to more accurate relation of its facts. I commend this article to the careful perusal of all who would know the real history of that most stirring and epoch-making event.

The article referred to follows:

UNWRITING WAR HISTORY.

The following is quoted from page 479 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the present session, in a debate upon a monument to John Ericsson, the inventor of the *Monitor:*

Mr. FITZGERALD. I wish to say that the services which John Ericsson rendered to the United States as the inventor of the *Monitor* were so valuable that I believe a statue to him, to stir the patriotic impulses of the people of this country and to meet a great sentiment on behalf of many of our fellow citizens who were born in the same country or who are the descendants of people who came from the same country as Ericsson, would be very appropriate. The country can well afford to spend $50,000 to erect a monument to the memory of Ericsson much better than it can afford to waste money on many things on which money is wasted.

Mr. MOORE. If the gentleman from New York thinks that $50,000 is a fair amount for a statue to Ericsson, the inventor of the *Monitor*, which fought a successful battle against the *Merrimac* at Hampton Roads——

Mr. FITZGERALD. It completely revolutionized modern warfare.

John Ericsson was an inventor all right; he did his work well and is not grudged his monument. But his "*Monitor* fought a successful battle," not with the *Merrimac*. While as to the assertion that he "revolutionized modern warfare," that had been effected the day before he reached the scene by the *Merrimac*, which on March 8, 1862, sunk, burned, or put to flight five frigates and numerous other craft in Hampton Roads. A further fact that calls for recognition is that France and Great Britain each had built an armored ship before the American war began. In his story of building the *Monitor* Capt. Ericsson says, "Indeed the utility of the armor plating adopted by France and England proved to be better understood at Richmond than at Washington."

Quoting from the record, the *Merrimac*, a United States frigate, had been sunk and burned to the water's edge when the Federals evacuated Norfolk. She was raised by the Confederates, patched up, made serviceable as far as possible, and armor clad with iron plate. Though rechristened the *Virginia*, the old name has survived. The armoring of the old *Merrimac* was well under way before the contract for the *Monitor* was let under the plan of John Ericsson, with every facility of machinery and material.

Under the command of Flag Officer Franklin Buchanan, the Confederate ironclad steamed out from Norfolk on the morning of March 8 and engaged two frigates, the *Congress* and the *Cumberland*, sinking one and burning the other. While thus engaged the *Virginia* sustained a heavy fire from shore batteries and from three other frigates—the *Minnesota*, *St. Lawrence*, and *Roanoke*—that came up from Fortress Monroe. The former was saved from the *Virginia* by shoal water, the other two by taking refuge under the guns of Fortress Monroe.

On the next morning the *Virginia* went forth to destroy the ships that escaped the day before. While engaging the *Minnesota* and the land batteries the *Virginia* was encountered by the *Monitor*, just arrived from New York. The battle of the Confederate ship, with the *Monitor* and the *Minnesota*, lasted four hours. The account of this second day's combat is quoted from the report of Lieut. Catesby Jones, who had succeeded to the command of the *Virginia*, Commander Buchanan having been wounded the first day:

We continued to fire at the *Minnesota*, and blew up a steamer alongside of her. We also engaged the *Monitor*, and sometimes at very close quarters. We once succeeded in running into her, and twice silenced her fire. The pilots declaring that we could get no nearer the *Minnesota*, and believing her to be entirely disabled, and the *Monitor* having run into shoal water, which prevented our doing her any further injury, we ceased firing at 12 o'clock and proceeded to Norfolk. Our loss is 2 killed and 19 wounded. The stem is twisted and the ship leaks. We have lost the prow, starboard anchor, and all the boats. The armor is somewhat damaged; the steam pipe and smokestacks both riddled; the muzzles of two of the guns shot away. It was not easy to keep a flag flying. The flagstaffs were repeatedly shot away. The colors were hoisted to the smokestack and several times cut down from it.

All of the *Merrimac's* casualties occurred the first day. The report of Capt. Van Brunt of the *Minnesota*—who was forced to await the attack of the *Merrimac* because his ship was aground—of the conclusion of the combat is quoted from:

Very fortunately the *Merrimac* drew too much water to come within a mile of the *Minnesota*. * * * I had concentrated upon her an incessant fire * * * and was informed by my marine officer that at least 50 shots had struck her without leaving any apparent effect. By the time she had fired her third shell the little *Monitor* had come down upon her, placing herself between us and compelling her to change her position, in doing which she grounded, and again I poured into her all the guns which could be brought to bear upon her. As soon as she got off, she stood down the bay, the *Monitor* chasing her with all steam, when suddenly the *Merrimac* turned around and ran full speed into her antagonist. For a moment I was anxious, but instantly I saw a shot plunged into the iron roof of the *Merrimac*, which surely must have damaged her. For some time after the rebels concentrated their whole battery upon the *Monitor*, which soon after stood down to Fortress Monroe, and we thought she had exhausted her supply of ammunition or sustained some injury. Soon after the *Merrimac* headed for my ship and I then felt to the fullest extent my position. I was hard and immovably aground and they could take position and rake me. I had expended most of my solid shot, my ship was badly crippled, my officers and men were worn out with fatigue. I ordered every preparation to be made to destroy the ship after all hope was gone to save her. On ascending the poop deck I observed the enemy's vessels had changed their course and were heading for Craney Island.

This report surely does not claim "a successful battle" for the *Monitor*. When the *Merrimac* "stood down the bay, chased by the *Monitor*," she was seeking water deep enough to turn round in. In the report of the commander of a French ship who witnessed the combat, and which is published in volume 7, Official Records Union and Confederate Navies, is the following:

In a narrow channel of little depth the *Monitor*, whose draft is not half that of the *Merrimac*, had an enormous advantage. She could run at full speed, approach, or retire without fear of running aground. The Confederate ship could not move or perform any evolutions except with the greatest precaution.

The record is further quoted from:

The two ironclads fought part of the time touching each other, from 8 a. m. to noon, when the *Merrimac* retired. The damage to the *Merrimac* could not be ascertained. She retreated under steam without assistance. She is an ugly customer and it is too good luck to believe we are rid of her.—G. V. Fox, Assistant Secretary United States Navy.

Through dread of the *Merrimac* the advance of McClellan's army via the peninsula was delayed. "I refused to consent to the peninsula line," testified Gen. Keyes, corps commander, to a congressional committee, "until the *Merrimac* could be neutralized." To McClellan's representations—that the "performances of the *Merrimac* place a new aspect on everything, paralyzes the movements of the Army, whatever route is adopted"—Secretary of the Navy Welles replied: "It is directed by the President that the *Monitor* be not too much exposed." Assistant Secretary Fox stated the case to Gen. McClellan as follows:

The *Monitor* is more than a match for the *Merrimac*, but she might be disabled in the next encounter. I can't advise so great dependence on her. * * * The *Monitor* may, and I think will, destroy the *Merrimac* in the next encounter; but this is hope, not certainty.

But there was no "next encounter." For the two months following the *Merrimac* lay unmolested at Norfolk, a menace and a terror to the northern seaboard. Assistant Secretary of the United States Navy Fox said of the *Monitor*, sheltered under the guns of Fortress Monroe:

The *Monitor* is unhurt and ready at any moment to repel another attack.

But that there was no thought of an attack on the *Merrimac* the following letter from Secretary of War Stanton, addressed

to the governors of the States of New York, Massachusetts, and Maine, two days after the battle, shows:

The opinion of naval commanders is that the *Merrimac* will not venture to sea, but they advise that immediate preparations be made against the danger to our ports by large timber rafts protected by batteries.

This advice was acted on for New York City, Boston, and Portland, while Secretary Wells of the Navy, as late as March 25, ordered nets and hawsers to be stretched across the Potomac to foul the *Merrimac's* propeller.

The following is from the report of Flag Officer Tatnall—"blood is thicker than water" Tatnall—who had succeeded to command of the *Merrimac:*

APRIL 12.

At 6 a. m. I left the anchorage off Norfolk, and dropped down to Hampton Roads, within long range of the enemy's batteries, which fired several shots at me without effect. The *Monitor* was lying close under the batteries. The flagship *Minnesota*, with a large number of men-of-war, was lying below. Several, including the *Monitor*, got up steam, and I thought it their intention to engage me, but they suffered me to hold my position until late in the afternoon without doing so. May 8. The enemy attacked Sewells Point battery, and I immediately went with the *Virginia* to defend it. We found six of the enemy's vessels, including the ironclad steamers *Monitor* and *Naugatuck*, shelling the battery. We passed the battery and stood directly for the enemy, for the purpose of engaging him, and I thought an action certain, particularly as the *Minnesota* and *Vanderbilt*, which were anchored below Fortress Monroe, got under way and stood up to that point, apparently with the intention of joining their squadron in the roads. Before, however, we got within gunshot the enemy ceased firing and retired with all speed under the protection of the guns of the fortress, followed by the *Virginia* until the shells from the Rip Raps passed over her. The *Virginia* was then placed at her moorings near Sewells Point.

Thus ended the chapter of the *Virginia*—three days afterwards, upon the occupation of Norfolk by the enemy's land forces, her draft being too great to reach Richmond, she was destroyed by the Confederates. There is nothing in the volume of the record that traverses what we quote from the official reports. They all testify that the only triumph was that gained by the *Virginia*. Secretary of War Benjamin, in a communication to Gen. Lovel at New Orleans, stated that nothing but her deeper draft saved any of the Union craft from the *Virginia*, a statement borne out by the official narratives of the fight. A monument according to the *Monitor* a "successful battle against the *Merrimac*," or that would give to John Ericsson instead of Franklin Buchanan the credit of "revolutionizing modern warfare," would be a mockery upon the record facts. Reading such an inscription, the lover of truth would be tempted to quote the line:

Tear down the flaunting lie.

The Army.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES HAY,

OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 29, 1915.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Speaker, the Army of the United States consists, first, of 4,701 officers, 3,481 of these are line officers—that is, officers of the Infantry, Cavalry, Field Artillery, and Coast Artillery—1,220 of them are staff officers—that is, officers composing the different staff corps of the Army, such as the Quartermaster Corps, the Engineer Corps, The Adjutant General's Office, the Inspector General's Office, the Signal Corps, the Medical Corps, the Ordnance Corps, and the Office of the Judge Advocate General.

There are upon the retired list of the Army 1,030 officers with rank as follows:

Lieutenant generals	3
Major generals	20
Brigadier generals	220
Colonels	152
Lieutenant colonels	104
Majors	211
Captains	200
First lieutenants	96
Second lieutenants	24

There are 67 posts for the mobile army—that is, for the Army outside of the Coast Artillery—49 of these posts are in the continental United States, 9 in the Philippine Islands, 5 in Alaska, 2 in Hawaii, and 2 in the Canal Zone.

There are now in the Army, including the Hospital and Quartermaster Corps and the Philippine Scouts, 97,306 enlisted men; 18,092 of these are in the Coast Artillery Corps, 3,398 in the Hospital Corps, 4,098 in the Quartermaster Corps, and 5,398 Philippine Scouts.

Excluding those above enumerated are 65,781 men stationed as follows:

In the Philippines, 9,859; in the Canal Zone, 3,149; in Hawaii, 7,351; in China, 674; and in Alaska, 488. It is proposed to place in Hawaii 15,665 in all, and in the Canal Zone, in all, 8,305; and there will then be in the continental United States 30,790 enlisted men of the mobile army; and the strength of the Army, including Philippine Scouts, will be 89,271.

The pay of the Army alone is, in round numbers, $49,000,000.

Rates of pay to officers, active and retired, act of May 11, 1908.

PAY OF OFFICERS IN ACTIVE SERVICE.

Grade.	Pay of grade.		Monthly pay.[1]			
	Yearly.	Monthly.	After 5 years' service.	After 10 years' service.	After 15 years' service.	After 20 years' service.
			10 per ct.	*20 per ct.*	*30 per ct.*	*40 per ct.*
Lieutenant general	$11,000.00	$916.67	.....	.....	.....	.....
Major general	8,000.00	666.67	.....	.....	.....	.....
Brigadier general	6,000.00	500.00	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colonel	4,000.00	333.33	$366.67	$400.00	[2] $416.67	$416.67
Lieutenant colonel	3,500.00	291.67	320.83	350.00	[2] 375.00	375.00
Major	3,000.00	250.00	275.00	300.00	325.00	[2] 333.33
Captain	2,400.00	200.00	220.00	240.00	260.00	280.00
First lieutenant	2,000.00	166.67	183.33	200.00	216.67	233.33
Second lieutenant	1,700.00	141.67	155.83	170.00	184.17	198.33

PAY OF RETIRED OFFICERS.[3]

Lieutenant general	$8,250.00	$687.50	.....	.....	.....	.....
Major general	6,000.00	500.00	.....	.....	.....	.....
Brigadier general	4,500.00	375.00	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colonel	3,000.00	250.00	$275.00	$300.00	$312.50	$312.50
Lieutenant colonel	2,625.00	218.75	240.62	262.50	281.25	281.25
Major	2,250.00	187.50	206.25	225.00	243.75	250.00
Captain	1,800.00	150.00	165.00	180.00	195.00	210.00
First lieutenant	1,500.00	125.00	137.50	150.00	162.50	175.00
Second lieutenant	1,275.00	106.25	116.87	127.50	138.12	148.75

[1] Officers below the rank of brigadier general receive 10 per cent on the yearly pay of the grade for each term of 5 years' service, not to exceed 40 per cent in all.—R. S. 1262, 1263. (Except colonel, lieutenant colonel, and major.)

[2] The maximum pay of a colonel is $5,000, that of a lieutenant colonel $4,500, and that of a major $4,000. (Act May 11, 1908.)

[3] Retired officers receive 75 per cent of the pay of their grade (salary and increase).—R. S., 1274. No increase of longevity after retirement unless retired for wounds received in battle. (Act Mar. 2, 1903.)

ALLOWANCES OF OFFICERS OF THE ARMY.

The allowances of officers, other than mileage, are quarters, with heat and light therefor, according to their grades, as follows:

	Rooms.		Rooms.
Lieutenant general	10	Majors	5
Major generals	9	Captains	4
Brigadier generals	8	First lieutenants	3
Colonels	7	Second lieutenants	2
Lieutenant colonels	6		

The allowances as specified above were fixed by the act of March 2, 1907 (34 Stat., 1169), and were not changed or affected by the act of May 11, 1908.

COMMUTATION OF QUARTERS.

The act of March 2, 1907 (34 Stat., 1169), provided that officers on duty at places where there were no public quarters could be paid commutation therefor by the Pay Department at a rate not exceeding $12 per month per room. Commutation of quarters is, however, payable only to officers who are on duty without troops at stations where there are no public quarters.

ALLOWANCE FOR HEAT AND LIGHT.

Average monthly allowance of heat and light for officers of the Army.

Grade.	Heat.	Light.
Lieutenant general	$33.72	$10.40
Major general	30.91	9.36
Brigadier general	28.57	8.32
Colonel	26.23	7.28
Lieutenant colonel	23.89	6.24
Major	21.54	5.20
Captain	19.20	4.16
First lieutenant	15.93	3.12
Second lieutenant	13.58	2.08

The allowance for heat and light is authorized by the act of March 2, 1907 (34 Stat., 1167), and is furnished by the Quartermaster's Department in kind and not commuted.

Monthly pay of enlisted men—Philippine Scouts—General Order 236, War Department, Nov. 27, 1909.

[In effect Mar. 1, 1910.]

Grade.	First enlistment, 1, 2, 3 years.	Second enlistment, 4, 5, 6 years.	Third enlistment, 7, 8, 9 years.	Fourth enlistment, 10, 11, 12 years.	Fifth enlistment, 13 14, 15 years.
Battalion sergeant major	$22.00	$22.50	$21.00	$23.50	$24.00
First sergeant	20.00	20.50	21.00	21.50	22.00
Company quartermaster sergeant and sergeant	15.00	15.50	16.00	16.50	17.00
Corporal and artificer	10.00	11.00	12.00	12.50	13.00
Cook	11.00	12.00	13.00	14.00	14.50
Musician and private	7.50	8.00	8.50	9.00	9.50

Grade.	Sixth enlistment, 16, 17, 18 years.	Seventh enlistment, 19, 20, 21 years.	Eighth enlistment, 22, 23, 24 years.	Ninth enlistment, 25, 26, 27 years.	Tenth enlistment, 28, 29, 30 years.
Battalion sergeant major	$24.50	$25.00	$25.50	$26.00	$26.50
First sergeant	22.50	23.00	23.50	24.00	24.50
Company quartermaster sergeant and sergeant	17.50	18.00	18.50	19.00	19.50
Corporal and artificer	13.50	14.00	14.50	15.00	15.50
Cook	15.00	15.50	16.00	16.50	17.00
Musician and private	10.00	10.50	11.00	11.50	12.00

The pay of enlisted men, Philippine Scouts, shall be fixed by the Secretary of War. (Act Feb. 2, 1901.)

Reenlistment must be within three months to entitle to increase. (General Order, 236, 1909.)

Additional pay per month.

Expert rifleman	$1.50
Sharpshooter	1.00
Marksman (General Orders, 28, 1908)	.50
Special sanitary work (General Orders, 8, 1908)	1.20

Rates of monthly pay to enlisted men—Acts of May 11, 1908, and Mar. 23, 1910.

Grade and arm of service.	First enlistment.	Second enlistment.	If reenlisted within three months.				
			Third enlistment.	Fourth enlistment.	Fifth enlistment.	Sixth enlistment.	Seventh enlistment.
BATTERY, TROOP, COMPANY.							
Sergeant, first class—Signal Corps; First sergeant—Artillery, Cavalry, Infantry, Engineers	$45	$49	$53	$57	$61	$65	$69
Sergeant — Engineers, Ordnance, Signal Corps; Quartermaster sergeant—Engineers; Sergeant—Artillery, Cavalry, Infantry; Quartermaster sergeant—Artillery, Cavalry, Infantry	36	40	44	48	52	56	60
Stable sergeant—Field Artillery; Cook—Artillery, Cavalry, Infantry, Engineers, Signal Corps; Horseshoer — Cavalry, Field Artillery	30	33	36	39	42	45	48
Corporal — Engineers, Ordnance, Signal Corps; Mechanic—Coast Artillery; Chief mechanic—Field Artillery	24	27	30	33	36	39	42
Corporal—Artillery, Cavalry, Infantry; Artificer—Infantry; Mechanic—Field Artillery; Farrier, saddler, wagoner—Cavalry	21	24	27	30	33	36	39
Private, first-class—Engineers, Ordnance, Signal Corps	18	21	24	27	30	33	36
Trumpeter—Cavalry; Musician—Artillery, Infantry, Engineers; Private—Artillery, Cavalry, Infantry, Signal Corps; Private, second-class—Engineers, Ordnance	15	18	21	22	23	24	25

Rates of monthly pay to enlisted men, etc.—Continued.

Grade and arm of service.	First enlistment.	Second enlistment.	If reenlisted within three months.				
			Third enlistment.	Fourth enlistment.	Fifth enlistment.	Sixth enlistment.	Seventh enlistment.
BANDS—ARTILLERY, CAVALRY, INFANTRY, ENGINEERS.							
Chief musician	$75	$79	$83	$87	$91	$95	$99
Chief trumpeter—Artillery, Cavalry; Principal musician	40	44	48	52	56	60	64
Sergeant; Drum major; Cook; Corporal	36	40	44	48	52	56	60
Private	30	33	36	39	42	45	48
POST NONCOMMISSIONED STAFF.							
Ordnance sergeant; Commissary sergeant; Quartermaster sergeant	24	27	30	33	36	39	42
HOSPITAL CORPS.							
Sergeant, first class	45	49	53	57	61	65	69
Sergeant; Acting cook	50	54	58	62	66	70	74
Corporal	30	33	36	39	42	45	48
Private, first class	24	27	30	33	36	39	42
Private	18	21	24	27	30	33	36
	16	19	22	23	24	25	26
BAND—MILITARY ACADEMY (act May 28, 1908).							
Band sergeant and assistant leader	75	79	83	87	91	95	99
Musician, first class	45	49	53	57	61	65	69
Musician, second class	36	40	44	48	52	56	60
Musician, third class	30	33	36	39	42	45	48
FIELD MUSICIANS—MILITARY ACADEMY.							
Sergeant	50	54	58	62	66	70	74
CORPS, REGIMENT, BATTALION.							
Master signal electrician; Master electrician—Coast Artillery	75	79	83	87	91	95	99
Engineer—Coast Artillery	65	69	73	77	81	85	89
First-class electrician sergeant—Coast Artillery; Battalion sergeant major, quartermaster sergeant—Engineers; Regimental sergeant major, quartermaster sergeant, commissary sergeant—Field Artillery, Cavalry, Infantry; Senior sergeant major—Coast Artillery	45	49	53	57	61	65	69
Battalion sergeant major—Field Artillery, Infantry; Squadron sergeant major—Cavalry; Battalion quartermaster sergeant—Field Artillery; Junior sergeant major—Coast Artillery; Master gunner—Coast Artillery	40	44	48	52	56	60	64
Second-class electrician sergeant—Coast Artillery; Color sergeant—Field Artillery, Cavalry, Infantry	36	40	44	48	52	56	60
Firemen—Coast Artillery	30	33	36	39	42	45	48

NOTE.—Men of the Porto Rico Infantry receive the same pay as Regular Army. (Act Apr. 23, 1904.)

There were on June 30, 1914, 3,798 enlisted men on the retired list, whose pay amounts in all to $2,850,000.

The war strength of a regiment of Infantry is 1,836, of a regiment of Cavalry 1,236, and of a regiment of Field Artillery 1,186. There are 30 regiments of Infantry, 15 regiments of Cavalry, and 6 regiments of Field Artillery in the United States Army.

It costs $130,000 more to maintain a Cavalry regiment than it does an Infantry regiment. It costs $135.57 more to maintain an Infantry soldier in the Philippine Islands than in the United States, and $167.18 more to maintain a cavalryman in the Philippine Islands than in the United States.

There are in reserve 195,000,000 rounds of small-arms ammunition—340 per man for 450,615 men. There are on hand 700,000 service rifles of the new model and 300,000 Krags—1,000,000 in all. There are 1,000 machine guns; it is desired to procure in all 1,361 of these guns for an army of 500,000 men, and appropriations are being made annually for this purpose. There are complete 634 Field Artillery guns; 226 of these guns have been provided for and 52 are being appropriated for this year, making in all 912 guns. It is desired to accumulate 1,292 of these guns. It will take six years to supply them at the rate of appropriation provided for in the pending bill.

We have in reserve 38 per cent of field ammunition for guns on hand. The amount provided for in the pending bill will raise that to 60 per cent. We can in four years at the same rate of appropriation provide for all the reserve ammunition needed.

The powder capacity of this country, including private and governmental plants, is 12,940,000 pounds of cannon powder annually and 3,650,000 of small-arms powder. This was the capacity before the European war; it is doubtless much greater now.

Much has been said and written of late as to short and long enlistments and the way to procure a needed reserve which will be serviceable in time of war. I submit the following observations, made by me in 1912 upon these subjects. They can be found in the House report on the Army appropriation bill, Sixty-second Congress, second session.

The committee, after hearing much testimony, which is fully set forth in the printed hearings, from the most experienced recruiting officers of the Army, and from officers who have had long service as troop, battery, and company commanders under both the five-year and the three-year systems of enlistment, reached the conclusion that a return to the five-year system will not materially increase the difficulty of obtaining recruits, but that on the other hand it will materially increase the efficiency of the enlisted personnel of the Army by increasing the number of seasoned and well-trained soldiers in the ranks, by increasing the number of reenlistments and by diminishing the number of desertions; also that it will materially decrease the number of discharges for disability and the number of possible pensioners, and will cause no increase at all in the retired list of enlisted men.

The most experienced of the officers examined by the committee, including the officers before mentioned and The Adjutant General and the Inspector General of the Army, expressed themselves as in favor of a return to the five-year system of enlistment. The remarks made by The Adjutant General, at a hearing before the committee, with regard to the term of enlistment, and especially with regard to the question of the advisability of maintaining a short term of enlistment and discouraging or prohibiting the reenlistment of the majority of privates, also with regard to the feasibility of building up a reserve force that can be called into active service in time of need, cover the ground so thoroughly and are so fully in accord with the views of the committee as well as with the views expressed to the committee independently by all of the officers who were heard by it, and whose opinions with regard to the matter are believed to be entitled to the greatest weight, that it is deemed proper to repeat those remarks here. The Adjutant General, Gen. Ainsworth, said:

I confess that I was somewhat reluctant to appear before the committee for a hearing upon this bill, because I knew that anything I might say and that might be opposed to the views that have been expressed by others with regard to the bill would be considered, in some quarters at least, as a hostile criticism of the persons who expressed those other views. This being the case, I desire to declare at the outset that anything I may say will not be said in any spirit of criticism, hostile or otherwise, and will not be intended to apply to any particular person whomsoever, except in so far as it may be applicable to myself alone.

I am now in my thirty-seventh year of continuous service as a commissioned officer of the Army. For the past 19 years I have been the chief of a bureau in the War Department. For the past 7 years I have been the head of The Adjutant General's Department of the Army, and in that capacity have had immediate charge of the recruiting service and of all Army reports, returns, and correspondence. None of my service has been in the line; all of it has been in the staff. Consequently I have had no experience whatever as a company commander. Neither I nor any other officer, line or staff, no matter how high his rank may be, who has not had experience as a company commander of line troops is qualified to express an opinion that is entitled to much weight as against the opinions of officers who have had such experience, with regard to the merits or demerits of this bill or any other similar measure, so far as it relates especially to the interests of enlisted men.

The holding of public office, civil or military, no matter how high, conveys no assurance of wisdom, good judgment, or even good sense on the part of the officeholder. In the ordinary affairs of life we require a man to qualify as an expert before we accept his opinions as those of an expert; but in dealing with civil or military officials, especially those holding high station, we are too apt to accept their opinions as law and gospel, without stopping to inquire whether they have any real knowledge of the subjects on which they discourse so authoritatively or whether they are mere pretenders to the possession of knowledge and experience that they have never acquired. No man's dictum should be accepted with regard to any feature of so important a matter as that involved in this bill unless he first shows that it is real knowledge and not the mere pretense of knowledge, backed by official position, that he relies upon to give weight to his views. I distinctly disclaim any intention to pose as an expert with regard to any features of this bill, or to set my own opinions against those of others whose opportunities for observation and experience have been greater than mine. However, there are some things about the bill that I know, and these I am ready to tell. And I have some opinions, which I am ready to give for what they are worth, about the various features of the bill and the probable result of its enactment into law.

I favor a return to the five-year period of enlistment and reenlistment because it is evident that it will effect a great saving in expense and because I believe that it will greatly increase the efficiency of the Army. Under the five-year system the Government would get from its soldiers two years of the best kind of service that it now loses by the discharge of men at the end of three years, just as they have undergone a sufficient amount of training to make their services valuable.

I do not think that the recruiting service would be affected unfavorably by a return to the five-year term of enlistment. Under the present system we have difficulty in keeping the Army full when times are good and but few men are out of employment. But our most experienced recruiting officers are all of the opinion that applicants for enlistment will enlist about as readily for five years as they will for three; and as we would not have to enlist nearly as many men under the five-year system, I am confident that we would have no more difficulty in keeping the Army full under that system than we now have under the three-year system.

I think men will be more likely to reenlist under the five-year than under the three-year system. At the end of three years a man has not become fairly weaned from home folks and home affairs, and home folks have not become weaned from him, but are constantly importuning him to come home. And at the end of three years he has not yet become fully adapted to the discipline and restraints of the military life; but at the end of five years all this is different. The home ties have been weakened; the young soldier has gotten over his homesickness; home folks have become reconciled to his absence; the Army has become a home to him; he has begun to realize the advantages that it offers him and its discipline and its restraints now bear lightly upon him.

Desertions should be much less numerous under the five-year than under the three-year system, because most desertions occur in the first year of service, and, to say nothing of reenlistments, there would necessarily be at any given time fewer men in the first year of service under the five-year system than under the three-year system.

I am convinced that it is impracticable, under our system of voluntary enlistments, to accumulate a reasonably large and dependable reserve force of fairly well-trained men by fixing the term of enlistment at, say, 10 years, of which three shall be spent with the colors and the remainder in the reserve. Our most experienced recruiting officers unanimously declare that it will be impossible to keep the ranks of the Army anywhere near full under such a system, because men will be most reluctant to tie themselves up by any kind of an agreement for so long a period as 10 years or for any period in excess of 5 years. It is the opinion of these recruiting officers, who are in constant touch with the class of men from which our recruits are drawn—and in this opinion I concur—that the adoption of the 10-year system would virtually stop recruiting for the Army. But even if we could keep the Army full under the 10-year system, or anything like it, there is nothing whatever on which to base the belief that a reserve thus recruited would be a dependable one in time of emergency. So far as I know, the experiment has never been tried anywhere on earth under the conditions that prevail in this country, where the people are naturally impatient of restraint and are prone to wander at will from place to place; where the distances are vast; where efficient surveillance is impossible, and where well-paid employment is ordinarily obtainable without difficulty. In my judgment, any such reserve as we could create with our small Army as a training school for it would be insignificant in size and in time of emergency would be found to be about as dependable and easy to assemble as a flock of crows.

There is one foreign nation, and only one, that has an army reserve system that might possibly be applicable to this country without resort to compulsory military service. It is useless to look to the nations of continental Europe, where the system of universal and compulsory military service prevails and where the hand and eye of authority are constantly upon everyone from the cradle to the grave. We have nothing in common with any of those nations in a military way, although we pattern after one of them in about everything military, ignoring the nation from which we descended and from which we inherited about everything that has made us a great people.

The British Army, like our own, is maintained by a system of voluntary enlistments. Perhaps it has not quite so many enthusiastic young officers with what they are pleased to call "advanced ideas" as our Army has, but it is a pretty good army, on the whole, and at one time or another has been in the capital of every one of most of the first-class powers of earth, including the United States. Its history and traditions are both long and glorious; its spirit has been as indomitable in defeat as in victory; its organization has usually been sufficient to enable it to win in the end under the most adverse conditions; and although it labors under the disadvantage of not yet having discovered the importance, that has recently been urged upon us, of divesting itself of its older and more experienced officers and men, we may well look to it for information and suggestion, because the conditions under which it is maintained, governed, and employed are substantially the same as those under which our Army is maintained, governed, and employed.

The period of enlistment for all branches of the British Regular Army, with a few unimportant exceptions, is 12 years, of which in most cases 7 or 8 years are spent with the colors and 5 or 4 years in the reserve.

But service with the colors is not restricted to the minimum time specified, because desirable men who have completed that service are permitted, with the approval of proper authority, to extend their service with the colors to the end of their period of enlistment. And upon the expiration of this period such men are also permitted, with the approval of proper authority, to reenlist for a period of 9 years, or for such a period as will make their total service 21 years.

The latest published information that I have been able to find with regard to the reserve system of the British Army was published in 1909, and, in brief, is as follows:

The British Army reserve consists of three sections, A, B, and D.

Section A consists of men who have completed their service with the colors and are in their first two years of reserve service, having agreed to serve outside of the United Kingdom when called upon to do so. They receive pay at the rate of 25 cents a day, and are liable to be called out at any time, without proclamation, for service at home or abroad. On completion of two years' service in this section the men are transferred to section B.

Section B consists of all men, other than those in section A, who are serving out the residue of their enlistments after transfer from the colors to the reserve.

Section D consists of men who enlist or reengage in it for four years after serving out a 12-year enlistment with the colors and in the reserve. Certain classes of artificers, if working at their trades, are permitted to reengage in section D for further periods of four years at a time if under 46 years of age at the time of reengagement.

The men of sections B and D receive pay at the rate of 12½ cents a day, and can only be called out for permanent service by proclamation and in case of national danger or great emergency.

Army reserve men are liable to be called out annually for training for a period not exceeding 12 days or 20 drills. They are not permitted to settle in any foreign country or in any colony in which there is not a British garrison, nor are they permitted to quit the United Kingdom or go to sea without the consent of their commanding officer.

There is a so-called special reserve of the British Army, which consists of former militia units transferred to it when the militia was discontinued and of men who especially enlist in it. Enlistments in this branch are for six years, and reenlistments are for four years.

The chief function of the special reserve is to make good the losses in time of war. They take the place of and recruit for regular troops withdrawn on mobilization. They are subject to 15 days' training annually and the infantry to 6 days additional for rifle practice. They receive army pay and allowances during training or when called out for service. Certain benefits are paid them at enlistment in lieu of pay for reserve service.

It will be observed from the foregoing statement that Great Britain finds it necessary to pay its army reserve at the rate of about $90 a year each for those in the first two years of their reserve service, and at the rate of about $45 a year each for the remaining members of the army reserve (exclusive of the special reserve). This being the case, and taking into consideration the difference between Great Britain and the United States in respect to wages, ease or difficulty of obtaining employment, purchasing power of money, and cost of living, it seems to me clear that we ought to expect to be compelled to pay double those rates in order to obtain anything like an effective and dependable reserve force that shall be under the exclusive control of the General Government and shall be ready for service anywhere and at any time.

It seems to me that membership in the Organized Militia of the various States, either active or in reserve, is a more practical and more reliable source of strength in time of emergency than membership in any such Regular Army reserve as there is any likelihood of our being able to accumulate through service in our small Army and by the aid of any appropriations that Congress is likely to make for this purpose. Officers of the State militia are in much better position than any officers of the Regular Army can be to keep in touch with, and to keep fully informed as to the status and movements of, the members of any reserve force that can be created. Members of State militia organizations, either on the active list or in reserve, are likely to be more permanently located, and thus more easily found when needed, than men of the more or less floating or unattached class from which enlistments in the Regular Army are likely to be made.

It is idle to talk of the creation of an efficient reserve force of any kind without the expenditure of a great deal of money, and it seems to me that if any money at all is to be expended for this purpose, the wisest as well as the most feasible way in which to expend it is in connection with the Organized Militia of the States, either by the expansion of the active militia force or by the creation of a militia reserve that shall offer material inducements for the enlistment therein of honorably discharged members of both the Regular Army and the militia, or by both of these plans combined.

In order to make our small Army productive of any reasonable number of reserves we would have to maintain or shorten our present short term of service with the colors; but I do not know of any officers who have had much experience as company or regimental officers who favor shortening our term of enlistment for any purpose. On the contrary, I believe that many, if not most, of the officers who had experience as company commanders under the former five-year enlistment system, as well as under the present three-year system, would, if called upon for an expression of opinion, favor a return to the five-year system, with the privilege of purchasing discharge, as against maintaining the present three-year system.

That a system of two and three year periods of service with the colors is the rule in the armies of continental Europe, where military service is compulsory and liability to it is universal, is no argument in favor of the adoption or maintenance of any such system in the United States or in Great Britain, where a system of voluntary enlistment prevails.

I do not believe that the short period of service in the armies of continental Europe would be preferred there if the conditions under which those armies are maintained would permit of a longer period; nor do I believe that the officers of those armies claim or pretend that they can make the most efficient and most desirable kind of a soldier in two or three years or that any of those officers would have the hardihood to assert that they turn out "models of finished soldiers" at the end of either of those short periods. It is well enough understood by statesmen, if not by our own Army officers, that the controlling reasons for the existence of the two and three year periods of service with the colors in the armies of continental Europe are, first, in order that they may subject the largest possible number of the whole male population of each country to a term of service in the Army; and, second, to lighten as much as possible the heavy burden of military service which there is good reason to fear that the people may at some time decline to bear any longer.

Beginning with April 30, 1790, the enlistment periods in our Army have been as follows:

	Years.
Apr. 30, 1790, to Mar. 16, 1802	3
Mar. 16, 1802, to Mar. 2, 1833	5
Mar. 2, 1833, to July 5, 1838	3
July 5, 1838, to Jan. 1, 1861	5
Jan. 1, 1861 (the law changing the term of enlistment from five to three years was not actually passed until July 29, 1861, but the law provided that all enlistments that had been made since Jan. 1, 1861, should be considered to have been made for three years), to Jan. 1, 1863	3
Jan. 1, 1863, to Feb. 6, 1864	5
Feb. 6, 1864, to July 28, 1866	3
July 28, 1866, to Mar. 3, 1869:	
For Artillery and Infantry	3
For Cavalry	5
Mar. 3, 1869, to Aug. 1, 1894	5
Aug. 1, 1894, to date	3

The act of June 16, 1890, which, although continuing the enlistment period of five years, provided that at the end of three years' service every soldier whose antecedent service was faithful should be entitled to receive a furlough for three months, and that in time of peace, at the end of such furlough, he should be entitled to receive his discharge upon his own application. As will be seen by reference to House Report No. 1061, Fifty-first Congress, first session, this legislation, together with the purchase of discharge provision which the act also contained, was enacted for the avowed purpose of reducing the enormous desertion rate previously existing. It virtually adopted the three-year enlistment period, as well as the system of discharge by purchase, so that it is impossible to tell what effect either one of those measures would have had alone. At any rate, neither of them had a trial alone as a remedial measure.

By a Senate amendment that was embodied in the Army appropriation act of February 27, 1893, it was provided that thereafter no private should be reenlisted who had served 10 years or more, or who was over 35 years of age, except such as had already served as enlisted men for 20 years or upward. It is within my personal knowledge that this amendment was proposed by and adopted at the instance of Senator Proctor, who had views similar to those that are held in some quarters nowadays as to the undesirability of retaining old soldiers in service, and as to the desirability of turning back into the civil population the largest possible number of men with military training. However, this legislation met with a storm of protest from the Army, and, as will be seen by reference to Senate Report No. 151, Fifty-third Congress, second session, was condemned by the Secretary of War, and by Maj. Gen. Schofield, commanding the Army; Adjt. Gen. Drum, Gens. Howard and Miles, and many other experienced and distinguished officers of the Army. The result of all this was that this legislation of February 27, 1893, was repealed by the act of August 1, 1894, which definitely fixed the term of enlistment at three years, and which not only repealed the exceedingly objectionable provision, enacted during the previous year, that prohibited the reenlistment of any private who had served over 10 years or who was over 35 years of age, except such as had already served for 20 years or more, but it also repealed the equally objectionable provision of the act of June 16, 1890, that enabled enlisted men, at the end of three years' service, to demand furloughs and subsequent discharges.

On reading the Senate report with regard to this last measure, and especially the documents accompanying the report, it will become apparent that the officers who declared themselves in favor of a three-year term of enlistment did so not because they regarded a straight three-year term as better than a straight five-year term, but because they hoped by the adoption of the straight three-year term to escape from the evil effects of the acts of June 16, 1890, and August 1, 1894, which had virtually created a three-year term by permitting soldiers who had enlisted for five years to demand their discharge at the end of three years, and which had made it impossible to retain in service beyond 10 years the very large number of valuable old soldiers whom officers of all grades in the Army were desirous of retaining.

It will be well for those who advocate the prohibition of the reenlistment of privates after 3 years' service to note the storm that was raised in the Army by the enactment in 1893 of a law that prohibited the reenlistment of privates after 10 years' service, and to note also the dispatch with which that law was repealed. The Army at large knows, and always has known, what an invaluable man the seasoned, thoroughly trained, thoroughly disciplined old soldier is, and how important it is to retain him in service as long as he is physically and mentally capable of performing all the duties that a soldier can possibly be called upon to perform. If the Army would not stand for a 10-year limitation of service, what would it have to say to a 3-year limitation?

Those who advocate short terms of enlistment and restrictions upon reenlistments in our Army do so chiefly on one of two grounds, viz, either that it is desirable to turn back into the civil population the largest possible number of men with more or less military training, who in some undefined way shall act as a sort of military leaven upon the whole population or else shall be expected to hasten back into the Army in time of war; or, second, that they shall be incorporated into a reserve force of some kind. Nothing further with regard to the reserve idea need be said here, but something needs to be said with regard to the other things proposed or suggested.

The average annual number of discharges from our Army at expiration of three years' service is about 15,000. The average annual number of discharges by purchase after one year's service is about 1,600. These men properly should not be included in this calculation, because by purchasing their discharges they have signified their distaste for military service. However, they will be considered, in order that the maximum possible figures may be used. Including them makes the total average number of discharges from the Army by expiration of service and by purchase about 16,600.

The total population of the continental United States at the present time is about 94,000,000. This being the case, the ratio of the discharges in question to the total population is 1 to 5,663.

The total male population subject to military duty—18 to 45 years—is about 20,000,000 and the ratio of these discharges to that population is 1 to 1,205.

The annual additions to the male population subject to military duty is about 750,000, and the ratio of the discharges to this annual addition is 1 to 45. In other words, where one man with more or less military training is added annually to the male population subject to military duty, 45 wholly untrained men are added to that population. These figures show how insignificant is the effect that can be produced upon the civil population by discharges from the Army.

There is no ground whatever upon which to form an estimate of the number of former Regular Army soldiers that would reenter the military service in time of war, and consequently one person's statement or estimate with regard to this matter is as good as another's. But in view of the fact that men of the better or more stable class who leave the service are likely to obtain permanent employment with railroads, as policemen, or in other positions under the National, State, or municipal Governments, and in addition to this are very likely to marry and settle down, thus rendering their reentry into service most unlikely; and in view of the fact that the less desirable and less stable men are likely to become wanderers and most unlikely to reenter into an obligation that will

restrict their liberty, there seems to me no good ground for the belief that any very large number of former Regular Army soldiers can be expected to reenter the service in time of war.

The result of shortening our term of enlistment, or of keeping it as now fixed by law, but with the adoption of a prohibition against the reenlistment of privates, would result in filling the Army largely with immature young men of short service to the exclusion in great measure of the mature, seasoned, experienced, and capable private soldier of two or more enlistments that most, if not all, experienced company commanders are so solicitous to obtain and retain, and that has proven so valuable to the Army in a thousand difficult or dangerous situations in the past. This exchange of mature and seasoned soldiers of relatively long service for immature and unseasoned soldiers of short service and little experience could not fail to impair seriously the physical efficiency of the enlisted personnel of the Army. It is a notorious fact, well known to all medical officers and to all experienced line officers, that the young soldier has much less endurance and succumbs to disability much more quickly, either in peace or war, than does the older soldier of long service. The following tables show very clearly, for a period of seven years, and for the year 1909, the latest for which data are available, the great disparity between the older and younger soldiers in the matters of losses from disease and of impairment of effectiveness by reason of disease:

Age of soldiers in relation to losses from disease for a period of 7 years.

Age.	Total losses from disease per 1,000 strength.
19 years and less	27.95
20 to 24 years	17.35
25 to 29 years	15.09
30 to 34 years	14.42
35 to 39 years	14.64
40 to 44 years	24.11
45 to 49 years	26.23

Mr. SLAYDEN. That is, after they reach the period of 40 years the percentage begins to increase again.

Gen. AINSWORTH. Yes; but up to 50 years it does not reach the percentage of loss of the younger men.

Here is a table showing for the last year available the ratio of constant noneffectiveness by reason of disease:

Age of soldiers in relation to noneffectiveness from disease for year 1909.

Age.	Constantly noneffective per 1,000 of mean strength.
19 years and under	45.20
20 to 24 years	41.82
25 to 29 years	33.07
30 to 34 years	27.51
35 to 39 years	25.01
40 to 44 years	25.87
45 to 49 years	25.11
50 years and over	41.94

The superiority of the old and seasoned soldier to the young and unseasoned one in the matters of resistance to disease and effectiveness in time of war are very well shown by Brig. Gen. Woodhull in a recent edition of his work on military hygiene. He says:

"The record of immature recruits is uniformly that of inefficiency and disease. Thus Napoleon after Leipzig (1813) demanded 'grown men; boys serve only to fill hospitals and encumber the roadside.' In the Crimea (1854–55) Lord Raglan responded to the notice that 2,000 recruits awaited his call that 'those last sent were so young and unformed that they fell victims to disease and were swept away like flies, so that he preferred to wait' rather than to have lads shipped to him as soldiers. Lord Hardinge writes of the same campaign that 'although no men were sent under 19 years of age, yet when sent out it was found that instead of being composed of bone and muscle they were almost gristle.' Falsification of age is very common where minors may legally be enlisted. In Egypt, in 1798, the Sixty-eighth British from Bombay was composed chiefly of boys. They lost nearly half their number from fever which broke out on their passage, and they continued so sickly that they were reembarked and sent back. But the Sixty-first, over 900 strong, nearly all old soldiers, who were 16 weeks aboard ship, landed with only 1 man sick. We do not know the condition of the respective transports and the supervision the men received, but the element of age must have been an important, if not a controlling, factor. In the Peninsular War (1805–1814) 300 men seasoned and matured by five years' service were reckoned more effective than 1,000 lads received as recruits. Our own medical officers in Mexico (1847) constantly reported that the inferior physique and especially the youth of the recruits materially swelled the lists of the sick and the dead. In Gen. Roberts's march from Kabul to Kandahar (1880) 'it was the young soldiers who succumbed to its fatigues, while the old soldiers became hardier and stronger every day.' The Franco-German experience (1871) coincided with the earlier records. There are no authentic statistics that show the relative influence of age upon disability in the field during the Civil War, but all officers who served with troops then will agree in the general statement that the very young men were those who, as a rule, first broke down under exposure and hardship, as would naturally be expected. Even in peace the official reports show that the sick rate of those under 25 greatly exceeds the mean for the whole Army."

With regard to the experience of the Union Army in the Civil War, many thoughtless or uninformed persons are accustomed to say that that Army was an army of boys, but that statement is far from correct. Of course there were many boys and very young men in service during that war, but there were also very many more men of mature age and a good many of very advanced age from the military standpoint. Several years ago an examination of the individual military histories of more than a million Union volunteers of the Civil War period showed that the average of the ages of all these men at the dates of their enlistment was a little less than 26 years, and that figure can be taken safely as representing the average age at enlistment of all volunteers of the Union Army. This shows conclusively that that Army was very far from being an army of boys. Of course there will always be boys in any great army, but equally, of course, when the entire military strength of a nation is drawn upon, especially by conscription, men of all ages between the minimum and maximum will be brought into service. It is evident that it can not be said of any great army, even with approximate accuracy, that it is or was an army of boys.

VIEWS OF ARMY OFFICERS.

In order to ascertain the views of those officers of the Army who are best qualified to judge as to the merits of the five-year system of enlistment as compared with the three-year system, the committee addressed letters of inquiry to all field officers of the line of the Army who were not stationed in or near Washington, whose addresses were ascertainable, and whose length of service, as shown by the Army Register, was such that they must have had experience with both the five-year and the three-year systems of enlistment, the former covering the period from March 3, 1869, to August 1, 1894, for all branches of the service, and the latter being in force for all branches from August 1, 1894, to the present date. (Hearings, p. 154.)

Inquiries were not addressed to officers below the grade of major, because their length of service was so short that but very few, if any, of them could have had practical experience with the five-year system that ended in 1894, and consequently their views as to the relative merits of the two systems must be purely theoretical and entitled to no weight as against the views of officers having had practical experience under both systems.

In order to secure frank and unconstrained expressions of opinion, inquiries were addressed only to officers who were stationed at a distance from Washington, and who were consequently beyond the immediate influence of the War Department and of those in it who had committed themselves to any of the different views with regard to the subjects of the inquiry.

These inquiries were sent out because Maj. Gen. Leonard Wood, the Chief of Staff, differing from all other officers previously examined by the committee on the subject of the enlistment period, opposed the five-year system, and at a hearing held by the committee on May 12, 1911, declared, among other things (1) that he was in favor of a short enlistment period of not to exceed three years (hearings, pp. 131–136); (2) that he was opposed to any reenlistments except those of noncommissioned officers and a few of the higher grades of privates, not to exceed 25 per cent of the whole strength (ibid., 129, 131, 140); (3) that an excellent Infantry soldier can be made in one year, and that a very good Cavalry or Field Artillery soldier can be made in 15 months (ibid., 133); (4) that in active military duty soldiers of an organization composed of veterans would not be worth their salt (ibid., 140); (5) that if a soldier has not become a noncommissioned officer in 10 years he is almost worthless (ibid., 140); (6) that reenlistments until eligibility for retirement is gained should be discouraged except in the cases of noncommissioned officers and a few privates (ibid., 129, 136, 143).

The inquiries sent out were as follows:

1. With the understanding that the existing law relative to purchase of discharges shall continue in force, do you regard the five-year period or the three-year period of enlistment as the better for our Army?
2. Had you experience as a company officer with the five-year system of enlistments?
3. Having in mind the question of expense and the difficulty of obtaining an increased number of recruits, do you favor enlistments for less than three years?
4. What is the average time required to make a well-disciplined, well-trained, thoroughly efficient, and dependable soldier in your arm of service?
5. Do you regard it as advisable to discourage the reenlistment of desirable soldiers of any grade?
6. Do you consider it advisable to prohibit the reenlistment of good soldiers who are physically and mentally competent to perform all the duties of their respective grades, but who are not noncommissioned officers, after having had 5, 10, 15, or 20 years of previous service?
7. Do you consider it advisable to encourage good soldiers, who continue to be physically and mentally competent to perform all the duties of their respective grades, to reenlist until they shall become eligible for retirement?

Answers to the foregoing inquiries were received from 277 colonels, lieutenant colonels, and majors of the line of the Army who had had experience with both the five-year and the three-year systems of enlistment. The nature of the answers is shown by the following table:

Table showing the answers of 277 field officers, who had had experience with both the 5-year and the 3-year systems of enlistments, to certain questions relating to enlistments, reenlistments, and service in the Army.

Opinions of officers as to whether 5-year or 3-year period of enlistment is better for Army:	
In favor of 5-year period	182
In favor of 3-year period	91
Indefinite	4
Total	277

Opinions of officers as to enlistments for less than 3 years:	
In favor	13
Opposed	262
Indefinite	2
Total	277
Opinions of officers as to average time required to make a good soldier in their respective arms of service:	
Cavalry officers—	
Believing 1 year required	2
Believing 2 years required	15
Believing 2½ years required	11
Believing 3 years required	26
Believing more than 3 years required	14
Field Artillery officers—	
Believing 2 years required	7
Believing 2½ years required	4
Believing 3 years required	7
Believing more than 3 years required	2
Coast Artillery officers—	
Believing less than 1 year required	2
Believing 1 year required	1
Believing 1½ years required	9
Believing 2 years required	8
Believing 2½ years required	9
Believing 3 years required	19
Believing more than 3 years required	2
Indefinite	1
Infantry officers—	
Believing 1 year required	3
Believing 1½ years required	7
Believing 2 years required	48
Believing 2½ years required	11
Believing 3 years required	51
Believing more than 3 years required	17
Indefinite	1
Total	277
Opinions of officers as to advisability of discouraging reenlistments of desirable soldiers of any grade:	
Would discourage them	7
Would not discourage them	265
Indefinite	5
Total	277
Opinions of officers as to advisability of encouraging reenlistments of good soldiers who are not noncommissioned officers after having served 5, 10, 15, or 20 years of previous service:	
Would not prohibit	262
Would prohibit	13
Indefinite	2
Total	277
Opinions of officers as to advisability of encouraging reenlistments of good soldiers until they shall have become eligible for retirement:	
Would encourage	259
Would not encourage	5
Would encourage reenlistments of noncommissioned officers, but not privates	12
Indefinite	1
Total	277

It will be seen by the foregoing table that an overwhelming majority of the opinions expressed by these 277 officers of long experience was adverse to the views of the Chief of Staff as hereinbefore summarized; that 182 of the 277 officers who answered the inquiries favor the five-year period of enlistment as against 91 who favor the three-year period—a majority of 2 to 1 in favor of the five-year period; that 262 as against 13 are opposed to enlistments for less than three years; that of the Cavalry officers 51 against 17 believe that more than two years are required to make a good Cavalry soldier, and that only two of the entire number of Cavalry officers believe that such a soldier can be made in less than two years; that of the Field Artillery officers 13 against 7 believe that more than two years are required to make a good Field Artillery soldier, and that not one of the entire number believes that such a soldier can be made in less than two years; that of the Coast Artillery officers 38 against 12 believe that two years or more are required to make a good Coast Artillery soldier; that of the Infantry officers 127 as against 10 believe that two years or more are required to make a good Infantry soldier; that 265 against 7 are opposed to discouraging the reenlistment of desirable soldiers of any grade; that 262 against 13 are opposed to prohibiting the reenlistment of good soldiers who have not become noncommissioned officers even after 20 years of service; and that 259 against 17 would encourage the reenlistment of good soldiers of any grade until they shall become eligible for retirement.

This committee has no hesitation in adopting the safe and sane views of the overwhelming majority of this great number of officers of ripe judgment and long experience, both as company and field officers of the line, as against the theoretical and revolutionary views championed by an officer who has had no experience whatever as a company officer, and whose entire experience as a field officer was limited to the few days in 1898 when he commanded a volunteer regiment that had been hastily raised and organized for service during the War with Spain. Surely the opinions of an officer of such limited experience, even though they be echoed by a small following of both superiors and subordinates whom his present high position has enabled him to attract or to influence, are entitled to but little weight in this particular matter as against the independent and expert judgment of a multitude of other officers whose opinions are based upon a long and practical experience, that he has not had, in immediate touch with and in command of enlisted men of the line of the Army.

UNORGANIZED RESERVE—PROHIBITION OF REENLISTMENTS.

In opposing the proposal to lengthen the term of enlistment in our Army from three years to five the Chief of Staff has brought forward a scheme for the creation of a reserve force that shall be available when needed in time of war to fill up the ranks of the Regular Army. This somewhat plausible proposal has received considerable support by those whose judgment has been influenced by the specious arguments and misleading statements that have been put forth by the advocates of the proposal. However, but little investigation is needed in order to show that the scheme is simply chimerical or visionary, as Maj. Gen. Carter preferred to call it during his hearing before this committee.

All of the estimates that have been submitted to the committee in support of the reserve scheme have been based upon the assumption that reenlistments in the Army shall be prohibited, except in the cases of noncommissioned officers and a few privates, and upon loose and extravagant statements as to the number of men who are discharged from our Army every year and who would be available for a reserve force or would be likely to reenter the Regular Army in time of war.

The showing hereinbefore made of the almost unanimous opposition of the most experienced line officers of the Army to any measure that will prohibit or discourage reenlistments of either noncommissioned officers or privates should be sufficient to condemn forever the proposal to curtail or prevent such reenlistments. It is not doubted that the best thought of our Army with regard to this subject should be, and will be, found among line officers of higher rank, whose professional attainments have been augmented and whose judgment has been matured by the experience that is only gained through length of service in all the lower grades and under the varying conditions of the garrison, the camp, and the field.

From the earliest days of the Army these officers have been an honor to their country and its flag. Our people have had good reason to confide in them and to be proud of them and, knowing this, have always been ready to trust them and to honor them. No whisper of detraction against them as a body was ever heard until recently, when opposition to pending legislation led an officer of the Army, not of their class, to speak of them in terms of disparagement that are likely to be regarded as more injurious to him than to them.

It is certain that the officers whose views are set forth in the foregoing table are best qualified to express an expert opinion with regard to the matter in question, and that a very great majority of them are convinced that our Army should be a distinctly professional one, an army composed, not of recruits or of soldiers in the making, but of thoroughly disciplined, highly trained, seasoned, and experienced professional soldiers. Such an army is the British Army, with which our Army has much in common, and concerning which it was said in a recent authoritative publication by a distinguished officer thereof that "the first line is the regular army, or the expeditionary force. The governing idea of this force is that it should be small, professional, highly skilled, and fully trained, prepared to strike quickly at a distance, and mobile to the whole extent of the Empire."

Those who were members of the Military Committees of the House and Senate in 1908 will remember well the urgency and persistence with which the then Chief of Staff, Maj. Gen. Bell, and other officers representing the War Department, importuned members of both those committees to favor an increase in the pay and allowances of enlisted men in order to encourage reenlistments in the Army. It will also be remembered that, solely with this end in view, Congress embodied in the Army appropriation act approved May 11, 1908, legislation that not only provided a large bonus for each private on his first reenlistment, but that also provided a material and continuous increase of pay for all reenlistments up to and including the sixth reenlistment.

And now we are told, in effect, that this legislation, which involved an enormous increase in the annual expenditure for the pay of the Army, was all wrong so far as the private soldier is concerned; that the bonus now paid to him on reenlistment should be cut off; and that, with but few exceptions, he should

not be permitted to reenlist at all. By whom are we to be guided in this matter? The Chief of Staff and his followers of 1908, or the Chief of Staff and his followers of to-day? What assurance have we that if we adopt and act upon the ideas of the present Chief of Staff some other Chief of Staff will not appear in a year or two and tell us that those ideas were all wrong and that our action in accordance with them was a grievous error?

Inasmuch as in this matter of reenlistments the substantially unanimous opinion of the 277 field officers heretofore mentioned is in accord with the views of the Chief of Staff and his followers of 1908 and is distinctly adverse to the views of the present Chief of Staff and his small following, and in view of the storm of protest that was raised in the Army by the legislation of February 27, 1893, that materially restricted the reenlistment of privates, but that, as a result of this storm, was repealed on August 1, 1894, within less than a year and six months after its enactment (hearings, p. 154), this committee is convinced that it should be regarded as settled that in our Army reenlistments in all grades should be encouraged instead of being prohibited or discouraged in any way. The committee is also convinced that no serious consideration should be given to the views of theorists, however enthusiastic they may be, who would attempt to use our small Army for the inappreciable effect that it can produce as a training school on the whole population of the country, or for the creation of a military reserve, in the way in which use is made of the enormous military establishments of the countries of continental Europe, in all of which, the Republic of Switzerland included, compulsory and universal military service prevails.

The futility of any attempt to create a reserve through any use that can be made of our little Army, and the grossly misleading character of the loose and extravagant statements that have been made as to the number of men available for a reserve who will return to civil life from the Army each year, will become apparent when a true statement of the facts in the case is made. So far as known to this committee, the only authoritative or reasonable statement that has been made with regard to this particular subject is one that was published in Senate Document No. 259, Sixty-second Congress, second session, and sets forth, under date of January 13, 1912, the showing of the official records of The Adjutant General's Office relative to the subject in question. In this connection especial attention should be given to the fact, pointed out by the Chief of Staff in a memorandum dated January 13, 1912, and forwarded to this committee on the same date by the Assistant Secretary of War, that those who purchase their discharges and others who reenlist after three months from the date of their respective discharges from the Army should be eliminated from the calculation in estimating the number of discharged soldiers who are likely to return to the colors in time of war. Following is the statement before referred to:

Table showing for the 10 years ending June 30, 1911, the average annual number of original enlistments in the Army, of reenlistments, of discharges from service by reason of expiration of terms of enlistment, and of separations from service for all other causes.

Original enlistment (only enlistments made within 3 months after discharge, so as to give credit for continuous service, are counted as reenlistments. See note below)		19,373
Reenlistments (only enlistments made within 3 months after discharge, so as to give credit for continuous service, are counted as reenlistments. See note below)		10,219
Discharges by reason of expiration of terms of enlistment		18,103
Separations from service for causes other than expiration of terms of enlistment:		
By discharge for disability	1,224	
By court-martial sentence	2,256	
By desertion	5,107	
By purchase (average for 7 years)	1,674	
By order, not including discharge by purchase (includes discharges by purchase for 3 years)	2,950	
By death	512	
By retirement	241	
		13,964

NOTE.—It should be observed in connection with the figures in the foregoing statement showing original enlistments and reenlistments that it has long been the practice of the department, in compiling its annual statistics with regard to these matters, to count as reenlistments only those reentrances into service that occur within three months after discharge, so as to give credit for continuous service to the men so reenlisted. It is well known that many men reenter the service each year after the expiration of three months from the dates of their discharges. Under the practice before stated, these reentrances into service have not been counted in the past as reenlistments, although, of course, they really are reenlistments. It is impossible to ascertain the number of these uncounted reenlistments during the past 10 years in any reasonable time or with any reasonable expenditure of labor. It is certain, however, that if the number were known it would materially increase the average reenlistment figure of 10,219 given in the foregoing table, and would make a corresponding decrease in the original enlistment figure of 19,373 given in the same table. (F. C. Ainsworth, The Adjutant General, War Department, The Adjutant General's Office, Jan. 13, 1912.)

It will be seen by the foregoing statement that during the last 10 years the average annual number of separations from service in the Regular Army for all causes was 32,067, but that of these 13,964 were caused by discharge for disability, by court-martial sentence, by desertion, by purchase, by order, by death, and by retirement, all being causes that indicate that the men so discharged are unavailable for any kind of a reserve, or for further military service, either in time of peace or war.

Deducting these unavailables from the 10-year average of separations from service for all causes, there remain only the discharges by reason of expiration of terms of enlistment, the average of which was 18,103. But this number must be still further reduced by deducting from it 10,219 as the average number of continuous-service reenlistments. This deduction reduces the number of availables for a reserve to the insignificant figure of 7,884, and when this number is still further reduced, as it must be, by the unknown but considerable number representing the men who reenlist after the expiration of the period within which continuous reenlistments can be made, and the men who have desirable employment open to them in civil life, or who have relatives dependent upon them for support, or who desire to marry, or who enlist in the Marine Corps or the Navy, as many honorably discharged soldiers do, or who for any other reasons are unwilling to return to the Army or to subject themselves to military restraint of any kind, it is apparent that the small remaining figure of 7,884, as representing probable or possible reservists, will be reduced nearly or quite to the vanishing point. At any rate, these statistics show the utter baselessness of the extravagant statements that have been made as to the number of reservists that our Army can furnish annually. They also show beyond a doubt that it is impossible for us to create a reserve of sufficient size to be of any value, even if we prohibit the reenlistment of the majority of privates as has been proposed; but the safe and sane opinion of the Army is so overwhelmingly opposed to such a restriction of enlistment that there is little or no probability that such a restriction will ever be imposed, or, if it is imposed, that it will be tolerated any longer than the similar restriction that was imposed by the legislation of February 27, 1893, which was repealed on August 1, 1894, was tolerated.

The Chief of Staff, in referring (statement, p. 21) to a statement said to have been made to the effect that former soldiers will not return to the colors in time of war, says that—

> The best obtainable opinion is that this statement is wholly unfounded and is an unwarranted reflection on the patriotism of men who have served with the colors and returned to civil life.

This declaration would have more weight if it were supported by anything to show that "the best obtainable opinion" emanated from a source having any knowledge about the matter. In support of this assertion the Chief of Staff submitted a few figures with regard to enlistments in our Army during the War with Spain; but on subsequent inquiry by this committee it was found that those figures had no substantial basis and justified no conclusion with regard to the matter. In response to this inquiry, however, the Acting Secretary of War, in transmitting certain memoranda to the committee, submitted several statements by The Adjutant General of the Army relative to enlistments in volunteer organizations raised for service during the Philippine insurrection, and in response to a subsequent request by the committee for any further statements of this kind that had been made the Chief of Staff submitted an earlier statement by The Adjutant General relative to enlistments in another volunteer organization during the Philippine insurrection and in a volunteer regiment raised for service during the War with Spain.

These two statements show that out of 5,134 officers and enlisted men composing three volunteer regiments raised for service during the Philippine insurrection, 1,412 had had previous service in recently disbanded volunteer organizations of the Spanish War period, whereas only 453 had previous service in the Regular Army. The earlier statement, that was withheld when the other statement was furnished to the committee, also brought to light the significant fact that out of 1,237 officers and men composing the First United States Volunteer Cavalry, War with Spain, only 15 had previous service in the Regular Army.

The significance of these figures lies in the fact that the regiments raised for the Philippine insurrection were raised for a short term only, and at a time when many thousands of men who had seen very little active service during the War with Spain were being disbanded with volunteer regiments or were being discharged from the Regular Army, and naturally seized the opportunity to see something more of the service and of the world by joining the short-term volunteer regiments that were

then in process of organization. But the First United States Volunteer Cavalry, which was raised at the beginning of the War with Spain, was raised under more normal conditions, and the showing of the official record as to the small number of its members who had previous service in the Regular Army is a much more reliable indication of what may be looked for in this respect at the beginning of any war.

There is no ground on which it can be safely predicted that patriotism or any other consideration will lead large numbers of former soldiers of the Regular Army, who have been any considerable length of time in civil life, to return to the ranks of that Army in time of war. On the contrary, there is the best of grounds for the belief that these trained men, no matter how great their number may be, if they return to the service at all, will be much more likely to enter recently organized volunteer regiments in which there will be a much better opportunity than the Regular Army affords for them to secure appointments as commissioned officers or as noncommissioned officers of the higher grades. There is no reason to believe that the unorganized "reserve," of which the Chief of Staff speaks so indefinitely in his statement, and which is nothing more than the whole number of men that have been returned to civil life from the Regular Army, with no nearer or other relation to that Army than if they had never been in it, can ever be relied upon as a source of strength for the standing Army in time of war.

COMPARISON OF PLANS OF ENLISTMENT.

In a printed statement dated January 6, 1912, transmitted to this committee by the Secretary of War, the Chief of Staff undertakes (statement, pp. 20–22) to make a comparison between what he calls the "ideal five-year plan" of enlistments and the "reserve plan" of three-year enlistments, for a period of 15 years, in respect of the "military strength of the country" and of certain expenditures on account thereof. He figures that under the five-year plan the "assured enlisted military strength of the country" at the end of 15 years would be 76,912 men, and that the total pay of the enlisted men of the whole Army for the entire period would be $322,203,860; whereas, under his reserve plan of three-year enlistments the "total military strength" would be 316,004 men at the end of 15 years, and the total pay of the enlisted men of the whole Army for the entire period would be $296,589,784, making a difference in 15 years of $25,624,076 in favor of the three-year plan.

Although it would seem that it should be apparent to anyone that the assumptions on which these so-called estimates are based are themselves baseless, and that consequently the conclusions stated amount to nothing more than unsupported assertions that are entitled to no weight, it is believed to be advisable to discuss them somewhat fully in order that those interested may determine for themselves how much or how little weight shall be given to them and to other assumptions or assertions embodied in the same publication or emanating from the same source.

The "ideal five-year plan" described by the Chief of Staff is merely a man of straw set up by him to be demolished for his own purposes. It is not the idea of any thoughtful advocate of the five-year system of enlistments, and any schoolboy should know that the operation of that system in the manner described by the Chief of Staff is so utterly impossible as to render the presentation of it an absurdity as an argument against the five-year system of enlistments.

In attempting to show that as a result of the operation of the "ideal five-year plan" the "assured enlisted military strength" at the end of 15 years would be only 76,912, the Chief of Staff assumes that during a period of 15 years there would be no losses from casualties of any kind, and that every man discharged by expiration of term of service would reenlist, so that all the men who enlisted at the beginning of the period would remain in service until the end of it; but everyone who knows anything about the matter knows that this assumption is wholly unjustified, and that it is a certainty that, under any conditions, the losses from desertion, death, disability, and other causes will be very great, and that many men discharged by expiration of their terms of enlistment will not reenlist.

There is much more solid ground than mere guesswork or unsupported assertion upon which to base a reliable estimate of the losses that will occur in any given period of enlistment and of the number of men who will or will not reenlist at the expiration of their terms of service. That ground is to be found in the showing of the official records of the Army for the past 10 years, as set forth in Senate Document No. 259, Sixty-second Congress, second session, hereinbefore quoted in full. It is shown by that document that, as an average for the last 10 fiscal years, the losses from various causes were such that less than 57 per cent of all enlistments were terminated annually by completion of terms of enlistment, and that the places of more than 43 per cent of the enlisted force were vacated prematurely and were filled by new men. If these were the results obtained under a three-year system of enlistments, it is certain that the losses that would necessarily continue throughout the two additional years of a five-year period of enlistment, added to the losses of the three previous years, would reduce the number of completed enlistments to at least 50 per cent of the whole number of enlistments in force.

The official document before referred to also shows that during the past 10 years, under the existing three-year system of enlistments, the average annual number of continuous-service reenlistments was about one-third of the total number of entrances into service, and, in the absence of more definite data, it may be assumed for the purpose of the present comparison that the same reenlistment ratio would prevail under a five-year system.

It is evident, therefore, that if 76,912 men should enter simultaneously upon a five-year period of enlistment, as assumed by the Chief of Staff, only one-half of them, or 38,456, would serve until the expiration of their term of enlistment, and that the remainder would have their enlistments terminated prematurely for causes that would render them unavailable for further military service. It is also to be expected that only one-third of the 38,456 men discharged by expiration of service would reenlist and that the remainder, or 25,637, would return to and remain in civil life. From this it is to be estimated that at the end of 15 years, or three five-year enlistment periods, there would be in the Army and in civil life a total of 128,186 men with considerable military training. This number is arrived at in the following manner:

Total number remaining in service after discharges on last day of third five-year period	51,275
Discharged by expiration of term during three five-year periods and not reenlisted (3×25,637)	76,911
Total	128,186

Of course this number would be reduced somewhat by reason of deaths and disqualifying disabilities occurring after separation from the Army. The casualties from these causes among men returned to civil life must be greater than similar casualties among an equal number of men in the Army, this because of advancing age, irregularities in mode of life that are repressed in the service, and lack of the food, clothing, sanitary care, and gratuitous medical attendance that are so generously and promptly supplied to the soldier; but if we reduce the foregoing figure, representing the number of men separated from the Army and returned to civil life during a period of 15 years upon the assumption that their death and disability rate will be no greater than that shown for the Army by the official document before referred to, viz, 5 per cent of all separations from the service for all causes for a period of 10 years, we shall certainly make no more than the minimum reduction that should be made in the total figure. Making this reduction leaves 121,777 as the figure that would represent the number of trained men in the Regular Army and in the civil population available for further military service at the expiration of 15 years of operation of the "ideal five-year plan" described by the Chief of Staff.

This strength is 44,865 greater than the strength of 76,912 that was estimated by the Chief of Staff to be the result of 15 years' operation of this same plan.

It is also possible, by utilizing the showing of the official records for the past 10 years to make a reasonably accurate estimate of the results of the operation of the somewhat nebulous "reserve plan" of three-year enlistments outlined by the Chief of Staff on pages 20 and 21 of his printed statement. A real estimate made on this basis will be much more informing than a collection of figures, such as those presented by the Chief of Staff on page 20 of his statement, that have no more substantial foundation than mere conjecture or unsupported assertion. In presenting that collection of figures the Chief of Staff passed over, with but casual mention, all the enormous losses that the Army suffers each year through desertion, death, discharge for disability, or by purchase, and other causes, as if taking those losses into account would not change his figures materially. This is a very convenient method of obtaining a predetermined result, but it will not bear analysis, and it goes far toward discrediting any other conclusions that have been or may be announced by the originator of the method.

The official record of the experience of the past 10 years shows that not more than 56.45 per cent of all enlisted men will complete their terms of enlistment, and that the remainder will leave the service prematurely for causes that render it necessary to exclude them from any calculation of future military strength under any system of voluntary enlistments. Conse-

quently, of the 59,748 men other than noncommissioned officers, assumed by the Chief of Staff to be in service under his "reserve plan" of three-year enlistments, only 33,728 men available for further military service could be expected to return to civil life during each entire three-year period of enlistment. In other words, assuming, as the Chief of Staff does on page 20 of his statement, that the entire Army "would enter simultaneously upon a three-year enlistment," the number of men available for further military service who would return to civil life during each three-year period, up to and including the end of the fifth period and of the fifteenth year, would be 33,728, and no more, making a total of 168,640 such men who would be returned to civil life during the entire 15 years.

To this number must be added the 17,164 noncommissioned officers who would enter the service at the beginning of the 15-year period and who, or the successors of those separated from service for various reasons during that period, would be in service on the last day of the period. This makes a total of 185,804 trained men available for further military service that would be passed into civil life during the entire period of 15 years, or would remain in the Army at the end of that period. Enlisted men, other than noncommissioned officers, who would take the place of those discharged on the last day of the fifteenth year are not included in this calculation, because, the Army being supposed to be at its full authorized enlisted strength on the last day of the period, they could not be enlisted until the next day, or the beginning of the sixteenth year. Moreover, they would necessarily be entirely raw recruits and could not be counted as trained men.

The same deduction of 5 per cent on account of deaths and disqualifying disabilities that was made in the case of those returned to civil life during 15 years of operation of the five-year plan must also be made in the case of those so returned under the three-year plan. This reduction being made, it will be seen that the maximum available military strength of the country at the end of 15 years of operation of the "reserve plan" of three-year enlistments advocated by the Chief of Staff would be 177,372 men. This strength is 138,632 less than the strength of 316,004 that was estimated by the Chief of Staff to be the result of 15 years' operation of this same plan. And the difference in favor of his impossible three-year plan as against the "ideal five-year plan" described by him, instead of being 239,092 at the end of 15 years, as represented by him, is only 55,595. However, this discrepancy is of no importance, except in so far as it suggests the general untrustworthiness of data submitted by the Chief of Staff in support of his various contentions. It is simply impossible to make any intelligent comparison between the preposterous "reserve plan" of three-year enlistments, described on page 20 of the printed statement of the Chief of Staff, and the five-year plan that is proposed by the pending bill.

In the light of the foregoing statement concerning the assertions of the Chief of Staff as to the relative merits of two hypothetical systems of enlistment in the matter of returning trained soldiers to civil life, it is apparent that it would be a waste of time to attempt to analyze the collection of figures submitted by him in support of his allegation (statement, pp. 21, 22) to the effect that in 15 years, under the five-year enlistment plan proposed by the pending bill, the total pay of enlisted men of the Army would be $322,203,860, whereas under his "reserve plan" of three-year enlistments the total cost would be $296,589,784, and at the end of 15 years the balance in favor of the latter plan would be $25,624,076, or an average of $1,708,271 annually. However, some comment with regard to facts underlying the figures appears to be necessary.

In the first place, the Chief of Staff assumes several impossible or altogether improbable things, notably that under the five-year plan all enlisted men will remain in service for 15 years, and that every one of them will draw the highest pay of his grade for second and third enlistments; also that under the three-year plan no privates will be permitted to reenlist. But the first assumption is impossible of realization, because, under any plan of enlistment, a very large number of men will always be in receipt of first-enlistment pay by reason of the fact that they will have been recently enlisted to fill vacancies that constantly occur as the result of desertions, deaths, discharges for disability, and other causes. And the realization of the second assumption is altogether improbable, because, as hereinbefore shown, the opposition of the Army to any prohibition of the reenlistment of good soldiers of any grade is so overwhelming that there is no likelihood that any such sweeping prohibition as that proposed by the Chief of Staff in this respect will ever be imposed, or, if it should be imposed, that it would be permitted to stand longer than a far less drastic prohibition was permitted to stand in 1893 and 1894.

In the second place, the Chief of Staff has very conveniently omitted to make mention of any expense in connection with his proposed system of reserves, but it must be apparent to anyone that in order to make reserves of any value as a dependable source of strength for the Regular Army in time of war they must be kept under the obligation of some form of enlistment, and that in addition to this they must be paid, to say nothing of the other great expenses that must inevitably be incurred for clothing, transportation, and other concomitants of their service. Taking 160,208 as the number of available reserves that could be accumulated in 15 years under the three-year plan described by the Chief of Staff, instead of the impossible 316,004 estimated by him, and assuming that only $2 a month be paid to each of them, the expenditure thus incurred for the fifteenth year would be $3,844,992, and the total expenditures for the entire 15 years that the Chief of Staff has chosen for his remarkable calculations would be $30,220,800.

This statement is based upon the assumption that the entrances of the 168,640 enlisted men, other than noncommissioned officers, into the reserves would be distributed uniformly over the period of 15 years, approximately the same number going into the reserves in each year. Of course, it is altogether impossible that soldiers should pass out of our Army on expiration of their terms of enlistment and pass into any kind of a reserve system, all at the end of the same three-year periods, in the manner described by the Chief of Staff. After a suitable distribution throughout the whole period of the 5 per cent reduction allowed for deaths and disqualifying disabilities, it is found that there would remain in the reserves at the end of the 15 years approximately 160,208 former enlisted men, excluding, of course, the 17,164 noncommissioned officers remaining in the Army; and that of these 160,208 men, 22,405 would have been in the reserves less than two years.

But it is idle to assume that any such pittance as $2 a month would induce any appreciable number of our people, impatient of restraint as they are, to tie themselves up by any sort of a workable agreement for 15 years, or even for 2 years. Our own experience affords no basis for an estimate of what we should have to pay in order to induce men to obligate themselves for a period of years, especially for a period so long as 15 years, to break away from all their manifold relations in civil life, and to reenter the ranks of the Regular Army, whenever called upon by the Government to do so. And the experience of no foreign country except Great Britain is of any value to us in this respect. Like our own country, Great Britain depends upon voluntary enlistments to keep up her regular army, and, in order to maintain a reserve therefor, she finds it necessary to pay her reservists at the rate of about $90 a year for those serving in the first two years of their reserve service and in a class known as section A, and to pay all other regular army reservists at the rate of about $45 a year. (Hearings, p. 151.)

If we were to pay no more than the British rate for a reserve to be created in accordance with the scheme set forth by the Chief of Staff on pages 20 and 21 of his statement, the 160,208 reservists of the fifteenth year, to which number his figures of 316,004 must be reduced for reasons hereinbefore stated, would be costing the Government for pay alone $8,217,585 annually, and the total expenditure for the entire period of 15 years on that account would be $58,174,560. But taking into consideration the difference between Great Britain and the United States in respect to wages, ease or difficulty of obtaining employment, purchasing power of money, and cost of living, to say nothing of the difference in environment, temper, and habits of the two peoples, it is more than likely that we should have to pay for this service double what Great Britain pays for it. On this basis the expenditure for the fifteenth year would be $16,435,170, and for the entire 15-year period $116,349,120.

It is astonishing that the Chief of Staff should have made such a statement as that which he published in the hopeless effort to show that his scheme would be less expensive than the five-year system of enlistments proposed by the pending bill. And it is still more astonishing that the Secretary of War should have forwarded the statement in question to a committee of Congress, with approving comment, as he did in a letter dated January 4, 1912.

ORGANIZED RESERVE.

In the printed statement of the Chief of Staff no attempt is made by him to show how he would keep his proposed reservists under such control that in time of war they could be brought back into the ranks of the Regular Army with any degree of certainty or promptness. It is evident that in order to accomplish this, even measurably, it would be necessary to place the reservists under some kind of a continuing enlist-

ment contract and to subject them to more or less surveillance. But does he or any other person who knows anything of the temper and habits of our people believe that any appreciable number of them could be induced to subject themselves to such a contract and to such surveillance for 15 years or for 10 years or even for 5 years? Does he not know that even with our present 3-year term of enlistment it is difficult to keep the ranks of the Army full at all times and that three of our most experienced Army recruiting officers, who have handled many thousands of applicants for enlistment, together with the Inspector General, who is in charge of the inspection service of the Army, and The Adjutant General, who has long been in charge of the recruiting service, all have testified before this committee to the effect that, while it will be no more difficult to keep the Army full under the 5-year system than it is under the present 3-year system, because for various reasons there will be fewer recruits required, it is certain that it will be impossible to do so if applicants for enlistment shall be required to enter into a contract for service that shall extend considerably beyond the expiration of their service with the colors? (Hearings, pp. 96, 105, 109, 115, 120, 149.)

It has already been shown in this report that if reenlistments of privates are to be continued there will be virtually no discharged men available for a Regular Army reserve and that but an inconsiderable number will be available for that purpose even if the reenlistment of all but a few of the privates is prohibited. But it may be well to consider what kind of an Army and what kind of a reserve we should have if the reenlistment of soldiers other than noncommissioned officers should be prohibited generally, and all enlistments should be required to be made for, say, five years, of which three years should be spent with the colors and two years in the reserve.

Taking as a basis for the calculation the figures given by the Chief of Staff on page 20 of his statement, and assuming, as he does there, that all reenlistments except those of noncommissioned officers shall be prohibited, it is evident that during the course of any three-year period 59,748 men would be separated from the ranks of the Army for various causes, and that their places would have to be filled by an equal number of new and entirely untrained men. If this change were to take place at the end of each three years, as shown by the figures of the Chief of Staff, the Army once in every three years would be composed of 17,164 noncommissioned officers with more or less military training and a mob of 59,748 wholly undisciplined and untrained recruits. That is the condition of demoralization that is portrayed by the ideal figures presented by the Chief of Staff; but, of course, no such extreme demoralization is possible in actual practice, because new men must be constantly brought into the ranks to fill the vacancies that are occurring from day to day because of deaths, desertions, discharges for disability, or by purchase, and for other causes. However, a lesser degree of demoralization and inefficiency would exist continuously as a practical result of the application of the plan under consideration.

Enlistments of all men other than noncommissioned officers being prohibited, and recruits being brought into service to fill vacancies as they occur from time to time, the average length of service of the entire 59,748 men could not at any time exceed one and one-half years, and 29,874 of them would necessarily have had a service of anywhere between 1 day and 18 months, even if it were to be assumed that all enlisted men would serve three full years before separation from active service. But such an assumption would be unwarranted, because the official record of the experience of the last 10 years shows that only 56.45 per cent of all enlisted men complete three-year terms of service. There are no data on which to base an estimate of the length of service of the 43.55 per cent of men who, under this new plan, would not complete three years of service, and whose places would consequently be filled by men with no service at all, but it is certain that the average length of service of these prematurely separated men would be much less than the average of one and one-half years before stated, and it seems entirely reasonable to assume that it could not exceed one year. It will be seen, therefore, that, because of this constant replacement of men with considerable service by men with no service at all, the average length of service of the entire 59,748 men would at any time be about 15½ months, and that 29,874 of them would at any time have had service ranging from 15½ months down to one day.

It is evident that under the operation of the plan in question we should have an Army of which the enlisted force, except the noncommissioned officers, would be composed entirely of men of short service and little experience. But very few of these men could possibly reach that stage of discipline and training that would make them efficient and dependable soldiers, and the great majority of them would be nothing more than half trained or wholly untrained men, unadjusted to their environment, ignorant of their duties and responsibilities, and a source of actual weakness instead of strength in time of emergency. It is inconceivable that any person of sound judgment, no matter what end he might seek to attain, should seriously advocate reducing our little standing Army to such a state.

As to the reserve that could be accumulated under the system of five-year enlistments, the last two years of each enlistment to be spent in the reserve, and all reenlistments to be prohibited except those of noncommissioned officers, it is apparent that unless our Army shall be greatly increased in size it will be impossible under any such system to accumulate a reserve force that will be large enough or dependable enough to be worth what it would cost not only in the way of direct expenditure on account of it but in the great impairment of efficiency to which the Regular Army would inevitably be subjected in order to maintain the reserve.

The only source from which the men for the creation and maintenance of any reserve of this kind can be obtained is the relatively small number of enlisted men who complete three years of service in the Army. As shown by the official record, published in Senate Document No. 259, Sixty-second Congress, first session, for the last 10 years the average annual number of men discharged by expiration of three years of service has been 18,103. But for the purpose of the reserve now under consideration this number must be reduced by the number of discharged noncommisioned officers who reenlisted and who under this reserve plan would be continued in active service. An average of one-third of all the noncommissioned officers must have been discharged annually during the last 10 years, and it is fair to assume that two-thirds of those discharged reenlisted. On this assumption, and taking the present number of noncommissioned officers, 17,164, as the basis for the calculation, we find 3,814 to be the number that should be deducted from the total average number of discharges by expiration of terms of service during the last 10 years. Reducing the number 18,103 by this amount we have 14,289 as the maximum number of men that can be expected to pass each year from service with the colors to service with the reserve.

Inasmuch as the period of reserve service under the plan in question would be two years, it will be seen that the maximum strength that could be obtained by this reserve at any time would be about 28,578 men. But deaths and disqualifying disabilities would continue to occur among the reservists as they have always occurred among men in active service, and, although it is not to be expected that in ordinary circumstances there would be many desertions among them, there is good reason to expect that, in view of the previous high desertion rate of our Army and the marital, business, and other alliances and entanglements in which many reservists would certainly become involved, the failures to respond to a call to the colors in time of emergency would at least equal the desertions that ordinarily occur among the same number of men in active service. It is shown by the official record of the experience of the past 10 years that the average annual number of deaths, discharges for disability, and desertions is about 9 per cent of the total enlisted strength of 76,912, shown by the Chief of Staff in his printed statement. Making a corresponding reduction in the total reserve strength of 28,578 before estimated leaves 26,006 as the maximum number of reservists that would be found available for service with the colors in time of war or other great emergency.

If we were to pay these reservists no more than Great Britain pays her Class A reservists, composed of men serving in the first two years of their reserve service, the annual expenditure on this account alone, to say nothing of clothing and other concomitants of their service, would be $2,340,540, or a total of $35,108,100 for the 15-year period chosen by the Chief of Staff for purposes of comparison.

And the little handful of 26,006 reservists who would be found available for service with the colors in time of war would be composed of men one-half of whom would have less than one year to serve under their five-year enlistment, and one-fourth of whom would have less than six months to serve. So that not more than 13,003 of them, or 19,505 at the most, would be of more than temporary value or would be worth calling out in the event of a great war.

The plan of five-year enlistments, with the last two years of each spent in the reserve was chosen for the purpose of this discussion because all of the officers who appeared before this committee, and who had expert knowledge of the business of the Army recruiting service, were unanimous in expressing a conviction to the effect that any attempt to lengthen the period of enlistment beyond five years, even though much of it should be spent in a reserve, would render it impossible to accomplish the already difficult task of keeping the ranks of the Army full.

However, the basic figures given in connection with the plan hereinbefore described are equally applicable to any other similar plan, and by the use of them anyone who thinks that possibly a dependable reserve of respectable size can be created and maintained under some other similar plan can determine for himself what the result of the adoption of such a plan would probably be.

Surely the creation and maintenance of any such reserve as that hereinbefore outlined, or any such reserve as it is possible to create with our small Army as the source of its supply of men, is not worth its cost in money alone, to say nothing of the grave injury that it would inevitably inflict upon the standing Army. No one who gives the matter careful thought can fail to see what the extent and nature of that injury would be, or can be misled or confused by the unsupported assertions and arguments of a few theorists, who, deriving all their ideas from the enormous armies of continental Europe, where compulsory and universal military service prevails, would have us believe that improvement rather than injury would be brought to our Army by depriving it of most if not all of its seasoned, disciplined, and highly trained private soldiers, and by filling up the ranks with untrained or half-trained men, all of whom would be relegated to civil life by the time that, in the ordinary course, any of them could become fairly efficient soldiers.

It is safe to say that until we have a very much larger standing Army than we now have, or until our people are ready to submit to compulsory military service, it will be impossible for us to utilize our Army, without impairing its efficiency, so as to create and maintain a reserve that will be of any respectable size or of any appreciable value either in time of peace or in the emergency of war.

TERMS OF ENLISTED SERVICE IN THE BRITISH ARMY.

In connection with the subject of enlisted service with the colors in our Army, and of possible service in a reserve, it seems to be advisable to consider here certain remarks made by the Secretary of War at a hearing before this committee on January 13, 1912, relative to the experience of the British Army as compared with our own in the matter of length of enlisted service with the colors, and relative to statements made by another witness with regard to the same matter at a previous hearing before this committee.

Comparing the British service with our own (Hearing, p. 24 et seq.), the Secretary quoted at length an article published in July last, under the caption of "The short-service system," by Col. F. R. C. Carleton, of the British Army, and drew therefrom the conclusion that Col. Carleton favors, and the experience of the British Army justifies, our adoption of such a short-service system as that advocated by the Secretary of War and the Chief of Staff, namely, a service of three years or less with the colors, with reenlistments restricted entirely or almost entirely to noncommissioned officers, and with provision for considerable service in a reserve before final discharge. Assuming that a statement had been made by another witness to the effect that the British Army was organized on a long-term enlistment plan because that was thought to be the best, the Secretary said:

I find by studying his [Col. Carleton's] article on the subject that quite the reverse was true. The British Army to-day represents the system of short-term enlistments, and has adopted it after experience with a long-service system which had broken down. The only reasons which have prevented it from adopting it to at least the extent which I have advocated here are reasons which do not apply to us, namely, the excessive burden of the Indian establishment of the British Army. * * * Before the Crimean War the British term of enlistment was for 12 years, and they had no provision for a reserve.

Again referring to Col. Carleton's article, the Secretary said:

That is an eloquent vindication of the short-term enlistment system by a representative of a nation that admits that they have introduced it as far as they can and that they are only prevented from adopting it entirely because of the burden of their Indian service, which requires 77,000 men. (Ibid., p. 25.)

The Secretary of War was singularly unfortunate in his deductions from Col. Carleton's article. A careful reading of the whole article reveals the fact that there is not a paragraph nor a sentence in it that indicates, or even suggests, that the short service that he was describing bears any resemblance whatever to the short service advocated by the Secretary of War and the Chief of Staff, of three years or less with the colors for all or nearly all soldiers except noncommissioned officers.

With but a very few and unimportant exceptions the term of enlistment in the British Army is 12 years for all branches thereof. "Long service" and "short service" are technical terms, as will be shown hereinafter, the former meaning a continuous service of 12 years with the colors and the latter meaning a service of 12 years partly with the colors and partly in the reserve. Men may, and do, enlist for either of them.

In the second paragraph of his article bearing the title of "The short-service system" (hearing, p. 26), Carleton stated specifically that he proposed in the article "to deal in detail with the line infantry only," the terms of enlistment in which are seven years with the colors and five years in the reserve. In subsequent paragraphs he said:

So far as regards conditions of service, the term of enlistment remained 12 years, the period which had meanwhile taken the place of the 10 years—not 12 as stated by the Secretary of War—of Crimean days, but instead of being passed wholly in the ranks it was divided into six years with the colors and six in the army reserve. In 1881 this distribution was altered to seven and five; from 1902 it was changed to three and nine, and then for a short time to nine and three. In 1906 it again became, and still is, seven and five, a distribution proved by long experience to be best suited to meet our cavalry and infantry requirements, though susceptible of modification with advantage for particular arms and corps. (Ibid., p. 27.)

The short-service ideal is to have large reserves, relatively short terms of color service, and small peace establishments, all calculated with regard only to efficient training in peace and the requirements of mobilization for war. Continental armies, troubled by no consideration of drafts for foreign service, are able to conform to this ideal. But in our army, and even with our relatively large peace establishments, the drafts can not be found if the term of color service is too short, as it was when we had three years' army and nine years' reserve service. When drafts can not be found, a demand arises for longer terms of army service and the strength of the reserve is threatened. The interests of drafts and reserves being thus in a measure antagonistic, we have adopted the seven and five years' term—a compromise which we have found best satisfies both. (Ibid., p. 30.)

All this shows clearly that the "short-service" system that Col. Carleton described and advocated was a system of seven years with the colors and five years in the reserve. If he had any idea of favoring any such system as that advocated by the Secretary of War and the Chief of Staff, he very carefully refrained from saying so or even giving a hint to that effect.

An official publication issued by the British war office in 1911, entitled "The General Annual Report on the British Army" for the year ending in September, 1910, shows plainly the meaning of the technical terms "long service" and "short service," with much other information bearing upon the subject now under consideration. The subjoined data in tabular form, taken from that publication, are consequently pertinent:

TABLE No. 1.—*British Army—Table showing, by branches of the service, the terms of enlistment for service with the colors and in the reserve; also the authorized strength.*

[General Annual Report on the British Army for 1910.]

Branches of service.	Terms of enlistment (years), Oct. 1, 1909 (p. 50).		Authorized number of noncommissioned officers and men, 1910–11 (p. 27).
	With the colors.	In the reserve.	
Long service, all arms	12	.....	(1)
Short service:			
Household cavalry	8	4	1,218
Cavalry of the line	7	5	18,306
Royal horse and field artillery	6	6	28,868
	3	9	
Royal garrison artillery	8	4	17,627
Royal engineers:			
Dismounted	3	9	3,802
Mounted	2	10	
Foot guards	3	9	7,121
Infantry of the line	7	5	137,377
Army service corps:			
Drivers	2	10	6,029
Mechanical transport	7	5	
Others	3	9	
Royal army medical corps	3	9	3,888
Army ordnance corps	3	9	2,224
Total	.....	.....	226,460

[1] The strength is all included under "short service."
[2] Under Sp. A. O. of Mar. 16, 1909, 3 years with the colors and 9 years with the reserve were authorized for a limited number (5,000) of royal field artillery.

TABLE No. 2.—*British Army—Recruits joined, by arms, with terms of enlistment for service with the colors, Oct. 1, 1909, to Sept. 30, 1910.*

[General Annual Report on the British Army for 1910, pp. 50–51.]

Arms of service.	Terms of enlistment for service with the colors.						Total.
	2	3	6	7	8	12	
Long service, all arms	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,550	1,550
Short service:							
Household cavalry	.....	.....	.....	.....	172	.....	172
Cavalry of the line	.....	.....	.....	2,770	.....	.....	2,770
Royal artillery	.....	880	1,839	.....	1,492	.....	4,211
Royal engineers	213	723	.....	108	.....	.....	1,044
Foot guards	.....	1,128	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,128
Infantry of the line	.....	.....	.....	13,567	.....	.....	13,567
Army service corps	1,017	136	.....	36	.....	.....	1,189
Royal army medical corps	.....	667	.....	.....	.....	.....	667
Army ordnance corps	.....	136	.....	.....	.....	.....	136
Total	1,230	3,670	1,839	16,481	1,664	1,550	26,434

TABLE No. 3.—*British Army—Service men transferred from the colors to the army reserve during the year ended Sept. 30, 1910.*

[General Annual Report on the British Army for the year 1910, p. 100.]

Service of men transferred.	Number of men transferred.	Service of men transferred.	Number of men transferred.
On enlistment	14	After 7 years	820
Under 2 years	3	After 8 years	10,312
After 2 years	965	After 9 years	136
After 3 years	931	After 10 years	64
After 4 years	35	After 11 years	30
After 5 years	95		
After 6 years	399	Total	13,804

The foregoing Table No. 1 shows that out of a total authorized strength of 226,460 enlisted men 198,396, or 87 per cent of the whole, belonged to organizations in which a service of from 6 to 12 years with the colors is required; that 22,035, or 10 per cent, belonged to organizations in which that service is 3 years or less, and that 6,029, or 3 per cent, belonged to organizations (army service corps) in which service with the colors ranges from 2 to 7 years.

Table No. 2 shows, for the year ending September 30, 1910, that of the 26,434 recruits who joined the Army during that year 21,534, or 81 per cent of the whole number, enlisted for a service with the colors ranging from 6 to 12 years, as against only 4,900, or 19 per cent of the whole number, who enlisted for a service of 3 years or less with the colors.

Table No. 3 shows that of the 13,804 men transferred from the colors to the reserve during the year ending September 30, 1910, only 1,948, or 14 per cent, had served with the colors 5 years or less, whereas 11,856, or 86 per cent, had served more than 5 years with the colors. It will also be seen that 10,542 of these men, or more than 76 per cent of the whole number transferred to the reserve, had served for 8 years or more with the colors.

These tables make it entirely clear that the British Army and its reserve afford no evidence of a disposition on the part of Great Britain to favor the extension or general adoption of any such a short-service system (three years or less with the colors) as that advocated by the Secretary of War.

The Secretary of War was also unfortunate in his reference to the practice of the British Army in the matter of permitting or discouraging reenlistments in that army, or continuance in service therein beyond the "normal time." In this connection the Secretary said:

> I should like also to call the attention of the committee to the very stringent regulations which the British Army imposes on the right of any man to continue service with the colors after the normal time. You remember, part of my suggestion was that we should only allow noncommissioned officers and a few specially selected men to do so. Now, the rule in the British Army is even more stringent than my suggestion was. I believe that only warrant officers have the right to extend their service with the colors. A warrant officer is a senior noncommissioned officer corresponding with our regimental sergeant major. In all other cases it is a matter of discretion with the Government.
>
> I have a reference to that in Banning (p. 94). I just call attention to that to show that that system is a possible one and is already in use in the British Army. (Hearings, p. 37.)

It will be observed that the Secretary referred specifically only to the right of the British soldier to reenlist; but it will also be observed that the idea conveyed to the committee by his remarks was that it is the practice to restrict reenlistments in the manner proposed by the Secretary for adoption in our service. Indeed, the Secretary, after quoting his suggestion that "we should only allow noncommissioned officers and a few specially selected men" to reenlist, specifically said:

> I just call attention to that to show that that system is a possible one and is already in use in the British Army.

If the Secretary or his advisers had taken pains to consult an easily accessible official publication of the British Government, viz, the General Annual Report of the British Army for the Year Ending September 30, 1910, hereinbefore referred to, he would have found that no such system of restricted enlistments as that proposed by him and his advisers is in force in the British Army, and he would thus have been saved from the serious error into which he fell in conveying to this committee the idea that such a system "is already in use in the British Army."

By reference to the table printed on pages 82 and 83 of the official publication just referred to, showing the "Terms of engagement, by ranks, of the noncommissioned officers and men in the regimental strength in the several arms" of the British Army on October 1, 1910, it will be seen that of the 236,496 men accounted for in that table, 20,143 "sergeants, drummers, etc., corporals, privates, and boys" in service at the date covered by the report, or 8½ per cent of the whole strength accounted for, had been permitted to extend their service to complete 12 years with the colors; that 18,542 men of the same grades, or 8 per cent of the whole strength, had been permitted to enter into, and were then serving under, a first enlistment of 12 years with the colors; and that 32,008 of the same grades, or 13½ per cent of the whole, had been permitted to "reengage"—reenlist—to complete 21 years' service with the colors. In other words, out of a total strength of 236,496 men accounted for 70,693 sergeants, drummers, etc., corporals, privates, and boys, or 30 per cent of the whole strength, were serving under enlistments or reenlistments that required them to serve 12 years with the colors, or until the completion of 21 years of color service.

This table also throws much light upon the conditions of service in the foot guards of the British Army, an organization that has been held up to this committee as a striking example of the application, in the British service, of the three-year system with restricted reenlistments advocated by the Secretary of War and the Chief of Staff. The table shows that of a total strength of 6,370 "sergeants, drummers, etc., corporals, privates, and boys" of the foot guards, 548, or 8.6 per cent, were serving on October 1, 1910, under a reengagement to complete 21 years with the colors; that 523, or 8.2 per cent, were serving under a first enlistment that required 12 years' service with the colors; that 306, or 4.8 per cent, were serving under an extension of service to complete 12 years with the colors; that 2,223, or 34.9 per cent, were serving under enlistments that required 7, 8, or 9 years' service with the colors; and that only 2,770, all privates, or 43.5 per cent of the whole strength, were serving under enlistments that required less than 7 years with the colors.

These figures fall far short of supporting the assertion or the suggestion that the British Army has adopted or tolerated any such system as that advocated by the Secretary of War and the Chief of Staff with regard to service with the colors, viz, a service of three years for all except noncommissioned officers and "a few specially selected men." It is interesting to note, also, in this connection, that these figures do not comprise any of the warrant officers, concerning whom the Secretary of War advised this committee that he believed that "only warrant officers have the right to extend their service with the colors." (Hearing, p. 37.) The table printed on page 27 of the Annual Report of the British Army, before cited, shows the number of the officers and warrant officers that are not included in the table on pages 82 and 83 of that report, from which pages the foregoing statement has been compiled.

Undoubtedly Great Britain's controlling reason for abandoning in large measure her original long-service system of enlistments for 12 years, all spent continuously with the colors, for a short-service system of enlistments for 12 years, part to be spent with the colors and the remainder in the reserve, was the desire to create and maintain such a reserve. And it is not unlikely that if it were not for the demands of her Indian service, she might extend somewhat her present so-called short service, which, by the way, with a few exceptions, is a very long service when compared with our present three-year system of enlistments, or even with the proposed five-year system. But it is unbelievable that, however solicitous they might be to increase the reserve, her statesmen would be fatuous enough to reduce her regular army to a semimob, the bulk of which would be composed of half-trained or wholly untrained men just drawn from civil life. Great Britain knows very well, and we ought to know, that the only means of escape from a situation that would demand such extreme measures would be the abandonment of voluntary enlistments and the resort to compulsory military service.

But the demands of Great Britain's Indian empire, and indeed of her entire foreign service, upon her army are hardly any greater relatively than the demands that will be made by our foreign service upon our Army in the near future if plans that have been announced are carried out. It is shown by the General Annual Report of the British Army, before referred to, pages 34 and 35, that on October 1, 1910, 127,788 officers and enlisted men of that army, or nearly 51 per cent of the total strength of 252,686 officers and enlisted men, were serving at home and 124,898, or a little over 49 per cent, were serving abroad, in the East Indies, the colonies, and Egypt.

It is also shown by a table printed on page 8 of the report of The Adjutant General of the United States Army for 1911 that on October 15, 1911, 59,328 officers and enlisted men of the United States Army, or nearly 71 per cent of the total strength of 83,675 officers and enlisted men, were serving in the United States, and that 24,347 officers and enlisted men, or a little over 29 per cent, were serving at or were en route to stations outside the continental limits of the United States on that date.

However, it appears from statements recently made to this committee by the Secretary of War (hearings, pp. 5, 6, 7) that the War Department proposes to arrange for the maintenance of a force of approximately 11,000 men in the Philippines, 9,000 men in Hawaii, and 7,000 in the Canal Zone, a total of 27,000 men. To these should be added the 1,136 officers and men serving in Alaska, 617 in Porto Rico, and 5,615 Philippine Scouts, shown by the report of The Adjutant General before referred to, thus making a total of 34,368 officers and enlisted men, or 41 per cent of the total number in service, that soon will be serving abroad. The Philippine Scouts and the Porto Rico Regiment are included in the foregoing figures for the United States Army for the purpose of comparison with the figures for the British Army, which include certain colonial and Indian troops that are counted as a part of the strength of that army.

If in the near future a plan is to be adopted under which 41 per cent of our troops are to be kept on foreign service, as against 49 per cent for the British Army, a difference of only 8 per cent, it is evident that the Secretary of War was in error when he said (hearing, p. 24) to this committee that—

the only reasons which have prevented [Great Britain] from adopting it [short service] to at least the extent which I have advocated here are reasons which do not apply to us, namely, the excessive burden of the Indian establishment of the British Army.

Indeed, if our expansion and entanglements abroad continue to grow, as they almost inevitably will, the time is not far distant when the relative demand upon our Army for foreign service will be even greater than the demand upon the British Army for such service.

If the plans announced by the Secretary of War in his hearing before the committee (hearings, pp. 5, 6, 7) for maintaining troops in the Philippines, Hawaii, and Panama and the present plan with regard to Alaska are carried out and maintained, we shall have nearly, if not quite, as urgent reasons for requiring *five years'* service with the colors in the bulk of our line organizations as Great Britain has for requiring seven or eight years' service with the colors in the bulk of the line organizations of her army. In his hearing before this committee the Secretary of War expressed (p. 9) his desire or intention to keep men three years instead of two in the Philippines. This would be impossible under any three-year system of enlistments, because considerable time must necessarily be consumed in preparing recruits for service, transporting them to the Philippines, and returning them to the United States for discharge, all of which must be accomplished within three years if an enlistment term of that length is maintained.

The proposal to require an enlisted service of three years in the Philippines is a strong argument for the adoption of the five-year system of enlistments, under which there would be no difficulty in establishing a three-year tour for foreign service, because there would be ample time in which to subject recruits to the necessary observation and preliminary training at home; then to send them to their destinations abroad; and then to bring them home after the expiration of their tours of foreign service.

The record of the hearing of the Secretary of War before this committee shows (pp. 24, 25) that he said:

I think The Adjutant General testified here to that, as I understood his testimony, namely, that the British Army was organized on a long-term enlistment because they felt that that was the best, and that we could best follow the example. I have looked that up, and I have here a very carefully prepared article by The Adjutant General for recruiting of the British Army, who is probably the one to know best about the history of that condition in Great Britain. I find by studying his article on the subject that quite the reverse was true (p. 28). * * * Gen. Ainsworth did not state fully the situation. He referred only to the regiments which have the burden of the Indian service. But there are other services, divided altogether into 13 classes or arms. Seven of those classes have a period of service with the colors of either 2 or 3 years, and thereafter 10 or 9 years, respectively, with the reserve; two of them have a period of 6 years with the colors and 6 years with the reserve; and only five have the figures that Gen. Ainsworth mentioned, of 7 or 8 years with the colors and 5 or 4 years, respectively, with the reserve.

Those statements are hardly fair to The Adjutant General, because they convey the idea that he compared the present and former conditions of service in the British Army and announced to this committee the conclusion that the experience of that army had led Great Britain to increase the period of service with the colors, and that it would be best for us to follow her example in this respect; also that he withheld from the committee information of importance relative to the various periods of service with the colors in the British Army. The record of previous hearings shows (pp. 153 and 151) that what The Adjutant General said to the committee, and all that he said to it with regard to these particular matters, was as follows:

That a system of two and three year periods of service with the colors is the rule in the armies of continental Europe, where military service is compulsory and liability to it is universal, is no argument in favor of the adoption or maintenance of any such system in the United States or in Great Britain, where a system of voluntary enlistment prevails (p. 153).

The period of enlistment for all branches of the British regular army, with a few unimportant exceptions, is 12 years, of which, in most cases, 7 or 8 years are spent with the colors, and 5 or 4 years in the reserve (p. 151).

The Adjutant General made no comparison between present and former conditions of service in the British Army, and expressed no conclusion with regard to the merits or demerits of either the "long-term" or the "short-term" service, past or present, of that army. And in saying that in most cases seven or eight years of the enlistment period in the British Army is spent with the colors and five or four years in the reserve he was entirely correct and withheld no information of importance from the committee. By reference to Table No. 1, ante, it will be seen that, out of a strength of 226,460 distributed therein among various branches of the service, 174,528, or 77 per cent of the whole number, are distributed among organizations in which seven or eight years' service with the colors and five or four years in the reserve is required; that 23,868, or 11 per cent, fall to organizations in which six years' service with the colors and six in the reserve is required, and that only 28,064, or 12 per cent, as against 88 per cent that fall to organizations in which long service of six years or more with the colors is required, are allowed to organizations in which short service of less than six years with the colors is permitted. The total enlisted strength of all short-term organizations, including 7,121 for the foot guards, about which so much has been said to this committee, was too insignificant to require or to justify mention of those organization either individually or by classes.

Flax.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. M. C. SMITH,

OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 27, 1915.

Mr. J. M. C. SMITH. Mr. Speaker, flax is a very important farm product. Recently I requested some information for a constituent concerning the culture and uses of flax, and to-day I am in receipt of a valuable reply from the Bureau of Plant Industry of the United States Department of Agriculture containing statistics and general information of value to those engaged in raising flax, and under leave granted me to extend my remarks, I herewith present the same for printing in the RECORD: The following is the letter referred to:

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
BUREAU OF PLANT INDUSTRY,
Washington, D. C., January 25, 1915.

Hon. J. M. C. SMITH,
House of Representatives.

SIR: Your letter of January 14, addressed to the Director of the Census Bureau, requesting information regarding the production of flax and flax tow, has been referred to this department.

The principal States producing flax in this country, together with the acreage devoted to flax in each of these States during the year 1913, are given in the following list:

	Acres.
North Dakota	1,000,000
South Dakota	425,000
Montana	400,000
Minnesota	350,000
Kansas	50,000
Iowa	10,000
Colorado	10,000
Wisconsin	9,000

All of the flax in the States mentioned is grown for seed only. It is flax of seed type, and not of fiber-producing strains. The straw is short and coarse and does not produce fiber suitable for fine spinning. Furthermore, it is sown, harvested, and thrashed in a manner very different from the methods of handling a crop of flax for fiber production. From 1,000 to 2,000 acres of flax are grown annually in the region northwest of Port Huron, Mich., primarily for fiber production. This flax is grown from seed of fiber types and the crop is handled in such a manner as to produce fine spinning fiber similar to that produced in Ireland and in Russia.

Seed-flax straw, including the seed, as it is drawn in the bundle directly from the shock, can probably be purchased in the Dakotas and adjacent States at from $8 to $12 per ton. So far as I am aware, it is not placed on the market in this form at the present time, but five or six years ago several thousand tons were purchased in this condition by the International Flax Twine Co., of St. Paul, Minn.

Fiber-flax straw, including the seed, is purchased in the shock in the field or delivered at the scutching mills in eastern Michigan at $10 to $13.50 per ton. The price of the seed flax varies with the market price of flaxseed and with the quality of the flax. Fiber flax bears a much smaller proportion of seed and the price varies chiefly with the quality of the straw itself.

Flax tow prepared in the same manner as upholstering tow, suitable for paper making, may be purchased from the tow mills in the seed-flax regions at $18 to $30 per ton. Flax tow composed of carding waste and strippings from flax cards, suitable for making a paper board used in the shoe trade for counters, and commonly known as heel board, is imported from Europe. The ordinary price of this material heretofore has been about $30 per ton, but owing to the scarcity of flax, resulting in the closing of many of the flax-spinning mills, the price of this material is now from $70 to $80 per ton.

The straw of the seed flax, after thrashing, may be purchased in the Dakotas at from $2.50 to $4 per ton loose or about $4 to $6 per ton baled. Straw of the fiber flax is estimated to be worth from $20 to $30 per ton after rippling, thrashing, and retting. It is not placed on the market in this form.

Some of the mills in eastern Massachusetts engaged in the manufacture of heel board are now beginning to use flax tow from the Northwest to supplement the supplies of carding waste which have been used heretofore, and it is claimed that very satisfactory results are obtained in this manner.

Very respectfully,

WM. A. TAYLOR,
Chief of Bureau.

Veto Message on Immigration Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT D. STEPHENS,
OF MISSISSIPPI,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 4, 1915.

Mr. STEPHENS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, frequent reference has been made in this debate to the fact that we who are favoring restricted immigration are the descendants of men who came from across the seas, and it is argued that because foreigners and descendants of foreigners have built up this great Nation it is wrong to turn other foreigners back from our shores.

Those who make this argument overlook a very important fact. It is only since 1820 that a record has been kept by the Government showing the number of immigrants that have come into this country.

An investigation of the records shows that a material change in the character of the immigration has taken place. Writers on this subject classify immigration as "old" and "new," the first class being those who came before 1883 and the second class being those who have come since.

Immigrants from England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Belgium, France, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, and the Netherlands comprise, very largely, the first class. Almost 95 per cent of the immigrants who came before 1883 came from those countries.

Since that date the character of immigration has almost entirely changed, and we find that nearly 90 per cent of it comes from Russia, Austria-Hungary, Greece, Italy, Bulgaria, Montenegro, Portugal, Poland, Spain, Syria, and Turkey.

It will be interesting to note some statistics taken from the report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, which show the number and per cent of illiterates from 1899 to 1909, inclusive:

Race or people.	Number over 14 years old.	Per cent of illiterates.
English	302,657	1.1
Finnish	123,415	1.4
French	81,449	5.4
German	566,579	5.1
Irish	381,095	2.7
Bohemian and Moravian	18,404	1.7
Dutch and Flemish	58,525	4.7
Scandinavian	483,049	.4
Scotch	95,073	.7
Welsh	15,191	2.0
Armenian	18,404	24.1
Bulgaria, Servia, Montenegro	80,854	41.8
Croatian and Slovenian	283,270	36.4
Dalmatian, Bosnian, Herzegovinian	23,270	36.4
Greek	170,513	27.0
Hebrew	744,395	25.7
Italian, North	311,243	11.4
Italian, South	1,517,768	54.2
Lithuanian	140,540	48.8
Polish	742,753	35.4
Portuguese	49,799	68.2
Roumanian	67,029	34.7
Russian	61,287	38.5
Ruthenian	113,931	51.0
Spanish	41,000	14.6
Slovak	312,954	22.1
Syrian	42,463	54.1
Turkish	15,408	58.9

This report discloses the fact that during the period mentioned less than 3 per cent of the "old" immigration could neither read nor write, while the illiterates among the "new" immigration numbered about 36 per cent.

How any intelligent man can fail to see a grave menace to our Nation growing out of this influx of illiterate foreigners is more than I can understand. Opposition to it can not be attributable to prejudice, as some contend, but rather to a strong desire to protect ourselves, our homes, and our country.

In my support of the bill I am not influenced by the demand for restriction of competition in the labor market, nor by the charge that foreign immigration has become a burden upon industry and is one of the chief factors in depressing wages; but I favor it from higher, better, and more important reasons.

The United States is very different from other nations of the world. Ours is a government of and by the people. They both make the laws and select their own agents to execute them.

Therefore it is important—indeed, absolutely necessary if our Government is to continue its existence—that our citizenship shall have, at least, education enough to enable them to view properly the manifold questions pertaining to our national welfare.

It will be seen from the figures given that more than 27 per cent of the present immigration is wholly illiterate, being unable to read or write any language. Of the southern Italians, more than 54 per cent can neither read nor write; neither can 59 per cent of the Turks, nor 68 per cent of the Portuguese. There are other nationalities with a percentage nearly as great.

While it is not contended that the ability to read and write is evidence of moral character, yet many who have given the subject much thought testify that there is a fairly constant relation "between illiteracy, the standard of living of the immigrant, his tendency to crime and pauperism, his disposition to congregate in the slums of the cities instead of going out to settle new parts of the country, and his failure to assimilate politically and socially and to have any but temporary interests in the country."

If this be true, then the literacy test would keep out large numbers who are dangerous, undesirable, and unassimilable, although it may prevent the coming of some who would make good citizens.

We spend millions of dollars annually to keep up the Army and Navy in order to be prepared to protect ourselves against the other nations of the world if war shall come; but we have not been nearly so careful to protect ourselves against the invading hosts of illiterates, criminals, and the morally unfit. We also spend millions annually in the cause of education. Why? Because we believe that education is helpful. Yet we have allowed the illiterates of other nations to come among us and add to the sum total of our own ignorance and illiteracy.

If ignorance be one of the greatest menaces to our Government, and no one will deny that it is, then I can not understand why anyone should object to the requirement that every foreigner, above the age of 16 years, coming into this country shall be able to read some language. This will not affect, except in slight degree, immigration from England, France, Belgium, Ireland, Germany, and other countries from which the better class of immigrants come, because in those countries the percentage of illiteracy is very low and in some of them even lower than in the United States.

Statistics show that not more than 3 per cent of the illiterates above the age of 14 years who come into this country ever learn to read and write. A large per cent of them congregate in the cities, they are clannish, follow their leaders, and fail not only to acquire the ability to read and write, but also fail to catch the true spirit of democracy and to develop a love for republican institutions.

The old immigration came hither inspired by a desire to obtain homes; they were willing to brave hardships and dangers, to spend and be spent in an effort to build a new nation; but it is not so with the new. A large proportion of them come here for what they may get from us in a material way. This is shown by the fact that only a small part of them bring their families; and that after they have made, what to them in the old country is a competency, they return to their native lands. During a recent year there was about $300,000,000 sent to foreign countries from the United States by foreigners residing here, thus taking out of circulation that large sum that ought to have been kept here.

The immigrants in the last 10 years, according to the report of the Bureau of Immigration, have carried out of this Nation over $2,000,000,000 to enrich their own countries; and consequently they have been a great and an unjust burden upon the honest labor here and they have despoiled the Nation of vast wealth.

That they have become a burden upon industry and one of the great factors in depressing wages I do not doubt; but I want to get back to the proposition that the illiterates should be excluded because of the effect of illiteracy on our institutions.

Some one, I do not now recall who it was, has splendidly stated the proposition that the true foundations of democracy are in the character of the people themselves; that is, of the individuals who constitute the democracy. These are:

First. Intelligence, the power to weigh evidence and draw sound conclusions based on adequate information.

Second. Manliness—that which the Romans called virility, and which, at bottom, is dignified self-respect, self-control, and that self-assertion and jealousy of encroachment which marks those who, knowing their rights, dare maintain them; and

Third. The capacity for cooperation—that willingness and ability to organize, to work together for a common interest and toward a common destiny, a capacity which we variously designate as patriotism, public spirit, or self-government.

Hundreds of thousands of foreigners come into our country every year who have no clear grasp of these foundations of democracy; many of them have never even dreamed that such principles exist. Such are entirely alien to our character, institutions, and instincts.

We believe in "law without despotism, liberty without license, religion without fanaticism." What do they know or care for these things? They can have no active sympathy with the efforts directed toward progress and the uplifting of mankind. Appeals for the cultivation of the finer side of their natures are not understood or go unheeded.

It is well to remember the warning sounded by Thomas Bailey Aldrich in his poem entitled "Unguarded Gates":

Wide open and unguarded stand our gates,
And through them presses a wild, motley throng—
Men from the Volgar and the Tartar steppes,
Featureless figures of the Hoang-Ho,
Malayan, Scythian, Teuton, Celt, and Slav,
Flying the Old World's poverty and scorn;
These bringing with them unknown gods and rites,
Those, tiger passions, here to stretch their claws.
In street and alley what strange tongues are these,
Accents of menace alien to our air,
Voices that once the Tower of Babel knew!

O Liberty, White Goddess! is it well
To leave the gates unguarded? On thy breast
Fold sorrow's children, soothe the hurts of fate
Lift the downtrodden, but with the hand of steel
Stay those who to thy sacred portals come
To waste the gifts of freedom. Have a care
Lest from thy brow the clustered stars be torn
And trampled in the dust. For so of old
The thronging Goth and Vandal trampled Rome.
And where the temples of the Cæsars stood
The lean wolf unmolested made her lair.

That we owe a duty to mankind everywhere, that we should lend every effort to uplift the men of every nation, I admit. But that does not mean that we should wreck ourselves or our Nation. Indeed, the greatest good that we as a Nation can do is to keep our Republic alive and show forth to the world that the highest blessings of life—the right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"—are to be found alone in a free country and under republican institutions. If future history shall record us as another of the nations that lived for a time and then went down to wreck and ruin it will be a sad ending for a once glorious Republic, and it will set back the cause of liberty and free government for many centuries.

I have no sympathy with the idea that, as a Christian Nation, it is our duty to let low-bred, uneducated, unintelligent foreigners come among us in order that we may Christianize them and put them upon a higher plane of civilization if by so doing we are likely to sacrifice our own people, our own institutions, our own Government.

Is this selfishness, is it prejudice, is it un-Christian? I do not think so.

Gen. Francis A. Walker very splendidly expressed himself in these words:

If that man who careth not for his own household is worse than an infidel, the nation which permits its institutions to be endangered by any cause that can fairly be removed is guilty not less in Christian than in natural law.

Charity begins at home; and while the people of the United States have gladly offered an asylum to millions upon millions of the distressed and unfortunate of other lands and climes, they have no right to carry their hospitality one step beyond the line where American institutions, the American rate of wages, the American standard of living are brought into serious peril.

Our highest duty to charity and humanity is to make this great experiment here of free laws and educated labor the most triumphant success that can possibly be attained.

In this way we shall do far more for Europe than by allowing its slums and its vast stagnant reservoirs of degraded peasantry to be drained off upon our soil.

The perpetuity of our Government and its institutions depends upon the character and ideals of its citizenship. If that citizenship is of base character and low ideals of life, then will the foundations of government be base and low. There will be a change of political ideals just in proportion to the racial composition of our citizenship.

It is argued that we are able to assimilate this large foreign element, and that it will be converted into good American citizens. In a measure this has been true in the past. But there is a limit to all things. The human system is able to take into it a certain amount of strychnine and not be hurt by it; but a larger dose will cause death. So it is with the body politic, there may come a time when it will be killed by an overdose of immigration.

The danger to the Nation does not come from the anarchist or from the man who takes human life, but it consists in those insidious influences that grow out of a failure to understand the principles of free government and a consequent disrespect for them.

We are gradually drifting away from the old landmarks of the fathers, and it results largely from immigration, because a large number of these foreigners are ignorant of the fundamental, moral, and political truths underlying our Government and because their ethical and religious ideas are fundamentally different.

The history of our Nation has been a glorious one; we can look upon it with pride, while the nations of the earth view it with wonder and amazement. But we must remember this Republic, which has developed such splendid proportions, was formed by men who were possessed of moral as well as physical courage, strength of character, and withal breadth of mind. If it is to live, it must be supported and upheld by men of like kind. So, Mr. Speaker, I shall vote for this bill, believing firmly that it is an effort to preserve the integrity of American homes, American civilization, and American institutions.

Apportionment of Representatives in Congress Among the Several States Under the Thirteenth Census.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN WORTH BAILEY.
OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 2, 1915.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to direct the attention of the Members of the House to a bill—H. R. 20737—which I had the privilege of introducing January 9.

I think it might fairly be termed a bill for the emancipation of Members of Congress. It certainly may be called a bill providing for the emancipation and enfranchisement of minorities. In the bill itself it is described as one "to give to any State entitled to at least three Representatives in Congress the privilege of electing them by proportional representation." Perhaps, before going further, it would be well to allow the bill to speak for itself. It follows:

A bill (H. R. 20737) amending sections 3 and 4 of the act of August 8, 1911, entitled "An act for the apportionment of Representatives in Congress among the several States under the Thirteenth Census," so as to give any State entitled to at least three Representatives in Congress the privilege of electing them by proportional representation.

Be it enacted, etc., That instead of being restricted to the method prescribed in the act of August 8, 1911, entitled "An act for the apportionment of Representatives in Congress among the several States under the Thirteenth Census," any State entitled to three or more Representatives in Congress may, if its legislature so prescribe, elect its Representatives in Congress by proportional representation.

SEC. 2. That where the Representatives are elected by proportional representation, if the State is not entitled to more than nine Representatives, they shall be nominated and elected by the State at large; if the State is entitled to more than nine Representatives, they may, at the option of the State, be nominated and elected by the State at large or by districts, each of which shall be composed of a contiguous and compact territory and shall be entitled to the number of Representatives that as nearly as practicable is in proportion to the number of its inhabitants. Each of such districts shall be so composed that it is entitled to at least five Representatives. The districts of a State shall be determined in the manner provided by the laws of the State.

SEC. 3. That the election of Representatives by proportional representation shall be subject to the following regulations:

SUBSECTION A. The election shall be by ballot, which shall contain the names of the candidates for Representatives in lists, each of which lists may contain any number of names from one up to the full number of Representatives to be chosen in the State or in the district, as the case may be.

SUBSEC. B. I. Any group of electors, subject to such restrictions as the State may impose, may nominate one of the aforesaid lists, but no elector shall take part in the nomination of more than one list.

II. Each State shall have the option of permitting the use of party names and emblems in connection with the aforesaid lists, and may prescribe a primary for the selection of candidates of a group of electors.

SUBSEC. C. On the election ballots the several lists of candidates shall be printed in an order determined by the election authorities by lot. The names of the candidates on each list shall be printed in the alphabetical order of the surnames, and each name shall be followed by the candidate's home address. The name of a candidate shall not be printed on the ballot unless he has previously filed with the election authorities a written acceptance of the nomination over his own signature. The form of the portion of the ballot devoted to Representatives in Congress shall be substantially as follows:

FOR REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS.

Directions to voters:

Mark a cross (X) opposite the name of one candidate only for whom you wish to vote. (If the candidate you vote for is found to be elected without your vote, or if he is found to have too few votes to be elected with it, your vote will be counted for some other candidate on the same list.)

Do not mark more than one name. If you spoil this ballot, tear it across once, return it to the election officer in charge of the ballots, and get another from him.

List 1.		List 2.		List 3.	
[Home address.] A.....		[Home address.] C.....		[Home address.] D.....	
" " B.....		" " G.....		" " L.....	
" " O.....		" " H.....		" " M.....	
" " P.....		" " J.....		" " N.....	
" " S.....		" " K.....		" " Q.....	
" " T.....				" " U.....	
" " V.....					
" " Y.....					

SUBSEC. D. The following method shall be used in determining which candidates are elected:

I. A ballot marked for candidates on more than one list shall be excluded from the count of the vote for Representatives in Congress. A ballot marked for more than one candidate on a single list, but not for candidates on more than one list, shall be counted as a vote for the list, but shall not be counted in determining the preference for any particular candidate on that list; the aggregate of such votes and the votes for each individual candidate on the same list constitute the total number of votes for the list.

II. The total number of valid votes cast shall be divided by the number of Representatives to be elected and the quotient shall be the full constituency.

III. The number of full constituencies contained in the total number of valid votes for a list shall be the number of candidates on that list to be declared elected on the first assignment of seats.

IV. After this first assignment of seats the remaining seats, if any, shall be assigned as follows: The total number of valid votes for each list shall be divided by the number of seats already assigned to such list, plus one, and to the list showing the largest quotient shall be assigned one additional seat. If two or more lists show the same quotient, the chief election official of the State or district, as the case may be, shall decide the tie by lot. This procedure shall be repeated until all the seats have been assigned.

V. The candidates to be declared elected from any list shall be those receiving the largest number of votes on that list.

SEC. 4. That to any vacancy that shall occur in the delegation of Representatives in Congress from any State or district, as the case may be, which has elected its Representatives by proportional representation under the provisions of this act, the chief election official of the State or district, as the case may be, shall appoint, to fill out the unexpired term, that candidate from the list on which the vacating Representative was nominated who of all the unelected candidates on that list received the highest number of votes.

SEC. 5. That all laws or parts of laws in conflict herewith are hereby repealed.

It will be noticed that its provisions are purely permissive. No State need resort to proportional representation unless it feels so inclined. If our southern friends have a fear of breaking up the solidarity which has so long been maintained, that is their affair. They are not asked to adopt an idea which for purely local reasons may be objectionable.

But I take it that in my own State of Pennsylvania a good share of the people may be expected to incline favorably toward a proposition so essentially fair. You see it does not involve taking anything away from anybody who is justly entitled to it. Its whole aim is one of simple square dealing. It would, of course, put the gerrymander out of business. It would open up political prison pens. It would largely destroy the influence of small and compact bodies, which in many congressional districts control the balance of power, and in doing so practically dominate both the majority and the minority. I have in mind a case in point. In a certain district the Republicans have a normal majority of approximately 1,200. In both the Republican Party and the Democratic Party there is a small number of prohibitionists, not party Prohibitionists, but believers in the prohibition policy. The Republicans can not carry the district without holding these, nor can the Democrats hope to win unless they can gain over the prohibition element. This balance of power controls the election. Yet in the total vote the prohibitionists represent a negligible fraction. Under the district system the tail wags the dog. The fly on the cart wheel makes it go round.

This is not representative government; it is not majority government; it is government by the minority, and often by the smallest minority. In many cases it resolves itself into a government of fanatics and impracticals.

I think I am not shooting much above the mark in saying that most Members of this House are in constant and mortal fear of this balance of power, our southern friends not less than our friends in the North, for the balance of power feared by the southern Member is in his own party, exerting itself as effectively in the primary as the same balance of power operates in the elections at the North. If Members will be honest with themselves, they will admit that they feel the necessity of paying constant court to this balance of power. For every thought they give to the great body of the constituency they represent they give ten thoughts, or perhaps a hundred thoughts, to that shifting and capricious element which is blown about by every political breeze and which judges a man not by the sum of his record, not by his fidelity to principle, not by his industry, not by his scrupulous regard for the pledges he has taken, but by some isolated act, by some word said or vote recorded to which that element can not subscribe.

The act in question may meet the high approval of a majority of his constituents; the word may have been the very one expected and desired by 95 per cent of the electors whose commission he holds; the vote may have been in accordance with their express or implied instructions; yet the 5 per cent, holding the balance of power in the election or at the primary, may throw him to the wolves.

This is almost certain to happen to many Members now on this floor as a result of their votes on prohibition and suffrage. It has happened to more than one as a result of their votes on canal tolls and the tariff. Yet if they could go or could have gone to the people on the broad basis of their general record they might have been or they might be secure in the result. It is only when a few malcontents are in control of the balance of power that an honorable career may be cut short and great talents and great industry denied to the service of the country.

Our system is supposed to be representative, but everyone knows that it is not truly so. What representation is there for a Democrat in Vermont or for a Republican in Texas? There are Democrats in Vermont, as there are Republicans in Texas, but they are as utterly denied representation in this great body as if they did not exist. They indeed go through the forms of exercising their citizenship. They vote for candidates for Congress. But for all the good their ballots do toward securing for them representation here they would as well stuff them into rat holes or chuck them into the kitchen stove. The only real purpose a Democrat serves in Vermont is to entitle the Republicans in that State to a larger representation in this House than they would otherwise get. But the Democrats might just as well be dead in actuality as they are politically for all the good they can do at the polls. The same is equally true as to Republicans in Texas.

I sincerely hope that in mentioning Texas none of my genial and good friends from that State will take offense. There is not one of them that I feel could be spared from this House. They are all men of ability and courage; they are leaders in this body; we all love them; we know their worth; we appreciate the splendid talent they contribute to the work of legislation and to party direction. It is with no invidious intent that this great empire of the Southwest has been mentioned in this connection. Only to point a moral has reference to it been made. Yet it is fancied that even the Slaydens and the Garners, the Callaways and the Burgesses, the Henrys and the Greggs, the Bealls and the Dieses, the Hardys and the Garretts, the Buchanans, and all the rest of that brilliant delegation will agree with me that the disfranchisement of rather more than one-fourth of the electors in Texas is not quite fair.

In a table which I shall ask to accompany this bill will be found an analysis of the returns for the congressional election of 1914 in 19 States, showing results under the present system as compared with those which would have been scored under the proportional system embodied in my bill.

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION OF 1914.

Results under the present system of election compared with those under a proportional system.

[The errors of the present system, which would be corrected by a proportional system, are indicated by the figures in italics.]

States.	Total vote for Congressmen.	Number of Congressmen apportioned to the State.
Arkansas	43,133	7
Colorado	247,506	4
Connecticut	173,844	*5*
Illinois	1,021,315	27
Iowa	397,756	11
Kansas	483,683	8
Kentucky	323,293	11
Maine	141,046	4
Massachusetts	447,177	16
Michigan	429,861	13
Minnesota	322,811	10
Missouri	600,589	16
Nebraska	234,627	6
North Carolina	202,582	10
North Dakota	67,599	3
Ohio	1,062,983	22
Rhode Island	77,753	3
South Dakota	96,635	3
Washington	335,190	*5*

States.	Democratic.				
	Number of Democratic votes.	Per cent of total vote.	Number of Democratic Congressmen elected.	Number who should have been elected.	Gain or loss by proportional representation.
Arkansas	37,265	86.3	7	7	*0*
Colorado	118,211	47.7	3	2	*−1*
Connecticut	78,110	44.9	0	2	*+2*
Illinois	415,248	40.6	10	11	+1
Iowa	159,232	40	1	*5*	*+4*
Kansas	195,830	40.6	6	4	*−2*
Kentucky	173,374	53.6	9	7	*−2*
Maine	60,683	43	1	2	*+1*
Massachusetts	186,924	41.8	4	7	*+5*
Michigan	149,762	34.8	2	5	*+3*
Minnesota	87,305	27	1	3	*+2*
Missouri	318,567	53	14	9	*−5*
Nebraska	112,309	47.8	3	3	*0*
North Carolina	122,147	60.2	9	6	*−3*
North Dakota	23,396	34.6	0	1	*+1*
Ohio	484,248	45.5	9	10	*−1*
Rhode Island	35,190	45.2	1	1	*0*
South Dakota	37,752	39—	1	1	*0*
Washington	96,652	28.8	1	2	*+1*

States.	Republican.				
	Number of Republican votes.	Per cent of total vote.	Number of Republican Congressmen elected.	Number who should have been elected.	Gain or loss by proportional representation.
Arkansas	4,087	9.4			
Colorado	84,485	34.1	1	2	*+1*
Connecticut	89,000	51.1	5	3	*−2*
Illinois	440,171	43.1	16	11	*−5*
Iowa	207,472	52.1	10	6	*−4*
Kansas	188,106	38.8	2	3	*+1*
Kentucky	123,518	38.2	2	4	*+2*
Maine	60,318	42.7	3	2	*−1*
Massachusetts	219,993	49.1	12	8	*−4*
Michigan	218,445	50.8	11	7	*−4*
Minnesota	181,482	56.2	8	6	*−2*
Missouri	240,917	40.1	2	7	*+5*
Nebraska	100,780	42.9	3	3	*0*
North Carolina	79,662	39.3	1	4	*+3*
North Dakota	44,203	65.3	3	2	*−1*
Ohio	479,482	45.1	13	10	*−3*
Rhode Island	39,001	50.1	2	2	*0*
South Dakota	52,844	54.6	2	2	*0*
Washington	128,001	38.1	4	2	*−2*

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION OF 1914—continued.

Results under the present system of election, etc.—Continued.

States.	Progressive.				
	Number of Progressive votes.	Per cent of total vote.	Number of Progressive Congressmen elected.	Number who should have been elected.	Gain or loss by proportional representation.
Arkansas	1,781	4.1			
Colorado	32,400	13			
Connecticut	6,734	3.8			
Illinois	123,833	12.1	1	4	*+3*
Iowa	19,095	4.8			
Kansas	74,401	15.3	0	1	*+1*
Kentucky	15,048	4.6			
Maine	17,958	12.7			
Massachusetts	33,683	7.5	0	1	*+1*
Michigan	47,700	11	0	1	*+1*
Minnesota	24,728	7.6	1	0	*−1*
Missouri	22,747	3.7			
Nebraska	14,200	6.1			
Ohio	51,962	4.8	0	1	*+1*
Rhode Island	1,321	1.7			
Washington	66,666	19.8	0	1	*+1*

States.	Socialist.				
	Number of Socialist votes.	Per cent of total vote.	Number of Socialist Congressmen elected.	Number who should have been elected.	Gain or loss by proportional representation.
Colorado	6,965	2.8			
Illinois	41,527	4.1	0	1	*+1*
Iowa	7,455	1.8			
Kansas	14,001	2.8			
Kentucky	4,235	1.3			
Maine	1,830	1.2			
Massachusetts	5,524	1.2			
Michigan	10,177	2.3			
Minnesota	29,296	9	0	1	*+1*
Missouri	17,149	2.8			
Nebraska	5,670	2.4			
Ohio	45,512	4.2	0	1	*+1*
Rhode Island	1,666	2.1			
South Dakota	2,688	2.7			
Washington	32,512	9.6			

In the case of the Prohibition Party and "other parties" the last three columns are omitted because no Representatives were elected by these parties and none should have been elected.

States.	Prohibition.		Other parties.	
	Number of Prohibition votes.	Per cent of total vote.	Number of votes.	Per cent of total vote.
Colorado			Independent, 5,445	2
Illinois	484		Socialist-Labor, 52	
Iowa	4,170	1	Independent, 332	
Kansas	11,345	2.3		
Kentucky	150		Independent and scattering, 6,968	2.1
Maine	257			
Massachusetts			Progressive Citizens, 1,053	
Michigan	3,346		Socialist-Labor, 341	
Missouri	602		Socialist-Labor, 607	
Nebraska	1,668			
North Carolina			773	
Ohio	1,779			
Rhode Island	575			
South Dakota	1,850	1.9	Independent, 1,501	1.5
Washington	10,230	3	Independent-Prohibition, 1,129	

NOTE.—This table is based mainly on the returns printed in the World Almanac. Where these returns were evidently incomplete or an error was suspected the authorities of the State in question were consulted.

Where two or more parties united in support of any candidate, the contribution of each to the candidate's whole vote was assumed to have been in accordance with its relative strength as shown in the districts of the State where it and the other party or parties involved ran candidates independently. Where a party which thus combined with one or more others in some districts ran no candidates independently in any district of the State, its contribution in the districts where it combined with other parties had to be neglected, as there was no basis for inferring its probable relative strength.

The number of Representatives who, as indicated in the table, should have been elected by any party, is in every case the number that would in fact have been elected by that party if the proportional system offered

(as an optional alternative) by the Bailey bill (H. R. 20737) had been in use and applied to the State as one district. If the proportional system of that bill had been in use and applied to the State as divided into two or more large districts—a method permitted by the bill—the result would have been approximately the same.

In brief it may be pointed out that in these 19 States, which include Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Rhode Island, South Dakota, and Washington, the Democrats under the proportional system would have gained 23 and lost 14, a net gain of 9. The Republicans would have gained 12 and lost 28, a net loss of 16. The Progressives would have gained 8 and lost 1, a net gain of 7. The Socialists would have gained 3 and lost none. The Prohibition vote was so small that it entitled them to nothing.

While the proportional system would open political prison pens which now entomb minorities, while it would emancipate Representatives wholly or in large measure from enslavement to transitory and irresponsible minorities holding the balance of power, and while it would give us real and not pretended representative government, I think it would do something more even than this. I think it would give us a higher type of Representative—perhaps not in mental strength or patriotic purpose, but in freedom of action, in moral fiber, in special training, and in those higher attributes of statesmanship which are almost impossible of development under a system where the Representative must play the sycophant, where he must set his political sails to catch every vagrant breeze, where he must hesitate and compromise, where he must suppress and deny, where he must at every turn subordinate conviction to expediency, and where if he hopes to succeed and to keep his place he must play the courtier to office seekers and lend an attentive ear to special interests holding the balance of power. These interests may be of one sort or another. They may represent big business or the little red schoolhouse. They may represent some sect or some secret order. They may be as various in aspect and purpose as men are in their views of government and its functions. It all amounts to the same.

The man seeking a congressional career must do so more as a mere politician, with all the arts which that term suggests, than as a statesman; more as a timeserver and a tidewaiter than as a patriot and a worker toward large ends for the general good. The man who does not "do something" for his district under the present system is lost, no matter what his achievements may have been or what they may promise to be as a constructive legislator consecrated to the service of the people as a whole and to the perpetuation of the national ideals.

It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that under the proportional system the chance for little men would be reduced, the chance for big ones immeasurably augmented. As a rule, big men are not skilled in certain arts which are indispensable in the game of politics as it must be played under existing rules. They do not know how to set up the pins. They know nothing of stacking the cards. They are guiltless of any knowledge of "practical politics." They have no nimbleness in shifting from one foot to the other. In dispensing patronage they are blunderers and fools. They have probably devoted so much time and so much thought and so much conscience to the study of the great problems of society that they have not even heard of the purely local issues which convulse Podunk and inflame Shakerag to the point of revolt. And so they make little, if any, progress if they do venture into the field of politics. The man who knows the boys and who has the gift of appealing to the latest whim or caprice is the one who carries off the prize. And he goes from success to success, not because he has stood for any great idea, not because he has performed any large service, not because he has actually listened to the voice of the people, but because he has managed to render that voice unintelligible by stifling it within political prison walls where only the clamors of a noisy minority with the balance of power can be heard.

Lest some should imagine that the proposed system is unworkable, it is proper to say that it is in practical and apparently satisfactory operation in a number of countries, notably in Belgium, Sweden, Switzerland, Denmark, the Union of South Africa, Tasmania, and parts of Germany. The senate of Ireland, under the home rule act, will be chosen under the proportional system, James Bryce, former ambassador of Great Britain to the United States, having been among its supporters. The vice president of the Belgian Senate thus testifies regarding the system:

> In Belgium * * * there is now no political group of any importance which would dream of proposing to suppress or even curtail the application of the proportional system.

Sir John McCall, agent general for Tasmania, thus testifies:

> We have demonstrated the ease with which the system can be worked. It has come to stay.

Deputy Speaker Talberg, of the lower house in the Swedish Parliament, adds his voice to the same effect:

> It has * * * distinctly raised the intellectual level of the representatives—

Adding that its adoption has marked—

> a great step forward in Swedish political life.

Prime Minister Lindman, of the same country, says:

> All the parties * * * appear * * * to like the new method.

And the leader of the Social Democratic Party in the lower house of the Swedish Parliament, declares that—

> The thought of returning to majority voting is certainly not now entertained in any quarter.

Testimony to like effect might be cited to much greater length, but this should suffice. It seems to me that no candid consideration of the matter can lead to any other conclusion than that proportional representation is in fact the fulfillment of democratic ideals in making it possible for the voice of the people to be heard—not the voice of some of the people, but of all the people. Is there any Member of this House who will say that he would deem this unwelcome? Are there really those among us who would stifle that voice when it rises from a minority or perhaps from a majority which has been overborne, as too often happens, by a mere handful holding the balance of power in a large constituency?

It is not inappropriate to mention some of those in this country who are committed to this great forward step in Democracy. Conspicuous among them is found the name of Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts. Dr. Charles W. Eliot, of the same State, is also an active propagandist in the movement. Ex-Gov. Lucius F. C. Garvin, of Rhode Island, Judge Ben B. Lindsey, Senator Owen, Moorfield Storey, Prof. Charles Zueblin, Jackson H. Ralston, Robert Treat Paine, Thomas Raeburn White, and many others whose names are familiar to most Americans are identified in an official capacity with the American Proportional Representation League; and among the honorary vice presidents of the organization are the Right Hon. Earl Grey, ex-Governor General of Canada, and the Right Hon. Lord Courtney, of Penwith, England.

Of course I can not expect favorable action on my bill at this short session of Congress. It was not brought in with any such hope. But it is respectfully submitted for the consideration of Members between the present time and the day in the succeeding session when a hearing will be sought for it on this floor. It seems to me that it has one high merit which should commend it to the patience of even the most conservative of our friends on this floor and in the country—it is entirely optional. It merely opens a door through which a liberated minority may emerge into a field that is its own whenever any State shall choose to avail itself of the opportunity. It thrusts nothing down unwilling throats. It offers no compulsion. It merely removes an obstruction that now lies in the path of Commonwealths which might be disposed to enfranchise their minorities and to elevate the standard of representation. In all modesty it is laid before you for your candid judgment; in all sincerity I venture to solicit that consideration for it at your hands which I feel it deserves.

Uniform Grading of Grain.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES H. SLOAN,

OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 4, 1915.

The House had under consideration the bill (H. R. 17971) for securing the uniform grading of grain, preventing deception in transactions in grain, and regulating traffic therein, and for other purposes.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Speaker, this bill provides for the fixing of standard grades for the various grains of the United States and for the enforced recognition of these grades in our interstate and foreign commerce.

The Secretary of Agriculture has heretofore been granted authority for the establishment of grain grades, but without any means of enforcing the recognition of these grades in the

markets of the United States the establishment of the grades would be purely academic and of little value to the country.

This probably accounts for the fact that although this authority has existed for some years grades have not been determined or established in any of the grains except corn. This bill will require the speeding up by the Secretary of Agriculture of the grading and standardization of corn, wheat, oats, and other grains. Vitality will be given to that grading and standardization by requiring the inspection in the great markets of the United States of the various grains. This inspection will be carried out through a recognition of these grades and standards so established. Uniform grades and standards of the important grains which are produced in one part of the country and transported to other parts are almost as important as the standardization of coins used as mediums of exchange. The largest value of this standardization is not to the large handler of grain, although to him it will be of considerable value, but it is designed largely for the producer and the small handler. The large dealer in grain heretofore has, from his commanding view of the general markets, understood what the statement of various grades in the several different parts of the United States and foreign countries meant. He knew the difference between grades recognized generally for interstate shipment and also grades intended for foreign export or our own importation, but this the small dealer and producer did not generally know.

One of the largest considerations in all commerce designed to be fair between purchaser and seller is that, approximately speaking, the information of the one as to quality and condition, represented in certain commercial language, is equal to that of the other. With the varying standards throughout the country this was impossible, and of course the advantage would lie with the heavy handler rather than small dealer, just as in years gone by the large dealers in money and coin of the nations had a great advantage over the man whose energies were spent in earning a coin rather than discrimination between superior and inferior coins.

The subcommittee of the Committee of Agriculture, which sat during the heated period of 1914 for weeks and took evidence to establish a basis for this bill, consisted of Representatives Moss of Indiana, RUBEY of Missouri, DOOLITTLE of Kansas, HAUGEN of Iowa, and SLOAN of Nebraska. Witnesses were heard from various parts of the United States, representing the producer, small dealers, boards of trade, large elevator men, and exporters.

There was little disagreement arising over the advisability of standardization of grain grades and the desirability of a system of inspection for the enforcement of such grades and standards in interstate commerce. In the shifting of grain in this country, of that which is sold more than one-half leaves the States in which it is produced, so that the system which will be followed in the disposition of one-half or more of the market grain of this country is liable to control, or at least influence, the price to a large extent of that which is sold in intrastate.

At the outset there was a difference of opinion as to whether we should have United States Government supervision of grain grading in the United States or whether we should have Government inspection. The difference between these views amounted to this: Government supervision provided for the United States Government issuing licenses to persons in the great markets to inspect interstate and foreign grain commerce, while Government inspection meant that the Government should appoint inspectors who would be beholding to governmental authority entirely and should be paid out of Government funds or fees arising out of inspections made by governmental appointees. Under the supervision system the Government merely licenses, and does not have anything to do with paying the inspectors. I was among those who favored Government inspection, and in my opinion Government inspection will be ultimately adopted. But after full consideration and some debate I bowed to the will of the majority and sought to aid in making as strong a supervision bill as possible, being willing to await the results of a few years' experience to determine the advisability of greater Government activity and control in this work.

Perhaps the sharpest point of difference between those whose testimony we heard there was along the lines of difference between the interstate dealers in grain and those who export grain. Uniformity in grading and the designations of grades was of course necessary. The seaboard dealers asked to be permitted to have a different standard from those who dealt between the States. It developed in the evidence that the reason for such a request was that for years exporters had been purchasing grains at certain low designated standards and shipping them to foreign countries under a higher designation; as, for instance, wheat or corn purchased as No. 3 from the farmers and small dealers would be exported as No. 2, which, of course, was to the disadvantage of the original producer of the grain or to the small dealer who first shipped it. As the ultimate consumer in foreign countries would be measuring the farmers' No. 3 and No. 2 and giving it a different basis of value from what the farmer was obliged to recognize in his original sales, the committee wisely agreed that American grades designated by numerals, a monopoly of which this bill takes, should mean the same in the small stations throughout the grain belt and in Omaha, Kansas City, Minneapolis, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, Liverpool, Bordeaux, and Constantinople.

The denial of this double standard by the committee in framing this bill is the real basis of the complaint of the constituents of my friend, Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania.

If the purpose of this bill be carried out, the man who raises wheat or corn in the Northwest can read his market papers and can measure up No. 2 corn or wheat in his bin against the quoted grades of the same cereals in every quoted market of the globe.

The producer and the small dealer, whether it be in grains or in other classes of commerce, is usually disadvantaged by the fact that his information is not so accurate and complete as that of the larger operators. Endow him with equal information, which this bill to an extent attempts, and the handicap which he has borne will have been in part removed.

Grain grading in this way has become of perhaps more emphatic demand during the last year, owing to the fact that the duty has been removed from most of the American grains, especially corn, which in large quantities is being imported into this country. It developed upon the hearings, by overwhelming and uncontradicted evidence, that the importation of corn into this country recently from Argentina has reduced the price of that cereal on our markets from 10 to 15 cents a bushel. As the American farmer, under our new order of things, is compelled to compete with the farmer of Argentina, it is important that the corn imported—the same would be true of other grain—should be graded by some public representative, so that the market would establish the real quality and value of this competing imported article, instead of leaving it to the loose construction of men engaged, for political or other reasons, in decrying the amount imported or the relative value of the foreign grain which must be met and competed with in our American markets.

I am quite convinced that the bill itself, with such imperfections as it carries, but with such good purpose as it bears, and the fact that it furnishes the basis for what is expected will be complete governmental supervision, will pass and be of benefit to the grain producers and grain trade of the United States. [Applause.]

The Late Representative Bremner.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. THOMPSON BAKER,

OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, January 24, 1915,

On House resolution 711, paying tributes to the memory of Hon. ROBERT G. BREMNER, late a Member of this House from the State of New Jersey.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. Speaker, ROBERT GUNN BREMNER had individuality, force, and character. He could do things, and as much as other men might evade the onus of effort, so much and more he would engage in the struggle that intervenes between being common and uncommon.

His work shows what possibilities lie in the barest opportunity, for he was borne down for years by the torments of wasting physical pain and had no auxiliaries beyond his own personality.

His joyous countenance gave no sign of the suffering that racked his body. He was a conqueror. His great spirit and will triumphed over as many obstacles as ever beset the path of any man, and his loss is a large subtraction from the worth of the world.

Government Ownership.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN N. GARNER,
OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 2, 1915.

Mr. GARNER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a speech by Hon. MARTIN DIES before the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association at Baltimore recently.

WASHINGTON, *January 30.*

Hon. MARTIN DIES in his recent speech before the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association in Baltimore took occasion to bitterly score the trend of events toward Government ownership. His remarks in full were as follows:

"As fellow shareholders with me in this great enterprise called government, I venture to direct your attention to some of our joint affairs, or, in congressional parlance, to resolve the body into a committee of the whole for the consideration of the state of the Union.

"I candidly confess that I am moved to this discussion by the hope that you may be brought to see certain public questions as I do, and thereby join me in furthering what I conceive to be the public good.

"You are manufacturers and merchants of this great metropolis, but I have not the slightest doubt that your true interests as citizens of the United States are in perfect accord with the true interests of every farmer and laborer of the district which I have the honor to represent in Congress. To my mind, 'what is good for one bee is good for the whole hive.' Men of large affairs and men of small affairs are essential complements to each other, and neither can long escape those general injuries which affect the others.

"As an observant student of current affairs, I give it to you as my conviction that all classes of men, from the richest to the poorest, in all parts of the Union, are suffering and are about to suffer still more from an overproduction of laws. Not all these laws are being ground out at Washington. Almost every State legislature is working overtime grinding out legislative grist.

PROGRESSIVE REFORMERS ARE FLOODING THE COUNTRY.

"The Congress and the country are simply teeming with so-called progressive reformers. All of these uplifters are active; many of them are honest, and some of them are intelligent. They have learned that a tablespoonful of salts is good for constipation, and from that perfectly rational premise they have excitedly jumped to the conclusion that a bushel of salts would render the entire human family 'healthy, wealthy, and wise.' In their boiling imagination the horse that does not run away with the cart is balky, and the legislator who hesitates to destroy the ancient landmarks is a reactionary. They are to be found in every political party, and their schemes for abolishing poverty by law and hastening the millenium by statute are as numerous as the stars of the firmament. They seem determined to put the entire human family in plaster of Paris to prevent the breaking of bones and the spraining of tendons.

"I wish I had the time to detail to you the complex and ramified dreams of this new school of thought—or, rather, thoughtlessness.

"At the risk of tiring you I venture to point out one of their many obsessions, that of Government ownership.

"They want the Government to own and operate everything from a Zebrula farm in Maryland to a railway system in Alaska. There are bills pending in Congress for Government ownership of coal mines, radium mines, farmhouses, armor-plate factories, and other properties and activities too numerous to mention.

OWNERSHIP ASKED BY MEN ON EVERY SIDE.

"The former Postmaster General and the present one have recommended to Congress the Government ownership of telegraph and telephone lines. The Secretary of the Navy has recommended to Congress the Government ownership of oil wells and refineries. The Secretary of the Treasury has recommended the Government ownership of ships of commerce. And so on down the line until every reformer has been heard from and every industry and every human activity has been tendered to the capacious maw of common ownership.

"If a business pays large dividends, like the oil business, we are told that the Government should enter the field. If it is a losing business, like railroading in Alaska, they say the Government should take it over.

"Gentlemen, we are no longer taking steps but strides in the direction of socialism. What is to be the effect of all this? How will business fare and how will taxpayers fare when Uncle Sam pays the men and manages the business of the country through politicians elected by the people? There need be no doubt if you will study Congress as the handler of pay rolls and the proprietor of business. Congress will do in the future as it has done in the past. It will go right on, from year to year, raising the pay of every employee of the Government that votes, voting new pensions, adding to the retirement list, and yielding to every organized demand that is made upon it.

"I will give you a few concrete examples of what the country may expect when Congress becomes the paymaster of this new army of Government employees.

PENSION ROLL TAKEN AS EXAMPLE.

"Take as a starter the million-name pension roll of the Government, which receives from Congress more money than the standing army of any European nation in times of peace. Congress stands in such dread of the pension vote that it does not halt when they have been given all they demand, but complacently hands over multimillions in excess of their demands. The country witnessed that spectacle in the case of the Sherwood pension bill.

"Then consider the case of the rural mail carriers, a smaller army than the pensioners, but no less valiant when a charge is ordered against the Treasury. The rural carriers began with a modest salary of $300 a year in 1896, and I believe Congress has added something to their pay every year until now they receive $1,200 a year, with life and accident insurance thrown in. In his last report the Postmaster General requested authority from Congress to have the rural mails carried by contract at a saving of $17,000,000 annually, but Congress did not dare to do such a thing, for Congress is standing for reelection, and the carriers are a great political power.

"Permit me to give you one other illustration. Our civil-service laws provide that when a civil-service employee ceases to be efficient his pay shall stop, but the departments at Washington are crowded with men and women who are unable to earn their salaries. Why are they not dismissed? Because public opinion will not allow it.

"So much for Uncle Sam as a paymaster. How does he perform as a business manager? A single example will give you a clear insight into the generous old gentleman's business sagacity. He is rich in timber resources; in fact, the most extensive owner of stumpage in the world. This stumpage is being sold off from time to time, and one would suppose some part of the proceeds would find their way to the Treasury. Not so. The army of high-salaried employees of the Forestry Service do not take in enough from the sale of timber to pay their salaries, and Congress taxes the people for the necessary millions to keep the business going.

OTHER CASES ARE SURE TO COME.

"There are other cases in point, and when we come to operate the railroad in Alaska, the telephone lines, ship lines, and oil wells there will be yet other cases in point.

"It is an old saying, but a true one, that everybody's business is nobody's business. Our Government is a large affair, and the idea prevails in all circles that this great and rich Government should be liberal with those who work for it.

"The rural carrier makes twice as much as the farmer to whom he delivers the mail, with half the labor and less than half the investment. Upon that basis, what will the Government conductor in Alaska receive?

"If Congress can not now resist the organized demand of the carriers, how will it be able to resist the organized demand of Government railway employees, Government sailors, and Government telephone operators? If a rural carrier transporting the mails in safety along the country roads of Texas demands life insurance, what will be the demand of Government sailors, who brave the sea, and Government brakesmen, who face the bitter cold in frozen Alaska? How will Congress answer the demands of Government telephone operators? Ah, there will be eloquence for you! The Congressman's constituent who is a conductor and the Senator's constituent who is a sailor will know how to get a job without being fit for it, a raise of salary without earning it, and a pension without deserving it. He will also find a way to stick on the pay roll long after he is able to stay on the job.

WHAT OWNERSHIP WILL CALL FOR.

"Government ownership of one thing in one place calls for Government ownership of other things in other places. Of what use is a Government railroad in Alaska unless there is freight to haul; therefore the Government must develop the coal mines. Of what use are Government ships without cargoes; therefore the Government must assemble them. Of what use are Government oil wells and refineries without pipe lines; therefore the Government must build them. Thus the activities of Government ownership breed like insects in the sun, and there is no place to stop short of socialism, where the individual is lost in a mass of inertia and absolute government becomes the master of all.

"I hold to the faith of the fathers that the government is best which governs least. I would leave the individual free and make the government his servant. I would give all men an equal chance in the race of life, without hobbling the feet of energy to await the approach of sloth.

"And that brings me to an important question which I wish to address to you. Indeed, if I had not wanted to propound this vital question to you I would not be here to-night.

"What are you doing to combat these false doctrines?

"What steps have you taken, what steps are you taking, to arrest the frenzy of the times? Are you doing your full duty as citizens of this free Government? I have but hinted in the most general way at these evils which assault the very foundations of our institutions, but that hint is sufficient to put prudent men on notice, and having that notice it becomes your duty to stop, look, and listen.

WHAT IS THE REMEDY NEEDED?

"Public opinion controls public men, and may I ask you without impertinence what you are doing to mold public questions? Have you taken pains to discuss that matter with your legislators in the State and in the Nation? I grant that your business demands your best attention, but the responsibilities of sovereignty are not to be neglected.

"The air is thick with fallacy. From every chautauqua platform paid orators thunder forth the heresies of socialism. You need not doze away and dream that the wave will break. It is rolling on unchallenged from victory to victory, and there are none to oppose it.

"Congress is not the leader, but the follower of public opinion. Congress follows the crowd that makes the most noise, and I stand before you to-night to tell you in the most solemn manner that it is your duty to make a noise against Government ownership, against socialism, against the untrained hands of theoretical statesmen who blindly tug at the pillars of the temple.

"And may the God of nations save this Republic from the dead sea of socialism, and the fruit thereof, which turn to ashes on the lips."

Mine Experiment and Safety Stations.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES M. GRAHAM,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 3, 1915.

Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, this bill provides for the establishment of 10 mine experiment stations and a total of 15 mine safety stations, including those already existing. The object of it is to make intelligent investigations for the purpose, first, of ascertaining conditions in mining, quarrying, and other mineral industries, and, second, of disseminating the information thus obtained. In this way the lives and limbs and health of men engaged in these industries can be better conserved and much unnecessary waste avoided. The bill further provides that not more than three such stations shall be established in any one fiscal year. The necessity for the passage of this measure must be apparent to everyone who has even the slightest knowledge of mining conditions in the United States.

Under our system of government, police regulations, including laws for public safety and public health, belong to the various States, and this bill is not intended to change that condition. Indeed, Congress would not have the power to do that.

But the burden of making the necessary investigations in order to properly protect the health and the lives of men engaged in mining is too great a burden for many of the individual States, whereas the expense of carrying on these investigations is not a serious burden to the Federal Government; indeed, the cost to it would not be very much greater than the cost to each individual State.

How much wiser and more practical it is, then, to have these investigations made and the information obtained and disseminated by the Federal Government rather than by the 48 different jurisdictions which compose it.

The Bureau of Mines has already done some very good work in this direction. Investigations by it began in a small way in 1908, but they were limited in their scope to mine explosions. A series of explosions, resulting in very great loss of life, occurred shortly before that time, and suggested the necessity for more careful investigations than had been theretofore made. Since its establishment much good has been accomplished.

In the five years from 1902 to 1907 an average of 5.88 men were killed in the coal mines of the United States for each 1,000,000 tons of coal produced. In the five years from 1908 to 1913 this average was reduced to 5.38, a gain of one-half of 1 per cent. This of itself would justify every dollar expended for the maintenance of this service.

The world statistics of loss of life in the work on mining should make us blush for shame. No other nation seems so reckless of the lives of its worker as ours. In Belgium an average of 1.02 men lose their lives in the coal mines out of every thousand employed; in Austria, 1.04; in Great Britain, 1.36; in France, 1.69; in New South Wales, 1.74; in Germany, 2.11; in Japan, 2.92; whereas in the United States 3.74 men in every thousand lose their lives annually.

On a tonnage basis the record is better, but not as good as it should be. From 1901 to 1910 the average number of miners killed for each million tons of coal produced is as follows:

	Per million tons.
New South Wales	3.70
Great Britain	4.40
Austria	5.05
Belgium	5.56
United States	5.83
Germany	7.55
France	7.79
Japan	22.71

It is true that more men were killed in the coal mines of the country from 1908 to 1913 than were killed in the five years from 1902 to 1907. The average per year for the latter five years was 3.73, while for the five former years it is only 3.71. But that increase is due to the greater number of men employed, because relatively there was a decreased percentage of death from this cause. This is clearly shown by the fact that for the former five years one man lost his life in the coal mines for each 172,000 tons of coal produced, whereas in the latter five years one life was lost for each 188,000 tons.

These figures speak eloquently of the benefits derived from investigations made and work done in the narrow field given the bureau, and with the wider field of action which this bill will give it when it becomes a law a correspondingly large degree of benefit will result.

For the past two years—that is, 1912 and 1913—the Bureau of Mines has taken up the work of securing greater safety in metal mining, but statistics as to the good accomplished are not yet available. Our record for the year 1911—the last one for which statistics are available—is a very unenviable one. In Austria over 20,000 men were employed in the metal mines, and the average number killed was 0.49 per thousand; in Queensland over 11,000 men were employed and 0.90 per thousand killed; in Victoria over 14,000 men were employed and 1.35 per thousand killed; in Great Britain over 29,000 were employed and 1.48 per thousand killed; in Spain over 12,000 employed and 1.49 per thousand killed; in Japan over 80,000 employed and 1.76 per thousand killed; in New South Wales over 19,000 men were employed and 1.81 per thousand killed; in Italy over 49,000 employed and 2.36 per thousand killed; in France over 29,000 employed and 2.83 per thousand killed; in the Transvaal over 225,000 employed and 4.14 per thousand killed. The United States makes the worst showing of all with over 165,000 employed and 4.19 per thousand killed. This is a shameful record. Ours is the richest country in the world. Our great wealth can be largely traced to the production of coal and other minerals. That the men who go into the bowels of the earth and work under the most adverse conditions to develop our mineral resources and to add so materially to the wealth of the country should be neglected, almost abandoned, to unnecessary dangers is far from creditable.

As I have said, many of the States in which valuable minerals are produced in great quantities are so small and so lacking in resources that they can not bear the expense of necessary investigations for the purpose of determining the safest and best methods of doing the work in mines.

How necessary it is, then, from a humanitarian, as well as from an economic and industrial point of view, that the Federal Government should employ the most skilled men and the most successful and perfect devices and apparatus for ascertaining everything that can be ascertained for the purpose of promoting the health and the safety of the men who work in the mines, and when it is ascertained, of preparing and publishing and disseminating it among the people especially in the localities where it will do most good.

In 1908 we put our hand to the plow by making a small beginning. Let us not turn back. Let us go on and on until the field of investigation in this matter is so thoroughly cultivated that no opportunity will be neglected for improving conditions which at the very best will still be bad enough.

Cabinet Officers Before Congress.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. MURRAY.
OF OKLAHOMA,

Wednesday, February 3, 1915.

CABINET OFFICERS BEFORE CONGRESS.

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. Speaker, the question of personal government as it would be disclosed in bringing the executive officers before Congress is a growing question in the progress, as a result of recent development, to our civilization. I have had occasion to study this problem from the standpoint of other governments and which later I shall be pleased to present to Congress, but as a preliminary discussion of this problem I shall be content with giving the remarks of the Hon. Perry Belmont, a former Member of Congress and once chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, in an address delivered by Mr. Belmont before the American Club of Paris on July 2, 1914. Mr. Belmont has contributed much to this question by reason of his research of statutes of our Government and the so-called Confederate States, which I am sure will prove of interest to all who desire to investigate rightly this problem.

Mr. Belmont's speech on that subject is as follows:

The presence of members of the Cabinet in Congress is not suggested by the parliamentary systems of other governments. Those systems, in their fundamental principles, are so different from ours as to be hardly a safe guide for us. The suggestion belongs to the development of our own laws and must be discussed within its capacity of adjustment to our American system. We Americans have reached the point when we are asking ourselves do we or do we not want executive supremacy to assert itself with increasing emphasis, and has it gradually developed to such a degree as to require an effort in order to restore the equilibrium between the executive and legislative departments of the Government?

The inquiry is nonpartisan and impersonal.

SUBJECT RISES ABOVE PARTY INTEREST.

Equally nonpartisan and impersonal is the proposed plan to enlarge the intercourse between these two great departments, providing, through a mere change in the rules of procedure, for the presence in Congress of members of the Cabinet—the heads of the executive departments created by Congress to whom new duties can be assigned. No encroachment by the legislative branch upon the constitutional privileges of the President or of his Cabinet is suggested, and no invasion by the Executive of the jurisdiction of the legislative branch, nor does it involve any modification of the constitutional distribution and separation of the functions of the three departments of our Government, its distinctive and characteristic feature. Nor would such a change in the rules of procedure interfere with the existing methods of communication, by written reports or by the personal presence before congressional committees, of members of the Cabinet and subordinate chiefs of bureaus of the executive departments.

The subject rises immeasurably above party interests. Democrats and Republicans can unite in promoting this movement for better administrative and legislative methods. Their advantages have been advocated from the executive and administrative point of view by a former Republican President in 1912, and from the legislative standpoint by a Democratic Member of Congress many years ago.

The establishment of this form of accountability to Congress and to public opinion on the part of our executive departments would be far-reaching in creating an improvement of the public service in all its branches. The frequent presence of heads of departments before Congress would render more effective the Senate's power of confirmation and minimize the demoralizing influence of executive patronage over congressional legislation.

Although not affecting the stability of the Cabinet, its members would feel a greater individual and personal responsibility to the country for appointments made in the departments they represent. There would be more continuity of policy and consistency of treatment which those in the public service have a right to expect and which would greatly contribute to their efficiency. The requirements of the public service would become better known, rendering it more difficult to reward party service by appointments that do not meet the demands of an enlightened public opinion.

Whether our national and domestic policies are to be dictated by the purest idealism or not, the end does not necessarily justify the means, and the imperfections in the relations between the two great branches of our Government, which are constantly becoming more evident, should be remedied with the least possible delay. (On February 18, 1913, a resolution embodying the plan proposed in the North American Review, of January, 1912, was introduced in the House of Representatives by Mr. De Forest, of New York, granting to Cabinet officers the privileges of the floor of the House. It was referred to the Committee on Rules and no further action was taken. House resolution 846. Cong. Rec., p. 3442, 3d sess., 63d Cong.)

EXECUTIVE SUPREMACY.

It must be admitted that executive supremacy is accepted as desirable and even promoted by many who sincerely believe it to be of advantage. They are generally distrustful of legislative bodies, including the National Legislature, and approve of the full exercise of all the powers intrusted to the Executive, either in restraint of the legislative branch or in order to compel Congress to follow its will in formulating national policies and carrying them into effect. Very often these views are held by men of ability and character, who have themselves been successful in great constructive undertakings dependent upon executive qualities of high order. They therefore, and very naturally, are convinced that governmental affairs can best be conducted by similar methods. Immediate results are what they desire. They want a man for President who can "do things," even at the risk that the means employed might eventually prove harmful to our institutions or commit the country to a policy from which it would be difficult to recede if found undesirable. Results can be secured with greater facility and dispatch and with safety to our governmental system by open and responsible intercourse through which public opinion would make itself quickly felt rather than by the indirect and secret methods now tolerated. A President may influence the action of Congress by bargaining with Members in regard to appointments and legislation, or by the use of patronage to assist Members and Senators in elections, or in similar ways may render himself subject to condemnation. But public opinion, owing to the lack of direct communication, can be formed and become effective only very slowly, and generally after the injury to the public service, in all its branches, has been created and ill-considered policies have been adopted.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ABSOLUTE DISCRETIONARY POWER AN UNINTERRUPTED GROWTH IN THE UNITED STATES.

The development of absolute and discretionary powers in control of the Chief Executive has been an uninterrupted growth in the United States. So accustomed has our country become to the exercise of powers of control by Executive orders and departmental rulings that political parties endeavor, every four years, to provide presidential candidates who are expected to become rulers, invested with an authority over which there is scarcely a restraint on the part of Congress, the coordinate branch of the Government. It is not a result accomplished through usurpation of arbitrary power by any of our Presidents, nor has it been brought about by general consent expressed in amendment of the Constitution. The enormous development of national wealth and industrial energy has created a collective pressure of local interests represented in an overwhelming mass of legislative measures, general and special, forced upon the attention of Congress. The resulting subordination by Congress of national and external or especially of foreign policies to the exigencies of internal or domestic policy has accompanied the centralization of power, as if by a law of gravitation, in the Federal Government, and has had the effect of largely diverting to the executive department the consideration of national policies, yielding to the President a practically exclusive control over them.

It is not idle popular curiosity which requires of the press the most detailed and minute descriptions of the personal characteristics of a presidential candidate. It is the man himself, his mental and moral qualifications for personal government, and not so much his political opinions and associations that are considered of importance.

The interest in the personality of an elected President is intense and even pathetic. Owing to the unerring instinct of the American people, telling them that in some way he has been invested by them with an almost unquestioned authority to rule over them during four or eight years in the control and direction of national policies, they realize that the future of the country may be favorably or unfavorably affected by him. Having elected him to the Chief Magistracy, it is a patriotic impulse which leads the great majority to attribute to him all the qualifications that should be required of a ruler possessing absolute discretionary power. In order that he may be given full opportunity to serve his country, there is a general disinclination to criticize the President's exercise of the powers temporarily intrusted to him, which of itself greatly magnifies them. Such an accumulation of unrestrained executive authority might become a more serious menace than it is but for the fact that it is held during a limited period only; but the temptations offered to an ambitious President to succeed himself may obviously involve harmful and even dangerous consequences to the country. (The Democratic Party adopted at the Baltimore convention of 1912 an emphatic platform declaration in favor of a single term for the President, which may be interpreted as the first official party protest against the continuance of personal government and an endeavor to put a check upon it. A joint resolution limiting the term of the President by a proposed amendment to the Constitution to one of six years was adopted by the Senate by a vote of 47 to 23, February 1, 1913, and sent to the House for concurrence. Mr. Clayton, of Alabama, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, called it up for action February 10, 1913, when it was referred to his committee, and no further steps were taken in the matter.)

The never-failing common sense of the American people may be counted upon to eventually dispel the fictions and exaggeration surrounding the presidential office, to establish a clearer point of view with regard to its functions and a more normal relation between the legislative and executive departments of their Government. Their corrective sense of humor is already telling them how absurd it is that the man whose nomination as a candidate for the presidential office is subject to all the accidents, surprises, intrigues, combinations, and even the bargains sometimes preceding and often occurring during nominating conventions, and who becomes, for the time being, their President, should suddenly, for the time being, develop into a sort of superman, endowed with infallibility. Too much is expected of our President from the moment he undertakes the duties of his office. If he exercises to the fullest extent the powers originally inherent in his office, and since yielded to him, he is accused by many of a form of usurpation, and if, acting with moderation, he refrains from such a course, he may be charged with weakness in his relation to Congress. His sincerity and the unselfishness of his motives become subjects of anxious discussion

with endless and futile reiteration, questions which only the final development of his policies and the judgment of history could determine. The impossible is required of him. The impossible is attributed to him.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE PRESS.

The mighty searchlight of the press is constantly turned upon him, leaving the legislative branch in comparative obscurity. His every word and gesture are depicted with dramatic effect by skillful writers. He appears far and near, across the national horizon, in gigantic proportions. He would be more than human did he not lend himself more or less to the illusions which so strengthen him in the popular imagination and in his actual domination of Congress.

As long as a legislative body performs its functions the course of legislation is practically the same. Tariff, currency, and all other important laws have their inception in our Congress, followed by many years of laborious consideration and amendment. The period of discussion and preparation, under rules of procedure, is usually about the same for all measures involving changes, until time finally ripens them for enactment. When that moment comes, under our present system and the prevailing exaggeration of the functions of the Chief Executive, the years of legislative labor, of public discussion, of political debate in and out of Congress, are forgotten. The President appears to the public mind as, in effect, supplanting the legislative branch as if, by some magic of words or of demeanor, to have been enabled personally to bring about the passage of such long-considered legislation, the enactment of which having been already decided upon. When to the powers of persuasion attributed to him is joined the weighty influence of the presidential office, by virtue of official control and distribution of patronage, Congress is indeed placed at an almost insurmountable disadvantage.

Under the present relation of the Executive Department to the National Legislature it is the office, not the man, that is accountable for an executive supremacy leading to personal government, and that enables a President to initiate and undertake personal, rather than national, policies at home and abroad.

Should such a system be maintained Congress would no longer remain a coordinate branch of the Government, but would become subordinate to the Executive. There are members of the National Legislature who believe that condition has already been reached.

THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

There is no legislative body in the world containing men of higher qualifications of ability and character for legislative and executive office, including the presidency, than are found in our Senate and House of Representatives. To have served with distinction many years in Congress greatly adds to the important qualifications for that great office and may be considered the most desirable.

The majority are men of good standing in their respective States and congressional districts, who fully deserve the consideration in which they are held by those whom they represent, and who know them. While this is true with regard to its individual membership, the collective membership of Congress is comparatively unknown to the country. It is the habit to decry the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and although, as in the legislative journals of all other countries, features appear now and then that are open to criticism, speeches are delivered upon the floor of our Senate and House of Representatives that are the highest order of merit. Our congressional debates contain contributions of the greatest value to the subjects discussed, possessing a wealth of research and power of presentation which are more liable to excite the admiration of the representatives of foreign governments at the National Capital who, in the course of their duties, are called upon to read them, than of our own people. The reason of this is that we all feel it is a laborious and apparently useless task to follow the debates in Congress; nor is the press to blame if comparatively slight public attention is given to them. A complete change of attitude would undoubtedly be brought about if the intercourse between the legislative and executive branches of the Government were open, direct, and more responsible to public opinion. A discussion on the floor of either House between the leaders of the legislative branch and the heads of departments or members of the Cabinet, or what are now so erroneously termed the members of the President's official family, would go far toward restoring the equilibrium that should exist between two great coordinate branches of the Government of the United States. The press would certainly turn its full attention and devote a larger space to such open, verbal, and officially responsible intercourse. The knowledge that the country, through the agency of the press, would be fully informed of such discussions, would have a decided influence on the character of the debates. The membership of the House and of the Senate would, jointly with the Executive Department, address itself directly and officially to the whole Nation, the constituency which now daily hears, in various ways, from the President alone.

A government should be the machinery through which the sovereignty, with us the whole people, may enforce under constitutional form, the public administration of its will.

CABINET OFFICERS IN CONGRESS.

Our Federal Constitution distributes the functions of government among three departments—the executive, legislative, and judicial, which, for the better preservation of constitutional methods, shall be distinct and separate. But it does not contemplate a nonintercourse amounting almost to isolation nor does it intend such a wide separation between the executive and legislative departments as to leave them without facilities of communication most useful to the purposes of legislation and administration. Heads of departments have always communicated, in writing, with the legislative branch and have also been in the habit of appearing personally before the congressional committees having jurisdiction over measures affecting their respective departments. Such personal appearances of heads of departments before the congressional committees have increased in a surprising manner during recent years, and their frequency demonstrates the necessity of a more direct and open communication. There have been occasions when, during important debates and roll calls attention has been directed to the unofficial presence of members of the Cabinet on the floor of Congress for the purpose of making known the needs and policy of the executive departments. Such personal visits would be preferable and equally effective if made with publicity and responsibility that the proposed change in the method of procedure would require.

The Executive may initiate a policy which Congress resists, and the absence of an authorized means of oral communication may prevent the harmony of action necessary to the public welfare. When, on the contrary, there exists an agreement between the executive and legislative branches the intercourse resulting from a common purpose would be promoted by free, oral communications. The executive officers of the Government would be subjected to a more definite form of accountability, having great advantages over the purely parliamentary system. If the head of a department found that he was seriously opposed by a majority in Congress, there would be more than one course left open to him. He might resign; the President could then appoint some one to take his place, without being under the necessity of removing any other member of the administration. Or the head of the department might modify his views, submitting a new and more acceptable proposition, or the administration might decide to recede from their position and wait for a new congressional election to change the attitude of the legislature.

The heads of the departments were at first, with the exception of the Treasury, little more than mere adjuncts of the President. By subsequent acts of Congress, and especially since the tenure-of-office act, the relations between the heads of departments or Cabinet officers and the Chief Executive have been modified. The First Congress gave the President power to remove from office without the assent of the Senate. But during the administration of President Johnson the law-making powers declared in effect that the President can not remove even a Cabinet officer without the Senate's consent. Legislation during the first half of the nineteenth century gradually improved the intercourse between the legislative and executive branches of the Government, but the events of the Civil War arrested its further development.

NO AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION NECESSARY.

During the period of reconstruction and of the rapid industrial and commercial growth following it, Congress concentrated its attention chiefly on internal and local interests, and the subject was overlooked. In 1865 it was brought to the notice of the House of Representatives. Much has happened since in confirmation of the advantages of the proposed effort to minimize, without the slightest change of our Constitution, the dangers of personal government, and in order that the President be not permitted to initiate personal policies of which the consequences even so great and powerful a Nation as ours might have cause to regret. A resolution to permit the heads of executive departments to occupy seats on the floor of the House of Representatives was introduced March 3, 1865, by Mr. Pendleton, of Ohio, afterwards Senator of that State. Amendments to the rules of the House were reported from a special committee, which, if adopted, would have then changed the methods of carrying on the public business; but the urgency of the Civil War rendered it impossible to secure due attention to the report. Mr. Pendleton went to the Senate and there revived the subject in 1883, securing a favorable report from a special committee signed by Senators Allison, of Iowa; Blaine, of Maine; Ingalls, of Kansas; Voorhees, of Indiana; Butler, of South Carolina; Farley, of California; and others.

It is remarkable that in the year 1912 another statesman from the State of Ohio, a constitutional lawyer of the highest rank, a member himself of another President's Cabinet, should, at the conclusion of his own term as President, have advocated the proposed plan. No argument in its behalf could be made stronger than Mr. Taft's speech at the Lotus Club in New York, when he said:

"I doubt not that the presence of able Cabinet officers on the floor of each House would give greater harmony of plan for the conduct of public business in both Houses, and would secure a much more valuable legislation in accordance with party plans than we have now. On the other hand, the system would enable Congress to come closer to the Executive and more effectively obtain information as to each act, and compel a disclosure for the reasons justifying it, immediately at the time of the act, and keep the public more quickly advised by the direct questions of hostile critics which must be answered, of the progress of business under executive auspices."

He added:

"It would necessitate the appointing to the Cabinet of men used to debate and to defend their position, and it would offer an opportunity for the public to judge of the Executive and his administration much more justly and much more quickly than under our present system."

It may fairly be assumed that had Mr. Taft been reelected he would have formed a Cabinet such as he describes by appointing heads of departments having sufficient knowledge and experience of their duties to enable them to impart to Congress and to the country necessary information. Such qualifications would best justify their appointment to responsible executive offices.

His successor by his personal appearances before Congress demonstrates his conviction that direct communication between the executive and legislative branches is necessary. President Wilson, in taking the initiative at the outset of his administration, recognized the fact that we are the only country in the world where such direct intercourse does not exist, excepting in so far as he has endeavored to supply it. The frequent appearances of President Wilson have been of value chiefly as arguments in favor of the presence of his Cabinet, the heads of the executive departments, rather than of the Chief Executive himself.

The emphatic opinion so clearly stated by ex-President Taft and the attitude of President Wilson on the subject are in the highest degree persuasive and should be conclusive in favor of the proposed plan.

Only on rarest occasions, if ever, should it be considered necessary or advisable for the President to address Congress in person. Under the Constitution he should not and can not, with any advantage, be subjected to interrogatories, nor should he undertake to impart detailed information necessary to legislators. He has limited himself to the expression of his belief in the necessity of certain legislation along certain lines of policy, adding the weight and prestige of the great office he occupies and of the power with which he is temporarily clothed. It may be that the enactment of the legislation in question has already been practically decided by Congress, or that the personal appearance of the President, without the opportunity or privilege on the part of Members to put questions to him, intensifies an existing opposition.

The Constitution declares: "The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America." It also declares that "he shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." Annual messages of Presidents Washington and John Adams were delivered in person, somewhat after the manner the sovereign of Great Britain delivers a royal speech, and the annual messages of the two first Presidents were answered by addresses from Congress. This practice was changed by President Jefferson, and ever since all presidential messages to either House of Congress have been delivered by a messenger and in writing, until the innovation introduced by President Wilson, who has repeatedly addressed Congress in personal appeals for the enactment of legislation deemed by him necessary.

The President must remain independent of Congress as to the manner in which he may choose to communicate information with regard to executive matters. The heads of the executive departments are there to aid him in the performance of certain duties, and so far are responsible to him alone. But Congress creates offices by law, and the creation of an office implies all that relates to its constitution. All the heads of

departments are creatures of congressional legislation. The legislative branch should not, and under the Constitution can not, require the President to come in person and answer interrogatories; but Congress, having created the offices held by the heads of departments, may assign new duties to them.

The Constitution does not contain the words "Cabinet officers" or "constitutional advisers." It says that the President may require the opinion in writing of "the principal officer in each department." And for this reason such officers are said to be "constitutional advisers" to the President. As it is within the scope of the law and the spirit of the Constitution that the executive officers or heads of departments may be admitted to discuss public measures on the floor of Congress, it is only a question of expediency whether or not such a change in the method of procedure ought to be adopted.

CONSTITUTION AND LAWS OF CONFEDERATE STATES.

The relation of the executive department and Congress engaged the attention of the men who formed the Confederate Government and modeled its constitution and laws upon those of the Federal Government. Long experience of the Federal system suggested to them, in framing their provisional and permanent constitution as well, that to allow the members of the cabinet seats on the floor of their Congress would be an improvement. They therefore preserved the existing provision of our Constitution, distributing the functions of government, and after the words "and no person holding any office under the Confederate States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office," they introduced the following clause: "But Congress may by law grant to the principal officers in each of the executive departments a seat upon the floor of either house with the privilege of discussing any measures appertaining to his department." (Confederate States Constitution, art. 1, sec. 6.)

NOT THE PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM OF OTHER GOVERNMENTS.

There are those who believe that to enable the heads of executive departments to appear before either House would not be the complete parliamentary system of other Governments, because it would not give to the Cabinet, not being permitted, under our Constitution, to vote as Members, the power to direct and control legislative action. It is much to be preferred that it should not. The parliamentary systems of Europe lead to much more instability than does ours. There the cabinet is little more than a committee of the legislature to carry into execution its general policy, and an adverse vote is generally taken to mean the resignation of the Government.

Changes similar to the plan here suggested, as applicable to our system have presented themselves for consideration during the history of American legislation, the annals of Congress containing debates upon the subject, when information was to be obtained through heads of departments.

DISTINCTION BETWEEN CHIEF EXECUTIVE AND OTHER EXECUTIVE OFFICES.

There is a distinction existing between the Executive Office of the President and the office of the several heads of the executive departments. A different rule should therefore be made to apply to each. The President is invested with the authority to make treaties and appoint foreign ambassadors and ministers, with the consent of the Senate. The Secretary of State is not required by the law creating his office to make report or give information to either branch of the Legislature; but whatever is said in respect to foreign affairs is usually said directly by the President in his annual message. Congress has not the power to compel the Secretary of State to give such information as might be required in respect to an appointment, the negotiation of a treaty, or the management of the foreign affairs of the country. But as to matters relating to the Department of State there is no reason why Congress should not claim and exercise the same power which is established in the law organizing the Treasury. To the Executive is given the power to carry out in secret certain measures of foreign policy. Yet, if Congress should invite the Secretary of State to the floor, even in regard to such matters, information which, in his opinion, should be made known, could in this way be communicated and with great benefit to the country.

The Secretary of Foreign Affairs (now the Secretary of State) appeared before the Senate July 22, 1799, in obedience to the following order, issued under the treaty-making power of that body:

"*Ordered*, That the Secretary of Foreign Affairs attend the Senate to-morrow and bring with him such papers as are requisite to give full information relative to the consular convention between France and the United States." (Annals of Congress, Vol. I, p. 52.)

During the Second Congress the following resolution was adopted:

"*Resolved*, That the President of the United States be requested to introduce an inquiry into the causes of the late defeat of the army under the command of Maj. Gen. St. Clair, and also into the causes of the detentions or delays which are suggested to have attended the money, clothing, and provisions and military stores for the use of the said army, and into such other causes as may in any manner have been productive of the said defeat." (Annals of Congress, Vol. III, p. 490.)

The same Congress adopted the following resolution: "That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to report a plan for the reimbursement of the loans made by the Bank of the United States pursuant to the eleventh section of the act entitled 'An act to incorporate the subscribers to the Bank of the United States.'" (Annals of Congress, Vol. III, p. 723.)

LAW ORGANIZING STATE DEPARTMENT.

The law organizing the Department of Foreign Affairs, as then called, which was the first department created, does not direct the head of that department to make reports or give information to either branch of the Legislature. Nor indeed to this day does the Secretary of State make at the opening of Congress any formal report either to the President or to Congress. But whatever is to be said in respect to foreign affairs is said directly by the President in his annual message. The law of July 27, 1789, establishing his office declares that the Secretary "shall perform and execute such duties as shall from time to time be enjoined upon or entrusted to him by the President of the United States agreeable to the Constitution relative to correspondences, commissions, or instructions to or with public ministers or consuls from the United States, or to negotiations with public ministries from foreign states or princes, or to memorials, or other applications from foreign public ministers or other foreigners, or to such other matters respecting foreign affairs as the President of the United States shall assign to said department; and furthermore, that the said principal officer shall conduct the business of the said department in such manner as the President of the United States shall from time to time order or instruct."

On September 15, 1789, the name of the department was changed, and by the act of 1842 and 1856 the Secretary of State is required annually to lay before Congress: "1. A statement in a compendious form of all such changes and modifications in the commercial systems of other nations, whether by treaties, duties on imports and exports, or other regulations, as shall have been communicated to the department during all commercial information contained in the official publications of other governments which he shall deem sufficiently important. 2. A synopsis of so much of the information which may have been communicated to him by the diplomatic and consular offices during the preceding year as he may deem valuable for public information, specifying the names of any consuls or commercial agents who may have been remiss in transmitting commercial information," and other reports with the consular offices, statements of expenditures, etc.

WAR AND NAVY DEPARTMENTS.

Under these laws the Secretary of State is made directly responsible to Congress in regard to what is therein specified. The law establishing the Department of War was enacted August 7, 1789, and defines the relation of the Secretary to the President in similar terms; by subsequent acts enacted 1809, 1866, and 1868 the Secretary is required to lay before Congress annual statements of contracts and purchases, reports of bids for works, reports of examination of river and harbor improvements, abstracts of returns of States. Laws have been enacted giving the Secretary certain discretionary powers. The Navy Department is affected by similar legislation, Congress making the Secretary of War and the Secretary of Navy his agents in regard to certain specified acts without the intervention of the President.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

When Congress dealt with the Treasury Department the theory of legislation was different from that in respect to any of the others. The Secretary of the Treasury is not directed by Congress to conduct the business of his department in such manner "as the President of the United States shall from time to time order or instruct," but, as for enumerating certain specified things which the head of the Treasury has to do, he is required "generally to perform all such service relative to the finances as he shall be directed to perform," without saying by whose direction.

THE SOLUTION OF THE QUESTION.

The law organizing the Treasury may be accepted as the solution of this question. The head of that department can now, at any time either House sees fit to take action under the existing law, be required to give information in person, although he must await an invitation from Congress.

Congress, in creating the office of Secretary of the Treasury, declared that he "shall make report and give information to either branch of the Legislature, either in person or in writing," as either House may require, "respecting all matters which shall appertain to his office." From the time of establishment of his office the Secretary of the Treasury should never have been regarded as merely a member of what is known as the President's official family. The Constitution provides that "all bills for raising revenues shall originate in the House of Representatives." That is the special reason which has given to the House of Representatives the authority under the law establishing his office, which remains unamended and in its original form, to require (the word "require," not "request," is used) the head of the Treasury Department to deliver to Congress from time to time, in person and orally, whatever information may be in possession of the department. This does not mean that Congress can compel the Secretary of the Treasury to disclose an opinion which the President may entertain in respect to tariff legislation, but which the President, for reasons of his own, is unprepared to himself formally communicate to Congress. But from the head of the Treasury Congress may clearly compel information in regard to everything else appertaining to his department.

EXISTING LAW COVERING TREASURY SHOULD BE OBSERVED.

It is obvious that this Cabinet officer especially should be required to appear before Congress; and had the law establishing his office been observed our tariff and currency legislation would have been made clearer to the country and much more satisfactory results secured.

Congress, which made the Treasury Department amenable to its jurisdiction, can claim similar powers over the other executive departments. The annual written reports of the Secretaries, excepting that of the Secretary of the Treasury, are, in general, addressed to the President, and he may or may not, as he chooses, communicate them to Congress, although the custom is for him to send such reports with his annual message. Essential as these reports are for the purposes of legislation and to a proper understanding of the requirements of each department, they invariably need further information and explanation, which no one should be able to give so well as the head of the department himself or the chief of the bureau having its special subject in charge. Much of such information which can, safely for the public interest, be given in the private session of a committee might not be proper for the public session of the whole House.

The proposed plan for open and public intercourse would in no way interfere with the continuance of such committee work. Yet it has often happened that secret methods of the committee are undesirable and that there ought to be publicity of executive details. Such publicity is frequently even necessary to the purpose of an administration or as an exhibition of its policy. Official reports of the proceedings, or hearings, as they are called, before committees are therefore published. It is impossible for the membership of either House to give more than partial attention to them. They are there to represent States and congressional districts. They have special work to perform in the different committees to which they are assigned, and if they give the rest of their time to listening or taking part in what actually goes on in the deliberative assemblies no more can reasonably be asked of them.

PROLONGED AND EXTRA SESSIONS AVOIDED.

But a few words spoken by a competent head of a department would place the whole of Congress on the same vantage ground as members of a committee. The work of Congress would be greatly facilitated, rendering unnecessary the prolonged and extra sessions which have in recent years so often been forced upon the National Legislature.

When the heads of departments go before congressional committees they are received with the utmost official courtesy, even by Members admittedly hostile to them, and the committee of the whole Senate or House will equally preserve its official dignity. There need not be the slightest fear that the heads of our executive departments would be exposed to be badgered by all interrogatories put by inquisitive Members of either House, protected as they would be by carefully drawn rules and regulations.

Formulated into a joint resolution, the proposed change in the method of procedure would be somewhat as follows:

FORM OF JOINT RESOLUTION.

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives*, That the Secretary of State, Secretary of War, Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of the Navy, Secretary of the Interior, the Attorney

General, the Postmaster General, etc., shall be entitled to occupy seats on the floor of either House, with the privilege of discussing any measure appertaining to their departments under such rules as may be prescribed.

SEC. 2. That the said Secretaries, Attorney General, and Postmaster General attend the sessions of the Senate and the House of Representatives on ——— of each week and give information in reply to questions.

This would require the heads of departments to attend at stated times to give necessary direct verbal and responsible information to Congress, at the same time securing to them the right to take part in discussions relating to their respective departments.

That limits might be placed upon the right of inquiry the rules of the two Houses might be amended in a manner proposed by the select committee of which Mr. Pendleton, of Ohio, was chairman. Those admendments were intended for the House of Representatives only, but could be made to apply to the Senate as well, so that the Clerk of the Senate and the House of Representatives should keep notice books in which they should enter resolutions requiring information from any of the executive departments or questions intended to be propounded to any member of the Cabinet.

Notice could be given that the resolution of inquiry or question shall be brought up on ——— ———, or a certain day of a certain week, provided that no such resolution shall be called except by unanimous consent within less than three days after the due notice shall have been given. The Clerk could on the same day on which notice is entered transmit to the chief officer in the proper department a copy of the resolution or question, with the name of the Member proposing it and the day when it comes before the House or the Senate for action. The resolutions of inquiry could be taken up under the rules of the two Houses in the order in which they have been entered upon the notice book; the Member offering a resolution could state the object and scope of his resolution and his reason for desiring the information, and the Secretary or head of the proper department could reply, giving the information or the reasons why it should be withheld, and then, without further debate, the House could vote on the resolution, unless it be withdrawn or postponed.

"In putting any questions to the Secretaries or heads of the departments, no argument or opinion should be offered or any facts stated, excepting so far as may be necessary to explain the resolution of inquiry and the reason for which it has been offered. And in answering such question the Secretary or head of department, Attorney General or Postmaster General, should not debate the matter to which the resolution of inquiry refers, nor state facts or opinions other than those necessary to explain the answer or give the required information."

A resolution in somewhat such form is merely suggestive. The change in the rules of procedure would follow the lines regulating resolutions of inquiry now constantly addressed to the executive departments by Congress. These requests for information are often accompanied by the words "if not incompatible with the public interests," especially in addressing the Department of State, recognizing in this manner the constitutional right of the executive to withhold information the publication of which would be "incompatible with the public interest." Resolutions of inquiry, unless adopted immediately by unanimous consent, are referred to the proper committee having jurisdiction, and are usually answered after the lapse of a considerable time, the rapid course of events obliterating the subject from the public mind. Under the proposed change the public would be more quickly advised by direct questions which must be answered. Congress would more effectively obtain information at the time needed. The executive departments would retain constitutional independence of the legislative branch, but would be responsive to public opinion.

A presidential election is again within measurable distance. Shall we look for a ruler practically unrestrained by Congress, expected, and even tempted, to indulge in personal government, or for a President responsible, through his Cabinet, to the most enlightened constituency in the world, the American people?

Mine Experiment and Mine Safety Stations.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. RAKER,
OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 1, 1915.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of this legislation. It is supplying a long-felt want in the mining activities of the great mining industry of this country. The mining people of the West have been urging this legislation for many years.

On April 20, 1912, I introduced a bill, H. R. 22080, for mining experiment stations for northern California, and this bill was favorably reported by the Committee on Mines and Mining, but failed of passage by reason of the adjournment of Congress. The report of the committee was as follows:

The Committee on Mines and Mining, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 22080) to establish a mining experiment station at Auburn, Placer County, Cal., to aid in the development of mineral resources of the United States, and to undertake any investigation or operation for the health and safety of persons employed in mining, quarrying, metallurgical, and other mineral industries, and for other purposes, having had the same under consideration, respectfully recommend that it do pass.

This bill is a substitute for H. R. 17033, which was introduced for identically the same purpose.

The bill is as follows:

"[H. R. 22080, Sixty-second Congress, second session.]

"A bill to establish a mining experiment station at Auburn, Placer County, Cal., to aid in the development of the mineral resources of the United States, and for other purposes.

"Be it enacted, etc., That there be, and is hereby, established at Auburn, Placer County, Cal., a mining experiment station which shall be under the supervision, management, and control of the Bureau of Mines.

"SEC. 2. That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to appoint as the superintendent of said mining experiment station one expert mining and metallurgical engineer, at a salary of $4,000 per annum; one chemist, at a salary of $2,500 per annum; and such other employees as he may deem necessary to carry out the provisions of this act; and for the purpose of inaugurating and maintaining the said mining experiment station, including the payment of salaries, purchase of equipment, supplies, expenses of travel, payment of rent, and other expenses of every sort incident thereto the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to expend annually a sum not exceeding $25,000.

"SEC. 3. That it shall be the province and duty of said mining experiment station, under the direction of the Bureau of Mines, to conduct inquiries and scientific investigations concerning the mining, preparation, treatment, and utilization of ores and other mineral substances, with a view to improving health conditions, increasing safety, efficiency, economic development, and the prevention of waste in the mining, quarrying, metallurgical, and other mineral industries, and as will facilitate the proper and efficient development of the resources of the public domain, and to disseminate information concerning these subjects in such manner as will best carry out the purposes of this act.

"SEC. 4. That nothing in this act shall be construed as authorizing the Bureau of Mines, or any employee of said bureau engaged in the work herein provided for, to undertake any investigation or operation in behalf of any private party, except for the health and safety of persons employed in the mining, quarrying, metallurgical, and other mineral industries; nor shall any of the regular employees of said bureau engaged in such investigations have any personal or private interest in any mine or the products of any mine under investigation."

This bill is introduced for the benefit of the mining interests of California and the Government generally, and to look after the health and safety of the miners. The Sacramento Valley Development Association, at a meeting held at Sacramento, Cal., on February 17, 1912, memorialized Congress upon this subject as follows:

"Whereas House of Representatives bill No. 17033, introduced by Hon. JOHN E. RAKER, entitled 'A bill to establish a mining experiment station at Auburn, Placer County, Cal., to aid in the development of the mineral resources of the United States'; and

"Whereas California leads all other States in the value of its mineral products, which for the year 1909 amounted to approximately $83,000,000; in 1910, $88,000,000; and in 1911, $90,000,000; and

"Whereas the proposed experiment station is in no wise a local matter, but is calculated to develop and improve the mining industry of the entire country and provide a greatly needed and exceedingly important educational opportunity to all persons interested in the mineral industries; and

"Whereas Auburn, Placer County, is centrally located with reference to the great mining districts of the Pacific coast, and very close to the city there are extensive deposits, including gold (quartz and gravel), ores of copper, iron, manganese, anomite and silver, galena and bismuth, and other minerals, such as granite, limestone, porphyry, marble, stentite, magnesite, borytasper, sclemite, asbestos, talc, kaolin, pottery clay, ocher, and quartz suitable for the manufacture of glass: Therefore be it

"*Resolved,* That the Sacramento Valley Development Association, in regular meeting assembled, this 17th day of February, 1912, does indorse said House bill No. 17033, and urges upon Congress the adoption of this bill as a matter of rendering material assistance to one of the greatest of the country's industries.

"The above resolution was unanimously adopted at the regular monthly meeting of the Sacramento Valley Development Association held February 17, 1912.

"O. H. MILLER, *Secretary.*"

The Nevada City Chamber of Commerce, of Nevada City, Cal., have memorialized Congress upon this subject as follows:

MARCH 31, 1912.

Hon. JOHN E. RAKER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At a recent meeting of this organization it was brought to the notice of the members that through your good offices a large quantity of valuable publications are being received and placed on the shelves of the headquarters. This matter shows a discriminating appreciation of the needs of this locality and your interest in our welfare. We also note with pleasure that the bill introduced by you for the establishment of a mining laboratory at Auburn, in our neighboring county, has been changed to eliminate the possibility of interfering with the business of our assayers, and in its present form has our complete support. In accordance with a motion at to-day's meeting a vote of thanks was passed to you for your good work, and this letter is to inform you of the said action.

Trusting that you may continue to be successful in your efforts for the people of your district, we remain,

Very sincerely, yours,

NEVADA CITY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.
W. W. WAGGONER, *President.*
GEO. B. FINNEGAN, *Secretary.*

The Auburn Chamber of Commerce have memorialized Congress upon this subject as follows:

AUBURN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
Auburn, Cal., February 7, 1912.

Whereas a bill entitled "A bill to establish a mining experiment station at Auburn, Placer County, Cal., to aid in the development of the mineral resources of the United States, and for other purposes" (H. R. 10733), has been introduced in the House of Representatives at Washington; and

Whereas the mineral production of California for the year 1909 amounted, in round numbers, to $83,000,000; in 1910, $88,400,000; and to upward of ninety millions in 1911; and

Whereas the mountains and valleys of Placer County contain an immense amount of mineral wealth, including gold both in quartz and gravel, ores of copper, manganese, tungsten, chromium, and silver (in the Ophir mining district, close to Auburn), galena, bismuth, and other minerals, such as granite, limestone, porphyry, marble, steatite, magnesite, baryta, spar, selenite, asbestos, talc, kaolin, pottery clay, ocher, and glass sand; and

Whereas Placer County is lately reported by the Census Bureau as being the second county in the United States in the number of producing gold mines, Siskiyou County, Cal., being first; and

Whereas Auburn is on the main line of the Southern Pacific, 126 miles from San Francisco, 657 miles from Los Angeles, and 868 miles from Seattle, thus being easy of access from east, west, and south, and as centrally located with reference to the great mining districts of the country as is practically possible; and

Whereas the project is in no way sectional, but calculated to develop the mining industry of the whole Pacific slope and of the entire country; and

Whereas such a station would provide an important educational opportunity for the young men of California and be the means of recruiting a trained force of men to develop the wealth of the country: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Auburn Chamber of Commerce cordially indorses the said bill and urges upon Congress its adoption, and we also recommend other chambers of commerce and business organizations of the Pacific slope to take similar action; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to our Representatives in Congress and to kindred organizations on the coast.

Adopted.

JOHN T. BRAMHALL, *Secretary*.

The San Francisco Call, of California, of date February 19, 1912, speaking editorially upon this subject, says:

"NEED OF A SCHOOL FOR MINING PROSPECTORS.

"A mining experiment station for California would be a useful and valuable help for the promotion of this great industry, and in that view Representative RAKER has introduced a bill in Congress for the establishment in Placer County of an institution of this character.

"The Government has always been neglectful of this industry and was with difficulty persuaded to create a Bureau of Mines. Millions are spent annually on the Government Agricultural Department, and we believe this money is profitably used for the common good, but little or nothing is done by national agency to encourage or assist mining. The production of minerals, gold, oil, copper, and other products is one of California's leading industries, and it is properly the subject of scientific examinations and investigations for the ascertainment of the best and safest methods. It is an extremely hazardous trade, and hitherto this aspect of the industry has been little regarded.

"There is besides a wide field for metallurgical and petrological inquiry. The mountains of California have been explored in a hazardous way by gold seekers, and sometimes they have stumbled on other valuable minerals, but usually by accident.

"The fact is that we do not yet know the full metallurgical potentialities of the California mining region, and it is likely that a school for prospectors would bring valuable and unexpected results."

The American Mining Congress, which is composed of the most able and representative mining men of the West, at its recent annual meeting in the city of Chicago unanimously passed the following resolution:

"Whereas the development of processes of ore treatment capable of handling with profit the vast low-grade deposits and mine dumps of our mining districts is of the greatest importance to the mining industry and to all related industries:

"*Be it resolved*, That it be the sense of the American Mining Congress that the Congress of the United States be, and is hereby, memorialized to provide for the establishment, under the direction of the Bureau of Mines, of a metallurgical experiment ore-testing station or stations for the purpose of devising methods for the extraction of metals from low-grade ores and appropriate sufficient funds for such purpose.

"*Resolved further*, That the officers of the American Mining Congress draft a suitable bill providing for the proper carrying out of this resolution, and that copies of the bill and of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States and each Senator and Representative; and that the officers of the American Mining Congress use all honorable means to the end that such a bill may become a law, in view of the increasing importance and complexity of the mining and metallurgical industries, the deplorable waste in mining under present methods, and the great need of trained men to aid in improving these conditions and in developing greater safety and efficiency.

"*Be it resolved*, That the American Mining Congress, now in session at Chicago, urges the Congress of the United States at Washington to provide for aid and cooperation in the maintenance of mining schools in the several States in a manner analogous to that which has been done in behalf of agriculture.

"*Be it resolved*, That the members of the American Mining Congress and the friends of the mining industry throughout the country are hereby urged to cooperate in securing the proper legislation necessary to carry above purpose into effect."

There are many other organizations of business men throughout the West that are and have for some years past been very urgently appealing to Congress for relief in the manner provided by this bill. It should be remembered that while the National Bureau of Mines is doing a splendid work in its limited field and in a limited way, yet its energies are thus far practically entirely devoted to coal-mining industries. There has been no recognition thus far of the metalliferous mining industries of the West, and it is believed that that industry is entitled to consideration by the Government.

This bill was referred to the Department of the Interior for consideration, and the report of the Secretary of the Interior thereon is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, April 1, 1912.

Hon. MARTIN D. FOSTER,
Chairman Committee on Mines and Mining,
House of Representatives.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of March 21, asking for my opinion on House bills 22080, 22081, and 22088, relative to the establishment of mining experiment stations in the States of California, Colorado, and Utah:

The purpose of these bills is to provide for "inquiries and scientific investigations concerning the mining, preparation, treatment, and utilization of ores and other mineral substances, with a view to improving health conditions, increasing safety, efficiency, economic development, and the prevention of waste in the mining, quarrying, metallurgical, and other mineral industries, and as will facilitate the proper and efficient development of the resources of the public domain.

This purpose and the main features of these bills meet with my approval.

Such investigations will be helpful in the development of mining on the public lands of each of the States, both within and without the national forest reserves; and the necessary expenditures for conducting these investigations will be justified more than under ordinary conditions, for the reason that in these States the Government is itself largely interested in any and all investigations looking to the proper development of the mining and metallurgical industries.

I believe, however, that in each of these bills, instead of locating specifically in each State just where the experiment station is to be established, it would be wiser to leave the question of specific location to the department, so that the investigations might be conducted from time to time at whatever point there proved to be most need of investigations and where the investigations might be carried on under the most favorable conditions. Indeed, a movable location for each station might enable the department to carry out the purposes of these bills with greater economy and efficiency than could be done under any other plan.

Under the provisions of these bills there can be no possible conflict of interests between the investigations for which they provide and the work of private mining and metallurgicial engineers and chemists.

Very respectfully,

WALTER L. FISHER, *Secretary*.

The report of the Secretary, as will be observed from the above, is favorable. There is a suggestion that it would be wiser to leave the question of the specific location of the station to the Department of the Interior rather than fixing it at any particular place. The reason your committee has not followed that suggestion is because it is believed that in designating the place which is approved by various mining organizations and mining men the judgment and wishes of these should be considered in that respect.

Within a radius of 100 miles from the proposed location there is practically every known combination of gold, silver, lead, copper, zinc, iron, tungsten, and other mineral-bearing ores, and that a great deal of it is what is known as low-grade refractory ores—that is, ore which is difficult to treat. There are very large deposits and a great variety of it there, and the mining interests of the State have felt that there ought to be an experimental mining station in the mining regions, in charge of skilled chemists and metallurgists, for the purpose of not only analyzing and testing those ores but to devise, if possible, new means and processes of treatment—means and methods of aiding the mining industry and saving from waste and conserving the metal resources of the country and making the very valuable mineral substances in this region available for the use and general welfare of the Nation.

On behalf of the mining industry of the Pacific coast it was shown to your committee that the welfare of this Nation is very much dependent upon and affected by the conservation and economical production and treatment of the metals of the Western and Pacific Coast States; that the gold and silver, copper and lead, zinc and iron, vanadium and uranium, and other rare metals that are produced in the Sierra Nevada and other mountain regions are really the lifeblood of the business of this country and the basis of our prosperity; that the metalliferous mining industry is being neglected and has been neglected; and that metalliferous mining at the present time is at comparatively low ebb. It is believed by your committee that if the Government could assist in evolving processes of handling low-grade ores—that is, ores running below $10 per ton—thousands of mines would be opened and the wealth of the world would be added to by many hundreds of millions of dollars.

It was shown that there are a large number of valuable substances that can not under the present process be handled at all, and the problem of the rejuvenation and continued prosperity of the mining industry depends upon the establishment of the metallurgical experiment stations at which scientific and practical work along that line can be done.

The mining men of the Pacific coast and Sierra Nevada and other western mountains feel that the Government should take an interest in and assit in finding means of treatment of the low-grade refractory ores and get them into a merchantable condition. That will require experiments, expenditures, and skilled expert knowledge of the highest class. They prefer to have experts on the ground there to examine the ores and the metal formations as they exist in nature. The place designated in the bill is located in the center of one of the principal mining and metalliferous portions of the State and is advantageously and suitably located for a mining experiment station.

Auburn is on the main line of the Southern Pacific, 126 miles from San Francisco, 657 miles from Los Angeles, and 868 miles from Seattle, thus being easy of access from east, west, north, and south, and is as centrally located with reference to the great mining districts of the country on the Pacific slope as is practically possible.

The project is in no way sectional, but calculated to develop the mining industry of the whole Pacific slope and of the entire country.

The following shows the amount of money obtained from the sale of public mineral lands from 1901 to 1910, inclusive, and a statement of the mining interests and their past want of consideration:

Proportion of reclamation fund arising from receipts of sales of coal and mineral lands for the fiscal years 1901 to 1911, inclusive.

Years.	Reclamation fund.	Coal and mineral lands, aggregate.[1]	Coal lands, separate.[1]	Mineral lands, separate.[1]
1901	$3,144,821.91	$362,632.85	$200,116.35	$162,516.50
1902	4,585,520.53	462,723.20	171,641.81	291,081.39
1903	8,713,996.60	790,083.56	486,176.54	303,907.02
1904	6,826,253.59	685,668.65	385,276.97	300,391.68
1905	4,805,515.39	551,976.80	269,458.55	282,518.25
1906	5,166,336.50	799,899.27	523,905.72	275,983.55
1907	7,914,131.71	570,415.76	288,092.82	282,322.94
1908	9,416,875.95	886,942.69	599,920.44	287,022.25
1909	7,755,468.81	792,501.66	471,088.08	321,413.58
1910	7,028,185.73	890,385.91	618,828.04	271,557.87
Total, 10 years	65,357,106.72	6,793,220.35	4,014,505.32	2,778,715.03

[1] A deduction of 5 per cent on account of grants to all reclamation States, except Colorado, for purposes of education or of making public roads, has been made from the total receipts from sales of coal and mineral lands.

A small fraction of 1 per cent for fees and commissions of registers and receivers has not been deducted in preparing this statement.

The funds arising from the sale of public lands and set aside for the reclamation work in the public-land States, as indicated by the accompanying tabular statement, during the 10 years ending June 30, 1910, have approximated $65,357,000. Of this amount, $4,000,000 has been derived from the sale of coal lands, and about $2,779,000 from the sale of other mineral lands, making a total derived from the sale of mineral lands of $6,793,000.

During these 10 years this entire fund arising from the proceeds of the sale of all such public lands, including the $6,793,000 arising from the sale of coal and other mineral lands, has been devoted to the upbuilding of agriculture in the public-land States, and no part of this fund has gone to help the mining industry in any of these States.

During this time the mining industry in the public-land States has fallen far behind agriculture in progressive development. Many branches of the industry are showing the need of extended investigations.

The question now raised is as follows:

In view of the fact that the great reclamation work of the Federal Government is now under way, that the policies and principles of irrigation in the arid lands are now well established, that private enterprise is now developing numerous similar irrigation projects in each of the public-land States, and that the reclamation work of the Federal Government has now reached the stage at which the income from the sale of water rights will rapidly add to the funds arising from the sale of public lands and available for irrigation purposes, is it not right and feasible that at this time some considerable portion of the proceeds from the sale of mineral lands should, for a time, be devoted to investigations looking to the upbuilding of the mining industry in the several public-land States?

The principle of equity in this proposition has already been well established, in that the proceeds arising from the administration of the public-forest lands in the West have been largely reappropriated for the care and development of the forest lands; and the application of this principle in behalf of the mining industry would have been called for when the Reclamation Service was established but for the generous desire on the part of all parties in the West that the principle and the policy of irrigation, by both public and private agencies, should be inaugurated and fully established.

Now, however, that this has been accomplished, and that the mining industry in turn is in need of funds for investigations looking to its further development, the principles of right and equity in behalf of the mining industry should receive recognition.

Your committee believes that the welfare of the miner as affects his health and safety and as affects the general welfare of the whole country demands that due recognition and encouragement should be given to the metalliferous-mining industry and the miners of the West and Pacific coast, and recommends the passage of the bill.

On the opening of the Sixty-third Congress, on April 7, 1913, I introduced a similar bill, which was known as H. R. 113.

This bill, H. R. 15869, takes the place of H. R. 113 and other bills of a similar purpose. The report on this bill fully covers the entire field, and I will incorporate it as part of my statement on this most important question:

The Committee on Mines and Mining, having under consideration H. R. 15869, reports the same to the House with the recommendation that the bill be passed.

The pending bill has a double purpose: (1) To establish 10 mining experiment stations in important metal-mining regions in public-land States and 1 in Alaska, with a view to the advancement of the mining industry in those regions, and (2) to establish in the larger developed mining regions of the country 15 movable mine-safety stations for rescue cars, with a view to advancing more rapidly and in a more satisfactory manner the mine-safety education and mine-rescue work under the Bureau of Mines.

The bill now pending is expected to replace recent House bills Nos. 97, 113, 169, 1644, 1646, 1879, 4641, 8898, 9662, 9837, 11098, 11101, 15606, and 15869 of the Sixty-third Congress, looking to the establishment of individual experiment stations in nearly all public-land States, and House bills Nos. 14691, 15221, 15223, and 16195, looking to the establishment of individual mine-rescue cars or stations. Under its provisions will also be included the reconstruction and operation of eight existing mine-rescue cars now being operated under the Bureau of Mines.

This legislation has been prepared with considerable care. It is not based upon the plans or wishes of any one person or organization, but it has been drawn up as a result of a series of conferences among the miners, mine operators, mine surgeons, and engineers from different parts of the country, careful consideration having been given to the needs of the industry and of the country along the lines indicated.

The committee has heard only commendation from the miners and operators for the work of the Bureau of Mines as far as that work has gone, but criticism is general and emphatic concerning the slowness of the progress in that work due to lack of adequate facilities. The situation is well expressed by the following extract in a letter from John Mitchell to the chairman of the committee:

"As one of the advocates of the establishment of the Bureau of Mines, I have watched with interest the good beginning it has made; but I have noted with regret the inadequacy of its facilities for taking up even the matter of coal-mine accidents in a manner commensurate with the urgency and importance of that subject; also the omission from its work of investigations looking to safety and health conditions in the metal mines and investigations looking to the general upbuilding of the industry.

"In a movement of this kind the inadequacy of the facilities tends to bring discredit on the work, and thereby to discourage both those associated with it and those for whose benefit the movement was inaugurated. I fear it also indicates a failure to comprehend the importance and magnitude of the undertaking and the difficulties involved."

CONDITIONS SHOWING THE NEED FOR THIS LEGISLATION.

(1) That the mining industry of the country and especially the metal-mining industries in our public-land States are not keeping pace with the normal development of the country is clearly shown by the following data:

In the population of the public-land States west of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers there was an increase from 14,800,000 in 1900 to 19,600,000 in 1910, an increase of 32 per cent.

The agricultural crops of the public-land States had a valuation in 1900 of $921,000,000, and a valuation in 1910 of $1,950,000,000, an increase of 112 per cent.

During similar periods the average annual valuation of all the mineral products in the public-land States increased from $287,000,000 during the period 1901 to 1905 to an average annual valuation of $358,000,000 during the period from 1906 to 1910, an increase of a little less than 25 per cent; whereas the production of the precious metals in the public-land States decreased from an annual average valuation of $136,000,000 during the earlier period (1901–1905) to an average annual valuation of $127,000,000 during the latter period (1906–1910), a decrease of nearly 7 per cent.

No better illustration could be given of the contrast in the treatment of these two great national industries than the fact that in spite of this lagging behind of the mining industry during this 10-year period the National Government expended for the reclamation of agricultural lands in these public-land States not only all of the moneys received from the sale of public lands for agricultural purposes, but also nearly $7,000,000 received from the sale of mineral lands.

The reduction in the number of men employed in the different metal-mining industries in the public-land States tells even more clearly than do the figures of production the falling behind of the mining industry. Unfortunately, the figures for the number of the men employed are not available for a majority of the public-land States.

Taking a single one of these States as an example, attention may be called to the fact that the average number of men employed in the metal-mining and metallurgical industries in the State of Colorado for the four-year period 1900 to 1903, inclusive, was 36,189; during the period from 1904 to 1907 this annual loss was reduced to 34,364; and during the four-year period from 1908 to 1911, inclusive, the number of employees was further reduced to 22,560.

(2) Among the causes of this lagging behind of mine development are the following: (a) The exhaustion now under way of the more easily discovered and richer ore deposits and the fact that other rich ore deposits are not now being discovered to such an extent as to replace those now being worked as they become exhausted; (b) the absence of known methods through the use of which many existing low-grade ore deposits can be profitably worked; (c) the wasteful methods now followed in many of the mining and metallurgical operations, which, while in many cases they still bring temporary profits to mine operators, are reducing the national wealth in a manner which can be remedied only by the discovery and use of more efficient methods of treatment.

(3) Of a number of our important mineral resources we have for both the present and future needs of the country but one inadequate supply. The utilization of certain of these important resources, as in the case of coal, oil, and natural gas, destroys them. Common prudence demands that through the necessary researches the Nation should learn how to use this one supply of its mineral resources more wisely and more efficiently or with less waste or loss than is now the case.

(4) The loss of life in the different branches of the mining industry is a discredit to the Nation. It calls for more extended inquiries and researches on the part of the Federal Government and a proper dissemination of the results obtained; it calls for more stringent police supervision or inspection by the States, and for more determined cooperative effort on the part of both the miners and mine owners in the way of making and enforcing safety regulations.

The National Government should do its full duty in this matter without further delay.

MINING, LIKE AGRICULTURE, WILL BE BENEFITED BY THE LARGER CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

Congress is now appropriating as an aid to agricultural advancement nearly $28,000,000 per annum. These funds are being expended and the work authorized is being carried forward through a well-organized department with a Cabinet head and with nearly 14,000 employees.

That these large expenditures have resulted in still larger benefits to the country there can be no doubt; and one of the evidences of benefits is to be seen in the large increases in the aggregate value of the farm products of the country, which had an estimated value of less than $5,000,000,000 in the year 1898 and nearly $9,000,000,000 in the year 1912.

The conditions underlying agricultural progress differ as to many details from those associated with mining, but the broad, general principles of progress are the same; and the favorable response to the national aid for agriculture is itself an evidence of the result which can be depended upon if similar aid is extended to mining. Furthermore, the less extended actual experience growing out of the more limited expenditures through the Geological Survey and the Bureau of Mines on behalf of the mining industry furnishes specific evidence of the larger benefits which may be expected to result from larger expenditures in similar directions. Thus, under the Bureau of Mines, through a small expenditure, the saving in national wealth through stopping the waste of natural gas in a single season has aggregated more than $10,000,000, which is several times the total cost of the maintenance of the Bureau of Mines from its beginning.

The benefits which may be expected from more liberal aid to the mining industry will come (1) through the lessening of the unnecessary waste in the mining and treatment of the various mineral products; (2) through increased efficiency in mining operations by the improvement of health and safety conditions; (3) through the development of more efficient and cheaper methods in the treatment of low-grade ore deposits, which are either not now worked at all or are worked only in their richer parts or pockets. These benefits may come about either through the discovery of new methods in connection with the researches by the bureau itself, or through its activity in stimulating researches by private parties.

THE COUNTRY'S RELATION TO ITS TWO GREAT FOUNDATION INDUSTRIES.

A brief statement of facts will indicate in a general way what the National Government is doing to aid development of each of its two great basic industries, and what in turn these two industries are contributing yearly to our national wealth and progress. While the figures are not fully comparable in all respects, they will be found to be essentially correct:

AGRICULTURE AND MINING, THE NATION'S TWO GREAT FOUNDATION INDUSTRIES—WHAT THEY ARE DOING FOR THE NATION AND WHAT THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IS DOING FOR EACH OF THESE INDUSTRIES.

What these industries do for the nation:

	Agriculture, including forestry.	Mining and mineral industries.[1]
Number of employees	13,000,000	2,300,000
Yearly value of products	$10,500,000,000	$4,600,000,000
What each worker in these industries contributes to the national wealth yearly	$800	$2,000
What each industry contributes to the freight tonnage of the country yearly.....per cent..	22	60

[1] The scope here includes mining, metallurgical, and other mineral industries, as does the work of the Bureau of Mines.

What the National Government is doing for each of these industries:

Yearly appropriations.	Agriculture.	Mining.
For education:		
From direct appropriation	$2,500,000	Nothing.
From land grants	1,030,000	.....
From Smith-Lever Act for demonstration educational work	[1] 480,000	.....
For 52 experiment stations, one in each State and Territory	1,550,000	Nothing.
For general researches and other work to aid agriculture and mining	22,410,000	[2] $1,967,000
Total	27,970,000	[2] 1,967,000
Per capita contribution from the people of the United States for the advancement of these industries	$0.28	$0.02
Of this contribution the per capita expenditure for safeguarding the lives of 2,300,000 employees in the mining industry is about one-half of 1 cent per annum	.....	.005

[1] $480,000 for 1915; increasing to $4,580,000 for 1925 and each year thereafter.

[2] Of this amount less than $500,000 is expended under the Bureau of Mines in behalf of improvement of safety and health conditions among the 2,300,000 employees in the mining industry; the remainder (about $1,300,000) is expended for geology, topography, water powers, and other problems having to do with the commercial side of mining and other industries, under the Geological Survey; and $135,000 is expended under the Bureau of Mines for the commercial testing of the coal and oil used by the Government.

Nothing can show the national neglect of the mining industry more clearly than does the above tabular statement, in spite of the hazards of that industry and the other conditions which should appeal to the humanitarian as well as to the commercial instincts of the people. But another fact that tells the story with equal emphasis is that during the past 10 years, in addition to the large sums paid out of the National Treasury for the benefit of agriculture and the payment toward the reclamation of agricultural lands in the Western States of all funds arising from the sale of public lands in those States, even the proceeds of the sale of the Nation's mineral resources in like manner have gone not to aid mining but to the reclamation of additional agricultural lands.

WHY THE MINING INDUSTRY HAS RECEIVED RELATIVELY SO LITTLE NATIONAL AID.

Agriculture is much the larger of the two industries; it embraces a larger number of persons, more widely distributed, and each acting as an independent agent. Its products, supplying the country with food and clothing, bring this industry even closer to the lives of the people than is the mining industry, which supplies them with the fuel which cooks their food, heats and lights their houses (built largely of mineral products), operates and supplies a large share of the materials and all the machinery of their factories, conducts and operates largely their facilities for transportation and communication, and supplies more than 60 per cent of the total freight tonnage of the country.

But, more than the above, there must be some special reasons why the mining industry has received relatively so little aid from the National Government, and these are to be found, no doubt, in certain misapprehensions concerning the industry. Mining is usually regarded as an industry made up mainly of the operation of a few large, profitable properties, such as the old Comstock mines in Nevada, the Treadwell mine in Alaska, or the Homestake mine in South Dakota. It is usually considered to be an industry controlled by a few parties, the owners of which large properties would gladly avail themselves of an opportunity to unload on the National Government the cost of conducting researches in which they are particularly interested. Therefore it is usually considered as an industry which should be allowed, and even required, to take care of itself. These assumptions are far from correct.

The facts of the situation are: (1) These large, profitable properties are few in number; that, so far as known, their owners have never joined in a request for Government appropriation to aid the mining industry, nor have they been given any special consideration either in the establishment or in the plans of the Bureau of Mines. They have neither asked for assistance, nor have they endeavored to unload upon the Government any investigations of their own. On the contrary, at the request of the Bureau of Mines, a number of them have expended considerable allotments of their own funds on investigations which promise to be useful not only to them but to other less important mining developments in which they were in no way interested.

(2) While the number of large mines in this country is small, there is a large number of small mines. The records show that in the country as a whole there are about 40,000 coal mines, metal mines, and quarries and about 170,000 oil wells, operated to a smaller or larger extent in connection with the mining operations. In addition to these there is a large number of operating plants connected with the smelting and other metallurgical operations and various mineral industry operations in different parts of the country. Few seem to appreciate the importance of helping those who hold these small properties to find methods of operation by which they can be worked at a profit instead of being helplessly transferred to a few large corporations who alone may have the funds for developing the processes that will make such operations possible.

(3) The most urgent appeal for larger national aid to the mining industry comes from and on behalf of the 2,300,000 employees of the different branches of the industry, who are asking the aid of the Government in the development of safer and more healthful working conditions. This humanitarian appeal should be given precedence over calls for appropriations to advance commercial gains. It comes from employees working under hazardous conditions, and a majority of whom are unfamiliar with our language, our laws, or our institutions, who have not yet realized the good will of any government. They have been led to believe that the Government of the United States is interested in their welfare and was planning to aid in bringing about safer and healthier conditions in the mining industries of this country; but they are becoming discouraged as to the realization of such plans.

(4) Another important need to be met through these larger contributions to the aid of the mining industry is on behalf of the consumers or users of the mineral products distributed throughout every section of the country. These mineral products are coming to be more and more indispensable for use in the domestic life of the people as a basis of our manufactures, a basis of transportation facilities, and in supplying the products to be transported. Under normal conditions, as our mines become deeper and our mineral resources depleted, the per capita cost of mineral products is increasing, and one important purpose of the larger investigations authorized in the pending legislation will be that of finding out how this cost may be kept down to a minimum.

The increasing per capita consumption of mineral products is illustrated by the facts as to coal. The per capita consumption of coal in 1870 was less than 1 ton; it increased to 2½ tons in 1890, and to nearly 6 tons for the year 1913.

SOME SPECIAL REASONS WHY MINING SHOULD RECEIVE LARGER NATIONAL AID.

(1) In agriculture, with ordinary care of our soils, the country may be continuously supplied with annual crops. In dealing with the mining industry the fact should be kept in mind that the country has but one supply of mineral resources; that this one supply must meet the future as well as the present needs of the Nation; and that a century's experience points clearly to the fact that our needs for the more important of these resources, such as mineral fuels, precious metals, potash and phosphate deposits, will increase much more rapidly than will our population.

(2) While certain of our mineral resources, as in the case of metals, are destroyed rather slowly in use, other essential resources, such as coal, oil, and natural gas, are consumed or destroyed beyond recovery in use.

(3) In the utilization of certain of our mineral resources, such as the natural fuels, zinc, and some other of our metals, there are large losses or wastes which are believed to be unnecessary; and it is a wise duty of the National Government that it should aid in the prevention of such wastes.

(4) And more important than all the above in their appeals for the larger aid of the Federal Government are the hazards of the mining industry; the accidents which yearly result in such large losses of life, and the bad health conditions in many mines and metallurgical plants which affect adversely the vitality of employees. None of these conditions are met with in agriculture, but they are in a peculiar way characteristic of the mining industries; and these conditions alone more than justify this additional call upon the Federal Treasury.

PROPOSED MINING EXPERIMENT STATIONS.

The bill authorizes and directs the Secretary of the Interior "to establish and maintain in the several important mining regions of the United States and the Territory of Alaska 10 mining experiment stations." It is expected that these stations will be mainly in the public-land States. The exact location and the question of their being removed from time to time from one point to another is wisely left to the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior in order that the work of the several stations may be carried on at such places and in such manner as will best facilitate the metal-mining resources of the country.

There are located within the boundaries of the several public-land States large bodies of low-grade ores of different types for the efficient treatment of which there are no known methods. There are other large deposits that are being worked in accordance with methods that are highly wasteful of valuable mineral products. On the public lands in these States there are many mineral deposits concerning the value of which little is at present known. These and other associated problems, general in character, will be investigated by the several mining experiment stations to be established in such regions; and it is believed that the results of such investigations will be not only beneficial to the industry but also to the general public.

RELATIONS OF THE WORK OF THE MINING EXPERIMENT STATIONS TO THE WORK UNDER THE GENERAL APPROPRIATIONS OF THE BUREAU OF MINES.

It has been suggested that the work authorized for the several mining experiment stations to be established under this legislation might be carried on under the general appropriations for the Bureau of Mines. If these appropriations were sufficiently ample and stable, an arrangement of the kind suggested might be possible under the existing organic act of the Bureau of Mines, in the same way that the Department of Agriculture a few years ago might have established a series of agricultural experiments in each of the several States. But Congress at that time decided—and no doubt wisely—that with a view to giving such work a more stable basis and a more ample support it was better by formal act to establish agricultural experiment stations in each of the States and Territories, for each of which an appropriation of $30,000 per annum has been authorized.

The Committee on Mines and Mining, after a careful consideration of this question, has decided that it will be unnecessary to establish so large a number of stations for the work in mining as was done in the case of agriculture; but, nevertheless, that there should be at least 10 such stations established and maintained through an appropriation of $25,000 for each such station, in order that the local interests of the more important metal-mining regions in the public-land States might receive ample and continuous consideration.

COOPERATION OF THE STATES IN THIS WORK.

Section 2 of the pending bill authorizes the Secretary of the Interior "to accept lands, buildings, or other contributions from the several States offering to cooperate in carrying out the purposes of this act." It is considered wiser that the act should not make the cooperation of any State a condition of this appropriation, nor was such condition imposed upon the States in the making of the appropriation for agricultural experiment stations. It is practically certain, however, that in mining, as in agriculture, the interested States will cooperate and will cooperate liberally with the National Government in carrying forward this important work.

In support of the agricultural colleges in the several States the appropriations by the States themselves are now many times larger than those by the Federal Government; and in the maintenance of the agricultural experiment stations established by the National Government in each of the States and Territories the appropriations by the States and Territories for 1912 was $1,250,000, as against an appropriation of $1,545,000 from the National Treasury.

It is believed that under the bill as reported the Secretary of the Interior will be able to locate the 10 mining experiment stations and the headquarters of the 15 mine-safety stations, or rescue cars, at such points as will best serve the needs of the industry and the country, and that in doing this he will be able to secure the liberal

cooperation of the several mining States in the maintenance of these stations.

The following letter from the Secretary of the Interior throws light on several phases of this legislation, though it relates especially to the proposal for the establishment of the 10 mining experiment stations:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, January 15, 1914.

Hon. M. D. FOSTER,
Chairman Committee on Mines and Mining,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR DR. FOSTER: Replying to your letter of December 2, which asks for an expression of opinion concerning H. R. 1646, a bill to establish a mining experiment station in the State of Colorado, and for other purposes:

There is also before me a number of similar bills for the establishment of mining experiment stations in other Western States, some of which have already received the approval of the department.

Instead of proceeding with the consideration of the special bill now submitted (H. R. 1646), I beg to report that the general policy and purpose of these several bills, viz, the establishment of experiment stations in public-land States looking to the safer and more efficient development of the mining industry in these States, meets with my hearty approval and commendation.

I would suggest, however, instead of submitting to Congress a number of separate bills for the establishment of individual stations in specified localities, the adoption of the following general policy:

That there be prepared a single bill which would authorize the establishment in the public-land States and in the Territory of Alaska, on a basis in a general way similar to that indicated in the bill under consideration, of 10 mining experiment stations, these to be located at such points in these States and in the Territory of Alaska as would best facilitate the efforts of the Government in behalf of the proper development of the resources on the public lands and the less wasteful development of the mining industry in these public-land States.

There are more than 20 public-land States and the Territory of Alaska in which the mineral resources, and especially the metalliferous resources, are sufficient to constitute an important factor in our future national development. My reason for recommending this much smaller number of mining experiment stations—10 in all—is that in the development of the mining industry we do not have to contend with the varying climatic conditions found in the many different States, and it does not, therefore, seem to me necessary to establish mining experiment stations in each of these States as has been done in the case of agricultural experiment stations. Nevertheless, we do have marked differences not only in the nature of the mineral resources, but also in the conditions under which they must be developed; and the distances between mineral districts in the western half of the United States are so great that I think this number of stations, properly distributed throughout this great region, will be necessary for the proper economic prosecution of the work.

My reason for recommending that the exact location of each of these stations be left for determination at a subsequent date by the Secretary of the Interior is that this arrangement will make possible such distribution of the stations as will not only be most suitable to the proper development of resources, but will also make each station better supplement the work of each other station in carrying out the general purposes of this legislation.

In recommending the establishment of these stations in the public-land States, without, at this time, recommending the establishment of such stations in other parts of the country, the department is perhaps influenced by the fact that in these public-land States the Government is itself greatly interested in the proper development of the mineral resources in these lands; and owing to the large area of public land in these States which is nontaxable these States are less able financially to provide for such investigations than would otherwise be the case.

For a number of years Congress has been appropriating annually for the maintenance of experiment stations in behalf of agriculture in the several States an aggregate sum of nearly $1,500,000. In addition to this, in the public-land States, the Federal Government has expended during the past 12 years $77,150,180 in the reclamation work of making available additional agricultural lands; and of this sum more than $8,000,000 has come from the proceeds of the sale of mineral lands in the public-land States.

I mention these expenditures with no feeling other than that of approval; but in passing, I may call attention to the fact that the mining industry in this country does not appear to have had a square deal in the way of public recognition and aid. And in speaking of the mining industry, we need not especially concern ourselves about the profits of the few large mining companies. There are the many thousand small mine owners and prospectors struggling with difficult problems, there are the safety and welfare of the 2,000,000 employees in the various mining and mineral industries, and there are the other great national problems of waste in these industries, all of which should have our serious concern, and should have also the benefit of extended national inquiry and scientific investigation.

It would seem, therefore, that the annual appropriation necessary for the maintenance in the public-land States and in Alaska of these 10 mining experiment stations, is not only a reasonable proposition, but that it represents only a small part of what the Federal Government should do for the safer and more efficient development of the mining industries of this country.

Very truly, yours,

FRANKLIN K. LANE.

THE NEEDED ENLARGEMENT OF THE MINE-RESCUE CAR WORK, THROUGH THE ESTABLISHMENT AND MAINTENANCE OF 15 MINE-SAFETY STATIONS.

The continuance of large mine disasters and the increase of mine fatalities during the year 1913 as compared with the preceding year have brought from the country a demand for greater effort by miners and mine owners in carrying out reform measures for a more exacting inspection and police supervision by the States and for such a reorganization and enlargement of the facilities of the National Government as will carry forward its investigations more rapidly and result in a better safeguarding of the lives of miners and an improvement in the health conditions which prevail in many of the mining, metallurgical, and other mineral industries.

PLAN PROPOSED IS RESULT OF A SERIES OF CONFERENCES.

That this reorganization and enlargement is urgently needed is the net result of a series of conferences among representatives of the miners, mine operators, and State mine inspectors. At these conferences there was a careful consideration and discussion of the many phases of a greater mine-safety problem as related to the work of each of these agencies. It was the general opinion that the failure of the National Government to press various investigations to a conclusion was retarding the mine-safety movement.

The committee has carefully considered the situation and is of the opinion that the plan proposed in this bill for the enlargement of the equipment and operations of the Bureau of Mines is a necessary feature of any general plan to bring about more rapid progress in the prevention of mine accidents and in the improvement of health conditions in the mining and metallurgical industries. In any general movement for greater mine safety the Federal Government must bear its share. This plan does not represent the conclusion of any one person, but is rather the consensus of opinion of persons familiar with the situation, and it is believed by the committee to be urgently called for at this time.

MINE SAFETY WORK OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AND ITS RELATION TO THAT OF THE STATES, MINE OPERATORS, AND MINERS.

The following plan of cooperation in mine-safety work in this country has been discussed at these several recent conferences and has met with general acceptance as being in accord with existing law and custom. It is believed that this plan can and should be made more effective in the immediate future through the greater activity and hearty cooperation of the interested parties. The plan is as follows:

1. That the National Government shall conduct on a larger scale the necessary general inquiries and investigations, and that it shall promptly disseminate the information obtained among the miners, mine owners, and mine inspectors, in such manner as will prove most effective in bringing about the needed reforms in preventing mine accidents and in improving health conditions.

2. That each of the several mining States shall enact the needed improvements in legislation, and shall make ample provision for the proper inspection of the mines and the proper enforcement of the mining laws and regulations within their borders.

3. That the mine owners or mine operators shall install and maintain improvements which give reasonable promise of greater safety and better health conditions, as rapidly and as completely as the practicability of such improvements may be demonstrated by inquiries and investigations which the Bureau of Mines is conducting.

4. That the miners and mine operators shall cooperate both in making and in enforcing such rules and regulations as their own experience and as the investigations and inquiries in this and other countries show will aid in carrying out the purposes mentioned, especially such as will best safeguard the lives of the men who work underground.

THE WORK OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IS FURTHEST BEHIND.

Of the work of these four agencies in behalf of mine safety, that of the Bureau of Mines is most backward. It should, however, be in the lead. The State mine inspectors, mine operators, and miners have of late, through their growing interest in the safety movement, presented to the Bureau of Mines a larger and larger number of inquiries or appeals for information upon which to base their own activities. Such information is being sought for use as a basis for improved legislation in the States, or for a more rigid inspection of mines, or as a basis for better rules and regulations to be drawn up by the miners and mine owners. Improvements along all of these lines are being delayed because of the inability of the bureau to push a variety of its investigations to completion, and thereby supply the information needed.

Therefore the claim frequently set forth of late by the miners, mine owners, and inspectors, that the entire mine-safety movement is being held back by the lagging of the bureau's investigations, is unfortunately a true and reasonable claim.

THE MINE SAFETY WORK OF THE STATES, MINERS, AND MINE OPERATORS.

The work of the States in carrying out their part of this general program in mine safety is being carried forward in a reasonably satisfactory manner. The States are already expending in their inspection and police-supervision work more than the Federal Government is expending in all of its investigations in behalf of mine safety. Thus, for example, a single State, Pennsylvania, maintains a well-organized and efficient inspection force, which includes a chief and 50 district inspectors; it expends in the maintenance of this work $213,000 per annum, paying its district inspectors an average compensation of $3,000 each in addition to traveling expenses. All of the other coal-mining States maintain a system of inspection.

Many of the mine operators have inaugurated a system of operations in which the question of safety is considered of first importance. Something more than 170 mining companies, out of a total of some 3,000 large coal-mining companies and 12,000 smaller coal-mining companies, have individually, or through the association of two or more companies, established 76 mine-rescue stations, at which there have been installed some 1,200 sets of artificial breathing apparatus, besides the auxiliary equipment for first-aid and fire-fighting work. There are also 12 mine-rescue cars now operated by individual mining companies about their own local properties. The Bureau of Mines is endeavoring to stimulate such activity by private companies.

The miners are also taking up the work of safety and are appointing safety committees for the more active promotion of the movement; especially is this true in regions which have been visited by the Government mine-rescue cars.

The representatives of the States, the mine operators, and the miners are all cooperating with the Bureau of Mines in this safety work, and this cooperation should, from year to year, become more and more important a factor in the progress of the safety movement. But the movement is yet in its infancy, and has reached but a few of the 2,300,000 employees in the industry.

WORK OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT FOR MINE SAFETY, AND WHY IT SHOULD COOPERATE IN THIS WORK.

The question as to whether the National Government should contribute to the advancement of its basic industries was settled affirmatively long ago. Congress is now appropriating for the advancement of agriculture, the more important of the two great basic industries, nearly $30,000,000 per annum, and its program of good work includes educational and experimental or research features and general inquiries.

More recently, and on a smaller scale, Congress has inaugurated a series of inquiries and researches looking to the advancement of the other of its two great basic industries—mining. When it is remembered that in mining we deal with serious occupational hazards and with resources of which we have but the one supply, and that this one supply is not only limited, but is consumed or destroyed in use, it will be seen that there are special reasons why the mining industry should be treated with a liberality at least equal to that applied to agriculture.

The work of the National Government for mine safety consists mainly in general inquiries and investigations applicable to the conditions in

all the States and in which all States are interested. It seems reasonable that this general work should be done by the National Government for the following reasons:

1. It is unreasonable to expect any one State to bear the cost of this work which is equally useful to all of the other mining States, and in which all the people in all the other States are directly or indirectly interested.

2. If such work were done by each of the several States the result would be a serious duplication of cost and effort and with varying results. If it were done by the private mine operators there would be still greater duplication and still greater variation in the results, and both the public and the miners would be suspicious of the results obtained.

3. By whatever agency the work may be done, the consumer of coal and other mineral products, representing the citizenship of the entire country, will bear the cost.

It will therefore seem proper that this general work should be conducted by the National Government, under such conditions as will command maximum public confidence and represent minimum duplication of labor and costs.

Furthermore, it is easier for the Federal Government than for the individual States or private companies to obtain information embodying the results of similar inquiries and investigations both in the United States and in the different foreign countries where mining operations are carried on.

EXISTING MINE RESCUE CARS AND STATIONS.

During the past few years the Bureau of Mines has been maintaining and operating during portions of each year six mine rescue stations and eight mine rescue cars, all of these being considered largely as an agency for the dissemination of information among the miners and those in charge of the management of mines and for the training of miners in mine rescue and first-aid methods. This has been primarily an educational work, though in connection with it a large amount of valuable data on mine conditions has been collected.

In order to carry forward this cooperative work in a proper manner, it will be necessary to reorganize and to enlarge the work of the mine-rescue cars or movable stations to a considerable extent.

EXISTING MINE RESCUE STATIONS.

The six stations maintained and operated by the Bureau of Mines during the last few years have been located at the following points:

Pittsburgh, Pa., occupying War Department buildings assigned temporarily for the use of the Bureau of Mines.

Knoxville, Tenn., occupying rooms in the Federal building. This station will be transferred to Jellico, Tenn., in the heart of the coal fields.

Birmingham, Ala., occupying a building erected by the Bureau of Mines on a site donated to the Government for this purpose.

Urbana, Ill., occupying rooms supplied by the State university.

McAlester, Okla., occupying temporarily a building constructed by the local miners and mine operators of the district, cooperating.

Seattle, Wash., occupying a building on the State university grounds that was erected for the Philippine exhibit at the Seattle exposition.

Each of these stations has been in charge of a foreman miner whose special business it was to give training and instruction in mine-rescue and first-aid work to such miners as came to the station for such training. When there are no miners applying for training at the station, the foreman miner in charge is authorized to visit the near-by mines and give instruction at the mines themselves, taking with him the equipment, usually one-half dozen helmet outfits and material for first-aid instruction kept at the station for training purposes. In case of a mine disaster in any of the coal fields near a station the foreman miner takes his rescue equipment to such mines and, with the aid of men trained by him in the immediate vicinity, renders such service as he can in connection with the rescue of the injured or imprisoned miners.

RELATIVE EFFECTIVENESS AND COST OF MINE SAFETY CARS AND FIXED STATIONS.

The average yearly cost of maintaining the existing fixed mine rescue stations has been about $3,200 per station. The average yearly cost of operating a mine rescue car under the existing inadequate system has been about $7,000 per car.

In relative effectiveness—that is, as a means of disseminating information and awakening interest and cooperation among the miners in the mine safety movement—the advantage is greatly in favor of the rescue car, for the reason that the work is carried on at the mines, where all the miners and mine officials can see it in progress and cooperate in the movement, and where the miners who are willing to take special rescue and first-aid training can do so without loss of time from their mining work or incurring expenses of travel and board elsewhere.

For this reason it would be well to discontinue the operation of such fixed mine rescue stations as are not located in the center of a thickly settled mining population and have their work carried on by rescue cars or movable stations. It is, however, considered advisable to maintain certain fixed stations which are so located, such, for example, as those at Birmingham, Ala., and McAlester, Okla., and the two new stations at Jellico, Tenn., and Norton, Va. These five fixed stations, already provided with buildings, can each be operated within its restricted sphere without being considered a part of the pending legislation.

EXISTING RESCUE-CAR WORK.

The mine rescue cars are distributed as follows:

Car No. 1, anthracite coal field, Pennsylvania, headquarters at Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

Car No. 2, Colorado-New Mexico coal fields, headquarters at Denver, Colo.

Car No. 3, Indiana-Kentucky coal fields, headquarters at Evansville, Ind.

Car No. 4, Kansas-Missouri-Oklahoma coal fields, headquarters at Pittsburg, Kans.

Car No. 5, Montana-Washington coal fields, headquarters at Billings, Mont.

Car No. 6, Wyoming-Utah coal fields, headquarters at Rock Springs, Wyo.

Car No. 7, West Virginia-Virginia-east Kentucky coal fields, headquarters at Huntington, W. Va.

Car No. 8, Lake Superior iron and copper districts, headquarters at Ironwood, Mich.

One car (No. 8) is devoted to work in the metal-mining fields.

The cars are out-of-date wooden Pullman coaches, purchased from and refitted by the Pullman Co. to meet the special needs of the Bureau of Mines work, after they had been removed from the regular service because of age and wear. In refitting these cars for the mine rescue work of the bureau one-half of each car is arranged with small rooms, containing office headquarters, certain equipment, and spaces for heating, cooking, eating, and for sleeping berths. In the other one-half of the car the lower Pullman berths have been removed and the entire space is taken up with mine rescue and first-aid equipment. The upper berths have been retained and are used as additional sleeping places for the man connected with the work, and especially for the extra men who, in the absence of other accommodations, may be housed on these cars in times of mine disasters.

The average cost of the seven existing cars—which have no steel underframe—including their refitting, has been about $1,750 per car, this representing mainly the cost of refitting the cars; but the cost of repairs has been heavy, ranging from $500 to more than $1,000 per car per year, in order to keep them in a reasonably safe condition for travel on the road. Railway officials now advise, as being necessary to safety, that all these cars be overhauled and that steel underframes be substituted for the existing weakened and aged wooden underframes.

The average cost of the inadequate equipment on these cars has been about $2,380 for each car.

PERSONNEL, EQUIPMENT, AND OPERATION OF EXISTING RESCUE CARS.

The personnel of the rescue cars in operation during the past few years has been, on each car, two miners, one to give training and demonstrations in the use of breathing apparatus and other life-saving equipment, and the other to train miners in first-aid methods, and a cook-janitor to take care of the car and its equipment and to supply the means for the miners and himself.

The equipment of each rescue car has comprised 8 to 12 sets of artificial breathing apparatus, together with the supplies used in the mine rescue training and demonstrations and the first-aid training and demonstrations, extra supplies of oxygen, and other materials used in the demonstration work and in actual mine rescue work at mine disasters, a limited quantity of fire-fighting apparatus, and sets of ordinary tools to be used in case of repairs on the car or in repairs rendered necessary in portions of the mine.

The operations of each rescue car may be considered as divided between the work in connection with mine disasters and ordinary preventive educational work.

PREVENTIVE EDUCATIONAL WORK OF EXISTING RESCUE CARS.

Under normal conditions each car is expected to be traveling from one mine or group of mines to another in a given coal field. The car stops at a given mine or group of mines for a week or 10 days. During this time the two miners give a number of general demonstrations of mine rescue and first-aid methods; and in addition to this they train from 5 to 10 men at each mine or group of mines in rescue methods and usually a larger number of men, often two or three times as many, in first-aid operations.

Whenever it has been possible, as has been the case at occasional intervals, that a mining engineer could accompany the car, in addition to the demonstration work mentioned above the mining engineer has given a number of public addresses to the miners and the managers of mines, illustrated with lantern-slide pictures, with inscriptions under each picture in different languages, showing in contrast the more dangerous and the safer methods of mining. In the work as it is proposed to enlarge it there will be a mining engineer with the car all the time; and in addition to the lectures and demonstrations he will make examinations into the mining conditions and advise the mine officials on the ground as to possible improvements. The mine surgeon will do the same as to mine sanitation and other health conditions.

WORK OF EXISTING CARS AT MINE DISASTERS.

While the rescue work of the cars is unquestionably important, the committee believes that the preventive educational work carried on by these cars is of still greater importance as a means of helping to prevent mine disasters. The aim of the educational work is to supply miners, mine foremen, fire bosses, and other mine employees with information concerning the latest safety methods and appliances, and to interest them and to secure their cooperation in the general movement for mine safety and better mining conditions.

When a mine disaster occurs in any coal field, the rescue car nearest the mine disaster is carried to the scene of the disaster as quickly as possible by the first passing train or by a special locomotive. When it arrives the two miners with the car, subject to the authority of the State officials, enter at once upon the rescue work at the mine, and they call into service to cooperate with them such additional miners in the vicinity as they may have already trained in rescue methods. In case of a large mine explosion, the two nearest mine rescue cars may be ordered to the scene of the disaster. Generally they are met there by two or more of the mining engineers of the bureau experienced in rescue work and whose business it is to examine into the nature and extent of the mine disaster as soon as possible after the disaster occurs.

CONTRAST BETWEEN THE OLD AND PRESENT MINE RESCUE METHODS.

Under the system now being practiced in this and other countries the pioneer work in entering the mine, while still perhaps full of wreckage and poisonous gases, is being done by men of a specially organized force wearing as may be necessary, artificial breathing apparatus, and carrying with them as precautionary measures safety lamps and small animals (usually birds), which are used for detecting the poisonous carbon monoxide, known as "white damp" by the miners. As rapidly as the ventilation of the mine can be restored, these trained men with artificial breathing apparatus are followed by experienced miners who, while taking every precaution, do not need to wear artificial breathing apparatus.

In connection with the organized system of rescue work along these lines during the past few years, some 80 men have been rescued from the mines by the trained men of the bureau, and some 500 miners have been rescued by other parties, many of these other parties having been trained in rescue methods by the men connected with the bureau.

This well-organized rescue work is in marked contrast with the older rescue methods in force a few years ago. This is illustrated by the experience at a Wyoming mine disaster in 1909 at which 40 miners lost their lives in an unorganized effort to rescue 20 miners caught in a mine explosion a few hours before.

THE NEEDED EXPANSION OF THE MINE SAFETY CAR WORK.

Each of the seven rescue cars operated in the coal fields during the past three years has been kept in operation during an average of five to six months each year, the full time that the cars could be operated with the funds available. Furthermore, it has not been possible to

keep on each mine-rescue car either a mining engineer or a surgeon, and for this reason not only has the work of the car been restricted in time but also restricted in effectiveness.

The experience during the past few years has shown that several of these cars were at the time of their purchase already too badly worn to permit of their being used for extended journeys, and in the case of several cars the cost of the repairs has already exceeded the original cost, so that even the present work can not be continued without the overhauling and repair of the cars now in the service.

Moreover, as regards several of the cars, although the railway companies have been willing to handle them on slow trains they have not considered it safe to handle these same cars on fast express trains, although, of course, speed is highly desirable in time of serious mine disasters.

Railway officials have therefore recommended that all of the existing rescue cars, except car No. 8, which was so treated at the time of its original purchase, should have steel underframes substituted for the wooden underframes which these old cars now have, and should be subjected to a thorough overhauling and repairing before being placed in service. They also recommend that in the purchase of new cars in connection with the proposed extension of this work, all of these new cars should have steel underframes. These changes are regarded as being necessary, not only for the safety of the cars themselves and the men traveling with them, but also to prevent the wrecking of the trains to which these cars are attached.

The enlargement of the work should take place along the following lines:

(1) Each of the eight existing mine rescue cars should be thoroughly repaired, and as a part of such repairs each of the seven cars now having old wooden underframes should be given a steel underframe.

(2) The equipment for each of the existing cars should be thoroughly overhauled and repaired and increased in quantity, so that in addition to the ordinary equipment required for the training and demonstration work there would be certain new equipment kept in the best possible condition for the hazardous work attending mine disasters. Among other items of equipment there should be special facilities for hoisting (a few men at a time), fire fighting, etc., for use when the ordinary equipment of the mine may be destroyed or so badly damaged as to be temporarily out of commission.

(3) There should be added to each car a mining engineer, a mine surgeon, and a stenographic clerk. (The duties of and need for each of these is stated below.)

(4) The total number of cars should be increased from 8 now in hand—7 in the coal fields and 1 in the metal-mining regions—to 15, through the purchase of 7 additional cars. Thirteen of these cars should be operated in the coal fields and two in the metal-mining regions.

(5) Each of these cars should be operated for a period of 11 months. The thirteenth car would be operated as a relief car for the other 12 in the coal fields, replacing 1 of the 12 cars during each succeeding month. Under such a system in the coal fields 12 cars with full crews would in this way be actually in full operation for the entire year. The 2 cars assigned to the metal-mine regions should each be operated for 11 months.

(6) There should be a headquarters organization located at some central point, probably at the Pittsburgh laboratories, under the general direction of which all of the cars could be operated. Here the necessary researches could be conducted, looking to the improvement of rescue equipment, together with the repairs of such equipment; and such other work could be done as would contribute to the efficiency of the entire work connected with such central organization. There would be a chief surgeon and a chief mining engineer who, in addition to guiding the work of the several mining engineers and surgeons on all of the mine rescue cars, would follow up their work by suggestions and cooperation in the organization of local first-aid teams at the different mines, and encouraging the reading of miners' circulars and other publications sent out by the bureau. Engineers connected with this central organization should also visit each mine a few weeks or months subsequent to the visit of the mine rescue car, with a view to seeing that the new interest in safety measures, occasioned by the work of the rescue car, is kept alive.

DUTIES OF THESE ADDITIONAL MEN, AND WHY NECESSARY.

The mining engineer will have charge of the car operations. He will arrange for and will join in giving the public demonstrations and illustrated addresses to be attended by all of the miners of the particular region where the car may stop. He will make a careful examination of each mine as to its safety conditions and will suggest possible improvements in equipment and methods. He will submit to the Bureau of Mines reports of all operations of the car, and more especially as to safety conditions and possible improvements at each mine or group of mines. His recommendations will be taken up with the mine owners with a view to securing their adoption. The services of an experienced mining engineer in charge of the work of each of these cars is of evident importance. Indeed, it may be regarded as essential to success.

The mine surgeon or sanitary engineer will make a medical examination of all the miners who may apply for training. This requires skill and experience. No miner should be accepted for rescue training who is not physically sound. The surgeon will himself superintend the training in first aid to the injured. Many physicians have protested against the former practice of the Bureau of Mines of having this training done by miners.

The mine surgeon will also make a careful examination into the health conditions in and about the mines, and will submit recommendations in behalf of such improvements to the mine management. This he will do on a basis of cooperation between the Bureau of Mines and the Public Health Service. He will give general illustrated lectures to the miners and other mine employees on possible improvements in health conditions. He will submit reports to the Bureau of Mines in connection with all operations relating to the examination and training of the miners and the examination of and possible improvements in the health conditions in and about the mines. At mine disasters the surgeon will aid in reviving the rescued miners, a work in which extended experience and skill is needed.

The stenographic clerk will assist the mining engineer and the mine surgeon in recording their examinations and inquiries and in the preparation of their reports to the Bureau of Mines and to the mine management. Inasmuch as the mining engineer, the mine surgeon, and the two miners will generally be absent from the car during the time of making their examinations and doing their training work, the stenographic clerk will at such times be in charge of the car, explaining its operations to visiting miners and mine operators, and will look after the instruments and other equipment kept on board the car. This work of the stenographic clerk would greatly increase the efficiency of all the other men on the car and would give the bureau such records of the work and of mining conditions as would not be otherwise obtainable.

Of the two miners, the foreman miner will carry out the training in connection with the mine rescue work and the first-aid miner that in the first-aid work, both under the supervision of the mine surgeon. In time of mine disasters both these miners will be expected to take part in organizing and leading the rescue work in the mines.

DO RESULTS ALREADY OBTAINED WARRANT THIS EXPANSION OF THE WORK?

This question may be answered in the affirmative without hesitation if the entire situation is considered. Some evidence of past improvement is shown by the accompanying statistical data, although the improvement is neither decisive nor regular. However, in the examination of these data the following facts should be understood.

(1) That the safety investigations of the Government since their inauguration in 1908 have been limited almost entirely to a study of mine explosions (which cause less than one-fifth of our total coal-mine fatalities); and in these explosion investigations the bureau's experimental coal mine—in which its most important experiments are to be conducted—was not ready for satisfactory work until 1913. Meanwhile the requests for funds with which to study, investigate, and develop preventive measures in connection with other and even more important causes of mine accidents have unfortunately had little response.

(2) Every year our mining operations enlarge, the number of men working in individual mines increases, and our coal mines become deeper and naturally more hazardous from increasing gas, falls of roof, machinery, and other conditions associated with greater depths and pressures. Therefore, unless suitable safety improvements are devised and utilized, the death rate in our mines will increase even faster than our mineral production.

The tabular statement given below will indicate some of the important facts relative to the loss of life in the coal mines of the country during the past 12 years. Taking the average death rates for the six years 1902–1907, inclusive, prior to the inauguration of the Government's investigations of mine explosions, and comparing these with the averages for the six years 1908–1913, inclusive, since the inauguration of these investigations, it brings out the following facts:

Average number of men killed in the coal mines of the United States per 1,000 employed:	
1902 to 1907, average for 5 years	3.71
1908 to 1913, average for 5 years	3.73
Number of men killed in the coal mines of the United States per 1,000,000 short tons of coal mined:	
1902 to 1907, average for 5 years	5.88
1908 to 1913, average for 5 years	5.38
Production of coal in the United States, in short tons, per fatal accident:	
1902 to 1907, average for 5 years—tons	172,000
1908 to 1913, average for 5 years—do	188,000

Production, number of men employed, and number of men killed in and about the coal mines in the United States in the calendar years 1902 to 1913, inclusive.[1]

Year.	Production (short tons).[2]	Number employed.[2]	Number killed.			Production per death (short tons).
			Total.	Per 1,000 employed.	Per 1,000,000 short tons mined.	
1902	296,687,066	510,437	1,895	3.71	6.39	156,563
1903	345,200,166	547,431	1,752	3.20	5.08	197,317
1904	339,164,812	573,373	2,004	3.50	5.91	169,244
1905	386,379,243	615,628	2,232	3.63	5.78	173,109
1906	407,835,003	631,086	2,116	3.35	5.19	192,710
1907	461,406,023	655,418	3,197	4.88	6.93	144,325
1908	404,932,764	672,794	2,449	3.64	6.05	165,346
1909	460,761,427	666,523	2,668	4.00	5.79	172,699
1910	501,596,378	725,030	2,840	3.92	5.66	176,618
1911	496,221,168	728,348	2,719	3.73	5.48	182,501
1912	534,466,580	722,662	2,360	3.27	4.41	226,469
1913	[3] 570,000,000	[3] 728,355	[4] 2,785	3.82	4.88	204,688

[1] The figures for production and number of men employed are from "Mineral Resources of the United States," U. S. Geol. Survey, except for the number of men employed in 1911, which were compiled by the Bureau of Mines.

[2] These figures represent the production and the number of men employed in those States in which records of fatal accidents are in existence. The figures are directly comparable with the number of men killed as given in the fifth column and are those on which the mortality rates are based. It will be noted that the portion of the industry not represented in the rates from 1902 to 1909 is small and that since 1909 the entire industry is represented.

[3] Estimated. Subject to revision.

[4] Does not include December fatalities in Kentucky.

Average number killed per 1,000 employed in the coal mines of the principal coal-producing countries for the 10-year period 1901 to 1910.

	India.	Belgium.	Austria.	Great Britain.	France.	New South Wales.	Germany.	Japan.	United States.
Average, 1901–1910	0.96	1.02	1.04	1.36	1.69	1.74	2.11	2.92	3.74

Average number killed per 1,000,000 short tons of coal mined in the principal coal-producing countries for the 10-year period 1901 to 1910.

	New South Wales.	Great Britain.	Austria.	Belgium.	United States.	Germany.	France.	India.	Japan.
Average, 1901–1910	3.70	4.40	5.05	5.56	5.83	7.55	7.79	9.00	22.71

Safety work by the Bureau of Mines in metal mining in the United States has been limited to the past two years (1912 and 1913). The year 1911 is the latest for which metal-mine accident data are available for other countries. The data for this one year will serve to indicate the relatively high death rate in the metal mines of the United States and other countries.

Countries.	1911	
	Number employed.	Number killed per 1,000 employed.
Australasia:		
New South Wales	19,360	1.81
New Zealand	7,400	.68
Queensland	11,091	.90
Tasmania	5,247	.76
Victoria	14,051	1.35
Western Australia	15,428	2.33
Austria	20,299	.49
France	29,988	2.83
Great Britain	29,025	1.48
Greece	6,764	2.07
Italy	49,498	2.36
Japan	80,896	1.76
Portugal	7,484	1.34
Spain	120,781	1.49
Transvaal	225,538	4.14
United States	165,979	4.19

(3) Among the more specific safety improvements that are being developed and are now being introduced in coal mining under the lead of the Bureau of Mines are: (a) A new type of quick-flame, low-temperature explosive, much safer than black powder for use in gaseous and dusty mines. There are now 116 different explosives of this new type manufactured by 18 different companies, and there is already in use (1913) more than 25,000,000 pounds of these explosives annually; (b) new types of miners' electric safety lamps and safety electric motors for use in gaseous mines. These and other improvements now underway in connection with safety measures, rescue and first-aid methods, and the general educational work inaugurated in connection with the mine rescue cars and stations during the past three years have won the cooperation of the miners and the mine operators, and the conditions are now favorable to the far larger cooperation of the miners and operators with the Bureau of Mines in its proposed larger work.

Many large mine operators have already put in force safety precautions to such an extent that the death rate in their own mines has been largely reduced, and in this work they have the cooperation of the miners and mine inspectors.

It should be remembered, also, in this connection that the mine rescue-car work has as yet reached only a small percentage of even the coal miners of the United States. But there is much evidence going to show that the miners and other mine employees who have attended the illustrated lectures and demonstrations given in connection with the work of the rescue cars have exhibited a much greater interest in the mine safety work of the bureau, have called for its publications in increasing numbers, and in other ways have shown a willingness to cooperate with the bureau and with the inspectors and mine operators in putting safety appliances and methods into practice.

The condition which, more than any other, is retarding progress in this great safety movement is the failure of the National Government to make adequate provision for the more rapid extension of its research and educational work. Miners and mine operators agree in commending the thoroughness and effectiveness of the work of the Bureau of Mines as far as it has been able to go, and in expressing their willingness to accept and act upon its advice and recommendations, but they complain of the long delays and of serious limitations in this work; and the lack of conclusions and of specific recommendations as regards many possible improvements in safety and health conditions are seriously holding back such improvements in all parts of the country.

PROGRESS OF THE WORK UNDER THE PRESENT AS COMPARED WITH THE PROPOSED LARGER OPERATIONS.

A careful estimate shows that at the rate of progress under existing conditions between 12 and 15 years would be required for a single visit of one of the existing rescue cars to each important coal mine or group of mines in the United States. If the enlargement of the work now proposed is carried out in full, a rescue car, with its demonstrational and other educational work, would visit each important mine or group of mines in the United States once in four years' time, and during this time the training work of these cars would be so extended that from 10 to 30 miners would be trained in rescue and first-aid operations at each important mine or group of mines in the country.

WHY THIS EDUCATIONAL WORK CAN NOT BE CARRIED ON BY PUBLICATIONS ALONE.

A large proportion of the men entering the mines in the United States each year come from the farms and villages of different European countries; they are unfamiliar with our language, our institutions, and our laws, and know little or nothing of mining.

A majority of the men now working in the coal mines of the United States to-day speak and read but little English. It is therefore difficult to reach these men through publications, even when the latter are prepared in the most simple and elementary manner.

The plan followed most successfully by the employees of the Bureau of Mines in reaching and interesting these men is through giving actual working demonstrations in mine rescue, first aid, and other safety measures and methods, and the giving of lectures, illustrated with lantern-slide pictures which contrast the safe and the dangerous methods. Each of these pictures used has a short, one-line description under it in four or more different languages most common among the miners. In these lectures and demonstrations local interpreters are used at intervals as the need for them may appear.

THIS DEMONSTRATION WORK AWAKENS NEW INTEREST AMONG MINERS AND IS GOOD WELFARE WORK.

Work of this kind develops a new interest in the safety work among the miners, and following the movements of each of the existing rescue cars this interest on the part of the miners is shown in their call for the publications which treat of the mine safety work.

So far as it has gone, this educational work is assuredly developing safer and better mining, and the leaders among the miners express the belief that if carried forward on a larger scale and in a more thorough manner the work can not fail to develop also better citizenship among these miners.

Certainly many miners in different parts of the country have expressed a growing interest in and friendly feelings toward the National Government, as they come to see the evidences that the National Government is interested in their welfare. On the other hand, the great majority of the miners have not yet seen evidences of any public interest in their welfare, and no one need feel surprised at their lack of interest in government. Their chief idea of government—brought with them to this country—is that of suppression or oppression. In the enlargement of the mine safety work now proposed the National Government certainly has its best opportunity to show to more than 2,000,000 of its citizens that it does have a real and an active humanitarian interest in promoting their welfare; and it can thereby gain their good will.

All this demonstrational and other educational work is of a pioneer character. If the mining conditions of the country can be improved and mining made safer and more attractive, men will stay with the mining industry in this country as they have been doing in other countries, and there would be less need of training a new army of miners each year. It will, therefore, be real economy to push the work more rapidly now.

There is every reason to believe that such educational work carried forward by the National Government under such methods as to win the confidence and cooperation of the miner will make for real progress in this industry in the same way that the national appropriations for educational work in agriculture have led to improvements and real progress in that industry, which are building up a greater public welfare.

COST OF THE PROPOSED ENLARGEMENT OF THE SAFETY-CAR WORK.

The cost of overhauling the eight existing mine rescue cars, of providing seven additional mine rescue cars with their full equipment, and of operating all of these cars throughout the entire year on the basis described above is shown in the tabular statement given below.

Of the eight existing cars, seven will need to be provided with steel underframes, to be substituted in each car for the worn-out wooden underframes which they now have, for reasons previously stated. This substitution of the steel underframes, together with the other needed repairs, will make the overhauling of seven of the existing cars cost about $3,000 per car. One of the eight cars already has a steel underframe, and its overhauling will be inexpensive. The estimates obtained covering the purchase of these additional cars indicates an average cost of about $5,500 per car.

Nearly all of the existing cars when originally constructed as new cars were valued at from $20,000 to $30,000 per car. They were purchased by the Bureau of Mines at from $1,500 to $2,500 each after they had been abandoned for ordinary usage by the Pullman Co.

The cost of repairing cars already in use, of purchasing new cars, and of equipping and operating the cars in accordance with the plan set forth are given in the following statement:

Cost of the cars:		
Repairs of 7 of the 8 existing cars, at $3,000 (providing each with safer steel underframes)	$21,000	
Purchase of 7 additional cars, at $5,500	38,500	
		$59,500
Cost of equipment:		
New additional equipment for 8 existing cars (estimated for in sundry civil bill, $30,000; if not incorporated in sundry civil bill, should be incorporated in this estimate), equipment for 7 new cars, at $4,500		31,500
Total cost of cars and equipment		91,000
Cost of operating 1 car:		
Services—		
1 mining engineer	$3,000	
1 first-aid surgeon	2,700	
1 foreman miner	1,800	
1 first-aid miner	1,080	
1 stenographic clerk	1,000	
1 cook and janitor	720	
		10,900
Maintenance—		
Travel of men when absent from car	1,200	
Subsistence of 6 men, at $1 per day on the car, 335 days	2,010	
Repairs to the car and equipment	1,200	
Supplies used in training	4,440	
Special extra material and labor at mine disasters	600	
		9,450
		20,350

Cost of operating in the field 15 cars, at $20,350 each		$305,250
Cost of headquarters, organization, and work necessary to successful operation in the field of the 15 mine rescue or mine safety cars (see par. 6, p. 16):		
1 mining engineer in charge	4,500	
1 mining engineer in charge of rescue organization work following the car operations	4,000	
1 chief surgeon	4,000	
1 engineer in charge of rescue equipment and methods	3,000	
1 engineer in charge of publications for supplementing rescue and first-aid demonstrations	3,000	
2 special assistants, at $2,400	4,800	
2 mechanicians for rescue equipment, at $1,800	3,600	
2 assistant mechanicians for rescue equipment, at $1,500	3,000	
2 safety commissioners for special organization work among the miners, at $3,300	6,600	
Special expert services for improvements in rescue equipment and methods	6,000	
3 stenographers and typewriters, at $1,500	4,500	
2 stenographers and typewriters, at $1,200	2,400	
Travel expenses and subsistence	10,000	
Shop equipment and supplies for rescue equipment, repairs, and improvements	10,310	
		$69,750
Total yearly cost of the mine safety work		375,000
Amount now expended for operation on the existing incomplete and inefficient basis of 8 existing rescue cars during current year (9 months) under the appropriations for mine-accident investigations		70,150

As will be seen from the above tabular statement the total investment in additional cars and equipment and in the necessary repairs of existing cars and the equipment proposed for these larger operations aggregates $91,000. This is not to be considered an additional appropriation, for the reason that these expenses might be covered in the following manner: It is likely that between two and three months would elapse following the passage of the appropriation act before all the additional cars and equipment and personnel of the various cars could be secured, and therefore that disbursements for operation might be conveniently delayed until three months following the passage of the appropriation act. By this date a three-months' portion of the proposed appropriation of $375,000 for the mine rescue work will be saved sufficient to cover the amount of the necessary investment in cars and equipment, and after that date the entire machinery of the enlarged operations would be operated continuously during the remaining nine months.

THE URGENT NEED OF ADDITIONAL MINE SAFETY INVESTIGATIONS.

The amount to be expended for the operation of the eight existing rescue cars operated on their smaller scale during seven to eight months of the current year is estimated to be $70,150. This amount may, therefore, be deducted from the existing appropriation of $347,000 for mine accidents, but in the opinion of the committee it should be allowed to remain as a part of that appropriation to be expended on long-delayed urgent investigations in relation to other mine safety improvements, which for lack of funds the bureau has not yet been able to take up. These investigations are as follows:

(1) Necessary extension of experimental mine work: Recent mine explosions render necessary during the fiscal year 1915 an increase in the allotment for the explosion tests in the experimental mine of $15,000 more than the allotment for this work during the current year. The results of the current year's experiments are highly encouraging as to the possible use of stone dust and dry clay as preventive of coal-dust explosions, but they also indicate the need of extending the dimensions of the mine to a considerable extent.

(2) Accidents from falls of roof: One of these is the falls of roof in mining, which causes from one-third to one-half the total loss of life charged against the mining operations in this country. This is an investigation requiring thoroughly trained technical knowledge. The loss of life from this cause during the last five years in coal mines alone has been more than 6,000 and the seriously injured 18,000 to 20,000.

The situation is not to be remedied by the claim that this class of accidents is due to carelessness. There is often a reasonable ignorance on the part of both the miners and the mine foreman concerning the nature of the roof rock and its behavior under different conditions of moisture and pressure. A thorough investigation of the problems, using both the practical experience of the miner and the technical knowledge of the engineer, can not fail to be helpful..

It has been urged that in this country we should follow the practice of Great Britain, in which country the proportionate loss of life from this cause during the past five years was less than one-half that in the United States. But the adoption of the British timbering practice in all our American coal mines would add $50,000,000 to $75,000,000 yearly to the cost of coal in this country, to be paid by the consumers of coal in all the States.

It is estimated that an investigation during the next few years, costing about $40,000 per annum, would probably find other and far cheaper methods of accomplishing the same result.

(3) Accidents from mine equipment: The loss of life from mining, haulage, and hoisting machinery, failure of signals, etc., in the coal mines of the United States during the past five years was 2,100 men, and more than 6,000 men were seriously injured. There is serious need of investigation in this subject, which as yet the bureau has not been able to undertake. It is estimated that such an investigation would cost $35,000 per annum.

(4) Accidents (other than explosions) from electricity: From this cause there have been many deaths and many serious nonfatal accidents in the mines of the country during the past five years. An investigation of this subject has thus far been beyond the means of the bureau, but it should be taken up without further delay. Such an investigation continued during the next few years is estimated to cost about $20,000 per annum.

(5) Accidents (other than explosions) from explosives in mines. During the past five years about 700 men have been killed and fully 2,000 have been seriously injured from this cause in our coal mines alone. In addition to accidents of this type, a large number of miners have suffered from the poisonous effects of the fumes or gases given off in metal mines and tunnels, where the ventilation is poor. Investigations into this subject to cost $20,000 during the fiscal year 1915 have been estimated for in the sundry civil bill.

(6) Improvements of health conditions in the metal-mining, metallurgical, and other mineral industries. A comprehensive investigation of conditions affecting the health of workers is one of the urgent existing needs of the mining industry. Such investigation would affect the health condition of one and a half million men employed in these several phases of the industry, and no one familiar with conditions will for a moment question its importance. In conducting it, the Bureau of Mines would have the active cooperation of the Public Health Service, which would study the different ways in which mine conditions affect the health of employees, while the Bureau of Mines would seek to ascertain the existence and the causes of bad health conditions and the methods of improving the same. A careful estimate indicates that the cost of the part of this work to be carried on by the Bureau of Mines would be $50,000 a year for the next few years.

The investigations to which attention has been called in the above statements, although possibly the most urgent, are by no means the only ones that should be made by the Government in any systematic and comprehensive attempt to increase safety, improve health conditions, and bring about a more efficient development in the various mineral industries.

SLOW PROGRESS IN THE PAST GOVERNMENT MINE SAFETY INVESTIGATIONS.

During the past two years, and especially during the past year, many complaints have come from both miners and mine operators of the slowness with which mine safety results were being obtained through the Bureau of Mines. Both operators and mine owners have shown a desire to inaugurate new improvements looking to greater safety and along any lines in which they could receive definite and satisfactory recommendations or advice; and within the bureau itself every effort has been made to press these inquiries and investigations more rapidly with a view to obtaining these results with less delay, but progress has been unfortunately slow.

In connection with the investigation of mine explosions, owing to the limited funds at the disposal of the bureau it has required three years to open up the experimental mine near Pittsburgh and get the same in proper shape for experimental researches. With more adequate facilities this could have been done within a single year. As another example, three years have been required for certain researches looking toward the development of miners' electric safety head lamps, all of which, with larger facilities, might have been done within a single year. We have found it difficult to give, to the miners especially, a satisfactory explanation of these delays.

THE ECONOMICS OF MINE ACCIDENTS AND HEALTH CONDITIONS.

No one likes to estimate the money value of a human life, but at times it becomes necessary to do this, especially in working out the economics of compensation acts. It is a reasonable estimate that during the past 10 years more than 30,000 men have been killed and more than 100,000 seriously injured in connection with the accidents in the mining industries of this country. It is impossible to estimate the number who have suffered from bad health conditions in many metal mining, tunneling, quarrying, metallurgical, and other mineral industry plants. It is impossible to estimate the number of men with health shattered through these conditions, who have had to give up their work years before their natural time or the number of dependents who have suffered thereby.

If it be assumed that each human life is valued at $3,000, it will be seen that the deaths alone in the mines have cost in the 10 years $90,000,000.

If each of the 100,000 seriously injured lost 20 days at $3 per day, a reasonable assumption, this represents $6,000,000 lost from this cause.

As to the metal mines, metallurgical plants, and quarrying operations, unfortunately there are few reliable data regarding health conditions in the United States; yet there are sufficient isolated figures concerning certain districts to indicate that the death rate from occupational diseases is even greater than the accident rate.

Whatever may be the value put upon a human life in arranging for a reasonable compensation, these losses of life and labor are national in their extent and character and fall ultimately upon the general public as representing the consumers of mineral products. Whatever the theoretical bases of value of these losses, the true cost falls directly upon the injured and upon the consumer. Also, whatever additional expenditures may become necessary on the part of the operators of mines, metallurgical, and other mineral industry plants to reduce this loss of life and labor must ultimately be a charge upon the general public as representing the consumers of mineral products.

It is important therefore, not only from the humanitarian standpoint, but also from the standpoint of economics, that everything possible should be done to reduce the loss of life and labor in the mining industry both through prevention of accidents and through the improvement of health conditions. It is also a matter of decided importance to the general public from both the standpoints that these improvements should be brought about at a minimum cost and in a minimum time. Real economy involves speedy accomplishment as well as efficiency in the improvements to be made.

It is important, therefore, from both the humanitarian and economic standpoints that the investigations by the National Government, with a view to better safeguarding the lives of the men connected with the more hazardous branches of the mining industry, should be conducted as thoroughly and as rapidly as the work can be done effectively in order that the improvements may be inaugurated without delay and to the fullest possible extent.

It is equally important that after the inquiries and investigations have been conducted and reasonable conclusions formed the information should be disseminated promptly and effectively among the miners and those who manage the mines.

The Late William R. Ellis.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIS C. HAWLEY,

OF OREGON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 25, 1915.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article printed in the Evening Telegram, Portland, Oreg., January 18, 1915.

The article is as follows:

William R. Ellis, the first Representative in Congress from the second congressional district of the State of Oregon, dropped dead in

his new home at 1089 East Everett Street at 10 o'clock this morning. Mr. Ellis, this morning, in apparently good health, had gone down in the basement to fix the furnace, and a few moments later Mrs. Ellis, who was alone in the house at the time, heard him groaning. She found Mr. Ellis lying unconscious on the floor. When Dr. C. J. Smith arrived at the house a few minutes later Mr. Ellis was dead. Death was due to hemorrhage of the brain. Mr. Ellis returned Saturday from a short trip to his farm near Cathlamet, Wash., in seemingly good health. Mr. Ellis was 65 years old.

William R. Ellis was born in Montgomery County, Ind., April 23, 1850. In 1874 he was graduated from the University of Iowa. Later he took a prominent part in politics and business affairs in the town of Hamburg, Iowa, where he settled. At one time he was mayor of Hamburg. He came to Heppner, Oreg., in 1883, and engaged in the practice of law. In 1885 Gov. Moody appointed him prosecuting attorney of the seventh judicial district, and in 1886 he received the Republican nomination, and was elected to the same office. He was reelected prosecuting attorney in 1888, and in 1892 he was the successful candidate for Representative in Congress from the second district. Mr. Ellis was reelected in 1894 and 1896. Upon the expiration of his term in Congress, March 3, 1899, Mr. Ellis was elected circuit judge in the Heppner district. Later he was reelected to Congress, retiring after six years of service.

With his family, Judge Ellis came to Portland a few years ago. His home at 1089 East Everett Street was only recently completed. Mr. Ellis is survived by his widow, one son, Edgard R. Ellis; a stepson, Robert Stott; and a stepdaughter, Mamie Stott. Mr. Ellis was a thirty-third degree Mason. Local Masonic lodges will have charge of his funeral.

Immigration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. O'HAIR,
OF ILLINOIS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 4, 1915,

On the veto message of the President on the act (H. R. 6060) to regulate the immigration of aliens to and the residence of aliens in the United States.

Mr. O'HAIR. Mr. Speaker, I have the profoundest regard and the highest respect for the wisdom, patriotism, and unselfishness of the President of the United States.

In the message in which the President vetoes the immigration bill passed by two Houses and two Senates of the United States the President states no new reasons why this bill should not become a law. I therefore feel no more hesitation in imposing my convictions against the judgment of the President than I would against the judgment of any other man who knows as much and reasons as profoundly as does the President. All I claim for myself is the same unalterable conviction to principle and duty to my conscience that I most willingly grant to the President and the few Members of the House and Senate who disagreed with the majority when this bill passed both Houses of Congress.

HAS THE PRESIDENT HEARKENED TO THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE?

The President says in his message that if the people of this country have made up their minds to limit the number of immigrants by arbitrary tests and reverse the policy of past generations, it is their right to do so. He further says that no successful political party has ever incorporated such a proposition in its platform, and that therefore he does not believe that the American people will indorse such legislation.

The Democratic House of Representatives in the last Congress passed by an immense majority a bill with the literacy test included. This was one of the prominent features of legislation passed by the first Democratic House which had sat in 14 years. The Baltimore convention specifically indorsed the legislation passed by that House. No criticism whatever was offered to this legislation. President Taft had vetoed the bill. The country understood that a Democratic House, which stood by an overwhelming majority for a literacy test in our immigration laws, had been enthusiastically indorsed in the platform upon which the President and the Democratic majority in this House were elected in 1912. As a matter of political policy, I believe that any candidate on the Democratic national ticket in 1912 would have been afraid to have announced from the stump that he opposed a bill providing for the restriction on aliens in the generous manner set forth in this bill.

I know it is all very fine and sounds befitting for any Christian gentleman to say that America has been, now is, and always shall be an asylum for all of the afflicted, persecuted, poverty-stricken, and ignorant people of this earth. We used to have a popular song that wound up by saying, "Uncle Sam is rich enough to give us all a farm." The time comes when all good things must end.

Self-protection is selfishness, yet it is the first law of nature. The time always comes when one more straw will break the camel's back. We must have some reasonable restriction. I, for one, am a believer in the mottoes, "Made in America" and "America for Americans." I have always believed more in home missions than in foreign missions, and so I may as well confess that to me this question must be considered with an eye single, first, to the welfare of Americans. This bill has passed the House by more than two-thirds majority. The Members of this House come directly from the people; they are close to the people of their respective districts. The bill passed the Senate almost unanimously—only seven Senators voting against it. The Senators represent the people of their respective States. The President was commissioned by the people to execute the laws of the land. I am forced to the conclusion that a great preponderance of the evidence shows that the people have spoken on this important question, yet I am also convinced that the President arrived at an opposite conclusion and that his judgment is not based upon his personal and private views, but, as he says, upon the broad and patriotic ground that the American people have not spoken, and that he does not believe they will stand by the overwhelming majority of all political parties that have indorsed this measure in both Houses of two Congresses.

WITH WHOM WILL THESE ILLITERATES FROM THE OLD WORLD COMPETE?

There is probably not a Member in this House who has not received letters, petitions, and telegrams from many of the great companies and captains of industries who employ labor, asking us to vote against the bill. Likewise we have been flooded with communications from toiling millions of American citizens, those who labor with their hands for their daily bread, and whose only object in life has come to be the protection of their wives and little children from hunger and distress, asking us to protect them as far as possible against the invading hordes of the Old World's diseased, criminal, insane, and ignorant classes. This literacy test is insignificant; it is really trivial. It requires a man who was bred, born, and raised in a foreign land to be able to read at least 30 words in his own language. It is claimed by the opponents of this bill that such a restriction imposes an unsurmountable burden upon many desirable immigrants. Can any fair-minded man look with much favor upon an alien seeking citizenship who has reached the period of man's estate without being able to read 30 words of his mother tongue? If he is worth having as a citizen, do you not think he ought to show enough ambition, industry, and appreciation to learn to read just a little? In God's name is American citizenship, with all of its advantages and protection, worth no sacrifice? Remember, these people are not asked to learn to read our language. We all know that such a restriction will not keep all of the undesirables out. We all know that scoundrels and criminals are very often educated, and that they will slide into our citizenship unless caught by some other restriction in this bill. I ask you the question, Has subscription to religious creeds and doctrines kept the hypocrite, ingrate, the selfish, and the scoundrel out of the church of God Almighty?

Suppose these ignoramuses who have not had the ambition to learn their own language and who have not had the manhood to force the opportunity to learn to read were captains of finance, and after they became citizens were expected to enter into competition with the great industrial chiefs of this country, instead of being in competition with the poor laborers. Do you suppose we would be getting these frantic appeals from these high places asking us to stand by the President's veto? Suppose another case—which is manifestly impossible—but, nevertheless, suppose that Members of this House knew that by striking out this literacy test there would enter the country one man who would settle in each and every congressional district in the United States who in the next election would be able to contest the seat of every Member of this Congress on equal terms. How many of the Members who are opposed to this bill would stand by their guns? How many of you would not seek the reasons we give you for voting for this bill? It often makes a world of difference whose ox is being gored.

About 1,300,000 foreigners came to our shores last year—enough people to make a city as large as any two of ours, saving New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia. The immigration authorities tell us that if this law had been in effect it would have turned back about 250,000 of that horde. Most of these people come from Italy, Austria, Russia, and the south of Europe. The educational test is ridiculed by the opponents of this bill, yet the President and his followers are the most scrupulous conservators of the civil-service propaganda. We have arrived at a period in our national development when most of the opponents of this bill, including the President, are

of the opinion that a man is not fit to carry the United States mail unless he has a common-school education, although the only requirement in the discharge of his duties is a good, strong, honest body and sense enough to know the roads in the neighborhood where the mail is to be delivered. It has got to be so that it is impossible for a man to get a job of being a janitor or a policeman without considerable educational qualifications.

One of the questions asked a policeman at his civil-service examination not long ago was the distance from the earth to the moon. The applicant said he would withdraw his application, as he believed he did not want to patrol that beat. It is indeed remarkable to we who believe in "America for Americans" and "America first" to understand why this slight literacy test which we propose to apply to utter strangers and foreigners should be looked upon as so unjust and un-American by those who rush to the defense of the civil-service regulations.

CONDITIONS CHANGE AND SOCIETY PROGRESSES.

It is pointed out that if the test had been applied one or two hundred years ago a great many good men would have been kept out of this country. I do not believe the proposition. Most of those who have come as illiterates would have learned to read and then came. But aside from that, conditions have changed. Of course we did not want restrictive legislation in the pioneer days. We did not need any antitrust laws in those days. We needed no laws governing railroads, flying machines, automobiles, submarines, and a thousand and one other things, for the very good reason that we did not have those things. Many volumes of law have been made necessary by the changes wrought in conditions. When this country was first being settled the foreigner who came here found a wilderness infested by wild animals and inhabited by wild men. They were called upon to clear the forests and drain the swamps. The Government owned practically nothing, except danger and disease, in which they could participate. Printed matter was scarce all over the earth. Those already here were as ignorant and more ignorant than those back at home. To-day when a man comes here and declares his intention to become a citizen he is at once vested with equal rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness with every other American citizen.

The American citizens of the past two centuries have built great public highways, railroads, canals, courthouses, State and Government buildings, schoolhouses, and a thousand other public institutions and affairs, in all of which the alien immediately becomes a partner and owns just as big an interest as any citizen who has lived here and paid taxes for a long life in building up these public institutions. Is it asking too much that this foreigner should be free from disease and crime and be able to read at least 30 words of his own language before taking him into a full partnership? If a man who is utterly uneducated is to be taken in, because we pity him and feel that it is our destiny to educate him and stand him on his feet, then why exclude the sick people and those afflicted with disease? We ought to take them in and doctor them up. They are worthy objects of charity and pity, and no doubt the Lord would bless us as a Nation if we would do it, but it comes back after all to the same fundamental principle, and that is that we must look after our own. God Almighty helps those who help themselves.

I have heard the proposition of protection to American industries and American capital until I am sick and tired of it, because in that connection I never hear any talk about protecting American labor. If the President and his followers are right, then it does not make any difference if all of the 1,300,000 foreigners who came here last year were uneducated it would be our duty to take them all in and educate them. When I meet a man in this day and age who can neither read nor write the language he can speak, I do not feel that he is as good a citizen as he would have been if he had had the energy and industry to have learned at least a few of the rudiments. It does not require money to learn to read; it does not require anything but a little bit of respectable ambition. Nobody taught Abe Lincoln how to read. He taught himself, and I do not suppose that he had much more time to study after his day's work was over than the ordinary European has to-day, and I expect that books and printed matter were as scarce in the forests of Illinois a century ago as they are in Europe to-day. No one claims that we need any more immigrants, especially of the ignorant classes. The fact is that we have all of the good American citizens already in our country to whom we can furnish profitable employment.

We who support this bill are not afraid that our position in life, our occupations and jobs will be in danger by permitting the ignorant of the earth to come here. Such people must necessarily compete in the market of muscle. We are fighting the battles, as we see it, for those who labor on the farm, in the shop, or anywhere else. I will say to the taxpayers of this country who are burdened with billions of taxes for the support of almshouses, hospitals, schools, penal institutions, and other places of charity, Do you want to add further to your burdens? These foreigners who are without the ability to read 30 words in their own language are without exception among the poor and dependent and among those who become public charges. I can only think of two classes of people who do not want to restrict free immigration in the manner provided in this bill. The first class consists of those charitable, unselfish humanitarians who think the people of the United States are rich enough and good and generous enough to take care of all of the unfortunates of this earth, and who also think it is our duty to provide indiscriminately for those needing help. The second class of people who are against the restrictions in this bill are those who compose the soulless combinations of greed, who want a large and ever-increasing multitude in the labor market, so that they may select the choicest human animals at the lowest possible wages to perform the labors required in their mills and other enterprises.

I say to you, Mr. Speaker, the restrictions provided in this bill are the beginning of a sane, practical policy of self-protection and self-preservation, a protection of American human beings.

Restriction of Immigration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL HAYDEN,

OF ARIZONA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 4, 1915,

On the veto message of the President on the act (H. R. 6060) to regulate the immigration of aliens to and the residence of aliens in the United States.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. Speaker, in his message returning this bill to the House of Representatives without his approval the President says:

If the people of this country have made up their minds to limit the number of immigrants by arbitrary tests and so reverse the policy of all the generations of Americans that have gone before them, it is their right to do so. I am their servant and have no license to stand in their way. But I do not believe that they have. I respectfully submit that no one can quote their mandate to that effect. Has any political party ever avowed a policy of restriction in this fundamental matter, gone to the country on it, and been commissioned to control its legislation? Does this bill rest upon the conscious and universal assent and desire of the American people? I doubt it. It is because I doubt it that I make bold to dissent from it. I am willing to abide by the verdict, but not until it has been rendered. Let the platforms of parties speak out upon this policy and the people pronounce their wish. The matter is too fundamental to be settled otherwise.

I have no pride of opinion in this question. I am not foolish enough to profess to know the wishes and ideals of America better than the body of her chosen representatives know them. I only want instruction direct from those whose fortunes, with ours and all men's, are involved.

I shall not attempt to justify my vote in favor of protecting American labor by quoting from the Democratic and Republican national platforms of 1896, both of which declared in favor of restricting foreign immigration. These platform declarations might be called ancient history. I have received a more recent mandate from a higher authority, the deliberately expressed will of the people of Arizona.

At the last general election in my State there was submitted to the qualified electors an initiated bill commonly known as the "Eighty per cent citizenship law." This measure provided that any employer of labor in Arizona employing more than five workers at any one time shall employ not less than 80 per cent of qualified electors or native-born citizens of the United States. The text of the bill is as follows:

An act to protect the citizens of the United States in their employment against noncitizens of the United States, in Arizona, and to provide penalties and punishment for the violation thereof.

Be it enacted by the people of the State of Arizona:

SECTION 1. Any company, corporation, partnership, association, or individual who is, or may hereafter become, an employer of more than five workers at any one time in the State of Arizona, regardless of kind or class of work or sex of workers, shall employ not less than 80 per cent qualified electors or native-born citizens of the United States or some subdivision thereof.

SEC. 2. Any company, corporation, partnership, association, or individual, their agent or agents, found guilty of violating any of the provisions of this act shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and, upon conviction thereof, shall be subject to a fine of not less than $100 and imprisoned for not less than 30 days.

SEC. 3. Any employee who shall misrepresent or make false statement as to his or her nativity or citizenship shall, upon conviction thereof, be subject to a fine of not less than $100 and imprisoned for not less than 30 days.

This bill was designed to prevent the glutting of an overstocked labor market by the employment of foreigners at low wages in competition with American workmen. It was also the hope of those who proposed this law that the effect of such a measure would be to provide a superior class of citizens for Arizona, citizens who would understand and maintain the principles upon which this Government was founded. When the ballots were counted last November it was found that 25,017 votes had been cast in favor of the 80 per cent citizenship bill and 14,323 against it, so that the measure was approved by a majority of 10,694.

Prior to the election at which this bill was approved every voter received a publicity pamphlet printed by the State which contained arguments for and against its adoption. The bill was thoroughly discussed at political meetings and in the newspapers. There may have been other bills which received a majority at the polls because they were provided with an alluring title and most people did not take interest enough to carefully read their contents; but there were none so careless or indifferent that they did not fully understand the language and the effect of this short measure.

And what are the qualifications of the electors of Arizona who adopted this law? The statutes of my State describe those who may register and vote, as follows:

Every citizen of the United States * * * of the age of 21 years or over * * * and who, not being prevented by physical disability from so doing, is able to read the Constitution of the United States in the English language in such manner as to show that he is neither prompted nor reciting from memory, and to write his name, shall be deemed to be an elector of the State of Arizona.

No person who is illiterate can vote in Arizona, and no one who believes in the American ideals of justice, liberty, and equality will deny that it is necessary to place a premium on education if we are to have intelligent government by the people. A people that has limited the suffrage to those who can read and write must certainly be in favor of the bill that is before the House, because every argument in favor of a literacy test for voters applies with equal force in behalf of a like test for those who would come here to enjoy the benefits of the Government that they have created.

It is true that three Federal judges in San Francisco have recently declared this Arizona law to be null and void, since it is in conflict with the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Good lawyers tell me that the Supreme Court of the United States will undoubtedly affirm this decision. I am not here to criticize the judges of the United States court who rendered this opinion, because I have no reason to believe that in this case they did otherwise than their plain duty in accordance with their oaths of office. I realize that constitutions are made to secure the individual in his rights, or, as one has said, to protect the minority from the tyranny of the majority. So long as we have written constitutions the majority can not rule in all things, and it is the duty of the courts to see that each individual, whether alien or citizen, is permitted to enjoy the advantages that the organic law grants to him. The people of Arizona are law-abiding and will therefore yield to the court's decree; but, whether the law that they have enacted is valid or void, there can be no question but that a vast majority of them are in favor of limiting the number of foreigners who can obtain employment in my State.

I am justified, therefore, in considering that the popular verdict on the 80 per cent citizenship bill clearly indicates that the people of my State are opposed to the continuance of the present unfair competition in the labor market and are in favor of promoting a higher scale of wages by limiting the supply of cheap labor that comes from foreign countries. Having approved this principle by such an overwhelming vote it can not be denied that the vast laboring majority in my State, organized and unorganized, is likewise anxious to provide some safeguard against the influx of illiterate alien workers by raising a barrier at the boundary and coast lines of the United States which those who would take the bread from their mouths must pass before they are given an opportunity to enter Arizona in search of employment. Under these circumstances I claim that I have a mandate from my people and that I am directly instructed to vote in favor of the restriction of immigration from the Old World and the Asiatic countries as well.

The President classifies the literacy test as arbitrary. I admit that such is the fact; but let us see just what this bill provides as the test which must be passed by aliens who desire to be admitted into the United States. The Burnett bill says that, in addition to idiots, epileptics, paupers, and certain other defective classes, the following persons shall also be excluded:

All aliens over 16 years of age, physically capable of reading, who can not read the English language, or some other language or dialect, including Hebrew or Yiddish * * *. That for the purpose of ascertaining whether aliens can read the immigrant inspectors shall be furnished with slips, of uniform size, prepared under the direction of the Secretary of Labor, each containing not less than 30 nor more than 40 words in ordinary use, printed in plainly legible type in some one of the various languages and dialects of immigrants. Each alien may designate the particular language or dialect in which he desires the examination to be made, and shall be required to read the words printed on the slip in such language or dialect.

Of course a literacy test is arbitrary. But is a restriction which says that a foreigner must be able to read 40 words in some language or dialect before he can land on our shores more arbitrary than the limitation in the act adopted by the people of Arizona that not more than one alien may be employed out of every five wage earners? As a matter of fact, all restrictions are arbitrary, for the simple reason that we must draw the line somewhere.

The literacy test as a proper restriction on immigration has been advocated for a number of years. This test has received the sanction of a commission appointed by Congress to investigate the immigration question in this country and abroad. After four years of study, eight out of the nine members of the commission reached the following conclusion:

A majority of the commission favor the reading and writing test as the most feasible single method of restricting undesirable immigration.

Were I to oppose this bill, it would be upon the ground that the words "and writing" have been omitted from the test which the alien must pass before he can come into our country. I understand that this part of the recommendation of the Immigration Commission was not followed, in the hope that the opposition to this bill would accept the reading test as a compromise. We now know that all such attempts to settle our differences are useless and that it would have been as easy to have enacted the entire literacy test into law as to secure the adoption of the reading test alone.

Those who plead for a more rapid development of our natural resources, particularly those who want to make available the mineral wealth of America in our day, say that without cheap foreign labor the mining of coal and low-grade ores can not be carried on at a profit. The same argument has been made in opposition to every movement in behalf of the safety and welfare of the miners. No longer ago than last summer, when we were considering the Alaska coal-leasing bill, this same financial objection was raised to the inclusion of the following provision in that act:

Each lease shall contain provisions for the purpose of insuring the exercise of reasonable diligence, skill, and care in the operation of said property, and for the safety and welfare of the miners and for the prevention of undue waste, including a restriction of the workday to not exceeding eight hours in any one day for underground workers except in cases of emergency; provisions securing the workers complete freedom of purchase, requiring the payment of wages at least twice a month in lawful money of the United States, and providing proper rules and regulations to secure fair and just weighing or measurement of the coal mined by each miner, and such other provisions as are needed for the protection of the interests of the United States, for the prevention of monopoly, and for the safeguarding of the public welfare.

I then said that if the cost of mining coal in Alaska was so high that these reasonable conditions in favor of the workers could not be complied with, then we had better let the coal lie in the ground. I am glad to say that this Congress approved the provision which I have just read and that it is now a part of the law.

The underlying reason for such legislation is that every true American believes that we ought to strive to maintain the American standard of living; that men who toil for long hours in unsafe and insanitary places, who are underpaid and overworked, do not make good citizens of a Republic where every man has the ballot in his hand. Therefore I say that if mining can not be carried on except by employing aliens who will work long hours for little wages in mines where men are cheaper than mine timbers we had better let the ore lie in the bowels of the earth where nature placed it until such time as American inventive genius finds a way to handle it at a profit while paying a living wage to those who mine it.

I would not seek to destroy the necessity that mothers invention. Did not the cyanide process make possible the recovery of gold that could not theretofore be profitably mined? Metallurgical engineers are now enthusiastic over the new oil flotation process as applied to the milling of low-grade copper ores. It is said that by this new process 6 or 7 more pounds of copper can be recovered to the ton. Should not the American miners have some small share in the benefits of this new method? Or shall we continue to foster and promote the immigration of foreigners who are so ignorant that they do not know the real value of the services that they render.

All industrial history shows that under normal conditions invention has been the handmaiden of higher wages. The invention of a new process may temporarily displace a number of workers, but ultimately the increased demand for a product at a lower price causes more men to be employed in the industry.

The worker can not be kept long in ignorance of the increased profits which the employer is enjoying, and the employer, either willingly or otherwise, is compelled to share at least a part of his prosperity with those who work for him. This economic law, however, does not hold good where the supply of available labor is unduly increased by the arrival of large numbers of ignorant foreigners who do not realize the extent of the values that their labor creates.

Our Republican brethren tell us that American labor is the best paid in the world, and then claim that credit for this fact is due to a protective tariff. Their argument might have merit if they had not permitted free trade in labor during all the time that high, and sometimes prohibitive, duties were levied against foreign-made goods. We all know, as a matter of fact, that the manufacturer did not pass on a fair share of the profits that he made by being protected from competition from abroad, because the labor supply in the United States was continually being augmented by hordes of workers from across the sea. I stand for a reversal of this old, unfair policy, and have voted to reduce the tariff on the necessities of life and to make it more difficult for aliens to drive out American workers from our mines and factories.

In conclusion I desire to read a paragraph from the message of the governor of Arizona to the second State legislature at the opening of the present session, less than a month ago. Gov. Hunt made the following statement in discussing the 80 per cent citizenship bill, every word of which is equally applicable to the measure now before us:

Under this heading it is not inappropriate to present the statement that of the total number of convicts in the Arizona State prison 55.5 per cent are of foreign extraction while the percentage of inmates native to the United States is 44.5 per cent. Turning for the time being to the State Hospital for the Insane we find that 55.1 per cent of the patients are of alien blood while 44.9 per cent of the total population of the institution are native to this country. Giving consideration to similar statistics from the State Industrial School, it is found that 68.1 per cent of the inmates belong either to the Mexican or other foreign races, while 39.1 per cent of the boys and girls detained at the school come from races which may be considered as native to the United States. Just why the State of Arizona should continue to encourage a kind of immigration that imposes upon the taxpayers between 50 and 60 per cent of the total expense incurred for the care of deficient classes is not readily observable, and is therefore submitted as a problem worthy of consideration by all those people who would throw the doors of the State wide open to aliens of every description.

The Constitution of the United States may prevent the people of Arizona from adopting a law limiting the number of foreign workers, but there is nothing in the Constitution to interfere with the enforcement of the immigration act that is before us. We have an opportunity to mitigate a great and growing evil. Let us do it to-day.

Prohibition and the Hobson Amendment—Speech of Hon. Sumner W. Haynes, of Portland, Ind., Late Candidate for United States Senator on the Prohibition Ticket.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. M. ADAIR,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 2, 1915.

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, some days ago, when the so-called Hobson prohibition amendment was before the House, I made the statement that the leading national prohibitionists of the country did not favor its passage. I quoted from Hon. Eugene Chafin, who was the candidate for President on the National Prohibition ticket in 1912, and who said of the Hobson amendment, "that of all the foolish and impossible schemes devised to destroy the liquor traffic this is certainly the worst."

I also quoted from Hon. William A. Brubaker, editor of a prohibition paper called the National Issue, who clearly points out the weakness of the Hobson plan.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I have here a copy of a speech delivered by Hon. Sumner W. Haynes, of Portland, Ind., at a prohibition convention held at Winchester, Ind., on Saturday, January 23. Mr. Haynes has been an active worker in the cause of temperance for more than 30 years; has been identified with the Prohibition Party all this time; has been nominated by his party a number of times for various places on the State ticket; last year he was the candidate of his party for United States Senator and made an active campaign and a splendid race.

In speaking of the Hobson amendment, Mr. Haynes says:

I have been constantly surprised at the Anti-Saloon League, the church, and temperance people generally, even some very loyal Prohibitionists, so persistently favoring the Hobson amendment.

Again, he says:

This amendment would have been of little worth. The demon of rum would have soon adjusted its affairs to the Hobson idea and hell would have been rampant in thousands of homes. Not being able to see why anyone who thinks the liquor traffic a crime should favor the Hobson amendment, I am just as much at a loss to see why anyone should mourn its demise.

Mr. Speaker, it has been my good fortune to have known Hon. Sumner W. Haynes both personally and intimately all my life. If there ever was an honest, energetic, honorable temperance worker, he is one. But few men, if any, have done more for the cause of temperance and have given the subject as much thought and study as has Mr. Haynes. He knows the difference between a real temperance measure and a makeshift. And that is the reason why he did not favor the Hobson amendment. There is so much of interest in his speech that I thought it worthy of being reproduced in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The full text is found in the Patriot Phalanx, a prohibition paper published at Indianapolis, Ind., and is as follows:

[Address by Sumner W. Haynes, of Portland, Ind., late Prohibition candidate for United States Senator, delivered before eighth district convention, at Winchester, Saturday, January 23.]

I am indeed glad of the opportunity to address you at this time. Another campaign is on us and I want to congratulate you in having a district chairman who does not know defeat.

It is true that at the general elections for over 40 years our cause has failed to get a majority of the votes cast, but at no time has it met with defeat. Each contest has proven our weakness only in numbers, but at that same time it has been a convincing proof—to ourselves and to a continually enlarging circle of the best citizenship of our country—of our strength. Not only is this true at this time, but the vote for our cause and party was never so large as at the last election, and for the first time we have chosen a Representative in Congress.

We have been so accustomed to magnify our weakness in numbers that we have felt unduly the unpopularity of our cause. A new condition is upon us. Our cause has become suddenly popular, and we find ourselves unable to know surely how to adjust ourselves to the change.

LEAVENED THE WHOLE LUMP.

We have held constantly to the truth that the liquor traffic is wrong, and that a part of this traffic is the manufacture for use. It looks as though this idea has about leavened the whole lump. The loaf is almost ready for the baking into a form that means for use, to be eaten. A sudden chill of compromise or improper treatment, a small jar of the oven, may cause the loaf to flatten out and fail at the very moment of success.

There will be no rest in the politics of this country until this question is settled by a change of policy of the whole Government from the present policy that the traffic is right to one that the traffic is wrong.

Our people know that under our form of government the people must establish the policy of State and Nation. Knowing this, they often seem slow in making the change. This can be accounted for largely from the fact that ours is a representative form of government, and the people rule and express their policies through the administration of affairs. The administration of the Government is always through political parties, and political parties often become self-serving to perpetuate themselves. When a great issue is at stake, demanding settlement at the hands of the people, of such a nature as to require a complete change of policy of the Government, this issue must of necessity be advocated by a political party.

In a hundred years the liquor problem has developed through all of the stages, from a purely personal matter, a moral question, a local question, a subject of State legislation, into the greatest economic-moral-political question of the century, and is up for settlement.

This we have said in every campaign and have believed what we said. Now thousands are saying the same who never said it before, and, best of all, they believe what they say.

MANY SIGNS OF PROGRESS.

Think of it—10 hours' discussion in Congress over the question that has been but yesterday kept in the background, could not get a hearing. This did not all come to pass in a night. A very faithful client of mine, who waited for months for me to come home so that I could look after some business for him, says to me, "How long are you going to keep this up?" I answered, "Until the liquor traffic is destroyed." He responded, "I want to see it accomplished, but the end is not in sight; I do not see progress that will justify the time that you do." I said, "Stop and think a moment. Ten years ago Portland had 17 saloons. There have been none here for seven years. This did not just happen. Some one has agitated and educated and persisted in such agitation until concerted action accomplished what even you are able to see." "Oh, I see; I see; keep on; but I want to see the end of the curse."

My friends, this is the cry that you hear on every hand from those who but yesterday were indifferent and unconcerned. But let us not become impatient to put the kneaded loaf into the oven before it is fully leavened. A short time ago, in a letter to the Patriot Phalanx, I suggested that the proposition offered by Hon. MARTIN A. MORRISON should be enacted into law, and that it would probably be advocated by our own Congressman when he was ready to introduce bills as a Prohibitionist. At the same time I commended Dr. Stanley's proposition to have petitions signed asking such action of the next Congress, backing our Congressman, should he take this position. Little thinking that the thought suggested would receive much attention, I find in this week's Phalanx a statement from one of the best and most devoted Prohibitionists in the State saying, in substance, "If Mr. MORRISON had secured the enactment of his proposition into law, he would have done more harm to the cause of temperance than he could have done it good by spending a whole life in Congress." I must say that I can hardly appreciate this statement.

COMING TO OUR RADICAL STAND.

In this connection I want to read a letter and my answer to it as part of my speech. This letter came from one of the best lawyers of the Far East, a learned Prohibitionist, one who studies issues well and has the habit of expressing clearly the thought that impresses him. I just notice that the letter is marked "Personal," so I am not privileged to give the name; but the thought belongs to you at this juncture:

"JANUARY 13, 1915.

"MY DEAR MR. HAYNES: I like your position in the Patriotic Phalanx of the issue of the 9th instant. The agitation is, of course, clearing the air, and it is for us to hold steady in all matters.

"You have, I take it, reflected upon the fact that while we have been charged with being 'too radical' and 'wanting all or nothing,' those who used this word against us now find it turned upon themselves, for the Prohibition Party never advocated as radical a proposition as has been undertaken lately in Congress, considering that the attempt is not only made to amend the Constitution, but to do this in the face of administrations which are unfriendly to the object proposed, and which actually keep an antagonistic policy in full operation. This presents a proposition somewhat similar to two bodies occupying the same place at the same time—which, I take it, is rather radical.

WHAT CONGRESS COULD DO.

"While I do not believe in 'trapping' antagonists, and think that only an open and manly course is truly strong, the vote in Congress revealed a majority in favor of submitting an amendment. To this may be fairly added a number who declared that they voted for State prohibition and believed that the correct method. That makes a large majority in the House. On the interstate-commerce feature this majority could act, if it has the political power—which I question—and a political majority in favor of prohibition could—

"Close the mail to the liquor interests.
"Close the parcel post to liquor ads.
"Close navigable waters and coast trade to the liquor interests.
"Could repeal the internal-revenue act of 1862, taxing liquors.
"Could substitute a sound fiscal policy instead.
"Could adjust treaties.
"Could make the District of Columbia, Territories, and all land over which the United States has jurisdiction prohibition territory."

Departmental power:

"Could probably prohibit the use of United States mails without legislation, or at least into 'dry' districts. Could specify that all should be branded as 'poisons'; I mean all advertising of liquors for beverage purposes, passing through the mails.

"The Treasury Department could refuse tax receipts to outlaws who could not show a State license or permit.

"The department could abrogate the rule prohibiting internal-revenue collectors testifying in the State courts against the liquor outlaws."

THE PROLICENSE PARTIES.

Administration:

"Could use the appointive power in a friendly way to aid prohibition in 'dry' States. Could act in some of the other cases, should the department fail to act.

"Do not understand me to mean that a prolicense administration can really do these things. Hence, we have the remarkable spectacle of attempting to do what all know will not be done, while all the time a number of things are overlooked purposely, which would, if done, give prohibition a fair trial in the States. I do not think that these prolicense parties can give any relief in the premises—that it is no longer a question of unwillingness, but inability. When a man may travel both east and west at the same time, then may a prolicense party travel backward and forward in one movement.

"I do not know that we are fully agreed in all these detail matters, but I do agree with you fully that the situation in Congress, now laid large before the country, permits even one man, sincerely committed to prohibition, to largely clear the air and help the American people to fully understand what a fundamental political question is embodied in the prohibition reform."

AGGRESSIVE FOR THE TRUTH.

To this I answered:

"JANUARY 15, 1915.

"I am pleased to have your letter and to know that you agree with me in seeing some glints of sunshine in the coming morning of the prohibition reform. I am sure we have been patient, but this patience has not all been exhibited in 'watchful waiting.' We have been aggressive in what we considered the truth and results are coming into view. I am more and more of the opinion that we must educate on this question before we can legislate to the point to be attained by the Prohibition Party. I am beginning to believe that this education is progressing about as rapidly as it can. All forms of agitation have had their day. Ours is the only one that has remained and is still far in the lead.

"We are to be congratulated, and so is the country, that the thought and the principles we advocate are not only leading but are really drawing all others to the common belief that the liquor traffic is wrong and that the policy of the State and Nation must be changed to agree with this belief and these principles. That this change must come through an administration committed to the policy and principles we advocate it seems is yet to be taught the people. Ours is the only party teaching directly in that direction. We, therefore, can only press on with greater vigor and persistence."

CHANCES FOR CONGRESSMAN RANDALL.

I believe that one Prohibition Party Congressman can break into the peculiar conditions that seem to have the majority in Congress to-day and make some show of the real thing. This has not been made to appear in the 10 hours' discussion on the 22d of last month. I have been constantly surprised at the Anti-Saloon League, the church, and temperance people generally, even some very loyal Prohibitionists, so persistently favoring the Hobson amendment.

Just think of the proposition: This was submitted as a fundamental principle, not simply a law that could be amended or repealed at will by the succeeding Congress. I, as a little boy, have a recollection of an old man Ruckwheat having a still on his farm in which he made whisky. He was so absorbed with his own affairs, and securing the necessary "red eye" to supply his family and friends, that he was not informed of the revenue law which took over to the United States Government the exclusive right to say who should distill or make intoxicants. Before that time there were plenty of restrictions of the sale, but the right to make for use in one's family was as free as making cider. Under that old plan drunkards were made and the same results followed. It was against just such that the old temperance wave rolled so high.

DEFECTS OF THE HOBSON PLAN.

This amendment would have been of little worth. The demon of rum would have soon adjusted its affairs to the Hobson idea and hell would have been rampant in thousands of homes. It is true that this proposed amendment offered an opportunity for discussion, and this discussion has done good. It has made it plain that, however earnest a great man may be to push the liquor traffic to the wall, he must have more than desire. The whole traffic is a crime, a poison, a curse to humanity, from the manufacturer to the furthest point of traffic, use, or trade. Not being able to see why anyone who thinks the liquor traffic a crime should favor the Hobson amendment, I am just as much at a loss to see why anyone should mourn its demise.

Let us up and on. We have discovered the lurking place of the beast. Let us beat the bush, drive it out in the open, where we will and must compel an open fight on the line of the utter destruction of that which lives only to murder and kill all that we love and hold dear. Let us not be distressed because those who see "as through a glass darkly" do not, can not bring to a successful vote that which does not yet treat the curse as a wrong.

Let us not hasten to put the half-leavened loaf into the oven of legislation, only to find that the hoped-for fully baked bread may be nothing but sour dough.

Now, as probably never before, we must stand firm. It may be hard to do, but a backward step, which falsely promises permanent advance, may cause us to halt short of our ambition and hope—the complete overthrow of the liquor curse.

The Taylor Efficiency System.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES F. CURRY,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, February 5, 1915,

On the bill (H. R. 20975) making appropriations for the support of the Navy for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916.

Mr. CURRY. Mr. Speaker, I believe that industry, effort, and ability should be encouraged and rewarded; that competency should not be degraded to the level of incompetency; and that a lazy, mischief-making agitator ought not to be tolerated anywhere, but I do not believe that the last ounce of producing strength should be taken out of men each succeeding working day. The best mechanics are not always the most rapid workmen. Quantity of production should not be considered ahead of quality in fixing the rating of mechanics. I am therefore opposed to the so-called Halsey or Taylor efficiency system. The extra rewards it holds out for extraordinary effort would stimulate men to an unnatural and continuous daily mental and physical exertion that would wear them out in a few years, and make them old and decrepit before their time. Its system of disrating eliminates many of the best mechanics and workingmen, because they can not maintain the standard of speed without a sacrifice of workmanship.

I have received many protests against this stop-watch so-called efficiency system from mechanics in and out of Government employ; some of the complaints from men whom I know to be expert workmen. They tell me that it is impossible for them to maintain the standard of production required without sacrificing that careful attention to detail that good workmanship demands.

If the Government puts the efficiency system into operation in Government plants, all private concerns will feel justified in doing so in their plants, and soon all middle-aged mechanics will be crowded into subordinate positions, and finally out of employment, by young, active men who can do more, though not so good, work as the elder men.

Do you think that condition would benefit the public welfare? I do not.

What could the men crowded out of employment do? The only way they know how to make a living for themselves and their families is by working at their trades and accustomed labor. Most of them would be too old to learn to make a living in any other vocation, and under the efficiency system they would not be given an opportunity to do so even if they could.

It has been intimated by people who advocate the efficiency system that those who oppose it are or, to be consistent, should be opposed to the use of labor-saving machinery. That is not so. The more labor-saving machinery invented by American ingenuity and used, the better I will be suited, and the better it will be for both labor and capital. What I am opposed to is a system that makes a machine out of a man and treats him as such.

Congressman Sloan's Speech on William McKinley.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HORACE M. TOWNER,
OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 29, 1915.

Mr. TOWNER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing a short speech delivered night before last before the Republican Tariff League of Pittsburgh by Congressman SLOAN, of Nebraska, on William McKinley. I think it is appropriate on this the anniversary of his birth to publish it.

There was no objection.

The speech is as follows:

CONGRESSMAN SLOAN'S SPEECH ON WILLIAM M'KINLEY.

Gentlemen, I come from Nebraska prairies, which once in public estimate marred our national map as a desert waste. But Nebraska for decades past, bathed with rain and the dew and warmed by the kindly sun, her soil turned and tilled by the hand of intelligent industry, assumed with her neighbor States leadership in production of wheat for the family of nations. But more important, it yields corn, the cereal king, and alfalfa, the forage queen, which in turn produce for our eastern neighbors marbled beef, rainbow bacon, and ruby ham.

I come to this marvelous city among the hills at the mingling of the waters in their widened path to the sea. Here amid the valley and the mountain, where men go down into the earth and seize what the Carboniferous age deposited with which to treat the iron, which was old when that coal was green. This they bring up to make furnace flame and shape crudest ore into track of steel—steel which binds Nebraska to Pennsylvania. Over this iron path is borne our surplus meat and grain, and back are carried the burden bulks your mines have yielded. Along that path of steel lies that miracle of modern America, hitherto the greatest in the world—the home market for farm, factory, and mine.

In the name of the great American who in seeking the Chief Magistracy of the Republic pictured to the American people that home market with all its ideal advantages, who when he attained that proud position by the fair expression of the people's voice made that home market all his foresight had depicted. In his name and his memory we meet in this unequaled center of industry, now in an industrial pause, before this gathering of constructive partisan citizens, and by whose grace I speak to-night of William McKinley.

Talking about carrying coal to New Castle as compared with telling this tariff league about William McKinley! It would be stronger than that. It would be like carrying steel to Pittsburgh. You all know the story of this man. His ancestry lived in that part of Ireland which has furnished more great educators, merchant princes, captains of industry, great military commanders, and Presidents of the Republic than any other place of equal area on the globe.

I can only hope to merit your favor by a hurried sketch of those personal charms and qualities and abilities which endeared him to all, as well as those public achievements which made his place in history secure. Let me say, in passing: What period since his untimely taking off has so emphasized that security as has the last biennium? He had that Christian home life which blesses ambitious youth. He had and embraced the opportunity which the great Civil War presented. He did a soldier's part. He achieved a young soldier's fame.

From the ranks of the American bar he was recruited to the world's then greatest popular forum—the House of Representatives. Here he had that legislative experience which disciplines and drills into the make-up of a man that reverence for our Constitution and understanding of the three great well-balanced departments of our Government. His career there taught him how to deal with men and fitted him for executive duties. Fortunate is the American Chief Magistrate who has had congressional experience. Doubly fortunate is the country itself for that experience. As Executive he must, to some extent, control men and shape and direct measures. He should, however, do this by patriotic persuasion and not with a patronage bludgeon.

His distinctive achievement in Congress was the McKinley protective tariff law of 1892. True, in the angry waters of a political flood it bore him down like a cube of lead. Later, in his approval of its practical reenactment, the Dingley law of 1897, he found it a block of granite, a pedestal of power.

As governor of Ohio he governed well, and there further prepared himself to meet the Nation's call to the Presidency.

More than any other of our modern Presidents did he grow into the Presidency. Less than almost any of them did he run counter to, crush or thwart the ambition of national favorites. He was the people's choice, not the successful leader of a crowding, fighting faction.

In this day when convention mockery scorns the people's mandate and when seats of preferment at the side of power rewards slaughter of friends, it is refreshing and inspiring to recall the temptation twice presented to and nobly rejected by McKinley. Once at Chicago when Sherman was Ohio's choice and McKinley a delegate in his behalf. Again, at Minneapolis when President Harrison was a candidate and McKinley presided over the convention. A presidential nomination, with all its dazzling allurements strengthened by a general belief that his acceptance meant party success while his refusal would leave the issue in grave doubt, would have broken the barrier of loyalty in many a brilliant man. This was loyalty put to the supreme test. Subsequent events showed not only fortune, but wisdom for McKinley. Who will say that those manifestations of loyalty were not of supreme value to the Nation?

In and out of Congress McKinley achieved fame as an orator. His style was not the florid type of some sections and other days. Neither was it of that keen analysis and profound logic, types of which New England has furnished a number of illustrious examples. His excellence arose from the clear and convincing straightforward statement of large and controlling facts, presented in superb diction, which produced the persuasive effect of a demonstration. In his addresses, locality and special circumstances were kept in the background while broad national considerations and policies were pressed to the fore. He spoke in words that were not thunder nor speech a torrent, in phrases not alone of flowers, or sentences always of sunshine. But under the witchery of his words our valleys appeared greener, our plains broader, rivers larger, mountains higher, women fairer, men nobler, country greater, prospects brighter, and our flag became bright, fair, and beautiful as God's arched promise painted on the cloud.

He became President of all the people through the powerful aid of the East, the enthusiastic support of the West, and the approval though not the assistance of the South. His election was really determined just 20 years ago. Then, as now, by another Wilson tariff law, our home market had been opened to the surplus holders of the world. Then, as now, eager overpurchasing importers were vaunting their goods to laborless, moneyless men.

Elected upon a platform of protection, sound money, and every other approved American policy which has made our country great, that platform became the chart by which his administration was guided. This was in striking contrast to the recent Baltimore platform, which, used as a means of obtaining power, every plank thereafter was treated as a snag or sunken rock to be avoided or removed.

In Washington four days ago a caucus, yielding to the threat of disfavor and the blandishment of patronage, agreed to bind themselves and all their protesting colleagues to the violation of an antisubsidy platform pledge. And this notwithstanding that violation involved the starving, for lack of appropriations, the functions of government. It further involved a confession that, although kept in session for nearly the full 24 months of a two-year term, a Congress must adjourn leaving to its successor its principal function unperformed.

His administration was McKinley's administration. He heard suggestions, listened to advice, but took no orders. Intensely practical, he knew that enterprises were neither revived nor kept going by threat of hanging their owners or managers. In the smokeless chimney and blackened furnace he could see no psychological thrift. In the long bread lines he saw hunger that was not merely mental. An empty National Treasury presented to him a condition not merely metaphysical.

His viewpoint for the welfare of his people can be well understood in contrast with the central utterance of the Underwood tariff bill report. That report, speaking in behalf of that measure and forecasting the results of its passage, said "The future growth of our great industries lies beyond the seas." From McKinley's viewpoint could be seen the growth and success of our great industries within our national borders, bounded by the oceans and Gulf as well as the "unsalted seas" of the north. Civilization has been defined as "An enlightened selfishness." So a government should be selfish, favoring its own citizens against the citizens of the world, and have a prejudice fostering our own industries against the industries of the world. If I have read the speeches and papers of McKinley aright, he believed that the handiwork of Americans in factory, farm, and mine should be fairly protected against the competing products

of all other lands and climes, and that all competitive products which would enter our ports should bow to the American flag and pay tribute to our Treasury. McKinley, however, did not believe in unscaleable tariff walls or insurmountable barriers. He insisted that tariffs should be high enough to make a handicap in our own people's favor and maintain our better living, and so meet the additional cost of production thereby necessarily entailed. Ample protection does not mean exclusion. We build our homes to exclude excessive heat, storm, and rain, but not to prevent sunshine and ventilation.

Patient under criticism, unresentful to those whom he could easily punish, McKinley always held his purpose until unpreparedness had given way to full preparation. This was exemplified in the superlative degree before the opening of the Spanish-American War. A calm exalted courage was exhibited when called upon collectively by the ambassadors of the five leading powers of Europe. Did they overawe him? No. Into the face of power he looked like the eagle of the Nile with unblanched eye into the face of the sun, and maintained his poise and purpose. He hurled the Army and Navy against Spain, not for conquest, territorial acquisition, or large indemnity, but to give to the world a new principle, termed, "national disinterested humanity." And yet some historian statesmen tell us that the party of McKinley has contributed nothing new in the last 30 years.

Were we to compare McKinley with other Presidents whose passing have given them permanent place in our history, I would say, he was not cast in that heroic military mold which characterized Washington. He had not the learning of John Quincy Adams or Garfield. He was not a dreaming philosopher statesman like unto Jefferson. He had not the recurring subtle wit of Madison. He did not possess that complete mastery of language and expression which stamped Benjamin Harrison as the orator President of the Republic. There was not present the combative energy and unbrookable will of Jackson. He was surpassed in sturdy resisting self-assertion by Cleveland. In the appealing human side of man, far-reaching vision of great national questions, and that strength of character and intellectual grasp which placed Lincoln in a class by himself, McKinley did not reach the stature of our first martyr President. But of all these splendid qualifications in some of which each of these men were severally distinguished in the superlative McKinley possessed all to an eminent degree. Never in our history was there—I doubt if for centuries in our future there will be called to the presidency one who had or will have all these in such large degree as did McKinley. He was and will remain in public estimate the superb composite type, the most well-rounded, well-balanced, fully equipped, strongly endowed, typical American this continent has produced, hearkened unto and honored. No great quality befitting a great American in him was either lacking or dwarfed. He can well be designated in the highest sense the composite American, the constructive statesman, the constitutional President.

His policies were the policies of his party. He did not work Congress; he worked with Congress. He believed in teamwork between executive and legislative, but it was a united abreast teamwork and not the tandem of to-day.

On that fateful September day of 1901, at the fullness of his achievements, in the noonday of our Nation's restored prosperity, when full factories and fruitful farms were straining to meet a home market's demand, when every furnace flamed, every chimney evidenced activity below, every engine and freight car groaned under their burdens between the oceans, interest was low, money plenty, and our Treasury full, the tragedy of the twentieth century's dawn was enacted. An administration, the triumph of the nineteenth century's close, was ended, and McKinley, the man, sweetest memory of the twentieth century's morning, became an American immortal.

Ship Purchase Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES W. BRYAN,
OF WASHINGTON,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Tuesday, January 19, 1915.

Mr. BRYAN. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted to-day I herewith present certain correspondence had by Mr. E. O. Drake, vice president of the Panama Railroad Co. Let it be remembered at the outset that the Panama Railroad Co. is simply another name for a Government bureau, as the entire capital stock of this "company" is owned by the United States Government. The insertion of this correspondence in the RECORD at this time is designed primarily to refute the unwarranted and inaccurate pretensions of certain Boston shipping interests who are opposing.

It is the wisest proposition that has been made to this generation on behalf of an American merchant marine. These shipping interests have gathered themselves about the Boston Chamber of Commerce and have caused that body, through one of its committees, in all sincerity no doubt, to send out a plea to Members of Congress against the pending ship purchase bill and on behalf of a scheme of direct subsidy. If the communication as sent out and extended in the RECORD of January 18 by the distinguished ranking minority member of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries of this body were accurate, I would not now challenge. I received a copy of the letter referred to and intended to take it up for answer during the coming debate on the bill after the Senate has exhausted its objection to the measure. But since the letter has gone into the RECORD I consider it my duty to present such data as I have for refutation of some of the claims set up, in order to arrest any wrong impressions that might be made.

I certainly have no intentions of reflecting on the able and astute business men who are looking after their own special interests in these matters. Commercial bodies all over the country are passing resolutions against this legislation. In many cases they have no reason they can state except just because; but we may all just as well agree that in fact and in truth

THERE'S A REASON

which underlies all the activity. The Shipping Trust everywhere is active. That organization never gets busy except "there's a reason." They are simply looking out for No. 1, a very natural trait.

Before calling attention to inaccuracies in the letter referred to and presenting my data, let us see who stand sponsors for the communication and its allegations. They all seem to be very splendid men.

First, it is signed by the Boston Chamber of Commerce, Mr. E. J. Bliss, president, and Mr. James A. McKibben, secretary. Mr. Bliss is a director of the Regal Shoe Co. and also of the International Trust Co.

In the letter the Boston Chamber of Commerce declares its opposition to ship-purchase bill because it would—

> Discourage private capital and personal initiative, and deter the development of an American shipping industry, so vital to the commercial progress of Boston, of New England, and of the whole United States.

The able members of this chamber of commerce then propose six specific schemes of getting more profits into the coffers of the Shipping Trust.

With the letter is transmitted a report of the committee of the chamber on merchant marine. This report contains the suggestions some of which I say are not accurate, and which I will take up later. The statements relative to the Panama Railroad Co. vessels—Uncle Sam's steamship line between Panama and New York—I will show to be inaccurate at this time.

First let us see who are the able gentlemen who compose this committee of the Boston Chamber of Commerce. They are very busy men, as their numerous interlocking directorates would indicate, so if they were not able to check up all the alleged facts that had been included in the report which they signed, they should not be blamed. I certainly do not attach to them the slightest blame. Here are the names and some of the activities of this eminently competent, but quite occupied, we must admit, committee:

E. G. Preston, treasurer S. S. Pierce Co.; director John Hancock Life Insurance Co., Boston Safe Deposit & Trust Co., Boston Confectionery Co.; trustee Home Savings Bank.

E. E. Blodgett, lawyer (Blodgett, Jones, Burnham & Bingham), director Coastwise Transportation co.

L. A. Coolidge, treasurer and director United Shoe Machinery Co.; vice president and director American Zinc, Lead, & Smelting Co.; director Boston Fast Collar Eyelet Co., United Xpedite Finishing Co.

P. E. Fitzpatrick, director Brown Durrell Co. (hosiery, underwear), Boylston National Bank.

Frederick Foster, lawyer.

Theodore Jones, treasurer and director Jones, McDuffee & Stratton Co. (glass, pottery, and lamps), Home Savings Bank, Brookline Trust Co.

Winthrop L. Martin, secretary and treasurer National Association Wool Manufacturers, was secretary Merchant Marine Commission 1904–5; associate member Society of Naval Architects and Marine Engineers; author of "The American Merchant Marine, Its History and Romance"; contributor to magazines on tariff, Navy, and merchant marine.

Robert S. Peabody, architect of firm Peabody & Stearns, director Massachusetts Institute Technology and Museum Fine Arts, of Boston, chairman Boston Park Commission.

Geo. F. Willett, president Eastern Leather Co.; United Printing Machinery Co.; Norwood (Mass.) National Bank; treasurer and director American Felt Co.; director general Chemical Co., Boston University, Daniel Green Felt Shoe Co., Massachusetts Employees' Insurance Associ-

ation, Merchants' National Bank, United States Worsted Co., Winslow Bros. & Smith Co. (sheepskins), Woonsocket Machine & Press Co., Winslow & Co. (naval stores).

These gentlemen say:

There is some precedent in the practice of other nations for Government ownership of railroads; there is none whatever for Government ownership of a merchant marine.

It is true that all the nations of the world, practically, except England, the United States, Turkey, and Spain, own their railroads—"some precedent"—but the impression made by the remainder of the statement will not quite bear out. Aside from the very extensive experience of Russia in Government ownership of a merchant marine, the other great nations have gone so far at ship subsidy and subvention as approaches very close to ownership. The title of the private owners is in almost every case subordinated to an effective Government claim. But in Russia the Arkhangelsk-Murman Steam Navigation Co. was chartered May 15, 1895, under Government control. The Government subscribed to 56 per cent of its capital stock, which in the gross amounted to 1,112,800 rubles—about $556,400. The dividend rate was fixed at 5 per cent. From surplus profits, if any, 1 per cent was to be paid to private shareholders, and of the balance 25 per cent was to be distributed in bonuses to the management and employees of the company, 37½ per cent added to the insurance fund, and 37½ per cent to be used for the rebate to the Government on the subsidy allowed. This Government-owned company owned 16 vessels of 11,187 gross *tons* and 10,038 horsepower.

In 1903 the Russian Government took over the Russian-Danube Steamship Navigation and provided by statute for the purchase and operation of additional new vessels. The management of the concern was placed under the bureau of merchant marine, department of merchant marine and ports. The Russian-Danube Navigation owned 14 vessels, 6,334 tons, 9,390 horsepower.

"The volunteer fleet" is another shipping organization owned and controlled by the Russian Government. This branch of the merchant marine was placed completely under Government control in 1902. The Government advanced to the volunteer fleet for the purchase of six new steamships 3,060,000 rubles, to be paid by the treasury in 1912 1,530,000 rubles and in 1913 1,530,000 rubles, this sum to be returned to the Government in full out of earnings in 20 years beginning in 1914. One of the regulations provides:

The reserves of the army and navy shall be given preference in appointments to the service in the volunteer fleet. The captains, mechanics, surgeons, engineers, sailors, and firemen of the vessels of the volunteer fleet shall be chosen chiefly from among members of the navy department, who are either in the reserves or on the retired list.

The volunteer fleet, January, 1914, owned 32 vessels of 116,422 tons and 98,460 horsepower. It seems that the taking over of these large divisions of the Russian merchant marine by the Government was prompted by a desire to put the ships onto a substantial and reliable basis which could not be secured under the greed of private capital. The splendid working of the new system is abundantly set forth in an unprejudiced article in Fairplay, weekly shipping journal (London), volume 62, page 447, February 26, 1914, as follows:

THE RUSSIAN VOLUNTEER FLEET.

[Extract from Fairplay, weekly shipping journal (London), v. 62, p. 447, Feb. 26, 1914.]

Since the year 1909, when the management of the Russian volunteer fleet was intrusted to the ministry of marine, and when the business of the concern was placed on something like a commercial basis, the results of its operations have improved considerably. Ever since 1885 that company has been the recipient of a yearly subsidy, amounting to 600,000 rubles, for the maintenance of a steamship service between Odessa or St. Petersburg and Vladivostok. Notwithstanding the State assistance, however, the company up to 1909 worked for the most part at a loss. Then, with the change in its managemeent, came a change in its prospects. In 1909, for instance, the net profit realized, not including the subsidy, amounted to 512,132 rubles; in 1910 there was a surplus of 561,563 rubles, in 1911 of 178,807 rubles, and for 1912 the net profit was 289,290 rubles. In view of this altered state of things it is not to be wondered at that the Government considers that the time has arrived for revising the subvention allowance. A bill, in fact, has been laid before the Duma providing that for the next 10 years—i. e., from 1914 to 1923—the Volunteer Fleet Co. shall receive a yearly subsidy of 178,383 rubles for the working of the above-mentioned main line instead of the yearly sum of 600,000 rubles, as hitherto. The Government takes it for granted that henceforward there will be an annual increase of about 110,700 rubles in the earnings and an average increase of about 36,000 rubles in the expenses. The new bill stipulates that there shall be, as formerly, 18 voyages in both directions every year. The ports to be called at on the outward voyages are to be Nicolaieff, Constantinople, Beirut, Port Said, Djedda, Hodeida, Djibouti, Colombo, Singapore, Hongkong, and Nagasaki, and on the homeward trips Nagasaki, Hankow, Shanghai, Hongkong, Singapore, Penang, Colombo, Djibouti, Hodeida, Djedda, Port Said, Beirut, Constantinople, Feodosia, and Batoum. Nine of the company's steamers must, under the new bill, be put into the Odessa-Vladivostok line; four of them must, however, on account of their age, be replaced by new ones, and these new boats must have a speed of 12 knots, must be fitted for both passenger and cargo traffic, and be of about 8,000 tons carrying capacity. In order to furnish funds for the payment of this new tonnage—which, as far as possible, must be built in Russian yards—the company is empowered to raise a loan of altogether 3,920,000 rubles—namely, of 600,000 rubles in each of the years 1915 and 1916, of 1,500,000 rubles in 1917, and of 1,220,000 rubles in 1918. The new steamers have to be installed in the service as early as 1915, and seeing that the Russian yards will be fully employed for a long time to come in executing orders received for the construction of war vessels, it is more than probable that some of the new boats for the volunteer fleet will have to be built abroad.

I have not now at hand further data to refute other statements, as I am sure I will be able to do later concerning Australian experiences and other statements as to "the net experience in Government ownership which the world affords," but the correspondence which I will now insert concerning the Panama Railroad Co. line—Uncle Sam's line between Panama and New York—so completely negatives the wild, inaccurate, and unconsidered statements as to that line as to leave little to be said. I hear denunciations of Industrial Workers of the World propaganda, but how about the berating of the Government in such a splendid achievement as the building of the Panama Canal, and especially the steamship side of the undertaking, which has certainly been as brilliant and successful as any undertaking in the history of man's achievements?

Read the record of reduced rates to one-half of the former rates, of revised agreements that protect American shippers to South American ports. Study the figures and determine whether Uncle Sam is a blunderer and the Shipping Trust is perfection. Put your fingers to your brow and ask yourself seriously why these steamship owners want to keep Uncle Sam from going further in the Government ownership and operation of steamships, and then turn to the letter of these Boston men of trade and commerce and shipping combines and contemplate the nerve of them as they submit their plan to transfer about $100,000,000 gold a year from the pockets of the people to their own coffers.

The following is the correspondence with Mr. Drake, which I will take occasion to discuss later, but the friends of the Shipping Trust also use the data:

PANAMA RAILROAD CO.,
New York, September 15, 1914.

Hon. J. W. BRYAN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. BRYAN: Your letter of the 5th instant has just been received by me.

When the United States Government secured control of our company we were operating a steamship line between New York and Colon as a feeder for the railroad. It consisted of the steamships *Allianca*, *Advance*, and *Finance*, which were owned by the company, together with other chartered steamers that were secured from time to time, as warranted by the traffic.

The maximum freight rate then existing between New York and Colon was $8 per ton, and outside of a few of our employees, who were carried at lower rates, the prevailing fare for passengers was $75 each way.

The three steamers we had in the service were not, of course, of sufficient capacity to meet the demands for transportation of freight and passengers when the construction of the canal was commenced, and the Isthmian Canal Commission, the department of the Government in charge of the work, purchased the steamships *Colon* and *Panama* from the Ward Line and turned them over to us for operation on the basis of our company paying interest, charter hire, and depreciation.

The minimum freight rate was gradually reduced from $8 to $3.50 per ton, and is still effective, and practically all of our passenger accommodations have been availed of for the transportation of Government euployees. These demands have been so urgent that we have not been able to accommodate the tariff passengers desiring to sail on our steamers, who have consequently patronized the other lines running between New York and the Canal Zone.

When the steamships *Ancon* and *Cristobal* were purchased for the transportation of cement to the Canal Zone, they were turned over to us without charter expense, because it was realized that any charge of this character assessed against us would be reflected in the rate established for the transportation of cement; and with a view to reducing this to the lowest possible limit, we were relieved from the obligation of paying charter hire for the steamships *Colon* and *Panama* upon the understanding that cement would be carried on the *Ancon* and *Cristobal* at actual cost, and that in arriving at this cost we would credit the Panama Canal with the amount we would pay for the charter of the steamships *Colon* and *Panama*. As a result of this arrangement all of the cement carried by our steamers in connection with the construction of the canal has been burdened with a transportation charge of only $1.25 per ton of 2,000 pounds, while on tramp steamers that we have been obliged to charter from time to time because our steamers were not of sufficient capacity to carry all of the cement needed in the work, the Government has incurred an expense of from $2.25 to $3 per ton of 2,240 pounds.

Up to the middle of August, when we turned over the steamship *Cristobal* to the Quartermaster's Department for the return of American tourists in Europe, we were operating six steamers—the *Ancon* and *Cristobal*, the *Colon* and *Panama*, and the *Allianca* and *Advance*. The last two are the property of our company, the *Finance* having been lost in New York Harbor about four years ago.

Up to May 31, 1914, we have charged up $358,653.35 to the depreciation of steamers owned by our company; we have maintained a rate of $3.50 for rough goods between New York and Colon, and $4.50 per ton on general cargo, as against the $8 rate in effect previous to the time the Government assumed control of our company, and as against a rate of $6 that is now being charged by steamship lines operating vessels between New York and ports contiguous to the Canal Zone; we have carried thousands of employees of the Government and their families from New York to the Canal Zone at the $20

and $30 rates, as against the $75 rate prevailing by other steamship lines; we have competed with foreign lines for the freight traffic moving between New York and ports on the Pacific coast both north and south of Panama, without being parties to rebates, reduced freight rates, or concessions in passenger fares to the important shippers interested in this traffic; we have assisted in the development of traffic between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the United States as against the transcontinental railroads by allowing steamship cocarriers on the Pacific a proportion of the through rates sufficiently remunerative to enable them to maintain their steamers in the traffic and accepting a proportion for our Atlantic haul that in most cases results in a loss to our line; we have by the operation of our steamship line induced our Pacific Ocean carriers to agree to a gradual reduction in the rates to and from the United States and Pacific ports of Mexico, Central and South America, to the level of the rates to and from Europe, thereby doing away with the discrimination that has for years existed in favor of the European market; by our action in maintaining low and yet reasonable rates between New York and the Canal Zone we have saved the Government very considerable money in the shipments that have been forwarded by other lines that were forced to meet our rates, and notwithstanding all this the operation of the steamship line has been financially successful, as you will note by the following table:

	Profits.	Deficits.
1905	$157,245.49	
1906		$37,158.21
1907	158,562.95	
1908		178,810.67
1909	104,995.98	
1910	167,952.25	
1911	77,187.97	
1912		201,761.13
1913	221,489.92	
11 months to May 31, 1914	267,019.29	
Total	1,154,453.85	418,730.01

I believe the above will give you in a concise manner the result of the operation of our steamship line since its control by the Government, but if there are any further details that you require regarding expenses, earnings, charter, depreciation, or anything else that you think would be of any interest to you, I shall be very glad to furnish them to you.

Yours, very truly,

E. A. DRAKE, *Vice President.*

I then wrote 10 specific interrogatories on the various phases of the case, as follows:

SEPTEMBER 25, 1914.

Mr. E. A. DRAKE,
Vice President Panama Railroad Co.,
24 State Street, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. DRAKE: I have your very interesting letter of the 15th instant and have given same considerable study. I shall use the data it contains in connection with a discussion of the shipping bill which President Wilson is demanding of this session of Congress. I am an enthusiastic supporter of the administration policy along this line and desire to do all I can to support the same with such recordations as your operations afford. With this in view I want some further information from you and note your kind offer to furnish same if I so desire:

1. What was the amount appropriated by the Government to secure control of the Panama Railroad Co.? How much was put into the business by the Government?

2. In your estimates of profits or deficits for the several years, do you figure interest on this total investment? If so, at what rate?

3. When the *Colon* and *Panama* were purchased from the Ward Line was the amount paid for these vessels included in the investment, and was interest charged on that portion of the investment?

4. You speak of "charter hire." What was the amount you were to pay for "charter hire" to the Government on the *Colon* and the *Panama*? From the fact that you paid "charter hire," I infer that you did not include the original amount of the purchase of these vessels in investment on which interest was to be charged. At the same time I note that you paid interest as well as "charter hire." If there is further data in connection with this feature, so that I can make it perfectly plain in debate in connection with this letter of the 15th, please give it to me.

5. The *Ancon* and *Cristobal* were turned over to the Panama Railroad Co. without charter expense, you say, to effect a low rate on cement. Under that arrangement does the low rate of $1.25 per ton evidence the real cost of transporting this cement? That is, is it the cost of transportation as you would have incurred had you been a strictly private corporation without governmental protection, and could the tramp steamers have hauled the cement at $1.25 per ton if they had waived profits? Can you give me a fairly accurate approximation of the total amount saved by the Government on transportation of materials, supplies, and men to Panama during the construction of the canal by virtue of the Government's ownership of these vessels as compared with the amount the Government would have had to pay if it had not owned the vessels?

6. The *Finance*, you say, was lost in New York Harbor about four years ago. Was the value of this vessel included in depreciation or profit and loss? How was it accounted for?

7. Up to May 31, 1914, you have charged up $358,653.35 to depreciation of the steamers owned by the company. Does that sum cover all of the depreciation? In other words, are the vessels and property of the Panama Railroad Co. worth the sum paid for them less this depreciation?

8. On the subject of rates you say you have maintained a rate of $3.50 for rough goods between New York and Colon and $4.50 on general cargo, as against the rate of $8 previously in effect and $6 now charged to ports contiguous to the Canal Zone. Could a private corporation carry this freight and traffic at the same rate your are charging if profits were elimnated? It is persistently claimed by fellow members of the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries that your vessels are not self-sustaining. Is there any further data you can give me to controvert beyond doubt this claim?

9. On page 4 of your letter of the 15th instant you speak of doing away with a discrimination that has existed for years in favor of the European market in Mexican, Central and South American ports. Will you give me any data you can to amplify and demonstrate this feature both as to the nature and extent of the discrimination heretofore practiced and as to the reduction you have brought about?

10. In your itemized statement on page 4 of your letter of the 15th instant you show a deficit of $37,158.21 in 1906, a deficit of $178,810.67 in 1908, a deficit of $201,761.13 in 1912. What is the explanation for these deficits in these particular years? Your total profits for the years mentioned are $1,154,453.85. Your total deficits are $418,730.01. This makes the aggregate profits exceed the deficits by $735,723.84. Is this a true statement of the profits and is it a fact that the Government has actually made this much money by virtue of the ownership of these vessels during the time covered by their operation?

I realize that I am burdening you by these queries, but I shall appreciate very much full answers to them in order that I may demonstrate to Congress the fact that men employed by the United States Government are able to do things of this kind and have as much sense and as much efficiency as men employed by the private interests of the country, and the story of governmental waste and inefficiency is not borne out by the facts.

Thanking you for your kindness of the 15th, and thanking you in advance for such further information as you will be kind enough to furnish for immediate use, I remain,

Sincerely, yours,

J. W. BRYAN.

Mr. Drake answered as follows:

PANAMA RAILROAD CO.,
New York, October 2, 1914.

Hon. J. W. BRYAN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. BRYAN: I take pleasure in submitting the following replies to the specific inquiries contained in your letter of the 25th ultimo, previously acknowledged:

1. The old French canal company was the owner, by purchase, of 68,888 of the total of 70,000 shares of the Panama Railroad Co., and when the United States Government bought the assets of the Panama Canal Co. for $40,000,000 it secured these 68,888 shares. My recollection is that they were valued at $7,000,000 by the representatives of the United States Government who arranged the purchase, but correct information regarding this, as well as concerning the cost of the remaining 1,112 shares purchased by the Government to secure complete control of the company, can undoubtedly be obtained from the files of Congress in Washington or from Maj. F. C. Boggs, chief of office of the Panama Canal, who is located in that city.

In considering this question it must be borne in mind that the Panama Railroad Co. operated a railroad across the Isthmus known as "Panama Railroad" and a steamship line between New York and the Canal Zone known as the "Panama Railroad Steamship Line."

As explained to you in my previous letters, the facilities of the steamship line were sufficient to take care of the commercial traffic that was offering up to the time the United States Government undertook the work of constructing the canal. The railroad the company operated across the Isthmus was also similarly situated, but in order to handle the large amount of material, supplies, and workmen required in the construction of the canal it became necessary to practically reconstruct the road and equip it with modern rolling stock that its previous commercial traffic did not warrant. There were two ways in which this could be accomplished—the company could either make these improvemenets out of its own or borrowed funds and charge the United States Government sufficiently high rates for the service rendered to warrant this expenditure, or apply to this purpose all of its own funds, borrow the additional moneys required from the United States Government, and charge rates for the transportation furnished to the Government that approximated actual cost.

The latter plan was determined upon, and the company secured loans of $650,000 from the Isthmian Canal Commission and $4,285,197.03 from the Government, making a total indebtedness of $4,935,197.03. All of these advances, with the exception of $372,234.92 that was expended in the rebuilding of our steamship *Allianca*, were applied to the retirement of the company's bonded indebtedness and the improvement of the railroad facilities at the Isthmus in order to enable it to handle the Government's traffic at low rates; and from the net revenues of the company these loans were repaid to the extent of $1,687,864.92, leaving a balance now due of $3,247,332.11, upon which, by act of Congress dated March 4, 1911, we are relieved from further payment on account of principal or interest.

As an indication of the low rates that we charged I would refer you to our annual report for the year ending June 30, 1913, which shows that although the freight traffic we carried for account of the Government was 56.67 per cent of the total traffic carried over the railroad only 17.60 per cent of the company's revenue was derived from this, the balance being the result of the carriage of commercial freight, which though forming but 39.50 per cent of our tonnage yielded 82.40 per cent of our freight revenue.

2. The correspondence exchanged with you related only to the operation of the steamship line. From the reply to inquiry No. 1 you will see that of the loans secured from the Government only $372,234.92 was applied for steamship purposes, and this was repaid.

Interest was paid to the Government on all the loans secured for the railroad's account to March, 1911; 4 per cent was the rate on loans secured for new equipment and construction, and 2½ per cent on the loans secured for the retirement of the company's first-mortgage bonds.

3. The steamships *Colon* and *Panama* were purchased by the Isthmian Canal Commission and are not the property of our company; they therefore do not appear in our capital account as an asset of our company.

My answer to inquiry No. 4 gives you the details of the interest payments to the Government on account of the use of these steamers by our company.

4. The steamships *Colon* and *Panama* were purchased by the Isthmian Canal Commission, at a cost of $1,312,000; we paid for the use of these steamers 8 per cent per annum on their cost, 4 per cent representing depreciation and 4 per cent interest on the investment. We also obligated ourselves to keep these vessels insured for their full value, to make all ordinary and extraordinary repairs, and at the expiration of their charter to return them in as good condition as when received, ordinary wear and tear excepted. In addition to the 8 per cent on their cost, we have also paid interest at the rate of 4 per cent on the value of the additions and improvements that were required to fit these steamers for our service, these latter amounting to $416,476.74.

On October 31, 1910, we discontinued making any direct payments for charter or depreciation, this being recovered from us through a relatively reduced rate that we established for the transportation of cement for account of the Panama Canal on the steamships *Ancon* and *Cristobal*. The total charter we paid to the Government up to that time was $585,947.04.

5. The rate of $1.25 per ton that we now charge for the transportation of cement on the *Ancon* and *Cristobal* was established by taking the actual cost of transportation, without any charge for charter, interest, or depreciation, and taking therefrom the amount per annum that we were paying for the use of the *Colon* and *Panama*. If we were a strictly private corporation without any control by the Government we could not possibly carry cement in steamships of American registry at anything like $1.25 per ton; nor could any other steamship owner operating even foreign steamers carry cement at this rate without incurring a heavy loss.

The highest rate we paid to a Norwegian tramp steamer was $3 per ton of 2,240 pounds, and we secured this only because the chartered owners had homeward traffic from Cuba that was available for the return trip. The lowest rate we secured from tramp steamers, even under the most favorable circumstances and with the assurance of full homeward cargo, was $1.60 per ton, but under ordinary conditions of the charter market an English or Norwegian tramp steamer can not make any revenue from the carriage of cement to Colon unless the rate is in the neighborhood of $2.40 per gross ton and full homeward cargo can be secured at paying rates.

It would not be possible for me to give you even an approximate idea of the amount saved to the Government on the transportation of materials, supplies, and employees by virtue of its ownership of our line, as compared with the amount it would have paid if it did not control the line. You will realize in a moment the difficulty of this task when you consider the following:

First. All employees have been carried to the Canal Zone at an expense to the Government of $40 for each adult; and all the employees and their families traveling at the expense of the employee have been carried at the rate of $20 or $30 for a journey of 2,000 miles, occupying nearly seven days, as against the tariff rate of $75 by other lines, which during certain seasons of the year when the tourist traffic is not important, apply a rate of $56.25 for the transportation of Government employees.

Second. The rates on all Canal Commission supplies is $3.50 per ton on rough goods and $4.50 per ton on general cargo, as against the previous tariff rate of $8 per ton.

The other regular lines have also been obliged to meet our rates in order to secure any share of the traffic, because the Government, although owning our line, does not patronize it exclusively.

6 and 7. The book value of the steamship *Finance* at the time this vessel was lost was $244,265.37; we received from the White Star Line as its share of our loss $33,333.33; the amount of depreciation figured on our books was $40,607.61; the balance of $170,324.43 was charged to profit and loss account.

The book value of the *Advance* and *Allianca* is $762,713.62; the amount of depreciation to May 31, 1914, is $318,045.74, thus making their net value on May 31, 1914, $444,667.88.

I consider that I am conservative in stating that the vessels are worth in the market their present value on our books. We could not replace them by steamships of American registry that are capable of giving us the service we now receive from them at anything like this amount, and they are worth more than their book value to us.

8. At the rates of $3.50 per ton for rough goods and $4.50 per ton on general cargo, our steamship line, which receives no assistance whatever from the Government or from the railroad company, is self-sustaining and earns a profit. If we were a private steamship line independent of any connection with the Government there would be no inducement to carry employees and their families at a $20 and $30 rate, because this does not much more than cover the cost of their subsistence, and we could take steps to secure good paying freight traffic that is now lost to us because we can not follow the practice of other lines in securing it.

9. The principal part of the freight traffic carried over the Panama Railroad was, up to a few years ago, the freight between Europe, Central America, Mexico, and South America in both directions. We had one steamship connection on the Atlantic running to the United States and eight running to Europe. Our cocarriers on the Pacific Ocean, with the exception of the Pacific Mail Steamship Co., operated steamers of foreign registry, and as a result of the various pooling and other arrangements that were and probably are still effective in connection with European traffic there was more or less a community of interest between the European-Atlantic carriers and the various carriers on the Pacific.

The traffic to and from Europe was always subject, more or less, to competition via the Straits of Magellan. This did not so seriously affect the traffic to and from the United States, but the result was that the rates to and from Europe were gradually reduced, while those to and from the United States were maintained.

For instance, on traffic to Central and South America the rates on high-grade cargo, such as laces, ribbons, silks, etc., were $9.94 per ton higher from the United States than from Europe, although the distance is 1,000 miles less. On cotton goods, domestics, linens, etc., the rates were $7.39 per ton higher; on canned goods they were $9.82 per ton higher, and on edible cargo, such as crackers, meal, flour, sugar, etc., the rates were $3.82 per ton higher. On shipments of clean coffee from these ports the rates to the United States were from $3 to $3.80 per ton higher; on sugar, $5.43, and on hides and skins, $13.30 per ton higher than the rates to Europe.

Our railroad across the Isthmus being the intermediate carrier had no justification under private ownership to reduce this revenue by insisting upon its cocarriers establishing rates to and from the United States on as low a basis as those to and from Europe, but by the operation of our steamship line we gradually brought about a condition of affairs by which the rates from the United States were lowered from time to time until they were finally on a level with those effective from Europe. This, of course, was not accomplished without considerable objection on the part of our Pacific Ocean carriers, some of whom even to this day feel we have unnecessarily reduced their revenues by lowering the rates from the United States to the level of those from Europe when, in their judgment, the rates from the United States should be higher than those from Europe, because the latter are not subject to the competition that exists on traffic from Europe.

We have also succeeded in gradually inducing our carriers on the Pacific to establish the same rates on shipments to the United States as on those to Europe, although, as a matter of fact, we have no right and no power by which this could be brought about. The principal disputes we have had with our steamship connections have been the result of this policy and of our refusal to increase rates from the United States when, because of charter or other conditions, all the various steamship lines in the world were engaged in raising their charges.

10. In 1906 the deficit of $37,158.21 was directly attributable to the loss on traffic due to the earthquake in San Francisco and to the diversion of some of our local and through cargo to the steamships of the Hamburg-American Line and the Royal Mail Steam Packet Co., which inaugurated that year a service between New York and the Canal Zone in opposition to our line.

In 1908 a deficit of $179,810.67 was due to our loss of tariff passenger traffic to the Royal Mail and Hamburg-American Lines and the carriage instead of employees of the Government, who with their families were furnished transportation to and from the Isthmus at the rate of $20 for each adult; the operation of five steamers on our line, which was imperative in order to maintain the food supply of the employees of the Government when the general and commercial cargo could easily have been handled with four steamers, and the falling off in our traffic of 14,823 tons; and the increase in charter expense of $129,749.69 for the hire of steamers while we were repairing the *Allianca* and making extensive necessary repairs to the *Colon*.

The deficit of $201,761.13 in 1912 was the result of the following conditions:

The Pacific Mail Steamship Co., which, as you know, is controlled by the Southern Pacific Railway Co., refused to exchange traffic between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the United States unless granted what was unquestionably an unreasonable proportion of the through rate. The Government offered every inducement to independent steamship lines to handle this traffic, and finally secured a connection. This independent line found it necessary to establish a service from Philadelphia in order to give their steamers on the Pacific sufficient tonnage to make their ships profitable. This Philadelphia service was discontinued by the independent line, and rather than lose the entire tonnage over the railroad we assumed the operation of this service. We knew at the time this would entail a heavy loss to our steamship line, but that it would be more than offset by the earnings of the railroad on the large amount of traffic it would continue to handle because of that service. Our loss in this connection was $70,037.20.

The Pacific carriers at one time brought more cargo to Panama than could be moved across the railroad to Colon in time to forward by our connecting steamers, because the facilities on the Isthmus were almost congested by the large tonnage we were unexpectedly called upon to handle by the Panama Canal and the inability of their operating officials to promptly release our cars. When the cargo was moved across the Isthmus we were obliged in order to prevent a block of all our facilities to secure a tramp steamer as a warehouse to receive it as fast as delivered from cars and to bring it to New York. The expense of this amounted to $21,739.20 and is properly chargeable to the railroad, but it is a steamship expense and has been charged to our steamship line.

Extraordinary repairs were required on our steamships, especially the *Colon* and *Panama*, which, as above indicated, are the property of the Government. The amount charged on this account during that year was $207,488.88.

An additional pier rental in New York City, because of the *Ancon* and *Cristobal* being turned over to us, cost $13,071.88.

The increased cost of stevedoring, as the result of handling a class of California traffic that had always been forwarded up to that time by steamers or sailing vessels operating via Cape Horn or the Straits of Magellan, and an increase in the rate of wages paid to stevedores, cost $65,519.73.

I trust this will satisfactorily answer all the inquiries you have made, and regret that on account of press of other important matters I have not been able to furnish this to you more promptly.

Respectfully,

E. A. DRAKE, *Vice President.*

I can not further discuss this matter now, but these data are furnished freely for full use in this debate by all sides. I am sure those who are proud of the splendid work of the Government in this crowning achievement of man at Panama have no cause to be otherwise than proud of the handling of these steamships.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT J. BULKLEY,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 28, 1915.

Mr. BULKLEY. Mr. Speaker, the rural-credits bills H. R. 16478 and S. 5542 were prepared and agreed upon in joint sessions of the subcommittees on rural credits of the House and Senate Committees on Banking and Currency. My colleagues on the House subcommittee are Messrs. BROWN of West Virginia, STONE, SELDOMRIDGE, WEAVER, RAGSDALE, HAYES, WOODS, and PLATT.

I have submitted to the Committee on Banking and Currency the report of the subcommittee in support of H. R. 16478. The report is not quite unanimous, Mr. HAYES and Mr. PLATT dissenting from certain features of it. Under leave given me to extend my remarks, I now submit the subcommittee report in full, as follows:

The question of providing a suitable system of agricultural credit for the United States has been under anxious considera-

tion both in and out of Congress for a number of years past, and many bills intended to furnish the desired machinery of rural credits have been from time to time introduced. In several States legislation has been enacted, but there has been a prevailing belief that better results would be obtained through a Federal enactment designed to furnish a uniform system of land-mortgage banking that would operate throughout the whole territory of the Nation.

Under an act approved March 4, 1913, a special rural-credit commission, authorized to investigate and study in European countries the whole question of rural credits, was directed to visit Europe. On January 29, 1914, this commission rendered a report to Congress in which it recommended legislation. (S. Doc. No. 380, 63d Cong., 2d sess.)

Meantime the question of agricultural credit had been raised during the discussion of banking legislation when the Federal reserve act was being debated in the House of Representatives in July and August, 1913. Action was at that time deferred on account of the fact that it was deemed wise to confine the action then taken to commercial-banking legislation.

Recognizing the widespread popular demand, however, for rural-credit legislation, careful consideration has been given during the past session by a joint subcommittee representing the Banking and Currency Committees of the Senate and House of Representatives to the proper elements that should find a place in any legislation on this subject. It has been desired to make use both of the information provided by the rural-credit commission which visited Europe and of the exhaustive testimony taken by the subcommittee in question. The effort has throughout been that of ascertaining the actual needs of the farming community at the present time and of formulating legislation which would enable the individual farmer to provide himself with the capital needed by him for the proper development and exploitation of his land, as well as for obtaining title thereto and thus becoming an independent proprietor. It is believed that the experience of European nations, while instructive and useful, needed to be carefully checked and compared with American experience in order to avoid any danger of transplanting institutions that, although successful in their native soil, would not so well meet the needs of a different population and a different type of agriculture. To that end it has been sought to subject each element in the existing European systems to careful examination, and wherever a given suggestion or institution appeared in the main to afford a suitable basis for action to adapt it carefully to American requirements. Full study and consideration has been given to the testimony collected by the United States commission already referred to and to the legislation suggested by that commission in its report.

In general, the state of things existing to-day in American agriculture and calling for remedial legislation may be outlined as follows:

(*a*) There has been a great and well-known drift of population from the country to the cities and a corresponding proportionate or relative decline in the percentage of the population engaged in producing the raw materials of manufacture and the foodstuffs which come from the farm.

(*b*) A large advance in prices and the cost of living, which has been explained in many diverse ways by economists and students of the existing situation of industry and agriculture, is generally attributed, in part at least, to the relative decline in the amount of attention given to agricultural enterprise.

(*c*) Despite large advances in the methods of farming in vogue, due to improved agricultural education and better organization of farm life, American agriculture is far from being as efficient as it should be, this lack of efficiency being in a very material degree attributable to insufficient capital and the inability to get more except upon terms which rendered it unprofitable to apply such capital.

(*d*) The inability in many parts of the country to make farming profitable, the consequent drift of population away from the farm, and the incidental advance in prices of farm products may be relieved, at least in a degree, by any well-considered measure which will actually result in enabling the agriculturists of the country to obtain the means of improving their farms by the more scientific and thorough application of capital.

(*e*) While in part the difficulty of getting capital thus described is due to inadequate and unfair arrangements for the furnishing of short-term credit for periods running not over 12 or 15 months, the basic difficulty is believed to lie in the question of long-term credit, the furnishing of adequate long-term credit at a reasonable rate undoubtedly being necessary as a basis before a satisfactory provision for short-term loans can be made.

Believing that the first and fundamental matter to be disposed of is the question of long-term credit upon a proper and reasonable basis, the committee has therefore addressed itself primarily to that subject, and has developed a plan intended to enable the farmer to obtain upon reasonable terms the funds he needs in his operations. In order to appreciate the nature of the problem by which those who would frame such legislation are faced, it is desirable to devote some attention to the changes in American agriculture which have placed the farmer in a position which particularly calls for more capital. Among the factors which are worthy of special note in this connection is the rising price of land, due to growth of population and other factors; the increasing intensiveness of agriculture; the wider application of machinery to farming; and a variety of others.

One view of this general situation as to agricultural conditions and need for credit in the United States has been stated in a recent study by E. W. Kemmerer in the American Economic Review for December, 1912, as follows:

The chief reason for backwardness of the United States, as compared with Europe, with regard to agricultural credit may be briefly summarized as follows: (1) Our wonderful agricultural domain, where good land could be had almost for the asking, and where for generations land was so cheap and labor and capital so dear that intensive cultivation was generally unprofitable. (2) The prosperity of our farmers, who have not been forced by dire necessity to resort to credit as were the farmers of Germany at the middle of the last century, when the Raiffeisen cooperative banks were first organized. (3) The nomadic character of a considerable part of our agricultural population as it has moved continually westward in taking up new lands, and more recently as it has been retracing its steps or moving backward. (4) The isolation of our farmers in this country of large farms and "magnificent distances." (5) The rapid growth of the manufacturing and commercial business of the country—and that largely in the hands of the same class of people who control the bulk of the banking business.

Add to these circumstances the obstacles which farmers always encounter in the matter of credit, as compared with manufacturers and merchants, obstacles such as the uncertainty of crops and the strongly seasonal character of the farmer's credit demands, and we have a sufficient explanation of the backwardness of agricultural credit in this country.

To emphasize most of the causes, however, is to brand oneself as belonging to a past generation. Our domain of free arable land is practically gone; good farms must be bought, and for them ever-increasing prices must be paid.

The era of hand cultivation is giving way to that of farm machinery propelled by horsepower and even by steam, gasoline, or electricity, with its resulting great increase in the efficiency of labor. Eleven years ago the editor of the Dakota Farmer in his testimony before the United States Industrial Commission put the matter tersely, and with little exaggeration, as affecting his own section of the country, at least, when he said: "When I first worked out it took five binders to follow a machine, one man to rake off, and one to carry the bundles together. Now the hired girl frequently drives the machine that does the whole business." Some idea of the extent of this increase may be obtained by reference to the following figures compiled from census reports:

Value of farm implements and machinery in the United States.

Years.	Value.	Per cent increase.
1910	$1,265,000,000	69
1900	750,000,000	52
1890	494,000,000	22
1880	407,000,000	50
1870	271,000,000	10
1860	246,000,000	62

The increase in the value of farm implements and machinery per acre of land in farms from 1900 to 1910 was from $0.89 to $1.44, or 61.8 per cent.

An analysis of the figures for farm machinery by geographic divisions shows a marked difference in the rates of increase, but the tendency in all sections during the last 40 years has been decidedly upward, the greatest growth having been witnessed in the decade ending 1910. During that decade the lowest rate of increase in any section was that of New England, 39 per cent, and the highest that of the mountain States, 163 per cent.

Another development which is making larger demands upon the farmer for working capital is the increasing use of artificial fertilizers, the expenditure for which in the United States approximately doubled from 1880 to 1900.

As the result of such tendencies and of the rapid depletion of our free domain, farming in the United States is losing its old-time kinship to mining and becoming more like manufacturing: More and better machinery and more power are needed on most farms in the interest of efficiency. This calls for short-time credit. But a supply of good machinery requires a fair sized farm for its efficient utilization, hence the need for larger farms and for mortgage credit to make their purchase possible.

The farming population is becoming more settled now that the free lands are practically gone and the frontier has disappeared. The isolation of the farmer is rapidly becoming a thing of the past with the advent of rural free delivery, rural telephone, the automobile, and the parcel post. The farmer no longer buys gold bricks nor is duped by fraudulent lightning-rod schemes except in the pages of the comic supplements.

When seeking credit the farmer can offer better security than ever before. His markets are larger, better organized, more certain, and more accessible. The risk of crop failure is less, thanks to the wonderful progress of scientific agriculture. There are few pests which can not now be controlled by the intelligent farmer, who takes time by the forelock. The problem of moisture is growing less serious every year with the improvements in irrigation, dry farming, and the more scientific diversification in crops.

Conditions then point to an increasing need for agricultural credit and to improving circumstances for its safe development.

CHARACTER OF PRESENT CREDIT.

Assuming that the changing conditions of American agriculture are admitted, that the resultant need for capital is conceded, and that the urgency of the situation existing at the present moment in many States of the Union is recognized, the question must next be considered how far the farmer is at present supplied with the machinery of credit, how far this machinery is adequate, how far it can be improved upon without changing its structure or character, and how far an absolutely new type of credit institutions is called for.

When these questions have been satisfactorily answered, it will be possible to examine the methods of agricultural credit employed abroad and to discuss the application of these methods to American agriculture as well as to examine, finally, the extent to which new machinery must be evolved.

In this inquiry the topic most conveniently to be considered in the first instance will be the actual extent to which the farmer to-day succeeds in getting loans on the strength of his land, as indicating the extent to which he actually is obliged to work with borrowed capital. This may be considered through the medium of the statistics of the last census, they being, whatever their defects, the only complete and inclusive survey of farm-mortgage conditions throughout the whole territory of the United States.

From these it is found that in 1910 a total of approximately 4,000,000 farms owned wholly or in part by operators existed in the United States, and that of these approximately two-thirds, or 2,600,000, were free from mortgage, while 1,300,000, or one-third, were mortgaged. Of those thus subject to mortgage, the largest proportionate number were found in the East and West North Central groups of States, while the Middle Atlantic, South Atlantic, and East and West South Central States constituted a second group ranking after the one first mentioned in the number of mortgaged farms. The New England, Mountain, and Pacific States fell far behind in the number of mortgaged farms as compared with the other groups of States already referred to. The following table gives the precise details of this situation:

Divisions.	Farms or farm homes operated or occupied by owners.												
	Free from mortgage.							Mortgaged.					
	1910	1900	1890	Increase:[1] 1900–1910		Increase:[1] 1890–1900		1910	1900	1890	Increase:[1] 1900–1910		Increase:[1] 1890–1900	
				Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.				Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
United States	2,621,283	2,510,654	2,255,789	110,629	4.4	254,865	11.3	1,327,439	1,127,749	885,957	199,690	17.7	240,792	27.1
New England	109,586	108,474	118,717	1,112	1.0	−10,243	−8.6	58,822	56,129	46,738	2,693	4.8	9,391	20.1
Middle Atlantic	219,093	214,285	222,497	4,808	2.2	−8,212	−3.7	135,943	144,462	130,770	−8,519	−5.9	13,692	10.5
East North Central	478,408	503,421	479,014	−25,013	−5.0	24,407	5.1	330,636	327,799	288,359	2,837	0.9	39,440	13.7
West North Central	408,980	406,265	357,099	2,715	0.7	49,166	13.8	349,966	322,852	330,070	27,114	8.4	−7,218	−2.2
South Atlantic	481,412	438,097	387,381	43,315	9.9	50,716	13.1	111,742	88,217	31,080	23,525	26.7	57,137	183.8
East South Central	394,573	380,866	346,320	13,707	3.6	34,546	10.0	115,879	77,976	16,234	37,903	48.6	61,742	380.3
West South Central	305,792	306,360	238,995	−568	−0.2	67,365	28.2	135,113	67,987	11,955	67,126	98.7	56,032	468.7
Mountain	127,400	74,896	45,631	52,504	70.1	29,265	64.1	33,444	12,570	7,511	20,874	166.1	5,059	67.4
Pacific	96,039	77,990	60,135	18,049	23.1	17,855	29.7	55,894	29,757	24,240	26,137	87.8	5,517	22.8

[1] A minus sign (−) denotes decrease.

The census statistics show that in 1910 the average value of land and buildings per farm throughout the United States was $6,289. This figure was very much raised by the high valuation in the West North Central section, which ran to nearly $10,000; in the Mountain section, which ran to about $9,300; and in the Pacific, which ran to about $10,300. Had it not been for these three sections the average value of land and buildings would have been much less. The average mortgage per farm was $1,715, but this again was raised by very high mortgage averages in some three different sections of the country. Taking the two factors together, therefore, it may be said that the average mortgage indebtedness of $1,715, as well as the average farm valuation of $6,289, are figures that must be regarded as exceptionally high from the standpoint of any study of farm values and mortgage averages. A true estimate of the representative rather than the average valuation and mortgage would be considerably less than these amounts. Taking both, then, as distinctly within the limits of conservatism, it may be inferred that in order to provide for the borrowing of American farmers upon the existing basis it will be necessary to furnish a system which can loan considerably more than $1,715 to the individual owner, and that this must be protected by property whose ratio shall be considerably lower than that of 3 to 1. In view of the fact that in some parts of the country the average loan runs to $2,400, it does not seem as if a limit of $4,000 as the maximum amount to be lent under any mortgage-loan plan to the individual farmer would be too high, while on the other hand it would appear that in order to meet existing necessities and conditions it would probably be necessary to allow the proportion of value which might be advanced by way of mortgage to run to 40 or 50 per cent of actual values.

The detailed facts relating to actual mortgage loans in the United States, as collected by the Census Bureau, are represented in the following table:

Divisions or States.	Number of farms operated by owners: 1910.[1]				Per cent reported as mortgaged.[2]			Farms operated by owners owning entire farm: 1910.[3]						Ratio of debt to value, per cent.	
	Total.	Free from mortgage.	Mortgaged.	Not reported.	1910	1900	1890	Number.	Value of land and buildings.	Amount of debt.	Average per farm.			1910	1890
											Value.	Debt.	Equity.		
United States	3,948,722	2,588,596	1,312,034	48,092	33.6	31.1	28.2	1,006,511	$6,330,236,951	$1,726,172,851	$6,289	$1,715	$4,574	27.3	35.5
Geographic divisions:															
New England	168,408	108,938	58,474	996	34.9	34.1	28.2	53,791	183,826,183	58,535,508	3,417	1,088	2,329	31.8	40.4
Middle Atlantic	355,036	217,257	134,803	2,976	38.3	40.3	37.0	118,220	516,334,528	178,326,219	4,368	1,508	2,860	34.5	43.2
East North Central	809,044	473,822	327,463	7,759	40.9	39.4	37.6	257,884	1,605,964,728	459,883,968	6,227	1,783	4,444	28.6	33.2
West North Central	758,946	404,555	346,182	8,209	46.1	44.3	48.0	236,975	2,361,540,675	608,480,562	9,965	2,568	7,397	25.8	33.6
South Atlantic	593,154	474,742	110,198	8,214	18.8	16.8	7.4	86,522	270,317,105	73,597,258	3,124	851	2,273	27.2	40.2
East South Central	510,452	388,837	114,195	7,420	22.7	17.0	4.5	85,282	203,125,373	59,769,643	2,382	701	1,681	29.4	43.3
West South Central	440,905	299,303	132,252	9,350	30.6	18.2	4.8	96,687	484,014,790	121,365,670	5,006	1,255	3,751	25.1	42.8
Mountain	160,844	125,940	33,060	1,844	20.8	14.4	14.1	26,731	247,994,132	59,364,185	9,277	2,221	7,056	23.9	31.8
Pacific	151,933	95,202	55,407	1,324	36.8	27.6	28.7	44,419	457,119,437	106,846,838	10,291	2,405	7,886	23.4	30.1

[1] Includes those whose owners rented additional land.

[2] Percentages are based on combined total of farms "free from mortgage" and "mortgaged."

[3] Includes only those whose owners reported value of farm and amount of debt.

Divisions or States.	Number of farms operated by owners: 1910.				Per cent reported as mortgaged.			Farms operated by owners owning entire farm: 1910.						Ratio of debt to value, per cent.	
	Total.	Free from mortgage.	Mortgaged.	Not reported.	1910	1900	1890	Number.	Value of land and buildings.	Amount of debt.	Average per farm.			1910	1890
											Value.	Debt.	Equity.		
New England:															
Maine	56,454	41,309	14,948	197	26.6	26.7	22.1	13,894	$39,774,005	$11,738,529	$2,863	$845	$2,018	29.5	36.7
New Hampshire	24,493	18,119	6,234	140	25.6	25.5	21.8	5,666	15,457,040	4,773,610	2,728	842	1,886	30.9	38.4
Vermont	28,065	14,851	13,140	74	46.9	46.9	44.3	12,138	36,858,501	12,436,091	3,037	1,025	2,012	33.7	41.8
Massachusetts	32,075	18,768	13,014	293	40.9	38.6	30.5	12,030	49,742,396	16,371,484	4,135	1,361	2,774	32.9	41.9
Rhode Island	4,087	2,811	1,180	96	29.6	27.1	19.1	1,001	4,087,933	1,356,326	4,084	1,355	2,729	33.2	42.6
Connecticut	23,234	13,080	9,958	196	43.2	40.7	31.1	9,062	37,906,308	11,859,468	4,183	1,309	2,874	31.3	40.6
Middle Atlantic:															
New York	166,674	93,118	72,311	1,245	43.7	46.3	44.2	62,555	284,659,163	97,309,848	4,551	1,556	2,995	34.2	43.6
New Jersey	24,133	11,983	11,793	357	49.6	51.9	48.9	10,666	55,507,006	19,476,938	5,204	1,826	3,378	35.1	49.6
Pennsylvania	164,229	112,156	50,699	1,374	31.1	32.3	27.4	44,999	176,168,359	61,539,433	3,915	1,368	2,547	34.9	40.7
East North Central:															
Ohio	192,104	135,616	54,997	1,491	28.9	29.8	28.9	42,785	220,749,834	63,788,397	5,160	1,491	3,669	28.9	34.3
Indiana	148,501	89,847	56,914	1,740	38.8	36.5	33.1	40,108	251,961,241	57,486,582	6,282	1,433	4,849	22.8	30.3
Illinois	145,107	86,713	55,792	2,602	39.2	39.3	36.7	36,938	454,857,222	115,799,646	12,314	3,135	9,179	25.5	34.6
Michigan	172,310	88,705	82,631	974	48.2	48.3	49.4	68,655	250,874,010	75,997,030	3,654	1,107	2,547	30.3	32.4
Wisconsin	151,022	72,941	77,129	952	51.4	45.8	42.9	69,398	427,522,421	146,815,313	6,160	2,116	4,044	34.3	33.3
West North Central:															
Minnesota	122,104	65,038	56,145	921	46.3	44.8	46.4	41,775	295,015,775	77,866,283	7,062	1,864	5,198	26.4	31.6
Iowa	133,003	63,234	68,045	1,724	51.8	53.0	53.3	50,452	735,265,320	204,242,722	14,574	4,048	10,526	27.8	33.3
Missouri	192,285	102,514	88,486	1,285	46.3	42.4	36.4	64,028	389,476,000	112,565,403	6,083	1,758	4,325	28.9	32.3
North Dakota	63,212	30,651	31,727	834	50.9	31.4	48.7	19,187	213,642,953	47,841,587	11,135	2,493	8,642	22.4	33.3
South Dakota	57,984	35,101	21,691	1,192	38.2	36.7	52.4	11,313	154,749,490	32,771,359	13,679	2,897	10,782	21.2	38.6
Nebraska	79,250	47,435	30,839	976	39.4	45.4	52.0	19,778	286,308,920	62,373,472	14,476	3,154	11,322	21.8	32.4
Kansas	111,108	60,582	49,249	1,277	44.8	41.8	55.5	30,442	287,082,217	70,819,736	9,430	2,326	7,104	24.7	36.0
South Atlantic:															
Delaware	6,178	3,817	2,264	97	37.2	36.5	29.4	2,021	8,801,976	3,068,721	4,355	1,518	2,837	34.9	44.0
Maryland	33,519	21,084	12,127	308	36.5	36.8	30.0	10,754	44,398,721	15,673,773	4,129	1,457	2,672	35.3	38.5
District of Columbia	118	93	21	4	18.4	18.9	4.1	20	233,400	56,100	11,670	2,805	8,865	24.0	32.8
Virginia	133,664	111,474	21,182	1,008	16.0	14.7	3.2	17,410	62,377,247	15,440,291	3,583	887	2,696	24.8	47.6
West Virginia	75,978	66,053	9,525	360	12.6	14.1	13.0	7,878	21,549,125	5,592,533	2,735	710	2,025	26.0	32.2
North Carolina	145,320	117,028	26,642	1,650	18.5	15.8	4.9	19,252	42,952,440	9,958,389	2,231	517	1,714	23.2	45.6
South Carolina	64,350	47,535	15,020	1,795	24.0	20.6	8.0	11,189	39,593,747	10,103,072	3,539	903	2,633	25.5	50.2
Georgia	98,628	78,004	18,257	2,367	19.0	14.7	3.4	13,839	37,526,424	10,988,409	2,712	794	1,918	29.3	41.9
Florida	35,399	29,614	5,160	625	14.8	10.3	2.9	4,159	12,884,025	2,709,970	3,098	652	2,446	21.0	31.2
East South Central:															
Kentucky	170,332	135,505	33,039	1,788	19.6	15.2	4.1	25,846	81,315,441	23,411,430	3,146	906	2,240	28.8	40.1
Tennessee	144,125	118,285	24,006	1,834	16.9	11.5	3.2	17,362	47,232,059	12,623,330	2,720	727	1,993	26.7	40.1
Alabama	103,929	74,504	27,457	1,968	26.9	19.2	4.4	19,230	32,311,461	10,350,577	1,680	538	1,142	32.0	43.8
Mississippi	92,066	60,543	29,693	1,830	32.9	27.1	7.7	22,844	42,266,412	13,381,308	1,850	586	1,264	31.7	54.4
West South Central:															
Arkansas	106,649	82,321	22,374	1,954	21.4	14.3	4.2	16,555	35,035,023	8,941,332	2,116	540	1,576	25.5	44.4
Louisiana	52,989	42,011	9,834	1,144	19.0	17.7	4.0	7,520	28,771,635	8,950,301	3,826	1,190	2,636	31.1	44.1
Oklahoma	85,404	46,889	36,036	2,479	43.5	[1] 9.2	.....	24,588	122,327,300	27,384,765	4,975	1,114	3,861	22.4	.....
Texas	195,863	128,682	64,008	3,773	33.3	23.4	5.7	48,024	297,880,832	76,089,272	6,203	1,584	4,619	25.5	41.7
Mountain:															
Montana	23,365	18,014	4,820	531	21.1	14.0	15.6	3,990	44,615,154	10,741,280	11,182	2,692	8,490	24.1	31.7
Idaho	27,169	17,933	9,010	226	33.4	16.4	16.3	7,594	64,376,038	14,557,103	8,477	1,917	6,560	22.6	30.0
Wyoming	9,779	7,815	1,923	41	19.7	12.2	13.1	1,531	16,675,387	4,207,983	10,892	2,749	8,143	25.2	34.6
Colorado	36,993	26,822	9,636	535	26.4	27.0	25.5	7,571	77,332,068	18,986,026	10,214	2,508	7,706	24.6	32.4
New Mexico	33,398	31,382	1,775	241	5.4	2.3	3.0	1,397	10,683,233	2,590,282	7,647	1,854	5,793	24.2	34.2
Arizona	8,203	7,038	1,043	122	12.9	6.0	6.8	813	8,695,498	2,253,252	10,693	2,772	7,924	25.9	40.6
Utah	19,762	15,131	4,492	139	22.9	11.1	5.5	3,526	21,319,580	4,564,175	6,046	1,294	4,752	21.4	24.9
Nevada	2,175	1,805	361	9	16.7	19.3	17.2	309	4,297,144	1,464,084	13,907	4,738	9,169	34.1	33.1
Pacific:															
Washington	47,505	30,979	16,026	500	34.1	21.7	26.8	12,715	113,394,798	25,644,551	8,918	2,017	6,901	22.6	28.6
Oregon	37,796	24,855	12,632	309	33.7	25.2	23.4	10,274	93,525,449	21,165,627	9,103	2,060	7,043	22.6	29.9
California	66,632	39,368	26,749	515	40.5	32.2	32.5	21,430	250,199,190	60,036,660	11,675	2,802	8,873	24.0	30.3

[1] Includes Indian Territory.

While, however, the actual facts as to the amount of farm indebtedness and the amounts and relative proportions of farm loans are thus clear, it is very much less easy to ascertain the exact conditions under which the loans are made and the rates of interest that are paid thereon. These differ very considerably in different parts of the country, and it would probably be unfair to attempt any broad generalization with reference to them. A better method of study will be afforded by considering the situation in some representative sections and then pointing out the extent to which the conditions thus developed are probably to be taken as characteristic.

SOME REPRESENTATIVE INSTANCES.

A beginning may be made with the state of things in the Northwest, which is clearly set forth in an investigation as to the condition under which long-term loans are made in North Dakota. A report of this inquiry, made by Meyer Jacobstein in the American Economic Review, states:

Questionnaires were mailed to 200 representative banks, of which 125 reported, giving returns for 45 out of the 50 counties in the State. As there are 660 banks in the State, returns were obtained from about one-fifth of all the banking institutions. These replies show that the average farm mortgage runs for 4.94 years and that the average interest rate is approximately 8 per cent (accurately, 7.88 per cent). This 8 per cent does not include the expense of abstracting titles, examining the property, and the recording of the mortgage. These fees are invariably paid by the borrower. Nor does this interest rate of 8 per cent take account of the bonus that is frequently exacted in the newer regions from the borrower for the privilege of securing a loan; nor does it allow for the sum the borrower loses in paying his yearly interest in advance, which is deducted from the principal. In one county, for instance, a farmer had to pay a bonus of $50 for borrowing $1,000 at 10 per cent interest. The farmer secured $850, since $100 was deducted as interest on the $1,000 and $50 was deducted as a bonus. In this case the actual interest was considerably higher than the nominal interest rate of 10 per cent. While the practice of exacting a bonus is not common, it is generally the custom to deduct the entire year's interest in advance; assuming an 8 per cent rate, the farmer therefore pays $80 interest not on $1,000 but on $920, which brings the rate up to 8.7 per cent.

While the average prevailing rate, according to our returns, is approximately 8 per cent, the rate varies in different parts of the State, depending upon the local conditions. In the following table is shown the rate of interest by groups of banks and groups of counties:

Rate of interest on farm mortgages in North Dakota.

Number of banks.	Number of counties.	Rate of interest.
15	4	6 to 7
45	16	7 to 8
36	12	8 to 9
13	5	9 to 10
16	8	10 to 11
125	45	7.88

The 15 banks reporting less than 7 per cent rate are all located in the Red Valley counties, viz, Cass, Grand Forks, Traill, and Walsh. These are the most fertile and longest-cultivated counties in the State. On the other hand, the banks reporting a rate of 9 per cent or more are located, as a general rule, in the newer and more undeveloped counties in the western part of the State. The counties in the central part of the State average from 7 to 9 per cent. The rates are lowest in the eastern tier of counties and rise gradually toward the western part of the State, where the rate runs up to 10 and 12 per cent, which is also the rate in the eastern part of Montana.

That the 8 per cent rate is quite general for a large part of the State is evidenced from the fact that 25 of the 45 counties report an average rate of 8 per cent or more. In only four counties is the rate less than 7 per cent. One-half of all the 125 reporting banks charge 8 per cent or more and 110 charge 7 per cent or more. The following table shows the extent to which the several rates prevail in North Dakota:

Interest rates on farm mortgages in North Dakota.

Rate of interest.	Population.	Per cent.	Number of farms.	Per cent of State.	Farm acreage.	Per cent of State.
Less than 7.....	113,518	19.7	9,376	12.6	3,879,222	13.6
7 to 8.....	189,573	32.9	21,617	29.1	9,043,582	31.8
8 and over.....	273,965	47.5	43,367	58.3	15,503,846	54.5

It is clear from this table that at least one-half of the State is subject to the 8 per cent rate, only a small part enjoys a rate below 7, and in no county does the average fall below 6 per cent.

The above figures are conservative. They are based on returns submitted by bankers, who would naturally understate rather than overstate the rate of interest charged in their respective localities. Furthermore, we have a check on these bank returns in the replies received from the farmers. Questionnaires were sent to over 100 representative farmers residing in different parts of the State; 29 farmers, living in 22 different counties, reported an average of 7.91 per cent on first farm mortgages, which rate is only slightly higher than the rate returned by the bankers in 45 counties. As a rule the rates reported by bankers and farmers are nearly identical in their respective counties. It is safe to conclude, therefore, that the average rate on farm mortgages for the entire State is about 8 per cent.

The situation with respect to farm loans and rates of interest in some portions of the South was set forth before the joint committee on rural credits by W. B. Doak, of Clifton Station, Va. Mr. Doak told of his own personal experiences in the matter of borrowing money and said:

The average farmer, small farmer, is practically unable to finance his operations, and he must go to an agent and pay 5 per cent for the use of money two or three years on terms that are practically impossible. A mortgage can not be paid off in two or three, or even five, years, as people are well aware. * * *

The bank has been known to take out 12 per cent in advance. * * * Some lenders are very kind and considerate. On the other hand, many succeed in making themselves and their mortgages exceedingly offensive. Instances arise in which the borrower is known to have been intentionally and maliciously crippled in his credit or otherwise injured to enable the creditor or his friends to acquire a large and desirable place at great sacrifice by foreclosure. You can readily see how this necessity of having loans renewed every few years places a very powerful weapon in the hands of the people who lend money. It has a particularly disastrous effect upon farmers, because the farmer's place of business is also his home. It disturbs the rooftree, the unit and very foundation of democratic institutions. That is, to make the point perfectly clear, no purchaser of farm-land bank bonds could say he held a mortgage or trust against any particular farm and farmer. Anything he might do to disparage one would work against all and prove of no particular benefit to him. Hence, temptation to disparage any is removed. This difference alone, while quite impossible to reduce to figures, would justify the borrower in paying considerably more to get a farm-land bank to carry his loan.

All who have lived in the country realize how frequently opportunities offer by which men with influence may render the farming operations of any particular farmer unprofitable, namely, his taxes may be raised arbitrarily, personal credit denied at the bank, dealers refuse to handle his stock or crop at a fair price, his road or outlet to public road may be rendered practically impassable or outside interference make it almost impossible to get along with neighbors or help.

Mr. Leonard G. Robinson, the general manager of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, of New York City, who has had much experience in the making of farm loans, described the existing situation in New England as follows:

We have applications for advice and assistance from farmers in practically every State in the Union. We have our own staff of expert investigators, and investigate not only the particular application, but the entire situation exactly as it exists in that locality. So I think we are pretty well posted on the rural credit situation of nearly every part of the United States.

Now, what is the situation? So far as my personal experience is concerned, I find that the situation differs very markedly in various parts of the country. In a general way you can divide the country into four parts, say, the East, where conditions are fairly tolerable; the Middle West, perhaps a little less so; the Northwest, where it is pretty bad; and the South, where it could not be any worse.

Each division has its own peculiar problems. You will find, for instance, that not only do conditions differ between States, but they differ between different localities within the State.

I have known, for instance, places where you would get a first mortgage with tolerable ease in one place and 25 miles away you could not get one for love or money. There are really no two places in the country that you could put on the same level.

In one place—take Connecticut, Massachusetts, or whatever place you may choose—there may live a retired farmer probably worth several hundred thousand dollars. He was probably born and raised there. What is he going to do with his money? If he invested in Government bonds, he would probably get something like 3 per cent interest or less. Knowing the situation in that locality he lends his money on farm mortgages and nets 5 or 6 per cent. And in this way you will find that the farmers in that particular section of the country are able to obtain mortgages with comparative ease and on fair terms.

Or, instead of a private investor, that neighborhood may have a thriving little industrial community where the men save their money. As a result there is a savings bank or a trust company practically doing the work that the private investor does in the other place. This is provided the little town or village has no other demands upon it. In places where business is rather brisk or where real estate is booming in the town itself the advantage of having a private investor or savings bank there is nullified by the other demands. The farmer is a little bit out of the way, and why should a man that has money to invest go out of his way 10 miles in order to make a loan to a farmer when he can invest his money right next door to him and among his own friends?

In other words, the farmer, when he has to compete for credit with the business man or promoter or real estate speculator, has a very poor show. In this way having local credit conditions favorable does very little good to the farmer. I have known of instances in New York, New Jersey, and other States where the farmer can not get a loan on gilt-edged mortgage on any terms, although the credit conditions there could be no better.

It is evident, therefore, that the trouble with our agricultural credit situation is the lack of the necessary mechanism by which this law of supply and demand can be regulated the same way as the law of supply and demand is regulated in New York or any other financial center.

The situation as to present methods of borrowing in the United States was also discussed before the joint committee on rural credits by Mr. John Cunningham, of Granville, Ohio, who said that in Ohio the average rate on "farm property by building and loan and other associations ranges from 6 to 8 per cent," while of the straight loan he said that the rate was "usually 6 per cent," and urged the adoption of a suitable measure of legislation on the ground that it was necessary both to reduce the interest and expenses of borrowing, and at the same time to obtain a system by which loans could be paid off on the installment plan.

Mr. Gordon Jones, president of the United States National Bank, of Denver, Colo., in describing the situation as to farm loans in the West, suggested that existing difficulties were partly due to the fact that much of the capital of farming regions was shipped out for commercial uses instead of being applied to the development of agricultural undertakings in the places where the savings originated. Mr. Jones said:

Our cities of the West have outgrown the agricultural sections. We do not have support enough from outside the cities to justify larger industrial or commercial undertakings. Because of this lack of a larger rural population our urban enterprises do not require all the capital the banks have available for them. We have got to have a consuming population as well as a producing one, and the surrounding country and towns furnish both. My views, thus expressed, will explain why I went abroad as an American commissioner. It was in order to see if I could not devise some system for safely lending money to the agricultural interests in order to more largely populate the rural sections. We have thousands of acres of land that await development, the best soil under heaven, and the surest water—irrigation—but our commercial banks can not loan on them; yet at the same time we have more funds than we know how to loan or can loan under existing laws in our own State.

Mr. H. S. Mobley, of Prairie Grove, Ark., sketched the situation in his part of the country, saying that 8 per cent was about the normal rate of interest on good farm mortgages in Arkansas, although he referred to the exaction of premium charges, outside of the interest, at very high rates. Long-time interest rates in some parts of the State, as ascertained through a State convention of farmers, were found to run from 10 to 11½ per cent. In addition, he expressed the opinion that rates of interest were certainly not growing lower with the passage of years.

According to Mr. John Sprunt Hill, of Durham, N. C.—

It is clear that there is something radically wrong with the facilities for borrowing money on farm lands in North Carolina. From general inquiry in many parts of the State the fact is revealed that few banks in North Carolina lend on farm land, and that the average farmer desiring to borrow money on his land is compelled to deal with the land-loan sharks, and is compelled to pay from 6 to 20 per cent on money borrowed. As a general rule he is subjected to many kinds of extortion, usury, and exploitation, and, naturally, the average farmer of North Carolina is very much dissatisfied with the present land-loan shark business and avoids borrowing money whenever possible. Frequently the land-loan shark preys upon the necessities of the distressed farmer, and, regardless of law against usury, without conscience, and without heart, gets all for the money loaned that his victim will pay. Another curious fact about this business in North Carolina is that the more remote the farmer lives from the money centers, the greater the usury, the higher the commission and renewal fees, and the more exacting the oppression and the extortion.

Mr. Clarence Ousley, of Fort Worth, Tex., asserted that there was no 5 per cent money in Texas, while on the other hand he took the view that unless the proposed system should result in a rate of interest below 8 per cent there was no use in "wasting time" in attempting legislation. At the present time, he contended, the tenant farmers in Texas who are buying farms "are paying 8 and 9 per cent interest" with security equal to four or five times the value of the loans thus made.

GENERAL SITUATION.

Without going further into an analysis of the testimony before the joint committee on rural credits and without attempting to submit further evidence drawn from other sources with respect to the actual conditions of making farm loans in the several States, it may be generally remarked that, in spite of the existence of reasonable rates of interest for loans made on the best farm-land security in some of the older as well as in some of the newer but more favored portions of the country, the farmer is in general obliged to pay, under existing conditions, too high a rate of interest for his money, is obliged to renew too frequently, is forced to accept unsatisfactory conditions with reference to the partial payment of his indebtedness, is

mulcted by unreasonable and unnecessary commissions, legal fees, and other exactions. If it should be possible to correct these conditions by introducing a system of farm loans at reasonable rates of interest, running for long periods, and providing for the gradual repayment of the principal, the cost of the capital engaged in agriculture would be immensely decreased. The effect of such decrease would be in the long run to render farming more profitable and thereby to encourage the movement of population into agricultural pursuits, a situation which would itself tend to relieve the pressure on the land and reduce prices of foodstuffs, besides checking tenancy and increasing farm ownership.

Considerable controversy has been developed within recent years with reference to the rate of interest that is actually paid by farmers at the present time for funds obtained by them upon the security of first mortgages on cultivated land. Many statements of rates of interest actually so paid have been put forward and these vary widely one from another.

The facts in the case seem to be that under favoring conditions the farmer is able to obtain loans upon first-mortgage security at a very reasonable rate, this rate being probably comparable with the rate which must be paid by the ordinary borrower for industrial purposes. On the other hand, it is also true that in many States and parts of States rates of interest on farm loans rise to an exorbitant figure, either because of the fact that the laws of the State are such as to throw doubt upon the character of the title to the land that can be secured in event a foreclosure becomes necessary, or because the would-be borrower is not in position to make known the merits of his property in any effective manner. In other cases, the situation is doubtless due to sheer scarcity of capital in the community or to the fact that there is an exceptional demand for such capital for purposes other than those of agricultural development, or because there is some special consideration which prevents the marketing of a note secured by first mortgage at a favorable price. Whatever the reason may be, the fact remains that the conditions of borrowing upon farm land undoubtedly vary very widely, as already stated, throughout the United States, and while it is true that in some portions of the country there is small probability that the conditions of borrowing can be much improved upon, in others there is much to be done. Undoubtedly the establishment of a more nearly uniform rate of interest for the farm loans of unquestioned quality would immensely aid in opening up the land of the States in which agriculture is still somewhat backward, and would consequently contribute largely to the improvement of agricultural conditions concerning which so much has been said in the past.

CONDITIONS OF BORROWING.

Analysis may next be made of the conditions under which the farmer in the United States is able to borrow. In general his loans are either obtained from banking institutions organized primarily on a commercial basis or else from individuals or corporations who are in the market for investment purposes and desire to lend upon landed securities. The national banks of the country have long been restricted by law in a way intended to prevent them from lending upon mortgage security, but in spite of this fact not a few of them have done so, the rate charged to the farmer being made correspondingly high. State banks have been able to lend upon land mortgages, but in the main they have been unwilling to make loans for a sufficiently long period.

The funds of individuals have been loaned on landed security upon mortgages running usually three to five years, but a costly agency system has been permitted to intervene between the farmer and the lender. Insurance corporations with large sums to invest have in many instances made large advances to farmers on land mortgage, and have frequently afforded the most stable and most economical source from which to draw capital for the requirements of the farmer. In reviewing the situation regarding farm loans, attention may therefore first be devoted to the insurance companies and their operations. The life insurance concerns have naturally done most of the lending upon mortgage.

According to information which has recently been compiled with reference to the extent of life insurance company loans on real estate 17 life insurance companies in the United States now carry in farm loans a little less than $520,000,000. The following table shows the farm loans carried by the 17 companies in question, arranged in order:

Northwestern Mutual Life	$95,729,431
Union Central	73,743,611
Mutual Benefit	71,303,303
Prudential	64,578,840
Ætna Life	56,838,802
John Hancock	38,253,492
Connecticut Mutual	30,452,925
National Life	26,689,934
Phoenix Mutual	$19,997,040
Travelers	12,101,289
Penn Mutual	9,534,616
Pacific Mutual	7,013,558
Provident Life	4,787,998
Fidelity Mutual	2,935,826
New York Life	2,661,186
Equitable Life	2,398,000
Manhattan Life	23,100
Total	519,143,588

The distribution of the loans thus made is of considerable interest, the several States in the order of their insurance loans ranking as follows:

Iowa	$100,119,913
Kansas	53,668,695
Missouri	53,667,415
Nebraska	53,165,368
Illinois	43,131,733
Indiana	40,686,288
Minnesota	33,078,638
Oklahoma	22,536,862
Texas	20,325,095
South Dakota	18,934,368
North Dakota	14,629,783
Ohio	14,034,375
Georgia	10,505,560
Tennessee	8,428,243
California	5,861,978
Kentucky	5,606,844
Mississippi	2,038,879
Colorado	2,017,028
Idaho	1,696,272
South Carolina	1,587,222
Wisconsin	1,398,241
Washington	1,347,387
Connecticut	1,220,476
New Mexico	1,111,994
Louisiana	954,461
Alabama	856,404
Arkansas	818,129
North Carolina	794,830
Oregon	639,451
Michigan	508,174
Utah	474,582
Montana	445,435
Arizona	411,973
Virginia	181,130
Pennsylvania	102,950
New York	90,000
New Jersey	62,465
Wyoming	43,200
Florida	16,000
Maine	3,500
West Virginia	2,820
Vermont	2,475
Total	518,998,106
Porto Rico	145,482
Total	519,143,588

Practically all of the farm mortgage totals for Alabama, Idaho, Louisiana, Mississippi, Montana, New Mexico, Virginia, West Virginia, Wyoming, and Porto Rico represent loans made by the Union Central Life Insurance Co. The Arkansas mortgages are held by the Union Central and the Phoenix Mutual. The Utah, California, and Colorado mortgages are owned by the Pacific Mutual and the Union Central. The Northwestern Mutual owns virtually all the Wisconsin, the Ætna all New York, the Penn Mutual and Provident Life all the Pennsylvania, and the Union Central and Mutual Benefit all the North Carolina loans. Of the $10,000,000 of loans made in Georgia 30 per cent are held by the Penn Mutual, Mutual Benefit, Prudential, Phoenix Mutual, and Union Central, in the order named, while the John Hancock owns the remaining 70 per cent. In Texas the John Hancock and Union Central are almost equally interested, with upward of $7,000,000 each; the Travelers' some $2,500,000, and the Ætna $3,500,000. Iowa's $100,000,000 consists of about $20,000,000 each held by the Northwestern, Ætna, and Mutual Benefit, and about $10,000,000 each held by the Connecticut Mutual and Prudential. While Texas, Georgia, Tennessee, and Kentucky have over $41,000,000, the other Southern States have not been much cultivated by the insurance investors. Practically all the companies included in this statement were, up to the time this compilation was made, steadily increasing their farm mortgages, especially the John Hancock, Prudential, and Penn Mutual. The New York Life and Equitable Life of New York have only lately begun to invest in farm loans. There are, however, about seven strong companies, including the Mutual Life of New York, Metropolitan Life, New England Mutual, Massachusetts Mutual, Germania, Home & Berkshire Life, with $370,538,106 in mortgages, which own no farm loans whatever.

LAND LOANS OF BANKS.

Attention may next be given to the land loans of the banks. It has been felt by those in charge of national banks that in many cases the best protection a bank could have would be a mortgage upon farm lands, and in spite of the prohibition of the national banking act directed against loans on farm land,

the officers of national banks situated in villages or in the midst of farming districts have thought it only a proper protection of their stockholders that they should from time to time require farm borrowers to put up mortgages with them in order that they might be safeguarded against loss upon loans to such farmers, notwithstanding that in many cases these loans were of the "short-time" variety, being intended to assist the farmer to finance his crop movement.

The various methods of evading the provisions of the national-bank act which have thus been employed hardly need enumeration. Perhaps the most common has been that of having a bank officer indorse the farmer's paper, the farmer thereupon giving to the officer a mortgage upon his land. In such a case the farmer was naturally unable to make any subsequent loans with his farm land as security pending the time when he should succeed in paying off the sum borrowed from the bank. In a smaller number of instances the bank has loaned money to the farmer upon the latter's note supported by a mortgage, with the distinct understanding that the note would be renewed from time to time without charge, so that the farmer would get accommodation for, say, three years. The most common purposes for which loans such as this have been made have been those of paying off purchase-money indebtedness for farms bought or of paying off outlays made to equip the farm. The trouble with the system has been not only in its evasion of the letter of the law but in the fact that the terms of the loans were necessarily too short, resulting in embarrassment to the borrower. An effort was made to remedy this situation in the Federal reserve act, passed December 23, 1913, where provision was made for comparatively long loans on farm lands by national banks. Section 24 of the act in question reads as follows:

> Any national-banking association not situated in a central reserve city may make loans secured by improved and unencumbered farm land situated within its Federal reserve district, but no such loan shall be made for a longer time than five years, nor for an amount exceeding 50 per cent of the actual value of the property offered as security. Any such bank may make such loans in an aggregate sum equal to 25 per cent of its capital and surplus or to one-third of its time deposits, and such banks may continue hereafter, as heretofore, to receive time deposits and to pay interest on the same.
>
> The Federal Reserve Board shall have the power from time to time to add to the list of cities in which national banks shall not be permitted to make loans secured upon real estate in the manner described in this section.

It has been assumed by some that under this provision it would be possible to make a very large extension of loans to farmers, and some have estimated the amount of capital thus rendered available as high as $500,000,000. Of course such estimates are based upon the assumption that the banks would go about as far as they could in expanding their loans—an assumption hardly warranted by the facts in the case. Even if they had done so, however, it would be necessary, in order to get the total amount of capital thus placed at the disposal of farm borrowers, to deduct from the total possible borrowing power thus made available the amount now actually lent them by the banks. As there are no statistics on the latter subject, the farm loans of the banks having been heretofore surreptitiously made, it would be impossible to say how much aid the Federal reserve act would extend even if it were availed of to the full limit of its power. Conservative students of the situation will necessarily conclude that whatever the aid to be derived by the farmer through this means may be, it will not be either sufficient in amount, adequate in kind, or altogether suitable in its method of supply. It was unwise from a strict banking standpoint to grant any such concession in a measure dealing with commercial banking, such as the Federal reserve act, and the action taken can be justified only by assuming that the liquidity gained through the new reserve provisions was so great as to much more than offset the tendency toward the tying up of funds which inhered in the mortgage provisions already cited.

The State banking laws vary much among themselves with respect to their provision for loans on real estate and farm land. In some States the latitude given to the banks with regard to the making of such loans is altogether too great. In others it is perhaps not as great as it safely might be under the existing conditions. But no matter what it might be, the fact remains that the State banks, as such, are hampered by the necessity of keeping their funds in a tolerably liquid condition, because most of them are, after all, primarily commercial banks, and, as such, have to hold themselves in readiness to meet the various demand drafts upon them from their regular commercial borrowers. Like the national banks, they are disposed to make the loans on real estate only as a subsidiary kind of business, to be engaged in when the volume of commercial business offering itself is insufficient to absorb their funds to a sufficient degree, and does not therefore enable them to carry on a volume of operations adequate to furnish them with the profit they desire. The State banks have not met the needs of the farmer for a long-term loan intended for the improvement of his farm or for the extension of his acreage, and in the nature of the case could not do so.

There are other classes of State institutions—that is to say, institutions organized under State laws—whose constitution and methods are such as to adapt them better for long-term loans than the so-called State banks. Conspicuous among these are the so-called building and loan associations usually organized on the mutual-stock plan which in some States, when properly supervised, have done good work in helping wage earners to become owners of homes. They have had but little scope in the rural districts owing to the fact that they were not organized on a basis that was altogether adapted to the methods of the farmer. As a rule, they have required small payments of cash on the installment plan at very frequent intervals, a condition in itself unfitting them in some degree for application to rural needs. At all events they have gained little hold upon the farmer, and hence within the most recent past the enactment of laws in some States providing for the organization of land banks and for combining savings and loan associations. The statutes of Wisconsin and New York may be cited as examples of what has been done in this connection, but of these it is enough to say that thus far they are too new to have gained very much success. The time of their existence has not been sufficiently great to permit an accurate judgment with regard to their adaptability to the conditions. There is, however, one generalization that can safely be made with regard to them. This is that their scope will always remain too narrow either for the earning of the best rates of interest in the most economical manner, or for the provision of the greatest safety for securities issued by and on the strength of mortgages taken to protect farm loans. The average American State has not a sufficiently varied agriculture to supply the ideal territory for the operation of farm-mortgage banking upon the proper scale. From this it necessarily follows that ultimate success will be attained from the standpoint of the farmer and of the investor both—these being in the last analysis identical—through the creation of a Federal system of lending upon farm lands. The prestige of such a system would moreover be necessarily greater than that of any system resting solely upon State legislation could be, while the power of the system to equalize and average or standardize conditions would necessarily be very much greater under Federal oversight and with a Federal scope.

Not much needs to be said of the private concerns which in various States have at times undertaken to make farm loans protected by first mortgages, place these mortgages in trust with some other concern, and issue bonds protected by the mortgages in question, these to be sold to investors, who thereby supplied additional funds for relending to other farmers upon first mortgage. There have been several attempts of this sort, and a number of such enterprises, more or less successfully conducted, are in operation to-day. Many have failed in the past. When successful, schemes of this sort have been operated purely for the sake of profit, and have not resulted in much reduction of interest to the borrower or in very much advantage to the investor. The effort has naturally been to skim off as large a middleman's profit between the borrower and the buyer of bonds as could possibly be obtained. The farmer, in short, in this case as in others, has been obliged to get his funds direct from the lender or through a middleman who exacted a high commission, as already stated. The legal expense, insurance against risk, middleman's profits, and the like, have consequently been excessive.

FOREIGN FARM LOANS.

With these conditions may now be contrasted the methods of extending loans prevailing in foreign countries. The experience of Germany is probably the most instructive, and gives a good general idea of the conditions of land-mortgage credit in Europe. A clear account of the situation in Germany, recently issued, has summarized the conditions there as follows (E. D. Fisher, Monograph on Agricultural Credit):

> The system of issuing bonds against agricultural mortgages was originally promulgated in Prussia by Frederick the Great in 1768, through the medium of cooperative associations, the so-called Landschaften. These Landschaften have proved themselves the most efficient type of such institutions, and all the others are more or less patterned after them.
>
> The Landschaften are corporations of a semipublic character. They are organized by the landowners of a given district—mostly the political unit—the "Provinz." The Government not only supervises them but furnishes a number of the officials. The governing boards, however, are elected by the members of the association and only approved by the Government, except the presiding officer, who is generally a representative of the State. The highest authority of each association is the "general-landtag," which is formed by delegates of the members of each association, and has the right to decide controversies and settle grievances. The Government does not at the present time give any financial support. The different boards of the Landschaften have full

authority in conducting the business of their associations as long as they comply with the legal regulations.

Every member of the Landschaft has a right to demand a mortgage loan on his property up to the extent determined by the by-laws of the association.

The mortgage bonds issued by the Landschaften are based on mortgages against the property of the members. With the Landschaften of the old type, the property of all the constituent members is pledged for the bonds; with the Landschaften of the new type, only the property on which the association has granted loans. Besides this security, the Landschaft itself is responsible for the bonds. The old Landschaften are the owners of considerable property acquired by them at the time of their organization, part of their holdings having been contributed by the Government. The new Landschaften have formed special guaranty funds to secure the prompt payment of interest and of maturing principal. The owners of bonds can not demand payment of the principal at their pleasure. The bonds are redeemed by the Landschaften out of the moneys received for the redemption of the loans granted to the landowners in stipulated amounts yearly or half yearly.

The old Landschaften pay the expenses of administration from the revenue of the property of the association. The new Landschaften do not own such property. The borrowers, therefore, have to pay a small contribution to cover the expense of administration. The borrowers have also to contribute to guaranty and sinking funds. In spite of these additional costs, the landowner obtains loans from the Landschaften at a cheaper rate than from other institutions for providing credit on agricultural property.

With the idea of still further increasing the efficiency of the Landschaften system, efforts have been made to bring about some kind of centralization. Several of the different Landschaften have been united in a Zentrallandschaft (central land society). The single Landschaften under this plan are not to issue their own mortgage bonds. Instead, the Zentrallandschaft issues uniform bonds. It was thought that this uniform-mortgage bond would be more salable than the old bonds and that it would become a factor on the international stock exchanges and money markets. The results of this movement, however, did not fulfill the expectations of its promoters. The new bonds did not show any marked advantage over the old ones and did not succeed in becoming a factor in the international markets.

The great factors of safety in the mortgage bond are: The integrity of the directorate, strict obedience to the by-laws and legal provisions, the experience and knowledge of the assessing experts of the Landschaften, and a centralized management. Since the German officials have always proved their integrity and have the public confidence, the quotations on the mortgage bonds show hardly any difference between the new and the old Landschaften. The quotations on the bonds and interest which they bear are determined by the condition of the money market at the time they are issued. Inasmuch as the business of the Landschaften is conducted entirely for the benefit of their members, without profit for the association itself, the rate of interest paid by the borrowing landowner also depends on the condition of the money market. Usually he has to pay between 3 and 4½ per cent interest. Various issues of mortgage bonds bear an interest of 3, 3½, or 4 per cent. More than two-thirds of them are of the 3½ per cent type, as is indicated by the statement of the outstanding mortgage bonds of the Prussian Landschaften for the year 1908–9. The outstanding mortgages in that year bearing interest at 3 per cent were 510,800,000 marks; those bearing interest at 3½ per cent, 2,221,700,000 marks; and those bearing interest at 4 per cent, 328,300,000 marks. The percentage of amortization usually varies from one-half to three-fourths of 1 per cent, dependent, of course, upon the length of the loan.

In the western part of Prussia and in other States of Germany there are no Landschaften. These sections have developed another type of institution which serve the same purpose. Their business transactions are in the main similar to those of the Landschaften. They lend to the landowners against mortgages and also obtain the necessary funds by issuing mortgage bonds. These institutions, the so-called Landeskreditkassen, differ, however, from the Landschaften essentially as to their organization.

The Landeskreditkassen are public institutions. They are conducted by the government of the respective States or by the Provinces. They serve the landowner in the first place, but do other business besides. They bring some revenue to the State or whatever public body may own them. Consequently the Landeskreditkassen are not so favorable to the landowner as the Landschaften.

The administrative body of the Landeskreditkassen consists of public officials. The borrowing landowners have no direct influence with the administration. They are, however, in a position to affect the administration directly, for the representative assemblies have control of the Landeskreditkassen.

The Landeskreditkassen are usually allowed to make loans only within the district for which they are founded. They do not lend money solely to farmers, but also on city properties and to public corporations. Furthermore, several Landeskreditkassen do some banking business beyond lending on real estate. In former times they had one advantage over the Landschaften, inasmuch as they lent money to small farmers, while the Landschaften did business solely or mainly with the great landowners. To-day the Landschaften have changed their policy and grant loans to the small farmers as well. The Landeskreditkassen still outstrip them in this line of business, but the real cause is not an unwillingness on the part of the Landschaften to give small credit. These small loans are fewer with them, because in the district in which the Landschaften transacts business the big landowners predominate, while in the western part of Prussia and in the the banks comply with all legal provisions. Otherwise the Government kassen—the land is divided into small units. At the end of 1908 the Landeskreditkassen had outstanding loans in the amount of 1,775,600,000 marks.

There is still another set of institutions which furnish credit on real estate, the so-called Hypothekenbanken. These also lend on property and issue mortgage bonds to secure the necessary funds. They, however, differ entirely from the institutions described above, inasmuch as the mortgage banks are purely private business enterprises, with the main purpose of making profit.

For the sake of safety the Government has enacted general laws in order to regulate their business. These mortgage banks have to apply for a charter, while other corporations of limited liability are not compelled to do so. Having obtained the charter, the mortgage banks are subject to a careful supervision by Government officials, who see that the banks comply with all legal provisions. Otherwise the Government officials do not interfere with their business.

The mortgage banks are permitted to issue 10 times or 15 times the amount of their paid-in capital. They are forbidden to pay higher interest on the bonds than they receive for their outstanding loans against which the bonds are issued. They are further forbidden to grant loans exceeding 60 per cent of the value of the property pledged. The Governments of the several sovereign States of Germany may, however, allow the mortgage banks to lend on rural property on the borders of the respective States up to two-thirds of the value. Otherwise the business of the single-mortgage bank is not limited to any particular section.

These mortgage banks play an important part in the credit system of Germany. In the total amount of their business transactions they have exceeded the business of the Landschaften and the Landeskreditkassen combined, but the great bulk of their loans is granted on city property. In rural districts the mortgage banks can not successfully compete with the cooperative institutions. The mortgage banks of Germany granted 9,504,000,000 marks in loans on mortgages at the end of 1908. Of this total amount only 591,000,000 marks were loaned on rural property. The outstanding bonds of the mortgage banks aggregated 9,238,000,000 marks, and their capital stock plus reserves 1,093,000,000 marks. The banks were able to pay an average dividend to their stockholders of 7 to 8 per cent.

The Credit Foncier of France is essentially a mortgage bank similar to the German mortgage banks. The French institution, however, is a central bank. The Government, therefore, takes a greater interest in the conduct of its business and also appoints some of its officials. The Credit Foncier was founded in 1852. In 1856 began the movement for centralization, and the bank secured control over the few other mortgage banks then in existence. To-day it has not only a practical but a legal monopoly.

Its method of conducting business is patterned in the main after the German Landschaften, but the Credit Foncier is a private corporation operating for profit. Its profits are, however, limited, for the interest paid by the borrowers must not exceed the interest which the institution has to pay on its outstanding bonds by more than six-tenths of 1 per cent. It may grant loans up to one-half of the value of the property pledged. Besides loans on real estate the Credit Foncier is allowed to lend money to public corporations, which is not secured by mortgage. The outstanding bonds of the institution are not permitted to exceed 20 times the amount of its capital stock.

The development of the Credit Foncier is very similar to that of the German mortgage banks. Its business is also conducted mostly in urban districts. Of all its loans, aggregating 6,126,900,000 francs, only 1,278,500,000 francs is based on rural property. Thus the German farmer is better able to obtain money on mortgages than the French farmer.

The essential differences between the methods of farm lending which prevail in Europe and those existing in the United States are the following:

First. In the United States the supply of loans is sporadic and occasional; there is no general unified system of lending to the industry of agriculture as a whole, but every loan is based upon an individual tract of land.

Second. Abroad loans are secured by individual tracts, but the investor who buys a bond representing partial ownership in the aggregate of the loans is protected by the general solvency of the industry of agriculture as carried on over a great territory.

Third. In consequence of the foregoing conditions the loans made in the United States are for short terms without definite pledge of renewal at expiration.

Fourth. Abroad farm loans are made for long terms with the idea of repayment from the profits of the industry over a term of years.

THE PROPOSED PLAN.

We may now state the plan embodied in H. R. 16478 and S. 5542, which has been devised for the purpose of meeting the credit necessities of the farmer and of securing to him all those opportunities for the obtaining and application of capital which are enjoyed by the European cultivator.

The plan referred to seeks to meet the situation already described by providing a special mechanism capable of furnishing long-term farm loans, slowly payable by the borrower, while at the same time it gradually draws the funds of investors into the business of agriculture by making available to them a low denomination first mortgage bond, amply protected by securities deposited with representatives of the Government after they have been inspected and purchased from farm-loan associations which originally made them, by a set of mortgage banking institutions of unquestionable solvency.

In brief, the proposed plan would create a set of national farm-loan associations, each with a capital of $10,000 or more, according to the requirements of the locality in which each association might be established. Such farm-loan associations would be organized in farm-loan districts whose limits would be laid out by representatives of the Federal Government and which would, therefore, be presumably inclusive of a sufficient territory to afford an ample basis for the operations of the loan association, while at the same time it would be sufficiently restricted to prevent these institutions from becoming interested in mortgages secured upon property located at a great distance from the home office of the association.

In organizing these associations the cooperative principle would be invoked by virtue of the requirement (sec. 5) that every borrower from any of the loan associations shall be the owner of stock of a par value not less than 5 per cent of the amount of his loan as a condition precedent to being granted the accommodation. It is probable that in most cases the stock of the loan associations would be taken up entirely by those who were obtaining loans secured by a first mortgage upon their

lands. In order to prevent the loan associations from going too far and thereby incurring obligations which their capital would be inadequate to protect, provision is made that the total obligations incurred by any such loan association shall not exceed 20 times its capital.

It has not been deemed wise to permit the loan associations established under the bill to engage in ordinary banking, receiving deposits, and otherwise competing with commercial banks. The business which the loan associations do is of a totally different type, and will be best accomplished by confining these concerns to a uniform and limited character of operations, thereby preventing them from expanding their dealings too broadly and at the same time relieving them of the danger of lack of expert knowledge or management which they would incur were they to undertake to do too many kinds of business.

It is clear that the loan associations would not, under these conditions, being debarred from receiving funds on deposit, be able ordinarily to lend more than the amount of capital that might be supplied to them by their constituent stockholders at the outset unless some other means were provided for enabling them to get additional funds. This means is afforded by the creation of 12 land-mortgage banks, one to be situated in each of 12 districts similar in extent to the Federal reserve districts created under the Federal reserve act of December 23, 1913, although not necessarily coterminous with the latter. There would thus be, if the mechanism provided by the act worked out as is supposed, the same number of Federal land-mortgage banks as of Federal reserve banks, there being one institution of each kind for a territory similar to and very nearly identical with that included in each Federal reserve district.

Such land-mortgage banks would find their occupation in purchasing from their constituent stockholders, who under the terms of the act would be largely national farm-loan associations, the first mortgages of which the latter had become possessed in the process of making their loans to the persons entitled to borrow of them. Their profits would be due primarily to the fact that they would be able to obtain from the public by means of the issue of bonds the funds that they needed to continue the purchase of these mortgages from the loan associations, and would be able to get these funds at a rate of interest decidedly lower than that charged by the loan associations to their customers. Under the act a free difference of 1 per cent between the interest received by the loan associations and that to be paid by the mortgage bank on its bonds is provided for, the said difference to be divided equally between the loan association and the mortgage bank.

Just as the loan association will under the plan provide itself with funds by selling its mortgages to the mortgage bank, so the mortgage bank will in turn provide itself with more funds by placing these purchased mortgages in trust with a Government representative and selling to prospective investors, in quantities to be determined by Government authorities, bonds which are taken by the investors as partial titles to the ownership in due proportion of the mortgages which are thus deposited with the Government representative.

The land banks, in order to be permitted to sell bonds, are required under the terms of the bill to deposit their mortgages in specified amounts with the Federal reserve agent of the district in which the land-mortgage bank is situated. The land-mortgage institution applies to the reserve agent for permission to issue a series of bonds, and the reserve agent makes a favorable or adverse recommendation to the Federal Reserve Board, which in turn authorizes or refuses, as it may deem best, the issue of such bonds. When the bonds are issued they are to be sold by the mortgage bank to any buyers who may choose to invest in them.

It is thus seen that three distinct elements are provided by the act as together making up the process of lending:

First. The actual task of examining and passing upon loan applications, performed by the national farm-loan associations.

Second. The process of checking over and testing the mortgages which grow out of these loan operations and of reselling to investors titles to proportionate parts of the general mass of mortgages purchased by such mortgage banks from the loan associations, a process performed by the Federal land banks.

Third. The process of holding in trust for the protection of the investors and of all parties concerned the actual securities created by the means already indicated during the time that the bonds based upon these securities are outstanding, performed by Government representatives, known as Federal reserve agents.

A separate category might be made of the work of the Federal Reserve Board, to which is intrusted the ultimate power of determining the conditions under which bonds shall issue, or, indeed, of deciding that they shall not issue at all. The actual steps in the process, so far as they are of a positive nature, are, however, included in the three descriptive classifications already enumerated above.

STARTING THE BANKS.

One further feature in the general scheme deserves separate notice. This is the feature of the plan whereby provision is made for governmental interposition designed to start the enterprise on an unquestionable basis. Such Government interposition is found in two distinct elements in the plan: (1) A provision that in case the stock in the Federal land banks is not taken up within a reasonable length of time by individual investors or farm-loan associations, it shall be taken up to a certain minimum amount by the Government itself; and (2) a provision that under certain carefully restricted limitations the Federal Reserve Board shall, if it desires to do so, have power to call upon the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase bonds issued by the Federal land banks up to an amount which shall not in the aggregate in any one year exceed $50,000,000. As to the first of these provisions, it may be noted that the Government subscription to stock parallels that which was included in the Federal reserve act, and which did not in that case result in placing any burden upon the Government, inasmuch as the stock was amply subscribed up to the amount specified without the necessity of any such intervention. There is a difference between the situation which existed under the reserve act and that provided under the proposed farm-loan act, inasmuch as under the former there already existed a strong body of nearly 7,500 institutions which were practically obliged to take out stock in the new reserve banks, whereas the farm-loan system of institutions is still to be brought into existence. As to the second, a somewhat more extended notice seems to be called for at this point, while further details regarding its application will be furnished later in the discussion. The broad question of the Government's relation to agricultural credit may be considered now.

The methods of developing a rural-credit mechanism have been stated by Prof. E. W. Kemmerer in a study of the agricultural situation, elsewhere referred to, as follows:

> If the time is ripe for a greater use of bank credit in agriculture, how is that credit to be obtained? Broadly speaking, four methods may be mentioned, only the last two of which are deserving of much attention at the present time. They are: (1) Establish Government agricultural banks; (2) adopt the Egyptian plan of a Government guaranty to an agricultural bank established with private capital; (3) encourage the farmers to organize cooperative credit societies on some such plan as the Raiffeisen or Schulze-Delitzsch banks of Germany; (4) utilize more effectively in the interest of the farmer our present banking machinery and improve it where it is defective.

Of these methods that which is preferred by the committee as a result of its investigations is a modification of the plan numbered (3) above. It has been found in many respects, however, that the German plan of agricultural cooperation is not well suited to the United States, and consequently modifications necessarily have been introduced. It has, moreover, been thought that the idea of Government guaranty, although not needed in the full sense in the United States, might to advantage be applied in a limited form through the use of public credit for the purpose of giving stability to the securities issued by the agricultural banks and of insuring that they shall be free from unfair attack by interests that might attempt to depress them in the market. It is also believed that the Federal Government, by indicating a degree of interest in the welfare of the system practically expressed in a willingness to take a comparatively small amount of its bonds under specified conditions, would be giving indisputable evidence of its genuine interest in the situation and guaranteeing the country at large its assistance in maintaining the plan and successfully carrying it into operation.

For this reason it has been deemed best to include in the proposed plan a section providing for the use of Government credit under carefully limited and controlled conditions in connection with the starting of the system of agricultural loan institutions. The main features of this plan are as follows:

(*a*) The amount of farm-loan bonds to be taken by the Government under any conditions shall not exceed $50,000,000 annually.

(*b*) No bonds whatever shall be purchased by the Government unless upon recommendation of the Federal Reserve Board, through whose hands all recommendations for Government purchase must go, and without whose approval such recommendations would not be considered in any event.

(*c*) No applications to the reserve board for Government purchases shall be made except under very carefully specified conditions.

(*d*) The reserve board may, at its discretion, by the use of proper care in fixing the terms under which farm-loan bonds are to be sold, practically set aside all reasonable possibility that any such application would be presented.

(e) Under no circumstances whatever can the Government credit be used to purchase bonds already on the market and which, therefore, had been taken up by buyers. This would mean that the Government credit could not be used for the purpose of manipulating market prices, and that whatever beneficial results followed from its use would accrue to the issuers of the bonds originally, who in the long run would be the farmers of the country.

It is not intended in this discussion to enter into any general debate on the propriety of what is known as "Government enterprise," "paternalism," "socialism," or any of the other standard phrases relating to the subject. It may be noted that whereas the proposed bill might conceivably, under very carefully guarded conditions, require the expenditure of $50,000,000 a year of public funds for bonds ultimately certain to be redeemed, the Federal Government at the present time is spending very nearly that amount in its rivers and harbors appropriation bill and many times that amount annually for military and naval purposes. Its expenditure on public buildings, though not nearly so large, is large enough to afford an item distinctly comparable with any amount that is at all likely to be called for under the proposed measure. These are the facts with reference to the working of the section of the bill referred to, and they should receive consideration before mere conjectures, speculations, or expressions of opinion with reference to the "principle" embodied in any particular plan.

DETAILS OF PLAN.

Having thus stated the proposed plan in general outline, it will be well worth while to view the proposed bill section by section:

Section 1 is intended to provide for a short title for the act, the designation "Federal farm-loan act" being suggested as a suitable title, parallel to the designation "Federal reserve act."

Section 2 defines, for the sake of convenience and accuracy in later use, the term "farm mortgage" as used in the bill.

Section 3 provides for the appointment of an officer to be known as a "farm-loan commissioner," who shall have charge of the executive and administrative routine of the new system, subject to the oversight and direction of the Federal Reserve Board. He would bear somewhat the same relationship to the Federal land banks and farm-loan associations that is borne by the Comptroller of the Currency to the national banks and Federal reserve banks under existing law.

Section 4 provides for the technique of organizing the proposed farm-loan associations. It substantially follows the procedure laid down in the national banking act, with the necessary modifications designed to adapt the provisions more closely to the requirements of the farm-loan plan.

Section 5 provides for the issue of the shares of farm-loan associations and for the capitalization of these institutions. The lower limit of capitalization has been set at $10,000, that being the sum originally recommended by the agricultural credit commission and being considered sufficiently low to permit its being subscribed in practically any district likely to make good use of the loans the system is designed to provide. It will be observed that a partial payment plan modeled after the system widely employed by building and loan associations has also been embodied in the section relating to the issue of stock, thereby permitting small savers to apply their accumulations to the purchase of shares if they so desire.

One provision of the section which calls for attention is seen in the clause requiring that 50 per cent of the capital stock of each farm-loan association shall be paid in cash while permitting the balance to be paid in first mortgages, at the option of the subscribers. The theory of this provision is that it makes little difference whether the capital is paid in money, which is promptly disbursed to borrowers, or is paid in obligations of such borrowers without the intervention of actual money. The percentage of cash required might, with entire safety, be much reduced below the 50 per cent called for; but it is believed that that proportion will wisely be exacted in cash as a proof of good faith, a margin of direct protection against loss in a liquid form, and a means of extending loans to persons who want to invest actual wealth in the further improvement of their holdings.

Section 6 is intended to outline in general terms the powers and responsibilities of the officers of farm-loan associations, following in general the ideas of the national-bank act, with such additions and adaptations as are deemed advisable. Among such adaptations the most conspicuous is that which calls for the appointment of an appraisal committee from among the board of directors. Inasmuch as the Federal land banks, later provided for, are to purchase the mortgages taken by the farm-loan associations, it is deemed wise to give the land bank of the district one member of the appraisal committee, while an additional safeguard is provided in the authority granted the farm-loan commissioner to remove any member of the appraisal committee of any farm-loan association and to order the appointment of a successor.

Sections 7 and 8 provide for the business of farm-loan associations. The bill makes the maximum term for which farm loans can be made 30 years, and permits the loans to be canceled if desired at the end of 5 years. The 30-year maximum has been determined upon, after considerable investigation, as representing a period amply long to permit farmers to pay off the original obligation out of the savings obtained year by year from the product of the farm itself. The permission granted to make loans for shorter periods or to cancel the loans at the end of 5 years by paying the amount of principal and interest still remaining to be disposed of is intended to permit the farmers to take advantage of a specially successful business or unusual harvests in order to relieve themselves of debt. While under some conditions it might appear that the granting of this power to individual borrowers would be injurious, because it would disturb the adjustment of relationship between the lending institution and its customers, and might throw back into the hands of the loaning institution funds of which it would be unable to dispose to advantage and on which, therefore, it might be obliged to lose the interest, the belief of the framers of the bill is that in the United States, with its rapid industrial and agricultural developments, there is no ground for any serious fear of this sort, as there will for many years be ample opportunity for investment of all available capital in the form of loans. The provision for amortization is fully explained in other portions of this report and needs no additional comment here.

It is deemed wise to fix a maximum limitation upon the amount of the loan that can be made to any one person, partly as a protection to the farm-loan associations themselves, which will naturally be institutions of comparatively limited capital. By referring to the tabular view taken from the Census Bureau at another point earlier in this report it will be seen that the maximum limit fixed in this section for the amount of the loan which may be made to any one individual is considerably larger than the average farm loan secured by mortgage in the United States. The requirement that the mortgage shall represent a loan not exceeding 50 per cent of the actual appraised value of the land mortgaged is an ordinary precaution following commercial practice and by no means burdensome. The other specifications are those which are suggested by experience as a mere matter of prudence.

Section 9 provides for the division of the country into land-bank districts substantially similar in area and extent to the reserve districts created under the Federal reserve act. It is required, however, that these districts shall as nearly as possible be made to contain a whole number of States without fractions in order to avoid confusion and division in the mortgages made under the laws of the States in question.

Section 10 vests the power of oversight over the whole system in the hands of the Federal Reserve Board. The board is intrusted with the power to organize and charter land banks and to review and alter the rate of interest charged by farm-loan associations. Power to control issues of farm-loan bonds is likewise bestowed and the board is granted authority to recommend to the Secretary of the Treasury the purchase of bonds issued by the land banks, should such purchase be deemed needful. The making of reports, appraisals, and so forth, and the exercise of incidental powers is of course included in the section.

Section 11 is a general permission to the Federal Reserve Board under proper conditions to admit State loan associations or analogous institutions to the privilege of doing business with land banks, and of using mortgages obtained from such institutions as a part of the basis of security for issues of farm-loan bonds when the latter are needed. This provision, it is believed, will unite existing institutions to the proposed system and will prevent any conflict of views or opinions in the several States, beside providing Federal land banks with an immediate source of securities upon which to issue bonds.

Sections 12 and 13 provide for the creation of land-mortgage banks to be entitled "Federal land banks." As elsewhere explained, it is proposed that these institutions devote themselves to the purchase of mortgages from the farm-loan associations, paying for the same in cash and hypothecating them in blocks of suitable size with the Federal reserve agents of their respective districts, the latter being then expected to attend to the details of issuing to the farm-loan associations the bonds which it desires to sell as representing the mortgages it has hypothecated. It will be observed that the section makes provision for selling stock both to individuals and to national farm-loan associations, the latter being required each to subscribe for $1,000 of stock upon entering into business relations with a

Federal land bank, the principle here being that of maintaining the cooperative idea, as in the case of the farm-loan association.

In order, however, to make sure that the Federal land banks are actually called into existence and begin operations in a systematic manner, at approximately the same date, thereby rendering possible the inauguration of a general and inclusive system of farm-mortgage loans and of bonds based thereon, it is provided that the Government of the United States shall, in the event that the minimum capitalization of $500,000 in the case of each bank is not subscribed by farm-loan associations or by the public, take out the balance of the share capital for itself. This provision, it seems proper to note, is parallel to the provisions contained in the Federal reserve act, which required the Treasury to make a similar subscription for the shares of Federal reserve banks. No such subscription, however, had to be made in that case, and it is entirely possible that the moral support given by the provision would in this instance, as in that of the Federal reserve act, insure the subscription of the share capital without further intervention on the part of the Government.

Section 14 is the usual provision for insolvency and receivership. Its only distinctive feature is the provision that contingent liabilities of farm associations shall be included as a debt provided for out of the funds held to the credit of a farm-loan association by the Federal land bank of its district.

Sections 15 and 16 describe and prescribe the limits of the business which may be transacted by Federal land banks. It will be observed that, except for the purchase and disposition of a suitable banking house, the land bank is practically limited in its operations to the purchases of mortgages, the depositing of them with the designated authorities, and the flotation of bonds based thereon, together with the necessary banking and trust operations naturally growing out of these functions. A limited banking function in the strict sense of the term is provided, in that the land banks are suffered to hold and transfer funds for the farm-loan associations which own their stock.

Section 17 prescribes the conditions under which application for farm bonds may be made by Federal land banks when they have determined to float an issue of such securities. The plan is to have any such land bank make a tender of securities to the Federal reserve agent of the district in which the land bank is situated. It is assumed that the agent will examine the mortgages, and in case he finds them satisfactory will promptly transmit the application relating to them to the Federal Reserve Board, with a recommendation that the bonds issue as desired.

Under ordinary conditions this would mean that the bonds would be issued as a matter of course, the agent's recommendation regarding them being considered final, owing to his knowledge of local conditions. Inasmuch as, however, it will often appear that the state of the investment market the country over requires a broader study than the agent is able, or perhaps has the information, to conduct, the act provides that the reserve board may at its discretion reject in whole or in part any such application. A further safeguard intended to protect the holders of bonds is found in the power given to the board to call at any time for additional security to protect the issue. Moreover, it is contemplated by the terms of section 17 that the mortgages shall be transferred to and retained in the custody of the reserve agent himself, thereby assuring the bondholder against the possibility of any dishonesty on the part of those in whose custody the securities might be placed. In order to make the bondholder doubly secure and to prevent differences in marketability between the bond offerings of different Federal land banks, it is further provided that every land bank shall obligate itself to become pro rata responsible for the bonds issued by other land banks under the permission of the board. This makes the bond issue national and uniform.

Section 18 is a specific provision that under no circumstances shall any mortgage be accepted as the basis for the issue of land bank bonds, unless it is a first mortgage made under the provisions of the law as set forth in earlier sections. This guarantees the bondholder against any possibility of the legal acceptance of any mortgage of a less satisfactory variety as protection behind the securities whose high character and absolute safety it is intended to assure.

Section 19 is intended to prescribe the conditions under which mortgage loans in various States may become eligible as a basis for the bonds which it is intended to issue. One of the greatest difficulties that has been encountered in connection with farm loans in the past has been the different character of the legislation of the several States in regard to the land titles, mortgages, methods of recording, and other matters of a similar sort. Obviously it would not be desirable to permit the proposed bonds to issue if they were based upon farm mortgages of doubtful soundness, or whose foreclosure might be hampered by obstacles that had been thrown in the way of foreclosures as a result of State legislation.

The whole tenor of the proposed act, therefore, makes it a matter of simple justice to require that the Federal Reserve Board, before admitting the mortgages made in any State to eligibility as a basis for the protection of farm-loan bonds, shall make careful investigation into the nature of the laws under which such mortgages are made in the several States. Should it find that the laws of a given State are inadequate to afford ample protection to the rights of mortgagees, it would naturally feel itself compelled to declare such mortgages ineligible, while, on the other hand, action on the part of such State designed to correct defects in its laws might at any time place its mortgages in a perfectly satisfactory position. Evidently the section as proposed may be made a highly effective resource in promoting uniformity of legislation as to mortgage loans and in eliminating provisions that are injurious to the borrower and unfair to the investor. At the outset it may easily appear that there is uncertainty regarding the laws of a given State, and so a provision is inserted whereby, instead of making the mortgages secured on land in that State totally ineligible as a basis of bond issue, the board may simply require satisfactory insurance to be furnished before the mortgages in question are accepted. This fully safeguards the bondholder and makes it possible for bond issues to proceed without waiting for the making of legislative changes in the statutes of the State in question for the purpose of bringing the mortgages into harmony with requirements, whatever these may be, that have been determined upon as standard.

Section 20 provides for appraisal of farm lands by the proposed farm-loan commissioner, he being authorized to appoint appraisers to visit farm-loan districts, gather information, and make a general report regarding the land values therein. On the strength of the information thus obtained it is made the duty of the farm-loan commissioner to prepare a schedule stating the maximum acre valuation of the district. This schedule would furnish the upper limit of the values at which farm lands could be accepted in making loans. The essential purpose of the provision is to afford a check in the hands of Government representatives upon the lending powers of the different associations. It is seen that indirectly this would be equivalent to a control of the basis upon which the bond issue must rest, and would signify that such issue would be backed by values constantly within the control or under the oversight of the Federal Government, through the Federal Reserve Board, and proximately through the farm-loan commissioner.

Section 21 fixes the denomination in which farm-loan bonds are to be issued and establishes the basis for issuing series of such bonds. It has been considered best to make the lowest denomination bond $100, as it is believed that class of investors to whom these securities are likely to be sold will hardly be attracted by bonds of much lower face value. The figure $100,000, which is set as the minimum amount of any series, was set at a low point in order to make it possible to issue series of bonds at frequent intervals under the changing conditions that are likely to present themselves from time to time, particularly during the early history of the system.

It will be observed that the work of actually providing the engraved bonds has been intrusted to the Comptroller of the Currency, as in the case of notes issued by the national banks, in order to secure uniformity in their text and appearance and a high standard of workmanship in their preparation. Convenience is promoted by depositing the bonds in the subtreasury or mint of the United States nearest to the place where they are to be issued. The provisions of the latter part of the section relative to the avoidance of counterfeiting and the like are practically adapted from those contained in the Federal reserve act.

Section 22 is intended to provide for the retirement of outstanding bonds. It is evident that when the bonds actually mature they will, like any other securities, have to be paid off in cash at face value. It might easily, however, be the case that a Federal land bank which had deposited mortgages with a Federal reserve agent to secure an issue of outstanding bonds should find that some of these mortgages were maturing from time to time. It would then be under the necessity of placing with the reserve agent an equal amount of mortgages to take the place of those thus maturing or of cash or of outstanding bonds issued by itself or some other land bank, any of these being permissible under the terms of section 22 and by the general theory of the proposed bill itself as an offset to indebtedness. It is clear that this provision would permit a land bank, should its bonds be at a discount in the market, to make some profit by purchasing them at less than par and placing them with the reserve agent as protection for the outstanding bonds behind which they are thus deposited. As the bonds approach maturity they would, of course, approximate to par, finally reaching that figure when due. Such an operation would tend to

maintain all bonds at par, a result desirable if it can be accomplished without too much sacrifice and expense.

Section 23 contains two distinct provisions. The first is merely a general authorization to farm-loan associations to offer mortgages for sale to Federal land banks and to the latter to purchase and pay for such mortgages.

The second requires the land bank purchasing mortgages in this way to return one-half of 1 per cent per annum upon the total of the unpaid amount of notes secured by the mortgages to the farm loan association from which the purchase was made. The purpose of this provision is merely that of providing for a division of profits between the land banks and the loan associations.

Sections 24 and 25 are intended to provide a general reserve of 20 per cent and a series of special reserve funds to be maintained by Federal land banks against mortgages which they had taken at varying rates of interest. As this provision is technical in its purpose and nature, it may properly be considered at some length. It will have been observed that what is especially desired in this legislation is the establishment, so far as possible, of a single uniform and reasonable rate of farm-mortgage interest on a flat basis throughout the country and a similar flat uniform rate of bond interest to be taken by investors throughout the country on the capital which they put up on the strength of bonds. The spread, or difference, beween these two rates would in that case be uniform, and, under the terms of the proposed bill, would amount to 1 per cent, this amount being divided between the local associations and the land-mortgage banks as payment for their services. Owing, however, to differences of economic condition between different parts of the country, it would be unreasonable to expect for some time to come that a flat or uniform rate of interest on farm loans could be established. On the contrary, it is quite certain that it could not. Nevertheless, supposing that farm-loan associations in all parts of a given district made loans in good faith upon what they considered to be perfectly sound landed security within their area of operation, it must be assumed that these mortgages thus made are equally satisfactory one with another. The difference in rate can be justified only because of a difference in risk, and yet this difference in risk is something which can not be recognized by the system of land banking herein proposed. Because of this difficulty, a different plan is suggested. Under this, as presented in the bill, the different farm-loan associations will lend at reasonable prevailing rates of interest in their several districts, and will, when they desire to do so, present their mortgages to the land banks, which will take them at par. The plan provided in sections 24 and 25 requires the land bank to put aside the surplus of interest upon such mortgages originating within a given State, and to accumulate it for a reasonable period for the purpose of bearing such losses as may be incurred on the mortgages. For example, if the State of Montana were included within a farm-mortgage district having headquarters at Minneapolis, and if the prevailing rate on the mortgages in Montana should be 8 per cent, while the Federal land bank of the district was selling its bonds at 5 per cent and adding 1 per cent for its own profit and that of the farm-loan association, it is evident that there would be a surplus of 2 per cent on the Montana mortgage.

This surplus, under the terms of the section now under consideration, would be accumulated by the land bank, and out of it would be paid such losses as might be incurred on the different mortgages in the State of Montana. If after a reasonable period experience should show that the amount of the accumulation was unnecessarily large, the section would permit the return of the excess to the persons from whom it had originally been drawn.

Section 26 deals with defaulted loans and provides that in the event that the default occurs in amount sufficient to more than exhaust funds available for the protection of the loans defaulted, the responsibility shall be transferred to the farm-loan association from which the mortgage was first purchased, the association being given the option, however, of putting itself in the position of the defaulting borrower—making good his payments when they fall due or of repurchasing the mortgages from the land bank.

Section 27 relates to the division of the earnings of farm-loan associations, and provides for the gradual accumulation by each such association of a surplus of 20 per cent of its capital at the rate of at least 2 per cent of its capital per annum, such annual accumulation to be, however, not less than one-fourth of the net earnings. Dividends may be declared whenever 2 per cent is available after deducting the amount required to be carried to reserve, and such dividends may be increased until they amount to 6 per cent. In the event of earnings above 6 per cent, such earnings are to be carried to reserve account, and in the event of a dissolution of a loan association the reserve is to be transferred to the Federal land bank of the district. Reference to section 25 shows that in the case of the land bank surplus earnings above 6 per cent go to the Government.

Section 28 provides for exemption of the land banks and farm-loan associations from taxes, all taxation except that upon such real estate as they may hold being nonapplicable to them. The purpose is to attract funds into the loan associations and land banks, and it is believed that the public purpose served by the system is sufficiently great to warrant this exemption from double taxation. Precisely how much this exemption may be worth is a matter of opinion which will be more fully discussed at a later point in this report.

Section 29 is intended to amend the postal-savings act so as to permit the trustees of the postal savings to purchase farm-loan bonds instead of United States bonds whenever they see fit, and to direct them to employ the funds in the purchase of the farm-loan bonds whenever the latter are below par. The purpose of the section is to create a steady, if small, public demand for the new bonds, and to assist in keeping them at par should there be a tendency toward the sagging of prices.

Section 30 provides for the purchase of farm-loan bonds by the Treasury Department under specific conditions. These conditions are such as, it is believed, will make the actual purchase of bonds by the Treasury a rather remote contingency. The subject, however, is one that has attracted much attention, and it will consequently be given special consideration later in this report.

Section 31 relates to examinations and provides for the appointment of farm-loan examiners, the said examiners to examine both the loan associations and the land banks at least twice each year. The provisions of the section have been adapted from those dealing with similar subjects in the national-bank act and the Federal reserve act, while penalties for malfeasance in office on the part either of examiners or of directors are also included. In the latter part of the section receiverships are provided for, and a distinguishing mark of insolvency is described as the refusal of any farm-loan association to substitute fresh mortgages for those under which a default has occurred. The general provisions as to receivership are adapted from the similar provisions contained in the national-bank act.

Section 32 merely provides a lump-sum appropriation of $50,000 for the purpose of carrying on the mechanism of the new system and paying salaries to those engaged under it during the first year of its existence.

AMORTIZATION.

The proposed bill is based upon the idea of amortization of loans made upon mortgage security for long periods to farm borrowers. This is a principle of debt payment widely used in Europe and to some extent in the United States, but less thoroughly known here. The principle which underlies it is, of course, the same that is used by life insurance companies in computing their annuities and in fixing their rates of payment. There is nothing unfamiliar or untried about it, although there has been very little experience in its application to land mortgages in this country.

Because of the lack of general information concerning the working of the plan, it has been deemed well to afford here some details concerning the practical operation of the principle. It may be employed either for the cancellation of the principal of a loan or for the purpose of providing for the "writing off" of premiums paid for bonds and other securities that are purchased above par. Under the bill as offered it will be found desirable in various connections to employ the amortization idea in both these connections, and hence it is worth while to set forth both in their proper light.

Attention may first be given to the application of the amortization idea to premiums on bonds and other securities, and for the purpose of setting this forth as clearly as possible use is made of a discussion of the subject recently issued by the New York insurance department, and explaining the subject somewhat as follows:

Amortization is the gradual charging off and extinction of the premium or crediting and extinction of the discount involved in the purchase of securities. It is to be distinguished from the practice of charging off the entire premium or crediting the entire discount immediately at the time of purchase, or the practice of carrying the security at the purchase price until maturity and then charging off the premium or crediting the discount, because the practice of making one charge or credit, either at purchase or maturity, makes the loss or gain, as the case may be, unduly large either at the beginning or the end of the life of the bond, and the bond is therefore carried at an unduly low or an unduly high value; whereas amortization, by spreading this loss or gain over the entire period during which

the bond is held, results in giving to the purchaser the exact periodic income upon the basis of which the bond was purchased.

There are two methods of amortization in practical use—the scientific method and the pro rata method. These give approximately similar results except in the case of long maturities and large amounts.

By the first method the amortized value of a bond is always the price at which it would sell at the date as of which the amortization is made if sold to net the same interest return as that at which it was purchased. For example, a 7 per cent bond maturing in seven years and costing $1,181.59 would be bought on a 4 per cent basis. To find its amortized value three years hence, when it will have only four years to run, resort must be had to bond tables for the price of a 7 per cent bond running four years on a 4 per cent basis, which is $1,109.88. This figure then will be the investment or amortized value of the bond three years from now, and the difference between that and $1,181.69, the price paid, will be the amount which will have to be written off for amortization during those three years.

Or, for example, a 3 per cent bond maturing in seven years and costing $939.47 would be bought on a 4 per cent basis. By a similar reference to bond tables it will be found that the price of a 3 per cent bond having four years to run on a basis of 4 per cent is $963.37. This latter figure will be the investment or amortized value of the bond three years hence, and the difference between that and $939.47, the price paid, will be the amount for which credit should be taken for amortization during the three years.

The following tables show the treatment to be accorded to the two bonds above mentioned for the several six months' periods, according to the scientific method of amortization.

Amortization of premium on a 7 per cent bond purchased Jan. 1, 1905, on a 4 per cent basis, maturing Jan. 1, 1912, interest payable semiannually, the purchase price being $1,181.59.

End of period.	Gross interest received.	Net or actual interest.	Reduction or premium amortization.	Investment or amortized value.
Jan. 1, 1905				$1,181.59
July 1, 1905	$35.00	$23.64	$11.36	1,170.23
Jan. 1, 1906	35.00	23.40	11.60	1,158.63
July 1, 1906	35.00	23.17	11.83	1,146.80
Jan. 1, 1907	35.00	22.94	12.06	1,134.74
July 1, 1907	35.00	22.69	12.31	1,122.43
Jan. 1, 1908	35.00	22.45	12.55	1,109.88
July 1, 1908	35.00	22.20	12.80	1,097.08
Jan. 1, 1909	35.00	21.94	13.06	1,084.02
July 1, 1909	35.00	21.68	13.32	1,070.70
Jan. 1, 1910	35.00	21.42	13.58	1,057.12
July 1, 1910	35.00	21.14	13.86	1,043.26
Jan. 1, 1911	35.00	20.86	14.14	1,029.12
July 1, 1911	35.00	20.59	14.41	1,014.71
Jan. 1, 1912	35.00	20.29	14.71	1,000.00

It will be observed that the net or actual interest during each half-year period is exactly 2 per cent on the investment or amortized value at the beginning of the period, and that the total of the column "Reduction or premium amortization," $181.59, is the exact amount of the premium at purchase.

Amortization of discount on a 3 per cent bond purchased Jan. 1, 1905, on a 4 per cent basis, maturing Jan. 1, 1912, interest payable semiannually, the purchase price being $939.47.

End of period.	Gross income.	Interest received.	Increase or discount amortized.	Investment or amortized value.
Jan. 1, 1905				$939.47
July 1, 1905	$18.79	$15	$3.79	943.26
Jan. 1, 1906	18.86	15	3.86	947.12
July 1, 1906	18.95	15	3.95	951.07
Jan. 1, 1907	19.02	15	4.02	955.09
July 1, 1907	19.10	15	4.10	959.19
Jan. 1, 1908	19.18	15	4.18	963.37
July 1, 1908	19.27	15	4.27	967.64
Jan. 1, 1909	19.36	15	4.36	972.00
July 1, 1909	19.43	15	4.43	976.43
Jan. 1, 1910	19.53	15	4.53	980.96
July 1, 1910	19.62	15	4.62	985.58
Jan. 1, 1911	19.71	15	4.71	990.29
July 1, 1911	19.81	15	4.81	995.10
Jan. 1, 1912	19.90	15	4.90	1,000.00

It will be observed that the above gross income, made up of the interest and the amortized discount, during each period is exactly 4 per cent per annum on the investment or amortized value, and that the total of the column "Increase or discount amortized," $60.53, is the exact amount of the discount at purchase.

The simple or pro rata method of amortization is based on the simple process of charging off the premiums or crediting the discount in equal amounts at semiannual periods during the life of the bond. The amount to be charged off at each semiannual period is ascertained by dividing the premium or discount by the number of semiannual periods through which the bond will have to run to reach maturity.

Taking the example given above of a seven-year 7 per cent bond purchased on a 4 per cent basis, to wit, for $1,181.59, the premium is seen to be $181.59. Dividing this sum by 14, the number of semiannual periods through which a seven-year bond must run before maturity, gives $12.97 as the amount to be charged off semiannually for amortization. To ascertain the amortized value of the bond three years hence, this semiannual amortization, $12.97, may be multiplied by six, the number of semiannual periods in three years, the resulting $77.82 being deducted from the purchase price, $1,181.59, thus leaving $1,103.77, the amortized value three years later by the pro rata method, which compares with $1,109.88, the accurate amortized value as of the same date, as shown above.

Taking the example of the seven-year 3 per cent bond purchased on a 4 per cent basis, to wit, $939.49, the discount on this purchase is $60.53, which, divided by 14, the number of semiannual periods, gives $4.32, the amount to be credited semiannually for amortization. (The 5 cents carried over in division are to be added to the amortization for the first period, making it $4.37 instead of $4.32.) To ascertain the amortized value of the bond three years hence, multiply this semiannual amortization, $4.32, by 6, the number of semiannual periods in three years, which gives $25.92, to which is to be added the 5 cents carried over in division, as above stated, making $25.97 the amortization for the three years. Adding the $25.97 to the purchase price, $939.49, gives $965.46 as the amortized value at the end of three years, as compared with $963.37, the accurate amortized value as of the same date, as shown above.

The following table shows the treatment to be accorded to one of the bonds above mentioned for the several six-months' periods according to the pro rata method of amortization.

Amortization of premium on a 7 per cent bond purchased Jan. 1, 1905, on a 4 per cent basis, maturing Jan. 1, 1912, interest payable semiannually, the purchase price being $1,181.59. The extra 1 cent produced by division is disposed of in the entry for the first period.

End of period.	Gross interest received.	Net or actual interest.	Reduction or premium amortization.	Investment or amortized value.
Jan. 1, 1905				$1,181.59
July 1, 1905	$35.00	$22.02	$12.98	1,168.61
Jan. 1, 1906	35.00	22.03	12.97	1,155.64
July 1, 1906	35.00	22.03	12.97	1,142.67
Jan. 1, 1907	35.00	22.03	12.97	1,129.70
July 1, 1907	35.00	22.03	12.97	1,116.73
Jan. 1, 1908	35.00	22.03	12.97	1,103.76
July 1, 1908	35.00	22.03	12.97	1,090.79
Jan. 1, 1909	35.00	22.03	12.97	1,077.82
July 1, 1909	35.00	22.03	12.97	1,064.85
Jan. 1, 1910	35.00	22.03	12.97	1,051.88
July 1, 1910	35.00	22.03	12.97	1,038.91
Jan. 1, 1911	35.00	22.03	12.97	1,025.94
July 1, 1911	35.00	22.03	12.97	1,012.97
Jan. 1, 1912	35.00	22.03	12.97	1,000.00

We may now turn to the use of the amortization idea in connection with the payment of a loan by the installment plan. It is customary to say that such a repayment may be made either by the sinking-fund method, the annuity method, or the installment method. As a matter of fact, the sinking-fund method is seldom employed, comparatively speaking, and attention may therefore be concentrated upon the other two plans. As an example of the working of these plans the following tables are offered:

Table showing the repayment of a loan of $1,000 in 10 years with interest at 5 per cent per annum by an equal annual installment of principal and interest combined.

Year end.	Due at beginning.	Interest at 5 per cent.	Total owing.	Repayments.		Total.	Balance at year end.
				Principal.	Interest.		
1	$1,000.00	$50.00	$1,050.00	$79.51	$50.00	$129.51	$920.49
2	920.49	46.42	966.51	83.49	46.02	129.51	837.00
3	837.00	41.85	878.85	87.66	41.85	129.51	749.34
4	749.34	37.46	786.80	92.05	37.46	129.51	657.29
5	657.29	32.86	690.15	96.65	32.86	129.51	560.64
6	560.64	28.03	588.67	101.48	28.03	129.51	459.16
7	459.16	22.95	482.11	106.56	22.95	129.51	352.61
8	352.61	17.63	370.24	111.88	17.63	129.51	240.73
9	240.73	12.03	252.76	117.48	12.03	129.51	123.25
10	123.25	6.27	129.52	123.24	6.27	129.51	Nil.
	1,000.00	295.10		1,000.00	295.10	1,295.10	

Table showing the repayment of a loan of $1,000 in 10 years with interest at 5 per cent by equal annual installments of principal only.

Year end.	Due at beginning.	Interest at 5 per cent.	Total owing.	Repayments.		Total.	Balance at year end.
				Principal.	Interest.		
1	$1,000	$50	$1,050	$100	$50	$150	$900
2	900	45	945	100	45	145	800
3	800	40	840	100	40	140	700
4	700	35	735	100	35	135	600
5	600	30	630	100	30	130	500
6	500	25	525	100	25	125	400
7	400	20	420	100	20	120	300
8	300	15	315	100	15	115	200
9	200	10	210	100	10	110	100
10	100	5	105	100	5	105	.....
	1,000	275	.....	1,000	275	1,275	.....

In this connection it is worth while to present also the amortization table submitted by Senator FLETCHER in his testimony before the Joint Committee on Rural Credits, based on a rate of interest at 4½ per cent, the table in question having been developed by Dr. A. L. Butt, of Adairville, Ky. The table is as follows:

Amortization table for note or bond of $1,000. Rate of interest 4½ per cent; annual payment, $67.439; time, 25 years.

Year.	Principal.	Interest.	Principal retired each year or period.	Total amount retired up to end of each year or period.	Unpaid principal at end of each year or period.
1	$1,000.00	45.00	22.44	22.44	977.56
2	977.56	43.99	23.45	45.89	954.11
3	954.11	42.93	24.50	70.39	929.61
4	929.61	41.83	25.60	95.99	904.01
5	904.01	40.68	26.76	122.75	877.25
6	877.25	39.48	27.96	150.71	849.29
7	849.29	38.22	29.22	179.93	820.07
8	820.07	36.90	30.54	210.47	789.53
9	789.53	35.53	31.91	242.38	757.62
10	757.62	34.09	33.35	275.73	724.27
11	724.27	32.59	34.85	310.58	689.42
12	689.42	31.02	36.41	346.99	653.01
13	653.01	29.39	38.05	385.04	614.96
14	614.96	27.67	39.77	424.81	575.19
15	575.19	25.88	41.56	466.37	533.63
16	533.63	24.01	43.43	509.80	490.20
17	490.20	22.06	45.38	555.18	444.82
18	444.82	20.02	47.42	602.60	397.40
19	397.40	17.88	49.56	652.16	347.84
20	347.84	15.65	51.79	703.95	296.05
21	296.05	13.32	54.12	758.07	241.93
22	241.93	10.89	56.55	814.62	185.38
23	185.38	8.34	59.10	873.72	126.28
24	126.28	5.68	61.75	935.47	64.53
25	64.53	2.90	64.53	1,000.00	.....
			1,000.00		

There are two main distinctions to be drawn between the above methods; first, as regards the actual repayment of the loan, and, second, as regards the charge upon the rate of revenue accounts of the successive years of the repayment period. The installment and annuity methods both provide for the actual repayment to the lender each year of a definite proportion of the loan or of the loan and interest combined. The sinking-fund method, on the other hand, contemplates the provision annually of an installment of such amount as will, if set aside, invested, and accumulated for the prescribed period, provide for the repayment of the loan in one sum at the end of the period. Power is given, however, under certain conditions to apply part of the sinking fund in repayment of the loan during the prescribed period of repayment.

The method of obtaining the rate of amortization is a matter of mathematical calculation easily carried out by the use of logarithms.

AMORTIZATION UNDER PROPOSED BILL.

It will be observed that the proposed bill provides for the making of loans upon an amortization basis extending over a period of 30 years. This is equivalent to saying that the borrower may get his loan for a period approximating 30 years, and that he will be expected during the life of his loan to make payments at specified intervals, such as to cancel the amount of his indebtedness at the end of the period for which it was originally obtained. A number of interesting questions are necessarily raised in connection with this method of dealing with the borrower. The underlying assumption is, of course, that the farmer ought to or desires to pay off his obligation gradually, or at all events that he desires to make regular investments of capital in his farm such as will render the worth of it greater and will thereby entitle him to greater credit. The amortization plan may bring about either of these results. If a farmer borrows for 30 years at 6 per cent, his annual obligation is computed at a figure that is sufficient to carry the interest upon the unpaid balance of his loan and at the same time to reduce the principal by an amount that is sufficient to extinguish the whole of this principal at the time the loan expires.

VALUING FARM LANDS.

The fundamental question in judging of the soundness of the proposed plan or of any similar system will ultimately be found in the character of the basis established for loans under it. If the security is not adequate the loans will prove unsatisfactory and the percentage of losses will be such as to take the profit out of the business or even to hazard a portion of the capital involved in the operation of the system. Fundamentally this problem of securing a satisfactory protection for the loans reduces itself to the question of valuing the land upon which the loans are placed and of avoiding overestimates; in other words, of obtaining a correct and thorough appraisal of lands. This is always a difficult matter to deal with, and implies two important elements:

(a) The establishment of a rigid maximum percentage of value as the limit to loans.

(b) The provision of a thoroughly careful and conscientious system of valuing the lands.

After careful examination of the facts in the case, the committee has deemed it best to name 50 per cent as the upper limit of the actual value of the lands which may be advanced as a loan. This leaves, it is thought, ample protection for deterioration in values, if any, owing to causes over which the farmer has no control, while at the same time the general body of loans will be strengthened even beyond the 50 per cent margin by the fact that the borrowed capital obtained through the system will in many cases be devoted to the improvement of the soil and consequently to the enlargement of the actual worth by which the mortgages are safeguarded.

With reference to the question of appraisal, the ultimate reliance must, of course, be placed upon the work of the farm-loan association which advances the funds in each given case. With this institution, in the last analysis, must rest a determination as to any particular advance, and its judgment should be final, because it must itself, under the proposed measure, incur the sacrifice resulting from bad judgment. A great deal can, however, be done to minimize the results of sporadic bad judgment and to place the responsibility for each decision where it belongs. The following points embodied in the proposed legislation should be given particular attention because of their bearing upon this matter of the responsibility of the loan association in connection with the selection of security.

(a) Under the proposed plan the farm-loan association is required to appoint a distinct appraisal committee whose duty consists in valuing parcels of land as the basis of loans.

(b) This appraisal committee is checked in its operations to a certain extent by the fact that it is to include a member who is not a stockholder of the association and who is appointed by a source which has nothing at all to do with the association itself.

(c) Under the form of farm-loan associations recommended, in which a largely cooperative type of enterprise is fundamental, the constant effort of the members of each such association will be to supervise other members who are also borrowers in order to see to it that no one individual obtains too large a line of credit or a loan so large that he will be unable to make use of the funds thus advanced to him in an advantageous manner.

(d) Provision is made for requiring every farm-loan association to take back and redeem any mortgage on which default has occurred, so that the mere fact that a loan association has disposed of mortgages does not relieve it of responsibility therefor. In view of the fact that a farm-loan association is permitted to make loans aggregating 20 times its capital and surplus, it will be necessary for the association to be constantly on the watch in order to prevent its capital from becoming impaired through the necessity of bearing the loss on mortgages returned to it on account of default.

(e) Under the cooperative plan as worked out, the loan association will find it more and more difficult, as the stock taken out by borrowers increases approximately to the limit set by the clause fixing 20 times the capital and surplus as the maximum of permitted loans, and hence an automatically operating check will be afforded with respect to the possibility of an undue increase of loans.

In order still further to safeguard the mortgages accepted by each farm-loan association, provision has been made in the bill for a general reserve fund, which is to be accumulated out of earnings for the purpose of providing still further against possible impairment of capital due to the necessity of covering losses on loans upon which default has occurred. Added to this general reserve fund, moreover, will be a series of additional special reserves made up from the excess interest charged upon mortgages in those States where rates are unusually high on account of the presence of a large risk element. The working of these special reserves will be discussed more fully at another point. It is sufficient just here to refer to the working of the special reserves in their relation to the protection of the mortgages.

QUESTION OF INVESTMENT.

In the final analysis the consideration to be regarded as determining the success or nonsuccess of a land-mortgage system will be the extent of response made by investors who are asked to supply the capital needed for agricultural development. If it turns out that such system as may be provided attracts capital from those who possess it and successfully places it in the hands of the men who are able to use it in the development of agriculture, the system will be accounted successful. This at once opens a twofold issue, since it raises the question whether the land-mortgage system will be regarded as sufficiently safe by investors to induce them to intrust their savings to it and at the same time whether it will be sufficiently attractive to them to induce them to do so. It is generally conceded that Government securities are safe enough to warrant investors in placing their funds in them for a "long hold." But this does not mean that many investors, least of all many small savers, habitually buy Government bonds. On the contrary, in spite of their security, they are not popular with the men who are simply savers and nothing more. The question of safety may be dealt with elsewhere; and at this point attention may be concentrated on the problem whether the proposed bonds could be made sufficiently attractive to induce investors to take them up.

It is seen that, granting the safety of the system as already suggested, this question of attractiveness constitutes the crux of the whole matter. If the bonds are not attractive to investors they can not be sold, and if they can not be sold it will be impossible to get the capital which is absolutely needed for the further development of the mortgage system. Unable to sell their bonds to investors the land banks will speedily find their capital permanently tied up, and they will thus be unable to purchase fresh mortgages from the farm-loan associations, which will in a like manner find that their capital has been sunk in a permanent investment from which they can not expect to free it within any brief space of time.

On the other hand, if the rate of interest paid upon the bonds is made too high it may be successful in attracting capital from pockets of buyers of bonds, but the convenience of the farm borrowers will be but little enhanced. It is true to-day in most parts of the United States that a man with sound and safe land to offer as security has but little difficulty in getting capital on first mortgage if he be willing to pay a sufficiently high rate of interest.

The difficulty has been found partly in the fact that the farmer was oppressed by the excessively high rates of interest he was called upon to pay, and could not see his profit in borrowing more funds for the development of his farm in view of the fact that the returns reasonably to be expected from the use of the money would inevitably be absorbed in the payment of the interest. The rate of interest, in other words, must be kept sufficiently low to afford some positive benefit to the farmers of the country as compared with the rates they are now paying, otherwise legislation would be of no service whatever.

Briefly stated, the real issue in the matter is that of selecting a rate of interest which will be at once reasonably attractive to the investor and reasonably advantageous to the farmer as compared with existing rates. We may examine the situation first from the standpoint of the investor, in order to ascertain about what rate of interest must be paid him in order to induce him to take the new agricultural bonds off the market under satisfactory conditions. In consideration of this problem it will be well to proceed first by ascertaining the actual rates of interest paid to-day upon sound bonds issued by responsible concerns engaged in stable business, and then to ascertain how far, if at all, the proposed bonds would have the advantage of such securities upon the market.

In the following table is presented a list of selected standard bonds with the prices at which the same actually sold upon a recent date in the open market, this being intended as a guide to the real conditions existing to-day with reference to the sale of such securities in the country's primary market for such securities:

A. T. & S. F. gnl. 4's	94½
Atl. C. L. 1st con. 4's	93
Balt. & O. 3½'s	92½
Balt. & O. gold 4's	90
C. Mil. & St. P. gnl. 4's	91½
C. Mil. & St. P. cvt. 4½'s	97⅜
C. & Nwn. 3½'s	80½
Del. & H. 4's, 1916	99⅝
Ill. Cent. and C. St. L. & N. O. joint 5's	99¾
Int. Paper 1st 6's	101¼
Lake S. gnl. 3½'s reg	82¾
North. Pacific 4's	92½
Penn. 4's, 1948	98⅜
Penn. 3½'s, 1915	100
Reading gnl. 4's	94⅞
So. Pacific cvt. 4's	82⅝
So. Pacific 5's	99
Southern Ry. 5's	100¼
Union Pac. 1st 4's	96
U. S. Rubber 6's	102½
U. S. Steel s. f. 5's	101⅜
Westinghouse 5's	94

In studying the probable market that would be enjoyed by land-mortgage bonds, it is worth while to devote some careful attention to the actual financial and investment situation as it now exists. This matter has recently been made the subject of an elaborate investigation by Mr. W. H. Williams, a responsible authority. Mr. Williams's facts regarding the securities situation are in part stated as follows:

The broad, general results of my investigations are stated in tables which show the yields respectively obtained upon investments in bonds and in preferred stocks of the different classes, at the average prices of each calendar year from 1903 to the end of the first half of 1913.

Bonds.

Years.	Government.	Public utility.	Industrial.	Selected railroad	Eastern railroad.[1]
1903	3.25	4.63	5.69	4.10	4.06
1904	3.30	4.60	5.81	4.05	4.03
1905	3.29	4.43	5.19	3.91	3.93
1906	3.43	4.56	5.18	4.01	4.04
1907	3.70	4.91	5.76	4.30	4.31
1908	3.70	5.11	5.90	4.30	4.42
1909	3.61	4.71	5.16	4.08	4.11
1910	3.77	4.79	5.25	4.21	4.26
1911	3.80	4.77	5.17	4.21	4.26
1912	3.85	4.80	5.18	4.26	4.30
1913 (6 months)	3.91	4.90	5.35	4.41	[2]4.47

[1] Exclusive of convertible issues. [2] Covers first 8 months.

In order not to burden this portion of the statement, the detailed explanation of the method used in ascertaining these prices and yields, with lists of the securities used, has been omitted.

The following table shows the yields obtained upon investments in the preferred stocks of railroads and industrials, respectively:

Rate of yield, preferred stocks, based on market quotations.

Years.	Railroad.		Industrial.	
	Bid to yield.	Asked to yield.	Bid to yield.	Asked to yield.
	Per cent.	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*
1903	4.57	4.43	7.27	7.16
1904	4.54	4.43	7.33	7.23
1905	4.22	4.13	6.34	6.25
1906	4.29	4.21	6.32	6.21
1907	4.92	4.68	6.97	6.72
1908	5.07	4.84	7.09	6.78
1909	4.49	4.38	6.13	6.05
1910	4.69	4.47	6.23	6.08
1911	4.72	4.56	6.25	6.12
1912	4.73	4.59	6.16	6.09
1913 (first 6 months)	4.95	4.81	6.42	6.29

Examination of the two foregoing tables shows that the net income yields of all groups, except the industrial group, were in the first half of 1913 higher than in the year 1903.

During the panic years 1907 and 1908 the income yields considerably rose, but in the case of the railroad and Government securities the average yields for those two years were lower than at present. This is important. The depression of securities caused by the panic of 1907 lasted but a short period. The fall in prices began in the autumn of 1907 and recovery was under way several months before the end of 1908. Thus the rise in yield during this period was due to temporary conditions and can not be taken as a gauge of the trend of investment values. Moreover, business depression leads investors to diminish their purchases of speculative securities and to increase their purchases of

gilt-edged investment bonds. Since 1909, however, the depreciation has been confined mainly to those classes of securities which are generally termed "high grade," and can not be said to be due to business depression.

The extent of the depreciation in the value of the different groups represented in the table can be seen most clearly by comparing the average yield, based on market prices, of the year 1909 and six months of 1913:

	1909	1913
	Per cent.	*Per cent.*
Government bonds	3.61	3.91
Public utility bonds	4.71	4.90
Industrial bonds	5.16	5.35
Railroad bonds	4.08	4.41
Eastern railroad bonds	4.11	[1]4.47

[1] Eight months.

	Bid to yield.	Asked to yield.	Bid to yield.	Asked to yield.
	Per cent.	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*
Railroad preferred stocks	4.49	4.38	4.95	4.81
Industrial preferred stocks	6.13	6.05	6.42	6.29

Based on the yearly averages, the railroads are now compelled to pay more for their capital than at any time within the 11 years. The railroad preferred stocks, likewise, now offer a higher yield than since the year 1908, and the depreciation in this group of securities has been almost continuous since that time.

In 1903 the average yield for all these eastern railroad securities was 4.06 per cent, whereas for the eight months of 1913 it rose to 4.47 per cent.

The separate averages of securities for the individual railroads in the eastern group follow the trend of the general average. This is shown in the table which follows:

TABLE III.—*Summary of average yields of eastern railroads.*

Railroad.	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	8 months 1913
Baltimore & Ohio Railroad bonds	4.268	4.217	4.074	4.194	4.412	4.556	4.225	4.378	4.389	4.456	4.690
Central Railroad of New Jersey bonds	4.032	3.915	3.827	3.975	4.170	4.148	3.923	4.049	4.111	4.140	4.303
The Delaware & Hudson Co. bonds [1]	4.316	4.167	4.219	.....	.....	4.326	4.036	4.198	4.207	4.205	4.411
Delaware, Lackawanna & Western bonds	3.847	3.825	3.727	3.907	4.234	4.218	3.917	4.106	4.106	4.213	4.406
Erie Railroad bonds	4.199	4.219	4.054	4.217	4.527	4.881	4.428	4.661	4.550	4.520	4.656
Lehigh Valley Railroad bonds	4.317	4.230	4.047	4.115	4.398	4.307	4.106	4.193	4.213	4.264	4.426
New York Central Railroad bonds	3.737	3.774	3.746	3.818	4.084	4.191	4.046	4.133	4.202	4.222	4.378
New York, Ontario & Western Railroad bonds	4.020	3.970	3.870	3.970	4.200	4.180	4.050	4.120	4.200	4.290	4.504
Pennsylvania Railroad bonds [1]	3.993	3.876	3.788	3.848	4.066	4.191	3.937	3.938	4.025	4.041	4.118
Pennsylvania Co. bonds	3.930	3.947	3.836	4.040	4.350	4.315	3.969	4.039	4.131	4.171	4.383
Philadelphia & Reading bonds	3.890	3.866	3.797	3.885	4.165	4.215	3.937	4.159	4.121	4.194	4.273

[1] Average does not include convertible bonds.

As for governmental securities, the same authority shows that securities issued by governmental authority have been during this period the highest grade of investment—that is, they carry the greatest certainty of payment of the periodical income and of the return of principal at maturity. Consequently investors who desire these features above all others purchase them, and as an offset to the small risk they buy at prices that give small income return. The principal distinction between governmental obligations and other securities lies in the difference between public and private credit. States and cities are not organized and conducted to earn profits. Hence there is no limitation upon public credit by the necessity of showing profits, as in the case of private enterprises. Taxing power, not profits, is the basis of public credit, and there is no limit on taxation but the will of the body politic. Moreover, taxing power can be determined with reasonable certainty in advance. This is not the case with profits on which private credits are based. These involve the element of business risk, and when profits fail private credit fails.

The causes underlying the recent increase in the net income rate on State and municipal bonds can be readily explained. A general rise in interest rates would cause the securities giving the smallest return to be exchanged for those affording a higher return. This causes a large number of these securities to change hands, and as the number of buyers willing to purchase them at their former income yield has become greatly reduced, they can find a market only when offered at much lower prices. Hence the advance in income yield has been intensified.

Another potent cause of the decline in value of State and municipal securities is the immense increase in the amount of these securities that has been put out within the last decade, the volume of these issues being greater than the market would take at former low rates. All this is clearly shown in the table of annual amounts of new State and municipal bond issues, with the comparative interest rates thereon, from 1902 to 1912, inclusive. The data in the table show that, excluding bonds taken for the sinking fund of New York City, there were annual State and municipal issues distributed among different interest rates and aggregating as follows:

Percentages of total put out at different rates of interest.

[From compilations of Commercial and Financial Chronicle.]

Years.	Amount issued.	3½ per cent or less.	4 per cent.	4 and 4½ per cent.	5 per cent and higher.	Unknown or unusual.
1902	$143,590,868	58.58	23.99	3.01	8.70	5.72
1903	152,281,050	47.38	31.18	5.88	11.97	3.59
1904	238,929,204	51.87	31.30	5.05	9.92	1.86
1905	183,080,023	47.24	30.23	7.61	13.24	1.68
1906	201,743,364	17.92	59.55	7.24	12.18	3.11
1907	227,643,208	7.44	43.16	30.36	15.06	3.98
1908	313,797,549	5.91	39.51	33.22	17.73	3.63
1909	329,358,486	8.85	49.08	14.86	24.31	2.90
1910	307,013,386	6.26	30.98	34.97	25.00	2.79
1911	395,069,205	1.69	32.12	40.25	23.90	2.04
1912	383,150,828	1.25	26.41	43.63	25.98	2.73

The remarkable features of the foregoing table are:

1. The almost uninterrupted increase in new issues in both good and bad business years; and

2. The constant tendency to put out bonds at higher interest rates.

Thus in 1911 the new municipal bonds amounted to almost three times the amount put out in 1902. Only a very small part of municipal issues is due to refunding. The great bulk of them is due to rapid development and public improvements, and to the desire to "boom" the cities through large outlays. As a result, "assessment values," which are at the basis of municipal credit, have been greatly enhanced.

According to a United States census report on the financial statistics for cities for 1911 the indebtedness of 184 cities, having a population of 30,000 or more, at the close of the fiscal year 1911 amounted to $2,618,107,501, representing an increase of 8 per cent over the previous year. In the words of the report:

The figures show that, taken as a whole, the cities are increasing their costs of government (including outlays) faster than their revenues, and as a result are increasing their indebtedness even faster.

In order to find a market for the avalanche of new municipal obligations it has been necessary to offer higher returns. The municipal bonds bearing an interest rate of 3½ per cent or less, which in 1902 comprised 58.58 per cent of the total new issues, had practically ceased to be put out by 1912, in which year they were but 1.25 per cent of the total. On the other hand, the bonds issued at 5 per cent and above, which in 1902 were but 8.70 per cent of the total, in 1912 amounted to 25.98 per cent.

Inasmuch as in many States the laws prohibit the sale of new State or municipal obligations for less than their par value, the changes in the interest rates on such new bonds are a good index of the changes taking place in the interest rate on long-term obligations.

Mr. Williams further discusses the question of investment merits of public utilities in the following language:

The so-called public-utility companies as now organized are of more recent origin than the railroads. Formerly each company in this group confined its operations to a single locality, was little known to investors outside of its own community, and the amount of its securities was not large enough to find a place on the leading exchanges. The market for the securities was thus restricted. Moreover, the physical equipment and the mechanical processes connected with the operations of these companies were not standardized. Consequently the degree of business risk was greater than in railroads. These factors for a long time placed the public-utility securities below the railroads in the scale of investments. Changes in recent years have considerably altered this condition. The creation of immense public utility and industrial corporations has permitted them to issue large blocks of securities at relatively high income yields that find a place in the general investment market in competition with standard railroad securities. A computation of the Commercial and Financial Chronicle shows that during the period from January 1, 1910, to September 30, 1912 (two and three-quarter years), public-utility companies absorbed through bond and note issues (exclusive of stock) more than $750,000,000 of capital, of which a very small part, about $75,000,000, was for refunding. These public-utility companies are no longer local concerns dependent on the welfare of one community, but are national and international in character. Electric and other processes connected with the furnishing of public utilities have been standardized, thus minimizing instability of value and losses due to obsolescence. Public-utility cor-

porations are reaping the advantage of industrial growth and higher standards of living, thus enabling them continually to expand their earnings.

This steady tendency toward the expansion of earnings in public-utility enterprises arises both from the rapid growth in size of cities and towns and also from the broader use made of such utilities. According to the United States Census Bureau the urban population of 1910 was 46.3 per cent of the total, whereas in 1890 it was but 36.1 per cent and in 1880 29.5 per cent. This concentration is likely to continue as the United States passes from a predominantly agricultural to an industrial nation.

Mr. Williams discusses the investment position of industrial securities in very much the same general way, calling attention first of all to the fact that such securities are the most recent class of long-term public investments, and have until lately occupied the lowest rank as such, while the growth in the scale of production and in the size of industrial concerns has given them a better and more important place in many exchanges, now that the experimental stage with not a few of them has been passed. Thus, although the income yield of such securities was very high in former years, when business risk played a large part in determining values, their yield now is tending to conform to that of other classes of investment. In this way the industrial issues are gradually moving from the so-called "speculative" category to the so-called "investment" category, entering into competition with railroad and other securities, and thereby tending to drive the latter to a basis of value somewhat similar to their own. Summarizing his views on this subject, Mr. Williams says:

One of the potent factors which has given stability to industrial concerns, thereby gradually placing their securities in the "investment" class, is the fact that through ownership of a number of plants located in different sections of the country there is a distribution of risk, not only as regards the possibility of shutdowns through fire or accident, but also because of the less likelihood of tie-ups through labor troubles. Thus, a difficulty in one plant may not materially affect the business of the company as a whole. Orders for goods can be transferred and manufactured in other plants. Moreover, through a proper distribution of the plants, there is a tendency toward increased economy in the distribution of the products.

Finally, in closing the discussion of the relative income yields of industrial and railroad bonds, Mr. Williams says:

It should be noted that the bulk of the railroad bonds offered publicly during the period 1901 to 1903 were to yield the purchaser less than 4½ per cent, and that it was unusual for bankers to advertise railroad bonds to yield above 5 per cent. More than two-thirds of the industrial bonds offered during the period, however, were at or above a 5 per cent basis.

But during the two-year period from July 1, 1911, to June 30, 1913, the new issues, amounting to $1,000,000 and over, to public utilities and industrial companies which were advertised as "investments" were much more numerous and, in addition to bonds, there were large offerings of notes by all classes of companies. Confining the attention to bonds, we have a record in the latter period of $105,299,000 of railroad issues offered at 5 per cent and above. Within the same yield range we have a record of $251,099,000 public-utility bond offerings and $222,200,000 industrial offerings. If note offerings are included, the growing competition between railroads and other concerns in the investment market becomes more manifest. The public offering of railroad notes 10 years ago was unusual. But in the two-year period from July 1, 1911, to June 30, 1913, we have a record of $335,267,000 of such railroad securities—exclusive of receivers' certificates—that were offered publicly at an advertised price in amounts of $1,000,000 or more. Of these approximately 80 per cent were at an income yield of 5 per cent and above. In the same period we have a record of $165,331,000 public utilities and $98,100,000 of industrial notes offered within the same yield range.

We may now endeavor to compare with the showing thus made the figures for the actual yield of Government bonds in various countries of the world. When the National Monetary Commission was conducting its inquiries it made a comparative analysis of bond prices and rates of interest in various nations, with the result that a table was prepared showing the situation as then existing in the following light:

Average annual net price of Government bonds of England, France, Germany, and United States, 1878–1909.

Years	English consols.			French rente, 3 per cent.	German Imperial loans.			United States bonds.			
	3 per cent.	2¾ per cent.	2½ per cent.		4 per cent.	3½ per cent.	3 per cent.	4 per cent, of 1907.	4 per cent, of 1925.	2 per cent, of 1930.	3 per cent, of 1908–1918.
1878	94.44	.....	.....	74.23	95.72	.....	.....	100.67	.....	.....	.....
1879	96.75	.....	.....	79.64	97.89	.....	.....	100.60	.....	.....	.....
1880	97.62	.....	.....	83.16	99.89	.....	.....	106.32	.....	.....	.....
1881	99.25	.....	.....	83.80	101.46	.....	.....	115.37	.....	.....	.....
1882	99.75	.....	.....	81.24	101.53	.....	.....	119.26	.....	.....	.....
1883	100.44	.....	.....	78.02	102.09	.....	.....	119.84	.....	.....	.....
1884	100.25	.....	.....	76.81	103.13	.....	.....	121.55	.....	.....	.....
1885	98.58	.....	.....	79.19	104.25	.....	.....	122.28	.....	.....	.....
1886	100.05	.....	.....	81.23	105.99	102.88	.....	126.21	.....	.....	.....
1887	101.05	95.21	.....	79.75	106.29	99.79	.....	127.17	.....	.....	.....
1888	.....	98.71	.....	81.26	107.93	102.45	.....	126.72	.....	.....	.....
1889	.....	97.67	.....	84.56	108.16	103.70	.....	127.83	.....	.....	.....
1890	.....	96.15	.....	90.34	108.75	100.45	87.05	122.74	.....	.....	.....
1891	.....	95.39	.....	93.90	108.00	98.39	85.11	118.59	.....	.....	.....
1892	.....	96.34	.....	97.01	108.90	99.97	88.27	115.64	.....	.....	.....
1893	.....	98.03	.....	96.84	107.24	100.38	86.27	111.93	.....	.....	.....
1894	.....	100.73	.....	99.67	108.59	102.39	90.72	114.01	.....	.....	.....
1895	.....	105.86	.....	101.65	105.68	104.44	98.91	112.01	121.53	.....	.....
1896	.....	110.55	.....	101.78	105.48	104.58	99.22	108.80	116.23	.....	.....
1897	.....	112.06	.....	102.95	103.64	103.59	97.66	112.60	124.53	.....	.....
1898	.....	110.62	.....	102.47	.....	102.65	95.52	111.55	125.27	.....	105.31
1899	.....	106.84	.....	100.86	.....	99.77	90.71	112.96	129.68	.....	108.20
1900	.....	99.29	.....	100.22	.....	96.80	86.74	115.15	134.52	104.04	109.72
1901	.....	93.95	.....	100.84	.....	99.54	89.27	112.93	138.32	107.30	109.34
1902	.....	94.01	.....	100.22	.....	102.06	92.18	110.47	136.69	108.78	107.93
1903	.....	.....	90.44	97.75	.....	102.30	91.49	110.30	135.27	107.09	107.78
1904	.....	.....	87.97	97.16	.....	101.94	90.02	106.74	131.98	104.99	105.67
1905	.....	.....	89.52	98.83	.....	101.33	90.08	104.61	132.36	104.16	104.00
1906	.....	.....	88.01	97.27	.....	99.54	87.73	102.84	130.26	103.95	103.16
1907	.....	.....	83.83	94.47	.....	94.66	84.15	100.95	126.58	105.18	102.47
1908	.....	.....	[1] 85.92	95.80	[2] 92.21	82.88	.....	.....	121.25	103.93	100.94
1909	.....	.....	[1] 83.76	[1] 97.20	[2] 95.11	[1] 84.71	.....	.....	119.11	101.47	101.75

[1] Compiled from weekly statements in London Economist.

[2] Compiled from Finanzherald.

The quotations for English consols, French rentes, and German imperial loans from 1878 to 1907, taken from "Materialien zur Beurteilung der Zusammenhange zwischen dem öffentlichen Schuldenwesen und dem Kapitalmarkte," Berlin, 1908.

The quotations for United States bonds compiled by U. S. Treasury Department.

VALUE OF FARM-LOAN BONDS.

A question which may be considered for the light it throws on the value of the proposed bonds is the effect upon the value of bonds likely to be produced by exemption from all taxation. There is no positive or authoritative information with reference to this subject, inasmuch as it is not generally practicable to get data showing the prices at which given bonds have sold when subject to taxation and the prices at which they have sold when not thus subject. About the best that can be done is to obtain conservative opinions on the subject and to contrast the selling values of bonds of the same approximate strength some of which are sold subject to taxation while others are sold free of tax. A beginning may be made by comparing the prices which are realized from New York City bonds, which are free of State taxation, and of the Federal normal income tax.

New York City bonds.

FEBRUARY 3.

	Bid.	Asked.
6s, Sept., '15	101⅛	101⅜
6s, Sept., '16	103⅛	103¼
6s, Sept., '17	104⅛	104⅜
4½s, May, '57 (interchangeable)	104⅞	105⅛
4½s, Nov., '57 (interchangeable)	104⅜	105
4½s, Mar., '63, r'pt	104⅜	105¼
4½s, Sept., '60 (interchangeable)	99⅞	100
4½s, Mar., '62 (interchangeable)	99⅞	100
4½s, Mar., '64 (interchangeable)	99⅞	100
4s, May, '57 (interchangeable)	96½	96¾
4s, May, '58 (interchangeable)	96½	96¾

	Bid.	Asked.
4s, May, '59 (interchangeable)	96⅜	96⅞
4s, Nov., '36, reg	96	96¼
4s, '18–'19 (interchangeable)	99	
3½s, Nov., '54–'55 (interchangeable)	85⅞	86⅜
3½s, May, '54, coup	85¾	86⅜
3½s, '50–'54, reg	85¼	86¼

The effect of the proposed plan, assuming that it operated as supposed upon the actual value of the farm-loan bonds, may be analyzed by considering the present state of the bond market as observed under various conditions.

Attention may first be given to the value of Government securities at the present time. Current quotations for Government bonds on the New York Stock Exchange are as follows:

United States Government bonds.

BID FEBRUARY 3.

2s, reg., 1913	99
2s, coup., 1930	99
3s, reg., 1918	101½
3s, coup., 1918	101½
4s, reg., 1925	109½
4s, coup., 1925	110½
2s, Pan., '36, reg	98½
3s, Pan., '38, reg	98½
3s, Pan., '61, reg	101½
3s, Pan., '61, coup	101½

Examining these figures in detail, we may omit from consideration the bonds whose values are affected by the fact that they are available for circulation, deposits of national banks, inasmuch as these securities are evidently influenced by extraneous conditions that have no necessary relationship to the actual investment value of the securities themselves. Eliminating these, it will be observed that the 3 per cent Panama bonds are quoted at 100 to 102. If it be assumed that the actual value of a Panama Government bond is thus slightly above par, the conclusion would necessarily be that the borrowing power of the Government was in the neighborhood of 3 per cent flat.

As a matter of fact, the general verdict of bond experts is that this price is a purely artificial one for Government bonds to-day, and that it is due merely to the fact that the bulk of the securities of the Government are kept off the market on account of the fact that they are used by the banks in their maintenance of outstanding circulation. What Government bonds would sell for under other conditions is more or less a matter of conjecture so far as any active figures are concerned, but the prevailing opinion seems to be that the Government would probably have to pay 3½ per cent in order to borrow at par under ordinary circumstances. Some light on the situation is obtained from a study of the prices obtained for bonds of the State of New York, which were ruling for 4 per cent bonds at about 101¾ before the outbreak of war abroad. In other words, the credit of the State of New York was very nearly on a 4 per cent basis. New York State bonds are, of course, free of the normal Federal income tax and of many classes of local taxation. New York City bonds, 4¼ per cent of 1960, were selling at about 101¼, while New York City fours of 1958 were selling at 99¼, or thereabouts. Thus the credit of New York City, its bonds being exempt as in the case of the State securities, is in normal times slightly below a 4 per cent basis. If we assume that the Federal Government could hardly do much better than 3½ per cent and that the highest State and local credit now rests on an approximately 4 per cent basis—or slightly below that—we shall probably not be far from the truth.

On the other hand, privately issued bonds, which are subject to taxation of various kinds and which are issued under the varying conditions imposed upon them by their issues, are generally selling on a basis very much less satisfactory to-day than in years past, notwithstanding that just before the opening of war in Europe they were for the moment somewhat better in their quoted values than they were some few months ago. Among well-known bonds listed on the New York Stock Exchange and regularly traded in there the following may be cited as examples (the prices being those which were quoted just before the opening of the European war):

Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe general fours, 95¼; New York Central fours, 99½; United States Steel fives, 103; Reading general fours, 95½; Northern Pacific fours, 95½; Baltimore & Ohio fours, 94; Southern Pacific fives, 101½; Louisville & Nashville fives, 104; Virginian Railway fives, 99.

The destruction of capital during the current war will still further depress the values of long-term bonds bearing a fixed rate.

Many other quotations conveying substantially the same information might be cited, the general purport being identical with those already given. It is fairly to be concluded that at present a thoroughly good industrial and railroad bond carrying a rate of 4 per cent interest, long period, will sell decidedly below par, while 5 per cent bonds of the same kind are likely to be quoted slightly above par. To sell a good bond—long-term industrial or railroad—on a par basis, very nearly 5 per cent must be allowed at the present time. This, as seen from the foregoing statements, must be regarded as about 1 per cent or a little less above the rate of interest carried by thoroughly good State and city securities exempt from taxation to the extent already noted, and probably about 1½ per cent above the rate which would be carried by Federal securities sold under competitive conditions. Of course there are variations from this broad general statement, both upward and downward, but it may be fairly accepted as representing the general situation with sufficient accuracy.

The difference in net income yield between Ohio municipal tax-exempt bonds and similar Ohio municipal bonds without the tax-exemption advantage is about one-half of 1 per cent, and it was found that the depreciation caused by the financial disturbance incident to the European war was rather more severe in the case of taxable bonds of this character than in the case of the tax-exempt bonds. This comparison in the income yield of taxable and tax-exempt bonds in Ohio is interesting and throws some light on how much benefit may be expected from the tax-exemption feature. It should be noted, however, that it is practically impossible to say to what extent this difference is influenced by the local tax rate and local conditions.

The conclusion must be drawn from this showing that the Federal land-bank bonds, if sold free of tax, could not hope to find a market, supposing them to be offered to investors as an independent proposition without outside aid, upon a basis much, if at all, better than that which is enjoyed by good long-period industrial and railroad securities, except to the extent that the said land-bank bonds were enabled to enjoy a more favorable market through their exemption from taxation.

It can not, however, be assumed that the land-bank bonds, if placed on the market simply on their own merits, would sell upon as favorable a basis, waiving the question of taxation, as the best privately issued bonds. There is no good reason for supposing that they would be regarded by investors as much more satisfactory than the average of the mortgages by which they were protected. At the present time one of the largest mortgage institutions of the United States, which loans upon city real estate security entirely, is making a net rate of interest of 6½ per cent on the average of its loans, and while it has outstanding an issue of bonds bearing 4 per cent, these were placed a good while ago and simply maintained through the substitution of new mortgages for those that expired. It is not believed that another issue of bonds could be placed at the same figure again to-day. If it be true that the farmer obtains loans in the most-favored parts of the country to-day at a rate of 5½ per cent, all expenses included, it would seem probable, in view of the facts already cited, that bonds protected by these mortgages would have to offer investors very nearly or quite 5 per cent in order to sell at par. The exemption from taxation would put them on a slightly better basis. In the committee's plan, however, it has been estimated, after very careful consideration, that a margin of 1 per cent between the rate charged the farmer and the rate borne by the bonds will have to be allowed in order to cover expenses of administration. This would mean that the bonds secured by mortgages of the kind already referred to would, in order to allow for the estimate for expenses of administration, have to sell very nearly on a 4 per cent basis; that is to say, practically upon a basis of equality with the highest grade State and municipal bonds now on the market. They would, therefore, not only have to equal from the very start the best privately issued securities, but they would have to compete successfully with high-grade State and local bonds, and this although they would not be expected for several years to be regarded as seasoned securities.

Unless this state of things can be established as to the sale of the bonds, it can not be expected that the funds of investors will turn to them rather than to the State, municipal, and high-grade railroad securities, upon which to-day a rate of decidedly more than 4 per cent clear can quite easily be obtained. Certainly the idea that any considerable amount of capital would be available for the purpose of taking up such securities could hardly be regarded as valid.

Therefore, unless the investor is assured of the attitude of the Government toward these bonds or is made certain of the firm belief on the part of the public authorities in their absolute solidity, while at the same time convinced that the influence of the Government will be thrown on the side of stability in their prices, he will necessarily hesitate about investing in these new issues, pending the time when they shall have slowly proved their worth.

NEED OF STANDARD INVESTMENT.

One side of the agricultural-credit problem which has received little consideration, but which is deserving of much more attention than has been accorded to it thus far, is seen in the need which is felt by the ordinary investor for a standard security which can be purchased by him with his savings in the assurance that it will be, so far as can reasonably be predicted or expected, a sound and stable investment which will continue to yield him a stated rate of interest. In former years the real estate mortgage, and particularly the farm mortgage, was a favored type of investment with the small saver. At one time the process of investing in these mortgages was carried so far as to result in the taking up of doubtful loans in the West, where farming conditions were speculative or where loans were made by inexperienced or careless agents whose principal idea was to get the largest amount of commission, irrespective of the safety of the lender or of the success of the cultivator who obtained the advance. In such case the security promptly turned out to be miserably inadequate, and in many instances large losses were inflicted upon investors who held mortgages upon tracts of land scattered over large areas in the Western States. One effect of this period of loss upon farm investments was to discourage the individual from employing his savings in that way, and within recent years he has in many parts of the country turned to railroad and public-utility bonds and stocks.

While his confidence in these securities has often been justified, it has frequently happened that the investor was disappointed, and that the securities he purchased either deteriorated in value, as has been the case with some railroad securities, the deterioration occasionally reaching very large figures, or that the interest was suspended for one reason or another, leaving the investor without income upon his savings, while he was frequently obliged to carry his holdings for an indefinite period in the hope that they would ultimately recover at least a part of their original value. Discouraged by the apparent inability to obtain an investment that is honestly managed, investors have in not a few cases been driven to the plan of relying upon savings banks exclusively. The latter institutions, although frequently reliable, are now restricted in most States by laws which greatly limit their income-earning power, and are in any event subject to rather heavy expense of operation. The result is, therefore, that the small investor, unable to inform himself very satisfactorily with respect to the relative merits of securities, is obliged either to take too great a hazard or to content himself with the very low rate of interest which can be realized upon savings bank deposits. No one can say how greatly this state of things has tended to discourage savings in the United States during the past decade, but it has undoubtedly had a great influence, owing to the feeling on the part of many investors that it is more difficult to know what to do with savings than to accumulate them. If a thoroughly satisfactory investment yielding a moderate rate of interest could be placed on the market under conditions practically amounting to public oversight, and if this investment could be standardized so as to make it equivalent to partial ownership of a blanket mortgage upon the tillable land of a large section of the country there would undoubtedly be many buyers for the securities as soon as their merits and safety had become thoroughly well recognized. This has been the experience in other countries where land-mortgage bonds, issued under suitable conditions and with adequate protection, have maintained a decidedly high price as compared with other securities yielding a corresponding rate of interest.

The proposed bill would provide for such a standardized investment, and would place it within the reach of the investor who had only a few dollars to put aside. It would offer the bonds in low denominations and under conditions that would make them practically marketable at any time. Moreover, it should be noted that the proposed bill has been so framed as to reduce the margin between the amount received by the investor and the amount paid by the cultivator to the lowest possible terms, only 1 per cent difference being permitted in the long run to be retained by the farm-loan associations and land banks jointly. That is to say, if the farmer pays 6 per cent upon his mortgage loan, the buyer of the bonds which are based thereon will receive 5 per cent. This is a much smaller charge for administration and management than can be arranged for under any conditions practically that can exist at the present time. To-day the farmer who borrows money at 6 per cent on a three-year basis will ordinarily pay a commission of from 1 to 3 per cent to the agent who provides him with the funds. This makes the actual cost of his loan anywhere from 6⅓ to 7 per cent per annum for the three-year period, at the end of which time he will be obliged to pay the same commission if he desires to renew the loan a second period of three years. The commission thus paid is entirely eliminated under the proposed plan, inasmuch as the cost of the system is borne by securing from investors a lower rate of interest than that which is charged to the farmer, such reduction in rates being rendered possible by reason of the fact that the consolidated mortgage or its constituent parts—the bonds—has a higher degree of security, and hence the power to command a lower rate than can ever be true of the individual mortgage which is protected simply by a single piece of real estate. This amounts to saying that the middleman's profit between the investor and the actual user of the capital is reduced to its lowest terms or is eliminated entirely, since it is cut to a figure which simply covers the actual cost of providing the capital and services necessary to carry on the machinery whereby the process of financing the farm borrowers is conducted.

It may be broadly stated that the benefit to the community arising from the furnishing of a standardized security readily available to the small investor would be as great a benefit to him as will the furnishing of a standardized loan readily available at a reasonable rate to the farmer who wishes to make use of a larger capital in his farm operations. It will be welcomed by the investor, as soon as he becomes acquainted with the facts in the case, quite as much as by the cultivator.

An Absence of Preparedness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, February 5, 1915,

On the bill (H. R. 20975) making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, and for other purposes.

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, one of the odd things about all this talk of preparedness for war is that it entirely overlooks some of the most essential features of national protection, to wit, the equipment of our coast line with means of ingress and egress suitable to the size of the vessels we construct for naval purposes. Gentlemen deal with the question of battleships, torpedo boats, and the like as if they were to be built, repaired, equipped, and operated forever, and only upon the high seas. They discuss the problem of preparedness for war very much as some of the political economists of the country have discussed the development of our merchant marine, solely as an all-ocean proposition. We are now dealing with the item that relates to torpedo destroyers. We will appropriate a tremendous sum of money for this purpose and for other naval construction with an unconcern as to the preparedness of our rivers and harbors that is little short of astounding. On more than one occasion the attention of the House has been called to the inadequacy of many of our inland rivers and waterways for vessels of commerce, to say nothing of our vessels of war. I have referred to the inadequacy of the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal to accommodate torpedo boats of the Navy that were subsequently driven in at Cape Hatteras.

Only in September last one of the smallest of the torpedo boats of the Navy grounded in the upper Hudson River because there was an insufficient depth of water. With these conditions prevailing along the coast, in rivers, and inside passages that would be of great strategic importance in times of war, it would seem that in building these small craft, as well as the larger naval ships, without improving our waterways to render them service, we are putting the cart of preparedness before the horse of neglect.

TOO BIG FOR THE CANALS.

That the House may understand some of the difficulties that would confront the Navy Department, if it should desire to pass its small vessels or its supply ships inland in the event of naval operations along the Atlantic coast, I present herewith a letter from the Secretary of the Navy which bears directly upon the subject. It will be noticed that such vessels as the Secretary says could be passed through the existing canals between New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and the South are almost exclusively of the smaller type, some of them tugboats and others ready for the scrap heap. It is doubtful whether under present conditions the Navy Department would risk send-

ing any of the vessels which the Secretary indicates could conform to the canal limitations as to depth and width. Former Secretaries have been asked to make this test and have not deemed it wise to permit it. Secretary Daniel's letter is as follows:

NAVY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, December 23, 1914.

MY DEAR MR. MOORE: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of November 21 on the strategic value of the inland waterways between New York and Chesapeake Bay.

There is no immediate opportunity for making a test of the canals from New York Bay to Delaware Bay and from Delaware Bay to Chesapeake Bay. The characteristics of these canals are well known to the department and are briefly as follows:

A draft of 7 feet can be taken through the passage from New York Bay to Delaware Bay and 9 feet from Delaware Bay to Chesapeake Bay; the greatest speed permitted in the canals is 4½ statute miles per hour. A vessel with a speed of 10 miles, running in daytime only, can make the passage in 2 to 2½ days under favorable conditions.

The size of vessels using the canal is limited by the locks and bridges.

As limited by the characteristics of these canals, with regard to draft, locks, and bridges, the following United States naval vessels can pass through the Delaware & Raritan Canal from New York to Philadelphia:

(a) Eighteen of the nineteen torpedo boats (*Farragut* excepted). All of the above boats are either in reserve or assigned to State naval battalions and are being disposed of more or less regularly as circumstances permit.

(b) Five small gunboats, namely, *Callao*, *Pampanga*, *Panay*, *Samar*, and *Sandoval*. All of these boats are now in the Philippines except the *Sandoval*, which is assigned to the New York Naval Militia.

(c) A few of the converted yachts might be passed through on a very light draft, although all draw too much water normally.

(d) One tug, the *Pawnee*, located at New York yard, and possibly a few others on light draft.

Measurements of mastheads above water line should be taken in the above cases in order to assure passage under 50-foot stone arch at New Brunswick, N. J. In some cases the removal of masts may be found necessary.

The Chesapeake & Delaware Canal is 12 miles long, with three locks, each 220 by 24 by 9 feet draft. All bridges have draws, and maximum speed permitted is 4½ miles per hour. Toll rates are subject to change. Inquiry as to shoals should be made prior to passage. The Delaware River from Philadelphia to Delaware City, the northern terminal of the canal, has ample water for ships which might pass through the canal, but below Chesapeake City, the southern terminal, Back Creek, into which the canal opens, is difficult of navigation, having a narrow and crooked channel, 120 to 150 feet wide, with shoals on each side. Pilots may be had, but creek is too narrow for anchorage. Below this creek the channel of Elk River is easily navigable.

The following ships of the United States Navy will pass through the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal:

(a) All torpedo boats—19 in number. The same notes apply in this case as in subparagraph (a) above.

(b) Seven small gunboats, namely, *Callao*, *Pampanga*, *Panay*, *Quiros*, *Samar*, *Sandoval*, and *Villalobos*. The same notes apply in this case as in subparagraph (b) above.

(c) Five converted yachts, namely, *Aileen*, *Elfrida*, *Huntress*, *Oneida*, and *Sylph*. Some few others might be passed through in light condition. These vessels are mostly assigned to State naval battalions, and are being gradually disposed of.

(d) Eight tugs, namely, *Accomac*, *Hercules*, *Iwana*, *Massasoit*, *Narkeeta*, *Pawtucket*, *Penacook*, and *Pentucket*. A few more might be sufficiently lightened to permit their passage.

The above information is based upon drafts at normal load displacement.

The length and breadth of locks in both cases will take all submarines, but the drafts over sills of 7 feet and 9 feet are prohibitive. Possibly some few submarines might be brought to a draft of 9 feet, but only by the removal of oil fuel, storage batteries, and other essential units. This is, however, doubtful.

It will thus be seen that it is impracticable for submarines to use these canals under war conditions, when the submarines would have on board all their equipment, unless such changes are made in the characteristics of the canals as will permit the passage of vessels drawing not less than 13 feet, which is the average draft of a submarine when running on the surface. Fifteen feet of water should be provided for a vessel drawing 13 feet, in order that maneuvers can be conducted without difficulty.

Very sincerely, yours,

JOSEPHUS DANIELS,
Secretary of the Navy.

Hon. J. HAMPTON MOORE, M. C.,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

CIVIL WAR VALUE OF WATERWAYS.

From a paper by Capt. Philip Reybold, of Wilmington, Del., whose father was instrumental in passing troops through the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal about the time of the Baltimore riots, we obtain valuable information not only as to the commercial but the military importance of these inland waterways prior to and during the Civil War. It is a timely story, illustrating the disadvantage to which this country would be put in attempting to recover from its neglect of such an inside passage as the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal in the event of a blockade or if it should suddenly become necessary to operate inland with the smaller vessels of the Navy:

LANDLOCKED NAVIGATION ALONG THE ATLANTIC COAST.

[By Capt. Philip Reybold, Wilmington, Del.]

"The National Government should own the canals along the Atlantic coast and make them free as they have done on the Great Lakes. Coastwise-bound vessels at present run the risks of outside voyages.

"The imperative commercial necessity for a deep-water canal between the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays is shown, when it would reduce the distance by water between Philadelphia and Baltimore from 430 to 112 miles, a saving of 318 miles, or 74 per cent; and between Baltimore and New York, from 435 to 298 miles, a saving of 137 miles. This in itself would be ample justification for the expenditure of a very large amount of money by the Government.

"A more convincing and practical one, however, is the economy which would be effected by the great reduction in distance between populous centers of industry. It would not only be beneficial to the whole Atlantic seaboard, but would give employment to a vast number of American citizens. The commerce of the country is the source of all the Nation's vital energy and it is the source from whence comes most largely the revenues for paying the Nation's expenses, and the waterways along the seacoast should be continually improved until the transportation of commodities is reduced to the lowest possible figure. The best protection our industries can have is a policy that will insure cheap freights, and any means whereby the distances which separate the economic centers of the country from one another can be diminished must be welcome, for it increases our strength in our industrial world. Everyone who desires to send or to receive goods wishes for cheap freights, and the aim of a healthy transport policy should be to diminish as far as possible the unproductive cost of transportation, and this can be done by cheap inland transportation, which places the economic centers as near as possible to one another, and a well-planned system of transportation which makes the best possible use of local resources and local advantages will build up a prosperous trade.

"There is no question as to the desirability of this deep-water canal between the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays if this Nation should have war with an alien power. This waterway then would be of inestimable value in the matter of transporting supplies beyond the reach of the enemy, and for the passage and harbor of the United States coast defense vessels.

PROVED ITS EFFICIENCY.

"The value of the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal as a means of coast defense was proved during the Civil War by the following circumstances:

"Immediately after the riot, which occurred in the city of Baltimore on April 19, 1861, when the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment was passing through that city on its way to the defense of Washington, all the bridges as far north as the Gunpowder River on the line of the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore Railroad were burned by the Confederates, so there was no means of transporting the troops on the seaboard to Washington by rail. April 20, 1861, the Government seized all the steam propellers lying in or about Philadelphia that could pass through the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal. These boats were then sent down the Delaware River and through the canal to the Chesapeake Bay to meet the troops at Perryville, Md., and thence convey them down the bay to Annapolis and thence by rail to Washington.

"From this time forward, until the end of the war, the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal became a most important part of the inland waterway which the Government used for the trans-

portation of supplies of every sort for the Army. They were brought from as far north as Narragansett Bay down through Long Island Sound through the Delaware & Raritan Canal, down the Delaware River, through the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal, down the Chesapeake Bay, through the Albemarle & Chesapeake Canal, through the Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds, and so on down to Beaufort, N. C., a distance of something over 1,000 miles, at all times protected from the cruisers of the Confederate Fleet which scoured the coast.

ESCAPED HANDS OF HOSTILE FLEET.

"The proof of the necessity of getting the valuable, in fact invaluable, supplies out of the reach of the Confederate cruisers, and the further proof that had they gone outside they would have fallen prey to the *Alabama, Florida, Archer, Florida No. 2,* and *Tallahassee* is fully proven by the record which shows the capture of the bark *Tacony*, June 12, 1862, just off Cape Hatteras—that is to say, just outside of and above the southern part of the inland waterway above referred to. Then again the capture of the revenue cutter *Caleb Cushing* in the port of Portland, Me., June 27, 1863, by the Confederate privateer *Archer*, the attack on the steamer *Chesapeake* off Cape Cod, in December, 1863. On July 10, 1864, the steamship *Electric Spark*, bound from New York to New Orleans on her maiden trip, was captured between the Chesapeake Capes and Sandy Hook by the Confederate steamer *Florida*. In the summer of 1864, the Confederate steamer *Tallahassee*, an iron steamer of 500 tons and 13 knots, carrying a crew of 180 men and officers, escaped through the blockade from Wilmington, N. C., and made her first capture off the Delaware Capes, and in the next three weeks captured and burned 33 vessels. The most important capture was the *Adriatic*, from London, which was burned near Fire Island; in other words, any shipping that ventured outside this inland waterway was sure to fall prey to the Confederate cruisers.

"For the use of transportation in these canals and bays, constituting this line of inland waterway from Narragansett Bay to Beaufort, N. C., the United States Government seized and chartered during the war 144 propeller steamers, 89 steam tugs, and 842 freight barges, in all 1,075 boats, which were used in the passage of these canals.

"The whole subject of the chartering and seizure of these boats during the course of the war for the purpose of transportation of Government supplies to the Army through this canal system is set out in full in Executive Document of the House of Representatives, No. 337, of the second session of the Fortieth Congress. Inasmuch as there were in all 3,612 vessels seized, chartered, or employed by the Federal Government during the war throughout the entire country it will appear that nearly one-third of this whole number was used in this particular system of canals.

GOVERNMENT RECOGNIZED IMPORTANCE OF CANALS.

"It is plain to be seen from the importance these canals were to the Federal Government during the war, more particularly the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal, that had it not been for the existence and use of this last-named canal and the hurrying of the troops to Washington just after the Baltimore riot, the grave possibility of the capture of Washington might not have been averted, when no other means were presented to the Government for forwarding troops. This is further proved by the shipment of the New Jersey troops from Trenton, on the afternoon of Friday, May 3, 1861, on board 16 propeller steamers, which, passing down the Delaware River and through the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal, arrived at Annapolis on Saturday evening, May 4, and were then shipped by railroad the next morning, May 5, for Washington, where their presence at the front materially aided the national defense.

"It will be remembered that the route through Baltimore, by reason of the burning of the bridges, was still closed May 15, 1861, when the Philadelphia Volunteers, 3,000 strong, under Gen. Cadwalader, had to be shipped from Perryville to Baltimore Harbor by means of the steamers seized during the preceding month, and that the troops used by Gen. McDowell, when he crossed the Potomac on May 23, 1861, and took possession of Arlington Heights and Alexandria, were most of them transported either through the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal, or via Perryville and Annapolis, because the burnt bridges did not allow the use of the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore Railroad; in fact, these bridges were not rebuilt for use until after Gen. McDowell's advance.

"The Potomac River was closed and fortified by the Confederates by a series of batteries below Washington and extending to the mouth of the river, and it will be further remembered that the Confederate scouts had advanced as far as, and were stationed at, the Virginia end of the Long Bridge, so that after the burning of the bridges on the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore Railroad, the night after the Baltimore riot, there was but one single route for the shipment of Federal troops from the North along the seaboard to Washington.

SUPPLIES TIED UP.

"It was impossible, on account of the temper of the people in Baltimore, to obtain possession of any boats at that port; the Confederate Government controlled and patrolled with its boats the Chesapeake Bay as far north as the mouth of the Potomac River, and the Federal Government had absolutely no means of transportation upon the Chesapeake Bay until the boats were sent through the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal, so that even had the Federal Government been able to transport its troops as far as Perryville on the eastern shore of the Susquehanna River, it still had no means of transporting the troops from thence to Annapolis and so on via Annapolis Junction to Washington by railroad, until the boats seized at Philadelphia had passed through the canal, when they afforded the only means of furnishing troops for the defense and for the salvation of the National Capital.

"Remembering that the burned bridges were not reconstructed before the early part of June, 1861, the whole key to the Federal situation lay in the use of these boats, and in the use of the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal, as a means for the shipment of both men and supplies to the front.

"After the action between the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor*, March, 1862, which opened up and cleared the Chesapeake Bay through to Norfolk for the Federal sea forces, the sending of vessels which were converted into gunboats through the Albemarle & Chesapeake Canal into the Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds opened and established and kept established for the rest of the war this inland waterway from Narragansett Bay to Beaufort, N. C."

COMMERCE NEEDS THE CANAL.

I also append a letter written by F. S. Groves, agent of the Baltimore & Philadelphia Steamship Co., to the United States engineer in charge of the Delaware River improvements. This letter was in answer to a request for an expression of opinion as to the necessity for certain improvements at the Delaware Breakwater. In addition, I submit an editorial from the Philadelphia Inquirer which appeared in December last and before the recent agitation of the alleged submarine operations of the German Navy around the coast of Great Britain:

BALTIMORE & PHILADELPHIA STEAMBOAT CO.,
Philadelphia, December 24, 1914.

Col. GEORGE A. ZINN,
Corps of United States Engineers,
815 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia.

DEAR SIR: In reply to yours of the 21st instant. Our steamers are all operated through the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal. No doubt the improvement in your letter would be an advantage at times to the trade, but it seems to me the present facilities are sufficient for some time to come. I have operated a number of outside vessels at different periods and have never had a complaint from a captain about the Delaware Breakwater, but I believe in the future when the trade increases such an improvement will be of considerable advantage.

I am particularly interested in the development of the inland waterways, which, in my opinion, are of more vital importance than the improvement of the harbors by the Government, as they particularly apply to the development of our water-borne or coastwise commerce, and it is time the Government turned its attention in this direction instead of spending such large amounts in deepening the approaches to the sea, which is more to the advantage of deep-draft foreign ships, while our present depth of water to and from the principal ports is more than ample to accommodate our largest coastwise steamers, the maximum draft not over 23 feet.

The purchase of the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal by the Government is, in my judgment, the most important water legislation before the Government. This is the principal link in the proposed chain of waterways, and would do more to develop the Atlantic seaboard commerce than most people not familiar with the conditions can conceive, both from a military and commercial point of view. The present canal has long outgrown its usefulness and capacity to handle the tonnage offering. It has reached its limitations, and its ownership and improvement by the Government would be of tenfold more value to the country at large than any other water improvement proposed.

This company, which I have the honor of representing, has operated through this waterway for over 70 years, and we are thoroughly convinced of its great advantage and possibilities. We operate a daily line between Philadelphia and Baltimore for

freight and passengers, except when interrupted by canal repairs, which happens most every winter, and makes a break in our service frequently 30 days or more. This interruption is very serious to our business. The repairs are to the locks, which are practically worn out.

Our steamers, of which we have four, are the maximum size to operate through the canal. In the summer months we have double service—day line and night line. The present depth of the river is ample for these boats, except at Hamburg Cove, above Delaware City, where we have to leave the channel near New Castle and go around the cove when the water is shallow, and much farther than if the channel were straight from the main ship channel above Fort Delaware, all of which no doubt you are very familiar with.

As a matter of fact, when the canal is taken over by the Government and improved a very large proportion of the trade, both barge and steamer, that now goes down the Chesapeake Bay via Cape Henry from Baltimore, etc., will come up through this canal and go via Cape May to New York and the East. Then your suggested improvement at the breakwater at the mouth of Delaware Bay will be advantageous.

To answer your questions as to what the improvement I suggest would mean in dollars and cents to this company, it would be altogether a matter of guesswork. Our steamers to-day are 210 feet long and 23 feet 8 inches beam, draft loaded—350 tons—9½ feet. With the improved canal our boats would be 350 feet long, 40 feet beam, and draft about 15 feet; so you can judge there would be considerable increase, and all other tonnage seeking the waterway would increase proportionately to ours. There is to-day a large fleet of barges trading through this canal that carry 800 tons dead-weight cargo and 500,000 feet of lumber; their carrying capacity is 25 per cent greater for outside service. You can realize what wider beam and more depth would mean to 100 or more barges. Further than this, all the Atlantic seaboard ports have been and are to-day controlled by links of railroads, and what is shipped coastwise is very limited, as the steamship lines operating from these ports are also controlled by the railroads, and the ports for this purpose are also limited by the railroads; consequently a great many of the seaboard ports have no direct water connection; and yet there are a great many independent railroads that would like the connection to develop their territory, but are prevented by the more powerful corporations; but the inland waterways that would open up barge competition, which is the cheapest known mode of transportation, would act like a great trunk line, and the barge lines would be fed through every port on the Atlantic coast in both directions for all heavy commodities at rates greatly to the advantage of the manufacturer, shipper, and consumer. This would be followed by fine, fast, and commodious steamboat lines, which would be of great benefit in equalizing both rates of fare and freight, and this great inland waterway would be a free trunk line to all comers and a boom in the development of the entire seaboard, the value of which I would not like to guess at, but I will venture to say will far exceed the Panama Canal traffic.

Yours, truly,

F. S. GROVES,
General Manager.

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer.]

BRITISH COASTS VULNERABLE.

"Commenting on the sudden raid of the German fleet upon the east coast of England, many writers have asserted that this is unprecedented in more than a hundred years, some holding Paul Jones responsible for the last raid and others going much further back. The alleged invulnerability of the British Isles is apocryphal, although their comparative isolation has been an immense factor in safety for centuries. From the day when Cæsar first crossed the Channel until now the British Isles have repeatedly been invaded at one time or another and only remnants are left of the original Celtic tribes in Wales, Cornwall, Ireland, and Scotland. Jute, Saxon, Angle, Dane, and Norman have poured in until the British population is composed of many Teutonic elements.

"It was not until Great Britain began to develop her sea power that her immunity became notable. Since the days of Elizabeth no foreign foe has made an important lodgment, save with the approbation of the mass of the people, as in the case when William of Orange came over and took the throne. The Duke of Monmouth, the Old Pretender, and the Young Pretender made temporary lodgments and important campaigns, only to fail. At various times the French landed in England or Ireland, but made no impression. Napoleon in 1804 gave the British a scare by his preparations at Boulogne, which came to naught.

"The greatest scares Britain has had have come from this country. John Paul Jones, with a daring equal to that of the Germans, entered Whitehaven and burned some of the shipping. He landed on one of the Scottish islands where he was born and scared the inhabitants, but he accomplished little of military value. In the War of 1812 the American privateersmen did much more damage. They did not actually make landings, but they hovered around all of the islands, cutting out shipping and driving the Admiralty and British merchants to a state of frenzy. Indeed, one of the greatest factors in bringing about the peace which was signed 100 years ago this week was the daredeviltry of these famous privateers which destroyed shipping worth millions, made insurance rates prohibitive, and caused great distress all over the manufacturing districts of the United Kingdom. This made the war unpopular in England, just as it was beginning to become popular in this country, and the end was soon reached."

THE BRITISH CAPTURED WASHINGTON.

Mr. Speaker, Congress still refuses to vote sufficient money to take over and improve the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal or to construct another waterway that will relieve the congested commerce of the Atlantic coast, or place it in a position for easy maneuvering in the event of war. The river and harbor bill, as it now comes from the Senate, has numerous new projects for the West and for the South, but the Atlantic coastal waterways, where the population is thickest are given the frozen hand. It is strange how in these days of economy we can risk so much of our money where there is no need and no danger. It seems to be of immense importance that we should keep at work upon the great inland rivers, where battleships or torpedo boats will never float, and upon great irrigation projects which are bountifully provided for in the sundry civil bill just reported, but apparently it continues to be a matter of indifference whether the great cities of the coast line shall have the ordinary facilities for doing business in times of peace or a reasonable chance to be successfully defended in times of war.

Five years ago the European traveler who suggested an invasion of Belgium would have been told that under existing peace conditions such a proposition would be ridiculous. We do not look for the invasion of New York or Boston or Norfolk, and yet the very Capital of this Nation was invaded by the British in 1814 and some of our most treasured memorials were destroyed. The Potomac River is not much different now from what it was then. The Chesapeake & Delaware Canal is substantially the same as it was in 1829. There has been no improvement in width or depth in the Delaware & Raritan Canal since 1834, and yet we are told that we are amply protected and that our inland waterways are sufficient for commercial purposes. It is the willing horse that bears the burden.

The Wage Earner and the Bonus.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, February 5, 1915,

On the bill (H. R. 20975) making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, and for other purposes.

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BUCHANAN], which contemplates the abolition of the so-called bonus system for work in the navy yards, and in explanation of the queries made by me as to the effect of a similar amendment already tacked onto the Army bill, I append the following protest from the Frankford Arsenal Association of Philadelphia, Pa.:

THE FRANKFORD ARSENAL ASSOCIATION,
Philadelphia, Pa., January 28, 1915.

Hon. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The committee named below, representing 400 employees of the Frankford Arsenal, earnestly protest against the legislation in the Army bill depriving us of our premium rate of compensation, which was established at this arsenal over five years ago to the mutual satisfaction of all concerned. The enactment of this legislation means an annual loss to us of about $44,972. You are requested to use your utmost endeavors to have this legislation struck out by the upper House of Congress or so modified that we will not be deprived of our increased earnings under the premium system.

Very respectfully,

JOSEPH B. MOSS,
HARRY G. PENN,
JOHN JESBERGER,
Committee.

Immigration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES MANAHAN,
OF MINNESOTA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 4, 1915,

On the veto message of the President on the act (H. R. 6060) to regulate the immigration of aliens to and the residence of aliens in the United States.

Mr. MANAHAN. Mr. Speaker, during the debate on the immigration bill the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. POWERS] asked me a question, and in replying I made the observation that something in the neighborhood of 30 per cent of his constituency is illiterate. This estimate was made from recollection of the general character of the section from which the gentleman comes. The gentleman from Kentucky corrected my statement and asserted that the illiterates in his district "over 10 years of age" were less than 20 per cent. Possibly my offhand estimate of the total illiteracy, including that of infancy, was unfair. To do exact justice in the matter, I have consulted the census reports of 1900 and 1910 and find that my original statement was not mathematically accurate to the last decimal point, although it justly reflected conditions. I now speak from official records.

The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. POWERS], who so insistently opposes the coming of immigrants who can not read, represents 15 counties, in one of which he was born. In 1900 the illiteracy of males of voting age ranged from 15.2 per cent in Laurel County to 35.7 per cent in both Leslie and Clay Counties. In four counties the illiteracy of males of voting age exceeded 30 per cent, while in four counties it was less than 20 per cent, the average being approximately 25 per cent. In 1910, the last census taken, two counties only showed over 30 per cent of males of voting age to be illiterate, and the general average of the whole district was reduced to 21.4 per cent, showing a slight awakening.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to give the gentleman from Kentucky credit personally for trying to lift his people out of the darkness of ignorance. He tells us in his biography that he served Knox County as superintendent of schools for six years, and I note in the census returns that at the end of that period only 25.5 per cent of the men of that county of voting age were illiterate. I note also from these census returns that in Russell County, as well as in Laurel County, the percentage of illiteracy has increased instead of diminishing from 1900 to 1910, although there was not one illiterate foreign-born man in Russell and only nine in Laurel County when the 1910 census was taken.

The gentleman suggests that these figures include the negroes, but he can find little comfort in the census reports. In one-half of the counties of his district the illiteracy of the native whites—males of voting age—runs from 20.6 to 30.1 per cent, while in the other half it runs from 13.3 to 19 per cent, the average of the whole district being approximately 20 per cent.

It will be observed also, Mr. Speaker, that the census returns show that in Leslie County, where over 30 per cent of the native whites—men of voting age—are illiterate, and not one illiterate foreign-born man was found by the census taker. In fact, the gentleman represents six counties—Cumberland, Harlan, Leslie, Monroe, Rockcastle, and Russell—in none of which was there in 1910 a single illiterate foreign-born man, and three other counties had only one in each. Apparently the gentleman has no foreign-born constituency to offend, and so many of the native whites can not read that he has little to fear from his constituents, no matter what he says upon this floor.

Mr. Speaker, I was personally gratified to observe in scanning the census returns that in the five darkest counties referred to, in every one of which the illiteracy of the men over 21 years of age exceeded 25 per cent in 1900, there was not one man, illiterate or otherwise, who was born in Ireland. If any Irishmen were there, they were so ashamed that they had hid themselves when the census takers came around.

It will be conceded, I think, that the gentleman's district is in bad shape intellectually, and as it is a part of the United States geographically, I feel at liberty to suggest two remedies.

First, bring in from southern Europe as many immigrants, with bright eyes, warm blood, and active brains, as can be persuaded to become constituents of the gentleman. This influx will in due course of time overcome the staleness of the native American stock disclosed by these census reports.

Second, I suggest that the gentleman from Kentucky ask unanimous consent to print as a public document the alphabet, the first reader, and the multiplication table, so that he can, under his frank, send them to the illiterate voters whom he has the honor to represent.

If these remedies fail, I urge the gentleman to resign and go home and teach his neighbors to read instead of working here, with men of like motives representing similar constituencies, to shut the door of this Nation in the face of more ambitious, if not more deserving, people.

Mr. Speaker, the following statistics are compiled from volume 11, on population, of the census reports of 1910:

Percentage of illiterate males of voting age in the eleventh congressional district of Kentucky, by counties, showing also for each county the percentage of native white men of voting age who were illiterate in 1910.

Name of county.	In 1900.	In 1910.	Illiterate white men of voting age, 1910.	
			Native born.	Foreign born.
	Per cent.	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*
Bell	26.2	19.9	18.5	25.6
Clay	35.7	29.3	29.3	.....
Clinton	26.3	19.5	19.0	.....
Cumberland	30.1	25.8	24.4	.....
Harlan	30.4	30.3	26.6	.....
Knox	25.5	22.1	21.7	.....
Laurel	15.2	17.3	17.3	5.0
Leslie	35.7	30.6	30.1	.....
Monroe	15.8	18.4	14.9	.....
Pulaski	19.1	13.9	13.3	.....
Rockcastle	22.4	21.6	21.3	.....
Russell	16.3	17.1	16.8	.....
Wayne	25.8	21.4	20.6	.....
Whitley	20.2	13.7	13.3	.....
Average	24.6	21.4	20.3	.....

McCreary County was, since the census was taken, carved out of Whitley, Wayne, and Pulaski Counties, and her population is included in the foregoing.

Veto Message on Immigration Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY T. RAINEY,
OF ILLINOIS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 4, 1915,

On the veto message of the President on the act (H. R. 6060) to regulate the immigration of aliens to and the residence of aliens in the United States.

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, this bill which has passed Congress twice, and has been twice vetoed—once by a Republican President and now by a Democratic President—provides, in my judgment, for very proper immigration restrictions. The bill has been twice vetoed for the reason that it contains a literacy test. The literacy test simply requires that aliens over 16 years of age, who are physically capable of reading, shall not be admitted to this country unless they can read at least 30 words in the English language or in some other language or dialect, including Hebrew and Yiddish. We expend in this country every year for the purpose of educating our citizens over $700,000,000 in money. Some of our States have an educational qualification for voting. More of them will have an educational qualification in the near future. We proceed upon the theory in this country that the man who is educated makes a better citizen and is more loyal to American ideals than he can be if he is ignorant. There is nothing unreasonable in a qualification of this kind, in my judgment.

The great mass of our people who pay taxes will find, if they consult their tax receipts, that the school tax they pay is usually the very largest item. Is it possible, in view of the sacrifices our people so willingly make to educate the youth of the land, that they are willing and anxious to accept from foreign lands uneducated, ignorant immigrants, and open up to them the opportunities this great Republic presents?

For over 100 years the country has accepted seriously the advice of Washington in his Farewell Address and has endeavored to "promote, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the diffusion of knowledge." This admonition

has been literally followed in every State in the Union. Has not the time come to say to the horde of immigrants who come to us now from the south of Europe you must be able at least to read 30 words in your own language before we can open up to you the opportunities this country affords; before we can afford to permit you to mingle with the great masses of the people in this country?

Not long ago Representative BURNETT, chairman of the great committee which has reported out this bill, was in Sicily investigating this very question, and while there he inquired as to why the people of that section of the world were no longer troubled with the bandits who infested the mountainous sections not many years ago, and the answer was: "They are gone, nearly all of them; they are in America."

The greater portion of the present objectionable immigration comes to us through New York, and the governor of New York is now calling upon the Federal Government to assist the State of New York in caring for the weak, feeble-minded foreigners who are pouring into that State from abroad. In 1911 there were in the civic hospitals of New York State 5,700 patients. One-half of them were foreigners. In 1912 there were 31,000 patients in 14 State hospitals in New York, and 41 per cent of them were of foreign birth. It has been estimated that in New York 60 per cent of the occupants of charitable institutions and insane asylums are foreigners. A great Democratic President more than a hundred years ago, with the foresight which always characterized him, was able to see the conditions coming which actually confront us now. Thomas Jefferson said:

While we are providing for the fortification of our country against the foreign foe, I am in favor of fortifying it against the influx of undesirable immigration.

It is no answer, now, to say that many of the immigrants who reached this country prior to 1883 could not read and write; that their descendants are now among our best citizens; and that, although they could not read and write, they made good citizens themselves. In those days the land vent was still open, and the Government was able to give away farms, and a man could have a farm by simply asking for it and living on it. Our public domain is gone. Public lands capable of producing crops have nearly all been given away, and to-day from the best classes of our agricultural population thousands and thousands of skilled farmers are crossing our northern boundary into the great Canadian Northwest. Last year there landed on our shores over 1,300,000 immigrants. The influx of immigration is not quite so large now, on account of the fact that the nations of Europe are engaged in a destructive war; but when the war closes we may expect a larger immigration than ever. Prior to June 30, 1910, and after July 1, 1819, nearly 30,000,000 immigrants were admitted to the United States. From 1819 to 1883, 95 per cent of the total immigration from Europe originated in the United Kingdom, Germany, Scandinavia, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, and Switzerland. The immigration prior to 1883 was exceedingly desirable, and we were able to add to our population the very best of the red-blooded peoples of these north of Europe countries. The immigration prior to 1883 from these countries has been referred to as the "old immigration," but after 1883 there was a rapid and distinct change in the character of the influx of European immigrants. From that time to this 70 per cent of the movement originated in southern and eastern Europe, and the "old immigration" movement in the last 30 years has materially declined. The immigrants who come now are unskilled laborers. They do not go to the land. They remain in the congested centers of population. The report of the Immigration Commission, representing the work of the commission for three years, and contained in the 41 volumes of its report in 1910, finds that there is an oversupply of unskilled labor in the basic industries, and the commission recommends such legislation as will restrict the further admission of unskilled labor, and eight of the nine members of this commission, after four years of study, reached this conclusion, which they expressed in the following language:

A majority of the commission favor the reading and writing test as the most feasible method of restricting undesirable immigration.

Recently conclusive proof has been submitted showing that the shipping, steel, and mining corporations of the country have financed the opposition to this bill. In the days of the old immigration there were no great ships capable of carrying hundreds and thousands of immigrants. The old stock from the countries of northern Europe came here in sailing vessels, occupying weeks and weeks of time making the long journey across the Atlantic. The immigrants who come here now from the south of Europe arrive in great steam-propelled ships, quickly crossing the Atlantic, and a large portion of the profits of these great shipping corporations comes from the one million and a quarter immigrants they bring to this country every year.

Cheap labor from the south of Europe may add materially to the profits of a Shipping Trust; the great Colorado mining corporations, financed with Standard Oil money; and the great steel corporations, anxious always to employ the cheapest kind of labor in order to increase to their stockholders the amounts paid out in dividends; but these considerations do not influence me. I prefer to keep up the high standard of American manhood. The best way to protect American labor, in my judgment, is to protect it from this tremendous influx of cheap, unskilled, ignorant foreign immigration from the south of Europe. Much of the south of Europe immigration is desirable, but the desirable immigrants from the south of Europe or from any other country in this new century are able nearly always to read and write. I have voted always for a bill containing this test. I shall again to-day vote for this bill. I believe the country demands this legislation.

It may be that it has not been incorporated into party platforms, but the fact remains that prior to the last election this bill passed Congress by an overwhelming majority. It was made an issue in the congressional and senatorial elections throughout the country last fall by the Shipping Trust, by the mines, by the steel corporations, speaking through the National Liberal Immigration League, supported by their contributions. It was opposed, as it always has been opposed, by the American Federation of Labor, and I think also by the great mass of the people of the United States. Candidates for Congress and candidates for the Senate alike were questioned upon this subject by the proponents of legislation embodying a literacy test and by the opponents of legislation of this character. It may not have been incorporated in a party platform, but this question was an issue in the elections of last fall, and the result was the election of a Congress and of a Senate believed to be again overwhelmingly in favor of this legislation, and the vote upon this measure may show that two-thirds of the membership of the present House still favor the literacy test. If the measure fails to receive the necessary two-thirds in this Congress, whose life expires so soon, the fight will go on, and the Sixty-fourth Congress may disclose a sufficient number of votes in favor of this measure to pass it over a presidential veto, if it should again be vetoed.

The Ship-Purchase Bill and Our Merchant Marine.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUFUS HARDY,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 2, 1915.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I desire to place in the RECORD something of interest to the general public on the subject of the pending ship-purchase bill and our merchant marine. I noticed in a city paper a day or two since this paragraph:

ON SHIP BILL—MANN, GARDNER, AND HUMPHREY ACCUSED STATE DEPARTMENT HEAD OF HAIRSPLITTING AND EVASION.

Despite qualified denials from the State Department, three Republican Members from the House asserted late to-day their belief that the department has received from the British Government a notice that Great Britain would object to the purchase of interned ships by this Nation under the ship-purchase bill, or otherwise.

It so happens that I believe I know Great Britain has done no such thing. Such statement must have been made with the hope of forcing the State Department to make public the delicate and intimate relations and communications between our Government and Great Britain. I am scarcely at liberty to say how I know it, but I do know that the policy of Great Britain with reference to the commerce to this country, whether it shall be carried in ships of the Government or in ships of private individuals, has been and will be in the friendliest spirit, and that all the talk about Great Britain attempting to cripple our commerce, or having any desire to do so, is absolutely false. I had not intended, however, to go into a discussion of that matter. What I did wish to do was to present a discussion of the ship-purchase bill and of our merchant marine, and I desire to place in the RECORD a speech I have prepared to deliver to the New York Republican Club next Saturday, which is as follows:

"Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, permit me to thank you very sincerely for the honor you have conferred on me and to say that I regard it as an evidence of patriotism that you, a Repub-

lican club, have invited me, a Democrat, to address you. My own creed is perhaps liberal. I am not a socialist, a paternalist, or a centralist. On the contrary, I am strongly an individualist and for local self-government. But I am a patient student of history and of facts, and I favor as much of socialism, paternalism, and centralism, and am ready to abandon as much of individualism and localism as I may believe consistent with my obligation to support the Constitution and essential to the general welfare. Dismissing preliminaries, I will proceed to discuss the questions named in your letter.

"First, in regard to the ship-purchase bill now pending in Congress. The report of the committee on merchant marine of the Boston Chamber of Commerce relative to this bill, made on January 9, is a remarkable document. I can only touch it in high places. The first sentence states that there is no precedent whatever for Government ownership of a merchant marine. In this sentence there is error, for Russia has made quite an extensive experiment in that field; Brazil has done likewise, as doubtless have many others, the United States among the number. The second paragraph of this report mentions this experiment of the United States—the New York to Colon steamship line—only to misstate the facts about it.

"It states that the Government has operated that line at a nominal bookkeeping profit of 2 per cent for 10 years, with insurance, depreciation, and interest charges disregarded, and refers in footnote to Mr. E. A. Drake, vice president Panama Railroad Steamship Co., for confirmation.

"I have in my possession a letter from Mr. Drake in which he gives all the facts connected with the operations of that steamship line from the date of its acquisition by the Government as a part of the Panama Railroad Co. up to the present time. He shows that the steamship line was acquired as part of the property of that railroad in the purchase from the French Canal Co. of its assets for a total sum of $40,000,000, and that the value of the railroad and ships included in that purchase was estimated at $7,000,000. He shows that the railway company at the time had a bonded debt outstanding, and after its purchase the Government of the United States spent $4,935,197.03 in retiring the bonds and improving the property of the company. Only $372,234.92 of this sum was used on the ship line. That was spent in rebuilding the *Allianca*. Of the total sum there was repaid to the Government $1,687,864.92 from the net revenues of the company. The company, besides this, paid interest to the Government on the money advanced by it up to March 4, 1911, on which date the company was relieved from payment of the balance due the Government, then amounting to $3,247,332, in consideration of very low rates and charges for services to the Government.

"The freight paid by the Government upon all its shipments had been reduced from a maximum rate of $8 per ton to an average rate of $3.50 to $4 per ton, thus saving to the Government millions of dollars, and at the same time causing private steamship lines, sometimes performing service for the Government going to Colon and to near-by ports, to reduce their rates to like reasonable charges. In addition to this, Mr. Drake shows that the passenger fare paid by employees of the company before this purchase averaged about $75 per passenger; that the Government-owned line transports all its employees at rates ranging from $20 to $30 each, as well as all parties visiting the canal under the auspices of the Government, Members of Congress and other officials included. Moreover, Mr. Drake's letter declares that up to October 31, 1910, the company paid the Government for the charter of the two vessels, *Colon* and *Panama*, 8 per cent on its investment, 4 per cent being intended to cover interest on the investment and 4 per cent being intended to cover depreciation, both of which sums are reasonable. These vessels were bought by the Government at a cost of $1,312,000. The letter shows that for every dollar invested, at least up to that time, the Government was paid ample charter fees, interest, and depreciation charges. On October 31, 1910, the Government made a special trade with the Panama Canal Steamship Co. under which the company was relieved of further payment of interest on the cost of these two vessels and charter fees, and so forth, on its agreement to carry the cement required in the construction of the Panama Canal at $1.25 per ton, which would have cost if carried by tramp steamers an average of between $2.60 and $3 per ton. Mr. Drake's letter did not state, so I wrote to Maj. Boggs and found that the company had carried for the Government since that date 540,578 tons of cement, thus paying or saving to the Government about $700,000.

"These letters of Maj. Boggs and Mr. Drake are accessible to any and all of you, and will show that both the positive statement and the inference to be drawn from the report of this Boston committee are without the pale of reason.

"Steamers of a Government-owned line would, if built in the United States, says Boston, cost more than competing foreign-built ships, which is true—alas, too true—if the Government were compelled to buy them so. But the Government will not be fool enough to pay two prices for her ships, and therein lies the great fear and bitter hostility to this bill of those who fight it. As to the labored denial of any emergency requiring this or some other measure to build up our merchant marine, I need only ask you gentlemen by what craft prior to this war was the great commerce of our people carried? It was carried in the vessels of Germany, England, France, Italy, and of the European world. Of these vessels many of the English have been converted into war vessels, all of the German have been removed from the seas, and a great many of the French are no longer available; and it seems to me, when we know these facts and the cruel prices being charged us for transportation, that it is the most brazen insolence to tell our people that there is no urgent need of additional vessels to carry our commerce or additional measures to build up our merchant marine in the future. So much for this report.

"Now, then, the Boston Maritime Association has issued a circular in opposition to the ship-purchase bill, dated January 15, 1915. The first eight pages of that circular are devoted to the question of possible foreign entanglements that would arise if the Government of the United States should become itself interested in any vessels sailing the foreign seas, especially if bought from any power engaged in the present war, and on this point opposition Senators and newspapers more largely dwell than on any other. It seems to me that one single sentence answers every contention of those who oppose this bill on account of foreign entanglements, and that sentence is simply this:

"The danger of entanglements by reason of the Government buying foreign vessels and putting them into trade would be no greater and it would be no less than would be the danger of entanglements arising out of our citizens buying the same vessels and putting them into trade, for the simple reason that our Government would and will go just as far to protect the vessels of its citizens as vessels of its own. This statement may sound broad, but it is true. It is not possible that the great Government of the United State does not consider the pecuniary rights of its citizens as sacred as the pecuniary rights of itself. Would our flag be more sacred to a Government into whose ports the ships of the United States have entered than it would when flying on the ships of a private citizen of this country duly registered? There can arise no question of foreign controversy with regard to a vessel owned by the United States in the merchant business that would not arise regarding a vessel owned by any citizen of the United States. The only possible difference would be that the bona fides of the Government purchase would, I think, never be questioned. It might be different as to a naval ship, but as to merchant ships the question is the same. Therefore if on the ground that it might involve us in international entanglements we refuse to pass this bill, on the same ground we ought to stand idly by and tell our people to make no effort to obtain vessels for private ownership in order to conduct the great foreign commerce of our country, rather we ought to warn them not to buy any ships from the people who are at war.

"So much for the ship-purchase bill.

"The intimation in the circular of January 15 of a return to a policy of discriminating duties contains, I fear me, the real hope of all the opponents of the ship-purchase bill. If they can secure either a subsidy or return to the policy of discriminating duties, that would be the favor they want; but, mark you, it must be large to satisfy them. The circular declares: 'Nothing but our own ineptitude bars the way to our return to the Jeffersonian system of discriminating duties. If these are made large enough, a sufficient number of ships will be attracted from the coastwise trade to meet our most pressing needs. Upward of 34 of our coastwise vessels have already entered our foreign trade. The railroads will temporarily profit, and the domestic business will suffer, but'—and so forth.

"In these sentences the opposition to this bill shows its cloven foot. It appears that the high freight rates prevailing in our over-seas trade has already diverted 34 of our coastwise vessels from coastwise to foreign trade. It is well known that the rate of freight in our coastwise trade was and has been for years far higher than the freight rates on the ocean, but conditions are such now that our coastwise vessels are leaving the coastwise trade to engage in the more profitable, because of the more unconscionable, rates now paid in the transoceanic trade. Thirty-four vessels! This new opportunity to rob our people in the over-seas trade is too rich a morsel to be refused, and nothing would please the railroad companies better than to have a still

greater number of the coastwise ships diverted to the transoceanic trade. Consequently we have a long pull, and a hard pull, and a pull altogether, from the shipping interests and the railroad interests, who all hope to prevent any substantial steps being taken by the Government which would have the effect of fixing reasonable rates in the transoceanic trade. They would like to be permitted to charge such rates as they see proper in the transoceanic trade and at the same time to raise their railroad rates on account of the diversion of the coastwise ships. Many of the coastwise ships belong to the railroads. If they can double or quadruple their ship earnings and raise their railroad earnings, of course they will divert their ships.

"Mr. Chairman, need one make further argument to illustrate that there is an emergency and need for something to be done except to state that to-day we are paying $15 a bale for the transportation of cotton from Galveston to Bremen, whereas 12 months ago we paid $1.50 per bale? Is it not sufficient that the freight rates for all classes and kinds of commodities, whether they be contraband or noncontraband, whether going to neutral countries or warring countries, have advanced from 200 to 1,000 per cent during this war?

"The man who says there is no need for something to be done speaks not only without knowledge but with reckless indifference to the general welfare.

"And so our Boston people think that nothing but our own ineptitude bars us from the discriminating-duty policy, and they say that if we were to adopt that policy steamships will, of course, be needed, and that would give capital some assurance, and there would instantly arise a demand for all the labor in the United States available. I presume if that policy is not adopted they will refuse to see need for more ships. Mr. Chairman, if the prices now being paid, and likely to be paid on account of the scarcity of ships, are not sufficient to cause our shipbuilders to put all of their factories at work overtime, what more would do so? And while on that question I wish to prophesy. If the Government should pass the bill in question and should to-morrow offer to have built five vessels of a certain construction, to cost each about $1,000,000, to be delivered in the harbor of New York on a certain date, I dare to predict that with open competition with all the world the vessels would be built in the shipbuilding yards of the United States.

"And I do so because I know and the shipbuilders themselves have admitted to us that the metal material that goes into these ships is cheaper in America than elsewhere. We have the timber on our own shores; we would not have to ship it from abroad, and the only possible element in which they may cost more here than abroad would be in the element of labor, and in my opinion labor is not more scarce to-day in the United States than it is in Europe. The shipyards in Europe are busy for their Governments. Our shipbuilders can underbid them and yet reap a golden harvest. Instead of spending their time fighting this bill they ought to be straining their resources to build ships for the ship market and getting ready to build any ships the Government would need under this bill at a lower price than Europe can.

"Mr. Chairman, leaving this bill, which is but incidental, after all, to the main question, permit me now to discuss the great question of the American merchant marine. I believe that I can guarantee to the United States in 10 years' time the greatest merchant marine in the world if she will take my prescription. I have listened to speeches of the advocates of discriminating duties and of subsidies. I have endeavored to find what reason they assign for our inability to compete on the ocean and for the final fading away of our American merchant marine. In desperation they always urge a subsidy or discriminating dues. None of them were ever known to suggest any other remedy or change in our laws.

"Mr. Chairman, from 1815 to 1860 this country had a great merchant marine. It was true then as it is true now that the scale of wages in the United States was higher than the scale of wages in any country of continental Europe or in Great Britain. It was true then as it is now that to some extent the sailors on American vessels received higher wages, but it was also true then as it is not true now that our shipbuilders built ships not only for the United States and her merchant marine, but they built ships in competition with and for the nations of the world. American ships were built here and sold all over the world and they engaged in all the trade of the world.

"It is also true that in 1815 we had the policy of discriminating duties and had had from the foundation of the Government, but it is likewise true that that policy was inaugurated simply in retaliation for discriminating duties levied against our merchantmen and our ships by other countries, particularly by Great Britain. And in 1815 the party then in power sought by treaties and by law to abolish discriminating duties, and passed a law at that time authorizing the abolishment of discriminating duties against all nations who would adopt a like liberal policy toward us, and from the year 1815 to 1828 every administration, whether Whig or Democratic, every single, solitary administration, sought to abolish all discriminating duties imposed by every nation upon our ships and by us on their ships, provided there could be an agreement. And it is true that the end of them came in the administration of Andrew Jackson in 1828, after a long, hard struggle to secure it, after having negotiated not one but dozens of treaties with other nations, securing equality as to ship treatment and the abolishment of discriminating duties between the United States and the other nations. In 1828 the last obstruction to a free sea for the commerce of nations was removed, the last remnant of discriminating duties was swept away, and our ships were allowed to enter the ports of Great Britain, and their ships to enter our ports on equal terms.

"I reiterate the fact that wages were then higher in this country than they were in England, but all our shipbuilders and merchantmen then asked was a free chance and a fair fight on the open seas and they believed they could beat the world. Under that belief in 1828 discriminating duties were abolished, the sea was open, America entered the contest, and from 1828 to 1860 she built ships in competition with the world, and sold them and sailed them in competition with the world. But in 1861 the great Civil War broke out. Our merchant ships were then wooden ships. The war swept off many of them. It gave England something of an advantage in shipbuilding over and above us, and when the war ended we found ourselves not only without the necessary number of merchant vessels, but we found ourselves to a large extent outstripped in the process of building ships.

"Instead of then permitting our people with the genius of Americans to strive to build up their shipping in competition with the shipbuilders of the world, by giving them free ship material, we applied the policy of protection to such material, and every piece of iron, every piece of steel, every element of metal that went into the construction of a ship was placed under a high tariff, so that England, then, being in advance of us with reference to the iron and steel products going into ships of modern construction, our producers of such articles were able to charge a far higher price than obtained in England, and consequently our shipbuilder was handicapped and ceased to build ships for the foreign trade. He might have fought the iron trade and struggled for free ship material, and he would have gotten it had he tried; but he chose rather to stand in with the iron people, as all special interests are wont to do, and to content himself with being given the sole right to construct ships for our coastwise trade. In building these ships he could afford to pay any price for material because foreign competition was prohibited, and so he began to build only for the American coastwise trade vessels for which he could charge his own price.

"At the end of the Civil War we were still carrying some 33 per cent of our foreign trade in our vessels, old left overs that we had from the period before the war, but as every year rolled by the number of our vessels upon the seas grew less—the old ones sank, were lost, burned, disappeared, and no new ones took their places, and in the period from 1865 to 1910 we had dropped from 33 per cent just after the war to 8 per cent of our foreign traffic carried in our own vessels; and of that 8 per cent practically the only part of it worth considering was fostered by the Government by subventions.

"Mr. Chairman, could it have been otherwise? I read from an address by Mr. James J. Hill, just recently published, in which he makes this categorical statement:

> "Vessels built in the United States cost from 50 to 100 per cent more than the same vessels built abroad, and therefore the American merchant marine can not compete with the foreign merchantmen."

"Now, Mr. Chairman, with that statement, which is true, I want to present to you the reasons why I think our merchant marine has vanished. But before doing so I wish to present to you what the ship subsidists claim as the reason. They say it is because of our antiquated navigation laws. I ask them what are these antiquated laws? Sometimes they endeavor to scrape up a law, and say that our laws require greater accommodations and conveniences for the crew. I ask them to point out such requirements, and they are unable to do so. On the contrary, the only law that we have on the subject is one providing crew space, which in the United States is 72 cubic feet for each member of the crew and in Great Britain it is 120 cubic feet. Then they say it is because our law provides a higher scale of food for the men; but I read the law to them, and while it does give a food scale, it also says that this scale may be altered by agreement, which is always done. Then they say that our ships have

disappeared from the sea because of the greater cost of operation, and that that is because we pay higher wages to the crews who operate the ships. But, I ask them, is that a matter of law? Certainly not; but what about it? It is a fact that the seamen on American vessels under American registry may be of any nationality under the sun, and they are not required to be Americans. It is also a fact that the wages of the seaman employed are fixed by the port in which he is engaged and not by the flag under which he sails. If an English vessel in the harbor of New York finds it necessary to secure the services of a seaman, that vessel must pay New York wages to secure the seaman. If an American vessel in the harbor of Liverpool finds it necessary to secure a seaman, that vessel will only pay Liverpool wages to secure the seaman, and whatever the flag under which a seaman sails he receives the wages of the port in which he is engaged.

"So that whether the sailor be on an English, German, American, or Chinese vessel he is not paid by the flag he floats under, but by the port he engages in.

"Now, Mr. Chairman, that being the case, I want to call your attention to a sure enough antiquated law which it is sought to cure in the seaman's bill which we have been seeking to pass, the purpose of which is to abolish arrest of seamen for desertion. Under our law and treaties we bind ourselves that if a seaman comes from Liverpool or Bremen or China to New York and there deserts his ship he is not, as you and I would be if we had failed to fulfill our contract one to the other, subject to civil process, but he is a criminal. Our constabulary, under our treaties, arrests that seaman in the port of New York, places him in chains, and puts him on board the ship from which he has deserted. The result is that the foreign shipowner may engage his men for a round trip from Naples or Liverpool, contracting to pay him the wages prevailing in that port, and if the seaman sees proper to quit him in New York, where the sun is brighter and the skies bluer, we put the hounds of the law after him and put him back on board his ship. The result of that law is that they can engage their labor in the cheapest port possible and keep the sailors going back and forth, and our Government helps them to do it. This law for the enforcement of a civil contract by criminal process does not work both ways. The shipowner may take a crew from New York to Naples and, if he sees fit, dismiss the crew and take on a crew of Italians at the cheapest scale of Nea- You can not compel him to keep his crew; but if they desert, politan wages for another round-trip voyage to New York. they are arrested and he carries them back to Naples. Now, while our shipowners have the same rights under these laws and treaties, I think it likely the foreign shipowner has better opportunity to profit by them. The seaman's bill will abolish arrest for desertion. Its operation will be that when skilled seamen come to our ports and find an opportunity to secure better wages here, it will be so that now and then, unless the shipowner is willing to raise their wages to reasonable sums, they will desert and get employment on some other ship.

"In 5 or 10 years, under the operation of the law which makes the seaman for the first time a freeman, the men who sail on merchantmen in and out of the harbor of New York will receive living wages, and all of them practically the same wages. If men are free, you can not work them side by side at vastly different wages. It will come to pass that American or foreign ships will only pay better prices for better men, and the cost of the crew will no longer be a hindrance to the operation of our merchant marine.

"Capt. W. A. Wescott, president of the Masters, Mates, and Pilots of the Pacific, has been before our Committee on Merchant Marine many times, and has, I think, impressed everyone with whom he came in contact as a conservative, splendidly informed, truthful, and able man. He gave me these figures as to cost of operation of an American ship of 6,000 net or 8,000 gross tons:

Officers and crew, 42 men; average wage per month, $62.16⅔; per year $746; total per year	$31,332
Fuel, 3,500 to 4,000 horsepower, oil, $150 per day	50,000
Food and supplies	10,000
Interest on cost ($500,000), 6 per cent	30,000
Depreciation, 5 per cent	25,000
Repairs, 5 per cent	25,000
Insurance, 5 per cent	25,000
Total	196,332

"Labor cost percentage .159 plus.

"If our ships cost the same as foreign ships, all the items other than labor would be the same on foreign as on American ships.

"It is believed that under the 'seaman's bill,' 'abolishing arrest for desertion.' wages of seamen in our foreign trade on American and foreign ships will be absolutely equalized. That is largely true now, since no law prevents our shipowners hiring even Chinese crews, and many foreigners are employed on even our coastwise vessels.

"But our officers must be American citizens, and subsidy hunters claim that requirement kills our merchant marine. Capt. Wescott prepared for our committee a very interesting pamphlet of 21 pages, giving the rate of pay of masters and mates on practically every American ship in our foreign merchant service, and also the rate of pay of the like officers on a great number of ships in the British merchant service. On page 4 he gives the pay of those officers on *Congress*, a United States ship of the Pacific Steamship Co., of 7,985 gross tons:

	Per month.
Master	$225
Chief mate	125
Second mate	100
Third mate	85
Fourth mate	75
Total	610

"On page 18 he gives the pay of commanders, answering to our masters, on 43 vessels of the White Star Line. They range from £400 to £1,400 per annum, the lower pay being on cargo vessels only. It is hard to make a close comparison, but in addition to the pay it is shown that British officers receive very substantial privileges and emoluments not received by American officers at the ship's expense, such as full bonus without deduction for periods less than three months off duty, full sick pay for three months, leave of absence up to three weeks annually on full pay, etc. Frankly, I think the British and American pay of their commanders or masters is about equal. As to those below that rank, corresponding to the American chief mate, second mate, third mate, fourth mate, he gives, on page 14, the pay in the Canadian Pacific Railway Pacific Service the following:

	Per month.
Chief officer, answering to our chief mate	$125
First officer, answering to our second mate	90
Second officer, answering to our third mate	80
Third officer, answering to our fourth mate	70
Placing pay of commander at	225
Total	580

"This would make a difference in the aggregate pay of American and British officers of $30 per month, or $360 per year in favor of the American, on a vessel of 6,000 net tons, if we ignore the special advantages enjoyed by the British officer, which I have mentioned, and would amount to one-fifth of 1 per cent of the total cost of operation of such a ship as I have described.

"But these calculations are all made under the supposition that the British and American vessels cost the same. If the American vessel costs 50 to 100 per cent more, then the items of interest, depreciation, repairs, and insurance in her cost of operation will be from $50,000 to $100,000 more per annum, and of course competition is out of the question.

"Mr. Chairman, has it ever occurred to you when you hear people say, 'We are unable to compete on account of higher wages,' that England proportionally pays a much higher wage when compared with the wages paid by the Italian shipowner or the German shipowner or the French shipowner, than we do as compared with England? Yet England holds the sea while paying higher wages to her officers. She is mistress of the sea. And is it possible we have grown so weak that we are unable to compete under conditions similar to the conditions under which England competes with the balance of the world?

"I confidently prophesy that if we shall put our merchantmen upon the sea, with equal privileges, no hamperings, no restrictions, no restraints, they will hold their own with the Englishman, the Frenchman, or the German. But permit me to make this further statement: That the men of all nations are yet governed by self-interest, and we are no exception to the rule; and you as an individual contemplating shipowning are confronted by the question when you desire to engage in transoceanic traffic of whether you will sail your ship under the American flag or under the English flag. You are confronted by the proposition that if you put it under the American flag you must pay from 50 to 100 per cent more for it than if you put it under the English flag, and that all other conditions are equal. Mr. Chairman, which flag will it be, patriot though you are? I know and you know that every man within the sound of my voice under the present conditions will buy the English ship and run it under the English flag, and that is all there is to it, and he will do it because it is utterly impossible for him to do otherwise. Permit me to give you some figures. Take a vessel that in England would cost $600,000. It is a magnificent merchant vessel. That vessel built in America would

cost $1,000,000. Now, you and I are thinking about engaging in this trade, and you are a patriotic American and pay $1,000,000 and buy the American-built vessel and I buy the English vessel, not being so patriotic. We will consider that the cost of the money is the same to us, as we both issue bonds. You use a million dollars of it and buy your vessel, and I use $600,000 of it and buy my vessel. And now we start on the same business of carrying freight between Liverpool and New York, or wherever we wish to go. To begin with, the first year you are compelled to pay marine insurance on $400,000 more than I am. And 6 per cent on $400,000 is $24,000 that you pay for marine insurance more than I do; and then you pay 5 per cent on $400,000 more than I do, which is $20,000 more than I pay for interest; and then the average annual repairs on vessels is about 5 per cent, which will cost you again $20,000 more for repairs than I pay.

"The life of a vessel is supposed to be 20 years. Now, Mr. Chairman, at the end of 20 years you will have spent for insurance, interest, and repairs $64,000 more a year than I. At the end of 20 years you will have spent $400,000 more in original cost and $1,280,000 more than I in interest, repairs, and insurance. You might have been a better patriot than I when you bought that ship, but if there was anybody dependent on you or your welfare they ought to have had a guardian appointed for you. Is it any wonder that under these circumstances the business man buys the English ship and puts it under the English flag? Is it any wonder that under these circumstances our merchant marine disappeared from the seas? Mr. Chairman, if you will not take my prescription, I am absolutely sure you will not have an American merchant marine. If you will take my prescription, I am just as sure that you will have an American merchant marine. The American Federation of Labor very recently, in a great national convention, unanimously adopted this resolution, introduced by Mr. Andrew Furuseth, of the Seaman's International Union: '*Resolved*, That we urge upon Congress to so change our registration laws that any vessel rated in the highest class of any responsible classification society may be registered as an American vessel, to sail in any trade, provided that she be compelled to carry citizens of the United States as licensed officers.' This resolution contains my prescription for the American merchant marine.

"As our laws now stand we have a so-called free ship bill. An American citizen may buy a ship where he pleases and obtain for it American register, but by the same law we restricted his right under it to engage only in the foreign trade. We said, 'You may fly the American flag, but we will give you absolutely not one privilege under that flag that you do not have under the British flag.' On the contrary, you will lose certain privileges which you have under the British flag. It is true that Great Britain permits any ship to engage in her British Isles coastwise trade.

"England is not afraid that foreign ships will take her home trade away from her; but England is a little selfish, too, and only English ships can engage in the coastwise trade of her great colonies. Under the American flag you will lose that privilege. Besides this, England has negotiated many treaties of reciprocity, under which her ships may enter the coast trade of many countries. You will not have that privilege under the American flag. Mr. Chairman, not a foreign-built ship would be under our flag to-day under that law but for the benefit of our neutrality and national standing during the present war, and after the war every one of them, if our laws remain the same, will go back under some foreign flag. But if you will permit the ship that bears the American flag, under American register, and owned by Americans, though built abroad, to engage in our coastwise trade, then that ship has obtained a privilege of value. Then when it comes from Liverpool with cargo to New York and goes back by way of New Orleans or Galveston to obtain a return cargo to Europe, it will not go empty, as it does now, but will bear a full cargo of freight from New York to New Orleans or Galveston, and all along its route it will be earning money and be at great advantage over the English vessels, which can carry none of our coastwise trade.

"Please understand that this is not all I would have. Nothing but nature has the right to be prodigal. Civilization ought not to waste the labor of her sons, and therefore I would have no barren voyages, but our coast should be open to all ships, as the coast of England is. But if before I die I may see the dawn of a better day breaking by the adoption only of the policy set forth in the resolution of the Federation of Labor which I have presented, I am willing to say, 'Now let thy servant depart in peace.' Our shipbuilders, though they will not believe it, will be profited, also, in the end by such a law. They will not only build the bulk of the tonnage for our coastwise trade but millions and millions of tonnage for the overseas trade and for the trade of other countries. You can no more drive our shipbuilders out of business than you can the shipbuilders of England.

"The United States Steel Corporation, the Bethlehem Steel Co., and others can put out cheaper iron products than any other shops in the world, and they have to use American labor. All the other material that goes into a ship we have more readily at hand than any other country, so that it is foolish to talk about destroying our shipbuilding industry, in which we have about 32,000 workingmen engaged. But even if that industry were injured, we ought never to have put ourselves in our present humiliating condition to protect the special industry of 32,000 men. We have crippled American commerce by that foolish policy in this present year alone more than enough to have placed those 32,000 men on a pension roll for all time. Struggle brings strength. Our shipbuilders will learn the lesson of standardizing, which they say they have not done in the past. They will adopt economies, and just as sure as the sun rises, by improving their management, by having vast quantities of work to do and a vast market for their output, they will do as our shoe manufacturer, our iron and steel producer, our machinery men, and every other large enterprise of the United States have done, and they will become sellers to the world. Mr. Chairman, there was a day when, as a nation, we were strong and self-reliant shipbuilders, merchantmen, and seamen, and when, under conditions like the present, we would have gone out over the world the proud masters of commerce and of the sea. God grant such a day again."

How the Tariff and Freight-Rate Discrimination Affects the Steel Business.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANDERSON H. WALTERS,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 8, 1915.

Mr. WALTERS. Mr. Speaker, a very fair and correct statement of the effect of the tariff and freight-rate discrimination on the steel business is contained in the annual report of William H. Donner, president of Cambria Steel Co., to the shareholders of that corporation. The report of the activities of the Cambria Steel Co. during the general depression of business is an emphatic refutation of the oft-repeated charge that steel manufacturers came to the aid of politicians by unnecessary and unwarranted cessation of active operations. I deem the statements of the president of Cambria Steel Co. of such vital importance that they are inserted herewith:

EXTRACT FROM THE ANNUAL REPORT OF PRESIDENT WILLIAM H. DONNER, OF THE CAMBRIA STEEL CO.

* * * * * * *

During the year 1914 the steel industry suffered a curtailment of operations and a decrease in prices, though the labor rates established in 1913—the highest ever paid by your company—were maintained, and these conditions are unmistakably reflected in the results of the year. The net earnings per ton of finished product were the smallest in the history of the company; your annual net earnings were less a few years ago, but since then approximately $8,000,000 have been spent in improvements and the production of your works increased and diversified. Prior to August the new tariff law was the chief disturbing factor, permitting foreign manufacturers to quote exceedingly low prices, which the American mills were compelled to meet. Later the European war completely unsettled financial conditions throughout the world. In October the financial situation was relieved and has since been gradually improving.

With most of the large steel plants of Europe tied up on account of the war, foreign competition is now virtually suspended; but in the steel trade contracts are made so far ahead that it is almost impossible to secure an advance in prices after they are once lowered until there is evidence of sufficient business to fill up the mills. No one in the steel business can tell just how seriously the present tariff will affect the manufacturers or their employees until it has been tested under various conditions. Those connected with the industry must bear the burden of this tariff experimentation, while those without employees to consider or investments to protect have nothing to lose.

THE TARIFF A BUSINESS MATTER.

It is to be regretted that the tariff can not be considered broadly as a business proposition and handled on a scientific basis. Many persons are attracted by the theory that the steel industry in this country needs no protection because of our superior plants and the greater efficiency of American labor. In this day and age of skillful engineering and wide intercourse, however, it is not possible to have more economical plants in America than elsewhere, except temporarily. The foreign manufacturer is able to undersell in this country because of higher priced labor in the United States, which adds to the cost of plants as well as operat-

ing costs. Foreign laws also permit a closer cooperation among the manufacturers in both domestic and export trade. In periods of prosperity abroad the foreign mills can sell their entire output more profitably outside of the United States, but when their markets fail it is quite an advantage to them for the American tariff to be low enough to permit their selling a portion of their product in America, even at cost if necessary, to help pay fixed charges and maintain their organizations. This policy is very beneficial to the foreign manufacturer, but demoralizes the American market. Thus a tariff that is harmless to the steel industry of the United States one year may be ruinous the next, depending upon the business of our foreign competitors. It is unfortunate that these facts are not more generally known and appreciated.

CANADIAN COMPETITION.

We are experiencing some competition on rails from Canada. Under our existing tariff law rails from foreign manufacturers are admitted free into the United States. On the other hand, the Canadian tariff tax on United States rails is $7.84 per gross ton. Thus are we handicapped to the extent of $7.84 per ton on rails for shipment into Canada in contrast with the free entry of the Canadian product into the United States.

The tariff tax on American pig iron into Canada is $2.80 per gross ton. In competition with blast furnaces in Buffalo, Canadian furnaces just across the border have an advantage of $2.80 per gross ton on Canadian business and can ship pig iron into the United States free of any tariff tax. Early in 1914 Canadian pig iron was sold, delivered Philadelphia, at a price which would not have yielded any manufacturer in the United States interest on investment. It probably did not yield the Canadian manufacturer a profit, but the sale helped maintain his organization and keep his furnaces in blast at the expense of American labor and manufacturers, besides upsetting prices in this country.

TARIFF AFFECTS INLAND STEEL PRODUCERS.

There is probably no manufactured product in this country the demand for which fluctuates so violently as steel, depending upon general business conditions. It has been described as "either a feast or a famine." With cheap ocean freights from foreign countries, a very low tariff (in some instances none), and special import railroad rates, American manufacturers of steel are heavily handicapped. It has been erroneously stated that the tariff affects American manufacturers in a few coast cities only. On the contrary, the import rail freights on steel are lower from ports on the seaboard to many interior points where you do business than the rate from your works in Johnstown to these same points, a few instances of which may be seen in the following table:

Freight on wire and bar iron via rail.

Freight rates.	Per hundredweight.	Distance.
	Cents.	*Miles.*
Domestic, Johnstown to Chicago	20.4	545
On import, Baltimore to Chicago	[1]18	782
On import, New Orleans to Chicago	[2]17	930
On import, Galveston to Chicago	[2]17	1,148
Domestic, Johnstown to St. Louis	25.1	696
On import, New Orleans to St. Louis	21	718
On import, Galveston to St. Louis	21	864
Domestic, Johnstown to Cincinnati	17.3	387
On import, New Orleans to Cincinnati	12.5	836

[1] Wire only. [2] Bars only.

Pittsburgh rates are 1½ cents less than Johnstown rates to western points.

The freight discrimination in favor of imported steel is unfair and should be adjusted. There never was a time when the steel industry needed low transportation rates for assembling raw materials and distributing its products more than it does to-day, notwithstanding the fact that the railroads need and should have more revenue.

As American workmen are protected against the importation of foreign labor, it is inconsistent not to protect them against the product of foreign labor. That the higher American wage level is a decided advantage to our public welfare is virtually admitted by all, but it should be understood that to maintain this standard a fair tariff tax is necessary.

In 1914 your company and its subsidiaries paid $12,288,651 in wages directly to its own employees. In addition to this, over $16,000,000 were paid for freight and material purchased, a large portion of which sum of course was applied to the labor employed in production and transportation of same.

It is unjust that foreign makers of steel, who, on account of cheaper labor, can build and operate their works for less money than American manufacturers, should be permitted to sell their product in this country and demoralize prices whenever conditions suit their convenience without paying a substantial tariff tax. They compete with and displace American labor and manufacturers, who have their capital invested in this country and continuously pay municipal, county, State, and Federal taxes, those paid by your company during 1914 amounting to $516,368.

America is by far the largest producer and consumer of steel in the world, and under fair business conditions should maintain her supremacy. The present tariff will necessitate the use of rich and cheaply mined ores and restrict expansion of the steel industry. New steel works under construction in this country will of necessity be completed; others will require additions to round them out so as to operate economically. All operations, from mine to finished product, must be consolidated in order to derive any profit. American capital invested in the steel industry must make the best it can out of the present uncertain situation. The Cambria Steel Co. has not hesitated to improve its works, and has also given its shareholders all that it has been possible to distribute. Trade is far from normal, but the market is broadening and we hope for better business. Specifications received in December were larger than in November and have been more than maintained during January. Although the future can not be predicted, with a continuance of the large trade balance in America's favor as established in December, it would seem that business should continue to expand, and your company is in excellent position to take advantage of any improvement.

Respectfully submitted, by order of the board.

WILLIAM H. DONNER, *President.*

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *January 28, 1915.*

On Contraband of War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. B. P. HARRISON,

OF MISSISSIPPI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 6, 1915.

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an article written by John Bassett Moore, which appears in the Washington Post of February 5, 1915.

The article is as follows:

CONDITIONAL CONTRABAND SHOULD BE ABOLISHED WHEN NATIONS NEXT CONFER, SAYS JOHN BASSETT MOORE—UNITED STATES AND GERMANY, AT HAGUE CONFERENCE, VOTED AGAINST BRITISH PROPOSAL THAT PRINCIPLE OF CONTRABAND BE ABOLISHED ALTOGETHER, SAYS INTERNATIONAL LAW EXPERT—"APPALLING TO REFLECT" WHAT WOULD BE PRESENT STATE OF OUR COMMERCE IF CONTROL OF SEAS WERE CONTESTED BY HOSTILE FLEETS, HE POINTS OUT.

[By John Bassett Moore, former counselor of the State Department and foremost American authority on international law.]

Unhappily we are at present witnessing the progress of one of the greatest wars the world has ever seen. Apart from the exceptional stimulation of certain branches of industry, the effects of such a conflict upon commerce are necessarily injurious; and in those effects neutrals as well as belligerents are involved. In place of the regulated competition which exists in time of peace, commerce and industry, when war supervenes, become subject to extraordinary restrictions and limitations. Of some of these obstructions the character and scope have been definitely determined, while of others the nature and extent have not yet ceased to be a subject of controversy.

Taken as a whole, these obstructions may be divided into two categories, comprising (1) those that proceed from the duties imposed upon neutrals, and (2) those that proceed from the rights belonging to or asserted by belligerents. For convenience they may be discussed in this order.

UNNEUTRAL ACTS DEFINED.

Viewed from the Government point of view, unneutral acts may be divided into two classes: (1) Those that neutral Governments are obliged to prevent and (2) those that neutral Governments are not obliged to prevent. A neutral Government is not permitted itself to commit any act that may savor of aid to a belligerent. It may not, for instance, furnish arms or munitions of war or give or lend money to either belligerent; but the question of what a neutral Government may itself do and the question of what it is obliged to prevent its citizens from doing are two distinct things. For reasons of convenience, which more or less lie at the foundations of all law, neutral Governments are not required to assume the entire supervision and control of the commerce of their citizens in the interest of belligerents; but belligerents are permitted to protect themselves against injury by means of certain recognized measures.

The duties of neutral Governments in this regard are fairly well defined. As enumerated in the statutes of the United States, which have served as a model in these matters, they embrace the prevention (1) of enlistments of men for belligerent service and (2) of the construction, fitting out, or arming of vessels of war, or the augmentation of their force in men or materials for such service.

These inhibitions affect commerce only in so far as they place a restriction upon the building or fitting out or arming of vessels for purposes of war; but it is important to note here a distinction which forms the basis of the law in regard to the manufacture and shipment of arms and munitions of war. The comment is often made that it is strange or illogical that a neutral Government should forbid its citizens to build ships for a belligerent, while it permits them to manufacture and sell arms and munitions of war without restriction. But the distinction is substantial and has an historical origin.

HOSTILE EXPEDITIONS BARRED.

The first conception of neutral duty was that which required a Government to prevent the enlistment of men or the organization of hostile expeditions within its territory for the purpose of taking part in a war in which it was itself neutral. This was not an unnatural or unduly burdensome obligation, and it was by an extension of this conception that the duty was imposed upon neutral Governments of preventing their territory from being used for the purpose of fitting out or arming vessels of war for belligerents. In other words, such fitting out or arming was likened to the setting on foot of a hostile expedition.

But when we come to consider the rights belonging to or asserted by belligerents for their own protection, we enter the sphere of serious interference with neutral commerce. Generally speaking, the breaking out of war between two or more countries does not take away the right of neutrals to trade with them. Any denial of that right must rest on specific grounds and can be asserted only by specific measures. And in order that a government at war may protect its acknowledged interests, there is conceded to it what is called the belligerent right of visit and search, which signifies the right of a belligerent man-of-war to visit and search on the high seas the merchant vessels of neutrals for the purpose of ascertaining whether they are violating the laws of war; and in case there should be disclosed a reasonable ground of suspicion that such a violation is in course of commission, to take them in for adjudication by a prize court.

BELLIGERENT RIGHT OF VISIT.

The belligerent right of visit and search is only a means to an end, and the end with which it is chiefly concerned is the prevention of any infraction of the law relating to blockade and to contraband. The impulse of the belligerent is to cut off his enemy altogether and to prevent him from getting anything from the outside. The neutral, on the other hand, naturally desires that his trade should not be unduly hampered by an armed conflict to which he is not a party. During the wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the early part of the nineteenth century, which so largely related to contests for col-

onies and for commerce, or, in other words, for monopolies in trade, a constant struggle went on between belligerents and neutrals as to their respective claims. This struggle related chiefly to three measures, namely (1) blockade, (2) the treatment of enemy's property, and (3) contraband of war. In the end an agreement was reached as to blockade and the treatment of enemy's property, but the question of contraband, although it at one time seemed to be in course of adjustment, was not definitely settled.

OBJECT OF BLOCKADES.

The object of a blockade is to cut off all intercourse with the enemy so far as the blockade extends. It will be recalled that during our Civil War all the ports of the Confederacy were blockaded, with results that became more and more appreciable as time wore on. Blockade respects neither the nationality of the ship nor the nationality or character of the cargo. The penalty of an attempt to break a blockade is confiscation both of ship and cargo, no matter what the character of the goods may be. In former times attempts were often made to forbid access to belligerent ports by proclamations of blockade which were not actually enforced. These were known as paper blockades. But this practice was eventually done away with, and the principle as announced in the declaration of Paris of 1856 came to be universally accepted, that a blockade, in order to be binding upon neutrals, must be effectively maintained; that is to say, maintained by a force reasonably sufficient to prevent entrance to the blockaded port.

The contest as to the treatment of enemy's property was at length ended by the establishment of the principle that such property should not be subject to capture when borne on a neutral ship. This is known as the rule that "free ships make free goods." By what was called "the common law of the sea" the fate of a cargo depended upon the neutral or enemy character of the owner. If it belonged to an enemy, the ship, though neutral, was seized and carried in, in order that the goods might be confiscated. Even apart from the difficulty that may often arise in determining the question of property, this practice was extremely vexatious to neutrals. By the declaration of Paris of 1856 it was declared that the goods of an enemy should be exempt from capture on board a neutral ship. This rule was universally accepted, even by the powers which, because of the inhibition of privateering, declined to adhere to the declaration as a whole; and on the outbreak of the War with Spain, in 1898, was proclaimed by the United States, one of the nonadhering powers, as a principle of international law.

CONTRABAND SUBJECT TO SEIZURE.

But the rule that an enemy's goods are not subject to capture on a neutral ship is subject to a notable exception, namely, that of contraband of war. If the goods are contraband, the ship and cargo are subject to seizure, just as before. Nor does the rule that blockades must, in order to be binding, be effectively maintained affect the question of contraband, except so far as it may tempt belligerents to strike at each other by adding to the articles embraced in that category; and it is quite possible that this temptation may be increased by the difficulties and hazards which the invention of submarines has added to attempts to maintain men-of-war on a blockading station before a hostile port. Indeed, no matter from what point the subject may be approached, it is evident that contraband, both in itself and in its relation to other rules, has been for a number of years and still is the question of capital importance as affecting trade in time of war.

At the present moment a negotiation is in progress between the United States and Great Britain in regard to the exercise of the right of visit and search, particularly in relation to the question of contraband. Into the discussion of this pending negotiation it would not become me now to enter further than to remark that the representations of the United States were not only friendly in tone, but were evidently inspired by the desire to reach an arrangement which should be duly considerate of the interests of all concerned, of belligerents and neutrals alike. But, no matter what arrangement may be made, it can, in the present state of the law, hardly be expected to be more than a makeshift. The question requires for its eventual adjustment a more radical solution than any of the compromises attempted in recent years have offered. If, instead of the naval supremacy now exercised in its own interest, and in that of its allies, by the largest consumer of our agricultural products and foodstuffs, the control of the seas were actually contested by powerful hostile fleets, it is almost appalling to reflect upon what might be the present state of our commerce. The bare suggestion of such a predicament, for the study of which conditions in the more or less distant past furnish ample materials, justifies us in giving to the subject our most serious consideration, for we must look to the future as well as to the present.

CLASSES OF CONTRABAND.

Since the days of Grotius, articles have been divided, with reference to the question of contraband, into three classes—(1) those primarily and ordinarily used for war; (2) those of double use, i. e., capable of being used either for peace or for war; (3) those not at all useful for war. Articles in the last category are altogether excluded from the domain of contraband. The first and second classes have lately been denominated "absolute contraband" and "conditional contraband." Previously it had been usual to speak of the articles embraced in them as "absolutely" contraband or "conditionally" contraband; and this phraseology is, in my opinion, much to be preferred. To speak of articles as "absolute contraband" and "conditional contraband" seems to imply that these articles are in themselves somehow to be considered as contraband and can be saved from condemnation as such only by some process of exculpation. In reality no article is intrinsically contraband, either "absolute" or "conditional." Even arms and munitions of war are not contraband when they are not destined for a belligerent. There is, in other words, no such thing as contraband without destination for a hostile use.

The practical and substantial distinction between articles absolutely contraband and articles conditionally contraband is that the former become contraband merely upon destination to a belligerent country, while articles conditionally contraband may be shipped directly to a belligerent country unless it be affirmatively shown that they were destined for a hostile use. This distinction has been clearly maintained both by the United States and by Great Britain. It was laid down in the British Manual of Prize Law, and was definitely set forth by Lord Salisbury during the Boer War, when, in a communication to the United States, he said:

"Foodstuffs with a hostile destination can be considered contraband of war only when they are supplies for the enemy's forces. It is not sufficient that they are capable of being so used; it must be shown that this was, in fact, their destination at the time of the seizure."

POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES.

The position of the United States had been equally clear and unequivocal. Indeed, for more than a hundred years the United States had sought altogether to exclude from the category of contraband raw materials and foodstuffs. In the treaties with Prussia of 1785 and 1799 the United States had gone so far as to agree that even arms and munitions of war when seized as contraband should not be confiscated, but that the captor should pay for them if he converted them to his own use or pay damages if he only detained them. In many later treaties, culminating in that with Italy of 1871, the United States, while admitting the principle of contraband, included in it only articles primarily used for war. In 1898, during the war with Spain, the United States, being then a belligerent, designated as articles "conditionally contraband" only the following:

"Coal, when destined for a naval station, a port of call, or a ship or ships of the enemy; materials for the construction of railways or telegraphs, and money, when such materials or money are destined for the enemy's forces; provisions, when destined for an enemy's ship or ships, or for a place that is besieged."

When, in March, 1904, the Russian Government, on the outbreak of the war with Japan, published instructions to its naval commanders which forbade the conveyance of contraband "to Japan or to Japanese armed forces," and denounced as contraband "foodstuffs," including all kinds of grain, fish, fish products of various kinds, beans, bean oil, and oil cake, the United States protested, and, acting coincidently with Great Britain, secured the modification of the instructions to a certain extent, though not to the extent desired.

UNITED STATES PROPOSITION OF 1907.

Such was the position of the United States up to the second Hague conference in 1907, in which the subject of contraband came up for discussion with a view to a general international agreement. In that conference the delegation of the United States submitted, in the first instance, a proposition the precise scope of which is at least open to interpretation. According to this proposition "conditional contraband" was to "consist of provisions, materials, and articles which are employed for a double purpose, in peace and in war, but which, by reason of their character, or special qualities, of their quantity, or by their character, quality, and quantity are suitable and necessary for military purposes, and which are destined for the use of the armed forces or for the military establishments of the enemy." The things to be included in the category thus described the belligerent was to designate, prior notification to neutrals being a prerequisite to seizure or confiscation.

The British Government, on the other hand, proposed that the principle of contraband should be abandoned altogether, and that the right of visit should be confined to the ascertainment of the merchant vessel's neutral character. Lord Reay, in explaining this proposal for the British delegation, adverted to the fact that, while it had in spite of all efforts been found to be impossible to prevent belligerents from obtaining the munitions which they needed, the attempt to do so had, by reason of the increase in the tonnage of ships, the carrying of mixed cargoes, the lack of any single destination of ship or cargo, the multiplication of the number of articles used in war, and the development of railways and other means of transportation by land, become more and more futile on the part of belligerents and more and more injurious to neutrals. Upon the strength of these reasons, which as we recite them to-day have a prophetic sound, it is not strange that 26 of the powers represented in the conference voted for the British proposal, while only five voted against it. Among those five we find the United States, in association with France, Germany, Russia, and Montenegro. Japan, Panama, Roumania, and Turkey abstained from voting. With the exception of the United States and Panama, all the American countries voted for the British proposal, as also did Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Servia, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland.

Recalling the treaties between Prussia and the United States in 1785 and 1799 for the virtual abolition of contraband, it is singular to find the United States and Germany, acting together as two of the five powers which voted against its abolition in 1907; but, although the United States voted against the British proposal it is gratifying to note that Admiral Sperry, on behalf of the United States delegation, after the British proposal had failed to secure the unanimous approval of the conference, maintained the historic American position that the right of capture should be confined to articles agreed to be absolutely contraband. But no agreement was reached.

DECLARATION OF LONDON.

Such was the international situation immediately prior to the so-called "Declaration of London." This declaration, which was signed on February 26, 1909, by representatives of Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and the United States, was designed to furnish a uniform law for the administration of an international prize court under one of the conventions adopted at The Hague in 1907. As is well known, prize courts are courts of the captor's country. For this reason they have been supposed to be susceptible to national influences and prejudices, and they may even be controlled by national legislation. It was, therefore, a real step in advance in the development of international relations when Germany and Great Britain submitted at The Hague conference in 1907 plans for the establishment of an international court of appeals in prize cases.

But when the powers whose representatives assembled in London in 1909 came to provide this court of appeals with a uniform law they were not so fortunate. It is far from my intention to criticize the work of any particular delegation in the naval conference by which the declaration of London was framed; but a cursory examination of the text of the declaration suffices to show that it was the result of compromises, and that these compromises proceeded upon concessions to conflicting tendencies rather than upon a uniform principle. No doubt this was necessary in order to secure a unanimous agreement at the conference, but the results were not harmonious.

FAVORABLE TO NEUTRALS.

In two particulars the provisions of the declaration, so far as they relate to contraband, were favorable to neutrals. They proposed to make a neutral destination in the case of conditional contraband conclusive of innocence, thus abolishing in respect of that category the doctrine of continuous voyages, and they undertook to establish a "free list," comprising articles (one of which was raw cotton) which were not to be declared contraband. But when they came to deal with "conditional contraband" the provisions of the declaration were not so fortunate. Under "conditional contraband" there were grouped

14 classes of articles, including such things as "foodstuffs," "forage and grain suitable for feeding animals," "gold and silver, in coin or bullion," "fuel," and "lubricants," and "clothing, fabrics for clothing, and boots and shoes, suitable for use in war"; and to the 14 enumerated classes belligerents were, except so far as restrained by the "free list," to be permitted to add other articles "susceptible of use in war" as well as in peace.

With regard to the articles enumerated or to be enumerated it was provided, article 33, that they should be liable to capture if "destined for the use of the armed forces or of a Government department of the enemy State, unless in this latter case the circumstances show that the articles can not, in fact, be used for the purpose of the war in progress." As to the proofs of such destination the terms of the declaration were complicated. A hostile destination was to be presumed, article 34, "if the consignment is addressed to enemy authorities or to a merchant established in the enemy country, and when it is well known that this merchant supplies articles and material of this kind to the enemy," or "is destined to a fortified place of the enemy or to another place serving as a base for the armed forces of the enemy."

ENEMY USE PRESUMED.

These grounds of inference are so vague and general that they would seem to justify in almost any case the presumption that the cargo, if bound to an enemy port, was "destined for the use of the armed forces or of a Government department of the enemy State." Any merchant established in the enemy country, who deals in the things described, will sell them to the Government; and, if it becomes public that he does so, it will be "well known" that he supplies them. Again, practically every important port is a "fortified place"; and yet the existence of fortifications would usually bear no relation whatever to the eventual use of provisions and various other articles mentioned. Nor can it be denied that in this age of railways almost any place may serve as a "base" for supplying the armed forces of the enemy. And of what interest or advantage is it to a belligerent to prevent the enemy from obtaining supplies from a "base," from a "fortified place," or from a merchant "well known" to deal with him in his own country, where, the entire community being subject to his authority, he can obtain by requisition whatever he needs if dealers in commodities hesitate to sell voluntarily. No doubt the advantage of such prevention may readily become greater if the enemy be, like Great Britain or Japan, an insular country with no adjacent countries bounding it by land to draw from.

NOT INTERNATIONALLY BINDING.

The declaration of London was approved by the Senate of the United States. In Great Britain a bill was passed by the House of Commons to give it effect; but an adverse agitation, partly due to the supposed menace to the country's food supply, having sprung up, the lords withheld their assent, and the declaration never became internationally binding. In view, however, of the place it has occupied in international discussions, and of the action of certain Governments in regard to it, it can not be left out of account in the consideration of the subjects to which it relates.

The difficulty with what that great lawyer and judge, Lord Loreburn, has called the "labyrinth of shifting presumptions" applied by the declaration to "conditional contraband" is that to be caught in its mazes may mean ruin even to the most well-meaning and candid merchant. The supposition that all chances may be taken, provided an impartial court of appeal is to render the final judgment, can scarcely be regarded as a commercial conception. Even the eventual escape of his property from confiscation may not console or save from bankruptcy the merchant whose fortune, and possibly a certain amount of borrowed capital, have been tied up in prolonged detention, attended with suspension of business, costs of litigation, possible deterioration of goods, and probable loss of a market. The interests of commerce can not be properly conserved under such conditions, and it is highly desirable that when nations come again to deal collectively, as they will be obliged to do, with this question of contraband, commercial interests, which are now receiving instruction in the laws of war at an expense not wholly attributable to the legal profession, should take their part in bringing about a just solution.

PLAN OF SOLUTION.

Such a solution must, in my opinion, be sought, if not in the abolition of the principle of contraband, at any rate in the adoption of a plan embracing (1) the abolition of "conditional contraband," and (2) a single list having been agreed upon, in the cooperation of neutrals and belligerents in the certification of the contents of cargoes, so that the risk of capture may be openly borne by those who may voluntarily assume it, and harrassing "searches" and detentions no more be heard of.

In addition to the woes arising from developments of the contraband question, neutral commerce has had to meet in recent years a new obstacle potentially more deadly than any ever previously devised. The discharge of projectiles and explosives from aircraft, which exposes men, women, and children, and the strong and the helpless alike, to indiscriminate peril of death and of mutilation, may be regarded as the counterpart on land of the use of floating mines at sea. Nearly or quite a year after the Russo-Japanese War a peaceful merchantman was blown up at sea by contact with a drifting mine.

The second Hague conference sought to restrict this evil by a "convention relative to the laying of automatic contact mines," by which it was forbidden (1) to lay such a mine unanchored, unless it was so constructed as to become harmless an hour at most after it ceased to be under control, (2) to lay it unanchored, unless it was to become harmless as soon as it broke loose from its moorings, or (3) to use torpedoes which did not become harmless when they had missed their mark. It was expressly forbidden "to lay automatic contact mines off the coasts and ports of the enemy with the sole object of intercepting commercial shipping." This convention was signed by 37 powers, 6 making reservations, and has been ratified by 21, 4 making reservations. The powers neither signing nor ratifying were China, Montenegro, Portugal, Roumania, Spain, and Sweden, and among the powers signing but not ratifying are Greece, Italy, Servia, and Turkey.

AGAINST INTERNATIONAL LAW.

The convention also contained a stipulation to the effect that its provisions should not apply "except between contracting parties, and then only if all the belligerents" were parties to it. This stipulation alone may deprive the convention of binding force in the present war in Europe; but we may safely affirm that the employment of contact mines in the open sea is forbidden by international law. The seas outside territorial waters are the common highway of nations, and none of them has the right to render the use of that highway insecure. Few days pass in which one does not read a report of the blowing up of a merchant or fishing vessel by contact with a mine. As a method of warfare this must be regarded not only as an atrocity which no nation is at liberty to perpetrate, but also as a direct violation of a clear international right which Governments are justified in asserting on all occasions. Wholly apart from the danger to life, it places the neutral merchant in a worse position than he ever occupied before. Heretofore, if his ship or his cargo was seized he knew to whom to look for redress. If vessel and cargo are sunk by a mine, proof of its identity being impossible, his case is hopeless unless he carries adequate insurance; and in this event the insurer is placed in a like situation of helplessness.

MARINE INSURANCE.

The mention of insurance brings us to the consideration of a subject of prime importance to the American mercantile community. As the result of the destruction of the American merchant marine during the Civil War in the United States many of the companies which had previously carried on the business of marine insurance were ruined, and with a few important exceptions, the business has since been largely controlled by foreign capital. The practical experience of the present war has shown the importance of expanding in the United States the business of marine insurance, so that the country may in case of wars in which it is neutral no longer be dependent upon the resources and aid of foreign companies. The insurance granted by the Government of the United States during the present war, although it has been of value, has been of very limited scope, because it has been confined to vessels under the American flag, and to cargoes on such vessels, and even in respect of such cargoes the restrictions have been such as to make it often unavailable; a fact merely illustrative of the embarrassments which attend the Government in attempting to deal on its own financial account with questions of neutrality in the transaction of business, a neutral government being always obliged to bear in mind that it is itself forbidden to perform any act that savors of unneutrality.

EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY.

In concluding this survey of commercial problems growing out of war I am led to comment upon a phrase often heard, to the effect that "commerce is war." This view is obviously one-sided. While commerce undoubtedly involves competition, it is in its essence an exchange of benefits. Conducted upon lines of monopoly as in the days of the old colonial system, commerce does indeed assume the aspect of warfare, but the experience of the world has shown that the old colonial system, instead of promoting trade, fettered it.

In the preamble of the preliminary peace between Great Britain and the United States of November 30, 1782, we find, from the pen of Franklin, these words:

"Whereas reciprocal advantages and mutual convenience are found by experience to form the only permanent foundation of peace and friendship between States, it is agreed to form the articles of the proposed treaty on such principles of liberality, equity, and reciprocity as that, partial advantages (those seeds of discord) being excluded, such a beneficial and satisfactory intercourse between the two countries may be established as to promise and secure to both perpetual peace and harmony."

A great Brazilian statesman, the late Baron Rio Branco, in defense of a boundary settlement under which a large sum of money was to be paid to a neighbor for the purpose of building a railway, declared that "arrangements in which neither of the interested parties loses, and, still more, those in which both gain, are always the best."

Speaking in a similar strain our own Webster once boasted that he was not among the number of those "who regarded whatsoever others had as so much withholden from themselves."

What Americans desire, and what they are entitled to, is opportunity—equality of opportunity. If they demand more than this, they ask for more than they need. Their commercial expansion, great as it has been, has but begun. The future is theirs.

Immigration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HORATIO C. CLAYPOOL,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 4, 1915,

On veto message of the President on the act (H. R. 6060) to regulate the immigration of aliens to and the residence of aliens in the United States.

Mr. CLAYPOOL. Mr. Speaker, it is perhaps unnecessary for me to preface my remarks by stating my unlimited confidence in the honesty and patriotism of the President. That goes without saying, and we are equally certain the President asks no apologies from those who hold a different opinion from that which he expresses by his veto of the immigration bill. Our fathers, in their wisdom, separated with much exactness the executive and the legislative functions of our Government, so that each may assert itself in any given matter without showing the slightest disposition to infringe upon the rights of the other.

That the President should consider the experience of a party existing a hundred years ago and which then advocated restricting immigration as material evidence in the case under discussion is astonishing. The existing conditions are so different we fail to see the analogy. In the days of the Know Nothing Party, to which he evidently refers, we had but a few millions of people on the American Continent, practically one-tenth of our present population. Even the Middle West was almost an unbroken wilderness, while the broad prairies were totally un-

broken and uninhabited save by the red man and the buffalo. We were then sadly needing more of the vim and vigor of the Caucasian race. Then, and for many years following, good citizens from Germany and Ireland were seeking new homes on American soil. Their industry, exerted in cutting down the forests, farming the lands, building the canals and railroads, made them welcome visitors to our shores. But these people, so valuable to us then, have for many years ceased to hunt homes upon the farming lands of the New World, and in their stead countries of southern Europe and Asia are now sparing us nearly a million a year of those whom these Governments are pleased to see emigrate to a foreign land.

It is passing strange that the President makes no distinction in conditions now, when we have a population of a hundred millions, and a hundred years ago, when we had approximately 10,000,000, with a wilderness and unbroken and uninhabited plains before us. It is strange that he makes no distinction in the quality of the German and Irish immigrants of a half century ago and those now asking admittance.

The President says, in substance, at least, no political party has ever successfully maintained the principle of restricted immigration and that he does not believe the American people will indorse such legislation. Let me remind him that the Sixty-second Congress passed this bill with all the arbitrary tests herein contained; that the bill so passed by that Congress was vetoed by President Taft; that the Sixty-second Congress was Democratic and was succeeded by the Sixty-third Congress, still more Democratic; that so far as we are advised not a single Member of the Sixty-second Congress lost his seat by reason of having voted for the immigration bill, with all its arbitrary tests, while on the other hand President Taft was defeated. And, while we admit many causes combined added to his downfall, yet it might well be admitted on the other hand there is no evidence that the fact of President Taft's having vetoed the immigration bill came to his rescue in the slightest degree, but, in our opinion, it added to and made more certain his defeat. If this legislation, which stood out so prominently as a feature of the Sixty-second Congress, was so obnoxious to the American people; if, indeed, they are so charitable as to cry aloud, "This is the land of the free and the home of the blessed," the asylum of the poor and oppressed of all nations of the world, while millions from the Old World are threatening our very civilization, it is passing strange they did not raise the question on us who in the Sixty-second Congress insisted that we were first for Americans, and by the tests of the immigration bill we hoped to limit immigration to a negligible number and that of a better quality. To be perfectly frank, in this connection let me assure you the test can not be too severe to please me. Just think of it; the population of this country to-day is three times what it was 50 years ago. Even with this restriction, if we could obtain it, in 50 years, only a little more than a single lifetime, we may well expect the population to be double what it is to-day. Call it selfishness if you will, I still believe self-preservation is one of the fundamental laws of nature. Of the 100,000,000 now here, many are poor and needy. Of course that always was and always will be true. Sometimes it is the fault of the individual, sometimes due to unavoidable conditions. But whatever may be the cause, can we relieve it or even keep it reduced to its present status by adding yearly to our unfortunates a million of the unfortunates from the Old World? It is no answer to say our forefathers have been here but a few generations. The query is, Have we not come to a stopping place in this tide of immigration? I am of the opinion we have already delayed restriction too long. But be that as it may, we can not cure that evil by still longer delay and neglect.

The President's words, by the way, are always full of meaning, and these were not written as politics, but as sober history, when he said, referring to the flow of immigrants to this country from southern Europe—

and they came in numbers which increased from year to year as if the countries of the south of Europe were disburdening themselves of the more sordid and helpless elements of their population, the men whose standard of life and work was such as American workmen had not dreamed of before.

The President in his message assures us that these undesirable people will be excluded by this bill. The hardy German, Irish, and Scandinavian immigrants are not interfered with—we have no intention of interfering with the immigration of good people from these countries.

This is not a new question before the American people—it has been discussed in nearly every schoolhouse in this broad land of ours. There are few questions in which our people feel a greater interest or in which they hold a more decided opinion. Within a quarter of a century both of the great parties declared in favor of restricting the importation of pauper labor. In this statement I am not including the position of the Republican Party shouting from the housetops for protecting the American laborer, which clamor they only intend for deception, while they are busy importing pauper labor to take the place of the American workman in the shops and mines and on the railroads. On the contrary, I have in mind that broad, generous disposition on the part of fair-minded American people who favor the American laborers whether in the field, shop, or mine, and who believe with Goldsmith, "A bold peasantry, their country's pride, when once destroyed can never be supplied."

But it is urged with much assurance by those who oppose any restriction of immigration such as is proposed by this bill, and, in fact, if their words are not meaningless, want the ports left wide open so that America may be hailed as the "Land of the free and the home of the blessed," that the masses have never been consulted, and it is intimated that they are not now and have not been truly represented on this question in Congress. And yet, Mr. Speaker, there has been no time in the last four years in which almost two-thirds of the membership of this House, presumably coming direct from the people, could not be relied on to support this immigration bill with the literacy test.

Let us ask the American people to view this question from a truly American standpoint. We admit this country to be a splendid retreat for the unfortunates of the Old World, but is their coming good for our present civilization? But one answer comes from the true American citizen. The selfish individual who wants cheap labor says, let them come, we need them for servants. And yet these same individuals are the next moment heard crying for the protection of the poor American laborer. They can not be honest in both statements, for the two are inconsistent.

I can not conceive of any true opposition to this bill, except that coming from those who desire cheap labor in America, and the Shipping Trust, their allies, who amass wealth by bringing a million immigrants a year from the Old World to our more hospitable shores of these undesirable and uneducated foreigners who weaken our civilization by impoverishing our citizenship.

If we fail to pass this bill now, let us go on in the work well begun and still hope to win before it is too late.

Naval Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FINLY H. GRAY,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 29, 1915,

On the bill (H. R. 20975) making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, and for other purposes.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, we have already learned many lessons from the war in Europe, and we will learn many more before the close of that great conflict. We have learned that large armies and navies are no insurance of peace, but serve to precipitate and bring on international conflicts. We have learned that great dreadnaughts and battle cruisers are no longer invincible in war, but have become helpless, floundering monsters in the sea, with their own weight and cumbersome armor, designed for their protection, a menace to their escape from mines and submarines assailing them from beneath the water and air craft from the sky. We have learned that during these first months of this, the greatest war of the world, between the greatest naval powers of the world, all attempts to bring dreadnaughts and armored warships into decisive action have not only failed, but these vessels have been compelled to withdraw to save themselves from annihilation from mines and submarines and kept interned and in hiding far from the scenes of action, fearing to enter hostile waters to engage the enemy's fleet or coast defenses, and their availability as a fighting force confined to action in midsea and a factor of offense only.

But the greatest lesson learned from experience in that great struggle is the advantage of mines and submarines over battleships in the protection of coasts and harbors and in maintaining adequate defense against attacks from sea.

The British Navy is admitted double the strength of the German Navy. Yet Germany has maintained full and complete protection of her seaboard in the Baltic and her coast in the North Sea in the very face of the shores of England and in

defiance of all the dreadnaughts of Great Britain. Germany with half the battleships not only holds the English back, but challenges and engages her superior force from her rendezvous of mines and submarines. While "Britannia rules the wave" Germany rules the ocean depths below and the skies above, and the terror of her mines and submarines and air craft not only avails her absolute protection against the British Navy, but is filling the English Channel with wrecks of the English fleet.

The German Navy in dreadnaughts and battleships equals in power more than three times that of the Russian Navy. Yet Russia holds Germany from the Bay of Finland and maintains as full, complete, and effectual protection of her seaboard cities as if her waters were guarded by all the navies of the world. Her mines and submarines avail her the same defense against the German Navy as the German mines and submarines avail against the British Navy.

The same full, complete, and adequate protection of our coasts and harbors afforded Germany against England and Russia against Germany is available for our own coasts and harbors, and make mines and submarines the most efficient, effective, and absolute means to be employed by a nation whose military policy is defense. I here quote from the hearings before the Naval Affairs Committee held during the present session of Congress questions submitted by myself to Admiral Fletcher, commander in chief of the Atlantic Fleet, together with his answers, which appear at page 518 of such hearings, showing the availability and effectiveness of mines and submarines in conjunction with seaboard fortifications for our harbors and coast defenses:

Mr. GRAY. Suppose that a harbor is protected by the ordinary land forts and also by a sufficient number of torpedoes, mines, and submarines, how large a hostile fleet would be required to enter that harbor if it was protected by those instruments?

Admiral FLETCHER. It would be a very difficult matter. They probably would not attempt to enter the harbor. As a matter of fact, under modern conditions of war it is doubtful if it ever becomes necessary for the fleet to enter a harbor.

Mr. GRAY. Suppose a hostile fleet desired to enter the harbor, and the harbor was protected with ordinary land forts and with a certain number of mines, torpedoes, and submarines, how large a hostile fleet would be required to enter that harbor under those conditions?

Admiral FLETCHER. Of course it depends on the size of the forts, the area, and so many conditions that it would be difficult to specify the exact size of the attacking force, but, as I say, in general they would not attempt to enter such a fortified harbor by means of a fleet alone; it would not pay.

Mr. GRAY. Then those instrumentalities would be sufficient to protect the harbor without any warship in the harbor, or would you require a warship in the harbor in order to cooperate with those instrumentalities?

Admiral FLETCHER. You would not require a warship in the harbor. The protection of the harbor itself should be sufficient by forts, mines, and submarines without the aid of the fleet.

As a further showing and illustration of the availability of mines and submarines in affording the most complete and absolute defense to be resorted to by a nation, I here quote from the hearings before the Naval Affairs Committee at the present session of Congress, giving questions propounded by myself to Admiral Fiske, a member of the General (Naval) Board, president of the War College, and aid for operations, and his responses, with reference to the protection of the Panama Canal, appearing at page 1053 of said hearings:

Mr. GRAY. The principal defense rests with the Army and not the Navy, would you say, Admiral?

Admiral FISKE. No, sir; the principal defense would rest with the Navy, because if our fleet commanded the sea an enemy could not get near the canal; only in the case of the defeat of our fleet could he land there.

Mr. GRAY. Is it not a fact that the approach to the Panama Canal is being fortified with very large guns that have a range longer than the range of the guns on the ships?

Admiral FISKE. I think they are practically the same.

Mr. GRAY. Practically the same?

Admiral FISKE. Maybe a little longer, but it is not always the range that counts; it is the distance at which you can hit.

Mr. GRAY. Would not a gun placed in a fort on land be able to strike with more accuracy than a gun on a rocking ship? Would it not be possible to strike a target more accurately from land than from a ship?

Admiral FISKE Oh, yes. The office of the guns on land is to keep the fleet away.

Mr. GRAY. And these guns, you say, have a range as long as the range of the guns on the ships?

Admiral FISKE. Possibly more.

Mr. GRAY. Is it not a fact, Admiral, that the guns being mounted now for these harbor defenses have a longer range than the guns on the ships?

Admiral FISKE. I do not know; I have never given the matter any particular study; it is just a question of looking up the tables and making comparisons.

Mr. GRAY. I believe Admiral Fletcher stated that, as I understood him. But in connection with these guns for harbor defense, would it not be possible to mine the waters there as well as at any other harbor?

Admiral FISKE. Oh, yes.

Mr. GRAY. Could you not also protect the mouth of the Panama Canal with a sufficient number of submarines?

Admiral FISKE. Yes, sir.

Mr. GRAY. What would you say, without having any Navy at all at the mouth of the Panama Canal, would it be possible with those guns mounted there with longer range than the guns on the ships, and with the mines and the submarines, to prevent a hostile fleet coming into the canal, without any ships of the Navy there to defend it?

The CHAIRMAN. They would not try that.

Admiral FISKE. No; they would go to some other place to land and make the attack.

Mr. GRAY. But would it be possible, with those defenses I have spoken of, for a hostile fleet to enter the canal?

Admiral FISKE. I think not.

Mr. GRAY. Then you say we could defend the canal without any part of our fleet at all, as against the approach of a hostile fleet? Would you say that?

Admiral FISKE. Yes, sir; I should say that.

Mr. GRAY. Now, if that is true, it would leave all our Navy free to engage the hostile fleet and prevent them from landing an armed force.

Admiral FISKE. If our fleet was strong enough to do it.

Mr. GRAY. If we had our fleet left free. If the fortifications and defenses of the Panama Canal were sufficient to prevent the entrance of a hostile fleet without any assistance of any part of our fleet, that would leave our fleet free for other purposes, would it not?

Admiral FISKE. Why, no; because the hostile fleet could go and land a force a few miles out of reach of those defenses.

Mr. GRAY. I don't believe you understand my question. I understood you to say that if the Panama Canal was defended with these guns in the forts and by the mines and by the submarines, if they could prevent a hostile fleet coming into the canal without the aid of the fleet, then that would leave the fleet free. Is that right?

Admiral FISKE. Yes, sir.

Mr. GRAY. And if that is true our fleet would be free to engage the enemy and prevent him from landing a hostile force a few miles away and marching to attack the Panama Canal?

Admiral FISKE. Yes, sir; provided our fleet were strong enough.

Mr. GRAY. Yes, sir. Then it is only a question of whether our fleet would be strong enough to prevent a hostile fleet from landing an army?

Admiral FISKE. That is right.

Mr. GRAY. And marching to attack the canal?

Admiral FISKE. That is right.

Mr. GRAY. Now, a hostile fleet would probably have to come from a distance. It is a fact, is it not, that none of the large naval powers of the world would want to take all her navy away from their coast and leave it unprotected, even in time of peace?

Admiral FISKE. Of course, at the present moment that is true.

Mr. GRAY. In time of peace would it be considered good policy for any of the naval powers of Europe in close proximity with each other, assuming conditions shall continue in Europe as they have been in the past, would it be probable that any one of the three great naval powers would withdraw all of her fleet from her own shores and bring it to the Gulf of Mexico to engage our fleet and attempt to land a force on Mexican soil? Would it be probable that they would do that?

Admiral FISKE. It might be probable, but not more than 50 per cent probable.

Mr. GRAY. Yes.

Admiral FISKE. I should say not more than 50 per cent. But I would like to add that with things as they have been in the past, with the antagonisms that have existed among those three nations, it would not be even 50 per cent probable. If some of these conditions and antagonisms are wiped out by the war and one side or the other triumphs, then the triumphant forces would be able to do just what you say.

Mr. GRAY. Have we any guide to go by but the past? Have we anything to show that conditions will not exist there as they have in the past? Is it not fair to assume that things will continue as they have been in the past?

Admiral FISKE. This war is going to change things in a way that no one can prophesy. Before this war took place there were some who imagined it was probable or possible that there was an agreement between two nations whereby one agreed to let the other alone provided it would do so-and-so.

Mr. GRAY. That is true; every man has his own assumptions as to what conditions will be after this war is over——

Admiral FISKE. But before the war began, I mean.

Mr. GRAY. But before the war you say they would bring over 50 per cent——

Admiral FISKE. No; I didn't say there was 50 per cent probability.

Mr. GRAY. I understood you to say it was more than 50 per cent.

Admiral FISKE. Probably not as much as 50 per cent.

Mr. GRAY. Now, for instance, we will take the strongest power we have, the strongest naval power in the world, and if they were to bring 50 per cent of their navy to the Gulf of Mexico with transports to land troops on Mexican soil to march to the canal, would they be able to successfully land those troops there as against all our fleet? I mean the strongest power.

Admiral FISKE. I think that is a fair question, sir. I should say it would be a good fight, but I don't know which one would win. You said 50 per cent coming over; now, if they should send 75 per cent——

Mr. GRAY. Well, take the next power. We will not say what the power is; but, whatever it be, if they should send 50 per cent——

Admiral FISKE. No; she would have to send a great deal more than 50 per cent, and she would have to have some sort of an agreement whereby they [other powers] would let her alone.

Mr. GRAY. But without any agreement there would not be very much trouble about it. It would be a close fight between the strongest power if they sent 50 per cent, but with the second power there would not be much trouble about it?

Admiral FISKE. We don't know what any given fleet would be able to do, for it begins to look as if one were more skillful than the other.

Mr. GRAY. I am not speaking of what nations, but of the second power. Do you say the second power might be stronger than the first? Do you say that might be possible, that the nation which we regard as the second power might be stronger than the first? Would you say that?

Admiral FISKE. I didn't quite——

Mr. GRAY. Would you say that you don't know what the skill of the second power is, and that by reason of their skill they might be superior to the first power?

Admiral FISKE. I think it is possible.

Mr. GRAY. It is possible, but is it probable?

Admiral FISKE. Well, whenever you hear that one power is twice as strong as the other you naturally say that the probability of success is on its side; that is, unless you have other data.

Mr. GRAY. But you say it would be an awful close fight, the nation that is now rated by all the naval experts of the world as the strongest nation, yon would say that the second nation would be more likely to come in and overcome us than the first?

Admiral FISKE. I should not say that.

Mr. GRAY. You would not say that?

Admiral FISKE. No.

Mr. GRAY. Then, with the naval power that we have to-day, and with the fortifications I speak of as defending the Panama Canal, you would not say that even the highest and strongest naval power could go in there and destroy the canal, either by attacking it directly or by landing an armed force to attack it?

Admiral FISKE. Not if they only sent 50 per cent of their forces.

Mr. GRAY. That is all.

This is a time for our Nation to maintain a status quo before the world. It is a time to preserve the even tenor of our ways and to pursue our usual course in the regular order of things. It is no time to manifest alarm or apprehension or allow the unfounded fears of a few to be reflected as the state of mind of the many and the great body of the people. This charge of military unpreparedness to-day comes in part from the timid, who magnify dangers from afar and take alarm like the guilty who flee when none pursueth; and in part from the crafty and designing, who seek to take advantage of the times to commit this Nation to a world-power military policy, and thereby establish a permanent trade and commerce in arms and munitions of war.

But both alarmists predicting inevitable clash with foreign nations and war-supply interests appealing for a world-power Army and Navy under the guise of preparing for national defense are alike without grounds or basis for support of their charges of unpreparedness. There is not only less cause existing for war to-day with any rival power than ever before, and such powers are not only in a position less able to make war against this Nation than ever before, but we are better prepared to meet and repel an attack from them than ever before, as shown by the statements of the Secretary of the Navy before the Naval Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives in response to questions relative to the state and preparedness of our Navy, as will appear at page 666 of the hearings before that committee at the present session, as follows:

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Secretary, calling your attention to the concerted newspaper charge being printed over the country, of the declining strength and adequacy and efficiency of our Navy, I want to ask if we have not to-day more warships than ever before?

Secretary DANIELS. Certainly. The present Congress has authorized three dreadnaughts—three times as many as were carried in the preceding appropriation bill—and I am asking it to order two more. If my recommendation is approved, this Congress will break the record and authorize the largest additions of battleship tonnage to the fighting strength that has been provided by any Congress in the history of the Republic. This addition and the several additions of the last four Congresses are as follows:

Congress.	Years.	Tons of battleships authorized.
Sixty-third	1913–1915	160,000
Sixty-second	1911–1913	62,800
Sixty-first	1909–1911	109,000
Sixtieth	1907–1909	95,650
Fifty-ninth	1905–1907	40,000

Mr. GRAY. Are not these warships larger than ever before?

Secretary DANIELS. Yes. The battleships we are building now are about three times as large as our earlier battleships such as the *Oregon* of 20 years ago, and twice as large as battleships of the *Connecticut* type that were our standard of perfection 10 years ago.

Mr. GRAY. Are they not of a type more improved than ever before?

Secretary DANIELS. Yes; there has been steady improvement in offensive and defensive power as well as in habitability, sea-keeping power, etc.

Mr. GRAY. Have we not a greater tonnage in battleships than ever before?

Secretary DANIELS. Yes. The total effective tonnage of our battleships built and building, as shown by official reports for various years, is as follows:

	Tons.
Nov. 1, 1904	317,529
Nov. 1, 1905	333,529
Nov. 1, 1906	366,146
Nov. 1, 1907	406,146
Nov. 1, 1908	406,146
Dec. 1, 1909	449,796
Dec. 1, 1910	501,796
Dec. 1, 1911	555,796
Dec. 1, 1912	610,796
Dec. 1, 1913	642,734
Dec., 1914	712,732

Mr. GRAY. Are not the ships of a type which have far greater speed than any previous ships in our Navy?

Secretary DANIELS. Yes. All our ships of the dreadnaught type have a speed of 21 knots or more. Earlier battleships had a speed not over 19 knots.

Mr. GRAY. Now, Mr. Secretary, calling your attention to another phase of this question, is it not a fact that we have more guns on the ships of the Navy than ever before?

Secretary DANIELS. We have. The total number of big guns on our effective battleships built and building was 68 in 1902, 100 in 1906, 180 in 1910, and 260 to-day.

Mr. GRAY. Are not these guns larger than ever before in all our history?

Secretary DANIELS. Larger and much better. The *New York* and *Texas*, commissioned during the past year, were the first vessels in the United States Navy to carry 14-inch guns. The most powerful gun of preceding vessels was the improved 12 inch. Our vessels now building all carry 14-inch guns, and the three battleships authorized at the last session of Congress carry an improved type of gun of this size.

Mr. GRAY. And have they not a greater range; do they not shoot farther than ever before?

Secretary DANIELS. Much farther.

Mr. GRAY. Have they not a greater destructive power than ever before in our history?

Secretary DANIELS. Far greater.

Mr. GRAY. Now, Mr. Secretary, calling your attention to the question of our auxiliary craft, I want to ask you is it not a fact that we have more auxiliary craft than ever before in all our history?

Secretary DANIELS. Undoubtedly. The tonnage built and building of our fuel ships, transports, supply ships, hospital ships, tenders, and repair ships amounted in 1904 to 141,561 tons. In 1914 it amounts to 401,068 tons.

Mr. GRAY. Is it not a fact that we have more submarines than ever before?

Secretary DANIELS. Yes. The number of vessels of this type is steadily increasing. Ten years ago we had 8 built and building. Now we have 50, and 8 or 9 more will be begun in the near future, while the vessels of this type which will undoubtedly be authorized before March 4 will be promptly begun.

Mr. GRAY. And we have more torpedo boats than ever before?

Secretary DANIELS. Yes. Our tonnage of torpedo craft built and building was 12,658 in 1904. This has been steadily increased since and we now have 57,012 tons.

Mr. GRAY. And we have more harbors that are completely mined than ever before?

Secretary DANIELS. Yes. You know the Army is charged with this important work.

Mr. GRAY. Is it not a fact that we have more complete defenses at these harbors than ever before?

Secretary DANIELS. Much better. That is a matter which the Army has under it control. Your statement is true, however.

Mr. GRAY. Is it not a fact that we have more men than ever before?

Secretary DANIELS. Yes. We have 4,600 more newly enlisted men, and 7,000 more are available than 15 months ago.

Mr. GRAY. Are these men not more efficient and better educated and trained than ever before?

Secretary DANIELS. Far more so.

Mr. GRAY. And is it not a fact that we are more completely equipped in every department, and more efficient than ever before in all the history of this country?

Secretary DANIELS. Undoubtedly.

Mr. GRAY. Then you do not think there is anything in this concerted newspaper charge that is going over the country of the declining strength and efficiency and adequacy of our Navy?

Secretary DANIELS. Nothing at all. It is not true in any particular. The truth is that in every respect the Navy has been greatly strengthened during the past two years.

The economies and the securing of real competition wherever possible has enabled the department to largely increase the sums available for fighting craft without large increase of the naval appropriation bill. The following statement shows how the building program has steadily increased:

Statement of the totals of the appropriations carried by the naval acts from 1900 to 1914, showing separately the amounts for "Increase of the Navy" and showing the number and types of vessels authorized by those acts.

Year.	Appropriation.	Amount for increase, Navy.	Building program.
1900	$65,140,916.67	$17,140,699.00	2 first-class battleships; 3 armored cruisers; 3 protected cruisers; 7 submarines
1901	78,101,791.00	25,400,000.00	No new construction.
1902	78,856,363.13	22,703,010.00	2 first-class battleships; 2 armored cruisers; 2 gunboats; 2 tugs.
1903	81,876,791.43	25,925,632.00	5 first-class battleships; 2 training ships.
1904	97,505,140.94	32,176,860.00	1 first-class battleship; 2 armored cruisers; 3 scout cruisers; 2 colliers; 2 tugs; 4 submarines.
1905	100,336,679.94	42,255,833.00	2 first-class battleships.
1906	102,091,670.27	33,475,829.00	1 first-class battleship; 3 torpedo-boat destroyers; 8 submarines.
1907	98,958,507.50	23,713,915.00	1 first-class battleship; 2 torpedo-boat destroyers.
1908	122,663,885.47	30,307,962.00	2 first-class battleships; 5 colliers; 10 torpedo-boat destroyers; 8 submarines.
1909	136,935,199.05	38,819,595.00	2 first-class battleships; 1 collier; 8 destroyers (3 subsurface); 4 submarines.
1910	131,350,854.38	33,770,346.00	2 first-class battleships; 2 colliers; 6 torpedo-boat destroyers; 4 submarines.
1911	126,478,338.24	26,005,547.67	2 first-class battleships; 2 colliers; 1 river gunboat; 1 gunboat; 2 tugs; 4 submarines; 1 submarine tender; 8 torpedo-boat destroyers.
1912	123,225,007.76	20,569,373.48	1 battleship, first line; 2 fuel ships; 6 destroyers; 1 destroyer tender; 8 submarines; 1 submarine tender.
1913	140,800,643.52	35,325,695.00	1 battleship; 1 transport; 1 supply ship; 6 destroyers; 4 submarines.
1914	144,868,716.61	41,091,734.00	3 battleships; 6 destroyers; 8 (or more) submarines.
1915	(1)	43,030,801.00	2 battleships; 6 destroyers; 8 submarines (or more); 1 gunboat; 1 oiler.

[1] Recommended by the Secretary of the Navy.

The building program for 1914, as authorized by this Congress, was $5,766,039 more than in 1913; that is, the naval construction authorized required nearly $6,000,000 more than in the last year of the preceding administration. If my recommendations are approved, the 1915 new building program will be $8,705,106 more than was authorized in the last year of my predecessor's term. If, added to that, this Congress shall authorize the use of the nearly $2,000,000 saved from appropriations made for work on shore, the new building authorized by this Congress will be $10,000,000 more than was authorized in 1913.

Mr. GRAY. That is all.

OUR RELATIVE STRENGTH STILL FURTHER INCREASED BY LOSSES OF OTHER NATIONS.

But not only is our Navy being maintained in strength and efficiency while the navies of rival nations against which we have been building are engaged in conflict among themselves, and by their position are precluded from making war upon us, but their fleets are being fast crippled, weakened, and depleted by the destruction which they are inflicting upon each other, as shown by the following losses sustained by England and Germany reported up to this time:

English.

Name of vessel.	Class.	Size in tons.
Aboukir	Armored cruiser	12,200
Hogue	do	12,200
Cressy	do	12,200
Warrior	do	13,700
Hermes	do	5,600
Monmouth	do	9,800
Good Hope	do	14,100
Arethusa	Protected cruiser	3,600
Hawke	do	7,800
Gloucester	do	4,900
Fearless	do	3,500
Pathfinder	do	3,000
Glasgow	do	4,800
Amphion	do	3,500
Druid	Torpedo-boat destroyer	770
Laertes	do	950
Phoenix	do	770
Speedy	do	800
Fishguard II	Schoolship	.....
Submarine D-5	Submarine	.....
Submarine E-3	do	.....
Pegasus	Light cruiser	2,135
Niger	Torpedo gunboat	810
Audacious	First-line battleship	24,000
Bulwark	Battleship	15,000
Formidable	do	15,000
A. E. 1	Submarine	725
Bullfinch	Destroyer	370

These losses already suffered by England include a total of more than 28 fighting ships and war craft, 172,000 tonnage, 372 guns from 13.5-inch to 3-inch, 45 machine guns, 53 steamers and sailing vessels, and over 5,000 seamen.

German.

Name of vessel.	Class.	Size in tons.
Yorck	Armored cruiser	9,350
Scharnhorst	do	11,500
Gneisnau	do	11,500
Ariadne	Protected cruiser	2,650
Koeln	do	4,350
Maniz	do	4,350
Hela	do	2,040
Koenigsberg	do	3,348
Emden	do	3,492
Leipzig	do	3,250
Nurnburg	do	3,450
Magdeburg	Cruiser	4,450
Kaiser Wilhelm II	Auxiliary cruiser	14,390
Cap Trafalgar	do	26,000
Comet	do	1,157
Itola	do	.....
Rhios	do	.....
Bethia	do	.....
Markonannia	do	.....
Spreewald	do	.....
Grecia	do	.....
Ophelia	do	.....
Soden	do	.....
Cornoran	Gunboat	1,600
Iltis	do	880
Jaguar	do	9,350
Tiger	do	880
Luchs	do	880
Mowe	do	650
Hedgwig	do	.....
Von Wiseman	do	.....
Planet	do	650
Bluecher	Armored cruiser	15,500
Konigen Luise	Mine layer	22,163
Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse	Armored cruiser	13,952
V. 187	Destroyer	689
S. 115	do	413
S. 117	do	413
S. 118	do	413
S. 119	do	413
S. 116	Torpedo boat	477
U. 15	Submarine	450
S. 99	Destroyer	396
Taku	do	276
Rufin	Mine layer	.....
S. 124	Destroyer	463
U. 18	Submarine	450

A sum total of the German losses is found to include more than 46 warships and fighting vessels, 176,000 tonnage, 402 guns from 9.4-inch to 3-inch, 12 machine guns, scores of steamers and sailing vessels of different types, and thousands of seamen.

The losses already suffered have not only had the effect to stop the further increase of the navies of these nations but to actually reduce them. We are no longer compelled to increase our Navy if our policy is only to maintain our relative strength toward them. We can now stand still and gain more by their losses than we have in the past by our building programs. In other words, we have gained in relative strength more rapidly by their losses than ever before by our own increases. These lists of casualties not only show the terrible depletion already suffered, but foretell the further destruction which must inevitably come to the navies of these belligerent nations before this conflict is over.

There is no grounds for sudden alarm nor reasons why we should now further surrender the taxing power over to the war-supply interests nor pile higher the burdens of war debts upon the people nor make heavier the yoke of militarism in the time of peace.

The Jitney Bus.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. W. LAFFERTY,
OF OREGON,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Wednesday, February 10, 1915.

Mr. LAFFERTY. Mr. Speaker, recently a young man in Oakland, Cal., owning an old automobile and being without money or patronage, conceived the idea of competing with the electric street cars. This was a new idea to the young man and was born of his necessity, but it was not in fact new. For over 10 years more passengers have been carried through the streets of London by the motor than have been carried by the trolley lines. The service is just as regular and just as cheap.

And what happened in London when it was demonstrated that the motor bus was going to become more popular than the trolley car? The capitalists owning surface trolley lines promptly unloaded them on the city and got the city council to grant to them exclusive franchises to operate the motor-bus lines. The capitalists immediately became public-ownership men, so far as the surface street car lines were concerned, but they desired and secured exclusive rights to operate the motor-bus lines as a private corporation.

The same men who a few years ago owned the surface trolley lines in London now own the motor-bus lines there. They have unloaded the surface trolley lines on the city because they are no longer profitable. But the capitalists of London still retain their grip on the subway trolley lines, because they pay good dividends in spite of the motor bus. The London subway cars can compete with the motor-bus lines because they are faster, but as to surface transportation the motor bus is just as rapid as the trolley car and is much more pleasant. That is why the motor bus has largely taken the place of the surface trolley car in that great city.

It is amusing to watch the newspaper representatves of the capitalists in our western cities fight the "jitney bus." They say the electric car line "has helped to build up our beautiful city and is entitled to our patronage." One Portland paper even claims that the street car company was responsible for paving a street to a suburb.

Shortsighted indeed must be the individual who can not see that all improvements put in by any electric car company in Portland or any other city has been paid for by the people and not by the men who own the utility. Every street car company in the United States organized or reorganized in the past 20 years—and that takes in all of them—has issued its stock free. The money power which bought the bonds required this in order to make the purchase of the bonds "a good speculation." The money received from the sale of the bonds is all that has gone into the construction, while the stocks have been a bonus to the purchasers of the bonds and to the organizers or reorganizers of the company.

In Portland, Oreg., in the case of the Portland Railway, Light & Power Co., the stocks were issued 65 per cent paid, and only 5 cents on the dollar has ever been paid in cash; yet the stocks so issued, par value of which are $100 per share, are paying dividends of 4 per cent regularly, which means 80 per cent profit on the $5 per share actually invested. And this is in addition, of course, to the interest on the bonds.

When this deal was put through at Portland a few years ago sufficient stock was given to men interested in Portland's daily newspapers to keep them quiet, and those same men are to-day causing Portland's daily papers to protect the trolley lines against the "jitney bus."

Just at the present, when the "jitney bus" is owned by Tom, Dick, and Harry, it is a bad thing and ought to be frowned on, according to these newspapers. But you just wait till the "jitney bus" grows to formidable proportions and becomes a dangerous competitor of the trolley lines, and then you will see these same newspapers favoring "regulation" of the "jitney bus," and in order to regulate it to the satisfaction of the money power these newspapers will favor granting an exclusive franchise to one big corporation to handle all the motor-bus business of the city. They will say that we should have the latest and largest and most improved motor buses and that the interests of the service demand that the matter be placed in the hands of one company with "sufficient capital" to handle the situation.

When that time comes these same corporation-controlled newspapers will favor unloading the surface lines onto the city, and at such prices as to let the capitalists out at a big profit from a losing proposition.

What every city should do is to own its own transportation facilities. These facilities constitute a monopoly, and if the cities owned them they could make a splendid profit, employ men at fair wages, and furnish every part of each city with good service. The latest and best vehicles could be adopted as fast as their practicability were established.

Immigration Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILAS R. BARTON,

OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 4, 1915,

On the veto message of the President on the act (H. R. 6060) to regulate the immigration of aliens to and the residence of aliens in the United States.

Mr. BARTON. Mr. Speaker, the veto is a power that in my judgment should be rarely exercised, and then only after the President has brought to bear upon the subject matters that throw additional light. When one man places his opinion above the many without additional light on a subject, it appeals to me as a most arbitrary action.

The President says:

> Not only do I feel it to be a very serious matter to exercise the power of veto in any case, because it involves the opposing of single judgment of the President to the majority of both the Houses of Congress, a step which no man who realizes his own liability to error can take without great hesitation, but also because this particular bill is in so many respects admirable, well conceived, and desirable.
>
> Its enactment into law would undoubtedly enhance the efficiency and improve the methods of handling the important branch of the public service to which it relates.

I agree with that statement and would like the President to point out the potent power that has prevented this bill becoming a law since May 20, 1896.

It is fair to presume that the Members of Congress, coming from all sections of the country, are closer in touch with the rank and file of the people than even the President; and despite the fact that the President says that this is a new question, I would direct his attention to the fact that this and similar bills have been before the House and Senate and passed at eleven different periods of time. I will herewith insert the dates the bill was voted on and the results of the vote:

1896.

May 20, House, 195 to 26.
December 17, Senate, 52 to 10.

1897.

February 9, Senate, 34 to 31.
March 3, House, 193 to 37 (over President Cleveland's veto).

1898.

January 17, Senate, 45 to 28.

1902.

May 22, House, 86 to 7 (in committee).
May 27, House, no division.

1906.

May 23, Senate, test added by amendment.
June, Senate, no division.

1912.

April, Senate, test added by amendment, 57 to 8.
April 19, Senate, no division, but only 2 votes against.
December 18, House, 178 to 52.

1913.

January 17, House, 149 to 70.
January 25, House, 166 to 71.
January, House, no division.
January, Senate, no division.
February 18, Senate, 72 to 18 (over President Taft's veto).
February 19, House, 213 to 114 (on veto).

1914.

February 5, House, 252 to 126.
December 31, Senate, 12 to 47 (on motion to strike out test).

1915.

January 2, Senate, 50 to 7.
January 15, House, 227 to 96.
January 14, Senate, no division.

There have been nine record votes in the House, the average of the votes being 184 to 67, and seven record votes in the Senate, the average vote being 51 to 16.

The immigration problem is one of the greatest problems that confront our people to-day. No matter what part of the country you live in, look about you and you will see that our arable, fertile land is not only well occupied, but that the land, because of the demand for it, is well advanced in price, and if you live in the city you can easily find many Americans seeking employment; what then is our reason for throwing the gates wide open?

Not very far back in our history we had plenty of rich, cheap, and fertile land, and we needed immigrants. To-day we can afford to select.

The argument is advanced that if this law had been in effect when our fathers came to this country that it would have excluded many of our best and most worthy citizens. I admit the statement, and had I been a Member of Congress at that date would have voted against the bill, but we can say in the same breath and with equal exactness if our forefathers had attempted to telephone, telegraph, ride in steam cars or automobiles, or send a wireless message of their arrival to the ones they left behind that their efforts would have been futile.

The conditions of to-day are not what they were then; our country is annually expending millions of dollars for educational purposes to lift our people to a higher standard of literacy, and if education is not a test of citizenship why do we make these enormous expenditures?

Our educational system at the time our forefathers came to these shores was as little developed as the country, and this condition, as applied to the masses, was world-wide.

The immigration of to-day is not what it was then. Only since 1820 has a record been kept showing where the immigrants come from. Writers on this subject classify immigrants as old and new, the first class being those who came before 1883 and the second class those who have come since that date. About 90 per cent of the old class came from England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Belgium, France, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, and the Netherlands.

Among the new we find 90 per cent from Russia, Austria-Hungary, Greece, Italy, Bulgaria, Montenegro, Portugal, Poland, Spain, Syria, and Turkey.

The Commissioner General of Immigration compiled statistics which show the number and per cent of illiterates from 1899 to 1909, inclusive.

Race or people.	Number over 14 years old.	Per cent of illiterates.
English	302,657	1.1
Finnish	123,415	1.4
French	81,449	5.4
German	566,579	5.1
Irish	381,095	2.7
Bohemian and Moravian	18,404	1.7
Dutch and Flemish	58,525	4.7
Scandinavian	483,049	.4
Scotch	95,073	.7
Welsh	15,191	2.0
Armenian	18,404	24.1
Bulgaria, Servia, Montenegro	80,854	41.8
Croatian and Slovenian	283,270	36.4
Dalmatian, Bosnian, Herzegovinian	26,270	36.4
Greek	170,513	27.0
Hebrew	744,395	25.7
Italian, North	311,243	11.4
Italian, South	1,517,768	54.2
Lithuanian	140,540	48.8
Polish	742,753	35.4
Portuguese	49,799	68.2
Roumanian	67,029	34.7
Russian	61,287	38.5
Ruthenian	113,931	51.0
Spanish	41,000	14.6
Slovak	312,954	22.1
Syrian	42,463	54.1
Turkish	15,408	58.8

The report discloses the fact that during the period covered by the table less than 3 per cent of the old immigrants could neither read nor write, while illiterates among the new immigrants numbered about 36 per cent.

No one attempts to assert that all these people who could neither read nor write were undesirables; but we are constantly fixing standards of citizenship, and I feel quite sure that, had this law been in effect, many of those who came here to make this their home would have had interest enough to have attained the literacy standing required by this bill. And if they had done so, who will question the fact that their condition would have been improved as a prospective citizen of this country? If not, then our whole scheme of education is wrong.

It is begging the question to assert that the power to read and write makes the man. No one claims that it does; but if it is not a desirable quality, why do we expend vast amounts for education and almost deprive ourselves of the necessities of life to educate our children? Nor is this test the only test in the bill; it has many good features. A law should be read in its entirety, considering all its parts; and if an immigrant could comply with this law in its entirety he would make a good citizen and a man we could assimilate.

I think the time has come when we should be cautious in the introduction of our citizenship. I am for the real immigrant—the one who comes here to make it his home. But during the decade 1900 to 1910 the number of foreign-born males 21 years and over who had taken no steps toward naturalization increased from 900,000 to 2,260,000; and as a matter of fact a large number of the aliens now coming to this country are not immigrants, in the direct sense of the word, but sojourners taking advantage of the higher American wages and then returning to their country with their earnings, each one of them displacing an American citizen who lives and rears his family in America and defends the flag, if need be.

We do not want the living conditions of six and a half million wage earners normally employed in manufactures, a million in mines, a million and three-quarters on railroads, and so on, reduced to a lower level; neither do we want to see them change their method of living and take up their abode in freight cars, using the clay banks for ovens. Already in the mass the wage earners get less out of a country's prosperity than anybody else. And if it be treason to listen to the voice of the Farmers' Union, the Daughters of Liberty, the American Federation of Labor, the Central Federated Union, the International Association of Machinists, the Central Labor Union of Lincoln in the State which I in part represent, the railway employees, the International Seamen's Union, the retail clerks, the teamsters, and other labor organizations, then I am guilty, but my conscience is clear and my reasoning satisfied; besides I know that men who want to cheapen labor and cheapen the mode of living will have their side of the case presented.

I am for the bill, and shall cast my vote to pass it over the President's veto, for it is only asking the people who come to our shores to attain a standard that we by legislation are forcing our own people to accept.

North Pole Controversy.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM J. FIELDS,
OF KENTUCKY,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 8, 1915.

Mr. FIELDS. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I desire to submit a few brief observations, together with a letter from Dr. Frederick A. Cook to the Congress of the United States and certain other data bearing upon the polar controversy between Dr. Cook and Civil Engineer Robert E. Peary, both of whom claim to have reached the North Pole, and I trust that same, especially the letter of Dr. Cook, may receive the careful attention of the membership of the House.

I desire to say first that I am not prompted by personal interest in Dr. Cook or by unkind feelings toward Mr. Peary to speak upon this subject. I have only the slightest acquaintance with the former and have never met the latter. I therefore disclaim any personal interest in the controversy or personal preference for either gentleman. I am, however, interested in seeing each of these gentlemen receive fair treatment and a square deal at the hands of the American Congress and the American people in this controversy, which is no more than each and every American is entitled to in any matter with which the Congress has to do or in which the people are interested. I assume that the Congress is interested in this matter for the reason that it did by act of Congress tender the thanks of Congress to Mr. Peary for reaching the North Pole, which will be found in Public, No. 487, S. 6104, which reads as follows:

[Public—No. 487.]

An act (S. 6104) providing for the promotion of Civil Engineer Robert E. Peary, United States Navy, and tendering to him the thanks of Congress.

Be it enacted, etc., That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized to place Civil Engineer Robert E. Peary, United States Navy, on the retired list of the Corps of Civil Engineers with the rank of rear admiral, to date from April 6, 1909, with the highest retired pay of that grade under existing law.

SEC. 2. That the thanks of Congress be, and the same are hereby, tendered to Robert E. Peary, United States Navy, for his Arctic explorations, resulting in reaching the North Pole.

Approved, March 4, 1911.

It will be noticed that the above resolution does not accredit Mr. Peary with having discovered the North Pole, but with having reached the North Pole. Therefore the resolution does not recognize Mr. Peary as the discoverer of the pole, nor does it preclude Dr. Cook's claim that he discovered the pole on April 21, 1908, which was more than 11 months before Mr. Peary reached the pole according to the date given by Peary himself, which was April 6, 1909.

I am informed that some gentlemen have said on the floor of this House that Congress is not concerned about this matter, and that it has no jurisdiction over same. In reply to this statement I desire to ask, If Congress is not concerned about this matter, why, then, did it tender its thanks to Mr. Peary for his polar attainment? Nor did it stop at a vote of thanks, but by the same resolution it granted him a pension at $6,000 per annum for the remainder of his life, and by other governmental action he has been paid many thousand dollars out of the Public Treasury during his various leaves of absence from the naval service, much of which time was spent in polar explorations. This enormous sum, the thanks of Congress for his polar attainment, and the pension granted him was an admission and an implied acknowledgment on the part of the Congress of its interest in, and jurisdiction over, the polar efforts and achievements or controversies of American citizens.

It can not be argued in either justice or sincerity that Mr. Peary should receive the special favors of Congress for his polar attainment because he happened to be fortunate enough to be in the United States Navy. First, no man would dare contend that a naval officer should be given special advantages over a private citizen in a civil pursuit which was not a part of his official duty, and, second, the recommendation of the Secretary of the Navy on the resolution which acknowledged Mr. Peary's claim for Arctic explorations recommends that he is not entitled to such recognition for naval services, but throws him solely upon his claim as a private citizen for Arctic explorations. I submit copy of the report of the Secretary of the Navy, just referred to, which reads as follows:

NAVY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, February 10, 1910.

To the CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The receipt is acknowledged of your letter of the 8th instant, inclosing a bill (H. R. 19971) providing for the appointment of Commander Robert E. Peary a rear admiral in the Navy as an additional number in grade, and placing him upon the retired list, and requesting for the committee the views and recommendations of the department thereon.

In reply I have the honor to inform you that Robert Edwin Peary entered the naval service of the United States as a civil engineer on October 26, 1881, and has been an officer of the Navy continuously since that date, performing the duties required of a civil engineer under orders from the Navy Department, except when on leave.

During his service in the Navy Civil Engineer Peary has been granted leave of absence abroad as follows:

April 6, 1886, leave abroad, 8 months.
October 31, 1887, leave abroad, 12 months.
February 24, 1891, leave abroad, 18 months.
November 21, 1892, leave abroad, 3 years.
May 2, 1896, leave abroad, 6 months.
May 25, 1897, leave abroad, 5 months.
September 9, 1903, leave abroad, 3 years.
April 9, 1907, leave abroad, 3 years.

The unexpired portion of this last leave was revoked on July 2, 1908, and Civil Engineer Peary was ordered to report to the Coast and Geodetic Survey for duty in making tidal observations in Grant Land and Greenland.

It would appear that the bill in question is framed for the purpose of rewarding Civil Engineer Peary for having reached the North Pole; and while having successfully accomplished this self-imposed task is most commendable and reflects great credit not only upon him but also upon the entire Nation, his various exploring expeditions can not be regarded as having been conducted for a strictly military or naval purpose, and for this reason it seems inappropriate to confer upon him a title for which his previous education, training, and service have not fitted him.

It is therefore recommended that in the title of the bill and in the fourth line thereof the word "commander" be changed to "civil

engineer," the latter being Mr. Peary's correct official designation, and, further, that instead of appointing him a rear admiral and placing him upon the retired list as such, that he be retired as a civil engineer, with the rank of rear admiral, and with the highest retired pay of that grade under existing law.

Faithfully, yours, G. VON L. MEYER.

Then, if one American citizen should receive congressional recognition for Arctic achievements, why should not another American citizen receive the same recognition and the same thanks if he can establish to the satisfaction of Congress that he attained the same achievement, and attained it many months prior to the date that Mr. Peary claims to have done so. Dr. Cook announced to the world that he had reached the North Pole prior to the announcement of Mr. Peary that he had done so, and was the first citizen of his own or any other country to claim to have reached that long-sought goal. Dr. Cook says he will establish by expert testimony, if given an opportunity, his claim of priority in reaching the pole. He states that more than 60 Arctic explorers and scientific experts from different parts of the world have recognized him as the discoverer of the pole, and that not one Arctic explorer or scientific expert has disputed same on scientific grounds, and that he is in possession of documents proving this acknowledgment; and these documents were written after the publication of the polar records of both himself and Peary, and most of them were written during the year 1914, after a most careful study had been made of the reports of both himself and Peary. So, in view of the claim of Dr. Cook that each and all Arctic explorers who have spoken on the controversy recognize him as the discoverer of the pole, it is, in my opinion, incumbent upon Congress to accord to him the same treatment that it accorded to Mr. Peary. It should give him an opportunity to establish his claim of priority by giving him and his witnesses a hearing before a committee of Congress; and if after a thorough hearing that committee is convinced that Dr. Cook did reach the pole, he should then receive national recognition through the Congress of the United States, which would automatically establish his claim of priority, as there is no controversy between Cook and Peary as to the date that each claims to have reached the pole. He is an American citizen the same as Peary, and should receive equal treatment at the hands of the American Congress. Justice demands that he be granted a hearing by the same Congress that gave Peary recognition, and a just public sentiment will sooner or later force such a hearing; and it is my contention that it should not be delayed, but should be granted while the expert witnesses who are familiar with the data and the facts and who are capable of passing upon same and giving competent testimony are obtainable. And in this connection I make the contention that the weight of expert computations on the observations of both Cook and Peary is in favor of Cook. As a basis of Peary's claim in this regard I submit copy of a letter of Hon. O. H. Tittmann, Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, which reads as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE,
UNITED STATES COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY,
Washington, March 4, 1914.

Mr. E. N. NORTON,
6952 Harvard Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

SIR: In reply to your letter of February 28, 1914, I have to inform you that you can obtain information in regard to observations, etc., of Admiral Peary on his trip to the far north in his book called "Peary's North Pole."

You will find a statement of the testimony of Hugh C. Mitchell, one of the computers of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, who worked up Peary's observations, on pages 135–142 of the hearings before the Committee on Naval Affairs, subcommittee on private bills, dated March 4, 1910, a copy of which can probably be obtained by writing to the chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

The computations of Peary's work were made by Messrs. Hugh C. Mitchell and Charles R. Duvall, who were employed for the purpose by Mr. Peary. These computations were, therefore, not made officially by the Coast and Geodetic Survey, although this office has always vouched for the accuracy of the work done by these two men.

Respectfully,
O. H. TITTMANN, *Superintendent.*

It will be noted from the above letter that the observations of Mr. Peary were computed by only two gentlemen who were connected with the Coast and Geodetic Survey, but who were not acting officially in their computations of Peary's observations but were paid for same by Mr. Peary himself. I do not question the integrity of these gentlemen or the correctness of their computations of Peary's observations, but in connection with their report I wish to call attention to the fact that the observations of Dr. Cook were computed by Mr. Clark Brown, associate member of the American Society of Civil Engineers, and Mr. Brown's computations were approved by David R. Lee, civil engineer, B. S., Cornell University, 1889, also a member of the American Society of Civil Engineers; J. M. Taylor, M. E., Cornell University, 1888; E. G. Raynor, civil engineer, B. S., New York University, 1903; R. C. Holt, civil engineer; and J. C. Green, associate member American Society of Civil Engineers, Michigan Agricultural College, 1901. All five of these gentlemen are scientific experts from different parts of the country, and four of them were not then and are not now acquainted with Dr. Cook. Therefore if we accept the report of the two scientific experts who computed the observations of Mr. Peary, we should also accept the report of the five scientific experts who computed the observations of Dr. Cook, and who show by their computations that Cook reached the pole.

Not only do the principles of justice demand that Dr. Cook be given a hearing and that this controversy be settled for all time, but our educational interests demand its settlement. The students of history of the present and future are entitled to have the controversy settled while the claimants are both living and each able to defend his case, so that they may not be misled by history or left to guess at the facts.

Then there is another reason why an investigation of this matter should be made by Congress. Congress has officially acknowledged that Mr. Peary reached the pole. I am informed that it is now contended that he did not reach the pole, and that it can be established that he did not if opportunity is given. I do not attempt to vouch for the truthfulness of that statement or the soundness of the contention. But I do contend that Congress was not indulging in child's play or idle formalities in its official recognition of Mr. Peary's claim that he reached the pole. It was dealing with a question of both national and international interest and should be sure of the grounds upon which it based its action. I understand that it was stated by Miss Lilian E. Kiel, former stenographer for Hampton's Magazine, before the Committee on Education of this House a few days ago that the alleged Peary report of his trip to the pole was not a product of his own brain, but was a product of the editorial staff of Hampton's Magazine. If this be true, it is sufficient to raise the question of doubt as to whether the report was written on information and calculations received from Mr. Peary, or on information from some other source. It is therefore the duty of Congress to inquire into the authenticity of the report on which it gave Peary recognition. If the charges advanced by Miss Kiel are untrue, they are an injustice to Mr. Peary and the editorial staff and the magazine referred to, and their truthfulness should be immediately challenged and disproved by Mr. Peary and all other parties concerned. If they are true, Mr. Peary and his staff have done an injustice to both the Congress and the public by leaving this matter open to so much doubt. As a basis of my reference to the charges of Miss Kiel before the Committee on Education of the House of Representatives, I here submit copy of an affidavit by her containing practically the same charges above referred to, which reads as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *July 1, 1914.*

To whom it may concern:

While employed as editorial stenographer by Hampton's Magazine it fell to my lot to take the story entitled "The discovery of the North Pole," which ran in Hampton's in 1910. This story was published over the name of Robert E. Peary, was dictated to me by a woman—Mrs. Elsa Barker—and of it Mr. Peary wrote not one word. I still hold in my possession my stenographer's notebooks containing my original shorthand notes of this story.

Later in the year a member of this same enterprising, unscrupulous editorial staff manufactured and dictated to me a faked "statement" for the press to which I was commanded to sign the name "Frederick A. Cook" by typewriter, but of which Dr. Cook had absolutely no knowledge until it appeared in the public press.

This faked "statement"—commonly called "the Cook confession"—appeared simultaneously with the issue of Hampton's Magazine for January, 1911, which contained the first instalment of what was known as "Dr. Cook's own story," in which, after Dr. Cook had O. K.'d the galley proofs, I helped to insert certain insanity and "confession" clauses.

The above is a voluntary statement made by me in the interests of justice without the knowledge of Dr. Frederick A. Cook.

LILIAN E. KIEL.

CITY OF WASHINGTON, *District of Columbia, ss:*

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 1st day of July, 1914.
[SEAL.] E. C. OWEN, *Notary Public.*

I maintain that if the charges made by Miss Kiel are untrue, Mr. Peary and those implicated with him by these charges can not afford to sit idly by and let them go unnoticed or unchallenged. And if the charges of Miss Kiel are not refuted or met by a satisfactory explanation, the Congress and the country must admit that a mistake was made by giving Mr. Peary congressional recognition for his polar achievements, the report in question being a part of the basis upon which they gave such recognition. And, further still, Dr. Cook is heralding charges against Mr. Peary from one end of the United States to the other, so grave in character that they are inflaming the public mind to such an extent that the public is contending that inasmuch as Congress has impliedly acknowledged its jurisdiction over this matter by its recognition of the Arctic achievements of Mr. Peary, it is now incumbent upon Congress to make a full

and thorough investigation of the claims of Dr. Cook and the charges by him against Mr. Peary, charging the latter with bribery, fraud, and falsehoods, to discredit and destroy him (Cook) and establish his (Peary's) polar claim, upon which claim he received congressional recognition.

The public is contending that the charges which Cook is making against Peary should be answered and refuted or acknowledged by Mr. Peary. I would not make any contention for the purpose of precipitating further controversy between the two gentlemen under discussion, but I do contend that Congress should take the matter in hand and should give a full and open hearing to both claimants and their witnesses. If the charges are untrue, the country should know it, and Cook's campaign against Peary should come to an end. If, on the other hand, they are true, the country, and especially the Congress, which gave official recognition to Mr. Peary, should know it. I maintain that neither Mr. Peary nor the Congress which has officially recognized him should be willing to permit the campaign of Dr. Cook to further proceed without notice. It is my opinion and my contention that the controversy should be settled and settled right. And in the hope that it may lead to that end I am introducing the following resolution:

Be it resolved, etc., That the thanks of Congress be, and the same are hereby, tendered to Dr. Frederick A. Cook for his Arctic explorations, resulting in his reaching the North Pole.

This resolution is practically identical with section 2 of the resolution extending the thanks of Congress to Mr. Peary, and if it should be passed by Congress it will automatically settle the question of priority of discovery in favor of Dr. Cook. I introduce this resolution in the hope that it may lead to a full hearing and proper and final settlement of the question in controversy. The controversy should be settled, to the end that if Cook's claim of discovery of the North Pole and his charges against Peary are untrue, the country should know it and his campaign of assault upon Peary should cease. On the other hand, if he can establish his claim that he reached the North Pole, as he says he can, and as the great number of Arctic explorers and scientists say he can, he should not only be recognized by the Congress and the country as the discoverer of the North Pole, but should be commended by the world for the brave, fearless, and untiring fight which he has waged for his rights.

I include in the data submitted herewith copy of the contract between Mr. Peary and the New York Times, which was printed in the Times on September 11, 1909. I also include copies of numerous letters from Arctic explorers and scientific experts to which I invite special attention; and I desire to say here that I have seen all the original letters from which these copies are made. I submit all this, together with Dr. Cook's letter to the Congress of the United States to which I have previously referred, for the information of the membership of the House. And I insist that in view of the preponderance of evidence in favor of the claim of priority at the North Pole by Dr. Cook, and his request for and persistent efforts to secure a hearing before Congress, the same body that heard Mr. Peary, a hearing should be granted to Cook.

The data above referred to are submitted in the following order:

TIMES CONTRACT WITH PEARY AS PUBLISHED IN NEW YORK TIMES SEPTEMBER 11, 1909.

NEW YORK TIMES,
New York City, July 6, 1908.

GENTLEMEN: I herewith acknowledge the receipt of the sum of $4,000 from the New York Times on behalf of itself and associates. It is understood that in making this advance the Times does not assume any responsibility for or any connection with the expedition on which I am about to embark, and which has for its purpose the finding of the North Pole. The money is advanced to me as a loan to be repaid to the New York Times and its associates out of the proceeds of the news and literary rights resulting from this expedition, it being understood that if for any reason the expedition is abandoned before the fall of 1908 the money is to be refunded to the Times. If the expedition is successful and the pole is discovered I promise to use every means in my power to reach civilization and wire to the Times the full story of the discovery over my own signature. The Times is to have the sole rights to the news of the discovery, and is to have the exclusive right of its publication in all parts of the world. My understanding is that the Times, on its part, agrees to syndicate the news both in Europe and America, and to give to me the entire amount it receives, after deducting costs of cables, tolls, etc. The Times and its associates will pay me what they consider a reasonable amount for the use of the material in their own publications. From the sum thus raised the $4,000 is to be repaid, and I am free to sell the magazine and book rights to my best advantage.

It is understood, however, that should the news reports by any possibilty not realize the sum of $4,000, any deficit will be reimbursed to the Times from the magazine and book rights.

Should the expedition not be successful in finding the pole, but should simply result in explorations in the Far North, the Times is to be repaid $4,000 out of the news, magazine, and book rights of the expedition, so far as they may go toward the liquidation of that claim.

Yours, very truly, R. E. PEARY.

[Editorial comment from the Evening Tribune, Des Moines, Iowa, June 23, 1914.]

Whatever else Dr. Cook may be right or wrong about, he is most certainly right about the efforts that are being made to suppress him and his contentions over the North Pole discovery.

The Evening Tribune is in receipt of a mass of printed matter about the doctor, sent from no acknowledged source, that in the preparation must represent weeks of labor and hundreds of dollars' expense.

The question that naturally suggests itself is why such an effort should now be considered necessary to discredit the doctor, and who is financially interested enough to go to the expense?

—

WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 7, 1911.*

To Dr. FREDERICK A. COOK,
New York City.

DEAR DR. COOK: I thank you very much for your kind letter, and I assure you that I have never varied in the belief that you and Civil Engineer Peary reached the pole. After reading the published accounts daily and critically of both claimants, I was forced to the conclusion from their striking similarity that each of you was the eye-witness of the other's success.

Without collusion it would have been impossible to have written accounts so similar, and yet in view of the ungracious controversy that has occurred since, that view (collusion) would be impossible to imagine.

While I have never believed that either of you got within a pin point of the pole, I have steadfastly held that both got as near the goal as was possible to ascertain, considering the imperfections of the instruments used and the personal errors of individuals under circumstances so adverse to absolute accuracy.

Again, I have been broad enough in my views to believe that there was room enough at the pole for two, and never narrow enough to believe that only one man got there.

I believe that both are entitled to the honor of the achievement.

Very truly, yours,

W. S. SCHLEY.

—

INDORSEMENTS OF LETTER BY ADMIRAL SCHLEY, JANUARY 7, 1911.

SAN JOSE, CAL., *April 22, 1914.*

I agree with Admiral Schley and have drawn my conclusions from like reasoning.

MAURICE CONNELL.

(Maurice Connell, connected with United States Weather Bureau and member of the Greely Arctic Expedition.)

—

COPY OF INSCRIPTION ON BACK OF PHOTOGRAPH PRESENTED TO DR. COOK BY DR. J. G. KNOWLTON, SURGEON TO THE "NEPTUNE," SCOTT EXPEDITION.

For Dr. Frederick A. Cook, the first man at the North Pole, and I may say, the only one up to date.

From his friend,

Dr. J. G. KNOWLTON,
Surgeon to Steamer "Neptune," Scott Expedition.

JANUARY 19, 1914.

—

COPY OF INDORSEMENT ON SCHLEY LETTER.

PORT ARTHUR, CANADA.

I am of the same opinion as Admiral W. S. Schley, that Frederick A. Cook was the first to reach the North Pole.

JOHN E. NEWSOME,
(Ten years in the Arctic.)

—

COPY OF INDORSEMENT ON ADMIRAL SCHLEY'S LETTER TO DR. COOK.

After careful consideration of Rear Admiral Schley's Arctic letters to Dr. Cook, I don't hesitate to indorse every word the admiral said of the doctor.

JOHN BYERS WIRT,
Commodore Commanding National Naval Veterans, U. S. of A.

—

On a copy of the late Rear Admiral W. S. Schley's letter of indorsement to Dr. Cook, Capt. J. E. Bernier wrote as follows:

This is my opinion.

J. E. BERNIER,
Leader of Various Official Canadian Arctic Expeditions.

CANADA, *January 19, 1914.*

—

COPY OF INDORSEMENT ON SCHLEY LETTER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *February 3, 1914.*

I indorse fully the foregoing letter of Rear Admiral W. S. Schley to Dr. Frederick A. Cook, of date January 7, 1911, so far as it refers to Dr. Cook's achievement.

MIDDLETON SMITH,
Observer and Naturalist, Point Barrow Expedition.

—

COPY OF INDORSEMENT ON SCHLEY LETTER.

This is the way I have always looked at it.

SAMUEL J. ENTRIKIN,
Second in Command of the Peary Expedition of 1894.

MARCH 13, 1914.

—

COPY OF INDORSEMENT ON SCHLEY LETTER.

APRIL 22, 1914.

MY DEAR DR. COOK: I indorsed these sentiments at the time they were first expressed, and have discovered no reasons in the intervening years to change my opinion.

Sincerely,

SAMUEL P. ORTH,
Professor of Political Economy, Cornell University, New York,
Member of the "Miranda" Arctic Expedition, 1894.

COPY OF INDORSEMENT ON SCHLEY LETTER.

NEW YORK CITY, *January 23, 1914.*

The opinion of Admiral Schley is my belief regarding the rival polar claims.

EDWIN S. BROOKE, Jr.,
Crocker Land Expedition, 1913.

To the Congress of the United States (presented through —— ——):

As an American citizen, I ask Congress to act upon the Poindexter joint resolution 144, which was introduced April 30, 1914, or any other that may have been introduced later, to the end that we Americans may have the right to say that an American was the first to reach the geographical spot known as the North Pole, for which statement at the present time no authority exists.

The question of who discovered the North Pole is in doubt in the minds of many people the world over. It is a question that should be settled and settled right; and it would seem that now is the fitting time to do it, while both claimants are alive, and evidence, such as there is, available.

Many people in Europe, and multitudes in the United States, are thoroughly convinced that Dr. Frederick A. Cook was the first man to reach 90° north latitude.

As time passes and citizens of this country read the story of the conquest of the pole as told by Dr. Cook in his book entitled, "My Attainment of the Pole," or listen to him personally as he tells his experiences from the lecture platform, it is borne in upon them that there has been a great injustice done, and that the popular belief that R. E. Peary is the discoverer of the North Pole is erroneous.

To my mind, the chief proof that an explorer can give of what he claims to have accomplished is to be found in his account or narrative. We like that to ring true and to tally with such facts as we know. Dr. Cook in his book, "My Attainment of the Pole," gives us a story that does ring true, and his claim that he was the first of all men to reach the North Pole is, I think, proven beyond question. The story of its conquest and of the wonderful journey over the ice floes with his two Eskimo companions is most convincing.

The record of observations by sextant for latitude made by Dr. Cook are as good, I believe, as possible to be taken under such adverse conditions as must prevail in the vicinity of the pole. The novel idea of proving his position by accurate and painstaking observations of shadows for a period of 24 hours while at the pole was a happy thought, and such results as he got would obtain nowhere else but at the North or South Poles.

Should further proof be needed, it is to be found in the reports given by R. E. Peary in his book, entitled the "North Pole," written some time after Dr. Cook's statements had been made public. In this book Mr. Peary, writing of his journey to the pole, describes in detail the same conditions of ice, water, and sky that Dr. Cook found the year before; also where Dr. Cook saw land to the west, first between the eighty-fourth and eighty-fifth parallels of north latitude, and later the submerged island between the eighty-seventh and eighty-eighth parallels, Peary, too far east to possibly see these lands, yet found the divisions in the floes caused by the obstruction of those lands to the easterly drift of the ice. He also, in one case at least, reported animal life, indicating that land could not be too far away.

There are probably but few people who doubt that R. E. Peary reached the pole in 1909; but if so, how are we to account for his description of that journey, tallying so completely with that previously given to the public by Dr. Cook, unless we admit that Dr. Cook must have made the same journey the year before, as he says he did?

To those of us who know Dr. Cook, his simple word is sufficient; to those who do not, his word should be as good as another's.

I believe that anyone who has had much experience in the Arctic regions and who is familiar with the narratives of both Dr. Cook and R. E. Peary, and who is honest and unprejudiced, must feel that the honor of discovering the North Pole belongs by right to Dr. Frederick A. Cook.

Unfortunately, it would seem that as a rule the press of this country love sensation better than truth, and have been most ready to print charges of fake and fraud as advanced by Peary and his followers, while their columns have been closed to Dr. Cook when he has wished to answer these charges and present his own claims.

The people of the United States, however, love truth and justice, and I think it would be peculiarly fitting for the Congress of the United States to investigate this matter impartially and settle for all time as to whom belongs the honor of discovering the North Pole. I ask that in the interest of national honor, justice, and geographical and historical knowledge.

Respectfully,

EDWARD A. HAVEN,
Master Mariner.

(Served as officer in navigating and handling ships in Arctic ice for 14 years; the last voyage as first officer with the Ziegler polar expedition of 1903–1905. Also three years' experience sledging and boat sailing on Alaskan rivers and coasts.)

OAKLAND, CAL., *December 28, 1914.*

UNITED STATES REVENUE-CUTTER SERVICE,
4154 Piedmont Avenue, Oakland, Cal.,
April 27, 1914.

Mr. E. C. ROST,
6952 Harvard Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR: I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 15th instant in regard to the work of the Arctic explorers, Dr. Frederick A. Cook, of Brooklyn, N. Y., and Civil Engineer Robert E. Peary, United States Navy, retired, inclosing a copy of a letter to Dr. Cook from the late Admiral W. S. Schley, United States Navy, which I return you herewith.

You ask me for my opinion as to the merit of the claims for discovery of the geographical point, the North Pole, and in reply I wish to state that I have met both the persons referred to, have carefully studied their reports, and from the experience I have had during five cruises to the Arctic Ocean on the Pacific side in Government ships I fully indorse the view of the late Admiral Schley in his letter to Dr. Cook in every particular, and I regret very much that any public controversy ever took place betwen the two gentlemen after the hardship and suffering they so bravely had endured for the sake of national pride and science. The priority of discovery evidently belongs to Dr. Cook.

I am, sir, very truly, yours,

O. C. HAMLET,
Senior Captain U. S. Revenue-Cutter Service, retired.

STRANDBOULEVARD 114,
KOBENHAVN.

MY DEAR DR. COOK: It is very kind of you, indeed, to send me the photos of yourself and those from the voyage. I do appreciate them very much, and prize them highly amongst the other explorers. Once more, please accept my most sincere thinks.

May I congratulate you? I saw in the papers that the Congress was going to confer an honor on you. I need not tell you that I was very pleased.

I have from our mutual friend, Hamlet, received the congressional report on the Peary investigation, and was extremely interested. Good God! That committee of the National Geographic Society have certainly taken matters easy. It seems really incredible. If a similar report from the Congress have been sent out, I would be very pleased to receive it.

I am angry with Peary, as I have written and written again regarding some glacialogical work done on the ice cap on Greenland, but have never received an answer, and I presume that he does not like that I brought back the information that the Peary Channel did not exist. That's the only reason that I can find out.

Do tell me, are there in your "Through the First Antarctic Night" any glacialogical information, or have you written anything on this theme, for instance, from your Mount McKinley voyage? I am working hard with it, as I have to draw up my official report over the voyage across the northern Greenlandic ice cap. Did I ever send you my book? If not, let me know, and I will send it to you at once, and if you care for my photo I would be honored to send you one.

What definite information is there in Peary's book about his having reached the pole? Has he written anything?

With my kindest regards and thanks, I am,

Yours, faithfully,

EJNAR MIKKELSEN,
Leader Arctic Expedition to Bering Sea, Member Ziegler Arctic Expedition, Leader Ericksen Relief Expedition.

DURBAN, *April 24, 1914.*

Dr. F. A. COOK.

DEAR SIR: Most sincere thanks for your excellent book, My Attainment of the North Pole.

I've read it with the greatest interest, and I must congratulate you as the winner of the blue ribbon. By the way, permit me to tell you that I've always been one of your most ardent supporters, even in those days when the Peary gang had the run of the press and you were silent. Amongst those who have had a peep behind the curtains of Arctic exploration Peary's true character is only too well known to be commented upon and his doings are the least said infamous.

You have fought a noble fight with a true gentleman's weapon, which is more than what can be said about your antagonist, and I sincerely hope that the justice you are demanding shall not be long in forthcoming.

Hoping to have the pleasure of one day making your personal acquaintance, I beg to remain,

Sincerely, yours,

R. BERGENDAHL,
Of the Ziegler Expedition.

Address, Warberg, Sweden.

SCHOONER "CARRIE W. BABSON,"
709 Cleveland Street, Tampa, Fla., May 23, 1914.

Dr. F. A. COOK, *Chicago, Ill.*

DEAR DOCTOR: It was with much pleasure that I received your book, My Attainment of the Pole, on my arrival here from sea.

Please accept my sincere thanks for your kind remembrance, and rest assured I shall keep it as a token of the first discoverer of the North Pole.

I have sent a card in your behalf to our Congressman SPARKMAN.

Thanking you kindly once more, hoping this finds all well.

Yours, sincerely,

Capt. JOHN MARSHALL.

P. S.—You will remember the schooner *C. W. Babson*, of Gloucester, Mass. I have sailed her for the past eight years in the Central American trade.

M.

CHICAGO, ILL., *September 14, 1914.*

To whom it may concern:

During a luncheon at the New Washington Hotel, in Seattle, Wash., Wednesday, January 8, 1913, when Capt. Otto Sverdrup, his daughter, Dr. Frederick A. Cook, and myself were present, the captain said: "Dr. Cook, I have always taken a great deal of interest in your polar explorations on account of my own work in the Arctic. I have read your narrative carefully, and by the indisputable facts contained therein I am confident that you reached the North Pole."

G. W. BAKER.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 15th day of September, 1914, Chicago, Ill.

[SEAL.]

CHAS. L. GROBECKER,
Notary Public.

UMATILLA, LAKE COUNTY, FLA., *January 25, 1911.*

Dr. FREDERICK A. COOK,
Waldorf-Astoria, New York.

MY DEAR DR. COOK: Your very kind letter of January 13, inclosing letter (copy) from Admiral Schley and yours (copy) to Hon. George Edmond Foss was forwarded me from Chattanooga to this place, where I am wintering.

I thank you for your kind expressions, and feel highly honored for your appreciation of my note.

I never had a doubt as to your success in discovering the pole, but you were from the first most unjustly and savagely treated and most so by one who should have backed you up or else be silent.

I agree with Admiral Schley that there is room enough at the pole for two, but even if Congress makes Commander Peary a rear admiral it will not convince me that he has discovered the pole. He may have done so, but his action toward you does not come up to my idea of a true sportsman.

My dear Doctor, you will not have to wait for your reward from our children's children. The American people are at times slow to see a

truth, but they generally strike it in time, and you must remember that your claim was subjected to a deluge of vituperation, and it takes time to remove this; and bear in mind—

"Truth crushed to earth will rise again."

I anticipate and heartily wish a thorough vindication of your claim. I am,

Very respectfully and sincerely,

P. J. A. CLEARY,
Brigadier General, United States Army, Retired.

—

COPY OF INDORSEMENTS ON SCHLEY LETTER.

419 WEST THIRTY-NINTH STREET,
New York City, April 25, 1914.

I believe in Dr. Cook having reached the North Pole, as I have been with him myself and as I helped him to prepare in the lonely winter months for his dash to the pole. I have always known him for a man of his word, and as for Civil Engineer Peary, I could point out more than once that he didn't keep his word; therefore I don't believe in any way in Civil Engineer Peary.

If I would not know some of the inside history and only read the published accounts of Dr. Cook and Civil Engineer Peary, I would be of the opinion that both reached the pole.

RUDOLPH FRANKE.

—

THE CREIGHTON UNIVERSITY OBSERVATORY,
TWENTY-FIFTH AND CALIFORNIA STREETS,
Omaha, Nebr., August 11, 1914.

Senator O'GORMAN, of New York:

HONORED SIR: Allow me to respectfully ask your honor to use your influence in having Congress investigate Dr. Cook's claims as to the discovery of the North Pole.

It is only fair that Congress should take up his case, as it did that of Admiral Peary, and that Dr. Cook himself should ask for such a hearing shows that he is not afraid of submitting his data to the Nation's scrutiny.

While I am personally convinced of the many advantages and even of the necessity of this investigation, my name does not in any way imply the official sanction of the Creighton University.

Respectfully, yours,

WILLIAM F. RIGGE.

—

ALBANY, *January 27, 1915.*

Dr. FREDERICK A. COOK,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

DEAR DOCTOR: I am very glad to learn that Congress is now investigating the subject of polar exploration, with special reference to the discovery of the North Pole. There has never been a doubt in my mind that your book, "My Attainment of the Pole," is a true account of results successfully and bravely accomplished by yourself, and I hope and believe that the proposed inquiry will establish your claim to priority in this great achievement. With kind regards and best wishes,

Very truly, yours,

TARLETON H. BEAN.

(Dr. Tarleton H. Bean, fish culturist, State of New York; member of the Arctic Club of America; member of Arctic expeditions to Alaska, 1880–1889.)

—

1007 CALIFORNIA-PACIFIC BUILDING,
San Francisco, June 12, 1914.

Mr. E. C. ROST.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your favor of April 15 asking for my opinion regarding the possible attainment of the pole by Dr. Frederick A. Cook, I can only suggest that opinions are usually valueless things unless based upon justifiable reasonings. I inclose herewith such reasonings regarding Dr. Cook's polar work as I have been able to arrive at, together with such matters as go to form the basis of these reasonings.

I can not believe that anyone familiar with Arctic work, or even sufficiently familiar with Arctic history to appreciate the worth of what they read, can read with an unprejudiced mind Dr. Frederick A. Cook's "My Attainment of the Pole" and not be impressed with the vivid and realistic character of the wonderful story or fail to be impressed with the intelligence, the fidelity, and the quiet, determined courage of its author. I do not believe any man sufficiently clever to construct this story as it is written without first having had the experience.

Sincerely,

ANDREW J. STONE.

(Andrew J. Stone, traveler and explorer; has traveled over almost all parts of Arctic and sub-Arctic America; also sledged the extreme Arctic coast throughout an entire winter.)

PRATT, KANS., *August 11, 1914.*

Mr. E. C. ROST,
The New Ebbitt, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have always thought that both Dr. Cook and Peary reached the pole or got within reasonable distance of it, and I have never been able to understand why Cook has not been able to get a hearing before the proper committees and societies to pass upon his records. He is surely entitled to such a hearing.

Very truly, yours,

L. L. DYCHE.

(L. L. Dyche, member of various Peary and Cook Arctic expeditions; professor of zoology and curator of birds and mammals since 1900, University of Kansas; has made 23 scientific expeditions and hunted all over North America from Mexico to Alaska, including Greenland and the Arctic regions.)

—

OMAHA, NEBR., *January 4, 1915.*

Mr. ERNEST C. ROST,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have manuscript of many hundred pages for a book entitled "Has the North Pole Been Discovered?" It is ready for publication. If it is published, I shall be pleased to send you a copy. I prove beyond dispute that Peary never went to the pole and never intended to go there. I prove it by Peary himself. I show also that there is not a scrap of truthful evidence indicating that Cook did not go there. I review all that I know has been written, including the action of the National Geographic Society and the testimony at Washington in Peary's behalf.

Yours, very truly,

THOS. F. HALL.

(Thomas F. Hall, traveler, mariner, expert on comparative Arctic literature.)

—

ITHACA, N. Y., *April 21, 1914.*

Mr. E. C. ROST, *Chicago, Ill.*

MY DEAR SIR: Regarding my opinion about the discoverer of the North Pole, I have never changed my mind regarding this from the morning I received notice that Dr. Cook had reached this imaginary spot known as the North Pole, nor, a few days following, that Peary had also reached this spot. I sincerely believe both of these men have been there.

I have for a number of years been a close student of matters "Arctic," and I have had the pleasure of being in the field with both of these men. I have read every article that has come under my observation. I have talked with scientific men regarding the claims of each, from a scientific point of view, and the more I read and study on each side convinces me that both succeeded. I have also talked with Admiral Schley on this subject and can indorse his letter. I hope the controversy will come to an end. As Admiral Schley says, "there is honor enough for two."

Very truly, yours,

L. C. BEMENT.

—

ERIE, PA., *June 24, 1914.*

E. C. ROST, *the New Ebbitt, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: From my own personal knowledge of Dr. Cook I regard the doctor as an unusually competent leader, equal to the greatest emergency. He is the epitome of honor and sincerity.

Let the impartial limelight of a congressional investigation be turned onto the North Pole controversy.

The period of Arctic darkness is long and trying, but when the light appears it also is long and much more satisfying. Those who are trying to block this investigation know full well why they are more comfortable in the dark.

Sincerely, yours,

RALPH L. SHAINWALD, Jr.

(Ralph L. Shainwald, jr., explorer of Arctic Alaska.)

—

COLUMBUS, OHIO, *December 28, 1914.*

Mr. E. C. ROST, *Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter of the 25th instant, I would say that in the summer of 1894 I accompanied Dr. Frederick A. Cook to Greenland in the ill-fated *Miranda*, and had abundant occasion to observe his straightforward and honest character and his great resourcefulness in times of peril. When our ship was injured upon the rocks, the courage and skill which he showed in venturing 100 miles northward along the rugged coast of Greenland in a small boat to get relief prepared me for believing that he could accomplish any daring enterprise that was within reach of human effort. When, therefore, his report of reaching the pole came, my only doubt as to whether he had really reached the pole related to the difficulty of making accurate observations under the conditions in which he was placed. But when Peary's detailed report appeared it was evident that either both had been to the same place or that Peary had copied Cook's notes. In an interview which I had with Admiral Schley, a year or two before his death, he expressed to me his perfect confidence in Dr. Cook's honesty and ability to make observations, since he knew that Dr. Cook took great pains to perfect himself in handling instruments before his last Arctic tour.

Trusting that the truth in this whole matter may come out, I am,

Very truly, yours,

G. FREDERICK WRIGHT.

(Prof. G. Frederick Wright (author of "The Ice Age of America"), Arctic traveler; president of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.)

—

To the Congress of the United States:

The discoveries en route to the North Pole will be an asset to future generations. By virtue of the pioneer efforts of American explorers we have a legitimate claim upon certain lands and resources of the far north. This claim will go by default until national recognition is given to the work of Arctic explorers. It would seem, therefore, to be a Federal duty to determine the validity of the work of polar explorers.

In the Hydrographic Office the money of the taxpayers is wasted by the publication of polar maps which record false data. The falsity of these maps is an insult to other nations, and a poison to the minds of future generations, for the school histories copy such false statements because they are sent out under the guaranty of the stamp of the United States Government. Is it not our duty to see that school children are taught verified geography, when the honor of the flag and the prestige of the Nation are at stake? The answer to this question compels a determination of the status of the discoveries en route to the pole.

Engineer Peary has been paid from the Navy nearly $100,000 for official services never rendered. He is now drawing a favor of $6,000 annually, not for any duty ever performed in the Navy, but by virtue of appreciation of his polar efforts. The bill gives Peary $6,000 yearly, but denies to him the credit of his claimed discovery of the pole. This denial for the credit of polar priority was forced in justice to my earlier polar attainment. There is, however, no congressional record to show that any examination has ever been made to determine the status of my demands for the claim of priority in reaching the North Pole. This Federal half action upon the work of Engineer Peary and absolute indifference to my work is an injustice to Peary; it is injustice to myself. It is an inexcusable sacrifice of national prestige. Either Peary is the discoverer of the North Pole and deserves full credit, or I am the discoverer of the pole and deserve national recognition—or the $100,000 paid to Peary should be returned to the National Treasury. For if my case is not a national issue, how is Peary's? For the Secretary of the Navy has admitted that Peary's financial advantage is not due to his services to the United States Navy.

The work of exploration and discovery has always been a legitimate field of conquest. More territory and more material resources have been placed under the flags of nations by explorers than by all the wars of all ages. The present war in Europe, like most wars

of the past, is due mostly to overreaching for spheres of influence. The nations now at war have placed millions of lives, billions of finances, on the altar of sacrifice, to win for their descendants precisely the prizes, peaceably, ethically, and honestly secured by explorers, at a very small cost. Nevertheless, the pathfinding pioneers have always been compelled to beg for mere subsistence for the battle drive into the unknown, and returning, stripped of everything but life, they have gone, usually, to their graves under a blanket of abuse. A general who has killed a thousand men is lauded to the zenith of glory during his lifetime, but he who discovers a new continent is appreciated only a hundred years after his soul wanders over the dead silence of the future.

No soldier goes to fight because he expects a reward; no explorer faces the death of tropical dangers nor the arctic tortures of famine and frost because he expects a reward. But when all is over, he does expect that a record of brotherly appreciation will be made. The polar quest, with its acquisition of territory and new resources, has been fought for 400 years and yet nearly every explorer has gone to eternity with the sting of injustice instead of the flower of timely understanding.

To obviate this during the lifetime of the men who claim to have reached the North Pole, my friends have insisted that there be a national determination of the status of the respective claims.

The discovery of the pole is not a personal matter. The flag that protects 100,000,000 people guarantees justice to the call of 100,000,000 voices for the truth of history that will be taught in the books of coming generations. In proof of this demand for Federal action my friends have offered as a documental demand petitions, letters, and official correspondence of nearly 100,000 Americans.

Contrary to a quite general impression, there never has been an official examination of the relative merits nor an investigation of the official status of the question of priority of the discovery of the North Pole. A commission appointed by the University of Copenhagen did make a preliminary examination of a part of my data, and in the case of Engineer Peary a commission appointed by the National Geographic Society did make a preliminary examination of a part of his data. But in both cases the investigation was by way of recalculation of the nautical observations. Such observations, when taken alone, do not offer adequate proof.

An explorer's record is his final official narrative. Therein he presents all the disconnected field notes and all his observations. Unlike explorers in more favored regions, the arctic traveler, with snow for a bed and ice for a pillow, with cold fingers, chattering teeth, and an ever-shivering skin, makes only brief notes. These notes only serve as reminders, a kind of shorthand tabulation of daily events. Such notations to others are not understandable, and yet in the end of 1909, when the hasty preliminary investigation was made, there was no other data accessible. The completed record was not ready until later. The first examination was therefore premature and incomplete. And furthermore, the expert opinion, the most important proof of this work, has only been expressed in the last few years.

Three bills are now pending in Congress, all aimed to adjust the claim for polar discovery and exploration.

The first (S. J. Res. 144) was introduced by Senator MILES POINDEXTER, of Washington.

The second by Representative CHARLES B. SMITH, of New York (H. J. Res. 282).

The third by Representative CHARLES B. SMITH, of New York (H. J. Res. 383).

Contrary to a quite general impression, there is no tribunal, no society or scientific bureau, that can act with authority upon the merits or validity of an explorer's reports, and therefore, in presenting the facts upon which the claims for polar discovery are based, we are confronted at once by the quest for the precedence of the rating of earlier explorers.

There have been severe and long-continued controversies following every important discovery, and since nearly all geographic societies are composed of laymen (not geographers), who pay a certain sum yearly for the privilege of membership, there is no recognized geographic society which can be regarded as a scientific body in the sense of a technical organization such as geologic and biologic societies.

By an almost universal rule the explorer's work has been protected by some form of recognition from the government whose flag was carried into the unknown. This was preceded and followed by the slow process of digestion and assimilation of the pioneer's scientific data, and, finally, all doubts were stilled by the verification of later travelers and the expert opinion of explorers and scientific experts who have made themselves specialists along similar lines of endeavor.

It is now nearly six years since the double announcement of the discovery of the North Pole. Both records have been under the microscopic eye of all the people of all the world. Time enough has elapsed to elicit the verdict of the composite intelligence of the competent judges of all nations, and, therefore, the time would seem to be opportune for a national determination of the rival polar claims.

To this end I will offer for the consideration of Congress and the special committees to which the respective bills have been sent the following abstract of the material results of my last Arctic expedition. Upon the facts herein contained, and upon the supplementary corroborative evidence and expert opinion herein presented, I base my claim for the credit of priority in reaching the North Pole. Part of this and much accessory data are included in "The Case of Dr. Cook," by Fred High, editor of the Platform, Steinway Hall, Chicago.

With the assistance of John R. Bradley, of New York, an expedition was equipped for exploring the Arctic wilds. On July 3, 1907, all arrangements were complete and we sailed in a specially equipped and rebuilt auxiliary schooner out of the harbor of Gloucester, Mass. In the end of August we arrived at Annoatok, North Greenland, at a point 700 miles from the North Pole. There, aided by John R. Bradley, I finally organized an expedition to reach by sledge the boreal center. Supplies were landed and a permanent camp was erected at Annoatok. Rudolph Franke remained as my sole civilized companion. During the long Arctic night that followed sledges were built, the equipment was perfected, Eskimos and dogs were trained for the later sledge journey over the Polar sea. Native men, women, and children extended willing hands to finally and thoroughly equip the polar sled train.

At sunrise of 1908 (Feb. 19) my expedition started for the pole, aiming to force a new route over and among the lands discovered by Capt. Otto Sverdrup.

On March 20 the last of the supporting parties returned. I had selected as my companions for the last dash two young Eskimos, Ah-we-lah and E-tuk-i-shook. We were then approximately 60 miles north of Cape Svartevoeg, in an air line 460 miles from the pole. To this point no one has ever denied my progress northward. The only point of my journey to the pole, therefore, which remains to be proven is the last 460 miles.

It is furthermore conceded by everybody that when we were later carried adrift westward on the return, that we traveled southward to Jones Sound and from there back to Annoatok and south to Upernavik. The total conceded distance, therefore, covered by my expedition, including the detours, was approximately 3,000 miles. Even if we exclude the 460 miles under dispute, my journey over the pack ice multiplies by three the longest journey over pack ice on record before or since. For the longest other journey claimed over the polar pack ice is that of Engineer Peary, and since he seems to have traveled practically in an air line from Cape Columbia to the pole, his greatest distance is 840 miles; therefore, if my detractors concede that I am able to cover more than three times the record distance on pack ice, then they also prove without further argument the efficiency of my expedition. All discussion, therefore, on the complex problem of food and equipment is met by this doubly verified journey of 3,000 miles.

Now, as to that last 460 miles, which Peary has chosen to challenge: At the very outset he keeps me in idleness on the lifeless waste of the polar ice for two months without explaining our movements. Less than a hundred miles to the south were game lands. To the north was the reachable glory of the polar attainment. It is known that we did not go south at this time. It is not reasonable to suppose that one would sit on the ice for two months to deceive himself and the world. The only rational conclusion is that we did go north, for to do so was to satisfy an ambition nursed for 20 years.

In going northward, as we reached the eighty-third parallel we crossed a great gap dividing the land-adhering pack from the more active circumpolar drift. As we neared the eighty-fifth parallel we discovered land westward. Between the eighty-seventh and eighty-eighth we crossed what seemed like ice-covered land. We reached the pole on April 21, 1908, and noted for the first time in history the physical conditions about the top of the globe. I have given along this line an abundance of scientific data by which subsequent explorers can affirm or deny my work.

On September 1, 1909, Inspector Daugaard-Jensen, the director of Danish North Greenland, wired his Government the first news:

"Dr. Cook reached the North Pole on April 21, 1908. * * * The Eskimos of Cape York confirm Dr. Cook's story of his journey."

The next message was sent to Mrs. Cook:

"Successful. Well."

In the third message I registered my claims with the International Bureau of Polar Research at Brussels. It was directed to the secretary, Prof. Georges Lecointe:

"I reached the North Pole on April 21, 1908. Discovered land far north."

En route from Greenland I had prepared a brief report of the main results of my journey to the pole. This was published in the New York Herald on September 2, 1909. Within a few days thereafter there was turned over to the New York Herald the complete original narrative as written while in the Arctic from the original observations before civilization was reached. This was published under the title, "The Conquest of the Pole," in instalments, from September 15 to October 7.

The brief and preliminary record of my polar expedition as first published in the New York Herald is a document of great importance. This is pointed out by Edwin Swift Balch in his historic analysis, "The North Pole and Bradley Land," page 42. In this first press narrative my claim, in specific detail, goes on record. Here for the first time you have the assembled data of the original field notes. At the time when this was offered for publication I had no way of knowing of Peary's later reported claims.

The final and complete record of all the important results of my expedition were assembled and published in book form under the title "My Attainment of the Pole" in 1911. (The Polar Publishing Co., Steinway Hall, Chicago.)

Through all ages explorers have been rated not by disconnected field notes, nor by a mathematical test of calculation for position, but by the careful reexamination of all the data as presented in the final publications. When to this is added the verifying and corroborative evidence of subsequent explorers, the pioneer's effort is substantiated for all time. In so far as I am able to judge the demands of an examining board, the records of the original data to support my claim as discoverer of the North Pole as above presented are complete.

We next have to deal with the corroborative evidence, the trend of expert opinion, and charges of insincerity. At the very outset of this line of examination I wish to record the broad statement that with but one exception no competent authority on Arctic exploration has ever denied my polar success after the publication of my printed narrative in book form. The one exception is the attitude of Engineer Robert E. Peary. This statement ought to receive careful investigation, for there is a widespread belief in the minds of laymen that scientific men have given an unfavorable verdict. Of course, in a controversy which has been discussed in every center of culture and in every abode of civilization where ink is put to paper it is possible to dig up arguments on every phase of the polar conquest, just as loosely gathered statistics and hasty newspaper comment can be assembled to prove or disprove the honesty of my public document. But I repeat that, to my knowledge, there does not exist an official document in any language which denies my attainment of the pole upon scientific grounds.

Whence, then, comes the widespread opinion of doubt? Some of this is due to the seeming impossibility of the task. Some disbelief followed the natural distortions, exaggerations, and misinterpretations which follow all news reports during times of eager press competition. But a little examination will show that four-fifths of the uncertainty in the public mind is due to a prearranged press campaign. I do not mean to infer that the press has been subsidized. It has been influenced, but not by $10,000 bills. Newspapers that can be bought are not worth buying; but every man in public life knows that it is possible for a half dozen men of large political and financial power to get together in Chicago or New York and start a storm which will lift or sink the public spirit of any man. This is particularly true in times of great news excitement, for at such times all newspapers of all the world are made the victims of the press bureaus of self-interest. The best proof of this is the bias of the present war news. Every statesman in Washington understands this kind of criminal injustice, and yet the malignant perpetrators of this crushing steam-roller movement keep out of jail by a show of keeping within the law.

Without malice, without attempting to ape the cheap tactics of recrimination, but simply in self-defense and in the interest of ethical justice in public life, I want to record here certain facts which upon examination will prove a press campaign which for contemptible indecency is not equaled even in the soul-blackening times of a presi-

dential campaign, for, as is well known, in this polar dispute the press of the entire world was sufficiently interested to copy the concocted stuff of the red-ink venders.

Within a few months after my expedition had departed for the Arctic, in 1907, there was a meeting of the Peary Arctic Club in New York. At this meeting there was a vigorous discussion of my action in seeking the pole. Previous to this all of my work of exploration was given dignified recognition by Mr. Peary and his cooperators. In proof of this case see the earlier Peary publications; also statements by Hon. FRANK T. O'HAIR, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, January 22, 1915. But thereafter suspicion was thrown over all my work. Previously I had been a coworker; now I was a rival; and forthwith a press campaign was organized that would belittle my attempt to outdistance the chronic official seeker of the pole.

As an outcome of this meeting of the self-appointed Pole Ice Trust, pretending philanthropy, the first document on record is a letter sent to the International Bureau of Polar Research at Brussels, Belgium. It fell to my lot to see this letter and verify the signature of Robert E. Peary. I called for a copy, which was refused on the ground that copies of official correspondence could not be given.

At a meeting of the Royal Society of Belgium in November of 1912, which was called to discuss certain phases of the polar conquest, Prof. Georges Lecointe, the secretary of the International Bureau of Polar Research, produced this letter, and then said: "This letter is the key to the polar controversy. When you understand this you will see through the entire press campaign which followed." The American consul general was present and can verify the transactions at that meeting.

As nearly as I can remember, the letter officially charged that Dr. Cook was en route to the pole without having sought a license, without authority from any accredited organization. From which was inferred that I was an insurgent among explorers, piercing, without permission, certain reserved spheres of influence, and therefore my work was unethical, unscientific, and should not receive official recognition. Among other things in the same letter I was charged with taking Peary's supplies, using his people, following in his route. These charges, as is shown by later developments, were absolutely false. The letter ended by the following statement:

"If Dr. Cook returns and claims to have reached the pole, he should be compelled to prove it."

For two years during my absence and before any claim was made, there came to the editorial desks of a thousand papers at regular intervals press material in which my prospective efforts were belittled, while Peary's next move was to be the only official campaign for the pole, and most remarkable of all, this press material carried reports of Peary's actual work when no communication had been received from the polar regions. All of this and more is brought out in Chapter XXXIII of My Attainment of the Pole. It is furthermore verified by Robert J. Usher, quoted by Hon. LOUIS FITZHENRY in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD December 23, 1914:

"Mr. Usher has also furnished the following letter:

"'NOVEMBER 23, 1914.

"'My own observations lead me to believe more and more firmly that any unfavorable statement against Dr. Cook from encyclopedias, magazines, or schoolbooks can be traced back to some slanderous and unverified newspaper story. All such statements would simmer down to a few, which could be labeled "Hampton's slanders," etc. Proof of the falsity of these various statements is found outside of Dr. Cook's own statements.'"

The Chicago Post in its issue of November 26, 1914, published the following letter from Mr. Usher:

To the Editor of the Post.

SIR: Why does your inspired headline writer refer to Dr. Frederick Cook as "Old Doc Cook"?

Dr. Cook was born in 1865. He is a bona fide M. D. and a member of the American Medical Association, as its latest directory attests.

If the term is used as derogatory, it is well to remember that no scientific body has ever disproved his claim of having reached the North Pole in 1908 and of having climbed to the top of Mount McKinley in 1906.

Statements discrediting Dr. Cook can always be traced to cumulated newspaper statements made without reference to facts and originally instigated, in most instances, by a press bureau whose sole purpose was to destroy Dr. Cook's good name.

ROBERT J. USHER,
Assistant Reference Librarian John Crerar Library.

This press propaganda will be referred to later. Here I wish to record that my report of the discovery of the physical condition about the pole in April, 1908, as published on September 2, 1909, in the New York Herald, is the first information we have of the boreal center.

Engineer Peary, with his widely heralded expedition, left the shores of the United States one year later. He therefore left civilization about three months after I had reached the pole. The question of priority is established by the fixed dates of departure. The question, therefore, now at issue is not one of dates, but did either polar claimant reach the pole?

In the bill which retired Peary on a pension of $6,000 per year Congress has conceded that Peary reached the pole on April 6, 1909, but his claim of being the only polar victor was denied by Congress in eliminating from the pension bill the words "discovery of the pole." It would seem in the light of this Federal record that Peary's claim for recognition is closed, but the question of credit for priority is open.

This phase of the polar conquest in the interest of national prestige and to give an official record for the benefit of our school children is thoroughly summed up by the Hon. LOUIS FITZHENRY. (See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Dec. 23, 1914.)

Engineer Peary's first report, wherein he gave his observations of the physical conditions about the pole, was issued about a week later than mine. In it he denied my success. If therefore he unconsciously and unwillingly proves the validity of my claim, he is a witness of double value.

An examination of Peary's various publications will prove conclusively that his report is a scientific parallel of mine. This was first noted by the late Rear Admiral W. S. Schley and later substantiated by the researches of practically all Arctic explorers.

This comparative study of the data by which Peary proves my position step by step is really remarkable, more especially when it is remembered that Peary is on record as saying that "Dr. Cook has handed the world a gold brick."

By a careful search through the published official records Mr. E. C. Rost has plotted this parallel scientific data. This is verified by S. J. Entrikin, Ralph J. Shainwald, Maurice Connell, L. C. Bement, Capt. Edward A. Haven, Dr. Middleton Smith, and other Arctic explorers. (Hon. FRANK T. O'HAIR, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 2311, January, 1915.)

A careful study of this relief chart (Fred High, The Case of Dr. Cook) of comparative polar data by Rost proves the statement of the late Rear Admiral Schley that "each is the eyewitness of the other's success," or that he who came second copied the first reports.

On this chart it will be noted that Peary's report confirmed mine in every important scientific detail. My account of the physical conditions about the pole did not fit any previous theory. Peary's report in substance was a parallel of mine. Peary denied my success and said that he was the only one who had reached the pole. If he therefore unconsciously proves my case, he is a witness of double value. The existence of the lands which I have reported are proven by Peary's description of land-divided ice farther east and by other similar parallel data, and thus my position is absolutely established to and beyond the eighty-eighth parallel, and Peary's position to within 100 miles of the pole is proven by a similar comparison.

This leaves only about 100 miles of the disputed 460 miles to verify. Over this last 100 miles and at the pole I have reported an absence of land and life; a sea of highly colored moving ice, composed of large, smooth ice fields. Here and elsewhere I have reported winds, thermometric records, tidal action on the pack, physical conditions of the sea ice. These and all the minutest detail down to the psychology of the men with me are confirmed by parallel statements by Peary in his official narrative.

Rear Admiral W. S. Schley was one of the first to note that Peary's report was in reality a scientific duplicate of mine, and that by his parallel material my position was verified and proven. In the end of 1909, at the time when it was popular to belittle and ridicule my work, Schley said his judgment was made upon his knowledge of Arctic conditions; that he had gone over both accounts carefully, and that it would take more than an academic lever to change his mind. Again, a year later, Admiral Schley placed himself on record by the following letter:

1826 I STREET,
Washington, D. C., January 7, 1911.

DEAR DR. COOK: I thank you very much for your kind letter, and I assure you that I have never varied in the belief that you and Civil Engineer Peary reached the pole. After reading the published accounts daily and critically of both claimants I was forced to the conclusion from their striking similarity that each of you was the eyewitness of the other's success.

Without collusion it would have been impossible to have written accounts so similar, and yet, in view of the ungracious controversy that has occurred since, that view (collusion) would be impossible to imagine.

While I have never believed that either of you got to within a pin point of the pole, I have steadfastly held that both got as near the goal as was possible to ascertain, considering the imperfections of the instruments used, and the personal errors of individuals under circumstances so adverse to absolute accuracy.

Again, I have been broad enough in my views to believe that there was room enough at the pole for two, and never narrow enough to believe that only one man got there.

I believe that both are entitled to the honor of achievement.

Yours, very truly,

W. S. SCHLEY.

This letter was sent out by the Associated Press on January 11, 1911. When Henry Gannett, one of Peary's experts, read this in the papers, he phoned Admiral Schley and asked if he had written it. Admiral Schley answered, "Yes; what is the matter with it? Isn't it a good letter?"

More than 50 other Arctic explorers and scientific experts have either in private letters or published statements expressed a similar opinion.

This, with the detailed records as published in my narrative from original documents and photographs, I offer as proof to substantiate my claim as being the first to reach the North Pole.

And, as further proof, let us note that my opponents do not argue on the merits of polar exploration, but by a series of side issues, such as the distorted news reports on the Mount McKinley ascent, the yellow journal "confessions," the false reports of the Danish verdict, and a dozen other press explosions. I am ready to go before a committee acting for the United States Government to present the other scientific results of my polar effort, and also to meet one and all of the insinuations aimed to undermine the sincerity of my work.

To be able to present an unbiased expert opinion of the observations to determine geographic location taken en route to the pole Mr. Clark Brown, of Albany, N. Y., has reported as follows:

RECALCULATIONS AND VERIFICATIONS OF NAUTICAL OBSERVATIONS.

[By Clark Brown, of Albany, N. Y.]

Though Dr. Cook has never claimed absolute accuracy for his observations, they are found to be at least as accurate and more complete than those of Mr. Peary. In fairness to Mr. Peary and those who have pronounced in his favor solely upon the nautical data, Dr. Cook has insisted that his observations be given the same test as was given to Peary's data by the congressional investigators.

After having seen and studied Dr. Cook's original field papers upon which his most important observations were calculated, and after having seen his day-by-day log book as written in duplicate while in the Arctic, I compared the original notes and data with the published statements, and I have reached the following conclusions from the quoted source:

The following extracts from Dr. Cook's book My Attainment of the Pole and the connecting explanatory notes supply the data for and are illustrated by the diagram. (Diagram of polar observations, by Clark Brown.)

"Our course when arriving at the pole," says Dr. Cook, on pages 288 and 289, "as near as it was possible to determine was on the ninety-seventh meridian. The day was April 21, 1908. It was local noon. The sun was 11° 55′ above the magnetic northern horizon. My shadow, a dark, purple-blue streak, with ill-defined edges, measured 26 feet in length. The tent pole, marked as a measuring stick, was pushed into the snow, leaving 6 feet above the surface. This gave a shadow 28 feet long.

"Several sextant observations gave a latitude a few seconds below 90°, which, because of unknown refraction and uncertain accuracy of time, was placed at 90°. Other observations on the next day gave similar results, although we shifted camp 4 miles toward the magnetic south."

On page 573 we find a transcript of his log book from which we see that on April 20 he set his course for the ninety-seventh meridian, and on April 21, 1908, he traveled from 1 a. m. to 9 a. m., covering 13½ miles. Having made camp, he slept in the tent a short time; and then, after the observations at noon, from which he figured his position as latitude 89° 59′ 45″, he advanced 14″ (shown in manuscript as —pd 14—), and pitched the tent, made a snow house, and prepared for two rounds of observations. During the time occupied in taking these observations he moved camp 4 miles magnetic south. This change of position is spoken of on pages 289, 296, 302, and 573. On page 296 he says:

"At 6 o'clock, or six hours after our arrival at local noon, I arose, went out of the igloo, and took a double set of observations. Returning, I did some figuring, laid down on my bag, and at 10 o'clock, or four hours later, leaving Ah-we-lah to guard the camp and dogs, E-tuk-i-shook joined me to make a tent camp about 4 miles to the magnetic south. My object was to have a slightly different position for subsequent observations.

"Placing our tent, bags, and camp equipment on a sled we pushed it over the ice field, crossed a narrow lead of sheeted young ice, and moved on to another field which seemed to have much greater dimensions. We erected the tent, not quite two hours later, in time for a midnight observation. These sextant readings of the sun's altitude were continued for the next 24 hours."

All the observations herein mentioned are found grouped on page 302, as follows:

The sun's true central altitude at the pole April 21 and 22, 1908:

Seven successive observations taken every six hours. Each observation is reduced for an instrumental error of —2′; for semidiameter and also for refractions and parallax, —9′. The seven reductions are calculated from sextant readings, generally of an upper and lower limb.

[Taken from Dr. Cook's field notes.]

[April 21, 1908.]

Ninety-seventh meridian local time, 12 o'clock (noon), 11° 54′ 40″.
Same camp, 6 p. m., 12° 00′ 10″.
Moved camp 4 miles magnetic.
South, 12 o'clock (midnight), 12° 3′ 50″.

[April 22, 1908.]

Six o'clock a. m., 12° 9′ 30″.
Twelve o'clock noon, 12° 14′ 20″.
Six o'clock p. m., 12° 18′ 40″.
Twelve o'clock midnight, 12° 25′ 10″.
Temperature, —41. Barometer, 30.05.
Shadow, 27½ feet (of 6-foot pole).

From these observations on page 302 I have computed the mean position of the pole. The data from the Nautical Almanac required in reducing the observations are the sun's declination and the hourly change at Greenwich apparent noon as follows:

1908	Declination.	Hourly change.
	° ′ ″	″
Apr. 21, noon	11 48 57.5	50.96
Apr. 22, noon	12 9 14.9	50.47
Apr. 23, noon	12 29 20.4	49.46

Having plotted the relative positions of the three camps in the immediate vicinity of the pole, I gave each a name. The first tent camp is called "Stop 1." The snow igloo is called "Camp Ah-we-lah's Farthest." The extreme tent is called "E-tuk-i-shook's Farthest."

After reducing each observation separately, I plot the approximate result of each observation in its relation to the sun and the observer's station. The notation Obs. 1, Q 1, and P 1 is used to show the positions of the observer and the sun at the time of the observation, and the position of the pole is indicated by the first observation. The same notation, numbered consecutively, is used for the subsequent observations.

The mean position of P 1, P 3, P 5, and P 7 gives the accepted position of the pole in one direction, while P 2, P 4, and P 6 locate it the other way. From this mean result the meridian and parallels are drawn. I have used the character "Q" to represent the sun and have taken a minute arc equal to a mile, to follow the practice of the United States Navy. The finished drawing and the table of computations have been verified by a number of experienced engineers, who have appended their signatures and have given their colleges and degrees.

While some allowances must be made for error by refraction and time, Dr. Cook's observations prove that in his march between camps on April 21, 1908, and again on April 23, he was within a fraction of a mile of the North Pole, and that at his last camp he was about a mile beyond the pole.

An additional proof of the reasonable correctness of Dr. Cook's observations is brought out in a study of the variation of the compass en route to the pole. (Map of Magnetic Variation in the North Polar Region. Compiled by Clark Brown, Albany, N. Y.)

CLARK BROWN, *Albany, N. Y.*

There has been much idle speculation in the press about "records and proofs" of an explorer's doings. The proof and record of a voyage of discovery are the assembled data of the official reports, which are usually published in book form. Upon the records there presented an explorer is judged by future generations.

Since the publication of my complete report in book form in 1911, there has not, to my knowledge, been published in English or any other language, as indicated before, a single authentic paper or document or book which denies my polar attainment on scientific grounds. On the other hand, from a historical standpoint the validity of my work is supported and the insinuations against it are invalidated by many publications. Foremost among these is the book from the pen of the geographic historian, Edwin Swift Balch, entitled "The North Pole and Bradley Land," Campion & Co., Philadelphia.

Mr. Fred High, in his "Case of Dr. Cook," summarizes the scientific deductions of Balch as follows:

"Before taking up Balch's unbiased analysis of the evidence of the North Pole discovery, it should be remembered that the work of Admiral Wilkes in the Antarctic came under the unfair criticism of rival interests, as did Dr. Cook's journey to the pole. For more than 50 years the name of Wilkes was taken from the map. Balch analyzed this injustice, fought the battle for Wilkes during 15 years against critics, including the Encyclopedia Britannica, and at last the Australian expedition rediscovered Wilkes Land, and thus Balch won against the onslaught of Sir Clements Markham and others.

"The study of the polar controversy by Balch was worked out in a similar way. It is difficult to give an abstract, but we can quote his conclusions:

"Balch strongly emphasizes the fact that Dr. Cook could not have had anything on which to base his description of physical conditions north of 83.20° north latitude; and as Dr. Cook's descriptions agree with those later given by Peary on a parallel route farther east, there could be no doubt that Dr. Cook's journey was made and that the line of his march across was first executed.

"The reason for this is that these statements can be based on nothing but Cook's own observations, for Cook started from Denmark, from south Greenland, before Peary started for Labrador from north Greenland, and therefore everything that Cook stated or wrote, published immediately after his arrival in Europe, must be based on what Cook observed or experienced himself.

"Cook's original narrative stands on its own merits; it is the first and most vital proof of Cook's veracity, and yet it has passed almost unnoticed.

"There are three points in particular which claim attention. The first is the account of the land sighted in 84.20° north to 85.11° north—Bradley Land. The second is the glacial land ice in 87.88° north. The third is the account of the discovery of the North Pole and the description of the ice at the North Pole.

"Cook's first great discovery, the writer holds, was Bradley Land, named after his friend and backer. The land, Cook declared, had a great crevasse in it, making it appear like two islands, the southerly one starting at 84.20° north. Peary made no mention of land north of 83.20° north. But he corroborated Cook about Bradley Land by sounding in 310 fathoms a little below 86° north. Bradley Land is placed on Peary's own map.

"'The second discovery of Cook's is the glacial land ice in 87° north to 87° north—88° north,' says the writer. 'A closely similar occurrence was observed by Peary on his 1906 trip in about 86° north 60° west.'

"But the most important particular in which the two men agreed, in the mind of Mr. Balch, is in their description of the ice at the pole. Cook reported that it was 'a smooth sheet of level ice.' The writer adds: 'If that description of the North Pole is accurate, the writing of it by Cook, first of all men, on the face of it is proof that Cook is the discoverer of the North Pole.'

"But not only was the ice at the North Pole smooth and level, but the snow there was 'purple' in the story of Cook, a detail in which he was again borne out by Peary.

"'Purple snow,' says the writer, 'is linguistic impressionism, an attempt to suggest with words what Frank Wilbert Stokes has done with paints in his superb pictures of the polar regions. Hence,' he says, 'the use of the word "purple" by Dr. Cook, who is not a trained artist, proves that he has the eye of the impressionist painter, and that he is an extremely accurate observer of his surroundings.'

"That Cook's description is accurate is, in the next place, certified to by Peary. Peary corroborates Cook absolutely about conditions at the North Pole; and Cook is corroborated by Peary not only by what Peary saw but by what he did. If there was anything in the western Arctic, between the North Pole and 87.47° north, but an 'endless field of purple snows,' smooth and slippery, Peary could not have covered the intervening 133 geographical miles in two days and a few hours. Peary therefore, from observation and from actual physical performance, proves that Cook's most important statement is true.

"The evidence is thus examined step by step. The statements of the two men are compared word by word, and this is the conclusion reached:

"In view of all these facts, it becomes certain that Cook must have written his description of the North Pole from his own observations, for until Cook actually traveled the western Arctic, between 88° north and the North Pole, and told the world the facts, no one could have said whether in that area there was land or sea, nor have stated anything of the condition of its ice, with its unusual, perhaps unique, flat surface.

"But Cook, in his first cable dispatch, stated definitely and positively and finally that at the North Pole there was no land, but sea frozen over into smooth ice, and Peary confirmed Cook's statements.

"Cook was accurate; and the only possible inference is that Cook was accurate because Cook knew, and the further inevitable conclusion is that since Cook knew, Cook had been at the North Pole.

"In Europe there has been a general reexamination of the rival polar claims, and since the publication of the work of Edwin Swift Balch the trend of opinion of historic geographers has gradually vindicated Dr. Cook. Prof. Otto Baschin, president of the Geographical Institute of the Berlin University, has published in the Berliner Tageblatt for July 27, 1913, also in Petermann's Mitteilunger, No. 59, a scientific analysis of the injustice of the polar controversy, in which he says that Dr. Cook has been unjustly suspicioned and wronged; that his proofs are sufficient.

"'Gradually,' says Baschin, 'voices from everywhere are heard to take up Dr. Cook's cause in his favor, and the truth of his reports of the attainment of the North Pole is now generally believed and accepted.'

"Among many other European authorities, Dr. Fritz Machatschek, of Austria, in the Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie, Vol. I, No. 36, 1913–14, makes out a clear case for Dr. Cook. After examining the evidence for and against the polar claims, he comes to the following conclusion:

"'If Cook had really wished to fool the world, if his wholly competent report (his book) which is before me, with the picturing of the most fearful overwintering of 1908 was only a chain of lies (as his detractors declare), and he in reality went only a few days' march to the north from Axel Helberg Land, then one must ask, Why did he not turn backward in the same year to the Eskimo settlements in the northern part of Greenland; why did he not want the world to believe that he could make the round trip to the pole in one summer, just as Peary did it? Why did he voluntarily winter far from all relief stations?

"'By unprejudiced judges Cook's attainment of the North Pole can not be denied, and the words of Balch will help to spread this verdict.'"

By a careful examination of the brief outline of the most important data resulting from my journey en route to the pole any group of men of average intelligence can come to a reasonable conclusion on the validity of my polar attainment. There remains but one phase: What is the verdict of expert opinion? I have given the opinion of the geographic historian, but what is the opinion of the polar explorer?

When Engineer Peary, reporting his work a year later than mine, wired that he had "nailed the Stars and Stripes to the pole" in a glad-handed spirit I wired Peary my congratulations and said there was room enough and honor enough at the pole for two. His reply to my friendly attitude was the famous "gold-brick" message: "Dr. Cook has handed the public a gold brick," and thereafter Peary made himself witness, judge, and jury in a case where Peary was to derive the benefit. All of this is now newspaper history, but a brief review of this phase of the polar controversy is likely to be placed under the eyes of men who aim to determine the justice of both polar claims.

Following the "gold-brick" message Peary chose to force a press campaign to deny my success and to proclaim himself as the sole polar victor. Peary aimed to be retired as a rear admiral on a pension of $6,000 per year. This ambition was granted, but Congress rejected his claim for priority by eliminating from the pension bill the words "discovery of the pole." This, of course, was done because of my prior work. The European geographical societies, forced under diplomatic pressure to honor Peary, have also refused him the title of "discoverer." By a final verdict of the American Government and of the highest European authorities Peary is therefore denied the assumption of being the "discoverer of the pole," though his claim as a rediscoverer is allowed. The evasive inscriptions on the Peary medals prove this statement, and the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD gives the final Federal verdict.

During the time of the intense newspaper controversy it seemed to be desirable to bring the question to a focus by submitting to some authoritative body for decision. Such an institution, however, does not exist. Previously explorers had been rated by the slow process of historic digestion and assimilation of the facts offered, but it was thought that an academic examination must meet the demands. Engineer Peary first submitted his case to a commission appointed by the National Geographic Society of Washington, D. C. This is a private, unofficial organization, in which anybody is admitted as a "national geographer" upon payment of $2 per year. It is, furthermore, well known that this society was financially interested in Peary to the extent of $25,000, and some of its favored members were the recipients of valuable furs and trophies. Common decency would demand that an organization with a monetary interest and whose members had received illegitimate favors would withdraw as a jury, but a little investigation will show that such ethical justice does not enter the realm of the National Geographic Society.

This society did fully and freely indorse Peary as the "discoverer of the North Pole," and its action was indorsed without independent examination by other American societies. However, a year later in Congress the same men who acted as a commission of experts for the above society unwillingly admitted that from a nautical standpoint there was in Peary's proofs no positive proof.

My data were sent to a commission appointed by the University of Copenhagen. The Danes reported that the material presented was incomplete. This statement, however, did not carry the interpretation that the pole had not been reached. The Danes have never said, as they have been quoted by the press, that I did not reach the pole; quite the contrary; the University of Copenhagen conferred the degree of doctor of philosophy and the Royal Danish Geographical Society gave a gold medal, both in recognition of the merits of the polar effort.

This early examination was based mostly upon the nautical calculations for position, and both verdicts when analyzed gave the version that in such observations there was no positive proof. The Washington jury ventured an opinion. The Danes refused to give an opinion, but showed their belief in my success by conferring honorary degrees.

It is the unfair interpretation of the respective verdicts by the newspapers following an admiral-making propaganda that precipitated the turbulent air of distrust which previously rested over the entire polar achievement. All this, however, has now been cleared by the final word of 50 of the foremost polar explorers and scientific experts.

In so far as they were able to judge from all the data presented in the final books of both claimants, the following experts have given it as their opinion that I reached the pole:

Rear Admiral W. S. Schley, United States Navy, commander of the Greely relief expedition.

Capt. Otto Sverdrup, discoverer of the land over which Dr. Cook's route was forced.

Capt. J. E. Bernier, commanding the Canadian Arctic expeditions.

Prof. G. Frederick Wright, author of The Ice Age of North America.

Brig. Gen. P. J. A. Cleary, retired.

Prof. W. H. Brewer, for 16 years president of the Arctic Club of America.

Prof. Julius Payer, of the Weyprecht-Payer expedition.

Prof. L. L. Dyche, member of various Peary and Cook expeditions.

Mr. Edwin S. Brooke, jr., of the Crocker Land expedition.

Mr. Maurice Connell, of the Greely expedition and the United States Weather Bureau.

Prof. Samuel P. Orth, Cornell University, *Miranda* expedition.

Mr. Samuel J. Entrikin, second in command, Peary expedition, 1894.

Dr. Middleton Smith, Point Barrow expedition.

Capt. O. C. Hamlet, United States Army, Arctic Revenue Service.

Capt. E. A. Haven, of the Ziegler expedition.

Prof. Otto Baschin, president of the Geographical Institute of the Berlin University.

Dr. A. Wedemeyer, of the German imperial marine department.

Mr. Andrew J. Stone, explorer of the north coast of America.

Dr. Dillon Wallace, Labrador explorer.

Mr. Edwin Swift Balch, author of The North Pole and Bradley Land.

Capt. Ejnar Mikkelsen, leader of expeditions to Bering Sea and east Greenland.

Capt. R. Bergendahl, Fiala-Ziegler expedition.

Commodore John Byers Wirt, commanding naval veterans, United States Navy.

F. Hopkinson Smith, author, artist, traveler.

Capts. Johan Menander, B. S. Osbon, and Thomas F. Hall.

Messrs. Henry Biederbeck, Frederick B. Wright, F. F. Taylor, Ralph H. Cairns, Theodore Lerner, M. Van Rysselberghe, J. Knowles Hare, Charles E. Rilliet, Homer Rogers, R. C. Bates, E. C. Rost, L. C. Bement, Clarence Wychoff, Alfred Church, Archibald Dickinson, George B. Butland, Ralph Shainwald, Henry Johnson, Clark Brown, W. F. Armbruster, John R. Bradley, Harry Whitney, and Rudolph Franke.

Drs. T. F. Dedrick, H. J. Egbert, W. H. Axtell, A. H. Cordier, and Henry Schwartz.

Father William F. Rigge, astronomer, Creighton University.

Judge Jules Leclercq and Prof. Georges Lecointe, secretary of the International Bureau of Polar Research; and others.

Thus indorsed by practically all polar explorers, my attainment of the pole and my earlier work of discovery and exploration is further established by the following honorary pledges of recognition (these are now in my possession, the press reports to the contrary being untrue):

By the King of Belgium, decorated as knight of the Order of Leopold.

By the University of Copenhagen, in conferring the degree of Ph. D.

By the Royal Danish Geographical Society, presentation of a gold medal.

By the Arctic Club of America, presentation of a gold medal.

By the municipality of the city of Brussels, presentation of a gold medal.

By the Royal Geographical Society of Belgium, presentation of a gold medal.

By the municipality of the city of New York, with the ceremony of presenting the keys and offering the freedom of the city.

By the physicians of Benton Harbor, Mich., presentation of a gold medal.

Without denying Engineer Peary's success, I note that his case rests upon the opinion of three of his official associates in Washington. Three men acting for a society financially interested—three men who have never seen a piece of polar ice—have given it as their opinion that on April 6, 1909 (about a year after my journey), Mr. Peary reached the pole. By many this was accepted as a final verdict of experts for Peary; but are such men dependable experts? Furthermore, the mere fact that Peary was under a pension of $6,000 per year during the agitation of the rival polar claims has forced the final public opinion that Peary is officially accepted as the discoverer of the pole. No such injustice was intended by Congress, and this misinterpretation surely forces the action to make my prior claims as discoverer of the North Pole a Federal issue. In the interest of fair play, we, in a democratic form of government, will not concede that a pension and a uniform decides a question of national honor.

In the above outline of my claim for recognition as discoverer of the North Pole I have tried to indicate five independent methods of examination and verification:

First. An examination of the important data embodied in my various reports which have been issued as public documents. These are the official records of the expedition. This I am ready to supplement by the accessible field notes and photographs.

Second. The comparative method of verification which was indorsed by Rear Admiral Schley, which has been plotted by Mr. E. C. Rost and also verified by a number of Arctic explorers.

Third. An examination and recalculation of the nautical observations for position as outlined by Clark Brown and verified by competent experts.

Fourth. The acute historic analysis and certification of certain facts and stages of progress as outlined by Edwin Swift Balch in his book, "The North Pole and Bradley Land."

Fifth. The expert opinion of the Arctic explorers of all nations. This ought to be supplemented by calling upon expert witnesses of living explorers and scientific men who specialize in this line of research.

If there is any other method of examination that it is thought important to pursue, I am ready to offer all the assistance I can. All that I have ever asked for is a fair hearing and a fair understanding, and my main object in getting the data of my voyage of polar discovery and exploration before Congress is to have a Federal record for future generations, which record will fortify our claims to new lands and valuable resources of the north.

In reply to the many insinuations against the sincerity of my polar efforts I ask the privilege to record that every vehicle of doubt was rolled out of the Peary admiral-making camp. However, fate has been unkind to Peary, for to-day every side attack that he has forced on me can be used with double force against Peary. It would seem that in a sportsmanlike claim for national honor the scientific merits of the work in question would be the sole test. I have answered all in the last pages of the book, "My Attainment of the Pole." Peary chose to paint his anger and animosity in the flaring red ink of a press campaign. In his book, "The North Pole," Peary ignores his previous desperate attempt to disprove my prior claim by the mere assertion that he is the "discoverer," and that no one else could reach the pole without adopting the "Peary system."

However, it is worthy of note that no one since has adopted the "Peary system," neither Amundsen, Scott, or McMillan, and that the best record of this "system" is less than one-third of the conceded distance covered by my system. Peary has spent about a million dollars to build his system; mine has cost less than $10,000. An investigation of the comparative scientific results of the two systems will bring out some important lessons for future explorers.

I do not ask that the floor of Congress be used to air a personal dispute. Indeed, I have always taken the ground that the cheap tactics of trying to bury the main issues by side attacks should not be dragged into a contest for national honor. If, however, this simple problem of proving my claim for the credit of priority in reaching the North Pole is to be rated by side issues, then I do ask for the common justice of a court of law wherein the credibility and self-interest of the venders of distrust be first examined, and, above all, I want the opportunity of facing my accusers.

Since the introduction in Congress of the various bills bearing upon the polar problem every Senator and Representatives has been sent certain abusive letters and publicity material. On the desk, therefore, of every Congressman there is proof that this battle is to be fought, not upon the merits of the work, but upon the striking force of insinuations upon personal veracity. If this is to be the method of examination, I am ready to open the back pages of my past life and will insist upon going into the minutest detail; but in such an event both polar claimants should be judged by the same standard, and, furthermore, the men responsible for the campaign of doubt should first be put under a similar test.

As a prelude to this kind of examination I wish to record an outline of the admiral-making campaign, from which, I am ready to prove, emanated every charge against my sincerity. This, it will be remembered, was begun two years before my return from the north.

In the end of September, 1909, when the public wearied of Peary's unsportsmanlike attitude, mostly because of his "gold-brick" messages, Peary wired Gen. Thomas Hubbard to meet him to direct a campaign against Dr. Cook. The editor of the New York Times was also summoned. This part of the deal is a matter of public record in the press of the day, but the doings behind closed doors that followed have never been made public. Thereafter, however, with but one exception (record of Peary's injustice about Benton Harbor, Mich.; documents published of Benton Harbor November 18 to 24, 1913), Peary became a mental prisoner of Hubbard. The New York Times and its affiliated papers became the mouthpiece of a new campaign, best designated as the admiral-making propaganda. Herbert L. Bridgman, the self-confessed

mental valet of Hubbard, had previously wired Peary over the New York Herald wires to put a soft pedal on future "gold-brick" messages. Thereafter Gen. Hubbard became Peary's press agent and Bridgman the dispenser of pro-Peary press fabrications.

It is known that Gen. Hubbard was the president and his underling, Bridgman, was secretary of the Pole Ice Trust, otherwise known as the Peary Arctic Club. The Pole Trust was changed to a Peary press bureau, and to prove the power of this press bureau Bridgman told Clark Brown, of Albany, N. Y., that $350,000 had been subscribed "to see Peary through." The millionaire press agent, Gen. Hubbard, told Belmore Browne, of Tacoma, that he would spend his last dollar to beat Dr. Cook, and forthwith money began to pour into the melting pot of polar defamation. Another tin soldier, the would-be United States Senator known in Tacoma as "Slippery Jim Ashton," was engaged for a mysterious mission. Ashton had learned something in his campaign for the Senate, and he added his slippery political methods to the slime-dispensing Hubbard's methods. On the day before New York officially received me as the discoverer of the North Pole by offering the honor of the freedom of the city there appeared a press broadside of false statements, like that which is concocted against a candidate for office on the day before election. Gen. Ashton was the self-confessed vender of this. Gen. Hubbard was the instigator, and Peary was the profit sharer. In this full page of press material, by which 1,000 papers were made a party to the conspiracy, it was attempted to show that Mount McKinley had not been climbed by me as I had previously described. Gen. Hubbard next paid some $8,000 to Belmore Browne and others to gather anti-Cook reports bearing upon the ascent of Mount McKinley. These reports were recently sent to various Congressmen with letters from Gen. Hubbard. If the examining board aims to go further into this problem, I am ready to present other documents.

For the present I propose to support my first ascent of Mount McKinley by the following documents:

1. The official record of the expedition, "To the Top of the Continent"; Doubleday, Page & Co., New York.
2. Chapter 34 of "My Attainment of the Pole," third edition; Polar Publishing Co., Steinway Hall, Chicago.
3. "Mount McKinley: Its Bearing on the Polar Controversy," by E. C. Rost.
4. "Mount McKinley and Mountain Climbers' Proofs," by Edwin Swift Balch.
5. Hon. Frank T. O'Hair, Congressional Record, January 22, 1915.

In further proof of this vile press campaign, I offer an article by Elbert Hubbard, The Philistine, "Article on Arctic explorers," page 161.

Since Elbert Hubbard says that he was on the editorial list of a publicity bureau, and since it is known that this bureau reaches 6,000,000 people daily, the article in question, though not intended as scientific data, would seem to be material proof of a very far-reaching press propaganda, and again I repeat it is, furthermore, this same press propaganda which is responsible for most of the polar distrust.

Following the black-hand efforts of the Mount McKinley attack, Gen. Hubbard and his hirelings moved camp to the Hubbard Memorial Hall at Washington, D. C. Here Gen. Hubbard and his agent, Gilbert Grosvenor, are engaged in a get-rich-quick scheme which they call the National Geographic Society. In return for the easy cash of $2 per year, Grosvenor makes a national geographer with equal facility of a street sweeper or a diplomat; all who will pay the $2 get by post a highly colored certificate of membership. This certificate, for bald-faced dishonesty and deception, would put federally suppressed mining stocks to shame. Three hundred thousand people are thus deceived to become members of this organization, which, with inconceivable vanity, calls itself the National Geographic Society, referred to in the following resolution:

In the House of Representatives,
January 21, 1915.

Mr. Smith of Maryland submitted the following resolution, which was referred to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads and ordered to be printed:

House resolution 709.

Whereas the National Geographic Society of Washington, D. C., a private enterprise, enjoys privileges granted by the Post Office Department which are not granted to other magazines, but which the Third Assistant Postmaster General, in a letter dated January 26, 1914, says he has and is conceding to the National Geographic Society; and

Whereas this discrimination by the Post Office Department in favor of the National Geographic Society means a loss of over $300,000 annually to the Post Office Department; and

Whereas since the National Geographic Society is not national (in the sense that it is not a bureau of nor connected with the National Government in any capacity whatsoever), is not geographic, is not scientific, and is not a society, but is simply and solely a private publishing house, no special privileges should be granted to it: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Postmaster General explain to Congress why privileges amounting to discrimination are granted to the private enterprise known as the National Geographic Society.

Gen. Hubbard easily annexed this society to the North Pole Trust. Its treasury was separated from $25,000 to get in on the ground floor with Peary. This $25,000, by the way, was the price paid for the privilege of acting as a jury for Peary and Hubbard. The same Gen. Hubbard, as admitted by ex-President Taft, requested the President to see Peary through on the admiral-making trail. All of this is recorded in the Congressional Record and elsewhere, if the examining board chooses to investigate the injustice of this kind of double-dealing.

The part of this same campaign which is material just now is recorded in the various efforts by which Gen. Hubbard has tried to prevent a bearing on the bills now before Congress. First, Grosvenor made his rounds among the Congressmen lobbying for Peary and serving out Gen. Hubbard's insinuations about the ascent of Mount McKinley.

This was followed by personal letters with books to Congressmen, always about Mount McKinley.

A little later a Philadelphia lawyer, by the name of Alexander, took up the Hubbard burden by sending letters to Congressmen, accompanied by a nameless and dateless press sheet. This press sheet is the duplicate of an anonymous letter signed "Veritas," which previously was sent all over the country by some one. Again in this the Hubbard McKinley fabricated charges were sent out. The spineless Alexander soon wearied of his task, and that congressional laundry now used by those who have dirty national linen to wash—the Congressional Information Bureau—was pressed into service. As is well known, since lobbying has become unhealthy, this bureau is substituted for the former Capitol gum shoers, and mail carriers are made to do the work for which former lobbyists were sent to jail. Again, by this method Gen. Hubbard's false statements about Mount McKinley were sent out.

Mount McKinley has no connection with the conquest of the pole; but since it is the illegitimate creation of the Hubbard-Peary family; since it is the white hope of the North Pole Trust and its subsidiary, the National Geographic Society; since Gen. Hubbard has wagered his millions in raising this white hope, by all means from this angle it is a material subject for investigation.

It will be remembered when I returned and reported an average speed of 15 miles per day, Gen. Hubbard and company charged me with the crime of exceeding the polar speed limits. When Peary returned, reporting a speed that doubled mine, there was a dead silence in the Pole Trust.

About two months ago Donald B. McMillan reported the disappearance of Peary's "Crocker Land." Again there is dead silence in the Hubbard-Peary camp. Why?

Again I insist, if the claims for polar honors are to be judged by past records, ethics, and morals, I accept the challenge, but I want to face my accusers.

As one of the interested parties of an unjustified and unwarranted controversy I am bound to give vent to the pain of the whip of injustice which has been snapped at me, but all I ask for is a verdict on the merits of my polar efforts. I bear no malice to anyone. I do not claim to have placed my hat on the North Pole; I do not claim to have placed my feet on the pin point of the earth's axis. I certainly did not nail a piece of bunting to a pole of frozen air, but I do claim to have lifted the Stars and Stripes first of all men at the boreal center. I do claim that the American eagle has spread its wings of glory over the world's top. I do not deny that there is room enough and honor enough under those wings for others.

My appeal to Congress and to my fellow countrymen is not entirely personal. The polar regions have certain valuable resources which will be an important asset to future generations. It is true the North Pole is in the center of a deep sea. It has no value, either scientific or commercial, and no explorer ever supposed it would have. The poles of the earth could be better and more accurately located from Washington than in the regions of the poles. To touch the pin point of the pole, therefore, is not the object of polar exploration.

Our main object is to pierce the unknown and replace the blank spots upon our charts by the topographic outline of lands, the delineation of seas, and above all to bring back a knowledge of the physical condition about the top of the globe. Such knowledge is very important to the people of all sections of the earth. For example, our weather conditions are not entirely understandable until we know the weather of Canada. In Canada weather is a mystery until the storm-delivering centers about the pole are studied. The same is true of geology, of biology, of anthropology, and of every branch of national science.

There is an interlinking of all the terrestrial conditions, and, therefore, to know the globe as a whole there must not be large blank spots on our maps. To meet this demand is the object of all exploration. This has been met by the recorded results of my attainment of the pole. It is certified by the expert opinion of my own peers—the Arctic explorers of all the world.

The polar regions will at some time in the near future become valuable, and, therefore, it would seem to be the duty of those who guard the destiny of the State to take some steps to protect the interests of American explorers, for in so doing our claim upon the future resources will be protected. My appeal, therefore, is not one of selfish gain, but in the national interest of the work of all American explorers.

The time will come when human life will extend to within 500 miles of the pole. To that point there is an abundance of animal and plant life. The Arctic is not, as is generally supposed, always blanketed with ice and snow. The long summer sun gives a double daily growth to plant life. The best proof of the wealth of the North is the existence of a permanent land fauna, for animals do not eat rocks and snowballs. They must have food. They do have food; and they adapt themselves to the frigid environment. In Prince Edward Island some $16,000,000 have been made during the past four years breeding foxes. The same can be done with all the fur-bearing animals. The farther north we go the cheaper the food, the better the fur. In furthering the interest of this animal industry we will establish fur farming, which will give wealth and comfort to millions in the near future.

The Arctic Sea has in it more usable life than the Gulf of Mexico, and there, by an international agreement, seal farming can be established.

There are many minerals in the far north, and mining difficulties are not greater than in Alaska, while transportation is easier and cheaper.

Now, what has been done to secure these resources for future Americans? Canada has quietly spent more than a million dollars to file claims on everything reachable, because her statesmen have realized that all lands sooner or later become valuable.

The claim by right of discovery gives a nation the first call upon new lands, but that claims goes by default unless supplementary steps are taken.

Why, may I ask, have we closed our eyes as a Nation to the discoveries of the American explorers?

American fishermen have used Hudson Bay for 100 years. This bay is the most wonderful inland sea of the world. Its marine life will feed millions during ages to follow. Canada has closed the door of Hudson Straits to our seamen. Here is a problem for immediate adjustment. These pioneer fishermen were explorers; their rights cry for protection.

American sailors explored the uttermost reaches of the Antarctic before other nations woke up to the possibilities of the far south. A proper protection of their claims would have given us hundreds of islands and a valuable coast line with harbors and mines and undreamed-of industries. These islands will at some time become the best fur farms of the entire world, but not a voice has been raised by our statesmen to protect the discoveries of these brave explorers.

Our forefathers, with a worthy pride, recorded the splendid pioneer efforts of Admiral Wilkes in the frozen south. He discovered a new continent and explored islands and seas about the South Pole. Fifty years later by one stroke of the pen a certain British armchair geographer, in the Encyclopædia Britannica and on the maps of the world, took American honors and American claims from the Antarctic Continent. This was officially done by the map makers of Europe. To this sacrifice of American prestige, to this insult upon the flag, there has been silence in Washington. Why?

The geographic historian, Edwin Swift Balch, called a halt upon this kind of national insult (Antarctica, by Edwin Swift Balch), but to the present, although the discoveries of Wilkes have been verified by the Australian expedition, no official action has been taken to guard the honor of Antarctic pioneers.

In the Arctic there is a long list of worthy achievement, which, with inconceivable indifference, has been given official absent treatment.

American fishermen have always been pioneers in the north; they needed harbors and boating and land facilities. They require some assistance to determine the position and extent of submarine banks, and they require some enlightenment on the food and propagation of submarine life. Other nations here gave much assistance to their marine explorers, but what have we done?

The discoveries of Drs. Schwatka, Kane, Hays, and Bessell are lost among old books under dusty shelves. The work of Wellman, Baldwin, and Fiala is lost in the ungracious controversy of rival newspaper publicity.

The splendid pioneer's work of discovery by Lieut. de Long, of Capt. Hall, of Gen. Greely, and Engineer Peary, by which the United States could add hundreds of miles of seacost and thousands of square miles of terrestrial wealth, is locked up in forgotten archives.

The conquest of the North Pole is, therefore, only a part of a long list of American achievements which should be given official recognition and protection by those who guard our national honor and the future destiny of our heritage to the resources of the world. If in future years a controversy arose about the validity of the source of these discoveries, it would be difficult to prove up our claims, except by the bleached bones and fox-emptied graves of those whose lives were sacrificed in the war with the ice world.

In the Arctic there are at least 5,000,000 square miles of territory not now in use, upon which animal farming, mining, and other industries can and will thrive in the years to come. There the high cost of meat, the high cost of living can be reduced. In that great, lone land there is elbow room for the millions now at war, wherein the only real result is to fertilize with human remains the soil that must support future generations.

The lot of an Arctic explorer is not an easy one. If he succeeds he is disputed. If he fails he is called a weakling. In either case he goes to oblivion under the snow of a cold and unappreciative world.

In the better perspective of later generations communities engage in the battle of body snatching to place his remains under domes that represent millions of dollars, to flatter the vanity of the community boosters. These same pioneers, during the lifetime of their declining years, have been usually denied butter for their bread and honor for their children.

How much nobler would the world be if these same men had been given the glad hand of brotherly appreciation in some tangible, unforgetable way by the nations which profited by their conquests. I appeal not for myself, but for the whole family of pathfinders, past, present, and future, for the determination of the validity of the polar claims is but a part of our duty to future posterity.

FREDERICK A. COOK,
Ebbitt House, Washington, D. C.

FEBRUARY 9, 1915.

The Land Question Underlying Immigration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY GEORGE, JR.,
OF NEW YORK,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Thursday, February 4, 1915.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, in explanation of my vote against House bill No. 6060 when it was offered for passage in the House over the President's veto, I desire to present in the RECORD chapter 11 of my father's work entitled "Social Problems," as follows:

CHAPTER XI.

THE LAND QUESTION BEHIND IMMIGRATION.

This gulf stream of humanity that is setting on our shores with increasing volume is in all respects worthy of more attention than we give it. In many ways one of the most important phenomena of our time, it is one which forcibly brings to the mind the fact that we are living under conditions which must soon begin to rapidly change. But there is one part of the immigration coming to us this year which is specially suggestive. A number of large steamers of the trans-Atlantic lines are calling, under contract with the British Government, at small ports on the west coast of Ireland, filling up with men, women, and children, whose passages are paid by their Government, and then, ferrying them across the ocean, are dumping them on the wharves of New York and Boston with a few dollars apiece in their pockets to begin life in the New World.

The strength of a nation is in its men. It is its people that make a country great and strong, produce its wealth, and give it rank among other countries. Yet here is a civilized and Christian Government, or one that passes for such, shipping off its people, to be dumped upon another continent as garbage is shipped off from New York to be dumped into the Atlantic Ocean. Nor are these people undesirable material for the making of a nation. Whatever they may sometimes become here, when cooped up in tenement houses and exposed to the corruption of our politics and to the temptation of a life greatly differing from that to which they have been accustomed, they are in their own country, as anyone who has been among them there can testify, a peaceable, industrious, and, in some important respects, a peculiarly moral people, who lack intellectual and political education, and the robust virtues that personal independence alone can give, simply because of the poverty to which they are condemned. Mr. Trevelyan, the chief secretary for Ireland, has declared in the House of Commons that they are physically and morally healthy, well capable of making a living, and yet the Government of which he is a member is shipping them away at public expense as New York ships its garbage.

These people are well capable of making a living, Mr. Trevelyan says, yet if they remain at home they will only be able to make the poorest of poor livings in the best of times, and when seasons are not of the best, taxes must be raised and alms begged to keep them alive; and so as the cheapest way of getting rid of them they are shipped away at public expense.

What is the reason of this? Why is it that people in themselves well capable of making a living can not make a living for themselves in their own country? Simply that the natural, equal, and inalienable rights of man, with which, as asserted by our Declaration of Independence, these human being have been endowed by their Creator, are denied them. The famine, the pauperism, the misgovernment and turbulence of Ireland, the bitter wrongs which keep aglow the fire of Irish "sedition," and the difficulties with regard to Ireland which perplex English statesmen, all spring from what the National Assembly of France, in 1789, declared to be the cause of all public misfortunes and corruptions of government—the contempt of human rights. The Irish peasant is forced to starve, to beg, or to emigrate; he becomes, in the eyes of those who rule him, mere human garbage, to be shipped off and dumped anywhere, because, like the English peasant, who, after a slave's life, dies a pauper's death, his natural rights in his native soil are denied him; because his inalienable right to procure wealth by his own exertions and to retain it for his own uses is refused him.

The country from which these people are shipped—and the Government-aided emigration is as nothing compared to the voluntary emigration—is abundantly capable of maintaining in comfort a very much larger population than it has ever had. There is no natural reason why in it people themselves capable of making a living should suffer want and starvation. The reason that they do is simply that they are denied natural opportunities for the employment of their labor and that the laws permit others to extort from them the proceeds of such labor as they are permitted to do. Of these people who are now being sent across the Atlantic by the English Government and dumped on our wharves with a few dollars in their pockets, there are probably none of mature years who have not by their labor produced wealth enough not only to have supported them hitherto in a much higher degree of comfort than that in which they have lived, but to have enabled them to pay their own passage across the Atlantic, if they wanted to come, and to have given them on landing here a capital sufficient for a comfortable start. They are penniless only because they have been systematically robbed from the day of their birth to the day they left their native shores.

A year ago I traveled through that part of Ireland from which these Government-aided emigrants come. What surprises an American at first, even in Connaught, is the apparent sparseness of population, and he wonders if this can indeed be that overpopulated Ireland of which he has heard so much. There is plenty of good land, but on it are only fat beasts, and sheep so clean and white that you at first think that they must be washed and combed every morning. Once this soil was tilled and was populous, but now you will find only traces of ruined hamlets, and here and there the miserable hut of a herd, who lives in a way no Terra del Fuegan could envy. For the "owners" of this land, who live in London and Paris, many of them never having seen their estates, find cattle more profitable than men, and so the men have been driven off. It is only when you reach the bog and the rocks, in the mountains and by the seashore, that you find a dense population. Here they are crowded together on land on which nature never intended men to live. It is too poor for grazing, so the people who have been driven from the better land are allowed to live upon it—as long as they pay their rent. If it were not too pathetic, the patches they call fields would make you laugh. Originally the surface of the ground must have been about as susceptible of cultivation as the surface of Broadway. But at the cost of enormous labor the small stones have been picked off and piled up, though the great bowlders remain, so that it is impossible to use a plow; and the surface of the bog has been cut away and manured by seaweed, brought from the shore on the backs of men and women, till it can be made to grow something.

For such patches of rock and bog—soil it could not be called, save by courtesy—which has been made to produce anything only by their unremitting toil—these people are compelled to pay their absentee landlords rents varying from a pound to four pounds per acre, and then they must pay another rent for the seaweed which the surf of the wild Atlantic throws upon the shore before they are permitted to take it for manure, and another rent still for the bog from which they cut their turf. As a matter of fact, these people have to pay more for the land than they can get out of the land. They are really forced to pay not merely for the use of the land and the use of the ocean but for the use of the air. Their rents are made up, and they manage to live in good times, by the few shillings earned by the women, who knit socks as they carry their creels to and from the market or seashore; by the earnings of the men, who go over to England every year to work as harvesters; or by remittances sent home by husbands or children who have managed to get to America. In spite of their painful industry the poverty of these people is appalling. In good times they just manage to keep above the starvation line. In bad times, when a blight strikes their potatoes, they must eat seaweed or beg relief from the poor rates or from the charitable contributions of the world. When so rich as to have a few chickens or a pig, they no more think of eating them than Vanderbilt thinks of eating his $50,000 trotters. They are sold to help pay the rent. In the loughs you may see fat salmon swimming in from the sea, but if every one of them were marked by nature with the inscription, "Lord So-and-So, London, with the compliments of God Almighty," they could not be more out of the reach of these people. The best shops to be found in the villages will have for stock a few pounds of sugar and tea weighed out into ounce and half-ounce papers, a little flour, two or three red petticoats, a little coarse cloth, a few yards of flannel and a few of cotton, some buttons and thread, a little pig-tail tobacco, and perhaps a bottle or two of "the native" hid away in the ground some distance from the cabin, so that if the police do capture it the shopkeeper can not be put in jail. For the Queen must live and the army must be supported, and the great distillers of Dublin and Belfast and Cork, who find such a comfortable monopoly in the excise, have churches to build and cathedrals to renovate. So poor are these people, so little is there in their miserable cabins, that a subsheriff who last year superintended the eviction of near 100 families in one place declared that the effects of the whole lot were not worth £3.

But the landlords—ah, the landlords!—they live differently. Every now and again in traveling through this country you come across some landlord's palatial home mansion, its magnificent grounds inclosed with high walls. Pass inside these walls and it is almost like entering another world—wide stretches of rich velvety lawn, beds of bright flowers, noble avenues of arching trees, and a spacious mansion rich with every appointment of luxury, with its great stables, kennels, and appurtenances of every kind. But though they may have these luxurious

home places, the large landlords, with few exceptions, live in London or Paris, or pass part of the year in the great cities and the rest in Switzerland or Italy or along the shores of the Mediterranean; and occasionally one of them takes a trip over here to see our new country, with its magnificent opportunities for investing in wild lands which will soon be as valuable as English or Irish estates. They do not have to work; their incomes come without work on their part—all they have to do is to spend. Some collect galleries of the most valuable paintings, some are fanciers of old books and give fabulous prices for rare editions. Some of them gamble, some keep studs of racers and costly yachts, and some get rid of their money in ways worse than these. Even their agents, whose business it is to extort the rent from the Irishmen who do work, live luxuriously. But it all comes out of the earnings of just such people as are now being dumped on our wharves—out of their earnings, or out of what is sent them by relatives in America, or by charitable contributions.

It is to maintain such a system of robbery as this that Ireland is filled with policemen and troops and spies and informers, and a people who might be an integral part of the British nation are made to that nation a difficulty, a weakness, and a danger. Economically, the Irish landlords are of no more use than so many great, ravenous, destructive beasts—packs of wolves, herds of wild elephants, or such dragons as St. George is reported to have killed. They produce nothing; they only consume and destroy. And what they destroy is more even than what they consume. For not merely is Ireland turned into a camp of military police and red-coated soldiery to hold down the people while they are robbed, but the wealth producers, stripped of capital by this robbery of their earnings, and condemned by it to poverty and ignorance, are unable to produce the wealth which they could and would produce did labor get its full earnings and were wealth left to those who make it. Surely true statesmanship would suggest that if anyone is to be shoveled out of a country, it should be those who merely consume and destroy, not those who produce wealth.

But English statesmen think otherwise, and these surplus Irish men and women; these garbage Irish men and women and little children—surplus and garbage because the landlords of Ireland have no use for them—are shoveled out of their own country and dumped on our wharves. They have reached "the land of the free and the home of the brave" just in time for the Fourth of July, when they may hear the Declaration of Independence, with its ringing assertion of inalienable rights, read again in our annual national celebration.

Have they, then, escaped from the system which in their own country made them serfs and human garbage? Not at all. They have not even escaped the power of their old landlords to take from them the proceeds of their toil.

For we are not merely getting these surplus tenants of English, Scotch, and Irish landlords, we are getting the landlords, too. Simultaneously with this emigration is going on a movement which is making the landlords and capitalists of Great Britain owners of vast tracts of American soil. There is even now scarcely a large landowing family in Great Britain that does not own even larger American estates, and American land is becoming with them a more and more favorite investment. These American estate of "their graces" and "my lords" are not as yet as valuable as their home estates, but the natural increase in our population, augmented by emigration, will soon make them so.

Every "surplus" Irishman, Englishman, or Scotchman sent over here assists directly in sending up the value of land and the rent of land. The stimulation of emigration from the old country to this is a bright idea on the part of these landlords of two continents. They get rid of people who, at home, in hard times, they might have to support in some sort of fashion, and lessen, as they think, the forces of disaffection, while at the same time they augment the value of their American estates.

It is not improbable that some of these evicted tenants may find themselves over here paying rent to the very same landlords to swell whose incomes they have so long toiled in their old country; but whether this be so or not, their mere coming here, by its effect in increasing the demand for land, helps to enable those landlords to compel some others of the people of the United States to give up to them a portion of their earnings in return for the privilege of living upon American soil. It is merely with this view, and for this purpose, that the landlords of the Old World are buying so much land in the New. They do not want it to live upon; they prefer to live in London or Paris, as many of the privileged classes of America are now learning to prefer to live. They do not want to work it; they do not propose to work it at all. All they want with it is the power which, as soon as our population increases a little, its ownership will give of demanding the earnings of other people. And under present conditions it is a matter not of a generation or two, but only of a few years, before they will be able to draw from their American estates sums even greater than from their Irish estates. That is to say, they will virtually own more Americans than they now own Irishmen.

So far from these Irish immigrants having escaped from the system that has impoverished and pauperized the masses of the Irish people for the benefit of a few of their number, that system has really more unrestricted sway here than in Ireland. In spite of the fact that we read the Declaration of Independence every Fourth of July, make a great noise and have a great jubilation, that first of the inalienable rights with which every man is endowed by his Creator—the equal right to the use of the natural elements without which wealth can not be produced, nor even life maintained—is no better acknowledged with us than it is in Ireland.

There is much said of "Irish landlordism," as though it were a peculiar kind of landlordism, or a peculiarly bad kind of landlordism. This is not so. Irish landlordism is nothing worse than English landlordism, or Scotch landlordism, or American landlordism, nor are the Irish landlords harder than any similar class. Being generally men of education and culture, accustomed to an easy life, they are, as a whole, less grasping toward their tenants than the farmers who rent of them are to the laborers to whom they sublet. They regard the land as their own, that is all, and expect to get an income from it; and the agent who sends them the best income they naturally regard as the best agent.

Such popular Irish leaders as Mr. Parnell and Mr. Sullivan, when they come over here and make speeches, have a good deal to say about the "feudal landlordism" of Ireland. This is all humbug—an attempt to convey the impression that Irish landlordism is something different from American landlordism, so that American landowners will not take offense, while Irish landowners are denounced. There is in Ireland nothing that can be called feudal landlordism. All the power which the Irish landlord has, all the tyranny which he exercises, springs from his ownership of the soil, from the legal recognition that it is his property. If landlordism in Ireland seems more hateful than in England, it is only because the industrial organization is more primitive, and there are fewer intermediaries between the man who is robbed and the man who gets the plunder. And if either Irish or English landlordism seems more hateful than the same system in America, it is only because this is a new country, not yet quite fenced in. But, as a matter of law, these "my lords" and "your graces," who are now getting themselves far greater estates in the United States than they have in their own country, have more power as landlords here than there.

In Ireland especially the tendency of legislation for a series of years has been to restrain the power of the landlord in dealing with the tenant. In the United States he has in all its fullness the unrestricted power of doing as he pleases with his own. Rack-renting is with us the common, almost the exclusive, form of renting. There is no long process to be gone through with to secure an eviction, no serving notice upon the relieving officer of the district. The tenant whom the landlord wants to get rid of can be evicted with the minimum of cost and expense.

Says the Tribune's "Broadway Lounger" incidentally in his chatter: "Judge Gedney tells me that on the 1st of this month he signed no less than 250 warrants of dispossession against poor tenants. His district includes many blocks of the most squalid variety of tenement houses, and he has fully as much unpleasant work of this kind as any of his judicial brethren. The 1st of May is, of course, the heaviest field day of the year for such business, but there are generally at the beginning of every month at least 100 warrants granted. And to those who fret about the minor miseries of life no more wholesome cure could be administered than an enforced attendance in a district court on such occasions. The lowest depths of misery are sounded. Judge Gedney says, too, that in the worst cases the suffering is more generally caused by misfortune than by idleness or dissipation. A man gets a felon on his hand, which keeps him at home until his savings are gone and all his effects are in the pawnshop, and then his children fall sick or his wife dies, and the agent of the house, under instructions from the owner, who is perhaps in Europe enjoying himself, won't wait for the rent, and serves him with a summons."

A while ago, when it was bitter cold, I read in the papers an item telling how, in the city of Wilkes-Barre, Pa., a woman and her three children were found one night huddled in a hogshead on a vacant lot, famished and almost frozen. The story was a simple one. The man, out of work, had tried to steal and been sent to prison. Their rent unpaid, their landlord had evicted them, and as the only shelter they knew of they had gone to the hogshead. In Ireland, bad as it is, the relieving officer would have had to be by to have offered them at least the shelter of the almshouse.

These Irish men and women who are being dumped on our wharves with two or three dollars in their pockets, do they find access to nature any freer here than there? Far out in the West, if they know where to go, and can get there, they may, for a little while yet; but though they may see even around New York plenty of unused land, they will find that it all belongs to somebody. Let them go to work at what they will, they must, here as there, give up some of their earnings for the privilege of working, and pay some other human creature for the privilege of living. On the whole their chances will be better here than there, for this is yet a new country, and a century ago our settlements only fringed the eastern seaboard of a vast continent. But from the Atlantic to the Pacific we already have our human garbage, the volume of which some of this Irish human garbage will certainly go to swell. Wherever you go throughout the country the "tramp" is known; and in this metropolitan city there are already, it is stated by the Charity Organization Society, a quarter of a million people who live on alms. What, in a few years more, are we to do for a dumping ground? Will it make our difficulty the less that our human garbage can vote?

Immigration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LATHROP BROWN,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 4, 1915,

On the veto message of the President on the act (H. R. 6060) to regu- the immigration of aliens to and the residence of aliens in the United States.

Mr. BROWN of New York. Mr. Speaker, in his message accompanying his veto of the immigration bill now before the House, President Wilson spoke of the complete change of policy with regard to immigration therein instituted. He stated that this country's ancient ideal of constitutional free institutions to which those of all nations who yearned for self-government and the opportunities for education could come was now being overthrown, and a purely restrictive literacy test was substituted.

This bill contains many selective restrictions which appear in the bill for the first time. They are far more important than the public realizes. They will go a long way toward preventing the greater part of the various alien social evils under the burdens of which we labor. But in themselves they can not compensate for our refusal to extend to others the same incalculable benefits by reason of which we are all here to-day.

Frankly speaking, the sociological aspects of this bill appeal to me more strongly than any others. Just a year ago, on January 30, 1914, I had the privilege briefly to address this House and to suggest that since in some years more immigrants come to this country than babies are born in it, a very grave respon-

sibility rested upon the Members in selecting the forebears of our future generations. As we legislate in this bill, so are future generations of Americans conceived. We mold the race. Truly our opportunity is more glorious than that of any conqueror, because instead of destroying and subduing, we create and construct.

So if through this literacy clause we had not deliberately closed the door of the only place in God's world in which a man may live according to his highest ideals without fear, I should care nothing for it one way or the other. The numerical numbers kept out by this literacy-test provision will be immaterial in any event, but the ancient principle will be lost for all time.

The great Republican manufacturer wants no restriction so that his labor market may be continually cheapened by fresh importations; the labor-union man, recently arrived himself, wants the United States for his very own. Both are wrong. Yet both are forced to admit that they would make as a prerequisite for any immigration a sound body and a sound mind. The sound body we can discover by using for that purpose a small fraction of the million dollars surplus per annum which we receive from the immigrants themselves for a head tax, but to the mind little attention is paid.

Now, by the mind I do not mean merely that portion of the body known as the brain. I mean that subtle mechanism which, barring accident and modified by environment, will develop certain characteristics of resistance to evil and a proper adjustment to the conditions of living. An average man is almost always gauged at his true worth by the people of his community. So we must look for industry, frugality, sobriety, and chastity in the forefathers of the race that we shall build to-day.

It is a common saying that a man "comes of good stock." We know his people before him, and we assume that he will inherit the characteristics of his forbears. Is it too much to ask that we select the forefathers of succeeding generations of citizens with some care?

In my previous speech on this subject I showed how the descendants of two persons in five generations showed an economic loss to their community of $1,308,000; another pair in seven generations $1,411,676, and so on. We know our jails are crowded, our asylums overflowing, our almshouses occupied, our reformatories full. Why are their inmates there, a drain on the Nation, instead of being busy, happy, productive units in a busy world? If we knew why they were there, would not this knowledge help us to keep from our shores those who will go there and whose children for generations will go there?

Do we know? Are we on the threshold of rediscovering an ancient law of biology in its application to that mental defect which leads to all evil?

In 1912 Dr. Goddard summarized some data of the hereditary qualities of one family and scouted the Mendelian law. In 1914 he published a summary of field investigations and tables covering 590 pages, and is forced to the conclusion that the traits resulting in our social evils are largely mental, and that the inheritance of these defects follows exactly the lines of that infallible old law of biology—Mendel's law.

I state his conclusions based on his own data or that furnished to him. I do not argue for or against. I only hope that he shall be found in later years to be pointing the way toward the admission to our shores of only those whose characteristics are "dominant" and not "recessive."

He defines a mental defective as—

> One who is capable of earning his living under favorable circumstances, but is incapable from mental defect existing from birth or from an early age (a) of competing on equal terms with his normal fellows or (b) of managing himself and his affairs with ordinary prudence.

He emphasizes the inability and the incapacity, not the unwillingness or the laziness, of feeble-minded persons to make proper adjustments to their environment. He thinks that about 2 per cent of our school population is feeble-minded; about 25 per cent to 50 per cent of our jail criminals are feeble-minded.

He gives the following list of reformatories and institutions for delinquents, with the estimated number of defectives, as showing a fair idea of the amount of feeble-mindedness. He says that differences in the percentages are probably due more to the standards used in estimating the defectives than to actual differences in numbers. It is most discouraging to discover that the more expert is the examiner of these groups the higher is the percentage of feeble-minded found. For example, Dr. Olga Bridgman, who has made one of the most careful studies on record, finds that 89 per cent of the girls at Geneva, Ill., are defective.

	Per cent.
St. Cloud (Minn.) Reformatory	54
Rahway Reformatory, New Jersey (Binet)	46
Bedford Reformatory, New York (under 11 years)	80
Lancaster, Mass.:	
Girls' Reformatory	60
50 paroled girls	82
Lyman School for Boys, Westboro, Mass	28
Pentonville, Ill., juveniles	40
Massachusetts Reformatory, Concord	52
Newark, N. J., juvenile court	66
Elmira Reformatory	70
Geneva, Ill. (Binet)	89
Ohio Boys' School (Binet)	70
Ohio Girls' School (Binet)	70
Virginia, three reformatories (Binet)	79
New Jersey State Home for Girls	75
Glen Mills schools, Pennsylvania, girl's department, about	72

On page 29 of the Report of the Massachusetts White Slave Commission we read:

> Of 300 prostitutes, 154, or 51 per cent, were feeble-minded. All doubtful cases were recorded as normal. The mental defect of these 154 women was so pronounced and evident as to warrant the legal commitment of each one as a feeble-minded person or as a defective delinquent.
>
> At the Massachusetts School for the Feeble-Minded there are an equal number of women and girl inmates, medically and legally certified as feeble-minded, who are of equal or superior mental capacity.

In our judgment the commission have been ultraconservative, says Dr. Goddard; no doubt wisely so for their purposes. But we read further (p. 30):

> The 135 women designated as normal as a class were of distinctly inferior intelligence. More time for study of these women, more complete histories of their life in the community, and opportunity for more elaborate psychological tests might verify the belief of the examiners that many of them also were feeble-minded or insane.
>
> The mental age of the 135 women rated as normal, as measured by the Binet scale, was as follows: Seventeen had the mentality of a 12-year-old child; 71 had the mentality of an 11-year-old child; 32 had the mentality of a 10-year-old child; 4 had the mentality of a 9-year-old child; 11 were not tested.

Probably at least 50 per cent of our almshouse inmates are defective.

Dr. Goddard's Table I shows 13,711 individuals, comprising 327 families, who have been studied for feeble-mindedness and grouped as follows:

Groups.	Families (charts).	Total individuals on charts.	Average number of persons per chart.
Hereditary	164	7,937	48.4
Probably hereditary	34	1,252	36.8
Neuropathic	37	1,348	36.4
Accident	57	2,086	36.6
No cause	8	299	37.3
Unclassified	27	789	29.2
Total	327	13,711	41.9

I now insert a table which shows the results of certain types of matings. I do not see how it is possible to get away from the conclusion that feeble-mindedness is transmitted in accordance with Mendel's law:

Type of mating.	Number of matings.	Total offspring.	Deformed infants and miscellaneous.	Undetermined mentality.	Feeble-minded offspring.		Normal offspring.	
					Actual findings.	Theoretical expectation.	Actual findings.	Theoretical expectation.
FF-FF	144	749	149	118	476	482	6	0
FF-NF	122	698	161	166	193	185½	178	185½
FF-NN	18	66	13	19	0	0	34	34
NF-NF	33	212	39	27	39	36½	107	109½
NF-NN	7	27	2	2	0	0	23	23
Total	324	1,752	364	332	708	704	348	352

A brief description of Mendel's law may not be out of place at this time.

Gregor Mendel was an Austrian monk, who for eight years prior to 1866 made some experiments in growing peas in the monastery garden. In 1866 he published an account of his results, which was lost until rediscovered in 1900.

Mendel planted tall and dwarf peas, cross-fertilized them, and then planted the resulting seed. When the plants matured in the first generation they were all tall. These plants he allowed to fertilize themselves, and in the second generation discovered that one plant out of four was a dwarf pea. The ratio was three tall peas to one dwarf. So he named the character which

the tall peas had "dominant," and the character of lack of tallness, which the dwarf peas had, "recessive." He proceeded to experiment further and to establish the formulæ known as Mendel's law.

Here let me digress long enough to say that since Mendel's time biologists have discovered that traits are transmitted among people in the following way, but always in the ratio of Mendel's law: When the male plasm fertilizes the female it brings with it, contained within the chromosomes, certain determiners. Suppose these determiners are those which result in brown eyes in the infant to be. If the father received his brown eyes from both his parents and the mother brown from both of hers, then the child would certainly have brown eyes, because pigmentosis is a "dominant" character and both parents were "duplex dominant." But in order to understand the following formula, which is Mendel's law, a certain additional knowledge of heredity is necessary. Here are six different kinds of matings, with their corresponding theoretical expectations, in which D stands for the dominant characteristic, R stands for the recessive characteristic, duplex for inheritance from both sides, and simplex from one side only. Thus—

DD crossed with DD results in DD children.

DD crossed with DR results in ½ DD + ½ DR children.

DR crossed with DR results in 1 DD +2 DR + 1 RR children (3 to 1).

DD crossed with RR results in DR children.

DR crossed with RR results in ½ DR + ½ RR children.

RR crossed with RR results in RR children.

The development of a child starts with the union of two small portions of the germ plasm, that from the father with that of the mother. The fertilized ova does not contain the organs of the adult, but it does contain the determiners which will mold the organs into maturity. Now, if an embryo infant has received the determiner for brown eyes from the mother only, when it matures one half of its own germ cells will carry the determiner and the other half will not. It will be brown-eyed but simplex. Suppose this simplex brown-eyed male mates with a similar simplex female. Half the germ cells of each carry the determiner and half do not. What will be the results of this union? Take two pennies. Let the heads represent the determiners or dominant characteristics. Let the tails represent the lack of determiners or recessive characteristic. Now match these pennies one hundred times, and you will find two heads—duplex dominant—come up twenty-five times, two tails—duplex recessive—come up twenty-five times, and one head and one tail—simplex dominant—come up fifty times, on the average. Here again is Mendel's law: Three brown eyes to one blue; three tall peas to one dwarf.

Mr. Speaker, early in my term in Congress I went to the chairman of the House Committee on Immigration and asked him to accept certain amendments to the proposed bill, which was presented to the House as H. R. 6060, which would provide for some adequate mental examination of aliens in order to protect the American race. The House committee refused to incorporate these amendments in the House bill. I printed them and informed each Member of the House that I expected to offer them on the floor; I did offer them, and the House, under the leadership of the chairman of the committee, voted them down.

I then had the pleasure of introducing to the Senate Committee on Immigration Dr. Spencer L. Dawes, special commissioner of the State of New York on the alien insane; Dr. L. Vernon Briggs, representing the Massachusetts State Board of Insanity; Dr. Frank Woodbury, representing the committee on lunacy of the Pennsylvania State Board of Charities; and Dr. Hugh Young, representing the Maryland State Lunacy Commission—the chairman of the State hospital commissions of the States of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Jersey being prevented from attendance by reason of a blizzard which was raging at the time—who advocated the adoption of these amendments. The Senate committee incorporated them in the Senate bill which passed the Senate, and the House concurred in all the Senate amendments except one.

This amendment inverted the burden of proof which is required to be established before an alien can be deported within the three years now required by law. Under the present law it is necessary for the Government to show that the causes for an alien becoming a public charge within the three-year period during which he is subject to deportation existed prior to his landing. The amendment which the House rejected required that if an alien became a public charge within the five-year period provided in the bill under discussion, the alien must show that the causes which resulted in his becoming a public charge arose subsequent to the landing. The enactment into law of this amendment would save the State of New York, and other Eastern States in proportion, a great many hundreds of thousands of dollars every year. Therefore the responsibility for the burden placed upon the taxpayers of New York, and other Eastern States in proportion, rests squarely upon the House conferees who cared only for the adoption of the literacy clause.

It was generally known that the President of the United States would veto the bill if the literacy clause was left in it. The House conferees, with the exception of one, apparently cared nothing for sensible restriction by selective methods, but only for the arbitrary restriction contained in the literacy clause which meant the defeat of the entire bill.

In the last sundry civil bill the House made a more liberal appropriation for medical officers who were to examine aliens arriving in this country, chiefly at the port of New York. During the fiscal year 1914 Congress authorized the employment of 19 extra physicians, of whom 6 were psychiatrists, stationed at Ellis Island. The Public Health Service was able to certify for deportation for mental diseases 1,360 aliens in 1914 as against 883 aliens in the fiscal year 1913. I am unofficially informed that since immigration became less on account of the European war and it has been possible to give each immigrant an individual examination there has been an increase of over 100 per cent in the proportion of aliens certified for deportation for mental deviation. Where any two of such aliens are liable to start a family, such as those to which I have referred in my remarks, it would seem to me that these matters should receive adequate consideration from Congress.

Therefore, as I said in my speech a year ago, if we are to secure legislation which will admit to this country reasonable numbers of the best strains of European blood to mix with our present population and build up a race worthy of our best traditions, the labor people ought to abandon their attempts to pass the literacy test to the exclusion of other sensible tests, and the Congress of the United States should agree on an immigration bill which will permit this country to remain what it now is—the only place on God's earth to which those oppressed politically and for religious motives may come for an asylum, yet at the same time safeguarding the race from the impure taints which under the present law continue, and which in spite of any literacy test would continue, to infest our shores.

The Immigration Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. FARR,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 4, 1915.

Mr. FARR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend remarks for five legislative days granted on last Thursday I am submitting for printing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the able statement made at the White House on January 22, 1915, by Dr. Stewart Patton on behalf of a delegation representing State boards of insanity and national and local organizations interested in certain amendments in the immigration bill—H. R. 6060—which relate to exclusion and deportation of insane and mentally defective immigrants. The names of the members of the delegation are appended to the statement. I am also submitting a newspaper article containing an interview with the present Secretary of Labor, in whose department is the Bureau of Immigration.

The statement is as follows:

Mr. President, the gentlemen for whom I have the honor to be the spokesman desire to bring to your attention certain provisions in the immigration bill which relate to insane or mentally defective aliens, and to state very briefly the reasons for these amendments to the present immigration law. There are no other provisions in this bill which, in our opinion, are of greater importance than these or likely to prove more beneficial to the people of this country if enacted into law.

Those whose views I wish to present are the chief executive officers of boards which have to do with the care of the insane and the mentally defective in the following States: Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. In the public institutions of these six States are to be found nearly three-fourths of all the insane or mentally defective immigrants who are receiving public care in this country. In addition I desire to speak for the following National or State societies devoted to the study of insanity and mental deficiency, the promotion of the care of those suffering from these conditions, or the prevention of mental diseases—the National

Committee for Mental Hygiene, the American Medico-Psychological Association, the American Genetic Association, the Committee of One Hundred on Public Health, the New York Psychiatrical Society, the Mental Hygiene Committee of the New York State Charities Aid Association, and the Eugenics Record Office. Properly accredited representatives of each of these State boards and of each of these societies are in this room. Although what I have to say has the unqualified indorsement of all these gentlemen, each is ready to speak for his own State or for his own organization and to give any specific information which you may desire.

The States whose representatives are here to-day are literally staggering under the burden of caring for their insane. There are in all public institutions approximately 200,000 insane persons—a number exceeding the number of students enrolled in all the colleges and universities in this country. If all the States had provisions comparable to those existing in the most advanced ones, there would be more than 300,000 insane patients in the hospitals to-day. If there were added those in whom serious mental disease exists but is unrecognized, the number under treatment would reach half a million.

To this great number 60,000 new patients—an army nearly as large as our Regular Army—are added every year.

The cost of conducting the institutions in which this vast number of persons is cared for is so great that in several States it is exceeded only by the amount expended for education. In New York the expenditures for the insane are one-fourth of the total annual appropriations of the State.

Even with these great sums devoted to the care of the insane of the United States, much remains to be done. In many States large numbers of these sick persons are not yet delivered from the misery and degradation of jails and almshouses, and in very few States is our duty to the most unfortunate of the communities' wards fully discharged.

In the case of the mentally defective, existing provisions are still more inadequate. It has been estimated by careful students of the subject that only 10 per cent of all the feeble-minded are in suitable institutions. The others are unjustly confined in prisons and reformatories, inadequately cared for in almshouses or at large in the community, often a menace to the morals and to the safety of others, and more often themselves the victims of greed or lust. Enlightened States are keenly aware of the importance of solving the great problem of providing for the mentally defective, but the magnitude of the task is such that our legislatures are reluctant to undertake it.

What can be said, sir, of the intelligence of a country which, just awakening to this vast problem and just stirring itself to deal with it, fails to take every necessary precaution to prevent the task being rendered still more difficult by a large and steady influx of the insane and the mentally defective of other lands? In requesting that Congress provide us with an immigration law under which the insane and the mentally defective can be excluded, we can not be accused of inhumanity. The gentlemen whom I represent are devoting their lives to the welfare of these persons. They are engaged constantly in the endeavor to render relief to those suffering from mental diseases more effective and more humane than it is at present; but when they see their institutions so overcrowded that patients have to sleep on the floors of wards and corridors, when year after year they see their charges suffer through the reluctance of legislatures to grant the great appropriations needed for proper care and treatment, and when they realize that the beds occupied by aliens could be filled at once by citizens waiting for treatment, can they be blamed for asking for better provisions in the immigration law? Aliens and citizens share alike in this great humanitarian work, but need this half loaf be divided?

The States which I have named receive their population chiefly through immigration. The number of immigrants who come to New York State to settle permanently every year is greater than the number of babies born. The application through eugenics of the facts learned by the scientific study of human heredity will doubtless make it possible in years to come to cut off defective strains, so that fewer babies who have inherited the mental defect of their parents will be born, but how weak are efforts in this direction compared with the enormous need. It is in the elimination of the insane and the mentally defective from the great tide which flows through Ellis Island that the most practical and humane field for the control of insanity and feeble-mindedness in this country is to be found.

It may be said that the present immigration law excludes the insane and the mentally defective. In reply I have to say that, under the present immigration law, our public institutions have filled with the alien insane. There are serious defects in the immigration law, and these defects have long been recognized, not only by those who care for the alien insane and mentally defective in the public institutions of this country, but by the medical authorities actually engaged in the examination of immigrants at our ports of entry. The amendments which I will read are indorsed not only by the State boards and medical organizations which are represented here to-day, but by every national medical organization which is interested in psychiatry and by more than 20 State and local medical organizations.

They were framed with the constant guidance of experienced medical officers of the Government service who had discovered the inadequacies of the present immigration law in their daily work at Ellis Island. Together we have urged them upon the attention of Congress, and the only opposition which they have received from any source has been from those steamship companies which are willing to bring to this country any unfortunate immigrant who can be persuaded to come and who can get through one of the convenient loopholes in the present law.

Listed in the order of their importance, these are the amendments which we desire to advocate:

1. Providing that medical officers of the United States Public Health Service who have had special training in the diagnosis of insanity and mental deficiency shall be detailed for duty at ports of entry designated by the Secretary of Labor, and that the services of interpreters and suitable facilities for making mental examinations and observing cases shall be provided for these medical officers.

2. Providing that the surgeon of each vessel shall make a mental examination of each immigrant before accepting him for passage. (A physical examination only is required at present.)

3. Providing a fine of $200 for bringing to this country any insane or mentally defective person whose condition could have been detected by a competent medical examination at the time of embarkation.

4. Adding constitutional psychopathic inferiority and chronic alcoholism to the excludable causes.

5. Making it mandatory for the Secretary of Labor to provide suitable attendants for immigrants being deported, when they require personal care on account of mental or physical disability.

6. Increasing from three to five years the period in which deportation of aliens, who have become a public charge in this country, can be effected—unless it can be affirmatively shown that their dependence is due to causes arising subsequent to landing.

7. Providing that deportation can be effected subsequently if proceedings are instituted within five years.

We advocate these amendments as medical men trained in the department of medicine which has to do with mental diseases. In our opinion, these provisions in the bill before you overshadow all others in importance, and we especially desire to state that we are here solely for the purpose of presenting the reasons for their inclusion in the immigration law. Although other provisions in the law may be desirable, and some may be inadvisable, we wish to confine ourselves strictly to those matters regarding which we have special knowledge.

The amendments which we advocate deal with complex problems in a highly specialized branch of science, and we have felt that the views of men who are devoting themselves to this work might be of value to you in forming an opinion as to the need of the amendments which I have read and as to the results likely to be gained by their adoption.

LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES OF STATE BOARDS AND SCIENTIFIC AND CHARITABLE ORGANIZATIONS PRESENT AT THE HEARING GRANTED BY THE PRESIDENT JANUARY 22, 1915.

STATE BOARDS OF INSANITY AND STATE BOARDS OF CHARITIES.

Dr. Spencer L. Dawes, New York Commission on Federal Legislation for the Alien Insane.

Hon. Joseph P. Byers, New Jersey commissioner of charities and correction.

Dr. John Nevin, New Jersey Commission on the Care of Mental Defectives.

Dr. L. Vernon Briggs, Massachusetts Commission on the Alien Insane.

Dr. Frank Woodbury, committee on lunacy of the Pennsylvania State Board of Charities.

Dr. Hugh H. Young, Maryland Lunacy Commission.

Mr. Walter R. Wrightman, Rhode Island State Board of Chairities and Correction.

ORGANIZATIONS.

Dr. Thomas W. Salmon, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, Boston Society of Psychiatry and Neurology.

Dr. Edward N. Brush, American Medico-Psychological Association.

Mr. Paul Popenoe, American Genetic Association.

Dr. Hugh H. Young, Committee of One Hundred on Public Health.

Dr. Stewart Paton, New York Psychiatrical Society.

Mr. George A. Hastings, Mental Hygiene Committee of the New York State Charities' Aid Association.

Mr. H. H. Laughlin, eugenics record office.

[From the Enquirer, Cincinnati, Sunday, Nov. 1, 1914.]

WILL THE UNITED STATES BE OVERRUN BY MILLIONS OF RUINED AND UNHAPPY MEN AND WOMEN AFTER THE WAR?

(By James B. Morrow.)

WASHINGTON, *October 31.*

Human siftings, men who can not fight or work, are piling up like culm heaps in the cities and large villages of Europe. Even healthy boys of 15 are being driven to the battle field. Defectives, mental and physical, are left behind with the women and small children. They, too, must be fed and clothed.

Thousands of them will come or be sent to the United States. Their relatives and neighbors will pass the burden of their support across the Atlantic, saying to themselves in defense that there is more to eat in America than at home. Steamship companies, hard pressed by the war, will take a chance with freight, just as they have done in the past, if the charges are paid in advance.

As a business proposition it is cheaper to spend $20 in a lump on a parasite than to spend three times that amount per year, though the money is paid a franc here and a mark there. Whole regiments of undesirable men came to the gates of the United States when Europe was prosperous and at peace. Thousands were shipped back across the ocean, but it is reasonably certain that hundreds passed the inspectors and are now living in this country as criminals, beggars, or paupers.

Conditions were normal in Europe for the year ended June 30, 1914, yet 6,537 aliens, who were mentally or physically defective, attempted to enter the United States. Also there came 15,705 who were likely to become a public charge; 3,254 who were suffering from loathsome or dangerous contagious diseases; 1,077 who were idiots, imbeciles or feeble minded; 775 who were criminals; 634 who were habitually immoral, and 232 who were insane or epileptics.

UNDESIRABLES DO GET IN.

All of these immigrants were stopped. But at least 4,610 aliens whom the laws excluded got through, and, getting through, were afterward taken into custody and returned to Europe. Eight hundred of them were found to be insane; 1,356 were of the kind likely to become public charges; and 700, men and women, belonged to the class that operates in the red light districts of large cities. Undoubtedly, hundreds of immigrants barred by the laws of this country, as was said before, passed inspection and are now living by hook or crook in one place and another.

It may be of interest to note that of the aliens debarred 5,964 were southern Italians, 2,491 were Hebrews, 2,184 were Greeks, 1,896 were Poles, 1,808 were English, 1,596 were Russians, and 1,375 were Germans. Three hundred and thirty had been "assisted"—that is, their passage had been paid by others. Most of them were incapables whom their relatives or villages wanted to be rid of.

Such, then, are some of the immigration figures for a year that was not unusual in any respect. Officers of the Government in Washington believe that the European war will immensely increase the number of undesirable immigrants reaching the Atlantic ports of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New Orleans. The lines therefore have been tightened at all those cities, and instructions, at the suggestion of William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor, to take special pains in the matter of immigration, have been sent by the Secretary of State to each American diplomatic and consular officer in Europe.

The direct loss to the United States by the war in Europe will, of course, be tremendous. Efforts consequently are being made by the National Government to reduce the indirect loss at every point that is possible. There are, and will be, many such losses. Communities in this country, for example, are involuntarily helping to maintain soldiers in the foreign armies.

AND AMERICA PAYS THE BILL.

A man from Pittsburgh tells of an Austrian who responded to the call of his Emperor, leaving his wife and five small children behind, with only $11 for their support until his return. Pittsburgh is caring for that family and scores of other families similarly situated. Cities everywhere are having such burdens. The Austrian may die on the field of battle or he may come back minus a leg or arm. No matter what happens, his wife and children, and perhaps himself, will live by charity—they for some time and he for all time, probably.

Before the great nations of Europe began butchering their strong, young, and productive citizenry an American expert investigator began looking into immigrant conditions in Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Greece, Italy, and the Balkan Peninsula. W. W. Husband, the investigator, completed his labors a short time before Austria took up arms against Servia. His report has not been made public so far. When it is printed it will cause a great deal of discussion in the United States. Among other things, it will show how immigration to this country is promoted by persons regularly engaged in the business, principally by scattered local subagents of steamship corporations.

The competition between ocean transportation lines for steerage passengers to America has been very sharp for years. Russian immigrants, because of the better terms offered to them, formerly sailed from Hamburg and Bremen in German ships. They poured across the frontier in such large numbers, however, that the German Government, as a sanitary measure, established stations and ordered that Russians traveling overland to ports on the North Sea be inspected by physicians and compelled to take a bath.

The German ships continued to enjoy a practical monopoly of the steerage traffic to the United States until the managers of the Russian lines advertised far and wide that passengers on the way to America and intending to embark in their ships were neither inspected nor required to take a bath. At once the swarm across the German boundary dwindled and Russian vessels leaving ports on the Black and Baltic Seas took away from the Germans a good share of the American-bound passenger traffic. There has been strenuous competition both to get traffic and to create it—to transport steerage passengers and to induce them to emigrate.

WHAT THE EXPERT LEARNED.

Secretary Wilson had one main object in view when he sent Mr. Husband abroad. The figures in his office showed that thousands of poor foreigners were annually coming to this country, only to be denied admittance when they arrived. Moreover, Secretary Wilson thinks that further restrictions should be placed on immigration. On being asked what his expert had learned during the investigation he made, Secretary Wilson said:

"He found that a very large number of aliens are indirectly induced to emigrate to the United States. European countries have laws regulating the emigration of their inhabitants, and take upon themselves a measure of supervision over their water transportation lines. No country wants its people to violate the laws of this country. While open efforts to promote immigration are prohibited, thousands of aliens at village markets and fairs are secretly advised to come to America by steamship agents, who get commissions on the tickets they sell.

"Thus persons who will be turned back at our ports on their arrival here purchase tickets under solicitation, not knowing either the law or the facts bearing on the situation. They are poor, often miserably so, but by selling their few personal belongings they get sufficient money with which to pay their ocean passage. When they leave their old homes they have nothing but the clothing they wear and the little bundles they carry in their hands. But they are filled with hope, and feel that their luck will turn once they are in the United States.

"Penniless, they arrive in New York, only to find that they must return to the village they left. Their homes have been broken up. Their property, turned into money and spent, is gone. It is true the steamships which brought them over are required to take them back free of charge, but they are ruined, none the less.

"It seemed to me, as I became familiar with the immigrant problem, that something should be done to stop the coming of those aliens who, for one reason or another in our laws, are prevented from entering the country. So I asked Mr. Husband to visit Europe, talk with public officials, with steamship managers, and with priests, rabbis, and ministers. Our purpose was to show just what classes of aliens are prohibited from coming into the United States, and to spread the information in small villages and rural districts and into the people's homes.

"Wherever Mr. Husband went he was well received. Public officers, transportation companies, and churches sympathized with what we are trying to accomplish, and promised their cooperation. They saw that a cripple or a beggar or a diseased person should remain in the village where he belongs, and that if he were shipped to America he would surely find the way back to his own home in the course of time. But before Mr. Husband's report could be put into type Europe went to war. International relations are in so delicate a balance now that we have decided to hold the report back for the present.

"A plain statement of the immigration laws of the United States has been sent, however, to all of our diplomatic and consular officers in Europe. Full descriptions are given in the statement of those persons who are debarred by cause from coming into the United States.

"While the war continues many weaklings, derelicts, and criminals, it is natural to suppose, will attempt to get into this country. And after the war is over great numbers of broken men and women will want to forget their sorrows and try to rebuild themselves in free America.

"During the past 11 years nearly 11,000,000 immigrants have passed through our ports—1,218,480 came in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914, and it may be illuminating to know that 21,600 were southern Italians, 138,000 were Hebrews, 122,700 were Poles, 79,900 were Germans, 51,800 were English, 45,000 were Russians, 44,540 were Magyars, 44,800 were northern Italians, 33,900 were Irish, 19,000 were Scotch, and 18,170 were French.

WILL WAR INCREASE IMMIGRATION?

"Of course, immigration fell off at once at the outbreak of the European war. From August 1 to October 7, 1913, immigrants to the number of 310,452 entered the United States. During the same period this year the number was only 89,789. What effect the war will have on immigration in the long run is conjectural. There are two theories. It is argued that the men and women of Europe, worn out, stricken with poverty, burdened with sorrows, fearful of other wars, will come in immense numbers to the United States. On the other hand, it is maintained that ruined Europe will have to be rebuilt and that work at good wages will be abundant for all able-bodied men."

"Do you think immigration should be further checked in some way?" Secretary Wilson was asked.

"Yes; but I will not talk about that matter at the present time," he replied. "I will say, however, that no more aliens should come into the country during a given year than can be properly assimilated—that is, absorbed so completely as not to affect our institutions injuriously. In almost every case the alien landing at one of our ports is poor. It is necessary that he should have work at once.

"There are no more free Government lands on which he may settle. If he wants land, he must buy it. He has no money, however, with which to obtain land, no money for tools and live stock, and no money on which to live until he can grow a crop. So he remains where he is or goes to a near-by mining or manufacturing district, and, perhaps, adds another unit to the oversupply in that labor market.

THREE WAYS TO SLOW DOWN.

"Now, an excess of labor means, of course, that under the pressure of competition wages fall or that the days of work are reduced, and, logically, that the standard of living is lowered. When such things happen a community is not in a sound economic condition. A million aliens a year are not too many, possibly, for a country so large and generally so prosperous as is the United States, provided, however, that the million is properly distributed. That is all I care to say," Secretary Wilson observed, "concerning the phase of the immigration question touched upon by your inquiry."

There are three ways under discussion by which the stream of immigration can be cut down. An educational test is urged by many public men. Aliens, these men argue, should be able to read and write their own language. The reply is made in opposition to this suggestion that the literacy test would exclude many young and healthy aliens and admit agitators and persons living principally by their ingenuity.

The proposal of Senator DILLINGHAM, of Vermont, to base all future immigration on the number of aliens now in the United States from each country is also supported by conspicuous Members of Congress. If the Dillingham idea became a law, there would be a large decrease in the immigrants admitted from Greece, Italy, and Austria-Hungary, but there would be no appreciable effect on immigration from Russia and no effect whatever on immigration from Great Britain, Germany, France, or the countries of northern Europe.

The third plan for reducing the number of aliens reaching the eastern ports of the country is to admit immigrants in proportion to the population of the countries whence they come, taking into account at the same time the condition of business in the United States. Russia under this scheme would fare best, and Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Italy, and England would follow in the order here put down.

THOSE WHO OPPOSE RESTRICTION.

Political economists who maintain that men should move without hindrance wheresoever they chose and certain large corporations which view with composure an oversupplied labor market are antagonistic to all attempts further to limit the human tide that is sweeping in upon the shores of the United States.

Organized labor, on the other hand, patriotic societies, and some organizations of farmers are urging additional restrictive legislation. The literacy test is approved by organized labor and the patriotic associations. * * *

"Thousands of men working in this country," I said to Secretary Wilson, "returned to Europe at the call of their Kings and Emperors and are now engaged in war. Should aliens who come here to find work be required to take out papers of naturalization?"

"I do not think so," Secretary Wilson answered. "The alien who becomes a citizen or takes steps to become a citizen should do so freely and not under any sort of compulsion. He should want to be an American, should believe in our institutions, and love liberty. Such a man will make a good citizen and his children will be patriotic Americans. It would be no gain to the country were he forced to accept citizenship; on the contrary, it would be a hurt.

"Furthermore, if entrance to the United States were conditional on citizenship, nothing could prevent an alien from applying for his first papers, thus signifying his intention, and then refusing later to complete the required process. Fraud would be encouraged and we should be making a mockery, as I see it, of a sacred privilege."

Mining Experiment and Mine Safety Stations.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. H. SELDOMRIDGE,

OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 1, 1915.

Mr. SELDOMRIDGE. Mr. Speaker, in the few minutes allotted to me it will be impossible to present in detail the many reasons that urge me to support the pending measure. It is one of greatest importance and affects vitally not only the development and enlargement of our mineral producing area, but also the safety and well-being of men who follow the dangerous occupation of mining.

The great war which threatens the devastation of a large part of continental Europe will undoubtedly cause a serious drain to be made upon the gold supply of the world. It is most fortunate for our country that a wise and intelligent oversight of our national finances and an earnest spirit of cooperation on the part of our financial interests has retained for us the greater part of our gold supply and prevented an inroad upon it by foreign nations. The basic money of the civilized world to-day is gold. It fixes the volume and supply of all forms of currency, and it is of the utmost importance that its production should not be curtailed.

I represent in part one of the greatest mineral-producing States of the Union. Our people are interested in all forms of mining enterprise and heartily favor any legislation that will contribute to supporting and assisting mineral development. This bill provides that the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to establish and maintain 10 mining experiment stations and 15 mine safety stations in the mining regions of the United States and the Territory of Alaska. These stations are to be under the control of the Bureau of Mines. Not only will these stations be able to make investigations that will safeguard the lives and health of miners, but they will also make investigations concerning the most improved and satisfactory conditions of mining and relate them to the problems that are more or less local to every mineral-producing area. Although great advance has been made in all lines of ore treatment, there is still much to be done in this direction. There are vast bodies of refractory ores for which the most economical treatment process has not yet been found. These stations, located directly within the mining territory, will be able to deal with a problem of this character at first hand, and they will also have the benefit of the practical experience of men who have devoted their lives to the mining industry.

While we are placing great emphasis in these days upon the work of the agricultural bureaus, we should not forget the valuable service which is being performed by the Bureau of Mines. If we can increase our mineral production and thereby furnish a still greater supply of the world's precious metal, and also the cheaper metals which are so necessary in all lines of manufacture, we will do much to contribute to the wealth and prosperity of the country and will furnish to our farmers and producers an ever widening market. Congress should be most liberal in its appropriations for the support of the Mining Bureau and should consider sympathetically legislation that is designed to enlarge its activities.

Facts Which the Newspapers Have Held Back from the Public.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. W. LAFFERTY,

OF OREGON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 20, 1915.

Mr. LAFFERTY. Mr. Speaker, the articles herewith inserted in the RECORD will be printed in pamphlet form at my expense and sent out to my constituents. In no other way can I get the information therein contained before the people. The newspapers refused to print, even as paid advertisements, the more important facts herein set out.

And let me repeat what I have said many times before, the Government does not print, at public expense, any extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The cost of printing all such extracts must be paid for by the Member ordering the same.

All of the articles here reproduced were written by myself and they were printed by me shortly after the election in a sort of handbill, which, for the lack of a better name, I called the "Saturday American." I think anyone who will do me the justice to read these articles will better understand the fight I have had to make the past four years.

In all future campaigns I shall, as a matter of course, have the opposition of Portland's daily newspapers. Any voter who will read this pamphlet will understand why. It would be as reasonable to expect a camel to go through the eye of a needle as to contemplate for a moment that any daily newspaper owned by the money power will give favorable comment to the candidacy of a man who is loyal to the public welfare.

Such papers will favor a new and untried man, even though he may profess conscientiously to be a friend of the common people, especially if by supporting such untried man one who is tried, true, and efficient may be defeated. They realize that by the time the new man develops into an effective instrument in the hands of the public, if by that time he has not been made to see the "light," he can also be defeated on some pretext or other and another new man put in his place. By that process the money power has for generations been making a plaything of Congress and of the American electorate.

It has actually come to be a habit with voters to regard as out of the running or "unavailable" any man who has no newspaper support. The truth is that the man without newspaper support is the only one who can at this day even be expected to be true to the public welfare. The newspapers are purchasable, and they have been purchased by the money power. They were valuable to the money power only because of their ability to betray the voters and to crucify honest public servants.

I realize that as the result of a century-old national habit we like to see the names of our public officials favorably mentioned in "the press." But that is the one thing that we have got to forego for the present and for some years to come. It is simply out of the question. The public interests and the interests of the money power which is robbing the public are in sharp and direct conflict. Therefore, it is impossible for us to have a public official who is fighting faithfully and effectively for the general public welfare, and who at the same time is giving such satisfaction to the special-privileged corporations as to justify them in having their newspapers give him favorable comment, or support him for continuance in office. It would be just as reasonable to expect water to run uphill, or to look for the sun to rise in the west and set in the east. Yet, many of us are willing to sacrifice our public men when they lose "newspaper support." How sensible we are! Is it not time for us to use the thinking powers that God has given us, and to quit depending absolutely upon the advice of millionaire-owned newspapers for our political action?

Of course, the newspaper fight on an ordinary public official who proves to be faithful to the people need not become personal or bitter. The newspapers find it quite easy to kill off such officials by quietly ignoring them or gently shifting "sentiment" to some other man, and thereby getting rid of the official who is failing to line up properly with the interests. But in my case, I am going to try to prove to you that they did not find any ordinary official. When they attempted to ruin me I fought, and I fought like a tiger. I am still fighting, and I am going to fight so long as I have a drop of blood left. I denounced the sneaking curs who were running the Portland newspapers, and I denounced them personally. I denounce them now. They are dirty liars and dirty cowards, and they will not dare come out into the open and let the people of Portland see them face to face with me or with any of the other square public men whom they have attacked. They know that their hang-dog countenances would betray them once they came out of their backroom retreats. They are hirelings of the money power, and no man will sell himself for any purpose unless he is inherently a crook, a sneak, and a coward.

I am a Republican. I have never at any time registered anywhere as anything else. In 1912 the Portland papers habitually referred to me as the "Bull Moose" candidate for Congress. I was the regular Republican candidate, having received the nomination over one of the ablest men in Oregon, Judge Gantenbein, and had merely been given a later "indorsement" by a handful of Progressives, and without any intimation to me that they were going to do so. But the Oregonian and Journal, with intention to deceive, thereafter persistently referred to me as the "Bull Moose" candidate, and credited Thomas McCusker, independent, with being the regular Republican candidate. The Oregonian, C. N. McArthur, C. B. Moores, and the entire gang of old machine politicians supported McCusker against me in 1912.

It is true that in 1912 I scratched the Republican ticket to the extent of voting for Roosevelt and Johnson for President and Vice President, but I did so because I regarded the Chicago convention as a gross fraud on the Republican electorate, and in so voting I acted in harmony with a great majority of the Republican Party throughout the Union. In 1914 I ran as an independent candidate for Congress, after having been defeated by C. N. McArthur in the primaries, because I had a perfect right under the law to so run, and for the further reason that I believed then, as I believe now, that I was defeated in the primaries by the infamous lies of the newspapers and by their absolute refusal to tell the voters the truth about anything I was doing in their behalf. Moreover, as stated, the Oregonian, McArthur, Moores, and the entire old machine gang refused to support me in 1912, when I had the regular Republican nomination, but supported Thomas McCusker, independent; so they certainly were in no position to complain as to my course in 1914.

As stated, I am a Republican and have always been. My father and three of his brothers fought in the Union Army during the war. I believe in the Republican Party of Lincoln. But I am an American citizen first, and if at any time it appears to me that any other party offers a better opportunity to procure for the American public the justice to which it is entitled I shall not hesitate to aid that party in bringing about that result, even to the extent of joining its ranks if necessary.

Above everything else, I desire to warn the voters against the cupidity of the newspapers in all future campaigns in which I shall participate. The papers will tell all manner of lies. They

will put out all manner of false rumors calculated to disorganize opposition to their machine program and their machine candidates. They will say, "LAFFERTY is uncertain whether he will run," "LAFFERTY may withdraw," "LAFFERTY this" and "LAFFERTY that." They will say, "Poll shows Mr. Blank (machine candidate), 100; LAFFERTY, 3." The papers are absolutely unscrupulous, and have no more compunctions in telling you lies to disorganize your efforts than their editors have in eating a meal's victuals. It is a second nature to them. They figure that they can reach you every day, and that long after any opportunity for the candidate to reach you has passed—that is to say, the few weeks preceding the election—they can pour the lies into you and so mold your sentiment as to defeat your efforts altogether. That has been done time and time again. During that period they will misrepresent what the candidate is saying at his meetings, putting in his mouth the very opposite of what he said; and they will completely misrepresent the character of any public meeting held. The candidate, at best, can only meet face to face 2,000 or 3,000 people during this period, while the newspapers reach the entire population of a district each day, which, in the case of Multnomah County, means close to 300,000 people. Therefore, you will see the absolute necessity of disregarding altogether the newspaper lies and of urging your friends and neighbors to do the same.

And do not forget that all four of the Portland newspapers are owned by millionaires. Mr. Pittock, owner of the Oregonian, born in England, is worth at least $2,000,000; C. S. Jackson, owner of the Journal, born in Virginia, is worth close to $1,000,000; Wheeler Bros., owners of the Evening Telegram, wealthy timbermen, lately from Pennsylvania, are in the millionaire class; Mr. Scripps, owner of the Portland News, is worth several millions. Scripps does not even live in Oregon. He owns some 67 other papers in addition to the Portland News.

Besides these millions which I shall have to fight, and without $50 in my pocket at that, I shall have the united opposition of the Portland Railway, Light & Power Co., the Portland Gas & Coke Co., the Pacific Power & Light Co., the Pacific States Telephone Co., the Southern Pacific Railroad Co., and every other railroad company entering Portland, and every bank in Portland.

While I had a little money and a little property when I was elected to Congress, I have neither now and am in debt, and this notwithstanding the fact that I have been economical. My money has gone for Government printing, for paid advertisements in the Portland newspapers and for office rent and clerical help.

I mention these facts to show each voter that whatever help I may have in the coming campaigns will be that of volunteer workers. I expect several in each precinct to so volunteer to work in my behalf. And this must be done, if at all, without any further request on my part than this statement.

It will be worth millions in the aggregate to the street car company, the Southern Pacific Co., and the other interests named by me to retain control of the Government, locally and nationally. They know that if the public once gets control laws will be passed and enforced that will boil out special privilege and give the average citizen a chance. The fight, as I say, means millions to them. They will fight. It means a couple of hundred dollars a year at least to each family to have common honesty in public affairs. Will you fight? That is the question. I believe you will.

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"EDGAR BUNCOMBE" PIPER AND "CONFIDENCE SLIPPERY" JACKSON—TWIN NEWSPAPER BOSSES NOW ON THE JOB—"PORTLAND NUISANCE" BUT TAIL TO OREGONIAN KITE, WHILE EVENING TELEGRAM REMAINS PASSIVE.

[By A. W. LAFFERTY, in the Saturday American, Nov. 21, 1914.]

Never in the days of the "convention boss" was the State of Oregon more completely under "boss rule" than it is right now.

The power to name candidates has merely been transferred from the anteroom of the old conventions to the editorial rooms of the corporation-owned newspapers.

The power to name candidates means the power to make and administer the laws, for the candidates so named do make and administer the laws.

"Corporation ridden" is the only phrase that will describe the plight of the people of Oregon, and the corporation owned and controlled newspapers are responsible for it.

For hire, direct or indirect, these newspapers have kept the people of Oregon in ignorance of what was going on, while plunderers have stolen our lands, obtained franchises grossly unfair to the public, and saddled upon those who toil the burden of paying interest and dividends indefinitely upon millions of dollars of watered public-utility bonds and stocks.

Not only did these newspapers knowingly permit the plunderers to rob this generation, but they permitted them to rob this generation's children of a large portion of that which should be the sacred heritage of every innocent babe which shall first see the light of day in this great State.

C. S. Jackson, whose initials stand for what his name ought to be—"Confidence Slippery"—came to Portland from Pendleton over a decade ago, and he is said to have amassed a fortune of a million dollars.

POOR MEN STARTED JACKSON.

"Confidence Slippery" Jackson has posed as a friend of the "poor man." Many poor men, still struggling for bread and butter, remember well the days they donated to soliciting subscribers for Jackson's paper, in order to give it a foothold in Portland a little over 10 years ago.

Jackson has not earned his million. He has not done an honest day's work since he has been here. He is a big, crooked-nosed bluffer, and the pure air and sagebrush plains of eastern Oregon were immensely benefited by his migration to Portland. But God help Portland. The sooner Portland gets rid of "Confidence Slippery" Jackson and all of his kind the sooner the city will come into its own. Jackson and his narrow, mentally constipated, hidebound, stand-pat, managing editor—George Trowbridge—are now engaged in running "prosperity" cartoons. But the only prosperity visible in the vicinity of the Journal office is that which is streaming into Jackson's cash till. Let every man who loves his city, his State, and his Nation see to it that not another penny of his money goes into that till.

The people of Portland are compelled to donate to Jackson $60,491.69 a year as a mail subsidy, a donation which we make when we buy 2-cent stamps. But there is no earthly excuse why we should voluntarily donate anything else to him. We are compelled by existing law to make Jackson a present of the $60,491.69 a year, but there would be no excuse if we should increase the donation by patronizing his paper. And this same "Confidence Slippery" Jackson, the friend of the "poor man," the one who recently said with pious impudence that he gives a "fair hearing to all," actually refused to print as a paid advertisement the article reproduced herewith, showing how he receives $60,491.69 a year from the pockets of the people of Portland without giving anything whatever in return therefor.

"Edgar Buncombe" Piper, of the Oregonian, refused to print, as a paid advertisement, the same article. Read it and see if there is anything in it that would have justified any honest man running an honest newspaper in refusing to accept it as a paid advertisement. If your answer be in the negative, then you must conclude that both papers are essentially dishonest and unworthy of another penny of your support. Would you be worthy to call yourself a man if you continued to give your money to one whom you knew to have deliberately defrauded you by suppressing facts material for the voters to know?

OTHER ADVERTISEMENTS REFUSED.

"Edgar Buncombe" Piper refused many other advertisements during the last campaign.

The most important of these was an article offered to the Oregonian with the cash as a paid advertisement on August 16, 1914, and which after being set up in type was refused at the dictation of Piper. That article showed up the public record of C. N. McArthur, whom the Oregonian was supporting for Congress. It showed that when McArthur was in the State legislature in 1909 he openly advocated on the floor the passage of the Brooke-Bean bill, which, if it had passed, would have made it a criminal offense for any candidate for the legislature to sign statement No. 1. The object of the bill was to prevent direct election of United States Senators under the Oregon plan, but to remit their election to the money power through a corrupted legislature, as was done throughout the Union prior to the invention of statement No. 1 in Oregon, and the subsequent constitutional amendment making direct election of Senators Nation-wide. The article refused by the Oregonian as a paid advertisement on August 16, 1914, further showed that McArthur, in 1910, was one of the prime movers in the holding of the notorious "assembly" in Portland, whereby it was sought to nullify the direct primary indirectly, and set a precedent for the naming of all candidates for office by the old party machine in advance of the primary and in spite of the direct primary law. McArthur was the nominee of that "assembly" for State senator, but was defeated at the lawful primary by George W. Joseph.

These certainly were legitimate facts for the voters to know, and for Mr. McArthur, as a candidate for the important office of Representative in Congress, to answer or explain to the

electorate. But he was not called upon to answer because of the power of the Oregonian.

The article refused by the Oregonian as a paid advertisement on August 16, 1914, further showed by reference to the official corporation records at Salem that Mr. McArthur in 1912 actually acted as president of a dummy corporation known as the Hood River Gas & Electric Co., organized by the Pacific Power & Light Co., of Portland, for the purpose of freezing out an independent competing company at Hood River. That part of the article refused by the Oregonian, which shows Mr. McArthur's connection with the Hood River Gas & Electric Co., is as follows:

Between the years 1910 and 1912 Mr. McArthur was out of office, and whom did he serve in private life? He served as president of the Hood River Gas & Electric Co., organized by the Pacific Power & Light Co., of Portland, for the purpose of freezing out an independent at Hood River.

The Pacific Power & Light Co., of Portland, is a large holding corporation. Guy W. Talbot is its president and Lewis A. McArthur, brother of C. N. McArthur, is its assistant general manager. The Pacific Power & Light Co. is a $16,000,000 corporation, organized under the laws of the State of Maine. It, in turn, is owned by the American Power & Light Co., also organized under the laws of the State of Maine.

Although only a subsidiary of the American Power & Light Co., the Pacific Power & Light Co. owns the electric light companies at The Dalles, Pendleton, Dayton, Wash., Pasco, and Vancouver, and it is rapidly acquiring other holdings. It also owns water works and gas plants in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho. It owns the street railway at Walla Walla, and the interurban line from that place to Freewater, Oreg.

MANY FRANCHISES GRABBED.

This corporation has acquired franchises at Richland, Toppenish, Waitsburg, Lewiston, Touchet, Prosser, Underwood, Dufur, Attalia, Benton City, Clarkson, Grandview, Lowden, Moxee City, Outlook, Parker, Prescott, Wallula Junction, and numerous other towns and cities in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho. The New York advertisements of the Pacific Power & Light Co. boastingly assert that all of its franchises are "free from objectionable restrictions" and that some of them extend as far into the future as 1981. How encouraging to the public! The gross earnings of this company for 1913 were $1,288,059. Its expenses and taxes were only $663,674, leaving its net earnings $624,385. In other words, nearly 50 per cent of its income was clear profit, to be distributed as "interest and dividends" among its bondholders and shareholders. This company was organized January 10, 1910, and has since been very active in acquiring its holdings. The American Power & Light Co., which owns the Pacific Power & Light Co., also owns the Portland Gas & Coke Co.

M'ARTHUR AT HOOD RIVER.

In 1911 the Pacific Power & Light Co. bought the electric light company at Hood River. A citizen up there—Neil C. Evans, now residing at 315 East Thirtieth Street, Portland—organized an independent company and began cutting rates. The original company did not wish to bring its rates down, because in order to make things look right it would have to do the same in other towns in Oregon where it did not have competition.

But the Pacific Power & Light Co. hit upon the scheme of organizing the "Hood River Gas & Electric Co." as a dummy with which to fight the independent, and it put in C. N. McArthur as president of this dummy company. That McArthur served as its president as late as 1912 is proved by the annual report of the corporation on file at Salem. The independent company made terms with the subsidiary company and the Pacific Power & Light Co. now controls the situation at Hood River.

The Oregonian refused to let you know the facts just quoted during the last campaign. They are now set out here. These facts are either true or untrue. If untrue, let Mr. McArthur show that I have misrepresented him and I will leave the State of Oregon, never to return. He will have every opportunity to do so after March 4. If he fails, but confesses these charges by his silence, then I ask the electorate of the third Oregon congressional district to rebuke the oppression by which I was prevented from presenting the case of the public against greedy special privilege in the last campaign.

Any man wishing to run for constable, or for any other office, must now first go to one of the newspaper political bosses and "arrange for publicity" during the campaign. In that way these new bosses control elections. And the money power controls the newspapers by giving them graft in the form of mail subsidies. It also gives them graft in the form of news monopolies. It affords them other means of acquiring a million in 10 years without doing one honest day's work to earn it.

These same newspaper political bosses lied to the people and said that I had not "attended to my duties."

The Oregonian printed the first editorial along that line August 22 last, and that editorial was written by William D. Fenton, attorney for the Southern Pacific Railroad Co. Yet, the editorial was printed as an ordinary Oregonian editorial. That was a great fraud on the readers of the Oregonian and the electorate of Oregon. The idea of a newspaper permitting a railroad attorney to write its editorials, attacking a candidate for reelection to Congress, when that Congressman was fighting tooth and nail to make that very railroad company live up to the law. Yet, that is exactly the fraud that was perpetrated on the people of this district by "Edgar Buncombe" Piper in the campaign just closed.

Mr. Piper refused the following day, August 23, to print as a paid advertisement my answer to the editorial, in which I charged that it was written by Fenton, and challenged Fenton to deny it. Later I printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the article which the Oregonian refused, charging that the editorial was written by Fenton, and neither Fenton nor the Oregonian has denied the charge to this date.

(3.)

DID YOU SEE THIS BEFORE THE ELECTION?—IF YOU HAD SEEN IT, WOULD NOT YOUR VOTE HAVE BEEN A REBUKE TO BRUTAL AND COWARDLY OPPRESSION?

[By A. W. LAFFERTY, in the Saturday American, Nov. 14, 1914.]

Below is reproduced, word for word, an advertisement headed "C. S. Jackson's froth," which I succeeded in getting printed Monday before the election in the Evening Telegram, but which both the Journal and the Oregonian refused to print as a paid advertisement. The article merely recites figures, which, if untrue, the Journal and the Oregonian could have exposed. They had all the balance of their papers as free space in which to do it. They were devoting columns to lying about me and belittling me.

The only possible excuse these bulldozing newspapers could have had for arbitrarily refusing to print this advertisement was that they did not want you to know the facts here set out. If you had known that in time, would you have supported them by voting for their candidates for Congress, McArthur and Flegel? Moreover, the Oregonian refused to print many other advertisements of even more importance to the public offered by me with the cash during the campaign. Read carefully the following. It will be worth your time:

C. S. JACKSON'S FROTH.

C. S. Jackson, the man who has been made a millionaire by the poor people of Portland, refused last Thursday [Oct. 29, 1914] to print as a paid advertisement the following facts from the Postmaster General. And because the Evening Telegram accepted the advertisement on Friday, with a statement that the Journal had refused to print it, Jackson was made insanely angry, and yesterday, in a signed two-column editorial in the Journal he ranted and he frothed, he puffed and he blowed, and he said "LAFFERTY is a liar," but he did not answer or refute a single fact charged in the following article. I invite intelligent people to read it and to decide for themselves who is the liar, C. S. Jackson or myself. After you have read it you will not have to ask, "Where did you get it, Mr. Jackson?" You will know where he got his million. You will know that you and the other citizens of Oregon have largely donated it to him as a mail subsidy, at the rate of $60,000 a year, and that he was so anxious to keep you in ignorance of the facts that he refused to give you this information even as a paid advertisement. Is either C. S. Jackson or the Oregonian a safe guide to direct honest public opinion? When their pocketbooks are touched, when their own system of milking the public is about to be exposed, they show the cloven hoof.—A. W. LAFFERTY.

SERVES NOTICE ON EMPLOYEES.

Since the foregoing was put in type I have learned that Jackson in his desperation has had his two-column editorial of yesterday printed in leaflet form and handed a copy to each Journal employee, and has added thereto a statement which in effect orders all his employees to vote and work against me or quit their jobs. Jackson's statement to his employees follows:

"The above article speaks for itself, tells its own story. The Journal has been defamed and falsely accused by LAFFERTY. I wish you to read at your leisure the facts in the matter, so far as LAFFERTY'S mistakes and misrepresentations are at variance with the truth, and at the ballot box Tuesday register your verdict for or against the Journal, as your conscience and loyalty toward this paper may dictate. You are in a position to know whether or not what I say regarding this matter is true. If you are not fully posted and still feel uncertain, you can easily acquire the facts. In any event if the Journal can not have your support in this connection and the support of those you can influence, then your contempt for the Journal is enough to justify your indignation, for no honest man should labor in an environment contrary to his principles and destructive of his rights.

"Sincerely, C. S. JACKSON."

The foregoing is simply a poorly glossed-over order to all Journal employees to vote against me, and have their wives and dependents do so, or lose their jobs. Yet Jackson poses as a great foe to the "political boss" and preaches the doctrine that each voter is "an independent sovereign," having the right to vote without dictation, undue influence, or coercion. That is true except when Jackson's pocketbook is touched. Then old-fashioned boss politics are justifiable.

A. W. LAFFERTY.

The Oregonian refused to print this article as a paid advertisement in to-day's issue (Nov. 2, 1914, the day before election), although the cash was tendered in advance. The Oregonian is fighting as frantically as is the Journal to keep me from getting these facts to the public. After election I shall have this article printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and send it to each voter in this district, whether I am defeated or elected; but I believe I am going to be elected.

A. W. LAFFERTY.

ARTICLE WHICH BOTH THE JOURNAL AND THE OREGONIAN REFUSED TO PRINT AS A PAID ADVERTISEMENT.

Every time you buy a 2-cent stamp you give 1 cent to the Journal, the Oregonian, the Saturday Evening Post, and their allied papers.

Yet the Journal complains bitterly because I have used your frank, not mine, to notify you of these facts. The congressional frank belongs to the people of the district and is intended to be used for their enlightenment as to what is going on.

THE OFFICIAL RECORDS.

Here is the proof that every time you purchase a 2-cent stamp you donate 1 cent to the newspapers and magazines.

In a letter to me dated September 24, 1914, the Postmaster General says:

"I invite your attention to the inclosed copy of a report of the Commission on Second Class Mail Matter, submitted February 2, 1912, from pages 130 to 138 of which it will be seen that this commission found the cost of handling, transporting, and delivering second-class matter to be approximately 6 cents a pound, exclusive of certain unapportioned expenditures. These unassignable expenditures amounted to approximately 2 cents a pound."

Therefore, according to the Postal Department the total cost of transporting and handling newspapers and magazines is 8 cents a pound.

In a further letter to me, dated September 29, 1914, the Postmaster General says:

"I have to invite your attention to the following table, showing, with respect to the publication mentioned by you, the weight of the mailings at the 1-cent-a-pound rate of postage during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1914:

"Morning Oregonian, Portland, Oreg., 956,433 pounds.
"Oregon Journal, Portland, Oreg., 864,167 pounds.
"Evening Telegram, Portland, Oreg., 759,099 pounds.
"Saturday Evening Post, 37,013,634 pounds."

JOURNAL SUBSIDY OVER $60,000 PER YEAR.

Inasmuch as the Journal sends 864,167 pounds yearly through the mails at 1 cent a pound—which is almost as good as a frank—and as it costs us 8 cents a pound to handle, transport, and deliver those papers, it will be seen that the net donation which we make to the Journal yearly is $60,491.69, or a large fortune for any ordinary family. The amount we donate to the Journal each year, as proved by the Postmaster General's letters here quoted, is nearly twice as much as we pay in salaries yearly to both of our United States Senators and all three of our Congressmen from Oregon. The subsidy of the Saturday Evening Post yearly is greater than the annual appropriation made by Congress for river and harbor improvements in the whole State of Oregon.

FAKE "EXPRESS" COMPANY ARGUMENT.

These newspapers, pensioners on the backs of the people, brazenly and falsely assert that the express companies carry their papers just as cheap, and they would have us believe they are really favoring the Post Office Department by giving a part of their business to Uncle Sam. What they say is not so, and they know it is not so. Imagine an express company carrying 12 newspapers to 12 different post offices for 1 cent! But that is exactly what the Government will do and does do if the 12 papers should weigh in the aggregate only 1 pound. But suppose the papers were heavy and ran 4 to the pound. Imagine an express company hauling 4 quarter-pound packages to 4 addresses for 1 cent! The big newspapers patronize the express companies only when they have large bales of papers going to a single agent in a near-by town and thereby cheat the Government out of the only business they have upon which the Government could make a profit.

SPEECHES SENT INEXPENSIVE TO GOVERNMENT.

All the speeches I have sent out would not weigh over 6 tons, and the postage thereon, if paid at $20 per ton, the rate charged the Journal and the Oregonian, would only have amounted to $120 for my four years in Congress. I would rather have paid that amount and had my speeches go by fast mail, which is the service given the Oregonian and the Journal. Congressional speeches are handled as deadhead matter, and everything else has the right of way.

I favor making second-class mail matter pay actual cost. Nothing short of that is common honesty. Why should one man be taxed to enrich the pockets of another man? Yet half our letter postage to-day is a Government tax on us to put money into the pockets of the rich newspaper owners. I am against graft and greed in every form.

A. W. LAFFERTY,
733–736 Pittock Block.

(4)

GOVERNMENT AND MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP OF NATURAL MONOPOLIES INEVITABLE—CLEVELAND'S 2½-CENT STREET CAR FARES—MAYOR ROLPH SENDS GOOD WISHES, AND REPORTS TREMENDOUS SUCCESS OF MUNICIPALLY OWNED AND OPERATED GEARY STREET LINE IN SAN FRANCISCO.

[By A. W. LAFFERTY, in the Saturday American, Nov. 14, 1914.]

Outrages always precede great reforms. The American people are honest and moderate. They believe in their institutions and in the existing order of things. It requires a great deal to stir them up. But when once aroused, they do not stop till they get justice.

Intrenched special privilege is determined not to meet the public halfway. It is committed irrevocably to a course which means that it will fight to the last ditch the passage of any laws for the public welfare, and that when any laws of a halfway character once are put on the statute books, they will wear them out in the courts and evade them in every possible manner.

When first elected to Congress, four years ago, the writer of this article knew that things were not exactly right in this country, but he had no idea that they are as bad as they are.

The solemn and momentous truth is that a group of 200,000 men own 70 per cent of the wealth of the United States, leaving but 30 per cent for the remaining 99,800,000 people. The group owning nearly all the wealth is headed by the Rothschilds, the Rockefellers, and the Morgans, and constitute what is known as the "money power." They own all public utilities. They own all street railways. They own all steam railroads. They own the telephones, the telegraphs, and the express companies. They own the big banks of Wall Street, of London, and of Paris. Through exorbitant public-utility profits and real estate interest, the money power is now collecting practically all our earnings, and the result is that the American people are working for their board and clothes. It makes no difference whether you be a doctor, a lawyer, a dentist, skilled tradesman, a clerk, or a day laborer, all you are getting under present conditions is a bare living.

The remedy is not confiscation. Oh, no. That is only what the high-brow servants of the money power in derision claim all honest legislators favor. But the remedy is for the Government and the municipalities to buy from the money power all public utilities at their actual present value, and then the tremendous wealth to be produced hereafter will go to the public instead of going to the money power. Under the Constitution the public has the right to make this purchase. The public is given the right at any time to take private property for a public use "upon making due compensation," which means to pay what the property is worth as property, and not what it is worth as a speculation. Public ownership would not take from the money power the millions it has already made through charging the public exorbitant profits, but it would stop the flow of wealth to the money power hereafter and turn it toward the general public welfare. It would reduce the cost of living, and leave in the hands of the people a large portion of their earnings which are now going in unearned profits to the money power. An additional remedy would be to pass a genuine rural-credit law providing for direct loans of gold Treasury notes to the farmers on first mortgage, which would reduce the price of bread and meat and save to the public hundreds of millions now going to the money power as unearned agricultural interest for the loan of "credit" to the farmers.

Here are a few illustrations of how the public is being robbed by exorbitant public-utility profits:

The Portland Railway, Light & Power Co. is a fair example. Its gross earnings for 1913 were $6,723,742, its total operating expenses and taxes were $3,298,310, and its net earnings, all of which were sent East, amounted to $3,425,432. These figures are taken from Moody's Manual, 1914 edition, the official guide of Wall Street. Yet the Portland Railway, Light & Power Co., through the newspapers, would have the people of Portland believe that the company is barely making a living. Its net earnings for the past seven years have steadily increased each year, while Portland residents have grown poorer each year. Its own figures, set out in Moody's Manual, show its net income for the past seven years as follows: 1907, $1,632,375; 1908, $2,059,017; 1909, $2,399,112; 1910, $2,914,518; 1911, $3,266,806; 1912, $3,313,397; and 1913, $3,425,432. This company is capitalized for over $200,000 a mile, and is paying interest and dividends on that capitalization, while its actual physical valuation is not more than half that amount, as the proof here given will show.

The citizens of Cleveland, Ohio, now have 2½-cent street car fares, and that is proof No. 1. A fight was made there by Tom Johnson for public ownership. The company offered to compromise by submitting its physical valuation to arbitration before Federal Judge Taylor and permitting the city to fix the fares thereafter at such an amount as would pay 6 per cent profit to the company on its actual physical valuation. The result was that the fares were immediately reduced to 3 cents, and the company is now required to sell two tickets for 5 cents. The Cleveland Railway Co. was no different from the local company, and is owned by the same money power.

San Francisco furnishes proof No. 2. Two years ago, under the leadership of Mayor James Rolph, jr., our sister city on the south built the great Geary Street line. It is the finest street railroad and the best equipped of any on the Pacific coast, and it cost to build and equip it just over $100,000 a mile, while, as stated, the local company in Portland, which is not so well built or equipped, is capitalized for over $200,000 a mile. The Geary Street line is owned and operated in every detail by the city of San Francisco. During the past year the gross income of the Geary Street line exceed its operating expenses over 50 per cent. Its tremendous success has caused the United Railways of San Francisco to make overtures to sell out its entire system to the city.

Recently I wrote to Mayor Rolph and inquired as to the success of the Geary Street line. His reply, prepared by Mr. Edward Rainey, secretary to the mayor, at the mayor's direction, in part follows:

"The mayor has asked me to reply to your letter of September 16, which he was very glad to get. He asked me to extend to you his best wishes and to say that this office will be glad to furnish any further information you may desire from time to time relative to street railway ownership in San Francisco. * * *

"Before the present administration, Mayor James Rolph, jr., took office in January, 1912, some feeble attempts had been made toward a street railway in Geary Street. The mayor at once took up this matter energetically, and the Geary Street road was opened throughout a part of its length at the end of 1912. The construction was of the finest; the cost of construction, including cars, car barns, necessary real estate, tracks, etc., was just over $100,000 a mile, while the local privately owned company operating most of the street car lines was capitalized for something over $300,000 a mile.

"The success of the Geary Street road was immediate. * * *

"Let me add that all of the employees, with the exception of superintendent, assistant superintendent, and claim agents, are under civil-service rules and are selected after rigid examination and not subject to control for any political purpose."

More than $200 in unearned profits are now collected from each American family per year by the money power through street railways, steam railroads, unearned interest on duplicated deposits, etc. The average income of the American family, according to census reports, is only $625, so that the payment to the money power of unearned profits of $200 out of that meager income each year represents the difference between prosperity and hard times. It represents the difference between making a competence in the 30 years of one's active life and being a slave. It represents the difference between living with independent dignity, educating your children, and dying in peace, and the present struggle for existence under crushing conditions of poverty.

I wonder if my fellow citizens will believe me or will they still be deceived. I wonder if the people will not wake up to a realization of the fact that in a country like this, with bountiful crops and as much property present as ever, hard times are unnatural, and due only to the fact that all our earnings are going into the hands of a few. My heart was never stronger than to-day, and I have absolute confidence that I shall win in the end.

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(5)

POSTAL SAVINGS BANK FAKE—LAW WAS FRAMED TO HELP BANKERS AND DOES NOT REDUCE COST OF LIVING.

[By A. W. LAFFERTY, in the Saturday American, Nov. 21, 1914.]

The establishment of the postal savings bank was opposed by the money power, just as that power opposes every step toward the exercise of the functions of this Government for the benefit of the people who constitute the Government. The proposal to establish a postal savings bank was called "paternalistic." It was denounced as socialistic and as being a step which trenched upon the sacred right of the banks to collect all banking profits from those who toil.

But finally a happy compromise was agreed upon which suited the money power to a dot. It was figured out that the public would be satisfied with the empty name, "postal savings bank," and that such restrictions should be thrown around its operation that, instead of being in any sense a competitor with private banks, it would really be a new source of augmenting their deposits.

It was urged by the servants of the money power that the postal savings banks should be limited to deposits of $500 from any one person and that not more than $100 should be deposited in any one month, and it was written that way. The money power also said that the depositors in the postal savings bank should only be paid 2 per cent interest, to be forfeited if the money was not left a full year, and it was so written. The money power said the Government should then redeposit the money in the private banks for 2½ per cent interest and permit the private banks to loan the same money out at 8 or 10 per cent, and it was so provided in the statute.

Then the money power said: "We are better off than before, for we will now get all the money that a certain class, who distrust the banks, have heretofore buried in tin cans and otherwise secreted about their premises." The money power predicted right, for millions came out of hiding and was deposited in the postal savings banks, because the people were willing to trust the Government, and this money was then redeposited immediately in the private banks by Uncle Sam.

Why does not Congress enlarge the powers of the postal savings banks, permit them to accept all the money the people desire to deposit in them, pay 3 per cent therefor, and then loan this money out on farm lands and other good security at 4 per cent, thereby reducing the cost of living to the people?

The answer is that the money power controls elections. Such a law will be passed whenever the people secure a majority in the Senate and House of Representatives who are honest and who are unafraid. We must have 218 Members of the House, as the total membership is 435, and we must have 49 Senators, as the total membership of that body is now 96. That happy day will come in 1916, or in 1918 at the latest, in the optimistic opinion of the writer of this article.

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(6)

SUPREME COURT GETS LAND-GRANT CASE—SOUTHERN PACIFIC AT LAST BEFORE FINAL COURT—DECISION TO FOLLOW SOON.

[By A. W. LAFFERTY, in the Saturday American, Nov. 28, 1914.]

The most important case to the State of Oregon now pending in any of the courts is that of John L. Snyder et al. against Oregon & California Railroad Co. et. al., which is pending, at last, in the Supreme Court of the United States and which will be argued and finally decided soon.

This litigation was started on the second floor of the Portland post office, in Judge Wolverton's court, when John L. Snyder, an actual settler on a quarter section of the land in Columbia County, instituted suit, on September 16, 1907, to compel the company to give him a deed. The writer was and is his attorney. The following six months I filed suit for 64 other actual settlers. One year later, September 4, 1908, the United States Government intervened and filed a complaint asking that all of the lands involved in the whole grant, which had not been sold, be forfeited to the Government, on the ground that the company had violated the terms of the grant in refusing to sell to settlers, and in selling to others than settlers, and in selling in quantities larger than 160 acres and for prices exceeding $2.50 per acre.

On July 1, 1913, Judge Wolverton sustained every point claimed by the Government and entered a decree forfeiting 2,300,000 acres to the United States. Judge Wolverton denied the claims of Snyder and the 64 other actual settlers and forfeited their claims also to the Government. From Judge Wolverton's decision Snyder and the other settlers appealed and the railroad company appealed, of course, as it always does. June 1, 1914, the circuit court of appeals at San Francisco ordered the case certified to the Supreme Court of the United States, without itself rendering a decision, thereby saving several years' time.

The case has now reached the highest court in the land and has been docketed. It will be argued by all sides in the very near future, and a final decree entered soon thereafter.

The Supreme Court may render any one of three decisions, namely:

First. The court may affirm Judge Wolverton's decision declaring a forfeiture, and in that case the lands will simply become the property of the United States, and will not be subject to any form of settlement or claim unless Congress shall see fit to pass a law so providing. Congress ought to pass such a law in case of forfeiture to the United States, and the lands should be sold to settlers under a drawing system, and in tracts of 40 acres. In lots of that size the 2,300,000 acres would make 60,000 homes. In lots of 160 acres the lands involved would make 15,000 homes.

Second. The court may decide in favor of the railroad and let the company keep the land. I do not look for such a decision, however, as the law is too plain.

Third. The court may hold that the United States is not entitled to an outright forfeiture, and that neither is the railroad

entitled to hold the land, but that the original law making the grant must be enforced to the letter. This is the decision that I am fighting for. It is the decision that would result in benefit to Oregon. In case the Supreme Court reaches this conclusion it will doubtless direct the lower court to appoint receivers to take charge of the land and sell it out to actual settlers according to the law making the grant. This law simply provides that "the lands hereby granted shall be sold by said railroad company to actual settlers only, in quantities not exceeding 160 acres to any one settler, and for prices not greater than $2.50 per acre." That is all the law there is on the subject, and a plainer law was never written.

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(7)

STATE OWNED AND OPERATED FORESTS—CONVEYANCE IN TRUST FOR FORESTRY PURPOSES WOULD SAVE OREGON $12,000,000 A YEAR.

[By A. W. LAFFERTY, in the Saturday American, Nov. 14, 1914.]

A letter just received from the Oregon State Tax Commission says our total taxes in Oregon last year amounted to $18,000,000 and that this year they will amount to $23,100,000.

As Oregon has but 800,000 population, it will be seen that our taxes have reached the enormous total of practically $30 per head of our population, or $150 per family.

You may not pay the $150 in taxes when you go to the courthouse to get your tax receipt, but such firms as Meier & Frank, Olds, Wortman & King, Lipman, Wolfe & Co., and the other merchants with stocks of merchandise mounting into the millions, pay your taxes for you, and you pay them when you buy the merchandise. At the end of the year each citizen has paid his pro rata share of the taxes of the State, either directly or indirectly.

No wonder the people of Oregon are hard up. If they were not energetic, and made of the very best quality, they would be complaining more than they are. No higher spirited men and women are to be found anywhere than in Oregon.

The principal remedy for the high taxes in Oregon would be to secure the passage of a law by Congress providing for the conveyance of the forest reserves in trust to the States wherein located.

Half the taxable wealth of Oregon is in her 16,000,000 acres of forest reserves, and in consequence held off the tax rolls.

These 16,000,000 acres constitute one-fourth of the State's area. The valuation is estimated by the Oregon Conservation Commission to be $400,000,000. If these lands were conveyed to the State in trust for forestry purposes, they would yield a profit to the State of at least 3 per cent net each year, which would turn into the State treasury $12,000,000 and cut our taxes down one-half.

The proposal to convey the forest reserves in trust to the States originated with the writer hereof, and a bill has been introduced in each of the last two Congresses for that purpose. The Bureau of Forestry at Washington, of course, is bitterly opposed to the proposal, and have reported to the Committee on the Public Lands against the bill. The National Bureau of Forestry does not wish to relinquish its jurisdiction over Oregon's forests because they furnish the subject matter for many fat jobs for eastern college-bred "foresters," who travel back and forth across the continent at Government expense to look after Oregon's resources.

That such a bill as has been proposed by me will ultimately become the law, I have not the slightest doubt. It ought to be the law now. It safeguards every right of the National Government, in that it provides that the lands shall be held in public ownership forever by the States, and that only the ripe trees shall be cut and marketed each year, allowing the younger timber to grow up. The bill provides that all the cutting shall be under the general supervision of the Federal Bureau of Forestry, and that Congress shall revoke the grant in trust to any State at any time if the State shall fail to take proper care of the forests within its borders.

This bill gives to the East all it is demanding, to wit, a guaranty that the forest lands of the West shall be held permanently for forestry purposes, thereby preventing an ultimate timber famine; and at the same time gives to the West what it is rightfully demanding, to wit, home rule and the profits from its own natural resources. The bill provides that the State shall organize a board of forestry capable of taking proper care of the lands. The measure would give employment to Oregon people, and would put all the profits from her reserves into Oregon's treasury. No Oregon daily newspaper has favored the bill, because they were afraid they would thereby help the fortunes of the man who proposed it.

(8)

IS THIS COMPANY LOSING MONEY?

Income account of the Portland Railway, Light & Power Co., 1907 to 1913, inclusive.

[By A. W. LAFFERTY, in the Saturday American, Dec. 5, 1914.]

	Gross earnings.	Operating expenses and taxes.	Net earnings.
1907	$3,982,657	$2,350,282	$1,632,375
1908	4,351,676	2,292,659	2,059,017
1909	4,818,622	2,418,910	2,399,112
1910	5,638,896	2,724,378	2,914,518
1911	6,336,703	3,069,897	3,266,806
1912	6,642,308	3,328,911	3,313,397
1913	6,723,742	3,299,310	3,425,432
1914 (ending Nov. 30)	6,366,154	3,284,272	3,081,882

(9)

DANA SLEETH IS KICKED OUT—BRILLIANT EDITOR, WHO ONCE MADE FAKE LABOR PAPER POPULAR, HAS BEEN SUCCEEDED BY ANOTHER SLAVE.

[By A. W. LAFFERTY, in the Saturday American, Nov. 21, 1914.]

It is not generally known to the people of Portland that Dana Sleeth, the cleverest editorial writer of recent times in Portland, has been let out of his job as editor of the Portland "Nuisance" by the Scripps management, and that he has been succeeded by one Moriarty. But such is the case.

The exact reason for this change is not known, but it is believed that it is merely in accordance with the usual cold, mercenary policy of Mr. Scripps to fire any man who fails to extract the coin from the "Mutts." The "Nuisance" has been on the toboggan right for these last several moons, and appears to be in a very low state of vitality. Of course its millionaire owner could dig up the necessary mazuma to tide it over till the "Mutts" forget its recent sins, but Mr. Scripps, like most millionaires, does not believe in digging up.

So another slave has been put in charge. He will try in a little different way to work off on the "Mutts" the same old boiler-plate Scripps chestnuts, which are sent out to all the "57 varieties" of Scripps papers at the same time, and which appear on the same day in all Scripps papers all over the United States.

Why does not Multimillionaire Scripps carry at the head of the editorial column of the News the name of his "current editor," so we might at least know the name of the individual who is sent here to tell us how to vote?

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(10)

BANKING GRAFT IS GREATEST YET.

[By A. W. LAFFERTY, in the Saturday American, Dec. 5, 1914.]

The banking graft everywhere is the nicest, easiest, cleanest graft there is. Nowhere is the picking better, proportioned to the population, than in Portland.

In England those who are given the privilege of conducting the banking graft have to pay for the privilege. They have to contribute liberally of their profits each year to maintain broken-down royalty and relatives of royalty. For such favors as these, and for liberal loans and donations from time to time to the ruling families, the banking graft is farmed out all over Europe.

But in the good old U. S. A. we give our codfish aristocrats the privilege of collecting millions annually from our poor shopkeepers, small-business men, and householders through the banking graft, and we get nothing whatever in return for so farming out that privilege. We are easy.

Take Ladd & Tilton, for example. That bank has deposits of $15,000,000. It has loans and discounts of $15,000,000. In other words, one crowd has $15,000,000 deposited with Ladd & Tilton and another crowd has the same $15,000,000 borrowed. Ladd & Tilton pay interest to their depositors, say, of 4 per cent and charge the borrowers 8. Thus, for acting as "bankers"—keeping the books—Ladd & Tilton collect 4 per cent a year on $15,000,000, which is $600,000. The First National Bank, recently consolidated with the Security, has deposits of $14,000,000 and it has loans and discounts of $14,000,000. Its process is the same as that of Ladd & Tilton, and its profits of 4 per cent annually on loans of $14,000,000 amount to $560,000. So these two banks alone, to say nothing of the many others in Portland, collect yearly over $1,000,000 from the people of Portland and of Oregon "for keeping the books." This $1,000,000 going to these two banks alone amounts to $4 for every man, woman, and child in Portland, or $20 for each family of five. The banking toll being collected by all the banks in Portland per year will amount to at least $6 per head, or $30 per family. That is a tax you are paying now to the banks.

Nearly all of this banking graft could be saved to you if your Congress would pass a law enlarging the powers of your bank—the postal savings bank. Your bank might just as well receive the deposits, keep the books, loan the credit, and cut down the cost of living in Portland nearly $30 per year per family.

Suppose Congress would do this for your bank. Then you would be a stockholder in one bank in Portland, a large white marble structure, of which you would be proud. It would be your institution. It would serve you. Its dividends would be reflected in the reduction of your yearly cost of living. Merchants could get cheaper credit. The community would be relieved of the heavy banking toll of which it is being now drained annually, and which is a heavy burden upon those who toil.

The banks never have on hand anything like the amount of money they owe to their depositors. The law only requires a reserve equal to 25 per cent of the bank's deposits, and even a part of this reserve may be kept on deposit in a central reserve bank. Therefore if all the depositors in any bank should call for their money on the same day or the same month they could not get it. But as the borrowers owe the bank, and the bank owes the depositors, it is figured that the bank is "solvent." But the truth is that the same dollar is loaned many times by the bank, without the cash being actually withdrawn from the bank once. A will deposit $1,000 to-day, for example. B will borrow that $1,000 to-morrow. But instead of taking the cash he will take a certificate of deposit. The next day C will borrow the same $1,000, and he, too, will take a certificate of deposit.

There are only $3,500,000,000 in the United States to-day, or $35 per capita. Yet the people have borrowed ten times that amount and are paying interest on it to the banks and trust companies.

The graft of the Portland bankers is only a drop in the bucket as compared with that of the Rothschilds, the Morgans, and the Rockefellers. But the Portland bankers stand in with that Wall Street crowd and do their bidding when it comes to defeating honest public officers in Oregon.

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(11)

ONE-CENT LETTER POSTAGE.

[By A. W. LAFFERTY, in the Saturday American, Dec. 5, 1914.]

The Post Office Department has reported that it costs the Government less than 1 cent to carry an average 2-cent letter. Then why should you pay more than 1 cent postage?

The answer is that the Government is losing $75,000,000 a year on daily newspapers and magazines, which it is carrying for 1 cent a pound, when it costs 8 cents a pound, and therefore you are taxed 1 cent every time you buy a 2-cent stamp to help make up that deficit.

Is there not another and fairer way to make up that deficit? Yes. The fair way would be for Congress to pass a law requiring all newspapers and magazines to pay actual cost of transporting, handling, and delivering their products, and to then reduce letter postage to 1 cent.

Congress does not do this because Congressmen are afraid of the big newspapers at election time.

But the newspapers have been exposed in their graft. The facts have gone into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. And this knowledge will gradually reach the people in one way or another. Then they will demand their rights.

Of course, this particular saving will only be about $1 per year to the average citizen, but common honesty should be observed in small things as well as in large things. There is no reason why the poor widow who writes a half dozen letters a year should be taxed 6 cents to go into the pockets of arrogant bluffers, bulldozers, and thugs who happen to own daily newspapers.

I favor allowing country weeklies to go free in county of publication as at present. That part of the deficit caused by the country weeklies is so small as to be negligable.

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(12)

RAILROADS' FAT INCOMES; FAKE POVERTY HOWL—EVERY OREGON LINE SHOWS INCREASE OF NET INCOME FOR 1913 OVER 1912, YET ASK FOR RAISE IN RATES.

[By A. W. LAFFERTY, in the Saturday American, Nov. 28, 1914.]

Although the official figures here quoted show that every railroad system operating in Oregon increased its net income in 1913 over 1912, these roads, through the controlled press, would have you believe that they are poverty-stricken and barely able to exist. These figures are taken from Moody's Manual, 1914 edition, the official guide on Wall Street.

Did you know that these railroads maintain publicity departments, composed of trained newspaper men, who write articles and send them out to the country papers to be printed as "editorials," showing how the railroads are "pouring money into loosing propositions" because they "have faith in this country's future"? The past week such articles have appeared in Oregon country weeklies. The readers supposed these articles were written by the country editor, whereas they were written in Portland in the railroad offices. They bribe the country editors to publish this rot by giving them cash for "advertisting," but in sums out of all proportion to the value of the advertising. It is outright bribery.

Here are the facts:

GREAT NORTHERN.

1912.

Gross operating revenue	$66,197,819
Operating expenses	37,662,548
Net operating revenue	28,535,271

1913.

Gross operating revenue	78,692,767
Operating expenses	45,859,254
Net operating revenue	32,833,513

NORTHERN PACIFIC.

1912.

Gross operating revenue	63,423,947
Operating expenses	38,158,518
Net operating revenue	25,265,429

1913.

Gross operating revenue	72,676,139
Operating expenses	44,673,298
Net operating revenue	28,002,841

SOUTHERN PACIFIC.

1912.

Gross receipts and income	140,377,690
Net income	48,265,408

1913

Gross receipts and income	154,516,877
Net income	55,950,181

SPOKANE, PORTLAND & SEATTLE.

1912.

Gross earnings	4,837,141
Operating expenses and taxes	3,003,663
Net earnings	1,833,478

1913.

Gross earnings	5,341,466
Operating expenses and taxes	3,337,345
Net earnings	2,004,120

UNION PACIFIC SYSTEM.

(Including Oregon-Washington Railroad & Navigation Co.)

1912.

Gross operating income	85,977,609
Operating expenses	50,389,407
Net operating income	35,588,202

1913.

Gross operating income	93,638,459
Operating expenses	54,030,216
Net operating income	39,608,424

The foregoing undisputed figures show that during the so-called "hard times" of 1912 and 1913 every railroad entering Portland, Oreg., increased its gross income and its net income; in other words, increased its profits. The same was true of the great Pennsylvania Railroad system and all other systems east of the Mississippi River. Yet these roads did not have the nerve in 1912, even under Mr. Taft's administration, to ask to have their rates raised. They knew it would be futile to make such a request. But in 1914, when their profits were greater than in 1912, these railroads took advantage of the fact that we had a President friendly to the railroads, and they asked and received at the hands of the Interstate Commerce Commission an order raising the rates of eastern roads, and the prospects are that the western roads may also succeed in getting their rates raised. In order to get this raise of rates the roads carried on through the newspapers of the country a propaganda of threatened receiverships of the railroads, which no doubt has had much to do with our present hard times in most every business except that of the very public utilities responsible for the cry of "hard times."

In proposing Government-owned ships President Wilson has grappled with the money power for the first time. Let us hope the President will not falter. Every American citizen should support the President in this fight.

We now see in the daily papers numerous inspired items intended to make us believe that the railroads are going to restore good times for us by making liberal purchases of cars and materials. Shortsighted, indeed, is the man who can not see that every purchase by a railroad is a purchase by the public.

It is a purchase of something which is paid for by the public. One item this morning was headed "Railroads liberal buyers." Suppose the public owned the railroads. The item would then read "The public is a liberal buyer." The same meaning ought to be attached now, for it is the public which pays the bills for all railroad improvements or betterments.

Strange, indeed, is the doctrine now being preached by all bankers, railroad men, newspapers, and others under the control and influence of the money power that we can only have good times by raising railroad rates. To say that the public can make permanent prosperity for itself by increasing the price it has to pay for transportation and other necessities reminds me of the man who tried to raise himself over the fence by his boot straps.

But to the money power this strange doctrine of making good times by compelling ourselves to pay more for everything we buy is logical enough. The money power now owns 70 per cent of all the wealth of the United States. Two hundred thousand men own this 70 per cent of our wealth, leaving only 30 per cent for the remaining 99,800,000 people. They say to us: "Let us charge you such rates for public-utility service and for commodities put out by monopolies which we now control as to give us the remaining 30 per cent of the wealth and we will give you a full dinner pail in the meantime; we will employ labor." To me that is not an encouraging promise. I should prefer to call a halt now. I should prefer to so administer what we have left in the hands of the public as to turn the tide of wealth back toward ourselves and our children. I am not willing to sell our birthright for a mess of pottage which when gone will leave us and our children slaves to the money kings for all the long future. I do not want cocaine; I do not want fictitious relief which will turn to ashes upon the lips; I want a permanent cure; I want a permanent prosperity which will extend into every home. Any system which postpones a realization of this much to every man who gives honest and sober toil to society is robbery and a disgrace to the intelligence and independence of the American people.

Increasing Prices and Costs.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN I. NOLAN,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 10, 1915.

Mr. J. I. NOLAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I wish to insert a statement of the Hon. CHARLES A. LINDBERGH before the Commission on Industrial Relations in the city of New York February 5, 1915, on the subject of increasing prices and costs, and suggesting a remedy.

The statement is as follows:

Hon. CHARLES A. LINDBERGH, called as a witness, testified as follows:
Chairman WALSH. Kindly be seated.
Mr. LINDBERGH. Mr. Chairman, in order to have this as brief as possible, I have written the matter as briefly as I could to present it.
Chairman WALSH. That was very thoughtful. What is your name, please?
Mr. LINDBERGH. CHARLES A. LINDBERGH.
Chairman WALSH. And your residence?
Mr. LINDBERGH. My residence is Little Falls, Minn.
Chairman WALSH. And your business or profession?
Mr. LINDBERGH. I have practiced law in the past and farmed.
Chairman WALSH. What official position do you hold in the Government of the United States?
Mr. LINDBERGH. I am a Member of Congress from the sixth district of my State.
Chairman WALSH. That is, of Minnesota—the sixth district of Minnesota?
Mr. LINDBERGH. Yes.
Chairman WALSH. We have been informed that you have given a great deal of study to the question of cost and prices?
Mr. LINDBERGH. I have.
Chairman WALSH. With reference to industrial conditions?
Mr. LINDBERGH. I have so.
Chairman WALSH. Have you been kind enough to prepare that in concise form that you might read?
Mr. LINDBERGH. I have.
Chairman WALSH. I wish you would kindly do so. We must have perfect order, ladies and gentlemen.
Mr. LINDBERGH. I realize that any report made by your commission will have the respectful consideration of the country, and therefore ask your review of certain facts which I wish to present briefly.

INCREASING COSTS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR A REMEDY.

Legislatures and courts, as well as Congress, have an established rule that so-called "vested property," when employed, is entitled to a so-called "fair return." The enforced rule bears no relation to what men and women receive or should receive for their work in creating and conserving vested property, but corresponds somewhat with the results secured by speculators who make great profits from their respective schemes for scalping from the products of labor. The farmer, as well as the wageworker—whether mental or manual—strives year in and year out to secure success, each working his life out, but no rule was ever fixed by any legislature, Congress, or the courts that would enforce in favor of these toilers a fair return for creating the very property to which the vested-rights privilege attaches. On the contrary, the rule of reasonable return, established in favor of vested property when employed, absolutely precludes and makes impossible a fair return to farmers, wage and salary workers. If any controversy arises as to what the farmer or wageworker should receive, the price is fixed at what others in his class receive for the same thing, which price has originally been made by the privileged class; that is, by the capitalists, and it bears no relation either to the cost of living, the cost of production, nor to its true relative service to mankind.

No permanent reduction in the cost of living in favor of the masses can be secured as long as there is no relative rule for fixing a reasonable return for farm or other products and for labor, as compared with the so-called "reasonable return" to capital. The rule of "reasonable return," as applied—that is, the net profit required to satisfy capital—does not change materially. It is the same now as it was for the years past, and as it is intended by the capitalists it shall continue on into the future. When the wageworker gets increased wages the employer adds the increase to the sale price of the goods the employee produces or the services he renders. If the employer did not, it would interfere with his so-called "reasonable return," which it seems is a privilege regarded by legislatures and courts, as well as by Congress, as more "sacred" than human life. So, too, if the farmer gets more for his farm product than usual, those who buy, just so far as they can, and if it is a "special interest" it can, add the additional cost and make the final consumer pay it. As a result this added cost is charged back to the farmers and wageworkers in the price they pay for the goods and the services that they must buy. Now let us consider how the prices are continually marked up.

VESTED PROPERTY WITH SPECIAL PRIVILEGE.

With each additional year there is a greater amount of centralized accumulated property, carrying to its possessors the "special privilege" of collecting "reasonable profits" for its use. Right there is the "kernel in the nut"—that is, it is the underlying reason, the fundamental cause of the increasing prices and prevents a proper reduction of the hours of labor for the toilers.

The interest, dividends, and profits that have been accumulated from past speculation are enormous, and they are multiplying annually. To comprehend this we must deal in concrete facts. There is over $100,000,000,000, including all kinds of property and debts owed by corporations and others, upon which the public is forced to pay interest, dividends, and profits, or what may be termed "income property," and to support and pay that, and also its further accumulation, the helpless masses of humanity are struggling, yes, to meet the payment of the "reasonable profit" upon this huge and constantly increasing sum.

Including all ways in vogue to fleece the toilers, it is understating rather than overstating to say that the profit averages not less than 7 per cent above expenses, and 3 per cent more may safely be added without overestimating it, as the cost and expenses, including upkeep, making a total of not less than 10 per cent. That is, there is an annual charge of more than $10,000,000,000 exacted from the toilers.

I do not claim that these figures are absolutely accurate, for the exact amount can not be secured, but I do claim, and every careful student of the subject knows, that they are not exaggerated, and in fact are below the actual amount. They do, however, fairly demonstrate the principle I wish to make clear, which is, that the cost to the people of supporting the so-called rule of "reasonable return" for the use of capital, as it is applied in business and supported by law and practice, means that the toilers upon farms, in shops, and elsewhere, mental and manual, are forced to pay in a single year over $10,000,000,000 with the certainty that it will increase annually as long as the present rule and practice prevails. It is an actual tax upon the toilers to support and accumulate capital for the capitalists. It averages more than $100 for every man, woman, and child and is increasing yearly in proportion to the increase of "vested property" employed in business.

THE ENORMITY OF THE THING.

This $100,000,000,000 upon which more than $10,000,000,000 is collected yearly, is owned by a comparatively few persons, and the courts decree and "society" accepts, that when it is employed, as all this is supposed to be, it is entitled to a "reasonable return" above the cost of upkeep. There certainly are not over 30,000,000 people who do any useful work, and upon them the entire burden rests. That makes an equivalent of $333 per worker. Thus a man who is paid $600 annually for his labor or farm product, and his wife who works at home, have their wages or the income for the farm products reduced, and the price of what they must buy increased, in order to contribute $666 as a "reasonable" return for the use of capital.

I deny that the charge called a "reasonable return" now made by the capitalists and supported by the courts as such is, in fact, reasonable, but I admit that under the present system a charge for the use of capital is necessary in order to secure its employment. The Government charge is from 2 to 3 per cent, and for good measure we will calculate on a basis of 4 per cent, which a few banks pay to a few depositors. On that basis the husband and wife depending upon a present income of $600 would, if only 4 per cent were charged for the maintenance of a "reasonable income" to capital, have their income increased by additional wages and by a saving upon purchases making for the two an aggregate of six-tenths or $400. But even 4 per cent is unreasonable, for we must not forget that the $100,000,000,000 upon which the "reasonable profit" is being collected is in part sweat money; that is, the accumulated, so-called "reasonable profit" taken from the toilers of the past.

Take as an example the case of a skilled workman employed in a plow factory capitalized at $500,000, upon which the stockholders get 7 per cent dividend, while owing a bonded debt of $200,000, with an annual interest charge of 6 per cent. To meet the dividend and interest would require $47,000 above the expenses of upkeep. That $47,000 would come from the profits on the sale of plows. In order to meet this payment the profits must be made as large as possible, not only to meet the dividends, interest, and expenses, but to accumulate a surplus as well, as a provision against future emergencies, which is the common practice. This is exactly the situation which creates the trouble in all cases. It causes the low wage to the employees in the

factory and elsewhere and the high prices the purchasers pay for the goods, and as a result increases the profits, with which to pay for the use of capital. It is not all deducted from the wageworker's pay. He is already chafing under the injustice of his meager pay, but under the rule the profit must be made up. Therefore it is accomplished in part by keeping the workman's wages below the actual value of his service and by tacking the rest onto the consumer's cost; and, since the toilers themselves are also consumers, they get the worst of it "both going and coming."

Your honorable commission will quickly see the problem presented. With the enormous accumulations of property now in the possession of the few, resulting as it does in a continually increasing capital upon which to compute the so-called "reasonable return," it is certain that we are facing the impossible; that the masses are doomed to be more and more completely crushed and weighted to exhaustion; and that it can not be avoided except by resort to socialism or by the adoption of a new rule by which the reasonable requirements of humanity will also be measured in connection with the so-called "reasonable return," for the benefit of "vested property"; that is, that "vested property" shall not carry to its owners the privilege of shackling the toiling millions with the burden of paying the tribute of what now is and has been enforced as the so-called "reasonable return." The plain producer, the toilers everywhere, must have a truly reasonable return for their service, which is, after all, the principal part of the world's requirements. The pay return of farmers, employees, and capitalists should be relative to their importance. The pay of the toilers should not be encumbered with a charge such as that which I have described in favor of capital.

Already the capital holdings upon which the toilers are forced to pay annual interest, dividends, and profits average more than $1,000 per capita. That is equal to more than $5,000 for each average family of five persons in the United States.

Permit me to say that when the heads of the family once comprehend the fact that for each member of the family as well as for himself, he owes a debt he did not contract, but which nevertheless is annually increasing by force of this rule which I have described, and is forced to pay interest, dividends, and profits for each member of the family, be it large or small, and of the fact that upon their children and their children's children the debt will double and treble, as it must if the rule prevails in the future as it has in the past, I repeat, they will rise, and justly so, in rebellion against the system, and a new form of government will be established. If this is to be avoided a reform system will have to be installed to do justice to those who toil in all the useful industries that supply the needs of mankind. The rule of reasonable return can not be exclusively applied for the benefit of capital.

The other causes for the high cost of living are incidental to the one which I have presented. I shall not encumber you with a discussion of them. I wish, however, to make a few general observations before suggesting a remedy.

THE RESULT OF THE SO-CALLED "REASONABLE PROFIT."

The rule as practiced has enabled greed unobstructed to appropriate the transportation systems, the most rapid systems of communication—telegraph and telephone—the forests, the valuable minerals, the water powers, the valuable patents, and the other most valuable agencies to mankind. The rule itself, as practiced, is sure to give capital the advantage which I have shown, but to facilitate its execution with the least delay and bring it to its most effective energy in behalf of capitalists the banking and currency system has been made the agency of its hugest and most rapid accomplishment.

THE MONOPOLY OF MONEY AND CREDIT.

The people have now on deposit in the banks $19,100,000,000, on about half of which they receive no interest and on the other half from 2 to 4 per cent, or approximately $285,000,000. But the banks have loaned more than 90 per cent of the $19,100,000,000 at from 6 to 10 per cent; frequently more. In 1915 they will collect directly from the borrowers about $1,000,000,000 more than they pay for the deposits. In other words, the people take to the banks the $19,100,000,000 and get $285,000,000 from the banks for its use. But the banks collect from borrowers $1,285,000,000, which will be added to the price of the goods and services that the people must buy. In addition to these there is also the accumulated billions that the banks have collected in previous years for their stockholders, which is their "vested property," and upon which those who save it collect the so-called "reasonable return."

The banks control the use of the $19,100,000,000 that belongs to the depositors and can loan it or withhold it as they please and loan to whom they please. It does not belong to them, but they use it as they please. Because of that fact it is loaned in such manner and to such parties that the largest borrowers, who usually control the banks, get a decided advantage over all others and make several times greater profit out of the schemes into which they enter than the amount of the dividends that the banks pay to the stockholders. In other words, the bankers have a monopoly of the money and credit, which, as I stated, is the instrument for speeding up the absolute control of all property for the benefit of the capitalists.

THE REMEDY LIKELY TO BE FIRST APPLIED.

As I have already stated, there are two remedies that can be applied. One is pure socialism, which people generally have refused to accept. The other is the one which I am explaining. It is to take from the banks the exclusive privilege of controlling the money and credit which they have by Government authority. The interest to borrowers must be reduced to at least as low a rate as that now paid by the banks to the Government.

An attempt will be made to fool the people by reducing the rate of interest in some cases. That will in a measure help the individual borrower, whose interest is reduced, but the reduction will be accomplished by expanding credits, so that while the banks will collect less interest on a dollar, they will collect interest on more dollars, thus preventing a reduction in the aggregate amount of interest paid. The public will find that it costs as much to pay interest, dividends, profits, and upkeep on $200,000,000,000 at 6 per cent as to pay 10 per cent on $120,000,000,000. Under our present system one or the other of those positions will develop very soon. I am referring to the process rather than the exact figures. The owners of the great banks, through their banks, having received from the Government the exclusive privilege to monopolize money and credit, will not care which way they do it so long as they can force the public to pay as much as or more than it has been paying. If the Government instead of private individuals got the interest and paid it out for annual expenses, we would not have the present accumulation of "vested" property in favor of a few who are permitted thereby to levy tribute to secure what they term a "reasonable" return.

The Government itself, so far as practical, should collect the interest in lieu of taxes. There must be organization of all the useful industries for that purpose. This can be accomplished in practically the same way that the organization of the banks was. The farmers, the transportation companies, the home builders, the manufacturers, and the municipalities all should organize. To them all the Government must extend privileges such as are now given exclusively to the banks. To facilitate this great work and aid in securing the means the postal savings banks must be opened to all depositors for the acceptance of checks, money, and evidences of credit to aid in financing, not exclusively the banks, but all useful enterprises which under the present system are burdened with the shackles of usury.

Many are turning to the Socialist Party for a remedy, but the Socialists, I believe, do not claim that their proposed system could be put into full operation for a long time. If the Government will extend to all legitimate enterprise the use of public credit, such as that which it has given exclusively to the banks, I am certain that more than half of our present troubles about the high cost of living would be cured. Please understand me—I do not suggest taking from the banks all privileges of doing business, but I do maintain that the banks should have no exclusive privileges. The banks should be our servants instead of our masters, and should be paid as servants for the value of their services only. This can be accomplished most quickly in a nonpartisan way. The remedy can be applied without hindering the enthusiastic office seeker's proceedings as before in the name of the several political parties, in an alleged attempt to bring about the millennium.

As long as the progressive Republicans, the progressive Democrats, the progressive Progressives, and the progressive Socialists and others are divided into groups hostile to each other, the cause of humanity will progress slowly, for the reactionaries in all the parties are consistent and upon all problems vital to them, which require their cooperation, they stand together and act as a unit. It may be jealousy among the officeholders and those seeking offices that keeps the progressives in all parties from acting together. But it does seem that jealousy should not exist among the voters, because their individual material interests are identical. It is the identity of material interest that ties the "special interests" together for united action to maintain control, but the material interest of the plain people to cooperate to prevent the "special interests" from having control and taking all in sight does not seem to work by the same rule. The plain voters hurrah for the party and let the "interests" run away with the goods.

Your honorable commission understands full well the significance of the main problem I have presented. If you broadcast its substance to the people, which the means placed by Congress in your charge enables you to successfully do, the people of this country will soon control legislation and Congress, and a remedy will be forthcoming which will stop the increasing prices and give to the toilers less hours of toil and more of the substance that will supply them with the conveniences and demands of an honest and intelligent citizenship. It is merely a question of getting the right understanding home to the toilers on the farm, in the shop, stores, offices, on the railways, and elsewhere. Let them understand, and the manhood and womanhood of the citizenship of this naturally great country of ours will respond to its grandest opportunities. This is the people's country, and the men and women of this country should run it for themselves and their posterity instead of as now ignominiously submitting to a policy, enforced in practice, which makes of them the slaves of usury.

Now, having closed my written statement, I wish to add verbally that what I have stated is the main proposition I have desired to call your attention to. And, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I want to call your attention also to a report of the Secretary of the Treasury. This report is dated February 2. You will find on that date the Government of the United States had deposited with the banks something over $71,000,000. It has been for most of the time in the last six months about $80,000,000, but suppose we call it $70,000,000. Upon that sum the banks are paying to the Government 2 per cent. As a matter of fact, the banks are collecting directly for their own benefit 6 per cent approximately upon this $70,000,000, which you will see is 4 per cent in addition to what they are paying the Government; and therefore there is an indirect tax for the benefit of the banks which is added to the commodities and the prices which we are paying for our common necessities of this difference between 2 per cent and 6 per cent. But that is not all.

You know, as a matter of fact, that the total amount of actual money in the banks is about $1,700,000,000, and that by the process of banking it has been expanded so that the banks now have on deposit and are owing to depositors $19,100,000,000. The $1,700,000,000 has been expanded more than 10 times in the form of credit. Now, this $70,000,000 which the Government has on deposit in the banks, that is taken from the Government Treasury, is also expanded by a like process. Therefore instead of the bankers collecting interest upon this $70,000,000 alone, they are collecting interest also upon a large amount of credit that is established by virtue of this $70,000,000.

That, I say, in regard to the general bank deposits, was multiplied more than 10 times. We will not assume that they have been able to multiply more than 10 times in the case of the Government deposits, because the Government may draw upon the banks at any time for this sum. But they have increased and expanded the credits they are given by virtue of that $70,000,000 to a very large extent, and on that account the banks are collecting many millions of dollars in the way of interest and profit above that which is directly collected by them upon the $70,000,000. This is, too, in effect, a tax upon the people generally.

Now, the proposition I am making to you is this: That there has got to be some measure of a reasonable return, which is comparative, reasonably favoring property in the one case, but not losing sight in the other case of the toilers of this country, whether on the farm or elsewhere. You have got to consider the two together; and instead of the courts going on in the future and legislatures, as well as Congress itself doing likewise, and measuring a reasonable return to capital upon the basis of what it can earn in speculation, it must be done with regard to what the toilers themselves are getting. So that both the toilers and the capitalists, as long as this system is followed out, will receive proportionately a fair return for the services that are rendered in the one case by the employment of capital and in the other case by the labor.

Now, that is the particular problem that I have wished to call your attention to, and I do not think I need to take any more of your time. Of course I am glad to submit to any questions you may wish to ask.

Chairman WALSH. I think, as far as I am concerned, that states it very concisely and well, and we will be glad to make that a part of our record, and if we issue a bulletin, to put it in the record. Mr. Lennon says he was convinced of that a long time ago.

Mr. LINDBERGH. I thank you gentlemen very much.
Chairman WALSH. We thank you very much, Mr. LINDBERGH, and we are sorry, in behalf of the commission, that we could not have given you a better place in the program, but we are limited in time.
Mr. LINDBERGH. That is perfectly satisfactory to me. I wished simply to get the facts before the commission, so that you may have them in your proceedings.
Chairman WALSH. Very well.
At this point the commission will stand adjourned until to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.
Adjournment taken until Saturday, February 6, 1915.

Mining Experiment and Mine Safety Stations.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CALEB POWERS,
OF KENTUCKY,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Saturday, February 13, 1915.

Mr. POWERS. Mr. Speaker, the bill under consideration reads as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized and directed to establish and maintain in the several important mining regions of the United States and the Territory of Alaska, as Congress may appropriate for the necessary employees and other expenses, under the Bureau of Mines and in accordance with the provisions of the act establishing said bureau, 10 mining experiment stations and 15 mine safety stations, movable or stationary, including those already established, the province and duty of which shall be to make investigations and disseminate information with a view to improving conditions in the mining, quarrying, metallurgical, and other mineral industries, safeguarding life among employees, preventing unnecessary waste of resources, and otherwise contributing to the advancement of these industries: *Provided*, That not more than three mining experiment stations and mine safety stations hereinabove authorized shall be established in any one fiscal year under the appropriations made therefor.

SEC. 2. That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to accept lands, buildings, or other contributions from the several States offering to cooperate in carrying out the purposes of this act.

I shall give this measure my hearty support. There are now about 2,000,000 men employed in the occupation covered by this bill. The Government is expending annually but $200,000 for their protection and welfare. The table which I here insert shows:

Production, number of men employed, and number of men killed in and about the coal mines in the United States in the calendar years 1902 to 1913, inclusive.

Year.	Production (short tons).	Number employed.	Number killed.		
			Total.	Per 1,000 employed.	Per 1,000,000 short tons mined.
1902	296,687,066	510,437	1,895	3.71	6.39
1903	345,200,166	547,431	1,752	3.20	5.08
1904	339,164,812	573,373	2,004	3.50	5.91
1905	386,379,243	615,628	2,232	3.63	5.78
1906	407,835,003	631,086	2,116	3.35	5.19
1907	461,406,023	655,418	3,197	4.88	6.93
1908	404,932,764	672,794	2,449	3.64	6.05
1909	460,761,427	666,523	2,668	4.00	5.79
1910	501,596,378	725,030	2,840	3.92	5.66
1911	496,221,168	728,348	2,719	3.73	5.48
1912	534,466,580	722,662	2,360	3.27	4.41
1913	570,000,000	728,355	2,785	3.82	4.88

This makes plain the importance of this great industry and the fatalities connected with it. The mining and mineral industries of this country add to the Nation's wealth each year about $4,600,000,000. As a matter of fact, the agricultural and mining and mineral industries of the Nation are its two great basic sources of wealth and commercial greatness. I submit here a table showing their relative importance:

	Agriculture, including forestry.	Mining and mineral industries.
Number of employees	13,000,000	2,300,000
Yearly value of products	$10,500,000,000	$4,600,000,000
What each worker in these industries contributes to the national wealth, yearly	$800	$2,000
What each industry contributes to the freight tonnage of the country, yearly.....per cent..	22	60

It will be noted that while one farmer, on an average, contributes each year $800 to the Nation's wealth, one miner contributes $2,000; and since mining and agriculture are the two great and most important industries of our country, it will not be amiss to know just what the National Government has been doing for each.

What the National Government is doing for each of these industries.

Yearly appropriations.	Agriculture.	Mining.
For education:		
From direct appropriation	$2,500,000	Nothing.
From land grants	1,030,000	.....
From Smith-Lever Act for demonstration educational work	480,000	.....
For 52 experiment stations, one in each State and Territory	1,550,000	Nothing.
For general researches and other work to aid agriculture and mining	22,410,000	$1,967,000
Total	27,970,000	1,967,000
Per capita contribution from the people of the United States for the advancement of these industries	0.28	0.02
Of this contribution the per capita expenditure for safeguarding the lives of 2,300,000 employees in the mining industry is about one-half of 1 cent per annum	.....	.005

I do not want to be understood as objecting to what the Federal Government is doing for the farmers of our country. I rejoice along with them that the National Government is spending so liberally of its means to further their interests and advance the great cause of agriculture in the United States. My father was a farmer. I was reared on a farm and I have never outgrown, and I hope I never will outgrow, my love for the country and the farm. We used to mine some on my father's farm when I was a boy, but only for domestic purposes; but since my father's death the old farm has passed into other hands and has been converted into a veritable mining camp. There are two mining plants established on or close to the old homestead. They are two busy hives of industry going on—or would go on but for Democratic hard times—in the valleys and on the hillsides where I used to roam and play. The neighbor boys have all grown up and many of them have turned to digging coal and mining as a means for a living. The creek on which I was reared in Knox County, Ky., has on it now 20 or more mining operations, and part of them big ones. In fact, Knox County produces now about 1,000,000 short tons of coal a year. The neighboring counties of Laurel, Pulaski, McCreary, and Whitley are big coal producers, while the counties of Harlan and Bell—all in the district I have the honor to represent—are not only exceedingly rich in mineral resources, but active and progressive in their development. Bell County last year produced 2,500,000 short tons of coal, standing second, I believe, among the counties of the State in coal production. We have in southeastern Kentucky some 10,000 square miles of bituminous-coal territory. The entire State of Pennsylvania has only about 4,000 more square miles of bituminous-coal territory than we have in southeastern Kentucky.

Kentucky now stands fourth among the coal-producing States of the Union. She stood sixth or seventh a few years ago. She has recently forged ahead of both Ohio and Indiana. We produced in Kentucky in 1914, 20,000,000 short tons of coal. The coal field in eastern Kentucky now excels in both production and quality the coal fields of western Kentucky.

My district is in the heart of the present coal production in southeastern Kentucky. We have no mining headquarters or mine rescue stations located there. I hope that this bill will become a law and that the eleventh district may be able to get one of the 15 safety stations provided for in this bill.

Immigration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. S. KIRKPATRICK,
OF IOWA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Thursday, February 4, 1915.

On the veto message of the President on the act (H. R. 6060) to regulate the immigration of aliens to and the residence of aliens in the United States.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK. Mr. Speaker, for the first time in the deliberations of the Sixty-third Congress I am brought face to face with the expressed views of the Chief Executive of our Nation relative to the literacy test in its application to immigrants landing on our shores.

My objections to the President's veto is not based alone on objection to the introduction of foreign immigrants because of their inability to tell who they are, where they came from, or

whither they are going; still I believe all these are essential and necessary elements that enter into the composites constituting good citizenship. I feel perfectly safe in saying that all laws are more or less used, and likewise abused, but, Mr. Speaker, we can not live on tradition or that which prompted or controlled our forefathers more than a century ago. At that time 96 per cent of our broad acres were unoccupied. Then we were turning the virgin soil with a wooden mold-board plow, and "single taxers" had not been born.

The good Lord quit making land a long time ago, and no one knows when he will resume this difficult and arduous task. One hundred years ago the demand for labor was the rule, now it is the exception. Then we were reaping down our fields with a hand scythe, now the genii of the age are offering to cut, bind, thresh, and grind all for a nominal sum, and before proceeding further along these lines permit me to say that I am unalterably opposed to the use and exercise of the veto power.

I am old enough to recall some vivid impressions growing out of the frequent use of this privilege of veto by the predecessor of Zachary Taylor, and in 1848 this became an issue of the slogan type. Mr. Taylor was appealed to as to his position on this grave question and said, "Gentlemen, your will, not mine."

No man has a more exalted opinion of President Wilson than I have. In a legal sense it is in a great measure artificial for lawyers to differ, and it is akin and natural for all of us to do likewise. I frankly said to the President this morning that I intended to vote against his veto. He said in part that inasmuch as I had been faithful in all other matters affecting the welfare of our people "I grant that you are as honest in your convictions as I am in mine."

I placed Mr. Wilson in nomination for the Presidency in the nineteenth century, and I am the first and only original Wilson man in the United States, or, as I jocularly remarked to Mr. Wilson on one occasion, save one, and that was himself. To this he dissented, adding that at that time he had not been born into the kingdom of the "emergency," "dark horse," or "receptive" caste.

"The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul," but I am aware of the fact that there are some Members who are strangers in the commonwealth of Israel. I have contended for 40 years that the best and safest protection for American wage earners is to place some restrictions on competitive labor, for as sure as two and two make four, if there are two men for a job the price for performing such labor will be materially reduced if not cut in two.

I desire to say that Members who continue to vote for high tariff and free labor, and do so from sense of habit, custom, or environment, are like the new convert who said, "The moon shines brighter, but the road's a damn sight rougher."

If inconsistencies could be converted and made to appear as jewels, then some of you fellows would be decked beyond recognition. This is not a new issue, nor is it dead or dying. It was thrashed out under the Cleveland and Taft administrations. Three millions of organized workers of America demand it. The conversion of Saint Paul was almost instantaneous, but not along these lines. Some have said there are 30,000,000 workingmen not yet heard from. I invite all such into the arena of public expression.

The restrictions objected to are not onerous, complicated, or difficult to overcome. To learn to read 30 or 40 words of our own or their own language should be readily done, and the man or woman will be better qualified for better and higher ideals. Thus having said what I have said, I shall vote to place this bill upon our statutes.

Immigration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PERCY E. QUIN,
OF MISSISSIPPI,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 4, 1915,

On the veto message of the President on the act (H. R. 6060) to regulate the immigration of aliens to and the residence of aliens in the United States.

Mr. QUIN. Mr. Speaker, under general leave to extend remarks for five legislative days in connection with the splendid 58-page Burnett immigration bill, H. R. 6060, I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD this 10th day of February certain articles and editorials contained in this week's—February 8 to 14, 1915—issue of the American Federation of Labor Weekly News Letter, the federation's official weekly paper:

PRESIDENT'S VETO OF IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION BILL IS SUSTAINED—136 REPRESENTATIVES SUPPORT CHEAP LABOR PLEA OF STEAMSHIP, MINING, AND STEEL CORPORATIONS AND REFUSE TO PROTECT AMERICAN WORKERS FROM FLOOD TIDE OF ILLITERATE IMMIGRANTS—261 REPRESENTATIVES VOTE AGAINST EXPLOITING HUMANITY AND STIMULATED IMMIGRATION.

By a vote of 261 to 136 the House of Representatives Thursday, February 4, refused to pass the Burnett immigration bill over the President's veto.

A two-thirds vote was necessary to pass the bill.

If any four of the 136 that voted against labor had voted for labor, the bill would have passed.

For over five hours the House discussed the question. The friends of immigration restriction put forth their most eloquent pleaders for the maintenance of American ideals and insisted that the literacy test was in accord with the demands for compulsory education that has now become a part of the life of this country. Attention was also called to the unanimous demand of the American Federation of Labor, the railroad brotherhoods, and the farmers' organizations for a restrictive immigration policy that American standards may be continued.

The evidence made public by the American Federation of Labor showing that the National Liberal Immigration League has been financed by the Shipping, Coal, Steel, and other trusts is now in the public records. Representative BATHRICK, of Ohio, included this evidence in his speech supporting the bill.

Representative BURNETT, chairman of the House Committee on Immigration, closed the debate with a strong speech urging that the President's veto be not sustained.

An analysis of the vote shows that the campaign steadily maintained by those who oppose illiteracy of immigrants is proving effective. Friends of restriction polled 48 more votes to pass the bill over President Wilson's veto than they polled when President Taft's veto was sustained. The negative vote was only increased by 22.

Representative BURNETT announced after the vote was taken that he would introduce another immigration restriction bill immediately after the next Congress convenes.

Unionists and other friends of immigration restriction may secure a record of all the debates on this question by writing to their Representatives for a copy of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, issue of Thursday, February 4.

WHY ORGANIZED LABOR FAVORS THE LITERACY TEST.

One of the fundamental principles that have controlled public policies in the United States is belief in education. The primary medium for acquiring an education is ability to read. Reading is the key to an intellectual world which leads to truths, understanding people, things and their relations, the ability to recognize a tendency and its value.

Education drives out ignorance, which is the great enemy of the welfare and progress of the people. Ignorance renders people easy of exploitation, makes them more readily victims of political misrule, and limits the basis of their moral conceptions. The individual's moral and ethical standards can not be greater than his understanding of the consequences of his acts. The more one knows of the human mind and body the more able he is to distinguish between harmful and beneficial lines of action.

It is idle to point to some great characters who were illiterate or to some rogues and criminals who were educated. There are always exceptions to every general statement, but the data from which a general law is deducted must not be drawn from exceptional cases.

We believe that proper education develops and stimulates the natural faculties and makes the individual a resourceful master of his powers.

True it is that an education is not always a test of character, but as between an illiterate and an educated person the supposition is always in favor of the educated. Education is something more than purely intellectual development, for it is impossible to separate the concepts of the mind from feeling and emotion and resulting convictions of moral obligations. Mental habits constitute character.

Ignorance among citizens is the greatest enemy of popular government; it affords an opportunity for boss rule and for the special privileges exercised by predatory, exploiting interests. The uneducated do not know their own rights or understand what promotes their own welfare; they are the victims and the tools of political and industrial malefactors.

Convinced that their faith in education was well grounded, the States of our Union have never wavered in their established policy of free public schools, and compulsory education laws were necessary to the maintenance of our republican form of government. Millions are yearly appropriated for public schools, normal schools, technical schools, colleges, and universities. Most of the States fix the school years during which children must attend school or the minimum educational requirements which each must acquire. There has been a consistent effort to raise the age limit under which school attendance is compulsory. There has been unfailing desire to make education more practical and more vital and to extend educational opportunity wherever there is desire for it, regardless of age. As Americans we take pride in raising the standards of intelligence and lowering the percentage of illiteracy.

Education is the requirement made of every American who seeks a position of responsibility. We would not think of abolishing a literacy test for the Members of Congress as a means to securing men of high character. A literacy test of requirements varying with the nature of the work to be done is imposed for all official positions, for the civil service, police duty, and for other work. It is recognized as the most practical, effective test that has been evolved.

Illiteracy is a hindrance in all work, even the so-called unskilled labor. It is an obstacle to securing better conditions of work and a menace to the safety and health of these workers. The Federal Immigration Commission in its detailed study of working conditions in such industries as the steel, iron, and coal industries found that illiteracy and inability to speak our language on the part of the workers increased the number of mine explosions, industrial accidents, and insanitation.

Illiteracy is what shuts the individual off from opportunity; education opens up the way to opportunity.

Some degree of education is required of all Americans. The literacy test of the Burnett immigration bill provides for a test of a similar nature for immigrants who wish to come to America.

There is no reason why the standards for foreigners should differ from those prescribed for citizens. Nor can special privileges for foreign illiterates be justified on the ground that their inability to read represents only lack of opportunity. The requirements are so low that no forceful, ambitious persons will be debarred. Ability to read 40

words in his own language is an undertaking that would discourage no person who has qualities and character that would make him a desirable citizen.

The poor educational facilities of a country often reflect the failure or inability of the people to assert their rights, together with their low standards of life. Where there is effective demand it must be considered by the Government, however despotic, unless rebellion is invited.

The adoption of a literacy test for immigrants to the United States would result in increased provision for education in all countries which are now sending their surplus population here. A statement made by Prof. Fairchild in the hearing before President Wilson is most significant:

"When the literacy test was previously under consideration and its adoption seemed assured the Government of Italy began to make provision for more schoolhouses, but these provisions were stopped with the defeat of the bill."

It is not heartless to set standards; they are the necessary conditions for progress and betterment. The literacy test for immigrants into the United States will result in forcing the countries of southern Europe to assume their natural and rightful obligations to make provisions for the social, industrial, and political welfare of their own people and will enable the United States to become a land of real opportunity not only for such as may meet the necessary standards but also for those who are already within our gates.

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FARMERS FAVOR RESTRICTION—THE GRANGE, THE FARMERS' NATIONAL CONGRESS, AND THE NATIONAL FARMERS' UNION DEMAND IT.

At the White House hearing on the immigration bill Mr. J. H. Patten, assistant secretary of the Farmers' National Congress, for four years general counsel of the Farmers' Union, and in close touch with the Grange, was selected by those present to present the attitude of the farmers. Among other things, he said:

"The Grange, the Farmers' National Congress, and the National Farmers' Union are the only organizations of farmers qualified to speak for the farmers of the country, organized or unorganized. They are a unit for this bill."

Mr. Patten called attention to the repeated arguments of the legislative committees of the farmers before Congress, asserted that their many resolutions and convention actions and immense membership quite entitled them to voice the sentiments of the farmers of the country, and warned against the paid attorneys and agents of the big trusts and Wall Street interests who posed as the spokesmen of the farmers and advanced so-called sentimental and humanitarian arguments in the name of the farmers and others. In illustration he said:

"A word with reference to the South. There are certain persons, who have no authority to speak for the farmer or for the South, that say the South wants and needs the present influx. Mr. President, the bees go to the honey pots. The immigrants go where it is most profitable and agreeable for them to go, and they do not go to the South or the rural districts. The South is afflicted with one unfortunate illiterate immigration which drove the average white man, who did not have the money to buy a large tract of fertile land and a large number of slaves, into the hills and mountains, where he became the so-called "white trash," and now he is beginning to come back down to work in the mines, in the factories, and on the farms. Without any foreign immigration the South during the last 30 years has increased faster in railroad mileage, in bank deposits, in number of cotton-mill spindles, in mineral output, and in every other field, including population, or labor supply out of its own loins, than has the Northeast, with all its tremendous immigration. And for reasons which impel the working classes of New England to ask for additional restrictive legislation to curb the efforts of the protected trusts to bring in cheap labor for beating down wages and the standards of living and American life, the farmers urge this proposed legislation.

"There seems little doubt about the European war fulfilling Mrs. French-Selden's and President Gompers's prophecy of an increased influx of undesirables and an increase in quantity as well as a decrease in quality. The farmers of New York and adjacent States object to the $3,000,000 paid annually in taxes for the care and keep of alien insane, which this bill would in great part lift from their shoulders. They believe in elementary education and favor requiring as much of newcomers as we compel of our own native born, on the theory that such better fits for earning a living, protecting ourselves and themselves, and makes for a more intelligent participation in public affairs. They see in the importation of too much cheap labor a tendency to increase the size of farms, the bringing about of the capitalistic system of production, and the destruction of the ideal small farm home owner, who is the mainstay of the Nation. The farmers of the country not only ask this legislation, but they ask for genuine rural-credits legislation, Federal aid to roads, and for efficient, practical marketing work."

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ROLL-CALL VOTE OF HOUSE ON BURNETT IMMIGRATION BILL—THOSE VOTING "NAY" VOTED IN FAVOR OF HAVING TWO MEN FOR EVERY JOB—THE VOTE EXPLAINED.

The 261 Representatives voting "aye" voted to protect American workers; voted for American standards of life; and voted for industrial, political, and social welfare.

The 136 Representatives voting "nay" voted to insure the steel and coal barons an unlimited supply of cheap labor; voted to increase illiteracy; and voted to retard industrial, social, and political betterment.

A two-thirds vote was necessary to pass the immigration bill over the President's veto.

If any 4 of the 136 voting against labor had voted for labor, the bill would have passed.

ALABAMA.

Aye: Abercrombie, Blackmon, Burnett, Dent, Harris, Heflin, Hobson, and Underwood.
Nay: Mulkey and Taylor.

ARIZONA.

Aye: Hayden.

ARKANSAS.

Aye: Caraway, Floyd, Goodwin, Jacoway, Oldfield, Taylor, and Wingo.

CALIFORNIA.

Aye: Bell, Church, Curry, Hayes, Kettner, Kent, Knowland, Nolan, Raker, and Stephens.
Kahn answered "present." He was paired against the bill with Roberts of Nevada, who was paired for the bill.

COLORADO.

Aye: Seldomridge and Taylor.
Nay: Keating and Kindel.

CONNECTICUT.

Nay: Donovan, Kennedy, Lonergan, Mahan, and Reilly.

DELAWARE.

Aye: Brockson.

FLORIDA.

Aye: Clark and Sparkman.
Not voting: L'Engle and Wilson.
L'Engle and Wilson were paired for the bill, with Vare, of Pennsylvania, against.

GEORGIA.

Aye: Adamson, Bell, Crisp, Edwards, Howard, Hughes, Lee, Tribble, Vinson, and Walker.
Nay: Bartlett and Park.

IDAHO.

Aye: French and Smith.

ILLINOIS.

Aye: Baltz, Buchanan, Borchers, FitzHenry, Foster, Fowler, Hill, Hinebaugh, McKenzie, O'Hair, Rainey, Tavenner, and Thomson.
Nay: Britten, Copely, Gorman, Gallagher, Graham, Madden, Mann, McAndrews, Sabath, Stone, Stringer, and Williams.
Not voting: Hoxworth.

INDIANA.

Aye: Adair, Cox, Cullop, Dixon, Gray, Morrison, Moss, and Rauch.
Nay: Barnhart, Korbly, Lieb, and Peterson.
Not voting: Cline.

IOWA.

Aye: Good, Green, Haugen, Kennedy, Kirkpatrick, and Scott.
Nay: Connolly, Towner, Vollmer, and Woods.
Not voting: Prouty.

KANSAS.

Aye: Anthony, Campbell, Connelly, Doolittle, Helvering, Murdock, and Neeley.
Nay: Taggart.

KENTUCKY.

Aye: Barkley, Cantrill, Fields, Helm, Johnson, Langley, Powers, Rouse, Stanley, and Thomas.
Nay: Sherley.

LOUISIANA.

Aye: Aswell and Watkins.
Nay: Broussard, Dupré, Estopinal, and Lazaro.
Not voting: Elder and Morgan.
Elder was paired for the bill with Metz, of New York, against.

MAINE.

Aye: Guernsey, Hinds, and Peters.
Nay: McGillicuddy.

MARYLAND.

Aye: Lewis, Linthicum, Price, and Talbott.
Nay: Coady and Smith.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Aye: Gardner and Gillett.
Nay: Deitrick, Gallivan, Gilmore, Greene, Mitchell, Paige, Phelan, Roberts, Rogers, Thacher, Treadway, and Winslow.

MICHIGAN.

Aye: Hamilton, Kelley, McLaughlin, MacDonald, Mapes, J. M. C. Smith, Samuel W. Smith, and Woodruff.
Nay: Beakes, Cramton, Doremus, and Fordney.
Not voting: Lindquist.
Lindquist was paired for the bill with Graham, of Pennsylvania, against.

MINNESOTA.

Aye: Anderson, Davis, Lindbergh, and Volstead.
Nay: Manahan, Miller, and Stevens.
Not voting: Smith.
Steenerson answered "Present." He was paired against the bill with Faison, of North Carolina, for the bill.
Smith wished to vote "No," or against the bill, but not being in the Hall when his name was called was not permitted by the Speaker to vote.

MISSISSIPPI.

Aye: Candler, Collier, Harrison, Humphreys, Quin, Sisson, Stephens, and Witherspoon.

MISSOURI.

Aye: Alexander, Decker, Dickinson, Hamlin, Hensley, Lloyd, Rubey, Rucker, Russell, and Shackleford.
Nay: Bartholdt, Booher, Borland, Gill, and Igoe.

MONTANA.

Aye: Evans and Stout.

NEBRASKA.

Aye: Barton, Kinkaid, and Stephens.
Nay: Lobeck, Maguire, and Sloan.

NEVADA.

Not voting: Roberts.
Roberts was paired for the bill with Kahn, of California, against.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Nay: Reed and Stevens.

NEW JERSEY.

Aye: Baker, Browning, Drukker, Hart, and Parker.
Nay: Eagan, Hamill, Scully, Townsend, Tuttle, and Walsh.

NEW MEXICO.

Nay: Fergusson.

NEW YORK.

Aye: Danforth, Hamilton, Mott, Parker, Platt, and Underhill.
Nay: Brown, Bruckner, Calder, Cantor, Carew, Chandler, Clancy, Conry, Dale, Dooling, Driscoll, Fairchild, Fitzgerald, George, Gittins, Goldfogle, Goulden, Griffin, Levy, Loft, Maher, O'Brien, Patten, Riordan, Smith, Talcott, Taylor, Ten Eyck, and Wallin.
Not voting: Dunn, McClellan, Metz, Oglesby, and Wilson.
Dunn was paired for the bill with Metz, of New York, against.

NORTH CAROLINA.

Aye: Doughton, Godwin, Gudger, Kitchin, Page, Pou, Small, Stedman, and Webb.
Not voting: Faison.
Faison was paired for the bill with Steenerson, of Minnesota, against.

NORTH DAKOTA.

Aye: Helgesen and Young.
Nay: Norton.

OHIO.

Aye: Allen, Ashbrook, Bathrick, Bowdle, Claypool, Fess, Francis, Gard, Key, Post, Switzer, and White.
Nay: Brumbaugh, Bulkley, Crosser, Goeke, Gordon, and Sherwood.
Not voting: Whitacre.

OKLAHOMA.

Aye: Carter, Davenport, Ferris, McGuire, Morgan, Murray, Thompson, and Weaver.

OREGON.

Aye: Hawley, Lafferty, and Sinnott.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Aye: Ainey, Brodbeck, Butler, Carr, Dershem, Difenderfer, Farr, Griest, Hulings, Keister, Kiess, Kelly, Kreider, Lesher, Lewis, Palmer, Patton, Porter, Rothermel, Rupley, Temple, and Walters.
Nay: Bailey, Barchfeld, Burke, Casey, Donohoe, Edmonds, Lee, Logue, Moore, Morin, and Shreve.
Not voting: Graham, Langham, and Vare.
Langham was paired for the bill with Graham, of Pennsylvania, against.
Vare was paired against the bill with Wilson, of Florida, for the bill.

RHODE ISLAND.

Nay: Gerry.
Not voting: Kennedy and O'Shaunessy.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Aye: Aiken, Byrnes, Finley, Johnson, Lever, and Ragsdale.
Nay: Whaley.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

Aye: Burke, Dillon, and Martin.

TENNESSEE.

Aye: Austin, Byrns, Garrett, Houston, Hull, McKellar, Moon, Padgett, Sells, and Sims.

TEXAS.

Aye: Beall, Callaway, Dies, Eagle, Garrett, Gregg, Henry, Rayburn, Slayden, Smith, Stephens, Sumners, Vaughan, and Young.
Nay: Buchanan, Burgess, Garner, and Hardy.

UTAH.

Aye: Johnson.
Nay: Howell.

VERMONT.

Aye: Greene and Plumley.

VIRGINIA.

Aye: Carlin, Flood, Glass, Hay, Holland, Jones, Montague, Saunders, Slemp, and Watson.

WASHINGTON.

Aye: Bryan, Falconer, Humphrey, Johnson, and La Follette.

WEST VIRGINIA.

Aye: Avis, Brown, Hughes, Moss, Neely, and Sutherland.

WISCONSIN.

Aye: Cooper, Frear, and Lenroot.
Nay: Browne, Burke, Esch, Konop, Reilly, and Stafford.
Not voting: Cary and Nelson.
Nelson was paired for the bill with Kahn, of California, against.

WYOMING.

Aye: Mondell.

WHAT OPPONENTS OF IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION SAID.

The cause of cheap labor for steamship, mining, and steel corporations was presented in a most effective manner in Congress by several Representatives, who urged that the President's veto of the Burnett immigration bill be sustained.

The pleas of the workers now here that the flow of illiterate immigrants should be checked was overlooked in a clever manner by the cheap-labor advocates, who soared into oratorical ecstasies over a nation that they insisted flung open its doors to all.

Against these word pictures the friends of immigration restriction marshaled every cold fact in the sum total of actual conditions. They presented the reports of impartial Government investigators; the unbiased conclusions that American workers can not compete with illiterates, who lower living standards; the efforts of steamship and allied corporations to defeat the bill; the unanimous stand for restriction by unionists and farmers; the repeated votes in favor of restriction by both Houses of Congress; the fact that education is now a part of our national life; and the necessity of paying more attention to workers in this country and less to those in foreign lands.

Representative MANAHAN, of Minnesota, answered the pleas of organized workers in his State by charging that the petitions signed by these toilers meant nothing "so far as the sentiment of the rank and file of labor is concerned."

Mr. MANAHAN evidently believes men are hungry through a failure of our country to produce enough for all. He said:

"More men means more wealth produced; more toilers mean more necessities of life brought into existence to feed hungry men, to clothe shivering men."

To show that he was strictly neutral and should not be classed as a friend of the Steamship, Steel, and Coal Trusts, and other cheap-labor advocates, the speaker accused "selfish greedy men" of controlling the wealth of the Nation. Mr. MANAHAN was most emphatic in this matter and censured these corporations very severely.

Representative KINDEL, of Colorado, made a speech on equalizing transportation rates. He expressed the belief, "without egotism," that he had done more for the general mass of people to reduce the cost of living "than any other man on the floor of the House." The speaker quoted statistics to prove his assertion that transportation charges were responsible for all our ills. A colleague was interested in knowing Mr. KINDEL'S position on the matter before the House, and the Colorado gentleman took time to say "he was most emphatically opposed to the literacy test."

Representative LEVY, of New York, opposed the bill on the ground that "it is very unfair to captains, masters, agents, and consignees of vessels, as it lays down intricate rules and regulations." This, the speaker declared, would interfere "with the efficiency of our commerce and merchant service marine."

Representative CALDER, of New York, indicated that illiterate immigrants are fortunately situated in New York. He said:

"It is true that at present over 400,000 men and women in our city are out of employment, but in this vast number few are among the illiterate. These people take care of their savings until business revives."

Representative WALSH, of New Jersey, read his speech. Like a knight of old the eastern lawmaker rushed to the defense of President Wilson and loudly lamented the decadence of respect for authority. Said Mr. WALSH:

"Who of us to-day would dare to stand on this floor and insinuate that President Wilson was a sneak? Who would dare speak of Jackson as a coward? None, of course, because we know that to do so would be to sound the death knell of one's political career. Yet these accusations have been hurled at the head of our distinguished President."

As Mr. WALSH'S speech was prepared with the thought that the President would be attacked because of his veto, the speech sounded ridiculous, because nothing of the kind occurred. In fact, the contrary was true, as opponents of the Chief Executive were most courteous in stating their views, much to the chagrin of Representative WALSH, who also announced that he "would leave Washington on March 4 next."

Besides his vote, Representative DONOVAN'S opposition to the bill was recorded in a clipping he had read to the House, which declared that "we shall never learn to respect our real calling and destiny unless we have taught ourselves to consider everything as moonshine compared with the education of the heart."

Representative SABATH, of Illinois, referred to the National Liberal Immigration League and its method of raising money to combat restriction. Mr. SABATH could not see where the league was guilty "in asking aid from all to aid the cause which they advocated." The speaker excepted the steamship companies and other corporations, although he said these contributions were small and the league is now in debt. He could see no difference between the activities of the league and activities of the organizations that favored restriction because they wanted the standards of American life maintained.

Mr. SABATH prefaced these statements with this reference to the National Liberal Immigration League: "I did not agree with their activities." This placed him on both sides of the question, while leaving his auditors in the dark as to other practices the league may have been indulging in. The Illinois gentleman failed to take advantage of this opportunity and make public the particular "activities" he "did not agree with."

Representative BURKE of Pennsylvania gave this consolation to the man out of a job or who is trying to compete with lower living standards:

"There are millions of acres yet to be cultivated in this country, railroads to be built, tunnels to pierce the mountains, and new industries to be established in every section."

Representative MOORE, of Pennsylvania, was another gentleman who believed immigration raised wages and shortened hours. The labor unions formed no part of this theory. The speaker also referred to the National Liberal Immigration League and its methods of raising funds. He assured his colleagues he knew little of the league, but he could see no difference between its methods of raising funds and those of the American Federation of Labor and other bodies favoring restriction. Mr. MOORE failed to distinguish between an effort to maintain American living standards and an effort to reduce these standards.

The speaker rejected the theory that a shorter workday means greater production. He said an eight-hour day "means contraction of labor."

Mr. MOORE expressed alarm at the thought of having no one to do menial service. This, he feared, threatened our institutions. Said he:

"But who is to do the drudgery? If we are educated to despise the lowly, who will do the man's work on the road or the woman's work in the kitchen? Take away the untaught foreigner, who has done much to develop and construct our institutions, and rely too much upon that excess education and pride of scholarship which abhors the basic labor, you will halt our national progress."

Representative GALLIVAN, of Massachusetts, spoke in glowing terms of the "wholesome discontent" behind foreign immigration. He made no mention of the methods of steamship companies to stimulate immigration or the conditions forced upon illiterate immigrants by monopolists controlling the basic industries of this country. A report by the Federal Immigration Commission shows that many of these aliens, instead of being impelled by a "wholesome discontent," come here, the commission says, "merely to save enough, by the adoption, if necessary, of low standards of living, to return permanently to their home country."

These facts were overlooked by opponents of the bill, who pleaded with their colleagues to continue the policy "laid down by the fathers of our country." Mr. GALLIVAN'S speech was filled with these sentiments.

Establishment of Food-Supply Depots.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM KENT,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 17, 1915.

Mr. KENT. Mr. Speaker, I have received and have been requested to file petitions signed by more than 100,000 persons the caption of which petitions reads as follows:

FOOD-SUPPLY DEPOTS.

To President Woodrow Wilson and to the Congress of the United States:

Whereas the speculators are arbitrarily and unnecessarily raising the price of the necessities of life; and

Whereas the United States Government should conserve and protect the interests of the producers and consumers as against these speculators who are robbing the people, multitudes of whom are already in dire need: Therefore

We hereby petition the President and Congress of the United States to establish in the strategic industrial and agricultural centers of the

Nation food-supply depots and such other facilities as are necessary to maintain a just market for the producers and for the purchase of food products and for the sale of these necessities of life direct to the people.

Accompanying these petitions I submit the following letter:

SOCIALIST PARTY, NATIONAL OFFICE,
803 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill., February 15, 1915.

Hon. WILLIAM KENT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am sending you herewith a blank sample of a petition that was ordered circularized by the national executive committee of the Socialist Party. Something over 100,000 names were secured, and the package containing the petitions is being sent you by express.

I know we are imposing upon you somewhat by asking you to take care of this matter, but we know of no one in the Congress who is fairer to the Socialist Party than yourself, and I feel confident that you will be willing to do this for this organization.

With kindest regards, I beg to remain,

Very sincerely, yours,

WALTER LANFERSIEK,
Executive Secretary.

It would be superfluous and of undue cost to the Government to ask that this vast array of names should be printed, but full publicity should be given to the well-founded complaint of these thoughtful people. We all know that the abuse exists, and that profits derived from speculation and all costs incident to speculation represent parasitism and not production. It is no new thing for municipalities to establish markets where producer and consumer meet.

The contention of these many petitioners that the Federal Government should aid in eliminating the profits of speculation from being a charge on the people, thus earnestly urged, certainly deserves the consideration of our Government.

I ask the reference of the petition to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Immigration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OSCAR CALLAWAY,
OF TEXAS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 4, 1915.

The House had under consideration the veto message of the President on the act (H. R. 6060) to regulate the immigration of aliens to and the residence of aliens in the United States.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Mr. Speaker, under general leave to extend remarks on H. R. 6060, I append hereto the arguments of the proponents of the bill at the public hearing at the White House January 22, 1915. As the arguments of the opponents of the bill at that time and place were printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by the gentleman from Massachusetts, it seems to me that the public is entitled to both sides of the debate.

HEARING BEFORE THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES ON THE IMMIGRATION BILL (H. R. 6060).

The hearing on the above matter was held in the East Room of the White House at 10 o'clock a. m.

A list of the participants, together with the organizations represented by them, follows:

J. H. Patton, representing farmers' organizations.
Dr. Stewart Patton, representing alienists and State boards on insanity.
W. M. Clark, representing Brotherhoods of Engineers, Firemen, Conductors, and Trainmen.
Prof. H. P. Fairchild, of Yale University.
Prof. E. A. Ross, of Wisconsin University.
Fergus A. Dennis, representing 245,000 members of patriotic societies in Philadelphia and New Jersey.
Congressman J. HAMPTON MOORE, of Philadelphia.
Prof. Learned, of the University of Pennsylvania.
David A. Lourie, representing the Twentieth Century Club of Boston and the New Century Club.
Michael Leveen, grand master of the Independent Order of King Solomon, of Newark, N. J., gave way to Saul Cohn, as spokesman.
Capt. Samuel H. Borofsky, representing the largest Jewish congregation in Boston.
Congressman JAMES A. GALLIVAN, of Boston.
Oswald Villard, of the New York Evening Post.
Former Lieut. Gov. Robert F. Wagner, representing patriotic societies, as chairman of a subcommittee appointed by the executive committee of Tammany Hall Organization of the County of New York, presented a resolution expressing opposition to the measure. (Resolution not read.)
Louis Marshall, president of American Jewish Committee.
Alexander I. O'Rourke, of New York.
Former Judge Leon Sanders, of New York City, president of Hebrew Sheltering Immigrant Aid Society, also representing the Independent Order of Abraham, an organization of 200,000 paying members.
Congressman GEORGE W. LOFT, of New York City.
Marcus Braun, of New York, submitted a written statement, without speaking.
J. A. Shiplikoff, of New York.
Congressman HENRY M. GOLDFOGLE, of New York.
Miss Grace Abbott.
Rev. John Sobieszczy, of St. Stanislaus College, representing Polish-American Catholic Union.
Adam S. Gregorowicz, representing the Polish National Alliance of America.
Miss A. Emily Napieralski, general secretary, Polish Women's Alliance of America.
Congressman A. J. SABATH, of Illinois.
Hon. W. Bourke Cochran, of New York.
Edward T. Cahill presented a lengthy document, explaining its contents.
Frank Morrison, secretary of American Federation of Labor.
Charles Edward Russell stated that he represented 1,000,000 Socialist voters.

The PRESIDENT. Ladies and gentlemen, we are going to devote two hours and a half to this discussion, and in order that it may be conducted in as satisfactory a manner as possible we have arranged to divide the time equally between the two sides, those for the signing of the bill and those against it. It has been arranged that the time of those in favor of the bill should be allotted under the supervision of Mr. Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor, an hour being devoted to that side. The next hour and 15 minutes will be devoted to those who wish the bill vetoed, this time to be arranged by Representatives GALLIVAN, SABATH, and GOLDFOGLE; and then, at the conclusion of the 2 hours and 15 minutes which would be thus used up, the closing 15 minutes will be given to those who favor the bill, this time to be allotted as the other.

I am not informed as to who is to speak first in favor of the bill.

[Revised, owing to stenographic inaccuracies and omissions.]

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. President, I am going to request Mr. J. H. Patten, assistant secretary of the Farmers' National Congress, and for four years general counsel of the Farmers' Union, to speak in favor of the immigration bill.

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. President, Mr. J. H. Kimble, the national legislative agent of the Farmers' National Congress, is here, and there are representatives of other farmers' organizations present, but owing to the limited time alloted they have asked me to explain the attitude of the farmers. The Grange, the Farmers' National Congress, and the Farmers' Union are the only three farmers' organizations or agencies that are qualified to speak for the farmers of this country—organized or unorganized. They are a unit for this bill.

I have received recently a number of telegrams and letters similar to the following, which came yesterday:

CHARLESTON, W. VA., *January 20, 1915.*

J. H. PATTEN,
Congress Hall, Washington, D. C.

At 4 p. m. to-day the West Virginia State Grange, assembled in this city, unanimously passed a resolution reaffirming the action of the National Grange favoring the educational test in the immigration bill recently passed by Congress, and respectfully request you to present action to the President at the hearing next Friday.

(Signed) M. V. BROWN, *State Secretary.*

The action of the State Grange of West Virginia referred to in this night-letter telegram is typical of action taken year after year by the farmers' organizations of the country—the Grange—covering 32 States, in each one of which they have State organizations, and claiming a dues-paying membership of over 1,000,000 tillers of the soil; the Farmers' Union, which claims to have initiated over 3,000,000 farmers of the South, West, Middle West, and Northwest, covering 21 States with State organizations, and having locals in practically every State west of Pennsylvania and south of the Mason and Dixon line; and the Farmers' National Congress, which corresponds to the Landwirthschaftrat of Germany, except it is not created by the Government, and which is composed of delegates appointed by the governors and various agricultural organizations and bodies of the various States and Territories. It held its thirty-eighth annual session last October, and is regarded as a real farmers' congress, the name congress being characteristic. The National Grange, which met at Wilmington, Del., last November, again devoted considerable time to the discussion of immigration and reiterated its previous demand for the particular proposition now on your desk. I have here the National Grange, for last November—the official organ of the Grange, published at Westfield, Mass.—which contains the last resolution of the National Grange on immigration.

The resolution is part of one of four columns of matter on page 24 of this publication and occupies the second place under the heading, "Grange declares itself on four great public questions," and the article read in part as follows:

"RESTRICT IMMIGRATION—GRANGE INSISTS THAT RIGID TESTS BE APPLIED.

"The National Grange declared itself strongly upon the question of immigration and its announced policy attracted much interest outside the convention, as well as in, the papers of Wilmington and Philadelphia giving extensive space to its declaration on the matter.

"In concise form the Grange position on immigration was thus expressed, and is hereafter to be understood by all patrons as the position taken by their national organization, at a time when the question of immigration is taking on decidedly new significance, owing to the stirring happenings across the Atlantic. This was the National Grange declaration on immigration:

"'Among the thinking people of America there is an unusually strong feeling that the time has come when our immigration laws should be so amended as to prevent those ignorant, dishonest, vicious, and physically defective from entering our country.

"'While recognizing that ignorance is not a badge of dishonesty and crime, we are satisfied that the higher the average of education of our people, the better it is for our happiness, prosperity, and stability.

"'When the war now raging in the East is over and peace restored, Europe will unquestionably dump untold numbers of undesirables upon our shores. The better element from those countries will not be permitted to leave, if such a thing can be prevented. Right now is our accepted time for action. Therefore be it

"'*Resolved by the National Grange in forty-eighth session assembled*, That we demand the passage by Congress of such immigration laws, at the next session of that body, as will adequately protect our present citizenship from those of other countries, whose mode of living, ideals, and beliefs are inimical to those which have made us great.'"

It appears from this resolution, which was introduced by State Master H. Harland, of Idaho, and unanimously approved by the committee on foreign relations, of which State Master H. M. Culberson, of Wisconsin, was chairman, and which was unanimously adopted by the National Grange after several hours' discussion, and from the previous action of the grange in national meeting, that its over 1,000,000 mem-

bers ask for your approval of H. R. 6060. For instance, the National Grange two years ago adopted the following memorial to Congress:

"Whereas the Senate has passed an excellent bill, S. 3175, containing the legislation recently recommended by a congressional investigating commission as necessary to exclude undesirable immigration, and the House leaders have announced that the measure will be considered 'the first thing in December'; and

"Whereas we have recommended that the head tax be increased, the illiteracy test be enacted, the foreign steamships be fined for bringing undesirables, and that other judicious measures be adopted by the Congress of the United States: Therefore be it

"*Resolved by the National Grange in forty-sixth annual session*, That we urge this needed legislation."

On the second page of this official publication of the grange is a list of the 32 States in which the local pomonas or lodges are organized into State bodies and the names of the officials of these State organizations.

From this list of 32 State granges and their State officials you will see that Mr. M. V. Brown, who signed the night-letter telegram which I just read, is the State secretary of the West Virginia State Grange. On page 4 is matter taken from the official proceedings, showing that the National Grange has a surplus of $99,000, which makes a very respectable showing for a farmers' organization, and indicates a strength of membership and a business capacity that entitled the organization's resolutions and legislative wishes to consideration at your hands.

I have here various resolutions and convention actions of the State and National Farmers' Union. They extend consecutively over a period of eight years, and ask for the precise legislation contained in the 58-page bill that Congress has sent to you for approval or disapproval. At the last meeting of the National Farmers' Union at Fort Worth last September the following action was taken, according to page 53 of the minutes of that meeting:

"The committee on immigration presented the following report, which was, upon motion, adopted:

"Your committee on immigration beg leave to make the following report:

"An immigration bill, known as bill No. 3175, was introduced in the Senate in August, 1911, after being amended in the House, passed Congress, and sent to President Taft February 3, 1913, and vetoed by him. This bill has been reintroduced into the Senate, and your committee understands has not yet been made a law under this Democratic administration; and your committee feels that it can only reiterate and incorporate in its report the resolution of the immigration committee at the last convention, and which was unanimously adopted, which reads:

"'*Resolved by the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America in national annual convention assembled at Salina, Kans., this 4th day of September, 1913, representing over 3,000,000 members throughout 33 States*, That we reiterate our earnest demand for the needed legislation and urge upon the President and Members of the Senate and House that this bill, which is S. 2453 and H. R. 6060, be put upon the Federal statute books at the earliest possible opportunity; and be it further

"'*Resolved*, That the national secretary send this resolution to President Woodrow Wilson, Secretary W. B. Wilson, and Members of the Senate and House.'"

"Respectfully submitted.

"J. B. MITCHELL, *Kentucky.*
"R. L. LITTLE, *Nebraska.*
"L. C. CROW, *Washington.*"

The report and resolution adopted at Salina and referred to in this resolution as indorsed and reiterated were as follows:

Your committee on immigration beg to respectfully submit the following report:

"One year ago it was reported to the national convention that the congressional Immigration Commission, composed of three Senators, three Congressmen, Government officials, and others, after a four-year investigation at home and abroad, costing over a million dollars, had presented to Congress a 42-volume report of 500 pages per volume, recommending the very legislation which the Farmers' Union had been urging for years, and that it was pointed out the chairman of the commission, Senator DILLINGHAM, had introduced in the Senate on August 7, 1911, a 58-page bill—Senate bill No. 3175—containing the legislation that we had been urging and that had been recommended by the commission. The bill was reported to the Senate by the Senate Immigration Committee on January 17, 1912, and after three months' consideration and many days' debate passed the Senate on April 19, 1912, with only nine votes in opposition.

"It will be recalled that the commission found that 'many undeniably undesirable persons are admitted to this country every year' as a result of our weak laws and the shift in the source of our immigration by the profit-making steamship companies to southern Europe and western Asia, that 'there is a dangerous and apparently growing criminal element in the country, due to immigration,' and that the nine distinguished members of the commission unanimously concluded that 'substantial restriction is demanded by economic, moral, and social considerations,' recommending legislation that would give this country some such laws as other new countries have and as would tend to force the steamship companies to shift the source partially back to north European countries.

"The voluminous report of the commission completely vindicated our previous demands for this legislation, for it showed that this country has the feeblest immigration laws of any new country, and that our feeble laws accounted for our getting such an enormous number of undesirables, in spite of the efforts of our immigration inspectors. In this connection your committee feels that it ought to call your attention to the fact that last year 1,427,237 aliens entered this country, practically 90 per cent of whom came from southern Europe and western Asia, and most of whom were adult males coming merely to sojourn only temporarily, and only 15,000 of whom were 'farmers,' while the steamships report carrying back 611,924 aliens.

"Senate bill No. 3175 aimed at sifting out from this enormous stream the undesirable and at improving a little the quality of this enormous annual alien influx of nearly a million and a half. Having passed the Senate on April 19, 1912, and being reported to the House by the House Committee on Immigration June 7, the bill came up in the House for consideration under a special rule on December 14, 1912, shortly after our resolution of one year ago indorsing it was communicated to Members of the House by our faithful national secretary, and after continuous consideration for several days the bill was passed with an amendment on December 18 by a vote of 201 to 64.

"The Senate bill having been amended by the House necessitated a conference between the two Houses for adjusting their differences. After many conferences the bill was finally agreed upon and was passed again by the House and Senate, and was sent, on February 3, 1913, to the White House for President Taft's signature and approval. On February 6, in fulfillment of his preelection promise to certain persons and without precedent, the President held a public hearing in the east room of the White House, at which attorneys for the foreign steamships, certain employers and importers of cheap labor, and other large interests appeared in opposition to the bill, and your national legislative committee, together with the representatives of the American Federation of Labor and others, appeared in favor of the approval of the bill.

"To the surprise of everyone, President Taft on February 14, 1913, the last day and at the very last hour, returned to the Senate the 58-page bill with a 12-line message, saying that he did so 'with great reluctance,' but that he could not 'make up' his 'mind to sign it.'

"Four days later the Senate, after two days' debate, passed the bill over the veto by a vote of 72 to 18. The bill came up in the House the next day, February 19, 1913, but failed to receive the necessary two-thirds required by the Constitution, the vote being 214 for the bill to 113 against it, showing that a change of only 4 votes would have put the bill on the statute books.

"The same identical bill has been introduced recently in the Senate by the chairman of the Senate Committee on Immigration and in the House by the chairman of the House Committee on Immigration, both of whom have been in conference with the President and the Secretary of Labor, and who say that the bill will pass Congress the first thing next session and will certainly be signed by President Wilson.

"Therefore your committee respectfully recommends that the following resolution be adopted:

"Whereas the Immigration Commission, after years of investigation and a 42-volume report, recommended certain legislation contained in a 58-page bill that passed the Senate and House during the last Congress, only to fail by a few votes to receive the necessary two-thirds in the House needed to make it a law over a 12-line veto, after it had passed the Senate by the decisive vote of 72 to 18; and

"Whereas the same bill has been introduced recently in the Senate by the chairman of the Senate Committee on Immigration and in the House by the chairman of the House Committee on Immigration: Therefore be it

"*Resolved by the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America in national annual convention assembled at Salina, Kans., this 4th day of September, 1913, representing over 3,000,000 members throughout 33 States*, That we reiterate our earnest demand for this needed legislation and urge upon the President and Members of the Senate and House that this bill, which is Senate bill No. 2453 and H. R. 6060, be put upon the Federal statute books at the earliest possible opportunity; and be it

"*Resolved further*, That the national secretary send this resolution to President Woodrow Wilson, Secretary W. B. Wilson, and Members of the Senate and House.

"Respectfully submitted.

"R. F. DUCKWORTH, *Georgia, Chairman.*
"A. J. MARTIN, *North Carolina.*
"H. F. MCNAUGHT, *California.*"

These resolutions demand additional restrictive legislation before any attempt is made to divert and distribute immigration. The farmers of the country are a unit in the contention, as expressed in resolution by their organizations, that to divert and distribute immigrants before restrictive legislation is enacted excluding defectives, dependents, delinquents, and other undesirables, which, according to the congressional commission and to the official reports of State boards and officials, are entering this country in large numbers in spite of our apparently strong laws, would result in distributing and diverting over the agricultural sections these immigration evils from which the Northeast and its State legislatures are complaining, and that any attempt to find jobs and opportunities for aliens would act as a vacuum to pull in more immigrants and would be used as such by enterprising steamship agents abroad to drum up more traffic.

For instance, I have here a resolution adopted by the Farmers' Union six years ago that declares, among other things:

"Whereas foreign immigration is being advocated for the southern and western farming communities * * * and a Federal bureau is being established for the purpose of distributing and diverting foreigners; and

"Whereas the present flagrant lax enforcement of existing immigration laws and the urgent need of additional restrictive legislation will soon result in the agricultural sections of the South and West being made a dumping ground for undesirable southeast European and Asiatic population: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*," etc.

A somewhat similar resolution was adopted by the Farmers' National Congress as long ago as September 14, 1905, and which reads:

"Whereas much of the greatness of the United States is due to the energetic, industrious, and patriotic immigration which came to this country during the past century; and

"Whereas a strict execution of the present laws makes it possible to keep out the worst of the pauper and diseased elements of our present European and Asiatic immigration, but these laws admit large numbers of immigrants who are generally undesirable because unintelligent, of low vitality, of poor physique, able to perform only the cheapest kind of manual labor, tending to become a burden upon our large cities, and not available for supplying the need for agricultural laborers; and

"Whereas the coming of these undesirable aliens tends not only to lower the standards of American citizenship but also to prevent the coming of immigrants who would be valuable workers in the country districts and who would readily assimilate with our population: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That the Farmers' National Congress urges upon the Senators and Representatives of the United States the importance of further judicious regulations of immigration, and in particular demands the enactment of a law raising the present head tax upon immigrants to at least $10, and excluding absolutely immigrants of poor physique and those who are unable to read in some language."

Resolutions of this description have been reiterated year after year by each of the three national farmers' organizations and by many of their subsidiary State organizations. The resolutions represent the ever-increasing and growing sentiment that additional restrictive legislation should be enacted and that the restrictive policy commenced years ago should progress. The sentiment has crystalized into congressional action, and in 1907, as a part of an immigration law, a congressional commission was created to investigate the whole subject matter, at home and abroad, and especially the feasibility of the illiteracy or so-called educational test. The commission consisted of three Members of the House, three Members of the Senate, the United States Commissioner of Labor, C. P. Neill; the Assistant Secretary of Commerce and Labor Mr. Wheeler; and Prof. Jenks, a writer and scholar of international reputation.

I have here the first or partial report of that commission, which employed trained experts and investigators, expended something like a million dollars, and made a 41-volume report to Congress, recom-

mending practically every one of the one hundred and more changes in existing law that the bill now before you contains.

This is House Document No. 1489, of the Sixtieth Congress, second session. I understand that it was edited by then Congressman W. S. Bennet, now vice president of the National Liberal Immigration League, and the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for February 27, 1909, shows that he presented the report to the House and asked to have it printed. On page 29 is a paragraph devoted to "The immigration law and its administration," which reads, in part, as follows:

"It is generally admitted by those acquainted with the subject that notwithstanding the fact that the present law proposes to provide for the exclusion of every undesirable immigrant, many undeniably undesirable persons are admitted every year. The commission's inquiries concerning defective and delinquent classes show this fact very clearly, and in a way which, it is believed, will be thoroughly understood and appreciated. In theory the law debars criminals, but in fact many enter; the law debars persons likely to become public charges, but data secured by the commission show that too many immigrants become such within a short time after landing. The same is true of other classes, nominally, at least, debarred by the law. In short, the law, in theory so far as its exclusion provisions are concerned, is exceptionally strong, but in effect it is, in some respects, weak and ineffectual. The commission has discovered several sources of this weakness; it is its purpose to find the others and to recommend some effective remedies."

As I said, I understand that this was edited by ex-Congressman Bennet, now vice president of the National Liberal Immigration League. Mr. Bennet was the only one of the nine members of the commission not to concur in the commission's recommendation that the illiteracy test is the "most feasible single method for excluding undesirable immigration," although he joined the other eight in recommending "substantial restriction." At the time the commissioners went over the volumes of data and drew up their conclusions and recommendations he was absent from Washington, and returned later to file a short dissenting report.

I know that this voluminous report is being made light of by some learned attorneys in New York City that have among their clients the foreign steamship companies, large importers, and others who fear that their profits may be cut into as a result of reducing the steerage profits and the consequent putting up of freight rates, and who are interested in cheap-labor exploitation schemes. And, Mr. President, if we can judge by past experience, and if you will examine the protests against this bill that are coming to you through the mails and over the wires, I am absolutely sure that you will find that they come from the people who want to Russianize the working people now here.

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Patten, let me suggest here that suggestions of motive had better be avoided. I think we had better stick to the merits of the question.

Mr. PATTEN. I beg your pardon.

Much is said by the opponents of this bill about this country being a haven and place of refuge, as though the over 1,000,000 annually coming came to escape hard conditions abroad, and once here never returned to their native lands. Immigration statistics do not bear out their plea. The last annual report of the Commissioner General of Immigration shows that 1,405,081 aliens came here last year, and that 633,805 aliens left this haven of the oppressed, this asylum for the downtrodden. In a splendid speech by Senator OVERMAN, delivered in the Senate April 19, 1912, the Senator called attention to some very interesting facts. I have here a very interesting table:

Table showing immigration, emigration, etc., for the last 11 years.

Year ending June 30—	Total alien arrivals.[1]	Total alien departures.[2]	Immigrant alien arrivals in Note 1.	Per cent of immigrant aliens who have been in the United States before.	Nonimmigrant alien arrivals.
1901	562,868	209,318	487,918	11.9	74,950
1902	730,798	220,103	648,743	9.5	82,055
1903	921,315	247,559	857,046	8.9	64,269
1904	840,714	332,019	812,870	12.8	27,844
1905	1,059,755	385,111	1,026,499	12.1	33,256
1906	1,166,353	356,257	1,100,733	12.1	65,618
1907	1,438,469	431,306	1,285,349	6.8	153,120
1908	924,695	714,828	782,870	8.1	141,825
1909	944,235	400,392	751,786	[3]	192,449
1910	1,198,037	380,418	1,041,570	[3]	156,467
1911	1,030,300	518,215	878,567	[3]	151,733
Total since 1900, or for last 11 years..	10,817,539	4,195,524	9,673,953	.....	1,143,583

[1] Official Government statistics. (Annual report of Commissioner General of Immigration.)

[2] Statistics furnished to the Government by steamship companies. (Required by act of Feb. 20, 1907.)

[3] Not given after 1909.

NOTE 1.—The distinction "immigrant alien" and "nonimmigrant alien" is fanciful, the only difference being as to whether the alien comes for the first time or comes intending to remain. A "nonimmigrant alien" is so classified if the alien says he expects to return to the native land.

NOTE 2.—Although 9,787,239 aliens entered this country during the last census decade (1900 to 1910) the Census Bureau reports that our foreign-born population increased only 3,129,766, which tends to show that the number of alien departures reported by the steamship companies falls short of the number that actually leave the country. The Immigration Commission reports that "at least 40 per cent of those coming return," taking a minimum of $250,000,000 annually out of the country.

This table of statistics shows that during the last census decade almost 10,000,000 aliens entered the country. According to the census of 1910, our foreign-born population increased only 3,000,000 during those 10 years. What became of the other 7,000,000? The foreign steamship companies admit carrying back 4,000,000. It appears they took back about 7,000,000. At any rate, the bulk of the 10,000,000 did not show up in this country in the census returns, and more than likely were either ground to powder by the exploiters of cheap labor or went back. The big trusts prefer ignorant, servile, illiterate labor, unable to speak our language. It is not true that the hundreds of thousands that return each year to their native lands come back here again, for the table shows that only a small part of those coming any year have ever been here before. But let us see what the commission in its official report says about the condition of the returning hundreds of thousands—the six or eight hundred thousand, at least, that return each year from this "haven," this land of "refuge and asylum" for the worthy and industrious and honest. The commission, at page 24 of volume 1, under the caption, "Conclusions and recommendations," finds that—

"The old immigration movement was essentially one of permanent settlers. The new immigration (since 1882) is very largely one of individuals, a considerable proportion of whom apparently have no intention of permanently changing their residence, their only purpose in coming to America being to temporarily take advantage of the greater wages paid for industrial labor in this country. * * * Thousands of those returning have, under unusual conditions of climate, work, and food, contracted tuberculosis and other diseases; others are injured in our industries; still others are the widows and children of aliens dying here. These, with the aged and temperamentally unfit, make up a large part of the aliens who return to their former homes to remain."

Much is also said about farmers and the need of them. But they are not coming. Of the 1,405,061 aliens that entered last year, 19,120 were farmers, were officially classified as farmers; 314,000 out of that million and a half said they had worked on a farm, or were farm laborers, doubtless living in congested centers and going back and forth each fall. Less than 2 per cent, according to the statement of the Immigration Bureau, of the annual million and nearly a half really go to the rural districts.

A word with reference to the South. There are certain persons, who have no authority to speak for the farmer or for the South, who say the South wants and needs the present influx. Mr. President, the bees go to the honey pot. The immigrants go where it is most profitable and agreeable to go, and they do not go to the South. The South is afflicted with one unfortunate illiterate immigration which drove the average white man, who did not have the money to buy a large tract of fertile land and a large number of slaves, up into the hills and the mountains, where he became the "poor white trash," and he is beginning to come back down to work in the mines, in the factories, and on the farm. Without foreign immigration the South during the last 50 years has increased at a greater rate in railroad mileage, in bank deposits, in number of cotton-mill spindles, in mineral output, and every other field, including population or labor supply, out of its own loins, than has the Northeast, with all its tremendous immigration. And for reasons which impel the working classes of New England to ask for additional restrictive legislation to curb the efforts of the protected trusts to bring in cheap labor for the purpose of beating down the standards of American life and American living.

Just a word with reference to what we may expect. Mrs. M. French Selden, who is a welfare worker of international perspective and reputation, and among other things a fellow of the Royal Geographic Society, returned to this country recently and gave a long interview, according to the New York Times of January 16, 1915, in which she declared that additional restrictive legislation was absolutely necessary.

Among other things she says:

"This country is going to be flooded with a class of undesirables unless you put up the bars. * * * The Belgians who wish to come here are renegades, or else they are the aged, the imbecile, or the poor women and children. They will bring nothing with them. They will add nothing to the country. Would it not be better for those who are willing to spend money to colonize them here to help repatriate them?"

Much the same sentiment seems to be entertained by Lucius L. Solomon, of San Francisco, who, as a delegate to the National Conference of Jewish Charities last May at Memphis, Tenn., called attention to the estimate of the California commission on immigration, and asserted: "That the completion of the Panama Canal merely renders California more accessible by tidewater," and would bring many immigrants to the western slope. "It may be boldly asserted that immigration is the underlying cause of all of the social problems of American Jewry," he said. "That it will continue to be so when the new tide sets in upon our west coast following the completion of the canal is evidenced by many unmistakable signs," and he urged "the literacy test, an annual limitation upon the number entitled to admission, the exclusion of unskilled labor," and the like.

There seems little doubt about the European war fulfilling Mrs. French-Selden's and President Gompers's prophecy about an increased influx of undesirables and an increase in quantity as well as a deterioration in quality. The farmers of New York State object to the $3,000,000 annually paid in taxes for the care and keep of alien insane which this bill would in great part lift from their shoulders. They believe in elementary education and favor requiring as much of newcomers as we compel of our own native born. The farmers of the country ask for this legislation, for genuine rural-credits legislation, for Federal aid to good roads, and efficient, practical marketing work. I thank you, Mr. President.

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. President, I will now call on Dr. Stewart Patton, representing the delegation of alienists and State boards of insanity, for 10 minutes.

Dr. PATTON. Mr. President, the gentlemen for whom I have the honor to be the spokesman desire to bring to your attention certain provisions of the immigration law which relate to insane or mentally defective aliens, and to state very briefly the reasons for these amendments to the present immigration law.

There are no other provisions in this bill which, in our opinion, are of greater importance than these, or likely to prove more beneficial to the people of this country if enacted into law.

Those whose views I wish to present are the chief executive officers of boards which have to do with the care of the insane and the mentally defective in the following States: Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. In the public institutions of these six States are to be found nearly three-fourths of all the insane or mentally defective immigrants who are receiving public care in this country. In addition, I desire to speak for the following National or State societies devoted to the study of insanity and mental deficiency, the promotion of the care of those suffering from these conditions, or the prevention of mental diseases: The National Committee for Mental Hygiene, the American Medico-Psychological Association, the American Genetic Association, the Committee of One Hundred on Public Health, the New York Psychiatrical Society, the Mental Hygiene Committee of the New York State Charities Aid Association, and the

Eugenics record office. Properly accredited representatives of each of these State boards and of each of these societies are in this room. Although what I have to say has the unqualified indorsement of all these gentlemen, each is ready to speak for his own State or for his own organization and to give any specific information which you may desire.

The States whose representatives are here to-day are literally staggering under the burden of caring for the insane.

Mr. President, I take the liberty of reminding you, sir, that there are more insane in institutions in this country than there are students in colleges and universities. There are more insane in this country than there are enlisted men of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps; and in addition to these, Mr. President, each year there is being added to this great army an army practically equal to the Army of the United States, approximately 60,000 new cases every year. The cost of conducting these institutions in which this vast number of persons is cared for is so great that in several States it is exceeded only by the amount expended for education. In New York the expenditures for the insane are one-fourth of the total appropriation of the State. And, Mr. President, if proper provision were made in this country for the care of the insane, the amount expended in the care of the insane would exceed that expended for education.

So I think that we are justified in saying, sir, that in dealing with this problem that we are dealing with one of the great biological problems which fundamentally affect not only the future of this country but the future of our race; and certainly the permanency of democratic institutions must depend upon the intelligent interest that we take in the conservation of the brain power of this Nation.

Even with these great sums devoted to the care of the insane much remains to be done. In many States large numbers of these sick persons are not yet delivered from the misery and degradation of jails and almshouses, and in very few States is our duty to these most unfortunate of the communities' wards fully discharged.

In the case of the mentally defective existing provisions are still more inadequate. It has been estimated by careful students of the subject that only 10 per cent of all the feeble-minded are in suitable institutions; the others are unjustly confined in prisons and reformatories, inadequately cared for in almshouses, or at large in the community, often a menace to the morals and to the safety of others and more often themselves the victims of greed or lust. Enlightened States are keenly aware of the importance of solving the great problem of providing for the mentally defective, but the magnitude of the task is such that our legislatures are reluctant to undertake it.

What can be said, sir, of the intelligence of a country which, just awakening to this vast problem, and just stirring itself to deal with it, fails to take every necessary precaution to prevent the task being rendered still more difficult by a large and steady influx of the insane and the mentally defective of other lands? In requesting that Congress provide us with an immigration law under which the insane and the mentally defective can be excluded we can not be accused of inhumanity. The gentlemen whom I represent are devoting their lives to the welfare of these persons, and I may say, Mr. President, that we are actuated by only one motive in coming here—the tremendous problem which confronts us as a Nation and the tremendous necessity of doing something to conserve the brain power of this Nation.

The States which I have named receive their population chiefly through immigration. In New York State the number of immigrants who come to settle permanently there every year is greater than the number of babies born. The application, through eugenics, of the facts learned by the scientific study of heredity will doubtless make it possible in years to come to cut off defective strains, so that fewer babies who have inherited the mental defect of their parents will be born. But how weak our efforts in this direction compared with the enormous need! It is in eliminating the insane and mentally defective from the great tide which flows through Ellis Island that the most practical and humane field for the control of insanity and feeble-mindedness in this country is to be found.

It may be said that the present immigration law excludes the insane and the mentally defective. In reply I have to say that under the present immigration law our public institutions are filled with the alien insane. There are serious defects in the immigration law, and these defects have long been recognized, not only by those who care for the alien insane and mentally defective in the public institutions of this country, but by the medical authorities actually engaged in the examination of immigrants at our ports of entry.

The amendments which I will read are indorsed not only by the State boards and medical organizations which are represented here to-day, but by every national medical organization which is interested in psychiatry—that is, the study of mental disease—and by more than 20 State and local medical organizations.

I shall now take the liberty of reading these amendments.

Listed in the order of their importance, these are the amendments which I desire to advocate:

First. Providing that medical officers of the United States Public Health Service who have had special training in the diagnosis of insanity and mental deficiency shall be detailed for duty at all ports of entry designated by the Secretary of Labor, and that the services of interpreters and suitable facilities for making mental examinations and observing cases shall be provided for these medical officers.

Second. Providing that the surgeon of each vessel shall make a mental examination of each immigrant before accepting him for passage. (A physical examination only is required at present.)

Third. Providing a fine of $200 for bringing to this country any insane or mentally defective person whose condition could have been detected by a competent medical examination at the port of embarkation.

Fourth. Making it mandatory for the Secretary of Labor to provide suitable attendants for immigrants being deported when they require personal care on account of mental or physical disability.

Fifth. Increasing from three to five years the period in which deportation of aliens who have become public charges in this country can be effected, unless it can be affirmatively shown that their dependence is due to causes arising subsequent to landing.

Sixth. Providing that deportation may be effected subsequently if proceedings are instituted within five years.

I may say, sir, in conclusion, that should you desire further information upon this subject any of the gentlemen here would welcome the opportunity to present our case more in detail.

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. President, I will now call on Mr. William M. Clark, representing the Brotherhoods of Engineers, Firemen, Conductors, and Trainmen.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I have the pleasure of speaking for the railway employees engaged in train service in this country. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, the Order of Railroad Conductors, and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen favor this bill with the literacy test. These organizations comprise a membership of practically 350,000 citizens of this country. They are banded together as laboring men for self-protection and mutual benefit, and as one means of protection they have urged legislation restricting immigration.

Year after year they have expressed their insistent desire for this legislation. By resolutions passed at their supreme conventions, in meetings of local lodges and divisions, and by individual letters and telegrams they have voiced their approval of the principle of the present bill. They are affected. They are interested. This is no new subject to them. The membership have been advised of the progress of this bill. They watched to see it come from the committee more than 17 months ago. They knew when it was before the House of Representatives and followed its course in that body. They were equally interested in the struggle to secure action by the Senate, and they knew when the bill went to conference. At every stage they have been ready to urge their Representatives in Congress to support this bill. They are looking forward to its approval at this session.

Mr. President, these 350,000 railroad boys are a unit in asking you to sign this bill and let it become a law. I am directed to make this appeal on behalf of Mr. H. E. Wills, the assistant grand chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; Mr. P. J. McNamara, vice president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen; and Mr. Val Fitzpatrick, vice president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. We are associated together here in Washington as the national legislative representatives of these four organizations, and, in order that you may have further knowledge as to the attitude of these organizations, I would like your permission to place a copy of the hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, as of December 11 and December 12, before you. [Handing copy to the President.]

I thank you for your courtesy.

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. President, I will now ask Prof. H. P. Fairchild, of Yale University, to address you on this bill.

Prof. FAIRCHILD. Mr. President, I wish to touch very briefly simply on three points with reference to the literacy test, which seem to me to be of importance: First. Is it illiberal? Second. Is it un-American? Third. Is it a good selective test?

It is common in our every day talk to refer to the restrictionist as a narrow and illiberal man; while to say that a man has liberal views upon restriction is tantamount to saying that he is opposed to restriction. The assumption which lies back of this habit is the assumption that the restrictionist is concerned with his own personal interests, or with the interests of his own class, or of his own nation rather than with the interests of wider humanity. This may be true of some restrictionists; it is not true of all. There are restrictionists who are such because they believe that restriction has to do with the interests not of themselves or their own class or nation, not of any individuals of any class or nation, but with the interests of all humanity; and not only with the interests of the humanity of this generation, but of the humanity of generations to come.

To say that the United States is the final stronghold of democracy is merely to state a truism; yet it is also to enunciate a truth which should not be forgotten. Here, in this country, because of the conjuncture of natural resources and advantages, because of the make-up of the original population, because of all that has gone into our national history, the field is arranged for the most favorable struggle of the common people up to their great destiny that can be found anywhere among the nations of the earth. Our great function as a nation is to show what can be done under the most favorable circumstances to help the great mass of the common people to achieve the greatest that is possible for them; and we can not tolerate anything which threatens to check or retard the progress of the common people on to this great goal.

Now, there are grave reasons for feeling that two large elements of diverse peoples, with different languages, different manners, different ideals in the body politic of the United States constitute this sort of a menace that threatens to check, retard, perhaps permanently to stop the progress, toward this great goal. This is not the time nor the place, Mr. President, to enter into a detailed discussion of the arguments which lead to this view. They are long and complicated, and some of them technical. Suffice it to say that these arguments are sufficiently weighty to have convinced a large number—I think I may safely and fairly say a large majority—of the careful students of immigration problems to the side of restriction.

The whole thing is a matter of conservation. Every conservation program is accomplished by restriction, and involves the sacrifice of the interests of individuals. Yet we do not call the conservationist narrow. Every program of social reform is accomplished by restriction, and involves the sacrifice of the interests of individuals; yet we do not call the social reformer illiberal. If in seeking to work out this high destiny of the United States we must sacrifice the interests of some individuals, it is merely a law of nature. It is something which we can not avoid. The restrictionist, who holds the view that he does for reasons of this sort, does not recognize nor grant any superior claim to consideration on the part of the American individual as against the individual of any other group or nation. He does recognize and assert the claim of humanity as against the claims of all individuals, of whatever name or clime, of this generation.

In the light of these facts, I submit to you, Mr. President, that the policy of restriction, even by the literacy test, need not necessarily be either narrow or illiberal.

My second point is, Is the literacy test un-American?

It is not un-American to insist upon education. We do it in the case of our own children. We spend untold millions of dollars to establish, equip, and maintain a public-school system, and then by our compulsory education laws we say to our own children, "You must take advantage of these schools; we do not consider you fitted for adult participation in the life of this country unless you have the rudiments at least of an education." Is it logical to say to the foreigner who comes without any knowledge of American life or ways, "It makes no difference to you whether you are educated or not; you will get along all right; our own children must be educated, but it is a matter of indifference to you." Or put it in this way: Suppose a pair of immigrant parents came to this country bringing a child of 3 and set up their home here. That child would be compelled to go through the public schools of this country, and then we would say he was fitted to enter into the active life of the Nation. If that same child remained in Europe and came to this country at the age of 20, shall we say to him, "Education is a matter of indifference." Under which conditions would he need the education the most, if he had been brought up and trained in this country or if he had grown up in foreign countries?

Now, I know that the claim is made that this test of literacy is a test of opportunity and not of character, and that it is illiberal and un-American to test people on the basis of opportunity; that we should judge them on the basis of character. Here, again, I think we find an

error. It is not un-American to test people on the basis of opportunity if by "up-American" we mean that it is not in harmony with the established usages and legislation of this country. Even in our immigration statutes we can find countless examples of tests—I say "countless," but that is too large a word—many examples of tests which are really tests of opportunity. Take our pauperism test. Many a pauper immigrant is debarred because of meager opportunities in his youth, not because of any flaws in character. Take our disease test, particularly for trachoma. It is a test which operates against certain peoples as compared with other peoples. It is a test of opportunity, applying primarily to people who have grown up in certain lands.

Take even the polygamy test. That is really a test of opportunity. [Laughter.] The Hindu grows up in a polygamous society, and adopts that form of life just as naturally as one who grows up in a northern European country adopts the monogamous form of life. And in neither case is it a test of character. It is a test of the institutions in which one has grown up.

So that it is not un-American to test people on the basis of opportunity; and if we once start to try to sift out the characteristics of ourselves or of anyone else, which are due to opportunity, and separate them from those which are due to character or heredity, we find ourselves in a hopeless muddle, because, after all, opportunity and environment, being one and the same, are closely bound up with heredity and character The only thing to do is to determine what is necessary for the welfare of this Nation, and to act on the facts as they exist.

My third point is: Is the literacy test a good selective test? Here again I think the issue is merely confused by treating it on an individualistic basis. If you pick up half a dozen men at random on the street, you may find that the two who are illiterate are just as valuable citizens as the four who are literate. The advocates of the literacy test do not claim that it is a sole and sufficient test. It is just one other thing which seemed to be needed. Neither do they claim that it will keep out everyone who would make an unfortunate citizen of this country and would admit all who would be valuable citizens. We can understand this point clearly by considering the literacy test as a group test, and the argument is simply this: Those groups which are most difficult to assimilate in this country, and therefore constitute the greatest menace, are those who are least trained in the ways and habits and ideals of democracy. Now, the democratic nations of the world have long ago established public-school systems, through which their citizens go, and consequently they manifest a low percentage of illiteracy. The nondemocratic nations have a high percentage of illiteracy. So that illiteracy appears not so much as an evil in itself as an indication of a difference between the conditions in which the illiterates have grown up and the conditions which we count upon as necessary in this country. So the illiterate groups tend to be those which are most difficult to assimilate, most difficult to harmonize into the life of this country, because they have not been trained in democracy; consequently they are the groups which should be reduced in numbers as we admit them to our shores.

And in all this we make no distinction as regards the innate character of individuals or groups. It is merely a question of how well one group will fit into the life of this Nation.

Finally, I would say that this test is a good test, because it is not merely a sieve, but it is a tonic. The mere threat of a literacy test, we are told on the best of authority, two years ago started schools upon the hillsides all over southern and central Italy where there had been none before; and when the bill failed the schools were closed down. What greater service can we render than to establish a standard which will stimulate and further the progress of popular education in the foreign lands? Our duty, Mr. President, as a nation is to set standards. We can not hope to render our greatest service to humanity by helping individuals. What we must do to conserve our own proper destiny, to render our own function to mankind, is to safeguard every element which goes to make the United States what it is and to further the progress of this country toward the highest goal of democracy.

I thank you.

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. President, I will now call on Prof. E. A. Ross, of Wisconsin University.

Prof. ROSS. Mr. President, I represent no organized body. I am an absolutely disinterested student of society. I think I can say that, so far as I know, all those who profess the subject of sociology in this country are in favor of this bill. I stand for the literacy test. Once I was attracted by the idea of introducing a more searching and all-round test. I think many here have been attracted by the idea, for example, of the great eugenist, Prof. Davenport, of making sure of the personal record on the other side and of the family history of the would-be immigrant. But I presently came to appreciate that the European Governments will not tolerate a lot of United States agents examining with a microscope their police-station blotters and their court archives, the records of their prisons and jails and almshouses and foundling houses and insane hospitals. And yet that is the only way in which you can get light upon the personal record and family history of the applicant.

So that is a delusive proposition. Then there is the idea of a very searching, all-round individual examination of the applicant. It would have to be on this side. We can not imagine Italy tolerating an elaborate United States immigration service, with seventy-five or a hundred employees, at the Bay of Naples. They would not tolerate that. It has to be in this country. Now, Mr. President, I would oppose that because of its cruelty of operation. We can not have a test that can not clearly be foreknown by the man in Roumania or Syria or Russia in its application to himself. Exclusion can not be at Ellis Island; exclusion must be in the mind of the would-be immigrant. Now, the literacy test has the advantage of foreknowableness, and if there is one man in a hundred who could not know or could not tell whether he read well enough, the steamship agencies, in order to avoid being obliged to carry him back if rejected, would see to it that this simple test was applied to him before they sold him a ticket.

Now, suppose we had an elaborate all-round physical and mental examination at Ellis Island. Suppose even 1 out of 10 were rejected. Consider the situation of sixty or seventy thousand rejects a year—men who had sold their cow and their furniture, and given up their holding, and spent their all, nearly, in getting their families 5,000 miles to the shores of this country, and then were turned back. Such a test is absolutely impracticable, because the heart of humanity will not stand it. And so, on the basis of its foreknowableness, the literacy test is absolutely the only test of any selective consequence that can be considered. To oppose that, then, is to stand for unrestricted immigration.

Now, my other point, Mr. President, is this: That it takes some imagination to keep in view the parties to this case. It is not an issue between illiterate immigrants who wish to come in and us who are already here. It is a case between the visible, concrete, would-be immigrant, with a local habitation and a name, and with a personal fate which hinges upon his admission or nonadmission, and posterity, that has not been vestured with individuality, that is not concrete, opaque men and women. And yet posterity is certainly as real as the illiterate people now in Syria or Roumania. There will be a hundred and fifty millions of people in this country 60 years from now, and nearly all of them are not yet born; but they will certainly be here, and they will curse us if we do not have in mind their welfare in this matter. We have now more than three and a half millions of foreign-born illiterates in this country, coming at the rate of a hundred and fifty or two hundred thousand a year. The effect of that inevitably is to diminish our rightmindedness, which is the basis of easy, concerted civic action. It delays the ascent of man; it reenforces the saloon; it shatters our precious phantom of political attention in thrashing over old straw, questions that we supposed had been settled years ago instead of reserving our attention for the disposal of the real questions that confront the American people and will advance their progress.

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. President, there are a great number of societies, patriotic and other, that desire to be represented. I understand they had a meeting and it was agreed to give them as much time as we could. They have selected Mr. Fergus A. Dennis to represent them, and under the agreement of an hour they have, by my time, nine minutes.

Mr. DENNIS. Mr. President, I am very glad to speak to you as an old Princeton classmate and ex-member of Princeton University on this great question, and representing, as I do, 245,000 members of patriotic and religious societies in the city of Philadelphia and in the State of New Jersey—165,000 members in the State of New Jersey alone—ask you to approve this bill as it has come to you. As I understand, there is no serious objection on the part of any considerable number of persons to anything but the reading test, and consequently, in the very limited time allotted I want to say a word about our attitude toward this particular provision.

The patriotic societies and the American public believe in every individual having an elementary education, on the theory that reading, writing, and arithmetic better fit him for earning a living and intelligently participating in all our public affairs. The patriotic orders, with their life devoted to the public-school system, and the religious societies to our blessed Lord's work, all lay the foundation for the betterment of American manhood and prevent whatever may interfere with its growth and its progress.

We believe in compulsory school-attendance laws, and naturally think this country ought to require as much of foreign-born adults coming here as we require of our own native born, for their own good as well as the country's good. This has been so well said by a previous speaker. Why should we ask of our own what he who comes to become a part of this great body politic should not possess? Why should we force the education of our children to a standard that makes them fit for the intelligent use of all the rights of American citizenship, and say to the youth from abroad, to the man from the other side, "You do not need to be able to intelligibly read and write to understand these things"? We believe in compulsory school attendance, and we naturally think, I repeat, that this country ought to require as much of foreign-born adults coming here as we require of our own native born. The Commissioner of Education has reported that there are nearly 6,000,000 illiterate adults, and that the illiteracy of these 6,000,000 costs the country about $500,000,000 annually. We believe that the best is worth paying and working for. We believe that any worthy, industrious, energetic person desirous of coming here who could not pass the mild test in this bill, or who does not come under some of its humane exceptions, would soon learn to read if he is made of the kind of stuff we want to find in American citizens. We do not believe it is any more of a hardship to impose on our own who are here than upon those coming here, and we expect it before the alien here can be naturalized. Why should we not require it for admission? In many States aliens can vote immediately, almost, after declaring their intention to become citizens. We claim they should know enough when they come here to make them intelligent citizens.

I thank you.

Mr. MORRISON. We might as well reserve our three minutes, I think.

The PRESIDENT. Very well.

[Opponents of bill spoke.]

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. President, I am heartily in sympathy with the statement made by Mr. O'Rourke, of New York, in regard to the inalienable rights to life, liberty, and happiness. I would be more so if I did not know that those rights—life, liberty, and happiness—are being alienated every day in this country, notwithstanding that declaration was made by our forefathers. [Applause.]

Lest misunderstanding may exist, I might point Mr. Cockran's attention to the constitutions of many of our States which call for the citizens to be able to read to entitle them to vote. If the citizen does not vote, he certainly is of no assistance in the government of this country.

Mr. President, the proposition to prohibit immigration to the United States of able-bodied men and women because they can not read has a sympathetic viewpoint where individuals are considered; but, notwithstanding such a viewpoint, the American Federation of Labor, which represents the organized workers of the country and which is the only method or organization or agency which can with any justification or reason represent the unorganized workers, has repeatedly declared by resolutions in conventions that "the literacy test is the most practical means of restricting the present immigration of cheap labor, whose competition is so ruinous to the workers already here, whether native or foreign."

A great deal has been said and published in an endeavor to create the impression that it is necessary to induce immigration to come to this country for the purpose of securing agricultural workers. There is no question in my mind but that such agitation has for its purpose the enticing of emigrants to our country to supply the United States Steel Co., the great manufacturing concerns, coal companies, packing houses, and railroads with men willing to work at a cheaper wage than those who are born here. [Applause.]

That there may be no misunderstanding in regard to what the farmers think about using immigrants for farm hands, their representative, in his statement to you to-day, has clearly placed the farmers' organizations on record as opposed to the proposition of bringing immigrants into this country to do agricultural work.

The opponents of this test make the argument that common laborers would belong to the class that could not pass the literacy test, and that this country is very much in need of that particular kind of labor. The great industrial companies of this country have more men to-day than they can employ, but they want the present conditions of unemployment to obtain. [Applause.] They want two men for every job. [Applause.] They know that unemployed men must work to live, and their necessities will force them to accept any wage set by the compa-

nies. Hence the workers' wages are literally held below a living wage by the hunger, the misery, and the distress of the unemployed.

The organized wageworkers have declared in favor of restriction of immigration to maintain unlowered the American standard of life. [Applause.] Those who oppose restriction are representatives of companies and associations composed of employers of labor, whose dominant interest is the dollar, and of associations that depend for their existence upon contributions from the employing class. They feel that a reduction of immigration will result in a higher wage for their workers, which will disturb the profits and dividends from products manufactured by them, or perhaps they have been informed that if the steamship companies do not receive $60,000,000 a year for transporting aliens they will raise their freight rates. This reason will account in a great measure for the opposition of societies of various nationalities composed wholly or partly of business men and the attorneys of business men. [Applause.] Restriction may interfere with their profits. With them it is always the dollar, with never a thought for the success or comfort of our millions of wageworkers or the hundreds of thousands who are continuously without sustaining employment. The steamship companies' interest in immigration is the $60,000,000 or more a year collected by them for carrying aliens to and from our shores. These companies have no interest in the welfare of our people. Their interest is in the dollars they collect.

We oppose any attempt to lower the standards of American life. We want to raise them, and we are opposed to the exploitation of millions of aliens, with its attending evils, to swell the profits of the steamship companies, even if it adds to the revenues of those companies $60,000,000 a year, even if it enables the United States Steel Trust to pay dividends and interest on $400,000,000 of stocks and bonds which never cost that company a cent. [Applause.]

I wish to call your attention to the fact that industry is protected by a tariff, but labor is not; that the products of labor are protected, but we have a free flow of labor coming to our shores all the time; that the manufacturers have protection against products manufactured by cheap labor in foreign countries, but labor has no protection against the importation of cheap labor.

The opponents of this measure say that if the products of labor are protected, then labor itself must be benefited, because the manufacturer can sell the products at a much higher price than can be obtained in other countries and will be in a position to pay higher wages to his employees. The protected manufacturer does receive a higher price than the products can be sold for in other countries, and the second contention—that they are thus made able to pay higher wages to their employees—is also true. But the fact is they do not pay higher wages. They pay lower wages. We find that the most highly protected industries, particularly the industries that are now controlled by trusts, such as the Steel Trust, Rubber Trust, Sugar Trust, packing houses, and textile industry, pay to their employees the lowest wage in the country, and some of them less than a living wage for a family. A high tariff has nothing to do with the wages paid in these industries. [Applause.]

We hold that the limitation of immigration to our country will compel social and industrial reform in the countries from which the immigrants flow. The fact that these countries have an outlet for a great number of their people means that there is an outlet from the oppressive conditions in those countries. For that reason those countries delay social and industrial reforms. As a consequence, industrial and social misery is perpetuated in those countries, because their citizens are induced to come to this country.

Those who have made a careful study of the question and have watched the census have been forced to the conclusion that it has become a habit of mind of the people of this country to have small families. The foreigners that come here have large families, but after having been here some time they seem to get into the habit of mind which prevails among those born here; that is, the ever-decreasing number in a family. Those who have given this particular subject much thought and observation have come to the conclusion that this habit of mind is one of the direct results of the tremendous influx of foreign immigration into this country, which causes competition, increases the difficulties in the way of obtaining a living wage, and forces the workers to the conclusion that it is their one recourse to enable them to sustain American standards of life and to survive the competition of the million or more aliens that have been coming here each year.

The fact is that immigrants have been exploited to such an extent that workers possessing American ideals can not compete with them.

On February 2, 1914, Representative AUSTIN read the following letter:

"Edward Horvath Labor Agency. M. Engel, manager. Licensed and bonded. 124 East Third Street, New York City, October 4, 1913"—

This letter was read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—

"S. E. & H. L. Shepherd Co., Rockport, Me. Gentlemen: Foreign laborers are now available in this city for less wages than you can secure men for in your State. Are you in need of any? If so, we can offer for immediate shipment any number of them of any desired nationality.

"Trusting to hear from you, we are, very truly yours, M. Engel, manager."

The following advertisement appeared in a Pittsburgh paper:

"Men wanted: Tinners, catchers, and helpers, to work in open shops; Syrians, Poles, and Roumanians preferred. Steady employment and good wages to men willing to work. Fare paid and no fees charged."

The wage earners believe in effective regulation of immigration, because they desire to retain the American standard of living. The standard of wages for both skilled and unskilled labor in this country is the result of many years of effort by organized labor. When an immigrant accepts work at less than the standard wage he not only takes the place of a man working at a higher rate but he assists in forcing downward the prevailing rate of wages in that industry, which result carries with it a corresponding reduction in the physical, moral, and intellectual standards of American life.

It is now an undisputed fact that in many industries the immigrants who come here are working for wages so low that the American worker insisting on American standards can not compete with them; in fact, they can not support a family on the wages paid them.

In support of my statement that the American worker can not compete with this induced immigration and support a family on the wages paid I refer you, Mr. President, to the investigation of the Bethlehem Steel Works made by a committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ, representing over 16,000,000 people, and the investigation made by Commissioner Neill, of the Department of Labor, as to wages and conditions in the steel industry. The committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ, commenting on the wage scale at Bethlehem, said:

"This is a wage scale that leaves no option to the common laborers but the boarding-house method of living, with many men to the room. When a man has a family with him they take in lodgers, or often the woman goes to work. It is reported that immigrant parents send their children back to the old country to be reared, while the mother goes to work. On such a wage basis American standards are impossible."

Again the committee says:

"None of these common laborers in any of these steel mills are paid a living wage for the average-size family."

The literacy test is an expedient which should be adopted now, and time and experience will demonstrate what further legislation will be necessary in the interest and for the safety of the American people and for the improvement of American citizenship and homes and for the perpetuation of the American Republic.

The American Federation of Labor, representing over 2,000,000 men, at its convention held in November, in Philadelphia, unanimously adopted a report urging the speedy enactment into law of the immigration bill. I will read so much of the report as refers to the literacy test:

"It may be well understood that the Governments of Europe will exert themselves to the utmost, to the end that those who are fit and who survive the destruction of the present conflict will not be permitted to leave their native countries, but will be seduced by whatever promises are necessary to remain and aid in the restoration of those countries to their lost position in commerce and industry, at the same time offering whatever inducements or assistance they may to the migration of the unfit to the United States, Canada, or any other country that may receive them. * * * For this, if for no other reason, the organized labor movement of the North American Continent should devote without cessation its most earnest endeavor to secure the speedy passage of the Burnett bill, containing the provision for the literacy test."

Mr. President, no other single proposed addition to our immigration laws has received the indorsement accorded to the literacy test. Seven times since 1894 bills to regulate immigration have passed one or the other House of Congress. In each case they have been passed by large votes. The Immigration Commission, which studied the question for nearly four years, said in the statement of its conclusions:

"The commission as a whole recommends restriction as demanded by economic, moral, and social considerations."

A majority of the commission favor the reading and writing test as the most favorable single method of restricting undesirable immigration. The majority in this case consisted of eight out of nine members of the commission.

The men who are chiefly interested in importing cheap labor into this country are the great tariff barons, the great mine barons, who want cheap labor. They know that they can not get cheap labor unless they get ignorant labor; because ignorant labor is the only labor that does not organize, that does not combine, and does not defend itself.

Mr. President, when you bar men because of illiteracy, you do not bar them because of themselves. You bar ignorance. You bar ignorance because ignorance is dangerous to free institutions in a self-governing country. [Applause.]

Speech of Hon. James E. Watson.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL W. SMITH,

OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 17, 1915.

Mr. SAMUEL W. SMITH. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the speech of Hon. James E. Watson, delivered at the Columbia Club, Indianapolis, January 15, 1915.

The speech is as follows:

SPEECH OF HON. JAMES E. WATSON, DELIVERED AT THE COLUMBIA CLUB, INDIANAPOLIS, JANUARY 15, 1915, IN ANSWER TO PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON'S SPEECH DELIVERED AT TOMLINSON HALL, INDIANAPOLIS, JANUARY 8, 1915.

Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, honored this city with his presence one week ago to-day. But he did not come among us as President of the United States. He came as a leader of a party. He came as a partisan Democrat. He did not appear in this city to espouse some great cause for which his administration stands, but to make a Democratic stump speech, to insist on party coherence and party loyalty. His speech was to Democrats and for the benefit of the Democratic Party, and it had no other object whatever.

It was the first time in the history of this country that a President has felt it necessary to leave the White House in order to make a partisan stump speech in an off year, when no campaign was being waged. Many Presidents have made tours of the country hitherto, but their addresses never contained any references to partisan politics. Some Presidents have felt impressed with the necessity of giving out interviews, or of writing letters, or of making speeches in campaign time in order to call the public's attention to some cherished policy of the administration; but this was the first time in the history of the Nation that a President of the United States deemed it advisable to abandon his official duties long enough to deliver a partisan speech generally defending the history and the record of his party and forcefully, and even bitterly, assailing the opposition party in the land.

WHY HE SPOKE.

He was probably impelled to adopt this course by three reasons: First, he wanted to "put out a feeler" for the nomination in 1916; second, realizing the opposition throughout the country to many of his policies, and sensing in advance the slump from the Democratic Party at the next election, he thought it wise to woo and, if possible, to win all former Progressives, in order to repair the loss in his own ranks; and third, he wanted to salve the wounds of the battered and bruised Democracy of Indiana.

He stated several times in the course of his speech that the independent voter is the salvation of the country and the hope of our institutions, and yet he frankly admitted that he came here to induce all of them to become partisan Democrats. These two statements are so glaringly inconsistent that a mere repetition is sufficient to show the weakness of the position he assumed.

As loyal Americans, we all have due reverence for the Presidency of the United States, and this usually leads us, in the beginning of the administration, at least, to most highly regard the occupant of that position, whoever he may be. When Woodrow Wilson took charge of affairs at Washington, he was no exception to this wholesome rule. The Republican Party had been rent in twain by opposing factions, and it seemed at that time as if the opposition to him never could be either united or aggressive. The press, without exception, was exceedingly friendly to him, and the attitude of the whole country toward him was one of generous sympathy.

But the people have had opportunity to more accurately take his measure in the well-nigh two years of his administration, and, while they are still unstinted in their praise of his scholastic ability and his literary attainments, yet I think that it is perfectly fair to say that the majority of the voters of the country are to-day exceedingly hostile to his policies and are totally at variance with the methods of his official conduct.

We rarely have a right to judge any man by any one public utterance, and yet, when made under all the circumstances that surrounded his Tomlinson Hall speech last Friday, after all the preparation and all the advertising and all the public expectation it aroused, and all the opportunities presented for a lofty statement of national questions and world-wide policies, I feel that we are fully justified in saying that he failed utterly to measure up to the requirements of the occasion, that he completely disappointed the expectation of his friends, and that we are warranted in the conclusion that his two years of service in the White House has weakened and not strengthened, narrowed and not broadened him.

Either that, or else the present condition of the country is so unenviable and the record of the Democratic Party is so reprehensible that even one of the brilliant attainments of the President could make no stronger defense than the weak one he put up.

A CONTRAST.

And this leads me to note a few points of difference both in President Wilson and the country since he made his first speech in Indianapolis, three years ago, when he was seeking the nomination. At a meeting presided over by Gov. Marshall, the then Gov. Wilson spoke with unusual vigor and with compelling force on three propositions.

First, he insisted that all legislation should be conducted under the public eye; that committees should transact all their business with wide-open doors; that the public should be freely admitted at all times to hear and see whatever might transpire in the course of legislation. And yet our history furnishes no parallel to the secrecy that shrouded the consideration of the Underwood tariff law, upon which no hearings were permitted, which was formulated altogether behind closed doors and completed in a series of secret caucuses, the public being almost wholly in the dark as to its main provisions—and all this without one note of protest ever issuing from the White House.

Secondly, he inveighed most vigorously against the party caucus in this same speech and took the position that all the representatives of the people, in both House and Senate, should have the full privilege of debate and amendment and that the individual conscience should never be bound by caucus domination.

And yet the solemn truth is that not one single law of any importance has been passed by the Senate since he became President, for all of them have been shaped and molded by caucus action, every provision determined, and every proposed amendment accepted or rejected, without the minority having been given the slightest consideration whatever. And so odious did the continuous methods of this caucus become—dominated, as it was, by southern Senators—that Senator HITCHCOCK, a Democrat, from Nebraska, denounced it in unmeasured terms and said of it that, "like all other party caucuses, it has degenerated into a political machine so low that nothing but the grace of God can lift it to the dead level of total depravity"—all this without a note of warning from the White House.

His third preelection statement was that each of the three coordinate branches of government should be absolutely independent of the other two; that the Executive should never encroach upon or invade the sphere of the others; and that neither should ever tolerate any interference whatever by either of the other two.

And yet the truth is that no one of his predecessors, not even Jackson, whom he said the other day he was following, or Roosevelt, at whom he said three years ago he was striking, ever more powerfully or more directly interfered to formulate legislation and to force its passage than has he in both the tariff law and the Federal reserve act, for it is known of all men that, while he brooks no attempts to interfere with his authority, he will yet tolerate nothing but the most submissive obedience to his dictates; that he has never scrupled to use the schoolmaster's tactics with Congress; that he has expressly commanded Senators and Representatives what to do and how to do it; and that he has always exacted the most scrupulous obedience to his commands under the pains and penalties of the loss of patronage upon failure to comply, and since his advent into the White House Executive aggression has gone to greater lengths than at any other time in our history.

A MIGHTY CONTRAST.

When he was here three years ago this Nation was at the flood tide of prosperity. All of capital was profitably invested; all of labor was remuneratively employed; every willing hand found labor at good wages; the pay envelope and the dinner pail were both full; the railroads were operating to the limit of their capacity; money was abundant and readily obtainable at low rates; the farmer found an eager market for the products of the soil; the manufacturer had months of profitable orders ahead; and we were in the main a prosperous, a happy, and a contented people.

Behold the mighty contrast: Now capital is in hiding; now 3,000,000 laborers are idle; now the railroads are in desperate condition for lack of business and because of oppressive and adverse legislation, for 225,000 cars are idle and are earning nothing for their owners. Now old industries are languishing and no new ones are in contemplation. Since the passage of the Underwood law the balance of trade in our favor gradually declined until it was seriously against us before the outbreak of the European war. One hundred and fifty millions of gold has been exported. Imports have largely increased and exports largely decreased. The only prosperity we now have grows out of the European war, but it is uncertain and confined to a few industries. Nobody will largely invest now, because the future is not sure. And if capital does not invest, labor is not employed; and if labor is not employed, the purchasing power of the laborer is curtailed, and this forces thousands of them to live from hand to mouth and other thousands into the line of mendicants that are fed at the soup houses throughout the land. A manufacturer will not continue to make his wares to place in the warehouse to sell on the market in six months from now when at the end of that time those wares may come into contact in our own market with similar wares made in Europe at one-half the wages he pays, and so under present conditions he curtails purchases and closes down a part of his machinery and dismisses a portion of his forces, and that instance multiplied an indefinite number of times brings industrial stagnation and commercial despair.

What has wrought this mighty change in the brief period between his two visits? At both times we have had the same farms and the same farmers, the same factories and the same laboring men, the same capital and the same wealth; we have had the same natural resources, the same inventive genius, and the same indomitable spirit of American enterprise, and yet at the one time we stood upon the shining summit of success with nothing to regret and naught to dread, while we are now plunged into the bogs of disaster and the quagmires of despair, with much to bemoan and even worse to fear. What was changed between these two periods? Nothing but the tariff. That was all. And yet, as in 1892, that one change has wrought a greater havoc in the loss of wages, in the shrinkage of values, in the decline of prices, and in the wasting of property than the entire Civil War in America with all its burden of cost.

And Woodrow Wilson is at the head of the organization whose policies have thus ruthlessly destroyed our prosperity, closed our factories, turned our laborers adrift, fettered our commerce, dissipated our revenues, put our capital on crutches, driven our railroads to the brink of bankruptcy, and filled the whole land with mutterings of discontent.

THE EUROPEAN WAR.

"But," says the President, "the European war and not the Underwood tariff is the cause of this destruction and is the fruitful mother of all our industrial woes."

What is the all-sufficient answer to this unfounded contention? Simply the balance of trade. Listen to its recital and it will convince the most obdurate free trader of the fallacy of this argument.

In November, 1912, the total trade balance in our favor was $162,000,000. In that month Gov. Wilson was elected President on a revenue tariff platform, and the very threat of tariff revision and the consequent unsettling of values cast its baleful shadow over every institution in the land and resulted in a widespread slackening in commerce and industry. This continued for a year, and to such an extent that in November, 1913, that trade balance had declined to $97,357,000, or a loss of $64,000,000 as compared with the month of his election, a year before. In October of that year his tariff bill was passed and from that time until the outbreak of the European war imports increased, exports decreased. We bought more abroad, because it was cheaper; we sold less abroad, because foreign imports closed our factories and diminished our output, and we therefore had less to sell and necessarily less to export.

In November, 1913, a portion of the Underwood bill became effective and the remainder in January, 1914. And the decline was correspondingly steady. In January it ran down to $49,224,000 in our favor; in February to $25,876,000—going down; in March to $4,944,000 in our favor—still going down; in April the bottom dropped out and the whole thing went completely Democratic, for in that month the balance against us was $11.210,000—not for us, but in favor of our commercial competitors in the world.

In June the balance was $457,000 against us and in July $5,539,000 in favor of our industrial rivals, and up to that hour nobody had dreamed of a European war.

What was the cause of the tremendous slump in our trade from $162,000,000 for us to $11,200,000 against us? The war? No; there was no war and all nations were at peace. What was it? The tariff bill of the Democratic Party. Free trade has wrought this destruction every time it has been attempted in the history of our land, and no rhetorical sophistry, no metaphysical disquisition on the psychology of "a mental status" can overcome the irresistible logic of events. The President says that this condition is wholly a state of mind. Rather, so far as the Nation is concerned, it is a "state of the Treasury"; for our manufacturers it is a "state of the purse"; and for our unemployed it is a "state of the stomach."

THE TRADE BALANCE.

What further facts does a detailed examination disclose?

From November 1, 1913, to November 1, 1914, as compared with the preceding year ending November 1, 1913, our exports fell off $392,423,000, while our imports increased $113,167,000, or a total change of $505,590,000.

Now, the balance of trade in our favor from November 1, 1912, to November 1, 1913, amounted to $766,318,000; from November 1, 1913, to November 1, 1914, $206,728,000, or a loss of $505,590,000 in a single year, nine months of which passed before the war began.

But let us take peace periods only for comparison. From November 1, 1913, to July 31, 1914, as compared with the period from November 1, 1912, to July 31, 1913, our exports decreased $176,116,000 while our imports increased $147,784,000, or a total change of $323,900,000, which must be attributed to the tariff, for nothing else in this country was changed in the meantime and there was no war abroad.

From November 1, 1912, to July 31, 1913, the balance of trade in our favor was $529,994,000; from November 1, 1913, to July 31, 1914, all before the war in Europe, it was $206,094,000, or a loss of $323,900,000, or an average loss per month of $35,989,000, and all this enormous decrease before anybody had ever thought of actual hostilities in Europe.

In the light of these facts how adroit was the message read by President Wilson to Congress in September of last year, in which he insisted that, because there had been a loss in our balance of trade for August—mentioning no other month—a war tax must be levied to meet the urgent demands of the Treasury. But why did not he say anything about the appalling loss from November, 1912, when he was elected, up to August, 1914? Why did not he cite the balance against us in the other months of 1914? Why? Simply because the European war began in August and he could lay the whole blame at the door of that contest, and therefore he based his entire appeal for a war tax on the condition in August. The simple truth is that had it not been for the war, as these figures conclusively prove, a bond issue or some other extraordinary measure for raising revenue would have been an inescapable necessity; and the further fact is that, from a purely partisan standpoint, the war in Europe was a godsend to that demoralized organization.

FURTHER PROOF OF DEMOCRATIC INCOMPETENCY.

But what other proof is there of this fact, if, indeed, further proof of so patent a truth be needed?

Simply this, that since the passage of the Underwood bill our imports have largely increased from all those nations not involved in this or any other war, demonstrating beyond all cavil that it is the tariff that is devastating industry in our land.

In the 11 months immediately preceding the war, as compared with the like period of the year before, we sold to Canada $41,000,000 less and bought of her $70,000,000 more, or a total loss to us of $111,000,000.

From Argentina our imports increased for October, 1914, as compared with October, 1913, $4,500,000; from Australia, $700,000; from Japan, $1,000,000; from Cuba, $2,800,000; from China, $50,000; from Italy, $1,300,000; from Mexico, war torn as she was, $600,000.

In October a year ago our trade with Argentina gave a balance of $4,000,000 in our favor. This year the figures were almost exactly reversed, with a balance of about $4,000,000 in favor of Argentina.

With Australia in October, 1913, we made a balance in our favor of more than $4,000,000; in 1914, $3,300,000.

In 1913 we lost to Brazil $5,700,000; in 1914, $7,500,000.

In 1913 we gained from Canada $18,000,000; in 1914, only $8,000,000.

In 1913 we lost to China $900,000; in 1914, $2,000,000.

In 1913 we gained from Cuba nearly $2,000,000; in 1914 we lost to Cuba nearly $1,000,000.

In 1913 we lost to Japan $800,000; in 1914, $5,000,000.

In 1913 we lost to Mexico $2,600,000; in 1914, nearly $4,000,000.

In 1913 we gained from the Netherlands $5,200,000; in 1914, $1,000,000.

In 1913 our October commerce with the United Kingdom gave us a trade balance of $50,750,000; in 1914, despite all the purchases by England of our war supplies from us, $47,400,000. And thus it is clearly demonstrable that the tariff and not the war is the cause of our industrial woes and the source of our commercial distress. And if the balance of trade with all the nations not engaged in war is so largely against us now, and has been since the present tariff law was passed, is it not a mathematical certainty that the same state of affairs will result with the nations now at war after that struggle shall have been concluded? So manifest is this to every business man that he declines to be affected by all the artificial stimulants they are seeking to administer to the general public in the form of trumped-up newspaper interviews, padded statements in the columns of the public press as to the extent of our present prosperity, the melodious whistling-in-the-graveyard tunes we hear wherever we go, or the pleasing and seductive imaginings of Democratic stumpers, for the man with money to invest knows that the business we now have is largely the result of the great demand created by the war, and that when that war is over and the Democratic tariff has a full swing and sweep at the industries of the country we shall inevitably be brought face to face with the most appalling industrial conditions we have ever witnessed in our land.

IDEAS OLD AND NEW.

The President's main contention, as outlined in this speech, leads us to the conclusion that if we would keep pace with advancing civilization, if we would meet the exigencies of the occasion as they arise, we must have a party of changing ideas and shifting theories of government. He thus expresses it:

> The trouble with the Republican Party is that it has not had a new idea for 30 years. I am not speaking as a politician. I am speaking as a historian. I have looked for new ideas in the record, and I have not found any proceeding from the Republican ranks. They have had leaders from time to time who suggested new ideas, but they never did anything to carry them out; and I suppose there was no harm in their talking provided they could not do anything.

And then he adds, and I am bound to believe him sincere in the statement, though, in the light of history, it seems as if the remark can not be otherwise than facetious:

> And therefore when it was necessary to say that we had talked about things long enough which it was necessary to do, and the time had come to do them, it was indispensable that a Democrat should be elected President.

I do not know just what he means by an "idea." If he mean by the term a real, fundamental principle, I agree with him, for in that sense the Republican Party has not had a new idea in 30 years. But if he mean the adaptation of certain fixed principles to the changing needs of a people, then I disagree with him utterly, for history clearly shows that no political party in the life of any country ever more fully applied its

theories of government to meet new conditions as they arose, or ever more completely adapted its principles to meet the changing demands of the hour, than the Republican Party in the United States.

The Christian Church has not had a new idea since the death of Christ, for He finally and authoritatively announced all its fundamental principles, and yet no one seriously questions its usefulness or its necessity because of the fact. True, there have been an almost limitless number of interpretations of those underlying ideas in centuries past in the efforts of its leaders and teachers to adapt its principles to the infinitely varied needs of humanity, but nevertheless its basic concepts have never changed through all the mutations of time.

The Ten Commandments have never been altered or modified since Moses wrote them. Would the President repudiate them because of that fact? True, there have been an endless variety of interpretations of these fundamental rules of human conduct since they were penned, but the fact nevertheless remains that they still constitute the groundwork of most of the systems of jurisprudence in the world to-day.

The Republican Party has really never had but five fundamental ideas of government since its birth—one moral, three commercial or industrial, and all of them based upon the fifth, which was the perpetuation of the Union—and it still clings to them as all that are essential for the proper solution of every problem that to-day confronts and perplexes us as a people.

IDEAS AS OLD AS THE NATION.

These ideas were announced by Washington, and, as far as possible, executed by Hamilton, and were defended by Webster and were repromulgated by Lincoln, and together have constituted the enduring highway upon which we have marched for 50 of the grandest years in all the history of men.

And it is an undisputed fact of history that the Democratic Party has opposed every one of these principles, most of the time bitterly, and has never failed to obstruct in every possible way the administration of these policies in the affairs of our Government.

What, then, are these ideas the gradual unfolding of which has marked our marvelous progress as a people and brought us to unchallenged leadership among the nations of the earth to-day? These policies were outlined by Abraham Lincoln 70 years ago, when he was first a candidate for Congress. "I believe," he said, "in a national bank. I believe in an internal improvement system and a high protective tariff." That statement was then prophecy; under his guidance it became fulfillment, and if we but look around us we can see on every hand the fruitful results of such fulfillment through the agency of the Republican Party.

Until recently the Democracy always opposed a national bank, because, as they protested, it was no function of government to issue money, and, further, because it was an invasion of the rights of the States. But Lincoln believed that our currency should be as national as our flag, and, when given power, with one sweep of his arm he drove forever into hiding all the wildcat and irredeemable money that flooded the land, the issue of irresponsible men, firms, and banks, and in its place substituted a currency that from then to now has been unquestioned in any quarter of the globe.

REPUBLICAN RECORD ON THE MONEY QUESTION.

Gentlemen, has the Republican Party ever swerved in its fealty to the cause of sound currency, to the idea of honest money, to the doctrine of the faithful discharge of national obligations? No; we have rather lifted higher the standard that his successors grasped when Lincoln fell. It was this thought that inspired Grant to exclaim, "Let it be understood that no repudiator of one farthing of our Republic's debt shall be trusted in any public place"; that strangled repudiation when loudly advocated by the Democratic Party; that quieted the fears alike of creditor and investor; and that has made the bonds of our Government the best security known to the money markets of the world.

It was this thought that inspired this party of ours to champion the cause of resumption, to place beneath the dollar of paper a dollar of gold on which it should be based and in which it should be redeemed. For Abraham Lincoln had promised that it should be done; promised at a time when it seemed as though the country were slowly bleeding to death in the midst of awful war; and this party of ours remembered that sacred promise and redeemed it; and from then to now ever dollar of our money has been worth a hundred cents in all the busy marts of the earth.

It was this thought that inspired William McKinley, at a time that tested the coherent power of our party, the integrity of the Nation, and the moral fiber of its citizenship, to champion the cause of the standard gold and through it the maintenance of the honor of the land. The peddlers of populistic wares descended upon the Nation in swarms with their patent remedies and their quack reforms; the country was deluged with epithet and slander; the passions, the prejudices, and the cupidity of the people were aroused as never before; and yet in the midst of a perfect saturnalia of denunciation and misinformation, McKinley, backed by the Republican Party, stood fixed and firm. He remembered Abraham Lincoln and his tenets, and thus inspired he stood unmoved amidst the turmoil and turbulence of his day, preserved the money of the Nation free from taint and flaw, kept Lincoln's plighted word to the people, and vindicated the moral fiber of the Anglo-Saxon race.

And thus on banking and currency and finance the Republican Party has ever been true to the teaching of its greatest leader and its greatest champion. And that party stands ready to-day, as it has ever stood ready in the past, to apply Lincoln's financial policy to our affairs whenever the occasion shall arise, whenever our financial honor is assailed or our commercial integrity is attacked, for we know that a sound currency is one of the indispensable prerequisites to prosperity and to progress among any people and in any land.

FEDERAL RESERVE ACT.

The President in his recent speech boasted that his party had used sound financial wisdom in the passage of the Federal reserve act, and I think they are entitled to credit for having made an honest effort to improve the currency system of the country.

For a party that opposed the issue of bonds during the Civil War and in 1868 insisted on their repudiation; for a party that fought the issue of greenbacks in 1862, 1863, and 1864 and opposed their redemption in 1873 and 1874, and then insisted on an unlimited issue of them in 1876 and 1878; for a party that violently opposed the adoption of the gold standard in 1896 and advocated the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the rate of 16 to 1; for a party that denounced in unmeasured terms, both in Congress and out, the passage of the Vreeland emergency law in 1908 and exhausted the possibilities of the imagination in describing the unspeakable woes that would inevitably befall us in case we passed that act, and then within the last 18 months faced squarely about and took advantage of the provisions of this same law to save the country from the evil effects of their destructive revenue legislation; for a party that has always been regarded in the business world as unsafe on all monetary questions and unsound on all currency problems, they did very well, indeed, to pass the law to which the President so gleefully referred. But its entire failure or success depends upon the integrity and the patriotism of its administration, for, while it is true that most of its assuredly sound provisions were taken bodily from the Aldrich plan, yet it can not be denied that others were added that are not so surely wise; and it should be remembered, too, that this plan affords opportunities for the inflation of the currency that would gratify even the cheap-money whims of William Jennings Bryan himself; that it throws down the bars to the most inviting field for political exploitation ever opened up in this country; and that partisan politics entered more largely into the location of the various reserve banks and the appointment of the men to control the system than in any other matter of similar importance in the entire life of our Nation; and that, if we may judge the future by the past, no opportunity to take the fullest advantage of this stupendous system will be overlooked by those in charge of our governmental affairs at this time.

In discussing this question the President in his speech made this remark:

> I want to ask the business men here present if this is not the first January in their recollection that didn't bring a money stringency for the time being, because of the necessity of paying out great sums of money by way of dividends and other settlements which come due at the first of the year?

Now, in turn, I want to ask the President this question, Did you ever know of a January where less money was required to pay dividends than this one? Or where more dividends were passed than in this one? And is your statement after all an argument for the sufficiency of your new system or only what the lawyers call a self-serving declaration? For that system has yet to be tried.

Surely, though, the record of the Republican Party on this question can not be used by its enemies as an excuse for its destruction, as a pretext for its overthrow. And it is worthy of remark, too, that the lesson of honor impressed upon our country in its financial affairs was early communicated to other branches of government and now permeates our entire diplomatic system and characterizes our relations with the other nations of the earth.

How striking the contrast with the conduct of the Democratic Party, for, if that party had been permitted to enforce its policies at any time within the last 50 years, the great lessons of national honor we have given the world would have remained untaught and that lofty moral tone which to-day characterizes international thought, feeling, and action would have been an impossible dream. For with nations as with men, aye, more than with men, when honor is lost all is lost.

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

The second great Republican policy that has wrought so marvelously for this Republic is that of internal improvements at public expense.

The Democratic Party, until in recent years, always opposed the use of either public land or public money for the purposes of improvement and development, alleging, first, that the National Government had neither the right nor the power to enter the boundaries of any sovereign State for any such purposes; second, that the National Government exceeded its authority when it used the money of all the people to develop any section of the country; and, third, that such use of the public funds was radically wrong in principle for it justified the use of revenues that belonged to all the people to exploit special interests and to benefit a favored few.

But Abraham Lincoln believed, and the Republican Party has always maintained, that this was one common country for all the people who inhabit it; that its advantages and resources should be used for the benefit of all; and that whatever inured to the well-being of any portion of the Republic in the end inured to the well-being of the whole.

It was the inspiration of this belief that led to the enactment of the homestead law, a fruitful and far-reaching product of Republican statesmanship, that has dotted this western land all over with peaceful and happy homes that have become the very bulwark of our civilization; that has felled forests and subdued prairies and established the greatest granaries of the world and opened up exhaustless reservoirs of national wealth. And look where we may we see as a result of the uninterrupted enforcement of this policy for 50 years—railroad lines running across the land, largely built by grants from the public domain, lines that tie ocean to ocean, that knit our country more closely together and bring us into nearer relationship, socially, politically, commercially; harbors broadened and their facilities increased; rivers deepened and widened; the fertile acres along their borders protected by dykes and levees; denuded hills reforested; the mighty woods of primeval times rescued from vandal hands; the Department of Agriculture established; the utmost corners of the earth ransacked to find new plant life for exploitation on our soil; the farthermost portions of the world searched for "bird and bug" to feed upon the insects that destroy cotton and other products of the land; every disease that affects the plant life and every pest that assails the animal life of the farm destroyed outright or its further ravages prevented; public buildings erected for the public's use in every portion of the Union; millions of acres of arid land reclaimed for the actual tiller of the soil; vast irrigation schemes that transform untold acres of desert sands into fertile fields and productive farms; rural free delivery, by which we are adding to the diffusion of knowledge and making happier the lives of the people who dig our wealth out of the soil and lay the foundations of our prosperity; the parcel post; the postal savings bank; and that crowning engineering feat of the world's history, the construction of the Panama Canal; everywhere the fostering care of the Government, everywhere the protecting hand of the Republic, everywhere the open purse of the Nation. And practically all of this vast development has occurred within the 30 years in which our President charges that the Republican Party has never had a new idea. Well, this is not a new idea, but our party has always had the courage to apply this old idea to our internal affairs whenever occasion required; and it is worthy of remark, too, that we have always had wisdom enough to enact revenue laws that would enable us to carry on these mighty projects without borrowing money or levying a war tax to do so.

DEMOCRATIC EXTRAVAGANCE.

The wisdom displayed by these parties in river and harbor legislation can be shown by a single contrast in appropriations made under similar conditions.

In 1898, while in the conflict with Spain, the McKinley administration issued bonds to carry on the war.

In 1913, while at peace with all the world, the Wilson administration levied a "war tax" to carry on the Government.

During the War with Spain the Republican Party did not appropriate a dollar for river or harbor improvement, but used all its revenues, both ordinary and extraordinary, to promote the war and to run the Government; and it was not until the first session after the close of that war that the modest sum of $16,000,000 was appropriated for that purpose. Four years afterwards $30,000,000 more was appropriated for this object, and thus $46,000,000 was authorized for this development in six years. And in all that time the revenues were ample and the surplus large.

The Democratic Party appropriated $43,000,000 the first session of Congress that closed November 1, and $20,000,000 the second session, or a total of $63,000,000 in one Congress, with the balance of trade against us, with the revenue constantly decreasing, with the surplus exhausted, and levied a war tax in order to make possible this expenditure.

Never in its history has the Republican Party authorized two river and harbor appropriations in one Congress, and yet it always had ample revenue to meet all such expenditures had it seen fit to make them.

But the Democratic Party, being a "new convert" to this idea and, like all such converts, being exceedingly zealous, broke the record as well as the Treasury in order to make wholly unwarranted appropriations of this character.

Gentlemen, who can be heard to say, in the light of this masterful record, that we have proven false to Lincoln's theory of internal improvement under the public's control and by the public's treasure? And inasmuch as this has been the unvarying policy of the Republican Party from its birth to this hour, and inasmuch as it has expended more money for these purposes under its complete sway during the last 16 years of its administration than was expended for like purposes in all the previous history of the Republic, who is there so bold as to proclaim that we have proven recreant to his conception of internal development or that any other party can better carry forward this great work? And it should not be forgotten that the right to grant carries with it the right to withhold, and that the doctrine of conservation grows out of, and is corollary to, the right of the Government to use all the people's resources for all the people's benefit. The Government may either bestow or withhold; if it bestow it may prescribe the condition of the bestowal, and in utilizing our natural resources it is the duty of the Government to safeguard the rights of the people in this wealth and to obtain for all the people as great returns as is consistent with its fullest development, and this the Republicans have ever done.

THE TARIFF.

And what need be said in this presence as to the third principle announcing his platform? "I believe," he said, "in a high protective tariff," and every Republican platform ever adopted has reiterated that statement; and all those Republican statesmen, whose combined genius has illuminated the shining highway along which we have marched for 50 years, have echoed and reechoed that sentiment and voiced and revoiced that sentence until our past has been vocal with eloquent defense of this mighty thought.

Lincoln's first published speech on this topic was brief but unanswerable. "I am not versed in the technicalities of the tariff," said he, "but I do know that if I buy a ton of iron from England we have the iron but England has the money; whereas if I buy the iron in this country we have both the money and the iron," and innumerable are the instances in which that simple announcement of his belief in this principle has been repeated since then in order to convince people of Lincoln's faith in this great plan.

And from that day to this the Republican Party has stood steadfastly by this principle and clung tenaciously to this idea, for we know that by reason of its operation we have always stimulated our inventive genius, developed our natural resources, diversified our industries, more profitably invested our capital, more remuneratively employed our labor, maintained the highest wage levels of the world, and added immeasurably to the growth, the thrift, and the prosperity of the American people.

I confidently assert that this country would not be, could not be, what it is to-day had not the Republican Party, under the leadership of Abraham Lincoln, early adopted, and had it not, under the inspiration of his wisdom, always continued the policy of protection to American capital wheresoever invested and to American labor wheresoever employed.

President Wilson, in his recent speech, used this language, which shows that he utterly fails to appreciate the true benefits of protection:

Then there is something else. The Democrats have heard the Republicans talk about the scientific way in which to handle a tariff, though the Republicans have never given exhibition of a knowledge of how to handle it scientifically. If it is scientific to put additional profits into the hands of those who are already getting the greater part of the profits, then they have been exceedingly scientific. It has been a science of selfishness, it has been a science of privilege, but that kind of science I do not care to know anything about, except enough to stop it.

Well, he has stopped it all right. The punctuation mark he has inserted in our industrial production is not a comma or even a semicolon, but a period, representing a full stop. And he evidently fails utterly to grasp the real beneficence of this great policy.

RESULTS OF PROTECTION.

We challenge the judgment of the American people on the results of this policy under the administration of successive Republican Presidents from Abraham Lincoln to William Howard Taft, results so vast, so varied, that the human imagination fails utterly to grasp them.

When the Republican Party turned the Government over to the Democratic Party two years ago we boasted of a foreign trade beyond the dreams of our fathers; we enjoyed a domestic commerce whose value, volume, and variety made these States, if need be, well nigh self-supporting. We possessed one-third of all the railroads of the world, one-half of its telegraphs, and two-thirds of its telephones, while we did one-third of its mining, one-third of its manufacturing, one-fifth of its agriculture, and owned one-sixth of its wealth, and there was a more general distribution of the results of labor and the fruits of toil, and a more universal dissemination of happiness among the people than in any other nation in all the recorded history of the world.

Of course, we all realize now and always have that such physical progress as this might be dangerous to the present and menacing to the future were it not that the virtue and intelligence of the people are equal to the wise regulation of its uses and the stern prevention of its abuses, as all great wealth may be abused, and that side by side with our material progress we have developed those other and rarer qualities of mind and heart, so essential to a symmetrical nationality. It is true I know that the sky is rendered lurid by the perfervid declamation of those who are constantly dinning into our ears that we are ever placing the dollar above the man. But let our faith in American institutions be renewed by reflecting upon the fact that while in Lincoln's time but 5,000,000 of people out of a population of 30,000,000 acknowledged the authority of their various churches, to-day 33,000,000 of our 95,000,000 are followers of Him who first proclaimed equal rights for all, while each day sees the erection of five new churches in the land and each week finds 10,000 new adherents to the faith of the Divine Man of Nazareth.

Nor in education have we been remiss in our duties, and now 18,000,000 of children are in attendance upon our schools and colleges, costing the country $550,000,000 a year, or more than is spent for the same purpose in all Europe, thus giving fresh assurance of the education of the people, which is at once the hope of the patriot and the despair of the scoffer.

Is not this splendid record the very coronation of four decades of the wise administration of beneficent laws?

Is it conceivable that as great results could have been obtained had we for the last 50 years been upon a revenue-tariff basis? Is it a matter of wonder that with these results before our eyes we insist upon the same policy? Are not these surpassing triumphs sufficient justification for adhering to this principle of Lincoln?

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY STILL FOR PROTECTION.

I am well aware of the fact that, largely because of our belief in the doctrine of protection and our unwillingness to abate it one jot or tittle, we are dubbed as standpatters; but, singular though it may seem, yet it can not be denied that those who most loudly utter this charge proclaim themselves devout believers in this doctrine as announced by Lincoln and enforced by every succeeding Republican President.

Gentlemen, we realize that schedules change with changing conditions; that the rates fixed in the Morrill law of 1861 would be as inappropriate now as they would have been in Washington's day; that, while the principle of protection abides and must always remain a tenet of Republican faith, yet the application of the principle will vary just as rapidly as conditions change.

Protection, as defined by Alexander Hamilton, as defined by Daniel Webster, as defined by Abraham Lincoln, as defined by William McKinley and James G. Blaine, as defined by Republican national platforms, means the difference in the cost of production at home and abroad. Everyone must know that this difference will vary from time to time and that schedules should be adjusted to meet new conditions as rapidly as new conditions arise.

But the President says that protection means to give more profits to those who are already receiving the larger share of the profits. Now, the truth is that if everybody is prosperous and everybody is making money some bodies will make more money than other bodies, because they have the ability; they know how. And if we so legislate, if we so manage, if we so conduct our affairs that those who are peculiarly endowed with financial ability can not make money, then all the remainder of the people are out of labor and many of them in the soup line.

Therefore, the most we can do is to equalize conditions as nearly as possible, give everybody a fair chance, keep the competent man from unfairly overreaching his less competent neighbor or rival, see that no door of opportunity is closed in the face of any American citizen, that no barriers are built across the highway to success, and then permit every man to work out his salvation with fear and trembling to the best of his ability; and government can do no more, and government should attempt to do no more, for men can not undo by law what God has done by creation without perverting the natural order of things and doing far more harm than good.

But it is not true that the manufacturer receives the larger share of profits. From 80 to 85 per cent of the cost of all finished products is represented by the wages paid labor, and while it is true that the manufacturer receives greater profits than any one or any considerable number of his employees, certainly it will not be denied that the man who furnishes the capital and takes all the risk and plans all the organization and furnishes all the brain power behind his plant and is compelled to supervise buying and selling and is all the time endeavoring to improve his product so as to meet the more exacting demands of the market; in short, the man who assumes the initiative in his enterprise and is responsible for the success or failure of his venture, surely he is entitled to a fair share of the profits, and to deny him this means that a premium shall no longer be placed on capital and courage and capacity in this land of ours, and this would, indeed, spell dissolution and despair.

THE EQUALITY OF ALL MEN.

The Republican Party has another principle, the moral one, to which I alluded at the outset, one that may appeal to the idealistic faculty of President Wilson; one that, more largely than any other, accounts for its origin, and the one to which it has tenaciously clung throughout its long history. It is expressed in the simple statement, "All men are created equal," and it rang ever in the ears of Abraham Lincoln, absorbed ever his powerful intellect, and engaged ever his regnant soul.

I think—

He said, in speaking of the Declaration of Independence—

that the authors of that noble instrument intended to include all men. But they did not intend to declare all men equal in all respects. They did not mean to say that all were equal in color, size, intellect, moral development, or social capacity. They defined, with tolerable distinctness, with what respect they did consider all men created equal—equal, with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. This they said and this they meant. They did not mean to assert the obvious untruth that all men were then actually enjoying that equality, nor that they were about to confer it immediately upon them.

In fact, they had no power to confer such a boon. They meant simply to declare the right, so that the enforcement of it should follow as fast as circumstances would permit. They meant to set up a standard maxim for free society which should be familiar to all and revered by all; constantly looked to, constantly labored for, and even though never perfectly attained, constantly approximated; thereby constantly spreading and deepening its influences and augmenting the value and happiness of life to all people everywhere.

Fellow citizens, here is the method and here is the object of our Government, stated with the unerring accuracy of a seer, with the final authority of a prophet, and from it we may never depart, and from it we will never depart so long as love sways the heart and reason rules the mind.

If I were asked to state Lincoln's theory of government in a single sentence, it would be this, "conservative progress," the final goal in view ever being the equality of men, and this to be attained, not at a single bound, but "just as fast as circumstances will permit."

How this wholesome yet profound truth should be filtered into the hearts and consciences of the American people to-day, being taught, as they are, new and fanciful processes of development and strange and unaccustomed methods of progress.

And permit me to say in passing that no document ever fashioned by the brain or formed by the hand of man permits, in strict keeping with its provisions, a more rapid progress or more carefully safeguards the interests of every man while he is on the march toward the final goal, and will more effectually secure him in every right he ever will acquire, than the Constitution of the United States.

REPUBLICAN PARTY FAITHFUL TO THE EQUALITY OF MEN.

Genlemen, has the Republican Party been untrue to the greatest of all the Lincolnian principles of government?

No; rather does the record of this party prove that it has neglected no opportunity to enforce Lincoln's theory and realize Lincoln's ideal in our national life. But we have done this not

contrary to, but in conformity with, his teachings. Lincoln realized that freedom is not a bequest, but a conquest. He knew that the ideal will not be attained by some spontaneous, all-powerful dispensation of Providence, but that man is to work for it, to fight for it, to struggle for it, to suffer for it, and thus when he acquires it he will be the better fitted to hold fast to it and forever retain it. And thus this ideal, which he called the "standard maxim," is ever before us for our constant contemplation.

Have we turned our backs upon this standard? Are we traitors to this lofty conception? No; notwithstanding the views of the President and the reckless purveyors of misinformation, the deathless Lincoln, with flaming torch in hand, still leads the hosts of the Republican Party on the way to progress.

And yet there are those among us who are discontented with our pace and who are dissatisfied unless we set fire to the chariot wheels of progress and scatter terror and dismay on every hand. They seek to destroy old methods of progress because they are old, to overturn old safeguards of liberty because they are old, and to force upon us new plans and policies simply because they are new.

I prefer the old Declaration of Independence with its ever new announcement of fundamental principles.

I prefer the old methods of development by which we have accomplished so much. I prefer Lincoln's conservative progress to any of the makeshifts of place hunters and self-seekers.

LINCOLN'S IDEAL MADE REAL.

The Republican Party has always favored such policies as to embody this ideal in our individual as well as in our national life. These policies have enabled us to build up an American civilization distinct from that of any other on earth, unique in all history. As the result of this conception of the royal worth of man we have worked out an American theory of government, an American scheme of civilization, an American ideal of the dignity of labor, and all the time we have been more nearly approximating Lincoln's standard maxim, the maxim of absolute equality. Lincoln believed and we maintain that economic questions are intimately interwoven with ethical questions and that neither the moral nor the commercial ideal can safely be dismissed in consideration of any of the political or moral problems that to-day demand our solution.

The application of this thought has resulted in the organization of the Departments of Commerce and Labor, through which have been developed those facts that have constituted the basis for all the laws since passed for the better control of large corporations and for the reform of unwholesome industrial conditions; the establishment of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the subsequent enactment of the various amendments that have strengthened its power and augmented its authority; in the Sherman antitrust law, the most sweeping statute ever passed in this or any other land for the control of unlawful combinations of capital, and which is proving sufficient for the solutions of the mighty problems that have been so incessantly forced upon us in the last two decades; in all legislation to prevent rebates and unfair methods of dealing and all underground systems of finance; in every law that safeguards the interests of labor, that protects women and children, that restrains the exceeding competent man from overrunning the rights of his fellow man equally worthy but less capable of molding events and fashioning conditions to his own ends.

From this idea, practically realized, came the railway-rate law, the statute limiting the hours of continuous employment on all railroads doing an interstate business; every safety-appliance act ever passed by Congress, from Harrison to Taft, for the benefit of the laborer and the safety of the passenger as well; a workman's compensation act; an employer's liability law; an eight-hour rule for all national works; navigation laws which insure the maintenance of the American standard of wages and living on all American ships; a model child-labor law for the District of Columbia; and in the enactment of all these statutes designed to curb the strong and protect the weak and promote equality among our fellow men.

This Lincolnian doctrine carried into execution produced the pure-food law, the meat-inspection law, and a national health act, and a Bureau of Mines and Mining, to better protect the lives of those who labor away from sunlight and starlight and sky.

This theory has been applied abroad as well as at home, and "a whole chapter might be written about the progressive character of the administration that has been given to the territory acquired by the United States as the result of the Spanish-American War. The national good faith was vindicated in the release of Cuba. Unbelievable results for the betterment of millions have been accomplished in Porto Rico and the Philippines—in the construction of highways, in the pacification of savages, in the establishment of industries, in the improvement of agricultural methods, in the advancement of popular education. The influence exercised by the United States in China during the Boxer crisis is a memory to be proud of. Probably the influence of the United States prevented partition of at least a considerable part of the Empire. We turned back to China that portion of the indemnity which was unexpended for legitimate purposes, and with this money China has been sending students to American institutions of higher learning. Because of the impression progressive America has made in China a new republic has arisen in Asia, exercising sway over 400,000,000 people." Surely who will say, in the light of this unparalled record, that the Republican Party has not always been progressive, that it has ever been reactionary, and that it has not ever been mindful of the highest interests and the dearest concerns of all the people all the time? And practically every one of these great movements has been inaugurated and consummated in the last 30 years by the Republican Party, the very period in which our President asserts that that party has never felt the thrill of a new idea.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY PROGRESSIVE.

It is but natural for the Republican Party to assume the initiative in all matters pertaining to legislation and administration. The very conception that ushered it into existence, the very thought that gave it birth, the very ingrained habit of thinking and acting along fixed lines for 50 years, make it the party of aggression, the party of progress.

The Republican Party has always maintained that the General Government was invested with all the power not specially prohibited by the Constitution, while the Democratic Party has always contended that the General Government had no power not specifically granted by that instrument. This inherent difference in fundamental belief has always made the Republican Party progressive, the Democratic Party reactionary, and that difference still exists.

Gentlemen, the millennium is not yet here. We all know full well that there are numerous evils yet to be dealt with, but we can not forget that the Republican Party proposes to remedy them by Lincoln's methods of conservatism; and yet, Lincoln's name is used to incite labor against capital. However, what does he say on this important question? "It is the acme of our civilization that men who are industrious and sober and honest in the pursuit of their own interest should, after a while, accumulate capital, and after that should be allowed to enjoy it." And again, "Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much higher consideration," but "capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights." These were Lincoln's ideas. Labor is as necessary as air; capital is as necessary as sunshine—nothing but hatred and no one but a demagogue could prejudice one againt the other.

The Republican Party proposes to remedy evils by the methods of conservative progress and not to annihilate the whole system by hatred and revenge.

Gentlemen, to-day destruction threatens and the methods of iconoclasm are everywhere advocated. Old ideas are being overturned, old principles are being abandoned, and it is time for the steady unwavering elements of the American people to recur again and again to the ideas of Abraham Lincoln, to review over and over his sublime advocacy of conservative progress. We need no new philosophy of society to-day, nor is any new theory of politics required. We need but to hold fast to eternal principles. We need but to cling to the old ideas applied to new conditions as new conditions demand. We need to regulate our conduct in accordance with the wise advice of Abraham Lincoln.

Gentlemen, in the light of this masterful record of progress and development it is evident that, when the President lightly says that the Republican Party has had no new idea in the last 30 years, he speaks as neither a philosopher, a statesman, a politician, nor a historian, but as merely a candidate for office making a stump speech and seeking to curry favor with his auditors by appealing to their bias, their prejudice, and their malice.

A nation can not advance without either originating new ideas or constantly reapplying old ones, and to say that the Republican Party has had no new idea in 30 years is to say that this Nation has made no progress in 30 years, for the history of the country during that time has been but the record of the Republican Party.

Up to the Federal reserve bank law, which is yet to be tried, what great act, either legislative or executive, has the Democratic Party originated in the last 50 years? Not one.

The Republican Party has been in power practically all the time since Lincoln's first inauguration, and every legislative

and executive act that has added to our commercial supremacy and our financial primacy is traceable directly to the genius, the wisdom, and the statesmanship of the Republican Party.

THE PRESIDENT INCONSISTENT.

And speaking of new men and new ideas, President Wilson used this choice bit of diction:

The Republican Party is still a cover and a refuge for those who are afraid, for those who want to consult their grandfathers about everything; and you will notice that most of the advice taken by the Republican Party is taken from gentlemen old enough to be grandfathers; and that when they claim that a reaction has taken place they react to the reelection of the oldest members of their party.

And then turned abruptly about to eulogize Senator KERN, 65 years old, and Senator SHIVELY, 60 years old, and tell what great men they were. And there is not a single member of his Cabinet who is not old enough to be a grandfather, and he takes most of his political orders, as he got his nomination, from Mr. Bryan, who is a grandfather. And this speech from Mr. Wilson, who is 58 and whose grandfatherly possibilities began a number of years ago, and who, since making this speech, has actually become a grandfather, which, according to his own logic, must certainly disqualify him for effective governmental service. "Old men for counsel and young men for action" is ancient, but true. Wisdom and experience and knowledge gained from actual trial will always be valuable in this world, and even the cloistered schoolmaster, who gets his wisdom from axioms and maxims and theoretical lore instead of learning it in the rugged school of hard knocks, will very often be brought face to face with problems for the sane solution of which it would be wonderfully wise, though equally rare, for him to seek the advice of some staid old philosopher who has been battered and bruised in the rough battle of life, but who has come out of it all serene and self-poised and sane.

A PARTY OF SHIFTING IDEAS.

And it may be that, in speaking of new ideas, President Wilson was in a measure ratifying the history of his party for the last 60 years, for in all that period it has not clung to any idea for any two successive campaigns, with the single exception of free trade, and at various times has even subordinated that doctrine to others that seemed more likely to catch votes.

In 1860 that party stood for slavery, for State sovereignty, for sesession. In 1864 it declared the war a failure, fought the sale of Government bonds, and opposed the issuance of greenbacks. In 1868 it demanded the repudiation of the public debt. In 1872 it nominated Horace Greeley and contented itself with a platform of general opposition to all the existing order of things. In 1876 it opposed the resumption of specie payment. In 1880 it conducted its first strong assault on the tariff, but made the most of its campaign noise on the force bill. In 1888 it was for tariff for revenue only. In 1892 it was for tariff only for revenue. In that campaign it advocated the conservatism of Cleveland, while in 1896 it vehemently espoused the radicalism of Bryan. In that campaign its principal issue was free silver.

In 1900 it "paramounted" imperialism and militarism. In 1904 its main complaint was that the Republican Party was building forts near large cities in which to place soldiers to coerce labor. In 1906 Bryan again took charge of his party, and, after a trip around the world, boldly announced his championship of the Government ownership of railroads; but, finding how unpopular it was, has never breathed it from that day to this. In 1908 they fought their battle on the Government guaranty of bank deposits. In 1912 they won on Republican discord and a divided opposition, and are in power now a minority party of 2,000,000 votes. Bryan, after strenuously advocating a primary for everything, was elected a delegate to that convention by a primary in his district, which instructed him by its vote for CHAMP CLARK, and yet he did not hesitate a moment to turn his back on his constituents and violate his instructions and force the nomination of Wilson; and now, to the utter disgust of all Americans and the utter amazement of all foreigners, is playing the shuttlecock between the Department of State and the Chautauqua platform, and is rattling around in the place heretofore illuminated by the genius of Webster and Clay and Seward and Blaine and Hay.

Surely, if changing ideas is what President Wilson wants, if playing a game of "now you see it and now you don't" with passed issues and present problems meets his conception of true party success, he has undoubtedly chosen the right organization with which to cast his lot.

EMPLOYMENT BUREAU.

The President in his recent remarkable utterance proposed an employment bureau to care for those out of labor. He says:

Don't you think it would be a pretty good idea for the Democratic Party to undertake a systematic method of helping the workingmen of America? There is a very simple way in which they could help the workingman. If we were simply to establish a great Federal employment bureau, it would be a great thing.

The laborer of this country needs to be guided from opportunity to opportunity. Just the other day we were told that in two States of the Union 30,000 men were needed to gather the crops. It was suggested in a Cabinet meeting that the Department of Labor should have printed information about this, in such form that it could be posted up in the post offices all over the United States, and that the Department of Labor should get in touch with the labor departments of States, so that the notice could go out from them. Well, what was the result? These 30,000 men were found and were sent to the places where they got profitable employment. I don't know of any one thing that has happened in my administration that made me feel happier than that—that the job and the man had been brought together.

And this, coming from the man who did more than any other to separate the man and the job, is indeed refreshing.

But how happened those 30,000 men to be idle? Were they thus in 1912? There is certainly no record of such a situation, for then every willing hand found work.

What kind of philanthropy is it to adopt a policy that loses a man his steady job and then establishes a bureau to give him unsteady employment?

Wouldn't it have been better to let him alone where he was? Who has been benefited by these policies that perpetually hammer business? The manufacturer? No; for his factory is either closed or running on half time, and he is sitting in the shadow of a great fear. The laborer? No; for he is out of work, his children are crying for bread, and he knows not where to look for relief.

It is one of the objects of government to make a people prosperous, and therefore an administration should adopt such policies as will foster trade and promote commerce and aid business and insure employment.

And, after harvest time, what became of those 30,000 men? Where are they now? The President's soul was made to rejoice because they were hauled from one part of the country to the other to find a 30-day job. Well, were they taken back again to their former places of residence? If so, at their own expense? Or at the cost of the Government? If the former, they spent a goodly portion of their 30-day pay in going to and fro. If the latter, the Government will soon have to levy another "war tax" to pay transportation charges. What sort of a situation are we in when the President of the United States waxes eloquent and pathetic over the fact that 30,000 idle men out of 3,000,000 in the same plight have temporary jobs, when every man of them was at work when he came into power?

Did any Republican President ever propose an employment bureau to give work to the idle? No; because nobody was ever in enforced idleness when our party was in power. Perhaps that is one of President Wilson's "new ideas." If so, we willingly assign him all the credit.

It is perhaps necessary now for something of that kind to be done, just as it is necessary for the ambulance to go over the field of battle after the conflict is over to pick up the mangled and the dying, but no such necessity ever existed while our party was in power.

GENUINE EMPLOYMENT.

Do you know how I would give work to the unemployed? I would have Congress place a protective-tariff law on the statute books, pass the necessary appropriation bills, and then adjourn and go home. I would say to the lawmakers, "Unshackle commerce; unfetter industry; unhamper capital; strike the gyves from the limbs of labor; give business a chance." I would drive the demagogues out of the temple and relegate to the rear those who fatten and batten on discontent and turmoil and who seek to mount to public place on the prostrate forms of capital and labor.

I would always and everywhere exhort the people to quit taking the newspaper that seeks to increase its circulation by inflaming the public to class hatred and unrest; and I would have the business man stop advertising in any publication that, in order to satisfy the sensation mongers of our day, are always making assaults on men of initiative and arousing popular fury against men of means. Capital and labor must work together in a spirit of mutual helpfulness or work not at all. They are both absolutely essential to our prosperity and our happiness; each must be taught to know and to keep within its legitimate sphere and constantly exhorted to a wholesome regard for the rights of the other.

I would have the people learn that very much depends upon the individual and that very little depends upon the Government.

We have literally gone to seed on Government interference and Government control in this country. Authority is being delegated by Congress to various commissions until power is farther and farther removed from the people every year.

One commission controls all the banking and currency of the country. Another has supervision of all the railroads of the land. Another has charge of all the interstate business of the Nation. Another is authorized to manage all the electrical power in the Nation. The people do not elect, nor can they directly remove, a single member of any of these commissions that control all the business of the world.

Is representative government a failure that these things should be done Are the representatives of the people, chosen from the people, by the people, either too ignorant or too unreliable to longer legislate directly for the interests of the people? Must everything the people have and do be regulated by the General Government, and must all this power be lodged in commissions, away from the direct control of the people?

No wonder business is affrighted at this situation. No wonder the genius of industry staggers with burdens being piled higher and higher upon her every day.

Let us give honest business a chance to do an honest business in this country. Because some men are bad all men are not to be condemned and placed under police surveillance. Because some business concerns have run counter to the best interests of all the people we should not overthrow it all, but let us be sane enough to punish the evil and protect the good, to preserve the honest and weed out the bad.

THE MEXICAN MUDDLE.

But what about Mexico? In his speech, the President said:

I want to say a word about Mexico—not so much about Mexico as our attitude toward Mexico. I hold it as a fundamental principle, and so do you, that every people has a right to determine its own form of government, and until this recent revolution in Mexico, until the end of the Diaz reign, 80 per cent of the people of Mexico never had a look-in in determining who should be their governors or what their government should be. Now, I am for the 80 per cent. It is none of my business and it is none of your business how long they take in determining it. It is none of my business and it is none of your business how they go about the business. The country is theirs, the Government is theirs, the liberty, if they can get it—and God speed them in getting it—is theirs; and, so far as my influence goes while I am President, nobody shall interfere with it.

Then, if all that be true, and it unquestionably is, what right had he to interfere to say that Huerta had not been fairly elected and that he must resign and vacate at once? What he says is diametrically opposed to what he did and what he says is right.

A simple recital of the events that occurred in that unfortunate country from the first outbreak of hostilities to the present time will serve to show the objectless drifting of "watchful waiting" and the entire absence of any policy whatever with reference to our neighbor on the south.

Madero revolted against Diaz in 1910. His revolution was successful. Diaz left Mexico in May, 1911, and Madero became President on the 6th day of November that year. President Taft formally recognized the Madero government.

In January, 1913, Felix Diaz organized a revolution against the Madero government in Mexico City, and at this juncture President Taft, taking advantage of a previous act of Congress, laid an embargo on all arms and munitions of war going from this country into Mexico.

Gen. Huerta, who had been in command of the Madero forces, deserted to Diaz and Madero was captured and his government overthrown.

On February 18 Lascurian was sworn in as Provisional President, and in a short time thereafter Madero was killed. Gen. Huerta then took command of the government and was sworn in as Provisional President in accordance with the forms prescribed by their constitution. Just at this time Mr. Wilson became President of the United States. Within a month a fresh revolution, headed by Carranza and Villa, broke out in northern Mexico, and then the troubles as well as the blunders of the administration began.

Not content with the reports of our then able ambassador to Mexico, our own distinguished fellow citizen, Henry Lane Wilson, whom we are proud to have known as a Hoosier, and who represented our country in Mexico with distinguished credit and honor for four eventful years—not content with his recommendations, and yet without having the courage to remove him and appoint one of his own ambassadors upon whose representations he was willing to rely, President Wilson selected Mr. John Lind as his special representative in Mexico, and, going over the head of our regular ambassador there, delivered through Mr. Lind a message to Huerta in the nature of an ultimatum demanding that he should forthwith resign and immediately vacate the office of President. And yet in his speech he says, "The country is theirs, the government is theirs, and, so far as I am concerned, nobody shall interfere with it."

President Wilson was right in his words, but wrong in his deeds. It was none of his business how Huerta was elected. That was the business of the people of Mexico. If they were willing to have that kind of a man for President, that was their right, and President Wilson should have recognized the Huertan government at once as the only one in existence in Mexico when he came into office.

If he had done this, and had kept the embargo on arms and munitions of war sent from this country into that, Huerta could have floated his bonds and obtained money with which to buy sufficient equipment to suppress the rebellion. But President Wilson took exactly the opposite position, and did it upon grounds wholly untenable. As if he were a sort of universal guardian over all peoples and governments, he at once ordered Huerta to abdicate, and when that gentleman declined to obey this order he lifted the embargo imposed by President Taft and became for all practical purposes an ally of Villa and an open enemy to Huerta. Talk about noninterference. He did interfere, not by open declaration, it is true, but by a system of furtive and officious meddling never before witnessed in American diplomacy.

Why did he refuse to recognize Huerta? Solely on the ground that he was a bad man. But was that any of our business? Is it the duty of our President to go nosing around all over the world in order to find out whether or not the rulers in the various countries of the earth measure up to the Princetonian standard of morality and then shape his foreign policy according to the ascertained results? What folly, and especially in view of the unspeakable character of the man with whom he allied himself, for if Huerta was a bad man Villa was infinitely worse. No more notorious and inhuman butcher, bandit, and brigand ever went unhung than this malignant monster of guilt, and yet, in order to carry out a feeling of personal animosity on the part of President Wilson against Huerta, a feeling he acquired by talking with the members of the Madero family in the Bermudas after his election and before his inauguration, he interfered in Mexican affairs in behalf of this blackened murderer and ran the risk of open war with a sister Republic.

But time went on, and while Bryan babbled on the chautauqua and bungled in the State Department, Wilson watchfully waited, and we got nowhere. And then occurred what is called the first Tampico incident.

A crew from one or our warships landed at that port for perfectly proper purposes, and yet they were arrested. They were taken to the town hall, where they were at once released, and Admiral Mayo contented himself with demanding a salute to the flag as a reparation for the insult. The entire matter might have been disposed of there without further complication, but our Government chose to make a national affair out of it and took it to the City of Mexico. They there placed themselves in the ridiculous and inconsistent position of declining to recognize Huerta as the head of the government and yet demanded that he, on the part of the Mexican Government, should salute the flag. Having demanded that he vacate, and having declined to recognize that he had any right whatever as President, they yet insisted on his saluting the flag, while at the same time they contended that he had no authority over any of the arms and munitions of Mexico with which to fire a salute.

The Huertan government declined to salute unless they were assured in advance that it would be returned, and it was on this point that the open rupture came. President Wilson delivered a message to Congress, and asked that he should be given power to take steps against Huerta; not against the Mexican Government, mark you, but against Huerta by name, thus showing that the only policy he had was against an individual. That resolution passed in the House, but failed in the Senate, because that body recognized that it would never do to pass a virtual declaration of war simply against an individual, but that some statement of policy should be made in order to justify such a serious step.

In the meantime our forces were ordered to Vera Cruz, though for what purpose is not apparent. The trouble was at Tampico. Why our vessels were not ordered there remains a mystery, and why they were ordered to Vera Cruz, where neither life nor property was in danger, is more than we have ever been told. In attempting to take possession of this port 19 of our men were killed and over a hundred wounded, while the casualties among the Mexicans were much greater.

VIRTUAL DECLARATION OF WAR.

Now, notwithstanding the declaration of the President that he had kept our country out of war, and notwithstanding that this fact was the main argument advanced by the Democratic orators last campaign, yet the incident at Vera Cruz was an open act of war. To claim that it was not because no declaration of war had been made is simply juggling words. Germany never formally declared war against Belgium, yet no one can

be heard to say that she has not been at war with that unfortunate country.

To seize the principal seaport of a nation by force of arms, and to retain it for several months in the same manner, is an open act of war, and it was because of those things that the President hurried into the so-called Niagara conference, which never even had the remotest chance of settling any question. However, it so delayed matters that we were not compelled to resort to the further use of arms and in this respect was most fortunate.

We sent our ships to Vera Cruz ostensibly to prevent the landing of a cargo of arms intended for Huerta. The ship was not permitted to land at Vera Cruz, but within a few days found uninterrupted passage into the harbor at Puerto Mexico, where the entire cargo was landed and turned over to the forces of Huerta. It is plain to be seen, therefore, that the very object for which we took Vera Cruz, and which cost so many precious American lives, was never accomplished. We further sent our ships there to force Huerta to salute the flag, and that was originally given forth as the sole object of the expedition. And yet the flag was never saluted and the whole incident was forgotten and lost sight of by the administration. There was never a more futile effort made, there was never a more objectless expedition attempted, there was never a more useless sacrifice of life and property, and yet all this bungling and inefficient maladministration was tolerated by the American people solely because of the appalling catastrophe that is being enacted in Europe.

At this time President Wilson lifted the embargo on arms. That was, and was intended to be, a real help to the rebels, for we had clearly made them our allies. Their difficulty was that they had no port and therefore could not bring arms into Mexico from the outside, but they could bring them over the border after the embargo was lifted, and that was why it was lifted. But the Secretary of War, being wiser and more courageous than the Secretary of State, issued an order that no arms should be carried across the border, and that left the matter in such a shape that Villa was compelled to have a port in order to secure foreign help.

The vessels we had at Tampico were compelled to stand out 9 miles away from the port. This was done on the excuse that if they remained there they might cause trouble. The simple truth is that had they remained there they would have prevented trouble, for there were a number of American citizens in that community and a vast amount of American property that was entitled to the protection of these American ships. After the withdrawal of our vessels Huerta still remained in command at Tampico, our citizens there were all threatened with massacre and their property was subject to confiscation and destruction, and they were left entirely without protection by reason of the withdrawal of our ships. The only thing that saved their lives was the action of the commanders of the German and British ships which were still lying in that port. Thirteen hundred American citizens were taken on those vessels, and thus saved from indiscriminate and helpless slaughter, while our vessels were compelled to remain 9 miles away from the port in order that Villa might have an opportunity to procure arms and munitions of war with which to carry on an insurrection against a regularly constituted government.

Because of our attitude the government of Huerta failed, and he was compelled to leave the country. The President accomplished the object of his interference in Mexico, but what was the final result? During this entire time the difficulty was that neither Mr. Wilson nor Mr. Bryan ever considered what would happen with Mexico in case Huerta was dislodged. Their one object was to drive him out of power and never for one moment did they pause to think what would become of the country after their object had been accomplished. Had they given the slightest study to the character of the Mexican people, had they taken into consideration the volatile and mercurial nature of that inflammable race, had they halted for mature reflection for one hour in their mad desire to overthrow an unfriendly individual they would have known that when Huerta was gone some other man equally bad or worse would take his place, and that, if Carranza came into power, Villa would revolt against him, and that one revolution would follow another in rapid succession for years to come. But these things apparently never occurred to them, or, if they did occur to them, they brushed them aside, being fiercely determined on the one proposition of overthrowing Huerta.

RESULTS OF "WATCHFUL WAITING."

Fifty per cent of the inhabitants of Mexico are pure-blood Indians, 30 per cent are half-breeds, 20 per cent are Spanish, and to imagine that a mixed population of that character, with the past history of Mexico, could establish and maintain a stable government, founded on fundamental principles, was an illusion that ought never to have deceived any man.

And what is the condition of Mexico to-day? The whole country is the helpless prey of banditti; a bushwhacking guerilla warfare is carried on in every portion of the land; there is no responsible government anywhere, no power to secure life or protect property or defend society, disorder and anarchy and chaos and riot everywhere, and the solemn truth is that we can not escape responsibility for our share in that miserable business and its dire results.

The truth is that over 200 American lives have been lost, and yet nothing done to prevent it; the truth is that 60 people have recently been killed by Mexican bullets from across the border, and yet not a word has been uttered in protest nor a finger been lifted to prevent it.

At this time the guillotine stands in the City of Mexico and victims are being daily murdered in the capital city of the country without there being any power strong enough to prevent it. And even worse than that, according to a flood of uncontradicted testimony, these murdering marauders have invaded the sacred precincts of the church, the cloister, and the nunnery, and have turned themselves in wild and reckless abandon upon the women, upon the priests, upon the nuns, and upon the children, until their helpless victims are numbered by the hundreds.

The truth is that two courses with reference to the Mexican matter lay open before Mr. Wilson when he assumed the Presidency. One was to exert all the moral power of the Government and to invoke the moral aid of all other Governments to protect property, to enforce laws, and maintain order in that country, and by every form of moral suasion known to the world to insist upon a righteous government for that unfortunate country.

The other course was to send arms into Mexico, to take possession of the Government, to establish a protectorate there as we did in Cuba, to preserve order and secure life and property, until such time as it was safe for us to withdraw and permit them to set up a Government of their own.

The truth is he did neither. He interfered, it is true, but only in a meddling and an ineffective way. He went in, indeed, but apparently without any object, and withdrew without having accomplished a single thing, and the present chaotic condition of affairs is largely a direct result of the reckless misnamed policy of watchful waiting.

WILSON A FAILURE.

On the whole it is safe to say that Mr. Wilson has not been a successful President.

He went into office on a platform pledged to economy, and yet has never lifted his voice against the unwarranted assaults upon the surplus committed by his party. He even advocated levying a war tax upon the people, in a time of adversity produced wholly by his mistaken policies, in order to make possible further raids upon the Treasury by southern Congressmen.

He was elected upon a platform pledging himself and his party to a single term in the Presidency, and yet right in the teeth of that pledge is an undoubted candidate for four years more.

He was chosen upon a platform demanding free tolls for American vessels carrying coastwise commerce through the Panama Canal, and the most vigorous speech he made in this campaign for election was in its support, and yet he turned his back upon his party pledge, ruthlessly broke his plighted faith, and literally forced through Congress a provision compelling American shipowners to pay the same tolls as are required of foreign shipowners for the privilege of sailing through our own canal.

He was elected upon a platform which declared that a protective tariff was unconstitutional, and in his speeches he declared this system to be vicious, un-American, and immoral, and yet signed a bill with many of its items providing for as high a protection as any Republican would require. And he did this because he was afraid to put his theories into practice by wholesale, for he knew that if he did it would create such havoc with our industries that his party would be swept out of power and kept out for the next generation.

Having all his life opposed ship subsidy, or any other form of aid or subvention for our own merchant marine, he yet flies to the opposite extreme and proposes to enter upon an untried scheme of Government ownership of merchant vessels which for every conceivable reason is far more to be deplored than any form of subsidy ever proposed.

LACKS EXECUTIVE TEMPERAMENT.

The President is too sectional in his views to always be national in his policies; he is too partisan in his conception of his duties to always be patriotic in their discharge; he is too theoretical in his knowledge to always be practical in its appli-

cation; he is too dictatorial in his conduct to always be generous to those who oppose his wish; he is too didactic in his methods to always be tolerant of those who assert their own views. He knows so many things that are so in the text-books, but are not so in the markets or in the mills, that he can not always forgive those who know the real relations of things.

And, apparently without pain of heart or qualm of conscience, he can descend from the high level, where he by nature and by training belongs, and on which we always like for our President to act, to a lower level than comports with his dignity or his scholarship; lower than we like for our Presidents to ever take. Witness this fling of his recent speech:

Being by profession a schoolmaster, I am glad to point that out to a class of uninstructed Republicans, though I had not always taught in the primary grades.

If he uttered that sentence in a jocular vein, it was beneath his dignity as President of the United States to do it. If he uttered it in a spirit of soberness, it displays an egotism and a malice and a disregard of the proprieties scarcely believable.

Millions of people believe in the Republican Party; millions think that to its policies and its management of our affairs is due the lofty place we occupy to-day among the nations of the world; millions worship the memory of its heroic and its sainted dead; millions feel the thrill of inspiration at the recollection of its deeds; millions find their patriotism renewed by a recital of the sacred traditions that cluster round its name; and millions anxiously look forward to the day of its restoration to power as the one hope of deliverance from the frightful conditions we find on every hand. And therefore when the President gives utterance to a sentence of this character, and takes an unlettered stumper's fling at a very great portion of the people over whom he presides, he casts aside the dignity of his high office and the charm of his scholarship and assumes a rôle unworthy of a man in so high a place.

But let us console ourselves with the comforting assurance that he has done about all the harm he ever can do as President, and that his services will be no longer required after the 4th of March, 1917. Then the Republican Party will be restored to power, and we shall enter upon a glad day in which we shall be prosperous at home and respected abroad, and our flag shall be known and honored around the world because of what it represents.

Aid its dawning, tongue and pen,
Aid it hopes of honest men;
Aid it paper, aid it type,
Aid it for the hour is ripe,
And our earnest must not slacken into play;
Men of thought and men of action, clear the way.

Ship-Purchase Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH D. McKELLAR,
OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 17, 1915.

On the bill (S. 5259) to establish one or more United States Navy mail lines between the United States and South America and between the United States and the countries of Europe.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. Speaker, I never had very much sympathy for or confidence in a man who is afraid—afraid physically or afraid to take a position in the affairs of life as they are presented to him. I feel the same way about a political party or an administration. It makes a political party purely one of negation. It makes an administration a byword. There is one thing that can be said of the present administration—it is not afraid. Whatever might have been said about the Democratic Party during certain periods of the past it certainly can not be said under this administration that it is a party of negation or a party of fear.

In its last platform the Democratic Party declared for building up a merchant marine, but one without additional burdens upon the people and without bounties or subsidies from the Public Treasury. The administration has put forward a merchant marine bill, and for weeks it has been debated in the Senate, where it was favorably reported, and there is also a favorable report from the House Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries. No bill that has been before Congress since I have been here has had greater consideration.

The opposition to the ship-purchase bill, as it appears from the expressions of those who have discussed it, whether Democrats or Republicans, Senators or Representatives, is an opposition of fear. Our Republican friends and their Democratic allies are afraid that it might be contrary to Democratic principles. They are afraid of the principle of Government ownership; they are afraid that it is not a wise departure; they are afraid we can not get the ships; they are afraid that if we get the ships that we might get some interned ships of belligerent nations and thereby get into trouble; they are afraid of international complications; they are afraid that the Government ought not to go into the business; they are afraid it will hurt the private interests of those already engaged in the business; they are afraid it is unconstitutional. Again, they are afraid the Government will lose money by it, though our Republican friends are perfectly willing for the Government to lose money by contributing subsidies to private interests already engaged in shipping. Some even are afraid the $10,000,000 appropriated from the Treasury will be too great a strain on the Treasury, though some of those same gentlemen have voted for $100,000,000 for the Army, $150,000,000 for the Navy, and some $200,000,000 for pensions this year. Some profess to be afraid that President Wilson—who has shown himself to be a jingo and was desirous of involving this country in war!—that if given the authority, as provided in this bill, he will take such steps in the purchase of ships that will involve us in war. Many of the very gentlemen who were abusing President Wilson some months ago because he would not declare war on Mexico are now vehemently abusing him because they see in this bill a trick by which he can get an opportunity to involve our country in war. Is it not absurd? This is but a sample of the various kinds of fear that the opponents of this bill are exhibiting.

It is quite remarkable that in the speeches of Mr. ROOT, Mr. GALLINGER, and other opponents of the bill in the Senate it is not even argued that the people of this country do not need a great number of ships to carry their wares. It is not even argued that a great emergency does not exist in this country by reason of the fact that many of the foreign ships that we formerly used are now out of commission. It is not disputed that there is a great scarcity of shipping facilities. It is not disputed that ocean freight rates have gone up from 100 to 1,000 per cent. It is not disputed that the rates are so high on certain commodities as to be prohibitive to the great loss and damage to those who produce those articles. The sole contention upon the part of those gentlemen is that they are afraid of the proposition.

Mr. Speaker, before the war between the States in 1861 came upon us and under the beneficent rule of the Democratic Party this Nation had built up what was in that day and generation a great merchant marine. The war came on and destroyed that merchant marine, and those ships that were not destroyed were interned and sold, and I am informed that England, for the most part, bought them. Since that time more than 93 per cent of our shipping has been done in foreign bottoms. The Republican Party has steadfastly in its long reign of power in this country refused to take any steps to build up our merchant marine. Even our mails have, for the most part, been carried in ships flying foreign flags, and we appropriate annually, year by year, enormous sums to those shipowners for carrying our mails.

At the outbreak of the war the United States, it has been claimed, carried in its own bottoms more than 85 per cent of our exports. Since the war it has carried never more than 7 per cent. During the war we sold ships to the allies as follows:

	Tonnage.
1861	26,649
1862	17,756
1863	222,199
1864	300,865
1865	133,832

It will thus be seen that we sold ships amounting to over 800,000 tons during this war period. It has been the desire of the Democratic Party for many decades to rebuild our merchant marine. This is shown in the Democratic platforms beginning with that of 1880.

PLATFORM PROVISIONS.

In the last Democratic platform at Baltimore the following statement is made:

We believe in fostering by constitutional regulation of commerce the growth of a merchant marine, which shall develop and strengthen the commercial ties which bind our sister Republics of the south, but without imposing additional burdens upon the people and without bounties or subsidies from the Public Treasury.

For the benefit of my Democratic colleagues I wish to discuss this provision of the platform, with a view of ascertaining whether or not this bill is in accord therewith. In the first place, is the bill constitutional? I submit that it is. It is constitutional upon three separate provisions: (1) The Constitu-

tion of the United States gives Congress power, in terms, "to regulate commerce with foreign nations." Can it be questioned that this bill provides for the regulation of foreign commerce? It regulates by directing that the Government may buy ships and go into the shipping business and carry our products to foreign markets. It regulates it by giving to the Government power to establish rates at which this foreign tonnage will be carried. It regulates it by furnishing competition with foreign ships. It regulates it by furnishing ships in opposition to existing shipping monopolies. So that it will appear that beyond question, under this provision of the Constitution, Congress clearly has the constitutional right to establish a shipping corporation, in which the Government may own all or any portion of the stock, provided only that the law thus enacted, in the words of the Constitution, "is necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing power."

Again, the bill is constitutional under the provisions of the Constitution which, in expressed terms, authorizes Congress "to provide and maintain a Navy." This bill provides in sections 8 and 9 that naval auxiliaries and vessels owned by the Panama Railroad Co. which are suitable for commercial use may be transferred to the ship corporation, and that the ships to be acquired by the board shall be, as far as possible, suitable for naval auxiliaries in the Naval Establishment of the United States, and the President shall have the right at any time, upon giving notice, to use them in this way.

It will be remembered that a few years ago, during the administration of President Roosevelt, our fleet of battleships took a trip around the world, and it will be remembered with mortification that the colliers and other auxiliaries attending the fleet were, for the most part, British vessels. This should never occur again. In a case of war our country would be handicapped because lacking the necessary auxiliaries. This bill will prevent any such situation from arising. Again, the Constitution authorized Congress "to establish post offices and post roads." For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914, we paid to foreign steamship owners $1,429,434.25 for carrying our foreign mails. We have a perfect right, and I believe it is our duty, that wherever possible our mails should be carried in American vessels, and we ought to bend our every effort to utilize this provision of the Constitution for the benefit of our people. This money, or as much thereof as possible, should be paid to American ships. The Constitution further provides that Congress has the power "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing power."

It will thus be seen that this bill is anchored on three separate provisions of the Constitution, and there can not be the slightest doubt about its being a constitutional regulation of commerce. Indeed, I want to ask those gentlemen who are opposed to the bill, in what manner would they go about regulating commerce so as to foster a growth of a merchant marine except by this method? I know it is claimed by some that if we repeal all navigation laws on the subject that this would help the matter, but surely if we did this this foreign commerce would not be regulated by Congress. It would be in a position where it could regulate itself, and our platform declares that Congress should regulate commerce so as to foster a growth of a merchant marine.

THE WISDOM OF THE MEASURE.

The next question that naturally arises is the wisdom of our Government embarking in the shipping business. The bill provides that the Government shall not go permanently into this business, but as soon as it is built up and becomes profitable it shall be sold to private shipping corporations or individuals, with the implication, of course, that the Government is to continue to regulate the business after it is built up.

Now, what are the conditions before us in this matter? By reason of the present foreign war not less than 14 per cent, it has been estimated, of our foreign shipping facilities have been put out of commission. The two German lines, the Hamburg-American and the North German Lloyd, alone, which have for the most part been engaged in American shipping, have a combined fleet of 306 ships, the Hamburg-American Line having 190 ships and the North German Lloyd having 116 ships. Under these circumstances can it be wondered that ocean vessels have raised their rates all the way from 100 to 1,000 per cent? The great body of ships now engaged in our trade belong to the group known as the allies. Naturally these ships take from our shores food products and war material first. By reason of the situation they take what is to their immediate interest or the immediate interest of their Government to take. Our people really have no option in the matter but to let them take such products as they will. Of course they do not tell us that they will not take any of our products, but they have absolute control of the rates and by raising these rates to prohibitive figures they prevent the shipping of certain of our products. The result is that some of our greatest and most important industries have been crippled and in many instances almost ruined because of our inability to obtain ocean transportation. Our cotton, largely because of this lack of shipping facilities, is selling at half price, at a loss to our people of several hundred millions of dollars. Our export lumber business is at a standstill because of this lack of shipping facilities. Our naval-stores industries are in the same condition. Our coal fields are being undeveloped for the same cause. Our tobacco industry is crippled for the same reason. These are merely the more important of our products for which we can find no proper market because of the high rates or lack of shipping facilities.

There never was a greater emergency for merchant vessels in the history of our country. There never was a greater opportunity for our Nation if we would but use it. The world's trade is ours if we would step out and get it. When the Baltimore platform was made it was thought that our only opportunity to build up our merchant marine would be by going into the South American trade. This war has made possible for us to get an immense trade with all the world. The opportunity may never come again. Certainly so great an opportunity will never come again.

POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT OWNING SHIPS.

I think from what I have said heretofore that it must be apparent to any fair-minded person that there is a great emergency staring us in the face relative to our foreign shipping and trade; that Congress has the constitutional right to pass a bill for the protection of our people in this situation of great emergency. But it is claimed by the opponents of the bill that the principal of Government ownership is involved, as indeed it is, and that it is not wise for the Government to engage in business at all, and certainly not wise or democratic to engage in business in competition with private business. We are prohibited from giving subsidies by our platform, and certainly no fair-minded man should be in favor of building up our shipping by means of subsidies or bounties. Certainly no Democrat should be. Then, if this is true, how are we to accomplish it? Have our opponents pointed out a way? Can they suggest any way but the one that has been arranged for in this bill? In our own hearts we know that there is but one way. We know that the only way we can rebuild our merchant marine and the only way we can get back the foreign trade that we are entitled to and entitled to carry in our own bottoms is by the Government going into the shipping business. It is also claimed that it is a new departure. As to all these claims I wish to take issue. In the first place, the Government could not go into any business where there would be less competition with private business owned by our own citizens, as only 7 per cent of our products are shipped in American bottoms. When we established the parcel post we went into competition with all of the express companies, who had theretofore had entire control of the business, and I doubt if any Member would maintain to-day that we did an unwise act in providing that the Government should go into competition with the express companies. Certainly he could not maintain such a position.

PRECEDENTS FOR THIS ACTION.

In the first place, as to the policy of going into this business, the precedents that have been set for the National Government going into business, I wish to say a few words. At the very beginning of our Government—the second year thereof—this Government organized a banking corporation, and was for a period of half of a century engaged directly in the banking business under an even doubtful constitutional warrant. Indirectly it has been in the banking business ever since and controls it to-day. It went into that business under the constitutional warrant that Congress had the right to coin money, and there is no one in this House to-day who would say that the Government ought to withdraw from its control of the banking business. I think not.

The next notable embarkment of our Government in business was when it went into the canal and road business, during the administrations of Madison, Monroe, Adams, and Jackson, and, as a matter of fact, it is still in the canal business, having just completed a canal that is now one of the wonders of the world. Is it possible that anyone would contend that the Government was not justified in entering the canal business?

In the third place, the Government went into the railroad business when they first began to be built in this country. Our great transcontinental lines were practically built by the Government and for a long time controlled by the Government. For what purpose? Of course the only purpose was to control freight rates, to make the cost of transportation cheaper for the great body of our citizens, and is there anyone to-day who

would say the Government ought not to have gone into that business or aided therein? It has been our policy for more than three-quarters of a century. The Government is operating the Panama Railroad at a tremendous profit to-day and to the great advantage of the citizens of our country; and but recently this Democratic administration has passed a law giving it authority to build another great railroad in the Territory of Alaska. What for? To open up that country and furnish cheaper transportation for that portion of our people. It is identically the same principle invoked in this bill. Having passed that bill in a Democratic Congress, does it lie in the mouths of Democrats to oppose this bill on account of its being a departure from Democratic principles?

Fourth. But recently this Government under a Democratic administration has gone into the express business. It has been operating this business long enough for us to determine its value. We went into this business for the sole purpose of reducing rates on small packages to the American people. The bill was passed under the very clause of the Constitution which is invoked for this bill. The purpose of the two bills is exactly the same, except one is to reduce freight rates upon articles from one portion of our country to another, as provided for by the Constitution, and the proposed bill, if enacted into law, will reduce rates in shipments of goods from our country to foreign countries In one case the Post Office Department is given jurisdiction to carry out the terms of the act. In the other case three departments of the Government are given authority to carry out the terms of this act. Upon principle I can not see how any Member of Congress who voted for the parcel-post bill can refuse to vote for this bill.

Fifth. This Government under a Democratic administration has but recently embarked in the insurance business whereby we insure American ships and products going abroad in American bottoms. Surely, if we have the right to insure business going abroad in domestic bottoms, in order to lessen freight rates and to obtain shipping facilities, we have the unquestioned right to buy these shipping facilities.

But it is claimed that, though the Government may have the undoubted right, as it has, to go into this business, still as a matter of policy it should not go into the business for two reasons—(1) because it is likely to prove an unprofitable business, and (2) because it unduly interferes and comes into competition with private business. Neither of these positions is tenable, in my judgment. It may be remarked just here that the United States has never embarked in a business that has proved unprofitable. It has accomplished its purpose every time. Its banking business has not proved an unprofitable business. Its canal and railroad business has not proved unprofitable, but in the long run has proved of the greatest profit and benefit to all our citizens. Its express business is admittedly a success. It is not believed that its insurance business will be a failure, and if it goes into the shipping business there is no reason why it should not be the same kind of a success. As to the Government embarking in the business that will be hurtful to private business, there is no business that the Government could embark in that would be less hurtful to the great body of our citizens, because at the present time there are so few of them engaged in the shipping business. Comparatively speaking, our business is done by foreign companies.

Senator ROOT, admittedly one of the greatest lawyers this country ever produced, a great debater, and an honorable and patriotic official of our Government, has, I have no doubt, made the greatest argument that will be heard against the passage of this bill. He confines his argument to one point of attack, to wit: That if we pass the bill we could not get the ships. In the first place, he says that there are no ships that can be bought by the Government and put into use that are not now in use, except the interned ships of belligerents; and, second, that these interned ships can not be purchased and used by our Government, because to do so would be in violation of the London agreement of 1908 and 1909, and in violation of international law. He has made in the Senate an able argument along this line. He never discusses any question except in a way that carries great weight. One of his questions is a question of fact. The other question he raises is a question of law. Upon the question of fact—that is, our ability to buy ships other than interned ships—is absolutely and completely answered by Secretary McAdoo in a report submitted to the Senate and published in the RECORD of Tuesday, January 26, in which report the Secretary shows that he has been offered by one merchant-marine agency in Boston 22 ships. These ships may be purchased for the sum of $11,815,000. Some are under British registry and others under German registry, most of them being under British registry. Some of these ships are already completed, and some will be completed within a short time. (See Exhibit 67, p. 2503 of the RECORD.) There are a great many other ships that can be obtained, as shown in Exhibit 75c, on the same page. In addition to that, we have the Panama steamships that can be used. Doubtless we could get all the interned ships that we wanted, for the reason that they can not now be used, and inasmuch as the owners thereof are keeping them interned at great expense they will be glad to sell them at a small price. Under such circumstances, with our own trade and commerce so hampered, as it undeniably is, because of lack of vessels to carry our products to foreign shores, it looks as if it is the duty, not merely the right, to purchase these ships wherever possible.

But Senator ROOT says that it would involve us in grave international complications and would be contrary to the provisions of the London convention of 1908 and 1909. The distinguished Senator from Montana has so ably presented this view of the question, as shown in his speech in the RECORD of Thursday, January 28, on page 2661 and following, that there is no use of my going into this question at any length. In this speech Senator WALSH has greatly added to his reputation as one of the best-posted constitutional lawyers in Congress. He considered the question from the viewpoint of what the international law was before the London convention, what the London convention provided, what the law is to-day, what the various nations have asserted it to be, and his arguments are absolutely convincing that the position of Senator ROOT is wholly a mistaken one.

The London convention provides that—

> The transfer of an enemy vessel to a neutral flag effected before the outbreak of hostilities is valid unless it is proved that such transfer was made in order to evade the consequences to which the enemy vessel as such is exposed. * * * When the transfer was effected more than 30 days before the outbreak of hostilities there is an absolute presumption that it is valid if it is unconditional, complete, and in conformity with the laws of the countries concerned, and if its effect is such that neither the control or the profits arising from the employment of the vessel remain in the same hands as before the transfer. * * * The transfer of an enemy vessel to a neutral flag effected after the outbreak of hostilities is void unless it is proved that such transfer was not made in order to evade the consequences to which the enemy vessel as such is exposed.

It is under the last clause that the sale of interned vessels might be questioned. In the first place, as has been repeatedly held by the Admiralty and prize courts in this country and in England, there is no reason why a citizen of a belligerent owning a vessel interned in a neutral port may not sell such vessel in perfect good faith either to the neutral Government or to a citizen of the neutral Government, provided only that it is sold in good faith for a valuable consideration and without any reservations as to purchase after the war. It can not be considered for a moment, if authorized by this act, we would buy one of these vessels on any other terms than as above stated. In the next place, the London convention has never been agreed to by the contracting parties, and no principle of international law or any other kind of law is better stated than that unless the minds of all the contracting parties meet there is no contract.

The English Government has on at least two occasions itself departed from the London agreement. Under these circumstances, surely Great Britain can not invoke the London agreement against us. Our delegates did not agree to the London agreement, but our Government has since ratified it. On the other hand, the British delegates did seem to agree to it, but the British Government has never ratified it. So that clearly there has been no contract by which either Government is bound, except under the principles of international law as they existed before the London conference. Now, as is pointed out by Senator WALSH, and to which, in my judgment, no argument can be added, the principles of law, as established by the British and American Governments for over a hundred years, was to the effect that after war was declared ships belonging to a citizen of a belligerent interned in a neutral port may be sold to a citizen of a neutral or to a neutral Government if done in good faith for a valuable consideration, without reservations of any right to return the ships or any emoluments thereof to the owner after the war. In addition to all this, can we not trust our Government, if authority is given to it to purchase ships, to purchase only those that there will be no international complications about? What reason have we to believe that our Government will purchase interned ships of belligerents, the purchase of which will give us trouble? Why should we believe our officials will not look into each and all of these matters before the ships are purchased? For my part, I am content to believe that they will and that there is not the slightest chance of international complications.

Gentlemen of the House, President Wilson is right, as he usually is. There is a great emergency confronting us. The vast amount of American products are not being shipped abroad

and selling at excellent prices because we have not the shipping facilities to haul them abroad. We need ships as we never needed them before. For generations we have been wanting to build up our merchant marine. It never was so manifest in the history of our country that we need an adequate merchant marine as it does now, when the great foreign war has stripped the seas of the vessels that are usually employed in carrying our goods to foreign markets, thereby paralyzing our foreign trade. There never was such an opportunity for us to acquire foreign trade when all of the great nations are at war as they are now. We will wrong our country if we do not take advantage of this opportunity. It can not be done by giving subsidies to American shipping, because we have got practically no American shipping. It can only be done effectively under the control and direction of this great Government of ours, which does all things well.

As I stated at the outset, we ought not to be deterred from this great duty by fear. We are not a nation of cowards but a nation of red-blooded men. We have never been afraid when it was necessary to fight for our country's interest. We ought never to be afraid to fight when our country's trade and prosperity are at stake. We do not know what the result of this great foreign war is going to be. We do know that as a naval power Germany has already lost her second place and that we have dropped into it. Before the end of the war, it may be, no one can tell, that England will have lost enough ships to have made the United States the first naval power. It will do us no good unless we are in a position to reap the benefits. We ought to be prepared for this or any other emergency. If it is so we are to have the right to control the seas, then we should have the merchantmen to control its commerce. We should leave no stone unturned in this regard. For many years the English and German nations will be unable to add to their great naval establishments, because they will have exhausted themselves in this great war; while, on the other hand, our Government, following its traditional policy of peace, will be in a position to add to our naval armament as and when we please for the protection of our country and for the upbuilding and protection of our trade and commerce carried on in American ships in every port of the world.

WHAT $30,000,000 WILL BUY AND THE RESULT OF THE PURCHASE.

Judging from the number of clearances from our ports during the year, which is about 3,200, and this excludes the great passenger steamers, of course, it takes about 800 cargo steamers to do our business. Each of these cargo steamers makes on an average about four trips a year, but of course some of these ships make only one trip to the United States, with the result that it is estimated there are about 1,000 cargo steamers engaged in the United States trade. There are also 215 passenger steamers.

In a general way, the net tonnage carried by ships in the export trade is about as follows:

	Tons.
To Europe	18,000,000
To South America	2,000,000
To Asia	1,100,000
To Oceania or the Far East	700,000
To Africa	400,000

These are net tons. The gross tonnage is two and one-half times the net tonnage. The steamers required to do this business to Europe, 1,215; to South America, 300; Asia, Oceania, and Africa, 200, making in all about 1,715 steamers. Until August 18, 1914, practically all of these ships were under foreign flags. After the passage of the ship-registry act of that date 74 steamers, aggregating 328,000 gross tons, were transferred to the American flag. All but three or four of these steamers were owned by Americans for a long time before the war. The purchase price of these steamers was $22,232,000.

From the foregoing figures it can be seen what the probable effect of investing $30,000,000 in steamships would have on the American trade. It is probable that about 100 ships of various sizes suitable for trade and commerce could be bought with this sum. The figures given by Secretary McAdoo in Exhibit 76 would not indicate that that many ships could be purchased, but when it is known that the Government has the money to buy these ships they can probably be bought at a much less price than the list price. Of the 45,000,000 cargo tons of American exports about 3,000,000 are exported in American bottoms. This is about 7 per cent. It might be possible to add to this 7 per cent more if this ship-purchase bill goes through. It is estimated that the war has produced a loss of foreign ships doing our export trade of about 14 per cent. Even if we increased our shipping facilities 7 per cent by the passage of this bill, we would still lack a tremendous per cent of our usual shipping facilities.

Government Shipping Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES L. SLAYDEN,
OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 11, 1915.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert an address by Hon. EDWARD W. SAUNDERS before the Boston Chamber of Commerce.

The address is as follows:

ADDRESS BEFORE THE BOSTON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE ON THE GOVERNMENT SHIPPING BILL.

Mr. President, it was with much pleasure that I accepted the cordial invitation to be your guest on this delightful occasion. This is not my first visit to Boston. Something like 10 years ago, I spent about two weeks in your city, as a delegate to the general convention of the Episcopal Church, and I have never forgotten the gracious hospitality that was extended to us during every moment of our stay.

I am present to-night under somewhat different, but equally agreeable conditions. It was a happy thought of your chamber to extend your invitation to more than one speaker, and by confining our remarks to a prescribed theme, thus place in juxtaposition the opposing views relating to the solution of the problem of the restoration of the American merchant marine.

Confronting this magnificent, and critical audience, representative of the best thought, and the best business, in this seat of culture, refinement, and industry, I begin to realize the serious character of my rôle in the proceedings of to-night, and almost regret my temerity, in accepting the invitation to be one of the spokesmen in this symposium on the general subject of a merchant marine. The pending bill under consideration in Congress is the bill for Government-owned and Government-operated ships in the American foreign trade. As a Democrat I am opposed to this measure for the reason that it is in flat contravention of the following plank in the platform adopted at Baltimore:

> We believe in fostering by constitutional regulation of commerce, the growth of a merchant marine, which shall develop, and strengthen the commercial ties which bind us to our sister republics of the South, but without imposing additional burdens upon the people, and without bounties, or subsidies from the Public Treasury.

This plank plainly restricts our legislative activities to the exercise of our constitutional power to regulate commerce. The limited marine to be developed in this fashion, is to ply between this country, and South America, and must be self-supporting, since we are neither to impose additional burdens upon the people, nor to afford bounties, or subsidies from the Public Treasury, in furtherance of its development. There is no hint in the language used, of a world-wide Government-owned, and Government-operated marine. Subsidies and Government ownership, are alike excluded from contemplation. A scheme which requires an initial appropriation of $10,000,000, and an emission of bonds to an extent of a possible thirty millions, and in addition, contemplates large future appropriations, inevitably falls within the condemnation directed against measures, imposing additional burdens upon the people.

But I will not pursue a criticism which appeals solely to the affiliates of one particular faith. There are many objections to the measure, as well as to subsidy, that are based upon economic grounds, as well as grounds of large policy, unrelated to party considerations. The restoration of our merchant marine is a somewhat misleading phrase. It carries with it the implication that at present, there is no American merchant marine. Indeed the statement to this effect is often made in general terms. This is an extravagant misrepresentation, whether made in ignorance of the facts, or with a willful and vicious purpose to mislead. There are over 27,000, probably at this time 28,000 merchant ships flying the American flag, and aggregating something over 8,000,000 gross tons. Of course the major proportion of this tonnage is in the coastwise trade, but registered for the foreign trade, there are 2,360 vessels, gross. To these figures must be added over 100 vessels admitted to the American flag under the recent registry act, having a gross tonnage of over 375,000 tons, and constituting in themselves quite a respectable body of freighters. All of the latter vessels represent American capital in the foreign trade, that was driven to the purchase of foreign-built vessels, and the use of foreign flags, in order to escape the restrictions of our domestic laws.

In addition to the foregoing, the authorities at Washington estimate that coastwise vessels aggregating between 200,000 and 300,000 tons, are available for use in over-seas traffic. These figures ought to allay the apprehension so often expressed, that in time of war this country would be unable to procure sufficient American ships to serve as colliers for the fleet. Having in mind the recent declaration of President Wilson, that our Navy has always been regarded as a proper and natural means of defense, and that it has always been of defense that we have thought, never of aggression, or of conquest, a statement which I believe represents the attitude of the great bulk of the American people, we may feel assured that at any future time when occasion demands, there will be available to be taken over for naval purposes, not only a sufficient number of American ships for a defensive war, but for any kind of war. It does not follow, however, that they will be taken over, if other ships may be chartered on better terms. It was not an evidence of national weakness, as sometimes suggested, that foreign vessels were chartered as colliers on the memorable globe encircling trip of our fighting ships. The transaction was an ordinary business one, involving rates, and terms. If American ships had been insisted upon, with the same reckless disregard for expense that is such a feature of the Government shipping bill, American ships could have been procured. Another statement often made, is that there are no American sailors, that they have deserted the sea. The report of the commissioner of navigation shows that in 1908, the number of American and naturalized American sailors shipped, and reshipped on vessels of the United States, were as follows: Americans (born), 52,065, Americans naturalized 28,713. For the year 1914, the figures respectively were 63,247, and 31,417. The figures do not include seamen shipped abroad before consuls on American vessels. The explanation of the fact that there are not more merchant vessels engaged in the foreign trade under the American flag, may be found in the further fact that our laws have heretofore made such ventures unprofitable. The American capitalist, confronted with the problem of more expensive ships, and greater operating expenses, could not play the game under the American flag.

The conditions were too unequal. Hence he went to sea under foreign flags, for reasons that will be hereafter given. There was nothing unpatriotic in this action. It was due to precisely the same economic causes that impel American capital to establish factories abroad, when conditions at home forbid the operation of a like factory at a profit. In both cases the capitalist acts under compulsion. For many years we have discussed the subject of a merchant marine, and the plans for its rehabilitation. Of course the obvious thing to do, was to repeal the entire body of laws that handicapped our capital in this direction. But for a long time neither party apparently has been willing to do this. The Republican Party naturally turned to subsidies. This was an extension of the protective, or bounty principle, to the high seas, and if put into operation on a sufficiently comprehensive scale, would undoubtedly have established a merchant marine. A law providing sufficient bounties to overcome the handicaps imposed by law would have restored competitive conditions. For many years subsidy bills on a tentative scale were introduced in Congress, but for one reason, or another, they were never successful. The latest offering in the way of a remedy is the Government ownership bill.

This measure, like the subsidy scheme, proposes to use the Public Treasury to establish a merchant marine, but the ships are to be Government owned, and Government operated vessels. Individual enterprise, and initiative will be effectually eliminated. The same comment may be made on this project, as on the subsidy device, namely, that if a sufficient use is made of public money in this direction, a merchant marine will undoubtedly be afforded. This country is able to have any bauble that it craves, provided that it is willing to pay the price. But as compared with the subsidy remedy for a failing merchant marine, the Government ownership solution contemplates a much more lavish use of Treasury funds to attain the desired end. It is obvious that as between furnishing the capital required to purchase, equip and operate a fleet, and furnishing only a sum sufficient to overcome the handicaps, and guarantee a dividend, a given appropriation from the Treasury will call into being a far greater number of ships under the subsidy plan, than this money would afford, if applied in the direction of Government purchase, and operation. But while this comparison indicates one manifest superiority of subsidy over Government ownership, attaining as it does the same end, by a far more economical route, this does not mean that I would support the former, unless under the inexorable compulsion of circumstances, I would be driven to make an unwilling choice. Both projects are undesirable, unnecessary, and wasteful of public money.

One is not more desirable than the other. It is merely less undesirable. One argument often urged in behalf of Government ships, is that the Government will be able to fix the rates of these carriers. Undoubtedly this will be true, but substantially it would be equally true, with respect to the subsidized vessels. If a subsidy is required to enable the ordinary merchant ship operating under the American flag, to earn a stable, and satisfactory return on the money invested, then it is obvious that the authority which furnished the subsidy, would be able to fix the terms on which that aid will be extended. The Government-ownership scheme is neither so simple, nor so universally known as the subsidy plan, which has been before the country for a number of years. Various bills on this line have been introduced in Congress, and debated at great length, in a number of sessions. But Government ownership is a plant of recent growth, one that has never been the subject of party discussion, or found a lodgment in a party platform. This latest plan for rehabilitating the merchant marine, made its bow to the public a few months ago, in what is known as the Alexander bill. A brief description of the scope and intent of this measure, will be appropriate in this connection.

This bill is something more than a proposition to empower the Government to take stock in a private corporation, designed to operate merchant ships in the foreign trade. It goes much further. It is not near Government ownership. It is Government ownership in a transportation venture, or a series of such ventures, on the high seas. The title of the bill will best describe its intent and purpose. In its very language, it is a bill "to authorize the United States, acting through a shipping board, (and in this connection I may cite the familiar maxim, Qui facit per alium, facit per se) to subscribe to the capital stock of a corporation to be organized under the laws of the United States, or of a State thereof, or of the District of Columbia, to purchase, construct, equip, maintain, and operate merchant vessels in the foreign trade of the United States, and for other purposes." There is no mistaking the plain meaning of the words used. The Government is empowered to secure its ships in anywise, and anywhere, and then equip, maintain, and operate them in the field of foreign trade.

It will be noted too that the Government may take stock in one, or in a number of corporations, but in any and all cases, the bill provides that the Government is to take not less than 51 per cent of the stock. The provision to this effect is that the United States shall subscribe to 51 per cent of the stock, and 51 per cent of each, and every increase of the same. Furthermore it is provided that when the Government has subscribed for 51 per cent of the stock, the remainder thereof shall be offered for public subscription. In the event it is not taken by private parties, the Government may further subscribe at par, for an amount of such stock, equal to that not taken by public subscription. The administration of the law will be in the hands of a shipping board, under the direction of the President. The initial appropriation is $10,000,000, and an emission of Panama bonds to a total amount not to exceed $30,000,000 is also provided for. It must be plain, even upon this bald statement, that sensible investors will not put their money into this enterprise. There is no guaranty of dividends on the stock reserved for the public, and no intimation given, that the enterprise is to be run with a view to making profits. Indeed the President in his message of December 8, 1914, seems to think that it is our national duty to afford the means of transportation, in advance of the development of our trade with our neighbor States of America. I quote his language:

> The routes of trade must be actually opened by many ships, and regular sailings, and moderate charges, before the streams of merchandise will flow freely and profitably. The Government must open these gates, and open them wide; open them before it is altogether profitable to open them, or altogether reasonable to ask private capital to open them at a venture. It should take action to make it certain that transportation at reasonable rates, will be promptly provided, even where the carriage is not at first profitable; and then when the carriage has become sufficiently profitable to attract, and engage private capital, and engage it in abundance, the Government ought to withdraw.

Confronted by this plain statement that ordinary business considerations of profit and loss, will not be regarded in the operation of the Government ships, as well expect the fly to enter the spider's parlor, or the bird to be entangled in the net that is spread in his sight, as to entertain the hope that private capital will take stock in this Government enterprise. When will these lines become profitable, and when will private capital find it to their interest to take them over? Conceding that in time the Government ships will develop a trade with South America that will furnish cargoes for merchant ships, is any assurance thereby given, that private capital will find any profit in the competitive conditions under which these cargoes will be transported? Neither to-day, nor in the past, has our private capital been unable to furnish ships, and secure cargoes in the

ocean carrying trade. The crux of the matter has been the ability of our competitors to underbid us at existing rates. There is nothing mysterious about the disappearance of our merchant marine from the high seas. That disappearance was due to very obvious and readily stated economic conditions. The would-be American shipowner, was hopelessly handicapped by restrictive legislation, that only recently, has been repealed in part. In the first place, as a result of this legislation, the prime cost of his ships was greater than that of the vessels of his competitors. In the second place, his operating costs were greater. Under these conditions competition was hopeless. Inasmuch as the imposition of the restrictions is responsible for the disappearance of our merchant marine, the obvious conclusion is that the restoration of that marine should be sought in the repeal of the legislation which imposed the restrictions.

In other words, the "way to restore our merchant marine is to equalize competitive conditions," by first repealing the laws that created the inequalities. The subsidists seek to attain the desired result of equality through subsidies. On the other hand, the advocates of Government ownership would fain establish a marine that would be able to defy competition and disregard losses, since supporting it, would the Treasury of the United States. The simple method, one that is obnoxious neither to the criticism that is directed against subsidy, nor to the still graver objections that may be urged against Government ownership, is to afford American capital a free field, and no favors, on the high seas.

This course will in no wise interfere with the status of labor in the United States. But the protective system can not be applied to the unlimited competition which prevails on the ocean. Hence at present the American shipowner can not sell "transportation at the market rates." The passage of the registry bill was a long step forward, and removed the main stumbling block in the way of the restoration of an American marine. The establishment of such a marine is not, as suggested by the advocates of direct subsidy, and of Government ownership, a task beyond the ability of American capital. On the contrary for many years, a large amount of American money has been invested in merchant ships, under foreign flags. Many of these ventures have been singularly successful. Indeed, "the foreign-built ships representing American capital, but under foreign ownership of record, have been nearly equal in tonnage to the ships registered under the American flag, for foreign trade, and in carrying power, have been even greater."

The explanation of this is very simple. American citizens have always enjoyed the right to own vessels built abroad, and to operate them under the American flag in the foreign trade. But under the registry law, these vessels could not enter the ports of the United States, save under heavy penalties.

For a third of a century this registry law has been "utterly impotent to promote the building in the United States of ships intended for the foreign trade." Hence American capitalists desiring to invest in ships for that trade, exclusive of the United States, bought their ships abroad. In the operation of these ships, they were in no wise hindered by our laws, until they attempted to enter the ports of the United States. There they were confronted with heavy penalties, whether they were in cargo, or in ballast. This state of things compelled the American capitalist to go one step further, in his efforts to enter the carrying trade of the world on terms of equality with his competitors. All nations require that the owner of merchant ships flying their flag, must be a citizen, or subject of that country; but a corporation created under its laws, is regarded as such a citizen, or subject.

Taking advantage of this ruling, and with a view to using their foreign-built ships to engage in trade with the United States, our capitalists have in many instances, organized corporations in foreign countries, retaining in their hands the control of the stock in these corporations. Thus in another name, and under another flag, American capitalists, driven to this course by the foolish restrictions of domestic laws, have entered the field of foreign trade, and prosecuted it with profit, and success. It is idle then to say, that this same capital under equal competitive conditions which can be afforded by the United States, is incapable of supplying and successfully operating merchant ships under the American flag. It may be admitted that subsidy universally applied, would equalize these conditions, but recourse to a subsidy is unnecessary, and undesirable. Not only in the past has the American capitalist seeking to fly the American flag on his vessels, been handicapped in the purchase of his ships for the ocean-going trade, but with respect to wages, berth accommodations, food, and other things costing money, he has been at a further disadvantage by reason of the positive requirements of our laws. In consequence of these handicaps, he has been driven from the use of our flag. There is nothing in Government ownership, that will operate to remove the handicaps falling within the latter class. Indeed, as these ships will not be operated with regard to considerations of ordinary commercial profit, it may be reasonably expected that in time the requirements in the above respect will be made more exacting, thus enlarging the effect of the handicaps, widening the gap between the operating expenses of American ships, and their foreign competitors, increasing thereby the advantage of the latter in the struggle for business, and in the result, magnifying the charge upon the Treasury, that Government operation, to accomplish the ends designed, will of necessity impose. Obviously the greater the loss at which these ships will be run, the greater the charge upon the Treasury.

So long as these handicaps exist, pray tell me when will the time arrive that private capital will be willing to assume them, take over the South American trade which the Government ships are intended to develop, and at the competitive rates then existing, pay the dividends that ordinary business sagacity would require to place the private venture on a paying basis? American capitalists would naturally prefer to operate under the American flag, but they can not afford to do so at a loss, being at a distinct disadvantage in this respect, with the Government ships. Until conditions are equalized, the Government lines which carry freight at a loss, will never be replaced by private lines. The hope that such will be the case, is an iridescent dream.

A plentiful supply of ships will not necessarily secure trade. Ships and rates and service are all required to attain this result. Will the Government ships be able to meet, or underbid the ships of their competitors, and at the same time be operated at a profit? This is a question no advocate of this bill has undertaken to answer in the affirmative. The President who will have paramount authority over the practical administration of the law, frankly suggests many ships, and lines to be run at a loss, until in some unfixed, and probably remote period of the future, the enterprise will become profitable. Then the Government is to withdraw. If it is agreed that Government ships under the conditions of open competition on the high seas, are to be operated at a loss, then to what extent, and for what length of time will the people of the United States be willing to support this loss? How long will they be willing to see domestic interests, and domestic development intimately related to the whole economic fiber of the country, starved and stunted to afford the means to maintain this fad of a Government marine, this costly toy that neither the farmers, nor the commercial interests of the country have demanded, but which they are asked to support, to the exclusion of legislation in which they are vitally interested, and upon which they are clamorously insisting?

Why is the legislation plainly demanded by our platform, neglected, disregarded, and set aside, in favor of a scheme that is in flat contravention of the unmistakable terms of that instrument?

The figures that are given of American commerce include imports as well as exports. Neither the American nor the foreign exporter will use the Government ships unless, as has been indicated, these ships as to rates, sailings, and facilities meet the ships of their competitors on equal terms. No amount of rhetoric over a waning merchant marine, no confusing mass of bewildering figures, should be allowed to becloud the fundamental factors of this problem which are that cheap ships, must be met with cheap ships, and moderate operating expenses, with operating expenses equally as favorable. If Government ships will be able to meet these requirements, then why not privately owned ships? The Commissioner of Navigation has pointed out that the vast expansion of the German merchant marine was due to cheap ships, and cheap labor. Cheap ships under recent legislation are within the reach alike of private capital, and of Government enterprise, but Government ships are not likely to furnish an illustration of economic operation, or cheap labor. The head of one branch of the present Government has recently indicated his ability to effect an annual saving of many millions in his department, without detriment to the public service, provided he is allowed to contract with private persons.

No, Government ships will not mean cheap labor, or reduced operating expenses. Hence they will not solve the problem of labor competition, and until that problem is solved, Government ships will be operated at an inevitable loss. Moreover should the foreign Governments subsidize their merchant ships, and thereby enable them to afford even lower rates than at present exist in the ocean-going trade, our Government ships must meet that competition with equal rates. This will mean a consequent increase of operating loss, and of burden on the Treasury. But if it is insisted that these ships may be, and will be, run at a profit, though the method of that process has not been indi-

cated, the reply is easy, that the way to such profitable operation, if it exists, is as open to private capital, as to public enterprise.

The argument that this enterprise is too great for private capital, using as an analogue, the construction of the Panama Canal, is singularly fallacious. The construction of the Panama Canal was placed on the ground of an alleged military necessity. It was a part of an alleged scheme of national defense. Considerations of commercial return have been totally disregarded in the prosecution and maintenance of that enterprise. Its construction was beyond the ability of private capital merely in the sense, that private capital would not have been available for a work that offered no inducement of return on the money invested. If dividends had been guaranteed, private capital would have been forthcoming. But it will be an ill day for the advocates of this new departure in Government activities if it is conceded that in a commercial sense, having in mind the money invested, and the possible returns on that investment, the Government ships will entail a greater, or even as great a charge on the Public Treasury, as that military enterprise known as the Panama Canal. But to return to the suggestion that this field is too vast to be occupied by private capital, a suggestion intended to support the argument that the one solution of the present problem, is Government ownership. Apparently this field has not been beyond the powers of foreign capital. Is this country so lacking in capital, and commercial ability, that in the United States the Government must undertake the tasks that are realized abroad by private enterprise? How many of the thousands of merchant ships flying the flags of Great Britain, Germany, France, Norway, Sweden, Russia, Japan, Spain, and other countries, are government ships? Practically none of them. Comparatively speaking a few of these vessels are under military contract, and the remainder, constituting the great bulk of the world's merchant fleet, are privately owned, and privately operated. If it is maintained that Government ships can be operated at a commmercial profit, it behooves the advocates of this enterprise to point out why the road to this result will be closed to private capital which, in the matter of securing ships, and operating the same, will certainly, to say the least, be on an equal footing with the Government. The total amount carried by this bill is $40,000,000. Having in mind the proportion of this amount that would be available for the direct purchase, or construction of ships, this sum would secure a fleet of from 40 to 60 ships of 10,000 tons each, gross tonnage.

Surely if the opportunity of profit is afforded, it is not beyond the ability of American capital to furnish a merchant fleet of this size, with which to enter the carrying trade of the world. This modest fleet would admittedly make but slight impression, under any circumstances, on a carrying trade, now conducted by over 20,000 vessels and amounting to over 49,000,000 tons. Even if these Government ships were now in service, they would to no perceptible degree improve conditions that are due to abnormal causes. If the expenditure in this direction is to be limited to the appropriation in the present bill, then the game will assuredly not be worth the candle. If, on the other hand, this is but the initial step under an ambitious scheme of indefinite development, how many hundreds of millions will be taken from the Treasury in furtherance of this project. Our party platform commits us in this connection to the use of our constitutional powers of regulation of commerce to foster a merchant marine which shall develop and strengthen the commercial ties that bind us to our sister Republics of the south, without imposing additional burdens upon the people, and without bounties or subsidies from the Treasury. Will the prodigious appropriations attendant on the development of this enterprise, be regarded as a constitutional regulation of commerce, free of burden for the people?

If we are to attack the trust monster on the high seas with a mobile array of ships, at least set down in black and white, what will be the probable ultimate cost of this enterprise?

That portion of the appropriation carried in this bill, which will be available for the purchase of ships, after providing for terminals, operating expenses, and other necessary incidental features of the enterprise, will afford but a trifling fleet with which to challenge our competitors for the carrying trade of the world. The effect of such a fleet upon general conditions would be entirely negligible. Additional ships would require additional appropriations on a large scale from the Public Treasury. The use of these ships will certainly not serve to aid the development of a private merchant marine. On the contrary, they will be a distinct check upon the development of such a marine.

One claim often made for these ships, is that they will be used to afford moderate charges in the ocean carrying trade. How will they be utilized to effect that end? Will privately owned ships which must earn enough to pay operating expenses, pay dividends on the investment, and provide a fund for replacement, be in a position to compete with ships that will be able to boldly disregard these considerations? Will the Government ships charge the rates established by their private competitors, or will they underbid them, without regard to the conditions which establish those rates? How can "Government ownership, combined with Government management," be to the advantage of investments already made in shipping, or how will they serve to induce further investments, when the conditions of competition between the two ownerships, will be so distinctly unequal? If rates are thought to be too high at a port, will Government ships be sent there to reduce them, and afford a lower carriage? Even under the theory of this bill the number of Government ships for many years to come would be comparatively small. Hence they would be inadequate to afford moderate rates to all of the American shippers seeking transportation. Moreover the advantage of the reduced rates thus afforded, will be at the cost of the general taxpayers, and to the distinct disadvantage of the shippers who will be unable to secure a place on the Government ships. How will the Government determine between the competing shippers, and ascertain who should be taken, and who should be left? All will be equally entitled to the service, and even should this policy be inaugurated, and vigorously maintained with lavish appropriations, it will be long ere the supply of Government ships will be sufficient to afford general service, or affect the general average of rates to any perceptible degree. How will the meager supply of ships that the initial appropriation will afford, be used to effect the double purpose of securing trade with South America, and steadying rates in the trans-Atlantic, and trans-Pacific fields? Should abnormal and unreasonable rates prevail at any port, or ports, on either seaboard, will the Government ships be withdrawn from their regular sailings on the South American lines, and hastened to these ports to reduce, so far as possible, the excessive rates? Otherwise, how will these vessels be used to steady conditions, and maintain regular and moderate rates at the various ports of the United States?

It is the fond dream of some of the advocates of this bill, that Government ships will protect them, and all future American shippers, against those fluctuations in rates which proceed in most cases from sufficient natural, and economic causes. With this end in view, as the goal to be obtained through Government ownership, it is apparent that we are but at the threshold of our appropriations under this head. To attain this result, conceding that it is feasible, a gigantic fleet will be required, calling for vast appropriations to provide both the original ships, and furnish replacements from time to time. The opponents of ship subsidy, who are supporting the Government-ownership bill, seek in vain to establish the consistency of their attitude. With uplifted hands they declare their eternal and unshakable opposition to subsidy in any form, and almost in the same breath commit themselves unreservedly, to a measure which combines the fundamental principle of Government aid, with other and far more objectionable features. Ship subsidy was an endeavor to apply the principle of the protective tariff to the ocean carrying trade. It frankly announced its purpose to use the Public Treasury to secure in the ultimate, certain alleged large results of public welfare, and national prosperity. The justification of this use of public funds was the end to be obtained. The alleged public benefit, was to be of so universal and comprehensive a character, that the advantage to be given to the private shipowner in the conduct of his enterprise, was regarded as a negligible incident of the entire scheme. These same results of public benefit on a nation-wide scale, are claimed for the Government-ownership bill, which proposes to maintain steamship lines out of the Public Treasury, and charge the inevitable attendant losses upon the whole people.

One basic principle common to both projects, is that in consideration of the public gain from the stimulus to be afforded to industrial enterprise, and the ultimate reestablishment of a merchant marine, the General Treasury should be utilized to secure these results. Hence inevitably the advocates of Government ownership, can not in principle, and good logic, justify their antagonism to subsidy, though the subsidists may consistently oppose Government ownership, since the latter scheme superadds to the principle of Government aid, other and far more dubious and undesirable features. I am aware of the hair-splitting distinction presented by the advocates of Government ownership, in their efforts to distinguish the two propositions, but the defense is purely technical, and ignores the real merits. Both schemes contemplate the use of public money in a commercial enterprise, upon the alleged ground of far-reaching

public benefit. In both cases, the public is to pay the bill. Neither enterprise will yield any return to the Public Treasury directly, or indirectly.

It is frankly claimed in support of both propositions that the Government ought to utilize its resources, that is to say the Public Treasury, in such manner as will inure to the benefit of all the people. Having in mind then that the fundamental appeal in behalf of both propositions is the same, it follows that the efforts of the antisubsidists to maintain their position that subsidy is vicious and unsound, while Government ownership is a proper and desirable exercise of Federal authority, requires a power of subtle analysis, and acute differentiation, exceeding that of the scientist who "could distinguish and divide, a hair 'twixt south, and southwest side."

Moreover it will be noted that the ground now taken in behalf of this measure, is in conflict with the attitude of the President as expressed by him in his message on the Panama Canal tolls. In his message of March 5, 1914, urging the repeal of that provision of the Panama Canal act of August, 1912, which exempted vessels engaged in the coastwise trade of the United States, from the payment of tolls, the President stated, among other things, that in his mature judgment, the exemption constituted a mistaken economic policy, from every point of view. The argument, briefly stated, for the remission of tolls on coastwise traffic, was that such a policy would stimulate enterprise in our coastwise trade, would develop business in our coastal cities along many lines of profitable industry, and would furnish to consumers generally, the benefit of low rates on all merchandise passing through the canal, and related to our immense internal commerce. In view of these extensive results of public advantage, it was urged that as to coastwise traffic, the general public should carry the burden entailed by a remission of the tolls upon this traffic. The advocates of repeal assailed and rejected this argument, though it is identical in substance, with the one now advanced in support of the present scheme of Government purchase, and operation of merchant ships. Concede that under our present laws, American capital can not profitably operate merchant ships on the high seas, and it will be apparent that the Government, owning and operating such ships under the same laws, and the same conditions, will confront an inevitable pecuniary loss, so that the enterprise will be, in essence, a charge on the Public Treasury. Hence the argument for this project, and the argument for the remission of tolls on coastwise traffic, are precisely the same, namely, that the Public Treasury should carry the burden of an enterprise which, in the larger view, is alleged to be for the benefit of all the people.

But if this be true as to this enterprise, there are many others, ready and waiting, to be taken over by the General Government. Concede that the Government is justified in conducting a failing enterprise of a public character, on the ground that the lower rates afforded, will not only benefit that portion of the public which pays those rates, but in the result, will stimulate the general welfare and prosperity of the country at large, and you have conceded a fundamental tenet of socialism.

There are many projects of government ownership that may be tried out, if it is once admitted that it is a sound economic policy for the Government to conduct public service enterprises, without regard to the usual considerations of profit and loss, the one determining question being to afford the public lower rates than can be afforded by private capital engaged in a like enterprise. Of course an agency that can saddle its losses on the Public Treasury, has an enormous advantage over a competitor that must seek to attract capital, by offering a reasonable return on the money invested.

The question of the constitutionality of this scheme might well be raised, if time admitted, since the major portion of the ships that this bill is intended to provide, are not for the purposes of national defense, but for use in the ordinary course of foreign trade. As a counter to the objection that the Government will furnish this service at a loss, the reply is sometimes made, that the operations of the Post Office Department are not conducted at a profit. But the cases are not analogous. To conduct and maintain a postal service, is an express government function. It is not a function of the Federal Government to take stock in a chartered corporation, and conduct a competitive transportation enterprise on the high seas.

A Government marine will inevitably become a Government monopoly, and as it waxes in the domain of foreign trade, the private marine will wane. It is secure against competition, and once in possession of a field, it will hold it to the exclusion of private capital, which is unable to disregard the element of loss in its ventures.

The mission of the Government ship, according to the forecast given of its purpose, is to open up trade, even if unprofitable rates are to be charged, and as a sort of knight errant, to reduce all rates deemed to be unreasonable. Such a ship is not engaged in a mercantile venture, in the usual acceptation of the words. It is neither purchased, nor operated with a view to a profit on the money invested. Between such a vessel, and one that must have in mind a return on the prime investment, the conditions of competition are decidedly unequal. Indeed it may be fairly said, that competition between such vessels, will be impossible. Conceding that the Government ships, in the public interest, should afford reasonable rates, even at a loss, it would seem to follow that the minimum rates would afford the maximum public service. Hence a constant pressure will be exerted by the exporters, the importers, and the consumers generally, under the specious plea of the general interest, to reduce the rates for service on the Government vessels. The exporters of a nation which affords cheap carriage, will certainly be able to underbid their competitors for the trade of the world. Hysteria, misinformation, and hasty judgment, are responsible for much of the local sentiment in favor of Government ships. For instance at this time the rate is very high on cotton for Bremen. Straightway the specious argument is advanced that Government ships would reduce those rates, and advance the price of cotton. How, and in what way? These ships would operate under the same conditions, and incur the same risks as private ships. The rates to Bremen are high for the manifest reason, that the dangers of the voyage are very great, and the risks to be incurred are unusual. For one thing, the North Sea is full of floating mines, and within the last few days neutral ships carrying cotton, have been destroyed by collision with these mines. Private owners are unwilling, and reasonably so, to take these risks, as well as the additional risks of search and detention, for the rates prevailing before war was declared. Under these circumstances high rates are inevitable. Would a Government ship ignore these risks, and without regard to mines, search, or detention, carry her cargo at the ante bellum rates? Ordinary business foresight should not be disregarded, even in the management of a Government ship, and in the exercise of this foresight, such rates should be charged as will be reasonably commensurate with the risks to be incurred.

There is no sufficient evidence to show that the high rates to Bremen are due to any shortage of ships, or to any other cause than the dangers attendant upon a present trip to that port. If the ocean rates are high to-day, they are due to abnormal causes. "A high level in rates is always coexistent with a general war, and can never be covered by the building of new tonnage during the war." Having in mind the aggregate number of neutral ships in the world now engaged in the ocean-going trade, and the number of ships of the allies that are free to ply the ocean routes, the ships that could be purchased under the appropriation provided by the Alexander bill, would make no impression either on rates, or on general conditions. The total number of ocean-going steamships in the world of over 100 tons, is over 23,800. Deduct from these the German and Austrian ships (2,523), and the remainder is 21,277. Deduct from this an estimated number of 1,000 English, French, and Russian ships destroyed, or withdrawn from commercial work, and there will still be available for cargo carrying purposes, 20,277 ships. "The destruction of practically all of the hostile ships lately preying on nonneutral tonnage will also tend to restore to regular service ships that were temporarily withdrawn from that service," and thus aid the tendency to a lower basis of freight rates. If a proportion of ships have been withdrawn from trade, it must not be forgotten that a simultaneous withdrawal of cargoes also occurred. If there are fewer ships to-day, there are fewer cargoes to be served. Hence in view of this shrinkage in business, I feel well assured that there is no real shortage of ships on the whole, and that so far as numbers are concerned, the present ships are adequate to handle the present traffic, when cargoes and rates are assured. Prior to the war there were more ships, than are at present in service, but the traffic was far greater.

One potent cause of the temporary accumulation of export cargoes, in certain American ports, has been the difficulties and delays with which cargo ships seeking to unload in foreign ports, have been confronted. The congestion of traffic in those ports has been largely due to a shortage in dock laborers, and to the requirement that ordinary commercial traffic must yield to traffic related to the military situation. Government cargo ships would not meet, or rectify this situation, since they would be compelled to wait their turn at the docks.

The high rates to Bremen from Galveston, and other American ports have been due not to lack of ships but to danger to ships on the voyage, due largely to floating mines, a menace that has caused Dutch pilots to refuse to take neutral ships

into German ports. Indeed several neutral ships carrying cotton to Bremen have been destroyed by these mines. Remove these dangers, and the rates would decline to the present level of ocean rates. Once make it as easy for cotton to reach Germany, as England, France, or Italy, and the price of cotton in Germany would fall to the level of prices prevailing in those countries, and in the world generally. Hence Government ships to Bremen would not increase the prices of cotton to the cotton producer in the South. If the rates to Bremen were not anomalous rates, due to abnormal causes, and commensurate with the risks to be incurred, there would be a rush of cargo ships from every portion of the globe, to take advantage of this peculiar and unusual get-rich-quick opportunity. But the foundation for this misleading and fallacious cotton argument will soon disappear, for the price of cotton is advancing, while cargo rates for this particular product will gradually become normal.

Cotton was more severely affected by the war than any other American product, and its recovery has been proportionately slow. Hence the appeal that has been made to the cotton producers to support this Government-ownership proposition.

Information as to the alleged shortage of ships at Galveston for export cotton, is to the effect that various steamers left that port in ballast, for lack of cargoes. One ship seeking cargo freight left Galveston in ballast for Portland, to take on a cargo of wheat for Europe. The truth is that cotton exportation was demoralized through the falling prices, and the disorganization in financial channels. The immediate decline in cotton upon the outbreak of the war was due to very obvious facts, the two main facts being that the German and Austrian markets were closed, while the English spinners agreed not to purchase for the time being, for the manifest reason that they could not afford to purchase on a declining market. Of course this action accelerated the decline until bottom was touched. Since then under improved conditions, and renewed purchasing, cotton has steadily advanced. It is now 9 cents in New York. Naturally, however, the cotton planters, and cotton dealers under the pressure of exasperating conditions due to causes beyond their control, have been disposed to listen to any alluring scheme that confidently promised relief.

It is a significant fact that the industries that have been stimulated by the hostilities abroad, have not been clamoring for Government ships, or complaining of a lack of transportation facilities. Since the outbreak of hostilities the sale of automobiles for war purposes has been over $9,000,000, while the total of war business in iron and steel is estimated at $41,000,000 to date. Exports of woolen goods to supply war orders began at $296,940 in August, and reached the sum of $3,047,000 in November, the aggregate to January 1, 1915 being probably $8,500,000. The export of leather products for military purposes totals to January 1, about $33,000,000. Sugar exports have also been active, totaling probably to date about $17,000,000.

Wheat exports totaled in December 1914, 28,875,470 bushels, or five times the quantity in December 1913, the average export price being $1.25 in December of this year, as against 98 cents one year ago. Are the wheat farmers complaining of prices, or asking for Government ships. The flour exports for December 1914 were $9,473,660, as against $4,903,223 in December 1913. Oats showed a larger total in December than during the entire calendar year of 1913, being 5,203,431 bushels, as against 30,798 bushels in December 1913.

The corn exports for December 1914 were 4,582,006 bushels, valued at $3,554,592 as against 749,124 bushels valued at $560,165 exported in December of the year before.

There are no marching armies of corn farmers, knocking at the doors of Congress, and demanding Government ships.

The figures for fresh beef exported in December of last year are 6,594,348 pounds, as against 524,430 pounds in December 1913, and 6,618,831 during that entire year. In view of the phenomenal gains in our export trade, the Department of Commerce has announced that during the month of December this trade attained regained the high level of the period preceding the war. Some ships from somewhere, American or otherwise, must have transported these huge freights. Government ships purchased from neutral nations would not add a ship to the world's supply of cargo carriers, available for present purposes.

Zinc exports have also advanced, while the advance in the exports of mineral oil has been phenomenal. The figures for the latter from August to January 1 are about $52,000,000. A gigantic trade in breadstuffs has also marked the last five months, the total being not much short of $200,000,000. The larger portion of this trade was wheat, the value of which amounted to something like $120,000,000. Two other trades that have been immensely stimulated, are the trade in horses and in munitions of war, the figures for the former being about $8,000,000. All of this vast commerce has been successfully moved, in spite of the clamor about a lack of ships. Neither the wheat farmers, the horse raisers, the steel producers, the shoe manufacturers, nor any of the other trades which have benefited by the war, have joined in the outcry for a Government marine, either to move their products, or to attack the alleged trust in the ocean carrying business.

The immense mass of undigested and unrelated figures, and statistics relating to our foreign commerce, and to conditions in the ocean carrying trade that have been adduced by the advocates of this measure, serve for the most part merely to mislead and confuse. Of what avail are attacks upon the alleged trust in the trans-Atlantic lines, when it is not proposed to attack this monopoly through competing lines of Government ships? The only one who can speak with authority as to the purpose of this bill, (for the action of the shipping board is subject to his approval), is the President of the United States. The prodigious scope now sought to be imputed to the measure finds no support in his message of December last. After a general reference to the empty markets which we should undertake to supply, and this reference would not apply to the markets of Europe served by the great ocean-going lines, he descends to details, and suggests that the routes of trade must be opened between this country, and South America, by many ships, and regular sailings, and moderate charges, in advance of any hope of present profit. When the profit accrues, the Government is to retire. This then, in the view of the President, is the task to be discharged under the authority of the Alexander bill. There is no suggestion of an attack upon the trust octopus in the North Atlantic, or that the Government ships, if they were available, would be used to brave the terrors of the mines in the North Sea, in order to reduce the cotton rates to Bremen for the benefit of the cotton producers of the South, or to reduce the rates elsewhere, for the benefit of the naval stores of Florida, or the lumber manufacturers of the country generally.

I do not know in what form the alleged opposition of the railroads and trusts to the Alexander bill, has been manifested. Certainly no protest emanating from them, or from any interest affiliated with them, has been lodged with our committee. But I do know that the chambers of commerce of city after city on the Atlantic seaboard, composed of the foremost men concerned in the industrial activities of those cities, have protested in the most vehement and emphatic terms against this measure. The great journals of trade are against it, as well as the great bulk of the independent and dispassionate papers. In this connection I cite the Journal of Commerce published in New York, and the Manufacturer's Record, published in Baltimore. Surely if this bill had a tithe of the merit claimed for it by its advocates, the benefits flowing from its passage would descend in the very largest measure upon the port cities of the country. Yet the representative bodies, and the representative thought of these marts of trade, and commerce, seem to regard this measure as a Trojan horse that will bring mischiefs, not benefits, to their communities. Recent figures show that in spite of the tie-up of ocean shipping during the early period of the war, and despite the reduced purchasing power of the nations that are affected both directly and indirectly by the war, in their ability to take our exports, the volume of trade of this country for the year 1914 was astonishingly large. Our imports for 1914 were $1,789,022,426, as against $1,792,596,480 in 1913. Surely the ships that brought to this country the goods representing this gigantic sum, have been available for the return traffic which fell far short of the figures of 1913, due to the reduced purchasing power of our foreign customers!

Every carrier is on the lookout for a return cargo, and the ships that handle our imports do not return by choice in ballast. Evidently the ocean has not been bereft of carriers during the last 12 months, since in addition to their other activities they have brought to this country goods to a value exceeding one and three-quarters billion of dollars.

As far back as August 20, 1914, a leading ship broker of New York, Mr. L. L. Richards, in a letter to President Wilson, which is filed with the minority report, stated that the claim then preferred that transportation for the products of the United States could not be procured, was unquestionably contrary to the facts. He affirmed that transportation was available, and plenty of it, but that the difficulty in the way of the merchants, was one of credits and exchange, with only a limited amount of buying orders. Mr. Richards added: "The practical situation at present is that there are more steamers offering, than cargoes available. We have great difficulty in getting any definite proposals at all for boats, especially for shipments to South American business, but at this moment, one can count on his fingers, the actual definite orders which merchants hold for steamers." Since that time the situation has steadily improved. The menace of German cruisers has definitely disappeared,

and the volume of available steamers is fully equal to handling the reduced volume of the world's commerce.

In support of this contention that ships and cargoes are in the same relation of proportion as before the outbreak of the war, that a shortage in the one, has been paralleled by a corresponding decline in the volume of the other, I wish to call attention to the fact that a statement recently issued by the custom's administration of the French Government, shows that the exports of that country have diminished in value to the extent of $400,000,000, in 10 months of 1914, as compared with the same period of 1913. The volume of commerce throughout the world has been affected in the same harmful way. Evidently in Germany, and Austria, the decline has been more violent, and extensive than in France, though the figures are not available.

There are many misconceptions relating to the effect and extent of subsidies upon the merchant marine of foreign countries. The latest available figures show that the United States pays subsidies in the way of mail pay, $2,695,287. These payments are made under the ocean mail act of 1891.

It is often said that the merchant marine of Great Britain is maintained by subsidies. Nothing can be further from the fact. The subsidies paid by that country are chiefly under the head of mail pay, and are designed to make the ships to which they are paid, parts of the British Navy in the event of war. The ordinary merchant carrier receives nothing from the parent Government, and is dependent upon its own exertions to find business, and pay dividends. Military features are contained in practically all of the great ocean mail contracts of foreign countries. France and Spain pay the largest navigation bounties, and in the matter of merchant marine, they are inferior to a number of their European competitors. England has 11,328 ocean-going vessels of all sorts, of 100 tons and over, and in subsidies and mail pay, for the parent country, and all the colonies, she expends the sum of $9,689,384, or something over three times the amount paid by the United States for mail pay. By far the larger proportion of the payments made by Great Britain are for mail pay, under military contracts. In the same year for which the above figures are given, Germany paid for mail subsidies only $1,706,460, or less than that paid by the United States. Yet the German merchant marine is second to that of Great Britain. France which has a merchant marine inferior to that of England, Germany, Japan, Norway, and Sweden, pays more in the way of subsidies than any other nation in the world. Her payments on that account being $13,423,737. These figures reveal the utter hollowness of the contention that the great carrier nations have built up their merchant marine through a system of universal subsidies. Enterprising men in those countries have built cheap ships, reduced their operating expenses to a minimum, and thus equipped, have gone on the hunt for ocean freights.

The statement that the Government must grapple with this problem as being one beyond the ability of private enterprise, is a trifle ludicrous in the light of the facts. Of course any enterprise that is made impossible of profit by destructive legislation is, in a sense, beyond the reach of private enterprise, since private capital will not be invested under such conditions, but there is no profit bearing enterprise that presents a problem incapable of solution by American capital. Some years ago a single capitalist in Chicago offered to take over the entire operations of the Post Office Department. No one ever doubted that he would afford a service fully equal to that rendered by the Government, at a handsome profit to himself, and an annual saving of many millions to the Public Treasury. This is the richest country in the world, as shown by the following table of the estimated wealth of the great nations, for the year 1914:

United States	$150,000,000,000
Great Britain and Ireland	85,000,000,000
Germany	80,000,000,000
France	50,000,000,000
Russia	40,000,000,000
Italy	20,000,000,000
Spain	5,400,000,000
Netherlands	5,000,000,000

In view of these prodigious figures, in contemplation of a wealth that exceeds that of Great Britain, and Ireland by $65,000,000, who will undertake to say that any enterprise in which England has succeeded, is beyond the powers of private capital in the United States? Just as in war the weight of the greater mass, properly directed, will tell against an inferior opposing force, so in any field of competition, under equal conditions, will our excess wealth of $65,000,000, over that of the richest nation of Europe, assure success. What England has done with $85,000,000,000, we can do with $150,000,000,000, now that the bars are down, and our capital is free to buy its ships where it will. If further aid is needed to equalize conditions, that aid must be afforded in the exercise of our power of constitutional regulation. Why say that private capital in the richest nation in the world is unequal to the task of furnishing a merchant marine, when little Holland with a wealth of $5,000,000,000, has 806 merchant ships, with a tonnage of 1,500,000 gross tons?

So far as this country is concerned, our competitors have simply underbid us, by using modern steamships which have been built more cheaply abroad than in the United States. Our domestic laws have hitherto precluded American capital from the use of these vessels in the American trade.

The recent registry law has removed the handicap of cheap vessels, but the other handicaps still remain to confront private capital, as well as Government ships. As has been pointed out, the operating expenses of Government vessels are likely to be much greater than those of privately owned ships. Congress would soon be called upon to fix the wages, establish the hours, and improve the accommodations of every employee on these ships. We will be compelled to legislate in relation to them, just as we are legislating to-day with respect to rural carriers, city carriers, naval and military employees, and many thousands of other servants of the General Government. One main purpose of Government ships is avowed to be to maintain moderate rates. This being so, such ships will not be in a position to take advantage of advancing rates, to meet an increase in their operating expenses. Should they charge rates not deemed moderate, they will fail to accomplish the purpose for which they are intended, namely, to furnish carriage, and steady rates, in the whole ocean-going trade.

The most incredible claims, and extravagant statements have been advanced by the various advocates of the Government-ownership bill. For instance in a document included in the Senate report on the shipping bill, I find that the assertion is made—

> that the $40,000,000 carried in the bill, will not be an expense, but will be an investment of the first class, without considering the enormous advantage to the whole people of the United States, in having an American merchant marine under Government control, and the great reduction in rates that will be possible, as the Government will not desire net earnings of from 30 to 40 per cent on its investment, but will be content with only a fair return.

If it be true that there are from 30 to 40 per cent net earnings to be secured from an investment in merchant ships to ply the high seas, I wonder that any portion of the abundant surplus of American capital that has been eagerly seeking investment in every direction, has been content with the modest returns that investments on land have yielded during many years past.

The field of the sea has been freely open to the shrewd and able men who handle that capital, and it is a reflection upon their intelligence, that they have allowed such golden opportunities to escape them. With such profits in sight, capital operating even under the handicaps of the American flag would have secured a highly satisfactory return. But against the foregoing contention, of possible profit for the Government ships, I set the statement of the President's message, to the effect that the Government ships must open the gates, and open them wide; open them before it is altogether profitable to open them, or altogether reasonable to ask private capital to open them at a venture. And his further statement that the Government should take action to make it certain that transportation at reasonable rates will be promptly provided, even when the carriage is not at first profitable; and then when the carriage has become sufficiently profitable to attract and engage private capital, and engage it in abundance, the Government ought to withdraw. The plain intimations of the message are that the Government ships are neither to enter upon the routes which are presently profitable, nor to remain upon the routes that become sufficiently profitable to attract private capital. But if the Government ships are to be engaged in affording transportation for prospective and problematic cargoes, how will they be able to serve the purpose of reducing rates on established routes, and in addition, affording that steadiness of control which the Senate report alleges will furnish an element of aid to the privately owned transportation lines? How shall we reconcile the conflicting claims that are made for this measure, in the hope of securing support in a variety of quarters. For instance the Senate report declares that the bill will "create work for our shipyards in the construction of ships." This is a bid for the support of the shipyards. But it is a well recognized fact, indeed a postulate in this whole discussion, that the chief agency in the destruction of our merchant marine has been the requirements of our registry laws, which have barred the way to the purchase of the cheap ships built and operated by our foreign competitors. The legislation of August, 1914, was designed to remove this handicap, and permit American capital to purchase its ships abroad, and with these ships to enter American ports, and par-

ticipate in American trade without let or hindrance. The Commissioner of Navigation pointed out some time ago, that German capital without subsidy, by means of cheap ships, and cheap labor, has built up the second largest merchant marine in the world. Now should the shipping board purchase their ships abroad in order to secure the advantage of cheaper vessels, obviously no construction work will be afforded to American yards.

On the other hand, should they cause these ships to be constructed at home, they will voluntarily assume the handicap removed by the legislation of August, 1914, and thereby increase the losses attendant upon this enterprise, with inevitable consequent demands on the Public Treasury. Again while the claim is frequently made for this bill, that it is an emergency measure, the chairman of the Committee on Merchant Marine insists that it should not be so called.

Another pretension stoutly made in certain quarters, with a view to enlisting the support of the uninformed through an appeal to their prejudices, is that this bill is a movement against monopoly in the carrying trade, and an attack upon an alleged shipping trust. If the proponents of this measure are tilting against monopoly in deadly earnest, if they really wish to serve the public by attacking a real trust, why not agree to admit the Government ships to the coastwise trade, and before sending tramp ships to the uttermost seas, demonstrate the feasibility of this scheme before our very eyes, by a reduction of domestic rates? It has been fully proved, so far as such a fact can be established, that over 90 per cent of the regular coastwise lines, are allied through interlocking directorates, with certain powerful moneyed interests. Why not admit the Government ships to this field, and permit them to ravage and destroy in this arena of private monopoly, until not a vestige of a domestic trust remains, and the people are entirely relieved from the thraldom and oppression of these monsters of horrid mien? As a matter of fact, an enormous amount of ocean-going traffic is carried by tramp steamers, which can not effect any working agreement or understanding, and while it is true that a number of established lines operating in various quarters of the globe, and handling the traffic of this, and other countries, operate under an understanding with each other, it has never been suggested that the Government of the United States should acquire and operate sufficient ships in competition with these lines, to compel a reduction in their rates.

It would take many ships, and many sailings, to make the slightest impression upon the present aggregate of ocean-going vessels. Should the Government undertake this enterprise, the mind is staggered with the contemplation of the hundreds of millions of dollars that will be required to finance the project. And until the Government ships can furnish a service as good, and rates as low, or lower than their competitors, not a pound of exports, much less of imports, will be carried in these vessels. That an attack upon the rates of the trans-Atlantic lines that handle both passengers and freight, (and if there is a trust, these are the serious offenders), is not meditated in sober earnest, is revealed by the amount of the appropriation carried in the bill. If this appropriation is expended upon the ordinary cargo-carrying type of vessel, these ships would not come in competition with the lines mentioned. On the other hand, if it is expended upon such vessels as are now being constructed for the great trans-Atlantic steamship lines, the Cunard Co., the White Star Line, and others, the amount appropriated would not secure a baker's dozen of such ships, an attacking force that if directed against the hosts of monopoly, would provoke derision.

Both the Senate and the House committees might very profitably have taken testimony to support the claims respectively advanced in their reports. Moreover if the Government ships are to retire in favor of private capital, when the carriage on the lines served by them has become sufficiently profitable to attract, and engage abundant capital, it may well be asked, what extent of profits will attract this capital? If the alleged net profits of from 30, to 50 per cent have not tempted American capitalists to take a mercantile venture under the flag of the United States, what amount of profits will tempt them? In this connection, and as touching on the question of profits in the ocean carrying trade, I will insert a quotation from a report of the Commissioner of Navigation:

> The profits of the ocean transportation business, as a rule, are moderate, the competition keen, and the risks considerable.

This scheme of a Government-owned, and Government-operated merchant marine is a new venture on an unknown and uncharted sea. There are no precedents to be consulted, no signposts to point the way. It is a dash into the unknown. Once entered upon, it will constitute a distinct movement toward general Government ownership, and operation, and cause a multiplicity of demands upon the Government to take over, and operate in the public interests, a variety of industries of a public service character. Undoubtedly the present interruptions in our commerce, the partial derangement in our trade routes, the decline of prices, and of orders, the stagnation in certain industries, and the general disturbance due to the disorders attendant upon a gigantic war, are responsible for much loose thinking upon this subject. An individual conducting, or interested in an industry which is in trouble, is easily led to the support of a project which he fondly hopes will afford some immediate relief? It is hardly necessary to say that in this instance these hopes will be blasted, and the effect of this bill upon our general trade, or the interests most injuriously affected by present conditions, will be insignificant.

From the best figures available, the price of a steel cargo ship of 10,000 tons, gross tonnage, would be about $750,000 in the American yards, but put it at $700,000. The same ship in England would cost approximately $500,000. Upon this basis, for the purposes of comparison, the expenditure of $30,000,000 carried in the bill, would secure 43 ships in America, and 60 ships in England, according to prices prevailing in both countries before the war. Should the vessels be constructed in American yards the loss incident to an expenditure of $30,000,000, would be $8,500,000. The purpose of the act of August 18, 1914, was to open the sea to American capital, by affording the opportunity to this capital to secure cheap ships. Yet the Senate report states that this bill will create work for our shipyards, in the construction of ships. Is it a part of this scheme, for the Government to buy dear ships? If it is, then this measure, if not a subsidy to American ships, certainly carries a prodigious subsidy for American shipyards. If on the other hand, the Government proposes to buy its ships abroad, then the alluring reference of the Senate report to construction in American yards, is merely words of promise intended for the ear. They will be broken to the hope.

There are to-day interned in American ports 55 German and 11 Austrian ships, or 66 in all. Many of these vessels are great passenger liners by no means suitable for use as ordinary cargo carriers. These vessels may therefore be excluded from contemplation. The remaining ships after some overhauling could doubtless be used for bulk freights. But even if purchased, the effort to use them would lead to undesirable complications with the belligerent powers, so that the war would probably be ended, before these controversies were settled, and the ships put to the use for which they were purchased. Hence a purchase in this quarter would not afford even partial present relief.

The relatively insignificant number of freighters that the present appropriation in this bill will serve to provide, would be a scant supply for the South American lines referred to by the President. Even should their initial service be in the waters of the North Atlantic, including the dangerous area of the North Sea, they would not afford the results so longingly desired in certain interested, and suffering sections of our country. The genesis of this idea of Government ownership is found in the contention often advanced, that ships are needed to enable the United States to capture the trade of South America. There is no subject upon which there is more misapprehension, than this subject of South American trade, and while I believe that an opportunity has existed for many years, and exists now in greater measure than ever before, to extend our trade in that continent, yet the possible extent of our achievements in that direction, have been greatly exaggerated. The acquisition of that trade is not dependent upon Government ships. What is primarily needed, are cheaper goods, better-packed goods, and longer credits. Our exporters will not displace the established trade of their competitors, until they are prepared to meet these essential requirements.

In the matter of transportation to South America, we are better supplied with American bottoms, than for trade with any other quarter of the globe. To-day there are registered for foreign trade in the United States 868 steam vessels, the great bulk of which are for traffic with South America, West Indies, and Central America. In an address recently made before the New Orleans Association of Commerce by Fairfax Harrison, president of the Southern Railway Co., I find the following statement:

> There has been ample shipping facilities for all of the trade between the United States, and Central and South America.

Three weeks ago one of the officers of French, Edye & Co., explained that no barrier remained in the way of freight business between the United States, and South America, so far as the steamships were concerned. All we need, he added, is for the American manufacturers to increase the sale of their goods. When we get the freight, we can supply the bottoms to

carry it. At that very time 40 steamers were expected in New York from South America. Hence the fallacy of the argument that our failure to secure a larger portion of the trade of those countries, has been due to a lack of transportation. Much of that trade has been, and will continue to be, in agricultural products that would not be taken by this country. The insistent suggestion is made that we must operate Government ships, in order to occupy the void left by the withdrawal of German ships from, and the cessation of German activities in, the continent of South America. But other nations are better prepared to secure that trade than the United States, by reason of their established connections, knowledge of the people to be served, and cheaper goods. These nations are already on the ground, and whatever we may do, they will capture a large proportion of the orders that formerly went to Germany. The countries of Italy, Spain, Holland, Sweden and Norway, are as well able as ever to maintain and extend their trade in that continent. While it is true that England and France are engaged in war, they have not abandoned their commercial activities in any direction, much less in South America, where the enforced retirement of their enemy has offered opportunities to them, as well as to this country. The possibilities in South America, for this country, have been greatly exaggerated, and in no wise justify the immediate establishment of a Government marine. There is no El Dorado for the United States in the trade of that continent, and while we will no doubt in time profitably extend our connections in that quarter, the results will not be dazzling. Success will depend upon agencies, and activities other than Government ships.

Criticism directed against American capital by the advocates of this preposterous scheme of Government ownership, creates an erroneous impression both as to the ability and the disposition of this capital to establish a privately owned marine, such as is found in every other maritime nation in the world. American capital has failed to enter this field for the simple, oft-repeated, and obvious reason, that our domestic legislation has rendered the conditions of entry impossible. Now that these conditions of inequality have in large part been removed, and before the opportunity even is afforded to ascertain whether private capital is willing, or able, to meet foreign competition under the new conditions, this measure of discouragement and antagonism to private ownership is put forward with a comment that in itself, is an unjust criticism, that as "private enterprise has failed to respond to the demands of our over-sea commerce, how much longer shall we wait on it."

It ill becomes the spokesmen of a Government which has destroyed private enterprise by the character of its legislation, to criticize the victims of its own blundering, or to seek to justify a venture of this unusual and anomalous character, without precedent in the shipping world, on the ground that private capital has failed to occupy a field that has been carefully locked and barred against it. As well criticize the State banks of issue for not continuing in business, after the imposition of the Federal tax of 10 per cent. I have said this venture is without precedent in the commercial world. I am mistaken. There are two precedents. For some years the government of western Australia operated a small coastwise steamship line. In the first year the losses were $114,000, in the second, $96,000. The enterprise has been abandoned. The United States has operated a few ships in connection with the construction of the Panama Canal. This construction afforded a steady volume of traffic. The reports show a small profit, disregarding insurance, depreciation, and interest, imperative considerations in a private enterprise. Take these elements into consideration, and the small profit on the operation of these vessels will become a deficit. We have not waited on private enterprise a moment, and even now, in spite of the declaration that accompanies this bill that "it is better, whenever it is practicable, for the Government to avoid engaging in any business that can be conducted as a private enterprise," no opportunity is to be afforded to determine whether it is practicable for the Government to avoid engaging in this particular enterprise. Good faith requires that the opportunity at least, should be afforded to private capital to essay the task under tolerable, if not equal conditions, before reaching the conclusion that the task is beyond its capacity. This much, to say the least, would be becoming, in view of the depreciation of Government ownership advanced by all the advocates of this scheme.

Another reason why we should not be hurried into hasty action in this matter, is that as soon as this war is over, the merchant ships of the warring countries will be hungry for cargoes on almost any terms. Inasmuch as our Government ships will have to underbid them, in order to secure any portion of the carrying trade, we will be confronted with a competition that will of necessity increase the losses that will attend the operation of this enterprise under the most favorable circumstances. It is estimated that the closing of the war will liberate probably 5,000,000 tons of shipping, "for ordinary over-sea freighting, which will result in an immediate drop in rates to the basis, if not much lower, of the rates prevailing before the war."

I am entirely satisfied that whatever shortage of ships may have existed at any ports of this country, has been due to other causes than a lack in the general supply of ships. The Boston Maritime Association has stated within the last few weeks, that repeated offers of sail tonnage for coal to South America, at equitable rates, have had no results, and that four steel ships were tied up in Boston for which no paying business could be obtained. In addition, the association furnished the Secretary of Commerce, "a list of Boston-owned tonnage representing over 200,000 tons dead-weight capacity, which could be chartered foreign, if rates could be obtained that would pay for round."

It is certainly a little singular that if the present rates are unreasonably high, due to a shortage in ships, and that foreign shipowners are reaping rich harvests of profits, no portion of the above tonnage can secure paying business. It is particularly strange that if the rates on cotton to Bremen are so exorbitant, that Government ships must be provided to furnish transportation at reasonable rates, the four steel ships now idle at Boston, do not betake themselves to Galveston, or to other ports, in order to secure the cargoes and reap the rich profits on those cargoes, represented by the alleged unreasonable rates.

The following citations from the statement of the Maritime Association are of peculiar value in this connection, and rest in my judgment upon solid ground of fact:

> The apparent inability of shippers to secure tonnage is due rather to inability on their part to obtain marine insurance on cargoes, and on the part of owners to properly cover insurance on their vessels, coupled with their refusal to send tonnage to mined, and dangerous territory.
>
> The large amount of American sail tonnage suitable for foreign trade, can not now be considered, as shippers refuse to consider them for charter at present.
>
> The absence of return cargoes, except in a few favored trades, tends to increase outward rates, as any ships required to return in ballast, must of necessity require a higher rate outward, to cover a profitless return trip.
>
> Extraordinary high rates do not exist, except to ports within the mined districts, or to German ports, for noncontraband cargo, tonnage so destined, being in great danger of total loss.

That this danger is very real, and sufficient to justify extremely high rates is shown by the fact that 48 neutral vessels have been lost within the war zone, since the breaking out of hostilities. Among these vessels were several ships carrying cotton to Germany.

The belligerent right of search is well understood in theory. On the other hand in practice, however prudently the right may be exercised, it provokes heat, irritation, misunderstanding, and angry discussion that frequently brings otherwise friendly nations to the verge of war. Note the violent protests already submitted by interested shipowners, and shipmasters, against the alleged improper exercise of this right by the belligerent nations in the present contest.

The profits in contraband material offer a great temptation to ship them to a blockaded country. Looking to the figures of exports from this country during the last few months, one can easily read between the lines, that a great amount of contraband material has been forwarded from this country. In the effort to stop this traffic by the exercise of the belligerent right of search the nations at war touch the pocket nerve of the shippers. When this is done, violent contortions, and loud outcries invariably ensue. "The embarrassment to the dignity of the United States, of having a ship owned by the Government held up, searched, convoyed into port, and tried, on any one of many questions that might arise, is apparent." The exercise of the right of search by belligerent powers invariably provokes controversy with neutral powers, and begets international correspondence. Such a correspondence is in progress at this time between this country, and Great Britain. Government ships conveying cargoes to countries at war, that is Government merchant ships operated in commerce, would be liable to search, and detention, "in precisely the same degree, and on precisely the same terms," as privately owned neutral vessels. Doubtless the shippers who are chafing under the exercise of this right of search by the belligerent powers, conceive that in some fashion a Government marine would provide ships that under conditions like the present, could prosecute their voyage without danger of interruption, search, or detention. But they are mistaken. Government ships would enjoy no such exemption. Moreover the use of these ships at such times, would increase the difficulties of a neutral nation. No nation can exercise its belligerent right of search and detention, no nation

has ever exercised it, in a manner acceptable to the interests involved. These interests have invariably filed the most vigorous protests, and lodged the most grievous complaints with the authorities of their respective countries, insisting upon protection even to the extent of using armed force against the infliction of the alleged wrongs. The most difficult and troublesome complaints are thus presented at the most perilous times, demanding instant action, when above all things, action should be delayed to allow the heat of the contending parties to abate. At such times the Government should not be a directly interested party, as would be the case, if the ship seized, or detained, was a Government ship. "The business of ocean transportation, particularly in times of widespread war, involves certain hazards of an international and political character, with which the Government should keep itself absolutely free to deal, and in which all needless entanglement, and complication, is the gravest possible error."

This impartial attitude by the Government, or even a measurably impartial attitude, would be difficult of maintenance in a case in which a Government ship, or ships, were seized, and taken before a foreign prize court for disposition. In such a case, particularly if any considerable portion of the public was already in an angry and inflamed state of mind, the action of the foreign Government would not in all likelihood be treated as the proper exercise of an accepted belligerent right, but as an attack upon the national sovereignty, an insult to our honor, and our flag. Under these circumstances, a flame of indignation starting in misapprehension, could be easily kindled, and a state of public mind created, that would seriously embarrass a Government anxious to preserve its neutrality, but forced to unwise action by the pressure of an excited public opinion. Remember the *Maine*.

It has been noted that a Government ship pursuing the rôle of carrier, would be subject to precisely the same risks of capture, and detention, as the ship of the private capitalist. In the event moreover that the Government ship is taken before a foreign prize court, the Government itself would become the aggrieved and injured party. "This would be a peculiarly delicate, difficult, embarrassing, and dangerous rôle for the Government to assume."

Why adopt a course which will make inevitable this rôle? Why assume unnecessary risks? Why undertake to furnish ships under a policy that so far from allaying, would provoke trouble, would fail to meet the ends now sought by the victims of a present hysteria, and in other directions will afflict us with new responsibilities, and new burdens. There is no need for haste in this matter. We are not confronted with an emergency which can be solved by immediate action. Nothing that we can do at this time, will correct the abnormalities due to causes beyond our control. The Alexander bill presents the most radical innovation upon our traditional policies, the most unusual application of Federal authority, that has been presented since the Civil War. It commits us to an unknown and untried venture, unaided by the experience of other nations, and substantially, if not avowedly, socialistic. Falling prices, stagnating industries, commercial torpor, interrupted transportation, are grievous evils that invariably cause loose thinking, and are the fertile mothers of many extravagant and undigested plans for relief. The times demand sound thinking, and wise action.

No two advocates of this bill agree on the fullness of its meaning, or the limitations of its scope. Is it, or is it not, an emergency measure? Is it, or is it not, a scheme of permanent Government ownership, and operation? Will it, or will it not, require successive annual appropriations to make effective its purpose, and if so, what approximately is the amount that in the ultimate is proposed to be taken from the Treasury, to put this project finally, and successfully on its feet? Is it, or is it not, to be run at a commercial profit? Are other lines in addition to the lines to South America, contemplated as a part of this scheme, and if so, are these lines like the South American lines, to be run at a loss, and to be turned over to private capital as soon as they begin to be profitable? Is Government ownership desirable, or undesirable? Who is qualified to state the working theory of this measure? All of these queries are differently answered by different champions of the bill. The President advances a theory of limited operation, in his message to Congress, coupled with an intimation that even this operation will be abandoned when the lines projected begin to pay. If this outline of operations fixes the scope of the project, then the expenditure in this direction would not be likely to exceed the amount carried in the bill. On the other hand, the Secretary of the Treasury presents a far more ambitious policy of governmental operation, one that involves transactions on the largest scale, calling for appropriations that in the aggregate may be fairly styled gigantic. At one time the proposition was put forward as an emergency measure. Later it is presented as a permanent policy, one that will overthrow trusts and combinations on the high seas, and afford such a supply of merchant ships, at such moderate and steady rates, as the shipping world has never seen. The House report expressly speaks of the bill as emergency legislation, and deprecates Government ownership in any business that can be conducted as a private enterprise.

The Senate report apparently highly approves of Government ownership, and of a continuing policy of Government activities in this direction. One advocate insists that Government ships can be operated at a handsome profit, and maintains that the forty millions carried in the bill should be regarded as an investment of the first class, disregarding the fact that under the old conditions the impossibility of making a profit on the money invested drove American capital from the use of the American flag. If profit is possible under the new conditions, ample private capital is available to occupy the field and Government ownership is not necessary. Another advocate admits that Government ships, operating at a greater labor cost than their competitors, will be unable to make a profit, but justifies their use on the ground that a losing venture in this direction should be supported by the Public Treasury in consideration of the reduced rates to be afforded to the American shipper. The protagonists of this bill should agree among themselves and present in some consistent and coherent fashion the grounds on which they place this new departure in Government activities, affording at once the scope of its intended operations, its place, whether temporary or otherwise, in the policies of the Government, and a reasonable forecast of its probable cost. The Democrats, at least, who support this measure ought to be able to show not only that economically it is sound, but that it squares with our platform, and is related to some sufficient authority afforded by the Federal Constitution.

Some weeks ago a delegation representing cotton planting in the South, an industry which more than all others has been grievously afflicted by the present war, appeared before the President and asked his interest in behalf of measures designed to secure relief for the interests concerned. He expressed the greatest sympathy with the planters, and avowed his readiness to aid in whatever plans sound finance could suggest to afford relief. But he added that the problem must be solved with the head, not with the heart, and that nothing should be done which was economically unsound or which would rise up hereafter to plague us. May I commend this thought in this connection? Whatever is to be done should be the outcome of grave and sober reflection, a real remedy, not a panacea. I feel assured that a body of such dignity, standing, and experience as your chamber will afford contributions of positive value toward the solution of this problem.

Buying Foreign Ships.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 17, 1915,

On the bill (S. 2335) to provide for the register and enrollment of vessels built in foreign countries when such vessels have been wrecked on the coasts of the United States or her possessions or adjacent waters and salved by American citizens and repaired in American shipyards.

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, as this bill is part of the administration plan to admit foreign ships into the American trade, I desire to discuss it in conjunction with the ship-purchase bill which was rushed through the House yesterday. Except that this bill transfers to the Secretary of Commerce powers heretofore exercised by Congress in the grant of an American register to foreign ships repaired in the United States there is no material change from existing law. In the matter of foreign vessels wrecked by design, the bill is susceptible to certain objections and is also open to criticism because of the ambiguity associated with the words "appraised salved value of the vessel," which the gentleman from Texas [Mr. HARDY] has not yet explained. Whether the value is to be taken before or after the wrecking companies have done their work is not clear, and it is not improbable that the language could be so interpreted that a foreign-built vessel costing $100,000 and being conveniently wrecked, and purchased for a song, could obtain

the American registry and thus enter the coastwise trade for repairs amounting to 75 per cent of the purchase value. It is also possible that foreign vessels of ancient construction and fit only for beaching could be tinkered at sufficiently to meet the requirements of this bill, when no such hulks should be put into commission under any circumstances. The suggestion that the work of repairs must be done in American shipyards is all right so far as it goes, but it is a gratuitous suggestion, since this sort of work would have to be done in American shipyards, anyhow. It is highly improbable that any foreign vessel running on the rocks in Maine or hitting the sand dunes of North Carolina would be taken back to Europe for repairs. Hence the bill offers nothing to American workmen they would not get, anyhow.

NEW SHIPS BETTER THAN OLD HULKS.

On the other hand, every old or battered hulk, originally built by foreign labor, that is patched up for service in the over-seas or coastwise trade removes the opportunity for building one more ship in American shipyards. There is a human as well as an economic side to this question. We ought to have due regard for the lives of passengers and the safety of cargoes as well as for the maintenance of American shipyards. The American workingman would rather build a new ship on the American plan and under American conditions than to rebuild a foreign hulk and permit it to enter into competition with American-built ships in the coastwise trade. We have usually tried to protect the coastwise trade against foreign invasion, but the attitude of the present administration in insisting upon the ship-purchase bill of yesterday and this shipwreck bill of to-day supports the theory, now fairly well grown into practice, that no matter what our advantages in living conditions in this country we are to be forced to compete generally with the conditions and the wages of the old world. I am constrained to believe, therefore, that we do not need this wreckage bill any more than we need the ship-purchase bill which we considered under such high pressure yesterday.

SHIP-PURCHASE BILL UNNECESSARY.

And with reference to the ship-purchase bill, Mr. Speaker, I am reminded that when the gavel fell at the expiration of the 12 minutes allotted to me in general debate yesterday I was in the midst of a statement relating to the alleged congestion at the ports of this country which the Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of Commerce were endeavoring to make Congress believe necessitated the expenditure of $30,000,000 for the purchase of foreign ships. I had given some figures showing the tremendous exports of grain from ports other than New York, the New York figures not having been available at the time. That the grain exports were tremendous, and abnormally so, due to the foreign war conditions, was evident from such facts as I was able to get into the RECORD in my 12 minutes. I was about to say when my time expired that on that very day when the records for grain exports were being broken at other ports they had also been broken at the port of Philadelphia, as appeared from the following statement from one of the Philadelphia newspapers:

BREAKS PORT'S GRAIN RECORD—FOUR VESSELS DEPART IN ONE DAY CARRYING 700,000 BUSHELS.

All records for grain cargoes at this port were broken yesterday when four vessels cleared for foreign ports, and carried approximately 700,000 bushels of grain, valued at almost $1,125,000. These vessels were the British steamship *Mackinaw*, for London; the British steamship *Mendip Range*, for Torre Annunziata; the Norwegian steamship *Bjornefjord*, for Helsinborg and Stockholm; and the Italian steamship *Rosalia*, for Venice.

These vessels, with their cargoes and freight and the value of the carriers, would amount to more than $2,500,000. The *Rosalia* had 228,781 bushels of grain, valued at $411,706.10; the *Bjornefjord* had 193,838 bushels of wheat, valued at $290,760; the *Mendip Range* had 262,313 bushels of wheat, valued at $463,312. The amount of grain carried by the *Mackinaw* could not be ascertained, but it was said by responsible parties that it was not less than 50,000 bushels. This is the largest number of vessels that has cleared this port with grain cargoes in recent years.

Confirming this statement from a single port, I am able to present this morning a letter from Mr. Frank L. Neall, a Philadelphia shipping man and statistician, which gives an excellent summary of the week's shipments from the various other ports along the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico. A perusal of this letter and of the statement accompanying it is not convincing proof of the desirability of embarking the Federal Government in the foreign ship-purchasing business at this time:

PHILADELPHIA, *February 16, 1915.*

Hon. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
House of Representatives, Washington D. C.

DEAR MR. MOORE: Vessels chartered to February 13, 1915, so far as made public, that are secured to load full cargoes of grain from Atlantic and Gulf ports:

Inclosed statement shows 112 steamers, with a capacity of 24,000,000 bushels, chartered as above, to load in near future at ports mentioned. In the natural order of things there will be many more vessels probably chartered during the period within which these vessels will load.

Last week the turnover in Baltimore was over 3,600,000 bushels of grain for a single week. That means that the equivalent of almost the entire contents of all of the elevators were emptied into steamers during that week, and at the end of the week there were just as many to load as there were at the beginning of it, and the elevators also were probably as full.

New York shipped about 10,000,000 bushels of grain last week, and, like Baltimore, it doubtless ran the capacity of her elevators to handle the cargoes.

Yours, very truly,

FRANK L. NEALL.

List of vessels chartered to Feb. 13, 1915, so far as made public, to load full cargoes of grain at Atlantic and Gulf ports of the United States. This list embraces vessels not loaded or cleared up to Feb. 9, 1915.

SUMMARY.

Ports.	Vessels.	Quarters.	Bushels.
Portland, Me	4	121,000	968,000
Philadelphia	5	136,000	1,088,000
New York	11	241,000	1,928,000
Baltimore	27	744,000	5,952,000
Newport News	4	161,000	1,288,000
Gulf	29	768,000	6,144,000
"Range"	32	829,000	6,632,000
Total	112	3,000,000	24,000,000

SOME FIGURES SPECIAL TO BALTIMORE.

Since Baltimore has attained a wonderful record as a grain-exporting center, I append the following letter from Mr. Neall, which pertains particularly to that port.

FEBRUARY 13, 1915.

Hon. J. HAMPTON MOORE.

DEAR MR. MOORE: During the entire year 1914 port of Baltimore shipped 156 full-cargo tramp steamers with grain. This year (1915) she shipped from January 1 to February 13, 84 steamer loads; in other words, in 44 days shipped over 50 per cent as much as she did in 365 days in 1914. In 1915 she shipped equal to 2 steamer loads each day, including Sundays. It was the least congestion we know of.

Very truly,

F. L. NEALL.

Mr. Speaker, throughout the discussion yesterday it was patent that the grain growers of the United States were not worrying over the purchase of foreign vessels in which to ship their grain. It developed that they knew that their grain was going abroad in larger quantities and at better prices than ever before. It was also clearly shown, as contended upon this floor a few days ago, that the Treasury Department bugaboo about the farmer paying the freight on these ocean voyages was only intended to encourage the farmer to come in and vote to tax himself to buy foreign ships. It will be recalled that the Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of Commerce, in their letter transmitting information concerning ocean freight rates, January 25, 1915, put this proposition up to the farmers in no ambiguous terms. I quote from page 16 of their printed letter, where the Secretaries said:

If the ocean freight cost on December exports had been at the same rate as July, viz, 5.63 per cent, the total freight charge on our exports for December would have been $12,723,800 instead of $30,742,500. In other words, the increased ocean freight tax arbitrarily imposed upon our farmers and business men for the month of December, 1914, only, was $18,018,700. If exports by sea continue for the 12 months of 1915 at the December, 1914, rate, and the ocean freight charges are the same as for December, 1914, the American farmers and business men will pay to shipowners (principally foreign) increased freight charges above the normal rate of $216,224,400, or more than five times the $40,000,000 which the Government proposes by the shipping bill to put into American ships for the protection of our foreign commerce.

FARMERS DO NOT PAY THE FREIGHT.

But the farmers and business men are posted on questions of freight, and since the publication of this letter it has fairly well developed that the buyers on the other side of the water, the speculators as well as the consumers, in England, Germany, France, and other countries, have been paying this enormous freight bill with which the farmers of this country were to be scared.

Arguing their case further, on page 17 of the printed letter, however, the Secretaries referred to make this statement:

To show what the burden imposed on the farmers by these high ocean freight rates means, it is necessary only to bring out the fact that while the total freight cost on our exports by sea for December, 1914, was $30,742,500, the great commodities of grain, cotton, and flour bore $11,782,250 of this charge, or more than 36 per cent of the entire freight cost on all exports by sea for December, 1914.

But even this has not convinced the farmers that it is yet necessary for them to buy foreign ships, since if they do so the burden of expense would be on them directly and the relief would go to those who now pay the freight on the other side. I believe the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. ALEXANDER], who has fought so earnestly for all these shipping bills, and who at first disputed the accuracy of these quotations from the distinguished members of the President's Cabinet, is not now himself

convinced that the alleged high freight rates that prevail because there is a demand for ships to carry contraband at great risk are borne by the producer in the United States.

CABINET OFFICERS DIFFER.

During the rapid-fire debate on the ship-purchase bill and the exceedingly limited debate on this shipwreck bill it has not appeared to the satisfaction of many of us that there is any such necessity for the purchase or repair of foreign ships as the administration and its zealous Cabinet officers insist. Democrats themselves are not happy in their defense of these measures. From almost every angle they are mixed and dubious. The determination of the President to buy foreign ships, even at the expense of an extra session of Congress, can not be based upon any clamorous demands set up by the farmers of the country who raise grain. They are not dissatisfied either with their market, their prices, or the freight rates paid by somebody else. Is it for political reasons the President insists upon the passage of this bill? From the address delivered by Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo before the Commercial Club at Chicago January 9, 1915, the movement to buy foreign ships would not appear to be a political question. Quoting from various party platforms in favor of building up the American merchant marine, Secretary McAdoo said:

These unequivocal declarations show conclusively that the creation of an American merchant marine is not a partisan question, but a vital policy of national importance upon which all parties have long been in agreement.

What Mr. McAdoo said in Chicago was not unlike his nonpartisan statement to the Chamber of Commerce of the United States at its recent meeting in Washington. He thought we ought to keep politics out of it.

Another member of the Cabinet, however, the distinguished Secretary of State, Mr. Bryan, was a little more outspoken than the Secretary of the Treasury, in an address made at Indianapolis on February 4. Reporting Mr. Bryan's speech, the Washington Post of February 5 said:

In referring to the nine Democratic Senators who have broken away from the President, Mr. Bryan said: "I think I know, and I think you know, what the country will think of a Democrat who takes the Republican side on the shipping question.

"If anybody puts in this bill," went on Mr. Bryan, "a word that implies a lack of confidence in the President, let it be a Republican and not a Democrat."

The Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Redfield, who confided to the Chamber of Commerce of the United States that he had been in correspondence with kings and prime ministers of foreign countries who encouraged the happy suggestion that the American Government should buy foreign ships, did not appear to have discussed the political significance of the bill in his address at New Orleans January 29, 1915, but, on the contrary, he is reported to have given notice to the people who own and build ships of American manufacture that the idea was to punish them through the purchase of foreign ships if they did not thoroughly conform to what the administration desired. The newspaper report of the New Orleans incident is as follows:

REDFIELD THREATENS SHIPPING INTERESTS.

NEW ORLEANS, LA., *January 29.*

"If private shipping interests of the United States continue to act unjustly toward the shipper, and they have that power now, we will crush them," declared Secretary Redfield to-day at a luncheon under auspices of the Association of Commerce. He added:

"Steamship officials who have conversed with me regarding the proposal to place Government-owned vessels into operation have been told that Government ships never would be placed in competition with privately owned vessels if the companies will deal squarely with the American people."

Mr. Redfield answered a formal protest against the ship-purchase bill which the association recently sent to Washington.

"UNSOLICITED" INDORSEMENTS FROM NEWSPAPER READERS.

Still, Mr. Speaker, we are without accurate information as to the real underlying cause of the administration's desire to break up the American shipbuilding business by taxing the American people to buy foreign ships. The three Secretaries, so far as their utterances have been quoted, do not seem to agree. We are therefore impelled to return to that interesting Senate Document No. 673, Sixty-third Congress, third session (pt. 2), entitled "Increased Ocean Transportation Rates," wherein we find many letters that have been gathered together by the Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of Commerce and their agents to prove that the Government ought to go into the shipbuilding business. Everywhere it is the story of the exporter seeking to furnish the department with information. It is not the producer nor the shipbuilder nor the mechanic nor the man who wants to do a legitimate business in the United States. Frequently it is the man who wants to send contraband to foreign countries in order that he may make money at the expense and risk of the American people. It is remarkable how many of the "exhibits" come up from individuals or concerns who merely "heard" that the departments were seeking information. Take the lumber company which writes from Azalea, N. C., December 29, 1914. It is evident that the letter, which is quite lengthy and covers the point in which the departments are interested, was wholly "unsolicited," for it opens like this:

HON. WILLIAM G. MCADOO,
Secretary of the Treasury, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Referring to item in New York Herald indicating your desire for information concerning the effect of the present ocean rates upon business would say, etc.

Exhibit No. 30 was from large exporters in New York, as follows:

HON. WILLIAM G. MCADOO,
Secretary of the Treasury, Washington, D. C.

SIR: We noticed by the press that the Government desires information in reference to export rates, etc.

Exhibit No. 31, from Elizabeth, La., January 5, 1915, opened like this:

Mr. WILLIAM G. MCADOO,
Secretary of the Treasury, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: We have recently noticed a dispatch in one of the newspapers that you desire information from shippers, etc.

And so in succession the letters, with almost studied regularity, open up with the stereotyped phrase, "We notice in the daily press," or "Our attention has been called to a newspaper article," or "I have recently noticed articles appearing in the papers."

Here and there, however, the cog slipped a little and the writer began like this:

DEAR SIR: I refer to inclosed newspaper clipping, and am glad to see that you will investigate, etc.

Or, as in the case of Exhibit 36:

DEAR SIR: Referring to your request in regard to exporters making statements of overcharges on ocean freight rates to Europe, would say, etc.

BUYING TROUBLE WITH THE SHIPS.

Now, apart from the spontaneity of thought on the part of those who communicated with the Treasury Department because "they saw an item in the newspaper," it is interesting to turn to page 89 of the printed letter, and observe that the exporters were responding to circulars received from the Chief of the Bureau of Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and that, on page 94, Mr. Charles Ferguson, "commercial agent of the Department of Commerce," was indulging an illuminating correspondence with gentlemen in New York and elsewhere concerning the purchase of ships. What Mr. Justus Ruperti, of G. Amsinck & Co., wrote to Mr. Ferguson January 5 is not altogether encouraging to the administration's anxious inquiries.

Says Mr. Ruperti, amongst other things:

I see no great urgent necessity of establishing a Government line to the West Indies, Venezuela, Colombia, and Central America, as sufficient American and neutral steamers are running there at present to fill the most urgent need.

There also seems to be no urgent need for an American line on the west coast of South America at present, since for cargo the merchant line is now under the American flag, and mails are carried by the Peruvian and Chilean steamships from Panama, both of which are under neutral flags.

A line to Italy does not seem necessary, as the Italian Government has sufficient steamers, if only the United States Government will stand together with the Italian to protect these steamers from constant and in many cases unnecessary interference and delay.

For Denmark, Norway, and Holland there is at present also not sufficient freight open, but there should be enough steamers of those countries—which have fleets of their own—to insure a sufficient traffic, if the United States will assist those countries also in maintaining a service which is not unnecessarily hampered and interfered with by the warring nations, as is done at present, where a great many commercial transactions for supplying those neutral countries with their requirements, and which are in no way affected by any articles of contraband of war or supplies for the fighting nations, are hampered and stopped.

Conditions in South America are rapidly improving, and with few exceptions merchants are paying regularly their bills to exporters from this country, according to our experience.

Mr. Ruperti does not throw much hope into the South American situation, as will be observed, but he does indicate that we might buy ships from certain European countries if we would also buy the war conditions. This is a point to be remembered, and it helps to explain why many gentlemen on this side of the House believe that in purchasing foreign ships we are also purchasing trouble.

CENTRAL AMERICAN RATES NOT ADVANCED.

Exhibit 71 presents another interesting letter from Mr. Ruperti. What he says as to the Central and South American situations does not seem to draw any applause from the Cabinet officers, who insist that the farmer pays the freight. In this letter Mr. Ruperti says:

But in regard to the American situation the position is rather curious, as I will explain to you herewith:

All shipments to Central America and Colombia are made by the United Fruit Co. or the Panama Railway Co., which are both now under the American flag, and since the outbreak of the war freights have not been advanced by these lines.

The shipments to Venezuela are made by the Red D Line, also running under the American flag, and these rates have also not been advanced.

Shipments to the west coast of South and Central America are made from Panama by the Pacific Mail and the Peruvian and Chilean lines, also from here direct through the Panama Canal by the Merchants' Line under the American flag. On all these routes the freight rates have not been advanced.

LOOKS TO SOUTH AMERICA, NOT EUROPE.

Mr. H. J. Riedel, of Thomson & Co., New York, submits a letter to Mr. Ferguson, which is marked "Exhibit 72." The part of it I desire to quote is as follows:

I believe there are enough idle steamers at present which the Government could buy, put them under the American flag, and start at the shortest possible time a service which the exporters need so badly. We have a number of able shipping men in New York who are conversant with the South American trade, and under their advice and management a service could be inaugurated within a short period which would certainly be of immense benefit to the future of our export trade. I am not speaking of a steamer service to carry passengers, but solely to carry cargo; and there is no doubt in my mind that it would be easy to buy a sufficient number of suitable boats for that purpose and start with a line for the principal ports, say, Pernambuco, Rio, Santos, Montevideo, and Buenos Aires. The west coast is fairly well covered by steamers under the American flag, and some neutral steamers.

Shipping conditions to Europe are, of course, unsatisfactory on account of England's interference with the free movement of all neutral steamers, and the consequent delay of these boats in English ports has created a shortage of tonnage, which led to a considerable increase in the freight rates. Under ordinary conditions and after peace has been reestablished there are enough steamers to take care of the needs of commerce between here and Europe, but the growing trade to and from Brazil and the River Plata demands better facilities, and I hope that the Government will embrace the present opportunity and help the merchants now to increase the South American trade, a large part of which would surely remain with us after the war, provided sufficient shipping facilities are offered.

MR. BAKER, OF BALTIMORE, ON THE JOB.

But one of the most interesting of all the letters presented by the secretaries is one from Thomas L. Feild, of London, dated December 23, 1914, and addressed to B. N. Baker, Esq., Baltimore, Md., Mr. Baker being one of those operators in ships who has been in consultation with the Washington authorities on the subject of the ship-purchase bill. Mr. Feild tells Mr. Baker of the ships that might be secured and goes into some details. He knows of three ships contracted for before the war that might be had because the contractor failed. Then he tells Mr. Baker that he "hopes we may be able to do some business," but, like many of the other correspondents, he puts it up to the United States to meet the question of neutrality. I quote the latter portion of Mr. Feild's letter to Mr. Baker:

I hope in your letter you will give me some definite information as to what the ships are wanted for.

If they wanted to run from New York to Frisco, I think the Government here could easily be induced to allow them to go under the American flag. While if they are intended for regular tramp business, and possibly to carry cargo to belligerent countries, they might possibly place some difficulties in the way of the builders exporting them to a neutral country. At the same time I believe this difficulty might be overcome.

The possibility of this difficulty, of course, would not arise with either the French or the Greek boats.

I believe I can offer you any available boats to be had, and sincerely hope we may be able to do some business.

THE SECRETARY AND THE COTTON PROBLEM.

Mr. Secretary Redfield, however, helps us out a little in our understanding of the ship-purchase bill in "Exhibit 73," where he asks the Boston Maritime Exchange if it has available any insurable American vessels carrying cotton to Germany or Austria, and indicating that if such a vessel can be had that a charter may be obtained by "communicating with the Texas-Oklahoma Cotton Co., Fort Worth, Tex., immediately." The corresponding secretary of the Boston Maritime Association writing to Secretary Redfield on this and other subjects, states, under date of January 5, that "the Texas-Oklahoma Cotton Co. by wire advised that they could not consider a steamer of size named therein, requiring smaller tonnage, insurance available being limited." "Since writing you yesterday," adds Mr. Freeman, the corresponding secretary, "one of the large steamers named in my memoranda has been closed for Europe from New York, and others are now considering charter here."

STATE DEPARTMENT TO ADVISE PRESIDENT.

It thus appears that the question of neutrality as well as the question of cotton and oil exports is raised in the brief submitted by the Cabinet officers. The neutrality question is evidently deemed of some importance by the Senate committee reporting the shipping bill since, in its report No. 841, Sixty-third Congress, third session, page 21, it gives assurance that there is no special warrant for the fear that in purchasing foreign ships to carry contraband we will in any way involve ourselves with belligerent nations. The committee assures us that we need not worry since "the President will have the State Department to advise him on all questions affecting our right and duties as neutrals."

The neutrality question, however, has been so well discussed by others that I shall not pursue it further. I want to add a few words about cotton and shall then close. Is it because the cotton planter or the oil producer desires to take advantage of the foreign market regardless of war risks that we are to purchase these foreign ships, and depopulate American shipyards? The ordinary normal export business of the country has been of such a nature that the proceeding would seem unwarranted. There has been no congestion of the normal business despite the hurried statements of collectors of the ports, grouped together by the Secretary of the Treasury. The abnormal business, which must necessarily pass away, has been due to war conditions and to speculation based upon the war. We ought not to buy foreign ships and increase the unemployment in the United States to aid speculators in their greed for blood money. The port statistics at Philadelphia for the month of January show that the normal business has not been up to the standard. It is reported from that city that there has been no real difficulty in obtaining ships for the ordinary export trade. I append the month's statistics so that they may speak for themselves.

NORMAL EXPORT TRADE GIVES NO CONCERN.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *February 2, 1915.*

To the President and Members of the Board of Commissioners of Navigation for the River Delaware and its Navigable Tributaries.

GENTLEMEN: The arrivals and departures of vessels during January show a decrease in numbers and in tonnage compared with the same month last year. Exports of wheat, flour, naphtha, and fuel oil exceeded those of January, 1914.

The wheat exports for January were 2,807,513 bushels, as against 2,442,010 bushels for the same month last year. Flour shipments totaled 23,018,911 pounds, compared with 19,336,840 pounds for January, 1914. In the shipment of naphtha a gain of 3,718,733 gallons is shown, the total exports footing up to 3,735,860 gallons, as against 7,127 for the same month last year. The fuel oil exports totaled 3,580,308 gallons compared with 2,108,590 gallons for January, 1914.

The arrivals from foreign and coastwise ports during January were 383 vessels with a tonnage of 683,606 compared with 408 vessels and a tonnage of 805,574 for January, 1914. The sailings were 392 vessels with a tonnage of 686,214, as against 439 vessels with a tonnage of 833,810 for the same month last year.

Respectfully submitted.

A. F. RENNER, *Statistician.*

HELPING THE FOREIGNER; INJURING THE AMERICAN.

As to the cotton business, the facts are also against the foreign ship purchase proposition. To begin with, the cotton crop was abnormally large. In the second place, exports of cotton have increased enormously and the shipments to foreign countries are being made with wonderful regularity considering the unusual conditions that prevail. The report of the Director of the Census for the month of January sets forth some figures that demand our serious consideration from the American viewpoint. Despite the demand to use American money for the purchase of foreign ships to carry American cotton abroad, we exported in January, 1915, in the teeth of the foreign war, more than 300,000 bales in excess of the exports of January, 1914. The exact figures given by the Director of the Census for this month, when the agitation for ship purchase has been at its very height, are as follows:

Cotton exported January, 1914	1,052,272
Cotton exported January, 1915	1,372,175

Why should anyone insist upon spending $30,000,000 of the people's money now, when the people are hard up and need it, to give employment to foreign shipbuilders to carry American cotton abroad when we are already carrying more cotton abroad than we did last year when there was no war? It does not seem fair nor seem wise, nor is it just to the pepole who are entitled to earn a decent living on this side of the water. They are entitled to have their own money spent at home.

Even in these war times we have been sending more cotton abroad than we sent last year, and while that has been going on we have been using less cotton in the manufactories of the United States because we did not have the work to give to our own people. We have suffered fearfully from foreign competition in cotton manufactures, because of the low wages paid on the other side of the water and because of the still lower wages that will be paid to the European victims of the great war. The same Director of the Census who gives us the January figures on cotton exports also tells us in the same report that the number of cotton spindles active in the United States during January has been reduced by nearly 500,000. In January, 1914, there were 31,098,176 spindles employed and in January, 1915, the number fell to 30,565,479.

This is no political claptrap; this is the report of the sworn officer of the Government, showing conclusively that while we are sending abroad more cotton than ever for the workmen there to fabricate and send back to us in competition with our own products we are actually cutting down our own opportunities for employment in the United States. The Public Ledger

of February 16 reports that 12 hosiery mills in Philadelphia either liquidated or failed last year. The reason for that is the low tariff and the insistence upon opening the American market to foreign competition. We have done it in the matter of textiles, as the great lines of unemployed in the big cities attest. We ought not to do it in the matter of ships and shipyards, and I trust that we will not.

In conclusion, I append an editorial from the Philadelphia Record, a Democratic newspaper, which knows the situation in Pennsylvania and which differs from the administration on the ship-purchase bill. This is from the issue of February 11:

While the Secretary of the Treasury is feeding Congressmen on tales of congested ports, whence our products can not go abroad for lack of vessels, the heartless exports go on leaving the country in unprecedented amounts. In the first week of February the exports from 13 districts were close to $60,000,000, which is at the rate of over three billions a year, while our exports have never reached two and a half billions. The cotton exports for the week were 365,733 bales, or at the rate of about 19,000,000 bales a year, far more than we ever produced. The excess of the value of exports over imports was more than $37,000,000, and in 10 weeks the exports have amounted to more than half a billion dollars and the balance in our favor was $275,000,000. The importance of more ships seems to have been slightly exaggerated.

Speech of Hon. Julius Kahn.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIS J. HULINGS,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 17, 1915.

Mr. HULINGS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the speech of Hon. JULIUS KAHN at Arlington, February 15, 1915, on the occasion of the anniversary of the sinking of the *Maine*.

The speech is as follows:

"REMEMBER THE 'MAINE.'"

Seventeen years ago to-day the men who "sleep the sleep that knows no waking" within these hallowed grounds, were basking in the bright sunshine under the tropical sky that hangs over the beautiful harbor of the "Pearl of the Antilles." All unconscious of the dreadful doom that hovered so near they felt perfectly secure beneath the peaceful folds of Old Glory, floating proudly to the breeze in Cuba's historic bay of Habana. Most of them were in the very flush of young manhood, full of the vigor of life—the present without a seeming care, the future radiant with bright hope. The day's work had been faithfully performed. The vigilant officers, the tired sailors and marines had gradually retired to rest, until finally the tread of the men on watch and the occasionally muffled utterance of the password were the only sounds that disturbed the thorough stillness of the night.

And then, without a moment's warning, without a single premonitory sound, there came a roar from the deep—a terrific explosion that awoke the drowsy citizen from his slumber, the while the good ship *Maine*, of Uncle Sam's proud "White Squadron," for a brief period pitched and lurched and tugged at her anchors, and then slowly sank beneath the engulfing wave.

In that one moment our country, which steadily had been cultivating the arts of peace for a full third of a century, was lashed into a passion of rage and hatred that could not be assuaged except through blood atonement. The precious lives so ruthlessly destroyed on that fateful night of February 15, 1898, demanded vengeance. Once assured that the explosion had occurred on the outside, millions of our countrymen refused longer to be held in leash. "Remember the *Maine*" was the angry cry that roared from the parched, excited throats of teeming masses in every community in the United States. It became a slogan that increased in bitterness and vindictiveness as the weeks rolled on. For a brief period of time the President was able to hold in check the excited throngs in their violent demand for war. But he was powerless to stem the rising tide. Recalling here and now the rapidly moving incidents of those days, is anyone so fatuous as to believe it would have been possible to submit the questions growing out of that terrible calamity to the International Court of Arbitration at The Hague if such a court had existed at that time?

The American people felt their flag had been fired upon without provocation, their citizens wantonly killed, their national honor violently assailed, and they promptly did that which has always been done by strong, virile nations in every period of the world's history—they prepared for war. Fellow citizens, we are too prone to forget the lessons of the past. We are too apt to overlook the fact that painful incidents that have occurred once in our country's history may on some future occasion be repeated. No matter how peaceful our intentions, no matter how little we may desire war, we are not alone the arbiters of the destiny of these United States. We all hope we may never again become embroiled in war; but if the citizens of any country with which we are at peace should willfully and in a spirit of resentment at some fancied grievance blow up and destroy an American ship and bring death to its officers, crew, and passengers I would be loath to guarantee continued peace between the aggressors and ourselves. And I am led to this belief because in my study of the world's progress I have learned that human nature is practically the same to-day as it has been at all times since the dawn of recorded history. The veneer of civilization has not materially altered human emotions, human passions. These have existed ever since mankind were created, and they will continue to exist until the last syllable of recorded time. Love, hate, forgiveness, vengeance, envy, jealousy, thrift, greed, kindness, liberality have always found a lodgment in the human heart, and when they shall have been entirely and finally eradicated from the breast of man the human race will have become extinct. And so long as these human emotions exist, so long as they continue to actuate man in the deeds he performs, so long will we have wars upon this turbulent old world of ours.

A nation, after all, is but a mighty aggregation of individuals, and all the failings, all the shortcomings, all the mistakes of the individual are simply multiplied, and therefore accentuated, in the national life. When municipalities shall be able to disband their police forces by reason of the discontinuance of crime, when the suppression of crime shall no longer require the expenditure of large sums of the taxpayers' money for the protection of the lives and property of the peaceful, law-abiding citizen, then, and not till then, will the nations of the earth agree to the complete disarmament of their land and naval forces.

In the meantime what is our patriotic duty? It seems to me there is but one answer, and that is that we must be constantly prepared to defend ourselves. I believe that to be the true path of wisdom, the true path of patriotism, the true path of duty. Anything short of that, in my judgment, is criminal carelessness. I do not believe in militarism. I do not believe in military conscripton. I do not believe it is necessary to maintain a standing army of half a million men or anything like that number in these United States. But I do believe we ought to encourage military training in our schools, in our academies, our colleges, our universities. I believe in the maintenance and extension of summer camps, where our growing youths can be taught and drilled in the rudiments of military training. Such a training will teach them initiative, self-reliance, sanitation, physical culture, obedience to command, endurance, and self-denial—qualities of inestimable value as they proceed onward in their life's work.

I believe in a short enlistment period, so that many thousands of young men could be honorably discharged from the military service to the peaceful pursuits of civil life every year. We are to-day hopelessly deficient in an adequate and necessary reserve force. Our first efforts should be directed toward the establishment of such a force, from which we could fill our regiments and muster them at full war strength immediately upon the outbreak of hostilities. I believe in the construction and maintenance of the necessary number of batteries of field artillery and a goodly supply of reserve ammunition therefor. I believe in reserve stores of small arms and their ammunition, medical supplies, clothing, and field equipment generally. If we follow as a fixed policy even a conservative course in procuring these essential requisites for military preparedness, we will never again have to pay the frightful penalties in the toll of human lives and the enormous expenditure of precious treasure that our unpreparedness in our past wars have cost us.

I believe also in a strong Navy. We must not permit ourselves to embark on such a niggardly policy of naval construction that we may run the risk of losing control of the sea in case any enemy might attack us. Even now we are learning the lesson of what it means to a nation to lose such control. This splendid country of ours, with all its great, natural resources, with rich and opulent communities on our seaboard, would have to pay the cost of many battleships and dreadnaughts in the material losses that would come to us once the control of the sea is taken away from us. It seems to me that proposition is so self-evident that I marvel at the hardihood of the men who would endanger such control by refusing to appropriate the nec-

essary funds in order that we might enlarge our Navy gradually but effectively year by year.

To my mind the two most dangerous elements against our peace and well-being in this country to-day are those well-meaning but altruistic citizens whose bombastic utterances as to our military prowess constantly have a tendency to lull our people into a sense of fancied security and those others who delude themselves into the comforting belief that the millenium has already dawned. To assert that we can raise and equip a million men over night to fight our country's battles against the trained hosts of any great military power, to assert that a regiment of sharpshooters can stand upon the seashore and pick off possible invaders as they approach the unprotected land, regardless and unmindful of the fact that the dreadnaughts of the invaders would hurl enormous shells that would undoubtedly drive our sharpshooters to the woods pell-mell and in double-quick order, is to show such a lack of knowledge of conditions under which modern military operations are conducted that no man who is not enarmored of the sound of his own voice would be guilty of making such irresponsible and mischievous assertions.

To assert that disarmament will bring peace and that when we shall have abolished our standing Army and dismantled our forts and our Navy we will be in no danger of possible attack, is to become totally deaf to the teachings of history; yea, to the lessons of nature itself. All living creatures are constantly at war with each other. The wild beasts of the forest, the birds of the air, the fish of the sea; aye, even the crawling, creeping reptiles are constantly preying upon one another. It is their natural instinct. They are created that way. And man himself is but a civilized animal.

My friends, the Spanish-American War brought us great and grave responsibilities. When once a country becomes involved in war the Omnipotent Father alone can foretell what will be the ultimate consequences. Therefore we should always be slow to enter into a quarrel with any nation. We should never be the aggressors. But if ever we shall be attacked by any power on earth we must be ready and able to defend our hearths, our homes, and our country against the emboldened enemy. And we can only make an effective defense in safeguarding all that we hold most dear, by following the sage advise, based upon his personal experiences of our first great President, the immortal Washington, "In time of peace prepare for war."

Ship-Purchase Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES F. CURRY,
OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 16, 1915,

On the bill (S. 5259) to establish one or more United States Navy mail lines between the United States and South America and between the United States and the countries of Europe.

Mr. CURRY. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to this bill. It is inexpedient, untimely, unnecessary, dangerous, and contrary to the fundamental principles of our Government.

The time allowed by the rule to discuss this very important measure does not permit of debate. It hardly gives time enough in which to make statements and does not allow sufficient time in which to present arguments against it.

The special political power and business pressure behind this bill is the desire to increase the price of cotton and mainfain the price of wheat and the further desire of some large exporters and importers to obtain from the Government cheaper freight rates than conditions warrant.

Those who are advocating this measure seem not to understand the immutable laws of supply and demand.

The moment European cotton mills are regularly supplied with all the cotton they can use the price of cotton will go down, and as soon as America sends Europe all of the wheat needed to feed her people the bottom will drop out of wheat and the price will go down to normal.

If big shippers are given freight rates by the Government at less than cost, the people will have to foot the bills.

The only action needed to rehabilitate the American merchant marine is to defeat this measure, reenact the marine laws that were on our statute books prior to 1815, providing for preferential duties on goods carried in American bottoms, and change our commercial treaties with a number of foreign nations, which we can do by giving a year's notice, or pay a subsidy where and when necessary and give the preference to our own ships in carrying the mails, as other maritime nations do.

When Mr. Wilson was a candidate for the Presidency he strenuously opposed committees of Congress preparing legislation behind closed doors and was violently opposed to secret party caucuses, and yet this bill could not pass this House if it were not being put through under a rule, the secret action of the Democratic members of the committee, and the whip of the caucus pledge.

The business of government is to govern, and not primarily to engage in private business enterprise that brings it into competition with its own citizens.

The engaging of Government in private business is justifiable and right when the enterprise can be better conducted by the Government for the benefit of all of its citizens than it can be conducted by private enterprise and in conditions of emergency.

The entering of the Government into the shipping business at this time can not be justified on either hypothesis, and during the continuance of the European war it will endanger the peace of our country. To provide big business with cheap freight rates the Government will conduct the shipping business at a loss and run the risk of becoming involved in war.

If I owned a ship carrying contraband or conditional contraband or was attempting to run a blockade and it should be captured and taken into a prize court by a belligerent, our citizens as a whole would not become unduly exercised over the incident. They would say that I was knowingly taking those chances, and the State Department would see that I received justice. But if a Government ship was so treated, it would set the people on fire.

What do you think would have happened if the *Wilhelmina* had been owned by the Government when she and her cargo were detained by a British cruiser? Would the people be so calmly waiting for an adjustment of the case by the State Department? The seizure of the cargo of the *Wilhelmina* by England may be justifiable or it may not. The people will trust the State Department to settle that question through diplomatic methods, as she is privately owned. The question would be much more serious if she were a Government-owned ship.

Congress is a unit behind President Wilson in his patriotic determination to maintain our neutrality in the European conflict, but he does not seem to realize that if this bill is enacted it will embroil us in diplomatic complications, if nothing worse, and it would just as likely cause us trouble with Germany as with the allies, as, on account of mines and blockades, we would not be able to send as many shiploads of supplies and provisions to Germany as we would to the allies. Should we buy and attempt to use the interned ships of a belligerent, it would be certain to cause us trouble.

The Government will not be able to make the shipping business pay and does not expect to. Instead of granting a subsidy to the ships it intends to give it to the shippers. It will not materially benefit the farmer, but it will benefit the big shippers of grain, steel, automobiles, and other commodities by giving them low freight rates at the expense of the taxpayers. There is no shortage of vessels on which to ship our goods at the present time, and no emergency exists that would justify the enactment of this bill on that ground. If an emergency did exist, this bill would not grant immediate relief without it is the intention of the Government to buy interned ships, as it takes a year or more to construct a large steel vessel fit for use in the transoceanic trade. The purchase and use of interned ships by the Government would be a violation of neutrality, the same as it would be if they were bought and used by private citizens. I am opposed to the Government or private citizens being permitted to buy foreign ships and transfer their registry.

The February issue of the New York Marine News gave a list of 60 American built and officered vessels formerly engaged in the coastwise trade that have crossed the Atlantic loaded with American grain and goods since the commencement of the war in Europe; but no vessel whose registry was transferred from a foreign flag to the American flag under the ship-registry act has entered the trans-Atlantic trade, with the exception of Standard Oil boats carrying oil and the *Dacia* that recently sailed from Galveston, Tex., by the way of Norfolk, Va., loaded with a cargo of cotton, and she is liable to seizure.

A number of ships available for the trans-Atlantic service are tied up and out of commission at San Francisco. If the occasion should arise, they could be officered by American citizens and brought to this coast for use in the trans-Atlantic trade.

I quote the following from the February, 1915, issue of the New York Marine News:

THE USE OF AMERICAN STEAMERS IN TRANSATLANTIC TRADE.

One of the inspiring features of the shipping situation is the increasing use of American steamers formerly employed in the coastwise trades to make trans-Atlantic voyages. The successful voyages made by some

of these vessels clearly repudiate the oft-repeated assertions that the American mercantile marine must always be decadent, because of the lack of American officers and masters to make up the complement of such vessels. The feat of Capt. Pinchin, of the Southern Pacific steamer *El Monte*, in passing through the mined channels of Bremen without the aid of a licensed pilot is but characteristic of the training of American seamen. When it is taken into consideration that a majority of the American vessels now crossing the Atlantic were never intended for the deep-sea trade, the fact that so far not an incident of serious import has transpired places the American seaman not only on a par with the vaunted ability of the foreigners, but clearly confirms the theory that seamen capable of guiding vessels through our coastwise voyages, where currents make perfect navigation essential, can guide their vessels on trans-Atlantic voyages without difficulty.

The demand for American steamers to enter the German cotton trade showed no signs of diminishing through the month of January. Insurance underwriters were kept busy in passing on applications to allow coastwise vessels to make trans-Atlantic voyages. Prospective shippers of cotton to Germany, finding the Atlantic coast lines were unwilling to withdraw any more of their vessels from regular service, have now turned their attention to the Pacific coast, and during the latter part of January several Pacific coast steamers were either chartered or sold to come to the Atlantic to load cargoes of cotton to Germany.

SIXTY AMERICAN VESSELS USED.

The following list of American steamers that have made trans-Atlantic voyages since the beginning of the war is striking, in that it shows that the American mercantile marine even in its present limited status possesses elasticity:

City of Macon, City of Savannah, George E. Warren, L. V. Stoddard, Edward Pierce, Cacique, Evelyn, Pass of Balamaha (ship), *Camino, Gulflight, Kansan, Nebraskan, Pleaides, El Monte, El Paso, Antilles, Carib, Santiago, Neches, Antilla, Matanzas, Pathfinder, A. A. Raven, Robert M. Thompson, Southerner, Dochra, Suruga, Carolyn, Powhattan, City of Memphis, City of Columbus, George Hawley, Newton, Pacific, Curaca, Wilhelmina, Vincent* (ship). *Navajo, Missourian, Nevadan, Herman Frasch. J. L. Luckenbach, El Mar, Creole, El Siglo, Navahoe, Denver, Medina, Bayamo, Massapequa, Berwind, Ruby, Greenbrier, Georgiana, Satsuma, Kanawha, Kentra,* and *Westwego.*

There does not seem to be a lack of vessels to carry our products to Europe, but the freights are high, due in part to the war risk and in part to the fact that the European harbors are crowded and ships have to wait their turn to unload, usually two weeks, sometimes as long as 30 days, and on account of lack of cargo they return to America loaded light or in ballast, also because England and France have requisitioned a number of steamers recently for temporary transport service.

If it were not for the agitation caused by the President's insistence on the passage of a bill providing for a Government-owned merchant marine, there is no doubt in my mind but that every shipyard in the country would be working overtime building ships to be used in trade by private citizens.

Can you imagine any Democratic President, or, for that matter, any President or candidate for the Presidency, with the exception of Socialists, from the beginning of the Government, advocating this bill, with the further exception of Secretary of State Bryan, and he, while he is an able gentleman and a plausable advocate of his policies, is more of a Populist, Socialist, and Prohibitionist than he is a Democrat.

I doubt if President Wilson, had he been elected to Congress instead of to the Presidency, would advocate this measure.

Section 8, page 8, line 6 to line 14 of the bill, would authorize the shipping board to make the rules and regulations for lighthouses, the Geodetic Survey, and the Quarantine Service as applied to shipping.

Section 8, page 8, line 15 to line 3 on page 9 of the bill, does away with the rules and regulations of the Steamboat-Inspection Service and of the Bureau of Navigation, and also provides the machinery to create an absolute Government monopoly by forcing by special rule of the shipping board any private-owned ship off from a run in competition with a Government ship.

If the bill is to pass, it should be amended on page 9, section 9, line 15 of the bill, by adding, after the word "provided," the words "but the master and watch officers of such vessels and on all merchant vessels of the United States, including pilots, shall be citizens of the United States."

Certainly Government ships ought to be officered by American citizens.

If the Government is to engage in the international ocean carrying trade, the ships should be officered by Americans and operated under the Navy Department, as our Navy officers are trained in international law and diplomacy, and they might be able to keep the ships from violating neutrality and save the country from its humiliating consequences. At least, they would not, through ignorance or design, embroil us in an unjustifiable war.

Should this crude, illy considered, and involved bill be enacted into law, I do not suppose anyone is so foolish as to imagine for one minute that any private capital will be invested in the purchase of the minority stock.

The British Board of Trade has a way to force English manufacturers, exporters, and importers to subscribe for minority stock in privately owned vessels and to make their investments permanent. Such required investment is based on the volume of trade of the individual firm or corporation, as the case may be.

No English business man dare refuse to make such investment when requested. If he should, he would be punished by not being allowed to ship his goods. He would find that every vessel on which he attempted to make a shipment had a full cargo.

On January 19 of this year the Washington Times published an article explaining the English method of building up, developing, and perpetuating their merchant marine. From that article I have gathered and present the following account of their system:

Subsidies or subventions are paid to certain classes of their ships, and private investments in merchant vessels are made permanent. All British merchant ships are divided into 64 equal shares. The ownership of 33 shares absolutely control her. The managing owners hold the 33 shares, which represent control. The rest are distributed among investors, and the investors in the minority shares are practically compelled to buy them.

Exporters, importers, and manufacturers are requested to subscribe for the minority shares, and in order to insure the shipment of their goods at reasonable rates they find it to their advantage to do so. It enables them to import and export their goods at reasonable freight rates and insures a market and a profit on their merchandise.

The managing owner, under his contract, receives 2 per cent of the gross freight earnings plus the earnings on his 33 shares, which gives him a large return. The average minority owner rarely receives over 2 per cent on his investment in the ship.

The managing owners always write into their contracts a provision that if a ship should be lost and the insurance collected, that the insurance money shall at once be reinvested in a new vessel. It is never distributed to the shareholders.

When a new ship is turned out from a British yard it is registered at Lloyd's as "A* 1* 100," the highest index designation. It sails under that designation for 10 years and is insured, with its cargo, on the most favorable terms. After 10 years its rating is "A* 100," and its insurance rates are higher. When the vessel, after years of use, can not get so good a rating of insurance, it is sold and transferred to some foreign flag, and the money is reinvested in a new ship. It might be a good idea to adopt that system in this country, but I do not think the administration intends to attempt to put it in operation through the machinery of this bill and substitute the United States shipping board for the British managing owners.

Why President Wilson is Losing His Grip on the Party.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. McLAUGHLIN,

OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 17, 1915.

Mr. McLAUGHLIN. Mr. Speaker, the New York American, Saturday, February 13, 1915, published the following interview with Senator WILLIAM ALDEN SMITH, of Michigan:

WHY PRESIDENT WILSON IS LOSING HIS GRIP ON THE PARTY—THE MILITANT SENATOR FROM MICHIGAN GIVES THE REPUBLICAN VIEW OF THE PRESENT CRISIS IN CONGRESS AND COUNTRY.

[By John Temple Graves.]

WASHINGTON, *February 12.*

During the feverish stir that followed the Republican filibuster on the shipping bill I met Senator WILLIAM ALDEN SMITH pacing the corridor in triumph.

"Sir," said I to that bold and able Republican Senator, "your party gives new evidence of the remarkable facility for getting together after division. How is it?"

To which the slashing filibuster, fresh from the laurels of his 11-hour speech, made answer in the following statement bristling with points and luminous in its forecast of the Republican line of attack in 1916:

"Our party is cohesive because our Presidents have been willing to discuss public questions with the public men of the country and with citizens in private life. This has been conspicuously true of our most successful Chief Executives.

"The difficulty with President Wilson, in my opinion, and I say it with all kindness, is his unwillingness to counsel with his party chieftains or with Senators and Representatives who are clothed with governmental responsibility under the Constitution. He will not discuss public questions. He has not delivered a single state paper in which he has discussed the subject matter upon which he desires legislation. Every message he has delivered, from his inaugural address to the present time, has been dictum, dictum, dictum.

"He assembled Congress in extraordinary session to revise the tariff, and did not argue a single phase of our fiscal policy. He simply said what he wanted done.

"He did not argue the Mexican question. He directed his spleen squarely and solely at one citizen—Huerta—against whom he seemed to have acquired animosity.

"He did not argue the Panama tolls matter. He simply said that he would not know how to handle other problems if Congress did not

reverse itself upon that issue; and he expected such specimens of Democratic consistency as Speaker CLARK and Leader UNDERWOOD to immediately reverse themselves upon that doctrine.

"He has never shed any light upon the intricacies of banking and currency legislation, and, whether he knows anything about it or not, his followers are left in the dark.

"He has not argued the ship-purchase bill, although it marks a radical departure from the settled policy of our Government for 125 years, and his party now seems to be split wide upon it, and against which the country is practically united.

"He has not discussed in detail any great measure for which he has stood. The only time since he took the oath of office as President of the United States that he has entered into a discussion of public questions was in his speech at Indianapolis a few days ago, which was a most partisan harangue from the first line to the last and does no credit to the presidential office.

"That is the reason he can not succeed, and the country is fast becoming convinced that scholastic training and experience in the schoolroom do not necessarily fit a man to meet the grave responsibilities of a Government like ours. I think he is the most intense partisan I have ever seen in the White House, and I served in Congress through Grover Cleveland's administration and every other President since. He draws himself into a shell and is inaccessible to the people. I know of scores of delegations from different parts of the country who have come to this Capital to see him and warn him against errors which he was about to commit, and they have left here without an audience; and the President has been deprived of the practical advice and common sense of men who came with a real message, worthy of his attention.

"He brought Nelson O'Shaughnessy from Mexico City to Washington after months of service of the most delicate, painstaking, and courageous character in Mexico. He kept him toasting his heels in his room in a hotel here for 10 days before he would give him an audience, and even then it is thought by many that he did not even ask him for information.

"A political party that goes to sea without a rudder, compass, or chart will find itself sooner or later upon the shoals, reefs, and rocks. No one man knows it all. The loved Lincoln, even when he was borne down by the heat and burden of the day, did not foreclose himself against even humble citizens, and it is related by those who knew him best that he learned something from every one.

"President McKinley, in the trying years of the Spanish-American War, never closed his door against a public man or a private citizen. The presidential office should never be converted into a cloistered study. Books may contain history, but authors do not usually make history. Men make history, but an amanuensis can take it down.

"I think President Wilson is bound to fail in meeting the expectations of his countrymen, because he is trying to run the Government alone, when there are scores and scores of noble Democrats in the public service and many disinterested Republicans from whom he might learn if he were but willing to hear.

"Every measure he has been instrumental in placing on the statute books at the point of the bayonet is an experiment and a failure thus far. While he has failed utterly to grasp either the cause or the remedy of the conditions of anarchy throughout Mexico, he has been instrumental in giving arms and ammunition to bandits and revolutionary chieftains until, with our guns and our powder, one Mexican President after another has been shot into and out of the presidential office in rapid succession.

"The European estimate of our duty under the Monroe doctrine must have changed miserably during the past two years, while the Governments of Central and South America have lost confidence in our disinterested attitude toward them."

* * * * * * *

Senator SMITH'S criticisms are given point and emphasis by the astonishment which the friends of the shipping bill feel over the fact that President Wilson said not one word about the shipping bill before the great National Chamber of Commerce last week.

The comment is that before this greatest and most impartial of American commercial bodies, about to pass by resolutions upon this most important commercial question concerning the country to-day, the President gave not one reason or said not one word about the great issue upon which he is holding back all the appropriation bills of the country, and for the sake of which he is making likely an extra session of the Sixty-fourth Congress when the country is sick and tired of legislation.

The opinion is expressed that an argument by the President would have caused the body to pass a favorable resolution instead of the unfavorable resolution which passed.

Mining Experiment and Mine Safety Stations.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH HOWELL,
OF UTAH,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 1, 1915.

On the bill (H. R. 15869) to provide for the establishment and maintenance of mining experiment and mine safety stations for making investigations and disseminating information among employees in mining, quarrying, metallurgical, and other mineral industries, and for other purposes.

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. Speaker, the general sentiment in the House in favor of this measure will be hailed with the utmost satisfaction by the mining industry throughout the country. Congress has been slow in responding to the just demands of the mining industry. The appalling loss of life from time to time in coal mines and the serious impairment of health incident to mining and associated industries were so strongly impressed upon Congress that finally, after repeated and persistent effort, the Bureau of Mines was created. In the short time since its establishment it has certainly vindicated the arguments urged in favor of its creation.

From the first, despite the delays incident to assembling the necessary experts and the lack of means for adequate and sufficient equipment and facilities, the work of the bureau has been so favorably impressed upon the country that its future growth and usefulness is fully assured. No one can read the reports of its activities without appreciating the vital importance of its functions and without discerning the immense field of usefulness that lies before it. True to the paramount idea in the public mind at the time it was organized, the bureau has led in the "safety first" campaign in the mining and other mineral industries. It has sought to obtain the cooperation of State and other agencies seeking to increase safety and efficiency in those industries, and has been instrumental in bringing about changes in mining methods and in methods of treating minerals that have tended to reduce the death rate from accidents and have saved to the public mineral resources that might otherwise have been wasted—resources valued at many millions of dollars.

Some of the bureau's achievements that I consider particularly worthy of notice I will briefly mention. To describe the manifold activities of the bureau and to set forth in detail its great work for humanity is a task I do not undertake. The chairman of the Committee on Mines and Mining, in his report on the bill that has now been passed, pointed out the purposes of the bureau, its needs, its achievements, and the reasons why the Government should extend to the mining industries aid proportionate to the importance of these industries in the upbuilding of manufactures and commerce. I will not repeat what he has said, but, as a representative of a State having vast mineral resources, I am deeply interested in the efforts of the Bureau of Mines to increase safety and efficiency in mining, and especially in its efforts to aid in a greater development of the mineral industries in the public-land States. And it is with pride that I call attention to the fact that the State I have the honor to represent is now conducting, in cooperation with the bureau, investigations looking to a larger development and more efficient utilization of the mineral resources of the State.

In the mine safety investigations of the bureau attention thus far has been devoted largely to the question of coal-mine explosions. Different grades of coal dust collected from hundreds of mines in different coal fields have been carefully studied with reference to their explosibility and the starting of dust explosions by the use of improper explosives or from miners' lamps or mine fires. Experiments with different preventive measures during the past year are resulting in the development of practical and efficient devices for preventing or stopping explosions.

The bureau has already brought about what is little short of a revolution in coal mining through the introduction of new types of explosives, far safer than black powder or dynamite, for use in gaseous or dusty mines. Of these explosives, designated permissible explosives, more than 25,000,000 pounds was used in the more dangerous mines of the country during 1913.

The bureau is also developing "permissible" safety appliances for use in all branches of the mining, metallurgical, and other mineral industries, which, as their use is enforced by State inspectors, can not fail to largely decrease fatal and other accidents.

The bureau has not only brought about many improvements in electric installations in mines but is also aiding in the introduction of miners' electric safety lamps, which will make the miners' work safer and easier.

Through mine rescue cars and stations now in operation the bureau is training the miners in different parts of the country in rescue methods and in giving first aid to the injured, giving aid after disasters, and carrying forward an educational campaign for greater safety in all branches of the mining industry. Already over 25,000 miners have been trained by the bureau, nearly 100 miners have been rescued by bureau employees, and a much larger number have been rescued by other miners who have received the bureau's training.

The bureau now operates eight mine rescue cars, each of which travels from one mining district to another, training miners and giving instruction in rescue, first aid, and general safety methods. It also operates five mine rescue stations in different coal fields.

Other safety work by the bureau includes investigations of accidents from falls of roof and from caving-in mines, the lack or the failure of safety appliances, and the accidents or the injury to health from the use of improper explosives and the improper use of explosives in metal mines, quarries, and tunnels.

The economic importance of the work for accident prevention is evident; during the past year more than 3,000 men were killed and 100,000 injured in our mining and metallurgical

industries, and it is estimated that one-half of the deaths and three-fourths of the injuries may be regarded as easily preventable. The money loss from these accidents may be estimated at not less than $12,000,000 for the year, and this loss is ultimately paid by the consumers of mineral products.

The work of the States in carrying out their part of this general program in mine safety is being carried forward in a reasonably satisfactory manner. The States are already expending in their inspection and police supervision work more than the Federal Government is expending in all its investigations in behalf of mine safety. So far as it goes, this educational work is assuredly developing safer and better mining, and the leaders among the miners express the belief that if carried forward on a larger scale and in a more thorough manner the work can not fail to develop also better citizenship among the miners. The following excerpts from a communication received from the Salt Lake Mining Exchange are worthy of consideration:

There are located within the boundaries of the several public-land States large bodies of low-grade ores of different types for the efficient treatment of which there are no known methods. There are other large deposits that are being worked in accordance with methods that are highly wasteful of valuable mineral products. On the public lands in these States there are many mineral deposits concerning the value of which little is at present known. These and other associated problems, general in character, will be investigated by the several mining experiment stations to be established in such regions, and it is obvious that the results of such investigations will be not only beneficial to the industry, but also to the general public.

Mining is usually regarded as an industry made up mainly of the operation of a few large, profitable properties, such as the old Comstock mines in Nevada, the Treadwell mine in Alaska, the Utah copper properties in Utah, or the Homestake mine in South Dakota. It is usually considered to be an industry controlled by a few parties, the owners of which large properties would gladly avail themselves of an opportunity to unload on the National Government the cost of conducting researches in which they are particularly interested. Therefore it is usually considered as an industry which should be allowed, and even required, to take care of itself. These assumptions are far from correct.

The facts of the situation are: These large, profitable properties are few in number; that, so far as known, their owners have never joined in a request for Government appropriations to aid the mining industry, nor have they been given any special consideration either in the establishment or in the plans of the Bureau of Mines. They have neither asked for assistance, nor have they endeavored to unload upon the Government any investigations of their own. On the contrary, at the request of the Bureau of Mines, a number of them have expended considerable allotments of their own funds on investigations which promise to be useful not only to them, but to other less important mining developments in which they were in no way involved.

While the number of large mines in this country is small, there is a large number of small mines. The records show that in the country as a whole there are about 40,000 coal mines, metal mines, and quarries and about 170,000 oil wells, operated to a smaller or larger extent in connection with the mining operations. In addition to these there is a large number of operating plants connected with the smelting and other metallurgical operations and various mineral industry operations in different parts of the country. Few seem to appreciate the importance of helping those who hold these small properties to find methods of operation by which they can be worked at a profit instead of being helplessly transferred to a few large corporations who alone may have the funds for developing the processes that will make such operations possible.

Congress is now appropriating as an aid to agricultural advancement nearly $28,000,000 per annum, while mining is receiving through the Bureau of Mines and the United States Geological Survey less than $2,000,000.

The per capita contribution from the people of the United States for the advancement of agriculture amounts to 28 cents and for mining 2 cents.

In referring to the aid given agriculture and mining by the Federal Government, Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior Department, recently said: "For a number of years Congress has been appropriating annually for the maintenance of experiment stations in behalf of agriculture in the several States an aggregate sum of nearly $1,500,000. In addition to this, in the public-land States the Federal Government has expended during the past 12 years $77,150,180 in the reclamation work of making available additional agricultural lands, and of this sum more than $8,000,000 has come from the proceeds of the sale of mineral lands in the public-land States."

I mention these expenditures with no feeling other than that of approval, but in passing I may call attention to the fact that the mining industry in this country does not appear to have had a square deal in the way of public recognition and aid. And in speaking of mining, tunneling, quarrying, metallurgical, and other mineral-industry plants, it is impossible to estimate the number of men with health shattered through these conditions, who have had to give up their work before their natural time or the number of dependents who have suffered thereby.

In one of the best-known metal-mining districts of the United States, in addition to the number of men killed by accident, in the year 1912 there were 720 deaths from miner's consumption out of about 7,200 employed—10 per cent in one year. Ten years of such conditions wipes out an important mining camp. This almost unbelievable condition has apparently existed for many years, with the loss of hundreds and hundreds of men. It is also stated that at the present time from 30 to 60 per cent of the miners employed in mining operations in this district now have tuberculosis.

In the face of this condition, as we know that miner's consumption is an occupational disease caused by stone dust in the mines and largely preventable, it is imperative upon the Government to do its utmost to investigate the causes of this disgraceful condition and to improve the working conditions and to obviate, as far as human intelligence may be able, the dangers to life, limb, and health which now exist in that indispensable industry.

Preliminary investigations of health conditions in mining and other mineral industries, undertaken by the Bureau of Mines in cooperation with the Public Health Service, are yielding notable results. One of these investigations, that of health conditions in lead and zinc mines, is focusing the attention of local health authorities and of State officials on the excessively high death rate from tuberculosis in at least one important mining district and is showing that this excessive death rate is largely due to the inhalation of fine, sharp particles of rock dust made by drilling and blasting.

In its investigations looking to the lessening of present wastes or losses of mineral resources and the development of more efficient methods, the bureau has given attention chiefly to the waste from smelters and other metallurgical plants, the waste in the treatment of the rarer minerals and metals, the waste in coal mining, and the waste in the production of oil and natural gas.

In investigating the coking of coals in beehive ovens the bureau found that $75,000,000 worth of by-products is being lost annually. As a result the bureau has undertaken a study of industrial carbonization processes looking to the recovery of these wasted by-products and is preparing for publication a complete report of the notable advances made.

The importance of the bureau's investigations of mineral waste is further shown by the fact that these wastes or losses in our mineral resources, of which the Nation has only the one supply, now exceed $1,000,000 per day and yet are believed to be largely preventable.

In its investigations of fuels the bureau developed the new methods upon which the Government fuel purchases are now made, and has thus brought about savings in the Government's fuel bill that amount to hundreds of thousands of dollars. During 1914 over $8,000,000 worth of coal was purchased for the Government under specifications prepared by the Bureau of Mines, or under its advice, and as a result of these fuel investigations the Government saved more than $200,000 as compared with prices paid in previous years. Other work by the bureau has served as a basis for boiler improvements in public buildings and the development of a new type of power-plant boiler.

We need not especially concern ourselves about the profits of the few large mining companies. There are many thousand small mine owners and prospectors struggling with difficult problems, there are the safety and welfare of the 2,000,000 employees in the various mining and mineral industries, and there are the other great national problems of waste in these industries, all of which should have our serious concern and should have also the benefit of extended national inquiry and scientific investigation.

As I have stated, during the first two years of its existence practically all of the appropriations for the work of the Bureau of Mines have been spent in behalf of the coal-mining industry, mainly in the Mississippi Valley and the Eastern States. This work has been so satisfactory as to justify the effort of those who favor this legislation and to win the approval of many of those who originally opposed the creation of this bureau.

In view of the great coal-mine disasters of the last few years the representatives of the metalliferous-mining industry recognized the propriety of making the prevention of these disasters the first great work of the bureau. This work is now well organized, and the recognition and aid of the Federal Government in behalf of the metal-mining industry of the West should not be longer delayed.

For the past 15 years the mining men of the Western States have been demanding Federal recognition and aid in behalf of the mining industry. With the help of representatives of the coal-mining regions the agency through which this aid can be given was finally secured, and its work should now be extended to the metal mines of the public-land States. The organization of mine-safety work in the metal-mining districts has not been entered upon, but is greatly needed. The loss of lives in many of these districts is almost as great as in the coal mines.

For some years past the metalliferous-mining industry of the West has not kept pace with the development of other lines of enterprise. Under the stimulating effect of Federal aid given through the Department of Agriculture the average annual valuations of agricultural production of the public-land States has increased from an annual value of $966,000,000 during the five years from 1901 to 1905 to an average annual valuation of $1,365,000,000 for the five years preceding 1910. During those same years the average production of precious metals from those States has decreased from $136,000,000 during the first period to $127,000,000 during the second period. With rare exceptions the population of all the mining camps in the West

decreased during this period and in many instances low-grade mining camps have been entirely abandoned.

The achievement of the bureau's chemists and engineers in perfecting new methods for the extraction of radium has been brought to the attention of this House by the gentlemen from Illinois, who recently exhibited $11,000 worth of radium made by these methods. Steps have been taken to patent and dedicate to the public these processes, which show 15 per cent higher efficiency than that obtained by the largest foreign producer of radium, and promise to reduce the cost of radium to one-third of the present price.

In this line of research work, in my judgment, will be found one of the most valuable and legitimate provinces for its activities. What has been accomplished toward improving the method of reducing radium-bearing ores will, when promulgated, tremendously stimulate private enterprise in the production of radium, to the end that an adequate supply of this marvelous, mysterious, and benevolent element may be available for the people. What the bureau has so successfully achieved with this elusive mineral furnishes conclusive evidence of what may be realized in the treatment of other mineral-bearing ores. The field is fallow and awaiting such investigation and research work as this bureau must be permitted to engage in.

The safety and health of millions of toilers in mines and attendant industries will always be the paramount consideration. But, in addition to this, the bureau, without impairing its functions in this respect, should be provided with adequate equipment and facilities to conduct research work in respect to the economic and scientific development of our metal-mining resources, with the object of devising improved methods in mining and of avoiding waste and fruitless effort.

The discovery of gold in the shining sands of California by Mormons employed by Capt. James W. Marshall in digging a mill race in the mountains of Coloma in 1847 brought a rush of Argonauts from all parts of the world to the new Eldorado. From that time to the present a great deal has been done in the development of precious metal mining.

This has been accomplished by the hard common sense, pluck, and force of the courageous men who have engaged in the industry; but the time has come when this industry should be fostered and encouraged by disseminating the information to be secured by scientific research work under the Bureau of Mines. This bill provides ultimately for the establishment of 10 mining experiment stations and 15 mine safety stations, movable or stationary, including those already established, the province and duty of which shall be to make investigations and disseminate information with a view to improving conditions in the mining, quarrying, metallurgical, and other mineral industries, safeguarding life among employees, preventing unnecessary waste of resources, and otherwise contributing to the advancement of these resources; and, when its purposes have been carried out, the beneficial results will verify all we predict.

For several years an earnest effort has been made by the Members from the precious metal producing States to have the Bureau of Mines extend its activities by the establishment of mining experiment and mine safety stations at various places in that vast region. I have had a bill before the committee ever since the Bureau of Mines was organized to establish such a station at Salt Lake City. In the hearings before that committee, on December 18, 1911, I made the following statement, which I think is pertinent at this time to the bill under consideration:

STATEMENT OF HON. JOSEPH HOWELL, OF UTAH.

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, H. R. 11853, which I have introduced, presents the same principle as that so ably discussed by Mr. Taylor. Salt Lake City is another suitor for a mining experiment station. This city is so situated in the heart of the great metalliferous mining region of the West and possesses other features of advantage for the location of such a station unequaled by any other place. But my chief purpose this morning, Mr. Chairman, is to urge an extension of the work of the Bureau of Mines, so as to include in the scope of its usefulness technologic investigations in metallurgy and a study of metalliferous mining. The mining States for many years have been knocking at the doors of Congress for the establishment of a department of mines, but not until they secured the cooperation of the coal-mining interest of the East were they enabled to make much headway. Finally, after a persistent effort the Bureau of Mines was created. This was hailed with a great deal of satisfaction by those engaged in precious-metal mining as an evidence that the great mining industry was about to receive the fostering attention of the Government that it deserved as one of the great basic industries on which rests the welfare and prosperity of our people. There were those in the beginning that opposed the Department of Agriculture and sneered at the futility of the General Government's activities in this respect, but time has abundantly proven the wisdom of the far-sighted statesmen who advocated the promotion of agriculture by the General Government.

The Department of Agriculture has grown to be indispensable to the country. Its beneficial work, like a candle set upon a hill, shines upon the whole country. In the light of what has been accomplished for agriculture we can confidently look forward to like achievements in the field of mining—its twin sister. These two industries are the source of all that we require for the welfare of mankind. Why should not the mining industry receive the same encouragement at the hands of the General Government as agriculture? The Bureau of Mines in the inception of its mission has confined its efforts largely to the coal-mining industry, and has done most excellent and praiseworthy work in that field. The horrible catastrophies constantly happening in coal mines have stirred the whole people and caused a demand on the part of the Government to put forth every possible effort to avert a recurrence of these calamities in the future and toward improving the conditions affecting the health and safety of the miners. But the time has come that the metalliferous miners demand some attention to their industry. Here is a field lying fallow for scientific research and investigation. The mining of precious metals in our country is in its infancy. Only the richest and most tractable ores have been made to yield their treasure. Millions of dollars of ore have been taken from mines and thrown aside, because no known process permitted their reduction at a profit. Other millions of tons of ore lie undisturbed in our mountain vaults for want of knowledge to profitably extract their values. Then there is the problem of controlling the poisonous fumes that issue from the smelters and destroy all vegetable growth in the vicinity and provoke never-ending bitter legal controversies to burden our courts. Scientific and economic experimentation along these lines are entirely beyond the reach of private investigation. This can be properly and adequately undertaken only by the General Government. What a field for effort. How pregnant of possibilities for the enrichment of the Nation. What an aim for the conservationist in utilizing to the highest degree our unborn wealth.

Now, Mr. Chairman, the metalliferous mining States are keenly alive to the necessities of the situation, and everywhere there is a strong and widespread demand for the inauguration of a policy that will advance and promote this industry. The mining congress, composed of able representatives of all the mining States, unanimously adopted the following resolutions:

"Whereas the development of processes of ore treatment capable of handling with profit the vast low-grade deposits and mine dumps of our mining districts is of the greatest importance to the mining industry and to all related industries: Be it

"Resolved, That it be the sense of the American Mining Congress that the Congress of the United States be, and is hereby, memorialized to provide for the establishment, under the direction of the Bureau of Mines, of a metallurgical experiment ore-testing station or stations for the purpose of devising methods for the extraction of metals from low-grade ores and appropriate sufficient funds for such purpose.

"Resolved further, That the officers of the American Mining Congress draft a suitable bill providing for the proper carrying out of this resolution, and that copies of the bill and of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States and each Senator and Representative; and that the officers of the American Mining Congress use all honorable means to the end that such a bill may become a law. In view of the increasing importance and complexity of the mining and metallurgical industries, the deplorable waste in mining under present methods, and the great need of trained men to aid in improving these conditions and in developing greater safety and efficiency.

"Be it resolved, That the American Mining Congress, now in session at Chicago, urges the Congress of the United States at Washington to provide for aid and cooperation in the maintenance of mining schools in the several States in a manner analogous to that which has been done in behalf of agriculture.

"Be it resolved, That the members of the American Mining Congress and the friends of the mining industry throughout the country are hereby urged to cooperate in securing the proper legislation necessary to carry above purposes into effect."

John Dern, a distinguished citizen of Utah, and one of our leading mining proprietors, president of the last mining congress, delivered an able and instructive address at that congress. His remarks upon the Bureau of Mines are so pertinent and set forth so clearly and convincingly the claims of the precious-metal industry that I insert the following excerpt from him:

THE BUREAU OF MINES.

"The American Mining Congress for years demanded the creation of a Department of Mines and Mining in our National Government, with representation in the President's Cabinet. Due directly to the efforts of our organization, Congress finally created a Bureau of Mines. That our efforts were successful was due to the support of the distinguished guest who is to honor us by his presence during our present session and whose wisdom, high-mindedness, and sincerity of purpose we all acknowledge and applaud—President William Howard Taft.

"Congress created the Bureau of Mines, but the usefulness of the bureau has so far been circumscribed within very narrow limits. It is true that it has been permitted to do some extremely valuable work to lessen the number of accidents in coal mines, but aside from that its chief work has been to test fuel for the Government, so that when Uncle Sam wants a load of coal for the Capitol at Washington or for one of his battleships he will get his money's worth. No doubt this is a necessary and important function, but we are not satisfied with this amount of aid for the mining industry.

"One of the important tasks before us is to create a demand that the Bureau of Mines be given a chance to do some of the things that we expected of it. Give it a chance and have no fear that it will not quickly justify itself. If we can convince our Congressmen and Senators that the Bureau of Mines ought to have the authority and the appropriation it asks for, our able and good friend, Dr. Holmes, and his assistants will promptly demonstrate that the money could not have been better spent.

"We believe that the Bureau of Mines ought to be to the miner what the Department of Agriculture is to the farmer. When the Department of Agriculture was created, it was the object of much criticism, and yet it is now one of the most important factors in our national life and nobody wants it abolished. I am an ardent admirer of the Department of Agriculture and of the work that it is doing. So far as tangible results are concerned, I believe it is the most useful branch of our Government. It tells the farmer how to maintain the fertility of his soil by rotating crops; when and how to plow his land; what sort of crops to raise and how to get the highest yields; how to irrigate his land if it does not rain enough, and how to drain it if it rains too much.

"If these great things are done for agriculture, why not do something for agriculture's sister—mining? Be it remembered that man's every need is supplied by our mother earth. Out of the earth's crust comes everything we drink, eat, wear, or use, all our habitations, conveyances, tools, and, in fact, everything we have, be it necessity or luxury. Agriculture and mining are the twin sciences that divide between themselves the work of extracting these things from the earth. Agriculture has the vegetable kingdom and mining the mineral kingdom.

Is there any reason why agriculture should be made the favorite child of our Government, while mining is treated as a stepchild? The two sciences are of equal importance, and neither could exist without the other. We are not in the least jealous of the treatment that has been accorded to agriculture. She merits it all and more. We only plead that mining be likewise recognized and given her just dues. To those who argue that agriculture is the more important, we say, 'Pause and reflect whether any sort of civilization could be possible without the products of the mines.' It is undoubtedly true that no mining or any other sort of work could be done without agriculture, but agriculture alone is helpless to advance the human family in its onward march toward higher and better things."

Now, gentlemen, Mr. Taylor and myself and the other representatives of the West are of one accord in our efforts to extend the scope and work of the Bureau of Mines to cover its legitimate field of usefulness. These bills have been introduced as a step in this direction. If it is determined that one or more mining experiment stations is the most effective way to accomplish the desired result, I know of no other city in the country that possesses the same strategic points of advantage for such a station as Salt Lake City. The commercial club, consisting of the business and mining men of Salt Lake City, has had the matter before them for consideration and have adopted the following resolutions:

[Report of commercial club's committee on mines and mining adopted at the general membership meeting of the commercial club, December 22, 1911.]

"Whereas the American Mining Congress at its last annual session passed a resolution asking the Congress of the United States to enlarge the scope of the United States Bureau of Mines by establishing under its auspices metallurgical research stations, thus affording the mining industry the same encouragement and treatment at the hands of the General Government as is given the agricultural industry, and that an appropriation sufficient to carry out the enlarged functions of the United States Bureau of Mines be made;

"Whereas the present activity of the bureau is confined to the coal-mining industry, and should be equally devoted to the advancement of the metal-mining interests;

"Whereas Salt Lake City is the center of activity of the mining and smelting industry of the United States: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That the Salt Lake Commercial Club, by its assembled membership, give its indorsement to the general idea of the establishment of Government metallurgical research stations: Be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Congress of the United States be, and is hereby, memorialized to appropriate for the use of the Bureau of Mines the sum of $500,000 for such experimental purposes and that it enact a law providing for the establishment of such metallurgical research station at Salt Lake City, Utah: Be it further

"*Resolved*, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to Senator REED SMOOT, Senator GEORGE SUTHERLAND, and Congressman JOSEPH HOWELL for presentation to Congress, and that these members of the Utah congressional delegation be earnestly urged to use all energetic and honorable means to bring about the aforesaid results: Be it further

"*Resolved*, That a committee of two be appointed by the board of governors of the commercial club to bring this resolution to the attention of individual Representatives in Congress and use all honorable means to procure legislation necessary to bring about the purposes of this resolution."

Salt Lake City is the commercial center and metropolis of that vast territory between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Coast Range. It is in the very heart of the mining region. It is also a great railway center, with two continental railways—the Union Pacific and the Rio Grande—from the east, and three from the Pacific coast—the Southern Pacific, the Western Pacific, and the Los Angeles & Salt Lake Railway—while the Oregon Short Line connects the city with the States to the north and northwest. These main lines of railway, centering in Salt Lake, have feeders or branch lines ramifying the entire mining region and bring all the most important districts in direct and close connection with Salt Lake City. In a radius of less than a hundred miles are found all the leading mining districts in Utah, in which are found a variety of ores, containing gold, silver, copper, lead, zinc, etc., typical of the ores of a vast mining region.

The State university is located here, which embraces an excellent school of mines, so that from every standpoint Salt Lake is the ideal place for conducting these investigations. In proposing this legislation I realize that we are breaking new ground, and the committee in its wisdom may determine upon some other method of reaching the object desired. I am sure the State school of mines at Salt Lake City would be most willing to cooperate with the Bureau of Mines in this work. I fully sympathize with the views of our chairman in favor of granting Federal aid for mining schools in the several States. This is in line with what has been done for agriculture, and I want to see the Bureau of Mines stand as the head in the new awakening to better, more scientific, and more economical methods of mining.

Ship-Purchase Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT N. PAGE,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 17, 1915,

On the bill (S. 5259) to establish one or more United States Navy mail lines between the United States and South America and between the United States and the countries of Europe.

Mr. PAGE of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, when a Representative in the discharge of his official duties finds himself out of harmony with a majority of his party colleagues upon any matter of legislation, naturally enough, if he is conscientious, an effort is made to harmonize his views with those of his party associates and, if unable to do so, vindicate his position.

During the second session of the present Congress a bill was introduced in the House of Representatives, now publicly known as the shipping bill. It was understood then and now that this measure had the approval of President Wilson. By the provisions of this bill the Government of the United States was authorized to purchase and operate merchant vessels on the high seas. I believe firmly in the long-established policy of the Democratic Party touching a merchant marine, stated in the platform adopted at Baltimore in 1912 under the head of "Merchant marine," as follows:

MERCHANT MARINE.

We believe in fostering by constitutional regulation of commerce the growth of a merchant marine, which shall develop and strengthen the commercial ties which bind us to our sister Republics of the south, but without imposing additional burdens upon the people and without bounties or subsidies from the Public Treasury.

This declaration of party principle is emphatic and unequivocal, and there can be no misinterpretation of the language "but without imposing additional burdens upon the people and without bounties or subsidies from the Public Treasury." By the provisions of the shipping bill above referred to $40,000,000 was to be appropriated for the purchase or construction of these vessels; $30,000,000 of this amount to be raised from the sale of Panama Canal bonds, and $10,000,000 by appropriation from the National Treasury. No one will deny that this constitutes an additional burden upon the people. The Democratic Party having never declared in favor of Government ownership and operation of public utilities and being thoroughly convinced then as now that the Government can not operate these things either as efficiently or as economically as private enterprise, I could not gain the consent of my mind to support this legislation, and it was so announced in the public prints of my State.

Upon the convening of the present session of Congress on December 8, 1914, the President in his annual message urged upon the Congress the enactment into law of the shipping bill, basing his request upon the opportunity presented for the expansion of American commerce because of conditions brought about in the commerce of the world by the European war. In that message Mr. Wilson made it perfectly clear that it was the purpose of the proponents of this legislation to make it temporary, using this language:

It should take action to make it certain that transportation at reasonable rates will be promptly provided, even where the carriage is not at first profitable, and then, when the carriage has become sufficiently profitable to attract and engage private capital and engage it in abundance, the Government ought to withdraw.

My own opinion is that the Government can not enter into any field of endeavor without necessarily monopolizing that field. The sentence quoted above makes it clear that it is the purpose, should this bill become a law, to operate these vessels at a loss. This necessarily precludes competition on the part of private capital, which can not operate without profit. A merchant marine capable of performing the service required of it in the handling of American commerce would require the investment not of $40,000,000 but not less than $400,000,000. The bill now under consideration is not the original bill but a consolidation of Senate bill No. 5259, introduced into the Senate by Senator WEEKS, of Massachusetts, and entitled "An act to establish one or more United States Navy mail lines between the United States and South America and between the United States and the countries of Europe." This bill, in brief, provides that the Secretary of the Navy shall establish one or more mail lines by employing such vessels of the Government as may be available between the United States and both coasts of South America and between the United States and the countries of Europe, to be operated under such regulations and at such rates as the Secretary of the Navy may prescribe. It also authorizes an increase of the enlisted strength of the Navy by the number of men required to man the vessels so employed, giving these new employees the same privileges of retirement as officers of the line.

This bill appropriated the modest sum of $100,000 for the purpose of organizing, inaugurating, and carrying on the traffic provided for in the bill, with the further provision that all moneys received for the transportation of mail, passengers, and freight shall be made available, in addition to the appropriation of $100,000, for the expenses incident to the proper conduct of the business contemplated—together with House resolution 732, better known as the Gore bill, which provides for the creation of a shipping board, its incorporation in the District of Columbia for the purpose of purchasing, constructing, equipping, maintaining, and operating merchant vessels to meet the requirements of the foreign commerce of the United States or

to charter vessels for such purposes. The initial capital stock of this corporation is fixed at $10,000,000; a provision is made for the selling of $40,000,000 of Panama Canal bonds in addition to this appropriation. These vessels are limited by the terms of the bill to engagement only in trade with foreign countries, the Philippine and Hawaiian Islands, and the island of Porto Rico. This provision precludes the participation of these vessels in the coastwise trade of the United States. It also provides that two years from and after the conclusion of the present European war, that fact to be determined by the President, the corporation and the shipping board shall turn over and transfer all vessels purchased or constructed under the provisions of this act to the Navy Department, and the Secretary of the Navy shall have the right, with the approval of the President, to lease or charter any of such vessels not needed for naval or military purposes to any firm, individual, or corporation for use as merchant vessels. It also provides that at this time the corporation shall go out of business and the merchant marine of the United States shall thereafter be operated by the Secretary of the Navy under the terms of Senate bill 5259, known as the Weeks bill.

If enacted into law, is this bill by its terms in conflict with the party platform adopted at Baltimore in 1912, that states in specific terms that the Democratic Party in fostering a merchant marine will do so without imposing additional burdens upon the people and without bounties and subsidies from the Public Treasury? I think no one will deny that it is in direct contravention of this party declaration.

I yield to no man in my admiration for the President of the United States. I believe by training and in mental equipment he is the equal of any man who ever held this high office. I have great confidence in his judgment and unbounded admiration for his personality, but I can not subject, without investigation, to his judgment my own convictions upon the questions involved in this legislation. If it was a mere opinion, I would relinquish it gladly to be in accord with him and with a majority of my party associates; but having an abiding conviction, based upon what I believe to be the long-established principles of the Democratic Party, that have been greatly strengthened and confirmed by the utterances of Mr. Wilson himself, I can not support this bill without surrendering my self-respect as well as prostituting my obligation to the constituency that has so signally honored me.

Going back to 1912, when the question of the Panama Canal tolls was before the House of Representatives and the question was acute as to whether or not vessels engaged in the coastwise trade of the United States should be exempt from tolls in passing through the canal, I then favored and voted for the collection of tolls from vessels engaged in the coastwise trade, for two reasons: First, because, in my judgment, the treaty that enabled us to construct the Panama Canal prohibited us from giving this preference to our own vessels; and, second, because the vessels engaged in the coastwise trade of the United States are, by our laws, made practically a monopoly, and to exempt them from the payment of tolls would be, if not a direct, certainly an indirect subsidy to the owners of these vessels. A majority of the Congress took a different view, and these vessels were at that time given free passage through the canal. This action on the part of our Government was considered by every foreign power as being a violation of the solemn obligations we had entered into by treaty; and the situation was so acute that the President felt impelled on March 5, 1914, to deliver a special message to the Congress upon this subject, and in this message he frankly asked the Congress to repeal the provision of the Panama Canal act of August 24, 1912, which exempted vessels engaged in the coastwise trade of the United States from the payment of tolls. In that message he said:

> Whatever may be our own differences of opinion concerning this much-debated measure, its meaning is not debated outside the United States. Everywhere else the language of the treaty is given but one interpretation, and that interpretation precludes the exemption I am asking you to repeal.

Again:

> We ought to reverse our action without asking the question whether we were right or wrong, and so once more deserve our reputation for generosity and for the redemption of every obligation without quibble or hesitation.

During the discussion in the Congress of the bill to repeal the Panama Canal act of August 24, 1912, the President, in his periodical talks with newspaper correspondents in the city of Washington, as published in the World's Work of October, 1914, in discussing with them the measure pending in the House of Representatives, made reference to the plank in the Democratic platform of 1912 which, in specific terms, favored the exemption from tolls of American ships engaged in coastwise trade passing through the canal, and he is quoted as having said:

> If you will examine the platform you will find that there are two planks in it, one directly, as all other declarations of a party have been, against subsidies, direct or indirect, or any additional burden laid upon the people for the sake of encouraging shipping; and the other is with regard to tolls. Now, it ought not to be difficult to determine which should take precedence—a long-established principle of a party or what now seems to be an exception from the long-established practice. That is perfectly plain sailing, to my mind; I don't see any escape from it. Free tolls certainly is a subsidy, and as between the principle of the party and a policy which violates that immemorial principle there ought not to be much difficulty in choosing.

Applying this reasoning to the shipping bill, by the terms of which the Government is to place a tax of from thirty to fifty millions of dollars upon the people to engage in over-sea commerce, and comparing this with the long-established policy of the party, as expressed in its platform quoted above, I can not escape the conclusion that it is perfectly plain sailing for me; I can not see any escape from it, and in supporting this bill I should unquestionably violate the long-established policy of our party, as well as a specific platform declaration.

Referring again to legislation enacted during the last session of Congress, namely, the bill that authorized the Government of the United States to construct and operate a railroad in the Territory of Alaska and appropriating therefor the sum of $35,000,000 was, to my mind, so serious a departure from long-established Democratic doctrine and precedent, and though indorsed by the President and a majority of my party associates, I could not support it. Certainly no platform of the Democratic Party in the past has directly or by implication committed the party, or myself as a member of that party, to the legislation now pending.

Party policy can only be inaugurated in one way, and that is by a direct declaration of principles in the party platform. If it is a matter of State interest and control, then the State platform, and if of national importance, then in the national platform.

As the representative of the people of the seventh congressional district of North Carolina, and in my representative capacity, even in the absence of a platform declaration, should they, my constituents, by any means inform me of their desire touching any proposed legislation I should consider myself bound to carry out their wishes or resign my seat in the Congress of the United States. As long ago as October, 1914, as I said in the beginning, the newspapers of my State published the fact of my opposition to this bill. Five months, very nearly, have elapsed since my position upon this question was known to my constituents. It was not discussed in the campaign of 1914 there or elsewhere. There has been no declaration by the party touching the question, and it is a very significant fact that in all these five months I have not received a single request from any constituent, either orally or by written communication, asking me to support this legislation. Some one may say that the action of a party caucus establishes party principles, but upon serious reflection I am sure that no one will so contend.

Only recently, namely, on the 28th day of January, 1915, the President delivered to the House of Representatives a message vetoing an act to regulate the immigration of aliens to and the residence of aliens in the United States, a bill that had been passed by a vote of two-thirds of the Representatives voting in the House of Representatives, and seven-tenths of the vote in the United States Senate, and in doing so he used this language:

> If the people of this country have made up their minds to limit the number of immigrants by arbitrary tests, and so reverse the policy of all the generations of Americans that have gone before them, it is their right to do so. I am their servant and have no license to stand in their way. But I do not believe that they have. I respectfully submit that no one can quote their mandate to that effect. Has any political party ever avowed a policy of restriction in this fundamental matter, gone to the country on it, and been commissioned to control legislation? Does this bill rest upon the conscious and universal assent and desire of the American people? I doubt it. It is because I doubt it that I make bold to dissent from it. I am willing to abide by the verdict, but not until it has been rendered. Let the platforms of parties speak out upon this policy and the people pronounce their wish. The matter is too fundamental to be settled otherwise.

If the matter of the regulation of the admission of aliens to our shores is a matter of such fundamental importance, is not the policy of embarking the Government upon the unknown and untried seas of Government ownership a question of fundamental importance? Is it not one of such vast and far-reaching importance that before this step is taken the people should be given an opportunity to assert their wish? Does this bill now under consideration rest upon the conscious and universal assent and desire of the American people? If it has the assent or is fostered by the desire of the constituency that I represent, that

constituency has signally failed to assert its wish. Has any political party in this country, other than the Socialist Party, ever avowed a policy of Government ownership? I respectfully submit that no one can quote their mandate to that effect. It is because I doubt that it is the desire or the wish of any considerable number of people among my constituency or within the Democratic Party to embark upon this doubtful and losing enterprise that I make bold to dissent from it.

If in the usual way the Democratic Party expresses as its mind and desire that we embark upon the practically untried and unknown sea of Government ownership and operation, reversing the policy of all the generations of Americans that have gone before them, it is their right to do so. I am, so far as the constituency that I represent is concerned, their servant and have no license to stand in their way. I am willing to abide by their verdict, but not until it has been rendered.

One other phase of this subject, and I am done. The disturbances of commerce and trade brought on by the terrific war precipitated in Europe on the 1st of last August has so deranged the revenues of our Government that it became necessary at the last session of Congress to levy a special tax upon the people in order that a hundred million dollars might be raised in taxes to supplement the loss occasioned by the falling off of imports. The Government, by embarking upon this enterprise of Government ownership and operation, in the construction of the Alaskan railroad, and in the purchase and operation of ships provided for in this bill, is placing a tax burden upon the American people in the aggregate of $75,000,000. Other men may feel free to assume the responsibility of imposing special taxes, onerous tax burdens, for purposes like this, for which the people have not declared themselves; but, as for me, I prefer to await the verdict of the people.

Woman Suffrage.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURTON L. FRENCH,

OF IDAHO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 18, 1915.

Mr. FRENCH. Mr. Speaker, under the leave that has been granted to me I am placing in the RECORD remarks made by myself before the Committee on Election of the President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress upon H. R. 9393, "A bill to protect the rights of women citizens of the United States to register and vote for Senators of the United States and Members of the House of Representatives."

That my remarks may be better understood, I shall insert here a copy of the bill itself:

Be it enacted, etc., That women who are citizens of the United States and possess such qualifications of age, residence, property, or education as may be required of men to make them legal voters in the several States shall be eligible to register and vote in all States of the Union at all elections for Senators of the United States and for Members of the House of Representatives.

I can not claim originality in the preparation of this measure, for a bill involving the same principle is now pending in the Senate, introduced by the Senator from Colorado, Mr. SHAFROTH, and at numerous times bills involving the same principles as applied to the election of the Members of the House of Representatives have been presented.

I offered the bill at the request of the United States Federal Suffrage Association, an organization made up of men and women from all parts of the United States, among whom are found many distinguished lawyers, which oragnization for more than 20 years has urged upon Congress that the grant to Congress by the Constitution of the control of the manner of electing the Senators and Members of the House of Representatives is broad enough to authorize Congress to grant by legislation to the women of the United States the right of suffrage as respects the election of Senators and Members of the House. My remarks before the committee were made on March 24, 1914, and are as follows:

"Mr. FRENCH. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, as I understand it the committee at this time desires to hear some statement with regard to the constitutional features of the bill and not so much with regard to the general question of the advisability of extending the franchise to women throughout the United States. The bill itself is very similar to one introduced by myself in the last Congress, and at the time the hearings were held upon it I spoke somewhat with regard to the operation of woman's suffrage in the State that I represent, and in other committee meetings I have spoken with regard to the advisability of extending woman's suffrage from the broad standpoint and not from the technical constitutional standpoint of this particular bill. That being the case, I want at this time to call attention to a few features of the Constitution and to a few decisions that it seems to me have a bearing upon this particular measure. Mr. Chairman, whether or not this bill is constitutional must be determined by the express or implied powers and limitations placed upon the Congress of the United States and upon the States themselves by the Constitution. There is no line in that great instrument that says that women of the States shall not have the right of suffrage; there is none that says they shall have that right; there is none that says that men shall have the right of suffrage, and there is none that says that men shall not have that right. It is important in considering this question to outline what the Constitution really does say on this question. Section 2 of Article I of the Constitution provides:

"The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States.

"It further says in section 2, Article I, that—

"The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

"The Constitution further says in section 4 of the same article that—

"The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof.

"Further, it says:

"But the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the place of choosing Senators.

"Beyond that is the general power conferred upon each Congress to be the judge of the qualifications and elections of its own Members. These, gentlemen, are the essential parts of the Constitution upon which you must base your decision as to the validity of the proposed measure. The Constitution declares, first, that Members of Congress shall be chosen by the people; second, that the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature; third, that Congress may determine by law the manner of their election; and, fourth, that each House is made the judge of the qualifications and election of its Members.

"Now, let us turn to the first guaranty, that 'Members of Congress shall be chosen by the people.' The important point to be determined here is who are the people. If women are not included as a part of the people, then manifestly we need go no further. Who, then, are the people? At the time of the adoption of the Constitution slaves were not included, apparently, as a part of the people and Indians who were not taxed were not included, apparently. With regard to slaves, the Dred Scott decision clearly points that out. In section 2, Article I, of the Constitution, it is provided that the representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States upon the basis of the number of free persons, excluding Indians who are not taxed and three-fifths of all other persons—that is, slaves. More than that, Congress immediately, from the beginning, in the enactment of naturalization laws, recognized women of the white race as a part of the people. Congress from the very beginning recognized women as a part of the people and as citizens.

"The United States guarantees to citizens of one State the right to bring suit against citizens of another State, and the courts have uniformly held that that same guaranty pertains to women just as much as it pertains to men. Who, then, were included? Why, men were included and women were included, and men were included no more than women. Both free men and free women were people within the meaning of the Constitution when it was framed. Both were citizens. The fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States declared that—

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States.

"That amendment did not seek to modify the status of women. Women are already citizens. That amendment applies, and was intended to apply, to negroes, although it is broad enough to include not only negroes but people of the yellow or brown races, people of the white race, and men and women of all races. The fact is that it was not necessary to pass the amendment so far as the white race was concerned. Both men and women of that race were citizens, and both were people within the meaning of the Constitution. (See Dred Scott decision.)

"In the well-known case of Minor *v.* Happersett (21 Wallace), this very question was considered. In 1874 Mrs. Virginia

M. Minor, a citizen of Missouri, attempted to vote, but was denied the privilege. She brought an action in the courts of the State and finally, on appeal, carried the question to the Supreme Court of the United States. In that case the Supreme Court, after discoursing on how the Congress has recognized women as citizens, says:

"Other proof of like character might be found, but certainly more can not be necessary to establish the fact that sex has never been made one of the elements of citizenship in the United States. In this respect men have never had an advantage over women. The same laws precisely apply to both. The fourteenth amendment did not affect the citizenship of women any more than it did of men. In this particular, therefore, the rights of Mrs. Minor do not depend upon the amendment. She has always been a citizen from her birth and entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizenship. The amendment prohibited the State of which she is a citizen from abridging any of her privileges and immunities as a citizen of the United States; but it did not confer citizenship on her. That she had before its adoption.

"Of course the members of the committee know that the court decided that the contention of Mrs. Minor could not be sustained, but it was not because of the fact of anything within the Constitution, and it was not upon her raising her claim to vote under any law enacted by Congress similar to this granting to women generally the right to vote. The proponents of this measure urge that the authorization was in the Constitution at that time if Congress had seen fit to enact a law, but Congress had not done so, and it was in the absence of a statute upon the subject that the court made that decision.

"The CHAIRMAN. Did the court base its decision upon that ground?

"Mr. FRENCH. No, sir; the court did not go into that particular question. The court, as I recall it, let its decision turn more especially on what it contended was the fact that suffrage was not necessarily a component part of citizenship.

"The CHAIRMAN. That is what I thought.

"Mr. FRENCH. However, there are decisions that are counter to that and that suggest a different view.

"I submit that one of the basic elements of political conditions in any country such as ours is the right to have a part in the government of that country, or, in other words, the right of suffrage.

"What, then, do we have? First, that all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to its jurisdiction are citizens.

"Second. That sex is not an element of citizenship.

"It follows, then, that without the necessity of any further constitutional amendment the pending measure is constitutional, unless within the Constitution itself there may be some limitations upon the Congress.

"I have already called attention to the chief provisions upon which those rely who insist that this measure is not constitutional. They insist that since the States may fix the qualifications of electors for the most numerous branch of the State legislatures, these qualifications become at once the qualifications of those who may vote for Members of Congress. This would be true if there were not another limitation placed upon the States in the form of a power conferred upon the Congress. That limitation, in part, lies in the words, 'The Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter' the regulations of States touching the 'manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives.' Gentlemen of the committee, when that particular clause was considered in the course of framing the Constitution in the Constitutional Convention, the first draft of it simply gave the Congress the power to 'make' the laws. After it had been referred to the committee for final revision, the committee seemed to be controlled by the idea that that power was not broad enough as conferred upon Congress and feared that after the States had themselves passed laws Congress would not be permitted to modify or amend those laws. I think that contention or fear was not sound. Nevertheless, in the abundance of caution which was in their minds, the committee rewrote the clause and inserted in it the privilege of 'altering' the regulations of the States touching the manner of holding the elections of Senators and Representatives.

"The CHAIRMAN. What does the word 'manner' there mean?

"Mr. FRENCH. I will come to that. I would say right now that right in that word there is wrapped up all there is involved in this particular question. The question involved is not one that has been passed upon fully by the Supreme Court. Unfortunately, under this provision of the Constitution the Federal Congress has not enacted much legislation that has brought cases to the Supreme Court that would to a very voluminous extent outline or define more particularly the meaning of the framers of the Constitution. I think the very first act of Congress that was passed under this clause of the Constitution was in 1842, when it was provided that Members of Congress should be elected from districts and not from the States themselves in mass. Another important law under this provision of the Constitution was passed in 1872, when the time was fixed for the election of Members of Congress. Other important acts of Congress under this provision probably include the one that the chairman of this committee reported within a recent Congress providing for the purification of elections in the United States so far as those elections concern Members of Congress.

"Aside from those laws, my judgment is that the only other important laws ever passed by Congress under this particular clause of the Constitution were laws that were passed during and following the Civil War and that had to do with the rights of persons who participated in the Civil War in opposition to the Union. It must also be said that all of those laws that were passed by the Congress, as urged in the forum of public opinion throughout the country and as urged before the Supreme Court by counsel, undoubtedly were modified by prejudice upon the part of people in the North and by prejudice upon the part of just as earnest people in the South. Here is a question, however, that need not involve that question. It is true that in part there is involved the same authority that Congress relied upon when it enacted the legislation that was considered then, but it is a question that need not involve the North or the South, but we may, all untrammeled by prejudices on account of former positions, consider candidly the constitutionality of this measure. What, then, is the meaning of the language of the Constitution? How broad is the language and what is meant by it? The relative power of the Government and the States has been the subject of much consideration. It was a subject of discussion when the question of ratifying the Constitution was debated in the conventions of the several States convened for the consideration of the question.

"I think, from an examination of the debates that occurred in the different conventions of the States convened for the purpose of ratifying the Constitution, that in nearly every one of them that particular paragraph was debated most earnestly—the paragraph that gave to Congress the power to make or alter, etc. I have examined the opinions of the prominent men who were instrumental in urging the ratification of the Constitution with that particular amendment included in it, and there is no doubt that there was jealousy upon the part of the States of the power of the Federal Government. But, on the other hand, there is no doubt that among profound thinkers there was a strong feeling that the Government itself ought to be given the power to control the general manner of conducting elections in this country. That question was debated in the Virginia convention. In that convention James Madison, who was one of the framers of the Constitution, declared that the manner of holding elections was properly reserved to the Federal Government. He said:

"Should the people of any State by any means be deprived of the right of suffrage, it was judged proper it should be remedied by the Federal Government. It was found to be impossible to fix the time, place, and manner of election of Representatives in the Constitution. It was found necessary to leave the regulation of these, in the first place, to the State governments, as being best acquainted with the true situation of the people, subject to the control of the General Government, in order to enable it to produce uniformity and prevent its own dissolution. And considering the State governments and the General Government as distinct bodies, acting in different and independent capacities for the people, it was thought that the particular regulations should be submitted to the former—that is, to the States—and the general regulations to the latter—

"That is, to the General Government. For further consideration of this feature, I call attention in this connection to Elliott's Debates, pages 366 and 367.

"Now, that is what Madison thought. He declared that should the people of any State by any means be 'deprived of the right of suffrage' it was judged proper that it should be 'remedied by the Federal Government'; and he pointed out the place where this power to remedy was lodged in the Constitution. He pointed it out as the paragraph conferring upon Congress the power to regulate the manner of electing Senators and Representatives. He was quite willing that minor regulations, 'particular regulations,' to use his exact words, should be left to the States. This might include age; it might include property qualifications; it might include length of residence in a voting precinct; and it might include a multitude of minor matters that the States thought important. But he thought that the general regulations should be left to the Federal Government. He thought that if the people of any State by any means were to be deprived of the right of suffrage it was judged proper it should be remedied by the Federal Government. This he included under the heading 'General regulations.'

"Suppose a State were to pass a law denying suffrage generally to the citizens of the State, in so far as it concerns the election of Members of Congress, and conferring it upon, say,

members of certain professions, such as lawyers, professors in universities, and members of the ministry. Would it not be under this clause of the Constitution that the citizens of our country would rely in seeking relief, in connection with that other clause in section 2 of Article I, which declares that the House of Representatives shall be chosen by the people? Or, rather, would it not have been so prior to the adoption of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments? The fact is that the suggestion or illustration I have made is not an unreasonable one. Go, if you please, to Japan, a country that has a splendid Government and that recognizes suffrage in a very extensive manner, but at the same time provides that in the Parliament there shall sit members who are the representatives of learned bodies, universities, etc. The Japanese people believe that these people have superior qualifications for the administration of governmental affairs.

"Now, suppose, I say, that in one of the States of the Union this idea should so impress itself upon the people of the State or the legislative body that in that State they should limit suffrage as it pertains to the election of the legislature and so to the election of Members of Congress—that is, to the Senate and the House—to lawyers and to professors in universities and to the ministry. Under what clause of the Constitution would the people of that State ask that their rights be protected? We do not have a parallel to that in the actual experience of this country, but I submit that it is within the reasonable bounds of possibiliy that it might occur, and I submit, further, that it was to prevent just such an occurrence as that that Madison and the other framers of the Constitution felt that the Federal Government should be clothed with the general power of regulating the manner of holding elections.

"But the court has said in the case of Minor *v.* Happersett, heretofore referred to, that the fourteenth amendment did not affect the citizenship of women any more than it did the citizenship of men. So would it not be possible for the citizens of our country to claim their rights through the constitutional guarantee alone that Members of the House of Representatives shall be chosen by the people? And would the Congress not invoke the authority of Article I, section 4, conferring upon it power to determine the manner of holding elections, to say that the rights of the people shall be protected? If so, would that be carrying the definition of the word 'manner' further than is proposed in the pending bill? Absolutely not.

"I do not rely upon my own reasoning. A few cases have been considered by the Supreme Court of the United States that involve in some degree the question of the extent to which the Congress may go in determining the meaning of the word 'manner' and the inherent right that exists in the Federal Government to deal broadly with the question of suffrage as it concerns those who may participate in the election of Members of Congress. Likewise the Congress itself in election cases has given some attention to this matter and in the passage of bills bearing upon the rights of people within the United States touching suffrage.

"In the case entitled 'Ex parte Yarbrough' (110 U. S., 651) there is much in the opinion of the court that is highly interesting. In that case Yarbrough and certain associates were charged in the indictment with conspiracy to intimidate a negro in the exercise of his right to vote for a Member of Congress, and in the execution of their conspiracy they wounded and otherwise maltreated him.

"It is true that this case arose out of the amendment to the Constitution conferring suffrage upon the negro race, but much that was said by the court is pertinent to this question. In that case counsel had insisted upon express authority in the Constitution, and the court restated the contention and then answered it:

"Because there is no express power to provide for preventing violence exercised on the voter as a means of controlling his vote, no such law can be enacted. It destroys at one blow, in construing the Constitution of the United States, the doctrine universally applied to all instruments of writing, that what is implied is as much a part of the instrument as what is expressed. This principle, in its application to the Constitution of the United States, more than to almost any other writing, is a necessity, by reason of the inherent inability to put into words all derivative powers—a difficulty which the instrument itself recognizes by conferring on Congress the authority to pass all laws necessary and proper to carry into execution the powers expressly granted and all other powers vested in the Government or any branch of it by the Constitution. (Art. I, sec. 8, clause 18.)

"We know of no express authority to pass laws to punish theft or burglary of the Treasury of the United States. Is there, therefore, no power in the Congress to protect the Treasury by punishing such theft and burglary?

"Further on in the decision the court said:

"It is not true, therefore, that electors for Members of Congress owe their right to vote to the State law in any sense which makes the exercise of the right to depend exclusively on the law of the State.

"Counsel for petitioners, seizing upon the expression found in the opinion of the court in the case of Minor *v.* Happersett (21 Wall., 162), that 'the Constitution of the United States does not confer the right of suffrage upon anyone,' without reference to the connection in which it is used, insists that the voters in this case do not owe their right to vote in any sense to that instrument.

"But the court was combating the argument that this right was conferred on all citizens, and therefore upon women as well as men.

"In opposition to that idea it was said that the Constitution adopts as the qualification for voters for Members of Congress that which prevails in the State where the voting is to be done; therefore, said the opinion, the right is not definitely conferred on any person or class of persons by the Constitution alone, because you have to look to the law of the State for the description of the class. But the court did not intend to say that when the class or the person is thus ascertained his right to vote for a Member of Congress was not fundamentally based upon the Constitution, which created the office of Member of Congress and declared it should be elective, and pointed to the means of ascertaining who should be electors.

"Again, in that opinion the court said, in reference to the right conferred upon the negro by the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution:

"This new constitutional right was mainly designed for citizens of African descent. The principle, however, that the protection of the exercise of this right is within the power of Congress is as necessary to the right of other citizens to vote as to the colored citizen, and to the right to vote in general as to the right to be protected against discrimination.

"The exercise of the right in both instances is guaranteed by the Constitution and should be kept free and pure by congressional enactments whenever that is necessary.

"And again:

"But it is a waste of time to seek for specific sources of the power to pass these laws. Chancellor Kent, in the opening words of that part of his Commentaries which treats of the Government and constitutional jurisprudence of the United States, says:

"'The Government of the United States was created by the free voice and joint will of the people of America for their common defense and general welfare. Its powers apply to those great interests which relate to this country in its national capacity, and which depend for their protection on the consolidation of the Union. It is clothed with the principal attributes of political sovereignty, and it is justly deemed the guardian of our best rights, the source of our highest civil and political duties, and the sure means of national greatness.' (1 Kent's Com., 201.)

"It is essential to the successful working of this Government that the great organisms of its executive and legislative branches should be the free choice of the people as that the original form of it should be so. In absolute governments, where the monarch is the source of all power, it is still held to be important that the exercise of that power shall be free from the influence of extraneous violence and internal corruption.

"In a republican government, like ours, where political power is reposed in representatives of the entire body of the people, chosen at short intervals by popular elections, the temptations to control these elections by violence and by corruption is a constant source of danger.

"Such has been the history of all republics, and, though ours has been comparatively free from both of these evils in the past, no lover of his country can shut his eyes to the fear of future danger from both sources.

"If the recurrence of such acts as these prisoners stand convicted of are too common in one quarter of the country, and give omen of danger from lawless violence, the free use of money in elections, arising from the vast growth of recent wealth in other quarters, presents equal cause for anxiety.

"If the Government of the United States had within its constitutional domain no authority to provide against these evils, if the very sources of power may be poisoned by corruption or controlled by violence and outrage, without legal restraint, then, indeed, is the country in danger, and its best powers, its highest purposes, the hopes which it inspires, and the love which enshrines it are at the mercy of the combinations of those who respect no right but brute force on the one hand, and unprincipled corruptionists on the other.

"Bearing upon the power of Congress to enact legislation that has to do with the exercise of the right of suffrage and the right of citizens to be protected, I call the committee's attention to the case of Ex parte Clarke (100 U. S., 103) and to the case of Wiley *v.* Sinkler (179 U. S., 62). In the latter case the court said:

"The right to vote for Members of the Congress of the United States is not derived merely from the constitution and laws of the State in which they are chosen, but has its foundation in the Constitution of the United States.

"I also call the committee's attention to Ex parte Siebold (100 U. S., 383), in which the court, in discussing this general question, gave expression to its view of the power of Congress in the following language:

"So in the case of laws for regulating the elections of Representatives to Congress. The State may make regulations on the subject; Congress may make regulations on the same subject or may alter or add to those already made. The paramount character of those made by Congress has the effect to supersede those made by the State, so far as the two are inconsistent, and no further. There is no such conflict between them as to prevent their forming a harmonious system perfectly capable of being administered and carried out as such.

"And again:

"If Congress does not interfere, of course, they may be made wholly by the State; but if it chooses to interfere, there is nothing in the words to prevent its doing so, either wholly or partially. On the contrary, their necessary implication is that it may do either. It may either make the regulations or it may alter them. If it only alters, leaving, as manifest convenience requires, the general organization of the polls to the State, there results a necessary cooperation of the two Governments in regulating the subject. But no repugnance in the system of regulations can arise thence, for the power of Congress over the subject is paramount. It may be exercised as and when Congress sees fit to exercise it. When exercised, the action of Congress, so far as it extends and conflicts with the regulations of the States, necessarily supersedes them. This is implied in the power to 'make or alter.'

"And again:

"It is the duty of the States to elect Representatives to Congress. The due and fair election of these Representatives is of vital importance to the United States. The Government of the United States is no less cerned in the transaction than the State government is.

"And further:

"This power to enforce its laws and to execute its functions in all places does not derogate from the power of the State to execute its laws at the same time and in the same places. The one does not exclude the other, except where both can not be executed at the same time. In that case the words of the Constitution itself show which is to yield. 'This Constitution, and all laws which shall be made in pursuance thereof, * * * shall be the supreme law of the land.'

"But let us see how Congress has construed the power conferred upon it of directing the manner of holding elections. The House of Representatives in the Twenty-eighth Congress, in the election case of Botts *v.* Jones, from Virginia (Hinds' Precedents, Vol. I, p. 811) considered this question. Votes were cast for the contestant, Butts, and they were thrown out upon the ground that they were votes cast by persons of foreign birth, who, while they had taken the oath of fidelity to the Commonwealth of Virginia, and consequently were eligible to vote for the members of the most numerous branch of the State legislature, were not citizens of the United States. The Congress evidently felt that they were not 'people of one of the several States,' even though they were citizens of Virginia and eligible to vote. The committee making the report was not unanimous. The majority, however, contended that the power of the Federal Government to enact naturalization laws was a limitation upon the provision of the Constitution defining electors of Members of Congress as those who were eligible to vote for the members of the most numerous branch of the State legislature. The minority report earnestly contended that the Constitution gave to the States the power to confer the right to vote—just as people have urged since, that it has—notwithstanding the naturalization provision of the Constitution. The majority report was sustained. And I would say further that until the constitutional amendment No. 14 was passed there never was in the Constitution or amendments a definition of 'citizens' within the United States, and yet the House of Representatives, following the election, refused to recognize as controlling that guaranty to the States, that they had the right to fix the qualifications of those who could vote for Members of Congress as those who were eligible to vote for members of the most numerour branch of the State Legislature of Virginia.

"Oh, but it is urged Congress took this position because of that other clause of the Constitution which confers upon each House the right to be the judge of the qualifications and elections of its own Members. The Constitution says, Article I, section 5, 'Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own Members.' Those who take this position that the House acted upon its authority contained in that paragraph will hardly contend that the language used is any broader than the language used in Article I, section 4, that confers upon the Congress the power at any time to 'make or alter such regulations' touching the 'manner' of holding elections.

"If the language is not broader, and it strikes me that it is not, then it means either that Congress does have the right in a large sense to determine who shall be eligible to vote for Members of Congress, the same as many believe section 4 of Article I means, or else the House arbitrarily refused to seat the Member and relied upon no higher authority than its 'will' or 'decree' in a matter from which there was no appeal.

"Another case that is most interesting as involving the question of how far the Congress may go in passing laws abridging the suffrage of people as regards voting for Members of Congress who are eligible to vote in the several States for the members of the most numerous branch of the State legislature is the Kentucky election case of McKee *v.* Young in the Fortieth Congress. (Hinds, Vol. I, p. 451.) Upon the face of the returns Young received the majority of the votes cast. In the contest against him it was established to the satisfaction of the committee that Young was not himself entitled to membership in the House of Representatives because of his having been under the disqualification of aiding those who were in arms against the United States. It was urged, however, that the votes that were cast for Young were in large part the votes of soldiers who had participated in the rebellion, and that these votes ought not to be counted, and if not counted that McKee be seated.

"Congress some two years before this case was considered, or on March 3, 1865, had passed an act which decitizenized by their own voluntary act certain persons who had deserted from the military or naval service of the United States. Of the votes that were cast for Young and which were rejected were 625 votes of former Confederate soldiers and 8 votes of deserters from the Union forces. Kentucky had not been the subject of reconstruction legislation; Kentucky had not seceded from the Union, and the persons I have referred to, including those who had served in the Confederate Army and those who had deserted from the Union Army, were eligible to vote for the members of the most numerous branch of the Kentucky State Legislature. It was vehemently urged that the constitutional guaranty touching the eligibility of those who might be permitted to vote for Members of Congress was being violated. It was urged most strongly that the Constitution gave to the States the power to determine who should vote for the members of the most numerous branch of the State legislature. In the minority report from the Committee on Elections, Messrs. Kerr and Chanler, in referring to these votes, declared, 'They were still, under the constitution and laws of Kentucky, qualified electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature, and had as much right to vote for a Member of Congress under the Constitution of the United States as the candidates themselves.'

"In spite of this the Congress of the United States upheld the act of Congress of March 3, 1865. In spite of this the House rejected all of these votes, 633 in number, of persons who were eligible to vote for members of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature of Kentucky. Mr. McKee was awarded his seat in Congress.

"Here is a case in which the Congress by law did limit the right of suffrage notwithstanding the guarantee to the several States and to those eligible to vote for members of the most numerous branch of the State legislature. Here is a case in which the House affirmed, in spite of bitter contentions, the power of Congress so to act, and the right of the House to inquire not only into the qualifications and elections of persons presenting themselves to membership in the House, but to inquire, in the broad sense, into the qualifications of those who voted for the candidates for Congress under an act that the Congress had passed.

"The bill that I have introduced involves the same principle of whether or not the Congress may assume under the Constitution to define in a general way those who may be entitled to vote for Members of the Senate and House of Representatives.

"Would not the act of Congress of March 3, 1865, be regarded as the result of the exercise by Congress of what Madison termed the power of 'general regulation' conferred upon Congress and would not the present bill fall in the same class?

"If this Congress is clothed with the power to determine the manner of election of Members of the Senate and the House, if each body is clothed with the power to be the sole judge of the qualifications and elections of Members that may constitute each body, and if, as I have shown, one or the other of these great bodies has absolutely refused to recognize as entitled to membership in the Congress men elected by persons who were qualified to vote in the States in which their votes were cast, for the members of the most numerous branch of the State legislature, may we not conclude that Congress has already passed upon this question so far as the broad principle may be concerned and has determined that it has far more authority than those who are urging against this measure are willing to concede?

"Indeed, if the Congress has the power, each body acting by itself, to reject the credentials of men who claim to be elected by the votes of people who are eligible to vote for members of the most numerous branch of the State legislature of the State in which their vote has been cast, may we not suppose that in the interest of orderly system alone the Congress would have the power prior to the casting of the votes to declare what votes would be regarded in the election of a Member of either House or Senate? Surely this would be in the interest of orderly procedure, and such a course as this would mean that every State would understand what votes would and what would not be regarded as satisfactory in supporting the credentials of a Member elected to either body.

"Touching the opinion of Congress as indicated by later expressions of opinion found in committee reports, I beg to call the attention of the committee to the majority and minority report in the Fifty-third Congress on H. R. 2331, a bill for the repeal of Federal election laws. The report is No. 18, and and Mr. Tucker, in presenting the majority report, strongly contends for the greatest latitude touching the right and conditions of suffrage as resting in the States.

"Mr. Johnson, of North Dakota, who presented the minority report, reviews the other side of the question very fully, and points out some of the views entertained by those who had to do with the writing of the Constitution and some of the views that have been entertained by the courts since that time.

"The report of Senator LODGE, when a Member of the House in the Fifty-first Congress, first session, upon H. R. 11045, report No. 2493, likewise reviews the question with great care.

The report does not pretend to touch upon the question of the right of women to vote under the Constitution. It deals with the power of Congress under the clause conferring upon Congress the right to make or alter laws touching the manner of elections.

"Let me quote briefly a few excerpts from the report:

"This necessary power is found in section 4, Article I, of the Constitution of the United States, which is as follows:

"'The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.'

"The language employed in this section is so plain that it would seem almost superfluous to enter into argument or discussion as to its meaning. If words mean anything those just quoted mean that the power of Congress over the conduct of elections of Members of this body is absolute and complete. The Constitution says that Congress may make all regulations in regard to the election of Representatives, and the power to 'make regulations' thus conferred is in terms exclusive and paramount. But out of abundance of caution the framers of the Constitution went further and added to the word 'make' the words 'to alter'; that is, under the Constitution Congress has power to assume complete control of elections of its Members and conduct them at such times and places and through such officers and under such rules as it may see fit. On the other hand, Congress may under this clause leave the entire regulation of the election of Representatives to the States, or it may take a partial control of a part of the necessary procedure and leave what remains to the State, or it may alter and amend the State regulations and supervise and enforce their execution.

* * * * * * *

"And again:

"On the contrary, as already said, we think it clear that the clause of the Constitution relating to the regulation of such elections contemplates such cooperation whenever Congress deems it expedient to interfere merely to alter or add to existing regulations of the State. If the two Governments had an entire equality of jurisdiction there might be an intrinsic difficulty in such cooperation. Then the adoption by the State government of a system of regulations might exclude the action of Congress. By first taking jurisdiction of the subject the State would acquire exclusive jurisdiction in virtue of a well-known principle applicable to courts having coordinate jurisdiction over the same matter. But no such equality exists in the present case. The power of Congress, as we have seen, is paramount, and may be exercised at any time and to any extent which it deems expedient; and so far as it is exercised, and no further, the regulations effected supersede those of the State which are inconsistent therewith.

"And again:

"On a matter of such importance, however, it will not be amiss to cite a few controlling authorities and to show that the power of Congress in regard to the election of Representatives is not only paramount but that it can be exercised to any degree, from total control downward, which Congress may deem wise. In the convention of 1787, on the 9th of August, Mr. Pinckney and Mr. Rutledge moved to strike out the words which in the draft then before the convention conferred this power upon Congress. The motion was lost, apparently, without a division, and, if we may judge from Mr. Madison's notes, had no serious support in the convention. The remarks made, however, in opposition to the motion of Mr. Pinckney show clearly the view taken of this clause by the framers of the Constitution and the paramount character of the power conveyed by it, although in the draft then under consideration the clause was much less sweeping than it afterwards became in the instrument as adopted.

"I want to call attention briefly to some of the objections to this bill.

"Mr. MAPES. May I ask you a concrete question?

"Mr. FRENCH. Yes.

"Mr. MAPES. Whether the gist of your argument is that the fourteenth amendment was not necessary to authorize Congress to pass a law to the same effect as the fourteenth amendment?

"Mr. FRENCH. Oh, I think not; the fifteenth amendment, not the fourteenth.

"Mr. MAPES. The race, color, or previous condition of servitude amendment?

"Mr. FRENCH. The fifteenth amendment, not the fourteenth. I think the fourteenth was necessary, but I think that the fifteenth amendment can very properly be classed as surplusage, and that is was passed as an overabundance of assurance to the negro race at that particular time.

"Mr. MAPES. In your opinion, Congress could have passed a law to the same effect and it would have been constitutional?

"Mr. FRENCH. That is my judgment of it. That is a question that is not necessarily original with me; at the same time, it is a view of the question that I have concurred in. The constitutionality of this bill does not necessarily rest upon the fourteenth amendment. It rests upon the other provisions of the Constitution to which I have referred.

"It is urged that this bill is not constitutional because of the fourteenth amendment granting to slaves the right of citizenship. The fact is that that is not a parallel case. At the time the Constitution was framed slaves were not permitted to vote in any State of the Union, they were not citizens, while on the other hand women were citizens of all States and were permitted to vote in at least one State—I am reminded that it was in two States—but at least in the State of New Jersey they were permitted to vote until 1807, whereas negroes, who were slaves, were not permitted to vote in any State.

"I want in this connection to insert, in brief, the qualifications of suffrage in all the States.

"When the Federal Constitution was adopted, all the States, with the exception of Rhode Island and Connecticut, had constitutions of their own. These two continued to act under their charters from the Crown. Upon an examination of those constitutions we find that in no State were all citizens permitted to vote. Each State determined for itself who should have that power. Thus, in New Hampshire, 'every male inhabitant of each town and parish with town privileges, and places unincorporated in the State, of 21 years of age and upward, excepting paupers and persons excused from paying taxes at their own request,' were its voters. In Massachusetts 'every male inhabitant of 21 years of age and upward, having a freehold estate within the Commonwealth of the annual income of £3, or any estate of the value of £60.' In Rhode Island 'such as are admitted free of the company and society' of the colony. In Connecticut such persons as had 'maturity in years, quiet and peaceable behavior, a civil conversation, and 40 shillings freehold or £40 personal estate,' if so certified by the selectmen.

"In New York 'every male inhabitant of full age who shall have personally resided within one of the counties of the State for 6 months immediately preceding the day of election * * * if, during the time aforesaid, he shall have been a freeholder, possessing a freehold of the value of £20 within the county, or have rented a tenement therein of the yearly value of 40 shillings, and been rated and actually paid taxes to the State.' In New Jersey 'all inhabitants * * * of full age who are worth £50, proclamation money, clear estate in the same, and have resided in the county in which they claim a vote for 12 months immediately preceding the election.' In Pennsylvania 'every freeman of the age of 21 years, having resided in the State 2 years next before the election, and within that time paid a State or county tax which shall have been assessed at least 6 months before the election.' In Delaware and Virginia 'as exercised by law at present.' In Maryland 'all freemen above 21 years of age having a freehold of 50 acres of land in the county in which they offer to vote and residing therein, and all freemen having property in the State above the value of £30 current money, and having resided in the county in which they offer to vote 1 whole year next preceding the election.' In North Carolina, for senators, 'all freemen of the age of 21 years who have been inhabitants of any one county within the State 12 months immediately preceding the day of election, and possessed of a freehold within the same county of 50 acres of land for 6 months next before and at the day of election,' and for members of the house of commons 'all freemen of the age of 21 years who have been inhabitants in any one county within the State 12 months immediately preceding the day of any election, and shall have paid public taxes.'

"In South Carolina 'every free white man of the age of 21 years, being a citizen of the State and having resided therein 2 years previous to the day of election, and who hath a freehold of 50 acres of land, or a town lot of which he hath been legally seized and possessed at least 6 months before such election, or (not having such freehold or town lot), hath been a resident within the election district in which he offers to give his vote 6 months before said election, and hath paid a tax the preceding year of 3 shillings sterling toward the support of the Government'; and in Georgia such 'citizens and inhabitants of the State as shall have attained to the age of 21 years, and shall have paid tax for the year next preceding the election, and shall have resided 6 months within the county.' (Minor *v.* Happersett, 88 U. S., pp. 172–173.)"

The Shipping Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LADISLAS LAZARO,
OF LOUISIANA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 17, 1915,

On the bill (S. 5259) to establish one or more United States Navy mail lines between the United States and South America and between the United States and the countries of Europe.

Mr. LAZARO. Mr. Speaker, having studied this shipping bill thoroughly from every standpoint, and after having heard it discussed from every angle here to-day, I have come to the conclusion that it is a good bill, and I shall vote for it. This is an emergency measure to meet a very serious condition brought about by the war in Europe. The situation should be plain to any thinking man. We had neglected our merchant marine—so much so that all three of the platforms of 1912 contained planks acknowledging this and promising the people relief. We did not realize how few ships we really have until the war broke out. From that day until now it has been difficult, and almost impossible at times, to ship the products of our farms, our mines, mills, and factories to the markets of the world. Not only that, but the Shipping Trust soon took advantage of this condition and raised their ocean rates until they are almost prohibitive. For example, we are to-day paying about fifteen times more than we paid before the war to ship our cotton to foreign ports. So the question comes up, Is this great Government of ours to submit to this Shipping Trust and permit the products of our people to rot at the docks when there is so much demand for them everywhere? I think not.

Of course, the Republicans being in the minority in this House, they are trying to make political capital of it and they are conducting one of the worst filibusters in the history of this Congress. They are criticizing us for adhering to our Demo-

cratic platform, which promises the people to enact laws to promote the growth of our merchant marine in order to develop and strengthen the commercial ties which bind us to other countries, but they offer nothing as a substitute for this measure. We all know that their idea of building up a merchant marine is by subsidy, taking the money out of the Treasury of the United States and giving it to a few shipowners. No member of the opposition so far has brought forward any substitute bill to relieve this serious situation, which this bill is brought forward to meet.

It is admitted that individual enterprise can not be depended on at this time and in this emergency. No one denies the emergency nor the prohibitive freight rates, and yet they tell us we have enough ships. It stands to reason that if we had enough ships the rates would not be so high.

We have to decide now whether this Government of ours should help relieve this paralysis of our foreign commerce or whether, by refusing to help, it will permit this paralysis to continue until the war is over. In normal times it may be that we could solve the problem in some other way, and I am not prepared to say whether I would vote for a measure of this kind in times of world peace; but these are abnormal times, and conditions have to be met as we find them.

Some say that if we enact this measure into law it would cause international complications. We have international complications now, and I do not believe that anyone would imagine for a moment that President Wilson would use the power given him by this act to bring about war, when we know that he is laboring day and night to prevent war.

This emergency measure is taking no privilege or opportunity from private enterprise. Its sole aim and purpose is to provide the country with shipping absolutely needed to carry on its commerce with the other nations of the world at a moment when the lack of ships is causing congestion of our commerce and causing transportation charges to go up until they are almost prohibitive. In his Indianapolis speech, on January 8, President Wilson spoke as follows on this subject:

> Do you know, gentlemen, that the ocean freight rates have gone up in some instances to ten times their ordinary figure? And that the farmers of the United States, those who raise grain and those who raise cotton—these things that are absolutely necessary to the world as well as to ourselves—can not get any profit out of the great prices that they are willing to pay for these things on the other side of the sea because the whole profit is eaten up by the extortionate charges for ocean carriage? In the midst of this the Democrats propose a temporary measure of relief in a shipping bill.
>
> The merchants and the farmers of this country must have ships to carry their goods, and just at the present moment there is no other way of getting them than through the instrumentality that is suggested in the shipping bill; and I hear it is said in Washington on all hands that the Republicans in the United States Senate mean to talk enough to make the passage of that bill impossible.

And, as he said in his address, the Republicans in the United States Senate are trying to talk it to death. It seems to me that our duty here now is to uphold his hands in this great emergency, brought about by this horrible war, and give relief to the people of this country by enacting this measure into law and putting an end to this Shipping Trust, which now has such a firm grip on the throat of our commerce.

Abstract of Speech by Charles S. Hamlin, Governor of the Federal Reserve Board, Before the Chicago Real Estate Board, Chicago, February 13, 1915.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. THOMAS HEFLIN,

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, February 19, 1915.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an abstract of a speech delivered by Charles S. Hamlin, governor of the Federal Reserve Board, before the Chicago Real Estate Board, Chicago, February 13, 1915, as follows:

The 12 Federal reserve banks, under the new banking system, were opened on November 16, 1914. Although barely 10 weeks have elapsed since their opening, much has been accomplished in the way of placing the operation of our banking system on a secure, firm foundation.

We can better understand what the new system is if we consider the conditions which existed under the old system, under which there were approximately 7,500 independent banks and 7,500 independent reserves. Although called reserves, they could not, in fact, be used except in violation of law, and if at any time they happened to fall below the legal limit the bank was legally required to suspend business until they were restored, and nothing but the forbearance of the Comptroller of the Currency could save the bank from being placed in the hands of a receiver in case the depleted reserves were not restored.

I have said that these reserves were all independent; there was, however, a certain interdependence caused by the deposit of a certain portion of the reserves with reserve agents in reserve cities, but this interdependence was one rather of danger than of security.

Furthermore, when the banks had performed their function of discounting notes, the notes discounted remained in the bank vaults, buried beyond hope of resurrection until maturity, and if a bank were to take these notes out of its vaults and rediscount them such an act tended to make people distrust its condition.

In addition, the national-bank currency issued by the banks was chained to Government bonds. When contraction was necessary, it was difficult to secure it; when expansion was needed, it was slow and cumbersome, often taking effect only after the necessity had passed away. In fact, these national-bank notes often increased when they should have decreased, and, conversely, decreased when they should have increased.

It was certainly a strange anomaly to link together the national currency, supposedly responsive to the needs of expanding business, with Government bonds representing war and other necessities of the past. Yet this is what the former system did; the extension of the trade and commerce of the twentieth century was indissolubly linked with the evidences of the destruction of trade and commerce of the nineteenth century. While there may have been some justification for this strange alliance in the nineteenth century, there is surely none in this twentieth century, and it is earnestly to be hoped that the method provided in the Federal reserve act for retiring the national-bank currency and substituting the new Federal reserve notes may prove efficacious.

The old banking system rested, in effect, upon the call loan. The bank had to have liquid assets, and the call loan was the only liquid asset. How liquid such assets were was seen by the panic of 1907, and again in 1914, when the closing of the stock exchanges took from such loans the only semblance of liquidity they had.

The dependence of our banking system upon assets which were liquid only when liquidity was not needed, and which were unsalable at times when liquid assets were needed, has resulted in a banking system which financial experts pronounce as one of the worst in the world and utterly unsuited to the financial needs of the United States.

The United States is entitled to the best banking system in the world, and I believe the Federal reserve system just established will fully meet its needs.

The extraordinary events just prior to the opening of the Federal reserve banks are familiar to all. The steady exportation of our gold, the unprecedentedly high rates for foreign exchange, the derangement of our export trade caused by the war, the constantly increasing balances against us on current international commercial transactions, the piling up of reserves by many banks throughout the country at a time when they should have drawn upon them, and, finally, the hoarding of gold by both banks and individuals, culminated in a condition probably the most ominous in the history of our country.

How our new banking system was able to meet this dangerous situation, and how successfully we emerged from it, constitute an epoch in the financial history of the world. A slight study of the situation will reveal some of the difficulties and what was done to overcome them.

During the calendar year 1914 there was exported from the United States gold to the amount of over two hundred and twenty-two millions; during the same period there was imported over fifty-seven millions, the net exports amounting to about one hundred and sixty-five millions. For the same period the production of gold in the United States amounted, approximately, to ninety-two millions. The total stock of gold held by the Treasury, the banks, and in circulation on January 1, 1914, was estimated to be, approximately, one thousand nine hundred and four millions, while on January 1, 1915, it was estimated to be about one thousand eight hundred and fifteen millions, a decrease of eighty-nine millions.

When it is considered that the United States was able to export one hundred and sixty-five millions of gold in the calendar year and yet reduce its total gold by only eighty-nine millions, a decrease of only 4.6 per cent, some idea of the strength

of the United States in gold holdings and gold production will be conveyed.

Certain unusual relief measures were also undertaken and successfully accomplished, which, in connection with the operations of the Federal reserve system, turned the tide and brought about confidence in place of fear, and financial stability in place of unsound monetary conditions.

Among these measures was the deposit by the Secretary of the Treasury of crop-moving funds of about $37,000,000 in banks in different parts of the country, all of which was promptly returned, together with over $267,000 in interest. In addition, the Secretary of the Treasury issued and shipped to various banks about $380,000,000 of Aldrich-Vreeland emergency currency, of which all but about sixty-seven millions has already been redeemed. This latter measure of relief was made possible by the Federal reserve act, which amended the so-called Aldrich-Vreeland Act by lowering the tax imposed upon the notes and increasing the limit of issue. The redemption of these notes was also facilitated by the Federal reserve notes.

These measures gave much relief to the situation, but much was left to be done to place our finances on an absolutely sound basis.

A careful investigation into the international indebtedness of our people abroad showed that our current indebtedness was about $500,000,000, all payable in gold. To take care of this situation pending the revival of our export trade, a gold fund of over $100,000,000 was subscribed by the banks, national and State, in the reserve cities. This fund quickly demonstrated the desire and ability of our people to pay all their foreign obligations, properly payable in gold, in that metal, and this, too, in face of the fact that a large indebtedness owed us from abroad could not be liquidated because of the moratoria in England and other foreign countries.

As the result of the opening of the Federal reserve system and of these relief measures confidence quickly took the place of uncertainty, and little gold had to be shipped out of the country. In a comparatively short space of time our increasing exports took the place of gold, which otherwise must have been shipped. Foreign exchange fell to the importing point, and our country became a creditor instead of a debtor on current commercial exchanges.

In order to relieve the situation in the South a cotton fund of $135,000,000 was subscribed, so that the agriculturists who were producing cotton were enabled to make long-time loans based on cotton security. As was the case with the gold fund, but little of this fund was used, but the fact that it existed was a powerful incentive to a restoration of confidence, and it accomplished its work successfully.

The establishment of the Federal reserve system has been, as I have said, a potent cause in our financial recovery, and it is well to point out upon what theory the system is based and what it has already accomplished.

In the first place, it established lower reserve requirements, thus releasing an enormous amount of cash as a basis for future credit operations. It mobilized a material proportion of the reserves of the banks in the Federal reserve banks, thus furnishing a fund from which banks could be assisted in rediscounting commercial paper. Thus commercial paper, which previously had to be held in the vaults of the bank until maturity, can now be used as a basis for rediscounts at Federal reserve banks, and this paper has now become a liquid asset, far more liquid than the call loan on the stock exchange.

An elastic note issue was also provided for, secured by a 40 per cent gold reserve and by commercial paper up to the face value of the notes issued. Thus we have at hand a really elastic currency, rising and falling in response to the needs of agriculture, commerce, and industry. Acceptances in the import and export trade are also permitted to be discounted by Federal reserve banks, and the member banks for the first time were authorized to accept bills drawn upon such transactions.

It can be stated with confidence that under the Federal Reserve System we shall see no more financial panics. The member banks no longer need to keep a dollar in excess of their lawful reserves. They can even check against and withdraw their reserves deposited in the Federal reserve banks under regulations of the Federal Reserve Board, which latter board can suspend any and all reserve requirements of the act when deemed necessary.

Under the Federal reserve system the member banks have to furnish the capital for the Federal reserve banks and deposit a material part of their reserves in said banks. Every dollar of this amount is held in trust for agriculture, commerce, and industry of the United States and is forever removed from the call-loan market. In addition, every dollar deposited by the Government with the Federal reserve banks over and above what is checked against for paying Government debts is impressed with a similar trust for the same purposes.

The transfer of capital and reserve deposits was made by the member banks without the slightest trouble and without the slightest confusion in business. Many feared that these transfers could not be accomplished without calling in loans and otherwise injuring legitimate business, but this fear was quickly dispelled when it was found how easily and simply the transfer was made. The Federal Reserve Board requested the banks to make these payments, as far as possible, out of their own vaults, and also, as far as possible, in gold, and the banks cheerfully complied with this request, so that at the present time a very large proportion of the assets of the Federal reserve banks consists of gold or gold certificates.

Up to the present time very little recourse has been had to the Federal reserve banks by the member banks, the amount of discounts and the issue of Federal reserve notes being very small. There is no necessity, however, at the present time for such assistance on the part of the Federal reserve banks, except in certain portions of the country, but within a few months undoubtedly these banks will be drawn upon to a very large extent by the member banks.

The fear has been expressed that the Federal reserve banks will have difficulty in earning enough money to pay their expenses and the dividends on their capital stock. I believe this fear to be groundless; but, if it were not groundless, it would not mean that the Federal reserve system is a failure. The founders of the system established these banks not to make money, but to serve as helpers of the member banks, and through them to insure to the people of the United States security, stability, and reasonable rates for advancements and accommodations through discount and open-market operations.

How far the system has already gone in helping the people of the United States will be seen from the fact that just prior to the opening of the reserve banks the rates on commercial paper in the large financial centers were 6 per cent or over and very difficult to obtain, while in other parts of the country they were much higher. At the present time, however, these rates have declined at least 25 per cent and everything points to more nearly uniform rates of discount over the whole country.

Much has been said about the true function of the Federal reserve banks. Some claim that they are purely emergency banks, while others seem to feel that they are ordinary commercial banks which should at all times compete with the member banks. Neither of these extremes, however, represent the real function of the Federal reserve banks. Their duty is not alone to meet emergencies, but, so far as possible, to prevent emergencies from arising; and while ordinarily they do not and are not intended to compete with commercial banks, yet occasions may arise where such competition, through the exercise of their open-market powers, will be necessary for the protection of the people of the United States. It is often said that the Federal reserve banks are bankers' banks, but this is true only to the extent that they deal primarily with the member banks. Their true function, however, as above stated, is to protect the interests of the people, acting through the banks primarily, but whenever necessary acting outside of the banks.

The power of fixing the discount rates which has been vested in the Federal reserve banks, subject to review and determination of the Federal Reserve Board, is a power which must be exercised for the benefit of the whole people, and the final responsibility for its exercise rests with the Federal Reserve Board.

From time to time complaints are heard as to the operation of the Federal reserve banks. Some bankers claim that they lose interest on reserve deposits in Federal reserve banks, which prior to the establishment of the system were deposited with reserve agents; also that they lose interest on the capital of the reserve banks furnished by them. A slight reflection, however, will show that these complaints are more imaginary than real, for the lower reserves established under the act has released a very large amount of cash, and this cash would sustain banking operations which will produce a profit far above any possible loss of interest on their capital or reserve deposits.

It should not be forgotten, moreover, that the stockholding banks are entitled to 6 per cent interest on their investments for the capital of these banks, and, as I have before stated, I do not doubt but that this interest will be earned.

Complaint is also made as to some of the regulations which have been issued by the Federal Reserve Board, especially those relating to discounts of commercial paper. It has been the constant effort of the Federal Reserve Board to simplify its regulations, and new regulations have been issued covering commercial paper which I believe will do away with many, if not all,

of the objections heretofore raised. The board appreciates that the custom of merchants must be cautiously changed and should not be subjected to a sudden disarrangement.

Another important question which is before the board is the admission of State banks into the Federal Reserve System. Complaint has been made that the State banks once having joined the system can not withdraw. On the other hand, it is pointed out that the system established is a national system, and that such a system could not exist if its integral parts at any time could withdraw at will.

The question of regulations to be enacted on the matter of admission of State banks has already given rise to many differences of opinion. Some of the national banks contend that the State banks should divest themselves of all powers not given to national banks as a condition of entering into the system. On the other hand, many of the State banks claim that they have the right to enter the system with all their powers except those which are expressly cut down by the Federal reserve act itself.

The Federal Reserve Board is fully conscious of the importance of the task assigned to it, and it is giving careful attention to all the problems which have arisen, with a view to carry out the system loyally, not only in form but in spirit.

I believe that the system will be of the greatest advantage to the people of the United States and will establish the United States on a solid foundation, which will in the near future make it the center of the world's financial exchanges.

Anglo-American Situation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SIMEON D. FESS,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, February 19, 1915.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, I take advantage of the privilege granted me yesterday to say something about the Anglo-American relations as especially affected by the critical situation of neutrals upon the sea.

Much surprise is indulged over the attitude of the English mind in the manner in which the English public first received the President's note of December 26. It is spoken of as the "English shock" over the unexpected communication. Many of the English newspapers were outspoken in their dissent. The Globe assumed an attitude of hostility in language approaching an insult:

> The voice of the great neutral nation which seeks to be the final arbiter in civilization is raised for the first time, not on any question of higher morality, but to express impatience at the fact that the greatest war in the history of the world has interfered with the opportunities of American traders to make money out of the necessities of belligerents.

Many of the English public urged the Government to pursue such policy as will in its judgment best aid the allies in their struggle regardless of the wishes of the United States. While this does not seem to be the attitude of the Government, it is well to scrutinize the rush of events since the publication of the note. The mild character of the note of the President, which had no suggestion of hostility to England and which did not deny the right of search for contraband goods, but which at most was merely "come let us reason together over the situation," could not be taken as an offense save by the type of statesmen or country which believed the sea belonged to the nation strong enough to command it. The note merely cautioned against unnecessary delay and the danger of acting upon mere suspicion and of holding all goods that might be upon the sea in fear that they might ultimately reach a belligerent.

While the British preliminary reply was couched in the most respectful language, it will be noted its tone took a decisiveness that could leave no doubt of its meaning.

In the meantime the episode of the *Greenbrier* further suggested what the British Government regarded as its rights upon the sea. Her attitude on the *Dacia*, in which she may confine her activities within her international rights as defined by international law, is a further announcement of her intentions to forfeit no advantage she may have as the mistress of the sea. While she would not likely go to the extent of such aggression as to offer protest to any pending legislation before the American Government, she would not likely hesitate to state her position if consulted by proper authorities, even at the expense of consistency in her insistence to do herself what she now questions our right to do in matters of transfers on the sea. Her decree November 4, to take effect the next day, placing the North Sea under a state of blockade, together with her order to seize and search all vessels carrying conditional contraband, such as the *Wilhelmina*, now in her courts, indicates her determination in such matters. Her attitude following the German order for the Government to take possession of all foodstuffs to reach German ports to be distributed by the German Government, and her treatment of the later German decree of a blockade of the British Isles, and her use of the American flag upon the *Lusitania*, an English merchant vessel, while in the zone of war, all taken together render the situation precarious.

The final reply of Earl Grey to the President's note, published yesterday, on the day the German decree was to take effect, leaves no doubt as to the purpose of Great Britain to lose no advantage upon the sea.

England's attitude on questions of this sort has ever been somewhat arrogant, especially in her relations with the United States. This attitude was the direct cause of the War of 1812. Fifty years later it dangerously approached another war, when she permitted the building of the Confederate vessels, the *Alabama*, the *Florida*, and the *Shenandoah*, in English shipyards, and allowed them to be equipped by Englishmen, to sweep American commerce from the sea. Not because of her enmity toward America, but rather as a part of a program to control the seas, she will not mildly give up any advantage without protest.

Even prior to the second War of Independence, when Jefferson endeavored, and finally succeeded in the Tripolitan War, through Commodores Morris and Decatur, in driving piracy from the seas, at least one statesman of the mother country declared it would be an advantage to English commerce to have such vessels afloat. They could not seriously disturb English shipping, but they could disastrously harass her competitors on the sea.

It is unfair to recite this fact as an indication of her position to-day, save as a mere item in the evolution of England's position as "mistress of the sea." The blockade of the cotton ports during the war seriously affected some of England's industries. When our Government protested against her assistance in blockade running, and especially against her equipping the Confederate States in ships, Lord John Russell made answer for his Government, in which he declared that to build a ship was the undoubted right of every Englishman. To set sail with a party to a foreign country was equally the right of all. To ship cannon and munition of war to foreign destinations is also a right of Britons. When the ship, and the party, and the cannon, and munitions, after leaving British waters, come together and coalesce into a Confederate cruiser, the British Government may feel deceived and flouted, but it can not be held responsible for inefficiency. It was upon such an argument that the English Government escaped damage for all assistance rendered the Confederacy save that for which the Geneva arbitration allowed in the *Alabama* claims adjustment five years after the close of the war.

The story of the steps by which England has come to her position of primacy on the sea is an interesting recital. The control of the sea is an achievement which most nations, ancient and modern, have at times dreamed about. When Columbus found a new world, that rank belonged to Portugal. In time it passed to Spain. Holland came near to it. In this great national game the two nations which figured most prominently since the famous revolution of 1688 were France and England. These two countries resorted to the test of arms for the prize. The first great try out was what we know as the first intercolonial war, commonly known as King William's War, in 1689–1697. The last and final test was the fall of Napoleon in 1815. During the 126 years from the first to the last test of strength seven wars were fought between the contestants, the shortest 7 years in duration and the longest 12. Within this period 64 years were spent in actual fighting.

While the superficial student will define the cause as a difference over the question of succession, he who looks beneath the surface will see in all of these tests of arms a struggle for the sea. Three of these wars have special significance in this light—that of 1739–1748, commonly called King George's War; that of 1754–1763, commonly known as the French and Indian War; and that of 1775–1783, the American Revolution. All these, and especially the last two, have great significance to the people of the United States.

The war of 1754–1763 was the most important step up to that time to all concerned. It was the first stone of the building to be known as the American democracy. While it was largely a struggle between two European monarchies, it resulted in mak-

ing way for the Anglo-Saxon Republic, built upon a free state, free church, and later a free school. It was the abandonment of the last hope of a French or Latin ecclesiasticism in the New World. What France lost the future United States gained. France revealed her anticipation of this in her famous dictum, "We called a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old." Within a dozen years, 1775, the conflict began to fulfill this decree. While the War for Independence was not between England and France, it signified much to both in their struggle for the sea. While it was the loss to France of her most valuable possession in the New World in 1763, she was still possessed with a vast territory, yet to be bartered, in 1803, to the young Republic, that the great rival might not later claim it—the Louisiana country. What France lost to England in 1763 England lost to the soon to be erected young Republic of America just 20 years later.

But while England lost her American holdings, she gained her East Indian Empire and began her career in the Far East. This world contest for the sea included, as readily observed, the policy of colonization. When the final test came, and Europe's greatest military genius met his fate at Waterloo, only to be consigned to St. Helena, England took command of the sea, which by a consistent policy she holds to-day unchallenged. A maritime map which shows the world's trade routes would graphically reveal the marvelous genius of the builders of this commercial country. The English routes of trade, comprising ports, coaling stations, ships—merchant and defensive—fortifications, cables, and all that enter into the world of commerce, touch every nook and corner of the trading world. A water-bound country, she mans her vessels with sailors as to the manner born. Her flag floats to every breeze on land and sea.

While Great Britain is domiciled on a small island west of the channel, the British Empire counts within her domain the greatest expanse of territory as well as the largest population of any country on the globe. Her colonies are found in every quarter of the earth and her islands in every sea. Her influence in modern progress is felt throughout the world. Her flag not only stands for the English language, customs, laws, institutions, and a specific civilization, but it is a signal for a national honor and dignity that is distinctively British.

Much more appropriate to-day than when it was first uttered by Webster might it be said:

> England's morning drumbeat is heard 'round the world, and the strains of her martial music, keeping company with the hours, encircle the globe.

To attain this world prominence this country had to know the habits and customs of all the peoples with whom she dealt. She therefore has grown the most cosmopolitan people of the globe. Her representative is found plying his trade with every nationality known to man. Her lines of commerce touch every port, ply every ocean, thread every bay, inlet, and strait, and touch every continent, making of the hemispheres but a neighborhood.

This intimacy exposes her to misunderstandings, charges of bad faith, and the use of strong-arm methods. Often complications arise, especially in times of war, over rights of neutrals. Too often England's position of primate on the sea leads her to conduct that smacks of arrogance and overlordship. This has been the attitude frequently taken with the United States, and is distinctly so in the present instance, especially of that portion of the English public which lives under the spell of or is unduly influenced by a commercial bully or swaggerer. Even to question the right of the mistress of the ocean in a business peculiarly her own is an insult to some members of the nation.

This is not the first instance. A hasty review will enumerate many similar occasions of notes of international import and the excitement entirely disproportionate for the importance of it. The treaty of Paris, which recognized our independence, was largely a decision on her part to let us alone by declining to have further dealings with us. This decision was doubly demonstrated by the shabby treatment accorded our early accredited ministers at the Court of St. James. John Adams would be a good witness here. It was further expressed by our efforts which ended in the Jay treaty of 1796, which subjected these Americans responsible for it as trucklers to England. It was further displayed by the conduct of the English minister, Mr. Merry, who was finally recalled at the request of President Jefferson after he had violently offended the President's sense of courtesy. Our insignificance in the eyes of the mother country at that time was further published by the enforcement of the English order in council, of especial significance to-day, and the treatment of the *Chesapeake* in 1807 which led Jefferson to issue the famous embargo act, and later Madison to issue the nonintercourse act, which together almost destroyed our commerce on the sea. During the period England was warring with France she all but completely closed all American ports. She was persistently pursuing a policy which meant war with us.

The greatest case of violation of American rights grew out of the English slogan, "Once an Englishman, always an Englishman." England's naval policy was built upon the two claims—the right of search and the right of impressment. The first permitted the entrance of a belligerent upon any neutral vessel to search for English seamen, and the second permitted the taking from the vessel, to be impressed into the English Navy, such persons as were alleged to be English citizens. One vicious rule adopted by the Government declared all persons who spoke English to be English citizens, subject to impressment, unless they had with them papers to prove the contrary. In this way more than 5,000 American citizens were impressed into the British Navy. To contest this principle the second war of independence was fought. That war revealed America upon the sea a rival worthy of England, and while this country compelled the English to make a treaty of peace at Ghent December 24, 1814, yet the American commissioners did not secure a surrender of this principle on the part of England. She succeeded in an agreement to cease war with no mention of its cause. This remained an open question for nearly 30 years, to be finally surrendered, after a battle of the diplomats, in 1842, in the Webster-Ashburton treaty. The letter of Mr. Webster to Lord Ashburton, August 8, 1842, is one of the most important in our diplomatic history. At least one sentence in this letter has become classic:

> English soil, English territory, English jurisdiction is the appropriate sphere of English law. The ocean is the sphere of the law of nations, and any vessel on the seas is by that law under the protection of the laws of her own nation and may claim immunity, unless in cases in which that law allows her to be entered or visited.

Thus this delicate issue was at last adjusted amicably after 50 years' contention.

Strange as it may seem, although we are closer to England as a nation than any other, we have had more estrangements, more serious differences with her than with any other country, indeed with all other countries together. It may be explained upon the basis that members of the same family are more apt to quarrel and fight than strangers. This is partly explained by the fact that England's trade activity, her most sensitive nerve, touches this Nation at every point of interest which invites conflict; and partly because members of the same family, speaking the same language, observing the same customs and laws, enjoying the same institutions, are most apt to know what each is doing and saying, and therefore can most easily be prejudiced one against the other.

A good example is furnished by the Monroe doctrine. There is little doubt while this is an American doctrine it was suggested by the English minister, Mr. Canning. It was thought best for both America and England. The first serious contest over it was with England in 1850, which was finally adjusted in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. Even then England did not fulfill the agreement for 10 years later. During all the years of our national concern from the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850 until the Hay-Pauncefote treaty of 1901, during which time we wished to obtain the conceded right to build the interoceanic canal, England contended against us. Even the treaty of 1901 admits of serious controversy over its real meaning. In 1887, and again in 1895, the Monroe doctrine was quoted to induce England to submit the Venezuela boundary dispute to arbitration. The reply of Salisbury in the latter case created the most acute situation between the two Governments since the episode of 1861, when Mason and Slidell were taken from the British steamer *Trent*. In the latter case Lincoln surrendered the envoys on the ground that it was an exercise of the principle of the right of search against which we fought in 1812.

England's answer to America's request which quoted the Monroe doctrine as the basis of the request of 1895 declared the Monroe doctrine was not now nor ever had been international law, no matter how brilliant the statesmen who announced it nor powerful the nation that backs it. To this answer President Cleveland made answer by asking Congress for authority to appoint a commission to investigate the disputed boundary, and recommended that the findings of the same be backed by the power and authority of the Nation. The acute situation created so suddenly over an insignificant boundary line aroused a public opinion in both countries which made it comparatively easy for England to reconsider her former position and agree to an adjustment, which was reached without further strained relations. Now England asks whether we will invoke the same doctrine against Germany's invasion of Canada if she attempts it.

Some of our most serious differences arose out of boundary disputes. A glance at the northern boundary reveals her success in diplomacy. The wording of the treaty of 1783 touching the boundary between what is now Maine and New Brunswick,

was indefinite. It had been a matter of dispute, at times acrimonious, until 1842, when it was finally adjusted peacefully by the Webster-Ashburton treaty. Many Americans hold that the St. Lawrence rightly belonged to the United States. The northern boundary line was for years in dispute, and finally it reached the acute state when in 1844 it became a campaign slogan in "Fifty-four Forty or Fight." England won in this contest. Note her water advantage in the Northwest. At the same time we were having serious differences over what is now the Northwest, then called the Oregon Territory. Both countries had grounds for their respective claims which were pushed with vigor. Both the boundary and Oregon disputes were settled amicably. The boundary line was fixed at 49 degrees, with England in possession of Vancouver with its wonderful harbor, and shipping rights in the Gulf of Juan De Fuca, while Oregon fell to the United States. Here as elsewhere our country did not appreciate with England water privileges. The latest boundary dispute was that on the Yukon, in Alaska. This difference assumed a serious phase, when finally it was left to a commission which succeeded in adjusting it in an amicable manner satisfactory to both nations.

Another source of unpleasant differences with the mother country, and which involves rights on the sea so cautiously guarded by her, is found in the fishing rights along the borders, especially along the east Canadian shore and west Alaskan shore. These disputes arose over American treaty rights in Canadian waters and English rights in Alaskan waters. The disputed points were new to diplomacy, which made them acute. They have been subjects of diplomatic correspondence, interpretations of treaties and purchase titles, special commissions, and international conferences. Happily most of these questions are either adjusted or in the process of settlement, triumphs of diplomacy.

Another source of more or less estrangement with the mother country refers to our relations to the American continental powers. While this is not strictly maritime, it involves the colonial policy of England. With Canada on our north, we have had most friendly relations, but at times misunderstandings have disturbed this usual friendship. At the close of the Revolution, in 1783, many of the English sympathizers, the Loyalists, either voluntarily went to Canada or were forced to go there by treatment accorded them in the States in violation of the treaty of 1783. This item will insure some bitter feeling against the Republic. Fishing rights as was said at various times presented Canadian questions of contention. Sympathy between kindred peoples played some part in our relations.

In the Canadian rebellion of 1837, sometimes called the Patriot War, much sympathy for the revolt was shown in the United States. Raids from New York were made by defeated insurgents. The steamer *Caroline* was destroyed on the American side by Canadian troops. It was seized, set on fire, and allowed to drift over the Falls of Niagara. At least one insurgent citizen was arrested in New York, which created the most bitter feeling until he was acquitted. Action on the part of our Government prevented further disturbance. Economic questions, purely domestic, had some influence.

Frequent discussions of the tariff issue, which invariably called attention to the commercial boundary line, not infrequently produce a feeling of antagonism. This is especially true of a statesman on either side of the line who mentioned annexation. The late Prof. Goldwin Smith, of Canada, was a stout advocate of the policy of annexation. On the other hand, there are frequent mentions of it by statesmen on this side of the line. Naturally such utterances arouse much opposition.

The question of reciprocity, which virtually was a one-sided advantage to Canada, and which was rejected by the latter, and caused the fall of the most distinguished Canadian leader of half a century, became an occasion of a campaign conducted upon an issue that it was the first step toward annexation. The Speaker of the American House of Representatives was widely quoted throughout Canada in evidence, using an incident in which the Speaker was employing mere jest. No amount of explanation could destroy the effect of the quotation.

Still another incident which led dangerously close to serious trouble between this country and the mother country was the intermeddling with Indian affairs in Florida. Gen. Jackson apprehended two foreign subjects, Arbuthnot and Ambrister, one of whom at least was an English subject, and had one hung and the other shot. This rather high-handed manner of dealing with subjects of a foreign country might have involved us as a nation. It was this incident which Calhoun, then Secretary of War, made a subject of investigation, and which led to the feud between him and Jackson, which was never healed.

England's injecting herself into the Texas affairs in the forties upon the ground of agreement with Mexico to forbid slavery in Texas produced much bitterness in certain circles of our country. The annexation of Texas led to the War with Mexico. England did not interfere either at the time or later when we were in civil war. France in 1863 took advantage of our situation and attempted to establish a French Empire in Mexico in spite of the Monroe doctrine. This led dangerously near to war with France.

We have had about 140 years of national history. During that time we have had many serious disputes with England, but only one war, 1812, in addition to the War of Independence, 1776, when our Nation began. We came dangerously near another in 1861 over the Trent affair. The action of the Lincoln government avoided the conflict. England's malignant neutrality as shown throughout the Civil War in many and various ways would have produced war had the Nation been in a position to offer resistance. Our situation allowed a protest only. As Lincoln declared to Seward, "One war at a time is all we can stand."

The strain in 1895 and the ease with which it was relieved indicates that all diplomatic differences can be amicably adjusted when the parties really wish to reach an adjustment. This acute dispute was confined to officials of both countries and never became an issue of the public in either country.

Our national peace was broken once in 1846 with Mexico, and again in 1898 with Spain. In the former case no outside nation offered interference, but in the latter there was an attempt to present a European concert, when England declined to join, on account of which it reached no further than a mere proposal. England's attitude might be taken as real friendship rather than national advantage in a possible war.

It is but natural that the sensitive question between the two nations is commerce. England is, and by nature must be, commercial. Her power lies in her ability to trade. She is a nation of traders, if she is anything, and therefore is most jealous of that right. If she is the workshop of the world, she is also the barterer of the world. To make herself secure she makes alliances, both offensive and defensive. This indicates a partial explanation of her attitude toward Germany, which is rapidly becoming a competitor of no mean ability. It throws some light upon her alliance with Japan. It may explain her permission for Japan to mix in the present trouble. It explains her attitude toward the old claim of the right of search and her extreme sensitiveness over the present issue. It explains her contention that almost approaches arrogance to stop all vessels of neutrals upon mere suspicion, to search for contraband goods, and her insistence upon her right to hold goods that might ultimately reach a belligerent. It partially explains the English "shock" over the note of the Government, with the sanction of the President, notwithstanding it had been a matter of negotiation for weeks before. It probably will explain the ultra utterances of the British press over our silence in the European war when we are urged to lodge protests against the triple alliance for alleged violation of the rules of war. It throws light upon the newspaper indictments that the people of the United States are willing to violate neutrality in order to find a market for our goods for the sake of profit. Can this be a note of fear that England's situation may see another mistress of the sea?

It would be enlightening if the authors of these charges would consult the conduct of their own Government during a war of other nations, which becomes for her, as a neutral, the greatest period of prosperity as the carrying nation of the world. This has been true for decades. Belligerent countries' disturbance of commerce has always been England's opportunity as the carrier on the sea. She does not protest against the shipping of contraband, but insists upon the rights of war to seize contraband on the seas is merely a prize for the country that commands the ocean. Even to-day, involved in war as she is, the allies control the sea, which enables her to ply her trade and advantage free from seizures. Hence her present contention. If the vessels of the Triple Alliance can be driven from the sea, so much the more will be the business of the vessels of the mistress of the sea; so much the more her need to exercise the right of search. Her periods of growth upon the ocean are contemporary with the disarrangement of the trade of other countries. The history of the growth of her trade proves this statement. Hence the jealousy with which she guards her commercial monopoly in time of war and the readiness to halt all vessels of neutrals, including our own, upon mere suspicion. This suggests an explanation of her regard for the future course of the United States as a builder of an American merchant marine. In the days preceding the Civil War our vessels plied every sea. One serious effect of that national strife was the advantage England seized upon, not only to aid the Confederacy to break the southern blockade, to permit the building and equipment of

Confederate cruisers to sweep the seas, but also to embrace the crisis of the Union as an opportunity to clear the seas of an American merchant marine, by a policy of subsidies and discriminating laws which in 50 years have seen her the monopolist of the seas, with small competition from her once great rival in the merchant marine.

Hence the acrimonious dispatches of a belligerent press; the extravagant utterances of irresponsible politicians; the flamboyant attitude of an element of the English public over our latest note upon our rights on the sea; the certainty that she will test American diplomacy to the limit. Unhappily, the Palmerston and Disraeli type is too readily quoted. The Bright and Gladstone utterances are not so readable and do not, therefore, reach the public so quickly. The jingo is most interesting and too often is taken as the voice of the people.

England's surprise reminds the country of her irritation over our demands in 1863. Even Lord Russell, a fairly conservative statesman, resented our claims, and Cockburn, the English member of the Geneva court of arbitration, was so undiplomatic that foreign members openly rebuked him. It was difficult for the public to understand the attitude of the mother country then, after the *Alabama*, built in English shipyards, coaled in English coaling stations, and manned by English seamen, had captured 57 American vessels and had destroyed over $6,000,000 worth of property, for which the court of arbitration allowed $15,500,000 damages, including some items of other Confederate-built cruisers; and it is difficult for the public not to understand the agitation of the same country over our deigning to call her attention to the interference with our trade under the claim of belligerent rights over neutral vessels. It should not surprise those acquainted with England's policy. In the many cases of acute differences over rights upon the sea, disputes over fishing rights, confusion over boundaries, bad temper over the Monroe doctrine, intermeddling in domestic matters as in the case of the Indians and slavery in Texas, undiplomatic activities of Merry under Jefferson and Sackville West under Cleveland, wiser council has in every case, save one, prevented an open rupture. So it will be during this critical situation, when half the world is at war. Our relation with the mother country should and will be the most cordial unless disturbed by jealousy and bad council. In a peculiar sense we are an England transplanted. Edward A. Freeman expressed it in the title of one of his best books, "Greater Greece and Greater Britain." England was greater Greece and America greater Britain.

This country was originally settled by five nationalities—the English, French, Dutch, Swedes, and Spanish. The latter was on the Gulf, and did not occupy any of the territory of the original thirteen States. The French occupied the region of Canada and the Mississippi Valley, but no part of the original thirteen States. The English Puritan settled New England, while the English Cavalier settled in the Southland; the Dutch occupied New York; and the Swedes Delaware. After an existence of 17 years, the Swedish colony was conquered by New York under the Dutch. Fifty years after the first settlement the Dutch colony was conquered by the English. Thus 30 years before the famous English revolution of 1688 all of the thirteen American Colonies had become English either by settlement or by conquest. Eighty years later France lost her hold to England, and the entire country virtually becomes England transplanted. This does not mean English in blood, but in language, law, government, and so forth. To-day the mother country, with all her English possessions, does not contain much over half the population speaking English that are found in this country.

The real English nation might well be regarded as located on this side of the Atlantic. An English statesman recently declared that had it not been for the unwisdom of the government of George III the capital of the English nation might have been in America. True, our population is composed of elements of all nations, but they speak the English language, enjoy the English common law, live under institutions largely modeled after the English, and possess many English ideals. This Nation has more in common with England than it has with any other country. This may explain the frequent causes of dispute, since we strive for the same ideals.

In a little over a century of national growth we have proved the right to be consulted. We occupy a continent over which are spread half a hundred empire States. We have a wealth that overtops any other nation by one and three-quarters times. We have 25 per cent of the world's wheat, 70 per cent of its corn, 60 per cent of its cotton, 40 per cent of its coal, and 42 per cent of its pig iron. We have more mileage of railroads, twice over, than any two countries of Europe. We have two-fifths of all the banking resources of the financial world, including our own country. New York will become, if not already so, the money center of the earth. We have the ultimate form of government to which Europe, many believe, must come at last. We have the happiest people, best fed, best clothed, best housed, best educated, of all the world. We have the ability and must lend succor to war-ridden Europe. We can support our own and help to support the world's needy. Just now our mission is to induce peace among warring nations. But this duty does not demand our supinely subjecting ourselves, without protest, to needless annoyances from national intermeddlers.

While peace can not be commanded by any nation which permits violation with impunity of the most fundamental rights of sovereignty, so it can not be advanced by a nation which overlooks the rights of its citizens, whether on sea or land, at home or abroad.

Our mission as a peacemaker depends upon our seeing with a vision, unclouded by either prejudice or self-interest, the larger rights of all concerned, and our determination, well understood by all the world, to maintain that position at all hazards, for the sake of Europe as well as America. Our duty here is clear, not to play the rôle of the bully nor the part of the banterer. We must not carry the chip on our shoulder nor invite protest from the belligerents nor carelessly enter upon a policy that leads to international complication. Ours is the sphere of the square deal in the larger sense which we believe will be pursued calmly but with dignity and honor to ourselves and with justice to others, remembering ever that nothing is to be gained by vacillation and uncertainty of policy in matters where the line of duty is clearly disclosed.

The present situation involves all possible questions of neutral rights upon the seas that might arise. The contention on the part of the British Government is in the hands of the three trained diplomats and statesmen of Europe—Asquith, Lloyd George, and Earl Grey—who have attracted much attention for their ability in international matters. Upon the side of the United States the very highest talent in diplomacy available may be put to the supreme test.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK E. GUERNSEY,

OF MAINE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, February 19, 1915.

Mr. GUERNSEY. Mr. Speaker, the question of rural credits is being brought into prominence in the country and will probably receive considerable attention in the Sixty-fourth Congress. Already the matter has been considered by a subcommittee of the Committee on Banking and Currency of the House, which held extensive hearings on the subject during the second session of the Sixty-third Congress.

These hearings dealt almost exclusively with rural land credits. Recently the Committee on Banking and Currency of the House reported favorably to the House a resolution creating a commission to investigate and report by December next the subject of personal rural credits so that the next Congress will have before it a large volume of information on the subject of land and personal rural credits from the standpoint of this country, and in addition the report of the United States commission, which, in April, 1913, sailed for Europe to investigate the question of rural credits and learn what views they could relative to handling such credits in the Old World.

That commission, whose chairman was Senator DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, studied the subject most thoroughly, and a report of the commission has been admirably digested by Mr. Fred G. Swett, of the Department of Commerce. I believe this condensation of the report to be so useful to the people of the country interested in the matter, and especially to Members of Congress whose time may be so taken up that they find it impossible to review the whole report, that I will take advantage of the right granted me to extend my remarks by including therein the digest of the United States Commission on Rural Credits by Mr. Swett, which is as follows:

The report of the United States Commission to investigate and study in European countries cooperative land-mortgage banks, cooperative rural-credit unions, and similar organizations and institutions devoting their attention to the promotion of agriculture and the betterment of rural conditions, has recently been made public. This commission is composed of United States Senators DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, of Florida, chairman, and THOMAS P. GORE, of Oklahoma; Congressman RALPH W. MOSS, vice chairman; Col. Harvie Jordan, of Georgia; Dr. John Lee

Coulter, of Washington, secretary; Dr. Kenyon L. Butterfield, of Massachusetts; and Dr. Clarence J. Owens, of Washington.

In pursuance of the provisions of the act organizing this commission, its members sailed for Europe in April, 1913, where they visited Italy, Hungary, Austria, Germany, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, France, England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. While in these countries leading authorities on agricultural matters, farmers, and landholders were visited and conditions carefully investigated and studied. After the return from Europe the commission compiled and edited a great mass of detailed information which was obtained by its members while abroad. The conclusions reached are presented in the report of the commission on agricultural credit, which just recently has been made public.

Agricultural credit naturally divides itself into two great classes, namely, long-term or land-mortgage credit, which may be briefly defined as "credit to meet the capital requirements of the farmer," and short-term or personal credit, which may be defined as "credit to meet the current or annually recurring needs of the farmer." In the European system of agricultural banks the distinction between these two classes of credit is sharply drawn.

To meet the requirements of the two classes separate institutions are provided, differing fundamentally in their plan of organization and operation. These different institutions, however, naturally touch at many points. They have grown up by a slow process and have been adapted and adjusted to meet conditions as they arose. They still preserve their separate identity, and their operations are largely confined to their separate fields. Whether the conditions in America demand a segregation of institutions designed to meet these two classes of credit, as is the case in European countries, or whether one class of institutions can be designed to meet both needs, has been a matter of serious consideration and study by the commission. The differing conditions in Europe and in the United States must, of necessity, have some bearing upon any decision that may be reached on this point. A knowledge of the work of the present American banking system in its old form and as modified by the Federal reserve act in furnishing long-term, or land-mortgage, as well as short-term, or personal, credit for farmers is also necessary as a preliminary to reaching any decision on this point.

In considering this question the commission has attempted to define, in the first place, the needs of the American farming population in a financial sense. As noted above, a careful consideration of this point has resulted in its defining these needs as being two in number, as follows:

NEEDS FOR LARGE SUMS.

First. The farmer's capital requirements, by which is meant the need of the farmer for large sums of money to be used in aiding to pay the purchase price of the farm, in improving his farm, such as erecting new farm buildings, draining, irrigating, or clearing, or in equipping the farm so as to bring his operations to the highest state of efficiency.

The money needed for these purposes must be in the shape of a more or less permanent investment, or in the shape of loans extending over such a long period of time that they can be gradually reduced and paid off out of the increased earnings derived from the improvements made or the equipment added by the farmer with the proceeds of such loans. This is generally referred to as long-term or land-mortgage credit.

Second. The farmer's temporary or annually recurring requirements by which is meant the money needed by him to finance his operations during the time that the crops are being produced. These temporary requirements recur every year and embrace the financial needs of the farmer for the purpose of preparing the land, sowing and cultivating the crops, and harvesting the same. This is generally referred to as personal or short-term credit. But the short-term credit of the farmer should be distinguished from the short-term credit of the merchant or manufacturer.

The merchant requires banking accommodation for 30, 60, or 90 days, during which period he can dispose of the stock acquired and repay the loan; in contrast, the farmer may require short-term credit extending from the time the crops are planted until they are harvested, and this may be fixed approximately at from 90 days to one year. After the crops are harvested and stored in a barn, elevator, or warehouse the need of agricultural banking is largely removed, as the financial handling of the crops so stored then comes under the province of commercial banking.

The questions therefore to be considered resolve themselves into the methods of furnishing for the farmer long-term or land-mortgage credit and short-term or personal credit. For convenience in discussing these two systems of credit, long-term or land-mortgage credit will be hereafter referred to as mortgage credit, because such credit necessarily must be based on the security of the land owned by the farmer and because such mortgage credit for convenience must be again subdivided into long-term mortgage credit and short-term mortgage credit.

LAND-MORTGAGE OR LONG-TERM CREDIT.

Mortgage credit, organized into a special system of banking, has existed in Europe since the reign of Frederick the Great. Beginning in Prussia, this system of banking has grown until mortgage institutions have been organized under authority of law practically in every European State.

One general principle which underlies all mortgage banks of Europe is the issue of bonds which are based on the collective value or security of many individual mortgages on real estate. It is the merging of the credit demands and the property resources of many individuals, somewhat similarly situated, into one financial transaction. States, municipalities, counties, and other organized communities in the United States have adopted this principle. Public improvements of all kinds are commonly constructed from the proceeds of bonds issued against the total taxable wealth of a political division and are sold in the open markets. These bonds are justly popular and have made possible the construction of many mighty works of civilization.

SHORT-TERM AND LONG-TERM MORTGAGES.

Mortgage credit is generally divided into short and long term loans. This distinction is based upon the duration of the loan and also upon the method of repaying the principal sum. Short-term loans are defined for the purposes of this article as those made for a shorter period than five years, the principal being repayable at the maturity of the loan. All loans exceeding five years are classified as long-term loans, the principal sum being repayable in small annual or semiannual payments. The latter method of repayment is technically known as amortization.

The issue of land-mortgage bonds and the method of amortization payments are the distinctive features of European long-term mortgage credit which should be preserved in any American system of land-mortgage banking. Under this plan the duration of a loan is determined by the rate of amortization, while the interest charge is fixed by the market value of the bonds and the bank's charge for administration. If 4 per cent bonds are selling at par and the bank charges thirty-five one-hundredths of 1 per cent for administration, then an amortization rate of fifty one-hundredths of 1 per cent will extinguish the debt in 54½ years; that is to say, the borrower will pay the bank a rate of 4.85 per cent on the sum borrowed for 54½ years.

The bank divides this payment into three parts; 4 per cent goes to pay the interest due on the collateral trust bond which the bank issued to secure the money which was loaned to the farmer; fifty one-hundredths of 1 per cent is applied toward the payment of the principal, and the bank receives thirty-five one-hundredths of 1 per cent for expenses and profits. If the bond sells below par, either the farmer must pay a commission to the bank or the discount must be met by the bank from its administration fund; on the other hand, if the bonds sell above par, the premium may go to the borrower or to the institution in the form of profit.

Generally speaking, the interest rate to the borrower is determined by the market value of the bank's collateral trust bonds, generally referred to as land mortgage bonds, the rate to the borrower rising as the bond falls below par and lowering as it advances above par.

If the rate for amortization is higher than fifty one-hundredths of 1 per cent, the loan will necessarily be extinguished in a shorter period than 54½ years.

A limitation as to time is usually fixed by law as well as to the rate which the bank may charge for administration. In actual operation in Europe the time limitation varies in general from 30 to 60 years, and the charge for administration varies from fifteen one-hundredths of 1 per cent in a purely mutual association of borrowers to thirty-five one-hundredths of 1 per cent in joint-stock banks. The French law allows a margin of sixty one-hundredths of 1 per cent, as does the recently enacted Spanish law. This charge is computed on the principal sum remaining unpaid, and in long-time loans it is therefore a constantly decreasing charge to the borrower.

These rates of payment for interest, amortization, and administration are definitely fixed in the terms of the mortgage and can not be changed by the bank. The borrower, however, is always given the right to discharge his obligations at any interest period after a fixed time. This period is commonly designated in Europe as 10 years. This right is a double protection to the borrower: First, it protects the debtor against any demand for payment of his entire debt or an increase in the annual interest charges; second, the provision for repayment at pleasure gives the borrower complete protection against a general fall in interest rates. This will be a very important feature to American debtors, since the tendency in the United States will be toward lower interest rates for farmers.

Under such a contract a borrower could safely assume a liability maturing regularly over a long period of time, because if interest rates were to fall he could borrow money elsewhere at the lower rate of interest, discharge his obligation, and thus secure the advantages of a cheaper rate on money.

TAX EXEMPTIONS.

The report states that it can not be denied that taxation by a State of the mortgage and of the real estate on which the mortgage is predicated is double taxation. A farmer can not with safety go in debt for 60 per cent of the value of improved real estate and pay taxes on both the land and the mortgage. President Taft, in his letter to the governors of our States, asserted that farmers are paying higher interest rates than any other class of business men. It can be asserted with entire confidence that they are also paying a higher taxation in proportion to their property holdings than any other class of citizens.

In the Middle West, where land values range from $100 upward per acre, if the land be mortgaged for 50 per cent of its value, and if the mortgage is taxed, the debtor owner is investing $50 per acre and paying interest on $50 per acre. He is also paying directly the tax on the land and paying indirectly the tax on the mortgage. Under these conditions—rising land values and cumulative taxation—the land is slowly but surely passing away from resident ownership to landlord ownership. Farm tenancy is undeniably on the increase.

One of the leading purposes of a rational system of mortgage credits is to enable any honest, industrious agricultural laborer or tenant to acquire, by a part payment of the purchase price, immediate control and ultimate ownership of a tract of land and thereby check the growing evil of tenancy. At the same time the system should enable any owner of agricultural real estate to secure capital on terms which will enable him to improve his holding and to render his land more productive. In either instance the terms must be such as to prevent temporary crop failure from driving the owner from his farm and from causing the loss of all savings. These are worthy purposes, and they will promote in the largest and best sense the general welfare of the Republic.

Under the American form of government these important matters are under State sovereignty and are subject to State legislation. Every student of the subject must conclude that the States should adopt some system of State guaranty of title, as, for instance, the Torrens system. It is against the best interest of the general public to have possible legal disputes over the ownership of land. The loss incident to such uncertainty falls primarily on the landowner, but in the end this loss is transferred to the general public because the food and shelter of the Nation is secured from the soil. It is a recognition of this economic fact which justifies and sustains wise legislation to promote the best interest of agriculture. European Governments have generally recognized this fact. The same may be said of Australian and Canadian Provinces. Some American States have taken it up.

THE AREA OF OPERATION.

The considerations discussed in the first part of this article naturally suggest the State as the unit for the operation of a mortgage bank for agricultural credit. The laws of a State are uniform. The value of an issue of collateral trust land-mortgage bonds by bank depends on a correct valuation of the mortgaged lands; and long-time loans involve a supervision or oversight as to the management of the property to prevent depreciation in the security. These very important features can be arranged most advantageously if the operations of the bank be restricted within a reasonable area. Moreover, European experience indicates that mortgage banks succeed best when confined to a limited area. Some of the American States approach in area many of their largest nations; hence it is probable that a State is the largest political division against which a series of collateral trust bonds should be issued by a mortgage bank.

There are other restrictions which should be imposed on mortgage banks. Their resources should always bear a fixed ratio to their liabilities. The earlier mortgage banks in Europe were permitted to issue collateral trust bonds up to 20 times the amount of their capital and surplus. The tendency has been to reduce this volume to 15 times their resources, which would seem to be a better ratio. At this proportion banks have reported to this agricultural credit commission that they were declaring annual dividends at from 12 per cent to 14 per cent, so that no just complaint can be made on the basis of earning power.

The capital and surplus of the mortgage bank should not be entirely invested in long-term mortgage loans, but should be invested in other securities. The resources of the bank may very properly be advanced in loans for short periods, pending an issue of its collateral trust bonds, or they might be temporarily invested in its own securities. The full success of a mortgage bank can not be assured unless a market is always present for its bonds. The desirability of a security, from an investment standpoint, does not depend wholly on the rate of income; the question of a ready cash market at a fixed value—its convertibility into cash at the will of the holder—is an important feature of an investment. The land-mortgage bond is an invention to render liquid the value of real estate, and therefore the bank which issues these collateral trust bonds should be prepared to repurchase them when they are offered on the market. Much of the capital of the bank should be available for this purpose and should not be tied up in long-time loans.

COOPERATIVE BANKS.

The general spread of cooperation among the farmers of the United States should be fully recognized and every opportunity should be given for the growth of these cooperative principles. In the judgment of the commission any legislation providing for the establishment of land-mortgage banks should authorize the establishment of cooperative as well as private joint-stock institutions. Any attempt to force all institutions into one form would probably fail. There should, however, be no differences in the methods of doing business, the only difference being in the form of organization.

The American people are so thoroughly accustomed to the principle of double liability that no attempt advantageously could be made to reduce it. Mortgage banks organized by farmers are likely to be small at first in many parts of the country, and for that reason, if for no other, it would be wise to authorize these to assume any amount of liability desired by the members. Having in mind the effect upon the selling value of the bonds in the open market, it might be wise to emphasize the advantage of assuming a much higher liability. Greater liability than that generally approved in the country at the present time should not, however, be required.

The only difference in organization prescribed by law would be: (1) Cooperative banks would be required to limit the number of shares of capital owned by each member, while the other banks would make no limitations; (2) in cooperative banks each member would have one vote, and only one, no matter how many shares of stock he owned, while in other banks each share of stock would have one vote; (3) in cooperative banks, after a small rate of interest had been paid, the remainder of the net earnings, if any, would be distributed among the patrons on the basis of business done, in contrast with the distribution of all net earnings in the form of dividends on capital stock in the other institutions. Under the plans suggested there is no reason why any group of farmers in any county should not organize its own institution on cooperative principles. It would also be thoroughly practicable for any larger group of farmers already organized for other purposes (such as a State grange, union, alliance, or equity society) to form a large central State institution on cooperative principles, with all the strength of similar institutions found in the various European countries visited by the commission.

THE MATTER OF STATE AID.

There is room for an honest difference of opinion as to the question of State aid if only European experience is consulted.

In every instance in Europe where Government capital has been granted to establish mortgage credit the results have been favorable to the agricultural interests of that nation. It is the opinion of the commission that such aid should not be extended in the United States. The farm property in this country is computed to be worth $40,000,000,000 and is rapidly increasing in value. Undoubtedly this vast property, whose value is as stable as the foundations of this Government, is sufficient to attract capital in ample volume to improve and cultivate its area without subvention from our Government Treasury. The idea of Federal aid is always attractive and commands many able and earnest advocates, but self-help should be the motto of the new American agriculture.

It is a mooted question whether these mortgage banks should be chartered by the States or the Nation. There can be no question but that it is a subject entirely appropriate for the State legislatures. If the question could receive serious consideration from every State, and fairly uniform legislation were to be enacted without undue delay, it is to be conceded that this would be a happy solution, but the experience in this country in the effort to secure uniform legislation regarding negotiable instruments, divorce laws, etc., has demonstrated the difficulty of securing uniform State legislation by independent action. Moreover, it is true that the investing class in the United States seems to place more confidence in Federal than in State supervision of financial institutions. Whether this confidence is justified or not, the fact remains the same, and certainly any system which increases the confidence of the investor in the securities to be issued is worthy of serious consideration.

Land-mortgage bonds, when issued under rigid Government supervision, form an ideal kind of investment or trust security, because they bear a fair rate of interest, command a ready market, and exhibit great stability of value. All speculation is avoided by restricting mortgage banks to the granting of loans to private owners of land and, when such loans are granted, to the issuing of collateral trust bonds only to the amount of the loans. The capital of the bank is required to be invested chiefly in other safe interest-bearing securities, and this remains as an additional security to the holders of the bonds. Under these conditions such bonds are of the highest type of absolutely safe investment. Their value in nowise depends upon speculative elements and varies but little, presenting a favorable contrast with railway and commercial stocks and bonds.

In the opinion of the commission the National Government is fully justified in extending a generous recognition to these bonds because they are issued to aid and develop agriculture. All commercial banks, savings banks, insurance companies, and other like institutions should be permitted and encouraged by State and Federal legislation to invest their funds in these bonds; both State and National Governments, as well as private enterprises, should receive these bonds as approved collateral in all transactions, including like securities. The Government may not justify the use of public funds to promote purely private enterprises, but the people are beginning to comprehend that the Government itself is a cooperative enterprise.

CONCLUSIONS.

Day by day the power of the whole people is being employed to do more cheaply or more efficiently some duty which had hitherto been performed by the individual. In agriculture we have been a pioneer people, actively engaged in taking possession of the surface of a great empire. Our farmers have been engaged in the hard labor of improving their farms, building schoolhouses and churches, and constructing bridges and roads for the public welfare. Science has but recently informed us that the fertility of our soils must be maintained and where depleted must be restored. We all know that our herds of meat-bearing animals must be increased, says the commission in its report.

While it may be said that these duties pertain particularly to the individual farmers, it can be answered in reply that farmers have not been able to accumulate sufficient free capital to meet the present situation. Our population has grown more rapidly than our agriculture has been able to expand on a scientific basis. It has been possible for our railroads and other highly organized industries to look forward to the future and estimate the rapidly growing demands of the public on their services. And yet, in many directions, we can see that our population has outrun the ability of our public-service corporations to serve them efficiently.

Agriculture has been the one great national industry which has been without organization and has been absolutely helpless before the wonderful growth of our Nation. Therefore, the financing of our farms has become a national problem. The savings of the Nation must flow out to the farms in order to put agriculture on a proper basis as compared with other organized industries. This can only be done by wise and patriotic legislation. Farm securities must be honored by Nation, by State, and by individual. Fortunately, everybody will profit by such cooperation. The investor—from the smallest creditor to the largest capitalist—can purchase a security which has been thoroughly investigated by a bank under strict Government inspection, and which, in addition, is guaranteed by the capital of the bank. He has secured a bond which is practically as safe as a security can be. The owner of the property has been equally accommodated, since he can readily secure a loan on his property up to 50 per cent of its value. The general public will be greatly benefited, because the cost of living will always be predicated upon the great law of supply of foodstuffs produced from the earth and the volume consumed by the people who inhabit the earth.

There should be no hesitation, therefore, in enacting legislation which will give land-mortgage bonds—which are the basis of all true long-term rural credit—that favorable position which is always accorded State and Federal bonds, for both are based on the public wealth and are issued to strengthen and to perpetuate our Nation.

In closing this section of its report the commission desires to refer to the fact that the commercial world has had constructed for it a magnificent system of commercial banks; the frugal laborers and savers of the cities have their systems of savings banks and building and loan associations, and the great corporations have their trust companies. All of these and other similar financial institutions assist in the financing of the agricultural industry to some extent, but none of them is adequate or can be made adequate to supply this special need without a sacrifice to their present field of endeavor. The commission recognizes that too great ease in borrowing should not be encouraged, since this might result in an unreasonable increase in farm debt. On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that under the present system tenancy continues to increase and farmers have outstanding obligations easily exceeding $2,000,000,000 secured by mortgages on their farms, much of which was negotiated under very unfavorable circumstances and with very high rates of interest. It is believed that under the plans which have been here detailed, and which are intended to be supplementary to the existing system, tenancy may be decreased, the needs of farmers be taken care of, and at the same time the outstanding obligations may be refunded on much more favorable terms and gradually reduced by the regular payment of small annual installments, impossible under the general system now found in this country.

PERSONAL OR SHORT-TERM CREDIT.

From all information that the commission has assembled on the status of personal or short-time credit for farmers in the United States it is clear that very different conditions exist in different parts of the country. In some it is perfectly clear that farmers have most of the institutions necessary, so far as personal or short-time credit is concerned. In all parts of the country farmers patronize, to a greater or less extent, small and medium national banks, small and medium State banks, as well as private banks. To a considerably smaller extent they patronize and are served by loan and trust companies and savings banks, both mutual and stock.

In addition to these regularly established and recognized financial institutions, farmers also patronize extensively individual lenders. Farmers both borrow and lend as individuals to individuals, and also borrow from individuals other than farmers to a considerable extent, and possibly lend in some cases. Then, too, farmers depend upon the local stores and representatives of commission houses and other buyers of farm products and dealers in farm supplies for credit to a very large extent.

One of the first very definite and fundamental observations which must be accepted as a result of an examination into the characteristics of financial institutions in this country which serve farmers, so far as credit is concerned, is that they were not constructed to serve the special needs of the farmers. Because the financial institutions have not been constructed to serve the special needs of the farmers, other institutions, such as stores of all kinds and persons who are the purchasers of and dealers in farm products, often have been forced to furnish the financial aid necessary.

PEOPLE'S BANKS.

Most European countries have recognized the different needs of the different classes of people, such as merchants, manufacturers, farmers, etc., and different institutions exist to serve the different classes; and yet it is true that in several countries there is one type of institution which to a very large extent serves the different classes, thus demonstrating that it is not absolutely essential that separate and distinct institutions exist.

The most important type of institution of this class is that popularly known as the people's bank. The best illustrations are found in Germany, Austria, and Italy, but some other countries have institutions quite similar in many if not most respects.

This particular institution developed in Germany, where it is popularly known as the Schulze-Delitzsch type of bank. It is described first because it resembles in many respects the small private, State, and

national banks found in many parts of the United States. It is quite probable that slight changes in American national banking laws would make it possible for the small banks of this country to extend their activities so that they might serve the same purpose in the same way that these banks now serve the farmers of Germany, Austria, Italy, and other European countries.

SHARE CAPITAL.

The people's banks in different European countries secure their first capital by the issuing of shares; these shares are owned by the members. In the different countries visited the general impression was that the value of the shares was rather high. In 740 of these banks in Germany, which are affiliated with the national federation, the shares are of a nominal value of approximately 300 marks, or $71.

It is not necessary that the shares be paid for in one sum, however, the general arrangement being that members may pay for them in monthly installments. Toward payment for the share or shares subscribed by a member are placed, in addition to the monthly installment, any dividends which becomes due to him on a division of the profits. Only when the share is fully paid up does he receive such dividends in cash. The prospect of receiving dividends in cash incites the members to make every effort to complete their payment in the least possible time and thus become the actual owners of capital, even though it be on a modest scale.

In Austria the same general condition is found, except that the value of the shares is lower than is found in Germany and the average paid-up capital per member is naturally lower. Of the 2,862 Schulze-Delitzsch banks, which furnish particulars of their working condition, in Austria in 1910 the membership was 1,704,090 and the share capital only $38,400,000, the average paid-up capital per member being only about $23. In Italy the total number of members of the 690 people's banks reporting was 501,022, while the paid-up capital, including surplus, amounted to $30,042,152, or an average of $60 per member.

LIABILITY.

One of the most important characteristics of the people's banks is their status with reference to the liability of the members. Under any system of cooperation the general understanding is that mutuality is accepted as the foundation; in other words, that unlimited liability is accepted by the members and that each member pledges himself to be liable to the full extent of his resources for all accounts of the society to which he belongs. This principle has been found to be practicable where all of the members live in close proximity to each other and are generally known to each other. This has been particularly so where all are engaged in the same general line of work and are of the same general economic status. More particularly do the principles of unlimited liability obtain successfully where membership is quite definitely limited to a comparatively small number and where the members are carefully selected.

In the case of these popular banks they are urban in character, generally speaking, although probably about one-fourth of the members are farmers. In the second place, the occupation of the members ranges over a great variety of callings; and, in the third place, the membership is quite large, in fact, so large that generally it would be impossible for any one member to know any large per cent of the other members. As a result of this, although these banks started as unlimited liability societies, they have gradually changed in many respects. Thus, in 1911 out of a total of 952 banks of this type which reported in Germany, 563, or 59.1 per cent, were of the unlimited-liability type, while 385, or 40.5 per cent had limited liability, and 4, or 0.4 per cent, were of a special mixed type, having unlimited liability to make supplementary payments. The general tendency is in the direction of limited liability, but although the system of limited liability is steadily increasing, unlimited liability is still considered the best system on which to establish these popular banks in districts which are not yet familiar with cooperative credit. The system of unlimited liability seems to work particularly well when the societies are just beginning and while the membership is small and the members acquainted with each other.

In Austria, out of the 3,599 banks of this type reporting in 1912, only 603 were based upon the principles of unlimited liability, while 2,996 had adopted the principles of limited liability. In Italy, like Austria, the liability of the members is limited.

WORKING CAPITAL.

According to the report furnished by the 1,051 popular banks of Germany, at the end of 1911 the aggregate working capital was $397,045,535. This is an average of $377,776 per bank. The average per bank is rapidly increasing, as shown by the fact that the average for all banks reporting in 1886 was only $146,846; that in 1898 it was $190,400; and in 1902 it was approximately $238,000. The average working capital per institution is nearly three times as great as it was 20 years ago.

The experience of these institutions in Germany for the last few years is that it is possible to attract a very large capital from outside sources in the way of private deposits by the payment of a reasonable interest, while, on the other hand, it is a much slower and much more difficult proposition to accumulate working capital by increasing the membership and increasing the share capital or reserve funds.

In contrast with Germany the total share capital of the 2,862 popular banks which reported in Austria in 1910 was $38,400,000, an average of $13,417 per institution. The reserve for these same institutions amounted to $21,800,000, an average of $7,617 per institution.

LOANS AND INVESTMENTS.

It is just as important to examine into the loans and investments or the credit side of the balance sheet as it is to examine into the working capital or debit side of the balance sheet. A brief analysis of the use made by these popular banks of the funds at their disposal should therefore be made.

The principal object of these people's banks is to supply credit for their own members, and therefore one would expect that they would limit themselves to the particular work of granting loans under varying forms to the membership. The fact that loans are, as far as possible, strictly limited to the membership is one of the most important, if not the most important, reasons why the membership is so large and why the average paid-up capital is so small. It is impossible, however, to make the funds on hand in banks exactly balance the demands for credit by their members. It is therefore necessary, when the working capital supplied by the paid-up share capital, surplus funds, and deposits are insufficient, to borrow money from outside sources, and it is equally desirable, where the working funds referred to exceed the demand of the members, to seek outside fields of investment. It is also desirable to create a surplus fund for the safety of their own operations in case of insolvency of their members or the sudden withdrawal by the members of their deposits. Naturally this surplus would not be loaned to the members, but would be invested elsewhere.

In Germany all loans to members are referred to as loans, while loans to other types are referred to as investments. According to the credit side of the balance sheet of the 1,051 people's banks in Germany in 1911, 82.9 per cent represented outstanding loans to members, while 17.1 per cent represented loans of other kinds referred to as investments.

The total amount of loans of these German banks at the close of the year 1911 was $332,012,602, or an average of $314,950 per institution. In contrast it should be noted that the loans outstanding at the end of the year 1910 for 2,862 Schulze-Delitzsch banks of Austria which furnished particulars was $397,000,000, or $138,714 per institution. It should be noted also that the total amount of loans granted during the year 1911 for the 1,051 popular banks of Germany was $1,106,165,207, which is an average of $1,052,488 per institution. In the case of the 2,862 Austrian banks, the total amount of loans granted during the year 1910 was $417,400,000, or an average of $145,842 per institution.

A study of the rules governing loans and investments shows that in the case of fixed-period loans a guaranty is almost universally demanded. Only in the most exceptional cases are loans granted without guaranty. Of the aggregate fixed-period loans less than 2 per cent are in this class. The guaranty usually demanded is either a special guaranty in the form of pledges or a personal guaranty in the form of surety. Loans on personal guaranty form 86.7 per cent of the total loans for fixed periods. Only 11.4 per cent is advanced with pledges as guaranty.

From the fact that more than seven-eighths of all loans for fixed periods are secured by personal guaranty, it is clear that these popular banks are serving the needs of the particular classes of persons for whom they were originally established; that is to say, persons who are in a position to furnish security necessary for doing business with ordinary banks.

The borrower may give as receipt for the debt his simple note of hand or an "accommodation bill." The employment of bills in this connection is one of the characteristics of the Schulze-Delitzsch system, the desire being to train the debtors of the banks to habits of punctuality in business and at the same time to simplify the collection of the interest.

Finally, the popular banks, having familiarized their customers with the use of bills, have succeeded in diffusing the business of bill discounting. As a general rule the loans are fixed at 90 days. This term may be extended by renewals which, however, are generally conditional on the repayment in cash of at least 10 per cent of the amount. At each time that bills fall due, after a small amount has been paid a new bill is created for the lower amount. Thus the members of the banks become accustomed to the payment of their obligations by installments. They also are accustomed to punctuality in their dealings, and payment is made more easily.

The popular banks of Germany and other European countries, much like the national banks of this country, do not have at their disposal capital adapted to the form of investment represented by mortgage and other land-credit instruments, and as a result only 9.4 per cent of the loans and investments represent mortgage and other land credits.

PROFITS AND LOSSES.

The officers of the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome, in referring to the Schulze-Delitzsch banks of Germany, stated: "They accumulate a considerable quantity of capital and they distribute fairly high dividends." In the matter of dividends, indeed, the Schulze-Delitzsch banks differ very little from the various kinds of commercial banks in the United States.

In order to illustrate this point, reference might be made to the fact that the gross profits realized in 1911 by the 1,051 banks reporting was practically $21,420,000. Out of this, however, approximately $11,900,000 were paid in the form of interest on capital from outside sources. The gross profits represented 5.29 per cent of the total working capital. The total amount of interest, however, paid on borrowed working capital represented only 3.86 per cent of the total working capital. It will thus be seen that the institutions secured their working capital at a comparatively low rate, and they are thus able to work on a margin of interest which allows them a very satisfactory profit without pressing unduly on their debtors.

The cost of management during the year 1911 was about $3,332,000, being 16.27 per cent, or about one-sixth of the gross profits. This, however, was only 0.09 per cent of the total business done. After all expenses had been paid, including interest on all borrowed capital, general expenses, depreciation, and all losses, the net profits remaining, which included the balance from the preceding year, amounted to $5,236,000. This is 8.45 per cent of the share capital, showing a very satisfactory result.

All of the net profits are not distributed by the Schulze-Delitzsch banks, which are very anxious to bring their reserve up to a very high level. Of the net profits, 29.7 per cent, therefore, was placed in the reserve fund in 1911. In addition to this large proportion placed in the reserve, a considerable amount was also expended in aid of propaganda work which is carried on, such as the publication of literature, the employment of organizers, etc. This would be an unheard of thing in the business of banks in the United States. But, further than this, a considerable part of the net profits was donated by the banks for works of public utility, and a considerable amount was also distributed among the several employees in the form of a bonus. Thus these popular institutions recognize employees not on a strictly profit-sharing basis, but recognize them in such a way as to share with them the net profits. Only about 60 per cent of the net profits, which in 1911 amounted to $3,094,000, was distributed in the form of dividends.

A recent investigation showed that a considerable number of persons become members without any view of borrowing, but merely for the sake of investing their savings in shares of stock in order to get the high rate of interest. Shares are frequently as high as $375, but inasmuch as the shares may be partly paid in at the beginning and gradually paid in completely, this is no obstacle. Dividends of 6 and 7 per cent are not uncommon, and this is a decided incentive for persons to become members.

Although these institutions distributed only 6 per cent of the net profits in 1911, 753, or more than two-thirds of the banks reporting, distributed dividends ranging from 5 to 7 per cent. When compared with the rate of interest charged the borrower and the rate of interest paid on deposits, this seems to be a very satisfactory business basis.

An examination of various extremes shows that two banks distributed dividends of only 2 per cent, but on the other hand 14 banks reached 10 per cent, one bank paid a dividend of 18 per cent, and another a dividend of 25 per cent, thus showing that some of these institutions are extremely profitable.

What has been said with reference to the situation in Germany applies with practically the same force to the other countries where this

type of institution is found in existence. Without going into any considerable amount of detail, it is worth while to note that in Italy the dividends on paid-up capital averaged nearly 9½ per cent during the years 1880–1882. Since that time the share capital has gradually increased in proportion to the working capital, and as a result dividends on paid-up capital have not been quite so high. They are still high, however, averaging in every year for which complete reports were obtained nearly if not quite 7 per cent, and in some years during the last decade averaging over 8 per cent.

It is seen, therefore, that the small American national banks, together with a very large number of State and private banks, differ only in minor details from the people's banks of Europe. The real important difference is the fact that the people's banks of Europe have adapted themselves much better to the needs of farmers and grant loans extending over a sufficient period of time so that farmers are able to patronize them, and that they get thoroughly satisfactory results.

RURAL CREDIT UNIONS.

It is not at all likely that the present system of National, State, and private banks and trust companies, even if the recommendations made by this commission are adopted, will properly take care of all the needs of all farmers for short-term or personal credit. There are in the United States nearly, if not quite, 6,500,000 farms at the present time. Of these only about 4,000,000 are operated by owners and managers. In the whole country more than 800,000 farms are less than 20 acres in size. Some of these are intensively cultivated and their operators doubtless have definite connections with banks, but most of them are probably not recognized in the regular banking associations of the present day. At the same time, hundreds of thousands of farms larger than 20 acres in size are operated by farmers who have no direct relation with the present banking system. It is very probable that only a small proportion of the two and one-third million tenants have regular banking connections. Institutions to meet the needs of these operators of small farms and these tenant operators must be seriously considered.

In addition to these, it should be noted that during the average year approximately 3,000,000 farm operators employ labor. These laborers should have an opportunity to open bank accounts, but their business is so small that they do not at the present time have any bank connections. All told there are literally millions of the farm population in the United States who have not at the present time any banking relation worthy of note. The needs of this type of farmers and farm laborers have been taken care of very largely in European countries by small institutions, popularly known as Raiffeisen societies, credit unions, credit associations, credit societies, etc. Institutions similar to these are needed in the United States; if not in every State, at least in the great majority of States; and if not in every community, at least in many communities.

MEMBERSHIP AND AREA OF OPERATION.

During the last three decades credit unions, under various names, have increased rapidly in number in Europe. Indeed, prior to 1880 the number was very small, and the system not well known, but at the present time farmers in all parts of Europe understand credit unions and talk in terms of credit unions as readily as farmers in the United States talk in terms of corn or any other farm product. In Germany alone there are at the present time probably 17,000 of these societies, while 20 years ago the number was only about 1,700. This is representative of the change that has taken place in other countries as well.

The first information concerning these institutions was brought to Italy in 1880, and a few years afterwards a credit union was started. At the present time there are more than 2,000 in Italy. In Austria the movement started in 1886, and credit unions have been increasing rapidly in number ever since the first one was established; at the present time there are about 8,000. The credit union is a well-known institution in eastern Canada, where large numbers of societies have been established. In some parts of the United States farmers are already talking in terms of credit unions, and students of the subject have commenced to urge their establishment, but as yet the movement is rather new.

Turning now to the question of membership it should be noted that the average number of members per bank in Germany is approximately 100. Thus in Germany probably 1,700,000 farmers belong to credit unions.

Until 1876 credit unions were established without any share capital. In that year the imperial law of Germany compelled all cooperative societies to have foundation capital, and as a result German rural credit unions since that time have had small amounts of capital stock. In order to keep away, however, from the capitalistic idea, the shares were placed at the very minimum price, and generally speaking even yet the maximum price of shares is only about $2.50. In some regions the average paid-up share capital per member is only $1 or $1.50.

LIABILITY.

The principle maintained by the credit unions throughout the early period of their development was that of unlimited, joint, and several liability of all members. It is true that the principles of limited liability are found more and more in many other forms of cooperation throughout Europe, but all authorities urge that the principles of unlimited liability be maintained in connection with the credit unions. At the present time 92 out of every 100 credit unions in Germany continue to maintain the rules of unlimited liability, while only 8 out of every 100 have adopted limited liability.

The whole purpose of this important rule is to prevent the misuse of the loans by compelling members to keep an eye upon one another and see that loans are not abused. At the same time this rule gives the credit unions the confidence of the public, and, since these little societies depend upon the public for deposits as working capital, the confidence of the public must be secured and maintained.

WORKING CAPITAL.

It has already been pointed out that share capital is a very unimportant part of the total working capital of the credit unions of Europe. To this may be added the statement that the reserve fund also is a comparatively unimportant part of the total. But compared with the share capital the reserve holds a very important place. Thus in Germany the reserve funds are more than twice the share capital. This statement will be better understood when reference is made to the fact that profits or net earnings are generally turned into the reserve fund and not distributed to the members.

The most important source of the working capital is found in deposits on current account and savings deposits. Just as share capital is a more important feature in popular banks, so private deposits are a more important feature when credit unions are under consideration. These observations pertain chiefly to Germany, Austria, and Italy. Just as the popular banks secured more or less of their working capital from outside sources, so, too, the credit unions depend upon the outside to keep the margin necessary for satisfactory business operations.

In Germany as a whole probably less than 10 per cent of the total working capital comes from transactions with outside institutions, showing in contrast with some other countries how largely these small credit unions are self-managing and self-sufficing societies. They depend almost entirely upon the local deposits to take care of the demands for money or credit.

The popular banks (mention of which already has been made) compare in many respects with the small national, State, and private banks of the United States. The credit unions have as yet practically no counterpart in this country. Thus the total working capital of the average popular bank in Germany was given as not far from $400,000. In contrast, the average working capital of each credit union is only about $40,000. Further comparison shows that the average share capital for popular banks in Germany is between $50,000 and $60,000, while the average share capital for all credit unions is less than $500. Further comparison in detail is unnecessary, since the general statement may be made that the average credit union is about one-tenth the size of the average popular bank. The credit union is the primary unit and is found so thoroughly established throughout Europe that its importance in the financial system can not be ignored. The importance to this country of similar institutions must be apparent, and the detailed description is given only to indicate the position which these societies might hold in the United States.

LOANS AND INVESTMENTS.

The real object of these banks or credit unions is to secure credit and money for the members, and it therefore naturally follows that the capital obtained from the various sources just mentioned is used almost entirely for making advances to members. In institutions where the working capital exceeds the demand of the local community the surplus is devoted to safe, profit-yielding investments, and the common practice is to deposit this chiefly in central institutions. The leading classification of the loans and investments may be best indicated as follows: Loans are made, first, for fixed periods, and, second, on current account. Other assets represents investments, deposits in institutions, etc.

In connection with loans and investments the amount of loans is important, but the period of loans is probably as important as any other feature. Loans to farmers generally must extend over periods from 90 days to 1 year. An examination of the practice of credit unions in Europe shows that loans generally vary from six months to two or three years. More than one-fifth of the loans are on current account, and these probably do not extend for as long a period as six months. On the other hand, more than half of the loans are for fixed periods and extend over a longer period of time. In exceptional cases loans are made for even longer periods than for three years.

A common characteristic of these institutions is the provision that the applicant for a loan must declare the purpose for which it is to serve. In some cases the rules are so strict that if a member applies for a loan for one purpose and uses it for another he must be excluded from membership for a period of time, and upon second offense must be prohibited from ever receiving further loans for any purpose. This rule has proved very efficacious, according to most reports.

PROFITS AND LOSSES.

The purpose of credit unions is not to make commercial profits, but to give credit to members on favorable terms. As generally found throughout Europe, this system does not admit even of any distribution of dividends. Where this rule is in complete force all net earnings or profits are carried to the reserve fund or used in the creation of institutions of public utility or are devoted to the common good. A few of the credit unions, however, and particularly those which have a material share capital, provide for the distribution of dividends; but even in these cases rules are very strict, and the dividends never exceed the maximum rate of interest charged the borrower. In Austria the profits are never paid in the form of interest on shares, except in the very rarest cases, being placed in the reserve almost always, although in some cases small amounts are devoted to the common good. The same general rule applies in the case of Italy and other European countries.

The fact that no dividends are paid, or that when dividends when paid are insignificant, does not mean that these credit unions are not prosperous. Taking Germany again as an illustration because of the fact that Germany has literally thousands of these societies, it is found that the great majority close their business each year with a respectable fund designated "net earnings." Out of 12,797 credit unions, 11,795, or more than 92 out of each 100, closed the last fiscal year for which reports are available with net earnings, while only 911, or 7 out of each 100, declared a loss. Ninety institutions closed their business for the year with a balanced sheet, showing neither profit nor loss.

Taking the total result of all these credit unions under consideration, the net earnings, after subtracting losses, amount to not far from $2,000,000 for one year, or almost 30 per cent of the share capital of these institutions; but, as noted above, this is not declared in the form of dividends on the share capital, and, as a matter of fact, when the total working capital is considered, these profits represent only about 0.4 per cent, showing what a narrow margin the institutions consider safe.

SUMMARY.

A careful examination of the descriptions of these European banks or credit unions suggests the questions, Are these institutions necessary in this country; and if so, should they be provided for by law, or is any legislation necessary?

The members of the commission feel that such institutions are necessary in many, if not all, country communities in the United States. We will not take space or time here to establish this position, believing that it represents the unanimous opinion of farmers and of unbiased or unprejudiced observers acquainted with the problem.

The members of the commission are of the opinion that credit unions could be organized in almost every State in the Union, if not in every State, without specific legislation, as they were organized in many European countries and as they have already been launched in several American States. At the same time it is believed that legislation clearly defining credit unions, their scope, their functions, their methods of operation and limitations, as well as a system of inspection or supervision of these institutions, is eminently desirable.

The members of the commission are agreed that it is clearly within the power of the different States to pass the necessary legislation, and we desire to call the attention of Congress to the specific laws of Massachusetts, New York, Wisconsin, and Texas providing for credit unions within those States.

Assumption of Risk Under the Federal Employers' Liability Act.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK BUCHANAN,
OF ILLINOIS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 17, 1915.

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, never yet has the Congress of the United States, acting under its legislative authority, enacted a law to promote the welfare and better the conditions of the great masses of the people of our country, the working people, but what the big business interests, who would thereby be molested in their methods and process of plundering the people, have dragged that law through every conceivable form of litigation in the various courts of the land, first testing its constitutionality, and, failing in this, introducing every possible defense to see just how far they could divert its provisions from what was intended by its makers; and the success, Mr. Speaker, with which they have met in their efforts to this end at the hands of our judiciary is even more astonishing than the gall they have displayed by their open defiance of the legislators of the Nation.

One of the most striking examples of how these special interests have been able to pervert the laws on our statute books is found in a number of decisions by our Federal courts under the Federal employers' liability act approved April 22, 1908. It was to overcome the inadequacy of the common-law rules of recovery for accidents and the injustice of the system of employers' liability suits based upon negligence, allowing such defense pleas as contributory negligence, assumed risks, defects in appliances, and fellow-servant fault, and thereby "promote the safety of the employees and to advance the commerce in which they were engaged," that this law was enacted. However, I regret to say that the interpretation that its provisions have received by a number of our courts have very much impaired the law in this regard and should impress upon all of us the necessity of further legislation along this line in order to provide already long-delayed justice to a worthy class of semipublic servants.

I desire to insert here an article appearing in the December, 1914, issue of the Harvard Law Review, by Mr. Edward P. Buford, of Lawrenceville, Va., under the title "Assumption of risk under the Federal employers' liability act," which I am sure will throw a great deal of enlightenment on this matter:

ASSUMPTION OF RISK UNDER THE FEDERAL EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY ACT.

On April 22, 1908, Executive approval was given to the act of Congress known as the Federal employers' liability act, which, stripped of its verbiage irrelevant to this discussion, is as follows:

"That every common carrier by railroad while engaging in commerce between any of the several States * * * shall be liable in damages to any person suffering injury while he is employed by such carrier in such commerce * * * for such injury * * * resulting in whole or in part from the negligence of any of the officers, agents, or employees of such carrier, or by reason of any defect or insufficiency, due to its negligence, in its cars, engines, appliances, machinery, track, roadbed, works, boats, wharves, or other equipment.

"SEC. 3. That in all actions hereafter brought against any such common carrier by railroad under or by virtue of any of the provisions of this act to recover damages for personal injuries to an employee * * * the fact that the employee may have been guilty of contributory negligence shall not bar a recovery, but the damages shall be diminished by the jury in proportion to the amount of negligence attributable to such employee: *Provided*, That no such employee who may be injured * * * shall be held to have been guilty of contributory negligence in any case where the violation by such common carrier of any statute enacted for the safety of employees contributed to the injury * * * of such employee.

"SEC. 4. That in any action brought against any common carrier under or by virtue of any of the provisions of this act to recover damages for injuries to * * * any of its employees, such employee shall not be held to have assumed the risks of his employment in any case where the violation by such common carrier of any statute enacted for the safety of employees contributed to the injury * * * of such employee.

"SEC. 5. That any contract, rule, regulation, or device whatsoever, the purpose or intent of which shall be to enable any common carrier to exempt itself from any liability created by this act, shall to that extent be void. * * *." (The constitutionality of this statute was sustained in Mondou *v.* N. Y., N. H., & H. R. R. Co. (223 U. S., 1, 50) (1912), upon the following ground:

"The natural tendency of the changes described is to impel the carriers to avoid or prevent the negligent acts and omissions which are made the bases of the rights of recovery which the statute creates and defines; and as whatever makes for that end tends to promote the safety of the employees and to advance the commerce in which they are engaged, we entertain no doubt that in making those changes Congress acted within the limits of the discretion confided to it by the Constitution."

In that case the court also said:

"We are not unmindful that that end was being measurably attained through the remedial legislation of the several States, but that legislation has been far from uniform, and it undoubtedly rested with Congress to determine whether a national law, operating uniformly in all the States, upon all carriers by railroad engaged in interstate commerce, would better subserve the needs of that commerce."

In Michigan C. R. Co. *v.* Vreeland (227 U. S., 59, 66 (1913)), it is said:

"We may not piece out this act of Congress by resorting to the local statutes of the State of procedure or that of the injury. The act is one which relates to the liability of railroad companies engaged in interstate commerce to their employees while engaged in such commerce. The power of Congress to deal with the subject comes from its power to regulate commerce between the States. Prior to this act Congress had not deemed it expedient to legislate upon the subject, though its power was ample. 'The subject,' as observed by this court in Second Employers' Liability Cases, 'is one which falls within the police power of the State in the absence of legislation by Congress.' * * * By this act Congress has undertaken to cover the subject of the liability of railroad companies to their employees injured while engaged in interstate commerce. This exertion of power which is granted in express terms must supersede all legislation over the same subject by the States.")

In Seaboard Air Line Railway *v.* Horton (34 Sup. Ct., 635, 639 (1914)) the court held that "by the phrase 'any statute enacted for the safety of employees,' Congress evidently intended Federal Statutes such as the safety-appliance acts and the hours-of-service act"; and then proceeded to place upon the fourth section the following interpretation:

"It seems to us that section 4, in eliminating the defense of assumption of risk in the cases indicated, quite plainly evidences the legislative intent that in all other cases such assumption shall have its former effect as a complete bar to the action. And, taking sections 3 and 4 together, there is no doubt that Congress recognized the distinction between contributory negligence and assumption of risk; for, while it is declared that neither of these shall avail the carrier in cases where the violation of a statute has contributed to the injury or death of the employee, there is, with respect to cases not in this category, a limitation upon the effect that is to be given to contributory negligence, while no corresponding limitation is imposed upon the defense of assumption of risk—perhaps none was deemed feasible."

The doctrine of assumption of risk, which the court thus engrafts upon the statute, is a common-law doctrine by which the employee, guilty of no fault, was denied recovery, notwithstanding his injury resulted from a danger created by the employer's negligence, if, after becoming chargeable with knowledge of the danger, he continued in the service without complaint. It is a doctrine against the injustice of which, in its application to modern railroad service, the legislation of the States has been chiefly directed.

If it be true that no question of law is to be regarded as finally decided until it has been rightly decided, the question whether this common-law doctrine is to be construed into the act should still be an open one, certainly until it has received more thorough consideration than was given it in the case of Seaboard Air Line Railway *v.* Horton, supra, or in any other case in which a similar conclusion has been reached. The question is vital. Its decision necessitates a judicial determination of the character and purpose of the act, whether the legislation was in furtherance of the policy evinced in the legislation of the States or is, in fact, a reactionary measure designed to displace State legislation to the extent that the abolition of assumption of risk by the States had inured to the benefit of employees of interstate carriers.

If the present trend of judicial decision shall be adhered to, it is obvious that the act is worse than nugatory, so far as concerns any beneficial result to interstate employees, in comparison with the rights secured to them under State legislation, which the act supplants; and that the act, viewed as a regulation of interstate commerce, with this destructive principle of the common law engrafted upon it, so far from having a tendency "to promote the safety of the employees and to advance the commerce in which they are engaged," in fact relegates the subject to the crude and artificial rules of the common law, except as to that comparatively small class of "defects and insufficiencies" which result from the violation of statutes enacted for the safety of employees.

The hours-of-service act does not deal with instrumentalities. The safety-appliance acts cover only a part of the appliances used in connection with "cars and engines." The common-law immunity to the carrier from the consequences of its own negligence would therefore be reinstated as to everything of a physical nature embraced in the comprehensive terms "machinery, track, roadbed, works, boats, wharves, or other equipment," and even as to "cars, engines, and appliances," except to the limited extent to which appliances to be used in connection with cars and engines have been prescribed by statute.

Judicial construction that thus makes the system of Federal liability a legal hybrid, partly statutory and partly common law, rests apparently upon the theory that the act does not "cover the subject," and that what is regarded as an omission in the act is to be "pieced out" by recourse to the common law. In other words, the conclusion reached in Seaboard Air Line Railway *v.* Horton, supra, is a departure from the principle stated in Michigan Central Railroad Co. *v.* Vreeland, supra.

Since, also, Seaboard Air Line Railway *v.* Horton originated in the State of North Carolina, where assumption of risk has been abolished by statute, it is difficult to perceive from what source the court derived the common-law principle which it applied. Without considering the legal basis or source of authority of the common law as a rule of decision in the United States, the court assumed the existence of a common-law doctrine of assumption of risk, which State legislation is powerless to repeal, and which is available to "piece out" what was conceived to be an omission in the fourth section to deal fully with common-law assumption of risk.

The court apparently assumed that the act of Congress occupies with respect to the common law the same relation as an act of Parliament, and that the liability act, although enacted in the exercise of the exclusive power of legislation vested in Congress by the commerce clause of the Constitution, and as a distinct act of Federal sovereignty, is to be regarded merely as an act amendatory of the common law. And what common law? Not the common law of the State, for the State had abolished the principle which the court applied.

Proceeding upon the assumption of such a common-law principle, which is beyond the power of the State to repeal, the court gave no apparent consideration to the fact that the unconditional liability created by the first section excludes that form of assumption of risk which at common law operates as a bar to recovery when the injury results "in whole or in part from the negligence of any of the officers,

agents, or employees of such carrier, or by reason of any defect or insufficiency, due to its negligence, in its cars, engines, appliances, machinery, track, roadbed, works, boats, wharves, or other equipment."

Before proceeding to a technical construction of the act, or attempting to show that the fourth section, instead of giving rise to a defense in favor of the carrier, in fact extends the liability created by the first section, let us consider the anomalous character of the act with this doctrine of the common law construed into it.

The decision in the Horton case imputes to Congress the inexplicable purpose of imposing the highest degree of liability for failure to comply with statutes enacted for the safety of employees, and, at the same time, of affording immunity to the highest degree of negligence of which the carrier can be guilty with respect to all other instrumentalities not covered by such statutes.

Can any intelligible reason be given why Congress should have intended thus to discriminate between such appliances as driving-wheel brakes, automatic couplers, grab irons, drawbars, running boards, steps, and locomotive ash pans, on the one hand, and bridges, trestles, roadbeds, tracks, ties, machinery, works, boats, wharves, and all other kinds of appliances and equipment, on the other? Can any reason be conceived why Congress, for the purpose of promoting the safety of employees or advancing interstate commerce, should have imposed absolute liability for the failure to equip cars and engines with the statutory appliances, not to be affected by the employee's knowledge of the omission nor to be mitigated by his contributory negligence, and yet, with respect to all other instrumentalities, have given to the carrier the benefit of the common-law defense of assumption of risk with the encouragement to negligence which that defense affords?

The explanation of the provision of the third section, forbidding the defense of contributory negligence even in mitigation of damages, and of the fourth section, forbidding the defense that the risk was one of the assumed "risks of his employment," when the injury to the employee results from the violation of a statute, is that Congress intended to compel compliance with its statutes by forbidding any defense in case of their violation. But, since it is impracticable to regulate by statute the whole matter of the construction, equipment, and maintenance of an interstate railway, to the extent that the character and condition of the equipment is not, and in the nature of things can not be, prescribed by statute, the existence of any "defect or insufficiency" due to the carrier's negligence, from which injury to its employee results in whole or in part, is made the conclusive test of liability.

When such a defect or insufficiency and its causal relation to the injury are shown, the liability is absolute and subject only to mitigation to the extent, to be determined by the jury, that the injury is attributable to the employee's contributory negligence (B. & O. R. R. Co. *v.* Darr, 204 Fed., 751 (1913); G. T. W. Ry. Co. *v.* Lindsay, 201 Fed., 836 (1912); Wright *v.* Y. & M. V. R. R. Co., 197 Fed., 94 (1912); I. C. R. R. Co. *v.* Nelson, 203 Fed., 956 (1913); St. L., I. M. & S. Ry. Co. *v.* Conley, 187 Fed., 949 (1911); P., B. & W. R. R. Co. *v.* Tucker, 35 App. D. C., 123, 220 U. S., 608 (1910); and by the trial court in Pedersen *v.* D., L. & W. R. R. Co., 229 U. S., 146 (1913).)

In the Horton case the court draws the following distinction between "contributory negligence," which the act provides shall not bar a recovery, and "assumption of risk," which the court declares shall bar recovery (supra, p. 639):

"Contributory negligence involves the notion of some fault or breach of duty on the part of the employee; and since it is ordinarily his duty to take some precaution for his own safety when engaged in a hazardous occupation, contributory negligence is sometimes defined as a failure to use such care for his safety as ordinarily prudent employees in similar circumstances would use. On the other hand, the assumption of risk, even though the risk be obvious, may be free from any suggestion of fault or negligence on the part of the employee."

Can any reason be given why Congress should have intended to forbid recovery to an employee guilty of no fault, and yet allow recovery to an employee guilty of contributory negligence, which necessarily implies that he was chargeable with the same knowledge of the danger which resulted in the injury? Or can any reason be given why Congress should have intended to forbid recovery to an employee for merely remaining in the service with knowledge and without complaint, and yet allow recovery to an employee who, with the same knowledge, expressly and for valuable consideration contracted to exempt the carrier from liability?

Besides the policy of the act and the ground of its constitutionality declared in Mondou *v.* New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad Co. (supra), already quoted, we have the following statement of the court in Pederson *v.* Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad Co. (229 U. S., 146, 151):

"* * * Indeed, the statute now before us proceeds upon the theory that the carrier is charged with the duty of exercising appropriate care to prevent or correct 'any defect or insufficiency * * * in its cars, engines, appliances, machinery, track, roadbed, works, boats, wharves, or other equipment.'"

Is it conceivable that the policy of the act, as thus twice declared by the court, could be more effectually defeated than by introducing into it the common-law defense of assumption of risk as to all dangers arising from defects and insufficiencies, except from violations of statutes? This defense encourages negligence. As observed by Judge Jaggard in Rase *v.* Minneapolis, St. P. & S. S. M. R. Co. (107 Minn., 260, 265; 120 N. W., 360, 363 (1909)):

"The reasoning by which it is sought to be justified, carried to its logical conclusion, tends to result in this paradox: The more grossly the master is negligent the more certain is the assumption of risk by the servant and the master's exoneration. If the master be more careful, then the more doubtful is the servant's assumption of risk, and the more probable is the master's liability. The employer who is successfully careful and he who is extremely careless are equally protected. The exercise of care is discouraged, and a premium is put on negligence."

The doctrine of assumption of risk which thus gives immunity to the employer's negligence and compels the servant, as a last resort, to quit the service and stop the business in order to escape irremediable injury is at variance with the ground upon which the constitutionality of the act was sustained. Such a doctrine had its origin in the relation of master and servant under conditions which affected the interests only of the employer and employee. It is an incubus upon the interstate commerce of the country with the important public interests which that commerce subserves. Under its baleful influence upon commerce in time of peace trainmen, on becoming chargeable with knowledge of the carrier's negligence, must cease the transportation of passengers, mails, and freight, and, in time of war, the transportation of troops as well.

The doctrine of assumption of risk originated in the case of Priestley *v.* Fowler (3 Mees. and W., 1 (1837)). There is no more similarity between the reasons and policy upon which that decision is based and the reasons and policy which called for the legislation embodied in the Federal employers' liability act than there is between a "butcher's van" and the physical equipment of an American transcontinental railway.

It is inconceivable that Congress should have intended to fetter the interstate commerce of the present day with the crude doctrines laid down by Lord Abinger in Priestley *v.* Fowler, which involved the question of liability of a butcher for injury to his servant resulting from an overloaded "butcher's van," doctrines against which many of the courts have protested and the injustice of which, in their application to modern industrial conditions, has brought forth the various acts of remedial legislation in all the countries in which the common law of England has prevailed.

The interstate carriers of the United States are public-service corporations. The commerce in which they are engaged and the instrumentalities by which that commerce is carried on were not conceived of at the time of Priestley *v.* Fowler. On that commerce depend the wealth, the happiness, and the civilization of the country. Employees of interstate carriers are indispensable instrumentalities or agencies in that commerce. The commerce must go on; employees can not stop.

To free commerce from the fetters of the common law—"to impel the carrier to avoid or prevent the negligent acts and omissions which are made the bases of the rights of recovery which the statute creates and defines," and thereby "to promote the safety of the employees and to advance the commerce in which they are engaged" (Mondou *v.* New York, N. H. & H. R. R. Co., supra, p. 51)—was the enlightened purpose of the act and the constitutional justification for this exertion of congressional power. (Senator Dolliver, discussing upon the floor of the Senate the act of Apr. 22, 1908, said: "The public policy which we now declare is based upon the failure of the common law to meet the modern industrial conditions." Senator BORAH, advocating the amendment of Apr. 5, 1910, declared that "it was the intention of Congress in the enactment of this law originally, and it may be presumed to be the intention of the present Congress, to shift the burden of loss resulting from these casualties from 'those less able to bear it' and place it upon those who can, as the Supreme Court said in the Taylor case (211 U. S., 281), 'measurably control their causes.' * * * The passage of the original act and the perfection thereof by the amendment herein proposed stand forth as a declaration of public policy to radically change, so far as congressional power can extend, those rules of the common law which the President in a recent speech at Chicago characterized as 'unjust.'" See also Doherty on Employers' Liability Act, p. 61.)

Before the enactment of this statute there was no Federal law of negligence. The Federal courts in the exercise of their jurisdiction in cases involving liability of railway companies to their employees, whether engaged or not in interstate commerce, applied the law of negligence as a part of the law of the State where the injury was occasioned. This statute, for the first time, creates a substantive Federal right in favor of the employee, distinct from the right theretofore given him by the law of the State. (Thornton on Federal Employers' Liability Act, sec. 1, pp. 4–5, note.)

The system of Federal liability created by the act is exclusive of the law of the States upon the subject, which means that it is exclusive of the grounds of liability available to the employee under the State law, whether common law or statutory, and of the grounds of defense, whether common law or statutory, afforded by the law of the State to the interstate carrier. Just as the employee must look to the act for his cause of action, so the carrier must look to the act for its defenses. Unlike the liability under the law of the State, which originated in the common law and was subject to all the defenses available at common law, the system of Federal liability is purely of statutory creation. The terms in which liability is imposed are exclusive of defenses which would defeat that liability.

There is no common law of the United States except that in the construction of the Constitution and acts of Congress recourse may be had to the common law for the purpose of interpreting the technical terms employed, which otherwise would be unintelligible. (Wheaton *v.* Peters, 8 Peters (U. S.), 591 (1834); Pennsylvania *v.* Wheeling & B. B. Co., 13 How. (U. S.), 518 (1851); Smith *v.* Alabama, 124 U. S., 465 (1888); Moore *v.* United States, 91 U. S., 270 (1875); Gatton *v.* Chicago, R. I. & P. R. Co., 28 L. R. A., 556 (1895).) The common law is essentially the law of the States. It exists as a part of the law of the States by virtue of its adoption by the States, and to the extent only that it is not in conflict with State institutions and is not repealed by State legislation. Although, when the question is one of general and not merely of local jurisprudence, the Federal courts will apply their own construction of the common law, irrespective of the decisions of the States courts, they nevertheless do so in administering the common law as the law of the States. (Smith *v.* Alabama, supra.)

In States which have repealed the common-law defense of assumption of risk (Hough *v.* Railway Co., 100 U. S., 213 (1879)), the defense can not be set up as a bar to recovery in any case, whether arising under the act of Congress or out of purely intrastate service. In cases arising under the act of Congress in States where this defense has not been abolished, the defense is not available, for the reason that the act can not be "pieced out" by the law of the State. In other words, if the act of Congress can not, as is universally conceded, be "pieced out" by legislation of the States repealing the common-law defense, how can it be "pieced out" by State legislation originally adopting the common law, or by this principle of the common law after it has been repealed by the States? In Western Union Tel. Co. *v.* Commercial M. Co. (218 U. S., 406, 416 (1910) Mr. Justice McKenna said:

"We have seen that one division of the supreme court of the State was of the view that if the prohibition rested on the common law its validity could not be questioned. We can not concede such effect to the common law and deny it to a statute. Both are rules of conduct proceeding from the supreme power of the State. That one is unwritten and the other written can make no difference in their validity or effect. The common law did not become a part of the laws of the States of its own vigor. It has been adopted by constitutional provision, by statute or decision, and, we may say in passing, is not the same in all particulars in all the States. But however adopted, it expresses the policy of the State for the time being only, and is subject to change by the power that adopted it. How, then, can it have an efficacy that the statute changing it does not possess?"

From the nature of legislation by Congress, in the exercise of its power to regulate commerce, such legislation is exclusive of the law of the States. The defenses permissible under the act must be found in the express or implied provisions of the act. The question, therefore, is not whether the common-law defense of assumption of risk, as such, is available to the carrier, but whether it appears from the terms of the act that Congress intended to create, in favor of the carrier, a defense similar to that of common-law assumption of risk.

The object of the statute was to create in favor of the employee of a common carrier coming within its purview absolute liability for injury resulting "in whole or in part" from its negligence with respect to its physical instrumentalities, represented by its "cars, engines, appliances, machinery, track, roadbed, works, boats, wharves, or other equipment," or from the negligence of its human agencies, represented by its "officers, agents, or employees"; and to make it negligence per se for such carrier to violate "any statute enacted for the safety of employees." As a corporation can act only through its officers, agents, or employees, such "defects or insufficiencies" as may occur in its physical appliances will necessarily be attributable to its human agencies. The two grounds of liability will therefore overlap each other.

The purpose of Congress to create unconditional liability when the injury results "in whole or in part" from such negligence is manifest from the provisions of the third and fifth sections, "that the fact that the employee may have been guilty of contributory negligence shall not bar a recovery," and "that any contract, rule, regulation, or device whatsoever, the purpose or intent of which shall be to enable any common carrier to exempt itself from any liability created by this act, shall, to that extent, be void."

The provisions of the third section, "that no such employee who may be injured * * * shall be held to have been guilty of contributory negligence in any case where the violation by such common carrier of any statute enacted for the safety of employees contributed to the injury," and of the fourth section, "that in any action brought against any common carrier under or by virtue of any of the provisions of this act to recover damages for injuries to * * * any of its employees, such employee shall not be held to have assumed the risks of his employment in any case where the violation by such common carrier of any statute enacted for the safety of employees contributed to the injury," indicate the determination of Congress to enforce the requirements of "statutes enacted for the safety of employees," by exempting the employee in the one case from the imputation of contributory negligence and in the other from the defense that dangers resulting from such violation were among the "risks of his employment."

The theory that the effect of the fourth section is to adopt the common-law doctrine that the employee by continuing in the service assumed the abnormal risks resulting from a "defect or insufficiency," due to the negligence of the carrier, unless its conduct involved also a violation of a statute enacted for the safety of employees, proceeds upon a misconstruction of the words "risks of his employment," and an inadvertent leaving out of consideration of the relation between the common law of England and legislation by Congress in the United States.

The words of the fourth section, "risks of his employment," mean the ordinary risks inherent in the business—the unavoidable risks which are intrinsic, notwithstanding the performance by the carrier of its personal duties. They do not include the "secondary and ulterior" risks arising from abnormal dangers due to the employer's negligence.

The object of this section was not to adopt by implication the common-law defense of assumption of the risk of such abnormal dangers; its object was in express terms to exclude the defense which before the passage of the act was available to the carrier in determining what are the "risks of his employment" assumed by the employee.

Before the enactment of this statute the carrier might exempt itself from liability under the common-law doctrine of the "choice of methods." The common-law duty of the master was only to exercise ordinary care to provide the servant with reasonably safe appliances. He was not required to use any particular appliance. Independently of the safety-appliance acts, the selection by the master of his appliances was a choice in which the courts would not undertake to control his discretion; it was not incumbent upon him to choose this or that specific appliance, but only to exercise ordinary care to provide reasonably safe appliances. In Norfolk & W. Ry. Co. *v.* Cromer, 101 Va., 667, 671; 44 S. E., 898, 899 (1903), the court thus states the common-law doctrine of the employer's choice of methods: "Court and juries can not dictate to railway companies a choice between methods, all of which are reasonably adequate for the purpose to be subserved"; and this doctrine has been applied to relieve the employer of civil liability even when the injury resulted from a violation of a safety statute. In Nottage *v.* Sawmill Phoenix, 133 Fed., 979, 981 (1904), where the safety appliance act of Washington imposed a penalty for its nonobservance, but contained no language similar to that of the fourth section of the act of Congress, the court said:

"This is a penal statute, enacted by the legislature in the exercise of the police power of the State, and it contains no provision purporting to affect in any way the rules of law applicable to civil actions. It gives no hint of an intention to confer upon injured employees any new right enforceable in an action to recover damages, nor does it express a legislative intent to change the common law by abolishing defenses recognized by the common law."

In Glenmont L. Co. *v.* Roy, 126 Fed., 524, 528 (1903) (contra, Narramore *v.* Cleveland, C. C. & St. L. Ry. Co., 96 Fed., 298 (1899)), which involved a similar statute, in the opinion delivered by Judge Sanborn and concurred in by Judge (now Mr. Justice) Van Devanter, it is said:

"The master is not required to supply the best, newest, or safest appliances to secure the safety of his servants; nor is he bound to insure the safety of the place or of the appliances he furnishes. His duty in this respect is discharged when he has exercised ordinary care to furnish a place and appliances reasonably safe and suitable for the use of his employees. * * * The factory act of Minnesota, which requires employers to guard or fence dangerous machinery so far as possible, does not abolish the defense of assumption of risk. It does not deprive parties of their right to contract regarding the risks of their avocations."

When it is considered that the first section imposes liability only for negligence, the purpose of the fourth section to extend that liability becomes apparent. The word "negligence" is a common-law term. It is therefore to be construed according to its common-law meaning. The act does not make the carrier an insurer of its employee's safety. By the first section it makes the carrier unconditionally liable for the negligence of its officers, agents, or employees and for its negligence with respect to its appliances. But at common law the authorities are in conflict as to whether the violation of a "statute enacted for the safety of employees" is negligence. (5 Labatt on Master and Servant, 2 ed., § 1909.) If it was not negligence—that is, if it involved no breach of duty to the employee—the risk of injury therefrom was a "risk of his employment." To remove doubt on this point and to make the violation of such a statute negligence per se under the system of Federal liability, the fourth section provides that the employee "shall not be held to have assumed the risks of his employment in any case where the violation by such common carrier of any statute enacted for the safety of employees contributed to the injury."

Let us consider more closely the significance of the words "risks of his employment." It is to be observed that the statute nowhere uses the phrase "assumption of risk." The words of the statute are "the risks of his employment," which include only the normal risks incident to the service, not enhanced by the employer's negligence. While the phrase "assumption of risk" in its modern acceptation includes the ordinary risks as well as those due to the employer's negligence, the words "risks of his employment" refer only to the ordinary risks, the existence of which implies no negligence on the part of the master. "The proposition that the servant contractually assumes the risks of his employment," says Mr. Labatt, "of course amounts merely to an assertion * * * of the general principle that proof of negligence on the master's part is a prerequisite to the establishment of the servant's right to maintain an action." (5 Labatt on Master and Servant, 2 ed., § 1547.)

"A proposition which has so frequently been enunciated by the courts as to have become axiomatic is that, prima facie, a servant does not assume any risk which may be obviated by the exercise of reasonable care on the master's part. In other words, the abnormal, unusual, or extraordinary risks which the servant does not assume as being incident to the work undertaken by him are those which would not have existed if the master had fulfilled his contractual duties." (3 Labatt on Master and Servant, 2 ed., § 894.)

The English rule is thus stated by Blackburn, J., in Morgan *v.* Vale of Neath Ry. Co., 5 Best & S., 570, 579 (1864); affirmed in L. R. 1 Q. B., 149 (1865):

"If the master has, by his own personal negligence or malfeasance, enhanced the risk to which the servant is exposed beyond those natural risks of the employment which must be presumed to have been in contemplation when the employment was accepted, as, for instance, by knowingly employing incompetent servants or supplying defective machinery, or the like, no defense founded on this principle can apply; for the servant does not, as an implied part of his contract, take upon himself any other risks than those naturally incident to the employment."

In Texas & Pac. Ry. Co. *v.* Harvey, 228 U. S., 319, 321 (1913), it is said:

"At the common law the servant assumes the ordinary risks of his employment, but he is not obliged to pass upon the methods chosen by his employer in discharge of the latter's duty to provide suitable appliances and a safe place to work, and he does not assume the risk of his employer's negligence in performing such duty."

If full force be given to the maxim "expressio unius exclusio est alterius," as applied to the words of the fourth section, "such employee shall not be held to have assumed the risks of his employment in any case where the violation by such common carrier of any statute enacted for the safety of employees contributed to the injury or death of such employee," what would be the effect of the maxim? It would be that those "risks of his employment" which do not result from the violation of a statute enacted for his safety would remain as the "risks of his employment," which under the act are still assumed, and the existence of which would not imply negligence on the part of the employer. The words "risks of his employment" have a definite meaning distinct from the enhanced risks "due to the employer's negligence." An application of the maxim to one risk of the first class would certainly not justify the implication of risks of the second class.

Courts which hold that the common-law defense of "assumption of risk" is available under the act to bar recovery when the injury is attributable to the employer's negligence have fallen into the error, partly at least, by failing to distinguish between the significance of this phrase and the more restrictive words of the statute, "risks of his employment."

The phrase "assumption of risk" in its original significance embraced only such risks as were inherent, or at least involved no breach of common-law duty. In this sense the risks included are synonymous with those embraced in the phrase "risks of his employment." By subsequent application the phrase "assumption of risk" was extended to embrace the enhanced risks due to the employer's negligence, and thus was made to include two legal conceptions essentially different.

In its original sense, assumption of risk was a bar to recovery because, there being no breach of common-law duty, there could be no cause of action; while in its secondary sense the negligence of the employer gave rise to a cause of action which might be defeated by proof of the employee's continuance in the service with knowledge of the enhanced danger. The essentially different characters of the two defenses covered by the common-law phrase "assumption of risk" are clearly shown in the note to Scheurer *v.* Banner R. Co. (28 L. R. A., n. s., 1207, 1221 (1910)):

"Assumption of risk, as applied to the ordinary risks of the service, is merely a rhetorical phrase used to connote the idea that the master is not an insurer against injuries resulting from dangers which can not be removed by the exercise of due care upon his part. In the second sense, assumption of risk has a vastly different significance; it implies negligence on the part of the master and a prima facie liability, but it also implies a waiver of the effects of that negligence if it injures the servant."

"Assumption of risk," in its original sense, in which the risks assumed are equivalent to the "risks of his employment," except as modified by the act, is an available defense; but "assumption of risk" in its secondary sense, as an "implied agreement" or a voluntary exposure to danger implied in the maxim "volenti non fit injuria," upon which the employer may rely to exonerate itself from liability for an injury resulting from a "defect or insufficiency" due to its own negligence, or as a form of contributory negligence with respect to such defect or insufficiency, is not an available defense under the act.

Assumption of risk, as a defense in its original sense, is restricted by the fourth section, which strikes from the category of "risks of employment" the violation by the carrier of "any statute enacted for the safety of employees." Assumption of risk, as a defense in its secondary sense, is excluded by the first section when the injury results "in whole or in part" from the negligence of the carrier or any of its officers, agents, or employees.

The difference between the common-law and Federal systems of liability may be more clearly presented by a comparative statement of the common-law doctrines and the statutory provisions creating the Federal liability.

At common law the initial defense open to the employer was that the injury was not due to any negligence for which it was responsible; that is, that the injury did not result from the breach of any duty

which it owed to the employee, but resulted from an inherent danger of the business, or wholly from some fault of the employee.

If the injury resulted from a danger inherent in the business, such danger was, by the implied terms of the contract of service, assumed by the employee as a "risk of his employment," and among the risks so assumed was the danger of injury from the negligence of his fellow servant and, according to numerous decisions, the violation by the master of "statutes enacted for the safety of employees."

The act admits in favor of the carrier these two defenses in bar of the action: (1) That the injury was due wholly to some fault of the employee; and (2) that the injury was due to a "risk of his employment," except to the extent that the latter defense is modified by the first and fourth sections of the act. The modifications are: (1) That the defense of fellow service is displaced by the first section, and (2) that the violation "of any statute enacted for the safety of employees," which did not at common law necessarily give rise to civil liability, is made negligence per se by the fourth section.

These are the only defenses in bar of the action, and they are open to the carrier, not because they are common-law defenses, and as such may be set up, but because they are defenses which are necessarily to be implied from the terms of the act. The act excludes all defenses in bar of recovery when the injury results "in whole or in part" from the negligence of the carrier or its officers, agents, or employees.

At common law, although the injury resulted from a "defect or insufficiency" in physical appliances admittedly "due to the negligence" of the employer, there could be no recovery if the employee continued in the service without complaint after becoming chargeable with knowledge of the danger arising from such defect or insufficiency.

This form of "assumption of risk" is not available under the act. The terms in which liability is imposed exclude this defense. The liability is unconditional. Congress did not employ the language "shall be liable in damages, subject to the common-law defense of assumption of risk," and without language, expressly or by implication, adopting this defense it can not be invoked as a bar to recovery.

At common law there could be no recovery for an injury resulting from the negligence of a fellow servant, the risk of injury from that cause being one which the employee was, by the implied terms of his contract, held to have assumed as a "risk of his employment."

Likewise the terms in which liability is imposed exclude this defense. The liability is unconditional. Congress did not employ the language "shall be liable in damages, subject to the common-law defense of fellow service." It is therefore generally conceded that the defense of fellow service is not available under the act. It should be observed, however, that the reason for the exclusion of this defense is, not that Congress was repealing the common law, but that in the exercise of its independent power it saw fit to make the principle "respondent superior" a part of the system of Federal liability as to all classes of "officers, agents, and employees."

At common law, although the injury resulted in part from a "defect or insufficiency" due to the employer's negligence, there could be no recovery unless such defect or insufficiency was the proximate cause of the injury without the intervention of any other efficient cause for which the employer was not responsible.

The terms in which liability is imposed exclude this defense, the first section creating unconditional liability when the injury results "in whole or in part" from the negligence of the carrier or any of its officers, agents, or employees. To entitle the employee to recover it is not necessary that such negligence should be the sole or even the proximate cause; it is sufficient if it is in the line of causation. (Grand Trunk v. Lindsay, supra.)

At common law, although the injury resulted from a "defect or insufficiency" due to the negligence of the employer, or from the negligence of any of its officers, agents, or employees, occupying the relation of vice principal, there could be no recovery if the employee by his own negligence proximately contributed to the injury.

Under the third section "the fact that the employee may have been guilty of contributory negligence shall not bar a recovery, but the damages shall be diminished by the jury in proportion to the amount of negligence attributable to such employee."

At common law also, when the employer's liability might not be otherwise evaded, recovery might still be defeated by proof of a contract, entered into by the employee, exempting the employer from liability. (Griffiths v. The Earl of Dudley, 9 Q. B. Div., 357 (1882).)

This defense is not available under the act, the fifth section expressly providing "that any contract, rule, regulation, or device whatsoever, the purpose or intent of which is to enable any common carrier to exempt itself from any liability created by this act, shall to that extent be void."

The act, when given what seems its proper construction, becomes what its distinguished authorship entitles it to be—a perfect specimen of constructive legislation, while the introduction into its remedial provisions of this incongruous doctrine of the common law renders it altogether unintelligible.

Assumption of risk in its secondary sense as a common-law defense in bar of recovery when the employee was chargeable with knowledge of the employer's negligence nullifies the first section of the act to the extent that that section imposes liability for injury resulting "in part" from "any defect or insufficiency" due to the negligence of the carrier. Congress realized that a variety of other causes might operate more or less directly in the production of an injury, such as the employee's continuance in the service with knowledge of the danger or his contributory negligence with respect to the danger. To avoid escape upon these or other grounds the act imposes unconditional liability for an injury resulting in whole or in part from such defect or insufficiency.

This defense nullifies the first section of the act to the extent that the language "shall be liable * * * for such injury * * * resulting in whole or in part from the negligence of any of the officers, agents, or employees of such carrier" has been regarded as "displacing" the common-law defense of assumption of risk of the negligence of the fellow servant.

If assumption of risk is displaced only in cases involving the violation of "statutes enacted for the safety of employers," why is not the common-law defense of the employee's assumption of the risk of injury from the negligence of his fellow servant still available? The negligence of a fellow servant is not the violation of "any statute enacted for the safety of employees," unless the liability act is itself such a statute. (Philadelphia, B. & W. R. R. Co. v. Tucker, supra.) How, then, is this form of assumption of risk excluded while assumption of risk of the carrier's negligence with respect to its instrumentalities is not excluded? Is it because the defense of the fellow servant is not a part of the defense of assumption of risk?

"An early, if not the earliest, application of the phrase 'assumption of the risk' was the establishment of the exception to the liability of a master for the negligence of a servant when the person injured was a fellow servant of the negligent man." (Schlemmer v. Buffalo, R. & P. Ry. Co., 220 U. S., 590 (1911); Farwell v. Boston & W. R. R. Corp., 4 Met. (Mass.), 49 (1842).)

Courts which hold that assumption of risk is a bar to recovery for injury resulting from a "defect or insufficiency" due to the carrier's negligence concede that assumption of risk can not be invoked to defeat recovery for injury resulting from the negligence of a fellow servant. And why not? The liability for both kinds of negligence is imposed by the same language; both must stand or fall together. But for the unconditional liability imposed by the first section for both forms of negligence there would be stronger reason for holding that assumption of risk might be invoked, under the fourth section, to defeat recovery for the negligence of the fellow servant than for the negligence of the carrier. The risk of injury from the negligence of the fellow servant is a "risk of his employment," which at common law is assumed by the employee (Norfolk & W. R. Co. v. Nuckol, 91 Va., 193; 21 S. E., 342 (1895)), while the risk of injury from the employer's negligence, whatever may be the basis of its assumption at common law, is not a "risk of his employment" assumed by the employee. (3 Labatt on Master and Servant, 1 ed., sec. 894.)

This defense nullifies the third section of the act. It is impossible to reconcile the common-law doctrine that the employee's continuance in the service with knowledge of the risk resulting from a "defect or insufficiency" is a bar to recovery with the peremptory provision of the third section that "in all actions hereafter brought against any such common carrier * * * the fact that the employee may have been guilty of contributory negligence shall not bar a recovery."

The employee's knowledge of the defect or insufficiency, and of the consequent danger, is an element or factor common to both defenses of assumption of risk and contributory negligence. (Norfolk & W. R. Co. v. Cheatwood, 103 Va., 356; 49 S. E., 489 (1905); Buckner v. Richmond & D. R. Co., 72 Miss., 873; 18 So., 449 (1895); 1 Labatt on Master and Servant, 1 ed., secs. 207, 279a, 296.) Can this same knowledge be at once a bar to recovery when considered as an element of "assumption of risk" and not a bar to recovery when considered as an element of "contributory negligence"? Is it conceivable that such an anomalous state of the law was intended by Congress; that Congress intended to preserve against contributory negligence the right of action which it created, only to have that right of action defeated by "knowledge," one of the elements of contributory negligence, called by the name of "assumption of risk," and thus to "palter with us in a double sense"? "Whenever the evidence," says Mr. Labatt, in stating the common-law rule, "suggests that the servant knew of the extraordinary risk which causes the accident, the jury should be instructed regarding the legal consequences of such knowledge as justifying the inference both of an assumption of the risk and of contributory negligence."

The two defenses are so inextricably related that it is impracticable to discover the point at which the employee's "knowledge" as a bar to recovery, when considered as an element of assumption of risk, shall cease to be a bar to recovery when considered as an element of contributory negligence.

In Narramore v. Cleveland, C., C. & St. L. Ry. Co. (supra, p. 304) Judge Taft said:

"Assumption of risk is * * * the acquiescence of the ordinarily prudent man in a known danger, the risk of which he assumes by contract. Contributory negligence * * * is that action or nonaction in disregard of personal safety by one who, treating the known danger as a condition, acts with respect to it without due care of its consequences." In Schlemmer v. Buffalo, R. & P. Ry. Co., 205 U. S., 1, 12, it is said: "Assumption of risk * * * obviously shades into negligence as commonly understood. Negligence consists in conduct which common experience or the specific knowledge of the actor shows to be so likely to produce the result complained of, under the circumstances known to the actor, that he is held answerable for that result, although it was not certain, intended, or foreseen. He is held to assume the risk upon the same ground. * * * Apart from the notion of contract, rather shadowy as applied to this broad form of the latter conception, the practical difference of the two ideas is in the degree of their proximity to the particular harm. The preliminary conduct of getting into the dangerous employment or relation is said to be accompanied by assumption of the risk. The act more immediately leading to a specific accident is called negligent. But the difference between the two is one of degree rather than of kind."

Assumption of risk, then, consists in knowing the danger and acting carefully, while contributory negligence consists in knowing the danger and acting carelessly. Contributory negligence includes, as a part of its elements, every fact constituting assumption of risk. There can not, therefore, be an assumption of risk, as a legal conception distinct from contributory negligence, which does not become merged into contributory negligence when the conduct of the employee goes to the extent of charging him with contributory negligence.

This defense, if indeed its basis is an implied contract, renders nugatory the fifth section of the act, that "any contract, rule, regulation, or device whatsoever, the purpose or intent of which shall be to enable any common carrier to exempt itself from any liability created by this act, shall to that extent be void." (Doherty on Federal Employers' Liability Act, p. 102.)

It is not the purpose of this article to discuss the rationale of common-law assumption of risk of the employer's negligence. If Mr. Labatt states correctly that "the conception underlying the servant's assumption of a known risk is essentially that of an implied agreement," it is not to be reconciled with the fifth section. If Judge Putnam, in Central Vermont Ry. Co. v. Bethune (206 Fed., 868 [1913]), correctly states that "There is nothing of the kind. It is merely a practical rule of common sense, which * * * is in itself independent of the contract of service or any other contract," the academic distinction between assumption of risk and contributory negligence disappears.

Of the "common-sense" theory suggested in the Bethune case, it is sufficient to observe that it is at variance with the legislative intelligence underlying all acts of remedial legislation, including the third and fourth sections of the liability act as construed by the court, so far as concerns dangers resulting from the violation of statutes; and, assuming as it does that the employee voluntarily exposes himself to the danger of pain, maiming, and death, is at variance with every rational human instinct. It is at variance, too, with the opinion of the court in Baltimore & P. R. R. Co. v. Landrigan (191 U. S., 461, 474 [1903]):

"We know of no more universal instinct than that of self-preservation; none that so insistently urges to care against injury. It has its motives to exercise in the fear of pain, maiming, and death. There are

few presumptions based on human feelings or experience that have surer foundation than that expressed in the instruction objected to."

It is evident that the common-law defense, in bar of recovery, based upon the employee's continuance in the service with knowledge of a "defect or insufficiency" due to the negligence of an interstate carrier "in its cars, engines, appliances, machinery, track, roadbed, works, boats, wharves, or other equipment," whether called by the name of "assumption of risk" or "contributory negligence," is not admissible under any express or implied provision of the act, and that the introduction of the defense into the system of Federal liability would render the act nugatory so far as concerns any beneficial result to interstate employees; and worse than that, for the act of Congress supplants all the remedial legislation of the States, and, with this all-pervading doctrine of the common law judicially construed into the act, the last state of the interstate employee would be worse than the first.

EDWARD P. BUFORD.

LAWRENCEVILLE, VA.

An Argument for the Change of Payment of Pensions for Old Soldiers.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CYRUS CLINE,
OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 20, 1915,

On the bill (H. R. 21161) making appropriations for the payment of invalid and other pensions of the United States for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, and for other purposes.

Mr. CLINE. Mr. Speaker, I had hoped that the House might take some action on House bill 12916, introduced by me for the payment of pensions to old soldiers and soldiers' widows every 30 days instead of every 90 days. These pensions are allowed because of age and length of service.

It is a known fact that the recipients of these pensions in very many instances depend almost wholly upon their pensions for support. A very large proportion of the old soldiers and widows are unable to earn a dollar, and many of them require the assistance and aid of another person to care for them. Under these circumstances, waiting for three months for their payment works an unusual hardship. The advanced cost of living adds to their expenses and requires them to practice the greatest economy to make their pensions pay their expenses. There is no doubt but that the grocer or clothier who carries the pensioner through three months for his pay could and would sell cheaper to him if he received the cash for his sales. Very often the soldier has spent his quarterly pension, before he receives it, for the necessities of life. Ready cash would therefore result in a saving to him in his daily expenses. These pensions ought to be paid every 30 days. No individual running an ordinary business would think of asking his employees, depending upon their wages to live, to wait 90 days for their pay after it was earned. The fact is, the laws of the several States require persons employing labor in commercial or manufacturing enterprises to pay their help as often as every 30 days and frequently every two weeks. The old soldier, too, is the only creditor of the Government who is required to wait 90 days for his pay. Government clerks are paid twice a month. Every officer of the Government in its administrative branches, every Member of Congress, Cabinet officers, judges of the Supreme Court, President of the United States—in fact, every man connected with the service—is paid every 30 days. Why should the old soldiers wait three times as long for their pay as any other person drawing funds from the General Government? The money is appropriated and ready for payment at the beginning of the fiscal year; so there need be no hesitation for lack of necessary funds. It would not be any more expensive for the Government to pay monthly than to pay every 90 days, for the reason that the Government has employed in its Pension Bureau a surplus amount of help that could be easily assigned to doing the extra clerical work necessary. Even if it should cost more than it does now to disburse these funds that under the law belong to the soldier and the soldier's widow, if the disbursement every 30 days will add to their comfort, their convenience, and aid in supplying them promptly with the necessaries of life, payment should not be withheld. It would be difficult to understand, I apprehend, why this payment should be withheld from the old soldier who spent the best years of his life in the Government service, even if the cost of the disbursement was slightly increased. I hope the Congress in its coming session in December will see to it that the Commissioner of Pensions is instructed to make the payment of pensions in the manner and under the terms that I have suggested in my bill.

How the War Trust Is Robbing the Government While Driving Us on Toward the Brink of War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE H. TAVENNER,
OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

February 15, 1915.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Speaker, I sat recently in the House of Representatives and heard the Hon. AUGUSTUS GARDNER, of Massachusetts, make the statement upon his responsibility as a Member of the American Congress that—

If war were to break out to-day, it would be found that our coast defenses have not sufficient ammunition for an hour's fight!

Whether or not Mr. GARDNER's statement is correct I can not say, because I do not know; but this I do know, that we do not have the ammunition and armament that we have paid for and should have in return for the countless millions of dollars of the American people's money that have been expended from the Public Treasury.

I mean to say that those Army and Navy officers who do the purchasing of war munitions and who are paid a salary by the people and are trusted by the people to see that the Government receives a dollar's worth of material for every dollar expended have permitted a ring of ammunition manufacturers to outrageously overcharge Uncle Sam for armor, guns, powder, and munitions in general.

For instance, the War Department in 1913 purchased seven thousand 4.7-inch shrapnel from the ammunition ring, paying $25.26 each therefor. At the same time precisely the same shrapnel was being manufactured in the Government-owned Frankford Arsenal for $15.45, all overhead charges included.

Mr. Average Citizen, are you willing that the public officials in the War Department who are spending your money should pay $25.23 for an article that they could have manufactured in Government plants for $15.45?

This instance is not the exception; it is the rule. The Army and Navy officers in 20 years have purchased $175,000,000 worth of armor, armament, and munitions from four firms which have a monopoly in this country on the manufacture of such supplies and have paid this grasping war trust from 20 to 60 per cent more than the same articles could have been manufactured for in Government plants.

WHAT BECOMES OF THE $250,000,000 ANNUALLY?

As the result of frequently repeated statements similar to that made by Mr. GARDNER, the average citizen is at last beginning to ask: "What becomes of the $250,000,000 that is being spent annually on our Army and Navy? Who, pray, is getting the money?"

And it is time the people are beginning to show anxiety, because their money has been squandered like water, and unless Mr. Average Citizen wakes up and removes the wool from his eyes it is going to continue to be squandered.

The reason this matter deserves the immediate attention of the American taxpayers is that the cost of militarism in this country has been growing faster than the average man even dreams. In 1890 the annual cost of our Navy was $20,000,000. To-day it is $140,000,000. There is no use to ask the reader to stop and try to realize how much money $140,000,000 is, because it is an absolute physical impossibility for the human mind to grasp the magnitude of such a staggering sum.

The American people have never been let into the secret of who the profit makers are in the traffic of war and preparation for war in this country, and the methods by which they help themselves at the public trough. I will go further and venture the assertion that not 30 Members of Congress know the identity of the select ring of patriots for profit into whose pockets the millions of the masses are pouring, which gentlemen have a water-tight monopoly in this country on the traffic of war trading, and who have drawn down every penny of $50,000,000 in excessive and extortionate profits from the Government by direct virtue of their influential friends in the Army, the Navy, and in Congress. Lest any gentlemen in high places should resent the implication of being friends of the War Trust, I hasten at the outset to concede their contentions that they are patriots; yes, all of them.

Congress can investigate the war trust until it is black in the face, and it will get nowhere. The Secretary of the Navy can try as he will to get some one to underbid the armor ring,

either in this country or abroad, and he will not be able to escape the net; he has tried and has not been able to escape it. Independent capital is afraid to enter into competition with the armor ring, so deeply rooted is it in the local field, and if the Secretary of the Navy seeks relief from abroad, even in time of peace, he is doomed to disappointment, because the American branch of the international armor-plate ring works in harmony with the European colony, and vice versa, as I shall endeavor to show.

Armor, armament, and ammunition contractors are not big enough fools to cut each other's throats. Their business is to supply for a gigantic profit the wherewithal for the peoples of the earth to enjoy a monopoly of throat cutting and the pulling of limb from limb. As for themselves, they do not indulge in price-cutting warfare. Their game is purely profit making. They start the ball rolling by making nations distrustful of one another, and then in inducing them to overprepare for war. Does anyone doubt that if the European nations had not been so overprepared for war they would have been so willing to have entered into it?

GOVERNMENT MANUFACTURE ALONE WILL PROTECT TAXPAYERS.

Is there no way whatever, it may be asked, by which the people can protect themselves from the greed of the war trust magnates? Yes; just one way. That is by the Government taking the profit out of war and preparation for war by manufacturing all of its own munitions, armor, cannon, and battleships. Both Washington and Lincoln advocated the nationalization of the manufacture of war munitions as sound public policy. Government manufacture as a policy need have no bearing whatever on the question of whether we shall have a large or small Navy. Those who advocate Government manufacture of all war equipment are not so much concerned for the present whether we build one or more battleships a year, so long as the Government does the manufacturing, because, then, for every dollar Congress appropriates for battleships the people will receive a dollar's worth of battleship.

If the Government will manufacture all of its own war materials, millions of dollars will be saved annually to the taxpayers as a result of the already demonstrated ability of Uncle Sam to manufacture at a cost much below the prices of the war trust, as I shall show. Government manufacture will mean that the workmen who perform the labor of actually making the munitions will receive higher wages and better working conditions than the employees of the ring of private contractors receive, as these firms number among them the most bitter enemies of organized labor in the United States, working 51 per cent of their employees 12 hours a day, according to a report of the United States Bureau of Labor made just after an investigation in 1910.

Fortunate indeed would it be for this Nation to-day if the Government had a monopoly of the manufacture of all munitions of war. It is not the average American, the man who will be required to do the fighting and pay the bills if we become embroiled in the European conflict, who is jeopardizing our peace. The average American is remaining at home, attending to his business. It is the ring of war-trafficking private arms and ammunition firms who are endangering the peace and welfare of 100,000,000 people in order that they may satisfy their greed for profit. If we go to war, it will not be on account of anything the average American has done, but because as a Nation we have neglected to safeguard our peace by taking the profit out of war and preparation for war.

WHO THE WAR TRADERS ARE.

Because I believe it is my duty to do so, I desire now to take the responsibility of directing the attention of the American people to the fact that their money appropriated for the Army and Navy is being wasted by the millions, and to take the responsibility of identifying the war traffickers, so that the taxpayers may know where the millions upon millions of their money that has been dumped into the bottomless pit of militarism have being going, are going, and will continue to go unless public opinion shall arise in its might and demand that further waste of public funds shall cease.

To begin with, who and what is the armor ring, if there really is such an animal? Is the term "armor ring" a mere figure of speech, something invisible, or is it possible definitely to place our finger upon it? Answer: It is possible.

The armor ring is the Bethlehem Steel Co., the Midvale Steel Co., and the Carnegie Steel Co. These three firms, exclusive of their subsidiary war-trafficking auxiliaries, have drawn down since 1887 from the Navy Department alone for the single item of armor plate contracts aggregating $95,628,912, divided as follows: Bethlehem, $42,321,237; Carnegie, $32,954,377; Midvale, $20,353,298.

I have just stated that the armor ring is composed of the Bethlehem, Midvale, and Carnegie companies. Remember the names!

Now, the armament ring is composed of Midvale, Bethlehem, and Carnegie. Ammunition ring, Carnegie, Midvale, and Bethlehem. We will add to the ammunition ring, for good measure, the Du Pont Powder Trust, which has no competitors in the sale of smokeless powder to the Government for reasons that will appear most remarkable when explained. The Powder Trust has obtained contracts aggregating about $25,000,000 since 1905. From the Army and Navy combined the other three concerns—Bethlehem, Carnegie, and Midvale—have obtained orders since 1887 exceeding $150,000,000.

There are a few concerns dealing in ammunition of small caliber and others specializing in certain patented articles that obtain contracts, but such contracts are mere crumbs which fall from the lap of the four big war-trading concerns which constitute the War Trust.

SOME DEFINITE INFORMATION AS TO THE WASTING OF PUBLIC FUNDS.

Why has the War Department been paying the ring $17.50 for a 3.8-inch common shrapnel when it can manufacture and is manufacturing the identical article at Frankford for $7.94? Seventeen dollars and fifty cents is more than twice $7.94. The Government could manufacture two shrapnel for the price it has been paying the private manufacturers for one and have $1.62 remaining to the people's credit on each transaction. Is it any wonder we do not have as much ammunition as we should have for the money that has been expended? It is the public funds that are being spent here, and the people have a right to have these questions answered.

We are manufacturing a 31-second combination fuse in the Government arsenal for $2.92 for which we have been paying the ring $7.

These illustrations are not exceptional, as I will endeavor to show by the fact that on a contract given to Frankford Arsenal for ammunition valued at $1,900,064 we are saving $979,840; or, in other words, we are saving approximately $1,000,000 on a $2,000,000 order as compared with what it would have cost had that contract been awarded the ammunition ring. Does not a showing such as this warrant a policy of turning the really big orders over to Government manufacture instead of allowing the war traffickers to charge us practically any price they may agree upon between themselves?

In a recent speech before Congress President Wilson stated that "like good stewards, we should so account for every dollar of our appropriations as to make it perfectly evident what it was spent for and in what way it was spent." Surely no such thought was in the minds of the Army and Navy officials who have been doing the purchasing for those departments.

Realizing the Government was being overcharged for turbine rotary drums, Secretary of the Navy Daniels—who, with one exception, is the only Secretary of the Navy that I can find any trace of who has ever made a real fight to escape the extortions of the armor and ammunition rings—induced an independent English firm to submit a bid. The Bethlehem and Midvale companies bid $169,568 and $160,272, respectively, while the English firm offered to furnish the drums for $57,436, a saving of $102,836 to the Government over the lowest bid of the ring. I am not referring now to armor, because the Secretary has not been able to obtain armor abroad.

Recently the Secretary awarded a contract for building 100 torpedo flasks, including heads. He induced a new firm to slip in with a bid, and was able to purchase for $58,246 materials which under normal conditions would have cost $115,075. The bids of the Bethlehem and Midvale companies, under real competitive bidding, showed a reduction of 44 per cent as compared with bids for similar forgings submitted by these companies only four months previous.

Personally, I believe that these officers who, in the expenditure of the people's money, have been paying $115,075 for supplies which could have been obtained for $58,246, should, somewhere or in some manner, be required to make a public accounting for their acts. The thing that riles the blood concerning the manner in which the millions have been squandered by our Army and Navy officers is that this money did not come from the pockets of the rich, but that it has been wrung from the poorest of the poor. All of these wasted millions have been collected by a tax on the things that the people eat, wear, and use, none of it having been collected by direct taxation, but every cent of it having come through the customhouses and internal-revenue offices, which means that the people have been paying the cost of militarism in the form of increased cost of living.

I am not charging in these remarks the violation of criminal laws, nor yet am I asserting that none have been violated; I

am stating the fact that millions of dollars of the public funds have been ruthlessly wasted, and am endeavoring to show how such waste may be prevented in the future.

SECRETARY DANIELS IS WHOLLY AT THE MERCY OF THE WAR TRUST.

By the most ingenious maneuvering among the war traffickers, Secretary Daniels has been able to save some $2,000,000 from the clutches of the greedy patriots for profit. But, alas, the war trust has at last forced him into a corner, and he is again wholly at its mercy. To elucidate: I am informed that before the outbreak of the European war Secretary Daniels sought, by inquiry, to ascertain from companies in the ring the price of a certain projectile. A price of $490 was made him. The Secretary then invited the representatives of independent foreign companies to visit him and submit prices, at the same time taking extreme care that the domestic bidders should hear of his supposed intentions. The result was the ring reduced its prices from $490 to $325, and the Secretary made his purchases at that figure. Since the European war broke out, Secretary Daniels, I am told, decided to purchase more of the same projectile, but, to his astonishment, was quoted a price of $425. The ammunition-ring bidders, being business men as well as patriots, had taken advantage of the fact that there is no possible chance of the Secretary obtaining anything in the way of war materials from Europe as long as the present war holds out, and boosted their prices accordingly.

HISTORY OF ARMOR IS ONE LONG SCANDAL.

It would require several volumes to cover all the transactions deserving publicity concerning armor. Let it be sufficient in passing to say that the Government purchase of armor has been a scandal from start to finish. The conduct of the armor ring in dealing with the Government averages throughout at least 80 per cent rotten.

There have been nine official estimates as to the actual cost of the manufacture of a ton of armor plate. The average estimate is $247.17 per ton. Yet since 1887 we have purchased 217,379 tons of armor, paying the armor ring an average of $440.04 per ton, or a total of $95,656,240. I believe I am well within the bounds of conservatism when I say that if all this armor had been manufactured in a Government plant at least $35,000,000 would have been saved to the American taxpayers, and armor is only one of the things being purchased by the Army and Navy under similar conditions.

AVERAGE ESTIMATE IS $247.17.

Here is a table showing the official estimated cost of armor by the investigating boards of 1896 and 1906, by various naval experts, by former Secretary of the Navy Herbert, and Rear Admiral Strauss, the present Chief of Ordnance:

Year.	Estimator.	Estimated cost.	
		"Production cost," or cost in a Government plant.	"Full cost," or cost in outside plants, with private profit added.
1896	Lieut. Commander Rodgers	$297.54	$391.86
	Ensign McVay	243.73	337.29
	Rohrer Board	223.43	324.36
	Secretary of Navy Herbert	224.42	324.41
	Average	247.28	344.48
1906	Commander Rohrbacher	193.08	223.16
	Commander Dieffenbach	241.76	277.73
	Lieut. Galbraith	242.33	298.77
	Investigating board of 1906	244.27	295.89
	Average	230.36	273.89
1914	Rear Admiral Joseph Strauss	[1] 314.00	[1] 349.25
	General average	247.17	322.54

[1] Estimate based on cost in plant 10,000 tons yearly capacity. Other estimates based on cost in plant of 6,000 capacity.

Admiral Strauss, Chief of Ordnance, estimates that in a Government plant of 20,000 tons capacity armor can be manufactured at a cost of $279 per ton. This is $31.83 per ton higher than the average estimate of nine estimators, who based their estimates on plants of 10,000 tons capacity.

Here is a table showing the amount the Government would have saved if all armor used up to date could have been manufactured in a Government plant at $279 per ton.

Year.	Company.	Tons.	Average charge.	Total charged.	$279 per ton, reasonable cost to manufacturer.	Overcharge or amount of tribute collected off of taxpayer.
1887	Bethlehem	6,891	$604.85	$4,168,000	$1,819,589	$2,348,411
1890	Carnegie	6,054	671.15	3,475,000	1,688,066	1,786,934
1893	Bethlehem	3,882				
	Carnegie	3,120				
	Total	7,002	658.72	4,604,000	1,953,558	2,650,442
1896	Bethlehem	2,800				
	Carnegie	3,073				
	Total	5,873	550.23	3,232,080	1,637,567	1,594,513
1898	Bethlehem	3,965				
	Carnegie	3,712				
	Total	7,677	400.00	3,074,800	2,241,883	832,917
1899	Bethlehem	1,142				
	Carnegie	1,134				
	Total	2,276	400.00	910,400	635,004	275,396
1900	Bethlehem	18,588				
	Carnegie	18,588				
	Total	37,176	413.42	15,369,400	10,372,104	4,997,296
1903	Bethlehem	5,798				
	Carnegie	5,666				
	Midvale [1]	6,180				
	Total	17,644	406.82	7,173 502	4,922,676	2,250,826
1904	Carnegie	5,258	417.28	2,194,040	1,466,982	727,058
1905	Bethlehem	4,959				
	Carnegie	1,921				
	Midvale	1,041				
	Total	7,921	403.03	3,223,412	2,109,959	1,113,461
1906	Bethlehem	1,824				
	Carnegie	1,865				
	Midvale	3,690				
	Total	7,379	345.92	2,552,382	2,058,741	493,641
1907	Bethlehem	3,579				
	Carnegie	3,538				
	Midvale	2,259				
	Total	9,376	416.90	3,919,400	2,615,904	1,303,496
1909	Bethlehem	7,731				
	Carnegie	7,757				
	Midvale	6,914				
	Total	22,402	422.29	9,463,767	6,241,832	3,221,935
1911	Bethlehem	4,469				
	Carnegie	4,530				
	Midvale	4,476				
	Total	13,475	430.58	5,801,508	3,759,525	2,041,983
1912	Bethlehem	5,022				
	Carnegie	5,132				
	Midvale	5,189				
	Total	15,343	428.26	6,573,612	4,280,697	2,292,915
1913	Bethlehem	2,669				
	Carnegie	2,684				
	Midvale	10,462				
	Carbon Steel Co. [1]	61				
	Total	15,876	457.50	7,204,977	4,429,404	2,802,901
1914	Bethlehem	16,256				
	Midvale	8,128				
	Total	24,384	429.09	10,462,992	6,804,136	3,658,856
	Grand total	217,379	440.04	95,656,240	61,263,259	34,392,981

[1] New company.

The above total is the tribute levied upon this Government and collected from the American taxpayers during the last 25 years upon the one item of armor plate alone, and which could have been saved to the people by the Government manufacturing its own armor plate.

Take powder. We have purchased $25,000,000 worth of powder from the trust since 1905, paying for it all the way from 53 cents to 80 cents per pound. We are manufacturing powder in Government plants now for 36 cents per pound, and the officers in charge state that the more we manufacture, the cheaper we can produce it. There is little doubt but that from eight to ten million dollars of the twenty-five million dollars paid the Powder Trust could have been saved by Government manufacture.

Secretary Daniels has asked Congress for an appropriation for a Government armor-plate factory, but thus far Congress has refused him.

If the Government builds an armor plate and a padlock is placed on its doors as soon as it is completed, and it is never used, it will, in the opinion of Secretary Daniels, pay for itself simply by enabling him to obtain fair treatment from the armor manufacturers.

TO DEPEND UPON PRIVATE CONTRACTORS FOR MUNITIONS IN TIME OF WAR IS TO PLACE THE GOVERNMENT AT THE MERCY OF PROVEN EXTORTIONISTS.

Army and Navy officers generally are opposed to complete Government manufacture of munitions of war, taking the position that it is the part of wisdom for the Government to encourage private manufacturers to operate plants so that they may be available in time of war. Experience has shown, however, that instead of patriotically coming to the relief of the Government in time of war, the war traders take advantage of the necessities of the Government, which is at their mercy, and boost their prices. For instance, when war with Spain was imminent the armor manufacturers practically issued an ultimatum to the Government that they would not manufacture a single piece of armor plate unless the Government should agree to pay them $100 a ton more than the price fixed by Congress after an investigation as a fair price. And it is also worthy of notice that their patriotism did not prevent them from selling armor to Russia for $249 a ton, while they were asking their own Government $616 a ton.

That the Du Pont Powder Trust practiced similar extortion during the Spanish War would seem to be indicated in the following question and answer on page 82 of the Fortifications bill hearings of 1908:

Question. How was it during the war—did they (the Powder Trust) put up the price tremendously?

Gen. CROZIER. That is a little hard to say. I think we paid $1 a pound, and then the price was reduced to 80 cents.

We are now manufacturing powder in Government plants for 36 cents a pound, every conceivable overhead charge included, and paying the trust 53 cents a pound.

If the Armor and Powder Trusts once overcharge the Government in time of war because they have it at their mercy it is their fault, but if they repeat the performance because they are a second time permitted to have the Government at their mercy, it will be the Government's fault.

ARMOR PLATE PATRIOTISM IS WORLD-WIDE.

There appears to be no real competition between the armor manufacturers of the various countries. Once, in 1893, the American armor ring made a noise like competition, when it sold armor to Russia for $249, while charging the United States $616, and for a time great consternation prevailed in the ranks of the war trusts of the various nations.

But during this period the armor manufacturers of the world met in Paris, and since then there has been little or no competition worthy of the name. The armor manufacturers asked themselves why they should cut each others' throats and why it would not be to their advantage to receive $500 or $600 a ton instead of $200 or $300.

In his report (H. Doc., vol. 58, p. 22, 54th Cong.) Secretary of the Navy under Cleveland, Hon. H. A. Herbert, in commenting on the question of a trust says:

I am informed upon authority which I believe to be good that about, or perhaps before, the time of the last contract of the Bethlehem company with Russia there was a meeting in Paris of the representatives of the principal, if not all, of the armor manufacturers of Europe and America.

This was in 1894; and commenting upon the prices charged in Europe and America, he says, on the same page:

These facts seem to lead to the conclusion that there is at least a friendly understanding or agreement among the principal manufacturers of the world that prices shall be maintained at about the same level.

Here we find evidence 20 years old of a world-wide Armor Plate Trust.

In the naval hearings for 1914, page 621, the present Secretary of the Navy, Josephus Daniels, used the following language in referring to an advertisement for bids for armor plate for the dreadnaught *Pennsylvania:*

When we came to the armor we rejected all the bids, and were then absolutely in a situation from which it appeared there was no relief. Though you can not establish it in black and white, there is no doubt of an Armor Plate Trust all over the world. That is to say, the people abroad who make armor plate will not come here and submit bids, because they know if they do our manufacturers will go abroad and submit bids. They have divided the world, like Gaul, into three parts.

For more definite evidence of the tremendous syndication and wide sympathies of armor-plate patriotism, an examination of the Harvey United Steel Co., of London, is instructive and entertaining.

The Harvey United Steel Co. (see British Stock Exchange Yearbook, 1912, p. 1211)—

was registered July 16, 1901, to amalgamate or control four other companies holding the rights of the Harvey patents for treating steel, including the Harvey Steel Co. of Great Britain (Ltd.), and the Harvey Continental Steel Co. (Ltd.).

They were also licensors for the Krupp and Charpy processes of hardening armor plate.

All of the peace societies in the world have not been able in a century of labor to effect such an international alliance for peace as the Harvey Co., in a few months, succeeded in effecting a world-wide organization for preparation for war. Although paying handsome dividends, it is claimed that this company has been voluntarily wound up during the last year, after the decisions of two extraordinary general meetings held on July 15 and 31, 1912, but it is very difficult to feel sure that this international association of patriots for profit is really dead and that it has not been resurrected in some less discoverable form.

These are the firms which, banded together, were known as the Harvey Steel Co.:

GREAT BRITAIN.

Vickers, (Ltd.). Albert Vickers, chairman of the great English war trafficking firm that bears his name, not only held 2,697 shares in the Harvey Steel Co., but was its managing director, and was one of the two persons intrusted with its alleged winding up.

Wm. Beardmore & Co. (Ltd.) William Beardmore, chairman of this company, was a director of the Harvey Co.

W. G. Armstrong, Whitworth & Co. (Ltd.). J. M. Falkner, a director of this firm, was also on the board of the Harvey Co.

John Brown & Co. (Ltd.), the Coventry Ordnance Co. (Ltd.), and Thos. Firth & Co. (Ltd.) were all represented by C. E. Ellis, with a holding of 7,438 shares.

The Fairfield Shipbuilding Co. (Ltd.), and Messrs. Cammell, Laird & Co. (Ltd.), are, of course, largely interested in the Coventry Ordnance Co. (Ltd.), and are both in alliance with John Brown & Co. (Ltd.), with the last of whom are connected also the Projectile Co. (Ltd.), Messrs. Palmer's Shipbuilding & Iron Co., and the Hadfield Foundry Co. (Ltd.).

UNITED STATES.

The Bethlehem Steel Co. (Ltd.) held 4,301 shares in the Harvey Co. With the Bethlehem Co. was at this time joined Harlan & Hollingsworth, of Wilmington; Union Iron Works, of San Francisco; and Samuel L. Moore & Son, at Elizabeth. Mr. Schwab, the power behind the Bethlehem corporation, had also a $10,000,000 subcontract for armor and gun mountings of two Argentine dreadnaughts building by the Fore River Shipbuilding Co., which he has acquired, and by the New York Shipbuilding Co.

FRANCE.

Schneider & Co. held 9,862 shares in the Harvey Co., while La Cie des Forges et Acieries de la Marine et d'Homécourt held another 150. The Harvey Steel Co. had four French directors, two of whom held 2,000 shares each.

ITALY.

Societa degli Alti Forni Fondiere ed Acciaiene di Terni held 8,000 shares, and was represented by Raffaele Bettini. This firm is in alliance with Vickers (Ltd.) as Vickers-Terni, with a gigantic arsenal, and Vickers are also allied with Messrs. Odero and Messrs. Orlando.

Messrs. Armstrong, Whitworth & Co. hold the shares of Armstrong-Pozzuoli (Ltd.), whose arsenal is "the chief supply of war material to the Italian navy," and Ansaldo-Armstrong & Co. (Ltd.), of Genoa, is in the same group.

GERMANY.

Actien Gesellschaft der Dillinger Huttinwirke. In alliance with the patriot firms of England and France this company held no fewer than 2,731 shares, and was represented on the board by Fritz Saeftel, of Dillingen, Saad, Germany.

Friedrich Krupp, of the famous Krupp factories, held 4,731 shares, and was represented by Heinrish Vielhaber and Emil Ehrensberger.

Krupps are related to the Skoda Co., of Austria; Schneider & Co., who make the Creusot gun, have interests in Russia; while the Dillinger firm is owned by Deutsche Waffen & Munitions Fabrik, which has holdings in Belgium and in the Mauser Co., in addition to its huge munition factory in Germany.

METHODS OF THE WAR TRAFFICKERS IN KEEPING UP BUSINESS.

There are tricks in all trades. If the peoples of the several powers can be incited to mutual distrust, suspicion, and hatred, for instance, it means increased dividends for the stockholders of the war traffickers in each country.

The several leading powers aim to increase their naval strength in the same proportion. If one of the powers can be induced to take on an additional superdreadnaught, it is used as an argument as to why the other leading powers should do the same. It works as an endless chain, with the war burden ever and ever increasing on the backs of the taxpayers of the world.

If a new design can be worked out, that, too, means more grist for the shipbuilders. It calls for the speedy "scrapping" of the vessels already on hand as "obsolete," "scrapping" meaning throwing on the scrap heap as old junk. So the life of the battleship is ever lessening.

Another trick in the trade of the war traders which is obviously profitable, otherwise it would not be continued, is the hiring of retired Army and Navy officials and ex-Members of Congress by the powder, armor, and shipbuilding concerns. These ex-officials know the inner workings of the military branches of the Government, know the personnel in an intimate way, and by private conversation, by correspondence, and in various ways are in a position to obtain much useful information. They know how to go about things for results. Through these ex-officials the War Trust has become thoroughly at home in Washington.

There seems to be no limit to the extremes to which the war traders are willing to go for business.

Although scarcely believable, it is the proven fact that British and German war trusts many years ago actually set about to represent to their respective home Governments that their rivals were planning to build and building great armadas of giant fighting craft, which have since been proven absolutely to have been figments of the imagination pure and simple. The same character of campaigns has been going on between France and Germany, between the countries in the triple alliance and the triple entente, and it is yet to be established whether the United States of America has not also been the victim of a similar brand of commercialism, in which patriotism is the means and profit the end.

Misrepresentation as to the building programs of Great Britain and Germany were carried on to such an extent that the papers became full of it, and the suspicion of the people toward each other grew and grew. It was inevitable that there could be but one end to such proceedings, and that end war.

Specific information, replete with details, is available to show just how the work was carried on.

Briefly, this is the story: Beginning in 1906, Mr. H. H. Mulliner, managing director of the Coventry Ordnance Co., of England, one of the great British war trafficking concerns, gave himself to the work of propagating the myth of a gigantic expansion of Krupp's works in particular and German military acceleration in general. The "Diary of the great surrender," which Mr. Mulliner himself afterwards published (London Times, Jan. 3, 1910), contains these two entries, which practically covered the period of the campaign:

May 13, 1906, Mr. Mulliner first informs British Admiralty of preparations for enormously increasing the German Navy. (This information was concealed from the British nation until March, 1909.)

March 3, 1909, Mr. Mulliner giving evidence before the British Cabinet, proves that the enormous acceleration in Germany for producing armaments, about which he had perpetually warned the Admiralty, was an accomplished fact, and that large quantities of naval guns and mountings were being made with great rapidity in that country.

It was an underground campaign, but subsequent letters and speeches (Mulliner's communications to London Times, Aug. 2 and 16, Sept. 21, Dec. 14 and 17, 1909; Jan. 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 12, 15, and 18, 1910, etc.) indicate that Mr. Mulliner's "information," sent first to the war office in May, 1906, was "passed on to the Admiralty," "was discussed by them with several outsiders," and then "passed from hand to hand so that hundreds have read it."

Of this "information" it need only be added that as soon as it became public it was contradicted by Messrs. Krupp, through Hon. John Leyland, member of Parliament, in England, and other correspondents. After some years it was practically admitted by the British Government to have been false. Time has proved that it never had any real basis.

But the "information" had its effect, the effect that Managing Director Mulliner, of the Coventry Ordnance Co., desired that it should have. The "information," becoming public, swept Great Britain off its feet. The people took up and repeated the war traders' slogan: "We want eight, and we won't wait," meaning battleships.

Ten days after Mr. Mulliner presented his "information" to the supreme governing body of the British Empire the statement explanatory of the navy estimates was made. It showed a total of $170,793,522 for 1909–10, an increase of $13,720,752; new construction accounting for an increase of $6,512,400.

As a result of the "tip" furnished by the managing director of the war munition firm, the British Government foretold that Germany would have 17 dreadnaught battleships by March, 1912, and Leader Balfour, still more impressed by the fake "scare," declared Germany would have 25, or, in any case, 21 dreadnaughts in March, 1912.

On almost the same day the predicting was going on in England, the German admiral, Von Tirpitz, told the budget committee of the German Reichstag that the Germany Navy would have only 13 dreadnaughts in the autumn of 1912.

Germany had, in fact, according to the British Naval Annual, only 9 dreadnaught battleships and cruisers on March 31, 1912, and only 14 on March 31, 1913.

GERMANY AND FRANCE EXPLOITED BY ARMAMENT FIRMS.

Germany, too, has had its scandal on account of the war-trust octopus. In his speech in the Reichstag on April 18, 1913, Herr Liebknecht made exposures and revelations which created a profound sensation throughout the world. Presently I shall quote liberally from this great speech, but in passing will call attention briefly to the remarkable conditions of affairs revealed by him:

The German Arms and Ammunition Factory, one of the greatest ordnance establishments in the world, employing an agent—Brandt by name—whose special duty it was to corrupt and keep in his pay officials of the military departments of the German Government.

Government documents of the most confidential nature finding their way by mysterious channels into the safes of Herr von Dewitz, one of the managers of Krupp Works.

A great illustrated journal of Leipzig preparing, with the open cooperation of the Government and the armament firms, a special number designed to smooth the passage of the military and naval appropriations.

Herr von Gontard, director of the German Arms and Ammunition Factory, inspiring in the Pan-German organ—Die Post—the most violent diatribes against France; giving orders to have a French newspaper publish articles representing that the French war department was increasing its number of machine guns when it was doing nothing of the kind; first exciting French opinion by provocative matter in the German press, and then instigating a German demand for armaments by means of bellicose utterances in the French press.

Dr. Liebknecht was supported by Herr Pfeiffer, a deputy of the Catholic Center Party, a man of high standing in the Reichstag. Authentic documents were produced, and the war minister himself, Gen. von Herringen, was forced to take cognizance of the disclosures.

The German Arms and Ammunition Factory, known in Germany as the Waffenfabrik, is a group of firms rather than a single concern; a great trust uniting under common direction the principal concerns engaged in the production of such necessaries of war as cannon, rifles, machine guns, shell, cartridges, etc., and second in importance only to the great Krupp plant itself. Besides its great works at Dollingen, in Germany, the Waffenfabrik control the Mauser factories (famous for the rifles bearing this name) and the National Arms Factory of Heristal, in Belgium.

Here is a letter published in Vorwarts, a German newspaper, which affords an inside glance of the business methods of a war-trafficking firm:

PERSONAL DOCUMENTS.

(Sheet 15.)

Mr. ——— ———, *Paris:*

(G. No. 8236. Geheim-registratur, i. e., number in register of secret documents.)

We have just wired you: "Please await in Paris our letter sent today."

The reason for this message was that we should be glad for you to get an article into one of the most widely-read French newspapers—the Figaro, if possible—to the following effect:

"The French ministry of war has decided to accelerate considerably the provision of new-pattern machine guns and to order double the quantity at first intended."

Please do your utmost to secure the acceptance of an article on these lines.

Yours, faithfully, VON GONTARD, *Poscgarten,*
(For the German Arms and Ammunition Factory).

To explain this missive—if, indeed, any explanation is necessary—it may be suggested that the Waffenfabrik, a German ammunition firm, desiring to obtain an order for machine guns, which the Reichstag did not seem disposed to agree to, sought to obtain the insertion of a news item in the Figaro, one of the great dailies of Paris, to the effect that France was doubling the quantity of its machine guns. It can readily be conceived how such a clipping from a leading Paris newspaper would be an effective exhibit to accompany a request to the Reichstag for an order for more machine guns for Germany. Such is armor-plate patriotism.

JAPAN HAS RECENTLY HAD BIG NAVAL SCANDALS.

The war trust does not confine its operations to the Christian nations, but gathers the pagan governments into its net as well. The arm of the war trust is long. It has reached across the Pacific and laid hold of Japan. In the last year and a half Japan has had army and naval scandals that have shaken it to the core. There have been arrests, courts-martial, convictions, imprisonments, and attempted suicides of high military officers, all due to the fact that profit has not been taken out of war and preparation for war.

Vice Admiral Koichi Fujii, formerly Japanese naval attaché at Berlin, was ordered before a court-martial, convicted, and sentenced to four years and six months imprisonment, charged with having received illicit commissions for influencing the allotment of admiralty contracts in favor of a German war-trafficking firm. Capt. Sawasaki was sentenced to one year for the same offense.

Vice Admiral Tsurutaro Matsuo, inspector general of naval construction, was sentenced to two years in the penitentiary.

Vice Admiral Matsumoto was sentenced to three years in prison.

Giichi Iida, managing director of the Mitsui Co., and Jotaro Yamamoto, of the same firm, were sentenced to 18 months, the sentence of Iida being later suspended.

Baron Masuji Yamanouchi, vice admiral of the reserve and member of the Japanese House of Peers, whose name was mentioned in naval scandals, attempted hara-kiri.

Kenzo Iwahara, former New York manager of the Mitsui Co., was sentenced to 2 years.

Several Japanese contractors were arrested in connection with the military scandals, and foreigners in Japan who were involved in them were convicted and imprisoned, as follows: Andrew M. Pooley, an English journalist, 2 years; V. Hermann, Tokyo representative of a German armament firm, 1 year; George Blundell, an English journalist, 10 months.

POWDER TRUST NO BETTER THAN ARMOR TRUST.

The history of the transactions between the United States Government and the Du Pont Powder Trust average with the history of the dealings between the Government and the armor makers. The aggregate of the sums paid the Du Pont trust in excessive and extortionate profits no doubt runs into the tens of millions.

In the period between 1905 and 1913 alone the Government purchased 29,565,512 pounds of powder from this trust, paying on an average of 80 cents a pound for 3,297,712 pounds of .30-caliber powder and an average of 65 cents a pound for 29,565,512 pounds of Army and Navy smokeless powder, or a total of $21,998,250.

The Government is now manufacturing powder for 36 cents a pound, all overhead charges included, and the larger the quantities it manufactures the lower the cost. If the Government had manufactured all of the powder it purchased between 1905 and 1913, it would have cost $11,830,754 instead of $21,998,250, or have resulted in a saving of $10,167,496, enough to build a first-class battleship.

What the Government would have saved had it manufactured all the powder it purchased from the Du Pont Powder Trust between 1905 and 1913:

Year.	30-caliber powder.		Army and Navy smokeless powder.		Total paid Du Pont Trust.	Cost in Government plant, at 36 cents per pound.
	Quantity purchased.	Net average price paid trust.	Quantity purchased.	Net average price paid trust.		
	Pounds.		*Pounds.*			
1905	165,621	$0.8422	4,610,052	$0.7063	$3,395,872.62	$1,719,242.28
1906	197,795	.8415	4,831,961	.6990	3,544,147.57	1,810,712.16
1907	235,020	.8419	2,516,280	.6857	1,923,283.71	990,468.00
1908	796,144	.8428	2,874,061	.6738	2,607,670.11	1,321,273.80
1909	570,129	.8268	2,889,691	.6623	2,385,315.88	1,245,535.20
1910	569,565	.7759	2,433,203	.6227	1,957,115.74	1,080,996.48
1911	568,208	.7509	5,028,210	.5996	3,411,373.78	2,000,310.48
1912 (11 months)	235,230	.7489	4,382,054	.5927	2,773,471.36	1,662,216.24
Grand total	3,297,712	.8069	29,565,512	.6541	21,998,250.77	11,830,754.64
Total paid Du Pont Trust in 8 years						21,998,250.77
What cost would have been in Government plant						11,830,754.64
Saving that would have resulted to taxpayers by Government manufacture						10,167,496.13

The Du Ponts boast they have been selling the Government its powder since the Civil War. If a saving of $10,167,496 could have been effected by complete Government manufacture in eight years, how much do you imagine could have been saved by Government manufacture in the half century between the Civil War and the present day?

The Du Pont Trust has no competition in the sale of smokeless powder to the Government. Strange to say, this is as much due to the Army and Navy officers as to the trust itself.

When Admiral Twining, for the Navy, and Gen. Crozier, for the Army, appeared before the Appropriations Committee, in 1912, they practically stated that it was the policy of the Government to discourage any concern from trying to enter the powder field in competition with the trust.

Admiral Twining was asked the direct question as to whether he considered it advisable for the Government to buy all of its powder from one company:

Admiral TWINING. I think it is distinctly to the advantage of the Government to have all the powder that is made by commercial concerns made by one company or under one management. I do not mean by that I think that company should be the Du Pont company; but since that is the company in the business, I believe it is better for the Government to continue to get the powder from them rather than encourage others to come in the business.

To fully appreciate this attitude on the part of Admiral Twining the fact should be considered that Admiral Twining and other Army and Navy officers oppose complete Government manufacture of munitions of war on the ground that if there is competition between manufacturers each concern will try to develop a product superior to its rival's in order to obtain the Government business, and that the Government will profit by this rivalry. The statement of Admiral Twining is therefore directly opposite the attitude taken by himself and Gen. Crozier in seeking to justify the present policy of giving the bulk of Army and Navy contracts to a ring of private contractors at excessive prices.

Contrast the statement of Admiral Twining above quoted with the following philosophy which he uttered at the same hearing scarcely 10 minutes previous:

I think it is a fact, inherent in human nature itself, that a monopoly, whether private or public, does not lead to good results.

Gen. Crozier, Chief of Ordnance of the Army, who does the buying of powder for the Government, is also on record as favoring the Du Pont Trust.

When the Supreme Court entered its decree ordering the dissolution of the Du Pont Trust, Pierre S. Du Pont, acting president, wrote the Secretary of War, imploring him to use the influence of the War Department with the Attorney General's Office to prevent the separation of those units of the trust manufacturing powder for the Government; or, in other words, to arrange it so that the Du Ponts would continue to have a monopoly on the sale of smokeless powder to the Government!

The plan as now proposed—

wrote acting president Du Pont in this most remarkable letter, which was dated November 15, 1911—

contemplates a complete dissolution of our military smokeless powder department and its reorganization into two or more separate and distinct corporate units, each to be operated independent of the other and in competition with each other, with all that this implies.

* * * * * * * *

We * * * believe that if the Attorney General could be informed through your department or otherwise of the real facts surrounding the smokeless powder industry and its relations to the United States Government he might feel inclined to permit the situation to remain as at present.

To *permit the situation to remain as at present* was to leave the Government absolutely at the mercy of the Powder Trust. What a sublime confidence the head of the Du Pont Trust must have had in the Secretary of War to make such a request, and that in writing!

The Secretary of War referred this letter to Gen. Crozier, who made certain indorsements upon it and returned it to the Secretary.

Under existing conditions—

Reported Gen. Crozier in part—

I consider that the department is doing very well. The Du Pont Co. has a considerable reserve capacity available for war's needs, while a new company could not be expected to bring into existence and maintain, with expense, plant in excess of that employed in time of peace. * * * Established confidence is worth something. The department does not find itself pressed by any necessity for a change in the present situation.

The end of the matter was that the Supreme Court left the "military plants" of the Du Pont Co. in one group. So far as the Government is concerned, the Du Pont Trust remains a trust.

The attitude of Gen. Crozier was a service worth large sums to the Powder Trust, and the Du Ponts are realizing on it to this day, because the trust is still without competition in the sale of smokeless powder to the Government.

POSITIVE EVIDENCE OF INTERNATIONAL COMBINE.

The powder makers of the world, like the armor makers, have been in an international combine for years. Here are two paragraphs in the world agreement entered into in 1897, which agreement was used by the Government in its suit against the Du Pont trust:

Whenever the American factories receive an inquiry for any Government other than their own, either directly or indirectly, they are to communicate with the European factories through the chairman appointed, as hereinafter set forth, and by that means to ascertain the price at which the European factories are quoting or have fixed, and they shall be bound not to quote or sell at any lower figure than the price at which the European factories are quoting or have fixed. Should the European factories receive an inquiry from the Government of the United States of North America or decide to quote for delivery for that Government, either directly or indirectly, they shall first in like manner ascertain the price quoted or fixed by the American factories and shall be bound not to quote or sell below that figure.

* * * * * * *

The American factories are to abstain from manufacturing, selling, or quoting, directly or indirectly, in or for consumption in any of the European territory, and the Europeans are to abstain in like manner from manufacturing, selling, or quoting, directly or indirectly, in or for consumption in any of the countries of the American territory. With regard to the syndicated territory, neither party is to erect works there, except by a mutual understanding, and the trade there is to be carried on for joint account in the manner hereinafter defined.

Nor is this the worst: The Du Ponts and the Government have always been in the habit of exchanging all secrets in the manufacture of powder. Government chemists and Government officers are continually experimenting to improve the quality of powder, and whenever they make a discovery of any character full information is furnished the Du Ponts.

And the Du Ponts have been in an agreement with a German firm—the United Rheinisch Westphalian Gunpowder Mills—to keep it informed of all improvements in the processes of powder making.

Here is the actual wording of the contract:

Tenth. That any and every improvement upon said processes of either of them made by either of the parties hereto at any time hereafter shall forthwith be imparted to the other of the parties hereto.

And even this is not all. The Du Ponts agreed to keep the German concern informed at all times of all powder furnished to the United States Government, stating in detail its quality and characteristics, and even the quantity, making themselves, to all practical ends, paid informers of a foreign Government.

Here is the exact language:

Thirteenth. That the parties of the second part (the Du Ponts) will, as soon as possible, inform the party of the first part (the German concern) of each and every contract for brown powder or nitrate of ammonia powder received by the parties of the second part from the Government of the United States, or any other contracting party or parties, stating in detail quantity, price, time of delivery, and all of the requirements that the powder called for in such contract has to fulfill.

As the German Government maintains a strict supervision over German military manufacturing concerns, there can be little doubt but that the German Government knows of every pound of powder we purchased during the life of this agreement, its exact quality, and exactly the extent of our reserve supply.

I quote the following from an article by Charles Johnson Post in Harper's Weekly for May 9, 1914:

Do you recall the friction with Germany in 1898 over the German naval squadron in Manila Bay? A German admiral brought on a situation that might have held momentous consequences. And Germany knew to a pound what our powder reserves were and what their qualities were.

The names attached to the German contract were Eugene Du Pont, Francis G. Du Pont, H. A. Du Pont, William Du Pont, trading as the E. I. Du Pont de Nemours Co.

At the time Gen. Crozier reported to the Secretary of War that "the department does not find itself pressed by any necessity for a change in the present situation," the Du Ponts were charging the Government 75 cents a pound for .30 caliber powder and 59 cents a pound for Army and Navy smokeless powder, the Government purchasing from the trust in that year alone $3,411,373 worth of powder, of which sum $1,411,063 could have been saved to the taxpayers had this powder been manufactured in Government plants at a cost of 36 cents a pound; and there is every reason to believe that such large quantities could have been manufactured in Government plants at a cost less than 36 cents a pound.

FORMER EMPLOYEE OF DU PONTS ESTIMATED THEIR COST AT 21 CENTS A POUND.

What it actually costs the Du Pont Trust to manufacture a pound of powder is a secret which the Du Ponts refuse to divulge, as they have a perfect right to do, although the Government permits the Du Ponts to know the cost of every step in the process of powder making in Government plants and gives them the benefit of all economies discovered by it from time to time in the making of powder.

Mr. Robert S. Waddell, of the United Safety Powder Co., of Louisville, Ky., who was with the Du Pont Co. as general sales agent for the United States for 21 years, and who has built several powder mills, estimated, in the hearings on the fortifications appropriation bill in 1912, page 187, that the cost to the Du Pont concern in making ordnance smokeless powder is $0.218, exclusive of selling costs, which estimate aroused Admiral Twining, Gen. Crozier, and Vice President Buckner, of the Du Pont trust, to a high state of fury.

Testifying at the hearing on the fortifications bill, February 18, 1908, Gen. Crozier, discussing the question of a fair price to be paid the Powder Trust for powder, scoffed at the idea that powder could be manufactured for 33 cents a pound, as had been charged, as he said—

by some people who objected to what they called a private monopoly. A board of which Maj. Hoffer was a member—

Stated Gen. Crozier—

finally concluded that 67 cents would be a proper price to pay private manufacturers, and they have accepted that (p. 82, hearings on fortifications bill, 1908).

Contrast this "proper price" of 67 cents with the fact that the Du Pont Trust is now glad to receive 53 cents and that the Government is itself manufacturing powder for 36 cents. At the hearings on the fortifications bill in 1912 Gen. Crozier gave so many estimates as to the cost of manufacture in Government plants and in the Du Pont plants that it is exceedingly difficult to follow him. One estimate, based on the assumption that the Du Pont Trust was manufacturing powder under the same conditions as the Government, was that it would cost them 52 cents a pound as the minimum, exclusive of profit; and on the following day he estimated that it would be 50 cents without profit, and, allowing 15 per cent profit, it would be 57½ cents a pound.

Page 282 of the 1912 hearings contains a table supplied by Gen. Crozier, in which he fixes the cost of powder in the Army powder plant at 40 cents and in the Du Pont plant at 50 cents, exclusive of profit.

This table is valuable to the Powder Trust, because it would indicate that it costs the trust 50 cents a pound to manufacture powder without any profit included. The trust is now accepting 53 cents a pound for powder. But when an effort is again made to bring about a reduction in price, the representatives of the trust will be in a position to say:

How can the Government ask for any reduction, when Gen. Crozier, who is in charge of the Army powder factory, and in a position to know, has estimated that it actually costs us, net, 50 cents a pound to manufacture our product?

The answer, of course, would be that the board of which Maj. Hoffer was a member estimated that 67 cents would be a proper price to pay the trust, and the board was mistaken, and that its error was on the side of the trust and against the interests of the American taxpayers, who pay the powder bills, and that the same possibly may be true of Gen. Crozier's estimate.

POWDER TRUST PAID 18 PER CENT DIVIDEND ON $35,000,000 OF WATERED CAPITAL.

Touching the question as to whether the Du Ponts have been able to make a profit, Mr. Waddell, while on the witness stand, declared:

I know by the sworn testimony of the Du Ponts that they have been paying 18 per cent dividends on $35,000,000 of watered capital, and have created a surplus fund in addition to that of $16,000,000, so that they are not losing any money on the investment of their capital.

The printed hearings on the 1912 fortifications bill constitute a remarkable document. They include a complete exposé of the Du Pont Powder Trust and the attempted explanations by the agents of the powder company. However, it is almost impossible to obtain a copy of this document now, as the supply is exhausted. I will therefore quote a few extracts from the copy of the hearings which I have.

Mr. Waddell was testifying that although there was large profit in the powder business, it was impossible to get investors to build a plant to compete with the Du Ponts in Government business, because, he declared, the Du Pont Co. maintained a lobby and enjoyed such close connections with Government officials that it would be impossible to successfully compete with them.

Mr. WADDELL. The Du Pont Trust is so strongly intrenched, and their methods are so binding on the Government and everyone associated with it, from tradition, from personal influence, from misrepresentation, and all other causes that they use through their publicity bureau in their promotion of their business, that it would be impossible to dislodge that organization from the business that they hold. It would cost too much money to do it.

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Mr. WADDELL. I should say that my statement in regard to the potency of the Du Pont lobby in Washington is the fact that they maintained here a Mr. Buckner, who was the president of the International Smokeless Powder Co. and a vice president of the Du Pont Trust. He devotes his entire time and attention to Washington business; makes this his headquarters. He does not do anything else. When I was with the company they paid their vice presidents $30,000 a year, and I presume he is getting a good, rich salary and a liberal account for expenditures. I know there is a very great deal of money spent here for entertainment—not offensively; I would not use it in that sense, but in the sense that a sales department always does; they entertain their customers and treat them as well as they know how. They are as courteous as they can be and spend a great deal of money in that way, and we would have to meet that kind of competition.

Question. Translating your statement, is it your judgment that it is necessary for a company to maintain what you have designated on the part of the Du Pont people as a lobby, with considerable expense, in order to obtain from the Government equal consideration of any proposals you might be prepared to make touching the furnishing of powder?

Mr. WADDELL. I think my judgment of lobbies here is that they are an offense rather than a benefit to the Government.

Question. You say "they." Whom do you mean by "they"?

Mr. WADDELL. The Du Pont Trust have a publicity bureau they maintain which is for the purpose of influencing not only the purchasers of powder and the people who place their orders, but even the Department of Justice and the United States courts.

* * * * * * *

Mr. WADDELL. The Du Pont Trust, so far as I know, have never been accused of unwarranted generosity and throwing away money, and the fact that they spend hundreds of thousands of dollars in Washington is one that they can explain the reason for better than I can.

Question. What evidence have you for that statement—the fact that they spend hundreds of thousands of dollars in Washington?

Mr. WADDELL. The general information that comes to me through conversations with Washington people.

Question. Will you indicate the character of that information and the conversations that warrant that statement?

Mr. WADDELL. The fact of their testimony and the continuous presence here of Mr. Buckner and their publicity agents and many others. I have witnesses to the expenditure of some of the money and to the fact that they kept for some time on the Potomac River a private yacht of T. C. Du Pont, the president of the Powder Trust. That yacht is called the *Tech*, which the skipper told me was for general entertainment purposes, and that the larder of it was magnificently supplied with everything that could contribute to that end. This yacht made excursions between Washington and Indianhead, and the general information of the country in regard to the actions of the Powder Trust in Washington was sufficient for anyone to have information in regard to them.

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Mr. WADDELL. The main reason why an outside company can not compete for the trade of the Army and Navy is the prestige of the Du Pont Co. that has built up here through a system which has been installed here in Washington and is being worked to the limit.

Question. Let us understand what you mean by that. How do you consider that what you designate as the prestige of the Du Pont people would militate directly against a competitor seeking a contract with the Government?

Mr. WADDELL. The officers of the Army and Navy, and particularly of the Army, come into intimate contact with Senator HENRY A. DU PONT, of Delaware, who is chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs of the Senate. [Senator DU PONT is not now chairman, but a member of the Military Affairs Committee.] That position gives him a strong influence compared with that of an outside manufacturer, and in stating this I do not want to reflect on any officer, but at the same time the influence of a man high in authority in the Senate and at the head of West Point does have a very potent power over the members of the Army, and it would be foolish for me to ignore that fact.

* * * * * * *

Question. You stated awhile ago that you thought there were two plans open to the Government—one the entire manufacture of this powder and the other the purchase of it under regulations as to price. Which do you consider more advisable, and why?

Mr. WADDELL. I would very strongly recommend the building of Government plants and making their own powder, for the reason that you keep within your own councils in the Army and Navy the information that should be retained there, and not have it go out to clerks and other people. It would stimulate the Army and Navy to be leaders in that department rather than let them, as they do now, share the responsibilities. A divided responsibility is not a good thing, in my estimation, from a business standpoint, for efficiency. Another reason is that the people of this Nation are bitterly opposed to the fostering and upbuilding of great monopolies, and we have recently had a judicial monopoly created out of the Du Pont Trust, through the courtesy of Mr. Wickersham, Attorney General, which ratifies the world agreement and gives the exclusive sale of all foreign smokeless powder in the United States into the hands of the Du Pont Co. It avoids the tariff laws to the extreme; it is an influence that should not be fostered by Congress or by any other party, and I believe that it would stimulate and raise the public opinion of the Navy, which is admired by all the people, if we felt confident that the manufacture and control of the powder question was in their hands alone.

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Question. I notice you refer to the fact that $35,000,000 of common stock, upon which a dividend of 18 per cent was declared, was watered stock, so called. What is the basis for that statement?

Mr. WADDELL. The capital stock of the Du Pont Trust, which is organized under the laws of New Jersey, is $25,000,000 preferred, and, at first, $25,000,000 of common, and later increased to $35,000,000 of common, making the total capital stock $60,000,000. The preferred stock represented their property, their holdings, and their assets of all descriptions, and was put on the market at $70 a share. Taking their own estimate of their own wealth at that time the complete assets, 70 per cent of $25,000,000 would be $17,500,000, which would be the actual value of the assets, and the common stock was water, all of it.

Question. Do you know to whom the common stock was issued at the time of the organization or subsequently?

Mr. WADDELL. At the death of Eugene Du Pont in January, 1902, the president of the company, the old company, three men, T. C. Du Pont, Pierre Du Pont, and Alfred Du Pont, formed what was known as the "Delaware 1902 Corporation," with a capital of $20,000,000, and they issued $12,000,000 of stock. The cash paid in by the three was $3,000, or $1,000 apiece. The three men—I called them the triumvirate—took 75 per cent of the stock, $9,000,000 of the stock, for promotion fees, giving $3,000,000 of the stock to the 1899 Delaware corporation, the old company, and they also gave the notes of this company for $12,000,000, unsecured. Later they formed the big holding company, the E. I. Du Pont de Nemours Powder Co., of New Jersey, with a capital of $50,000,000, $25,000,000 of common and $25,000,000 of preferred. These three fellows, the triumvirate, for their Delaware corporation, of which they owned 75 per cent, took about 64 per cent of the combined common and preferred stock, the control of it, for promotion fees, and they made the New Jersey corporation pass a resolution guaranteeing payment of the $12,000,000 that they had given the Delaware corporation for the purchase of their stock, and they did it. The total investment of the three men in the Du Pont Trust was $3,000 in cash; that is all the money they ever put in it, and that is the testimony of Pierre Du Pont, treasurer of the trust.

Question. In the Government's case?

Mr. WADDELL. Yes. You can get it in the brief of the facts, if you desire it.

FORMER DU PONT EMPLOYEE SAYS GOVERNMENT SHOULD MANUFACTURE ITS OWN POWDER.

It will be noted that Mr. Waddell, who has been in the powder business for a quarter of a century, advocates the Government manufacture of this military commodity. It may be of interest to my constituents to know that Mr. Waddell has a son living in our congressional district, Mr. Robert S. Waddell, cashier of the Maple City Manufacturing Co., of Monmouth, Ill.

Mr. WADDELL. I believe that the time has come when the Government should make its own powder in its own works. It does not cost anything to let a plant lie idle. You can paint the machinery and the wooden tanks do not get hurt much if you keep them full of water. There is very little about a smokeless-powder plant that would deteriorate from standing idle, and you had better have large facilities. I know this, that at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War the du Pont people worked the machine shops of Wilmington, Philadelphia, and other cities to the limit day and night and Sundays to make machinery with which to manufacture powder. Dewey went into his fight at Manila short of powder—very short of it. I went about the country lecturing before clubs and other organizations explaining why we were short of powder and what the trouble was. The conditions were bad. You should have facilities for making your own powder and an abundance of facilities. There ought to be a great big Government plant on the Pacific coast in California, Oregon, or Washington. As I say, there ought to be a Government plant on the Pacific coast in the Puget Sound district. There ought to be another in the Mississippi Valley district or the Middle West, and then there should be another on the east coast. With these facilities you would have plants extending from coast to coast, and the total investment would be very small.

HIGH EX-ARMY OFFICER AND EX-MEMBER OF CONGRESS REPRESENT POWDER TRUST IN WASHINGTON.

Col. Buckner, vice president of the Du Pont Trust and its Washington lobbyist, is now testifying. Note carefully what he says. After stating positively that the Powder Trust has no lobby in Washington he recites that, in addition to himself, it is represented in Washington by a high ex-Army officer and an ex-Member of Congress:

Col. BUCKNER (vice president of the Du Pont Trust). His statements on that subject are all false. There has never at any time in the history of the Du Pont company existed a lobby. I am the only representative of the Du Pont Powder Co., except that I have employed in my service Gen. Humphrey, who looks after small details. I have to have a representative here in this city, and when he retired I employed him to look after such little details as getting information from all of the departments that affect the Du Pont Powder Co.

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Q. You spoke of Gen. Humphrey, a retired Army officer, now being a representative of the company. What other persons at any time has the company had employed in connection with contracts with the Government?

Col. BUCKNER. No one, except since I have been out of the country so much I have turned the business over to Mr. Landis to look after this business down here in a measure, but not entirely, because I have been away from the country.

IOWA CONGRESSMAN EXPRESSES DISAPPROVAL OF THE METHODS OF THE POWDER TRUST.

A Member of Congress who deserves great credit for his efforts to protect the Government from the extortionate prices

charged Uncle Sam by the Powder Trust is Representative JAMES W. GOOD, of Iowa, Republican, a prominent attorney of Cedar Rapids.

Mr. GOOD is a member of the House Committee on Appropriations, and when Vice President Buckner, of the Du Pont Trust, was testifying before this committee Mr. GOOD did not hesitate to express his disapproval of the methods of the Du Pont Co.

The Powder Trust, like all other trusts, disposes of competition in a particular locality where a rival has the audacity to put in an appearance by lowering its prices to such an extent that its competitor must either sell out to the trust or go into bankruptcy. The temporary losses sustained in this merciless process of elimination are recovered in the form of excessive prices in other localities where competition has been effectually murdered and driven from the field. The Telephone Trust is doing the same thing to-day all over the United States.

The following colloquy is taken from the hearings on the 1912 fortifications bill hearings:

Congressman GOOD. You spoke a moment ago with regard to the methods employed by your concern regarding competition, stating that no unfair methods were used to crowd out competition. Now in what was known as the fundamental agreement you had this provision:

"That any party hereto who shall suffer excessive loss by an overt act of the board of trade—as, for instance, the reduction of a price, at a place in treatment of a local disturbance of trade—shall receive compensation for the damage it shall sustain by payment of money as may be agreed upon at a general meeting of the board of trade."

Now, if I understand the testimony in the Government case correctly, a plan was resorted to whereby a very low price was made on the output of a powder manufacturer within a certain limit or in a certain locality, as against a mill that was in competition, and that the mill making the low price, as against the mill that it was desired to put out of business, was directed to make a very low price, and then that mill, in turn, was compensated for damages it sustained that were provided for by the board of trade. Now, to a layman it does not seem that these methods were hardly what would be called fair.

Col. BUCKNER. I know nothing about those methods and nothing about the operations of that committee. I am not familiar with what was done back in the time of these agreements. I know that Mr. Waddell has made all such charges as that. While there may have been such agreement, whether they were put in operation or not I have no knowledge of whatever, because it is entirely without my province ever since I have been in the company. My business for the company has been entirely with the Government, and I have had nothing to do with the commercial business.

Congressman GOOD. This provision I have just read I took from the Government's records in the trust case against your company, and from a reading of that record I was convinced that these practices were resorted to until one by one practically all of the powder companies were brought into subjection.

The Mr. Landis referred to by Mr. Buckner is Hon. C. B. Landis, an ex-Member of Congress from Indiana.

The Gen. Humphrey referred to in the testimony of the vice president of the Du Pont Co. as being employed in Washington by the powder company to "look after such little details as getting information from all of the departments," is Maj. Gen. Charles F. Humphrey, retired, who, *although representing the Powder Trust*, still draws a salary of $6,000 a year from the Government as a retired Army officer.

On the subject of retired naval officers taking employment with concerns having dealings with the Government, the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, following its discovery of a great deal of this practice in 1896–97, had the following to say in its report made to the Senate on February 11, 1897:

No man can well serve two masters, and if contractors having large dealings with a department of the Government can take into their employment, with no limit as to compensation, officials of that department, and through them learn the secrets and the purposes of the department, and, moreover, insidiously influence its action, great injury may result to the public service. The fundamental principle upon which all legitimate business is transacted—that each side shall be represented solely by persons wholly devoted to its own interests—is viciously violated by a custom which allows one side to take into its pecuniary employment a representative of the other side.

An effort was made in the debate to draw a distinction between officers on the active list and officers on the retired list. The committee deny that any well-founded distinction exists which ought to influence the decision of the question. Retired officers of the Navy remain officers to all intents and purposes, with an important exception. Section 1462 of the Revised Statutes provides that "no officer on the retired list of the Navy shall be employed on active duty except in time of war."

But notwithstanding this statute exempts retired officers from all obligation to render any service for the liberal retired pay which they receive for life, amounting usually to three-fourths of their active duty pay, yet they remain a part of the Navy of the United States, available in any emergency of war. They are entitled to wear their uniforms on public occasions and are allowed free access to every bureau of the Navy Department, on the theory that they are still ready to serve the interests of the Government by fidelity, sound advice, and an earnest spirit of devotion to public duty. It is quite enough to allow such officers to enter into ordinary private employment for compensation. To permit them to take sides against the Government and to enter into the employ of contractors having dealings with the Government reaching to millions of dollars will certainly, if the custom continues, become most pernicious and injurious to the public interests. Proclaim that such officers may be so employed by repealing the clause which has now become a law, and a bold and wealthy contractor, willing to spend enough money to take into his employ a sufficient number of naval officers on the active and retired list, would be able thoroughly to weaken the department in its dealings with such contractor and to put the Government at his mercy in making bargains, which would be substantially entered into with the representatives of one side alone conducting all the negotiations.

Gen. Humphrey is one of the most distinguished of our officers, as the following from Who's Who, 1914, will show:

Humphrey, Charles Frederic: Major General United States Army; born, New York, September 2, 1844; private, corporal, sergeant, and first sergeant Company E, Fifth Artillery, March 17, 1863 to June 28, 1866; command, second lieutenant Fifth Artillery, May 8, 1866; transferred to the Fourth Artillery October 23, 1866; first lieutenant, May 21, 1868; graduated Artillery School, 1874; captain, assistant quartermaster, June 23, 1879; major, quartermaster, December 11, 1892; lieutenant colonel, deputy quartermaster general, October 15, 1897; colonel, quartermaster Volunteers, July 7 to September 20, 1898; brigadier general, September 21, 1898; honorably discharged from Volunteer Service June 12, 1899; colonel, assistant quartermaster general, October 26, 1901; brigadier general, quartermaster general United States Army, April 12, 1903; major general and retired after over 44 years' service, July 1, 1907. Served in the following Indian campaigns; Nez Perce, 1877; Snake Bannock, 1878; Sioux, 1890–91; Shoshone-Snake, 1895. Breveted captain, February 27, 1890, "for gallant service in action against Indians" at Clearwater, Idaho, July 11, 1877. Awarded congressional medal of honor, March 22, 1897, "for most distinguished gallantry" in action at Clearwater, Idaho, July 11, 1877, when he voluntarily and successfully conducted, in the face of a withering fire, a party which recovered possession of an abandoned howitzer and two gatling guns lying between the lines and within a few yards of the Indians, while serving as first lieutenant, Fourth United States Artillery. Was chief quartermaster, Santiago de Cuba Expedition, 1898; Division of Cuba, 1898–99; Chinese Relief Expedition, 1900–1901; Philippines, 1901–1903. Address: War Department, Washington.

BUSINESS RELATIONS BETWEEN ARMY OFFICER AND BETHLEHEM CO.

When the Army bill was before the House on June 13, 1914, I called attention to the fact that Brig. Gen. William Crozier, the present Chief of Ordnance, was formerly in partnership with the Bethlehem Iron Co., now the Bethlehem Steel Co., one of the great firms composing the war trust.

His remarkable promotion over 27 officers of greater age and longer service, his clean jump over three entire grades—major, lieutenant colonel, and colonel—to his present position, in which he determines the specifications, arranges the terms of contracts, and makes the purchases of powder, guns, shrapnel, and all other military supplies for the Ordnance Department, furnishes an excellent illustration of the rapid advancement possible to officers who make themselves agreeable to and are on friendly terms with the war traders.

While a captain in the Army, Gen. Crozier perfected what is known as the Buffington-Crozier disappearing gun carriage. The gun was constructed in Government gunshops by Government workmen at Government expense, hundreds of thousands of dollars being used to perfect the carriage.

When the device was perfected a patent was taken out on it by Capt. Crozier and Gen. Buffington—then Chief of Ordnance—in their own names. The application for the patent was made by Capt. Crozier and Gen. Buffington at the suggestion of the Bethlehem Co.

In 1894 the two officers sold the patent to the Bethlehem Co., giving them the rights as against all makers or users except the Government of the United States. (See S. Doc. 387, 1st sess. 57th Cong.)

The two officers were paid $10,000 cash by the Bethlehem Co., which concern further agreed to pay Capt. Crozier and Gen. Buffington royalties on all gun carriages sold to foreign nations until the same should amount to $40,000 or $50,000 in all. The amount of the royalties was to be as follows:

For each 8-inch carriage	$1,000
For each 10-inch carriage	1,500
For each 12-inch carriage	2,300

It was claimed at that time the disappearing carriages would revolutionize warfare, and the prospect for a big sale of the carriages seemed bright. The fact that the Bethlehem Co. owned the patent meant that all countries desiring to purchase the carriages would be compelled to purchase from Bethlehem and pay the Bethlehem price, although the United States Government was left free to manufacture them in its arsenals if it chose.

Immediately after the contract was entered into, I am informed, the Bethlehem Co. sent agents to Europe to reap the harvest. Various European nations, according to my information, tested the gun carriages, but none would buy, not believing them practical. Many American officers had also expressed doubt as to the practicability of the invention. Senator Redfield Proctor, of Vermont, ex-Secretary of War and then acting chairman of the Military Affairs Committee, gave the carriage much adverse publicity in the Senate at the time. (See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, pp. 5409–5414, pt. 6, vol. 35, 57th Cong.)

Capt. Crozier was still a party to the contract with the Bethlehem Co., when, to the amazement of Army circles, he was nominated in March, 1902, for the position of Chief of Ordnance.

This advancement meant a jump over the heads of 27 officers and three grades, which was a violation of at least the spirit of an act approved February 2, 1901, "An act to increase the efficiency of the permanent military establishment of the United States," which provided:

That when vacancies shall occur in the position of chief of any staff corps or department the President may appoint to such vacancies, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, officers of the Army at large not below the rank of lieutenant colonel, and who shall hold office for terms of four years.

The rank of captain is the next grade below that of lieutenant colonel.

HOLDS OFFICE IN VIOLATION OF LAW.

Appointment to the position of Chief of Ordnance also made Capt. Crozier a member of the Board of Ordnance and Fortification, and his appointment therefore was in direct violation of an act approved February 18, 1893, which contained the following:

Provided, That hereafter no person shall be a member of or serve on said board who has been or is in any manner interested in any invention, device, or patent which, or anything similar to which, has been considered or may be considered by or come before said board for test or adoption; or who is connected with or in the employ of any manufacturer who has or shall have contracts with the United States for any ordnance materials.

Earnest opposition was made before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs to the confirmation of Gen. Crozier's nomination. No reflection was made on Gen. Crozier's personal character or upon his efficiency. Attention was directed to the fact that he had been in partnership with the Bethlehem Co. (it was not known then that at that particular time he was a party to the contract with the Bethlehem Co., which he did not terminate until 8 months after his confirmation), from which concern, in competition with others, he would be called upon, as Chief of Ordnance, to purchase materials aggregating millions of dollars in value.

It was further contended that even if he had so arranged his affairs as to leave him no pecuniary interest whatever in his patents at home or abroad, he would still be disqualified for a position on the Board of Ordnance and Fortification or as Chief of Ordnance, where he would sit in judgment upon his own inventions and upon those of a similar character belonging to other men, because the natural pride of an inventor in his own production might prejudice him in their favor.

It was also pointed out that if his disappearing gun carriage should be O. K.'d by this Government and installed in large numbers by our Government for defense purposes it would tend to make it more attractive to foreign nations, and thus create a demand for it abroad, which would mean royalties to Gens. Crozier and Buffington.

The propriety of an officer of the United States Army offering for sale and seeking to profit by the sale to foreign nations of a weapon of defense perfected at the expense of the American people was also raised.

When in the debate on the Army bill I ventured to call attention to the fact that Gen. Crozier had formerly been in partnership with the Bethlehem Co., and that ever since his confirmation as Chief of Ordnance he had been awarding that concern contracts running into the millions annually, generously paying the Bethlehem Co. from 20 to 60 per cent more than it would have cost to manufacture such supplies in the Government arsenals, the general was eulogized as a "soldier without fear" and a halo was placed upon his head. It was stated that when his nomination had come up in the Senate he was "cleared absolutely." (See p. 10438, pt. 11, vol. 51, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.) Thus the process reveals itself—the Army and Navy officials protecting the war trust and Members of Congress protecting the Army and Navy officials.

But let us see whether Gen. Crozier's clearance papers were "absolutely" clear, as stated to the House.

I quote the following from the official records of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, to which body the nomination of Gen. Crozier was referred for consideration:

March 27, 1902 (p. 23): Called the attention of the committee to the nominations of Crozier, Davis, Gillespie, and others incident thereto, and after some discussions by the committee it was agreed that the committee would meet at 10.30, Thursday, April 3, to consider this matter, with a view of making a final disposition thereof.

April 3, 1902 (p. 24): Nominations of Crozier, Gillespie, Davis, et al, taken up for consideration.

Nomination of Gen. Crozier ordered reported adversely by a vote of 8 to 2.

Senators present on that day and voting: Hawley, Proctor, Burrows, Quarles, Scott, Foraker, Bate, Cockrell, Pettus, and Harris.

April 24, 1902 (p. 29): The question of the nomination of Gen. Crozier came up for careful consideration, and it was agreed that the nomination should be recommitted to the committee, and that an investigation of certain alleged charges be conducted by the full committee, of which five shall constitute a quorum. The motion was carried. It was further agreed that all these hearings should be reported.

May 29, 1902 (p. 37): At 11 o'clock a. m. the committee adjourned, to meet at 10 o'clock a. m. Saturday, the 31st instant, to take up the Crozier matter, and the clerk was instructed to notify Gen. Crozier to be near at hand if needed.

May 31, 1902 (p. 39): The Crozier nomination was taken up for consideration, and after an informal discussion of the matter it was generally agreed that the committee would defer taking any further action and leave it to be disposed of in the Senate in executive session.

COMMITTEE THAT HEARD EVIDENCE FOR AND AGAINST WAS 8 TO 2 AGAINST CONFIRMATION.

The only vote taken by the committee that heard the charges against Capt. Crozier, and his defense to the arguments in opposition to his confirmation, was a vote 8 to 2 against confirmation.

The files of the Army and Navy journals for the period during which the Crozier nomination was pending indicate that "powerful pressure," reaching even to the President of the United States, was being used to bring about the confirmation of the then Capt. Crozier as Chief of Ordnance.

In spite of the fact that effort was made to cause the members of the Senate Military Affairs Committee to change their votes and vote for confirmation, they refused, and the best compromise that could be obtained was an agreement to refer the matter back to the Senate without recommendation.

Capt. Crozier was confirmed by the Senate in executive—secret—session June 20, 1902.

It was believed that one of the concessions made by the friends of Capt. Crozier to obtain confirmation was an understanding that he would not serve as a member of the Board of Ordnance and Fortification, from membership on which he was clearly disqualified by the fact that the Patent Office records showed that he had obtained the following patents, *all* of which have "been considered" and "may be considered by or come before said board (Ordnance and Fortification, of which Gen. Crozier is a member) for test or adoption."

Patent No. 555,426, dated February 25, 1896 (jointly with A. R. Buffington), for a disappearing-gun mounting.

Patent No. 613,252, dated November 1, 1898, for a disappearing-gun mounting.

Patent No. 671,879, dated April 9, 1901, for a wire-wound gun.

The question of increasing the use of these devices, as well as their purchase, would also necessarily come before Gen. Crozier as a member of the Board of Ordnance and Fortification as well as Chief of Ordnance.

It may also have been that Capt. Crozier's defenders gave assurance that he would retire from his contract with the Bethlehem company. At any rate, for a brief period, and an exceedingly brief period, Gen. Crozier did not serve as a member of the Board of Ordnance and Fortification, although he has now been a member of the board for more than 10 years.

Since the Bethlehem company had been unable to sell any disappearing-gun carriages to foreign nations in nine years, which meant no royalties to Gen. Crozier, he sacrificed little when he withdrew from the contract in the following manner:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF ORDNANCE,
Washington, January 15, 1903.

The BETHLEHEM STEEL CO.,
South Bethlehem, Pa.

GENTLEMEN: 1. Referring to the agreement between the Bethlehem Iron Co. and myself, for myself and also as attorney for Gen. (then Col.) A. R. Buffington, which appears in my letter of September 6, 1894, and your answer thereto of September 10 of the same year, I wish now to inform you that I hereby release the Bethlehem Iron Co. and its successors from all obligations to myself in consequence of such agreement; that is, that I hereby assign all my right, title, and interest in the invention which has been commonly known as the Buffington-Crozier disappearing carriage, and in all letters patent relating thereto, to the Bethlehem Iron Co. and its successors, without any further consideration or compensation whatsoever to be paid to myself or to any other person in my behalf, my object being to relinquish fully and totally all personal interest in this invention.

2. Nothing in this letter is, however, to be understood as affecting the right or interest or compensation of Gen. Buffington in regard to this invention or any rights of the United States therein.

Very respectfully,

WILLIAM CROZIER,
Brigadier General, Chief of Ordnance.

This letter did not release the Bethlehem company from the payment of royalties to Gen. Buffington, Gen. Crozier's partner, in the event the Bethlehem company should be able to find foreign purchasers for the carriage.

In the meantime the War Department has installed $9,000,000 worth of the Buffington-Crozier carriages.

INVENTIONS PERFECTED WITH AMERICAN TAXPAYERS' MONEY SHOULD NOT BE OFFERED TO FOREIGN NATIONS.

I do not desire to do Gen. Crozier the slightest injustice, and on the other hand I am equally anxious that he do no injustice to the taxpayers of this country, 90 per cent of whom are the poor, and 99 per cent of whom are kept too busy looking after their private affairs to give personal attention to the manner in which their money is being expended in Washington, and who rely upon their paid Representatives in Congress to look after their interests. The Buffington-Crozier disappearing car-

riages may be as deadly in warfare as Gen. Crozier claims, and their purchase and manufacture by this Government through Gen. Crozier may be an excellent investment. I do not know.

What I take particular exception to, and what I believe the American people would take exception to if they knew of these facts, is that Army officers should have any business connection whatever with the ammunition ring, and that instruments of war perfected as a result of the expenditure of money raised by taxing the American people should be even offered to foreign Governments by an American Army officer.

If this Nation should engage in war with nations equipped with such weapons, American sailors and soldiers would be mowed down with engines of death perfected with the American people's money.

What is the use of this Government spending huge sums to perfect guns if after they are perfected they are to be offered for sale to foreign nations, any one of which may possibly become our enemy?

SOME OFFICERS HAVE BEEN IN POWER AT HEADQUARTERS TOO LONG; TOO CLOSE AN INTIMACY HAS GROWN UP WITH AMMUNITION CONTRACTORS.

When a political party is in power too long, it becomes careless of the people's rights. An organization grows up that is not for the best interests of the public.

Occasionally, however, political parties are taken out of power, and the organization is thus broken up. But in the Army and Navy the machine goes on building forever. It has $240,000,000 to spend every year. Army and Navy officers never have to go before the people and answer for their acts. There has never been a real investigation of the business methods of the War and Navy Departments, and no doubt those in charge figure that because there never has been there never will be. It is but natural if carelessness in the spending of the people's money has resulted.

When a new Secretary comes in he knows absolutely nothing about the business of the department. Perhaps he is a lawyer, or perhaps a banker. The officers at the top upon whom he must depend for his information start in immediately to capture him to their viewpoints and policies, and invariably they succeed. Daniels is an exception. This golden circle of officials who surround the new Secretary are not going to allow him to change their policies if they can help it, and they see that he gets only such information as is deemed expedient. To admit that any important change should be made is to admit they have not been doing things right, or that they have made a mistake.

ARMY OFFICERS DO NOT VOLUNTEER INFORMATION.

Ever since my election two years ago I have been endeavoring to obtain facts relative to the expenditure of Army and Navy appropriations. My very first visit with the Army officers at the War Department convinced me that I had an uphill journey ahead of me. Any request for information was resented as an attempt to pry into the personal affairs of Army officers. Every possible obstruction was placed in the way, and one letter remained unanswered for two months.

A CONGRESSMAN'S PRINCIPAL VALUE IS TO APPROPRIATE MONEY.

The small group of Army officers who are running things care very little about the average Member of Congress. These officers want no interference, and least of all close scrutiny of the prices they pay for ammunition, either by Mr. Congressman or anyone else.

The Army and Navy officers who run things were in the saddle long before the inexperienced Member of Congress came on the scene, and will no doubt be on the job a long time after he has taken his departure.

ARMOR MANUFACTURERS ARE CONSIDERATE OF MILITARY OFFICIALS.

Military officials have frequent opportunity to come in contact with the officers and agents of powder, armor, and gun making concerns, and, of course, the war trafficking firms treat them nicely and show them every consideration, as they should. The following order is characteristic of those frequently appearing in the Army and Navy Journal:

ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT.

BRIG. GEN. W. CROZIER, C. O.

Col. Rogers Birnie, Maj. Clarence C. Williams, and Maj. Edward P. O'Hern, O. D., will proceed to the works of the Midvale Steel Co., Philadelphia, Pa., for the purpose of attending a meeting of the joint Army and Navy board on gun forgings on or about March 12, 1914. (Mar. 5, War D.)

Just how far the armor concerns in this country go in entertaining Army and Navy officials would be interesting to know. It is well known that the Krupp concern in Germany spends a large sum of money for the entertainment of visiting military officers, who come to the big works at Essen from all countries of the world commissioned to pass for payment work ordered by their Governments.

While making arrangements to arm against each other, and perhaps to destroy one another, the representatives of the war offices of the world do not regard one another with distrust, but instead turn in and make merry together. The firm of Krupps, whose customers the army officers are, has built a hotel, the Essen Hotel (Essener Hof), where the officers receive princely hospitality at its expense.

"This Krupp hotel," writes M. Jules Huret, who was a guest there, "is a very curious place. With its double marble staircase, with columns of rose-colored marble and banisters of gilded copper, it has dignity. In the vestibule, on either side of a vast stone chimney piece, sculptured masks represent the five continents. The ground is covered with red tiles, along which carpets are run; red leather settees and armchairs are lined along the walls. The guests of the firm dine in a special hall. * * * After a few days they all know one another and they soon meet around a large round table. Nothing could show better than these occasions how much that is artificial our civilization contains. Turks, Bulgars, Serbs, Japs, Chilean, and Argentina and Philippine representatives will be there.

"There will also be Scandinavians, Russians, Belgians. At the end of the meal, when the French wines have got a little into their heads, the voices will rise, and all these enemies will clink glasses for a long time like brothers, amid laughter and the smoke of long cigars, at the cost of the Krupps—a thousand leagues from the thought of the reasons that brought them there. All these gentry will perhaps be slaughtering one another one fine day with these guns which they have come to see bored. But while they are waiting for the steel to cool they 'booze,' as William II said to Jules Simon.

"Some of these representatives stay a year, even two years, to watch the processes of manufacture, so that with its 50 rooms the 'Essen Hotel' costs the firm something like £20,000 a year, without counting incidental expenses. This year, for instance, when the Chinese mission arrived—18 persons, with their attendants—there was an insufficiency of accommodation. Frau Krupp invited the Turkish officers, whom she had been harboring for a long time, to make a little journey to London and Paris at her expense, under the guidance of a young officer attached to the works. They stayed away five days, enjoyed themselves as may be imagined, and returned when the Celestials had gone again. The stay of the Chinamen themselves had cost £2,000—special trains, banquets, etc."

GOVERNMENT MANUFACTURE OF WAR SUPPLIES IS THE ONLY SURE METHOD OF PROTECTING TAXPAYERS FROM MILITARY EXTRAVAGANCE.

Before I was elected to Congress I found entertainment and instruction sitting in the public gallery of the House and Senate listening to the debates each year on the Army and Navy bills. I heard those opposed to the ever and ever increasing appropriations for militarism call attention to the coincidence that each year about the time these bills would come up with their staggering sums for preparation for war in time of peace there would appear in the newspapers war scares and rumors of increased preparation for war by our presumed enemies. Year after year I heard it charged and repeated in the Halls of Congress that these newspaper articles, all more or less of mysterious origin, were circulated to arouse the country to a sense of impending danger which did not exist, and indirectly to influence Congress to increase the appropriations for the Army and Navy. Those who were opposing the colossal Army and Navy programs asserted their belief that the principal demand for increased armament did not come from the masses who pay the bills, but from the armor and ammunition manufacturers, who anticipated huge profits in supplying the same, and the success of whose business depends upon large preparations for war. It occurred to me, as I sat in the galleries listening to these arguments, that if they were well founded, as I then believed they were and am more than ever convinced now, the easy and practical solution of the problem would be for the Government to take the profit out of war and preparation for war. Yet I never heard any of the debaters suggest the taking of the profit out of the war game as the solution of the problem. Nationalization of the manufacture of the munitions of war offers a program on which everybody, whether in favor of disarmament, increased armament, or maintaining the present armament, can meet on a common ground. Those who desire greater armament can get it at little more than one-half the cost of private manufacture.

It is argued by some who oppose complete Government manufacture as a policy that the Government should give to private manufacturers such an amount of work "as will justify them in keeping up plants which would be of inestimable value to the Government in case necessity arises." This is not a reason for the present wasteful policy, merely an excuse.

By complete Government manufacture the Government could save enough money annually to buy a plant equal to that of the largest private concern. In a few years the Government could save enough by complete Government manufacture to own all of the plants in the country and have the munitions and ships which would have been purchased in those years as well.

It can scarcely be argued that the Government could place more dependence during war upon a privately owned plant than upon a Government-owned plant if capacity was equal. The advantage would be on the side of Government manufacture, because the Government-owned plant could not increase the cost of its products in time of war when the Government is at its mercy, as the Armor and Powder Trusts did during the Spanish War.

Both France and Russia have Government armor plants. In the matter of cost the Russian Government claims to be able to produce armor at a saving of about $200 a ton over the prices asked by the private manufacturers, and the French Government estimates that an equal saving has already been made on the thin plates, which is the only grade so far manufactured.

Japan has built two Government factories, and, while it is not known outside of that country just what has been done, it is believed that they are successful, although no figures can be obtained as to the cost of the armor they turn out. These plants were installed under the direction of Americans who had learned their trade at the American armor-making plants.

When all profit is taken out of war and preparation for war, but not until then, we may expect relief from the systematic agitation now being carried on by the Navy League and other friends of the armor ring, the ammunition ring, and the Shipbuilding Trust for an ever and ever increased amount of armament, which agitation is especially systematic and pronounced about the time the Army and Navy bills are before Congress each year. Should the Government manufacture all of its munitions, I predict that the Navy League would not only lock the doors of its suite in the National Capitol, from which it carries on its lobbying morning, noon, and night, but that the same patriots for profit who are now clamoring for a bigger and bigger Navy, in the certain knowledge that if their agitation is successful they will draw down contracts worth millions, will be among the loudest in their protestations against an annual expenditure of $250,000,000 for war in time of peace. Later I will identify some of the men back of the league and mention their business connections to show why I think they would be likely to close up their busy little lobby headquarters in Washington if Uncle Sam should determine to nationalize the manufacture of everything pertaining to war.

PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF ARMOR AND MUNITION FACTORIES IS A STANDING MENACE TO PEACE.

Every man who opposes war and favors peace can support a policy of Government manufacture, because as long as these hydra-headed capitalistic cliques which thrive and fatten on international distrust and suspicion remain in our midst we are in danger, not so much from the peoples beyond the seas as from the war traders at home, who, if permitted to ply their trade to its final analysis, will lead us to the very brink of desolation and then, to satisfy their sordid greed of gold, plunge us headlong into the bottomless abyss of war itself.

Permit me here to quote the words of Minority Leader OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD, uttered in the debate on the Naval bill in the House of February 5, 1915:

I believe we ought to have a reasonable Navy and a reasonable Army, but I do not want to see my country have either a Navy or an Army that will invite us to make issues that may precipitate our people into the caldron of bloodshed and disaster. [Applause.] I believe that if you propose to enter into a race of armaments the end of the story will mean war. [Applause.]

INCREASE IN COST OF NAVY IS ABNORMAL.

The increase in the cost of our Army and Navy in the last 20 years is enough to stagger the imagination and bewilder the senses. The cost of our Army and Navy is greater in proportion to its size than that of any other nation on earth. The increase in cost is absolutely abnormal when considered in proportion to the increase in our population, or the increase in wealth, or when considered with the increased cost of preparation for war in other countries in time of peace. In this connection it is legitimate to ask to what extent the awful increase in cost is due to the systematic agitating of the possibility of war by those who profit financially from the ever-increasing expenditures of the military branches of our Government.

In the last 30 years our population has increased 85 per cent, our wealth 185 per cent, and our expenditures 400 per cent.

During the 15 years prior to the Spanish-American War our annual appropriations for the Navy ranged from $14,000,000 to $30,000,000, and for the Army less than $25,000,000, averaging for both less than $50,000,000.

In 1883 our appropriation for the Navy was $14,903,559; in 1890, approximately $20,000,000; in 1914, $140,000,000! Our appropriations for the Army and Navy combined for the ensuing year will be in the neighborhood of $240,000,000.

During the year 1912 our entire revenue, not including postal receipts, amounted to $702,000,000. Of this we expended $654,000,000 to defray the entire expense of the Government; $444,000,000, or 67.88 per cent, was paid out for war and on account of war. Just before the outbreak of the present European war Germany was spending 55 per cent of her revenues for war and on account of war; Japan, 45 per cent; Great Britain, 37 per cent; and France, 35 per cent.

Our Army contained 91,416 men; Navy, 52,757 men. German Army, during the year indicated, contained 870,000 men; navy, 66,783 men. Japan: Army, 250,000 men; navy, 51,054 men, with a reserve naval force of 114,000 men. Great Britain: Army, 254,500 men; navy, 137,500 men. France: Army, 720,000 men; navy, 60,621 men.

Great Britain's revenue was greater than ours by nearly $300,000,000, but our expenses for war and on account of war was more than $100,000,000 greater than hers. Yet the aggregate of her army and navy was nearly four times as great as ours.

Germany's revenue exceeded ours by $60,000,000, but our expenditures for war and on account of wars exceed hers by more than $50,000,000, yet her army is more than eight times as large as ours.

The revenue of France is more than $233,000,000 greater than ours, but our expenses for war and on account of wars is nearly $150,000,000 more than hers, notwithstanding her army is eight times as large as ours and her navy excels ours by 10,000 men.

Although our revenue is nearly two and one-half times that of Japan, yet her army is nearly three times as large as ours, with a naval force nearly four times the size of ours, yet our expenses for war and on account of wars is more than three and one-half times that of hers.

How the cost of our Navy is soaring.

1883	$14,903,559
1893	23,543,267
1894	22,104,061
1898	33,003,234
1899	56,098,783
1900	48,099,969
1903	78,856,363
1908	98,958,507
1909	122,662,485
1910	136,935,199
1911	131,410,568
1912	126,405,509
1913	123,151,538
1914	140,718,434

It is interesting to note that the per capita appropriations by Congress for all purposes is climbing up just about in proportion to the increased cost of the Navy, as the following figures will

Year.	Navy appropriations.	All appropriations per capita.
1890	$20,000,000	$6.15
1900	48,000,000	9.05
1912	126,000,000	10.73
1914	140,000,000	11.09

It is pertinent to inquire where the millions that have been poured into militarism to the enrichment of the armor and ammunition capitalists came from. These millions were not picked up in the streets, and they were not contributed by the rich. Our citizens have not contributed in proportion to their wealth but the poor man has paid on an average almost as much as the rich; and since there are 99 poor to every rich man, it means that the millions that have piled up in the pockets of the armor-plate magnates have come from the pockets of the poor.

And this is the feature of militarism-gone-mad that strikes home—the fact that the wasted millions did not come from an income tax or inheritance tax levied on those best able to bear the burden, none of it having been collected by a direct tax, but that practically every penny of the $2,000,000,000 expended on the Army and Navy in the last 10 years came through the customhouses and the internal-revenue offices. Since customhouses and internal-revenue offices do not levy taxes on men according to their wealth or ability to pay, but solely upon things the people eat, wear, and use, it means that the people pay the armor-plate makers' bills in the increased cost of living.

Therefore it is but logical that the cost of living must increase in proportion to the cost of militarism—and it does, as the table heretofore given shows beyond successful contradiction. The people may as well know that as the cost of militarism increases in the future so will the cost of living.

To make clearer my statement that the poor man has been paying almost as much toward defraying the expenses of the Federal Government as the rich man, permit me to correct the impression of the average person that some part of the taxes he has been paying to his local tax collector has been sent to Washington for the purpose of maintaining the Federal Government. The truth is that not one penny of the taxes we have been paying our local tax collectors has come to Washington. Every penny of such taxes has gone toward defraying the expenses of township, city, county, and State. Therefore if a millionaire pays a heavy State tax none of it goes toward defraying the cost of the Army and Navy or maintaining the Federal Government. The manner in which the people have been supporting the Army and Navy and meeting all other Federal expenses has been by paying increased prices for things eaten, worn, or used. The local grocer and dry-goods merchant has been the Federal tax collector without knowing it or without his average customer knowing it. To the extent that the average poor man eats the same amount of food as the rich man he has been paying as much tax. Funds for the maintenance of the Army and Navy, as well as all other Federal expenses, have thus in the past been raised wholly in the form of increased cost of living.

It is true, of course, that we now have an income-tax law on the statutes, and this will help some; but until the tax on incomes in excess of $10,000 annually is increased much above the present rates, and until there is a stiff Federal inheritance-tax law, so that those who derive the greatest benefit from military expenditure will bear the heaviest burden of their cost, as they should, the poor man will continue to carry the heaviest load in proportion to his ability to pay, just as he always has done and just as the stone in the bottom of the wall bears more weight than its more fortunate brethren on the top.

GET READY TO PAY IN EARNEST FROM NOW ON.

Two billion dollars have been collected in 10 years from the men, women, and children of our Nation for militarism, a sum sufficient to dig the Panama Canal, pay off the national debt, with enough left to defray for one whole year the entire expenses of all the churches, including foreign missions, all the free schools, colleges, and universities in America.

And the end is not yet. The war traffickers have not finished reaping their harvest; they are just getting in good trim to make us pay the cost of militarism in real earnest. American people, listen to this little colloquy which occurred recently at one of the hearings of the Naval Affairs Committee between Representative FINLY GRAY, of Indiana, and Admiral Vreeland, a big-Navy booster:

"Mr. GRAY. I wish to inquire of the admiral if it is not the policy of other Governments to increase their navies with all the other leading powers?

"Admiral VREELAND. It is, sir.

"Mr. GRAY. What would be the advantage to us or any other powers if the navies were increased equally by all the nations of the world? Would there be any advantage to us or to any other power?

"Admiral VREELAND. Not if you mean in the same ratio.

"Mr. GRAY. Would not the same grounds exist after an increase for a further increase?

"Admiral VREELAND. It would seem so.

"Mr. GRAY. There would be no advantage gained by any nation, then. How long could that be maintained, that even increase, and what advantage would it be to any nation?

"Admiral VREELAND. If it continues to increase, the poorer nation will eventually exhaust itself, and then the other nations, the United States included, will have a free hand—I mean be free to build in accordance with the changed conditions.

"Mr. GRAY. Then it is only a question of the limit of taxation?

"Admiral VREELAND. Yes, sir."

In other words, the only thing that the international war trust has to fear on the score of reduction of profits is the limit of the ability of men, women, and children to keep on paying the ever and ever increasing per capita appropriation tax in the form of higher prices for foodstuffs and wearing apparel. This is certainly a bright prospect for the Armor, Powder, Battleship, and Ammunition Trusts. But for the taxpayers the prospects are not so bright.

If the taxpayers of the world want to escape being forced to pay higher and higher taxes until they get so high they simply can not pay them; there is but one thing to do, and that is for the people of all the nations to insist that their Governments manufacture their own munitions of war.

If the millionaire and multimillionaire war-trust magnates can not make huge profits in supplying the armor, guns, powder, and battleships, they will take the same attitude toward the wasting of public funds that the rest of us do.

TESTIMONY BEFORE SENATE LOBBY COMMITTEE.

United States Senator GEORGE T. OLIVER, of Pennsylvania, testified before the Senate lobby investigation committee that he owned 1,000 shares of stock in the United States Steel Corporation and held a "considerable" interest in copper mining. He testified he also owned 7,700 shares in the Pittsburgh Coal Co. and two newspapers—the Pittsburgh Gazette-Times and the Pittsburgh Chronicle-Telegraph. Increased armament requires great quantities of both copper and coal.

The United States Steel Corporation is the owner of the Carnegie Steel Co., which concern has obtained $32,000,000 worth of contracts from the Navy Department for armor alone, and other millions of dollars' worth of contracts for other materials used in the increasing of the Army and Navy.

On February 2, 1915, one of Senator OLIVER'S newspapers editorially asked:

"But what is meant by that resounding mouthful "disarmament by the United States?" Isn't it the fact that the United States is pretty well disarmed as matters stand? * * * There isn't much sense in talking of the United States disarming before it is armed.

THE ARMOR RING AS EMPLOYERS OF LABOR.

The concerns comprising the armor ring are notorious as being among the most bitter enemies of organized labor in the United States, and reports following investigations of conditions in the plants reveal that they are cruel and inhuman in their treatment of unorganized labor. Is this language too strong? The findings of the investigating committees themselves will afford the best answer to this query.

A survey of living conditions in Pittsburgh was made in 1909 by the Sage Foundation under the direction of especially qualified investigators, who collected their material at first hand in the mill and in the home. It had from first to last the hearty support of such prominent citizens of Pittsburgh as Mayor George W. Guthrie; President H. D. W. English, of the Civic Improvement Commission; Judge Joseph Buffington, of the United States circuit court; and W. H. Matthews, of the famous Kingsley House.

Edwin Bjorkman, a magazine writer, was furnished with the material gathered by the foundation and presented its findings in condensed form in the World's Work for April, 1909. I quote the following from Mr. Bjorkman's résume of the Sage Foundation report:

The Carnegie Steel Company employs about 23,000 workers within the district. Concerning the foreign born among these, some very instructive statistics are available. They number in all 17,340, or three workers out of four in the whole force. Together they represent more than 20 distinct nationalities, most of which in turn embrace from 3 to 20 racial or lingual subdivisions. Considering only the predominant elements, we find * * * 14,000 Austrians, Hungarians, Italians, and Russians, * * * among every hundred of whom there are 82 unskilled, 15 semiskilled, and only 3 skilled workers.

* * * * * * *

Mentally they rank low. Education or training they have none. But morally they can hardly be called undesirable. They prove submissive, dependable, willing workers, who never dream of questioning the desirability or the dignity of the task assigned to them, and who are rendered oblivious to danger by their ignorance. Having worked 14 and 16 hours a day in their native countries, and having been paid from 25 to 50 cents for such slavery they think little of working 12 hours a day and find a fortune in $2 thus earned.

* * * * * * *

To the English-speaking people these men with unpronounceable names and strange ways are just "Hunkies"—dumb, dull, driven brutes, so utterly beneath contempt that even competition with them is out of the question. Wherever they get in, the natives and the northerners withdraw. Wherever the latter find conditions too hard or wages too low, the "Hunkies" apply eagerly. Everywhere they have been kept at the bottom so far. The worst jobs, and only these, are for them. But still they are coming in ever greater numbers, and by slow degrees they are pushing upward—steadily, inevitably as fate itself. Amid the clatter of their unintelligible tongues the few, and ever fewer, English-speaking foremen and skilled workers feel as lonesome as lighthouses. And this chasm between hostile castes of workers serves, by the by, to make unionism additionally impossible.

* * * * * * *

There used to be big money for the workers who handled iron and steel. There is still fairly good money to be made by a very few of them. But for 15 years the cutting of wages has been going on until to-day in many cases the best workers make less than half of what they used to earn. It has been figured out that every hundred workers in the steel mills and blast furnaces includes 60 men who make less than $2 a day, and only two who make more than $5 in the same time. The average daily wages of Allegheny County's 9,000 blast-furnace men were found to be below $2.50 in 1907. In October of that year the entire force of 12-hour men in the open-hearth department of the Homestead Steel Works was averaging $2.76 a day. The highest paid skilled workers in some of the most important branches of the steel industry are incapable of earning more than $3.75 a day.

The main thing asked of the worker is speed, or, maybe one ought to say, speed without waste. To the achievement of this result everything

is adapted, but, above all, the wage schedules. The underlying idea of the whole system is to get more out of a man by paying him less. Its fundamental rule is that if the man drives the machine he is paid by the piece; if the machine drives him he is paid for time. A trick constantly practiced is to urge the workers into exceeding their previous capacity for the purpose of earning more and then to adapt the wage rate to the new record in order that they may work still harder to retain their old earnings. This has proved one of the most effective means of increasing the output.

* * * * * * * * *

Among 16,000 men employed in the three largest plants of the United States Steel Corporation in 1907 there were 120 men working only eight hours a day. * * * Among the steel and iron workers the 12-hour day is practically law now, so that, for instance, there were only ninety-three 10-hour men to one thousand five hundred and seventeen 12-hour men at the Homestead Steel Works in 1907.

This law, slightly modified—and modified largely for the worse—holds good seven days of the week all the year through. Neither Sundays nor holidays exist for these toilers. Once every fortnight they work 24 hours in a stretch in order that they may have a full day of 24 hours free the next week.

MR. WORKINGMAN, HOW LONG DO YOU PROPOSE TO STAND FOR THIS?

Thanks to an investigation of the Bethlehem Steel Co.'s strike in 1910, information is available as to conditions of labor in that armor-making concern's plants. The inquiry was made by the United States Bureau of Labor in 1910, under the direction of Ethelbert Stewart, a special agent of the Labor Bureau at the time, who bore the reputation of being one of the most experienced economic investigators in the country.

When this strike began there were no labor organizations in the plant; the company would not permit them. It was the higher grade workers who led off in the strike. Many of the highest-grade men had approximately a 10½-hour day. But they were frequently being required to work overtime on week days and to do additional work on Sundays. Fearing that the encroachments of overtime and Sunday work were leading to a 12-hour and 7-day schedule for the whole force, they therefore protested. Therefore the protesting committee was discharged; therefore the strike.

The Government investigation revealed this:

That out of every 100 men 29 were working 7 days every week.

That out of every 100 men 43, including these 29, were working some Sundays in the month.

That out of every 100 men 51 were working 12 hours a day.

That out of every 100 men 25 were working 12 hours a day 7 days a week.

That out of every 100 men 46 were earning less than $2 a day.

These are the grim figures which the United States Bureau of Labor gives us of the working shifts of the Bethlehem Steel Co. as drawn from the company's own time books. This is the manner in which the concerns that have drawn down $175,000,000 of the people's money were treating their employees in 1910. Since that time considerable 8-hour-day legislation has been passed, and there is no record of the number of 12-hour shifts now in force.

Workingmen of the Nation, are you willing that your Government shall continue to give contracts running into the millions annually to firms that have mistreated and underpaid their employees as have these great war trafficking concerns? If you are not willing, then protest against it. But let me assure you at the outset that one protest will not be sufficient. The chances are you will have to speak loud and often before your voice will be heard in far-off Washington.

ENTER MR. ANDREW CARNEGIE, PATRIOT.

One of the strongest arguments in favor of a policy of complete Government manufacture of all munitions of war is that such a policy will remove all incentive for the defrauding of the Government by private manufacturers. The war trust has never hesitated to cheat the Government when it found an opportunity to do so, and it has managed to find the opportunities. It is probable that the exact extent of the frauds that have been perpetrated upon the Government by the war trust will never be known, because it has been only by sheer accident that such frauds have become public in a few instances.

A proposition has been made to Secretary Daniels, however, that if he will agree to reward those who furnish the evidence of extensive armor-plate swindles with a certain percentage of the sums recovered from the armor ring as a result of such information that it will be forthcoming. Those who have made this proposition to the Secretary state that the men who have such information have dealings with the armor concerns, and that others who would testify are in the employment of the armor manufacturers, and that they can not sacrifice their interests and means of livelihood without some kind of protection. Since there would be no cost to the Government unless it was able to actually recover fines from the armor patriots, it can not be seen how the Government can well refuse this proposition. There is little doubt but that the Government has paid high prices for inferior and "doctored" and defective armor plates, guns, and gun forgings in scores of instances without the same being detected.

Any discussion as to armor frauds necessitates the mention of one of our prominent millionaires who travels about the country posing as a great patriot—Mr. Andrew Carnegie, who holds $300,000,000 worth of bonds in the United States Steel Corporation, which in turn owns the Carnegie and other war-trafficking subsidiaries, which never hesitate to take advantage of their strangle hold of our Army and Navy, Mr. Carnegie's protestations of patriotism notwithstanding. Mr. Carnegie's slice of pork resulting from his $300,000,000 worth of bonds amounts to approximately $16,000,000 annually. The American taxpayers contribute the greater portion of this in the form of increased cost of living.

On January 7, 1911, Mr. Carnegie made a speech before the Republican Club in New York City, in which he told how he came to go into the armor-plate business.

I was coaching in Scotland—

He said—

when I got a cablegram from Secretary Tracy—

This is the same Secretary of the Navy Tracy who, after leaving the Government service, became the attorney for the Carnegie Co.—

saying in effect, "the President says he understands it to be your duty to enter into the manufacture of armor and save the ships from waiting on the stocks for want of it."

Mr. Carnegie proceeded then to say:

That telegram settled it, for whenever the public calls on me for anything I can do, unless I fall dead, it is my glory to respond.

That is what I did, because the President asked me to do it, and if the President thinks it is my duty to do anything or to go anywhere for my country, I consider it the voice of God.

Mr. Carnegie went into the armor business as a result of listening to the "voice of God," but there is a sufficiently large amount of documentary evidence to indicate that once in the armor business, with Uncle Sam as a customer, his hearing must have become defective.

VOICE OF GOD OR VOICE OF GREED?

On the 22d of May, 1894, the House passed a resolution authorizing the Committee on Naval Affairs to investigate the charges of fraud filed against the Carnegie Steel Co., then Carnegie, Phipps & Co. The investigation was made by a subcommitee consisting of Messrs. Cummings, Money, Talbot of Maryland, Dolliver, and Wadsworth. The evidence was large and convincing. Here is some of the evidence bearing directly upon the question of fraud in the manufacture of armor plate by this apostle of peace, to whom the voice of the President is the same as the voice of God.

Charles M. Schwab was then superintendent of the company, but is now president of the Bethlehem Steel Co., and one of the 43 Carnegie-made millionaires. He testified that the armor plate did not "receive uniform treatment"; that they did not make any armor plate that did not "have blowholes"; that the "blowholes" were secretly "plugged" and kept "concealed" from the Government inspectors; that he knew of this fraudulent work. The document which contains all this evidence is House of Representatives Report No. 1468, Fifty-third Congress, second session.

The superintendent of the works, W. A. Cline, testified that he almost invariably changed the figures so that false reports of the treatment of the plates were systematically made to the Government inspectors; that he discharged some of the workmen because they told the truth about this fraudulent work.

William E. Cory, a superintendent, testified that the tensile strength of each plate was stretched so as to increase their apparent tensile strength without the knowledge of the inspectors of the Government; that he knew false specimens were substituted for the plates selected by the Government inspectors, but he considered it "a matter of small importance"; that plates selected by the Government inspectors for physical and ballistic tests were re-treated before the tests were made and without the knowledge of the Government inspectors. This fraud led the inspectors to believe all the armor was as good as the specially treated plates secretly made after they had been selected for making tests.

Mr. T. F. Van Kirk, a workman in this company's works, testified that on April 11 and 12, 1892, a plate, x-9, 13 inches, was—

plugged and hammered up. Forty holes in top and bottom of plate. This plate was afterwards finished, stamped x-8, 13 inches, April 23 and 24, 1892. Holes in top of plate run in wire 4 feet or more. The material in this plate was very bad, and in trying to plug the plugs would fall in, but we finally doctored it up and it passed inspection.

In an affidavit Samuel Sheriff says:

The plugging and doctoring of plates was generally done at night, when no inspectors were about, but I seen one fixed one day at noon.

Mr. T. F. Farley, another workman, testified in an affidavit that—

the plates were frequently imperfect, were full of deep holes and defects; frequently taken off the planer in the daytime and hidden or covered up until night so as not to be seen by the inspectors, and then worked upon in the nighttime. I have seen these defective plates passed, inspected, and shipped from the works to their destination.

Mr. G. W. Kountz says in his affidavit:

I have known of heavy plates being plugged of holes from 4 to 6 inches, unknown to the Government inspectors. This fraud has been practiced upon the Government since long before November, 1892, and since September, 1893.

Mr. T. F. Farley says in his testimony:

When I first went there they were plugged by taking cuttings from the same plates, * * * hammering them in with a punch, and placing more and more in the hole until it was level, until it could stand no more plugging. I have run wires in to the depth of 18 inches into these plates, and I know that plates that I run a wire in 18 inches passed and is now somewhere.

WAR TRAFFICKERS CAN DEFRAUD UNCLE SAM AND KEEP OUT OF THE PENITENTIARY, BUT ORDINARY CITIZENS BETTER NOT TRY IT.

Mr. Carnegie's company was found guilty of fraud upon the Government, and damages of $600,000 were assessed against his company, but he managed to compromise for $140,000. The fact that the Carnegie Company defrauded the Government did not seem to impair in the least its standing with the Navy Department. Mr. Carnegie was given larger contracts than ever.

While Mr. Carnegie was on the witness stand before the Stanley Steel Trust investigating committee, Congressman BEALL of Texas inquired whether it was his habit to consult his attorney to learn the law, so as to be able to operate his business accordingly. Mr. Carnegie, pointing to his head with his index finger, replied:

I never bothered my head about the law.

Perhaps this explains it.

Mr. Carnegie, testifying before the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations on February 5, 1915, read a carefully estimated summary of his benefactions, amounting to $324,657,399. That is, in addition to creating his 42 or 43 millionaires, he has actually given away $324,657,399, and his fortune is still large enough to permit him to give away as much again. It would be interesting to know how many of these millions were collected from Uncle Sam in the form of excessive prices for armor and munitions, after Uncle Sam had collected them from the men, women, and children of the United States through a tax on their food, clothing, and other necessaries of life.

It is noticeable that in philosophizing on the art of money-making Mr. Carnegie reserves to himself exclusively the right to acquire millions by the methods he has acquired them.

In his address to the working girls of New York on February 10, 1911, reported in the Washington Post February 11, 1911, he said:

I have made 42 or 43 millionaires in my time, but I want to say that the only right a man has to wealth lies in his acquiring it by his own labor.

FRAUDS CONTINUE TO PRESENT TIME, IS BELIEF.

Representative HENRY T. RAINEY, of Illinois, one of the best-known and most courageous Members of the House, has devoted considerable time to the subject of defective gun forgings palmed off on the Government by the ammunition ring. He expresses the conviction that these frauds are being perpetrated upon the Government even to this day. I quote from his speech delivered in the Sixty-first Congress:

The fact of the continuance of these frauds is evidenced by the frequency with which guns explode on our battleships and on land, killing and maiming men; by the frequency with which boilers on our ships blow up, with such awful results to human life.

Guns while being tested by other great nations of the world do not explode with disastrous results. We do not read in the papers that boilers frequently explode on the war vessels of England or Germany or any other nation. The very large number of these accidents in our own Navy and in tests made by our Navy officers leads to the irresistible conclusion that there are defects in the castings of the guns and in the castings for the steel tubes and boilers furnished by our steel companies. I desire to insert here in my speech a few of the more important accidents of this character as recorded in the news items of our metropolitan papers.

DISASTERS CAUSED BY EXPLOSIONS, BURSTING GUNS, FAULTY BREECH BLOCKS, ETC.

1902, February 2. Battleship *Kearsarge*, West Indian waters; gun burst, killing 5.

1903, January 17. Battleship *Massachusetts;* gun explosion off Culebra Islands; 6 killed.

1903, April 9. Battleship *Iowa;* explosion of gun; 3 killed, 5 wounded.

1904, April 13. Battleship *Missouri*, off Pensacola Fla.; explosion; 32 killed.

1904, December 14. Battleship *Massachusetts*, at Philadelphia; explosion in firerooms; 3 killed, 4 scalded.

1905, July 21. Gunboat *Bennington*, San Diego, Cal.; boiler explosion; 34 killed, 66 injured.

1906, January 10. Battleship *Massachusetts;* gun explosion; 9 killed.

1906, April 13. Battleship *Kearsarge*, in Caribbean Sea; explosion; 6 killed.

1907, July 15. Battleship *Georgia*, Massachusetts Bay; explosion; 6 killed, 15 injured.

1908, June 5. In California waters, cruiser *Tennessee;* bursting of boiler tube; 6 killed.

——— ———. Torpedo-boat destroyer *Hopkins*, California waters; exploding boiler; 1 killed, 5 wounded.

1910, March 28. Cruiser *Charleston*, in Philippine waters; gun explosion, alleged faulty breech block; 8 killed, 7 or 8 wounded.

1910, July 21. Explosion of gun, Fort Monroe; 12 killed.

1910, September 9. Battleship *North Dakota;* explosion, Hampton Roads; 3 killed.

1910, November 19. Explosion of gun, Indianhead; 4 killed.

1911, January 13. Cruiser *Washington;* cylinder head blown out. Also about this time 3 similar accidents to vessels in Admiral Schroeder's fleet; no one killed.

1911, January 17. Battleship *Delaware;* boilers exploded; 9 killed; just outside Hampton Roads.

Total killed in nine years, 147.

Total maimed in nine years, 102.

As a result of the accidents I have enumerated, and there have been others, in nine years 147 men have been killed and 102 maimed for life. In other words, by these accidents, in nine years of profound peace, we have killed or maimed for life more of our men than were killed in action in the Spanish-American War.

In order to show that the frauds continue to this day, I have original affidavits, made within the last few months up here at Bethlehem.

WORKMEN TESTIFY HOW GOVERNMENT IS CHEATED.

I will insert affidavits of workmen at the Bethlehem plant:

SOUTH BETHLEHEM, PA., *April 29, 1910.*

This is to certify that I know there was work done in No. 2 machine shop for the United States Government that was not up to specifications. I myself have deceived the inspector many a time.

On the last lot of 5-inch mounts that were made here a number of patches were placed on the brackets to cover up a mistake in machining. These were put on in such a way so that under ordinary inspection they could not be detected.

I know of a slide for a 12-inch gun that was being machined when a blowhole was discovered. The yoke was taken off the machine and at night the hole was filled up with metal and the yoke put back on the machine, the inspector not discovering the trick. I know of a track for a 12-inch turret which, while being machined, was found to be cracked. I closed the crack by hammering the crack shut and finished machining it.

FRANCIS J. GILLESPIE.

COUNTY OF NORTHAMPTON, *State of Pennsylvania, ss:*

Francis J. Gillespie, the subscriber, being duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that the foregoing statement is true and correct as he verily believes.

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 29th day of April, 1910.

[SEAL.] JOSEPH H. MCGEE,
Justice of the Peace.

My commission expires first Monday in May, 1912.

—

SOUTH BETHLEHEM, *April 29, 1910.*

In a brief submitted to President Taft on April 6 by the committee of striking employees of the Bethlehem Steel Co. we charged that during the night, when Government inspectors were not present, workmen were compelled to treat, patch, and weld inferior work so that work could be forced to be accepted by the Government.

In a letter from Mr. G. v. L. Meyer, Secretary of the Navy, to the President, under date of April 21, 1910, of which I have a copy, he states that our charge has been investigated. In his letter he states that "it appears that no evidence in support of this can be obtained, and the inspectors claim that should defective work be treated in this manner it would subsequently be detected on inspection and test, and reports indicate that the Government is fully safeguarded by the daily routine inspection."

He also states: "In general, it is believed that the character of the work accepted upon inspection by the Government fully meets the requirements of the Government, and through the system of inspection now in vogue the interests of the Government are well protected."

Regardless of this report, work was treated at night, and men were not allowed to tell the inspector, and after the work was treated if there was any chance of the inspector being deceived into accepting the work as being up to specifications it was submitted to him. I know that on an order of 5-inch sights for the Navy, about three years ago, that some of these sights were found out of alignment during the company shop test, and that the steel castings were hammered with a sledge to bend them so they would line up. The recoil of the guns, when these sights were used, must have sprung these castings back to their old shape, and thereby made it impossible for our sailors to shoot straight. I offer as witnesses Horace Klinesmith and Robert Johnson, former employees of No. 4 machine shop.

During the building of the 12-inch ammunition hoists for the battleships *North Dakota* and *Delaware* a number of buffers, to be used as cushions to take the weight off the lower cars, were found to be not strong enough. The inspector (J. C. Farrall) refused to accept them on the ground that the springs were not firm enough. The foreman (Harry Lynn) promised to put new springs in. The real trouble was that the bore was out of round in the bottom of the castings, and when inspector was home to dinner these buffers were taken apart and filled with thick vaseline, which stopped up the leak and made it appear as though new springs had been put in, and were accepted by the inspector.

I was working as assistant to the inspector, and know this to be a fact. On the same job there were several levers welded by electricity to fill up dirt holes, and were in bad shape, and I put the inspector next to it, and was asked by Foreman George Meyer, of the second floor: "Who the hell told him that?" These levers were thrown out by Inspector Farrall. At the present time there are under construction twenty-four 6-inch howitzer gun carriages and twenty-four 6-inch howitzer limbers upon which much inferior work was done, and up to the time of strike was hid from the inspector. Parts have been broken in flanging and welded with acetylene gas; axles have been machined wrong and patched; other parts machined wrong and doctored up to make it pass inspection. In fact, the idea in the shop is to make the work "appear" as though it is up to specifications, or, in other words, get it past the inspector by fair or foul means. I offer as witnesses Horace Klinesmith, George Stegmair, George Miller, Robert Johnson, Ralph Otto, John Wendling, Henry Doyle, and William Everett. Also,

on shells for the Navy, if the center has been drilled too deep, leaving a hole in the nose of the shell instead of a point, the hole is drilled deeper and a pointed plug put in. As this was done when inspector was home, I am sure it was not allowed by inspector. This shell job was kept very secret in shop, and should be thoroughly investigated, as there was a large bonus paid for getting these shells out in a certain time, which acted as an incentive for the men to deceive the inspector. In fact, in No. 4 machine shop the practice of treating inferior workmanship was so common that nothing was thought of it. An investigation where men could be placed on oath would bring to light a great many things which I haven't mentioned. I do not blame the inspectors for this, as it would be impossible for an inspector to detect some of these operations. When it is known that Mr. Everett, a skilled jeweler, is used on some of this work the impossibility of detecting these things by ordinary inspection is apparent.

DAVID WILLIAMS.

COUNTY OF NORTHAMPTON, *State of Pennsylvania, ss:*

Personally appeared before me, a justice of the peace in and for the aforesaid county, David Williams, who, being duly sworn, deposes and says that the foregoing statements are true and correct, as he verily believes.

Sworn to before me this 29th day of April, A. D. 1910.

[SEAL.] JOSEPH H. McGEE,
Justice of the Peace.

My commission expires first Monday in May, 1912.

ARMOR RING, INSTEAD OF TAXPAYERS, ARE PROTECTED.

The naval bill now pending before the Congress, which was reported from the House Naval Affairs Committee on January 16, 1915, and was passed by the House February 5, and is now waiting to go before the Senate, is loaded to the guards with fat, juicy pork for the armor ring.

When the bill was reported from committee it was bad enough, so far as protection for the taxpayer in the purchase of armor and armament is concerned, but when it left the House whatever safeguards for the public it had contained had been eliminated on points of order.

When the bill was reported it contained this provision:

That no part of any sum herein appropriated shall be expended for the purchase of structural steel, ship plates, armor, armament, or machinery from any persons, firms, or corporations who have combined or conspired to monopolize the interstate or foreign commerce or trade of the United States, or the commerce or trade between the States and any Territory or the District of Columbia, in any of the articles aforesaid, and no purchase of structural steel, ship plates, or machinery shall be made at a price in excess of a reasonable profit above the actual cost of manufacture. But this limitation shall in no case apply to any existing contract.

Let us analyze this paragraph to see what it really means: It provides that "no purchase of structural steel, ship plates, or machinery shall be made at a price in excess of a reasonable profit above the actual cost of manufacture." This means that no purchase of structural steel shall be made in excess of a reasonable profit above the actual cost of manufacture; that no purchase of ship plates shall be made in excess of a reasonable profit above the actual cost of manufacture; and that no purchase of machinery shall be made at a price in excess of a reasonable profit above the actual cost of manufacture.

What about armor and armament? It does not say that purchases of armor and armament shall not be made at a price in excess of a reasonable profit above the actual cost of manufacture.

There is some competition in structural steel, ship plates and machinery, but in armor and armament, to all practical ends, there is none. Therefore the manufacturers of structural steel, ship plates, and machinery must not charge more than a reasonable price, but the armor and armament rings can charge any old price that may suit their fancy.

I arose for the purpose of offering an amendment to have the words "armor, armament" inserted after the words "structural steel," but before I could obtain recognition from the Chair a point of order was made against the entire paragraph. It was accepted by the chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee quicker than you could say Jack Robinson, and out went the entire paragraph—structural steel, ship plates, and all. Selah!

Will not the Senate, in the interests of a long overgouged public, see that this paragraph promptly goes back, and also that armor and armament is not slighted by failure to mention? Armor and armament is not small fry. The bill provides for the purchase of $18,000,000 worth of it.

WHY NOT PERMIT THE PUBLIC TO KNOW THE IDENTITY OF THE PATRIOTS BEHIND THE WAR TRUST?

After the paragraph providing for the purchase of the armor plate I offered the following amendment:

Provided, That the Secretary of the Navy shall not consider any bid for the supplying of the armor or armament herein provided for unless such bid is accompanied by a sworn list of stockholders and bondholders of the corporation submitting such bid, such list of stockholders and bondholders to be taken from the books of said corporation as of date of July 1, 1914: *And it is further provided*, That such list of stockholders and bondholders shall be transmitted to Congress in a separate report by the Secretary of the Navy.

This amendment went to its grave on a point of order made by the chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee.

My purpose in offering the amendment was to ascertain the names of the shareholders of the war trust, the names of the men who profit from the manufacture of war munitions by private construction. Those who are advocating the taking of profit out of war and preparation for war by having all Army and Navy equipment manufactured in Government plants can make a more intelligent fight if they know exactly who they are fighting. Until the identity of the stockholders of the war trust can be established it might, perhaps, even though unpleasant, be logical to assume that those patriots who cry out in anguish every time the Government manufacture of war munitions is mentioned have been struck in the region of the pocketbook, an exceedingly tender part of the anatomy.

Comparisons are odious, but in 1909 the Investors' Review of London examined the stockholders' lists of several British war-trafficking concerns and it found in the list of one company alone (Armstrong, Whitworth) the names of:

Sixty noblemen, their wives, sons, or daughters.
Fifteen baronets.
Twenty knights.
Eight members of Parliament.
Twenty military and navy officers.
Eight journalists.

Later lists revealed a marked connection between stock holding in armor and munition companies and active membership of "purely patriotic" organizations, such as the British Navy League.

In this country it is impossible to obtain lists of the stockholders in the war-trading concerns. The Stanley steel investigating committee was unable to obtain them, and when I applied to our Federal Bureau of Corporations I found it did not possess them, and that there was some question as to whether the bureau had the authority to attempt to obtain them.

SECRETARY OF NAVY FAVORS GOVERNMENT MANUFACTURE.

When Mr. Daniels, for many years editor and publisher of the Raleigh (N. C.) News and Observer, was sworn in as Secretary of the Navy and had time to look about him, he found that the people's money was being wasted by the payment of excessive prices for armor and practically all articles required for the Navy. Throughout his two years in the Cabinet he has been earnestly endeavoring to rescue the Public Treasury from the patriots for war, who year in and year out have been helping themselves, seemingly at will, from the public crib. Secretary Daniels has saved the Government some $2,000,000, which is but a drop in the bucket to the amount he could save if he could obtain Government manufacture of everything.

In his first annual report for the year 1913 Secretary Daniels asked for an appropriation for an armor-plate factory. I quote from that report:

IMPORTANCE OF ARMOR-PLATE FACTORY.

I desire to recommend the passage at the earliest moment of a sufficient appropriation to begin the construction of a Government armor plant to relieve a situation which, in my estimation, is intolerable and at total variance with the principle of economy in spending Government money. It is not my intention to enlarge here upon the economic reasons that prompt me to make this recommendation, as I have already gone into them at length in a letter to the Senate in response to a request for information. It is sufficient to mention here that only three firms in this country can manufacture armor plate, and that these firms have put in bids for armor plate seldom varying over a few dollars, and in many instances being identical to a cent. Asked for reasons as to the uniformity of these bids, two of the firms replied frankly that as the contract would be divided amongst them anyway, the only effect of competitive bids would be to reduce the profits made by all of the three firms.

* * * * * * *

By manufacturing armor plate in its own plant the Government will be able to keep for its own use any improvements in the manufacture or composition of its armor that may be developed. The last word has not been said in armor, and past history shows that great improvements in the manufacture and design of armor plate have been made. The greater part of these improvements were suggested by actual experience gained by naval officers. Under our present system of obtaining our armor plate from private companies such improvements become the property of all the world and can be obtained by anybody who cares to buy them. Even now the improvements in armor and the designs worked out by the Navy have been embodied in the warship of another nation recently finished by the Bethlehem Steel Co. and put into commission. This is not an argument lightly to be disregarded in favor of a Government armor plant, nor has it been overlooked, for instance, by Japan, which has erected its own armor-making plant and surrounded it with such secrecy that none of the other nations are able to tell whether or not at this minute the Japanese armor may not be superior to any other in existence. In addition to Japan, the French Government, after experimenting with a factory capable of producing only the lighter weights of armor, is enlarging its Government plant so as to permit of the production of thick plates, and Russia has had its own armor-plate factory for some time.

* * * * * * *

I do not see how it is possible for Congress to justify to the people a refusal to erect a Government plant, nor how it can answer the charge that will invariably be brought up—that the same mysterious Providence which saved this profitable business to the steel companies three times in the past, even after money for a Government plant had actually been appropriated, is not still at work exercising its beneficent protection over these lusty specimens of infant industries, who are even now under Government investigation as violators of the antitrust law.

In his annual report for the fiscal year ending 1914, Secretary Daniels has reviewed his efforts to secure a Government-owned armor-plate factory, and says he is convinced that enormous sums could be saved to the taxpayers by the erection of a Government plant.

It became even plainer than last year—

He says—

that the Government is at the mercy of the three manufacturers of armor plate, whose policy is to make the Government pay prices much beyond a fair profit. The three companies make affidavits that they are in no combination and have no agreement affecting prices, as they are required by law to do. This does not, however, prevent their availing themselves of a mental telepathy which works against the Government and denies real competition in the bidding.

Secretary Daniels estimates that the Government would save between a million and three million dollars annually, depending on the size of the plant, if it should manufacture its own armor plate.

Taking the highest estimate which has been submitted to me by the experts of the Bureau of Ordnance—

He says—

as the probable total cost price of Government-made armor, the Government can achieve a saving by the erection of a 10,000-ton-a-year plant of $1,061,360 per annum, after deducting 4 per cent as interest on the money used in erection and installation of plant, and $3,048,462 a year on the basis of a Government plant capable of producing 20,000 tons a year. * * *.

Proof on pages 40 and 41, Annual Report Secretary of the Navy, 1913.

What is true of armor plate is practically true of all kinds of war munitions, both for the Army and Navy. In his last annual report, submitted two or three weeks ago, the Secretary of the Navy makes the flat assertion (p. 9):

Contrary to popular idea, the Navy Department in what it manufactures does so, from a superdreadnaught to a gallon of paint or a pound of powder, cheaper than the same can be purchased. This is particularly true of the most expensive instruments of war, but is equally true of gasoline engines, electrical supplies, engines for dreadnaughts, shrapnel, clothing for marines and sailors, accouterments, and a multitude of other articles required for the fleet and shore stations.

The Secretary's report shows that as a result of the enlargement of the Government powder factory large savings have been made (p. 10, Annual Report Secretary of the Navy, 1914):

SECRETARY SAYS GOVERNMENT MANUFACTURE REDUCES PRICES.

Before the Government began to manufacture smokeless powder—

Says the Secretary—

it paid 80 cents a pound for it. Government competition, coupled with better methods, have brought down the price at which the department purchases this powder to 53 cents. The department is now manufacturing it at Indianhead at a cost of 36 cents a pound, and when the enlarged plant is completed may be able to still further reduce the cost of production. If the department had bought what it manufactured last year, the powder bill would have been $397,536.16 more than it was. In addition to effecting this saving by manufacture, the department reworked 1,013,940 pounds, at 11.9 cents per pound, and this method insures the use of much powder every year that would otherwise be useless.

Another specific instance of the elimination of private profits, or partial elimination, by Government operation is in the case of the manufacture of torpedoes.

In the two years that the present torpedo works have been in full operation at Newport, R. I.—

Says the Secretary, on page 10 of his last annual report—

the cost of manufacture of each torpedo has been reduced from $4,200 to $3,200. These torpedoes, if bought at the only private torpedo plant in the country, would cost $5,000. The enlargement of the torpedo works will not necessarily cause the Navy Department to manufacture all its torpedoes, but ability to make a large proportion of the number needed will result in securing better prices from manufacturers. This is true of all other munitions of war. Ability to make them secures reduction in cost.

The Secretary of the Navy sums up the two reasons why we should have Government manufacture of war munitions:

The department should be able to demand competitive bids by having potential facilities to manufacture anything needed for armament or equipment which may at any time be controlled by those who demand excessive prices. There is another reason why the Navy Department should be able to manufacture munitions of war; that policy would prevent effective agitation or organization for big preparations for war conducted by those who make profit by the manufacture of war supplies. It has been suspected—

Goes on the report—

in some countries that makers of armor and powder, guns, and fighting craft have promoted steadily increasing equipment for giant navies and large armies for their personal enrichment, as others have practiced "philanthropy and 5 per cent." The incentive of personal aggrandizement by preparations for war should not be permitted to exist in the United States. The effective way to prevent so baneful an influence is for Congress to give the department authority to manufacture implements of war, an authority which could be employed when necessary. (Annual Report, 1914, pp. 10–11.)

ARMOR RING REMAINS SNUGLY IN THE SADDLE.

Although the Secretary of the Navy asked Congress for an "appropriation to begin the construction of a Government armor plant," no appropriation was provided for in the naval bill in 1914.

Instead of providing for an appropriation for an armor plant, which would have rescued the taxpayers from the tender mercies of the armor ring, the House Committee on Naval Affairs brought in the following provision, which leaves the Government at the mercy of the ring and does not in any manner change the conditions now existing:

The Secretary of the Navy is hereby authorized and directed to investigate and report at the next regular session of Congress upon the selection of a suitable site for the erection of an armor plant to enable the United States to manufacture its own armor plate and special-treatment steel capable of standing all ballistic and other necessary tests required for use in vessels of the Navy at the lowest possible cost to the Government, taking into consideration all of the elements necessary for the economical and successful operation of such a plant, such as the availability of labor, material, and fuel, and transportation facilities to and from said plant. Said report shall contain the cost of a site sufficient to accommodate a plant having an annual output capacity of 20,000 tons and a site for an output of 10,000 tons, and also an itemized statement of the cost of the necessary buildings, machinery, and accessories for each, and the annual cost and maintenance of each, and the estimated cost of the finished product.

The action of the committee in thus providing only for an investigation, of which there have been several in the past, as I shall show, instead of providing for an armor factory, as recommended by the Secretary of the Navy, is worth from $3,000,000 to $5,000,000 a year to the armor ring.

I would have favored enthusiastically the provision providing for an investigation of the cost of armor but for the fact that numerous investigations have been made in the past, and this provision for an unnecessary additional investigation impressed me, as I stated at the time on the floor of the House, as being merely a dodge to sidetrack an appropriation in this Congress for an armor plant, as recommended by the Secretary of the Navy.

The insertion of this provision instead of a paragraph carrying an appropriation for a plant means that the movement for an armor factory is set back to the point it reached 19 years ago.

What has been the result of the provision providing for another "investigation"? The chairmen of the House and Senate Naval Affairs Committees and Admiral Strauss, of the Navy Department, have been appointed as a committee to "investigate." A few days more and the present Sixty-third Congress will adjourn and go out of existence. The "investigating committee" has made no report and say they will make none in time for action by the present Congress. It is said the armor companies refused them access to their books, and there is every reason to believe the "investigating committee" will not have any more information on the subject than was available before they started on their "probe."

But the precious life of the armor ring has been saved! There has been no appropriation for a plant, and that is the thing the ring was opposed to and the only thing that it fears.

In the meantime there has been an election and 20 or 30 Members of Congress who were in favor of a Government plant have been defeated, and many of them will be succeeded by men who will be unfavorable.

It has been my conviction throughout the Sixty-third Congress that if a vote could be had on the subject an armor plant would have been authorized. It is also my conviction that in the Sixty-fourth Congress there will not be enough votes to obtain an appropriation for a Government plant. The patriots for profit are resourceful. As profit is on their side and only a principle on the other side they will generally be victorious.

Now, let us see whether there have not been ample investigations in the past, without the necessity for an additional one at a time when the votes are on hand to obtain a Government plant.

VERY THOROUGH INVESTIGATION IN 1896–97.

On December 31, 1895, the Senate passed a resolution directing the Committee on Naval Affairs to "inquire whether the prices paid or agreed to be paid for armor for vessels of the Navy have been fair and reasonable," and "whether any legislation is necessary to further promote the manufacture and cheapen the price of armor." The committee also had before them the bill (S. 1700) to provide for the erection of an armor-plate factory in the city of Washington, D. C.

This committee, with the assistance and cooperation of the then Secretary of the Navy, H. A. Herbert, made a most thorough and scientific investigation of the whole subject.

The report and hearings of this investigation of the cost of armor makes a volume of 464 pages.

The conclusions of the committee, briefly, were as follows:

That a Government armor factory could be erected for the sum of $1,500,000, and that it is expedient to establish such a factory in case the armor manufacturers decline to accept such prices for armor as may be fixed by law.

The committee was of the opinion that a fair average price for armor was between $300 and $400.

The committee arrived at this conclusion as follows:

Cost of labor and material per ton	$168
Add for reforging	12
	180
Add for maintenance of plant	30
	210
Thirty-three and one-third per cent profit	70
	280
Add for nickel	20
Making the price for armor	300

The committee prepared this table after Secretary of the Navy Herbert had submitted one in which he had estimated that $400 was the outside price which the Government ought to pay for armor.

Secretary Herbert's estimate was as follows:

The Secretary takes as the cost of labor and material in double-forged, harveyized, nickel-steel armor the sum of	$196
He assumes that the plant costing $1,500,000 would need $150,000 per year for maintaining it, or $50 per ton upon 3,000 tons of armor, and adds to the price	50
Making	246
Or, in round numbers	250
He then adds for profit 50 per cent	125
Making	375
And then adds for nickel to be furnished hereafter by the contractors	20
Making	395
Or, in round numbers	400

In arriving at the figures used in the table both the committee and Secretary Herbert had accepted the figures submitted by the armor manufacturers themselves as to the cost of their plants, and so forth, although the armor concerns refused to permit the Government to have access to their books to substantiate their figures.

Read now, 18 years after the testimony was taken, the hearings contain some rich humor.

Practically, taking the manufacturers' own figures as to the cost per ton of manufacturing armor, the Secretary allowed 50 per cent and the committee 33 per cent as profit. Independent of the 50 per cent for profit, the Secretary allowed 10 per cent of the value of the plant for maintenance.

I estimated—

said Secretary Herbert while testifying before the committee—

from information which I have obtained in Europe and elsewhere that either the Carnegie or Bethlehem plant could now be reproduced for about $1,500,000, but in order to be on the safe side I have allowed them maintenance upon $2,000,000 ($500,000 margin), and 10 per cent instead of 5 per cent. Then, allowing them maintenance at that rate, I have allowed them also a profit of 50 per cent, and for that sum it does seem to me they ought to be able to manufacture the armor the Government needs.

In addition to all this, Charles M. Schwab, then general manager of the Carnegie Steel Co., appeared before the committee and demanded an additional 10 per cent, producing, when read to-day, some of the richest humor contained in the entire hearing.

He argued that in addition to the liberal allowance for maintenance, depreciation, interest on original investment, interest on working capital, and all conceivable as well as inconceivable overhead charges, his company should be allowed another 10 per cent for "loss by abandonment of plant when Navy shall have been completed." He argued that the Navy would probably be "completed" at the end of 10 years, and then the plant would be entirely valueless, ready to be consigned to the scrap heap. He thought the Government ought to be willing to pay for the plant, in addition to the profit on manufacture. The committee was at first inclined to think this logic was satisfactory.

But at this point Secretary Herbert recovered his equilibrium, according to the hearings, and blocked further gratuities to the Carnegie Co.

The Government has, according to my estimates—

testified the Secretary—

paid for the plant, and they have the plant now, if these calculations are correct, and there is a large balance over.

Seventeen years have passed since the time it was anticipated that the Navy would be "completed" in 10 years; and where we were using only 6,000 tons of armor a year then, we are using 16,000 tons now. Up to that time we had used a total of only 18,952 tons of armor, while up to the present day we have used a total of 85,193 tons. At the time of this investigation we had expended, in all, only $11,776,670 for armor, while up to the present time we have spent a total of $95,656,240, and the bill now under consideration carries an additional sum of $18,588,988 for armor and armament, and the Navy is not yet "completed."

The first thing the investigation developed was that various naval officers, both active and retired, were in the employ of the armor concerns. The then Chief of Ordnance of the Navy himself, Commander William M. Folger, was shown to have been in the employment of several concerns doing business with the Government. This official finally resigned from the Navy to enter the employment of the Harvey Steel Co., receiving therefor salary at the rate of $5,000 per year and $20,000 worth of stock in the Harvey Steel Co.

It developed at the hearings that whenever a naval officer found an opportunity to go into the employment of a private manufacturer it was the custom of the department to grant him a leave of absence for two or three years at what was known as "waiting-orders pay," which amounted to $2,300 per annum, and which was two-thirds of full pay. While receiving $2,300 from the Government the officer would be receiving a considerably larger sum from private manufacturers having dealings with the Government. It developed that one officer who resigned from Government service and went into the employment of the Carnegie Steel Co.—Lieut. Stone—for a while had a desk in the office of the Bureau of Ordnance at the Navy Department, acting as the agent of the Carnegie Co. even after he had severed his official connection with the Government.

In its report the committee strongly condemned this sort of thing, and declared that another widespread evil just as bad was the custom of the department in permitting naval officers to become financially interested in patent processes used by the Government. In its report the committee said:

The committee had no hesitancy in reaching the conclusion that the above custom was a bad one and should be discontinued under all ordinary conditions; and especially that the employment of naval officers by contractors having large dealings with the Government should be peremptorily prohibited by law.

SECRETARY HERBERT'S REPORT JUSTIFIES APPROPRIATION FOR PLANT.

We now come to the report of Secretary of the Navy Herbert, made January 5, 1897, after many months of careful investigation, during which the Secretary personally visited several European countries. The Secretary also had the assistance of a board of naval officers. From his report the following is quoted:

The Secretary called together a board composed of Lieuts. Karl Rohver, Kossuth Niles, and A. A. Ackerman, two of whom had been inspectors of armor at the Bethlehem Co.'s Iron Works; the other, Lieut. Ackerman, had been connected with the manufacture and use of steel in its different forms for a number of years, during which time he had spent several months at both the Bethlehem and Carnegie works. These gentlemen made an exhaustive report upon the cost of labor and material entering into a ton of armor, showing in detail every little item, beginning with the cost of the several ingredients charged in the furnace for casting the ingot preparatory to the forging process and ending with the work on the finished plate. The result of their calculations was that the cost of the labor and material in a ton of single-forged harveyed nickel steel armor, the Government supplying the nickel (nickel at $20 per ton), was $167.30.

* * * * * * *

Lieut. Commander Rodgers, who had been an inspector at Bethlehem Iron Works, was called upon to make an estimate of the cost of manufacturing armor, and his report, based upon observation in the manufacture of armor, makes the cost of labor and material in a ton of single-forged harveyed nickel steel armor $178.50.

* * * * * * *

The inspector of ordnance at the Carnegie Steel Co., Ensign C. B. McVay, was also called upon for an estimate, and his report, though made separately without consultation with the other officers, is that the labor and material in a ton of single-forged Harvey nickel steel armor is $161.54.

* * * * * * *

Average for single forged of above estimate is $185.38, and $197.78 for reforged armor.

COMPETITION TO ARMOR RING FROWNED UPON BY NAVY DEPARTMENT.

On March 10, 1897, the Navy Department issued a circular calling for bids on 8,000 tons of armor, specifying that no bid in excess of $300 per ton, the limit fixed by Congress in the act of March, 1897, would be accepted. Although they had furnished armor to Russia in 1894 at $249 a ton, the Carnegie and Bethlehem companies refused to bid, because of the fixed limit of $300.

When read now as a chapter in the long history of the dealings between the Armor Trust and the Government, in every chapter of which the Government seems to have gotten the worst of it, this circular incident has all the earmarks of having been something in the nature of a joke.

The Carnegie and Bethlehem companies refused to bid, because they knew they would get the contracts at a higher price than $300 if they simply stood pat and refused to bid. The law was so worded as to assure them the business. The act provided that the armor must be of "domestic" manufacture, and as these two companies had a monopoly on domestic manufac-

ture, and as they knew a new plant could not be put up within a year or two, and the Government must have the plate before that time, it was obvious that all they had to do to obtain their price was to refuse to bid and wait for developments.

But this circular, harmlessly intended though it appears to have been, came within an ace of smashing the Armor Trust. The Illinois Steel Co. submitted a proposition to supply the 8,000 tons of armor at an average price of $300 per ton, conditioned upon Congress awarding the company a contract for furnishing the Government its armor for 20 years, at an average price of $240 per ton. The proposition was ignored. This is the narrowest escape the Armor Trust has ever had.

Since that time the Government has bought 186,187 tons of armor, paying on an average $440 per ton for it. Had the Government accepted the $240 per ton proposition of the Illinois Steel Co. in 1897 it would by this time have realized a saving of more than $35,000,000, and there is no reason to believe the steel company would have gone into bankruptcy, either.

THE VARIOUS NAVAL BILLS AND THEIR REFERENCE TO ARMOR.

As a result of the revelations disclosed by the investigation of the Senate Naval Affairs Committee in 1896–97, which showed beyond successful contradiction that the armor manufacturers had been outrageously gouging Uncle Sam, the naval bill of 1897 provided that—

no contract for armor plate shall be made at an average rate to exceed $300 per ton of 2,240 pounds.

The naval bill of 1898 provided that—

no contract for armor plate shall be made at an average rate to exceed $400 per ton of 2,240 pounds.

The naval bill of 1899 provided that—

no contracts for the armor for any vessels authorized by this act shall be made at an average rate exceeding $300 per ton of 2,240 pounds, including royalties.

Then came the act of 1900 containing the provision authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to build an armor factory in the event he should be unable to obtain a reasonable bid from the armor companies. This provision is practically the same as the one I offered as an amendment to the pending bill, which was ruled out on a point of order. I shall, however, to keep the record clear, quote the provision just as it was enacted into law in the naval bill of 1900:

Provided, That the Secretary of the Navy is hereby authorized to procure by contract armor of the best quality for any or all vessels above referred to, provided such contracts can be made at a price which in his judgment is reasonable and equitable; but in case he is unable to make contracts for armor under the above conditions, he is hereby authorized and directed to procure a site for and to erect thereon a factory for the manufacture of armor, and the sum of $4,000,000 is hereby appropriated toward the erection of said factory.

BUT THE ARMOR FACTORY HAS NEVER BEEN BUILT.

The armor factory was not built, and I can find no one now connected with the Government who is familiar with the reasons why it was not built.

The naval bills of 1901, 1902, 1903, and 1904 not only were silent on the subject of an armor plant, but in the acts of these years all limitation was removed from the price the Secretary might pay for armor. The acts were so worded as to throw everything to the Bethlehem, Carnegie, and Midvale Cos., because, although the Secretary was not limited as to the price he might pay, he was limited to "domestic" manufactured armor, and the three firms, comprising the armor ring, enjoyed a complete monopoly of the manufacture of armor in this country. Each year, following the investigation, the paragraph carrying the appropriation for armor contained fewer words, but each succeeding year it carried more millions for armor, and was worded as the "ring" would have preferred to have it written had its interests been consulted in the matter. For instance, the paragaph relating to armor in the naval bill of 1904 was very brief, as follows:

Armor and armament: Toward the armament and armor of domestic manufacture for the vessels authorized, $12,000,000.

It was brief, but it did the business for the ring. "Domestic" manufacture, no armor plant, no limitations as to price, smooth sailing.

But by 1905 the demand for an armor plant to rescue the Government from the tender mercies of the Armor Trust again became hot. Some kind of action seemed necessary, so the committee increased the appropriation for armor by $6,000,000, and declared for another investigation, as follows:

Armor and armament: Toward the armament and armor of domestic manufacture for vessels authorized, $18,000,000: *And provided further*, That the Secretary of the Navy shall cause a thorough inquiry to be made as to the cost of armor plate and of armor plant, the report of which shall be made to Congress.

ATTEMPT IS MADE TO SIDETRACK THIS INVESTIGATION.

Although the naval bill directing the Secretary of the Navy to make "a thorough inquiry" as to the "cost of armor plate and armor plant" was approved and became a law on March 3, 1905, the matter was pigeonholed at the Navy Department by officials in charge, who evidently felt friendly inclined to the armor ring and did not desire an investigation.

For more than a year nothing was done. Forced by congressional activity, the first step toward an investigation was taken on May 11, 1906, when Acting Secretary of the Navy Newberry issued an order appointing a board of experts, composed of Kossuth Niles, captain, United States Navy, Walter McLean, commander, United States Navy, and Edward Simpson, lieutenant commander, United States Navy, to proceed with the investigation. The action of the Navy Department in attempting to sidetrack the investigation duly ordered by law amounted to a public scandal. The House of Representatives, on June 5, 1906, passed a resolution directing the Secretary of the Navy to report as to what action had been taken in response to the specific direction of Congress of more than a year previous.

The matter was never satisfactorily explained. Secretary of the Navy Charles J. Bonaparte, in making his official report, simply stated that the matter had been originally placed in the hands of the preceding Secretary of the Navy, Paul Morton, and that "for reasons of which the department is not informed, no further steps were taken in the premises," and that "the subject seems then to have escaped attention."

This incident was distinctly armoresque. With only one or two exceptions, the Secretaries of the Navy have been very friendly to the armor concerns. One Secretary of the Navy—B. F. Tracy, 1889–1893—made contracts with the Carnegie Co. and the Harvey Steel Co. worth large sums to them, and was criticized for not having properly protected the interests of the Government in his transactions with these two armor concerns. After his term as Secretary of the Navy expired, he became counsel for both companies; but a close scrutiny of his dealings with the Harvey and Carnegie companies while he was Secretary of the Navy develops grave doubts as to whether his legal services to the Carnegie and Harvey companies could have been one-half as valuable to these concerns as his official acts as Secretary of the Navy had been.

INVESTIGATION OF 1906 WAS VERY THOROUGH.

With the 43-page report of the investigation of 1906 in existence, there is no excuse for another investigation, as provided for in the pending naval bill, except for the purpose to delay or prevent the construction of a Government armor plant. Although the investigators of 1906 took pains in making their report to eulogize the armor companies, and although their policy throughout their calculations as to the cost of an armor plant and the cost of armor plate seems to have been to resolve all doubts in favor of the ring, yet they appear to have covered every conceivable step in the manufacture of armor, and have worked out their estimates in the most minute detail. It is doubtful if the Government could obtain much additional information, so far as the various elements of cost in the manufacture of a ton of armor plate are concerned, if it was to authorize a dozen investigations.

COST OF ARMOR PLANT.

As to the cost of an armor plant, the report, on page 31, states:

Of the estimates submitted by the inspectors of ordnance, one gives without detail $3,500,000 as a conservative cost of an armor plant of about 10,000 tons yearly capacity.

A second estimate, given in considerable detail, places the cost of a similar plant at $3,875,000.

The report of the armor factory board estimates the cost of its proposed plant—6,000 tons capacity—at $3,747,912. * * * This board believes that the total cost of an armor plant, as estimated upon by the armor factory board, should, to-day, be, in round numbers, $3,750,000.

ESTIMATES AS TO COST OF ARMOR PLATE.

After resolving all doubts and uncertainties on the side of the manufacturers, the investigating board of 1906 reported that the production cost of class A armor is $244.27 per ton, and of class B armor $221.76 per ton. This figure is about $3 per ton less than the average estimates of the four naval investigators of 1896. The fact that two boards, the one of 1896 and the one of 1906, came to almost the same conclusions after having spent months investigating the matter, would appear to add weight to the findings of each. Each investigation in a general way proved the estimates of the other.

In addition to reporting on the "production cost" per ton of armor, both boards also reported estimates as to "full cost." The "production cost" is equivalent to what may be accepted as the cost in a Government plant, while the "full cost" is the production cost with such items as taxes, insurance, and profits added, which a private manufacturer would be required to figure on, but nearly all of which would not properly be chargeable to any estimate as to the cost of manufacture in a Government plant. The Government would not have to pay

interest, taxes, or insurance or figure on profits. In determining the "full cost" allowance was made for such items as office supplies, telephone service, telegraph and postage charges, travel, general expenses, a contingent fund, legal services, experimental work and investigations, an accident fund, hospital fund, and even "the periodic replacement of existing equipment" and the "possible total abandonment of a private works in so special a line as armor-plate manufacture, due to the cessation of any demand for its product." The board allowed a depreciation charge of $43.75 to every ton of armor. Much of the "full cost," allowance was made for such items as office mate, would be eliminated in a Government plant, because this work could be performed by naval officers, who would receive their salaries from the Government whether their services were utilized in an armor plant or not.

Both the "production-cost" and the "full-cost" estimates are based on a plant of only 6,000-ton capacity. All investigators agree that the larger the capacity of a plant the cheaper the output. A two-battleship-a-year program calls for about 16,000 tons of armor annually. Therefore it is obvious that if the Government should build a 10,000 or 15,000 ton plant the estimates as to the cost per ton would need to be considerably reduced.

ESTIMATES COST AT $314 PER TON.

The highest estimate ever given by a Government official, so far as I have been able to learn by searching the records, is that of Rear Admiral Joseph Strauss, the present Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance, who is only lukewarm for a Government plant. Testifying before the Naval Affairs Committee on January 22, 1914, he said:

An armor-plate factory of 20,000 tons capacity with an output per year up to its full capacity can produce armor at a cost of $279 per ton.
If it worked half capacity, the estimate is $349 a ton; and if the output were 5,000 tons, the estimated cost is $400 a ton.
If we build an armor-plate factory with a capacity of 10,000 tons, and work it to full capacity, the cost is estimated at $314 a ton, and at half capacity—that is, 5,000 tons—$394 a ton.
If we build a 5,000-ton plant and work it to full capacity—that is, 5,000 tons per annum—the cost is esimated at $354.
The cost of building 20,000, 10,000, and 5,000 ton plants are, respectively, $11,288,431, $8,466,000, and $6,300,000.

If these figures are correct, and Admiral Strauss is correct in his assumption that it is more expensive to manufacture armor in a plant of small capacity than in one of a large capacity, and that it is much more expensive still to manufacture only a portion of the capacity of the plant, it can be demonstrated by any schoolboy arithmetician that the armor ring on numerous years has manufactured armor for the Government at such low prices as to lose millions of dollars.

For instance, in 1906 the Bethlehem, Carnegie, and Midvale companies were awarded contracts for 1,824, 1,865, and 3,690 tons of armor, respectively, at $345 per ton. If Admiral Strauss's estimates are correct, this armor cost the manufacturers at least $394 a ton; and when the armor manufacturers sold their product to Russia at $249 a ton they were acting in the capacity of philanthropists, if Admiral Strauss is correct. The answer is that the estimates of this admiral are excessive; either that or the estimates of eight other Government experts who have inquired into the subject are too low.

But although Admiral Strauss's estimates are the highest ever given, the Government could save $161.16 per ton with an armor plant of 20,000 tons capacity, $136 per ton with a plant of 10,000 tons capacity, and $86 per ton with a plant of 5,000 tons capacity, even though his unusually high estimates are correct.

POINTS OF ORDER WORTH MILLIONS TO ARMOR RING.

On April 18, 1914, when the naval bill was up, I introduced an amendment providing for an extension of the plant of the Bureau of Ordnance of the Navy Department, so that the Government might manufacture armor plate. In years preceding amendments had been offered to the naval bill providing for the construction of an armor plant, and they had been ruled out of order on the ground the amendments involved new legislation. My reason for providing in my amendment simply for the extension of a plant already in existence was the hope that a point of order would not lie against it, because of the fact the amendment did not provide for an entirely new thing, but simply for the extension of a plant already in existence. A point of order was raised, however, and the amendment was stricken out.

On May 7, while the same bill was under consideration, I offered a second amendment, to be tacked on at the end of the following paragraph of the bill:

Increase of the Navy; armor and armament: Toward the armor and armament for vessels heretofore and herein authorized, to be available until expended, $14,877,500.

This second amendment read as follows:

Provided, That the Secretary of the Navy is hereby authorized to procure by contract armor of the best quality for any or all vessels heretofore or herein provided for, provided such contracts can be made at a price which, in his judgment, is reasonable and equitable; but in case he is unable to make contracts for armor under the above conditions, he is hereby authorized and directed to procure a site for and to erect thereon a factory for the manufacture of armor and gun forgings; and the sum of $4,000,000 is hereby appropriated toward the erection of said factory and the purchase of a site therefor.

This amendment is practically a duplicate of a provision contained in the naval appropriation bill of 1900; and the mere fact that that bill carried this provision resulted in the Government saving millions of dollars in the cost of armor plate. The Secretary of the Navy was able to say to the three firms having a monopoly of the manufacture of armor in this country that if they were not willing to sell armor to the Government at a fair and reasonable price he was authorized by law to go ahead and manufacture his own armor. Let us see whether the insertion of the amendment I refer to proved of value in the naval bill of 1900.

Back in 1893 the Government was paying an average of $658 a ton for armor. Some time later Senator TILLMAN, of South Carolina, started in to fight the high price and to oppose the armor ring, and he forced the Armor Trust gradually to reduce its price until, in 1900, he got the price down to $413 a ton.

Then the naval appropriation bill of 1900 was amended to carry the provision I have just alluded to, which provided that if the Secretary of the Navy was unable to obtain a square deal from the Armor Trust, he was authorized and directed to build a Government armor plant.

What was the result? The three concerns manufacturing armor, rather than have Uncle Sam build a plant, gradually reduced their prices from $413 in 1900 to $345 in 1906, which meant a saving of millions of dollars to the Government. Such was the result of the insertion in the naval bill of 1900 of the provision that I presented. Without spending a dollar for a plant or doing anything further than simply providing that the Secretary of the Navy was authorized to build a plant if he could not obtain fair treatment from the trust, the Government saved millions.

But when Congress failed to continue the provision in the naval bill it gradually lost its moral effect upon the armor ring, and the price of armor plate to the Government was steadily advanced from $345 a ton in 1906 to $454 a ton at the present time.

If this Congress will replace this amendment in the naval bill, I predict it will save every penny of $1,000,000 a year, even if the Government never further considers the advisability of a Government plant.

The bill now before Congress carries an appropriation of $18,588,988 for armor and armament alone. If the Government had its own armor and gun-forging plant I believe I am well within the bounds of conservatism when I say that 35 per cent of this sum, or, in round numbers, $6,000,000, could be saved to the taxpayers. Is $6,000,000 a year on armor and armament alone worth the saving? I for one believe it is.

But my second amendment, like the first, went the way that all amendments go that threaten the profits of that gigantic trust which has a monopoly on preparation for war in this country, and which draws down annually a very large slice of the $250,000,000 appropriated each year for the maintenance of the Army and Navy in time of peace. It went out on a point of order.

WHICH PLAN IS MOST PATRIOTIC?

The question has been raised as to the patriotism of those who insist upon the Government manufacture of all munitions of war, including battleships. I can not see how it can be contended that it is any more patriotic to advocate two battleships to be built by private contractors, with huge profits to the builders, than it is to advocate two battleships to be constructed by the Government, which policy means that for every dollar expended for battleships we will get a dollar's worth of battleship, and that the men who actually do the work of building the ships will receive higher wages and work under far better conditions than if the contracts are given to the Shipbuilding Trust.

The "big-Navy-to-be-built-by-private-contractors" policy will meet with the approval of the armor ring, the ammunition ring, and the Shipbuilding Trust. It will also be eminently satisfactory to the Navy League of the United States, which organization has from the first been an adjunct of the house of Morgan, and is constantly agitating a larger and larger Navy, but, mind you, not a larger Navy to be built at the lowest possible cost with a Government armor plant and in Government shipyards, but a larger Navy to be built by the armor ring, the ammunition ring, and the Shipbuilding Trust.

"BIG NAVY" AGITATION A BUSINESS PROPOSITION WITH THE NAVY LEAGUE.

Ever since I have been a Member of Congress I have been receiving literature from this "big Navy" lobby, and finally I determined to call the attention of its officers to the fact that

their pleas for a larger Navy are tainted, and will continue to be tainted until they advocate the Government manufacture of all munitions of war. On January 16 of last year I addressed a letter to Mr. A. H. Dadmun, the secretary of the league, in which, among other things, I said:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 13th instant, together with inclosures as to why a powerful Navy is needed.

Assuming that you are in good faith in this agitation and really desire the largest possible Navy for patriotic reasons, I am going to take the liberty of suggesting to you that if you will inaugurate a movement for the Government manufacture of all munitions of war, including all battleships, your campaign will strike a much more responsive chord with both Members of Congress and the people.

In other words, if the Government is to do all of the manufacturing of munitions of war, including battleships, the point can not then be successfully raised that the agitation is for the benefit of the armor ring, the ammunition ring, and the Shipbuilding Trust.

But if you do not advocate the Government manufacture of all munitions of war, including battleships, you can not successfully deny that you are carrying on a propaganda which means millions and millions of dollars of extortionate profits to the above-mentioned interests.

I hardly expect readers to fall out of their chairs in amazement when I report that the Navy League has not accepted my suggestion.

MANY PROMINENT PATRIOTS IDENTIFIED WITH THE NAVY LEAGUE.

I desire now to present some information as to who is behind the Navy League:

Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan was until his death one of the directors, and intensely interested in the league's work, to which he was a liberal contributor. Mr. Herbert L. Satterlee, general counsel for the league, is a son-in-law and heir of Mr. Morgan. J. Pierpont Morgan, jr., is one of the active directors of the league.

Gen. Horace Porter is president of the league. He was for many years an officer of the Pullman Co., which is a Morgan corporation.

Mr. Charles G. Glover is treasurer of the league. He is president of the Riggs National Bank, which is closer to Wall Street than any other bank in Washington.

Col. Robert L. Thompson is chairman of the executive committee of the league. He is an eminent financier of New York, whose great interests generally coincide with the colossal undertakings of the Morgan group. He is also the head—being chairman of the board—of the International Nickel Co., and holds the honorable post of president of the New York Metal Exchange.

Mr. J. Frederick Pams is director of the league. He is a New York society and yachting man, a friend of Mr. Morgan, and a member of Mr. Morgan's yacht club.

Mr. George von L. Meyer is a director of the league. Mr. Meyer was Secretary of the Navy in the Taft administration, and on March 3 signed the remarkable contract for the *Pennsylvania's* armor that has been the subject for unpleasant comment in Congress and elsewhere. He is a considerable stockholder in the New Haven Railroad, which is a Morgan concern, and is also a director in the Amoskeag Manufacturing Co., at Manchester, N. H., and has on the board as his associates Mr. F. C. Dumine, who helped Mr. Morgan to incorporate the Boston Railroad Holding Co., by which the New Haven was enabled to hold the Boston & Maine in spite of certain provisions of the Massachusetts law. Mr. Dumine is also a director of the Fore River Shipbuilding Co., which is on friendly terms with the Morgan group and affiliated with United States Steel.

NAVAL BILL IS REACTIONARY.

The policy embraced in the naval bill, which fails to provide for a Government armor-plate factory, is decidedly reactionary as compared to the policy embraced in the fortifications bill and the Army bills passed this session, providing the War Department construes the new language in the Army bill in the manner that the framers of the bill state they intended it should be construed.

For the first time in the history of the Government the fortifications bill and the Army bill appear to require practically complete Government manufacture of munitions of war. If the War Department so construes the new language, it will mean a saving of millions to the Government, because of the demonstrated ability of the Government to manufacture war munitions 35 per cent cheaper on the average than the prices at which the ammunition ring is furnishing such materials.

Here is the new language in the fortification bills:

Of each of the sums appropriated by this act, after deducting any amounts required to meet obligations authorized in previous acts to be entered into by contract, not more than 10 per cent may be used to purchase not exceeding 10 per cent in quantity or value of any article or material herein appropriated for that can be manufactured at the arsenals of the Ordnance Department, except when contract costs are less than arsenal manufacturing costs.

In explanation of this limitation the report accompanying the fortifications bill, prepared by Hon. SWAGAR SHERLEY, of Kentucky, said, in part:

The purpose of this limitation is to require practically the entire matériel for seacoast defense and for the Field Artillery, together with the ammunition for the same, to be manufactured at the arsenals.

As to the saving that will result from the policy of Government manufacture, the report contained the following:

In making the ammunition for these guns it has been found that the arsenal cost is approximately 39 per cent less than the purchase cost from private manufacturers.

The policy of manufacturing practically all the powder needed will, as indicated, be continued. Powder for the Army, now manufactured at the Picatinny Arsenal, is costing the Government 40 cents per pound, whereas a few years ago, prior to the placing of a limitation upon the price, the Government was paying for this character of powder 67 cents a pound and is now paying for such powder for the Navy 53 cents a pound.

NEW PHRASEOLOGY IN ARMY BILL.

Now, as to the Army bill. Let us take the paragraph dealing with Field Artillery ammunition for an illustration. In the Army bill for 1913 the wording of the act was as follows:

Ammunition for Field Artillery for Organized Militia: For procuring reserve ammunition for Field Artillery for the Organized Militia of the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, $500,000.

The effect of the words "for procuring reserve ammunition" was to give the Chief of Ordnance of the Army the privilege of either manufacturing the ammunition in the arsenals or of buying it from the ammunition ring at prices of from 20 to 60 per cent in excess of the cost of manufacture in the Government arsenals. Under this language large contracts have been awarded to the private manufacturers by the Chief of Ordnance, notwithstanding an average saving of 35 per cent to the people would have resulted on all work done in the Government arsenals. This wording was therefore satisfactory to the ammunition manufacturers. It in fact was worth hundreds and hundreds of thousands of dollars to the private manufacturers.

But in the Army bills passed in the present Congress and framed by the Military Affairs Committee, of which Hon. JAMES HAY, of Virginia, is chairman, the wording was changed to read as follows:

Ammunition for Field Artillery for Organized Militia: For manufacturing reserve ammunition for Field Artillery for the Organized Militia of the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, $3,000,000.

The words "for manufacturing reserve ammunition," instead of "for procuring reserve ammunition," are explained to mean that the appropriation can be lawfully expended only to manufacture this ammunition in the Government arsenals, and that the ammunition ring is going to lose some contracts that have been exceedingly fat.

The only possible doubt as to the completeness of the victory for the people in the Army bill is the construction which may be placed upon the new language by the Chief of Ordnance of the War Department, whose record is one of friendliness to the private manufacturers, to say the least. For instance, if the Chief of Ordnance should interpret the language "for manufacturing reserve ammunition" to make it optional with him as to whether it must be manufactured in public or private plants, and it is somewhat difficult to see how he could so construe it, the cause of complete Government manufacture would be likely to suffer.

It would be a very simple matter to change the wording of the bill so that it would be absolutely ammunition-ring proof, and in dealing with the war traffickers experience has shown that it is best to take no chances, as they have friends at court everywhere in the Government service.

If the sentence "for manufacturing reserve ammunition" is changed to read "for manufacturing *in Government establishments* reserve ammunition for Field Artillery, etc.," it will be an absolute guarantee of protection for the public whose money it is that is being used in these transactions.

As yet the Army bill has passed the House of Representatives only. If the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, in going over the bill, will, whenever the word "manufacturing" is used, add "in Government establishments" thereto, the members of that committee will clarify the phraseology absolutely, and will deserve the everlasting gratitude of their constituents.

GREAT BRITAIN ALSO IN GRIP OF THE TRUST.

Great Britain also has its own exclusive war trust, which consists primarily of five great firms, each controlling or connected with subsidiary manufacturers, and linked, directly or indirectly, with the others. The five firms constituting the British War Trust which are analagous to our Bethlehem, Carnegie, Midvale, and Du Pont are:

Vickers (Ltd.).
Sir W. G. Armstrong, Whitworth & Co. (Ltd.).
John Brown & Co. (Ltd.).
Cammell, Laird & Co. (Ltd.).
The Nobel Dynamite Trust.

The first four of the above can, with the aid of dependent and allied concerns, build every kind of warship complete in every part and ready to go into battle. They also make a great quantity of material for land defense, and might be described as universal death providers.

I am indebted to Mr. J. T. Walton Newbold and Mr. George Herbert Perris, of England, for most valuable and interesting information as to the business method of the British war trust and as to the men behind it. Mr. Newbold has written a pamphlet entitled "The War Trust Exposed," from which I quote the following:

HOW THE TRUST DOMINATES THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

The armament firms * * * as the years have passed have managed to secure a larger and ever larger share of Government orders. We will see them first at the Admiralty.

Some classes of work the firms have had almost as an exclusive monopoly. For instance, no torpedo boat and no destroyer has ever been built in a State yard. Of 81 submarines completed to date 69 have been privately built. Of 10 powerful battle cruisers—ships with most costly engines and heavy armament—2 have been constructed in the royal dockyards.

THE MEN BEHIND THE BRITISH WAR TRUST.

We have seen above how many and how subtle are the influences at work on behalf of the trust. We are all familiar with, and perhaps now some of us will have a clearer understanding of the meaning of, that specious plea so often made, that questions concerning the defense of the Empire should be removed from the dusty arena of party politics. The trust has taken good care that this is as far as possible already the case. It has its champions in both political camps; it has made friends with the hand that feeds it; it has left no stone unturned upon its triumphant way.

It has its friends at court, its directors in the Peers and Commons, supported by scores of shareholders; its voice is heard in the press and its apostles in the pulpits of cathedrals and tabernacles. The money changers of the world shoulder its abbes, its bishops, its pamphleteers, its patriotic orators, and its privy councillors, while of retired admirals, generals, and half-pay officers in its employ a special national reserve might be formed.

In the Lords there are, on the Liberal benches, four directors—three with their coronets newly burnished—Baron Aberconway, Baron Glenconner, Baron Pirrie, and Baron Ribblesdale.

Lord Aberconway, nephew of John Bright and a founder of the Eighty and National Liberal Clubs, was created a peer in 1911. He left two sons to watch the fortunes of the family in the Lower House. He is chairman of John Brown & Co. (Ltd.), and is naturally interested in Canadian and Russian questions.

Lord Glenconner is Mr. Asquith's brother-in-law, high commissioner of the kirk of Scotland, president of the Peebles Branch of the National Service League, chairman of the Tharsis Sulphur Co., and has large holdings in the Nobel Explosives Co.

Lord Pirrie entertained the first lord of the Admiralty when visiting Belfast. He is chairman of Harland & Wolff (Ltd.) and debenture trustee of John Brown & Co., Thos. Firth & Sons, and Coventry Ordnance Co.

Lord Ribblesdale, the fourth advocate of "peace, retrenchment, and reform," in the gilded chamber, stated at the last annual meeting of the Nobel dynamite trust:

"Our steady increase in business is due in no small degree to the constantly growing demand for war material. * * * In view of recent events in southeastern Europe, it does not, however, appear that anything approaching a condition of universal disarmament is within measurable distance." (London Times, May 31, 1913.)

Opposite these gentlemen sit the following directors: The Marquis of Graham, Earl Grey, Earl of Denbigh and Desmond, Baron Balfour of Burleigh, and Baron Hillingdon, besides a swarm of shareholders, among whom the most illustrious are Lord Midleton (formerly Mr. Brodrick) and the great proconsul of India, Earl Curzon of Kedleston.

The Marquis of Graham commands the Clyde section of the volunteer naval reserve and is a director of Wm. Beardmore & Co.

Earl Grey, late Governor General of Canada, and a vice president of the Navy League, is a debenture trustee of Armstrong, Whitworth & Co.

Earl of Denbigh and Desmond, a vice president of the Navy League and of the National Service League, is enthusiastic about the Canadian offer. He is a debenture trustee of the Fairfield Shipbuilding Co., part owners of the Canadian Shipbuilding Co.

Lord Balfour, senior elder of the Kirk of Scotland, is a debenture trustee of Wm. Beardmore & Co. and the Coventry Ordnance Co.

Lord Hillingdon represents Messrs. Glynn, Mills, Currie & Co., the bankers, as well as Vickers (Ltd.) and Wm. Beardmore & Co., of which he is a debenture trustee.

Lord Midleton is interested in Armstrong, Whitworth & Co., and Lord Curzon, who is nothing if not an imperialist, in Messrs. Hadfield's Foundry Co. (Ltd.), of which more anon.

In the House of Commons are many popular figures. There is Lord Claud Hamilton, director of Messrs. Hatfield's. Then Sir Alfred Mond, vice president of the Navy League and chairman of the Mond Nickel Co.; the brothers McLaren, scions of the new nobility of Aberconway; Godfrey M. Palmer, shareholder in Palmer's Shipbuilding Co.; Sir Stephen W. Furness, member of the National Service League and director of Richardson, Westgarth & Co.; Sir J. Compton-Rickett, treasurer of the Free Church Council; and Sir J. B. Lonsdale, member of the Solemn League of Ulster, the former interested in John Brown & Co. and Cammell, Laird & Co., the latter in Armstrong, Whitworth & Co.

Higher in the social scale, shall we say, stand Right Hon. Alexander Ure, the Right Hon. Lewis Harcourt, and the Right Hon. the Speaker of the House of Commons with shares in Vickers (Ltd.); the Right Hon. Walter Runciman and the Right Hon. Stuart-Wortley, respectively, shareholder and debenture trustee of Cammell, Laird & Co.

Outside of the trust, but a truly picturesque figure, is the honorable member for Portsmouth, Admiral Lord Charles Beresford, chairman of Henry Andrew & Co. (Ltd.), of Sheffield (according to "Who's Who in Business," specialists in "steel for rifles, swords, shot, and shell").

The churches are represented by: The bishops of Chester and Newcastle, both members of the National Service League and shareholders in Vickers (Ltd.); the bishops of Adelaide, Newport, and Hexham, interested in Vickers (Ltd.), Armstrong, Whitworth & Co., and John Brown & Co.; Dean Inge of St. Paul's, like Baron Kinnaird, president of the Y. M. C. A., and Sir Walter Runciman, a well-known Wesleyan, are shareholders in Vickers (Ltd.).

After this "laying on of hands" one is not so horrified to find that the chairman of Armstrong, Whitworth & Co. (Ltd.) has been given the order by a grateful Government of Commander Jesus Christ of Portugal.

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HOW THE BRITISH WAR TRUST SECURES BUSINESS.

The War Trust has more direct methods even than those enumerated above of facilitating business.

For instance, this is the kind of thing which seems to hold favor in certain Liberal circles. Mr. Tudor Walters, speaking in Brightside, Sheffield, some years ago, is reported to have said that—

"When he secured from the Government a large order for Sheffield, he was not so simple as to go shouting about it in the House of Commons. If you shout, he said, you can't do much. If you want to accomplish things, you have to go to work quietly and carefully. It is not for me to shout about orders; it is for me to go to the war office and the admiralty and get them." (Sheffield Daily Independent, Aug. 1, 1907.)

Then, the armament firms have a great predilection for ex-members of the services with high qualifications as technical experts or with a knowledge of the little habits of the denizens of Whitehall and the ordnance factories.

The Fairfield Shipbuilding Co. have among their directors Admiral Sir Digby Morant, formerly superintendent of Pembroke dockyard.

The Coventry Ordnance Co. in 1910 secured as managing director Rear Admiral Bacon. From 1907 to 1909 he was director of naval ordnance and torpedoes at the admiralty.

The Hadfield Foundry Co., Palmer's Shipbuilding Co., and Richardson, Westgarth & Co. had the late Admiral Sir Archibald Douglas on their boards. He had been vice president of the ordnance committee.

At the annual meeting of the foundry company in 1908, that darkest hour before the dawn of 1909, he told the shareholders that larger orders must necessarily come from the Government next year.

Armstrong, Whitworth & Co. have obtained Rear Admiral Ottley, sometime secretary of the Committee of Imperial Defense, to advise them. As naval attaché in Japan, Italy, Russia, America, and France, and as director of naval intelligence he must have seen and heard much.

At any rate, Sir Andrew Noble said, speaking of him and Sir Percy Girouard, that they "had found their assistance most valuable." (Financial Times, Apr. 15, 1913.)

From Woolwich Vickers-Maxim obtained Sir Trevor Dawson, now managing director. Birmingham Small Arms have this year engaged the late manager of the Royal Gun and Carriage Factories. The Nobel Explosives Co. have at the head of their cordite department Col. Sir F. Nathan, late superintendent of the Government Cordite Works at Waltham.

From every grade and every dockyard and every ordnance factory the trust has taken them by scores at twice, four times, and sometimes more than that, their former salaries. These ex-officials can at any time visit their former haunts, and in private conversation, by correspondence, and in various ways elicit a great deal of useful information. A firm has actually got its office inside one of the fitting shops at Portsmouth. Specifications, designs, and all kinds of valuable hints are obtained by their agents with the full agreement of the admiralty.

On the other hand, the frequency with which members of the inspection department are taken into private employ can not but have a demoralizing effect on a number of the officials responsible for passing contract work, and the way in which the officers' wants and fancies are considered in the matter of accommodation all helps to ingratiate the firms in what will sooner or later be influential quarters. For instance, on the "Scout" type of ship the commander had as much room allotted to him as 280 of his crew.

Just as in the public schools and the colleges, "it is a way they have in the Army, it is a way they have in the Navy," to "leg" each other up. And the firms know how to exploit this team spirit to their own advantage.

HOW SHALL WE OVERCOME THE WAR TRUST?

In reading this account of its magnitude and its activity, its power and its resourcefulness, the reader must have wondered how any successful attempt can be made to control the trust. Whatever action is taken must be international, and pressed on by the peace forces in every land. Especially must the labor and socialist parties in the various parliaments, and their propagandist organizations among the people, at once forge the weapon and wield it against the universal tyranny of dividend-mongering militarism.

In this country as elsewhere it devolves upon us to expose the vested interests that lurk behind the "patriotic" societies. Let us show the directors and shareholders of armament firms supporting and encouraging the advocates of the "Nation in arms"; the builders of everybody's battleships fostering the navy league; the patron of the all-Empire aerial-defense campaign, Admiral Fremantle, now demanding "provision for aerial defense under all conditions and at any cost"; then presiding over the British Deperdussin Aeroplane Co., estimating how many airships the Empire will require "within the next two years."

But above all let our aim be to manufacture the Nation's war material in the national yards and national arsenals. More work should be done in the dockyards, and at Woolwich, Enfield, and Farnborough. Plants that are idle should be set working, and machinery installed for the making of the largest ordnance and ammunition, for rolling armor plate, and constructing engineering equipment. If the present establishments are not favorably situated or capable of expansion, then the Admiralty should put down factories, forges, and slipways at Rosyth, buy its mines and its own raw materials in Fife, Lanark, and elsewhere, and set itself to compete against the trust. Sooner or later the whole industry must be nationalized, and the sooner the better. Every year the firms add millions to their stocks. The vested interests of capital and labor are becoming ever more powerful and more far-reaching. Only by nationalization can we strike at the heart of the octopus.

THE GREAT SPEECH OF LIEBKNECHT IN THE REICHSTAG.

I will here insert excerpts from the translated speech of Carl Liebknecht, which created a profound impression throughout Europe at the time it was delivered:

DR. LIEBKNECHT'S SPEECH IN THE REICHSTAG, APRIL 18, 1913.

In these days, when conservative papers can cry, "Lord, give us a war!" and military writers pray that we may be saved from false righteousness, it is interesting to let a little light into the dodges and furtive proceedings of our armament firms. Vorwarts (Vorwarts had produced evidence of a secret ring formed by the armament firms to increase their already immense profits at the expense of the German taxpayer) has recently given documentary proof of the concern of these firms for the good of the navy, and shown how they batten like a vampire on the body politic. As to their patriotism—we all know that capital has no country—that follows necessarily from its absolutely single-minded attention to profit. The contractor makes delivery wherever he is assured of getting his money; it is no concern of his if the arms he has exported are intended for employment against his own nation. My friend Sudekum has just brought to notice a good example of this in the works at Dollingen, which are largely financed with French money and in which French and German capitalists cooperate with touching solidarity in bleeding the German people.

The minister of war should also consult the documents in the Schroeter case. He will find there a letter from the German Arms &

Ammunition Factory, asking for a paragraph to be inserted in the Figaro stating that the French War Office intends to accelerate the proposed provision of new-pattern machine guns. This company—no doubt pursuing unprecedented methods no other firm would think of—proposed to spread false news simply in order to create a demand for further expenditure in Germany and so to bring grist to its mill.

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Needless to say, I have informed the minister of war of these facts. The minister has taken every step that the case demands, proceeding both against the military and the civilian officials implicated; the inquiry is now concluded and has established what I have said down to the last iota. There is no longer any risk of defeating the object of the inquiry, and I feel bound, therefore, to bring the matter up now in the interest of the German nation and of the peace of Europe.

To return to the Dollingen firm, the intimate connection between this firm and Die Post is common knowledge. The Rhenish Westphalian Gazette also bears on its brow the brand of the capital interested in armaments. These capitalists coin money out of international discord, working into one another's hands from country to country.

The affair of the Arms & Ammunition Factory could not have escaped the attention of the war minister; it was exposed in Vorwarts. But last year the war department not only provided the private firms their immense profits, but even reduced the activity of the State arsenals in order to give out certain orders to private industry, as the maintenance of the latter is in the interest of war administration. I made no complaint against the war minister at the time, as so long as such private concerns exist the position with regard to them is admittedly somewhat embarrassing. But this system must be made an end of. It is essential that the hands of the Empire shall remain clean, that the Government shall have no sort of association with firms convicted of such practices. The Krupp firm should receive no orders whatever under the new military estimates. The war-material industry must be nationalized in order to remove forever this danger of interested makers of panics.

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The minister for war says it is not proved that higher officials of Krupps were involved in the affairs. We are accustomed to the method of sacrificing petty officials, hanging the petty thief, and letting the great one off scot free—a knightly, chivalrous method! But was Herr von Dewitz one of Messrs. Krupps' petty officials? He was the custodian of all these things; in his safe they were confiscated by the examining magistrate in Berlin.

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The minister for war asked how much we owe to the firm of Krupps. I ask, How much does the firm owe to the German people?

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Krupps as patriots! Does the minister for war remember that in 1868 Frederick Krupp, ironmaster in Essen, wrote a letter to a certain Napoleon III of France? It is printed in the well-known Briefe deutscher Battelpatrioten, which runs as follows:

"Encouraged by the interest which Your Gracious Majesty has shown in a simple industrialist and the fortunate results of his endeavors and his unheard-of sacrifices, I venture once more to approach Your Majesty with the request that Your Majesty will condescend to accept the accompanying album. It contains a collection of drawings of various articles manufactured in my workshops. I venture the hope that the last four pages, which show the steel cannon which I have manufaceured for various high powers of Europe, will be worthy of Your Majesty's attention for a moment and will be an excuse for my boldness.

"With the deepest respect and the greatest admiration"—one might add, and with the hope of important orders—

"Your Majesty's most humble obedient servant."

And in order that you may know whose blessing the firm of Krupp thereby secured I will read to you the reply of Napoleon III. It is as follows:

"The Emperor has received the album with much interest, and has commanded that you shall be thanked for it and given to know that His Majesty has a lively desire for the success and expansion of an industry designed to render such important services to humanity."

It only remains for a halo to be quartered in the Krupp coat of arms with the name Napoleon III inscribed in it.

* * * * * * *

I referred yesterday at the beginning of my speech to the armor-plate concerns. You are aware—all the world knows it; there are many gentlemen here who know the ins and outs of these things better than we on these benches—the armament interests are all associated together in a ring. It is also common knowledge that Krupp's is the foremost name, the greatest power in the armament industry. Well, if what I have laid before you goes on, and can no longer be denied, in this firm, the most respected of them all, what an insight that gives us into the whole industry! What are we to expect in the other undertakings associated with the industry? The utmost caution becomes essential; everything is suspect. The minister for war should institute a general and remorseless investigation into the proceedings of every firm. For if this can happen in Krupp's and in the Arms and Ammunition Factory, there is nothing to guarantee us against similar practices in other firms—nay, I might almost say that there is a good deal of probability that their methods will be no more respectable than those of these two great firms.

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I have proved that the German Arms and Ammunition Factory spreads false news in foreign newspapers in order to create a demand in Germany for further military expenditure. I have shown that the firm of Krupp engages in bribery to secure the betrayal of military secrets, and has done so for years, and, at the very least, with the knowledge and instigation of highly placed employees of the firm. These are matters of the utmost importance, which render it necessary that the Reichstag should reconsider its attitude to the question of our armaments and the method of providing the required matériel. Let me point out that to cultivate accessibility to bribes in superior or inferior officials, as the Krupp firm has done, is indeed no trifle. It is to corrupt the whole administration. It is to render the officials doubly vulnerable by any offers of bribery from foreign agents. That is no "large-hearted manifestation of patriotic feeling" wherewith to earn such thanks as the minister of war expressed yesterday. These people who, as Krupps and Dollingen and the Arms and Ammunition Factory, talk so finely and then descend to these low business tricks, these are the same people who will pocket the greater part of the fresh millions of pounds that are being extracted from the nation's pockets; the same people into whose pockets untold millions flow each year; the same people who draw the biggest profits from present-day militarism and the capitalist system, and who are the worst intriguers against popular liberties, the instigators of oppressive measures, the loudest shouters for vindictive legislation, for exceptional laws. * * * These pattern patriots must be judged by their actions, which, to say the least, border on high treason. * * *

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I will place the arms and ammunition factory before you in yet another rôle. We have now documentary proof of the international linking up of the armament concerns. The German Arms and Ammunition Factory, the Mauser Arms Factory, the Austrian Arms Factory of Vienna, and the National Factory in Belgium concluded an agreement in 1905 in regard to Russia, Japan, and Argentina, and later a second agreement in regard to all other countries are reserved to each firm. * * * The agreement guarantees profits in the same way as the navy contractors have done and guarantee to each of the various firms the monopoly of the exploitation of particular countries. Supplies of arms to Bulgaria and Roumania are the monopoly of the Austrian firm. This should be brought to the knowledge of all friends of peace in Austria. This document shows as plainly as could be the extreme danger to peace offered by the armament industry, and it shows the unscrupulous and unpatriotic character of the armament concerns. These are the great patriots who dare to insult us as anti-patriots. The firm which sent that letter to Paris is a partner in the international concern which supplies Russia with arms. We certainly do not underrate the dangers to peace in the stealthy wirepullers of the armament press or the activities of that camarilla of officers whose representative, the crown prince, made a demonstration in this House against the imperial chancellor. (The President called the speaker to order for this utterance.) But the greatest danger lies in the armament shareholders and their servants, who work unremittingly for the piling up of inflammable material and the setting of the fuse. Immediately after the debates in the Reichstag, which raised so much dust and in which the Post was itself involved, that paper did its utmost to arouse feeling against France by a series of attacks, which brought down the chancellor's condemnation. You need not wonder if, in view of all this, we continually warn the great mass of the people that behind all the gaudy pomp of patriotic fooleries stands nothing but the sordid greed of gold.

LIEBKNECHT REFUSED TO SUPPORT A WAR MEASURE IN THE REICHSTAG, AND WAS ORDERED TO THE FRONT.

When war broke out in Germany it did not surprise Carl Liebknecht. It was what he expected, what he had predicted. He believed for years that war was inevitable, because of the seeds of distrust and suspicion that the war trust had sown and was sowing in the minds and hearts of the peoples of Europe.

And when war actually came Carl Liebknecht had the courage, or the audacity, or the foolhardiness, or whatever you choose to call it, to stand all alone in the Reichstag and vote against a war measure. The immediate result was that the German Government, although he is several years over 40, selected him to send to the front. To his memory, for he appears never afterwards to have been heard from, Witter Bynner, the poet, has erected the following monument:

CARL LIEBKNECHT.

I love thee for one hero, only one.
My spirit straightens, like the tempered blade
Of his unmasterable weapon made
In heaven's high forge, not hell's. I had begun
To dread thy horrid shadow in the sun,
To hate thee for thy national parade
Of heathen men idolatrous of trade,
Shouting the great commandment of the gun.
But thou hast bred out of thy land a man
Of braver metal than thy generals;
Above the thunderbolt his courage calls.
It is thy founder and thy guardian,
It is thy hero, Liebknecht, who alone
Under the lightning lays the cornerstone.

TABLES REVEAL HOW UNCLE SAM IS BEING GROSSLY OVERCHARGED BY THE AMMUNITION RING.

The following tables constitute an excellent argument for the Government armor plant advocated by Secretary of the Navy Daniels. The figures were furnished by Col. George Montgomery, commandant at Frankford Arsenal, Philadelphia, and show the total arsenal costs and total contract costs for ammunition recently under manufacture at Frankford Arsenal. Had these orders been manufactured at the arsenal at Rock Island, Ill., where the Government has a power plant in the Mississippi River, and consequently considerably cheaper power, even a better showing could be made on the side of Government manufacture of the munitions of war.

TOTAL ARSENAL COSTS INCLUDE ALL OVERHEAD CHARGES.

The total arsenal costs include 15 per cent to cover administration, depreciation, insurance, and interest charges.

A striking feature of the comparisons of Government cost of manufacture as compared to the private contractors' prices is that the Government works its employees but 8 hours a day, while the private contractors have in the past worked their men 9 and 10 hours a day, and in some instances 12 hours a day and 7 days a week. Government employees also receive higher wages for the shorter days. Nor is that all. Uncle Sam pays his men for 15 days' annual leave of absence, for 7 national holidays, and for 13 Saturday afternoons in the summer time, during which time he receives no labor in return, yet the Government cost of manufacture, including 15 per cent for depreciation and interest, is from 20 to 50 per cent below the prices charged by the ring of private manufacturers.

TABLE I.—*Manufacture of artillery ammunition.*

[Statement of total arsenal costs and total contract costs for ammunition being manufactured at the Frankford Arsenal and provided for in orders issued between July 1, 1912, and Apr. 25, 1913.]

Articles.	Quantities under manufacture.	Total arsenal costs per unit.	Aggregate total arsenal cost.	Contract price per unit.	Contract cost per unit.	Total contract cost.	Saving over contract costs.
3-inch finished shrapnel cases	10,000	$1.75	$17,500.00	$3.06	$3.15	$31,500.00	$14,000.00
3.8-inch finished shrapnel cases	2,000	4.68	9,360.00	6.65	6.85	13,700.00	4,340.00
4.7-inch finished shrapnel cases	3,961	8.80	34,856.80	9.37	9.65	38,223.65	3,366.85
6-inch finished shrapnel cases	5,000	17.10	85,500.00	16.00	16.48	82,400.00	−3,100.00
3-inch common shrapnel without fuses or base charges	48,000	3.55	170,400.00	5.79	5.96	286,080.00	115,680.00
3.8-inch common shrapnel without fuses or base charges	7,000	7.94	55,580.00	17.50	18.03	126,210.00	70,630.00
4.7-inch common shrapnel without fuses or base charges	14,500	15.45	224,025.00	25.26	26.02	377,290.00	153,265.00
6-inch common shrapnel without fuses or base charges	5,000	30.20	151,000.00	37.00	38.11	190,550.00	39,550.00
3-inch common steel shell	6,900	2.39	16,491.00	4.87	5.02	34,638.00	18,147.00
3.8-inch common steel shell	9,500	4.81	45,695.00	9.17	9.45	89,775.00	44,080.00
4.7-inch common steel shell	10,605	8.30	88,021.50	12.46	12.83	136,062.15	48,040.65
6-inch common steel shell	7,077	16.75	118,539.75	17.93	18.47	130,712.19	12,172.44
21-second combination fuses	48,000	2.16	103,680.00	4.30	4.43	212,640.00	108,960.00
31-second combination fuses	26,500	2.92	77,380.00	[1]7.00	7.21	191,065.00	113,685.00
3-inch high-explosive shrapnel, fixed	55,000	10.15	558,250.00	.....	[2]13.17	724,350.00	166,100.00
Fuse stocks	74,500	1.66	123,670.00	2.40	2.47	184,015.00	60,345.00
Rear plugs for fuses	74,500	.18	13,410.00	.23	.2369	17,649.05	4,239.05
Front plugs for fuses	74,500	.09	6,705.00	.17	.1751	13,044.95	6,339.95
Grand total contract cost							$2,879,904.99
Grand total arsenal cost							1,900,064.05
Saving							979,840 94

[1] This was the lowest and only bid received, but no contract was made.

[2] The shrapnel projectiles only were ordered abroad, and the contract cost includes the cost of assembling the projectile to the cartridge case and charge and of the necessary rounds for firing test based on a previous order.

TABLE II.—*Purchase of artillery ammunition.*

Statement of total contract costs and of total arsenal costs for ammunition being purchased from outside manufacturers covered by orders given between July 1, 1912, and Apr. 25, 1913.]

Articles.	Quantities ordered.	Contract price per unit.	Contract cost per unit.	Total contract cost.	Total arsenal cost per unit.	Total arsenal cost.	Contract cost over arsenal cost.
2.95-inch shrapnel-case forgings	4,109	$3.06	$3.15	$12,943.35	$1.75	$7,190.75	$5,752.60
3-inch shrapnel-case forgings	25,523	3.06	3.15	80,397.45	1.75	44,665.25	35,732.20
3.8-inch finished shrapne. cases	7,055	6.65	6.85	48,326.75	4.68	33,017.40	15,309.35
4.7-inch finished shrapnel cases	9,615	9.37	9.65	92,784.75	8.80	84,612.00	8,172.75
6-inch finished shrapnel cases	5,760	16.00	16.48	94,294.80	17.10	98,494.00	−4,201.20
3.8-inch common shrapnel without fuses or base charges	2,500	17.50	18.03	45,075.00	7.94	19,850.00	25,225.00
4.7-inch common shrapnel without fuses or base charges	7,000	25.26	26.02	182,140.00	15.45	108,150.00	73,990.00
6-inch common shrapnel without fuses or base charges	1,500	37.00	38.11	57,165.00	30.20	45,300.00	11,865.00
3-inch common steel shell	3,000	4.87	5.02	15,060.00	2.39	7,170.00	7,890.00
3.8-inch common steel shell	9,066	9.17	9.45	85,673.70	4.81	43,607.46	42,066.24
4.7-inch common steel shell	10,605	12.46	12.83	136,062.15	8.30	88,021.50	48,040.65
3-inch common steel shell	7,077	17.93	18.47	130,712.00	16.75	118,539.75	12,172.25
6-inch fixed high-explosive shrapnel	10,000	13.17	13.17	131,700.00	10.15	101,500.00	30,200.00
Grand total contract cost							$1,112,334.95
Grand total arsenal cost							800,120.11
Loss							312,214.84

TABLE III.—*Manufacture of small-arms ammunition.*

Statement of total arsenal costs and total contract costs for ammunition manufactured at the Frankford Arsenal provided for in orders issued and completed between July 1, 1912, and June 30, 1913.]

Articles.	Quantities manufactured.	Total costs per thousand.	Aggregate total cost.	Contract price per thousand.	Contract cost per thousand.	Total contract cost.	Saving over contract.
Caliber .30 ball cartridges	55,000,000	$27.08	$1,489,400	$37.77	[1]$38.09	$2,094,950	$605,550
Automatic-pistol ball cartridges	5,000,000	16.28	81,400	18.72	18.80	94,000	12,600
Caliber .38 revolver ball cartridges	7,000,000	12.39	86,730	10.91	11.27	78,890	−7,840
Grand total, contract cost							$2,267,840
Grand total, arsenal cost							1,657,530
Saving							610,310

[1] This cost includes the actual cost of inspection.

TABLE IV.—*Purchase of small-arms ammunition.*

[Statement of total contract costs and of total arsenal costs for ammunition purchased from outside manufacturers covered by orders given between July 1, 1912, and June 30, 1913, under which deliveries were completed before Aug. 29, 1913.]

Articles.	Quantities ordered.	Contract price per thousand.	Contract cost per thousand.	Total contract cost.	Arsenal cost per thousand.	Total arsenal cost.	Contract cost over arsenal cost.
Caliber .30 ball cartridges	8,000,000	$37.77	[1]$38.09	$304,720	$27.08	$216,640	$88,080
Automatic-pistol ball cartridges, caliber .45	800,000	18.72	18.80	15,040	16.28	13,024	2,016
Caliber .38 revolver ball cartridges	1,000,000	10.91	11.27	11,270	[2]12.39	12,390	−1,120
Grand total contract cost							$331,030.00
Grand total arsenal cost							242,054.00
Loss							88,976.00

[1] This includes the actual cost of inspection.

[2] The increased cost of caliber .38 revolver ammunition is due to the fact that the presses on which it is partly made are not equipped with automatic feeds which was not done because of the probability that very little of this ammunition will be made in the future.

MORE EVIDENCE AS TO WHY ARSENALS SHOULD BE GIVEN ALL CONTRACTS FOR MUNITIONS OF WAR.

Additional evidence and some of the best arguments as to why the arsenals and navy yards should be given contracts for munitions that have heretofore been going to the War Trust has been given, unintentionally perhaps, by Gen. Crozier himself.

Let us consider, for instance, the testimony of Gen. Crozier as to the remarkably low cost of manufacture at the Rock Island Arsenal, as compared with cost in private plants, given before the House Appropriation Committee April 2, 1912:

The CHAIRMAN. Do your figures show the comparative cost of manufacture and purchase?

Gen. CROZIER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Put them in the record, please.

Gen. CROZIER. I will mention a few of them for the record. I think I can mention them more summarily, so they can be better comprehended in the record, than if I put in all of these details. I will take the limbers for the 3-inch rifles. The average of three contracts gave a price of $1,518 a piece for those limbers.

Mr. CANNON. What is a limber?

Gen. CROZIER. A limber is the forward portion of the wagon which transports the gun, the forward portion of the gun carriage; and the average of five orders for manufacture at the Rock Island Arsenal was $684 apiece. The arsenal cost was less than half the purchase price.

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Gen. CROZIER. Now, for the 3-inch caisson, the average of five contracts shows a price of $1,708, and the average of six manufacturing orders given to the Rock Island Arsenal is $1,081. The 3-inch gun carriage proper—that is, the vehicle on which the gun rests and from which it is fired—gives as the average price three contracts, $3,268, and the average cost under five manufacturing orders at the arsenal was $2,341.

Mr. CANNON. Does that include overhead charges?

Gen. CROZIER. Yes, sir.

These figures, representing the cost of manufacture at the Rock Island Arsenal, include all overhead charges, such as pay of officers, interest on investment, insurance, depreciation of plant, and so forth.

COST IN ARSENAL, $2,510; WAR TRUST PRICE, $3,398.

Testifying before a House committee January 13, 1912, Gen. Crozier said:

We have recently manufactured gun carriages and are doing it still for 3-inch rifles; that is, field guns, at $2,510.60, the exact cost. We purchased those rifle carriages from experienced manufacturers, who had had preceding orders for the same thing, for $3,398.82, an increase of 35.4 per cent over our own price. Our carriages were made at the Rock Island Arsenal.

We have manufactured there, at the same arsenal, caissons, for $1,128.67, and we have purchased the same caissons from private manufacturers who had had previous orders for them, so that they had experience in the manufacture, for $1,744.10, which is 54.6 per cent greater than our own price.

During the same hearings Gen. Crozier stated as follows:

At the Springfield Armory the principal manufacture is small-arms rifles. We make a few other things, but the manufacture is almost entirely of the small-arms rifle. We manufacture that rifle for about $15, and in doing so I take into account what I think should properly be taken into account in the cost; but the Springfield Armory, like the other arsenals, is maintained as an arsenal of storage and issue, as well as a manufacturing place; and, therefore, in computing these costs, I have subtracted from the total expense of the Springfield Armory those portions which I consider result from its character as an arsenal of issue and storage. Unless somebody goes into the details quite closely, there may be a question as to whether I subtract quite as much as I ought to.

Therefore, I, last year, for the purpose of satisfying some persons who might have some doubt, made up what I might call an exaggerated cost of the rifles at the Springfield Armory—that is, I took every cent of money that was sent up to the Springfield Armory and charged it to the rifle. Whether it was for the payment of the clerks that were used in the issue of stores, the payment of the storehouse force, whether it was for the payment of the watchmen—they are the guards and custodians of the valuable property we have up there—I charged all the pay of officers and all the pay of everybody concerned to the rifle, and by that means I arrived at a cost of the rifle of $17.64 instead of $15—that is, I found I had to add to the cost as I had reported it about 17 per cent. Now, that then became a statement of an exaggerated cost which, whatever the rifle might cost properly, it could not possibly reach. It must have been below $17.65; and if it were possible to obtain the opinion of an expert, I would be glad to ask him if he thought the Springfield rifle could be produced by anybody else anywhere and purchased for $25. My own opinion is that you could not get it as low as $25 from any manufacturer.

The rifles are also made at the Rock Island Arsenal at practically the same or a lower figure.

Authorship of the Farewell Address.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE B. MILLER,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 22, 1915.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, we have listened to-day to the reading of Washington's Farewell Address. This historic custom, performed annually upon the natal day of our first President, is greatly to be commended. It should be of interest to Members to know something of the inside history associated with the writing of that great document. Hon. SIMEON D. FESS, of Ohio, one of the most distinguished Members of this House, some years ago made careful research and wrote a most scholarly account of the writing of the Farewell Address. I have secured permission to extend my remarks for the purpose of having printed this historical account written by Representative FESS, which is as follows:

SOME NOTES UPON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE FAREWELL ADDRESS.

To anyone save the antiquarian the merest hint that the famous state paper of our first President was not his but the work of another would appear sacrilegious. Yet this subject has enlisted the attention not only of the iconoclast but of the investigator. There are those who claim that the inception, if not the execution of the instrument, is due to Madison. There are others that claim Jay had much to do with it. However, the friends of Hamilton make out the strongest case for his authorship.

The "Farewell Address," as its name implies, was written as a sort of last will and testament to a much-loved people by a much-respected man upon the occasion of their official separation. The thought which finally took this form was occasioned by the desire of Washington at the close of his first administration to decline a reelection. The bitter attacks of his enemies, so undeserved, drove him to such a decision. With this in mind he wrote to Madison under date of May 20, 1792: "Under these impressions permit me to reiterate my request to you at our last meeting, namely, to think of the proper time and the best mode of announcing the intention, and that you would prepare the latter. I would without apology desire that you would turn your thought to a valedictory address from me to the public." It is of interest why the great President consulted Madison rather than Hamilton. The matter of his declination to accept a second term was freely discussed. The Federalists with Hamilton at the head looked upon it as little short of cowardice. The brilliant Secretary of the Treasury was impatient in his insistence for a continuance in office of his chief. He forced it upon him that good government was on trial, that his policy as announced could win success if given a fair trial. To decline a reelection meant a reversal, and perhaps an irretrievable disaster. This alone would induce Washington to seek assistance at the hands of some other. Again, the peculiar relation existing between Washington and Hamilton had subjected the former to such criticism as directed against the political theories of the latter. This fact alone would induce Washington to avoid inviting the criticism. On the other hand, Madison, while a friend of the President, was identified in theory with his opponents. This left the way clear to seek him out to assist in the preparation of the valedictory. His ability to do it was well known, and to no one better than to the valedictorian. His part in it would allay criticism and give it the air of absolute sincerity. Under date of June 20, 1792, Madison submitted a draft, but the hurry of events, both domestic and foreign, at the close of the first term convinced Washington, if not the whole people, of the imperative necessity of accepting a second term. Further consideration of such an address was deferred, and nothing is heard of it for four years.

By this time Hamilton was out of the Cabinet. While his advice was sought as before by the President, and while there is no evidence that his views upon the tenure of the Executive had undergone any change, it was understood that Washington desired to establish a precedent against long continuance in the office of President, thus putting to rest unfounded charges of irresponsible scribblers, charging monarchical tendencies of the first President. His original intention to address the people in the form of a valedictory was revived at the close of his second term, and quite naturally he applied to his most valued friend and pamphleteer. Under date of May 15, 1796, he wrote Hamilton, submitting a rough draft of an address and requested him to put it in form. He had urged that certain things should be emphasized so as "to insure my intention not to extend the Executive powers beyond the Constitution." He expressed the hope in the letter that this "may blunt the shafts directed at me." He refers to expunging certain words from certain pages, which argues his extreme concern in the character of the address. He also urges the omission of all personalities, allusions to pointed measures, and expressions inviting personal attack. "All these ideas and observations are confined, as you will readily perceive, to my draft of the valedictory." He then requests: "If you form one anew, it will of course assume such a shape as you may be disposed to give it, predicated upon the sentiment contained in the inclosed paper." The significance of this letter can not be misunderstood. He was seeking the aid of Hamilton, as four years before he had sought the aid of Madison, to put in form an address. It leaves little latitude to Hamilton except

to dress up the skeleton. This should be expected. Washington did not presume literary talents nor the rôle of scholarship. His limitations here were better known to him than to others. The superior talents of the brilliant New Yorker were common knowledge, known to none better than to Washington. His intimacy with him would lead him to seek out Hamilton before anyone else to correct a manuscript or to recast it, or even to write it originally. The matter had been taken up by them prior to the Washington letter of the 15th of May. On the 10th of May Hamilton wrote to Washington: "When last in Philadelphia you mentioned to me your wish that I should redress a certain paper which you had prepared. As it is important that a matter of this kind should be done with great care, and at much leisure touched and retouched, I submit a wish that as soon as you have given it the body you mean it to have it may be sent to me." This letter proves that at this time Washington desired the assistance only of Hamilton to put the former's thought in language. Five days later Washington replied, and continued: "Inclosed (in its rough state) the paper mentioned therein, with some alteration (since you saw it), relative to reference at foot. Having no copy before me except the quoted part, nor of the notes from which it was drawn, I beg leave to recommend the draft now sent to your particular attention. Even if you should think it best to throw the whole into a different form, let me request, notwithstanding that my draft may be returned to me (along with yours) with such amendments and corrections as to render it as perfect as the formation is susceptible of; curtailed if too verbose and relieved of all tautology not necessary to enforce the ideas in the original or quoted part. My wish is that the whole may appear in a plain style and be handed to the public in an honest, unaffected, simple part."

It would be difficult to make the intention of the writer clearer than expressed in these two letters. The retiring Chief Magistrate has something to say to the public, and while it is well defined in his mind, he desires the aid of a skillful pamphleteer. his intimate friend, to put it in proper phraseology. In other words, he desires his draft read and corrected, if necessary, or rewritten entirely, if best to do so, with the injunction that his own draft be returned to him. This has been the uniform custom of all the Presidents from Washington to Roosevelt—to consult eminent ability before publishing State documents. It is a well-known fact that the famous Monroe doctrine was written by John Q. Adams, and not by the President; that Jackson's famous nullification message was written by Livingston; that Lincoln's first inaugural address was submitted to Seward for correction; that Harrison's reciprocity message was written by Blaine; that Cleveland's Venezuela message was written by Olney; and that McKinley's famous message upon the "Administrative Entity of China" was the handiwork of his distinguished Secretary of State.

When Gen. Harrison submitted his inaugural address to Webster for correction the latter emasculated it. He told a friend his task was a murderous one. He had to slay Roman consuls and destroy many distinguished men of state.

On the 20th of May Hamilton replied to Washington's letter: "The suggestions which can be submitted must be very general, and liable to many modifications according to circumstances. It would seem in almost any case advisable to put forward a calm exhibition of the view by which our Government has been influenced in relation with present wars with Europe." He then points out items which should be mentioned, namely, our interest in peace, our incapacity for external effort, our interest in neutrality on matters of European politics, the faithful discharge of all our debts, a full statement of our relations to France that we may still retain the friendship of other nations without offending any. A careful reading of the address will show the treatment of our foreign relations was as suggested in this letter. Six days after the date of this letter, which must have been soon after its receipt, Washington wrote: "Having from a variety of reasons—among which is a disinclination to be longer buffeted in the public prints by a set of infamous scribblers—taken my ultimate determination to seek the post of honor in a private station, I regret exceedingly that I did not publish my valedictory address on the day after the adjournment of Congress. This is one of the reasons which makes me tenacious on the draft I furnished you." He was concerned about the most opportune time for its publication that it would not give color to the charge of his enemies that it was the immediate result of a man disappointed in his ambitions. Hamilton furnishes him with an address, whether his own or Washington's corrected it does not appear. On the 10th of August Washington writes to Hamilton acknowledging the receipt of his letter, with the inclosure, and highly commends the latter, believing the "sentiments are just and such as ought to be inculcated." He questions its length and says, "all the columns of a large gazette would scarcely contain the present draft." The inference here is that Hamilton had submitted a new draft.

Fifteen days later Washington again writes to Hamilton: "I have given the paper herewith inclosed serious and attentive readings, and prefer it greatly to other drafts," and so forth. This proves more than one draft; and since no reference is made to a second from the pen of the President, it stands that Hamilton must have written at least two, and possibly three. This view is favored by another item in the letter of the 25th: "I should have seen no occasion myself for its undergoing a revision; but, as your letter of the 30th ultimo which accompanied it intimates a wish to do this, and knowing it can be more correctly done after a writing is out of sight for some time, I send it with a request that you return it as soon as you have carefully reexamined it." He urges that mature consideration be given to those parts upon which marginal notes have been made in pencil. The paper returned was one that Hamilton had already examined. Whether it was entirely his own does not appear. It was returned, with marginal notes entered by Washington, for reexamination.

Washington had long desired the establishment of a national university. On the 1st of September he again wrote to Hamilton, deploring the omission of any mention of such an institution. He enlarged upon the importance of a university located at the seat of government, where students can come together from all parts of the country to study not only the sciences and the arts but to observe the practical operations of the Government, which would assist in welding all the parts of the Union. On the 6th of September he urged upon Hamilton expedition in sending the draft: "If you think the idea of a university had better be reserved for my speech at the opening of Congress I will defer it. Even in that case I would pray you, as soon as convenient, to make a draft for the occasion, predicated upon the ideas with which you have been furnished." All this proves that on the 6th of September, 13 days before the famous address was given to the public, Washington was expecting a revised copy from the pen of Hamilton.

Washington's insistence upon predicating the draft upon the sentiments suggested is proof that the thought in its inception was his. His anxiety to have it properly expressed, his urgent council with Hamilton, is certainly proof that this distinguished gentleman had much to do in wording the instrument.

Jared Sparks and the other biographers of his day throw little light upon the authorship. They all mention it, but are satisfied to assert the item is of little or no importance.

The original copy from which the final draft was made was handed to the printer, Claypool, who says it was in the handwriting of Washington. This last statement is confirmed by Sparks. It consisted of 32 pages of quarto letter paper, sewed together as a book. In places whole paragraphs are erased and others substituted. Many interlineations occur. The original was purchased from the Claypool estate by James Lenox and is now in the famous Lenox Library, of New York.

In the preface of Irving's Life of Washington is found a lucid description of the document from the pen of its owner. He declares little doubt can be entertained as to Washington's authorship, alleging, however, that it has the marks of collaboration. He says Washington consulted Hamilton particularly and minutely on many points connected with it. He thinks that he (Hamilton) at different times had submitted at least three drafts, the second of which appears in the published Works of Hamilton, edited by J. C. Hamilton.

The Jay letter to which Lenox refers was written to Judge Peters, of Pennsylvania, in 1811, 15 years after the publication of the Address. At this time the question of authorship was agitating some men, and Jay was solicited to publish the facts. He wrote, "The history of the address is not unknown to me. I shall now reduce it to writing and commit it to your care." Then the explanation follows: "Some time before the address appeared Col. Hamilton informed me that he had received a letter from President Washington and with it a draft of a Farewell Address which the President had prepared and on which he had desired our opinion. He—Hamilton—observed to me he thought it best to leave the draft untouched and in its fair state, and to write the whole over, with such amendments, alterations, and corrections as he thought advisable, and that he had done so. I suggested giving it a further critical examination, but he declined it, saying that he was pressed for time and was anxious to return the draft to the President without delay. The President's draft remained fair and not obscured by interlineations."

This letter adds little if anything to the Washington-Hamilton correspondence. It does not prove that Hamilton is the author, but quite the contrary may be inferred.

The Hamilton draft is in the State Department. The final alterations by Hamilton are printed in Lodge's edition of Hamilton's Writings, and also in Washington's Writings, edited by Ford, who has printed in parallel columns the final draft as corrected by Washington, and the final draft of Hamilton. The marked similarity of these drafts puzzles scholars to know how "two persons should express the same ideas in substantially the same language, and yet with much diversity in the construction of the sentences and the position of the words."

This similarity in thought and diversity in expression confirms the position that the thought was Washington's and the language in the main Hamilton's. While there is little evidence that Washington desired Hamilton to write his valedictory to the people, there is abundant proof that he desired him to put his thought in good form. In all his solicitations he is specific in his insistence upon returning his original draft, no matter what corrections may be made. Hamilton's various letters show he so understood the President.

Timothy Pickering, closely identified with the administration, said: "'Light was reflected upon it in all stages of its preparation from the minds of Hamilton, Madison, Jay, and of the heads of the several departments of the Government." He adds: "When it is considered that it was Washington's own original conception, that he wrote its heads to Madison in the first instance, threw it again into form before he sent it to Hamilton, added to and altered Hamilton's draft, copied it over and over again with his own hand, keeping it under his controlling judgment all along, and revising it with his own pen to the last, it can not be a question that he is fully entitled to the character of its author."

Viewed externally the evidence strongly supports the contention that it was the result of collaboration between Washington and Hamilton. This view is enforced by contemporaneous testimony. When studied from internal evidence, or that which appears upon the face of the instrument, there is nothing to lead to a different conclusion. At least this much may be affirmed with some degree of certainty, that the address is Washington's in its conception, its thought, its sentiment; while in its form of expression, its vigor of language, its logical arrangement it is Hamilton's. Whatever of honor may be due to Hamilton for his part in it, the fact still remains that as a historical document the honor belongs to Washington.

Postal Savings Bank Service.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. CALDER,
OF NEW YORK.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 20, 1915,

On the bill (H. R. 21328) making appropriations for the support of the Military Academy for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, and for other purposes.

Mr. CALDER. Mr. Speaker, I shall take advantage of the courtesy of the House in extending my remarks by printing a memorial prepared by Mr. Charles Frederick Adams, of New York City, on H. R. 13769, a bill introduced by me in the House during this Congress. This measure was formulated by Mr. Adams and a number of other gentlemen who believe its enactment would be to the advantage of the American people. It can not be acted on at this session, but I sincerely trust in the next Congress it may have the serious attention of the House and the Senate.

A memorial to the Congress of the United States, introduced in the House by the Hon. WILLIAM M. CALDER, of New York (Republican), and in the Senate by the Hon. ROBERT L. OWEN, of Oklahoma (Democrat).

There is now pending in the Congress of the United States the following measure (H. R. 13769, S. 3554, referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads):

"A bill to authorize the acceptance and administration of savings by the postal savings bank service of the Post Office Department for crescent life annuities.

"*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That every post-office savings bank of the United States shall accept from any citizen of the United States offering the same (and who shall have been duly enrolled as a participant in the people's pension system hereby established) 'dues' payments of one or more dollars each: *Provided, however* (in order that payments so made during a given calendar year may share in the dividend for such year on equal terms with dues payments made during calendar years preceding that one), That with each dollar so paid as 'dues' there shall also be paid in a 'premium contribution' to the dividend fund of the current year amounting to 1 cent on each dollar paid as dues during the first quarter of such year; to 2 cents on each dollar of dues paid during the second quarter of such year; to 3 cents on each dollar of dues paid during the third quarter of such year; and, finally, to 4 cents on each dollar of dues paid during the fourth quarter of such year.

"SEC. 2. That all the dues payments so received (through the several postal savings banks), together with all other investable values lawfully obtained for the purpose, shall constitute a perpetual people's pension fund the principal of which shall be kept invested (as nearly continuously as practicable) in presumably safe, income-yielding assets (including, on occasion, bonds or obligations of the United States yielding a net income of not less than 4 per cent per annum).

"SEC. 3. That a dividend fund shall be accumulated during each calendar year by applying thereto all the net income received during such year from the assets of the people's pension fund, and also all the additional cents received with 'dues' payments during the year as 'premium contributions' to such dividend fund.

"SEC. 4. That on or as of the 31st day of December in each and every year the total amount then constituting the dividend fund for such year shall be apportioned as a 'cash dividend' among the then living participants in the people's pension system, who shall have paid during the calendar year in question one or more dollars as dues (together with the corresponding 'premium contribution' to the dividend fund); such apportionment among such qualified living participants to be pro rata to their respective 'bases of participation,' and each participant's 'basis,' for this purpose, being deemed to consist of the sum of the following two items:

"First. The total amount theretofore (at any time) paid in by such annuitant as 'dues';

"Second. The total amount of 'increment' credited to such 'basis' under the following rule: On or as of the 31st day of December of each calendar year there shall be credited to the 'basis' of each living annuitant who shall have paid dues that year (as 'increment' permanently added to such 'basis') such annuitant's proportion (ascertained as hereinbelow specified) of the 'basis' of any annuitant born in the same calendar year as the participant in question who shall have died during the year or who, during seven consecutive years immediately preceding, shall have wholly failed or omitted to pay any dues at all; such apportionment of 'increment' among the annuitants entitled to share therein to be pro rata to the amounts theretofore paid by them, respectively, as dues."

The practical working of the "tontine-annuity" system thus provided for may be summarized as follows:

On the last day of each calendar year each living annuitant who has paid "dues" that year shares in the annual dividend, his or her share increasing as time goes on, through his or her inheriting, on the "tontine" principle, the income of those of the same age (born in the same year) who have died (or who for seven consecutive years have paid no dues at all). The last survivor of each such "birth-year class" draws during the rest of his or her life the entire income of the entire class. After such "last survivor's" death the income in question (the income that is produced by that part of the "people's pension fund," which consists of the "dues" paid in during the participation by all the former annuitants belonging to the particular lapsed "birth-year class" in question) goes annually "forever" to the entire body of participants in the system at the time being, irrespective of age. Every "birth-year class" must thus "lapse" sooner or later, since the persons born in the given calendar year who alone can be members of such class are not "infinitely" numerous. In the nature of things, indeed, one class will lapse each year on the average, which means obviously that by the operation of the system there will go on a steady and unending accumulation within the so-called people's pension fund of an ever-growing body of assets (consisting of the invested "dues" left in the fund by deceased annuitants of "birth-year classes," every member of which has died), of which assets the income is no longer payable to the original contributors of the principal, but constitutes for the entire body of participants living at a given time extra income over and above the income produced by the "dues" they themselves have paid in to date. In this way the rate of "dividend" upon the dues investments of a participant tends to increase by the occurrence of deaths (or abstentions). The possible increase in "tontine" annuities, such as those purchasable by these "dollar" dues, depends on the number of participants and the dues they pay, and may be indefinitely great. In one French "tontine," the encyclopædias tell us, "the solitary (last) survivor was a widow, one Charlotte Barbier, who died in her ninety-sixth year. At that time" (and in each of seven years preceding her death) "she drew an annual income of 73,000 livres" (more than $14,000) "in return for a total subscription of 300 livres" (only about $60 in all). Moreover, this was only the climax of the matter, since that ultimate income was arrived at by gradual steps, and during many years, before the one in which she first received "73,000 livres," she received annual amounts which, though smaller than the culminating one (of $14,000), were, respectively, equal to many times her total investment. And while there could be only one "last" survivor in any one "birth-year class," and therefore only one person who would achieve the maximum gain by "tontine inheritance," others would, in varying degrees, survive to inherit more or less important amounts of extra income. Those who died would no longer need "income"; all who continued to need income, by continuing to live, would correspondingly "survive" and incidentally inherit additional income (supplementing the income from their own "dues") about in the degree in which they advanced into the later years of life.

The system would thus, within each "birth-year class," operate most effectively as an "old-age pension" system, without burdening the taxes, and purely by the voluntary cooperation of the participants, who would thus, in effect, achieve a very real "mutual assurance" against the destitution of the "hand-to-mouth" condition.

The essence of the system obviously is the so-called "tontine annuity" contract, which the courts have held to be "in principle" identical with an "agreement to make mutual wills, which the courts have sustained as a good contract, and founded upon a good consideration." (N. Y. Supreme Court, appellate division, first department, in case of Scruggs *v.* Cotterill, citing N. Y. Ct. of Appeals, 155 N. Y., 566, and other authorities.) In point of fact, the basis of the annuity system authorized by the Calder-Owen bill is precisely an agreement between such citizens as shall voluntarily participate "to make mutual wills" (in legal effect) in one another's favor as to the savings paid in by them, respectively, as "dues" in such wise that on the death (actual or conclusively presumed after seven years of nonparticipation) of any

annuitant the income of the savings then standing to the credit of such decedent (as his "basis of participation") becomes payable each year, primarily to the living annuitants of the same "birth-year class," so long as any such "connatus" of that year survives, and, ultimately, after the death of the last survivor of the birth-year class, to all the participants living at the time being, irrespective of classes, "forever." (The agreement of each to this effect is deemed a "good consideration" for the similar agreement of each of the others.)

The history of numerous so-called "tontines," long past or more recent, very clearly proves that this sort of "agreement to make mutual wills" (as to the amounts invested in such annuities) has always proved exceedingly popular as an investment. So great has been its popularity, even under unpromising conditions as to terms, management, and irresponsibility of promoters, that historians and financial writers have felt called upon to account for it by psychological considerations; by suggestions that it has "to a degree" the attractiveness of a "lottery." But though it is true that the attractiveness of tontines is in a sense analogous to that of lotteries (and would no doubt equal it in intensity but for the greater delay in the attainment of results), there is a radical distinction between lotteries and tontines which redeems the latter from that taint of illegitimacy which brands the former. That distinction is this, that in the tontine contract the contingency upon which the results depend is not an arbitrary chance or "lot" having no relevancy to or bearing on those results, but, on the contrary, is a natural phenomenon (death), of which only the date is "contingent," and whose occurrence—ultimately inevitable—must in any event involve a cessation of the receipt of income by the decedent concerned. (In view of its general acceptability, Alexander Hamilton recommended the tontine scheme to Congress as a financial recourse in his famous report on the organization of our national finances.)

It is beyond all doubt that very, very many people—more and more as the thing went on—would willingly—nay, eagerly—invest relatively small sums, on a "tontine" basis, for the sake of the contingent right to "inherit," by survivorship, the income of overwhelmingly larger funds; men not already dying nor in great suffering, being (as Lorenzo Tonti pointed out to Cardinal Mazarin) instinctively optimistic as to their own longevity, and willing to "stake" even heavily upon it. As the poet puts it, "Man feels 'all men are mortal,' save himself." Many of the "tontine" enterprises of the past were promoted under auspices not in the least reassuring as to responsibility, scientific actuarial methods, or even freedom from actual fraud; but none the less they proved popular, from the inherent attractiveness of the "potential inheritance" inducement. On the other hand, in view of the guaranties of permanence, safety, and rapid and great growth which its administration by the Government of this great Nation would afford to the system provided for by the Calder-Owen bill, that system's inherent popularity would (a fortiori) have full scope and effect. Nothing, therefore, can be more certain than that "participation" would soon become a practically universal "fashion" among all permitted to participate; that is to say, the entire body of our citizenship. The minimum "annual dues," the sole necessary cost of participation, being but $1 per annum per person (so that for as little as $10 a year a family of 10 could all be kept in good standing as active and regular participants); and, on the other hand, the possibilities of income growth by tontine inheritance for each participant being at least as great as the total incomes of the total aggregate of "dues" paid in by the entire "birth-year class," it is simply inconceivable that any citizen would consent to leave himself or his child, or any other dependent dear one, out of an institution in which at no greater necessary expense than $1 a year each, each could be kept receiving annually at least the income of his own "dues" in any event, while having, besides, a contingent right to the immense potentialities of income inheritance dependent upon survivorship.

Unquestionably, larger and larger funds would be paid in as "dues" by the successive "birth-year classes" as time went on, and each such class fund would, sooner or later, "lapse," leaving its annual income to be received by the body of participants for the time being, in addition to the income receivable from these participants' own investments. There would thus accumulate, persistently and more and more rapidly, a "people's inheritance," in the income of which all could entitle themselves to share upon terms with which all could comply. This would mean nothing less than the peaceful and legitimate diffusion, more and more widely through the community, of the "beneficial" ownership of this ever-growing fund, and consequently interest or rent, or both, would be attainable by practically everyone, as incomes supplementing—or, on occasion, taking the place of—the (possible) "wages" income on which the vast majority now rely exclusively, though as a sole reliance it is disastrously precarious and inadequate.

That such a system should in fact be established and kept in operation is, surely, a "consummation devoutly to be wished." The enactment of the Calder-Owen bill would make practicable and insure its establishment and continuingly successful operation by affording it guaranties of safety, permanence, and general acceptability, which, under private auspices, it never could secure. To do this, as proposed, would be but to utilize the postal savings banks already established (and which undoubtedly "have come to stay") as custodians and administrators not only of the people's savings "deposits," but also of the savings which the people may choose to pay in, not as withdrawable "deposits," but as the price or premium of life annuities of the sort described. It is now admittedly a perfectly legitimate and expedient "governmental function" to facilitate, safeguard, and induce thrift—on the part of the many for whom it must else be difficult and discouragingly precarious and unpromising—by giving to the "savings" invited that "insurance" against loss by fraud or bad management which official administration under the responsibility of a great National Government would provide for them. The European nations whose example we followed in establishing our postal savings banks permit theirs to issue life annuities as well as to accept "deposits." An incidental but very practical feature of great "financial" significance is this, that in the moneys constituting this perpetual and ever-growing "people's pension fund" the Government would have constantly in its hands, without the expense and trouble of periodical repayments and reborrowings of principal, funds pro tanto available for such "loans" as it felt called upon to use; in other words, a most convenient and economical "market for its bonds."

In such a perpetual and constantly growing "people's pension fund," the beneficent effects of whose operation would soon (and irrevocably) establish it in the interest and affections of the people as an institution which they "would never willingly let die," the statesmen who shall have identified their names as those of its founders will have built for themselves an imperishable monument and won the glory of great contributors "to the glory of God and the relief of man's estate."

CHARLES FREDERICK ADAMS.

Southern Pacific Attempts Secretly to Reach Chief Justice of the United States.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. W. LAFFERTY,
OF OREGON,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 20, 1915.

Mr. LAFFERTY. Mr. Speaker, I desire to call attention to Congress and of the country to an attempt which has been made within the last 10 days by William F. Herrin, chief counsel for the Southern Pacific Railroad, to reach the Chief Justice of the United States and to influence that high official to delay until October next the date for the argument of an important case in which the Southern Pacific Railroad is defendant.

That this action was taken secretly and without notice to the cross-complainants in the case will be shown by the telegrams of Mr. Herrin to his Washington counsel, which telegrams I shall presently read.

The case in question involves 2,300,000 acres of land in Oregon granted by Congress to the railroad company with the provision that the railroad company would sell the lands "to actual settlers, in tracts of not more than 160 acres to any one settler, and for prices not exceeding $2.50 per acre." The land is worth on an average $25 per acre, or $50,000,000. That is the stake involved in Mr. Herrin's titanic struggle to evade the law of Congress. These lands would make 15,000 homes of 160 acres each, or 60,000 homes of 40 acres each.

This case was started in the Federal court in Portland, Oreg., 8 years ago by 65 actual settlers who went on the land, built their houses, moved in, and after becoming actual bona fide settlers and tendering to the railroad company the maximum amount it was entitled to receive for the land under the act of Congress, and demanding deeds which were refused, brought the present suit.

One year later the Government intervened in the suits which these settlers had started and was permitted to file a bill asking that all the lands involved be forfeited to the United States, including the claims the settlers had sued for. The court consolidated the settlers' cases with that of the Government and ordered that the settlers refile their complaints in the form of a cross bill.

In this way the settlers have been hampered and held back by the snaillike proceeding of the Department of Justice. It took seven years for the case to reach the circuit court of appeals in San Francsico, where it was argued last May. On June 1, 1914, at the conclusion of the argument, the circuit court of appeals announced that in order to save time it would immediately certify the case to the Supreme Court without itself rendering any decision whatever.

In that way the case reached the Supreme Court here last fall on certificate. The Solicitor General immediately moved the court to order the entire record sent up from San Francisco, which order the Supreme Court made the 1st day of this month. The court on that day recessed until February 23, which will be next Tuesday.

It was understood by all parties that on February 23 the Solicitor General will present to the court under the rules a printed motion, which will have to be duly served on all parties, and which motion will ask the court to advance the case on the docket for argument. If the court shall so advance the case for argument at this term it will necessarily have to set it down for hearing sometime in April, as no arguments will be heard at a later date, although the court will not adjourn until June. Then the court will reconvene in October for next year's term.

Immediately after the court sustained the motion to have the entire record sent up, which order was entered February 1, Mr. Herrin became active in his effort to put the case over till October. And in these activities Mr. Herrin did not notify either the settlers or their counsel, but attempted secretly to reach the Chief Justice of the United States in the privacy of his home in this city.

That this is a grave and serious charge I fully realize. I would not make it if I did not have the documentary proof of what I say. I realize that there are cases where counsel may lawfully make ex parte applications to a justice of the Supreme Court, but such ex parte representations may not be lawfully made upon a motion to advance a case for argument upon the

docket of the Supreme Court. In such a case the rules require that all arguments for or against the motion must be printed in brief form and after first being duly served on all parties in the case may be brought to the attention of the court in open court.

Mr. Herrin wired his Washington, D. C., counsel to urge certain alleged reasons to the Chief Justice why the case should not be advanced for hearing in April. Mr. Herrin directed his Washington counsel to make the representation "either oral or written to the Chief Justice," and closed with these words:

You should present to Chief Justice, as soon as possible in advance of reassembling of court, practical impossibility of our presenting case earlier than October next, promptly advising me.

WM. F. HERRIN.

As to whether Mr. Herrin's Washington counsel has had the effrontery to invade the private home of the Chief Justice upon any such unprofessional and unlawful mission, I do not know. But I do know that Mr. Hoehling called up the clerk of the Supreme Court by telephone, and, after some conversation, the purport of which I do not know, Mr. Hoehling mailed Mr. Herrin's telegrams to the clerk of the court. If Mr. Hoehling asked the clerk of the court to carry these representations to the Chief Justice he magnified the offense by making a request upon an officer of court to violate the rules of the court. As stated, all arguments for or against a motion to advance must, under the rules of the court, be served upon all parties in interest.

It was by the merest accident that I learned that these telegrams had been mailed to the clerk of the court. Had it not been for the fact that I was here in Washington and frequently around the office of the clerk of the court I would never have heard of it. Had I been in Portland, Oreg., my home, this case might have been delayed till October on the false representations of Mr. Herrin without my ever having known that they were made.

All lawyers will understand that the mere mailing of the telegrams to the clerk of the court was no notice to anybody that such representations had been made or would be made to the Chief Justice. It does not happen one time in ten thousand that opposing counsel see the private correspondence that their adversaries may have with the clerk of the court. Usually that correspondence is never inspected or even thought of by opposing counsel. Only the printed briefs are mutually served and read.

Very evidently Mr. Hoehling intended that the copies of the telegrams which he mailed to the clerk of the court should be presented to the Chief Justice for his consideration, for two of these copies bear notations made by Mr. Hoehling that they were "read over the telephone" to Mr. Hughes, who is an assistant in the office of the Solicitor General. That notation could only have been made for the purpose of satisfying some one that at least a semblance of service had been made upon the Solicitor General. But it will be noted that Mr. Hoehling does not even claim that the last telegram from Mr. Herrin, which is the most insistent, was even "read over the telephone" to Mr. Hughes, or to anyone else.

Mr. Hoehling's letter to the clerk of the court and a telegram from ex-Senator John C. Spooner and the two telegrams from Mr. Herrin will now be read, which three telegrams constitute the only documents transmitted by Mr. Hoehling with his letter.

A. A. HOEHLING, Jr.,
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELOR AT LAW,
Washington, D. C., February 13, 1915.

JAMES D. MAHER,
Clerk Supreme Court, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. MAHER: In re Oregon & California Railroad Co., appellants, *v.* United States, No. 679, October term, 1914, Supreme Court of the United States.

Referring to our conversation over the telephone to-day, and for your better information, I take the liberty of handing you herewith copies of telegrams received by me from Senator Spooner and from Judge Herrin, which will sufficiently explain themselves.

Very truly, yours,

A. A. HOEHLING, Jr.

Inclosures.

—

Read over telephone by Mr. Hoehling to Mr. Hughes, February 11, 1915:

[Telegram.]

NEW YORK, N. Y., *February 10, 1915.*

A. A. HOEHLING, Jr., Esq., *Washington, D. C.:*

Letter received. No objection to advancing case, but sincerely hope it will not be assigned for argument prior to May 1. Greatly prefer early in October term.

JOHN C. SPOONER.

—

Read over telephone by Mr. Hoehling to Mr. Hughes:

[Telegram.]

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., *February 10, 1915.*

A. A. HOEHLING, Jr., Esq., *Washington, D. C.:*

Your telegram 9th and 10th. Owing to the fact that testimony Central Pacific merger case will begin here March 1, it will be impossible for us to get ready for argument Oregon & California case by April 5 or to prepare our briefs in due time for filing before that date or any later date in April. Arrange with Solicitor General for advancement hearing to first day of October term. Wire whether Solicitor General consents to arrangement. I will send on 29 additional sets of record required by clerk Supreme Court. Unless there is objection thereto, will ship them as freight.

WILLIAM F. HERRIN.

—

(No statement that it was read "over the telephone" to "Mr. Hughes" or to anyone else.)

[Telegram.]

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., *February 12, 1915.*

A. A. HOEHLING, Jr., *Washington, D. C.:*

Your message 11th. It will be impossible for us to be ready for April or earlier than October next, and if court should set case earlier than October next we should be driven to an application to continue hearing to October. You can not represent this too earnestly to Solicitor General. Please see him at once and endeavor to secure his cooperation in a representation to the court before it reassembles on the 23d instant that in view of importance and magnitude of case, parties will not be prepared to present it earlier than October next. If Solicitor General is unwilling to cooperate actively in this behalf, please secure his concurrence to a statement by you in your own representation, either oral or written, to the Chief Justice that Department of Justice will not object if case is set down for hearing for October. In other words, with or without the active cooperation of Solicitor General, you should present to Chief Justice as soon as possible in advance of reassembling of court practical impossibility of our presenting case earlier than October next, promptly advising me.

WM. F. HERRIN.

If the foregoing telegrams had been served upon the Solicitor General, that would not have made it lawful or professional to then secretly present them to the chief justice "in advance of the reassembling of the court," for the reason that the Solicitor General represents the United States alone and in no way represents the settlers on the land, who are not only parties to the suit but who actually started the suit. Mr. Herrin deliberately sought to reach the Chief Justice secretly, so far as these settlers were concerned, well knowing that the settlers were the only parties to the suit who have ever been insistent that the case go forward with reasonable speed. Mr. Herrin thought that if he could reach the court in this way he would be able to accomplish his design, and that no settler out on the land would ever be any wiser.

I present these facts to Congress in order that the bar of the whole country may know what liberties Mr. Herrin and his kind are willing to take with the courts of the United States, and without any notice to opposing counsel, so long as the courts will stand for it. It was not so very long ago that a judge of the highest court in the State of Washington resigned under charges, and admitted that his opinion in a railroad case was written by the counsel for the railroad. Only two years ago a Federal judge at Seattle resigned while under investigation by a committee of this House. I desire simply to warn our judiciary, as well as our people at large, that the invisible Government is at work just as actively now as ever before, and all officers and all citizens should know the facts.

The William F. Herrin to whom I have referred in these remarks has been a power on the Pacific coast for many years. He has controlled elections of judges, governors, and other State officers, and he has had a powerful influence in the appointment of Federal judges. He represents the money power of the United States on the Pacific coast. His right-hand man in Oregon is William D. Fenton, whom he has had employed for years as Oregon counsel for the Southern Pacific and as general adviser on Oregon matters. Fenton has grown immensely rich in this work and is now said to be the wealthiest lawyer at the Portland bar. Last August Fenton wrote a long editorial, which was printed in the Portland Oregonian, not as a communication but in the guise of an ordinary editorial, stating that I ought to be retired because I was not on the job. I wonder if Fenton will think I am on the job now?

The Oregonian represents Herrin and Fenton in Oregon, and the other Portland papers are but very little better. Fenton and Pittock—the latter owner of the Oregonian—are joint directors of the new Northwestern National Bank.

When the Southern Pacific a number of years ago, through Mills, its land agent, bought the Sacramento Union for use in controlling California politics, the company came to Portland and selected Alfred Holman to edit the Union. Holman was an editorial writer on the Oregonian at the time and had showed his fitness for the job in California. Later the Southern Pacific bought the San Francisco Argonaut, one of the most influential weeklies in the United States, and put Mr. Holman in charge of it.

During the past few years the special interests have started in Portland a weekly along the same lines as the Argonaut, and have put one Hugh Hume in charge of it. The paper conceals its real source of income, like the Argonaut, and seeks to enter the best homes. Hume came to Portland from San Francisco. He was born in Scotland. He rails against Senator HARRY

LANE. He rails against me. He is serving the interests, and he is being paid by them.

When I first entered Congress I was approached by two men, one of whom was a former Member of the House, whose name I will gladly give if any gentleman present will so request, and the other was James Y. Iddings, of San Francisco; and they asked me to aid them in certain legal matters connected with a certain electric road which they said they were going to build in Oregon. The road was to run from Coos Bay to Grants Pass, so they said, and was to be called the "Coos Bay & Eastern Electric Co." I declined to so serve, and in less than two weeks a newspaper campaign was started against me that has, temporarily at least, destroyed my standing with many good citizens in my district and which resulted in my defeat for reelection last year.

The Oregonian, the Evening Telegram—at that time owned by the Oregonian—the Argonaut, and the Spectator were the most active in that campaign against me. I give Mr. Herrin full credit for having temporarily retired me to private life. I believe in giving the devil his due, but I wish to warn him that the fight has now just started, and that I shall repeat on the stump all that I have said here, and more.

No burglar ever showed more brazen effrontery in robbing a house than Mr. Herrin has displayed in his recent attempt to reach the Chief Justice of the United States without notice to certain parties to the record in the land-grant case.

In one of his telegrams, heretofore read in full, Mr. Herrin makes this remarkable statement:

If Solicitor General is unwilling to cooperate actively in this behalf, please secure his concurrence to a statement by you in your own representation, either oral or written, to the Chief Justice that Department of Justice will not object if case is set down for hearing for October.

What is the meaning of this language? It means that Mr. Herrin reflected upon the integrity of the Solicitor General of the United States by asking that he be invited to become a party to the secret presentation to the Chief Justice in advance of the reassembling of the court certain alleged reasons why the argument of the case should go over to October. Did Mr. Herrin expect the Solicitor General to acquiesce in any such unlawful and unprofessional arrangement which contemplated important representations to the Chief Justice without any notice to the settlers on the land and in violation of the rules of the court? That is just what Mr. Herrin contemplated, and his hardened conscience did not even suggest to him that it was wrong. For a lifetime Mr. Herrin as the political boss of the Pacific coast has done that sort of thing, and as the representative of Wall Street, and he imagined he could do the same thing with impunity under the Dome of this Capitol.

The flimsy plea of Mr. Herrin that he can not argue the case here in April because the "taking of testimony in the Central Pacific merger case begins March 1" is the height of absurdity. Mr. Herrin represents the consolidated railroads of the Harriman lines in the West. He pleads as a reason for delay of this important case that his lines have been so numerously charged with violations of the law of the United States that he must be elsewhere. And if Mr. Herrin were more anxious to continue the taking of testimony in the Central Pacific merger case, he would there urge that he could not go ahead till fall, because he had to be in the Supreme Court in this case. In other words, Mr. Herrin and all other railroad bosses are in the habit of urging this hackneyed argument for continuances just as their own convenience dictates.

All courts know that it is the duty of a railroad company to employ sufficient attorneys to try all their cases on time, and the courts should enforce that duty. Mr. Herrin has known since June 1, 1914, that this case was to come up for argument here in the spring of this year, and Mr. Herrin is ready. But if he can flimflam the court and the public by getting another year's delay, he is not the man who will feel any qualms of conscience in doing so.

Mr. Herrin makes a plaything and a mockery of the court by suggesting in one of the telegrams that he will send up the 29 additional sets of the record required by the clerk of the Supreme Court "as freight." If the Southern Pacific was sending a horse or a cow to Washington, the animal would come by express; but when it comes to the record in a $50,000,000 land-grant case, Mr. Herrin has the unadulterated gall to propose that he will ship them "as freight." Mr. Herrin's only object, of course, is delay, and not a financial saving by sending records of this importance "as freight."

Mr. Herrin says in his telegrams that he can not prepare his briefs in time for argument in April. This case was argued and briefed one year ago in San Francisco upon the identical record that is to be presented here, and it would not require a week for Mr. Herrin to reprint his briefs if he wanted to. He simply wants delay. He is as ready now as he ever will be, and he knows it, and one year ago he had Mr. Fenton tell the people of Oregon through the Oregonian that his company was anxious to hurry the case, and that it was the Government that was responsible for the long delay. He was lying then, and he is lying now.

Meantime men, women, and children in Oregon are suffering from poverty and lack of food who are unlawfully kept from these lands. Whose convenience should appeal to the court the stronger—these men, women, and children for whom Congress has sought to legislate, or Mr. Herrin, who desires to take a little testimony, as he claims, in the Central Pacific merger case, beginning March 1?

The case has now dragged for eight years. Its snaillike progress has become a scandal in the eyes of many conservative people. Unlawful influences have been brought to bear to cause this long delay.

The Government is now ready. The settlers are demanding an early hearing. Why should the rot and piffle of Mr. Herrin, which he dares not present to the court in the open, after due service upon all counsel of record, be regarded for a moment as an excuse to put over till October the argument of this case? In October they would have other excuses for further delays if they thought the court would listen to them for a moment.

In giving these facts to Congress and to the people who elected me to this House I am but performing my simple duty. It has been a pleasure to do so. [Applause.]

The Late Representative Martin, of New Jersey.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. THOMPSON BAKER,

OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, February 14, 1915,

On House resolution 735, as follows:

"*Resolved,* That the business of the House be now suspended that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. LEWIS J. MARTIN, late a Member of this House from the State of New Jersey.

"*Resolved,* That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased and in recognition of his distinguished public career the House, at the conclusion of these exercises, shall stand adjourned.

"*Resolved,* That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

"*Resolved,* That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased."

Mr. BAKER. Mr. Speaker, in writing of old age and friendship, Cicero said there are four reasons why old age should seem wretched, and that one of the reasons why it is so regarded is that it is not far distant from death.

Judge MARTIN did not come within the purview of those alluded to in this, and I advert to what the great Roman said only because Judge MARTIN did not suffer on account of age, although he lived many years, but he had no occasion to consider that distress among the multitude of anxieties that occupy the minds of men.

Plato discusses the subject of dissolution so philosophically as to remove the anguish which disturbs most men, but he wrote as one contemplating its near presence.

So did Socrates talk of it with a complacency that would at least mollify the distraction that universally attends the impending fact.

Judge MARTIN had the advantage of meeting death without premonition, and consequently without the pangs that are said to attend the contemplation of so tremendous an event.

The Holy Scriptures teach us to pray that we may not suffer sudden death, meaning, doubtless, that we might be exempt from the precipitation of so great a change without opportunity to reflect and to attune ourselves to it.

I once heard a very learned divine discourse on the subject, and, as I remember his ruminations upon the supreme event which comes to us all, he expressed the conviction that upon dissolution the soul is thrilled with ecstacy on account of its escape from the coil of the body, and that it is free from regret, save sympathy for those who are still afflicted with the weight and restraint of corporal life and detention.

The precipitancy that attended the death of our friend assures to us a feeling that he had the indescribable advantage of exemption from the unhappiness of thinking of the great change as being near with all that it involves.

He had the joy of swift release from the operations of mortal life. Can we not then regard his taking off, in the manner in which he left us, as a special dispensation in his favor?

Ship Purchase Bill—How the Tariff Destroyed Our Merchant Shipping.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY GEORGE, JR.,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 16, 1915.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, as appropriate to my vote in support of the ship purchase bill, I offer an extract from chapter 18 of my father's book, Protection or Free Trade, revealing the shrinkage of shipbuilding in the United States.

Thirty years ago (1855) shipbuilding had reached such a pitch of excellence in this country that we built not only for ourselves, but for other nations. American ships were the fastest sailers, the largest carriers, and everywhere got the quickest dispatch and the highest freights. The registered tonnage of the United States almost equaled that of Great Britain, and a few years promised to give us the unquestionable supremacy of the ocean.

The abolition of the more important British protective duties in 1846 was followed in 1854 by the repeal of the navigation laws, and from thenceforth not only were British subjects free to buy or build ships wherever they pleased, but the coasting trade of the British Isles was thrown open to foreigners. Dire were the predictions of British protectionists as to the utter ruin that was thus prepared for British commerce. The Yankees were to sweep the ocean and "half-starved Swedes and Norwegians" were to drive the "ruddy, beef-eating English tar" from his own seas and channels.

While one great commercial nation thus abandoned protection, the other redoubled it. The breaking out of our Civil War was the golden opportunity of protection, and the unselfish ardor of a people ready to make any sacrifice to prevent the dismemberment of their country was taken advantage of to pile protective taxes upon them. The ravages of Confederate cruisers and the consequent high rate of insurance on American ships would under any circumstances have diminished our deep-sea commerce; yet this effect was only temporary, and but for our protective policy we should at the end of the war have quickly resumed our place in the carrying trade of the world and moved forward to the lead with more vigor than ever.

But crushed by a policy which prevents Americans from building and forbids them to buy ships our commerce ever since the war has steadily shrunk until American ships, which, when we were a nation of 25,000,000, plowed every sea of the globe, are now, when we number nearly 60,000,000, seldom seen on blue water. In Liverpool docks, where once it seemed as if every other vessel was American, you must search the forests of masts to find one. In San Francisco Bay you can count English ship, and English ship, and English ship before you come to an American, while five-sixths of the foreign commerce of New York is carried on in foreign bottoms. Once no American dreamed of crossing the Atlantic save on an American ship; to-day no one thinks of taking one. It is the French and the Germans who compete with the British in carrying Americans to Europe and bringing them back. Once our ships were the finest on the ocean. To-day there is not a first-class ocean carrier under the American flag, and but for the fact that foreign vessels are absolutely prohibited from carrying between American ports, shipbuilding, in which we once led the world, would now be with us a lost art. As it is, we have utterly lost our place. When I was a boy we confidently believed that American ships could outsail anything that floated, and in the event of war with a commercial nation we knew that every sea of the globe would swarm with swift American privateers. To-day Great Britain could take from those greyhounds of the sea which American travel and trade support enough fleet ships to snap up any vessel that ventured out of an American port.

I do not complain of the inefficiency of our Navy. The maintenance of a navy in time of peace is unworthy of the dignity of the great Republic and of the place she should aspire to among the nations, and to my mind the hundreds of millions that during the last 20 years we have spent upon our Navy has been worse than wasted. But I do complain of the decadence in our ability to build ships. Our misfortune is that we lack the swift merchant fleet, the great foundries and shipyards, the skilled engineers and seamen and mechanics, in which, and not in navies, true power upon the seas consists. A people in whose veins runs the blood of vikings have been driven off the ocean by—themselves.

Of course, the selfish interests that profit, or imagine they profit, by the policy which has swept the American flag from the ocean as no foreign enemy could have done, ascribe this effect to every cause but the right one. They say, for instance, that we can not compete with other Nations in ocean commerce, because they have an advantage in lower wages and cheaper capital, in willful disregard of the fact that when the difference in wages and interest between the two sides of the Atlantic was far greater than now we not only carried for ourselves but for other Nations, and were rapidly rising to the position of the greatest of ocean carriers. The truth is, that if wages are higher with us this is really to our advantage, while not only can capital now be had as cheaply in New York as in London, but American capital is actually being used to run vessels under foreign flags, because of the taxes which make it unprofitable to build or run American vessels.

De Tocqueville, 50 years ago, was struck with the fact that nine-tenths of the commerce between the United States and Europe and three-fourths of the commerce of the New World with Europe was carried in American ships; that these ships filled the docks of Havre and Liverpool, while but a few English and French vessels were to be seen at New York. This, he saw, could only be explained by the fact that "vessels of the United States can cross the seas at a cheaper rate than any other vessels in the world. But," he continues, "it is difficult to say for what reason the American can trade at a lower rate than other Nations; and one is at first sight led to attribute this circumstance to the physical or natural advantages which are within their reach; but this supposition is erroneous. The American vessels cost almost as much as our own; they are not better built, and they generally last for a shorter time, while the pay of the American sailor is more considerable than the pay on board European ships. I am of opinion that the true cause of their superiority must not be sought for in physical advantages, but that it is wholly attributable to their moral and intellectual qualities.

"* * * The European sailor navigates with prudence; he only sets sail when the weather is favorable; if an unforeseen accident befalls him, he puts into port; at night he furls a portion of his canvas; and when the whitening billows intimate the vicinity of land, he checks his way and takes an observation of the sea. But the American neglects these precautions, and braves these dangers. He weighs anchor in the midst of tempestuous gales; by night and by day he spreads his sails to the wind; he repairs as he goes along such damages as his vessel may have sustained from the storm; and when at last he closes the term of his voyage he darts onward to the shore as if he already descried a port. The Americans are often shipwrecked, but no trader crosses the sea so rapidly, and, as they perform the same distance in a shorter time, they can perform it at a cheaper rate.

"I can not better explain my meaning than by saying that the American affects a sort of heroism in his manner of trading, in which he follows not only a calculation of his gain, but an impulse of his nature."

What the observant Frenchman describes in somewhat extravagant language was a real advantage—an advantage that attached not merely to the sailing of ships, but to their designing, their building, and everything connected with them. And what gave this advantage was not anything in American nature that differed from other human nature, but the fact that higher wages and the resulting higher standard of comfort and better opportunities developed a greater power of adapting means to ends. In short, the secret of our success upon the ocean (as of all our other successes) lay in the very things that according to the exponents of protectionism now shut us out from the ocean. (By way of consolation for the manner in which protectionism has driven American ships from the ocean, Prof. Thompson [Political Economy, p. 216] says: "If there were no other reason for the policy that seeks to reduce foreign commerce to a minimum, a sufficient one would be found in its effect upon the human material it employs. Bentham thought the worst possible use that could be made of a man was to hang him; a worse still is to make a common sailor of him. The life and the manly character of the sailor has been so admired in song and prose, and the real excellences of individuals of the profession have been made so prominent that we forget what the mass of this class of men are and what representatives of our civilization and Christianity we send out to all lands in the tenants of the forecastle." There is some truth in this, but what there is is due to protectionism in its broader sense. There is no reason in the nature of his vocation why the sailor should not be as well fed, well paid, and well treated as intelligent and self-respecting as any mechanic. That he is not is at bottom due to the paternal interference of maritime law with the relations of employer and employed. The law does not specifically enforce contracts for services on shore, and for any breach of contract by an employee the employer has only a civil remedy. He can not restrain the employed of his liberty, coerce him by violence or duress, or should he quit work call on the law to bring him back, and thus the personal relations of employer and employed are left to the free play of mutual interest. For services requiring vigilance and sobriety, and where great loss or danger would result from a sudden refusal to go on with the work, the employer must look to the character of the men he employs and must so pay and treat them that there will be no danger of their wishing to leave him. But what on shore is thus left to the self-regulative principle of freedom is, as to services to be performed on shipboard, attempted to be regulated on the paternal principle of protectionism. Here the law steps in to compel the specific performance of contracts and not only gives the employer or his representative the right to restrain the employed of his personal liberty and by violence or duress to compel his performance of services he has contracted for, but if the employed leave the ship the law may be invoked to arrest, imprison, and force him back. The result has been on the one hand largely to destroy the incentive to proper treatment of their crews on the part of owners and masters of ships and on the other to degrade the character of seamen. Crews have been largely obtained by a system of virtual impressment or kidnapping, called in 'longshore vernacular "shanghaing," by which men are put on board ship when drunk, or even by force, for the sake of their advance wages or a bonus called "blood money," which the power of keeping the men on board and compelling them to work enables the shipowners safely to pay. The power that must be intrusted to the master of a ship, on whose skill and judgment depends the safety of all on board, is necessarily despotic; but while the abuse of this power has under a system which enables a brutal captain to get crews with as much or almost as much facility as a humane one been little checked by motives of self-interest, it has been stimulated by the degradation which such a system inevitably produces in the character of the crews. Various attempts have been made to remedy this state of things, but nothing can avail much that does not go to the root of the difficulty and leave the sailor, no matter what contract he may have signed or what advances have been paid to or for him, as free to quit a vessel as any mechanic on shore is free to quit his employment. Theoretically the law may guard the rights of one party to a contract as well as those of the other, but practically the poor and uninfluential are always at a disadvantage in appealing to the law. This is a vice which inheres in all forms of protectionism, from that of absolute monarchy to that of protective duties.)

Again, it is said that it is the substitution of steam for canvas and iron for wood that has led to the decay of American shipping. This is no more a reason for the decay of American shipping than is the substitution of the double top-sail yard for the single top-sail yard. River steamers were first developed here; it was an American steamship that first crossed from New York to Liverpool, and 30 years ago American steamships were making the "crack" passages. The same skill, the same energy, the same facility of adapting means to ends which enabled our mechanics to build wooden ships would have enabled them to continue to build ships, no matter what the change in material. With free trade we should not merely have kept abreast of the change from wood to iron, we should have led it. This we should have done even though not a pound of iron could have been produced on the whole continent. In the glorious days of American shipbuilding Donald McKay, of Boston, and William H. Webb, of New York, drew the materials for their white-winged racers from forests that were practically almost as far from those cities as they were from the Clyde, the Humber, or the Thames. Had our shipbuilders been as free as their English rivals to get their materials wherever they could buy them best and cheapest, they could as easily have built ships with iron brought from England

as they did build them with knees from Florida and planks from Maine and North Carolina and spars from Oregon. Ireland produces neither iron nor coal, but Belfast has become noted for iron shipbuilding, and iron can be carried across the Atlantic almost as cheaply as across the Irish Sea.

But so far from its being necessary to bring iron from Great Britain, our deposits of coal and iron are larger, better, and more easily worked than those of Great Britain, and before the Revolution we were actually exporting iron to that country. Had we never embraced the policy of protection, we should to-day have been the first of iron producers. The advantage that Great Britain has over us is simply that she has abandoned the repressive system of protection, while we have increased it. This difference in policy, while it has enabled the British producer to avail himself of the advantages of all the world, has handicapped the American producer and restricted him to the market of his own country. The ores of Spain and Africa which, for some purposes, it is necessary to mix with our own ores, have been burdened with a heavy duty; a heavy duty has enabled a great steel combination to keep steel at a monopoly price; a heavy duty on copper has enabled another combination to get a high price for American copper at home, while exporting it to Great Britain for a low price; and to encourage a single bunting factory the very ensign of an American ship has been subjected to a duty of 150 per cent. From keelson to truck, from the wire in her stays to the brass in her taffrail log, everything that goes to the building, the fitting, or the storing of a ship is burdened with heavy taxes. Even should she be repaired abroad she must pay taxes for it on her return home. Thus has protection strangled an industry in which with free trade we might still have led the world. And the injury we have done ourselves has been, in some degree at least, an injury to mankind. Who can doubt that ocean steamships would to-day have been swifter and better had American builders been free to compete with British builders?

Though our navigation laws, which forbid the carrying of a pound of freight or a single passenger from American port to American port on any other than an American-built vessel, obscure the effects of protection in our coasting trade, they are just as truly felt as in our ocean trade. The increased cost of building and running vessels has, especially as to steamers, operated to stunt the growth of our coasting trade, and to check by higher freights the development of other industries. And how restriction strengthens monopoly is seen in the manner in which the effect of protection upon our coastwise trade has been to make easier the extortions of railway syndicates. For instance, the Pacific Railway pool has for years paid the Pacific Mail Steamship Co. $85,000 a month to keep up its rates of fare and freight between New York and San Francisco. It would have been impossible for the railway ring thus to prevent competition had the trade between the Atlantic and Pacific been open to foreign vessels.

Conservation of Natural Resources.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH HOWELL,
OF UTAH,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 23, 1915.

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. Speaker, in a recent interview at Ogden, Utah, with Hon. Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, he is reported in the Salt Lake papers to have said:

"It seems to me that you people out here in Utah are overlooking some things which are decidedly favorable to the future upbuilding of the West and especially this State right here. There are now pending before Congress two bills which mean so much to this State, yet you people are not fighting for them; I never hear a word from you in favor of them. The first is the water-power bill, providing for the development of water-power rights on the public lands.

"Nothing is so important to Utah as the development of water power, and you know what an immense amount of water power is going to waste here. The bill means the investment of millions of dollars of outside capital. I know of one interest that is ready to invest $40,000,000 in western water-power development if this bill is passed.

FAVORS DEVELOPMENT.

"Under the present laws, leases of water-power rights on public lands are revocable by the Secretary of the Interior. Under the bill I have introduced it is possible to develop these sites, the rights to which may be transferred to city or State after 50 years. There is no reason why all this water should go to waste. With the power that can be developed the water can be raised from the rivers for irrigation. You know what greater irrigation means for Utah.

"The attitude of the present water-power interests in this section seems to be that further development of the wonderful resources here will only have the effect of reducing the profit on the present comparatively small investments. The West should be developed and is entitled to this legislation.

"The other bill is the leasing measure. Nobody knows but that there may be oil deposits in Utah. California did not have any more idea concerning oil 10 years ago than you people have at the present time. Yet look what California is producing annually in the way of oil. You have large deposits of phosphate in southern Utah that are at the present time impossible of development. Under the leasing bill it would be possible for the deposits to be taken up in large tracts and the product successfully marketed.

"But I hear nothing from the Utah people concerning either of these bills. You people have no real excuse to offer if you do not profit by these opportunities and induce outside capital to come in and help develop your State, for you elect your Representatives to Congress. Who are they representing if not the best interests of Utah?"

In connection with this statement I desire to direct attention to an address by Hon. William Spry, governor of Utah, delivered at the governors' conference held at Madison, Wis., November 11, 1914, setting forth very clearly the western viewpoint on the question of so-called conservation:

ADDRESS BY GOV. SPRY.

"Mr. Chairman, the consideration shown the West by this distinguished organization, in providing for a presentation and discussion of the western view of the natural resource question, is deeply appreciated. Involving, as conservation does, questions of public policy, questions of equity, and questions of consistency in governmental control and disposition of the public domain, it is a privilege to be afforded opportunity to discuss the subject with you, who, by reason of your familiarity with the practical operation of the national policies, past and present, are exceptionally qualified to consider, weigh, and determine the merits of the claims that we of the West are making regarding the latest policy of the Government as it relates to the handling of the remnant of the public domain of our Nation.

"You are acquainted with the problems of financial management in the particular States over which you preside; you know concerning the social, industrial, educational, economic, and development problems that confront the States, and therefore are in a position, I take it, to grasp the significance and full meaning of the representations which we shall make to you. You have doubtless met some of the trying problems with which we are now grappling. Perhaps you have found them less difficult of solution, because of your greater development and the larger financial resources at your command with which to meet them; but you have met those things, and, having met them, you will the more readily understand our position.

"The voice of protest which has been raised in the West against the Federal attitude in the matter of forest, mineral, hydrocarbon, and power withdrawals, and the withholding of powers and functions in the control and management of the public domain that heretofore have been largely delegated to the respective States, has been severely criticized by the unthinking, who have been led into a blind but none the less enthusiastic support of a policy that appears to have been conceived in selfishness, and this earnest protest has been erroneously characterized as an effort to renew the old State rights question. Permit me at the outset to make it clear that I have no disposition to renew or even engage in a discussion of that subject. Our complaint is against apparent discrimination. The West protests against a most hurtful policy with respect to its public lands and appeals to the fair-minded in the older States to afford relief from the operation of a policy that is causing retardation in development, and which is being foisted upon it in the name of conservation.

"I believe the governors of the public-land States, to a man, recognize and respect not only the right but the duty of the Congress of the United States to control and dispose of the public domain and the public resources held in trust for the several States in such manner as in its judgment will best promote the common welfare. I believe also these governors recognize that that management and control shall be exercised in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution and in strict accord with the provisions of the trust grants under which the National Government came into possession of much of its public domain; and, too, with at least a reasonable regard for conformity to policies and practices that, in the very nature of things, must be continued without marked deviation if we would maintain as sacred and binding the very fundamental principle of our Union—equality in the sisterhood of States. Further than that, I believe the governors of the public-land States stand shoulder to shoulder in their demand that those sacred compacts between States and Nation, as set forth in the respective enabling acts, affirmed by the several State constitutions and sealed by the voice of the people in the various civil subdivisions, be kept in spirit and in letter, and not be subject to interpretation by bureau underlings whose rulings, if uniformly wrong, bear the striking characteristic of being uniformly against the States and in favor of the National Government. The agitation for legislation to sustain these bureau attachés in their arrogated powers is a move of portentous

concern to the public-land States, and we are fearful that the campaign for the manufacture of conservation sentiment will result in measures that will work irreparable injury to our section of the country.

"With that statement as a preface, and with a firm belief that you are as deeply interested in the promotion of the common welfare as were those illustrious men who evolved and established and maintained for half a century our liberal public-land policies, I shall, without any attempt at a discussion of the legal phases of this important subject, endeavor to present to you a few facts regarding the acquirement, control, and disposition of our public domain; a few facts regarding the present national attitude toward the remaining public lands and resources, and as many facts as possible, in the short time at my disposal, regarding the effect of this new attitude on the States containing the remnant of our public lands and resources.

"The general union of the States under the Articles of Confederation was difficult of consummation by reason of the conflicting claims to the vacant western territory. Demanding that all this territory should be surrendered and thrown into a common fund, certain States whose colonial charters gave them no rights in the vacant lands hesitated to join the Union, and Maryland went so far as to make the surrender of these lands by the landed States an indispensable condition of her accession to the Union. New York, in February, 1780, made the first concession in this regard by ceding her claims, and in the same year Congress made an earnest appeal to the States to follow the example, promising that the territory so relinquished should be disposed of for the common benefit and formed into republican States. Virginia complied with the request and Maryland ratified the Articles of Confederation in March, 1781. Georgia, however, did not relinquish title to her western lands until 20 years later.

"Under the provisions of the Federal Constitution Congress was made sole authority in all matters relating to the lands of the Nation. These land possessions were greatly expanded in 1805 by the cession of Louisiana by the French. A little later possession was taken of western Florida, and in 1819 the entire Territory of Florida was yielded by Spain. Twenty-five years later Texas entered the Union at its own petition. Then followed the acquisition of California and New Mexico by the treaty of 1848, after the War with Mexico. This acquisition of original Mexican territory was further enlarged by the Gadsden purchase of 1853, and in 1867 the lands of Alaska were ceded to the United States by Russia.

"From a time antedating the adoption of the Articles of Confederation to the present day no matter of public concern has been more constantly before the American people than the question of disposing of the vast public domain of the United States. Various conditions had been attached to the cessions made by the several States, but all agreed in this one, namely, that the territory thus ceded should be a common fund for the joint benefit of the then and future members of the Union.

"Around the national policy in the disposition of the public domain acquired not only by cessions from the various States, but by succession to Great Britain and by purchase, discovery, and conquest, has waged a controversy that on the one side has found its supporters among those who maintained that the lands were an asset of the Nation, to be disposed of for the purpose of producing revenue only, and on the other by those who were of the opinion that they should be held by the Government in trust only until a time when they could be released to the people for their use, which use contemplated occupation, cultivation, and improvement. Prior to the adoption of the Constitution settlement on the public lands was not encouraged, it being thought that the sale of large parcels at auction would enrich the Treasury to an extent sufficient to liquidate the public debt. About a million and a quarter acres were disposed of in this manner prior to 1789. There was, however, at that time excuse for such a policy. The debts of the Revolution were a heavy burden upon the Government, and people had ceded their lands in trust for the purpose of paying that debt. By statesmen who made a deep study of the cessions it has been asserted that many of the lands were turned over as a guaranty that the debts would be paid. These debts were cleared during the administration of President Jackson. The theory, however, that the public lands should be regarded as a source of revenue early met with strenuous opposition. Before the British House of Commons Sir Edmund Burke had contended that any policy which would induce a more extensive settlement of the soil would most greatly benefit the Government, and this doctrine was strongly urged by the minority in this country.

"In 1790 Alexander Hamilton submitted a plan for the disposal of the public lands which embodied the fundamental principles of both colonial and present systems. In 1795 the present system of surveys was adopted in substance, and five years later Government sales at $2 per acre were authorized. Again, in 1800, this system was modified, and the credit feature introduced at that time led to overspeculation in lands, with the result that in excess of one-quarter of the purchases made prior to 1820 were forfeited to the Government, and much distress was experienced by the settlers in the newly opened country in their efforts to comply with the purchase requirements. This law was repealed in 1820 and the price of lands again reduced to $1.25 per acre, with the further provision that all lands that failed of sale when offered at public auction could afterwards be purchased in unlimited quantity at that price.

"More and more the utilization of the public domain in taking care of an ever-increasing immigration became a necessity, and stronger grew the sentiment that the land should be made easily available to the bona fide home seeker. The long fight which was waged resulted in the preemption system, recognizing the settler above the speculator, a system which really found its origin in 1801 when Congress protected the settlers on lands which had been excluded from the original purchase made by Symmes, and continued to grow under the active support of President Jackson, Senator Benton, and others, until it developed into the preemption law of 1841, an act under which actual settlers enjoyed the right in preference to anyone else to purchase at a fixed price the lands on which they had settled to an extent of 160 acres. With minor modifications, the law continued in force until 1891, when it was repealed, after approximately 200,000,000 acres had been disposed of under its provisions.

"One of the great champions of the policy through which the public lands were made easily available for the home seeker was Senator Thomas Hart Benton, of Missouri, who towered as a national figure in promoting the interests of the West. Almost annually from 1824 till he saw his ideas in operation Benton presented bills for the sale of lands at fixed, graduated prices. Of him and his views on this subject, ex-President Roosevelt in his life of Benton has this to say:

"During Adams's term Benton began his fight for disposing of the public domain to actual settlers at a small cost. It was a move of enormous importance to the whole West, and Benton's long and sturdy contest for it and for the right of preemption entitle him to the greatest credit. He never gave up his struggle, although repulsed again and again, and at the best only partially successful, for he had to encounter much opposition, especially from the short-sighted selfishness of many of the northeasterners who wished to consider the public lands purely as a source of revenue. He bitterly opposed the then existing system of selling lands to the highest bidder—a most hurtful practice—and objected to the establishment of an arbitrary minimum price, which practically kept all lands below a certain value out of the market. Altogether he assisted in establishing the preemption system and had the system of renting public mines, etc., abolished, and he struggled for the principle of giving the land outright to settlers in certain cases. As a whole his theory of a liberal system of land distribution was undoubtedly the correct one, and he deserves the greatest credit for having pushed it as he did.

"Continued advocacy of liberal policies in disposing of the public lands brought the question to the proportions of a national issue and resulted in the homestead bill of 1852, granting free homes to the landless settlers. Ten years later it was written into law and approved by President Lincoln, after a previous veto by President Buchanan. This bill marked a radical change in the system that had prevailed for 80 years, during which time the public lands had been largely treated as a direct national asset for the purpose of acquiring revenue. Under the provisions of this bill they were to be granted to actual settlers who would occupy, improve, and cultivate them for a term of years and then receive a patent free of charge, upon the payment of fees sufficient only to cover the costs of survey and transfer of title. Three years after the adoption of this policy President Jackson in his annual message said:

"The homestead was established only after long and earnest resistance. Experience proves its wisdom. The lands in the hands of the industrious settlers whose labor creates wealth and contributes to the public resources are worth more to the United States than if they had been reserved as a solitude for future generations.

"It was through the liberal land system of the National Government that the waste places of the vast public domain were gradually reclaimed and made to provide homes and prosperity to the great tide of immigrants that flowed to this country. It was by reason of the liberal land policies that great manufacturing and industrial enterprises sprang up; that populous commercial centers were established; that States grew in the power and prestige that go with wealth and population; and the while the subduing and conquering influences of the home builder were reaching farther and farther westward. The growth of the remote western Territories was so vigorous as to win for them, one by one, the coveted powers of statehood and admission into the Union on terms of equality with the older States. Shouldering in confidence the increased responsibilities that came with statehood, these young members of the Union

set about the business of State building, serene in the belief that the land and resource capital within their respective borders constituted an asset on which absolute reliance could be placed.

"Remote from the thickly populated centers these Western States waged a vigorous campaign of land and resource exploitation in an effort to put their capital on an earning basis. The soils were cleared and broken, and when turned and seeded yielded enormous crops; the mountains when penetrated revealed great deposits of the various minerals and hydrocarbons; the forests, on close examination, showed remarkable stands of choice timber; the mountain streams and rivers, when diverted to succor plant life, immediately became immensely valuable, and were found, after the advent of electricity, to be capable of producing almost limitless power for turning the wheels of the various branches of industry that were springing up. Altogether the so-called desert and waste places of the North American continent gave abundant evidence of being among nature's most favored localities, and spots where she had, with lavish hand, provided the valuable resources which, when converted to useful purposes, build up communities, States, and nations.

"A halt was suddenly called to this growth and development. Uncertainty took the place of confidence and a condition of paralysis overtook the West. The mildest language that one can employ in mentioning the causes that led up to this change of national policy and resulting stagnation to western resource development is that covetous eyes looked upon the heritage of the public-land States and there appeared in the land agitators with conservation on their lips—a high-sounding word that, while covering a multitude of meanings, none the less appealed to the American people as the word "thrift" would appeal to a Connecticut Yankee. Like cleverly worded advertising phrases, it "caught," and so it transpired that six years ago there was held, on the invitation of President Roosevelt, at the suggestion of the Inland Waterways Commission, in Washington, D. C., the first conservation congress.

"Called ostensibly for the purpose of considering the proper use of the mineral, land, and water resources of the Nation as matters of vital concern to all the people of the United States, it was assumed that discussions would be confined to waste-prevention measures, and that through the interchange of ideas there would be evolved a wise policy of foresight in the administration of the public domain—a policy which in its practical operation would have in view the needs of the future while adequately meeting the demands and necessities of the present. The conference, however, developed into a spectacular, wordy exploitation of alleged facts regarding the exhaustion of the natural resources. The moderate expressions of fear that wanton waste would work a hardship on future generations that were employed to attract men of prominence to the councils of the conference were relegated by a self-appointed coterie of resource guardians, who, supported by extravagant statements regarding the depletion of the land, timber, mineral, coal, and power resources of the country, raised a hue and cry that brought the startled Nation abruptly to the very brink of a yawning chasm of resource famine. Statistics were presented, and at the time undisputed, to prove that in a very short time the vast mountain ranges would be stripped of ore, that the iron age would be a thing of the past, that people would actually suffer from cold for want of coal, that the mediums of exchange would have to be abolished—in short, that the great American Republic, rich as it was popularly supposed to be, would soon face a veritable bankruptcy of public resource.

"State executives departed from this first conservation congress with the understanding that the several States would have influence, if not voice, in shaping a new and wiser policy of public-land administration. Subsequent developments have proven, however, that the forces behind this movement had no such idea. The deliberations and conclusions of succeeding conferences have been more and more dominated by Government officials and bureaus. In the meantime the continued cry of resource famine has made its impression on Congress, as reflected in the measures extending the powers of the President in land, mineral, timber, oil, and power withdrawals; and the Presidents, on ill-advised recommendations, based on hasty field examinations, have exercised their authority in extensive withdrawals that are most seriously retarding development in the very sections of the country that stand most in need of the vestment of the public domain in the hands of the home builder and those who are willing to develop it on the most liberal terms.

"It is objection to this new policy of resource administration, the outgrowth of the conservation movement, that has been termed a renewal of the old "State rights" questions—a characterization of our protest decidedly unfair and calculated to prejudice our position in the minds of many who would look with disfavor on the revival of that disagreeable controversy. As to our view on the subject: With the fact firmly established that States are admitted into the Union on terms of equality, consider that the Nation has operated for many years under a liberal policy in the disposal of its lands; that the liberal land system has been fundamentally responsible for the growth, development and wealth of the great centers of the East; that an empire within an empire—the great empire of the West—is retarded on the threshold of an era of development that from all indications will eclipse the wonderful growth of the East; that the sale of agricultural land was primarily responsible for the increase in population in the East; that the development of the mineral and coal resources added to the wealth of the East and that the use of all the bounteous gifts of nature made the East what it is to-day.

"Because of the extravagant representations heretofore mentioned, the former liberal policy of the Government has been materially curtailed, vast areas have been withdrawn from entry, new and radical departures in the regulations governing the handling of mineral and oil lands have been adopted, and the cry is going up for Government ownership of all power sites. Under this policy the States wherein the public domain as yet lies practically in its virgin. state are deprived of that benefit that accrued as a direct asset to the older States through the disposal of the public domain and utilization of the public resources thereon. It is obvious that the development which came to the older States through the vestment of the land in individuals will be deprived the younger and less-developed States, and that, while the greatest direct benefit of the former liberal policy accrued to the individual States wherein sales were made, the direct benefits, not only from the sale but from the development of the public lands in the Western States, under the proposed policy will go to all the States of the Union, being distributed as a common fund, which common fund in the past has rarely been appropriated by Congress for internal improvements in the West.

"Suppose the Government leases its mineral, coal, and oil lands and water-power sites and remains forever vested of title. Who can estimate the loss in revenue from taxation that will be suffered by the States wherein these valuable resources are located, which revenues have for years been accruing to the older States and will continue forever to accrue because their resources have been vested in private ownership and are subject to taxation by the States—a thing which it appears will be utterly impossible under the leasing system so long as the Government holds title, since Government lands can not under the Constitution be subjected to taxation?

"This phase of the leasing system alone condemns it as a policy in absolute violation of the spirit of equality of rights in the public domain. A material factor in the growth and development of a State is the distribution of the burden of taxation. Take from the State its right to tax mining claims, the mineral and oil output, the coal product, and the power sites within its boundaries and you rob the Commonwealth of a revenue that has been a source of ever-increasing income to the older States, and increase, rather than diminish, the tax burden the freeholder is already called upon to bear. This, indeed, is a most serious matter to the public-land States. Take, for instance, the State I represent. Utah, with an area of 54,380,000 acres, has but from ten to twelve millions of acres in vested ownership or process of transfer, and much of that consists of grazing lands that yield but slight income through taxation, and according to the records of the United States Land Office there stood of record in Government ownership, as of November 1, this year, over 72 per cent of the entire area of Utah. If our sources of revenue for local self-government were adequate to the increasing demands, or if our revenue were in excess of our needs and we were squandering the income, I grant this national curtailment of State development through land withdrawals would not be so serious, but it is a fact that additional land ownership, with improvements, more extensive mining operations, greater power development, and all those activities that make for a prosperous community are imperative necessities in Utah to keep abreast the expense of maintaining schools, State government, State institutions, and carrying on internal improvements. During the biennial period 1913–14 Utah will expend for purely educational purposes approximately 88 per cent of its entire State revenue from taxation, and when I tell you that in arriving at that percentage public utilities, net proceeds of mines, and all assessments made by the State board of equalization are included with the taxes levied on real estate, personal property, improvements, and all other taxable possessions, you will realize that we are devoting our income to worthy objects. You will realize also that we are facing a very serious problem, and our need for a continuation of those policies which have been the most potent factors in the development of our sister

States is a great one. It is not so much a question as to whether National or State governments shall control the lands and resources as it is an absolute necessity that the lands and resources be placed in the hands of industrious settlers who will develop them, thereby adding to the material welfare of the States in which they lie and the greatness of the Nation of which the States are a part.

"It is but a short step from the mineral leasing system to the leasing of agricultural lands. If it is proper that the sturdy pioneer prospector who stakes his all on a chance that he will add to the mineral production of the country; the man who invests his money, his talents, his energy, the sweat of his brow in delving after the mineral deposits of the Nation, and who, after the expenditure of his means finds a "pay streak," installs machinery, opens up a vein of ore which, but for his persistence, would have remained hidden for centuries, perhaps, must turn over to the Federal Government what he has found, and if he will continue to develop it he must do so as a lessee, why should not the same policy be proper in handling the agricultural lands? Why not let the homeseeker select a piece of raw land which he regards as a possible producer of agricultural products, clear it of sagebrush, plow and seed it, and if in the arid section of the United States, let him, at his own expense, acquire and deliver to that land the water which is necessary to produce the crop; and then, if the experiment be a success and he secures a harvest, let him become a lessee of the Federal Government and work his land, not as an independent freeholder but as a tenant of the National Government, which becomes his landlord? How long, can you tell me, will we be compelled to wait on the National Government to put the agricultural, mineral, oil, and coal lands in a condition for tenancy? Aside from this, landlordism has ever been autocratic, overbearing, while tenantry has developed people who lack in the two most necessary qualities of American citizenship—loyalty and patriotism. In Utah we have been building our State by urging the people to own their homes, to own their places of business, and to own the business in which they are engaged, and it is the only policy that will make for that kind of citizenship which will perpetuate the American form of government. Tenantry is repugnant to the ideals of American citizenship.

"You will agree, I think, that there are two distinct views of the conservation question, the one which, unfortunately, has been the official view—narrow, selfish, looking altogether to the welfare of generations yet unborn, totally ignoring obligations of trusteeship and brushing precedent aside so ruthlessly as to render experience an invaluable thing; and calculated to enrich the General Treasury at the expense of the younger and financially weaker States. The other, the view of those who recognize a tendency toward extravagance in the improvident drafts on the natural resources and who, recognizing the evil, have a sincere desire and determination to avoid waste but continue development.

"In the beginning, we are informed by Holy Writ, after creating the heavens and the earth and all that in them is, God created man and gave him dominion over the fishes of the sea, the fowls of the air and the beasts of the field and bade him use all things created. That dominion man has always held and exercised, and in so doing has been compelled to draw upon the resources largely in accordance with the day and generation in which he lived. Up through the various stages of civilization man has been compelled to gain his living by the use of the things over which God gave him dominion, and so long as civilization endures, so long, indeed, as intelligent beings exist man must continue to live through some method of utilizing the resources about him, and the success of his struggle for survival and advancement will be measured by his ability to understand and make those resources useful to his purposes with least extravagance and loss.

"The one important consideration in connection with the handling of our resources, overlooked by the conservationist, is the fact that primitive man made but primitive drafts upon the resources which he found most easily available and convertible, and just so long as those drafts were primitive, man remained primitive; when modern man made modern requisition on nature's storehouse, civilization had attained a much higher perfection.

"When men lived in mounds and caves, the forests were slightly disturbed and civilization was not very far advanced; when they rubbed sticks to make a fire, sulphur was not being exhausted; when they paddled in canoes and traveled overland by horseback, our steel deposits were aging in the everlasting hills; when men went whaling for blubber to make candles, electricity was unknown and this powerful and subtle force was a mystery of the elements; when men gathered a few sticks of driftwood to cook their meals, the coal deposits were unmolested; when scribes were a rarity, if not a novelty, and historians carved heiroglyphics in stone, wood pulp was not even in demand; and when men were content to merely exist, the demands that manufacture, trade, and commerce have made upon our natural resources were not even dreamed of.

"Look conservation squarely in the face and answer: Would you exchange the modern home, with its accessories and comforts, made possible through the use of the natural resources, for the dugout of the man who made his home in the mound, or the habitation of the cliff dweller? Would you exchange your sulphur match for the wooden stick or flint of days gone by? Would you barter your electric lamp for the candle made from the blubber of whale? Would you give up your modern sea vessel or twentieth century steel train, your automobile, for the canoe of your forefathers, the horse of the mail carrier, or the one-hoss shay of your ancestors? Would you give up your newspapers, your magazines, your libraries, your textbooks for the tablets of stone? Would you silence the busy machinery of manufacture, would you stop the wheels of commerce to go back to the life of a century ago? Would you exchange all or any of those accessories of modern civilization for every atom of natural resource that entered into their making?

"Would any one of you, having at heart, first, the true interests of your country; second, the welfare of the State you represent; and, third, the well-being of your fellow men, exchange 100 families, who were willing to temporarily forego the comforts of life and locate on the public domain for the sacred purpose of home building, uproot the sage and greasewood, drive the plow into the parched earth, conserve the sunshine, the rain, the snow; make the land fruitful and pleasing to look upon where before it was a barren and dreary waste; drive the lean and hungry coyote one ridge farther back toward the fastness of the mountains; would you exchange 100 State builders for a forest reserve, with a small stand of timber, a vast area of sagebrush, and a forlorn hope that seeds from Germany will produce timber for the use of generations yet unborn?

"In his message to Congress December 4, 1832, President Andrew Jackson said:

"It can not be doubted that the speedy settlement of these (public) lands constitutes the true and best interest of the Republic. The wealth and strength of the country are its population and the best part of the population are the cultivators of the soil. Independent farmers are everywhere the basis of society and true friends of liberty.

"In addition to these considerations questions have already arisen and may be expected hereafter to grow out of the public lands which involve the rights of the new States and the powers of the General Government, and unless a liberal policy be now adopted there is danger that these questions may speedily assume importance not now generally anticipated. The influence of a great sectional interest when brought into full action will be more dangerous to the harmony and unison of the States than any other cause of discontent, and it is the part of wisdom and sound policy to foresee its approaches and endeavor if possible to counteract them.

"It seems to me to be our true policy that the public lands shall cease as soon as practicable to be a source of revenue, and that they be sold to settlers in limited parcels at a price barely sufficient to reimburse the United States the expenses of the present system and costs arising in our Indian compacts. The advantages of accurate surveys and undoubted titles now secured to purchasers seem to forbid the abolition of the present system, because none can be substituted which will more perfectly accomplish these important ends. It is desirable, however, that in time this machinery be withdrawn from the States and the right of sale and the future disposition of it surrendered to the States, respectively, in which it lies.

"The adventurous and hardy population of the West, besides contributing their equal share of taxation under our impost system, have in the progress of our Government, for the lands they occupy, paid into the Treasury a large portion of $40,000,000, and of the revenue received therefrom but a small part has been expended amongst them. When, to the disadvantage of their situation in this respect, we add the consideration that it is their labor alone which gives us real value to the lands and that the proceeds arising from their sale are distributed generally among the States which had not originally any claims to them, and which have enjoyed the undivided emoluments arising from the sale of their own lands, it can not be expected that the new States will remain longer content with the present policy for the payment of the public debt. To avert the consequences which may be apprehended from this cause to put an end forever to all partial and interested legislation on the subject and to afford to every American citizen of enterprise the opportunity of securing an independent freehold, it seems to me, therefore, best to abandon the idea of raising the future revenue out of the public lands.

"In the United States and Alaska there is a total area of 2,315,310,728 acres, including a water surface of 34,000,000 acres. The great bulk of this area was at one time or another a part of the public domain. It is not only interesting as a matter of history, but imperative as a matter of information, if we would pass intelligent judgment on the present public-land question, to ascertain how this immense estate has been divided and distributed.

"Eighteen States—Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, South Carolina, Pennsylvania,

Rhode Island, Tennessee, Vermont, Virginia, and West Virginia—retained exclusive jurisdiction to all the lands within their respective borders, and Texas, on admission to the Union, did likewise. All told, those States reserved jurisdiction to 473,712,320 acres (including the District of Columbia), or 20.47 per cent of the entire area of the United States. In the 18 States of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Dakota, and Wisconsin are 701,383,480 acres, or 30.04 per cent of the total area of the United States. On June 30, 1913, according to the report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, these States contained but 7,914,929 acres of unappropriated and unreserved public lands. In the 11 remaining States—Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming—commonly called the public-land States—there is a total area of 761,044,620 acres, or 32.88 per cent of the total area of the United States, of which 290,016,757 acres, or 38 per cent, was unappropriated and unreserved June 30, 1913. The Government reservations at that time within these States approximated 191,797,151 acres, so that about 63.3 per cent of the total area of these States is still awaiting settlement. The remaining 10.63 per cent of the total area is in the Territory of Alaska, which embraces 378,165,760 acres.

"In pursuance of the national policy regarding reservations out of the public domain of such parcels of the public land as may be necessary for the common defense or the general welfare, or, in other words, such as are required to be appropriated for national uses, immediate and expectant, Congress has established from time to time military and naval reservations, Indian reservations, and lighthouse reserves, and in addition, in furtherance of the conservation idea, has established parks, national monuments, and forest reservations. While these are intended primarily for the benefit of the whole of the United States, it is interesting to note their location.

"United States Indian reservations, according to the latest available figures, June 30, 1912, embraced 38,903,388 acres, of which 32,752,630, or 84.2 per cent, were in the 11 public-land States.

"The total area of national-forest reserves June 30, 1913 (exclusive of Alaska, 26,748,850, and inclusive of Porto Rico), was 159,867,798 acres. Of this 152,945,148 acres, or 95.67 per cent, were in the 11 public-land States.

"On June 30, 1913, there were 28 national monuments in the United States and Alaska, embracing 1,508,627 acres. All but 1,337 acres were in the public-land States.

"The national parks have an area of 4,606,153 acres. The public-land States contain 97 per cent of this area, or all but 13,061 acres, and the Secretary of the Interior, in 1910, urged that the four parks embracing this area be ceded to the States wherein they respectively lie.

"These reservations total an area of 204,885,967 acres, exclusive of Alaska, and 93 per cent, or 191,797,151 acres, are in the public-land States of the West.

"Now, gentlemen, one skyscraper in a desert does not make a city, nor do a number of office buildings. A city grows by reason of the fact that the country surrounding it is owned and farmed, because it is furnishing lumber, because it is producing ore, or because the river on which it is located accommodates commerce or produces power. One city does not make a commonwealth. It takes many cities with many farming, stock-raising, and mining communities to make a State, and a State becomes great only as population increases and enterprises are developed. One State does not make a nation, and the seat of government and the great commercial centers are what they are only by reason of what is back of them. And that something back of them is the constructive and development force that supplies the arteries of the nation and makes it great. It is the pride of every American that this great Nation occupies its present high position among the countries of the world, and it should be the individual responsibility of every citizen to see to it that in the future the United States shall hold none but first place among the nations. That position can be maintained only through unceasing activity in development. It matters not in what section of the country our enterprises are curtailed through the operations of laws or policies of the National Government, the moment stagnation overtakes development and enterprise any place in this broad land, the curtailment is disastrous to the immediate locality and will surely be reflected in national shrinkage.

"The natural resources within the given boundaries of a State, whether vested in private, State, or Federal ownership, constitute the capital upon which that particular State must conduct its business, and that capital should not be impaired by stagnation. The business of the Government and the business of the States is being properly conducted only when the public lands go to the bona fide homeseeker; when the minerals are being converted into wealth; when the waters are being used for navigation, irrigation, and power; and when the timber is being cut to build homes, schoolhouses, and public buildings. And the Capital of the Nation and the State and the individual is being most seriously impaired when the employment of these great natural resources whose use creates life and prosperity is so restricted as to prevent their free and unlimited development.

"If we can not utilize our resources to produce valuable results, then we are poor, indeed, since poverty is the lack of property and adequate means of support. Our plea is an appeal for opportunity to make useful and profitable the great resources at our doors. We need and must have them, and, as I have before stated, the question of who shall control and dispose of them is a matter of minor importance compared with the need that they be placed in the hands of those who will develop them; and the necessity that transfers be made without the red tape and uncertainty that characterizes such conveyances as are now made of the public lands. When State selections are clear listed to the States and the States, in good faith, enter into contracts of sale with bona fide purchasers, it is but reasonable to demand that the National Government, which through its field experts has examined and classified the lands, permit titles to pass without involving purchasers in expensive litigation and without placing the States in a position where they can not live up to their contracts.

"That is what we are experiencing in Utah to-day. Aside from the fact that a great percentage of our lands have been withdrawn from entry, the titles to many of our school sections which we attempt to sell are clouded by arbitrary department rulings and local land-office decisions to such an extent that people hesitate to enter into contracts for their purchase; and all this in violation of the land grants under the enabling act of the State.

"The West solicits no sympathy, asks no favors, pleads for no advantages, but demands consistency and fair play and equal opportunity with her sister States in handling her resources."

Pension Legislation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. S. KIRKPATRICK,
OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 18, 1915.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK. Mr. Speaker, before proceeding to the consideration of pensions and pension legislation, I desire to speak of what is commonly called, and generally known as, "gag rule." To me the word or term is both harsh and offensive, but the gag does not do its bidding or perform the functions in the sense of its application. Thus for illustration, as in the present case, a rule is brought in limiting general debate on the pension appropriation bill to six hours, but how is the limited time being utilized or appropriated?

The dial of the clock indicates that 5 hours of the allotted time has passed, and only 30 minutes of the same has been made use of in what I would call legitimate discussion of the measure, fully nine-tenths of the allotted time having been used in "wind-jamming" and "hot-air" methods altogether foreign to the subject at hand, but akin to the swan song of calamity howling.

Mr. Speaker, I intend to support the amendment of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BORLAND], which provides that no pensioner living abroad or beyond the confines of the United States, and having forfeited all rights to citizenship in this country by renouncing all his or her allegiance to this country, shall receive any pension on or after the passage of this act except in such cases where injuries were incurred in the line of military duty. Of this number, I am informed, there are about 5,000, and the gratuities paid this class of pensioners exceed $1,000,000 annually.

I am in favor of removing the restrictions now existing against women who have married Civil War veterans since June 27, 1890, or at least extending that time to January 1, 1900. Then there is the class of soldiers who enlisted for 90 days, who for some reason were discharged one, two, or three days before their time of enlistment expired, and can not now recover a service pension. Then there is another class of pen-

sioners, war widows, getting 40 cents a day. A President's widow gets $5,000 a year, with no military record. Now, a war widow can easily forfeit her daily allotment with a view of remarrying, but the pension paid a President's widow is almost prohibitive.

There was Mrs. McKinley, a noble woman, God bless her! The Congress granted her an annuity of $5,000. Now, some will say that Mrs. McKinley's husband was killed. Regretfully true; but many a real war-widow's husband was also killed, and her only recompense is the paltry sum of $12 a month. While the pension fund is the most equitable fund that is disbursed by the Government, still the manner of compensation and distribution in many cases is almost intolerable.

Talk about compensating a soldier for having lost an arm or a leg, or having lost his sight, at the rate of $40 a month! Yet there is some consolation in the fact that when one leg is a little shorter, then the other is a little longer. A war widow should receive at least the pension paid her husband before his death.

The pension budget this year will scarcely exceed $150,000,000, a per capita of $1.50. None of the fund so paid is lost. Automatically it goes back into the legitimate channels of trade, industry, and commerce. All this promotes prosperity. Stop the payment of a quarterly installment to-day, and 90 days later withhold the payment of another, and under past financial agencies a panic would ensue. A bill of mine lies withering in committee, authorizing the payment of pensions monthly. Who of us in this House would vote for the adjustment of our salaries on the quarterly plan instead of monthly? The monthly payment plan would turn loose many millions of dollars 30 and 60 days in advance of the present time, thus enabling the business world to discount many of their time obligations.

Senator Ben Wade once said in the Senate of the United States:

I am for the laboring portion of our people; the rich can take care of themselves.

Thus, Mr. Speaker, I am for the men who saved this country from all the influences of dissolution and destruction.

The Post Office Department.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. CALDER.
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 20, 1915,

On the bill (H. R. 21328) making appropriations for the support of the Military Academy for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, and for other purposes.

Mr. CALDER. Mr. Speaker, I have read with considerable interest the press dispatches and editorial comment on the policy of the administration in economizing and reducing the expenditures for conducting the public business in the different departments of the Government. These announcements seem to have struck a responsive and sympathetic chord in the public mind and in the minds of public men, judging from the expressions of opinion by many of the Members of this body with whom I have discussed the subject. The impression seems to be going forth that the Democratic administration was about to redeem its pledges made to the people in the campaign of 1912. In order to satisfy myself on the subject and be prepared to discuss the matter intelligently, I examined the Book of Estimates issued by the Treasury Department, which contains the estimates of the department heads for conducting the business of the Government over which they have jurisdiction. I also read the reports of these officers and the recommendations contained therein.

I desire to confine my remarks to the Postal Service, and will therefore draw the attention of the Members of the House to several statements that appear in the report of the Postmaster General. I believe they are worthy our serious thought and consideration and should be brought to the attention of the country in their true light. The report of the Postmaster General is in a sense a remarkable document, and one in which his conclusions and recommendations will attach to the name and memory of the present head of the Post Office Department long after he ceases to preside over its affairs.

In the name of economy, he recommends the repeal of the 8-hour law for postal employees, and a repeal of the law which grants to these employees one day of rest each week, both of which are recognized principles of this Government in regulating the working conditions of employees. He recommends letting out to contractors the delivery of mail on rural routes, forgetting evidently the scandals of past years when this system was in vogue for carrying mail on star routes. He recommends the repeal of the law which regulates and classifies the salaries of railway mail clerks, post-office clerks, and city letter carriers so that it will be impossible for these employees, no matter how efficient they may be, to receive a promotion in a shorter period than two years. He recommends a reduction in the pay of substitute employees who under the most favorable conditions do not make a sufficient amount to keep body and soul together under present conditions. He recommends a readjustment of the salaries of postmasters, which means on its face a reduction in the salaries of the great majority of men who have charge of the post offices throughout the country. He recommends the enactment of a law that will compel our citizens to erect private mail receptacles for the receipt of mail, and on failure to do so would compel the public to call at post offices for their own mail.

All these recommendations and many others of a similar character are proposed in the name of economy. Yes, Mr. Speaker, to read the report one would think that the Postmaster General is evolving a plan that will meet with popular approval. He seems not to have graduated from the old school that believed in getting the last ounce of energy out of those who do the real hard work in the department over which he presides.

To the credit of the House Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads let it be said that they refused to embody in the Post Office appropriation bill the recommendations that would place the Postal Service back in the same condition it was in 20 years ago. Every recommendation above referred to would, if enacted into law, mean the taking away of some beneficial legislation that has been granted by Congress in recent years to improve the working conditions of the employees. His recommendations mean that the reforms that it took years to bring about are to be thrown aside on the recommendation of an official who knows little or nothing about the practical workings of post offices. His report shows a total disregard for the welfare of the great army of employees whose comfort and well-being in performing their daily labors are under his jurisdiction.

This may be economy as Postmaster General Burleson sees it, and it may be the only way he can conceive of to economize in expenditures, but this kind of economy has never met with approval by the taxpayers of this country when they have had a chance to express their opinion at the ballot box.

PROMISES OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOR ECONOMY.

The Democratic Party has made promises of economy to the American people. It seems, however, that with them promises and performances are two different and unrelated things, as was shown by the Baltimore platform and the total appropriations of the last session of Congress. Since that time an election has been held and the result has been very disquieting to our friends who have been in charge of the Government for the past two years. Millions of dollars have been expended in the appointment of committees or commissions to investigate every conceivable thing under the face of the sun, and the reports speak for themselves. Now, after two years of control in every branch of Government, during which time the business of the country has been thrown into a state of chaos and hundreds of thousands of men are idle who should be employed, a new spirit takes hold of the administrative officers. A spirit of economy so called, and it is heralded throughout the country by the publicity bureaus maintained in each of the several departments of the Government.

Let us take some of the recommendations of the Postmaster General and get at their real meaning.

TO ABOLISH THE POSITION OF ASSISTANT POSTMASTER.

It is recommended that the position of assistant postmaster be abolished. A dissertation then follows the recommendation showing how useless the position of assistant postmaster is to the service, and how the duties of this official are to devolve upon two new officials to be created under the proposed plan of economy. Those of us who were in the House during the last session remember the several attempts that were made to take assistant postmasters from under the protection of the civil-service law. All sorts of arguments were advanced showing why this position should be exempt from the civil service, but the only one and true reason was a desire of our friends on the Democratic side of the House to have these positions filled by appointment of party followers under the spoils system. The attempt failed, and now a new scheme is evolved and we are told that assistant postmasters are needless officials, as

they are to be replaced by appointment of two high-priced officials with other designations whose salaries will be far in excess of those paid to assistant postmasters at the present time.

TO COMPEL EMPLOYEES TO WORK SEVEN DAYS A WEEK.

The attempt to repeal the law which allows a day of rest each week for the employees who collect, distribute, dispatch, and deliver the mails is based on the statement that the department should have more latitude, and that it would be a saving to the Government in money.

Prior to the enactment of the act of August 24, 1912, post offices were open for the delivery of mail to the public on Sundays and letter carriers and post-office clerks were required to report for duty to prepare the mail for delivery. The hours of duty required of these employees varied with the temperament of the postmaster and supervisory employees in each post office.

It was not a case of necessity, but how much or how little work the officials required of the men. The corridors of some of our post offices on Sundays became the rendezvous of undesirable characters. In some cities it caused scandal, and the result was that the clergy and the business men protested so strongly that a law was passed closing post offices on Sundays and granting compensatory time to employees who were required to work on Sundays to be given on one of the six days following the Sunday that such service was performed. The result was that not only were the employees benefited by a day of rest, but many business men broke themselves of the habit of going to their offices on Sundays, and they, too, were benefited by a day of rest. We do not hear of complaints to compel the employees to work seven days a week, nor is there any demand for opening post offices again. The only complaint is from the present officials of the Post Office Department, who maintain that it costs money to employ substitutes when necessary to grant compensatory time to employees who work on Sunday and from the standpoint of economy that the employees should be required to work without any recompense whatever other than compensatory time off when the employees can be spared by local officials. That was the law prior to the act of August 24, 1912, and it was the cause of continuous complaint on the part of the employees, many of whom never received compensatory time nor an equivalent for work performed on Sunday.

The refreshing influences of the weekly day of rest on a person subjected to the strenuous routine of a busy life is best appreciated by those who are required to work hard for a livelihood. The efficiency of the workingman, the length of the working-day, the interjection of pauses for rest in the schedule of labor for persons of different ages and stations in life are questions that are constantly arising for solution on a scientific basis. Fatigue is the enemy of efficiency, and to deduct and compensate for or overcome it is the duty of those concerned with the promotion of human welfare.

And now, Mr. Speaker, I trust that the Members of this House, instead of giving ear to any suggestions for a repeal or modification of the weekly rest-day law for postal employees, will go a step further and at the first opportunity enact a law that will require a day of rest each week for every employee in the Government service.

RURAL FREE DELIVERY SERVICE.

In his annual report the Postmaster General draws attention to the cost for maintaining the rural delivery and collection service. He maintains that this service is entailing an expense to the Government of $40,000,000 in excess of the revenues produced by the service. He then draws a comparison between the star-route service and the Rural Delivery Service and how the star-route service is maintained at a much lower cost than the Rural Delivery Service. In fact he makes the statement that if the Rural Delivery Service were placed on a contract basis there would be a possible saving to the Government of from $15,000,000 to $20,000,000 annually. His final conclusion regarding the future of the Rural Delivery Service is that it should be placed on a contract basis, and he so recommends in his report.

There is not a question of doubt in the mind of any business man that a great saving in money could be had by placing the Rural Delivery Service on a contract basis. Any service of the Government could be maintained at a lower cost if such service were placed in competition and awarded to the lowest bidder. The Postmaster General seems to be unduly alarmed at the action of the Congress in granting increased compensation to rural delivery carriers. He claims to have hundreds of letters of protest from patrons on the rural delivery routes against the granting of increase in salaries. He even enlightens us with some of the suggestions contained in this numerous correspondence, one individual going so far as proposing to collect and deliver all mail matter on rural routes of the country for $10,000,000 less than the present cost.

I do not believe that the American people or the Congress will look with favor on the suggestions contained in the Postmaster General's report to have the rural delivery and collection service let out to contractors. It would be impossible to have the same supervision over a contract service or to maintain the same discipline among the contractors or their employees or to expect a contract service to be maintained at the same standard of efficiency as now prevails in the Rural Delivery Service by rural delivery carriers. Under a contract system contractors could employ whoever they might see fit to deliver and collect the mail in rural communities, whether such employees would be looked on with favor by the patrons on the different districts or not. Character, ability, or efficiency would cut no figure whatever. It would be a case of employing the cheapest kind of labor in order that a profit might be made by the contractor.

Under the present system before a rural letter carrier is appointed he must file application, certify to his character, and show that he is a fit man for the service before he is permitted to take a competitive civil-service examination. Even after he has complied with all the requirements sent out by the department and the Civil Service Commission, if there is any decided objection to the man, even though he be at the head of the eligible list for appointment, the postmaster can recommend rejecting his name by giving good and sufficient reasons. There can be no comparison between men selected under the system now in vogue and the class of men that would be mustered into the service under a contract basis. The economy suggested in the imaginative mind of the Postmaster General could not possibly compensate the Government or the people of this country by destroying the Rural Delivery Service, which has been built up to its present high standard, and turn it over to contractors, where it would degenerate into a question of dollars and cents to the contractors. It might be well for the Postmaster General to look through the files and records of the Post Office Department and refresh his memory on the famous star-route frauds that shocked the country several years ago. If he is prepared to risk a repetition of these scandals, I do not think that the Congress will agree with him.

It seems to me that the several recommendations of the Postmaster General, wherein he proposes to reduce the salaries of postmasters, to repeal the eight-hour law for postal employees, to repeal the law that grants the employees a day of rest each week, to reduce the pay of substitute employees who are paid by the hour for the actual time they are employed, to amend the classification act so that employees would not be entitled to annual promotions, no matter how meritorious the service they might render the Government, and the placing of the Rural Delivery Service on a contract basis in the name of economy, is going to extremes. If the Rural Delivery Service is to be destroyed and every piece of constructive legislation that has been passed by the Congress in recent years of benefit to the working force in the Postal Service is to be taken from them, it will result in complete destruction of the Postal Service, both city and rural, that it has taken years of patient effort to build up.

Indian Military Training School at Carlisle, in the State of Pennsylvania.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN H. STEPHENS,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 22, 1915.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, we are supporting a Government Indian coeducational school at Carlisle, Pa., that, in my judgment, could and should be changed to an Indian military training school. I have introduced in this Congress a bill to effect that purpose. The bill is as follows:

A bill (H. R. 21036) to establish and maintain an Indian military training school at Carlisle, in the State of Pennsylvania, and to discontinue the present Indian school at that place.

Be it enacted, etc., That in order more effectually to provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining troops for service in time of war and more quickly to raise and support an army in the event of war, and for the purpose of maintaining an efficient Indian reserve corps, there is hereby designated and established in the State of Pennsylvania and in the city of Carlisle an Indian educational and military training institu-

tion to be known as the United States Indian military academy at Carlisle, in the State of Pennsylvania.

SEC. 2. That the Carlisle Indian School in said city and State as now constituted by law shall be, and the same is hereby, discontinued on and after July 1, 1915, and all the property of said school, real, personal, and mixed, now used, owned, or held by the United States for the purpose of and in connection with the said Carlisle Indian School be, and the same is hereby, transferred to the aforesaid United States Indian military academy at Carlisle, Pa.

SEC. 3. That for the purpose of carrying this enactment into effect a board of control consisting of the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Interior, and an officer of the United States Army of high character and attainments, to be appointed by the President, is hereby established.

The said Army officer when so appointed shall be the superintendent of said Indian academy. That the duties of this board shall be to cooperate with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the superintendents of the various Indian schools for the purpose of carrying out the terms and provisions of this act.

SEC. 4. That said board of control shall have power to make and enforce all needful rules and regulations governing the admission of students to said institution, the military discipline, the number of hours given to military instruction and drills, the guarding of the barracks, the conduct of the students, their punishment or dismissal for infraction of rules, the granting of furloughs in vacation, the designation of uniforms, the calls to summer camp service, calls to war service, recommendations of graduates to reserve officers, the register of their names as required by the rules of the board, together with all such needful rules and regulations pertaining to the military features of such institution and calls to service during the contract period. All allotments of money to said academy shall be made by said board of control on the basis, as far as may be practicable, that the cadets may be kept, maintained, and educated, including board in said academy, at $200 each per year.

SEC. 5. That the members of said board of control shall receive no compensation for their services on said board other than they now receive by law.

The Secretary of War shall be president of said board. The Army officer superintendent provided for herein shall be secretary of the board, and shall devote his entire time and attention to the work of the board and his duties as superintendent.

SEC. 6. That the board of control shall accept for admission in said academy no boy who is not over 17 and under 20 years of age, is of good moral character, sound of body, fit to be a soldier, of good mind and health, and is one-fourth or more of Indian blood, and is able to pass a reasonable examination to be prescribed by the board of control touching the following subjects, namely, reading, writing, English grammar, United States history, general geography, arithmetic, and the first principles of algebra. No boy shall be entitled to admission in such institution unless he is willing to agree and does agree, in writing, that he will serve in said academy during the whole course unless sooner graduated, as hereinafter provided, and that after his graduation he will serve the United States at any time he may be called upon by the Secretary of War within a period of seven years after his graduation; that during the seven years after his graduation he will keep the War Department notified of his residence and his change of residence, if any, and during said period he will respond to any call made on him to enter the military service of the United States for any period for which his services may be needed, not to exceed the seven-year period; that he will, when required by the board of control, serve in times of peace in summer military training camps for a period not exceeding six weeks in any one year during said period.

SEC. 7. That the board of control shall provide suitable campus or drill grounds for the use of said student corps; that it will furnish a full quota of trained and efficient teachers to give said students a thorough academic education, consisting of not less than three nor more than four years' course, followed as near as may be after the course of study now prescribed at the United States Military Academy at West Point, N. Y. The United States shall furnish, and the War Department is hereby authorized to issue, such arms, ammunition, equipments, stores, service uniforms, and such other like articles as may be necessary for the use of such students and which may be furnished without injury to the military service.

The cost of training, the discipline, the organization of students in corps, the rules and regulations governing the training, mental and physical, at said academy shall be followed as closely after the course of instruction and discipline in vogue at the said United States Military Academy at West Point as may be practicable.

SEC. 8. That the sum of $200,000 is hereby appropriated, to be paid out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the purpose of carrying into effect this act for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916.

The American Flag.

If we allow the merchant marine of belligerent countries to fly our flag to deceive their enemies, it will soon cease to afford protection to American citizens and to the American merchant marine. When the American flag floats over a ship at sea, it should mean that the ship, its passengers, its crew, and cargo will be protected to the last limit of American power.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES H. BURKE,

OF SOUTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 24, 1915.

Mr. BURKE of South Dakota. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that there may be printed in the RECORD a speech of my colleague, Mr. MARTIN, made at a patriotic meeting in the New York Hippodrome, in the city of New York, on the evening before Washington's Birthday, February 21, 1915.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The speech referred to is as follows:

THE AMERICAN FLAG.

Mr. Chairman, citizens of New York, this meeting is dedicated to the sentiment America first—and I will add America last and America all the time.

The nations of Europe are engaged in the most destructive war of all history. From our viewpoint it appears to be unjustifiable, deplorable, and cruel beyond the power of language to describe. It is inevitable that our minds should be horrified and our sympathies aroused. Ties of blood and relationship bind us to the people of one or the other of the contending nations. Ours is a composite citizenship. Go back far enough and you will find a European or a British ancestry for almost every American citizen. But whatever our origin we are now Americans. I deserve no special credit for my Americanism, for I was born so. Some of you are entitled to credit for your citizenship, because you are Americans by choice. Our obligations to the United States, however, are the same. This is one country. This is our country. A man has as much right to be false to the wife he has married as to the country he has adopted.

Absolute neutrality between the warring powers is the only attitude that the United States can assume. No other course can preserve our own peace or render us serviceable to the rest of the world in adjusting international disagreements when the smoke of battle shall have cleared away.

The man who now encourages partisanship or organizes our citizens into classes promoting the cause of one or the other of the belligerent nations is conferring a very dubious service upon the nation with which he sympathizes and is distinctly disloyal to his own Government. This is no time for disintegration; this is the hour when all elements of our population should be cemented together into one solid mass of loyal American citizenship.

Patriotism is one of the noblest sentiments that can inspire the human breast. It stands for country and home and fireside and wife and children. Aye, more, it comes to represent great ideas of progress and fundamental principles of civilization. Our own country is worthy of our most rigid loyalty and our undivided devotion. This is the land of justice, of humanity, of liberty, and universal opportunity. And the visible symbol of our national greatness, that which stands for American sovereignty on land and on sea, is the most beautiful of all national colors, the Star-Spangled Banner, Old Glory, our beloved American flag.

And the Star-Spangled Banner, O long may it wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

My voice is raised among you to-night for the integrity of the American flag. Within the last two weeks at least two British merchant vessels have been sailing in dangerous waters flying the American colors. In my opinion this is a very serious violation not only of that comity which prevails between civilized nations, but as well of the more enlightened principles of international law, and an incident which, if allowed to go unchallenged, would likely lead us into serious international complications. The Secretary of State has lodged a mild protest against this custom, calling attention to the dangers that may result to American shipping if it is not discontinued. The reply of the British Government, published yesterday, disclaims any purpose to use foreign flags as a general practice, but is reluctant to desist from using them on merchant vessels to prevent capture or destruction.

Manifestly the situation is a difficult one in our international relations.

I believe the administration will find it necessary to make the protest strong and clear, so that no doubt whatever shall remain as to the attitude of the Government at Washington upon the question.

A bill is introduced in Congress prohibiting the master of any foreign vessel to use the American flag for the purpose of disguising the nationality of his vessel, and providing severe penalties, including the confiscation of the vessel whenever it may be found in American waters. It is probably not necessary nor opportune to press this bill to passage at this moment. Owing to the strained conditions of war, it is probably better to manage the question by diplomacy instead of legislation right at the present time. But at some appropriate time the bill should be passed.

We find a curious development of the law of nations upon the use of flags in warfare, having reference to whether the conflict is upon land or upon the sea. More than half a century ago all civilized nations provided in their rules of warfare that nothing but the flag of the nation actually in conflict should be used in war upon land, and that has been our law ever

since 1863. The instructions to the Army in 1863 contained this paragraph:

The use of the enemy's national standard flag or other emblem of nationality for the purpose of deceiving the enemy in battle is an act of perfidy by which they lose all claim for protection under the laws of war.

The same is the law of Great Britain and other European countries when fighting upon land; but by reason of a curious anomaly, which is understood only when you look into it carefully, the use of a foreign flag as a ruse has been allowed on the sea. Of course land warfare has always been a hand-to-hand combat, and therefore the need of fairness, even in war, has always been recognized on land. On the other hand, battles on the sea until recently have been of a very different character. But now as soon as a vessel may come in sight over the horizon a modern gun may destroy it; and recently with the use of the torpedo, and particularly now with the use of the submarine, the whole damage may be done in an instant. The reason for any different rule on land and sea has therefore disappeared.

The submarine keeps out of sight. A single shot from a hostile ship might destroy it. It can not expose itself close enough to make a minute examination of its enemy, or the whole advantage of warfare would be gone. It obtains its information as to the nationality of a ship from the flag it flies, and if it is a ship of a belligerent power it lays its plan to destroy it, and that is its purpose. Therefore any nation that has afloat on the high seas either a warship or a merchant marine is vitally interested in the integrity of its emblem of nationality.

At our War College, in Newport, in 1906, the advanced thought on this subject was formulated and embodied in their report; and I will read from the recommendation of our military experts upon what should be the custom at sea as well as upon land:

It is now generally considered that a neutral has an exclusive right to the use of his own flag and the right to prescribe under what conditions it may be used. A neutral would seem to be acting reasonably in demanding that his national emblem shall not be used by a belligerent to cover any act which may work injury to the other belligerent which, as regards the neutral, is a friendly state. While the practice has hitherto been tolerated, it seems to be an infringement of the natural rights of the neutral state. It may also work hardship for a neutral vessel; for when the use of its colors is permitted to either belligerent it can not surely establish its identity by raising its national flag. Such standards of action have long been eliminated from land warfare, and its continuance on the sea is hardly in accord with the standard of fair dealing which generally obtains in naval warfare.

Dr. Taylor in his American work on international law says:

At sea as on land, the use of false colors in war is forbidden. When a vessel is summoned to lie to, or before a gun is fired in action, the national colors should be displayed. And yet it is lawful to use false colors as a ruse, as Nelson did while he lay off Barcelona, for a long time showing the French flag, with the object of drawing out the ships of Spain, then allied with France.

It will be observed that the use of another flag by Nelson, under these circumstances, was upon a battleship, and he used the flag of a belligerent ally for the purpose of deceiving the enemy.

Calvo, a French author, in his work on international law has this to say:

The flag is the visible sign of the national character of a ship. Each State has its own colors, under which its nationals sail, and which can not be used without its permission.

The assumption of a flag of a foreign State without its authorization is considered as a violation of international law, as a device both fraudulent and injurious to the honor of such State. Both the State whose flag is wrongfully used and that in regard to which the use of the false flag is made have the right to demand the punishment of the guilty persons and, according to circumstances, to punish them themselves.

It is significant that this sensible doctrine is from a citizen of France, a nation allied with Great Britain in the present war. It is not believed that the use of neutral flags upon merchant vessels has ever been generally countenanced by maritime powers, and that their use by war vessels is not in accord with the enlightened thought of our twentieth-century civilization.

I think it will appear upon the most casual consideration that a failure to protest against the unwarranted use of the national colors would be a tacit consent to their use. It would be so interpreted by the other belligerent powers and as a practical favoritism to the nation whose citizens undertake to deceive the enemy by the use of a flag of a neutral power.

If Great Britain could assume the flag of the American merchant marine for her craft, the merchant marine of any other country could do the same; and if the belligerent countries can fly the American colors over their vessels, the neutral powers can do the same, and our flag would become an object of disrespect throughout the world.

If we allow the merchant marine of belligerent countries to fly our flag to deceive their enemies, it will soon cease to afford protection to American citizens and to the American merchant marine. When the American flag floats over a ship at sea it should mean that the ship, its passengers, its crew, and cargo will be protected to the last limit of American power.

We use a flag. What does it mean? It means American sovereignty, and it will be defended in connection with all that American sovereignty signifies.

The circumstance that citizens of the United States were traveling on the *Lusitania* does not alter the situation in any degree. Persons and residents of the United States in time of war who desire to go to foreign countries and, instead of embarking on American ships or upon ships of some neutral country, embark upon a boat of any belligerent nation, do so with full knowledge of all the contingencies and extra hazards that apply to conditions of war.

By what I have said I do not mean to intimate that there is any lessening whatever of the right of an American citizen anywhere in the world to be protected by the American flag. If the *Lusitania* had been in danger of destruction—which I know not—the American citizens aboard that vessel might have gathered in a group and raised the American flag themselves, as indicating by that visible emblem that they were citizens of the United States and that they desired the protection of the American Nation.

That would have been no violation of any rule of war or any rule of peace. In a foreign country an American citizen may raise the American flag to show that he is an American citizen and that he expects to obtain its protection, and his right to do so would be recognized by the laws of nations.

Of course, in order to preserve our neutrality upon the difficult questions arising during the progress of this war, it is essential that we keep ourselves within the recognized principles of international law. International law is not an exact science. Furthermore it is a science of slow growth. The law can not be made by one nation, but by the assent of all nations. While the discontinuance of the use of neutral flags in naval warfare has not been agreed to by all nations, it is universally recognized that the flag is the national property of the nation that selects it, and it would be a distinctly unfriendly act to use our national colors contrary to our expressed wishes and desires.

Now, I want to emphasize again the statement that I made earlier in this address. In my judgment, if we permit any of these belligerent nations indiscriminately to use the American flag in order to disguise the actual nationality of their ships, it will inevitably lead us into serious international difficulties, even if it does not lead us into actual participation in this war.

Nothing that I have said is intended in a spirit of criticism of the administration. I realize that in time of war the difficulty of sailing between Scylla and Charybdis, in the dangers that beset us, is very great, and I would not have anything that I might say embarrass the administration in any degree. Our President is meeting the grave responsibilities that rest upon the Executive in these trying times with great patience and patriotism. But I have desired to say that the rules of nations, as recognized by advanced international thought upon the subject, consider it as much an act of perfidy to deceive in naval warfare as in war upon the land and as to this precise question of the right to use the flag of a neutral nation. And I say, furthermore, that the right of each nation to say how its flag shall be used is recognized everywhere. And in the next place, and finally, unless we do prescribe how our flag may be used, if we permit it to be used by belligerent nations indiscriminately as a means of disguise, we not only imperil our own sea craft, but we thereby, in my opinion, desecrate the flag, and the ultimate result would be that it would become a byword between the belligerent powers as well as among neutral powers everywhere.

What are we going to do about it? I will tell you what ought to be done: First, make clear and strong our national protest against the unwarranted use of the American flag; second, paint our national colors in bold design on the hull of every American ship that sails the high seas. This could not be mistaken and would not be counterfeited. If these two things are done promptly, all difficulty and embarrassment will disappear.

One of the biggest problems in statesmanship is to teach nations to behave as well as men. By the ordinary standards of individual conduct this whole horrible European war is a disgrace and a libel on civilization. When men disagree they must settle their disagreements peaceably or by appeal to a court of justice or lose the respect of decent men. Diplomacy until within a generation or two was the refined art of successful prevarication. The man who could lie best and remain a gentleman was in demand. Diplomacy has improved, and the United States has led in the effort to apply the principles of business honesty to international relations.

Our Government will not tolerate deception or double-dealing in international negotiations. Let us insist upon the integrity of our national colors, and that they shall not be used as a disguise or instrument of deceit. Our national emblem should be as inviolate as our national honor.

Old Glory is deserving of our veneration and regard. This was the flag of Washington, and brought hope and cheer throughout the long winter at Valley Forge. It waved over the birth of the Republic. Lincoln beheld its stars and stripes and was strengthened in his mighty task—the preservation of a people's Government. For a century and more it has invited to our shores the liberty-loving races of the world, and under its ample folds they have found safety and freedom and opportunity. Among the nations it has been the symbol of integrity, of independence, and of national honor. May it continue to fulfill this high mission among the nations.

While jealous of the good name and respect for our flag abroad, let us not be unmindful of our obligations to the national colors at home. The flag should never be used as a device of business or commercialism. It should be displayed generally by loyal citizens on national holidays. It should float over every public building and every schoolhouse. I would have every public school and every college a school of patriotism. I would perpetuate all that is best and noblest in our American institutions until the proudest boast of civilized man all over this round world shall be, I am an American citizen.

Woman Suffrage.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. RAKER,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 12, 1915.

The House had under consideration House resolution 703, providing for the consideration of House joint resolution 1, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, this is not a new question. The same arguments made here to-day were made in the State of California 20 years ago, opposing the submission of an amendment to the people of that State, and the same argument has been made in every State against the submission of the question to the voters. A constitutional amendment giving suffrage to women in 1889 was submitted in California, and the State voted against it. Men ridiculed it; men were afraid and voted it down. In 1911 we saw the same question submitted to the people of California, and at a special election in 1911, when that question, and that alone, was submitted, it carried. In the two following elections we saw and we heard the same men who had for years made the same argument that is being made here to-day stand upon the platforms, going before the people, pleading for their votes, both men and women, pleading for their suffrage, claiming that they were the simon-pure original suffragists, and it will be the same way with the Members of this House. In four years from now they will be coming from under the cover and saying that while they did not talk upon the floor of the House, they voted. They did not understand the question, and therefore they were at heart in favor of submitting this question to the American people of all the States that they might have a chance to pass upon it.

The argument which is now made against the right of women to vote—that the home would not be provided for, that the conditions surrounding the booth are objectionable, that there would be disruption in families, that women would not use their right to vote—and every other argument they have made here to-day and that has been put forth by those who are opposed to woman suffrage has been proven without foundation in fact in every State where it has been exercised and the women have the right to vote. There is no question of politics in this matter. Many of the States elect their judiciary on a nonpartisan ticket. Many of them elect their county officers on a nonpartisan ticket. Practically all the cities in the land to-day are electing their officers on a nonpartisan ballot. One-half of the best part of the American blood and brains is being deprived of a participation in electing a proper judiciary, is being deprived of the right to vote for the proper county officials, is being deprived of the right to vote for the municipal officers who exercise and control those things that pertain to the home. Better sanitary laws, better conditions for children, better schools, and everything that is near and dear to the mother's heart are involved in these municipal elections. And I ask you men to-day, Can there be any just cause, can there be any just reason, to prohibit the women to whom you turn your children over to be trained so that they will go out as educated men and prepared for the trials of life from voting? You say to her that she is able to send your boy along the right road of life; that she is willing to and can give him proper instructions that he may be able to attend the grammar school and the high schools and the higher institutions of learning, so that he may become fully equipped and qualified to perform his duty as an American citizen; yet you say she is not qualified to participate in electing officers and assisting in making the laws under which such institutions and our Government—municipal, county, State, and National—exists. This is wholly wrong from every viewpoint. Why, there is no better evidence of the right of women to vote and their ability to exercise the ballot wisely than has been evidenced by personal, practical experience in our State. We see the election booths in better shape and we see the election carried on under better conditions. One of the impressive things of the present legislative era is the rapid strides made by the cause of woman suffrage in the big States of the East. New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts have decided to give the people an opportunity to vote on the suffrage question.

In some of these States a year or two ago all attempts to get legislative action met with complete failure. In all these States suffrage propositions have been voted down.

The change in sentiment on this question is due to the fact that suffrage is no longer a matter of theory. Half a score of States have given the ballot to women, and in these none of the horrible things that the foes of suffrage have predicted have taken place.

Women have not been made unwomanly by voting. Their homes have been just as well cared for as have the homes of women in the States where women do not vote. The business of government has been carried on as well or better than before the women became voters.

While the fact that the people are to have a chance to vote on suffrage in these and some other States does not mean that the women will secure the vote in all of them, the change in the opinions of the legislators is a good indication of a change in the views of the people.

Suffrage is moving on with increasing speed and apparently the time is not far distant when the States in which women are denied a share in the government will be the exception.

While a candidate for Congress in 1910 the congressional committee, National American Woman Suffrage Association, submitted to me as such candidate a list of question on my attitude on woman's suffrage. Those questions and my answers thereto are as follows:

[Congressional committee, National American Woman Suffrage Association, headquarters 1823 H Street NW., Washington, D. C.]

1. Are you in favor of full suffrage for women?
Answer. Yes.
2. Are you in favor of municipal suffrage for women?
Answer. Yes.
3. Are you in favor of school suffrage for women?
Answer. Yes.
4. Are you in favor of suffrage in any form for tax-paying women?
Answer. Answered above in full.
5. Are you opposed to any form of suffrage for women?
Answer. No.
6. If in favor of full suffrage for women, do you approve of an amendment to the United States Constitution in effect as follows: "The rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State thereof on account of sex"?
Answer. Yes.
7. If you do not favor an amendment to the National Constitution, would you support a woman-suffrage amendment to your State constitution or to city charters in your State?
Answer. Yes; give our mothers and sisters their rights.
Name: JOHN E. RAKER.
Address: Alturas, Cal.

On January 5, 1912, I introduced House joint resolution 201, Sixty-second Congress, second session, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women, as follows:

Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution:

"ARTICLE XVIII.

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State thereof on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power by appropriate legislation to enforce the provisions of this article."

This House joint resolution was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary of the House, and during the session of Congress I appeared before the committee and urged favorable report of the same.

Again, on April 7, 1913, I introduced House joint resolution 31, Sixty-third Congress, first session, which was the same as House joint resolution 201 of the Sixty-second Congress. House joint resolution 31 is as follows:

Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution:

"ARTICLE XVIII.

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State thereof on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power by appropriate legislation to enforce the provisions of this article."

During the consideration of this question in the third session of the Sixty-third Congress, before the Judiciary Committee of the House, my resolution, as well as resolutions by Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado and Mr. HAYDEN, having for their objects the same purpose as House joint resolution 1, were considered, and were all presented to the House upon the same day. The committee in its wisdom saw fit to report House joint resolution No. 1 instead of No. 31. Results are what we are after, and I am therefore heartily in favor of the passage of House joint resolution 1.

One of the unfortunate conditions surrounding the proper presentation of the resolution now under consideration by this House is that no proper or complete hearing has ever been had by a committee of this House having the subject under consideration.

I mean by that that but an hour or two has been granted each time, when a few general statements have been made, but no thorough, deep, and broad investigation had, as the importance of the subject so justly demands. The subject being world-wide in operation in a number of the States, as well as in foreign countries, the benefit and facts surrounding the use of the ballot by women should have been fully, fairly, and thoroughly presented to a committee of the House having jurisdiction and with ample time to investigate and report. This, as I have before said, has not been done.

To remedy this condition, on April 7, 1913, I introduced House resolution 22, Sixty-third Congress, first session, having for its object the amendment of the rules of the House and providing for a committee on woman suffrage, to consist of 13 members, and directing that all proposed action touching the subject of woman suffrage should be referred to such committee. The resolution is as follows:

Resolved, That the rules of the House of Representatives be amended as follows:

Amend Rule X by adding thereto a new subdivision, to be numbered "56," to read as follows:

"56. On woman suffrage, to consist of 13 members."

And to amend Rule XI thereof by adding thereto a new subdivision, to be numbered "56," and to read as follows:

"56. All proposed action touching the subject of woman suffrage, to the committee on woman suffrage."

While this resolution has been to some extent considered by the Committee on Rules, and otherwise, I am sorry to say that it was not made a part of the Rules of the House. It is Democratic doctrine, and I am satisfied that at the meeting of the Sixty-fourth Congress the Rules of the House will be amended so as to provide for a committee on woman suffrage.

Hundreds of organizations have indorsed woman suffrage, not in one State alone, but in every State in the Union. Equal-suffrage planks have been adopted in more party platforms by all parties during the last year than ever before.

Suffrage amendments as they now stand in the constitutions of the several States which have equal suffrage in this country are as follows:

ARIZONA—WORDING OF AMENDMENTS ENFRANCHISING WOMEN.

Be it enacted by the people of Arizona, That sections 2 and 15 of article 7 of the constitution of Arizona be, and are hereby, amended to read as follows, to wit:

SEC. 2. No person shall be entitled to vote at any general election, or for any office that now is or hereafter may be elective by the people, or upon any question which may be submitted to a vote of the people, unless such person be a citizen of the United States of the age of 21 years or over and shall have resided in the State one year immediately preceding such election. The word "citizen" shall include persons of the male and female sex.

The rights of citizens of the United States to vote and hold office shall not be denied or abridged by the State or any political division or municipality thereof on account of sex, and the right to register, to vote, and to hold office under any law now in effect or which may hereafter be enacted is hereby extended to and conferred upon males and females alike.

No person under guardianship, non compos mentis, or insane shall be qualified to vote at any election, nor shall any person convicted of treason or felony be qualified to vote at any election unless restored to civil rights.

SEC. 15. Every person elected or appointed to any office of trust or profit under the authority of the State or any political division or any municipality thereof shall be a qualified elector of the political division or municipality in which said person shall be elected or appointed.

Filed July 5, 1912.

SIDNEY P. OSBORN, *Secretary of State.*

CALIFORNIA—RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE—WHO MAY VOTE, WHO MAY NOT.

SECTION 1. Every native citizen of the United States, every person who shall have acquired the rights of citizenship under or by virtue of the treaty of Queretaro, and every naturalized citizen thereof who shall have become such 90 days prior to any election, of the age of 21 years, who shall have been resident of the State one year next preceding the election, and of the county in which he or she claims his or her vote 90 days, and in the election precinct 30 days, shall be entitled to vote at all elections which are now or may hereafter be authorized by law: *Provided*, That no native of China, no idiot, no insane person, no person convicted of any infamous crime, no person hereafter convicted of the embezzlement or misappropriation of public money, and no person who shall not be able to read the Constitution in the English language and write his or her name shall ever exercise the privileges of an elector in this State: *Provided*, That the provisions of this amendment relative to an educational qualification shall not apply to any person prevented by a physical disability from complying with its requisitions, nor to any person who now has the right to vote, nor to any person who shall be 60 years of age and upward at the time this amendment shall take effect.

(Amendment adopted Oct. 10, 1911.)

IDAHO—AMENDMENT NO. 2, ARTICLE 6.

Except as in this article otherwise provided, every male or female citizen of the United States, 21 years old, who has actually resided in this State or Territory for six months, and in the county where he or she offers to vote 30 days next preceding the day of election, if registered as provided by law, is a qualified elector; and until otherwise provided by the legislature, women who have the qualifications prescribed in this article may continue to hold such school offices and vote at such school elections as provided by the laws of Idaho Territory.

Adopted November 3, 1896.

KANSAS—HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 3, GRANTING EQUAL RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES TO WOMEN.

Be it resolved by the Legislature of the State of Kansas (two-thirds of the members elected to each house thereof concurring therein), That the following proposition to amend the constitution of the State of Kansas be hereby submitted to the qualified electors of the State for their approval or rejection, namely:

SECTION 1. The rights of citizens of the State of Kansas to vote and hold office shall not be denied or abridged on account of sex.

SEC. 2. This proposition shall be submitted to the electors of this State at the election for representatives to the legislature in the year 1912. The amendment hereby proposed shall be known on the official ballot by the following title: "Amendment to the constitution granting equal rights and privileges to women"; and the vote for or against such amendment shall be taken as provided by law.

SEC. 3. This amendment, if adopted, shall be known as section 8 of article 5 of the constitution of the State of Kansas.

SEC. 4. This resolution shall take effect and be in force from and after its publication in the statute book.

Passed the house February 7, 1911.
Passed the senate February 8, 1911.
Approved February 9, 1911.
Adopted November 5, 1912.

OREGON—SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT.

[On official ballot, Nos. 300 and 301.]

Section 2 of article 11 of the constitution of the State of Oregon shall be, and hereby is, amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 2. In all elections not otherwise provided for by this constitution every citizen of the United States, of the age of 21 years and upward, who shall have resided in the State during the six months immediately preceding such election, and every person of foreign birth of the age of 21 years and upward, who shall have resided in this State during the six months immediately preceding such election, and shall have declared his or her intention to become a citizen of the United States one year preceding such election, conformably to the laws of the United States on the subject of naturalization, shall be entitled to vote at all elections authorized by law."

Adopted November 5, 1912.

UTAH—ARTICLE 55—ELECTIONS AND RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE.

SECTION 1. Equal political rights. The rights of citizens of the State of Utah to vote and hold office shall not be denied or abridged on account of sex. Both male and female citizens of this State shall enjoy equally all civil, political, and religious rights and privileges.

SEC. 2. Qualifications to vote. Every citizen of the United States, of the age of 21 years and upward, who shall have been a citizen for 90 days, and shall have resided in the State or Territory one year, in the county four months, and in the precinct 60 days next preceding any election, shall be entitled to vote at such election, except as herein otherwise provided.

WASHINGTON—ARTICLE 6—ELECTIONS AND ELECTIVE RIGHTS.

Article 6 was amended at the general election held November 8, 1910, by striking out all of sections 1 and 2 and inserting in lieu thereof the following, to be known as section 1:

"SECTION 1. All persons of the age of 21 years or over, possessing the following qualifications, shall be entitled to vote at all elections: They shall be citizens of the United States; they shall have lived in the State 1 year, and in the county 90 days, and in the city, town, ward, or precinct 30 days immediately preceding the election at which they offer to vote; they shall be able to read and speak the English language: *Provided*, That Indians not taxed shall never be allowed the elective franchise: *And further provided*, That this amendment shall not affect the rights of franchise of any person who is now a qualified elector of this State. The legislative authority shall enact laws defining the manner of ascertaining the qualifications of voters as to their ability to read and speak the English language, and providing for punishment of persons voting or registering in violation of the provisions of this section. There shall be no denial of the elective franchise at any election on account of sex."

WYOMING—ARTICLE 6—SUFFRAGE.

Equal rights.

SECTION 1. The rights of citizens of the State of Wyoming to vote and hold office shall not be denied or abridged on account of sex. Both male and female citizens of this State shall equally enjoy all civil, political, and religious rights and privileges. (McKinney *v.* State, 3 Wyo., 719.)

Qualifications of electors.

SEC. 2. Every citizen of the United States of the age of 21 years and upward who has resided in the State or Territory 1 year and in the county wherein such residence is located 60 days next preceding any election shall be entitled to vote at such election, except as herein otherwise provided.

Adopted November 5, 1889.

ALASKA—AN ACT TO EXTEND THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE TO WOMEN IN THE TERRITORY OF ALASKA.

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the Territory of Alaska:

SECTION 1. That in all elections which are now or may hereafter be authorized by law in the Territory of Alaska, or any subdivision or municipality thereof, the elective franchise is hereby extended to such women as have the qualifications of citizenship required of male electors.

THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE LAW.

[Passed by Illinois Legislature, 1913.]

SECTION 1. All women, citizens of the United States, above the age of 21 years, having resided in the State 1 year, in the county 90 days, and in the election district 30 days next preceding any election therein, shall be allowed to vote at such election for presidential electors, member of the State board if equalization, clerk of the appellate court, county surveyor, members of board of assessors, members of board of review, sanitary district trustees, and for all officers of cities, villages, and towns (except police magistrates), and upon all questions or propositions submitted to a vote of the electors of such municipalities or other political divisions of this State.

SEC. 2. All such women may also vote for the following township officers: Supervisor, town clerk, assessor, collector, and highway commissioner, and may also participate and vote in all annual and special town meetings in the township in which such election district shall be.

SEC. 3. Provides for separate ballots and ballot boxes and for registration.

In presenting the laws enfranchising women in America I have secured through the good offices of the National American Woman Suffrage Association the laws of foreign countries, as far as enacted, and now enforced, giving women the right to vote, namely:

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

[No. 8, of 1912.]

An act to provide for a uniform Federal franchise (assented to 12th of June, 1912).

Subject to the disqualifications hereafter set out, all persons not under 21 years of age, whether male or female, married or unmarried—

(a) Who have lived in Australia for six months continuously; and

(b) Who are natural born or naturalized subjects of the King; and

(c) Whose names are on the electoral roll for any electoral division, shall be entitled to vote at the election of members of the senate and the house of representatives.

No person who is of unsound mind, and no person attainted of treason or who has been convicted and is under sentence or subject to be sentenced for any offense punishable under the law of any part of the King's dominions by imprisonment for one year or longer shall be entitled to vote at any election of members of the senate or the house of representatives.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

[No. 613.]

An act to amend the constitution (reserved Dec. 21, 1894).

The right to vote for persons to sit in Parliament as members of the legislative council and the right to vote for persons to sit in Parliament as members of the house of assembly are hereby extended to women.

Women shall possess and may exercise the rights hereby granted, subject to the same qualifications and in the same manner as men. All constitution and electoral acts and all other laws are hereby amended so far as may be necessary to give effect to this act.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

[No. 26, of 1907.]

An act to regulate parliamentary elections (assented to Dec. 20, 1907).

Part 3, enrollment.

Division 1, qualifications of electors.

17. Subject to the disqualifications hereinafter set out, every person not under 21 years of age who—

(a) Is a natural born or naturalized subject to His Majesty; and

(b) Has resided in Western Australia for six months continuously; and

(c) Has resided in the district for which he claims to be enrolled as an elector, for a continuous period of one month immediately preceding the date of his claim, shall be entitled, subject to the provisions of this act, to be enrolled as an elector, and when enrolled, to vote at the election of a member of the legislative assembly of that district.

(3) Any member of the legislative assembly and the wife of any member of the legislative assembly may claim to be enrolled for the district represented by such member, and when enrolled shall be deemed to reside in such district.

The constitution's act amendment act, 1899, gave votes to women.

VICTORIA.

ADULT SUFFRAGE ACT, 1908.

SEC. 3. (1) In section 43 and all subsequent sections in part 3, and in section 29 of the constitution act amendment act, 1890, and in [here follow a list of the other election acts]—

(a) The word "male" wherever it occurs in reference to electors or to procedure for becoming electors shall be repealed.

(b) The word "person" wherever it occurs in reference to electors and to procedure for becoming electors shall be deemed to include women whether married or single; and

(c) Generally all words importing or applicable to the masculine gender shall, where used in reference to electors or to procedure for becoming electors, be deemed to include females.

2. In any certificate in the form contained in the nineteenth schedule to the said first-mentioned act for the word "manhood," wherever it occurs, the word "womanhood" shall be substituted when an elector's right is issued to a woman whether married or single.

4. Where in any act whatsoever, whether passed before or after the commencement of this act, any reference is made to persons, voters, or electors entitled, claiming, or attempting to vote or become electors (as the case may be) or voting at parliamentary elections, such reference shall so far as is consistent with this act be deemed and taken to extend to women whether married or single, and no female elector shall be disqualified from voting under the name appearing on the roll because her surname has been changed by marriage.

5. No married woman shall by reason of coverture only be disqualified from being enrolled or be deemed incapable of exercising any rights with respect to voting which are conferred by this act.

QUEENSLAND.

THE ELECTIONS ACT 1885 TO 1905.

Part 2. Qualifications and disqualifications of electors.

Subject to the disqualifications hereafter set out, all persons not under 21 years of age, whether male or female, married or unmarried—

(a) Who have resided in Queensland for 12 months continuously; and

(b) Who are natural-born subjects of the King; and

(c) Whose names are on the electoral roll for an electoral district of Queensland, shall be entitled to vote at the election of members of the assembly for such electoral district.

DISQUALIFICATIONS.

7. No person who is of unsound mind, and no person attainted of treason or who has been convicted and is under sentence or subject to be sentenced for any offense punishable under the law of any part of the King's dominions by imprisonment; or during six months immediately preceding the sitting of the registration court or the holding of the election has been convicted of being an habitual drunkard, or has been convicted of drunkenness 12 times, or has been convicted of being an idle and disorderly person, or an incorrigible rogue, or a rogue and vagabond, or has against him an unsatisfied order of any court for the maintenance of his wife or children (whether legitimate or illegitimate), or has been convicted of having committed an aggravated assault upon his wife within one year, shall be entitled to be placed upon any electoral roll or to vote at any election of members of the assembly.

VOTING BY POSTAL BALLOT.

Any female elector who desires to vote through the post office and any male elector who on polling day will be absent from the district for which he is enrolled and who desires to vote through the post office may not later than the second day preceding polling day apply to the returning officer for a postal ballot certificate.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

THE WOMEN'S FRANCHISE ACT 1902.

The right to vote at elections of members of the legislative assembly is hereby conferred upon women. And for that purpose the expression "male person" in the parliamentary electorates and elections act of 1893 shall be read "male or female person" and the word "son" in the definition of natural-born subject in section 4 of that act shall be read "son or daughter," and all alterations necessary to carry out the provisions of this section shall be made in the form of any documents as prescribed in that act: *Provided*, That the right so conferred shall not be exercised until the general election next happening after the commencement of this act.

4. Nothing in this act shall be taken to enable or qualify a woman to be nominated as a candidate at any election or to be elected as a member.

TASMANIA.

The constitution act 1903 first enfranchised women. The constitution act amendment act of 1907 provided: Subject to the disqualifications in this act set out all persons not under 21 years of age, whether male or female, married or unmarried (1) who have lived in Tasmania for six months continuously and (2) who are naturalized subjects of the King and (3) whose names are on the electoral roll for any assembly district shall be entitled to vote at the election of members of the assembly. No person who is of unsound mind or who is in receipt of aid from any public charitable institution except as a patient under treatment from accident or disease at a hospital, and no person attainted of treason or who has been convicted and is under sentence or subject to be sentenced for any offense punishable under the law of any part of the King's dominions by imprisonment for one year or longer shall be entitled to vote at any election of members of the assembly.

NEW ZEALAND.

The electoral act of 1893 first enfranchised women.

The interpretation clause contains the following provision:

Clause 11. * * * "Persons" includes woman.

Clause 6. The members of the house of representatives shall be chosen in every electoral district appointed for that purpose by the votes of the inhabitants of New Zealand who shall possess within the district the qualifications defined by the act, that is to say:

Subsection 1 gave freehold qualifications.

In 1896 nonresidential qualification was abolished.

Subsection 2. Every person of the age of 21 years and upward who has resided for one year in the colony and in the electoral districts for which he claims to vote during the three months immediately preceding the registration of his vote and is not registered in respect of a freehold or residential qualification for the same or any other district is entitled (subject to the provisions of this act) to be registered as an elector and to vote at the election of members for such district for the house of representatives.

Subsection 9. Every man registered.

No woman, although duly registered as an elector, shall be capable of being nominated as a candidate or of being elected a member of the house of representatives or of being appointed to the legislative council, and every nomination paper of a woman as a candidate shall be absolutely void and of no effect and shall be rejected by the returning officer without question.

FINLAND.

The vote for the Landtag is given to every woman who is a Finnish subject and is 24 years of age, unless (a) she is under guardianship; (b) she has not been on the census list for the last three years; (c) she has neglected to pay taxes; (d) she has been in regular receipt of poor-law relief; (e) her property is in the hands of creditors; (f) she is living the life of a vagabond; (g) she is convicted of such acts as

render her undesirable in public opinion to vote; (h) she has bought or sold or tried to sell a vote, or voted in different places, or used violence or threats at the polls.

Everyone who has a vote is eligible as member of the Landthing, independent of residence.

NORWAY.

Norway's franchise law, amended 1910.

The right to the political vote is possessed by all women who are Norwegian subjects and over the age of 25, if they have lived in the country five years and paid taxes to State or commune for the previous year and have an income of 400 kroners per annum in town and 300 kroners in country, or if their husbands have paid such taxes. Everyone with the above-stated income must pay a tax to the community not under 50 ore and not exceeding 2 kroners, even if the revenue should not claim such a tax.

SUSPENDED FROM ELECTORAL RIGHTS.

All persons are suspended from electoral rights if (a) they are under arrest for a criminal offense; (b) they are under guardianship; (c) they are bankrupt; (d) if they are in receipt of money poor relief for self or husband or child under 15 years of age.

FORFEITURE OF ELECTORAL RIGHTS.

Electoral rights are forfeited by persons (a) convicted of criminal offenses; (b) naturalized in a foreign country; (c) who have been guilty of buying or selling a vote or by voting in more than one constituency.

Any voter prevented from voting in person by a legitimate cause can do so in writing, but the reason given for absence must be confirmed by two witnesses. Legitimate causes for voting in writing are illness, natural obstruction (snow), old age, accident, confinement in childbirth, nursing babies, or taking care of small children or infirm people.

Candidates for election must not be more than 30 years of age, must have lived in the country 10 years and have a vote in the constituency which elects them. Anyone elected must serve as representative in the Storthing, unless she can give legitimate reason for refusing.

EQUAL SUFFRAGE IN OPERATION IN CALIFORNIA.

Desiring to know the operation of equal suffrage in California, questions were submitted and an organization having gone into the matter fully answering certain questions in detail, showing the operation of equal suffrage in the State of California.

It is felt in the present condition of the woman suffrage question it would be of interest to know what were the causes which led to its introduction, the conditions under which it is granted, and the results which have followed from it in your State.

In order that we may have the benefit of first-hand information it is suggested that you should give to us an account of this kind. If you are willing to assist in this way, will you kindly put your account in the form of answers to the following questions:

1. What were the reasons which led to the grant of the vote to women?

(a) Was the proposal a party question? If so, which party favored and which opposed it?

Answer. It was not a party measure. The progressive wings of the Democratic and Republican Parties and the Socialist Party favored it. Reactionary wings opposed.

(b) Did any female suffragists resort to "militant" tactics? If so, what effect was produced?

Answer. No; not even a procession was indulged in.

(c) Where did the strength of the movement, and of the opposition to it, in any, lie?

Answer. See (a), and add liquor, vice, and ultraconservative men and women were actively opposed. Protected women and timid ones selfishly withheld their support from the measure. Women's clubs generally throughout the country did splendid educational work and furnished leaders for suffrage.

2. What are the conditions in which women can obtain the vote?

(a) Are the qualifications the same for men and women?

Answer. Yes.

(b) What is the proportion of men to women at present on the register?

Answer. The State has made no report and registration is not segregated.

(c) Are women eligible for the legislature and Congress?

Answer. Yes; but so far they have not been candidates for such offices.

3. How do women exercise the vote?

(a) What percentage of women voters go to the polls? How does this compare with men?

Answer. See statistics for Los Angeles and Berkeley, hereto attached. No other statistics.

(b) Do women voters as a rule join or follow the existing political parties; or has there been any tendency to form new parties appealing especially to women voters? Has the grant of the vote had any, and if so, what effect on the comparative strength of the various parties?

Answer. There has been no tendency to form a woman's party. A new national party, the Progressive, formed one year ago, offers a social welfare program that appeals to women. There is more than a tendency in all parties to offer the platforms that women demand.

(c) Do married women voters as a rule vote as their husbands do, or not?

Answer. There is no rule. Some do and some do not.

(d) Has the female vote had any effect on the character of candidates for municipal or State offices?

Answer. It is impossible to say as two years have not yet passed since the vote was granted.

4. What effect, if any, has the grant of the vote had on the position of women?

(a) Has it caused any ill feeling between men and women or any dissensions in families?

Answer. If it has the skeletons are still in the closet. The women who do active political work are single women or those whose children are grown.

(b) Has it increased the interest taken by women in politics? If so has it impaired their usefulness in the home?

Answer. Women certainly take a more general interest in politics and no change is apparent in the home. Sensible women are still sensible and maintain their sense of proportion; silly women are still silly.

5. Is there any agitation for the repeal of this franchise?

Answer. No.

6. What is your general impression of the effect produced by this change?

Answer. That women are gaining in self-respect and ceasing to be the rebels that they were before they were allowed to express themselves politically and that they are rapidly evolving a real social conscience; that boys are beginning to recognize that "mothers' political notions" are ideas and worthy of consideration; that the press is more respectful and that in time of campaign even reactionary newspapers become frankly suppliant; that there is a finer comradeship between men and women, and that women already command respectful attention in municipal and State affairs. A sweeping change in polling places took effect immediately, schoolhouses, halls, and tents being used instead of livery stables and barber shops.

7. What legislation dealing with the following subjects has been passed since women had the vote?

(a) The conditions of female labor.

Answer. Extension of eight-hour law into four additional industries, including student nurses in hospitals, commission on minimum wage for women and minors, with power to act.

(b) The protection of children and girls.

Answer. Improved juvenile court law. Extension of child-labor laws prohibiting all minors under 18 from working more than eight hours a day.

(c) Temperance and the regulation of the liquor traffic.

Answer. State law closing saloons from 2 to 6 a. m. Many small localities voted dry.

(d) Education.

Answer. Free textbooks and school supplies.

(e) Sanitation, including milk supply.

Answer. Defeat of pernicious bills introduced by dairy interests that would take control of supply from municipalities.

(f) Industrial arbitration.

Answer. Nothing.

(g) Pensions for widows left with children.

Answer. Bill passed granting aid to destitute children kept in homes of widowed mothers.

(h) Divorce laws.

Answer. No change.

(i) Can the influence of the female vote be traced in any acts which have been passed or referenda taken on these subjects since the grant of votes to women?

Answer. 1. A pension to public-school teachers.
2. The red-light injunction and abatement law.
3. Raising age of consent to 18 years.
4. Joint guardianship of children.
5. Bastardy bill requiring father to support child born out of wedlock.
6. Bill for a State training school for delinquent girls.

These were all passed through direct influence of the votes behind the women.

The workingman's compensation act providing insurance for injured employees was strongly indorsed by the Federation of Women's Clubs.

SUPPLEMENTARY.

Supplementing the information given in direct response to the questionnaire, the committee attached two articles which had previously appeared in these columns, relating especially to the proportions of the vote as between men and women in the Los Angeles and Berkeley municipal elections of last spring. The first of these articles, published June 21 last, is reproduced, as follows:

"It has been a more or less popular argument with opponents of woman suffrage that having once attained to the ballot women would not vote. But a more frequently used declaration was that fashionable and highly cultured women would not visit the polls, leaving that duty of citizenship to their humbler sisters. Both of these arguments seem to have been proven fallacies by the result of the recent municipal election in Los Angeles. At any rate, it was demonstrated that the women established a voting average which compares quite favorably with that of the men, this notwithstanding the fact that voting is new to women, while the men have been schooled to it through generations.

"The total registration in Los Angeles qualified for the municipal election was 171,025. The number of men registered was 97,186, or 56.9 per cent of the total. The registration of women footed up 73,839, or 43.1 per cent of the total.

"The total vote was 89,831—only 52.5 per cent of the registration.
"The vote by men was 52,731.
"The vote by women was 37,100.
"The percentage of registered men voting was 54.2.
"The percentage of registered women voting was 50.2.
"The percentage of the total vote cast by men was 58.7.
"The percentage of the total vote cast by women was 41.3.

"From these figures it will be seen that the women did their duty as citizens just about as well as did the men and, perhaps, all things considered, a little better.

"For the benefit of those who like to make deductions, we present herewith a table, classified into well-defined districts or sections of the city, showing the way the vote was cast, and the percentage made by woman voters. A study of this table will prove interesting and instructive.

"As a key for the guidance of readers not familiar with the city of Los Angeles, it may be stated that Hollywood, Westlake, Wilshire, and West Adams are rated as the so-called 'exclusive' sections, while the Highland district is also populated largely by people of the leisure class. In the other sections the population runs largely to people of smaller means and humbler social station.

"With this as a basis, you may entertain yourself for an entire evening with the figures in the table.

"Here is an interesting comparison in addition, drawn from precinct returns. In precinct 31, at Macy and Avila Streets, 144 men and 31 women voted. In precinct 32, at Amelia and Jackson Streets, 138 men and 14 women voted. In precinct 33, on North Los Angeles Street, 169 men and 6 women voted. Socially rated, these are among the humblest precincts in the city.

"Now, rake two of the 'exclusive' precincts: 451, which includes Chester Place and St. James Park—61 men and 79 women; 427, at 1627 West Seventh Street—90 men and 105 women. A conservative precinct, like 79, on West Temple Street, showed as follows: 96 men and 112 women. At Wilmington, precinct 280, 55 of the 63 registered women voted.

Table showing how men and women voted.

Location.	Vote cast.	Men vote.	Women vote.	Women per-centage.
10 precincts in Highland Park	3,060	1,556	1,504	49
11 precincts in Hollywood	2,698	1,348	1,350	50
17precincts in Angeleno Heights	3,533	2,104	1,429	40
21precincts in East Side	5,281	3,154	2,127	40
44precincts in Boyle Heights	6,104	3,619	2,485	41
84 precincts in down town and industrial	15,734	10,907	4,827	31
24 precincts in Westlake	7,768	4,201	3,567	46
8 precincts in Edendale	2,324	1,313	1,011	43
28 precincts in Wilshire, northwest	6,685	3,706	3,079	46
61 precincts in West Adams	12,288	7,456	5,842	47
64 precincts in southwest	11,647	6,551	5,096	44
69 precincts in southeast	11,679	7,290	4,389	38
14 precincts in Wilmington-San Pedro	2,113	1,420	693	32
Total	89,831	52,731	37,100	

THE BERKELEY ELECTION.

"The report on the Berkeley election was prepared by Mrs. Inez R. Brown, assisted by Miss Harriet Stark. The following portion thereof is reproduced from the California Outlook of July 5:

"Total registration, 18,597.
"Men registered, 9,936, 53+ per cent.
"Women registered, 8,661, 46+ per cent.
"Total vote, 8,576.
"Men voted, 4,874, 56+ per cent.
"Women voted, 3,702, 43+ per cent.
"Percentage of registered men voting, 49+ per cent.
"Percentage of registered women voting, 42.7 per cent.
"Percentage of total registration voting, 46+ per cent.
"In 16 out of 32 precincts of the city practically 50 per cent or more of the registered persons are women.
"In 8 precincts, one-quarter of the city, women cast 50 per cent or more of the vote.
"The larger woman's vote was cast in precincts where the prosperous professional and business people reside.
"The smaller woman's vote was cast in the manufacturing, factory, and laboring section, notably along the water front.
"The average woman's vote was cast in the precincts where persons of modest means, clerks, and mechanics, live."

I desire to emphasize five cardinal reasons why this resolution should be passed by this House:

First. That this amendment does not directly give the franchise to women. It merely forbids any State to disfranchise because of sex, as the fifteenth amendment forbade disfranchisement because of race, color, and so forth.

It is the logical and inevitable extension of democracy.

Second. That the passage of this resolution by both branches of Congress does not make it operative until further ratified by a majority vote of the legislatures of three-fourths of all the States.

This is the careful and conservative method provided by the framers of the Constitution for its adaptation to the growing needs of the people.

Third. That this provision of the Constitution for its own amendment has been subscribed and agreed to by each and every State at entry into the Union.

Fourth. That after this amendment is passed by Congress and ratified by the legislatures it then becomes the privilege and the duty of each State legislature to fix and define the terms upon which the women of its Commonwealth may exercise the franchise.

This insures the conformity of woman suffrage to local issues and conditions, precisely in the way that manhood suffrage is regulated now to that end.

Fifth. And that, finally, the widespread, earnest, and long-continued demand for this constitutional amendment entitles the people through their respective legislatures to a voice in its consideration and decision.

WHY SHOULD WOMEN VOTE?

The reasons why women should vote are the same as the reasons why men should vote—the same as the reasons for having a republic rather than a monarchy. It is fair and right that the people who must obey the laws should have a voice in choosing the lawmakers, and that those who must pay the taxes should have a voice as to the amount of the tax and the way in which the money shall be spent.

Roughly stated, the fundamental principle of a republic is this: In deciding what is to be done, where everybody's interests are concerned, we take everybody's opinion, and then go according to the wish of the majority. As we can not suit everybody, we do what will suit the greatest number. That seems to be, on the whole, the fairest way. A vote is simply a written expression of opinion.

In thus taking a vote to get at the wish of the majority, certain classes of persons are passed over, whose opinions for one reason or another are thought not to be worth counting. In most of our States these classes are children, aliens, idiots, lunatics, criminals, and women. There are good and obvious reasons for making all these exceptions but the last. Of course, no account ought to be taken of the opinions of children, insane persons, or criminals. Is there any equally good reason why no account should be taken of the opinions of women? Let us consider the reasons commonly given, and see if they are sound.

ARE WOMEN REPRESENTED?

Women are represented already by their husbands, fathers, and brothers.

This so-called representation bears no proportion to numbers. Here is a man who has a wife, a widowed mother, four or five unmarried sisters, and half a dozen unmarried daughters. His vote represents himself and all these women, and it counts one; while the vote of his bachelor neighbor next door, without a female relative in the world, counts for just as much. Since the object of taking a vote is to get at the wish of the majority, it is clear that the only fair and accurate way is for each grown person to have one vote, and cast it to represent himself or herself.

MEN AND WOMEN DIFFERENT.

American men are the best in the world, and if it were possible for any men to represent women, through kindness and good will to them, American men would do it. But a man is by nature too different from a women to be able to represent her. The two creatures are unlike. Whatever his good will, he can not fully put himself in a woman's place, and look at things exactly from her point of view. To say this is no more a reflection upon his mental or moral ability than it would be a reflection upon his musical ability to say that he can not sing both soprano and bass. Unless men and women should ever become just alike (which would be regrettable and monotonous), women must either go unrepresented or represent themselves.

WOMEN NOT REPRESENTED IN THE LAWS.

Another proof that women's opinions are not now fully represented is the lack in many States of humane and protective legislation and the poor enforcement of such legislation where it exists; the inadequate appropriations for schools; the permission of child labor in factories; and in general the imperfect legal safeguarding of the moral, educational, and humanitarian interests that women have most at heart. In many of our States the property laws are more or less unequal as between men and women. A hundred years ago, before the equal-rights movement began, they were almost incredibly unequal. Yet our grandfathers loved their wives and daughters as much as men do to-day.

IS "INFLUENCE" ENOUGH?

If the laws are unjust, they can be corrected by women's indirect influence.

Yes; but the indirect method is needlessly long and hard. If women were forbidden to use the direct route by rail across the continent and complained of the injustice, it would be no answer to tell them that it is possible to get from New York to San Francisco by going around Cape Horn.

MOTHER AND CHILD.

The slowness with which some of the worst inequalities in the laws are corrected shows the unsatisfactoriness of the indirect way. In most States a married mother has literally no legal rights over her own children so long as she and her husband live together. Here is a case which actually happened, and which might happen to-day in 34 out of the 46 States of the Union:

A Chinaman had married a respectable Irish woman. When their first baby was three days old the husband gave it to his brother to be taken to China and brought up there. The mother, through the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, appealed to the courts. But the judge promptly decided that the husband was within his rights. He was the sole legal owner of the baby; he had the sole legal right to say what should be done with it. For more than half a century the suffragists of the United States have been trying to secure legislation making the father and mother joint guardians of their children by law, as they are by nature; but thus far the equal-guardianship law has been obtained in only 12 States and the District of Columbia. Massachusetts got it in 1902, after 55 years of effort by Massachusetts women. In Colorado, after women were given the right to vote, the very next legislature passed an equal-guardianship law—Laws of 1895, page 186.

In Massachusetts the State Federation of Women's Clubs, the Woman's Relief Corps, the State Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Children's Friend Society, and 64 other associations united in asking for the bill. The only society of women that has ever ranged itself definitely on the wrong side of this question is the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women. It circulated for years, under its official imprint, a leaflet in defense of the old law which gave the husband the sole control of the children.

In Massachusetts in 1902 the laws of inheritance between husband and wife were made equal, but it had taken more than half a century of work to secure this self-evidently just measure. The experience in many other States has been similar. The roundabout way is almost always long and slow.

THE IGNORANT VOTE.

It would double the ignorant vote.

Statistics published by the National Bureau of Education show that the high schools of every State in the Union are graduating more girls than boys—some of them twice or three times as many. The whole number of boys in attendance at public high schools in the United States in 1905–6 was 305,308; of girls, 417,384. Because of the growing tendency to take boys out of school early in order to put them into business, girls are getting more schooling than boys. Equal suffrage would increase the proportion of voters who have received more than a merely elementary education.

THE FOREIGN VOTE.

It would double the foreign vote.

During the three years ending June 30, 1904, there arrived in the United States 2,223,166 immigrants. Of these only 664,527 were women, less than one-third. (Report of Commissioner General of Immigration.) There are in the United States more than three times as many native-born women (32,467,041) as there are foreign-born men and foreign-born women put together (10,341,276). (Census of 1900, Vol. II, pp. 17–18.) Equal suffrage would largely increase the proportion of native-born voters.

The foreign vote is objectionable only so far as it is an ignorant vote. Intelligent foreigners, both men and women, are often very valuable citizens. On the other hand, the ignorant foreign immigrants who come here are fully imbued, both men and women, with all the Old World ideas as to the inferiority and subjection of women. It is not until they have become pretty thoroughly Americanized that they can tolerate the idea of women's voting. The husbands are not willing that their wives should vote, and the wives ridicule the suggestion.

Experience shows that until they have become Americanized the foreign women will not vote. And after they have become Americanized, why should they not vote as well as anyone else?

THE CRIMINAL VOTE.

To the vote of every criminal man you would add the vote of a criminal woman.

The vicious and criminal class is comparatively small among women. According to the latest tabulated prison statistics of the United States census—those for 1904—Alabama had in her State prison and State and county penitentiaries 1,796 men and 94 women; Arizona, 293 men and 1 woman; Arkansas, 769 men, 23 women; California, 2,359 men, 24 women; Colorado, 848 men, 16 women; Connecticut, 460 men, 14 women; Delaware, 155 men, 5 women; District of Columbia, 41 men, 5 women; Florida, 1,075 men, 30 women; Georgia, 2,243 men, 82 women; Idaho, 139 men, 3 women; Illinois, 2,383 men, 36 women; Indiana, 792 men, no women; Iowa, 832 men, 28 women; Kansas, 2,279 men, 31 women; Kentucy, 1,872 men, 71 women; Louisiana, 1,296 men, 35 women; Maine, 178 men, 5 women; Maryland, 1,389 men, 113 women; Massachusetts, 1,824 men, 39 women; Michigan, 948 men, 1 woman; Minnesota, 620 men, 12 women; Mississippi, 1,021 men, 28 women; Missouri, 2,091 men, 72 women; Montana, 436 men, 8 women; Nebraska, 322 men, 5 women; Nevada, 91 men, no women; New Hampshire, 157 men, 3 women; New Jersey, 1,402 men, 69 women; New Mexico, 240 men, 7 women; New York, 5,392 men, 313 women; North Carolina, 631 men, 43 women; North Dakota, 149 men, 2 women; Ohio, 1,587 men, 41 women; Oklahoma, 22 men, no women; Oregon, 332 men, 2 women; Pennsylvania, 1,966 men, 35 women; Rhode Island, 388 men, 63 women; South Carolina, 632 men, 28 women; South Dakota, 193 men, 3 women; Tennessee, 1,575 men, 62 women; Texas, 4,073 men, 117 women; Utah, 171 men, 2 women; Vermont, 259 men, 15 women; Virginia, 1,478 men, 68 women; Washington, 791 men, 4 women; West Virginia, 982 men, 32 women; Wisconsin, 608 men, 12 women; Wyoming, 189 men, 3 women.

In the prisons of the United States as a whole, including those for all kinds of offenses, women constitute only 5½ per cent of the prisoners, and the proportion is growing smaller.

Equal suffrage would increase the moral and law-abiding vote very largely, while increasing the vicious and criminal vote very little. This is a matter not of conjecture but of statistics.

THE BAD WOMEN'S VOTE.

The bad women would outvote the good ones.

In America the bad women are so few, compared with the good ones, that their votes could have little influence. Mrs. Helen Gilbert Ecob, wife of a prominent clergyman who was for some years a pastor in Denver, writes:

"The bad women represent, in any city of the United States, but an infinitesimal proportion of its population, and the vote of that class in Denver is confined practically to 3 precincts out of 120."

Mrs. Sarah Platt Decker, of Denver, ex-president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and also for some years president of the Colorado State Board of Charities and Correction, writes:

"Does not the vote of the disreputable class of women overbalance the better element? No; the women of the half-world are not willing to vote. They are constantly changing their residences and their names. They do not wish to give any data concerning themselves, their age, name, or number and street; they prefer to remain unidentified."

Ex-Gov. Warren, of Wyoming, sums it all up when he says, in a letter to Horace G. Wadlin, of Massachusetts:

"Our women nearly all vote; and since, in Wyoming as elsewhere, the majority of women are good and not bad, the result is good and not evil."

DON'T UNDERSTAND BUSINESS.

A municipality is a great business corporation. Men, by the nature of their occupations, know more about business than women, and hence are better fitted to run a city or a State.

Women have a vote in every other corporation in which they are shareholders. George William Curtis said: "A woman may vote as a stockholder upon a railroad from one end of the country to the other; but, if she sells her stock and buys a house with the money, she has no voice in the laying out of the road before her door, which her house is taxed to keep and pay for."

Moreover, it is not true that a man's experience in his own business teaches him how to carry on the business of a city. Some years ago a fashionable caterer was elected to the Massachusetts Legislature, and was appointed a member of the committee on filling up the South Boston flats. Another member said to him scornfully, "What do you know about filling up flats, anyway?" The caterer answered quietly, "That has been my business for 20 years." The answer was good, as a joke; but as a matter of fact, what had his experience of planning dinners taught him about the way to turn tide mud into solid ground? What does the butcher learn from his business about the best way to pave a street, or the baker about the best way to build a sewer, or the candlestick maker about the best way to lay out a park, or to choose schoolteachers or policemen, or to run a city hospital? Does a minister learn from his profession how to keep the streets clean, or a lawyer how to conduct a public school, or a doctor how to put out a fire? A man's business, at best, gives him special knowledge only in regard to one or two departments of city affairs. Women's business, as mothers and housekeepers, also gives them special knowledge in regard to some important departments of public work, those relating to children, schools, playgrounds, the protection of the weak and young, morals, the care of the poor, etc. For what lies outside the scope of their own experience men and women alike must rely upon experts. All they need as voters is sense enough and conscience enough to elect honest and capable persons to have charge of these things.

DIVISION OF LABOR.

The growth of civilization is marked by an increasing specialization and division of labor. Woman suffrage would therefore be a step backward.

The growth of civilization increases the division of labor as between individuals, but lessens it as between the sexes. One woman no longer spins and weaves and manufactures the clothing for the men of her family, at the same time carrying on all the housework and, in addition, making butter, cheese, and candles, as our great-grandmothers did. This work is now subdivided among a number of specialists. On the other hand, in the old times women were excluded from almost all the occupations of men. Housework and sewing were practically the only ways open to them to earn a living. To-day, out of more than 300 trades and professions followed by men, women are found in all but 3 or 4.

But this objection about the subdivision of labor is really irrelevant. Voting is not labor, in the sense of a trade or profession. The tendency of civilization has been to a greater and greater specialization of labor, but not to a closer and closer restriction of the suffrage. On the contrary, that has been steadily extended. The best results are found not where public affairs are left in the hands of a small class of "professional politicians," but where the largest proportion of the people take a keen interest and an active part in their own government.

WOULD LOSE THEIR INFLUENCE.

Women would lose their influence.

What gives a woman influence? Beauty, goodness, tact, talent, pleasant manners, money, social position, etc. A woman who has any of these means of influence now would still have them if she had a vote, and she would have this other potent means of influence besides. There is a story of a prisoner who had been shut up for many years in a dungeon, getting sunlight only through a chink in the wall. He grew much attached to that chink. At last his friends came and offered to tear down the wall. His mind had become weakened, and he begged them not to do it. If they destroyed the wall, he said, they would also destroy the chink through which he got all his sunlight, and he would be left in total darkness. If he had had his wits, he would have seen that he would have all the sunlight he had before and a great deal more besides. A woman after enfranchisement would have all the personal influence she has now and political influence in addition. One thing is certain: Every vicious interest in this country, to which women are hostile, would rather continue to contend with women's "indirect influence" than try to cope with women's vote.

CEASE TO BE RESPECTED.

Women would cease to be respected.

Mrs. Sarah Platt Decker, of Denver, writes: "Under equal suffrage there is a much more chivalrous devotion and respect on the part of men, who look upon their sisters not as playthings or as property, but as equals and fellow citizens."

Mrs. K. A. Sheppard, president of the New Zealand Council of Women, says: "To-day a young New Zealander in his teens no longer regards his mother as belonging to a sex that must be kept within a prescribed sphere, but as a human being, clothed with the dignity of all those rights and powers which he hopes to enjoy within a few years."

Mrs. A. Watson Lister, secretary of the Woman's National Council of Australia, says: "One striking result of equal suffrage is that members of Parliament now consult us as to their bills, when these bear upon the interests of women. The author of the new divorce bill asked all the women's organizations to come together and hear him read it, and to make criticisms and suggestions. I do not remember any such thing happening before in all my years in Australia. When a naturalization bill was pending, one clause of which deprived Australian women of citizenship if they married aliens, a few women went privately to the prime minister and protested, and that clause was altered immediately. After we had worked for years with members of Parliament for various reforms without avail, because we had no votes, you can not imagine the difference it makes." (Woman's Journal, Feb. 13, 1904.)

WOULD MAKE WOMEN PARTISANS.

Women can do more good now than if they had a vote, because now they are nonpartisan. If they became voters, their nonpartisan influence would be lost.

Women continue to be nonpartisan after they have the ballot, and it gives them more power to secure the good things which the women of all parties want.

Prof. Henry E. Kelly, formerly of the Iowa State University, now practicing law in Denver, says in an open letter to State Senator A. H. Gale, of Iowa, that he went to Colorado opposed to equal suffrage, but has been converted by what he has seen of it. Prof. Kelly adds:

"Experience clearly shows that women's interest can not be aroused in mere partisan strife. Their interests center around questions affecting education, public cleanliness, public morality, civic beauty, charities and correction, public health, public libraries, and such subjects as more intimately affect home life and conduce to the prosperity of the family. Men lose sight of these important considerations in the scramble of partisan warfare for office, but women will not see them obscured by anything."

Ellis Meredith, of Denver, writes:

"There has never been a party measure espoused by women in the Colorado Legislature. The women of all parties want the same things, and have worked for them together in perfect harmony. They wanted a pure-food law, and secured one from the last legislature in line with the national legislation. They wanted civil-service reform, and have obtained that so far as the officers of State institutions are concerned. During the last legislature an attempt was made to take the control of the State bureau of child and animal protection away from the Colorado Humane Society and to create a political board. Every federated woman's club in the State besieged its senators and representatives to vote against the bill, and the vice chairmen of the State central committees of the two chief political parties (both of them women) went together to different members of the legislature to enter their protest. Men understand that in legislative matters when they oppose the women they are opposing practically all the women, and the great independent vote of the State." (Woman's Journal, Aug. 31, 1907.)

OPPOSITION OF WOMEN.

Women in large numbers are organizing against suffrage. The majority are opposed to it, and the majority ought to rule.

Mrs. Julia Ward Howe says:

"The organized opposition among women to suffrage is very small compared with the organized movement of women in its favor. Out of our 46 States only 4 have antisuffrage associations. Tiny antisuffrage committees exist in 4 States more. There are suffrage associations in 33 States and several Territories.

"In New York, at the time of the last constitutional convention, the suffragists secured more than 300,000 signatures to their petitions; the antisuffragists only 15,000. The woman-suffrage petitions presented to the recent constitutional convention in Michigan bore 175,000 signatures. There were no petitions on the other side. In Chicago, not long ago, 97 organizations, with an aggregate membership of more than 10,000 women, petitioned for a woman-suffrage clause in the new city charter, while only one small organization of women petitioned against it. In Maine, Iowa, Kansas—in short, in every State where petitions for suffrage and remonstrances against it have been sent to the legislature—the petitioners have always outnumbered the remonstrants, and have generally outnumbered them 50 or 100 to 1. On the only occasion when the Government took an official referendum among women on the sub-

ject (in Massachusetts in 1895) the women's vote was in favor of suffrage 25 to 1.

"Most women are as yet indifferent on the suffrage question; but of those who take any lively interest in it either way the great majority are in favor. This has been demonstrated wherever the matter has been brought to a test." (Woman's Journal, Aug. 1, 1908.)

ALREADY OVERBURDENED.

Women are already overburdened. A woman would not have time to perform her political duties without neglecting higher duties.

Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer says (Objections to woman suffrage answered by college women):

"How much time must she spend on her political duties? If she belongs to the well-to-do class and hires others to do her work, she has time for whatever interests her most—only let these interests be noble! If she does her own housework, she can take 10 minutes to stop on her way to market and vote once or twice a year. She can find half an hour a day for the newspapers and other means of information. She can talk with family and friends about what she reads. She does this now; she will then do it more intelligently and will give and receive more for what she says and hears. If she does this reading and talking, she will be better informed than the majority of voters are now.

"The duties of motherhood and the making of a home are the most sacred work of women, and the dearest to them, of every class. If casting an intelligent vote would interfere with what only women can do—and what, failed in, undermines society and government—no one can question which a woman must choose. But it can not be shown that there are any large number of women in this country who have not the necessary time to vote intelligently, and it can be argued that study of the vital questions of our Government would make them better comrades to their husbands and friends, better guides to their sons, and more interesting and valuable members of society. Women of every class have more leisure than men—are less tied to hours of routine—they have had more years of school training than men. All this makes simple the combination of public and higher duties."

WOMEN AND OFFICE HOLDING.

If women vote, they must hold office.

When we say that women would be eligible to hold office, what do we mean? Simply that if a majority of the people in any place would rather have a woman to hold a certain position than anyone else, and if she is willing to serve, they shall be allowed to elect her. Women are serving as officials already; some of the women most prominent in opposing equal suffrage have been holders of public office. The late president of the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women (Mrs. J. Elliot Cabot) was for years a member of the school board of Brookline and also overseer of the poor. Yet that association in its published documents objects to equal suffrage on the ground that "suffrage involves the holding of office, and office holding is incompatible with the duties of most women." Suffrage does not involve office holding by the majority of women, but only by a few; and there are always some women of character and ability who could give the necessary time. Women as a class have more leisure than men.

In the enfranchised States there has been no rush of women into office, and the offices that women do hold are mainly educational and charitable. In Wyoming women have had full suffrage for 39 years, yet no woman has ever been a member of the legislature. Neither Colorado, Utah, nor Idaho has ever had more than three women in the legislature at one time.

BALLOTS AND BULLETS.

If women vote, they ought to fight and do police duty.

If no men were allowed to vote except those who are able and willing to do military and police duty, women might consistently be debarred for that reason. But so long as the old, the infirm, the halt, the lame, and the blind are freely admitted to the ballot box, some better reason must be found for excluding women than the fact that they do not fight. All men over 45 are exempt from military service, yet they vote. Col. T. W. Higginson says: "It appears by the record of United States military statistics that out of the men examined for military duty during the Civil War of journalists 740 in every 1,000 were found unfit; of preachers, 974; of physicians, 680; of lawyers, 544. (Medical statistics of the provost general's bureau quoted by Col. T. W. Higginson in Common Sense about Women, p. 365.) Grave divines are horrified at the thought of admitting women to vote when they can not fight, though not 1 in 20 of their own number is fit for military duty if he volunteered. Of the editors who denounce woman suffrage only about 1 in 4 could himself carry a musket, while of the lawyers who fill Congress the majority could not be defenders of their country but could only be defended."

Again, it must be remembered that some woman risks her life whenever a soldier is born into the world. Mrs. Z. G. Wallace, of Indiana, from whom Gen. Lew Wallace drew the portrait of the mother in Ben Hur, said: "If women do not fight, they give to the State all its soldiers." This ought in all fairness to be taken as an offset for the military service that women do not render. As Lady Henry Somerset says, "She who bears soldiers does not need to bear arms."

CAN LAWS BE ENFORCED?

Laws could not be enforced unless the majority of legal voters represented the majority of possible fighters.

But thousands of male noncombatants are already admitted to the ballot box, and there is no certainty at any election that the majority of voters represents a majority of possible fighters. No trouble of this kind has resulted from equal suffrage in practice. The laws are as well enforced in the enfranchised States as in adjoining States where women have no vote.

Where women have school suffrage their votes occasionally turn the scale, but there is never any attempt to install the defeated candidates by force. Where women have the full ballot they have often defeated bad candidates for higher offices, but no riotous uprising has ever followed. This particular objection is a libel on American manhood.

WILL IT INCREASE DIVORCE?

It will lead to family quarrels and increase divorce.

Full suffrage was granted to the women of Wyoming in 1869. During the 20 years from 1870 to 1890 divorce in the United States at large increased about three times as fast as the population. In the group of Western States, omitting Wyoming, it increased nearly four times as fast as the population. In Wyoming it increased only about half as fast as the population. "An ounce of experiment is worth a ton of theory."

A father sometimes turns his son out of doors for voting the wrong ticket, but among American men this is rare. Where such a case does arise, it is to be met by educating the domestic despot, not by disfranchising all the members of the family but one. A couple who are sensible and good-tempered will not quarrel if they are once in a while unable to think alike about politics. A couple who are not sensible and good-tempered are sure to quarrel anyway—if not about politics, then about something else.

THE QUESTION OF CHIVALRY.

It will destroy chivalry.

Justice would be worth more to women than chivalry if they could not have both. A working girl put the case in a nutshell when she said: "I would gladly stand for 20 minutes in the street car going home if by doing so I could get the same pay that a man would have had for doing my day's work." But women do not have to stand in the street cars half as often in Denver as in Boston or New York. Justice and chivalry are not in the least incompatible. Women have more freedom and equality in America than in Europe, yet American men are the most chivalrous in the world.

KNOWN BY ITS ENEMIES.

It would increase the corruption of politics.

Those who thrive upon the corruption of politics do not think so. The ignorant, vicious, and criminal vote is always cast solidly against equal rights for women.

TOO EMOTIONAL.

Women are too emotional and sentimental to be trusted with the ballot.

Mrs. E. T. Brown, at a meeting of the Georgia State Federation of Women's Clubs, read a paper in which she said:

"You tell us that women are not fitted for dealing with the problems of government, being too visionary and too much controlled by sentiment.

"Now it is very true of women that they are largely controlled by sentiment, and, as a matter of fact, men are largely controlled by sentiment also, in spite of their protesting blushes. Was it logic that swept like a wave over this country and sent our Army to protect the Cubans when their suffering grew too intense to be endured even in the hearing? Is it shrewd business calculation that sends thousands of dollars out of this country to feed a starving people during the ever-recurring famines in unhappy India? Was it hard common sense that sent thousands of American soldiers into what looked like the death trap of China in the almost baseless hope of rescuing a few hundred American citizens? Do not men like Washington, Lincoln, Jefferson, and Lee live in the hearts of American men, not alone for what they did but still more for what they dreamed of? The man who is not controlled by sentiment betrays his friends, sells his vote, is a traitor to his country, or wrecks himself, body and soul, with immoralities; for nothing but sentiment prevents any of these things. The sense of honor is purely sentiment. The sentiment of loyalty is the only thing that makes truth and honesty desirable or a vote a nonsalable commodity.

"Government would be a poor affair without sentiment, and it is not likely to be damaged by a slightly increased supply."

WHAT IS THE UNIT?

The political unit is the family.

The childless widower, the unmarried boy of 21, and the confirmed old bachelor of 90 have votes; the widow with minor children has none. Under our laws the political unit is not the family, but the male individual. The unequal number of grown persons in different families would make it impossible to treat the family as the political unit.

WOMEN'S SMALL SCHOOL VOTE.

The smallness of women's school vote shows that they would not use the full ballot.

The size of men's vote is just in proportion to the size of the election. At presidential election it is very large, at State elections much smaller, at a municipal election smaller still, and at school elections, wherever these are held separately, only a fraction of the men turn out to vote. The smallness of the woman's school vote is regrettable, but it is only a new proof of the truth of Mrs. Poyser's immortal saying: "I am not denying that women are foolish; God Almighty made them to match the men!"

In Kansas women were given school suffrage in 1861. Their vote was small. In 1887 they were given full municipal suffrage. Their vote at once became much larger and has increased at successive elections.

In Colorado women were given school suffrage in 1876. Their vote was small. In 1893 they were given the full ballot, and on January 31, 1899, the Colorado Legislature declared by a practically unanimous vote of both houses that "during this time (the preceding five years) women have exercised the privilege as generally as men."

The women's school vote has completely disproved the fear that the bad women would be the first to rush to the polls. In answer to the prediction that the best women will not vote, Col. Higginson says (The Nonsense of It): "In Massachusetts, under school suffrage, the complaint has been that only the best women vote."

WILL WOMEN VOTE?

Women will not vote, or will cease to vote after the novelty has worn off.

In Wyoming women have had full suffrage since 1869. The Wyoming secretary of state, in a letter to Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, of Boston, says that 90 per cent of them vote. (Woman's Journal, May 6, 1905.)

The Colorado secretary of state, in a letter to Mrs. Charles Park, of Boston, says that 80 per cent of Colorado women register and about 72 per cent vote. (Woman's Journal, Aug. 20, 1908.)

The chief justice of Idaho and all the justices of the State supreme court have signed a published statement that "the large vote cast by the women establishes the fact that they take a lively interest." (Woman's Journal, Aug. 20, 1908.)

In Australia, at the last Federal election, 628,235 men voted and 431,033 women. (Progress, December, 1907.)

When woman suffrage was granted in New Zealand, in 1893, the estimated number of women in the country was 139,915. Of these, 109,461 registered to vote, and the number of women voting has increased at each triennial parliamentary election since. In 1893, 90,290 women voted; in 1896, 108,783; in 1899, 119,550; in 1902, 138,565; in 1905, 175,046. (Mrs. K. A. Sheppard, president New Zealand Council of Women, in "Woman Suffrage in New Zealand.")

The majority of the women had never asked for suffrage in any of these places.

A GROWING CAUSE.

Opposition to woman suffrage is growing. In Oregon a larger proportional vote was cast against the suffrage amendment in 1908 than in 1906 or 1900.

There are now five States in which woman suffrage has been submitted to the voters more than once, at intervals of some years. In

four of the five the latest vote was the most favorable to woman suffrage; in one it was the other way.

In Colorado, when woman suffrage was submitted the first time, it was defeated; the second time, it was carried.

In Kansas, the first time, it received only 9,100 votes; the second time, it received 95,302.

In the State of Washington, the first time the majority against it was 19,386; the second time, it was only 9,882.

In South Dakota, the first time the adverse majority was 23,610; the second time, it dropped to 3,285.

Since on their latest vote four States show a gain for woman suffrage, while only one shows a retrogression, it is clear that growth of the cause is the rule, and that the result in Oregon was due to exceptional local circumstances. Which ought to carry the more weight, four States or one?

THE OREGON VOTE.

The increased adverse vote in Oregon was due to the Antisuffrage Association formed by Oregon women, and to the bad results of equal suffrage in the neighboring States of Idaho and Colorado.

Oregon is the only State where a woman suffrage amendment has been submitted more than twice. There it has been submitted four times. Its first submission was in 1884, before any antisuffrage association had been formed, and before either Idaho or Colorado had granted the ballot to women. At that time it received a smaller proportional vote than it has ever received since. In 1884 it was defeated by a vote of 28,176 to 11,223—almost 3 to 1. In 1908 the vote against it was 58,670 to 36,858—much less than 2 to 1.

THE TEST OF EXPERIMENT.

It works badly in practice.

Women now have the full ballot in Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Idaho, New Zealand, Australia, Finland, and Norway. They have municipal suffrage throughout England, Scotland, Ireland, many of the English colonies, Sweden, and Denmark. In some of these countries they have had it for generations.

In all these places put together the opponents thus far have not found a dozen respectable men who assert over their own names and addresses that it has had any bad results.

This is the more remarkable in view of the fact that active antisuffrage associations in New York and Massachusetts have been for years diligently gathering all the adverse testimony they could find.

On the other hand, scores of the most highly esteemed men and women in the equal suffrage States testify that the results are good.

In Wyoming women have had the full ballot for 39 years. For the last 20 years the advocates of equal suffrage have had a standing challenge inviting its opponents to find in all Wyoming two respectable men who will assert over their own names and addresses that it has had any bad results whatever. The opponents have thus far failed to respond.

DOUBLING THE VOTE.

It would only double the vote without changing the result.

If letting women sing in church merely doubled the volume of sound, it would still be a good thing, because it would double the number of persons who had the lung exercise and the inspiration of joining in a good hymn and it would make the chorus stronger. If equal suffrage merely doubled the number of voters, it would still do good, because to take an interest in public affairs would give women mental stimulus and greater breadth of view, and it would also bring to bear on public problems the minds of an increased number of intelligent and patriotic citizens. But the great advantage of women in music is that they add the soprano and alto to the tenor and bass. If women were exactly like men, equal suffrage would merely double the vote. But women are different from men, and women's voices in the State, like women's voices in the choir, would be the introduction of a new element. This is recognized even by opponents when they express the fear that equal suffrage would lead to "sentimental legislation."

Men are superior to women along certain lines and women are superior to men along certain others. The points of weakness in American politics at present are precisely the points where women are strong. There is no lack in our politics of business ability, executive talent, or "smartness" of any kind. There is a dangerous lack of conscience and humanity. The business interests, which appeal more especially to men, are well and shrewdly looked after; the moral and humanitarian interests, which appeal more especially to women, are apt to be neglected.

NOT A NATURAL RIGHT.

Suffrage is not a natural right.

It is hard to define just what a "natural right" is. Dr. James Freeman Clarke said: "If all women were forbidden to use the sidewalk, and they complained of the injustice, it would be no answer to tell them that it was not a natural or inherent right but one given by society and which society might, therefore, control as it saw fit. A great many rights are given by society, of which, however, it would be manifestly unjust to deprive either sex."

TOO MANY VOTERS.

We have too many voters already.

This only means that we have too many voters of the wrong kind. If to increase the number of voters were an evil in itself, every woman who becomes the mother of half a dozen sons would have done harm to her country. But if all six grow up to be good voters, she has conferred a benefit on her country. So she has if five of them become good voters and only one a bad voter. Woman suffrage would bring in at least five good voters to one bad one.

It is often said that we have too many immigrants. We mean too many immigrants of an undesirable kind. We all rejoice when we hear of a large influx from Finland or some other country whose people are considered especially desirable immigrants. We want them to offset those of less virtuous and law-abiding races. The governor of one of the enfranchised States writes of woman suffrage: "The effect of this increase in the vote is the same as if a large and eminently respectable class of citizens had immigrated here."

WOULD UNSEX WOMEN.

It will turn women into men.

The differences between men and women are natural; they are not the result of disfranchisement. The fact that all men have equal rights before the law does not wipe out natural differences of character and temperament between man and man. Why should it wipe out the natural differences between men and women? The women of England, Scotland, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, and our own equal-suffrage States are not perceptibly different in looks or manners from women elsewhere, although they have been voting for years.

WOMEN DO NOT WANT IT.

Whenever the majority of women ask for suffrage, they will get it.

Every improvement in the condition of women thus far has been secured not by a general demand from the majority of women, but by the arguments, entreaties, and "continual coming" of a persistent few. In each case the advocates of progress have had to contend not merely with the conservatism of men, but with the indifference of women, and often with active opposition from some of them.

When a man in Saco, Me., first employed a saleswoman, the men boycotted his store and the women remonstrated with him on the sin of placing a young woman in a position of such "publicity." When Lucy Stone began to try to secure for married women the right to their own property, women asked with scorn, "Do you think I would give myself where I would not give my property?" When Elizabeth Blackwell began to study medicine, the women at her boarding house refused to speak to her, and women passing her on the street held their skirts aside. It is a matter of history with what ridicule and opposition Mary Lyon's first efforts for the education of women were received, not only by the mass of men, but by the mass of women as well.

In the eastern countries where women are shut up in zenanas and forbidden to walk the streets unveiled, the women themselves are often the strongest upholders of these traditional restrictions, which they have been taught to think add to their dignity. The Chinese lady is as proud of her small feet as any American antisuffragist is of her political disabilities. Pundita Ramabai tells us that the idea of education for girls is so unpopular with the majority of Hindoo women that when a progressive Hindoo proposes to educate his little daughter, it is not uncommon for the women of his family to threaten to drown themselves.

All this merely shows that human nature is conservative, and that it is fully as conservative in women as in men. The persons who take a strong interest in any reform are generally few, whether among men or women, and they are habitually regarded with disfavor, even by those whom the proposed reform is to benefit.

Many changes for the better have been made during the last half century in the laws, written and unwritten, relating to women. Everybody approves of these changes now, because they have become accomplished facts. But not one of them would have been made to this day if it had been necessary to wait till the majority of women asked for it. The change now under discussion is to be judged on its merits. In the light of history, the indifference of most women and the opposition of a few must be taken as a matter of course. It has no more rational significance now than it has had in regard to each previous step of women's progress.

On Congressional Services of Hon. Henry M. Goldfogle.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK CLARK,

OF FLORIDA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 24, 1915.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I desire to place on the record of this House a few of the very many expressions of well-deserved praise and appreciation my esteemed associate, the Hon. HENRY M. GOLDFOGLE, of New York, received from many sections of this country on his labors in opposition to the literacy test in the immigration bill. Judge GOLDFOGLE has passed through 14 years of active, honorable, and creditable service in Congress. During these years he has been a hard working and efficient member of important committees, among them the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, the Insular Affairs Committee, the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, and the great Committee on Rules, on which latter three committees he is now a member, besides being also the chairman of the Elections Committee. The New York State Democratic delegation in the House selected him to represent that State on the national Democratic congressional committee, of which he was made one of its vice chairmen. It is pleasing to me to be able to say that Judge GOLDFOGLE is an influential Member of this body, possessing the confidence and respect of the general membership of the House.

Judge GOLDFOGLE's efforts were such that he well merited the encomiums sent to him by leading and distinguished American citizens of various nationalities and creeds and many societies and organizations of high standing throughout the country. Typical of these are two letters I desire to print in the RECORD, one from the American Jewish Committee, represented by Louis Marshall, its president. That committee is composed of some of the best known and distinguished men in the United States. The other letter comes from a society with a membership of 50,000 people spread through the United States, whose headquarters are located in the district which for 14 long years was with ability and fidelity represented by Judge GOLDFOGLE. In concluding these remarks I want to heartily join in the regrets I have heard frequently expressed by many of our associates that in Judge GOLDFOGLE's retirement from the House, which retirement we hope is but temporary, the House loses a useful and valuable Member, whose broad experience and painstaking efforts and diligent service as a Member of Congress reflected

credit on the people of his congressional district he so faithfully served.

I would not permit the occasion to pass without making reference to the great work done by Judge GOLDFOGLE which led up to and, I may say, resulted in the abrogation of the Russian treaty. For years his labors to bring about the uniform recognition of our passports held by American citizens regardless of race or creed were conducted with tireless energy and with statesmanlike dignity. Successful in the passage of his resolution at every step, his people may well look with pride at the splendid record he made and in the results he achieved in his battle to secure the vindication of the rights of American citizenship.

Mr. Speaker, I append to these remarks the letters to which I referred. They are as follows:

No. 37 Wall Street, New York, January 19, 1915.

Hon. HENRY M. GOLDFOGLE.

DEAR JUDGE: I wish to extend to you, on behalf of the American Jewish committee and personally, the expression of sincere appreciation for your very thorough and excellent work in bringing about the defeat of the immigration bill, with its infamous literacy test, and sustaining the admirable veto message of President Wilson. Your complete familiarity with the subject and your great experience were of inestimable advantage to the cause of the honest immigrant who seeks asylum in this blessed land of liberty and who comes hither for the purpose of becoming an industrious and useful adjunct in the building and developing of our resources. You have earned the gratitude of all right-thinking men.

Very truly, yours, LOUIS MARSHALL.

HEBREW SHELTERING AND IMMIGRANT AID SOCIETY OF AMERICA,
229–231 East Broadway, New York, February 15, 1915.

Hon. HENRY M. GOLDFOGLE,
Member of Congress, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At the regular meeting of the board of directors of the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society of America, which has about 50,000 active members all over the United States, I was instructed to extend to you our hearty congratulations and sincere thanks for your splendid attitude on the Burnett bill.

By refusing to let this un-American measure become law you have earned the gratitude of all lovers of American traditions.

Cordially, yours,

LEON SANDERS, *President.*

Railway Mileage of the World Under Private and Public Ownership.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES W. BRYAN,
OF WASHINGTON.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 23, 1915.

Mr. BRYAN. Mr. Speaker, the most satisfactory statement I have been able to find of the railway mileage of the earth in private ownership and in State ownership or control is in an English "return" published by the English Government, which separates in its statement the railways in the British possessions and those in foreign countries. For my present purpose the "return" is somewhat awkward, in that it approaches the subject from a British standpoint, but the figures are so clear and concisely set forth that we can well afford to overlook the unusual importance paid in the "return" to British railroads as compared with foreign railroads. The following introduction to the pamphlet will suffice for necessary information. Those who may want to study the subject further are referred to the document, which may be found in the Congressional Library, and no doubt in other libraries throughout the country:

"STATE RAILWAYS IN BRITISH POSSESSIONS AND FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

"The following return contains reports on certain matters connected with the State ownership and working of railways, or other participation in railway enterprise, in all the British self-governing dominions, in India, in 17 British colonies not possessing responsible government and protectorates, and in 42 foreign countries. The reports are based on information furnished by the Governments of the self-governing dominions, colonies, and protectorates by the India office and by His Majesty's diplomatic representatives in foreign countries, and contain the latest information available, though in the case of some foreign countries this is not of a very recent date.

"BRITISH SELF-GOVERNING DOMINIONS.

"In Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa the policy of State ownership and operation of railways has been adopted, with the result that private railways play a part which is relatively extremely small. In Canada, on the other hand, although the Dominion Government has owned and operated railways since confederation, State railways have hitherto formed a comparatively insignificant portion of the railway system of the Dominion. In Newfoundland by far the greater portion of the railways are State owned, but leased to a private company. The following table sets out the main facts as to railway ownership in the Dominions:

Dominions.	Date to which details relate.	Length of railways (miles).		
		State owned and operated.	State owned and privately operated.	Privately owned and operated.
Canada	June 30, 1911	2,018	102	26,278
Newfoundland	Dec. 31, 1911	.....	723	47
Australia	June 30, 1911	16,079	.....	1,934
New Zealand	Mar. 31, 1912	2,808	.....	29
South Africa	Dec. 31, 1911	7,548	.....	545
Total	.....	28,453	825	28,833

"INDIA.

"According to the administration report of the Indian Railway Board for 1911 there were at the end of that year 32,893 miles of railway open in India. Of these it appears from the tables included in the present return that 6,874 miles were owned and operated by the Government of India; 18,245 miles were owned by the Government of India but operated by companies; 1,662 miles were owned and operated by native States; 1,648 miles were owned by native States but operated by private companies (including 256 miles worked by the State Railway Administration); and 170 miles were owned by district boards or the administration of the French settlements in India. These figures account for a total of 28,599 miles (including some slight duplication); of the remaining railways of India some are subsidized (by guaranty of interest or otherwise) by the Indian Government or local governments or district boards.

"BRITISH COLONIES NOT POSSESSING RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT AND PROTECTORATES.

"The reports contained in the present return show that in 17 British Colonies not possessing responsible government and protectorates, there were in the year 1911–12 State railways amounting in all to 3,525 miles. The only Colonies and protectorates, and so forth, possessing railway systems in which there were no Government-owned lines are Barbados, British Guiana, Nyasaland, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, the settlement of Lobuan, and Rhodesia. In the last-named territory the railways are, however, mainly owned by a company which is a subsidiary of the British South Africa Co. In the British Colonies and protectorates as a whole the total length of privately owned railways was 2,596 miles, of which 2,351 miles belonged to the Rhodesian railway system operating in Rhodesia, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and Portuguese East Africa.

"FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

"Of the countries not covered by the series of reports comprised in the present return, the only one of importance is the United States of America, where the whole of the 249,902 miles of railway in operation on the 31st of December, 1910, were privately owned and operated. In Abyssinia and Salvador there are small private lines, whilst Crete, Liberia, Persia, and San Domingo are not at present in possession of railway systems, either State or private.

"(*a*) Countries which have only State systems, or in which the private lines, though continuing to exist, are comparatively insignificant. This group includes Belgium, Bulgaria, Egypt, Germany, Italy, Japan, Nicaragua, Panama (Canal Zone), Roumania, Servia, and Siam.

"(*b*) Countries in which the State-owned lines are predominant in extent, but privately owned lines form an important part of the respective railway systems. This group includes Chile, China, Denmark, Honduras, the Netherlands, Peru, Russia (with Finland), and Switzerland.

"(*c*) Countries in which privately owned lines are predominant in extent, but the State-owned lines form an important part of the respective railway systems. This group includes the Argentine Republic, Austria-Hungary, Brazil, Costa Rica, France, Portugal, Sweden, and Turkey.

"(*d*) Countries in which the State-owned lines are comparatively insignificant. This group includes Cuba and Venezuela.

"(*e*) Countries in which the State has a predominant or large holding in railway enterprises, which are in form private companies. This class includes Mexico, Norway, and Colombia—in

the two former countries there are also railways which are in the sole ownership of the State.

"As regards working, the general rule is for the State itself to operate the lines which it owns, but in the Netherlands and Peru the whole of the State lines are operated on lease by private companies, and this is also the case with the larger part of the Brazilian Government lines. On the other hand, in Austria and Hungary a large extent of privately owned lines are operated by the State railway administration.

"In the remaining 10 countries included within the scope of the present return, viz, Bolivia, Ecuador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Luxemburg, Montenegro, Paraguay, Spain, and Uruguay, there are at present no railways owned by the State—railways in Guatemala and Paraguay were constructed by the Governments, but subsequently transferred to private ownership—but State assistance has been rendered to railway enterprise by the grant of subsidies in various forms or by the guaranty of interest on capital, subject in some instances to conditions as to State participation in profits beyond a maximum amount or as to State rights or acquisition or the reversion of the railways to the State at the end of a prescribed period. These policies of State subventions or guaranty of interest, subject generally to conditions of the kind indicated, are in force also in a number of countries side by side with State ownership. The most conspicuous instance of this is furnished by France, but examples are to be found also in Brazil, Denmark, Mexico, Norway, Portugal, and Russia.

"In the following table an attempt has been made to classify, so far as possible, according to ownership and operation, the railways of the foreign countries covered by the present return, and such other foreign countries as have railway systems with regard to which information is available:

States.	Date to which details relate.	Length of railways (miles).				Remarks.
		State owned and operated.	Privately owned but State operated.	State owned but privately operated.	Privately owned and operated.	
Abyssinia	May —, 1912	.....	.....	.....	176	
Argentine Republic	Jan. 1, 1912	2,495	.....	.....	16,734	
Austria-Hungary:						
Austria	Dec. 31, 1911	8,074	3,593	.....	2,409	
Hungary	....do.....	5,063	5,771	.....	2,058	
Belgium	....do.....	2,530	151	.....	218	Exclusive of lines of "local interest."
Bolivia	Dec. 31, 1912	.....	.....	.....	616	
Brazil	Jan. 1, 1911	2,000	.....	4,405	3,020	In addition there were some 3,825 miles built by or under concessions from the governments of the various States of the Brazilian Union, but further details are not available.
Bulgaria	Dec. 31, 1910	1,195	.....	.....	.....	
Central American Republics:						
Costa Rica	June —, 1912	84	.....	.....	360	
Guatemala	1912	.....	.....	.....	437	
Honduras	1912	57	.....	.....	50	
Nicaragua	1912	171	.....	.....	20	
Panama	June —, 1912	47	.....	.....	.....	This railway is in the Canal Zone and is owned by the United States Government.
Salvador	1912	.....	.....	.....	118	
Chile	Dec. 31, 1911	1,982	.....	.....	1,977	
China	1912	3,110	.....	.....	2,670	
Colombia	1912	110	.....	.....	480	
Cuba	June —, 1912	40	.....	.....	2,229	
Denmark	Mar. 31, 1912	1,157	61	31	1,040	
Ecuador	June —, 1912	.....	.....	.....	652	
Egypt	Dec. 31, 1911	1,913	.....	.....	.....	
France	Dec. 31, 1910	5,268	229	.....	19,445	Exclusive of lines of "local interest"—5,487 miles in extent.
German Empire	Mar. 31, 1910	34,427	.....	.....	2,393	
Greece	Dec. 31, 1910	.....	.....	.....	988	
Haiti	Mar. —, 1913	.....	.....	.....	53	
Italy	June 30, 1911	8,275	.....	.....	56	Exclusive of narrow gauge, secondary lines, 2,420 miles in extent, owned and operated by private companies.
Japan	Dec. 31, 1911	5,023	.....	.....	294	Exclusive of private light railways 232 miles in extent.
Luxemburg	1912	.....	.....	.....	278	The privately owned and operated railways include lines operated by the Imperial railway of Alsace-Lorraine.
Mexico	June 30, 1912	.....	.....	7,865	7,987	The mileage shown includes all lines, both broad and narrow gauge, and therefore lines used for their own purposes by mining, agriculture, and other companies.
Montenegro	1912	.....	.....	.....	27	
Netherlands	1912	.....	.....	1,102	896	
Norway	1912	396	1,225	.....	293	In the railways shown in the fourth column the State is a shareholder.
Paraguay	1912	.....	.....	.....	232	
Peru	June 30, 1911	.....	.....	1,053	603	Including narrow-gauge and some interurban electric lines.
Portugal	Dec. 31, 1910	696	.....	.....	1,115	
Roumania	Mar. 31 1911	2,157	.....	.....	.....	
Russia	Jan. 1, 1910	28,400	.....	.....	11,800	
Finland	Dec. 31, 1910	2,083	.....	.....	187	
Salvador	1912	.....	.....	.....	118	
Servia	Dec. 31, 1911	634	.....	.....	.....	Exclusive of 47 miles of departmental light railways.
Siam	Jan. 1, 1912	634	.....	.....	66	
Spain	Dec. 31, 1911	.....	.....	.....	9,194	Including about 2,000 miles of light railways.
Sweden	June 30, 1910	2,745	.....	.....	5,839	Including 2,032 miles of narrow-gauge railway.
Switzerland	Dec. 31, 1911	1,698	.....	.....	1,195	Including narrow-gauge and funicular railways.
Turkey	Apr. —, 1912	909	.....	.....	2,946	
United States	Dec. 31, 1910	.....	.....	.....	249,902	
Uruguay	Jan. 1, 1912	.....	.....	.....	1,514	
Venezuela	....do.....	.....	.....	68	470	

"The preceding table shows a total of 134,403 miles of railway operated—whether actually owned or not—by State railway administrations, and 367,675 miles operated by private enterprise, there being included in the latter figure a small proportion which is State owned. If to these totals there be added those previously given for the British self-governing dominions, the British colonies and protestorates, and India, the resultant figures are: Railways operated by governments, 174,917; railways operated by private enterprise, 424,232 miles. It is, however, necessary to point out that these totals relate solely

to the railways included in the above table and do not afford a precise indication of the relative extent of the railways operated by government and private enterprise, respectively, outside the United Kingdom, since the statistics for the various countries are not strictly comparable, owing especially to the inclusion in some instances and the exclusion in others of the mileage of 'secondary' or 'light' railways, and the fact that the railways in the colonial possessions of foreign countries are not included.

"BOARD OF TRADE, COMMERCIAL DEPARTMENT, *July, 1913.*"

I also extend the following statement to correct certain false statements being circulated throughout the country concerning the publicly owned utilities of the city of Seattle:

"SOME FACTS AND FIGURES FROM AN ADDRESS BY HON. GEORGE F. COTTERILL, FORMER MAYOR, AT THE SEATTLE COMMERCIAL CLUB, FEBRUARY 13, 1915—SEATTLE'S PUBLIC-OWNED UTILITIES—THEIR RECORD AND RELATION TO CITY TAXES AND REVENUES, THREATENED STATE LEGISLATION, CIVIC PROGRESS, AND PUBLIC WELFARE.

"An answer to the false and vicious attacks on the public resources, credit, past accomplishments, and future progress of the city and people of Seattle, such as have been brazenly made and staged with all the earmarks of a press-agency conspiracy. They have the plain and avowed purpose of influencing the State legislature to enact laws intended to cripple public enterprise and make it subservient to the greed of special-privilege corporations, whose agents and advocates are openly conducting a State and Nation wide campaign of slander against the good name and public interests of Seattle.

"If the banks of Seattle, any one or all of them, had been subjected to such false and malicious attacks upon their credit, resources, and business methods as the two Seattle newspapers, which for years have carried the Puget Sound Traction monopoly's business and political advertising, have directed against the city of Seattle during the past three months, they would have been wrecked and a business crisis precipitated. The falsity and impotence of these attacks upon municipal credit and resources are well evidenced by the active bidding for the recent municipal loan and its sale to a most conservative eastern banking concern on a 4 per cent interest basis.

"An attack upon the good name and credit of Seattle from outside the city would arouse the righteous indignation and united answer of every worth-while citizen. Are the would-be assassins of public credit from within to be immune from similar rebuke simply because their ulterior motives are well recognized and their public influence has been discounted to an admitted impotency? If the circulation of these slanders were limited to Seattle, they might well be ignored with contempt, but unfortunately they affect the outside opinion of Seattle, where the mendacity and misinformation can not be quickly recognized.

"Seattle is on a more solid financial basis, with greater resources and less debts, with more to show for her public expenditures, than any city in Washington. Her public-owned utilities are saving the taxpayers at least $2,000,000 per year, as compared with the rates paid for similar public service where private monopoly makes profit from public resources. This result has been accomplished without the increase of a dollar in taxation.

"Our municipal water system is unequaled anywhere; our city lighting system is the greatest rate reducer and public-service demonstration in America—not merely a success, but a business triumph. And the municipal railway is ready for a similar record, if given half a chance.

"Seattle needs no financial guardianship, at Olympia or elsewhere.

"GEO. F. COTTERILL."

Ten years of municipal ownership: A summary of the history of the Seattle city light and power system, Feb. 1, 1905, to Dec. 31, 1914 (compiled by former Mayor George F. Cotterill, consulting civil engineer, from the official records).

CONSOLIDATED FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

	1905 (including 1903–4).	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911 (Cedar River Dam).
Bonds issued or (redeemed)	[1] $590,000.00 [2] 250,000.00		[1] $200,000.00	[1] $400,000.00	[2] $500,000.00	[3] $200,000.00	[3] $100,000.00
Cedar River Dam						48,324.29	183,055.83
Construction expenditures (prior to 1905, $615,558.14)	64,473.80	$256,894.46	290,694.03	689,692.47	315,829.65	718,965.96	464,443.95
Annual earnings	45,470.10	117,299.93	198,793.27	317,840.18	468,386.65	598,514.92	727,383.79
Operation, maintenance, reconstruction	23,659.35	56,694.37	93,600.53	136,757.05	165,806.04	218,913.43	325,789.69
Interest charges	40,687.50	32,125.00	35,875.00	50,125.00	58,847.50	78,550.00	84,957.50
Lost accounts					1,210.69	2,087.33	1,620.80
Depreciation allowance		39,505.99	45,231.38	104,424.65	143,063.14	195,537.00	161,581.57
Total charges	64,346.85	128,325.36	174,706.91	291,306.70	368,927.37	495,087.76	573,949.56
Annual surplus (or deficit)	(18,876.75)	(11,025.43)	24,086.36	26,533.48	99,459.28	103,427.16	153,424.23

	1912 (Cedar River Dam).	1913 (steam plant).	1914	10-year total.	
Bonds issued or (redeemed)	[3] $1,000,000.00		($50,000.00) [4] 404,000.00	[5] $3,594,000.00	Average 4.21 per cent bonds authorized but not issued, $421,000; including $140,401.61 interest and $50,000 railway, not including Dec., 1914.
Cedar River Dam	387,148.53	$419,278.63	657,936.53	1,695,743.81	
Construction expenditures (prior to 1905, $615,558.14)	347,302.20	281,708.24	484,560.68	4,530,123.58	
Annual earnings	786,932.89	910,477.35	1,051,340.44	5,222,439.52	
Operation, maintenance, reconstruction	419,012.03	353,515.03	445,732.24	2,239,479.76	
Interest charges	83,625.00	83,625.00	84,078.20	632,495.70	
Lost accounts	4,563.62	5,346.79		14,829.23	
Depreciation allowance	88,035.71	193,332.85	228,087.60	1,198,799.89	
Total charges	595,236.36	635,819.67	757,898.01	4,085,604.58	
Sinking fund		32,400.00	41,000.00	73,400.00	
Annual surplus (or deficit)	191,696.53	242,257.68	252,442.40	1,063,434.94	

[1] 3½ per cent interest. [2] 4 per cent interest. [3] 4½ per cent interest. [4] 5 per cent interest. [5] Outstanding bonds.

NOTE.—Figures for 1914 are from advance sheets of department reports and are subject to slight revisions in official report not yet issued.

SUMMARY STATEMENT.

On Dec. 31, 1914, a total of $6,22.,867 had been expended upon construction (including Cedar River Dam and Lake Union steam auxiliary). Against this $1,198,800 depreciation has been allowed and provided for from annual earnings, over and above the reconstruction and maintenance expenses included in annual operation costs. The plant was therefore worth $5,127,067 on Jan. 1, 1915. Against it stands a bonded debt (less sinking fund) of $3,570,600, with $421,000 of authorized but unissued bonds to cover expenditures which have been advanced. The total bonded debt will thereby be increased to $3,991,600, bearing an average of about 4¼ per cent interest, or a total interest charge of $170,000 per year. The plant value of $5,127,067 (after allowing $1,198,800 depreciation) is therefore $1,135,467 in excess of the bonded indebtedness when all authorized bonds are issued and sold; $359,857 of this excess was derived from assessments on local improvement districts for cluster-light system; the remaining $775,610 of present plant value being an investment of the surplus. The remainder of the surplus ($287,825) is represented in the inventories of stock, equipment, etc., not included in plant value and in the current funds and accounts. The investment in the Cedar River Dam ($1,695,743, including construction period interest and the railway to Cedar Lake), although carried from present surplus earnings without any return thus far, will provide reservoir capacity, which, when utilized, will more than double the available water-power reserve of the plant, and with added machinery and other facilities will make possible a continued increase of business up to twice its present volume.

Sources of earnings.

	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911
Street lighting charge	$43,016.16	$66,148.20	$66,530.70	$74,244.89	$88,846.03	$113,494.91	$168,703.72
Revenue from residence rates	1,277.74	33,187.64	82,225.49	121,968.81	161,915.82	212,526.75	262,455.34
Revenue from business rates	802.05	12,327.51	37,543.37	78,734.42	106,928.70	138,776.94	173,016.10
Revenue from power rates	265.70	4,917.27	9,951.23	37,952.27	102,879.87	126,015.84	109,522.24
Miscellaneous revenue	108.45	719.31	2,542.48	4,939.79	7,816.23	7,700.48	13,686.39
Annual total earnings (flat rates, motor rentals, etc.)	45,470.10	117,299.93	198,793.27	317,840.18	468,386.65	598,514.92	727,383.79

	1912	1913	1914	Percentage of business, 1914.
Street lighting charge	$186,395.23	$211,013.65	$223,040.57	21 per cent of total earnings.
Revenue from residence rates	294,747.96	344,227.49	411,112.82	39 per cent of total earnings.
Revenue from business rates	190,309.98	228,510.27	264,712.03	25 per cent of total earnings.
Municipal street railway			8,780.30	
Revenue from power rates	106,999.98	114,431.11	132,630.50	14 per cent of total earnings.
Miscellaneous revenue	8,479.74	12,294.83	11,064.22	1 per cent of total earnings.
Annual total earnings (flat rates, motor rentals, etc.)	786,932.89	910,477.35	1,051,340.44	

Development of service and effect on rates (expressed in cents per kilowatt hour).

	Prior to 1905.	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910
Residence services	12c.-20c-3c	8½c-4½c	8½c-4½c	8½c-4½c	8½c-4½c	8½c-4½c	8½c-4½c
Business services	20c-2½c	8c -2½c	8c -2½c	8c -2½c	8c -2½c	8c -1½c	8c -1½c
Power services	10c-3c	7c -1½c	7c -1½c	7c -1½c	7c -1½c	7c -1½c	7c -1½c
Street lighting service (contract rates, equivalent to)	11c-5½c						

	Services.			
	1911	1912	1913	1914
Residence services[1]	16,544, at 7c-4c	19,867, at 6c-4c	25,839, at 6c-4c	30,201, at 6c-4c.
Business services[2]	1,682, at 8c-1½c	1,973, at 5c-1.32c	2,745, at 5c-1.32c	3,031, at 5c-1.32c.
Power services[3]	391, at 7c-0.6c	448, at 4c-0.5c	678, at 4c-0.5c	819, at 4c-0.5c.
Rates reduced average 24 per cent below previous contract rates, or to the equivalent of		[4] 4.05	[4] 4½c	[4] 4½c

[1] Average rate collected, 5.983c. per kilowatt hour. [2] Average rate collected, 2.757c. per kilowatt hour. [3] Average rate collected, 1.54c. per kilowatt hour.
[4] All-inclusive rate.

"SEATTLE—THE BEST LIGHTED CITY IN AMERICA." SEATTLE HAS BECOME KNOWN AS THE BEST LIGHTED CITY IN AMERICA, YET IT GETS THE MOST LIGHT FOR THE LEAST COST.

Comparison of street-lighting costs, 1913.

	Total cost.	Mileage served, streets and alleys.	Cost per mile.	City area, square miles.	Cost per square mile.	Nature of service.
New York	$3,346,306	3,247	$1,030	327	$10,233	Contract.
Philadelphia	2,390,069	1,770	1,350	129	18,527	Do.
Boston	768,779	568	1,353	47	16,356	Do.
Chicago	1,473,027	4,525	325	194	7,593	Municipal.
Seattle	211,013	879	240	58	3,638	Do.

And the Seattle rate is reduced 11 per cent for 1915.

N. B.—Seventy-five thousand six hundred and seventy dollars, or 36 per cent of Seattle street-lighting cost, was paid in 1913 for furnishing electric current on 25 miles of cluster lighting on central streets. The other 854 miles of streets served cost only $135,343, or $158 per mile.

The above comparative figures for the other cities are from an address on "Municipal lighting rates," delivered at the Conference of American Mayors, at Philadelphia, November, 1914, by Ray Palmer, commissioner department of gas and electricity, of Chicago.

The Seattle city rate of 4½ cents per kilowatt hour (reduced to 4 cents for 1915) includes every item of cost incident to investment, interest, depreciation, operation, maintenance, replacements, supplies, and labor incident to the complete street-lighting service and its constant extensions in a growing city. This 4½-cent net rate produced in 1913 a proportionate street-lighting cost for Seattle of only one-fourth the ratio for New York, one-fifth that of Philadelphia and Boston, and only one-half that of Chicago, also with a municipal street-lighting plant.

And still Seattle is "the best lighted city in America."

The Late Representative Forrest Goodwin.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT P. HILL,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, February 21, 1915,

On House resolution 741, as follows:

"Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended in order that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. FORREST GOODWIN, late a Member of this House from the State of Maine.

"Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased and in recognition of his distinguished public career the House at the conclusion of these exercises stand adjourned.

"Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

"Resolved, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the widow of the deceased."

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, Hon. FORREST GOODWIN and I were both new Members of the present Congress. With our wives we both stopped at the Dewey Hotel, and there I got to know him and Mrs. Goodwin well in the few months he was here. Mr. GOODWIN displayed considerable interest in the discussion of the Underwood tariff bill, which was under consideration in the House during his service here.

I was appointed one of the committee to attend the funeral of Mr. GOODWIN at his home at Skowhegan. The concourse that assembled there was great. They came from every quarter, from every county in his district, from all over the State, to join in the last sad rites of their departed friend. Such universal grief I have never witnessed. It was a spontaneous outpouring of public sorrow, which proved how well these people had loved their dead Representative. It spread a pall of gloom over the entire community, and the condolences extended to the bereaved widow were deep and heartfelt. Sadly I saw his body placed beneath the sod, while grief was manifest on every face. Peace to his ashes; and may his life teach a lesson to those who come after him which will bring forth good fruit.

And the night dew that falls, though in silence it weeps,
Will brighten with verdure the grave where he sleeps,
And the tear that we shed, though in secret it rolls,
Will long keep his memory green in our souls.

On the Bill to Buy, Construct, Equip, Operate, and Maintain Merchant Ships in the Foreign Trade of the United States, and for Other Purposes.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD W. SAUNDERS,
OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 22, 1915.

Mr. SAUNDERS. Mr. Speaker, the pending Government shipping bill is the most momentous proposition that has confronted the Democratic members of this body collectively and individually, since the advent of the Democratic administration. During the past two years we have passed a number of important measures, notably the tariff and currency bills. But the Democrats were committed to these measures by the declarations of many platforms. Reforms in these directions were familiar articles of the Democratic faith, and were prominent among the issues upon which the successful campaign of 1912 was waged. But the pending bill, that is the compound Gore-Weeks bill, presents a new principle, one never contained in a Democratic platform, and in my judgment both politically and economically unsound and unwise. This bill proposes Government ownership and operation in a commercial enterprise that will bring the United States into immediate competition with its own citizens who may desire to enter the field of foreign trade on the high seas. This enterprise will require many initial millions to set it on its feet, and holds out no hope of profit from its conduct and operation. No Democratic platform has declared in favor of Government ownership in this direction. Quite the contrary. Our last platform specifically indorses the "efficient supervision and rate regulation of railroad and express companies, and telegraph and telephone lines engaged in interstate commerce."

Contrast this plank with the plank in the same platform relating to a merchant marine, a plank that later will be cited in full. This plank favors the development of a limited merchant marine between this country and South America, through the exercise of the Federal power of "constitutional regulation of commerce." Regulation is the word used in the two planks, and in the common acceptation, as well as legal intendment, its meaning is the same in both connections. If the exercise of our constitutional power of regulation means that the Government is to buy and operate, or lease and operate ships on the high seas in a commercial venture, in a word, if regulation in this connection commits us to Government ownership to an unlimited extent in the field of foreign trade, then it will be an easy step in the argument to say that our platform relating to the regulation of railway and other companies, engaged in interstate traffic, commits us to the principle of Government ownership of railroads, express companies, telegraph and telephone lines, a contention that doubtless some one will make before the work of this Congress is concluded.

This shipping bill has been hailed with delight by Debs, Berger and other leading Socialists in the United States, and why not? It is a concession that their main contention is fundamentally sound. Enact this bill, and the Socialists, not the Democrats will have occasion to rejoice. Its passage may be a victory for the forces behind this measure, but the fruits of that victory will attach to an opposing organization, since our indorsement of their main contention will give an impetus to the development of their propaganda that nothing else would afford to the same degree. The Socialist contention that Government ownership and Government operation should replace private ownership and private operation, has not found favor in the Democratic Party, at least not up to the present time. For one, I am opposed to it. I believe in individual initiative, individual enterprise, and individual property rights, that is individual ownership. Hence my opposition to the pending bill which provides for Government-owned and Government-operated ships in the field of foreign trade. The Democratic Party has always favored the development of a privately owned merchant marine. Our last platform calls for such a marine, and the legislation of August 1914 was intended to lay the foundation on which private capital could build. The amount carried in this bill, great as it is, and capable of being applied to very great advantage in many directions of domestic utility, would buy a comparatively small fleet of merchant ships. Still they would be sufficient to chill the spirit of private initiative, and discourage and deter private capital from the effort to establish such a merchant marine as our platform contemplates.

As a Democrat, I am further opposed to this measure, for the reason that it is in flat contravention of the following plank of the platform adopted at Baltimore:

> We believe in fostering by constitutional regulation of commerce, the growth of a merchant marine, which shall develop, and strengthen the commercial ties which bind us to our sister Republics of the South, but without imposing additional burdens upon the people, and without bounties, or subsidies from the Public Treasury.

This plank plainly restricts our legislative activities in this direction to the exercise of our constitutional power to regulate commerce. The limited marine to be developed in this fashion, is to ply between this country and South America, and must be self-supporting, since we are neither to *impose additional burdens upon the people, nor to afford bounties, or subsidies from the Public Treasury*, in furtherance of its development. There is no hint in the language used, of a world-wide Government-owned, and Government-operated marine. Subsidies and Government ownership are alike excluded from contemplation. A scheme which requires an initial appropriation of $10,000,000, and an emission of bonds to the extent of a possible forty millions, not to speak of future appropriations on a large scale, inevitably falls within the condemnation directed against measures imposing additional burdens upon the people.

There are many grounds of objection to this measure that are not related to party considerations. Later, these objections will be presented in order. The restoration of our merchant marine is a somewhat misleading phrase. It carries with it the implication that at present there is no American merchant marine. Indeed the statement to this effect is often made in general terms. This is an extravagant misrepresentation, whether made in ignorance of the facts, or with a willful and vicious purpose to mislead. There are over 27,000, probably at this time 28,000 merchant vessels flying the American flag, and aggregating something over 8,000,000 gross tons. Of course the major proportion of this tonnage is in the coastwise trade, but registered for the foreign trade, there are 2,360 vessels, gross. To these figures must be added over 127 vessels admitted to the American flag under the recent registry act, having a gross tonnage of something like 400,000 tons, and constituting in themselves quite a respectable body of freighters. All of the latter vessels were operated in the foreign trade, and were owned by Americans who were driven to the purchase of foreign-built vessels, and the use of foreign flags, in order to escape the restrictions of our domestic laws.

In addition to the foregoing ocean-going ships, the authorities at Washington estimate that coastwise vessels aggregating between 200,000 and 300,000 tons, are available for use in over-seas traffic. These figures ought to allay the apprehension so often expressed, that in time of war this country would be unable to procure sufficient American ships to serve as colliers for the fleet. Having in mind the recent declaration of President Wilson, that our Navy has always been regarded as a proper and natural means of defense, and that it has always been of defense that we have thought, never of aggression, or of conquest, a statement which I believe represents the attitude of the great bulk of the American people, we may feel assured that at any future time when occasion demands, there will be available to be taken over for naval purposes, not only a sufficient number of American ships for a defensive war, but for any kind of war. It does not follow however that they will be taken over, if other ships may be chartered on better terms. It was not an evidence of national weakness, as sometimes suggested, that foreign vessels were chartered as colliers on the memorable globe-encircling trip of our fighting ships. The transaction was an ordinary business one, involving rates, and terms. If American ships had been insisted upon, with the same reckless disregard for expense that is such a feature of the Government Shipping Bill, American ships could have been procured. Another statement often made, is that there are no American sailors. They are alleged to have deserted the sea. The report of the Commissioner of Navigation shows that in 1908, the number of American and naturalized American sailors shipped, and reshipped on vessels of the United States, were as follows: Americans (born), 52,065, Americans naturalized 28,713. For the year 1914, the figures respectively were 63,247, and 31,417. The figures do not include seamen shipped abroad before consuls on American vessels. The explanation of the fact that there are not more merchant vessels engaged in the foreign trade under the American flag, may be found in the further fact that our laws have heretofore made such ventures unprofitable. The American capitalist, confronted with the problem of more expensive ships, and greater operating expenses than his competitor, could not play the game under the American flag.

The conditions were too unequal. Hence he went to sea under foreign flags, for reasons that will be hereafter given. There was nothing unpatriotic in this action. It was due to precisely the same economic causes that impel American capital to estab-

lish factories abroad, when conditions at home forbid the operation of a like factory at a profit. In both cases the capitalist acts under compulsion. For many years we have discussed the subject of a merchant marine, and the plans for its rehabilitation. Of course the obvious thing to do, was to repeal the entire body of laws that handicapped our capital in this direction. But for a long time neither party has apparently been willing to do this. The Republican Party naturally turned to subsidies in an effort to extend the protective, or bounty principle, to the high seas. This extension on a sufficiently comprehensive scale would undoubtedly have established a merchant marine. The handicaps imposed by law having been removed by the bounties provided by law, competitive conditions would have been restored. For many years subsidy bills on a tentative scale were introduced in Congress, but for one reason, or another, they were never successful. The latest offering in the way of a remedy is the Government-ownership bill.

This measure, like the subsidy scheme, proposes to use the Public Treasury to establish a merchant marine, but the ships are to be Government-owned, and Government-operated vessels. Individual enterprise and initiative will be effectually eliminated. The same comment may be made on this project, as on the subsidy device, namely, that if a sufficient use is made of public money in this direction, a merchant marine will undoubtedly be afforded. This country is able to secure any bauble that it craves, provided that it is willing to pay the price. But as compared with the subsidy remedy for a failing merchant marine, the Government ownership solution, contemplates a much more lavish use of Treasury funds to attain the desired end. It is obvious that as between furnishing the capital required to purchase, equip and operate a fleet, and furnishing only a sum sufficient to overcome the handicaps, and guarantee a dividend, a given appropriation from the Treasury will call into being a far greater number of ships under the subsidy plan, than this money would afford, if applied in the direction of Government purchase, and operation. But while this comparison indicates one manifest superiority of subsidy over Government ownership, attaining as it does the same end, by a far more economical route, this does not mean that subsidy is a thing to be desired, or a principle to be commended. The Democratic Party has consistently opposed both subsidy and Government ownership.

One project is not more desirable than the other. Subsidy is merely less undesirable than Government ownership. One argument often urged in behalf of Government ships, is that the Government will be able to fix the rates on these carriers. Undoubtedly this will be true, but it would be equally true with respect to subsidized vessels. If a subsidy is required to enable the ordinary merchant ship operating under the American flag, to earn a stable and satisfactory return on the money invested, then it is obvious that the authority which furnished the subsidy, would be able to fix the terms as to rates and service on which that aid would be extended. The Government-ownership scheme is neither so simple, nor so universally known as the subsidy plan, which has been before the country for a number of years. Various bills on this line have been introduced in Congress, and debated at great length in a number of sessions. But Government ownership is a plant of recent growth, one that has never been the subject of party discussion, or found a lodgment in a party platform. This latest plan for rehabilitating the merchant marine, made its bow to the public a few months ago, in what is known as the Alexander bill. The pending bill under the name of the Weeks-Gore bill, is an inartistic rehash of the Weeks bill and the Alexander bill. A brief description of the scope and intent of this measure, will be appropriate in this connection.

This bill is something more than a proposition to empower the Government to take stock in a private corporation, designed to operate merchant ships in the foreign trade. It goes much further. It is not near Government ownership. It is Government ownership in a transportation venture, or a series of such ventures, on the high seas. The Gore portion of the compound bill provides that the United States, acting through a shipping board, (and in this connection I may cite the familiar maxim, Qui facit per alium, facit per se) may subscribe to the capital stock of a corporation of the District of Columbia, to purchase, construct, equip, maintain, and operate merchant vessels to meet the requirements of the foreign commerce of the United States. There is no mistaking the plain meaning of the words used. The Government is empowered to secure its ships anywise, and anywhere, and then equip, maintain, and operate them in the field of foreign trade.

The bill also provides that the Government shall at no time hold less than 51 per cent of the stock of the said corporation, unless it shall dispose of all of its stock. The provision to this effect is that the United States shall subscribe to 51 per cent of the stock, and 51 per cent of each, and every increase of the same. Furthermore it is provided that when the Government has subscribed for 51 per cent of the stock, the remainder thereof shall be offered for public subscription at not less than par. In the event the same is not taken by private parties, the Government may further subscribe at par, for an amount of such stock, equal to that not taken by public subscription. The administration of the law will be in the hands of a shipping board, under the direction of the President. The initial appropriation is $10,000,000, and an emission of Panama bonds to a total amount not to exceed $30,000,000 is also provided for. The corporation may issue bonds not in excess of $40,000,000. It must be plain, even upon this simple statement, that sensible investors will not put their money into this enterprise. There is no guaranty of dividends on the stock reserved for the public, and no intimation given, that the enterprise is to be run with a view to making profits. Indeed the President in his message of December 8, 1914, seems to think that it is our national duty to afford the means of transportation, in advance of the development of our trade with our neighbor States of America. I quote his language:

> The routes of trade must be actually opened by many ships, and regular sailings, and moderate charges, before the streams of merchandise will flow freely and profitably. The Government must open these gates, and open them wide; open them before it is altogether profitable to open them, or altogether reasonable to ask private capital to open them at a venture. It should take action to make it certain that transportation at reasonable rates, will be promptly provided, even where the carriage is not at first profitable; and then when the carriage has become sufficiently profitable to attract, and engage private capital, and engage it in abundance, the Government ought to withdraw.

Confronted by this plain statement that ordinary business considerations of profit and loss will not be regarded in the operation of the Government ships, as well expect the fly to enter the spider's parlor, or the bird to be entangled in the net that is spread in his sight, as to entertain the hope that private capital will take stock in this Government enterprise. When will these lines become profitable, and when will private capital find it to their interest to take them over? Conceding that in time the Government vessels will develop a trade with South America that will furnish cargoes for merchant ships, is any assurance thereby given that private capital will find any profit in the competitive conditions under which these cargoes will be transported? Neither to-day, nor in the past, has our private capital been unable to furnish ships, or secure cargoes in the ocean carrying trade. The crux of the matter has been the ability of our competitors to underbid us at existing rates. There is nothing mysterious about the disappearance of our merchant marine from the high seas. That disappearance was due to very obvious and readily stated economic conditions. The would-be American shipowner was hopelessly handicapped by restrictive legislation that only recently, has been repealed in part. In the first place, as a result of this legislation, the prime cost of his ships which these enactments compelled him to buy in the United States, was greater than that of the vessels of his competitors. In the second place, his operating costs under our laws were greater. Under these conditions competition was hopeless. Inasmuch as the imposition of these restrictions was responsible for the disappearance of our merchant marine, the obvious conclusion is that the restoration of that marine should be sought in the repeal of the legislation which imposed the restrictions.

In other words, the "way to restore our merchant marine is to equalize competitive conditions," by first repealing the laws that created the inequalities. The subsidists seek to attain the desired result of equality through subsidies. On the other hand, the advocates of Government ownership would fain establish a marine that resting on the Treasury of the United States, would be able to defy competition by disregarding the element of operating loss. The simple method, one that is obnoxious neither to the criticism that is directed against subsidy, nor to the still graver objections that may be urged against Government ownership, is to afford American capital a free field, and no favors, on the high seas.

This course will in no wise interfere with the status of labor in the United States. But the protective system can not be applied to the unlimited competition which prevails on the ocean. Hence at present the American shipowner can not sell "transportation at the market rates." The passage of the registry bill was a long step forward, and removed the main stumblingblock in the way of the restoration of an American marine. The establishment of such a marine is not, as suggested by the advocates both of direct subsidy, and of Government ownership, a task beyond the ability of American capital. On the contrary for many years, a large amount of American money has been invested in merchant ships under foreign flags. Many of these ventures have been singularly successful. Indeed, "the foreign-

built ships representing American capital, but under foreign ownership of record, have been nearly equal in tonnage to the ships registered under the American flag, for foreign trade, and in carrying power, have been even greater."

The explanation of this is very simple. American citizens have always enjoyed the right to own vessels built abroad, and to operate them under the American flag in the foreign trade. But under the registry law these vessels could not enter the ports of the United States, save under heavy penalties.

For a third of a century this registry law has been "utterly impotent to promote the building in the United States of ships intended for the foreign trade." Hence American capitalists desiring to invest in ships for that trade, exclusive of the United States, bought their ships abroad. In the operation of these ships they were in no wise hindered by our laws, until they attempted to enter the ports of the United States. There they were confronted with heavy penalties, whether they were in cargo, or in ballast. This state of things compelled the American capitalist desiring to enter the carrying trade of the world on terms of equality with his competitors, to go a step further and take advantage of a provision common to the laws of all nations, that the owner of merchant ships flying their flag, must be a citizen, or subject of that country. A corporation however created under the laws of a sovereign State, is regarded as such a citizen, or subject.

Taking advantage of this holding, and with a view to using their foreign-built ships to engage in trade with the United States, our capitalists have in many instances organized corporations in foreign countries, retaining in their hands the control of the stock in these corporations. Thus in another name, and under another flag, American capitalists, driven to this course by the foolish restrictions of domestic laws, have entered the field of foreign trade, and prosecuted the same with profit and success. It is idle then to say that this same capital under equal competitive conditions which can be afforded by the United States, will be incapable of affording, and successfully operating merchant ships under the American flag. It may be admitted that subsidy universally applied, would equalize these conditions, but recourse to a subsidy is unnecessary, and undesirable. Not only in the past has the American capitalist seeking to fly the American flag on his vessels, been handicapped in the purchase of his ships for the ocean-going trade, but with respect to wages, berth accommodations, food, and other things costing money, he has been at a further disadvantage by reason of the positive requirements of our laws. In consequence of these handicaps, he has been driven from the use of our flag. There is nothing in Government ownership, that will operate to remove the handicaps falling within the latter class. Indeed, as these ships will not be operated with regard to considerations of ordinary commercial profit, it may be reasonably expected that in time the requirements in the above respect will be made more exacting, thus enlarging the effect of the handicaps, widening the gap between the operating expenses of American ships, and their foreign competitors, increasing thereby the advantage of the latter in the struggle for business, and in the result magnifying the charge upon the Treasury that Government operation, to accomplish the ends designed, will of necessity impose. Obviously the greater the loss at which these ships will be run, the greater the charge upon the Treasury.

So long as these handicaps exist, pray tell me when will the time arrive that private capital will be willing to assume them, take over the trade which the Government ships are intended to develop, and at the competitive rates then existing, pay the dividends that ordinary business sagacity would require to place the private venture on a paying basis? American capitalists would naturally prefer to operate under the American flag, but they can not afford to do so at a loss, being at a distinct disadvantage in this respect with the Government ships. Until conditions are equalized, the Government lines which carry freight at a loss, will never be replaced by private lines. The hope that such will be the case, is an iridescent dream.

A plentiful supply of ships will not necessarily secure trade. Ships and rates and service are all required to attain this result. Will the Government ships be able to meet, or underbid the ships of their competitors, and at the same time be operated at a profit? This is a question no advocate of this bill has undertaken to answer in the affirmative. But the taxpayers who will have to foot the bill, are intensely interested in the answer to the query. The President who will have paramount authority over the practical administration of the law, frankly suggests many ships, and lines to be run at a loss, until in some unfixed, and probably remote period of the future, the enterprise will become profitable. Then the Government is to withdraw. It it is agreed that Government ships under the conditions of open competition on the high seas, will be operated at a loss, then to what extent, and for what length of time will the people of the United States be willing to support this loss? How long will they be willing to see domestic interests, and domestic development intimately related to the whole economic fiber of the country, starved and stunted to afford the means to maintain this fad of a Government marine, this costly toy that neither the farmers, nor the commercial interests of the country have demanded, but which they are asked to support, to the exclusion of legislation in which they are vitally interested, and upon which they are clamorously insisting?

Why is the legislation plainly demanded by our platform, neglected, disregarded, and set aside, in favor of a scheme that is palpably and unmistakably opposed to the terms of that instrument?

American commerce includes both imports and exports. Neither the American nor the foreign exporter will use the Government ships unless, as has been indicated, these ships as to rates, sailings, and facilities meet the ships of their competitors on equal terms. No amount of rhetoric over a waning merchant marine, no confusing mass of bewildering figures, should be allowed to becloud the fundamental factors of this problem which are that cheap ships, must be met with cheap ships, and moderate operating expenses, with operating expenses equally as favorable. If Government ships will be able to meet these requirements, then the conditions will be equally favorable for privately owned ships. The Commissioner of Navigation has pointed out that the vast expansion of the German merchant marine was due to cheap ships, and cheap labor. Cheap ships under recent legislation are within the reach alike of private capital, and of Government enterprise, but Government ships are not likely to furnish an illustration of economical operation, or cheap labor. The head of one branch of the present Government has recently indicated his ability to effect an annual saving of many millions in his department, without detriment to the public service, provided he is allowed to contract with private persons.

No, Government ships will not mean cheap labor, or reduced operating expenses. Hence they will not solve the problem of labor competition, and until that problem is solved, Government ships will be operated at an inevitable loss. Moreover should the foreign Governments hereafter subsidize their merchant ships, and thereby enable them to afford even lower rates than exist under normal conditions of competition in the ocean-going trade, our Government ships must meet that competition with equal rates. This will mean a consequent increase of operating loss, and of burden on the Treasury. But if it is insisted that these ships may be, and will be, run at a profit, though the method of that process has not been indicated, the reply is easy, that the way to such profitable operation, if it exists, is as open to private capital, as to public enterprise.

The argument that this enterprise is too great for private capital, using as an analogue, the construction of the Panama Canal, is singularly fallacious. The construction of the Panama Canal was placed on the ground of an alleged military necessity. It was a part of an alleged scheme of national defense. Considerations of commercial return have been totally disregarded in the prosecution and maintenance of that enterprise. Its construction was beyond the ability of private capital merely in the sense that private capital would not have been available for a work that offered no inducement of return on the money invested. If dividends had been guaranteed, private capital would have been forthcoming. But it will be an ill day for the advocates of this new departure in Government activities, if it is conceded that in a commercial sense, having in mind the money invested, and the possible returns on that investment, Government ships will entail a greater, or even as great a charge on the Public Treasury, as that military enterprise known as the Panama Canal. But to return to the suggestion that this field is too vast to be occupied by private capital, a suggestion intended to support the argument that the one solution of the present problem, is Government ownership. Apparently this field has not been beyond the powers of foreign capital. Is this country so lacking in capital and commercial ability, that in the United States the Government must undertake the tasks that are realized abroad by private enterprise? How many of the thousands of merchant ships flying the flags of Great Britain, Germany, France, Norway, Sweden, Russia, Japan, Spain, and other countries, are Government ships? Practically none of them. Comparatively speaking a few of these vessels are under military contract, and the remainder, constituting the great bulk of the world's merchant fleet, are

privately owned, and privately operated. If it is maintained that Government ships can be operated at a commercial profit, it behooves the advocates of this enterprise to point out why the road to this result will be closed to private capital which, in the matter of securing ships, and operating the same, will certainly, to say the least, be on an equal footing with the Government. And if in the future under the legislation already afforded, and that which may be afforded by the present Congress, private capital using the American flag may profitably operate *merchant* ships on the high seas, what occasion, or necessity is presented either on business, or political grounds, for so violent a departure from established Democratic principles, as the inauguration of Government ownership in the conduct and operation of a merchant marine?

Surely if the opportunity of profit is afforded, it is not beyond the ability of American capital to furnish a merchant fleet of sufficient size to enter the carrying trade of the world. The modest fleet that would be purchased with the amount carried in this bill, would admittedly make but slight impression, under any circumstances, on a carrying trade now conducted by over 20,000 vessels and amounting to over 49,000,000 tons. Even if these Government ships were now in service, they would in no perceptible degree improve conditions that are due to abnormal causes. If the expenditure in this direction is to be limited to the appropriation in the present bill, then the game will assuredly not be worth the candle. If, on the other hand, this is but the initial step under an ambitious scheme of indefinite development, how many hundreds of millions will be taken from the Treasury in furtherance of this project? Our party platform commits us in this connection to the use of our constitutional powers of regulation of commerce to foster a merchant marine which shall develop and strengthen the commercial ties that bind us to our sister Republics of the south, without imposing additional burdens upon the people, and without bounties or subsidies from the Treasury. Will the prodigious appropriations attendant on the development of this enterprise, be regarded as a constitutional regulation of commerce, free of burden for the people? The shipping business is sometimes referred to as a colossal trust which we are to attack with Government ships. But a colossal trust will require a colossal force for its overthrow. A colossal attacking force, means a colossal expenditure.

If we are to attack the trust monster on the high seas with a mobile array of ships, at least set down in black and white, what will be the probable ultimate cost of this enterprise?

That portion of the appropriation carried in this bill which will be available for the purchase of ships, after providing for terminals, operating expenses, and other necessary incidental features of the enterprise, will afford but a trifling fleet with which to challenge our competitors for the carrying trade of the world. The effect of such a fleet upon general conditions would be entirely negligible. Additional ships would require additional appropriations on a large scale from the Public Treasury. The use of these ships will certainly not serve to aid the development of a private merchant marine. On the contrary, they will be a distinct check upon the development of such a marine.

One claim often made for these ships, is that they will be used to effect moderate charges in the ocean carrying trade. How will they be utilized to effect that end? Will privately owned ships which must earn enough to pay operating expenses and dividends on the investment, and provide a fund for replacement, be in a position to compete with ships that will be able to boldly disregard these considerations? Will the *Government ships* charge the rates established by their private competitors, or will they underbid them, without regard to the conditions which establish those rates? How can "Government ownership, combined with Government management," be to the advantage of investments already made in shipping, or how will they serve to induce further investments, when the conditions of competition between the two ownerships, will be so distinctly unequal? If rates are thought to be too high at a port, will Government ships be sent there to reduce them, and afford a lower carriage? Even under the theory of this bill the number of Government ships for many years to come would be comparatively small. Hence they would be inadequate to afford moderate rates to all of the American shippers seeking transportation. Moreover the advantage of the reduced rates thus afforded, will be at the cost of the general taxpayers, and to the distinct disadvantage of the shippers who will be unable to secure a place on the Government ships. How will the Government determine between competing shippers, and ascertain who should be taken, and who should be left? All will be equally entitled to the service, and even should this policy be inaugurated, and vigorously maintained with lavish appropriations, it will be long ere the supply of Government ships will be sufficient to afford general service, or affect the general average of rates to any perceptible degree. How will the Shipping Board use the meager supply of ships that the initial appropriation will afford, to effect the double purpose of securing trade with South America, and steadying rates in the trans-Atlantic, and trans-Pacific fields? Should abnormal and unreasonable rates prevail at any port, or ports, on either seaboard, will the Government ships be withdrawn from their regular sailings on the South American lines, and hastened to these ports to reduce, so far as possible, the exeessive rates? Otherwise, how will these vessels be used to steady conditions, and maintain regular and moderate rates at the various ports of the United States?

It is the fond dream of some of the advocates of this bill, that Government ships will protect them, and all future American shippers, against those fluctuations in rates which proceed in most cases from sufficient natural, and economic causes. With this end in view, as the goal to be obtained through Government ownership, it is apparent that we are but at the threshold of our appropriations under this head. To attain this result, conceding that it is feasible, a gigantic fleet will be required, calling for vast appropriations to provide both the original ships, and furnish replacements from time to time. The opponents of ship subsidy, who are supporting the Government-ownership bill, seek in vain to establish the consistency of their attitude. With uplifted hands they declare their eternal and unshakable opposition to subsidy in any form, and almost in the same breath commit themselves unreservedly, to a measure which combines the fundamental principle of Government aid, with other and far more objectionable features. Ship subsidy was an endeavor to apply the principle of the protective tariff to the ocean carrying trade. It frankly announced its purpose to use the Public Treasury to secure in the ultimate, certain alleged large results of public welfare, and national prosperity. The justification of this use of public funds was the end to be attained. The alleged public benefit was to be of so universal and comprehensive a character, that the advantage to be given to the private shipowner in the conduct of his enterprise, was regarded as a negligible incident of the entire scheme. These same results of public benefit on a nation-wide scale, are claimed for the Government-ownership bill, which proposes to maintain steamship lines out of the Public Treasury, and charge the inevitable attendant losses upon the whole people.

One basic principle common to both projects, is that in consideration of the public gain from the stimulus to be afforded to industrial enterprise, and the ultimate reestablishment of a merchant marine, the General Treasury should be utilized to secure these results. Hence inevitably the advocates of Government ownership can not in principle, and good logic, justify their antagonism to subsidy, though the subsidists may consistently oppose Government ownership, since the latter scheme superadds to the principle of Government aid, other and far more dubious and undesirable features. I am aware of the hair-splitting distinction presented by the advocates of Government ownership, in their efforts to distinguish the two propositions, but the defense is purely technical, and ignores the real merits. Both schemes contemplate the use of public money in a commercial enterprise, upon the alleged ground of far-reaching public benefit. In both cases, the public is to pay the bill. Neither enterprise will yield any return to the Public Treasury directly, or indirectly.

It is frankly claimed in support of both propositions that the Government ought to utilize its resources, that is to say the Public Treasury, in such manner as will inure to the benefit of all the people. Having in mind then that the fundamental appeal in behalf of both propositions is the same, it follows that the efforts of the anti-subsidists to maintain their position that subsidy is vicious and unsound, while Government ownership is a proper and desirable exercise of Federal authority, requires a power of subtle analysis, and acute differentiation, exceeding that of the scientist who "could distinguish and divide, a hair 'twixt south, and southwest side."

Moreover it will be noted that the ground now taken in behalf of this measure, is in conflict with the attitude of the President as expressed by him in his message on the Panama Canal tolls. In his message of March 5, 1914, urging the repeal of that provision of the Panama Canal act of August, 1912, which exempted vessels engaged in the coastwise trade of the United States, from the payment of tolls, the President stated, among other things, that in his mature judgment, the exemption constituted a mistaken economic policy, from every point of view. The argument briefly stated, for the remission of tolls on coastwise traffic, was that such a policy would stimulate enterprise in our coastwise trade, would develop business in our coastal cities along many lines of profitable industry, and would furnish to consumers generally, the benefit of low rates on all merchan-

dise passing through the canal, and related to our immense internal commerce. In view of these extensive results of public advantage, it was urged that as to coastwise traffic, the general public should carry the burden entailed by a remission of the tolls upon this traffic. The advocates of repeal assailed and rejected this argument, though it is identical in substance, with the one now advanced in support of the present scheme of Government purchase, and operation of merchant ships. Concede that under our present laws, American capital can not profitably operate merchant ships on the high seas, and it will be at once apparent that the Government, owning and operating such ships under the same laws, and the same conditions, will confront an inevitable pecuniary loss, so that the enterprise will be, in essence, a charge on the Public Treasury. Hence the argument for this project, and the argument for the remission of tolls on coastwise traffic, are precisely the same, namely, that the Public Treasury should carry the burden of an enterprise which, in the larger view, is alleged to be for the benefit of all the people.

But if this contention is sound as to this enterprise, then there are many others, ready and waiting, to be taken over by the General Government. Once admit that the Government is justified in conducting an enterprise of a public character, on the ground that the lower rates afforded, will not only benefit that portion of the public which pays those rates, but in the result, will stimulate the general welfare and prosperity of the country at large, and you have conceded a fundamental tenet of socialism.

There are many projects of Government ownership that may be tried out, if it is once conceded that it is a sound economic policy for the Government to conduct public service enterprises, without regard to the usual considerations of profit and loss, the one determining question being to afford the public lower rates than can be afforded by private capital engaged in a like enterprise. Some of these projects are coal mining, to furnish cheap coal, hydroelectric enterprises, to furnish cheap light and power, milling plants, to furnish cheap flour, and cheap meal, packing-house industries, to furnish cheap meat, and canning factories to furnish cheap canned products. Of course a Government operation that can saddle its losses on the Public Treasury, has an enormous advantage over a competitor that must seek to attract capital by offering a reasonable return on the money invested.

The question of the constitutionality of this scheme might well be raised, if time admitted, since the major portion of the ships that this bill is intended to provide, are not for the purposes of national defense, but for use in the ordinary course of foreign trade. As a counter to the objection that the Government will furnish this service at a loss, the reply is sometimes made that the operations of the Post Office Department are not conducted at a profit. But the cases are not analogous. To conduct and maintain a postal service, is an express Government function. It is not a function of the Federal Government to take stock in a chartered corporation, and conduct a competitive transportation enterprise on the high seas.

A Government marine will inevitably become a Government monopoly, and as it waxes in the domain of foreign trade, the private marine will wane. It is secure against competition, and once in possession of a field, it will hold the same to the exclusion of private capital, which is unable to disregard the element of loss in its ventures.

The mission of the Government ship, according to the forecast given of its purpose, is to open up trade, even if unprofitable rates are to be charged, and as a sort of knight errant, to reduce all rates deemed to be unreasonable. Such a ship is not engaged in a mercantile venture in the usual acceptation of the words. It is neither purchased, nor operated with a view to a profit on the money invested. Between such a vessel, and one that must have in mind a return on the prime investment, the conditions of competition are decidedly unequal. Indeed it may be fairly said, that competition between such vessels, will be impossible. Concede that the Government ships, in the public interest, should afford reasonable rates, even at a loss, and it would seem to follow that the minimum rates would afford the maximum public service. Hence a constant pressure will be exerted by the exporters, the importers, and the consumers generally, under the specious plea of the general interest, to reduce the rates for service on the Government vessels. The exporters of a Nation which affords cheap carriage, will certainly be able to underbid their competitors for the trade of the world. Hysteria, misinformation, and hasty judgment, are responsible for much of the local sentiment in favor of Government ships. For instance at this time the rate on cotton for Bremen is very high. Straightway the specious argument is advanced that Government ships would reduce those rates, and advance the price of cotton. How, and in what way. These ships would operate under the same conditions, and incur precisely the same risks as private ships. The rates to Bremen are high for the manifest reason, that the dangers of the voyage are very great, and the risks to be incurred are unusual. For one thing, the North Sea is full of floating mines, and within the last few months various neutral ships carrying cotton, have been destroyed by collision with these mines. Private owners are unwilling, and reasonably so, to take these risks, as well as the additional risks of search and detention, at the rates prevailing before war was declared. Under these circumstances high rates are inevitable. Would a Government ship ignore these risks, and without regard to mines, search, or detention, carry her cargo at the ante bellum rates? Ordinary business foresight should not be disregarded, even in the management of a Government ships, and in the exercise of this foresight, such rates should be charged as will be reasonably commensurate with the risks to be incurred. The high insurance rates prevailing since war was declared are one compelling cause for the advance in freight rates. For instance the insurance on a round trip to England on a ship and cargo valued at $1,000,000 is $100,000. Such an insurance charge renders inevitable an advance in freight charges.

There is no sufficient evidence to show that the high rates to Bremen are due to any shortage of ships, or to any other cause than the dangers attendant upon a present trip to that port. If the ocean rates are high to-day, they are due to abnormal causes. "A high level in rates is always coexistent with a general war, and can never be covered by the building of new tonnage during the war." Having in mind the aggregate number of neutral ships in the world now engaged in the ocean-going trade, and the number of ships of the allies that are free to ply the ocean routes, the ships that could be purchased under the appropriation provided by the Alexander bill, would make no impression either on rates, or on general conditions. The total number of ocean-going steamships, the world over, of 100 tons or more is over 23,800. Deduct from these the German and Austrian ships (2,523) and the remainder is 21,277. Deduct from this remainder an estimated number of 1,000 English, French, and Russian ships destroyed, or withdrawn from commercial work, and there will still be available for cargo-carrying purposes, 20,277 ships. "The destruction of practically all of the hostile ships lately preying on nonneutral tonnage, will also tend to restore to regular service the ships that were temporarily withdrawn from that service," and thus aid the tendency to a lower basis of freight rates. If a proportion of ships have been withdrawn from trade, it must not be forgotten that a simultaneous withdrawal of cargoes also occurred. If there are fewer ships to-day, there are fewer cargoes to be served. Hence in view of this shrinkage in business, I feel well assured that there is no real shortage of ships on the whole, and that so far as numbers are concerned, the present ships are adequate to handle the present traffic, when cargoes and rates are assured. Prior to the war there were more ships than are at present in service, but the traffic was far greater.

One sufficient explanation of the temporary accumulation of export cargoes in certain American ports, has been the difficulties and delays with which cargo ships seeking to unload in foreign ports, have been confronted. Many vessels have been compelled to lie at the docks in Liverpool, London, and other ports for several weeks before they could discharge their cargoes. The congestion of traffic in those ports has been largely due to a shortage in dock laborers, and to the requirement that ordinary commercial traffic must yield to traffic related to the military situation. Government cargo ships would not meet or rectify this situation, since they would be compelled to wait their turn at the docks. These delays at the ports of discharge mean serious losses to the cargo carriers, and compel them to advance their rates to secure reimbursement. Government ships would be compelled to do the same thing, or else charge their loss to the Public Treasury, thereby increasing the burdens of the general taxpayer. Delays in unloading at the ports of destination, inevitably cause temporary accumulations of goods in the ports of export.

The high rates to Bremen from Galveston and other American ports, have been due not to lack of ships, but to danger to ships on the voyage, caused largely by floating mines, a menace that has caused Dutch pilots to refuse to take neutral ships into German ports. Remove these dangers, and the Bremen rates would decline to the present level of ocean rates. Once make it as easy for cotton to reach Germany, as England, France, or Italy, and the price of cotton in Germany would fall to the level of prices prevailing in those countries, and in the world generally. Hence Government ships to Bremen would not increase the prices of cotton to the cotton

producer in the South. If the rates to Bremen were not anomalous rates, due to abnormal causes, and commensurate with the risks to be incurred, there would be a rush of cargo ships from every portion of the globe, to take advantage of this peculiar and unusual get-rich-quick opportunity. But the foundation for this misleading and fallacious cotton argument will soon disappear, for the price of cotton is advancing, while cargo rates for this particular product will gradually become normal, provided the risks of the voyage are eliminated.

Cotton was more severely affected by the war than any other American product, and its recovery has been proportionately slow. Hence the seductive appeal that has been made to the cotton producers to support this Government-ownership proposition.

Information as to the alleged shortage of ships at Galveston for export cotton, is to the effect that various steamers left that port in ballast, for lack of cargoes. One ship seeking cotton cargo freight left Galveston in ballast for Portland, to take on a cargo of wheat for Europe. The truth is that cotton exportation was demoralized through the falling prices, and the disorganization in financial channels. The immediate decline in cotton upon the outbreak of the war was due to very obvious facts, the two main facts being that the German and Austrian markets were closed, while the English spinners agreed not to purchase for the time being, for the manifest reason that they could not afford to purchase on a declining market. Of course this action accelerated the decline until bottom was touched. Since then under improved conditions, and renewed purchasing, cotton has steadily advanced. It is now 9 cents in New York. Naturally, however, the cotton planters, and cotton dealers under the pressure of exasperating conditions due to causes beyond their control, have been disposed to listen to any alluring scheme that confidently promised relief. Cotton is high in Germany for the simple reason that it is difficult to get cotton into Germany. The German buys his cotton in the United States for the same price as his English competitor. The price in Germany is the price here plus the freight. But the German pays the freight. The price of English goods in this market is the price in England plus the freight to America. The American consumer pays the freight. Reduce the freight to Germany, and the price of cotton in Germany would fall. The price here would not rise, except to the small degree that lower freights would enable the German market to take more cotton. An increased market elsewhere would have precisely the same effect on general conditions in this country. A much more certain, direct, and effective way of benefiting the cotton growers, would be to distribute amongst them a sum equal to the cost of a few steamships.

It is a significant fact that the industries that have been stimulated by the hostilities abroad, have not been clamoring for Government ships, or complaining of a lack of transportation facilities. Since the outbreak of hostilities the sale of automobiles for war purposes has been over $9,000,000, while the total of war business in iron and steel is estimated at $41,000,000 to date. Exports of woolen goods to supply war orders began at $296,940 in August, and reached the sum of $3,047,000 in November, the aggregate to January 1, 1915 being probably $8,500,000. The export of leather products for military purposes totals to January 1, about $33,000,000. Sugar exports have also been active, totaling probably to date about $17,000,000.

Wheat exports totaled in December 1914, 28,875,470 bushels, or five times the quantity in December 1913, the average export price being $1.25 in December of this year, as against 98 cents one year ago. Are the wheat farmers complaining of prices, or asking for Government ships. The flour exports for December 1914 were $9,473,660, as against $4,903,223 in December 1913. Oats showed a larger total in December than during the entire calendar year of 1913, being 5,203,431 bushels, as against 30,798 bushels in December 1913.

The corn exports for December 1914 were 4,582,006 bushels, valued at $3,554,592 as against 749,124 bushels valued at $560,165 exported in December of the year before.

There are no marching armies of corn farmers knocking at the doors of Congress, and demanding Government ships.

The figures for fresh beef exported in December of last year are 6,594,348 pounds, as against 524,430 pounds in December 1913, and 6,618,831 during that entire year. In view of the phenomenal gains in our export trade, the Department of Commerce has announced that during the month of December this trade attained regained the high level of the period preceding the war. Some ships from somewhere, American or otherwise, must have transported these huge freights. Government ships purchased from neutral nations would not add a ship to the world's supply of cargo carriers available for present purposes. Zinc exports have also advanced, while the advance in the exports of mineral oil has been phenomenal. The figures for the latter from August to January 1 are about $52,000,000. A gigantic trade in breadstuffs has also marked the last five months, the total being not much short of $200,000,000. The larger portion of this trade was in wheat, the value of which amounted to something like $120,000,000. Two other trades that have been immensely stimulated, are the trade in horses and in munitions of war, the figures for the former being about $8,000,000. All of this vast commerce has been successfully moved, in spite of the clamor about a lack of ships. Neither the wheat farmers, the horse raisers, the steel producers, the shoe manufacturers, nor any of the other trades which have benefited by the war, have joined in the outcry for a Government marine, either to move their products, or to attack the alleged trust in the ocean carrying business. The value of water-borne commerce of the United States, for the last fiscal year was the prodigious total of $3,785,469,000. War caused only a slight falling off in the amount of American goods carried in British ships.

The immense mass of undigested and unrelated figures, and statistics relating to our foreign commerce, and to conditions in the ocean carrying trade that have been adduced by the advocates of this measure, serve for the most part merely to mislead and confuse. Of what avail are bitter criticisms of the alleged trust in the trans-Atlantic lines, when it is not proposed to attack this monopoly through competing lines of Government ships? The only one who can speak with authority as to the purpose of this bill, (for the action of the shipping board is subject to his approval), is the President of the United States. The prodigious scope now sought to be imputed to the pending measure, finds no support in his message of December last. After a general reference to the empty markets which we should undertake to supply, and this reference would not apply to the markets of Europe served by the great ocean-going lines, he descends to details, and suggests that the routes of trade must be opened between this country and South America by many ships, and regular sailings, and moderate charges, in advance of any hope of present profit. When the profit accrues, the Government is to retire. This then, in the view of the President, is the task to be discharged under the authority of the Government shipping bill. There is no suggestion of an attack upon the trust octopus in the North Atlantic, or that the Government ships, if they were available, would be used to brave the terrors of the mines in the North Sea, in order to reduce the cotton rates to Bremen for the benefit of the cotton producers of the South, or to reduce the rates elsewhere, for the benefit of the naval stores of Florida, or of the manufacturers of the country generally.

I do not know in what form the alleged opposition of the railroads and trusts to the shipping bill has been manifested. Certainly no protest emanating from them, or from any interest affiliated with them, has been lodged with our committee. But I do know that the chambers of commerce of city after city on the Atlantic seaboard, and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, organizations which are composed of the foremost men concerned in the industrial activities in which those cities, and the country generally are interested, have protested in the most vehement and emphatic terms against this measure. The great journals of trade are against it, as well as the great bulk of the independent and nonpartisan papers that reflect the attitude of the business world. In this connection I cite the Journal of Commerce, and the Scientific American published in New York, and the Manufacturers' Record, published in Baltimore. Surely if this bill had a tithe of the merit claimed for the same by its advocates, the benefits flowing from its passage would descend in the very largest measure upon the port cities of the country. Yet the representative bodies, and the representative thought of these marts of trade and commerce, seem to regard this measure as a Trojan horse that will bring mischiefs, not benefits, to their communities. Recent figures show that in spite of the tie-up of ocean shipping during the early period of the war, and despite the reduced purchasing power of the nations that are affected both directly and indirectly by the war, in their ability to take our exports, the volume of trade of this country for the year 1914 was astonishingly large. Our imports for 1914 were $1,789,022,426, as against $1,792,596,480 in 1913. Surely the ships that brought to this country the goods representing this gigantic sum, have been available for the return traffic, a traffic which fell far short of the figures of 1913, due to the reduced purchasing power of our foreign customers!

Every carrier is on the lookout for a return cargo, and the ships that handle our imports, will not return by choice in ballast. Evidently the ocean has not been bereft of carriers during the last 12 months, since in addition to handling the trade of other countries, they have brought to this country alone, goods

to a value exceeding one and three-quarters billion of dollars. On February 20, of this year five ships left New York for European ports carrying cargoes aggregating $19,000,000.

As far back as August 20, 1914, a leading ship broker of New York, Mr. L. L. Richards, in a letter to President Wilson, which is filed with the minority report, stated that the claim then preferred that transportation for the products of the United States could not be procured, was unquestionably contrary to the facts. He affirmed that transportation was available, and plenty of it, but that the difficulty in the way of the merchants was one of credits and exchange, with only a limited amount of buying orders. Mr. Richards added: "The practical situation at present is that there are more steamers offering, than cargoes available. We have great difficulty in getting any definite proposals at all for boats, especially for shipments to South American business, but at this moment, one can count on his fingers, the actual definite orders which merchants hold for steamers." Since that time the situation has steadily improved. The menace of German cruisers has definitely disappeared, and the volume of available steamers is fully equal to handling the reduced volume of the world's commerce.

In support of the contention that ships and cargoes are in the same relation of proportion as before the outbreak of the war, and that a shortage in the one, has been paralleled by a corresponding decline in the volume of the other, I wish to call attention to a statement recently issued by the customs administration of the French Government, showing that the exports of that country have diminished in value to the extent of $400,000,000, in 10 months of 1914, as compared with the same period of 1913, although every port of that country is open, and active efforts have been made to maintain and extend their trade. The volume of commerce throughout the world generally has been affected in the same harmful way. In Germany and Austria the decline has been more violent and extensive than in France, but the figures are not available. The advocates of Government ownership, in their eagerness to advance this cause, talk volubly about the interned German, and Austrian ships, and of the English, French, and other vessels that have been destroyed. They are painfully silent on the equally important factor in the equation, of the coincident decline on a gigantic scale, of ocean-borne commerce. Fewer ships, yes, but fewer goods to be transported. This is the story of ocean transportation under present conditions.

There are many misconceptions, relating to the extent of subsidies paid, and the effect of same, upon the merchant marine of foreign countries. The latest available figures show that the United States pays subsidies in the way of mail pay, $2,695,287. These payments are made under the ocean mail act of 1891.

It is often said that the merchant marine of Great Britain is maintained by subsidies. Nothing can be further from the fact. The subsidies paid by that country are chiefly under the head of mail pay, and are designed to make the ships to which they are paid, parts of the British Navy in the event of war. The ordinary merchant carrier receives nothing from the parent Government, and is dependent upon its own exertions to find business, and pay dividends. Military features are contained in practically all of the great ocean mail contracts of foreign countries. France and Spain pay the largest navigation bounties, and in the matter of merchant marine they are inferior to a number of their European competitors. England has 11,328 ocean-going vessels of all sorts, of 100 tons and over, and in subsidies and mail pay for the parent country, and all the colonies, she expends the sum of $9,689,384, or something over three times the amount paid by the United States under this head. By far the larger proportion of the payments made by Great Britain are for mail pay under military contracts. In the same year for which the above figures are given, Germany paid for mail subsidies only $1,706,460, or less than that paid by the United States. Yet the German merchant marine is second to that of Great Britain. France which has a merchant marine inferior to that of England, Germany, Japan, Norway, and Sweden, pays more in the way of subsidies than any other nation in the world. Her payments on that account being $13,423,737. These figures reveal the utter hollowness of the contention that the great carrier nations have built up their merchant marine through a system of universal subsidies. Enterprising men in those countries have built cheap ships, reduced their operating expenses to a minimum, and thus equipped, have gone on the hunt for ocean freight.

The statement that the Government must grapple with this problem as being one beyond the ability of private enterprise, is a trifle ludicrous in the light of the facts. Of course any enterprise that is made impossible of profit by destructive legislation is, in a sense, beyond the reach of private enterprise, since private capital will not be invested under such conditions; but there is no profit-bearing enterprise that presents a problem incapable of solution by American capital. Some years ago a single capitalist in Chicago offered to take over the entire operations of the Post Office Department. No one ever doubted that he would afford a service fully equal to that rendered by the Government, at a handsome profit to himself, and an annual saving of many millions to the Public Treasury. This is the richest country in the world, as shown by the following table of the estimated wealth of the great nations, for the year 1914:

United States	$150,000,000,000
Great Britain and Ireland	85,000,000,000
Germany	80,000,000,000
France	50,000,000,000
Russia	40,000,000,000
Italy	20,000,000,000
Spain	5,400,000,000
Netherlands	5,000,000,000

In view of these prodigious figures, in contemplation of this wealth that exceeds that of Great Britain and Ireland by $65,000,000,000, who will undertake to say that any enterprise in which England has succeeded, is beyond the powers of private capital in the United States? Just as in war the weight of the greater mass, properly directed, will tell against an inferior opposing force, so in any field of competition under equal conditions, will our excess wealth of $65,000,000,000 over that of the richest nation of Europe, assure success. What England has done with $85,000,000,000, we can do with $150,000,000,000, now that the bars are down, and our capital is free to buy its ships where it will. If further aid is needed to equalize conditions, that aid in conformity with our platform, must be afforded in the exercise of our power of constitutional regulation. Why say that private capital in the richest nation in the world is unequal to the task of furnishing a merchant marine, when little Holland with a wealth of $5,000,000,000, has a private merchant marine of 806 merchant ships, with a tonnage of 1,500,000 gross tons.

So far as this country is concerned, our competitors have simply underbid us, by using modern steamships which have been built more cheaply abroad than in the United States. Our domestic laws have hitherto precluded American capital from the use of these vessels in the American trade.

The recent registry law has removed the handicap of cheap vessels, but the other handicaps still remain to confront private capital, as well as Government ships. It is certainly true that the operating expenses of Government vessels will be much greater than those of privately owned ships. Congress would soon be called upon to fix the wages, establish the hours, and improve the accommodations, of every employee on these ships. We will be compelled to legislate in relation to them, just as we are legislating to-day with respect to rural carriers, city carriers, naval and military employees, and many thousands of other servants of the General Government. One main purpose of Government ships is avowed to be to maintain moderate rates. This being so, such ships will not be in a position to take advantage of advancing rates, to meet an increase in their operating expenses. Should they charge rates not deemed moderate, they will fail to accomplish the purpose for which they are intended, namely, to furnish carriage, and steady rates in the whole ocean-going trade.

The most incredible claims, and extravagant statements have been advanced by the various advocates of the Government-ownership bill. For instance in a document included in the Senate report on the shipping bill, I find that the assertion is made—

> that the $40,000,000 carried in the bill, will not be an expense, but will be an investment of the first class, without considering the enormous advantage to the whole people of the United States, in having an American merchant marine under Government control, and the great reduction in rates that will be possible, as the Government will not desire net earnings of from 30 to 40 per cent on its investment, but will be content with only a fair return.

If it be true that from 30 to 40 per cent net earnings may be secured from an investment in merchant ships to ply the high seas, I wonder that any portion of the abundant surplus of American capital that has been eagerly seeking investment in every direction, has been content with the modest returns that investments on land have yielded during many years past.

The field of the sea has been freely open to the shrewd and able men who handle that capital, and it is a reflection upon their intelligence, that they have allowed such golden opportunities to escape them. With such profits in sight, capital operating even under the handicaps of the American flag would have secured a highly satisfactory return. But against the foregoing contention of possible profit for the Government ships, I set the statement of the President's message, to the effect that the Government ships must open the gates, and open them wide; open them before it is altogether profitable to open them, or altogether reasonable to ask private capital to open them at a

venture. And with his further statement that the Government should take action to make it certain that transporation at reasonable rates will be promptly provided, even when the carriage is not at first profitable; and then when the carriage has become sufficiently profitable to attract and engage private capital, and engage it in abundance, the Government ought to withdraw. The plain intimations of the message are that the Government ships are neither to enter upon the routes which are at present profitable, nor to remain upon the routes that become sufficiently profitable to attract private capital. But if these ships are to furnish facilities for the transportation of prospective and problematic cargoes on new routes, how will they be able to serve the purpose of reducing rates on established routes, and in addition, afford that steadiness of control which the Senate report alleges will contribute an element of aid to the privately owned transportation lines? How shall we reconcile the conflicting claims that are made for this measure, in the hope of securing support in a variety of quarters. For instance the Senate report declares that the bill will "create work for our shipyards in the construction of ships." This is a bid for the support of the shipyards. But it is a well recognized fact, indeed a postulate in this whole discussion, that the chief agency in the destruction of our merchant marine has been the requirements of our registry laws which have barred the way to the purchase of the cheap ships built and operated by our foreign competitors.

The legislation of August, 1914 was designed to remove this handicap, and permit American capital to purchase its ships abroad, and with these ships to enter American ports, and participate in American trade without let or hindrance. The Commissioner of Navigation pointed out some time ago that German capital without subsidy, by means of cheap ships, and cheap labor, succeeded in building up the second largest merchant marine in the world. Should the shipping board purchase their ships abroad, in order to secure the advantage of cheaper vessels, under the act of August, 1914, obviously no construction work will be afforded to American yards.

On the other hand, should they cause these ships to be constructed at home, they will voluntarily assume the handicap removed by the legislation of August, 1914, thereby increasing the losses attendant upon the proposed enterprise, and enlarging the inevitable consequent demands on the Public Treasury. Again while the claim is frequently made for this bill, that it is an emergency measure, the chairman of the Committee on Merchant Marine insists that it should not be so called.

Another contention stoutly made in certain quarters, with a view to enlisting the support of the uninformed through an appeal to their prejudices, is that this bill is a movement against monopoly in the carrying trade, and an attack upon an alleged shipping trust. If the proponents of this measure are tilting against monopoly in deadly earnest, if they really wish to serve the public by attacking a real trust, why not agree to admit the Government ships to the coastwise trade, and before sending tramp ships to the uttermost seas, demonstrate the feasibility of this scheme before our very eyes, by a reduction of domestic rates? Yet every motion looking to the admission of the Government ships into the coastwise trade, has been overwhelmingly defeated. It has been fully proved, so far as such a fact can be established, that over 90 per cent of the regular coastwise lines, are allied through interlocking directorates, with certain powerful moneyed interests. Why not admit the Government ships to this field, and permit them to ravage and destroy in this arena of private monopoly, until not a vestige of a domestic trust remains, and the people are entirely relieved from the thraldom and oppression of these monsters of horrid mien? As a matter of fact, an enormous amount of ocean-going traffic is carried by tramp steamers, which not only do not, but can not effect any working agreement or understanding, and while it is true that a number of established lines operating in various quarters of the globe, and handling the traffic of this, and other countries, operate under an understanding with each other, it has never been suggested that the Government of the United States should acquire and operate sufficient ships to compete with these lines, and seek to effect a reduction in their rates.

It would take many ships, and many sailings, to make the slightest impression upon the present aggregate of ocean-going vessels. Should the Government undertake this enterprise, the mind is staggered with the contemplation of the hundreds of millions of dollars that will be required to finance the project. Moreover, until the Government ships can furnish a service as good, and rates as low, or lower than their competitors, not a pound of exports, much less of imports, will be carried in these vessels. That an attack upon the rates of the trans-Atlantic lines that handle both passengers and freight, (and if there is a trust, these are the offenders), is not meditated in sober earnest, is revealed by the amount of the appropriation carried in the bill. Should this appropriation be expended upon the ordinary cargo-carrying type of vessel, these ships would not come in competition with the lines mentioned. On the other hand, if it is expended upon such vessels as are now being constructed for the great trans-Atlantic steamship lines, the Cunard Co., the White Star Line and others, the amount appropriated would not secure a baker's dozen of such ships, an attacking force that if directed against the hosts of monopoly, would provoke derision.

Both the Senate and the House committees might very profitably have taken testimony to support the claims respectively advanced in their reports. Again if the Government ships are to retire in favor of private capital, when the carriage on the lines served by them has become sufficiently profitable to attract and engage abundant capital, it may well be asked, what extent of profits will attract this capital? If the alleged net profits of from 30, to 40 per cent have not tempted American capitalists to take a mercantile venture under the flag of the United States, what amount of profits will tempt them? In this connection, and as touching on the question of profits in the ocean carrying trade, I will insert a quotation from a report of the Commissioner of Navigation:

> The profits of the ocean transportation business, as a rule, are moderate, the competition keen, and the risks considerable.

This scheme of a Government-owned, and Government-operated merchant marine is a new venture on an unknown and uncharted sea. There are no precedents to be consulted, no signposts to point the way. It is a dash into the unknown. Once entered upon, it will constitute a distinct movement toward general Government ownership, and operation, and cause a multiplicity of demands upon the Government to take over, and operate in the public interests, a variety of industries of a public service character. Some of these ventures have been pointed out, and if we are to engraft Government ownership upon our familiar and well-established Democratic principles, there is not one of them that is not preferable to this flier in ocean transportation. Undoubtedly the present interruptions in our commerce, the partial impediments in our trade routes, the decline of prices, and of orders, the stagnation in certain industries, and the general disturbance due to the disorders attendant upon a gigantic war, are responsible for much loose thinking upon this subject. An individual conducting, or interested in an industry injuriously affected by abnormal conditions, is easily led to the support of any project which he fondly hopes will afford some immediate relief. It is hardly necessary to say that in this instance these hopes will be blasted, and the effect of this bill upon our general trade, or the interests most seriously depressed by the present world-wide disturbances, will be entirely negligible.

From the best figures available, the cost of a steel cargo ship of 10,000 tons, gross tonnage, would be about $750,000 in the American yards, but put it at $700,000. The same ship in England would cost approximately $500,000. Upon this basis, for the purposes of comparison, the expenditure of $40,000,000 carried in the bill, would secure 57 ships in America, and 80 ships in England, according to prices prevailing in both countries before the war. Should the vessels be constructed in American yards, the loss incident to an expenditure of $40,000,000, would be $11,500,000. The purpose of the act of August 18, 1914, was to open the sea to American capital, by affording the opportunity to this capital to secure cheap ships. Yet the Senate report states that this bill will create work for our shipyards in the construction of ships. Is it a part of this scheme, for the Government to buy dear ships? If it is, then this measure, if not a subsidy to American ships, certainly carries a prodigious subsidy for American shipyards. If on the other hand, the Government proposes to buy its ships abroad, then the alluring reference of the Senate report to construction in American yards, is merely words of promise intended for the ear. They will be broken to the hope.

There are to-day interned in American ports 55 German and 11 Austrian ships, or 66 in all. Many of these vessels are great passenger liners by no means suitable for use as ordinary cargo carriers. These vessels may therefore be excluded from contemplation. The remaining ships after some overhauling could doubtless be used for bulk freights. But even if purchased, the effort to use them would lead to undesirable complications with the belligerent powers, so that the war would probably be ended, before these controversies were settled, and the ships put to the use for which they were purchased. Hence a purchase in this quarter would not afford even partial present relief.

The relatively insignificant number of freighters that the present appropriation in this bill will serve to provide, would be a scant supply for the South American lines referred to by the President. Even should their initial service be in the

waters of the North Atlantic, including the dangerous area of the North Sea, they would not afford the results so longingly desired in certain interested, and suffering sections of our country. The genesis of this idea of Government ships is found in the contention often advanced, that vessels are needed to enable the United States to capture the trade of South America. There is no subject upon which there is more misapprehension than this subject of South American trade, and while I believe that an opportunity has existed for many years, and exists now in greater measure than ever before, to extend our trade in that continent, yet the extent of our possible achievements in that direction have been greatly exaggerated. Nor is the acquisition of that trade dependent upon Government ships. What is primarily needed, are cheaper goods, better-packed goods, and longer credits. Our exporters will not displace the established trade of their competitors, until they are prepared to meet these essential requirements.

In the matter of transportation to South America, we are better supplied with American bottoms, than for trade with any other quarter of the globe. To-day there are registered for foreign trade in the United States 868 steam vessels, the great bulk of which are for traffic with South America, the West Indies, and Central America. In an address recently made before the New Orleans Association of Commerce by Fairfax Harrison, president of the Southern Railway Co., I find the following statement:

> There has been ample shipping facilities for all of the trade between the United States, and Central and South America.

Three weeks ago one of the officers of French, Edye & Co., explained that no barrier remained in the way of freight business between the United States, and South America, so far as the steamships were concerned. All we need, he added, is for the American manufacturers to increase the sale of their goods. When we get the freight, we can supply the bottoms to carry it. At that very time 40 steamers were expected in New York from South America. Hence the fallacy of the argument that our failure to secure a larger proportion of the trade of those countries, has been due to a lack of transportation. Much of that trade has been and will continue to be, in agricultural products that would not be taken by this country. The insistent suggestion is made that we must operate Government ships, in order to occupy the void left by the withdrawal of German ships from, and the cessation of German activities in, the continent of South America. But other nations are better prepared to secure that trade than the United States, by reason of their established connections, knowledge of the people to be served, and cheaper goods. These nations are already on the ground, and whatever we may do, they will capture a large proportion of the orders that formerly went to Germany. The countries of Italy, Spain, Holland, Sweden and Norway, are as well able as ever to maintain and extend their trade in that continent. While it is true that England and France are engaged in war, they have not abandoned their commercial activities in any direction, much less in South America, where the enforced retirement of their enemy has offered opportunities to them, as well as to this country. The possibilities in South America, for this country have been greatly exaggerated, and in no wise justify the immediate establishment of a Government marine. There is no El Dorado for the United States in the trade of that continent, and while in time we will no doubt profitably extend our connections in that quarter, the results will not be dazzling. Success will depend upon agencies, and activities other than Government ships. The crying need at this time, is an extension of our banking facilities in South America.

Criticism directed against American capital by the advocates of this preposterous scheme, creates an erroneous impression both as to the ability and the disposition of this capital to establish a privately owned marine, such as is found in every other maritime nation in the world. American capital has failed to enter this field for the simple, oft-repeated, and obvious reason, that our domestic legislation has rendered the conditions of entry impossible. Now that these conditions of inequality have in large part been removed, and before the opportunity even is afforded to ascertain whether private capital is willing or able, to meet foreign competition under the new conditions, this measure of discouragement and antagonism to private ownership is put forward with a comment that in itself is an unjust criticism, that as "private enterprise has failed to respond to the demands of our over-sea commerce, how much longer shall we wait on it."

It ill becomes the spokesmen of a Government which has destroyed private enterprise by the character of its legislation, to criticize the victims of its own blundering, or to seek to justify a venture of this unusual and anomalous character, without precedent in the shipping world, on the ground that private capital has failed to occupy a field that has been carefully locked and barred against it. As well criticize the State banks of issue for not continuing in business, after the imposition of the Federal tax of 10 per cent. I have said that this venture is without precedent in the commercial world. I am mistaken. There are two precedents. For some years the government of western Australia operated a small coastwise steamship line. In the first year the losses were $114,000, in the second, $96,000. The enterprise has been abandoned. The United States has operated a few ships in connection with the construction of the Panama Canal. This construction afforded a steady volume of traffic. The reports show a small profit, disregarding insurance, depreciation, and interest, imperative considerations in a private enterprise. Take these elements into consideration, and the small profit on the operation of these vessels will become a deficit. We have not waited on private enterprise a moment, and even now, in spite of the declaration that accompanies this bill that "it is better, whenever it is practicable, for the Government to avoid engaging in any business that can be conducted as a private enterprise," no opportunity is to be afforded to determine whether it is practicable for the Government to avoid engaging in this particular enterprise. Good faith requires that the opportunity at least should be afforded to private capital to essay the task under tolerable, if not equal conditions, before reaching the conclusion that the task is beyond its capacity. This much, I contend, would be becoming, in view of the depreciation of Government ownership advanced by all the advocates of this scheme.

Another reason why we should not be hurried into hasty action in this matter, is that as soon as this war is over, the merchant ships of all the warring countries will be hungry for cargoes on almost any terms. Inasmuch as our Government ships will have to underbid them, in order to secure any portion of the carrying trade, we will be confronted with a competition that will of necessity increase the losses that will attend the operation of this enterprise under the most favorable circumstances. It is estimated that the closing of the war will liberate probably 5,000,000 tons of shipping, "for ordinary over-sea freighting, which will result in an immediate drop in rates to the basis, if not much lower, of the rates prevailing before the war."

I am entirely satisfied that whatever temporary shortage of ships may have existed at any ports of this country, has been due to other causes than a shortage in the general supply of ships. The Boston Maritime Association has stated within the last few weeks, that repeated offers of sail tonnage for coal to South America, at equitable rates, have had no results, and that four steel ships were tied up in Boston for which no paying business could be obtained. In addition, the association furnished the Secretary of Commerce, "a list of Boston-owned tonnage representing over 200,000 tons dead-weight capacity, which could be chartered foreign, if rates could be obtained that would pay for round."

It is certainly a little singular that if the present rates are unreasonably high, due to a shortage in ships, and that foreign shipowners are reaping rich harvests of profits, no portion of the above tonnage can secure paying business; nor is any explanation offered why the vessels now engaged in coastwise traffic, and available for ocean transportation, do not qualify at once for this trade, and reap the rich harvest supposed to attend its prosecution under existing conditions. Doubtless they prefer moderate risks and moderate rates to greater profits and greater dangers. It is particularly strange that if the rates on cotton to Bremen are so exorbitant, that Government ships must be provided to furnish transportation at reasonable rates, the four steel ships now idle at Boston, do not betake themselves to Galveston, or to other ports, in order to secure the cargoes and reap the rich profits on those cargoes represented by the alleged unreasonable rates. One sufficient reason why this rush to Bremen has not taken place, may be found in the fact that if the rates are high, the risks are high, and high risks compel high rates. Within the last few days two American ships, the *Carib* and the *Evelyn*, respectively loaded with cotton for Bremen, have been sunk with some loss of life by floating mines in the North Sea. As a result of the losses occasioned by these accidents, our Government has been compelled to advance its rates for war-risk insurance, thus showing that public instrumentalities as well as private concerns, act alike when confronted with abnormal conditions. Greater risks and greater rates go hand in hand. No owner of a private vessel will expose his ship to unusual dangers unless reasonably indemnified against loss, and reasonable indemnity against loss in the war zone, and mined areas, necessitates enormous rates on the cargo carried. Would the Government vessels be expected to be more reckless in re-

spect to risks, than private ships? Is this assumption a part of this scheme?

The following citations from the statement of the Boston Maritime Association are of peculiar value in this connection, and rest in my judgment upon solid ground of fact:

> The apparent inability of shippers to secure tonnage is due rather to inability on their part to obtain marine insurance on cargoes, and on the part of owners to properly cover insurance on their vessels, coupled with their refusal to send tonnage to mined, and dangerous territory.
>
> The large amount of American sail tonnage suitable for foreign trade, can not now be considered, as shippers refuse to consider them for charter at present.
>
> The absence of return cargoes, except in a few favored trades, tends to increase outward rates, as any ships required to return in ballast, must of necessity require a higher rate outward, to cover a profitless return trip.
>
> Extraordinary high rates do not exist, except to ports within the mined districts, or to German ports, for noncontraband cargo, tonnage so destined, being in great danger of total loss.

That this danger is very real, and sufficient to justify extremely high rates is shown by the fact that over fifty neutral vessels have been lost within the war zone, since the breaking out of hostilities. Among these vessels were several ships carrying cotton to Germany.

The belligerent right of search is well understood in theory. On the other hand in practice, however prudently the right may be exercised, it provokes heat, irritation, misunderstanding, and angry discussion that frequently brings otherwise friendly nations to the verge of war. Note the violent protests already submitted by interested shipowners and shipmasters, against the alleged improper exercise of this right by the belligerent nations engaged in the present contest.

The profits in contraband materials offer a great temptation to ship them to a blockaded country. Looking to the figures and the character of exports from this country during the last few months, one can easily read between the lines, and see that a great amount of contraband material has been forwarded from the United States to the neutral nations of Europe. In the effort to stop this traffic by the exercise of the belligerent right of search, the nations at war touch the pocket nerve of the shippers. When this is done, violent contortions, and loud outcries invariably ensue. "The embarrassment to the dignity of the United States, of having a ship owned by the Government held up, searched, convoyed into port, and tried, on any one of many questions that might arise, is apparent." The exercise of the right of search by the belligerent powers invariably provokes controversy with neutral nations, and begets international correspondence. Such a correspondence is in progress at the present time between this country, and Great Britain. Government ships conveying cargoes to countries at war, that is Government merchant ships operated in commerce, would be liable to search, and detention, "in precisely the same degree, and on precisely the same terms," as privately owned neutral vessels.

Doubtless the shippers who are chafing under the exercise of this right of search by the belligerent powers, conceive that in some fashion a Government marine would provide ships that under conditions like the present, could prosecute their voyage without danger of interruption, search, or detention. But they are mistaken. Government ships would enjoy no such exemption. Moreover the use of these ships at such times, would increase the difficulties of a neutral nation. No nation can exercise its belligerent right of search and detention, no nation has ever exercised it, in a manner acceptable to the interests involved. These interests have invariably filed the most vigorous protests, and lodged the most grievous complaints with the authorities of their respective countries, insisting upon protection even to the extent of using armed force against the infliction of the alleged wrongs. The most difficult and troublesome complaints are thus presented at the most perilous times. Instant action is demanded, when above all things, action should be delayed to allow the heat of the contending parties to abate. At such times the Government should not be a directly interested party, as would be the case, if the ship seized, or detained, was a Government ship. "The business of ocean transportation, particularly in times of widespread war, involves certain hazards of an international and political character, with which the Government should keep itself absolutely free to deal, and in which all needless entanglement, and complication, is the gravest possible error."

This impartial attitude by the Government, or even a measurably impartial attitude, would be difficult of maintenance in a case in which a Government ship was seized, and taken before a foreign prize court for disposition. In such a case, particularly if any considerable portion of the public was already in an angry and inflamed state of mind, the action of the foreign Government would not in all likelihood be treated as the proper exercise of an accepted belligerent right, but as an attack upon the national sovereignty, an insult to our honor, and our flag. Under these circumstances, a flame of indignation starting in misapprehension could be easily kindled, and a state of public mind created, that would seriously embarrass a Government anxious to preserve its neutrality, but forced to unwise action by the pressure of an excited public opinion. Remember the *Maine*.

It has been noted that a Government ship pursuing the rôle of carrier, would be subject to precisely the same risks of capture and detention, as the ship of the private capitalist. In the event moreover that the Government ship is taken before a foreign prize court, the Government itself would become the aggrieved and injured party. "This would be a peculiarly delicate, difficult, embarrassing, and dangerous rôle for the Government to assume."

Why adopt a course which will render inevitable such a rôle? Why assume unnecessary risks? Why undertake to furnish ships under a policy that so far from allaying, would provoke trouble, would fail to meet the ends now sought by the victims of a present hysteria, and in other directions will afflict us with new responsibilities, and new burdens. There is no need for haste in this matter. We are not confronted with an emergency which can be solved by immediate action. Nothing that we can do at this time, will correct the abnormalities due to causes beyond our control. The pending bill presents the most radical innovation upon our traditional policies, the most unusual application of Federal authority, that has been presented since the Civil War. It commits us to an unknown and untried venture, unaided by the experience of other nations, and substantially, if not avowedly, socialistic. Falling prices, stagnating industries, commercial torpor, interrupted transportation, are grievous evils that invariably cause loose thinking, and are the fertile mothers of many extravagant and undigested plans for relief. The times demand sound thinking, and wise action.

No two advocates of this bill agree as to the fullness of its meaning, or the limitations on its scope. Is it, or is it not, an emergency measure? Is it, or is it not, a scheme of permanent Government ownership, and operation? Will it, or will it not, require successive annual appropriations to make effective its purpose, and if so, what approximately is the amount that in the ultimate is proposed to be taken from the Treasury to put this project finally and successfully on its feet? Is it, or is it not, to be run at a commercial profit? Are other lines in addition to the lines to South America, contemplated as a part of this scheme, and if so, are these lines like the South American lines, to be run at a loss, and to be turned over to private capital as soon as they begin to be profitable? Is Government ownership desirable, or undesirable? Who is qualified to state the working theory of this measure? All of these queries are differently answered by different champions of the bill. The President advances a theory of limited operation, in his message to Congress, coupled with an intimation that even this operation will be abandoned when the lines projected begin to pay. If this outline of operations fixes the scope of the project, then the expenditure in this direction would not be likely to exceed the amount carried in the bill. On the other hand the Secretary of the Treasury presents a far more ambitious policy of governmantal operation, one that involves transactions on the largest scale, calling for appropriations that in the aggregate may be fairly styled gigantic. At one time the proposition was put forward as an emergency measure. Later it is presented as a permanent policy, one that will overthrow trusts and combinations on the high seas, and afford such a supply of merchant ships, at such moderate and steady rates, as the shipping world has never seen. The House report expressly speaks of the bill as emergency legislation, and deprecates Government ownership in any business that can be conducted as a private enterprise.

The Senate report apparently highly approves of Government ownership, and of a continuing policy of Government activities in this direction. One advocate insists that Government ships can be operated at a handsome profit, and maintains that the forty millions carried in the bill, should be regarded as an investment of the first class, disregarding the fact that under the old conditions, the impossibility of making a profit on the money invested drove American capital from the use of the American flag. If profit is possible under the new conditions, ample private capital is available to occupy the field and Government ownership is not necessary. Another advocate admits that Government ships, operating at a greater labor cost than their competitors, will be unable to make a profit, but justifies their use on the ground that a losing venture in this direction should be supported by the Public Treasury, in consideration of the reduced rates to be afforded to the American shipper. The protagonists of this bill should agree among themselves, and pre-

sent in some consistent and coherent fashion the grounds on which they place this new departure in Government activities, affording at once the scope of its intended operations, its place whether temporary, or otherwise, in the policies of the Government, and a reasonable forecast of its probable cost. The Democrats at least, who support this measure, ought to be able to show not only that economically it is sound, but that it squares with our platform, and is related to some sufficient authority afforded by the Federal Constitution.

Mr. Speaker, in order to support this bill, I would have to reverse the attitude of a lifetime toward the fundamental principle of government ownership, I would have to reverse my attitude embodied in the adverse report which I made six months ago on the bill reported from the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, I would have to repudiate the declarations repeatedly made in my district prior to the election, that I intended to vote against this proposition, and oppose it in every proper way. I believe that it is plainly contrary to our platform, as I have sought to point out, and plainly contrary to the interests of the district which I have the honor to represent. No party will ever attain the full confidence of the people, no party will ever retain place and power, unless it rigidly keeps faith with the voters, and conforms its action to the declarations of intent and purpose contained in its platform. Upon that platform it must stand, as well as run. This is a particularly inauspicious time to try out new policies, involving large demands upon the Treasury. In every direction the pruning knife is being wielded in the most resolute, not to say reckless fashion. Particularly is this true in the Post Office Department, which is reducing salaries, and curtailing facilities in the most alarming fashion, upon the plea of economy. In pursuance of this policy, new rural routes which have been favorably reported, are being withheld from anxious petitioners, extensions of existing routes affording much needed facilities are being denied when they entail additional expense, and the intimation has been made that even existing daily rural service will, in many instances, be reduced to a tri-weekly service. The people of the country districts are far more interested in their local mail facilities, than in Government ships, and can not understand why economies should be effected in their domestic service, in order to furnish in part the millions needed for this ambitious scheme of Government ownership.

If the argument is put forward that these millions are needed to furnish facilities for transportation the retort may be made that transportation over the local roads is of far more immediate, and direct interest to the country generally, than Government ships. The farmer who plods his weary way through seas of mud, may be skeptical as to the advantage that he will derive from millions invested in ocean transportation, but he is in no doubt as to the advantage that will accrue to him, and the entire community of which he is a member, from improvement in his domestic highways. This is a work to which the Democratic Party is pledged by the declarations of its last two platforms, and if there is any money available anywhere, it should be appropriated in this direction. No possible sequel of trouble, no perplexing queries of constitutional authority, can be invoked against the redemption of this party pledge. These two great questions, roads, and mails, clamorously demand the attention of Congress, and require preferential consideration over the novel, and undemocratic policy of Government ownership. Apart from all the objections that may be urged on the political, constitutional, and economic side, to this pending measure, one last potent and efficient objection remains, and that is that once inaugurated, this policy of a Government-owned merchant marine, will absorb the funds required for the successful establishment and prosecution of many policies of intense interest to the rural communities, policies to which the Democratic Party is committed in the most irrevocable fashion.

Mr. Speaker, I will never support this undemocratic policy of Government ownership, until it is embodied in and made a part of our party platform. When President Wilson vetoed the immigration bill which had passed both branches of Congress by immense majorities, he made the following explanation of his action in his veto message: Does this bill rest upon the conscious and universal assent and desire of the American people? I doubt it. It is because I doubt it, that I make bold to dissent from it. I am willing to abide by the verdict, but not until it has been rendered. Let the platforms of parties speak out on this policy, and the people pronounce their wish. The matter is too fundamental to be settled otherwise. I only want instructions from those whose fortunes with ours, and all men's, are involved. Mr. Speaker, I renew the query of the President in the present connection, and ask: Does this Government-ownership bill rest upon the universal assent and desire of the American people? I sincerely doubt it, but am ready to abide by their verdict. For the present the people have not spoken, and until their verdict is rendered, I am constrained to stand on my party's platform, as it has been written. When I am instructed further, and otherwise, by the people of my district, I will conform to those instructions, and subordinate my personal opinion to the better judgment of the people, who constitute the fundamental authority in a free and popular government.

Some weeks ago a delegation representing cotton planting in the South, an industry which more than all others has been grievously afflicted by the present war, appeared before the President and asked his active interest in behalf of measures designed to secure relief for the interests concerned. He expressed the greatest sympathy with the planters, and avowed his readiness to lend his aid to whatever plans for relief sound thinking could afford. But he added that the problem must be solved with the head, not with the heart, and that nothing should be done which was economically unsound, or which would rise up hereafter to plague us. May I commend that thought in this connection?

An Analysis of the Election Returns of 1914.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES W. GOOD,

OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 23, 1915.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an article that appeared in the New York Times on February 21 entitled "An analysis of the election returns of 1914."

CONGRESSIONAL VOTE OF 1914 AND 1912 COMPARED.

To the Editor of the New York Times:

I beg to submit the following comparison of the congressional vote of 1914 with that of 1912. The vote for Congressmen only is considered. The figures include only the Republican, Democratic, and Progressive vote. The verdict on the Wilson administration, it seems to me, is to be found in this congressional vote, not in the vote which you chose and featured in a recent article in the Sunday Times, using figures for highest candidates in each State regardless of what office cast for. Prior to the publication of your table I had received the official State publications of many States giving the official count in those States. Your figures do not agree with them in every case, but the difference is slight. Where I have not had the official count I have used your figures.

WILSON WOULD HAVE LOST IN 1914.

Based on this congressional vote, Mr. Wilson would have been defeated. He would have received only 251 electoral votes, the Republican 280, and the Progressive none. In the North the Republican would have received 217 votes to his 45. In the West 52 to his 31. Compared with 1912 the Republicans gained 1,150,765 votes, the Democrats lost 379,978, and the Progressives lost 856,368.

REPUBLICAN GAINS.

The Republicans gained ground heavily in the North, West, and South; the Democrats and Progressives lost ground heavily in the North and South, but both gained slightly in the West. In 1912 there was no Progressive congressional vote in Kansas; last year it amounted to 74,401, which more than accounts for all the Progressive gain in the West. In addition to Kansas, the Progressives increased their congressional vote in California and Pennsylvania and a few thousand votes each in Nebraska, New Mexico, Vermont, Maine, and West Virginia. In the remaining 40 States they lost over a million votes.

The Republicans gained ground in 14 out of 16 Northern States, in 9 out of 15 Western States, and in 3 out of 17 Southern States. The Democrats gained ground in 5 Northern, 10 Western, and 2 Southern States; they lost ground in 10 Northern, 6 Western, and 15 Southern States.

PROTECTIVE TARIFF VOTE INCREASED.

The Republican and Progressive votes were for a protective tariff, such as was described in their respective platforms.

The protective tariff received a majority in the North of 1,012,401 in 1912 and the majority was increased to 1,263,638 in 1914, a majority of 393,262 in the West in 1912 increased to 619,950 in 1914, and a majority of 479,040 in the total United States in 1912, which was increased to 1,153,415 in 1914.

PROGRESSIVES RETURNING.

The Progressive split elected 77 Democratic and 18 Progressive Congressmen in 1912, without which the Republicans would have had a majority of 9 in the House. In 1914 it elected 40 Democratic and 6 Progressive Congressmen, without which the Republicans would have a majority of 45 in the next House. It elected 9 Democratic Senators in 1912 and 4 in 1914, without which the Republicans would have a majority of 10 in the next Senate.

This year the Democrats received 600,283 less votes and 80 less Congressmen than the Republicans in the North and 197,840 less votes and 5 less Congressmen than the Republicans in the West. When 13,343 additional Progressives out of the remaining 1,166,757 return to the Republican Party the total Republican Congressional vote in the United States will exceed the Democratic vote.

The following is a tabulation of the total congressional votes of 1912 and 1914:

Total congressional vote.

UNITED STATES.

Vote.	1914	1912	Gain.	Loss.
Republican	5,834,283	4,683,518	1,150,765	
Progressive	1,166,757	2,023,125		856,368
Total Republican and Progressive	7,001,040	6,706,643	294,397	
Democratic	5,847,625	6,227,603		379,978
Total in the United States	12,848,665	12,934,246		85,581
Democratic minority	1,153,415	479,040	674,375	

NORTHERN.

Republican	3,735,267	3,007,198	728,069	
Progressive	663,355	1,338,604		675,249
Total Republican and Progressive	4,398,622	4,345,802	52,820	
Democratic	3,134,984	3,333,401		198,417
Total in North	7,533,606	7,679,203		145,597
Democratic minority	1,263,638	1,012,401	251,237	

WESTERN.

Republican	1,242,631	938,311	304,320	
Progressive	422,110	375,145	46,965	
Total Republican and Progressive	1,664,741	1,313,456	351,285	
Democratic	1,044,791	920,194	124,597	
Total in West	2,709,532	2,233,650	475,882	
Democratic minority	619,950	393,262	226,688	

SOUTHERN.

Republican	856,385	738,009	118,276	
Progressive	81,292	309,376		228,084
Total Republican and Progressive	937,677	1,047,385		109,708
Democratic	1,667,850	1,974,008		306,158
Total in South	2,605,527	3,021,393		415,866
Democratic majority	730,173	926,623		196,450

REPUBLICAN.

North	3,735,267	3,007,198	728,069	
West	1,242,631	938,311	304,320	
Total, North and West	4,997,898	3,945,509	1,032,389	
South	856,385	738,009	118,276	
Total Republican	5,834,283	4,683,518	1,150,765	
Total Republican gain, 1912 to 1914			1,150,765	

DEMOCRATIC.

North	3,134,984	3,333,401		198,417
West	1,044,791	920,194	124,597	
Total, North and West	4,179,775	4,253,595		73,820
South	1,667,850	1,974,008		306,158
Total Democratic	5,847,625	6,227,603		379,978
Total Democratic loss, 1912 to 1914				379,978

PROGRESSIVE.

North	663,355	1,338,604		675,249
West	422,110	375,145	46,965	
Total, North and West	1,085,465	1,713,749		628,284
South	81,292	309,376		228,084
Total Progressive	1,166,757	2,023,125		856,368
Total Progressive loss, 1912 to 1914				856,368

The Progressives received only 9 per cent of the total vote in the United States and as much as 15 per cent in only 1 State in the North, only 3 in the West, and only 1 in the South. In 36 out of the 48 States they received only 7 per cent or less.

In the North the Republicans got a clean majority in 10 out of 16 States, the Democrats in none. In the West the Republicans had a majority in 7 out of 15 States, the Democrats only in 3. It is only necessary for 25 per cent of the Progressives in 6 congressional districts in Kansas to return to the Republican Party to defeat 6 Democratic Congressmen, for 27 per cent to return in 3 Illinois districts to defeat 3 Democrats, for 29 per cent to return in 9 Indiana districts to defeat 9 Democrats, for 33 per cent in 2 Ohio districts to defeat 2 Democrats, and thus throw the House to the Republicans.

This only calls for the return to the Republican Party of 14,150 Progressives in Kansas, only 4,560 in Illinois, only 17,570 in Indiana, and only 1,595 in Ohio. These and more are already back. The only reason the Progressives cast 17 per cent of the total vote this year in Kansas, 13 per cent in Illinois, 13 per cent in Indiana, and 5 per cent in Ohio is that in each State were prominent Progressive leaders, who had not been candidates in 1912 and who therefore had to be shown how they stood with the people in 1914. They were shown, and now all Republicans, including the previous disgruntled ones, are ready to go ahead and repair the damage done.

DOUBTFUL DISTRICT.

The vote of the first congressional district of New York is tied up in court and is not included in above figures. On the face of the returns the Republican vote is 3 greater than the Democratic, and the Progressive vote is 1,275. If the Republican is declared elected it will add 1 to the Republican Congressmen. If the Democrat, it will add another Democrat to the list of those apparently elected by help of the Progressives.

HEAVY DEMOCRATIC LOSS.

The Republican vote increased more in the North than the Progressive vote decreased. As the Democratic vote decreased more than the difference, the Democrats probably contributed the difference. The Republicans gained 294,397 more votes in the whole country than the Progressives lost, and as the Democrats lost more than that many, that part of the Republican gain in the Nation was probably at the expense of the Democrats.

The Democrats not only did not capture any of the Progressive loss, but themselves lost almost half as much as did the Progressives. Since the Democrats failed to receive any of the first 50 per cent of the disintegrating Progressive Party, it stands to reason they will not get any of the last 50 per cent.

PROGRESSIVES DISAPPEARING.

The Progressives have practically disappeared in the South, and they lost exactly 50 per cent of their strength in the North. The same rate of loss during the next two years will bring them down to the size and importance of the Prohibition Party by 1916. While they apparently gained in the West it was not a real gain, for the reason previously stated. When the 1,085,465 persons who voted the Progressive ticket in the North and West in 1914 realize that they only elected Democrats thereby, and that the final effect was to shove up the 17 Southern States into control of themselves and the country, they will make short work of the trip back to the Republican Party, and probably most of them have made the trip already.

Below is a tabulation by parties and sections of the Congressmen elected in 1912 and 1914:

TOTAL CONGRESSMEN.

	1914	1912	Gain.	Loss.
Republicans	194	127	67	
Democrats	232	290		58
Progressives	7	18		11

REPUBLICAN.

North	153	87	66	
West	27	27		
Total, North and West	180	114	66	
South	14	13	1	
Total Republicans	194	127	67	

DEMOCRATIC.

North	73	132		59
West	22	19	3	
Total, North and West	95	151		56
South	137	139		2
Total Democrats	232	290		58

PROGRESSIVE.

North	3	11		8
West	3	7		4
Total, North and West	6	18		12
South	1		1	
Total Progressives	7	18		11

NORTHERN.

	1914	1912	Gain.	Loss.	Democrats elected by Progressive split.	
					1914	1912
Republicans	153	87	66			
Democrats	73	132		59	26	68
Progressives	3	11		8		

WESTERN.

Republicans	27	27				
Democrats	22	19	3		11	7
Progressives	3	7		4		

SOUTHERN.

Republicans	14	13	1			
Democrats	137	139		2	3	2
Progressives	1		1			

SOUTH STRONGER IN THE NEXT HOUSE.

In the next House 80 per cent of the Republicans will be from the North and 60 per cent of the Democrats from the South. In the present House 48 per cent of the Democrats are from the South.

The following table shows the percentage of the total vote of 1914 received by each party in each State, what the electoral vote would have been if based on that congressional vote, and the number of Democratic and Progressive Congressmen elected this time by the continued Progressive split:

Percentages for 1914.

States.	Republican vote.	Democratic vote.	Progressive vote.	Republican electoral vote if based on this vote.	Democratic electoral vote if based on this vote.	Progressive electoral vote if based on this vote.	Democratic Congressmen elected by Progressive split.	Progressive Congressmen elected by Progressive split.
NORTH (16).	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*					
Connecticut	0.51	0.45	0.04	7		0		
Illinois	.45	.42	.13	29		0	4	1
Indiana	.39	.48	.13		15	0	9	
Iowa	.54	.41	.05	13		0		
Maine	.435	.436	.129		6	0	1	
Massachusetts	.50	.43	.07	18		0	1	
Michigan	.52	.37	.11	15		0	1	
Minnesota	.62	.30	.08	12		0		1
New Jersey	.49	.46	.05	14		0	1	
New Hampshire	.53	.44	.03	4		0		
New York	.493	.438	.069	45		0	4	1
Ohio	.473	.477	.050		24	0	2	
Pennsylvania	.53	.33	.14	38		0	3	
Rhode Island	.53	.46	.01	5		0		
Vermont	.61	.23	.16	4		0		
Wisconsin	.56	.42	.02	13		0		
Total	.496	.416	.088	217	45	0	26	3
WEST (15).								
Arizona	.18	.82			3	0		
California	.43	.25	.32	13		0	2	3
Colorado	.43	.50	.07		6	0	1	
Idaho	.50	.41	.09	4		0		
Kansas	.41	.42	.17		10	0	6	
Montana	.38	.52	.10		4	0		
Nebraska	.48	.49	.03		8	0		
Nevada	.53	.47		3		0		
New Mexico	.53	.43	.04	3		0		
North Dakota	.65	.35		5		0		
Oregon	.59	.38	.03	5		0		
South Dakota	.57	.41	.02	5		0		
Utah	.51	.49		4		0	1	
Washington	.44	.33	.23	7		0	1	
Wyoming	.54	.43	.03	3		0		
Total	.46	.39	.15	52	31	0	11	3
SOUTH (17).								
Alabama	.17	.74	.09		12	0		
Arkansas	.10	.895	.005		9	0		
Delaware	.50	.46	.04	3		0		
Florida		1.00			6	0		
Georgia		1.00			14	0		
Kentucky	.38	.57	.05		13	0		
Louisiana		.82	.18		10	0		1
Maryland	.41	.58	.01		8	0		
Mississippi		1.00			10	0		
Missouri	.41	.55	.04		18	0		
North Carolina	.39	.61			12	0		
Oklahoma	.39	.59	.02		10	0		
South Carolina		1.00			9	0		
Tennessee	.26	.70	.04		12	0		
Texas	.05	.94	.01		20	0		
Virginia	.29	.71			12	0		
West Virginia	.484	.476	.04	8		0	3	
Total	.33	.64	.03	11	175	0	3	1
United States	.454	.455	.091	280	251	0	40	7

EFFECT OF MINORITY RULE.

Southern Democrats, and some in the North, profess the belief that northern business men deliberately wreck their businesses to discredit Democratic administrations. An examination of the table, showing means of livelihood, will reveal the absurdity of this superstition by showing the real reason why business is harmed by Democratic administrations, and why, prior even to the war in this period, business was bad.

Our manufacturing industries and wage earners are located principally in the North. Fifty-three per cent of the total population, 75 per cent of the wage earners, and 66 per cent of the factories, in fact, are in that section. Now, it is a tremendous fact that 60 per cent of the congressional vote of the North was against Democratic policies in 1910, 1912, and 1914. When a 40 per cent minority is enabled to force an unacceptable industrial policy on a 60 per cent majority in an industrial community it ruins confidence there. If the minority theory is in truth wrong then it ruins business there. Business is injured and headed toward ruin when confidence goes.

The injury even starts when the 60 per cent majority lay down their dinner pails and begin throwing rocks at one another, for experience has shown that soon thereafter the 40 per cent minority will steal up on them, make off with everything, and pass laws that the majority is against. The minority never any more than gets around the corner with the booty to where its southern brother, always elected on the negro question, is always waiting for it, when the brother, although only half the size if measured by congressional votes, promptly takes everything away from it.

It would be bad enough if the 40 per cent minority located in the section doing the business wrote and passed the calamitous laws, but unfortunately when the Democrats win the South writes and passes the laws, and under the present administration executes them, in which case the section writing and passing the laws, being ignorant of economic conditions in the section legislated for, scatters the greatest possible amount of wreck and ruin about.

SOUTH CONTROLS BUSINESS.

The table shows how large is the majority of the people affected by tariff and industrial laws who live in the North and West (principally in the North), how overwhelmingly they voted against Democratic policies in 1912 and 1914, and how, thanks to the Progressive split, all power to legislate passed from them completely and went via the Democrats to the 17 Southern States. Thirty-two of the 34 chairmen of important committees of the House and 25 chairmen of the 35 important Senate committees are from the South in the Sixty-third Congress. It will be worse in the Sixty-fourth.

	Total.				
	North.	West.	North and West.	South.	United States.
MEANS OF LIVELIHOOD.	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*
Total States	33	31	64	36	100
Total population	53	42	65	35	100
Total manufacturing establishment of United States, where located, 1909	66	11	77	23	100
Total wage earners of United States, where working, 1909	75	6	81	19	100
Total sheep of United States, where owned, 1914	25	60	85	15	100
Total cattle of United States, where owned, 1914	37	28	65	35	100
Total hogs of United States, where owned, 1914	44	20	64	36	100
Total wheat of United States, where raised, 1914	27	53	80	20	100
Total corn of United States, where raised, 1914	50	14	64	36	100
Total oats of United States, where raised, 1914	59	29	88	12	100

	Total.				
	North.	West.	North and West.	South.	United States.
MEANS OF LIVELIHOOD—con.	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*
Total sugar of United States, where raised, 1914 (beet and cane)	34	30	64	36	100
Total importations into United States, through what ports, 1913	82	8	90	10	100
Total exportations from United States, through what ports, 1913	58	8	66	34	100
Raw cotton, 55 per cent of southern exportations.					
Total foreign trade of United States, through what ports, 1913	68	8	76	24	100
Raw cotton, 50 per cent of southern foreign trade.					
OPINION REGISTERED BY CONGRESSIONAL VOTE AS TO WHAT WOULD HAVE BEST EFFECT ON MEANS OF LIVELIHOOD.					
Total congressional vote, 1912	60	17	77	23	100
Total congressional vote, 1914	59	21	80	20	100
Per cent of total vote in each section for protective tariff, 1912	57	60	59	35	52
Per cent of total vote in each section for protective tariff, 1914	58	61	60	36	55
Per cent of total vote in each section against Democratic policies, 1912	57	60	59	35	52
Per cent of total vote in each section against democratic policies, 1914	58	61	60	36	55
POWER TO CARRY OPINION INTO EFFECT.					
Democratic Congressmen in congressional control, 1914, where from	31	9	40	60	100
Important House Committee chairmen of Sixty-third Congress (34)	6	.....	6	94	100
Numerical control of Democratic part of these 34 committees	12	3	27	73	100
Important Senate Committee chairmen of Sixty-third Congress (35)	6	23	30	70	100
Numerical control of Democratic part of these 35 committees	.....	11	23	77	100
Authors of important laws passed since 1912	.....	.....	.....	100	100
Presidency, 1913 to 1917[1]	.....	.....	.....	100	100
Cabinet table, 1913 to 1915[1]	27	18	45	55	100

[1] President Wilson and Secretary McAdoo are counted as southern.

AN ILLUSTRATION.

A good illustration of what southern control means is furnished by the ship-purchase bill, intended to help southern cotton regardless of consequences. It came from the Commerce Committee of the Senate, and first had to be satisfactory to the 10 Democrats on that committee, 9 of whom are from the solid South.

Mr. Wilson's own vote in 1912, with its comparison with previous popular votes for President, is interesting and contains as little hope of Democratic success in 1916 as do the Congressional votes of 1912 and 1914. He received 6,293,120 votes. Against him were cast 8,714,680 votes. The popular vote has been taken at 22 presidential elections. At 12 the successful candidate received a majority, as follows: Jackson twice, Van Buren, Harrison, Pierce, Lincoln in 1864, Grant twice, McKinley twice, Roosevelt, and Taft. At 10 elections the successful candidate received less than a majority, as follows:

Polk, 27,433 less; Taylor, 151,706 less; Buchanan, 377,629 less; Lincoln (1860), 944,149 less; Hayes, 344,833 less; Garfield, 311,300 less; Cleveland (1884), 222,951 less; Harrison, 304,394 less; Cleveland (1892), 945,515 less; Wilson, 2,448,560 less.

POPULAR VOTE.

The popular majority against Mr. Wilson was over 1,500,000 votes greater than that against any other President in our history. He did not receive a majority of the vote in a single Northern or Western State and failed of a majority in 6 of the 17 Southern States. He received a majority in only the 11 States of the "solid South." In 35 of the remaining 37 he was elected by the Republican feud.

No President before him ever took the chair without having received a majority of the vote in a single Northern, Western, or border State. Of the Democrats, Buchanan had a majority in Pennsylvania, his home State, even if he did not get it in another Northern or Western State. Cleveland, in 1884, did not receive a majority in a single Northern or Western State, but he did get a majority in the States composing the northern tier of Southern States. In 1892, even, Cleveland had a majority in Connecticut and New Jersey, thereby stepping into the Presidency with the approval of at least 2 out of the 28 States of North and West.

Of the Republicans, Garfield had a majority in 18 out of a total of 22 Northern and Western States; Blaine in 16 out of 22; Harrison in 14 out of 22; McKinley, the first time, in 18 out of 29; McKinley, the second time, in 25 out of 29; Roosevelt in 29 out of 29; and Taft in 24 out of 29.

No Democratic presidential candidate from North or South in the last 60 years has received a majority of the total popular vote. The last Democrat to receive it was Franklin Pierce in 1852. Some of these Democratic candidates have made a poor showing, but none since the organization of the Democratic Party, with the single exception of Parker, ever made as poor a showing in the popular vote as did Mr. Wilson.

And the Nation has had little use at the next election for the Presidents who failed of this popular majority. Indeed, no minority President, with the single exception of Lincoln, has ever been reelected at the next election, and the Civil War conditions made his case different from all others. Two other minority Presidents were renominated for the next election, but both were defeated. They were Cleveland in 1888 and Harrison in 1892.

It is strange, yet true, that Andrew Jackson is the only southerner who ever received a majority of the popular vote. After Jackson, in 1832, and prior to Wilson, in 1912, a period of 80 years, we had elected only two southerners President—Polk and Taylor. Both were minority Presidents—the same as Mr. Wilson—and both were elected exactly as Mr. Wilson was—by a temporary split in the opposition in the North, the Liberty-Abolitionist split from the Whigs electing Polk, the Van Buren split and feud with Cass electing Taylor. But both of these southerners came two and a quarter million votes nearer a popular majority than Mr. Wilson did.

END OF THE FEUD.

Mr. Wilson's election and administration and the Democratic control of Congress are by-products of the Republican feud, and nothing more. Both will end when the feud ends. The record of the vote which I have set down above indicates that the election last November was the last in which the feud will be a factor. For both the 1912 and 1914 elections prove that Progressives can gain nothing for themselves with a ticket in 1916. If one is put up, it will be solely because it is the hidden purpose of Progressive leaders to continue southern control. When it requires deliberate intention to perpetuate southern control to cause the casting of a Progressive ballot, as will be the case in 1916, then the rank and file will not cast them. In 1912 and 1914 it was different. Then the Progressives were blinded to the discouraging truth by the vain hope of Progressive victory. Now, when it has come to a deliberate vote for the 32 southern chairmen of House committees and for Mr. Wilson, the remnant of the Progressive Party will be found doing the opposite thing.

REPUBLICAN VICTORY IN 1916 PREDICTED.

The Democratic congressional vote in 1912 was only 1 per cent less than Mr. Wilson's. This year it declined to 7 per cent less. The Republican-Progressive congressional vote in 1912 was 12 per cent less than Mr. Taft's and Mr. Roosevelt's. This year it advanced until the difference is only 8 per cent. These are normal off-year differences. This 1914 congressional vote points to a Democratic presidential vote not in excess of 6,500,000 and a Republican vote of over 7,500,000 in 1916 if there is no Progressive ticket in the field. If there is a Progressive ticket, it will not reduce the Republican vote below 7,000,000.

And thus this rebellious movement will pass into history. It has been absolutely true to type. Its effect was to give the South temporary control, precisely as did its predecessors, the Liberal Republican, Greenback, Mugwump, and Populist movements. Realization of that fact and of the impossibility of Progressive Party victory are dissipating it into thin air exactly as they were dissipated. This, it seems to me, is what the November election indicates with its Republican gain of 1,150,765 votes, its Progressive loss of 856,368 votes, and its Democratic loss of 379,978 votes.

F. C. TAYLOR.

ST. LOUIS, MO., *February 8, 1915.*

Maps of the Arctic Regions.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY T. HELGESEN.

OF NORTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 25, 1915.

Mr. HELGESEN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to make some observations in regard to the following House joint resolution, which I have just introduced, being a resolution to correct certain maps issued by the United States Navy Department—Hydrographic Office:

Whereas the maps of the Arctic regions issued by the United States Navy Department erroneously show waterways that do not exist and lands that are really deep sea, while lands that do exist are omitted altogether; and

Whereas such false chartings on the United States maps, especially those numbered 2142 and 2560, issued by the Hydrographic Office, are a menace to navigation and exploration and should not be distributed; and

Whereas the taxpayers of this country should not be compelled to pay for maps with erroneous chartings; and

Whereas these maps issued by the Navy Department are the authority on which the geography of the Arctic regions is taught in our schools, as they bear the official stamp of the Government: Therefore be it

Resolved, etc., That the Secretary of the Navy report to Congress the reason why the distribution of these erroneous maps is not discontinued and why corrected maps of the Arctic regions are not issued by the Navy Department.

The report of the nonexistence of Crocker Land sent back to civilization by the members of an expedition outfitted for the express purpose of exploring that land has aroused considerable interest in the subject of Arctic geography. This

alleged Crocker Land was the reputed discovery of Civil Engineer Robert E. Peary, who claimed to have first seen it in 1906.

In view of the inconsiderate disappearance of this mythical land, a brief consideration of Mr. Peary's various discoveries may prove both interesting and timely.

The Navy Department (Hydrographic Office) publishes two large maps, Nos. 2142 and 2560, which contain false statements; i. e., they chart waterways where none exist and lands where only sea is found. These maps are issued to mariners of all nations; they are also the authority upon which geography is taught in our schools throughout the land, as they bear the official stamp of the Government; therefore they should be corrected.

The erroneous charting complained of is due to the reports made by Engineer Robert E. Peary, who has reported to his own credit the following alleged "discoveries" as the results of his various Arctic expeditions:

1. The discovery of Peary Channel, a cross-country waterway dividing the extreme northern portion of Greenland.
2. The discovery of East Greenland Sea, a supposed sea northeast of Greenland.
3. The establishment of the insularity of Greenland.
4. The discovery of Jesup Land.
5. The discovery of Crocker Land.
6. The discovery of the North Pole.

Let us analyze briefly these alleged discoveries, the subjects of which Mr. Peary has caused to be placed on the maps of the Arctic regions.

1. The Peary Channel: This "channel" Mr. Peary describes at length in his book, Northward Over the Great Ice, and shows it on all of the maps used in his own books. The "channel" has been named in honor of Mr. Peary as its discoverer. (See maps Nos. 2142 and 2560 referred to above.)

The Danish explorer, Ejnar Mikkelsen, in his book, Lost in the Arctic, published in New York in 1913, which is an English translation of the official report of the Government expedition of Denmark, quotes the following report, signed by L. Mylius Erichsen, leader of Denmark's expedition to the northeast coast of Greenland, 1906–1908:

> We drove westward with 23 dogs until the 1st of June (1907), reaching Peary's Cape Glacier, and discovered that the Peary Channel does not exist, Navy Cliff being connected by land with Hellprin Land. We rechristened Independence Bay, calling it Independence Fiord.

The above report was confirmed by Mikkelsen (pp. 192–193 of Lost in the Arctic), Brönlund, and Høeg Hagen, and is also verified by Knud Rasmussen. Three independent expeditions have established the fact beyond dispute that Peary Channel does not exist. Why does the Navy Department issue maps with false statements thereon? Why must taxpayers pay for falsely plotted maps?

2. East Greenland Sea: Erichsen's expedition established the existence—verified by the expeditions of Rasmussen and Mikkelsen—of land occupying the longitudinal space from the point called "Academy Glacier" at 34° west longitude eastward to 12° west longitude, which space Peary had mapped as "East Greenland Sea." The various portions of this land Erichsen's expedition has christened "Kronprinz's Christians Land," "Erik S. Henius Land," and so forth. Therefore East Greenland Sea can no longer stand to Mr. Peary's credit, since it does not exist. Yet this East Greenland Sea is shown on all of Peary's maps. (See his book Nearest the Pole.)

3. The establishment of the insularity of Greenland: As Mr. Peary did not explore the extreme northeastern portion of Greenland, as is proven by the fact that he stated a sea existed where is only high land, and that the waters of a broad channel flowed where is also dry land, he must leave the honor of proving the insularity of Greenland to the later and more thorough Danish explorers, Erichsen, Mikkelsen, Rasmussen, and the members of their expeditions. The reports of these expeditions have been officially accepted and published by the Danes, and are accepted throughout the world by explorers, scientists, and geographers.

4. The discovery of "Jesup Land," as shown on Navy map No. 2142: Clark Brown, of Albany, N. Y., a member of the National Geographic Society, associate member of the American Society of Civil Engineers, a man of high standing in Mr. Peary's own profession, in a report made in 1913, says:

> In his book, Nearest the Pole, published in 1907, Peary describes the discovery of what he called "Jesup Land."
>
> This is the same land which the famous explorer Sverdrup called "Axel Heiberg Land," in 1900. (See Sverdrup's report.)
>
> Now, the significant part of this is that Peary's account of the discovery was not published in book form until 1907, and, most significant of all, on the map he prepared for the United States Navy in 1903 Peary placed this land many miles to the eastward of its afterwards discovered true position.
>
> Again, in telling of the expedition he made in 1906, Peary described the northern end of Heiberg Land, or "Jesup Land," as he called it, to the west of the extreme end of Grant Land, when it is actually almost directly south.

Therefore, the fact is patent that Mr. Peary only remembered that he had discovered and named "Jesup Land," after its discovery and christening by Capt. Otto Sverdrup had been made public. By some strange oversight Mr. Peary had neglected to announce this discovery until he saw another explorer obtaining the honor of priority; then his memory was quickened and he was able to recall the fact that he "saw" the land earlier than did Sverdrup.

5. The discovery of "Crocker Land": The fact that this land, "discovered" by Mr. Peary in 1906, has slipped its moorings and sailed for parts unknown is still fresh in the public mind. The Washington Post of November 25, 1914, carried the following news item:

> PEARY'S LAND IS GONE—MCMILLAN EXPEDITION FINDS NONE WHERE ADMIRAL SAW IT—NEWS TO AMERICAN MUSEUM—RASMUSSEN RELAYS REPORT, WHICH SAYS EXPLORERS SAW ONLY MIRAGE WHERE CROCKER LAND WAS LOCATED—TELL OF THRILLING TRIP—PEARY AWAITS FULL DETAILS BEFORE HE TALKS.
>
> NEW YORK, *November 24.*
>
> The Crocker Land expedition has established that there is no land at the point where Rear Admiral Robert E. Peary said Crocker Land was. The expedition after its long trip of 1,200 miles from Etah to reach the great unexplored continent supposed to exist in the north polar regions made its final dash of 125 miles over the ice from Cape Thomas Hubbard only to find that Crocker Land, if Admiral Peary located it rightly, has either melted or moved from its former position.
>
> MUSEUM GETS THE REPORT.
>
> The news that the land failed to show itself 130 miles from Cape Thomas Hubbard, in longitude 100° west and latitude 83° north, where Admiral Peary sighted it eight years ago was received to-day by the American Museum of Natural History. This information was relayed to Edmund Otis Hovey, one of the committee in charge of the expedition, through the courtesy of Knud Rasmussen, the Danish explorer. Mr. Hovey made this statement to-day:
>
> "Donald B. McMillan, leader of the Crocker Land expedition, accompanied by Ensign Fitzhugh Green, journeyed across the ice of the Polar Sea in search of Crocker Land, whose mountainous heights Admiral Peary thought that he described from an elevation of 1,400 feet on Cape Thomas Hubbard in 1906.
>
> EXPLORERS SAW A MIRAGE.
>
> "For two days Messrs. McMillan and Green thought that they saw the land, but this proved to be a mirage, and they finally concluded that Crocker Land does not exist, at least within the range originally ascribed to it.
>
> "The journey out and back from Cape Thomas Hubbard occupied two months and proved to be extremely perilous. The party crossed 38 leads on thin ice, lost most of their dogs on the journey, and on the day after they got back to Cape Thomas Hubbard, in the middle of May, the ice on the Polar Sea broke up and became a hideous, grinding chaos of broken ice, on which they would certainly have perished had they not got back as they did."

I also quote an editorial from the Washington Post of November 26, 1914, entitled:

> IS THERE A NORTH POLE?
>
> Now come Donald B. McMillan, leader of the Crocker Land expedition, and his associate, Ensign Fitzhugh Green, and state that after two months' search they have been unable to find the land named by Admiral Peary for the "angel" of the famous expedition which resulted in the alleged discovery of the alleged North Pole. There is no Crocker Land. The vast continent, whose cyclopean mountains lifted their shoulders into the arctic sky above purple snows and illimitable fields of thick-ribbed ice, has disappeared like a dream.
>
> What a region it is, that intangible realm that stretches northward into nothingness and mere oblivion. A region of unearthly lights, of mysterious noises, of elusive natives, of treacherous waters, of never-never lands. Is it any wonder that travelers from that bourne bring contradictions and tales that stagger the imagination?
>
> Old "Doc" Cook became the butt of the universe because he could not prove that he had reached the pole. Yet some of the marvels he described have been verified by later explorers. And now doubt is cast upon the achievements of Peary because of the nonexistence of a vast polar continent which he saw with mortal eyes. Men will ask, "How does he know that he reached the boreal pole, if he did not know a continent when he saw it?" Nay, they will go further in their scoffing and say, "How do we know that there is a pole?" The evidence of the visit to the pole is the same evidence that established the existence of Crocker Land, and now Crocker Land has joined the insubstantial pageant of dreams.
>
> Explorers in all times have been subject to the rude skepticism of prosaic minds. Marco Polo was even called a liar, John Mandeville was a medieval "Doc" Cook, and Purchas's Pilgrims told impossible tales of the pleasure domes of Kubla Khan. Even in America the friars who saw the Seven Cities of Cibola were denounced as drawers of the long bow.
>
> It is too bad to go through all the hardship and danger of penetrating to the thrilling regions of the pole, only to have the most reliable evidences of the exploit whisk themselves out of sight and leave the explorer without visible means of support as to the truthfulness of his narrative. Such tricks and devices on the part of nature are enough to disgust all explorers and cause them to curse the pole and the circumpolar seas down to and including the jumping-off place.

If Mr. Peary had claimed to have only had a glimpse of "Crocker Land" from one place at one time he might be justified in ascribing the vision to a "mirage"; but it is beyond credence that even in the Arctic a man would see the same mirage at two different times from two widely separated points.

Mr. Peary's first mention of "Crocker Land" is on page 202 of his book, Nearest the Pole, when quoting from his diary of

June 24, 1906 (ch. 10, Westward Over the Glacial Fringe of Grant Land):

From the summit 2,000 feet above the sea level and of a more truly Alpine character than any that I have seen in northern Greenland or Grant Land, the view was more than interesting. * * * North stretched the well-known ragged surface of the polar pack, and northwest it was with a thrill that my glasses revealed the faint white summits of a distant land which my Eskimos claimed to have seen as we came along from the last camp.

On June 28, 1906, after four days of travel westward, he writes in his diary while at his camp at the northernmost point of (his) "Jesup Land":

The clear day greatly favored my work in taking a round of angles, and with the glasses I could make out apparently a little more distinctly the snow-clad summits of the distant land in the northwest, above the ice horizon.

My heart leaped the intervening miles of ice as I looked longingly at this land and in fancy I trod its shores and climbed its summits, even though I knew that that pleasure could only be for another in another season. (Page 207 of Nearest the Pole.)

The New York Times of November 26, 1914, also published the following:

Admiral Peary fixed the situation of Crocker Land at 100° west and 83° north by triangulation. His calculations were made possible by his two views of the supposed mountainous region from Cape Thomas Hubbard and Cape Colgate.

He made his observation from Cape Thomas Hubbard at a height of 1,400 or 1,500 feet. The land, which he believed he saw at a distance of 130 miles, must have been more than 2,000 feet above the sea level or the curvature of the earth would have sunk it below his horizon.

Under date of November 28, 1914, Mr. Clark Brown, associate member of the American Society of Civil Engineers, Albany, N. Y., wrote to Prof. E. O. Hovey, American Museum of Natural History, New York City, the following letter:

Prof. E. O. HOVEY.

DEAR SIR: The New York Tribune of November 25, 1914, contains the information that MacMillan has found that "Crocker Land" does not exist."

At the time that another of Peary's discoveries, "Peary Channel," was reported to be fictitious, I discussed the general reliability of Peary's reports in the Knickerbocker Press, May 8, 1913, using a map prepared by me in 1910 to illustrate some of my points.

I beg leave to file a copy of that article with you, and I invite thoughtful consideration for it at any time when Mr. Peary's so-called discoveries are before your societies.

Sincerely, yours,

CLARK BROWN.

Prof. Hovey acknowledged receipt of the above communication, stating that he had placed it on file.

Only one discovery remains to Mr. Peary's alleged credit, namely, the finding of the North Pole in 1909, where he claims to have made a sounding, which is shown on Navy map No. 2560.

When examined before the congressional committee relative to his alleged trip to the North Pole, Mr. Peary stated two facts of great interest, namely, that he took no observations whatever for longitude on his trip, that he took no observations for compass variation, and that he traveled by compass. He also stated that he did not have with him a chart showing the compass variations which have been computed by other expeditions and scientists. A most complete and accurate map of this description has been drafted by Mr. Clark Brown, of which he says:

This map, embracing most of the Arctic Ocean, shows what is known at the present of the magnetic needle in the Arctic regions antiguous to the North Pole. The latest available data was used in constructing this chain of observations. Older observations, one taken in the Smith Sound region in 1616 by Baffin and others taken in 1819–20 by Parry near the North Magnetic Pole, and some old ones in Bering Sea, were rejected. The observations taken on the ill-fated *Jeannette* expedition may be taken as the beginning of the chain, which is continued by the *Fram* expedition around the balance of the side toward the Eastern Hemisphere. The British expedition of Nares and the Canadian expedition of Bernier nearly complete the chain on the American side. A reading from the British Admiralty chart of 1907 for the mouth of Mackenzie River and another for Point Barrow completes the circuit.

The only observations reported by any of the Peary expeditions that can be definitely located upon a map are one taken from Astrup's survey of Melville Bay and one taken from Borup's book for the north point of Greenland. These are both used. I omitted all the observations of the Kane expedition and used the only one found for the ill-fated Hall expedition, because it was 20 years later. The great foot journeys of Nansen, Cagni, and Cook are each represented by an observation taken at the point farthest north reached by these capable and hardy explorers.

This circuit of observations shows some of the most remarkable changes in compass pointing that have thus far been found in the known world. A study of the map, however, convinces us that whoever in the future ventures to explore this region within this loop will find some such startling changes as those found by Bernier on one side of the loop or as shown by comparing Nansen's with Cagni's most northern observations on another side.

Peary says that he took no observations for compass variation upon this last trip. He has not told us how he and the trail makers of his expedition could tell from time to time which way was north.

If some future scientific inquiry into the polar question should uncover the method by which Peary was able to know which way was north without having first observed for the variation of the compass, a great and hitherto unsuspected aid to navigation will be found. Until such discovery has been made explorers will continue, as in the past, to observe compass variations when in the Arctic regions.

CLARK BROWN.

In report "Subcommittee No. 8 of the Committee on Naval Affairs," January 7, 1911, page 26, Mr. Peary stated that he made no observations for compass variation and had with him no chart showing such variations.

On January 11, 1911, before the same committee, page 94, Mr. Peary stated that on his polar trip "no longitude observations were attempted."

On page 87 of the same report Mr. Peary stated that he made a sounding of 1,500 fathoms at the pole, which sounding is recorded on Navy map No. 2560.

All mariners, explorers, and scientists agree that in traveling over an unknown region, with no visible landmarks, it is a physical impossibility to travel 500 miles, which Mr. Peary claims to have done from the last point of land to the pole, by compass without, as he himself stated, having taken any observations for compass variation. It must be conceded that by this statement Mr. Peary unqualifiedly admits that he could not have made the trip to the pole. Thus the figures of a sounding "at the pole" given on the Navy map are false, and should be removed from the map.

Mr. Peary has been quoted as saying that an explorer's achievements should be rated by his previous experience, his morality, his mental and physical ability.

Rated by this standard, which Mr. Peary has himself established, what is the natural and logical deduction relative to his various "discoveries"?

Granted that Mr. Peary has had many years of Arctic experience; granted, for the sake of argument, that his moral character may be above reproach; admitting that his mental faculties are keen, is it not a fact that an abnormal condition of physical sight which causes a man to behold an open sea where is really high land; to imagine a broad channel of swiftly flowing water which is actually land connecting two other portions of land; to discern the lofty pinnacles of an unexplored "continent" at two different times and from two different places, thus eliminating the "mirage" theory, which "continent" is now conclusively proved to be an unbroken expanse of Arctic pack ice; I repeat, must we not concede that a man who is unable to distinguish land from ice or swiftly flowing water from land is unquestionably in error in his supposition that he had stood at that point on the earth's surface where in every direction he looked south, when his mental condition was such as to lead him to the self-delusion that he could make a round trip of 1,000 miles by estimate alone over the Arctic ice without knowing in what direction his compass needle pointed?

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. CHARLES LINTHICUM,

OF MARYLAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, February 26, 1915.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Speaker, I note from the morning papers that the Senate has attached to the Agricultural supply measure an amendment providing for rural credits. I do not know how acceptable this amendment may be in its provisions for the farmer, but I do hope that it may be so thrashed out in conference between the two Houses that a creditable working measure may be brought forward that will enable the farmer to procure loans in order the better to conduct his business and increase the products from each and every acre of his farm.

The country is sorely in need of a farm-credit measure, and I hope that this amendment will provide the same at this session. It should enable the farmer, together with the provision in the measure for farm extension work, for which something over $1,000,000 has been authorized, to not only secure the necessary money to conduct his farm upon a business basis but through this extension work to increase the yield of his acres. Upon this subject, Mr. Speaker, I desire to express myself to the House to-day, because I am deeply interested in the farming industry of our land.

Those of us who have read Mark Twain's story of American boyhood, Huckleberry Finn, remember the incident in which that exuberant youngster shuffled the spoons on Aunt Sally. When first that good old lady counted them there were 10, but after Huckleberry Finn secreted one in his sleeve there were

only 9. Then he put back the stolen spoon; the old lady counted them again, and this time there were 10. And so she continued to count, first finding 9 and then 10, until so thoroughly puzzled did she become that she gave up in disgust, not knowing whether there were 9 or 10 spoons.

That is the case of our farmers to-day. They are perplexed by a situation, the controlling influences in which are beyond their grasp. Two things in that situation, however, are perfectly plain to them:

First. They are producing the food of the American people, that is being bought and paid for at prices that should make them well off.

Second. They are not receiving their fair share of what those products bring.

And naturally they ask, "What is the reason?"

TWO DISADVANTAGES.

Having been reared on a farm, and having kept in close touch with farming all my life, and being now engaged in farming on a limited scale, with that usual American characteristic I am not lacking in a personal opinion on that subject. And my opinion is that, considering farming as an economic proposition, the farmer now seriously suffers from two important disadvantages, namely:

(a) Lack of the best methods in farming; and

(b) Lack of adequate selling facilities through which he may dispose of his produce so that he personally receives the highest market value for his crops.

When we consider that through our farmers come five and one-half billions of dollars of new wealth each year we can readily understand the importance of their welfare to us. "Agriculture is the foundation of manufactures." The condition of all other industries is dependent upon the farm. A flourishing agriculture tells of a prosperous land.

It has been said, "Blessed be agriculture, if one does not have too much of it." This statement probably expresses the truth of the situation, for our farmers have always had too much hard work and been indifferently rewarded. Only within comparatively late years has our farming been conducted along the same strict business lines as other industries. Now a farmer with a large acreage who does not get out of it the most the land can be made to produce is worse off than the farmer with a small acreage. Those with more acreage than their annual yields justify are working under a handicap. They not only expend more labor and energy to secure their crops, but pay out more in taxes, fencing, and so forth. Farmers in Europe have been producing two and one-half to three times as much per acre as American farmers, notwithstanding that European farms have been under cultivation for many centuries and were probably not originally so fertile as ours. It is therefore evident that the success of the American farmer lays in the increase of his production per acre and the disposal of that production at the best market prices, after deducting a fair commission for its sale.

LACK OF SELLING FACILITIES.

In my opinion every State should interest itself in seeing that the crops of its farmers are sold at the best prices obtainable. It surely ought to recognize that the greater the return it can bring to its farmers, the greater the wealth of the State. Of what value are plentiful crops to our farming population if those crops can not be converted into cash? It seems to me quite apparent that the State should, through the proper officials, endeavor to forecast the size of its crops and then lend every energy to aid its farmers to dispose of them in those markets where they will bring the best prices.

You may call this paternalism if you wish, or socialism if you prefer, but whatever it is I am sure that it will stand the test of sound reasoning. I regard it as the highest duty of the State to promote the welfare of its citizens, and the assistance given any man which results in securing for him the best prices in the open market for the products of his labor not only deepens the obligation of that citizen to the State but further awakens a sense of his moral responsibility to make good.

We know that local bodies of farmers, the granges, cooperative societies, and organizations of similar character have been doing a valuable work in the interest of their members who grow certain products. But farmers with small crops of secondary products have suffered the lack of such an assistance because the quantity of products of which they were individually possessed did not warrant any permanent organization for their disposal. Here is where State aid would and should come in. Through our present inadequate marketing facilities nearly enough products are wasted on the farms around every big city to feed that city. Here is where a large slice of the dividends of some of our farmers go.

A State farm bureau, or some similar office, by representing a number of these small-crop owners, could aid in disposing of, at the best price, what are termed in the manufacturing industry "by-products." True, this would be the less important office of such a bureau, but I mention it first because there exists in most of our States at this time nothing of the kind to aid the farmer. The greatest value of such a bureau would be, of course, in finding for our farmers the most profitable markets for their main crops, directing attention to those markets, and aiding in getting the produce to them.

IMPORTANCE OF AVAILABLE MARKETS.

It will be seen from this brief outline the aid the State can render its agricultural population. It is important to the Nation that the State do its full duty in this respect, for if the National Government is to spend millions of dollars in encouraging increased production—larger crops—there is nothing that will more effectually neutralize its work than a condition under which, after the adoption of the most approved methods and the most laborious efforts of the farmer, he finds himself in possession of a crop that, owing to a similar abundance upon the part of his neighbors, it is impossible to sell.

There is a statement often heard, "There is a job for every man," and that the solution is merely bringing the man in touch with the job. If this be a fact, and I believe it to be approximately so, then it may be said with equal truth that "There is a market for every crop," and the problem is necessarily one of getting the crop in the particular market wanting it.

With the increased production we are stimulating this becomes a consideration of the utmost importance, for hereafter, when there is a surplus, that surplus will be greater than ever, and when there is a shortage that shortage will be more keenly felt than ever before. Our increasing population, the steady decrease in the area of our agricultural sections, the growing dependence of our city population upon our farms for the means of sustenance, are changes we can not ignore.

So imperceptible is the increase of our population that we rarely stop to think when we hear of the birth of a child that here is another mouth which must be fed, another body which must be clothed, another mind to be educated, and so on. But if we look ahead over a considerable period of time one experiences no difficulty in foreseeing conditions in the future. Upon a conservative and careful estimate, in less than 100 years we shall have a population in this country of 300,000,000 people—three times the present number. These people must be fed and clothed, and the clothes to keep them warm and the food to feed them must come from what we term the "agricultural sections" of our land.

In 1906 the United States exported 525,000 head of cattle and in 1912 only 105,000, a decline of 75 per cent. In 1906 we imported only 16,000 head of cattle, while in 1912 our imports reached 318,000, an increase of 2,000 per cent in six years.

Now this demand for food in increased quantities must be met. A colossal market for the products of agriculture is steadily opening, furnishing a demand for what our farms must be made to produce. And they can be made to supply those demands by exacting from every acre the maximum of what that acre will yield. Reliable figures show that the products of agriculture during the last 10 years decreased in seven instances and increased in only three. And, when they do not know, our farmers must be shown those methods which have been found to increase the products of the soil.

FARM-EXTENSION WORK.

Recognizing this situation, not unmindful of the vast problem of the future, this House passed the Lever agricultural extension act under which the several States in cooperation with the Federal Government propose to offer the latest and best knowledge in farming to our farmers throughout the Union.

I believe the benefits that will follow this instruction will promptly show themselves. The bank accounts of southern farmers who have profited through teaching along this line prove this. Under the provision of this law classes in farming instruction may be maintained as a part of every country school in the land of sufficient size and students will be turned out as well versed in a sound and practical knowledge of up-to-date farming as they are in their alphabet or in their multiplication tables. And this education of the young will be supplemented by carrying direct to the farms of those who desire it, a free knowledge of those methods that have been demonstrated to result in increased or better crops. This method of teaching makes classrooms of the field, the garden, the orchard, the parlor, and the kitchen.

In my opinion, this knowledge should be carried to our farmers by men of ripe experience and sound judgment, who have

been farmers themselves and made a success of it. They should be of the class and character of men who would beget respect and confidence. Were this work intrusted to youthful instructors, having but a limited experience in practical farming, I am afraid it would not be distinguished by that success which should attend it. But with the right men, I feel confident that this personal demonstration work of what can be done through the use of better methods will meet with cordial reception and result in many millions of additional dollars in profits to our farmers.

THE GOLDEN AGE OF AGRICULTURE.

What does this mean? This great forward stride in the progress of the farmer means the unlocking of the door of happiness and wealth to him. It announces the ushering in of the golden age in American agriculture. It will bring larger and better crops at a time when there is a wider market for those crops.

Taken in connection with the improved roads which are being put down generally throughout the country—and I am proud to say my State is one of the leaders in the good-road movement—it means that through the adoption of the automobile, which is coming into general use in our rural sections; through the facilities offered by the parcel post, the telephone, automobile busses, plying from town to town—surely to be followed by an automobile-truck express service, carrying the heavy loads which the parcel post can not handle—a complete readjustment of our rural life, and that the country will be freed from the most serious of those objectionable features which heretofore made it undesirable to many.

The flow of families from the country to the city will be checked, and boys and girls raised in the country will be content to remain there. It will mean even more than this. It foretells the use of many of our unemployed farm lands and the movement of a percentage of our city population back to the farm.

There is no nobler profession in all America than that of farming, and it requires as much brain as does any other occupation in life. Thousands of good men living in our cities work in cramped and unhealthy surroundings, their families crowded into teeming apartments or small houses in a row, where they are not in a desirable environment. Many of these men long for the pure air and open fields of the country and will follow the natural bent of their inclinations and return to the farm.

And it will not be to the old farm life of bygone days, with all its hardships, but to the modern farm, where the good housewife may possess her electric washer and churn, draw water from a spigot in her kitchen, enjoy the comforts of steam heat, hot water a plenty, and bathe in her own bathtub in her own home.

She will talk over the telephone with her neighbors near and far with as much enjoyment as she discussed matters across the lawn with her city acquaintances.

She will jump into the family automobile and drive to church 2 or 4 miles away in less time than it took her to walk 5 blocks to devotional services in the city.

If she wishes to shop in the town 15 or 20 miles distant, she will be able to do so in her automobile with almost the same ease and in less time than required when she lived in the city to take the car and go "down town."

This is what the new order of things has already made possible in the country, and people are beginning to awaken to a realization of it. Modern invention has banished from rural life nearly all the old terrors that were the bane of those who would not remain. It has made it possible for families to live in entire comfort in our rural sections without foregoing those physical comforts so highly prized, such as indoor lavatories, bathroom, electric lights, the communion with friends, the daily mail and daily papers, and the opportunity "to get to people when they want to." Many of these modern appurtenances have already been adopted and others are being as rapidly as the circumstances of our farming population permit.

CONTENTMENT ON THE MODERN FARM.

And these changes, to some of which I have referred, are responsible in a large degree for the spirit of contentment which is coming over the boys and girls and women on our farms. Possibly it was the old order of things that accounted for the fact that in 1880 there were 70.5 per cent of the population of the country classified as rural, while in 1910 only 53.7 per cent were classified as rural, embracing towns of 2,500 people or less. Excluding these small towns, only 36 per cent of our entire population actually live upon farms.

The position of the farmer's wife formerly, who bore most of the burdens and shared in few of the rewards, reminds me of the story of the dwarf and the giant told in the Vicar of Wakefield.

In that story, you will remember, a dwarf and a giant made a bargain that they would go seek adventures. In the first battle the dwarf lost an arm, while the giant escaped unharmed. In their second battle the dwarf lost an eye, but the giant put their foes to rout, and they rescued a maiden in distress. who, falling in love with the giant, married him. They now traveled on and came in conflict with a band of robbers, and in this adventure the dwarf lost a leg, although the giant was without a single wound, and again put their enemies to flight. Though the dwarf had lost an arm, a leg, and an eye, it was great fun for the giant, who, flushed with success, cried out to his small companion:

"My little hero, this is glorious sport; let us get one victory more, and then we shall have honor forever."

"No," cried the dwarf, who by this time was grown wiser; "no; I declare off; I'll fight no more, for I find in every battle that you get the honor and rewards, but all the blows fall upon me."

That was the fate of the farmer's wife. The man got most of the honors and rewards and she suffered the brunt of the hard knocks.

THE REAL LIFE.

I have great admiration for the American farmer, for he is the man who is to-day feeding the world. If it were not for his labor and energy, it is more than likely that the helpless women and children of the fighting nations of Europe would starve before their men folks settled their differences on the field of combat. Our farmers are an incomparable body of men, the best of the brain and bone and sinew of the land. At Lexington, Valley Forge, Yorktown, Lundy's Lane, Chapultepec, during our Civil War, and at Santiago they have shown, like Fabius of old, their ability to lay aside the plowshare and do heroic work for the glory and honor of our country. Most of our lawmakers were first crop makers, and the man who has not enjoyed such an experience has been deprived of one of the richest of life's blessings.

The man searching for as full measure of industrial independence as obtainable and looking to the welfare of his family will, under these changed and improved conditions, surely come back to the soil. It is the real life. Seeking relief from the thraldom of a joyless labor and the small tyrannies of petty bosses, he will find the most inviting haven in our rural life, and it will not be long before men will aspire to the freedom and blessings of such an existence as devoutly as many in the past longed for the day when they could "quit the farm."

It is such a contemplation that recalls those lines of Goldsmith in The Deserted Village.

How blest is he who crowns, in shades like these,
A youth of labor with an age of ease;
Who quits a world where strong temptations try,
And, since 'tis hard to combat, learns to fly!
For him no wretches, born to work and weep,
Explore the mine or tempt the dangerous deep;
No surly porter stands in guilty state,
To turn imploring famine from the gate;
But on he moves to meet his latter end,
Angels around befriending virtue's friend;
Sinks to the grave with unperceived decay;
While resignation gently slopes the way;
And, all his prospects brightening to the last,
His Heaven commences ere the world be past.

"From Newsboy to the Senate."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. M. C. SMITH,

OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 25, 1915.

Mr. J. M. C. SMITH. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert an article published in the Cosmopolitan for October by John Temple Graves, entitled "From newsboy to the Senate," illustrating the distinguished public career of the senior Senator from the State of Michigan, Hon. WILLIAM ALDEN SMITH:

FROM NEWSBOY TO THE SENATE.

[By John Temple Graves.]

During the sweltering July of 1911 the American Senate engaged in a very picturesque and spirited debate over the action of a Senator from Mississippi to retain on the roll of Senate employees Jim Jones, an old Confederate negro who had been the bodyguard of Jefferson Davis, had voluntarily gone to prison with the Confederate chieftain as his valet, and had been always loyal in war, loyal in peace, and stainless in character.

Not a sectional or partisan note stirred the debate, until a Senator from Idaho (not BORAH) objected to the proposition on the ground that it was seeming to indorse by indirection an "infamous cause."

Very eloquent comments followed from Southern Senators. In the very crisis of the debate the Senator from Michigan, who is the subject of this sketch, in a speech full of fine and generous eloquence, paid full and cordial tribute to the splendid, if mistaken, courage and conviction of the Confederate soldier, eulogized personal and public loyalty as the noblest of virtues, and so swept the Senate by his eloquent magnanimity that the old negro retained his place by an overwhelming majority.

And this incident fitly illustrates the manly, generous, and American spirit of the senior Senator from Michigan.

A newsboy and bootblack, with an inherited family of five to support, at 12 years of age, a cash boy at 13, a Western Union messenger at 14, a page in the Michigan Legislature at 15, a reporter for a Chicago daily at 19, a clerk in the national Republican convention at 21, a Congressman at 34, and at 46 an eminent Senator of the United States.

It would be difficult to find a career more wholesome and more thoroughly representative of this land of opportunity and of equality under republican institutions than that of WILLIAM ALDEN SMITH.

It is a long, high jump from the news stand to the American Senate, and it takes strong legs and a clear head and a resolute will to make it.

WILLIAM ALDEN SMITH has all of these things, and the years have demonstrated that he has something much more. He has noble ambitions, a definite purpose, tireless industry, high courage, and a great human heart.

It is out of his heart that there came the things that make WILLIAM ALDEN SMITH unusual among men. The fine, noble spirit within the man gives him his cordial grace of manenr, his swift sympathy with his fellow men, his generous partisanship, his magnanimous foemanship, and his catholic love of country.

He is personally known and personally loved by two-thirds of the entire population of Michigan. When he came to the Fifty-fourth Congress, he, a Republican, was elected from a Democratic district by a majority of 10,000 votes. When he ran for the last time in his district he was elected unanimously, without any votes against him anywhere. Good stuff in a man like that.

Of the blood of old Israel Putnam and the four Abercrombie brothers, minutemen of the Revolution, with a southern mother and a Michigan father, the heredity was perfect for public usefulness, and the grandson of Henry Alden, the Virginian, mingles the qualities of his forebears to the credit of his constituents.

A LOYAL FRIEND.

Deep in his loyal soul WILLIAM ALDEN SMITH, of Michigan, has held the humanities and the obligations under which he fought and won. He has never forgotten the men who labored with him and the men who rose with him. And for the fellows who did not rise WILLIAM ALDEN SMITH'S heart is just as warm and his hand is just as ready.

Because he won in the battle of life by hard labor and unfailing honesty, Senator SMITH has always been a hard worker and a Senator of sterling integrity. His diplomacy is, and it has always been, the diplomacy of directness and sincerity. There is never any doubt as to where he stands on any public question. He is absolutely fearless in the statement of his convictions, and neither party caucuses, nor Senate traditions, nor autocratic Chief Executives embarrass or intimidate the expression of his honest views.

And because this land of liberty and opportunity has prospered Senator SMITH out of stern struggles into fortune and repute, he loves this country and he respects it everywhere. He is no cringing American, no truckling Tory, apologetic in commerce, and apprehensive in war.

WHAT HE HAS DONE.

He is for the American policies, is the Senator from Michigan, and he makes his advocacy heard and felt. Upon the stalwart American issue of the exemption of American coastwise shipping from the Panama Canal tolls he took his stand promptly and resolutely against the surrender of American rights to England. In the Foreign Affairs Committee he fought vigorously against repeal, challenged all opposition, including the President's, with fearless frankness, and closed the debate for the American contention with one of the most masterly and convincing speeches of the entire session.

Senator SMITH was the first Republican in the Senate with courage to attack the undisputed and almost omnipotent sway of his Republican colleague, Senator Aldrich, and to force from the Aldrich emergency-currency bill the railroad-bond feature, of which he did not approve.

Both in House and Senate Senator SMITH was a champion of the direct election of Senators by the people, and to him more than to any other man his State of Michigan owes its excellent primary-election law.

Perhaps the most conspicuous recent service of the Michigan Senator was in the investigation of the *Titanic* disaster, over which he was selected by his colleagues of the Committee on Commerce to preside. The thoroughness and fidelity with which, without training in maritime and admiralty law, he discharged this great task were admirable evolutions of the same qualities which characterized his youth. He went straight to New York, went straight to the *Carpathia*, seeking personal interviews and information from the cabins of survivors and friends, went to the bottom of every question growing out of this greatest of all sea disasters, and presented a report which won the unstinted praise of English and American jurists and journalists, and will help in all time to increase the safeguards of passengers at sea.

The Michigan man is the second ranking Republican member of the Committee on Foreign Relations and the second ranking member of the Committee on Commerce and a member of the Committee on Naval Affairs, where he stands for a greater Navy and the full strengthening of the first line of our defense.

He was one of the men appointed to draft the declaration of war against Spain. He visited Cuba during the cruel régime of Weyler, and his denunciations of the "butcher's" cruelties did much to stir the American arms to action. He was the friend of William McKinley, who used SMITH'S pen in signing the declaration of war.

Senator SMITH is an orator of national fame, and is in frequent demand upon national and literary occasions. He is happily married. Mrs. Smith enjoys an enviable place in social and official life at Washington, and bears her own and her husband's honors with grace and dignity. They have one son of 21 years, who carries his father's name with high promise of future success.

The Shipping Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSHUA W. ALEXANDER,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, February 26, 1915.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, February 24, my esteemed friend the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE], in his usual impassioned manner, referred to the sinking of the American steamships *Evelyn* and *Carib* in the North Sea, presumably by coming in contact with mines, and urges the President of the United States to suspend the activities of the War Risk Board.

The gentleman dwells upon the fact that the *Evelyn* and *Carib* were built in Scotland and had been repaired in American shipyards and were flying the American flag, as of peculiar significance in connection with that disaster.

The inference to be drawn from the gentleman's statement is that the War Risk Board are at fault for having assumed the war risk on foreign-built ships. He seems to think the fact that the *Evelyn* was built in Scotland in 1883 and the *Carib* was built in Scotland in 1882 had something sinister to do with the war risk assumed by our Government; that if they had been built in an American shipyard the hazard from mines would have been less and the fate of the vessels would have been different.

The age of the vessels had nothing to do with their fate. They did not sink in a storm at sea or under circumstances that showed them not to be in a seaworthy condition.

Their fate would have been the same if they had been new vessels just launched from an American shipyard and on their maiden voyages.

The deadly mines are as effective against new as they are against old vessels. In either event the hazard is equally great. Hence, all the gentleman had to say as to the age of the vessels and that they were foreign built is nonsense and bears no relation to the loss of these ships.

They were under the American flag, and lawfully so; they belonged to American citizens, and had been practically rebuilt in American shipyards, and with American material and by American labor.

When so repaired or rebuilt they were entitled to American registry under the act of December 27, 1852 (Rev. Stats., sec. 4136), which provides:

> The Secretary of the Treasury may issue a register or enrollment for any vessel built in a foreign country whenever such vessel shall be wrecked in the United States and shall be purchased and repaired by a citizen of the United States, if it shall be proved to the satisfaction of the Secretary that the repairs put upon such vessel are equal to three-fourths of the cost of the vessel when so repaired.

They were repaired or rebuilt and admitted to American registry and became entitled to all the rights of a vessel of the United States in 1898 and 1899, respectively, under the administration of President McKinley.

What a pity the gentleman was not then a Member of Congress to raise his clarion voice against the admission of these vessels to American registry. He might not have prevented it, but he could have railed against it, although his railings might not have been any more effective than they are under the present administration.

The fact that the balance of trade of the United States for January in our foreign commerce amounts to about $125,000,000 and bids fair to exceed $1,000,000,000 for the fiscal year seems to wound the gentleman deeply. He does not know any better way to stop it than to thwart the efforts of the administration to meet effectively the extraordinary conditions growing out of the war in Europe and to protect and foster and increase our foreign commerce. He would withdraw every ship under the American flag from the high seas. He would abolish the War Risk Board and repeal the ship-registry act of August 18, 1914. He would deny to us our right as a neutral nation to trade with the belligerents. For partisan advantage he would paralyze our foreign commerce or give it over to the shipping of other nations, to be exploited at will.

The cargoes of the *Evelyn* and *Carib* were cotton and noncontraband of war, and vessels and cargoes were entitled to the protection accorded by international law to the vessels of neutral nations.

The administration will hardly pay heed to the suggestion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania. The activities of the War Risk Bureau will not cease. What we need is more ships under the American flag in our over-sea trade, rather than the suspension of the valuable work of the War Risk Board. The following telegram from W. N. White & Co., dealers in fruits and general produce, 76–78 Park Place, New York, just received by me, is only one of thousands of cases brought to the attention of Congress in proof of the fact that we need more ships under the American flag in our over-sea trade:

NEW YORK, *February 26, 1915.*

Hon. J. W. ALEXANDER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Mercantile marine, which virtually controls New York and Boston interest to-day, want 5 shillings and 5 per cent, say $1.25, freight on American apples for Liverpool, ordinary cargo that was 3 shillings and 6 pence six months ago and 2 shillings and 9 pence two years ago. Value here of said apples are only $1.50 to $2.50 per barrel against $4 two years ago.

W. N. WHITE.

The rates of war-risk insurance will doubtless be increased to cover the increased hazards of navigating the North Sea and growing out of the order of the German Admiralty extending the war zone to the British Isles. It is proper that this should be done. Not one dollar of the loss thus far sustained is a charge upon the Treasury of the United States. The earned premiums on risks heretofore assumed by our Government amount to $752,041.47. The losses on the *Evelyn* and *Carib*, as far as known, amount to $659,103. It may be there will be other losses, and it may be they will exceed the premiums earned and become a direct charge upon the Treasury, but when we take into account the immense advantage of our country in fostering and promoting our foreign commerce, as shown by our huge trade balance from month to month, the possible losses through our war-risk insurance of vessels and cargoes under the American flag may be regarded without grave concern.

I will here insert a memorandum furnished to me at my request by the Secretary of the Treasury; also a statement prepared by him and given to the press on February 24, relating to the business transacted thus far through the War Risk Board since its creation September 2, 1914:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, February 24, 1915.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY.

Nine hundred and sixty-one policies issued September 2, 1914–February 23, 1915.

Total amount insured	$56,645,084.00
Premiums on same	1,502,302.09
Of the above amount the earned premiums (on $28,796,154) are	752,041.47
Therefore, net amount at risk	27,848,930.00
Known losses to date:	
Steamship *Evelyn*	401,000.00
Steamship *Carib*	258,103.00
Total	659,103.00

—

WASHINGTON, D. C., *February 24, 1915.*

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY M'ADOO.

The total insurance carried by the Bureau of War Risk Insurance of the Treasury Department upon the steamship *Evelyn*, reported sunk off Borkum Island February 19, and the steamer *Carib*, reported sunk in the North Sea February 23, is $659,103, which is covered entirely by premiums already earned by the Bureau of War Risk Insurance.

The total premiums received by the bureau up to and including February 23 amounted to $1,502,302.09. Of this $752,041.47 has actually been earned and all risks released. The $659,103 represents the maximum possible liability of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance in connection with the sinking of the two steamers. This does not take into account the possibility of salvage. The condition of the sunken steamers at this time is unknown. Cotton is rather easily salvaged, and it is possible that the cargoes are not beyond recovery. If so, this would mean a material decrease in the possible loss.

The total amount of insurance so far written by the Bureau of War Risk Insurance is $56,645,084, and the sinking of these two steamers represents the first loss suffered since the bureau was organized on September 2 last.

The details of the insurance of the *Evelyn* and the *Carib* are as follows:

"EVELYN."

Hull	$100,000.00
Cargo	301,000.00
Total	401,000.00
Premium	13,030.00
Net insurance	387,970.00

"CARIB."

Hull	22,253.00
Cargo	235,850.00
Total	258,103.00
Premium	7,965.62
Net insurance	250,137.38

Mr. Speaker, in this connection I will avail myself of the privilege of incorporating as part of my remarks an editorial which appeared in the Scientific American of February 20, and the article written by me for the Scientific American on the ship-purchase bill and referred to in the editorial:

THE ADMINISTRATION VIEW OF THE SHIPPING BILL.

The attitude of the Scientific American to the ship-purchase bill (a measure which has thrown Congress into a deadlock as remarkable as any that has ever occurred) must, by this time, be perfectly clear to its readers. Our opposition to the bill is the outcome of many years of study of the problem of our merchant marine, and it is based upon a serious conviction that the administration measure does violence to certain fundamental economic and political principles, the violation of which is certain to doom this or any other specious and ephemeral enterprise of this kind to disastrous failure.

At the same time we realize that it will greatly assist our readers in arriving at a more just conclusion as to the merits of the bill if both sides of the controversy are laid before them clearly and, as far as possible, without prejudice. The arguments of the opposition to the measure we have endeavored to make clear in the series of articles which have appeared in our columns during the discussion of the bill.

It now gives us great pleasure to present elsewhere in this issue an article written at our request by Representative JOSHUA W. ALEXANDER, chairman of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, who introduced the ship-purchase bill in the House. The article has all the force, logical sequence, and clarity of statement which one would expect from Judge ALEXANDER in the summing up of an important case. No one can read his statement without being possessed of a perfectly clear understanding of the motives, underlying principles, scope, and purpose of this measure. We now can follow intelligently the sequence of external events and internal mental processes which led the administration, after a survey of the conditions existing in our merchant marine and our over-sea commerce, to present this measure as the very best which it can offer as a solution of the present difficulties.

THE GOVERNMENT SHIP-PURCHASE BILL—A DEFENSE OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY.

[By Judge JOSHUA W. ALEXANDER, chairman of the House Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.]

During the fiscal year 1914 the foreign commerce of the United States amounted to four and a quarter billion dollars. The imports were nearly two billions of dollars and the exports over two and one-third billions of dollars. Not more than 10 per cent of this commerce was carried in vessels flying the American flag. It is estimated that foreign shipowners collect from the American people $250,000,000 to $300,000,000 a year for the ocean transportation of passengers and cargoes to and from the United States. This sum materially affects our trade balance. Just prior to the European war we had ships of only 1,376,809 tons gross in the foreign trade. It is estimated that soon after war was declared 5,500,000 tons of foreign shipping was withdrawn from the ocean carrying trade and that 550,000 tons of German and Austrian shipping is interned in American ports.

The war in Europe had hardly begun when the American people became keenly sensible of the imperative need for an American merchant marine. England, France, and Germany, our principal carriers, were at war, and we needed vessels clothed with the rights of neutrals to carry our over-seas commerce. The ship-registry act, admitting foreign-built ships to American registry for the foreign trade and suspending temporarily the provisions of our navigation laws requiring the captains and watch officers on vessels of the United States to be American citizens, was passed August 18, 1914.

The administration was assured that the passage of this act would bring a large measure of relief.

No sooner was it passed, however, than the same interests called the attention of the administration to the fact that Great Britain, France, and Germany were writing war-risk insurance on vessels and cargoes under their flags, and unless our Government would do likewise the ship-registry act would not be much help. An act was promptly passed by Congress and approved by the President creating a War Risk Board in the Treasury Department, and the Government has since written millions of dollars of war-risk insurance on vessels under our flag. No serious objection was urged to this legislation upon the ground that the Government should not engage in the insurance business. The emergency had to be met, and private companies were impotent. This measure was urged by the people who now object to the Government ship-purchase bill and denounce it as paternalism and State socialism. They were to be the beneficiaries if the Government engaged in the insurance business. All the people will be the beneficiaries if the latter bill becomes a law.

After the ship-registry act and the act creating the War Risk Board were passed it was represented to the administration and to the committees in Congress having jurisdiction of the subject matter that on account of the disturbed financial conditions growing out of the war in Europe it was impossible for private persons, firms, and corporations to purchase foreign tonnage and bring it under the American flag, unless the Government would guarantee their bonds or lend them money, or in some other manner give them aid. This was the situation when I introduced the ship-purchase bill.

With our foreign commerce paralyzed and our utter dependence on the shipping of Great Britain for service and her interests sharply antagonistic to our own, with ocean freight rates mounting higher and higher every day, and facilities under our own flag distressingly inadequate, it was thought by those charged with responsibility in the premises that if the Government must carry all these burdens in the interest of private shipping and give private shipping a free hand to exploit our commerce and charge all the traffic would bear it would be wiser to provide by law for a Government owned and controlled merchant marine, operated in the interest of the agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial interests of the United States, and give that service at reasonable rates and at the same time compel other lines to do likewise. And right here is the rub. There is no reason to believe that the Government will enter into competition with the established lines where they are giving the people good service and at reasonable rates. It would be folly to do so.

What are the fundamental proposals in the ship-purchase bill now pending in Congress, which the shipping interests are opposing so violently?

The bill provides that the United States, acting through a shipping board, may subscribe to the capital stock of any corporation or corporations now or hereafter organized under the laws of the United States or of any State or of the District of Columbia, the object of such corporation to be the purchase or construction, equipment, maintenance, and operation of merchant vessels in the trade between the Atlantic,

Gulf, or Pacific ports of the United States and the ports of Central and South America and elsewhere to meet the demands of the foreign commerce of the United States, or to charter vessels for such purposes and to make charters or leases of any vessel or vessels owned by such corporation to any other corporation, firm, or any individual to be used for such purposes, subject to the approval of the shipping board.

The initial stock of the corporation shall not be over $10,000,000, the shares of the par value of $100. The capital stock may be increased by the shipping board with the approval of the President. The United States shall subscribe for 51 per cent of the stock and each increase. The remainder may be subscribed for by the public, or by the United States if not subscribed for by the public. The United States, through the shipping board, with the approval of the President, is authorized to purchase or construct vessels, to transfer them to such corporation, and to pay for same by issue of Panama Canal bonds. Such corporations shall make provision for sinking fund and for depreciation charges, under the rules and regulations to be prescribed by the shipping board. The vessels purchased or constructed under the act shall be entitled to registry under the laws of the United States, but may engage only in trade with foreign countries or with the Philippine Islands, Hawaiian Islands, Porto Rico, and the islands of Guam and Tutuila.

The Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Commerce, and three additional members, two of whom shall have practical experience in the operation of vessels in the foreign trade, subject to the direction of the President, constitute the shipping board, and are vested with power to vote the stock of the United States in such corporation and to do all other things necessary to protect the United States and to carry out the purpose of the act, and, with the approval of Congress, may sell the stock of the United States in such corporation.

The President is given the power to charter naval auxiliaries and vessels belonging to the War Department suitable for commercial uses and not required for naval or military purposes in times of peace and vessels owned and operated by the Panama Railroad Co. to the corporation created by the act, the vessels purchased or constructed to be of a type, so far as our foreign trade may permit, suitable for naval auxiliaries. The President is authorized to take them over for use as naval auxiliaries or for other purposes and at a reasonable price of rental.

Powerful private interests are arrayed against this bill. The representatives of special privilege and the powerful organization known as the Shipping Trust, with its affiliations in the domestic and foreign trade, oppose it. They are vociferous in the expression of their fears that the passage of the bill will involve us in grave complications with the belligerents. They may be counted on to promote legislation when it is for their benefit and will increase their profits, but view with grave concern legislation for the general welfare. Another class opposes Government ownership, honestly believing it is not a proper function of the Government. The first class also takes advantages of the reasons urged by the latter to defeat this legislation. None of these classes has proposed a rational plan as a substitute for the administration bill.

It is assumed that Government ownership is something new under the sun. Those who urge this objection assume that the American people are ignorant of the many activities of the Government in which the principle is applied. Private enterprise failed to build the Panama Canal, and the Government took over that great enterprise and has completed the canal in the interest of the world's commerce and for the national defense. The Government owns and operates the Panama Railroad. It was relocated and rebuilt within the last five years at a cost of about $10,000,000; also owns and operates the Panama Railroad Steamship Co.'s fleet of passenger and freight steamers from New York to Panama, and has done so for 11 years past. The average rate of freight between New York and the Canal Zone at the time the Government took over the operation of the line was $8 per ton. This has been gradually reduced to the present rate of $3.50 per ton on rough goods and $4.50 per ton for general cargoes. The reductions made by the Government line similarly affected the rates by the other lines, all of which were of foreign registry. The result has been an immense saving to the Government in cost of construction of the canal; at the same time no complaint has been made that the reduced rates have not been remunerative to the foreign as well as to the Government line.

The War Risk Insurance Bureau is a Government activity that has worked well. The rates are one-eighth of 1 per cent. What they would be if the business was being done by private companies must be left to our imagination. The Government has a splendid fleet of vessels in the Revenue-Cutter Service under control of the Treasury Department. The successful and economic management of this fleet requires as high, if not higher, order of skill and efficiency than is required in the management of a fleet of merchant vessels.

The Government, through the Post Office Department, has taken over a large part of the transportation business heretofore done by the express companies and at a reduction of cost to the American people of about 50 per cent, and little heed would be paid to a demand to abolish the parcel post upon the ground that the Government should not engage in the transportation business.

The Government is building a railroad in Alaska at a cost of forty millions of dollars to unlock the mineral wealth of that great storehouse of nature for the benefit of all the people rather than have it exploited for the benefit of the few. It is to be hoped if the Government goes into the steamship business it will prove a greater success than has the operation of our railroads under private control, notably the New Haven under the Mellen régime.

The Government owns the greatest wireless system in the world, under the control of the Navy Department, which not only renders efficient service for all the departments of the Government but does a large amount of commercial business at reasonable rates, and could do more without additional expense of operation. Yet it is assumed that the Government should not engage in the ownership and operation of shipping in the foreign trade to meet the demands of our growing and expanding foreign commerce, although private capital has failed for 50 years to provide such service for the American people.

The Washington Post of February 7, in an editorial, very pertinently remarks: "Private capital knows full well that it can not and will not establish an American merchant marine without the aid of public cash contributed in some way, form, or manner by the Government. It is to the interests of foreign shipping combines that no American merchant marine be established. It is to the financial interests of powerful representatives in the country of foreign shipping—commercial and financial interests—that no American merchant marine be established unless they can control it, save their European allies from American competition, and make such rates for freight and passengers as will afford them large profits. They are entirely willing to draw financial aid from our Government if the control of the marine is given them."

Up to the European war our foreign commerce was in the grip of foreign shipping lines. These lines were controlled by shipping rings and competition for the most part had been eliminated. Rates had increased in the last few years 50 to 200 per cent. These combinations were so powerful in all the trade areas of the world that no independent ship lines dared to enter the field and compete with them.

SUMMARY OF THE MOST STRIKING INCREASES.

Since the outbreak of the war in Europe the following are striking illustrations of ocean freight rates:

Ocean freight rates on grain from New York to Rotterdam have been increased since the outbreak of the war 900 per cent; on flour, 500 per cent; on cotton, 700 per cent. From New York to Liverpool the rates on the same commodities have increased from 300 to 500 per cent. From Baltimore to European ports, excepting German, rates have been increased on grain 900 per cent; on flour, 364 per cent; on cotton, 614 per cent. From Norfolk to Liverpool rates on grain have been increased from 157 to 200 per cent; on cotton, 186 per cent. From Norfolk to Rotterdam the rates on cotton have been increased 471 per cent; to Bremen the rates have increased on cotton 1,100 per cent, namely, from $1.25 per bale to $15 per bale. From Savannah to Liverpool the rates have been increased on cotton 250 per cent; to Bremen the rates have been increased on cotton 900 per cent. From Galveston to Liverpool the rates have been increased on grain 174 per cent; on cotton, 361 per cent; to Bremen the rates have been increased on cotton 1,061 to 1,150 per cent.

CONTROL OF RATE SITUATION BY STEAMSHIP INTERESTS.

Ocean freight rates are still rising, and are limited only by the greed of the steamship owners on the one hand and by what the traffic can stand on the other. The Government has no power to control or regulate ocean freight rates; it can not, under existing law, protect our foreign trade against these extortionate and hurtful charges. The steamship owners can increase rates without notice upon the instant, and our business men are helpless. The steamship companies are their own masters, and they do as they please with the transportation of our exports. As already shown, they are seriously checking our foreign trade, and in some cases, such as lumber and coal, are stopping it altogether.

It may be that we can not buy any ships. If so, great is the pity. The situation is exasperating, and demands a heroic remedy. The shipping combine, who are so deeply concerned lest our Government would involve us in serious complications with the belligerents if we would buy some of the interned ships belonging to the subjects of Germany, should contain themselves in patience. The President of the United States, under whose supervision this law will be administered, may be trusted to have a greater regard for the public welfare than they have shown and to observe in letter and spirit our duties as a neutral; at the same time he will demand that the belligerents shall recognize our rights as such.

One thing is certain, the present situation has demonstrated our absolute need of an American merchant marine, not only to extend and protect our commerce in the overseas trade but as an arm of the national defense. It is to be hoped that this lesson will not go unheeded and that selfish interests may give way to the general welfare. The plan proposed may not be the best that could be devised, but it is worthy of the consideration of all thoughtful and patriotic American citizens.

As yet no better plan has been proposed.

Our Flag.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. M. C. SMITH,

OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 24, 1915.

Mr. J. M. C. SMITH. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me by the House to extend my remarks in the RECORD on our flag, I herewith present the very excellent patriotic poem written by Mrs. Marion Watkins, of Sherwood, Mich., wife of a Civil War veteran of my district.

The poem is as follows:

What! change our flag, our country's flag,
The flag our forefathers planned,
That should mean so much to everyone
Whose home is in our land.
You can not take from or add to
One single thing to-day
That would make it mean more than it does,
Our flag of the U. S. A.
It stands for all that makes us great
And wisely was it planned,
A star to shine for every State
And the one flag for our land.
You may change all other things if you wish
But let this stay for aye,
Our grand Old Flag of the Stars and Stripes,
Our flag of the U. S. A.
For we all know that field of blue
Is only for each State
And none but traitors to our flag
Would that field desecrate.
No other emblem do we need
Or color there to show
The principles for which it stands,
For that all nations know.
It has stood for over one hundred years
And is our Nation's pride,
For it were shed a million tears
And a million for it died.

Then why ask Congress now to change
One thing upon our flag,
For it means more to the boys in blue
Than just a pictured rag.
Around their heartstrings twines this flag,
It cheered and led them on
From victory, on to victory
Our flag of Washington.
They see their comrades as of yore
In battle's fierce array,
They hear the shots, they see them fall
For our flag of the U. S. A.
Can they remain unmoved, unhurt,
And see them place a stain
On the emblem of their sacrifice
And feel it was all in vain?
They want one flag, and only one
To float o'er our land for aye,
And that to be the Stars and Stripes,
Our flag of the U. S. A.
Our flag has passed through many wars
And was born in freedom's cause
And for liberty and union stands
And our just and righteous laws.
'Tis our soldiers' flag, 'tis our citizens' flag,
'Tis the flag of every one
Who dwells beneath its sheltering folds
Our flag of Washington.
No North, no South, no East, no West,
For all are one to-day;
All claim protection 'neath this flag,
Our flag of the U. S. A.
For each a star is shining there
Upon its field of blue;
Oh, do not mar or change a star
To grieve the brave and true.
Oh, keep unchanged our Stars and Stripes
For your sons to hold for aye
As a heritage from Washington,
Our flag of the U. S. A.
Into their hands this glorious flag
By their grandsires was given,
To keep unstained its honor bright,
With their hands high raised to heaven.
Our country's heroes, great and good,
And all her noble sons
Have lived and prospered 'neath the folds
Of our flag of Washington.
This flag we love all others above
And forever may it stand
Among the galaxy of flags,
The proudest in any land.
Oh, men in Congress, you who wield
Much law and power here to-day,
You will not, must not, let them change
Our flag of the U. S. A.
If you change it once, you can again
Till there would not remain
One vestige of our dear Old Flag
That millions died to sustain.
E Pluribus Unum, our motto is,
And all that it implies,
Liberty and union, now and forever,
As long as the Old Flag flies.

Opium and Habit-Forming Drugs.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JULIUS KAHN,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday February 24, 1915,

On the bill (S. 6631) to regulate the practice of pharmacy and the sale of poison in the consular districts of the United States in China.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Speaker, I heartily favor the pending legislation. Students of the subject everywhere view with alarm the great increase of the use of habit-forming drugs in every section of the civilized world. Here in the United States many well-intentioned, well-meaning persons are maintaining a vigorous crusade against the manufacture, purchase, and sale of intoxicating liquors. To my mind the excessive use of such intoxicants will never bring in its train the wretchedness, the misery, and the crime that results from the use of opium and other habit-forming drugs. It were well if the ladies and gentlemen engaged in the prohibition propaganda in these United States would devote their earnest attention to this subject of the increased use of habit-forming drugs at once before the habit becomes so deeply implanted throughout the United States that the danger will have been done before remedial laws are enacted. The pending bill refers to the sale of these poison drugs in the consular districts of the United States in China. That great Empire, with its millions of inhabitants, has learned what it means to have a large percentage of its population besotted and degraded by the use of opium. The great Chinese statesman and philosopher, Li Hung Chang, left a vivid picture of the degrading influence of the use of opium among the Chinese people in his memoirs. On page 285 of said memoirs, edited by William Francis Mannix, and published by Houghton, Mifflin Co. in 1913, is found the following:

VICEREGAL YAMEN, TIENTSIN, 1893.

A statement has been translated to me from one of the London papers in which I am quoted as saying to the Hon. George N. Curzon that I do not, in common with most Chinese, hold Great Britain responsible for the importation of opium into China.

In the first place, I never in my life made such an outrageous assertion; in the second place, I feel sure that Mr. Curzon never said I did; and, in the third place, both Mr. Curzon and myself, as well as every well-read and intelligent Britisher or oriental, is aware of the unhappy and disgraceful fact that but for Great Britain there would not be a picul of opium sold in China to-day for illegitimate use; by this I mean for use outside the legitimate practice of medicine.

This may appear to be a strong assertion, and I have no doubt it will be as strongly denied and condemned; but it is a true one, nevertheless, and the entire history of trade and traffic in the Orient will substantiate my every word.

A great many fine Englishmen have been friends of mine, and I number to-day many of that race among my intimates—ministers and consuls, army and navy officers, engineers, and hundreds and hundreds of merchants. These men know that I have great admiration for them and their race, and, in all seasons and times, for their sacred and virtuous Queen. But for the Government, so far as it has made itself not only the agent but the guardian of the vicious opium trade, I have a very sincere dislike.

I know that because of this money-grasping, trade-compelling feature of England's dealings with my country millions of wretched people of China have been made more miserable, stalwart men and women have been made paupers, vagrants, and the lowest of criminals, and hundreds of thousands of the weaker ones of my race—mainly among the women—have been sent to suicide graves.

And all this because otherwise India might not prosper!

And all this because otherwise British trade might not flourish in Chinese ports!

All this because gold and territory are greater in the eyes of the British Government than the rights and bodies of a weak people.

Yes! Yes! Yes! We Chinese have been laughed and sneered at in the streets of London itself, and have been called "pig-tailed opium eaters," when for years and years it is the Government of these same Londoners which has been responsible for the millions of human wrecks throughout the length and breadth of the Middle Kingdom.

I was asked once by a British admiral at Amoy what my estimate of the number of opium users in China would be. I did not reply directly, but questioned him as to the population of England, and when he told me in the neighborhood of 27,000,000 I said: "Admiral, that is about the number of opium fiends in China."

He said he did not get my meaning.

Then I told him that, as his country was responsible for the vicious traffic, each man and woman and child in England might well feel that there was at least one wretched being in China as a representative.

In this relation I have often taken my pen and from records before me made estimates of the number of unfortunates in this great Empire of ours, and each time have my figures told me that about one-tenth of our people are victims of a vice that has no parallel anywhere on earth. I could wish that I might make the figure smaller, but as I have gone over my calculations time and time again, and as they include the most wretchedly diseased Provinces of Yunnan and Szechuan, I feel that my estimates are too low rather than too high.

It must not be imagined that I am so ignorant of history as to claim that England or any other of the western nations was responsible for the introduction of the cursed drug into China. No; it came from the island of Java 200 years before the "opium war," gaining its strongest hold along the coast and in Formosa. Kang H'sai sent an official to inquire into the evil in Formosa, and he died there. Others followed, became addicted to the curse, and died also. Later, travelers and traders crossing from India and the Mohammedan countries introduced it into the western Provinces, and still later this devil's extract entered the country as gifts to princes and others in high places.

I am fully aware of the growth of the vice in China, for even as a boy at school I saw its ravages, and I inquired whence it came, and why it was brought. Even a bosom friend and student—whose name I do not just now recall—became a victim of the habit, left his home, and was finally stoned to death by order of the magistrate because he had become entirely bereft of reason and decency.

Yes; in all my years—in my studies, in the army, during the wars and the famines, in all my political and business life—I have studied and combated this devouring evil, and the more I know and see and learn of it the greater does England's crime become in my eyes. England—proud and mighty and rich England—England with her great armies and navies and great men—is ashamed and covered with ignominy because of the crimes of her Indian poppy.

It has been stated times without number, and upon several occasions directly to my face, that, while I was seemingly opposed to the traffic, I myself, personally or through agents, had dealt in the drug, having grown poppy upon my own lands, and having leased lands both in Hupeh and Pechili for its cultivation. I have never denied the truth of these statements, and in this writing (a copy of which I intend to send to the Times correspondent at Peking and another to the Hon. Mr. Curzon) I shall acknowledge that the foregoing assertions are true.

But I will immediately say, in order that my honor and my conscience be satisfied, that to my knowledge not one farthing's worth of the opium in which I dealt ever went for smoking purposes. I would have my secretary prepare, if such were necessary, a list of the high medical firms and men with whom I have had business dealings in opium, and it could easily be shown that they are not only of the best medical repute in China, Japan, and Russia, but that they, almost without exception—I speak particularly of Chinese doctors and concerns where I have had dealings—are as bitterly opposed to the habit and traffic as I myself am, such men and firms as could not be approached by users of the drug or by users' agents in any way. Of course, so far as concerns what has become of the commodity sent to Japan and Russia, I can not say, only I feel certain from the price and the grade dealt in that very little, if any, has ever reached the so-called drug fiend. As to the lands I have leased for agricultural purposes, I can only say that never has there been a stipulation for or against the poppy; but where I have found the plant growing upon my lands I have always endeavored as a mere matter of business to have the crude product sold to myself.

And still another view of this question has been taken. The Chinese Government has, on more than a few occasions, been asked almost directly this question: "If you regard the importation of opium into your country in the light of such a dire evil, why is it that you do not make and enforce laws prohibiting the growth of the poppy within your territory?" And our Government has always replied: "Of what avail would it be when we are still 'compelled' to open our ports to the drug from India?"

Could any question, really a question from one Government to another, be more ridiculous, and could any answer be more to the point?

I know that for more than 20 years there have been repeated attempts made by outside interested parties to have the sternest edicts issued from the northern capital against the growth of the poppy throughout China. Mark me, not against the use of the drug, the deadly and benumbing drug, but against the cultivation of the plant from whose pod the poison is extracted.

I know, furthermore, that large sums of money were ready to fall into the hands of certain high officials if they could secure such an edict from the palace.

What would the object of this be?

The man who could not grasp the meaning of this knavish attempt would, indeed, lack the mentality of a blind toad.

No; the rich Indians, backed by the diplomatic force and physical strength of the British Empire, would not alone rob millions of degraded Chinese of their mental and bodily strength, but they would sap the last cash from the land of their victims. They would drain our beloved country in every way, and leave us helpless dupes of the poppy farmers of India.

I want to say that I am not of those of my countrymen who have been in opposition, either openly or secretly, to the advance of the Western Church in China. On the contrary, I have from very early days welcomed the missionary of the West as well as the merchant or the engineer, and I hope to continue in this attitude to the end of my days, for it is my earnest belief that the sooner China awakens her vast body to all that is good in the West, without sacrificing her own virtues and high qualities, without neglecting her own splendid philosophy and beautiful literature—the gifts of her sages and poets for centuries and centuries—the sooner will she take her place among the powers of this age, and the sooner will her people rise to a higher and better plane.

But it must be understood by all the western peoples that Christianity has suffered a much slower growth among the Chinese because of this one curse of opium. Indeed, what are our people, mandarin and coolie, rich man and pauper, scholar and unlettered man, to think, when they all know that the blackest and most deadly virus that has been injected into the nation, year after year, decade after decade, has been forced upon it by a Christian power? It is not the scholarly and high and powerful who become converts to the Church of the West. No. Neither do these classes, as a rule, go into the gutters and to the prisons on account of the opium curse; but they see the vice all about them; the groveling wrecks, the opiated bodies in the execution places, the wretched criminals, the deserted wives of the victims, and the unburied suicides upon the plains and along the paths. And they know that a great nation, a Christian nation above all things, has given this awful blight to the Middle Kingdom.

What are they to think?

Address of Hon. Joseph E. Davies, United States Commissioner of Corporations, Before the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Thursday Afternoon, February 4, 1915.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES C. CARLIN,

OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, February 26, 1915.

Mr. CARLIN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to print as a part of my remarks the address of the Hon. Joseph E. Davies, present United States Commissioner of Corporations, who has been nominated as a member of the Federal Trade Commission; and as his remarks have peculiar significance and are of great interest to the industrial world, I desire to incorporate them in the RECORD for the general information of the public.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia.

There was no objection.

The address is as follows:

THE FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION.

ADDRESS OF HON. JOSEPH E. DAVIES, UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER OF CORPORATIONS, BEFORE THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES, THURSDAY AFTERNOON, FEBRUARY 4, 1915, AT 2 O'CLOCK P. M.

The problem of the relation of business to industry is world-wide. The principle of the Sherman law is not confined to the United States alone.

PRIVATE MONOPOLY ABHORRENT TO SELF-GOVERNING PEOPLE THE WORLD OVER.

Wherever there is a conscious attempt at popular self-government the world over there will generally be found a legislative attempt to destroy the power of monopoly. The Republic of France, the Governments of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the South African Union, all make monopoly, or attempts to monopolize, crimes against the State.

MONOPOLY AND SELF-GOVERNMENT INCOMPATIBLE.

This is so because private monopoly is the denial of freedom, which self-governing peoples demand. It is the negation of democracy. Monopoly is monarchy. Political equality is a farce if industrial freedom in opportunity is denied. Unless the latter obtains, the former will be throttled and translated into political absolutism. The forms of the criminal and civil statutes, the machinery for the enforcement of the law, may differ with the character of the peoples of the various countries; but the conscious legislative attempt to destroy monopoly, as a menace to freedom, is present wherever government is immediately responsive and subject to the control of its subjects.

That is the significant fact in a survey of world-wide evolution of industry and its relation to government.

METHODS OF REGULATION IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

The machinery of government, by which the destruction of monopoly and the regulation of competition is sought, varies. In Austria, France, and England it has been left to the courts. In Canada the judicial processes have been supplemented by a procedure which, upon complaint of persons injured, permits the question of attempted monopolization to be investigated by a temporary commission appointed by the court. In New Zealand it has been left directly to the courts, with the power vested in the governor, in council, to reduce the customs duties forthwith, to restore competition, if necessary to destroy local monopoly. It remained for Australia in 1912 to create an interstate trade commission, with a character of permanency and of expert qualification, and with broad investigating and quasi judicial power, to investigate conditions, to enforce the laws regarding commerce, and to aid Australian industry.

REGULATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

For 25 years in the United States the governmental machinery employed has been investigation by general legislative commission or administrative officer and the instituting of court proceedings by the Department of Justice. Under conditions of gigantic change in the economic and financial structure of society in this country and the world, the manner in which the courts have performed this arduous function, involving technical and economic knowledge of vast extent, will constitute a monument to the resourcefulness and commanding ability of the American judiciary.

In recent years, however, there has been evolved a new agency for executive and quasi judicial function in government designed to give greater resiliency and freedom of action and to afford relief that is more speedy, informal, and direct, which within constitutional limitation seeks to avoid the law's delays, and to fit the remedy to the wrong. It was in consonance with this development that the conception of the Federal Trade Commission was advanced. The need of the business community for such a governmental agency in this matter was voiced by the overwhelming vote of the associations of commerce, that constitute this national body, in favor of the creation by law of a Federal Trade Commission. The idea has been advocated directly or indirectly by men of all political parties, and has been urged by Attorneys General, economists, and publicists. It remained, however, for the President of the United States to give such impetus to the idea as to translate it into an enactment of law. The language employed by the President in his message to Congress declares the need so clearly and forcefully, and withal furnishes such insight into the possibilities of this instrument, that I shall repeat it here:

"And the business men of the country desire something more than that the menace of legal process in these matters be made explicit and intelligible. They desire the advice, the definite guidance, and information which can be supplied by an administrative body, an Interstate Trade Commission.

"The opinion of the country would immediately approve of such a commission. It would not wish to see it empowered to make terms with monopoly or in any sort to assume control of business, as if the Government made itself responsible. It demands such a commission only as an indispensable instrument of information and publicity, as a clearing house for the facts by which both the public and the managers of great business undertakings should be guided, and as an instrumentality for doing justice to business where the processes of the courts or the natural forces of correction outside the courts are inadequate to adjust the remedy to the wrong in a way that will meet all equities and circumstances of the case."

The Federal Trade Commission bill was enacted into law by practically a unanimous vote of both Houses of Congress, and was signed by the President September 26, 1914. The general features of this law are familiar to you by reason of the very strong and able report upon this matter prepared by your committee and referred to your membership with the referendum vote conducted by your association.

By this law there is to be constituted a nonpartisan body of men, of business, economic, and legal experience and training. Not more than three shall be members of any single political party. The term of seven years and the successive expirations of the respective terms insures continuity of purpose and that there shall be finally applied to this problem the judgment and experience of a body of business men of trained and specialized knowledge, who are designed not only to bring an understanding of the theoretical and economic and legal questions involved, but as well a sympathetic appreciation of the practical difficulties and troubles of industry, together with a comprehensive perspective of the industries of this country and the interests and welfare of the general public who are affected most by these conditions. It is the logical, scientific, and efficient way of meeting the situation.

POWERS OF THE TRADE COMMISSION.

Generally speaking, the powers with which the Trade Commission is clothed are of two kinds, investigative powers and quasi judicial functions. There is nothing new, novel, or unprecedented, or of an inquisitorial character in the investigatory powers conferred. The powers previously exercised by the Treasury Department, by the Secretary of Commerce, by the Interstate Commerce Commission, and by the Bureau of Corporations in obtaining facts with reference to banks, navigation laws, railroads, and corporations furnish abundant precedent for this delegation of power. Corporations are the creations of the State, and it is manifestly right that the Government, which created these instruments, should be permitted to obtain such facts with reference to their conduct as to be assured that the interests of the people who constitute the State are not harmed by their actions.

THE TRADE COMMISSION A CLEARING HOUSE FOR FACTS AND INFORMATION.

The Trade Commission is empowered to gather information with reference to the organization, business, conduct, and practices of corporations; to secure this information by reports such as it shall prescribe; to classify corporations and to make public, with due regard to the protection of trade secrets and lists of customers, so much thereof as is necessary in the public interest. By this means a great body of useful and correlated information may be gathered to furnish

perspective to government and to business. There are 314 different classes of industry, according to the classification made by the Director of the Census. Through reports of this kind there will be available information as to the nature and character of each of these industries, the degree of centralization in each, the dominant financial control, the degree of integration, their interlocking relationships, their respective difficulties and problems, their position, respectively, with reference to foreign trade, and other facts, all of which may be gathered together for affording to a disinterested Government agency, seeking only the public good and interested only in the public welfare, knowledge of and a general view of the whole make-up of the industry of the Nation, with reference not only to the financial and legal, but as well to the economically helpful aspects of the situation. Here, then, is created that which, in the language of the President of the United States, is "an instrument of information and publicity as a clearing house for the facts by which the public and the managers of great business undertakings should be guided." The justification of the commission will be found in large measure by the extent to which the assembling, digesting, and interpreting of these data shall develop into constructive aid to business enterprises of the country, and to the extent to which it will render service in giving a broad, sympathetic, and accurate basis for the action of this governmental agency in the discharge of its functions in the service of the general public.

INVESTIGATION UPON CONGRESSIONAL OR EXECUTIVE DIRECTION VIOLATION OF TRUST LAWS.

Upon the direction of the President or of either House of Congress the commission is authorized to investigate and report concerning any alleged violations of the antitrust acts by corporations, and whenever a final decree has been entered against any corporations in a suit to restrain violations of the antitrust acts the commission is authorized to make an investigation of the manner in which the decree is carried out, and, in case the investigation is made upon the application of the Attorney General, the commission will transmit a report of its findings and recommendations to the Department of Justice and publish such report in its own discretion.

DISINTERESTED EXPERT BUSINESS OPINION AVAILABLE TO THE COURTS.

The law further provides that if in any suit in equity brought by the Government under the antitrust acts the court is of the opinion that relief should be granted it may refer the matter to the commission as a master in chancery to make recommendations for an appropriate form of dissolution decree. Thus there is placed at the disposal of the courts the expert business knowledge and experience of a disinterested Government agency which is familiar not only with the conditions of the industry in the particular case at bar but which will have as well, in the course of time certainly, not only a broad understanding but also special information regarding the economic business and industrial conditions, all of which will be available in the aid of the courts, not only to the advantage of the litigants, but as well for the protection of the general public. This is the translation into law of the suggestion contained in the message of the President of "an administrative commission capable of directing and shaping corrective processes * * * in aid of the courts."

INVESTIGATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS TO BRING BUSINESS INTO HARMONY WITH THE LAW.

The Trade Commission act provides further that upon the application of the Attorney General an investigation of the business of any corporation alleged to be violating the antitrust acts may be made, and that the commission shall make recommendations for readjustment which shall bring it into accordance with the law. In the administration of the Department of Justice there has grown up in connection with trust cases a practice which may be described as the entry of "consent decrees." It is a situation wherein the Department of Justice in the enforcement of the antitrust laws consents to a settlement of the suit by prescribing what it shall require in the judgment or decree to be entered by the court, and wherein the defendants thereupon go into court and enter their formal consent to the entry of such judgment or decree as has been agreed upon. This method of accommodation of business to the requirements of the law contains within it possibilities for great good and equally great possibilities for disastrous harm. It has been used with the greatest of care and discernment by the Department of Justice in the past, and it is but natural that it would be used generally with a great deal of reluctance. Independent of the commanding abilities or the judgment of the Attorney General, the responsibilities involved are such as would necessarily cause a single executive officer to pause in the exercise of such power. By the foregoing provision of the Trade Commission act there is provided an additional agency available to the Department of Justice for bringing into harmony with the law the business practices of corporations. The Trade Commission furnishes a nonpartisan body of men familiar with the whole field of industry to which matters of this kind may be referred for investigation, examination, and recommendation. By reason of its nonpartisan character, and by reason of its technical knowledge, it may be assumed that the recommendation of such a body would fortify the judgment of the Attorney General in the estimation of the public, would relieve a single individual from the imposition of such a responsibility as this process necessarily involves, and might be productive of great good in the accommodation of business to law in the changing forms of our economic and legal development. This situation contains the suggestion of promise of a body of administrative law being built up which would be of great aid to business and of service to the country. It is a distinct contribution to the suggestion contained that the forces of correction should be adequate "to adjust the remedy to the wrong in a way which will meet all the equities and circumstances of the case."

INVESTIGATION OF FOREIGN COMBINATIONS INIMICAL TO OUR INTERESTS IN FOREIGN TRADE.

Much has recently been said in connection with the applicability of the Sherman law to foreign trade. It has been maintained, with much vigor, that the principles of the Sherman law should not be applied to business in this country that is engaged in foreign trade and in the extension of our foreign markets. In support of that contention it is urged that combination through a common selling agency is necessary in the foreign market in order to meet the competition of European cartels and other combinations of sellers in the markets of the world; that the small producer and manufacturer in this country can not extend his markets into a foreign field except through a common selling agency, because of the prohibitive cost involved; that if the inhibitions imposed by the Sherman law be placed upon combinations engaged in foreign trade in the United States it would operate to the serious prejudice of small producers and to the distinct advantage and benefit of trusts, which can afford and do establish substations in distant parts of the world; that the reasons for the Sherman law do not obtain in foreign countries and in foreign trade, because in an international market competition is secured for the benefit and advantage of the buyer through international contest for the market. On the other hand, it is urged with powerful force that to permit combinations for foreign trade in this country would furnish a very convenient and ready vehicle for the easy violation of the Sherman law at home, contrary to our public policy and to the serious disadvantage of our citizens. This phase of the controversy is a comparatively new one, and is fraught with great importance. The information on this subject is sparse and largely based on hearsay. What is necessary in the situation are the facts, and the Federal Trade Commission is intrusted with the duty of investigating in foreign countries combinations and other trade conditions which may affect the foreign trade of the United States. Undoubtedly, in conjunction with the Department of Commerce and with the Department of State, a large amount of information can be obtained which will give authoritative information as to the facts which will enable the lawmaking power of the Government to address itself to the problem with greater security and confidence.

QUASI JUDICIAL FUNCTIONS OF THE COMMISSION.

Both in the Trade Commission act and in the so-called Clayton Act certain important provisions of declarative law are enunciated, and the authority to enforce compliance with these declarations is vested in the Federal Trade Commission.

Unfair methods of competition: In section 5 of the Federal Trade Commission act itself the following very important provision of declarative law is stated:

"That unfair methods of competition in commerce are hereby declared unlawful."

The act provides that the commission is empowered and directed to prevent persons, partnerships, and corporations, except banks and certain common carriers, from using such unfair methods of competition, and establishes the procedure by which this may be done.

In addition to the substantive provisions contained in the Federal Trade Commission act with reference to unfair methods of competition, the Clayton Act contains certain prohibitions the enforcement of which is confided to the Federal Trade Commission as to corporations under its jurisdiction. The provisions of the law are very minute, and only the broad features are specified herein.

Price discrimination: Section 2 prohibits, in certain cases, price discrimination where the effect may be to substantially lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly in any line of commerce.

Tying contracts: Section 3 prohibits, in certain cases, so-called tying contracts—that is, contracts whereby, as a condition of sale or lease of commodities, the seller or lessor exacts from the purchaser or lessee an agreement that he shall not use or deal in other commodities except those furnished by the seller or lessor—where the effect may be to substantially lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly in any line of commerce.

Holding companies: Section 7 prohibits, in certain cases, so-called holding companies, or the ownership by one company of the stock of another, where the effect may be to substantially lessen competition between the companies concerned, or to restrain interstate commerce or tend to create a monopoly.

Interlocking directorates: Section 8 provides that two years after the enactment of the law so-called interlocking directorates shall be prohibited in certain cases, and in particular with respect to corporations having more than $1,000,000 capital stock and surplus, other than certain banks and common carriers, wherever they are or shall have been theretofore, by virtue of their business and location of operations, competitors, so that the elimination of competition by agreement between them would constitute a violation of any of the provisions of any of the antitrust laws.

Enforcement of the prohibitions of the Clayton Act: The authority to enforce the foregoing provisions of the Clayton Act is vested in the Federal Trade Commission as to all corporations which come within its jurisdiction, by section 11 of the said act.

Nothing could more clearly indicate the degree of discriminating care which the committees of Congress gave to this legislation than the phraseology of the Trade Commission act and the Clayton Act with reference to these prohibitions.

PROTECTION TO MODERATE-SIZED BUSINESS FROM UNFAIR COMPETITION.

Unfair methods of competition have been the chief weapons of monopoly. It is generally conceded that one of the greatest menaces to relatively smaller industrial units is to be found not in the superior efficiencies of the larger rival but in their being able to employ unfair methods to destroy a competitor by local price cutting under cost or similar unfair practices. Some of the most powerful monopolies of the world are alleged to have obtained their dominance by their ability to throttle competitors equally efficient but less able to bear this strain involved in withstanding attacks of this kind. An industrial unit of reasonable size may, by reason of the personal equation, favorable location, or other and similar advantages, be equally or more efficient than its monopolistic rival, but may be quite helpless if the monopoly be permitted to crush it by an unfair use of its power. This is of especial significance to the business of the country, because probably not 1 per cent of the three hundred and odd thousand corporations in the United States have attained to a size which would approximate a monopolistic character. The great body of the business community is interested in the preservation of the channels of trade and commerce free and open. The "rules of the road," which preserves the right of the Ford as well as of the high-powered motor car, must be enforced, and a Government agency is designed for just this function in the channels of trade in interstate commerce in the creation of the Federal Trade Commission. Not since the Sherman law itself has been enacted has there been so important and beneficial a piece of legislation in the interest of the great body of business men of this country as is to be found in the prohibition of unfair methods of competition. It may be true, as some allege, that some of these practices are already prohibited by the first three sections of the Sherman law, but there is also strength in the position that the agency for preventing these practices is usually invoked only after a very large number of practices can be proven to exist, under a blanket petition in equity or under an indictment that alleges not an isolated act but a series of acts constituting a conspiracy in restraint of trade. In such a situation there is too much danger that by the time the remedy is applied the patient should be in a very weakened and dangerous condition. Here is an agency that has been designed, as has been said, to destroy the very seeds of monopoly in their germination, rather than to permit them to develop into a vigorous and rank growth which will throttle the healthful upshoots in the industrial field.

PROCEDURE IN THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAW.

Briefly stated, the procedure in the enforcement of these substantive provisions of law declared in both the Federal Trade Commission act and the Clayton Act, as recited above, is the following:

Whenever the commission believes that any person, etc., has been using unfair methods of competition or violating the provisions of the Clayton Act, and that its intervention in the matter would be to the interests of the public, it shall serve a notice on the party complained of, who shall have the right to appear before it and show cause why an order should not be made to require that such practices cease. Other parties, for good cause shown, are allowed to intervene in the proceeding. On hearing had, if the commission shall be of opinion that the practices are prohibited by the act, it shall serve an order on the person complained of to cease and desist. If such person fails to obey the order of the commission, the latter may apply to the Circuit Court of Appeals to enforce the same and file a transcript of the record in the case. The court shall then take jurisdiction of the proceedings and have power to affirm, modify, or set aside the order of the commission, but the findings of the commission as to facts, if supported by evidence, shall be conclusive, and no additional evidence is permitted to be adduced without again referring the case to the commission for a rehearing. The only review of the judgment and decree of the court is by writ of certiorari to the Supreme Court, as provided by law. Any party required to cease from using such method of competition or from violating the aforesaid provisions of the Clayton Act may obtain a court review in a similar manner.

The judicial review of the orders of the commission thus provided for is what is sometimes termed a "narrow" review; that is to say, the commission's conclusions of fact are conclusive, if supported by evidence, but the court may modify or reverse the order on the basis of violation of constitutional provisions, absence of jurisdiction, or violation of the rules of procedure provided in the act.

THE OPEN ROAD AND DEMOCRACY.

Such in a general way is the statement of the purposes, the functions, and the possibilities of the Federal Trade Commission. Its present enactment into law is due, more than to any other single cause, to the sympathetic understanding, the genius for constructive statesmanship, and the vision of the President of the United States.

It holds promise of great aid to American business and of greater security for the liberties of our people. It is an attempt in an industrial era of great complication to translate the spirit of Faneuil Hall into terms of present-day freedom. Conditions of the present, and as well the freedom of opportunities in the long future for our children and their children, demand that the highways of trade shall be kept open and fair; that the "rules of the road" shall be preserved and enforced with reason and temperance, and with firmness and exact justice. It has been said that there are but three generations between shirt sleeves and shirt sleeves. Regardless of the magnitude of personal achievement, there can not be found a man in this country, in my belief, who does not desire that conditions shall exist and shall continue to exist in this country such as will enable his children and his grandchildren, if reduced in means, to have an opportunity, with a clear road and no favor, to achieve and build their fortunes and their character to the same degree and in the same manner as opportunities were afforded which made their forebears strong, powerful, and big.

But the great and momentous task which confronts the people of this country and the business men of this country in connection with this problem is bigger than such considerations. The problem reaches down to the fundamental question of the kind and character of the Government we shall evolve in this great experiment of government, which challenges, indeed, the existence of democracy itself. No republic ever has or ever will live except as it solves correctly its relation and the relation of all of its people to the production of wealth. Here lies a challenge to the big-mindedness of the captain of industry, to the philosophy of our economists, to the thought of our scholars, and to the patriotism of our citizenship.

The purpose and object of this legislation has been and is to convert the anarchy of unlicensed competition into a condition under law of competitive liberty which will preserve those seeds of individual initiative and enterprise which have contributed to the art, to the science, to the literature, and to the welfare of our civilization, so that the seeds may germinate and flower into still greater blessings for mankind.

The Federal Trade Commission is a part of this legislation and is one of the agencies designed by a Republic to aid in the solution of this problem that the industrial liberties and opportunities of the people may be preserved under a republican form of government. In the task which confronts it there can be no doubt but that the Federal Trade Commission will receive the effective, honest, and able cooperation of the business men of the United States, even as it received the sustenance and indorsement of this great body of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States in the period of its conception and during the period in which it was enacted into law.

The intelligence and patriotism which exists in business as in other fields of American activity will not permit that its functions should be interpreted into terms of menace, but will recognize that its functions are designed for and aimed at helpfulness, service, and greater security for the rights of men.

In the law of its creation there will doubtless be found imperfections—it would not be a human institution otherwise—but the Federal Trade Commission will grow and develop consonant with the service which it performs and commensurate with the usefulness with which it justifies its existence.

Address of Henry L. Stimson.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM M. CALDER,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, February 26, 1915.

Mr. CALDER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to take advantage of the courtesy of the House in permitting me to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting an address by the Hon. Henry L. Stimson, formerly Secretary of War, before the Republican Club of the city of New York on February 15 on the "Military needs of our country"; also a copy of resolutions offered by me and adopted unanimously by the club. Mr. Stimson's address was, in fact, the report of the committee on national affairs of the Republican Club, of which committee I have the honor to be chairman:

ADDRESS OF HON. HENRY L. STIMSON BEFORE REPUBLICAN CLUB, FEBRUARY 15, 1915, ON "MILITARY NEEDS OF OUR COUNTRY."

In any discussion of the military needs of this country the first thing to be avoided is the formulation of any new or ill-matured suggestions by civilians who have no special knowledge on the subject. Constant change and lack of continuity have been characteristic faults from which our military policy has suffered since the beginning of our national history.

As a matter of fact there is already in existence a carefully matured plan for our national defense, which has been evolved and promulgated by the best military minds of the country. Some 14 years ago, when he was Secretary of War, ELIHU ROOT laid the foundation for the creation of such a policy in the establishment of the General Staff of the Army and the Army War College. After some 10 years of study and preparation, during which the ideas and criticisms of every officer of the Army were sought, there was published during the summer of 1912 a "Report on the Organization of the Land Forces of the United States."

This report is supposed to cover the relations between our land and naval forces, between the forces at home and in foreign service, the relation between the regulars and the citizen soldiery, the peace and war administration of all classes of units, the problems of the mobile army and of the coast defense, methods of enlistment, service with the colors and in the reserve; in fact, all of the matters which should enter into this broad subject and of which many are now being discussed for the first time by the public at large. This report represents the best plan that the best-trained military minds of this country have been able to give to us after careful study and preparation. The manifest duty of the hour is not to supersede or replace it with some undigested proposition put out by less competent men in the excitement of the hour, but rather to ascertain the various respects in which our actual condition at present falls short of the plan and policy thus promulgated and to concentrate all our efforts toward bringing up these deficiencies.

In rough figures, we are spending now about $100,000,000 per annum on our Army and about $140,000,000 on our Navy. Practically, all authorities agree that this amount of money, if wisely spent, would be amply sufficient for the maintenance of a most adequate system of military and naval defense. The real question before the country is not to spend more money upon our forces, but to spend more wisely and economically that which we do spend. For example, under a wise military policy the Republic of Switzerland, by a yearly expenditure of six and one-half millions, has been able to prepare and train an army of nearly 300,000 men, which it was able to call out this summer for the successful protection of her borders against the calamity which befell Belgium. We, under a less wise system, have been spending about $100,000,000 a year on an army whose total strength is only about 90,000, and of which army only 30,000 are available to-day within the United States for the general purposes of a mobile army. There are many facts which differentiate our condition from that of Switzerland; there are many reasons why we can not maintain an army as cheaply as she can, but there is no possible manner of doubt that under proper methods we can come much nearer to her example than we do. The practical question which lies before the American public to-day is simply this: Why should we not spend this large sum of $240,000,000 per year so as to produce the most efficient result possible rather than a result which is admittedly inefficient?

The Army and Navy are peculiar sufferers from our "pork-barrel" system, which is the result of our lack of any national executive budget. So long as the men who are responsible for the efficiency of these two services as a whole—the Secretaries of War and of the Navy—have no hand in the preparation of a budget and no voice to defend such a budget on the floor of the Houses of Congress, while the men who wish to spend the Army and Navy appropriations upon unnecessary Army posts or unfit navy yards have such a voice as well as a vote, a great degree of waste and extravagance is sure to result. Our military system can never be made highly or permanently efficient until a budget system is adopted in this country similar to that which exists in substantially all other civilized countries. This general governmental need is the first need of our Army and Navy.

Roughly stated, our national defensive needs, as discussed in the above-enumerated report of the General Staff, and as agreed to by all competent military and naval authorities, are comprised under the following heads:

First. An adequate and efficient Navy as the primary line of defense.

Second. An adequate system of coast defense to prevent the naval bombardment of our principal seaports and cities.

Third. A small but highly efficient Regular Army to serve in time of peace as a protection against civil disorder; in time of war as a temporary protection against invasion; and in times of both peace and war to be a pattern and nucleus for the organization of the larger citizens' army upon which, in any serious conflict, our protection must ultimately depend.

Fourth. A citizens' army composed of men who do not make arms their vocation, but who have been willing to spend a short portion of their lives in undergoing the training which modern methods of war make absolutely necessary as a condition of usefulness on the battle field.

A very brief discussion of the deficiencies of each one of these four classes and the need of immediate steps to remedy it is all that can be brought within the scope of this report.

THE NAVY.

In our need of an adequate and efficient Navy the United States comes second only to Great Britain. We have 21,000 miles of coast line and a rapidly increasing commerce to defend. The general purpose of a navy is purely defensive, although tactically it must always be able to act on the offensive for the purpose of making effective defense of the country. Standing by itself, a navy is not designed for military aggression, such as the invasion of another country. Its function, on the contrary, is to defend our own country and our commerce against such aggression. Yet, in order to do this, it must be able to seek the enemy's fleet and attack it wherever the conditions for American success are most certain. To scatter the fleet or to tie it down to operations near our own coast is to destroy its real defensive ability. In the Napoleonic wars England was saved from invasion by victories

of her fleet which took place hundreds of miles away from her coasts, and a policy which would prevent our own fleet from adopting such a course of operation would be hazardous to our safety.

These considerations, in addition to the fact that we have distant foreign possessions, require that we should have a seagoing navy of adequate size and efficiency. The many vital questions which are still unsettled in naval tactics require that we should have a navy which is up-to-date in all of the various branches of the service.

As a matter of fact, naval authorities to-day agree that not only has our Navy been falling behind in its general relative strength to that of other nations, but it is strikingly deficient in certain vital particulars. It is extremely short in personnel; it is deficient in the number of our capital ships; it has no battle cruisers and practically no scout cruisers; it is extremely lacking in effective submarines and destroyers.

In view of the fact that the Navy is practically our only existing defense to-day, its needs should meet with the promptest and most earnest attention.

COAST DEFENSE.

Our system of coast defense is in the best relative condition of any of our land defenses. But its function is very limited. Its purpose is merely to protect our seacoast cities from a naval raid and damage such as recently befell Scarborough and Hartlepool. It offers no defense against an enemy who has control of the sea and can land an army at any unprotected point of our huge coast line.

Even in our coast defense there are great deficiencies. Our military policy contemplates that its personnel should be supplied half from the Regular Army and half from the militia. Substantially 50 per cent of each of those two quotas is lacking, and in the case of a sudden emergency, against which it is the purpose of the coast defense to be a protection, many of our forts would be hopelessly undermanned. The amount of ammunition is deficient. The plans of our military advisers contemplate only sufficient ammunition for an hour's firing. The actual supply at present is very considerably behind even that most modest standard, and in many cases our most important seacoast guns would be sufficient for only 30 or 40 minutes' firing.

THE MOBILE REGULAR ARMY.

The report of the General Staff above referred to estimated the size of the mobile Regular Army which it deemed necessary for the defense of the continental United States at about 110,000 men, to be composed in part of men serving with the colors in times of peace and in part of reservists to be called to the colors in time of war.

The Secretary of War reported last November that, excluding the troops in our foreign possessions and in our coast defenses and on various noncombatant and detached duty, our mobile Regular Army consisted of 29,405 men and 1,495 officers, an aggregate of less than 31,000. This number must be still further depleted in order to complete the garrisons of Hawaii and Panama. When those are finished our mobile army within the United States will consist of less than 25,000, a force but little more than twice the size of the police force of New York City. Under the present imperfect reserve law it has a reserve of just 16 men. The mere statement of these figures is sufficient to indicate the gravity of the situation. The Secretary of War asks:

First. For the immediate increase of 25,000 men in the mobile army, to be obtained by raising the present organizations within the United States to their full strength.

Secondly. He asks for the institution of a practical reserve system by which an additional number of reservists for the Regular Army will be eventually obtainable. He also asks for an increase in the number of officers to take the place, in time of peace, of such officers as are serving with the militia or on detached duty with educational institutions and in time of war to assist in the organization of the citizens' army.

The necessity of these very moderate requests is self-evident; in fact they do not go far enough to meet the demand of the situation. Yet the House of Representatives, under the control of the same party as the Secretary of War who has made the request, has completely ignored each and every one of them and the pending appropriation bill contains no provision for even these slight increases.

THE CITIZENS' ARMY.

It has been the historic policy of this country to depend upon a volunteer army of citizens, called out at the outbreak of war, to defend it in case of any serious conflict. The development of the art of war during the last half century has been such as to make radical changes in this policy necessary if it is to be successful. Hitherto we have relied upon training and equipping our volunteers after the outbreak of war. In our previous wars we have escaped disaster under this method largely on account of conditions which will in all probability never occur again. In the Civil War we were fighting against an enemy who was as unprepared as ourselves. Each side trained the other as the conflict proceeded. In the War of 1812 we were fighting a nation which was almost wholly absorbed in a great European war and which spent very little attention upon us. Yet in that war we called out, from first to last, 527,000 men to defend us against an enemy which never had a force of 16,000 men in the field at any one time, and whose total forces throughout the war aggregated only about 54,000 altogether. We were defeated in most of our battles and we lost our Capitol at Washington after a force of 5,400 untrained Americans had run away from less than 1,500 British on suffering a loss of only 8 killed.

We can safely assume that any serious antagonist whom we shall have in the future will not be unprepared. Modern war is fought with weapons which require time to construct and training to use to an extent hitherto unknown. Our citizens to-day are wholly unaccustomed to the use of the military rifle, let alone the modern field piece. The training, equipment, and discipline of the modern army is much more complicated than that of 50 years ago and requires very much greater time and expert knowledge. The conditions surrounding the raising and equipment of a force of citizen soldiery have therefore completely changed since the Civil War. To attempt to organize such a force of volunteers in the way in which we did it then would be to invite disaster against practically any army of modern Europe.

In order, therefore, to be able to depend upon citizen soldiery it is clear that much more time must be spent in preliminary training and in providing for their equipment in time of peace. To-day there is no other force of citizen soldiery within the United States than our National Guard, comprising the Organized Militia of the country. On paper this force consists of 127,000 men, but certainly not more than half of it is even moderately well trained. It labors under the disadvantage of being a State force whose officers are commissioned by the State authorities and whose main support and training come from the States. Under legislation which has been proposed in Congress, but not yet enacted, this force could, at considerable further expense, be somewhat improved in efficiency, but not substantially so or enough to make it a very much more reliable dependence than it is at present.

Under these circumstances it is inevitable that new and broader foundations must be laid for the creation of a body of citizen soldiery in time of war; provision must be made for the training of a force of reserve officers to constitute the junior officers of such a force. Steps have already been taken by the War Department in the institution of summer camps, where young school and college graduates can, in association with the Regular Army, get a brief intensive training. We believe that this should be supplemented by legislation permitting the graduates of such camps to obtain temporary commissions as junior officers in the Regular Army on condition of becoming thereafter reserve officers, subject to call in time of war.

Provision should also be made for general training in rifle shooting among our young men both in schools and in colleges. To this end we call attention to the steps which have already been taken in Switzerland and Australia—two of the most advanced and liberal Governments of the world—where, from early boyhood, their young men are trained to use the rifle as a necessary part of their education. In these two countries, representing in their respective ways the most advanced types of modern democracy and going hand in hand with their freedom of thought and liberalism, we find the doctrine that every man owes to his country not only to die for her, if necessary, but also to spend a little of his life in learning how to die for her effectively. We believe that the institution of a somewhat similar system in this country is not only highly important with a view to its defense in the time of war, but we believe that the necessary self-control and discipline which is inherent to such training would be highly conducive to the moral, mental, and physical betterment of our youth in time of peace.

WAR MATERIAL.

Finally, we find that there is a great shortage in the material in this country necessary to equip a citizens' army for war, particularly in the vital element of field artillery and field artillery ammunition. Such equipment can not be extemporized, nor can it always be purchased after war breaks out. It takes at least five months for the manufacture of a modern battery of field guns within the United States. At present we have in stock but little more than half the necessary number of field guns to equip a citizens' army of the minimum size believed by our military advisers to be necessary; and we have ammunition sufficient to serve those guns, at the rate ammunition is now used, rather less than one day and a half of fighting. We are very insufficient in aeroplanes, being outranked by at least 13 other nations. Immediate steps should be taken to bring up these shortages.

Taken as a whole, we find that the condition of military unpreparedness of the United States is most serious and lamentable. We believe it is the duty of our citizens, without respect to party, to take the present occasion, when the interest of the country has been aroused by the European war, for insisting that Congress give to the subject its most earnest attention, to the end that the foregoing deficiencies may be speedily remedied.

Mr. CALDER offered the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas it now seems wise to recur to and heed that specific provision of the Constitution of the United States which places upon the Congress the obligation of providing for the national defense: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That we reaffirm the resolution passed by this club on January 17, 1910, as follows:

"'That the Republican Club of New York reaffirms its support of the broad American policy of an adequate national defense.'

"*Resolved*, That this being a highly patriotic and nonpartisan question affecting the preservation and perpetuation of our national life and institutions, we earnestly solicit the cooperation of all political parties and organizations believing with us that the insurance of our nationality is of vital importance to every American along with a safe peace policy.

"*Resolved*, That we approve and adopt the foregoing report and resolutions and that we urge upon the Congress the immediate examination and consideration of the military needs of the United States, to be followed by such legislation as the facts may warrant."

General Prosperity.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. W. LAFFERTY,

OF OREGON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 27, 1915.

Mr. LAFFERTY. Mr. Speaker, when the people pick up any average citizen and place him in Congress for four years he ought to learn something; and if he does learn anything, he should give the benefit of it to the people who elected him.

I have now served in this House four years. During that time Congress has been in session almost continuously. Six sessions have been held, whereas only four sessions are usually held in as many years. So that, as a matter of fact, my incumbency has equaled six years of service under ordinary circumstances.

General prosperity is undoubtedly the one big and overshadowing issue which will throughout the ages most interest the voters at the polls. That party under whose administration the country enjoys the greatest amount of prosperity will always have the strongest claim upon the electorate at the ballot box. As a people and as individuals we are reached by conditions more than by argument or theory.

Yet argument and theory undoubtedly have an important and legitimate function to perform, and, in spite of the fact that conditions have of late actually grown worse instead of better, I wish to give a few reasons why the people as a whole should not give up the fight they have undertaken to bring about in the United States—greater equality of permanent opportunity.

In the first place, with the light that I have as the result of my four years' experience here, it appears to me as clear as the sun on a bright summer day that the only "prosperity" that is now offered to us as a consideration for returning to standpatism would be but temporary, and would turn to ashes upon our lips. In the past 50 years Big Business—that is to say, 200,000 men—two-tenths of 1 per cent of our population—has acquired 70 per cent of our total wealth, leaving but 30 cents on the dollar for the remaining 99,800,000 people. Big Business now says to us, "Let us go back to our old ways; permit us to issue all the watered stocks and bonds for you to pay interest and dividends on that we choose, and allow us to acquire the remaining 30 per cent of the wealth of the United States, thus reducing the American people to absolute and permanent slavery, and we will give you a 'full dinner pail' in the meantime—'we will employ labor.'"

Big Business is now chuckling to itself under the belief that with the "bread-and-butter argument," otherwise called by it the "belly argument," it has coerced the American people into complete submission to its will. It is confident of the next Congress and the next President. It is now casting about for a "safe" candidate to put up against Wilson, and it expects confidently to enjoy four years more of plunder without let or hindrance from the authorized Government of the United States.

The efforts put forth by President Wilson and his Democratic Congress to give equality of opportunity to the citizens of this country have been feeble enough; but even so, the present administration has done more in two years for the permanent good of the people as a whole than has ever been accomplished by any previous administration since the inauguration of Washington. If Mr. Wilson and his party in Congress stand firm for the people under the present onslaught, all good citizens, regardless of party, should support them in so doing. But if their lines waver, or if they unconditionally surrender, as they show signs of doing at the present time, then they should be superseded by a President and a Congress that has both convictions and the courage to stand by them under fire.

No battle was ever won without a fight. The deputy sheriff who would go out and attempt to take a train robber into custody through fine phrases would be marked as a ninny. Yet it would be just as reasonable to expect the men who have robbed the people of the United States through watered stocks and dishonest manipulation of credit to gracefully surrender to fine phrases as it would be to expect the train robber to do so. The only way to deal with the train robber is to put a "44" to his face and tell him he is a prisoner, and the only way to deal with the industrial and financial robbers of the United States is to lay down the law before them and say to them, "Obey this law or go to the penitentiary."

"Oh," but they say, "we have already had too much agitation. Give us a rest." That thought is as old as the first fugitive from justice. But let us look calmly and judicially at existing conditions, which Big Business says should not be disturbed.

The group of 200,000 men heretofore mentioned who own 70 per cent of the wealth of the United States now own everything in this country that is producing any profits to speak of. They own the railroads, the street railways, the gas, electric light and telephone systems, the steamship lines, the big iron, oil, and coal fields, the big steel, woolen, and cotton mills, and they own the big banks.

The railroads alone collect annually from the people of the United States $3,057,000,000, which is $30.57 for each man, woman, and child, or $152.85 for each family of five. The average family income is only $625, even during the "good times" of 10 years ago, so that under the most favorable conditions each head of a family is now working more than one day a week for the steam railroad. The steam railroads are capitalized for $20,000,000,000, when their actual physical value is not more than half that amount. But we have to pay freight rates that will yield them returns on a $20,000,000,000 investment. So in the one instance of the railroads alone each family is being robbed yearly of $75.

What has been said of the railroads is true of the telephones, telegraphs, express companies, and the gas and electric light companies. Attempted regulation of the natural monopolies has proved an absolute and unqualified failure, for the reason that the utilities can set up the wail that they are not making enough money to pay interest and dividends on their watered stock and at the same time keep men employed at good wages. In that way these monopolies can throw the country into a panic, or "hard times," whenever the country refuses to give it all the pap it desires. The only possible remedy is public ownership of natural monopolies. Most everyone says public ownership "is coming some day." I favor it right now, so that it will help the present generation.

No better illustration of the vigor with which the vested interests will fight public ownership of natural monopolies could be found than that afforded by the successful fight it recently made against President Wilson's plan to build or purchase Government ships. Vested privilege saw in that measure what it described as "the serpent of public ownership raising its head," and it put forth all the power at its command to kill the bill, and it succeeded. The President was disillusioned. He was shown who the real ruler of the United States is to-day. Let all good citizens hope that the schoolmaster will get out his hickory stick and put on his fighting clothes; and if he does so, every patriot should back him up at the polls, regardless of politics. But if the President meekly surrenders, then true Americans must look elsewhere for a leader.

Public ownership of natural monopolies would bring permanent prosperity to all the people of the United States. Nothing short of it will do so. So long as a few men own all the profit-producing utilities the rest of mankind will work for those few men, because all their earnings at the end of the year will have gone directly or indirectly to those few men. That is exactly the process that is going on now year by year.

Government control of credit is the only other big thing. The group of 200,000 men of whom I spoke a while ago, in addition to owning all the utilities, now controls the credit of the country. The total stock of money in the United States—gold, silver, and paper—is only $35 per capita, or $3,500,000,000. Yet these manipulators of credit have loaned on real estate alone the enormous sum of $8,000,000,000, or nearly three times our total stock of money. How do they do it? By duplicating deposits and loaning the same dollar over and over again.

For illustration, a big trust company in New York will send out to-day $100,000,000 to be loaned on farm lands in Missouri. The farmers who borrow that money put it back into the local banks. The local banks send it to a bank in St. Louis. The St. Louis bank sends it for deposit to a big New York bank. By this process the cash finds its way back to New York inside of six weeks. Then the trust company goes over to the bank in New York and borrows the same money again, putting up its note with certain public-utility bonds and stocks as collateral security, and sends the same $100,000,000 out to Indiana to be again loaned on farm lands. This process is repeated time and time again.

The group of 200,000 men I heretofore mentioned own both the trust companies and the banks in New York. They also own the public utility bonds and stocks which are made the basis for the extension of this credit to the farmers. In that way the owners of the bonds and stocks not only draw interest and dividends on them from the companies issuing the same, but they also draw interest from the farmers for credit loaned to them which is based upon these same bonds and stocks.

Two years ago I proposed a bill for genuine rural credits, which provided that the Government should loan Treasury notes to the farmers upon first mortgages at 3 per cent interest. The passage of a law like that would permit this Government of ours to act as fiscal agent and hold the securities and extend "credit" to the farmers. That is the very thing the 200,000 men who own 70 per cent of our wealth are now doing. Why not let the Government of the United States make that immense yearly profit from "credit."

Mind you it is not gold or any other kind of actual money that is now loaned to the farmers, but it is "credit." Otherwise it would be impossible for $8,000,000,000 to be now borrowed on real estate in the United States when our total stock of money is only $3,500,000,000.

The Treasury notes that my bill provides shall be loaned to the farmers are redeemable in gold at the Treasury on demand. Do you say we can not do that? That is exactly what we are already doing in the case of the regional reserve banks, except that we are loaning to these banks such Treasury notes for one-half of 1 per cent interest, instead of for 3 per cent interest as my bill provides. Of course there is not gold enough in the country to redeem all paper money in circulation now if demanded at the same time, but banking experience shows that it is never all demanded at the same time, and that the gold can be made to work over and over again just as duplicated deposits

are now made to work. In any view of the case, the Government of the United States can hold the securities in its vaults and issue loans based thereon just as well as can any trust company in New York.

By farming out this "credit" graft to the 200,000 men who now own 70 per cent of our wealth, we are simply donating to these men billions in interest each year which should be going into the Treasury of the United States to enrich the average citizen.

On the $8,000,000,000 of "credit money" loaned upon farms and other real estate alone, interest is being collected annually in the sum of $500,000,000. All of that money would be saved to the people of the United States and lost to the 200,000 men who now own 70 per cent of all the wealth of the United States if Congress would pass a genuine real estate credit bill. And do you realize how much money $500,000,000 is? It would build and fortify the Panama Canal and leave remaining $100,000,000. It would build two trunk lines of railroad each year from the Atlantic to the Pacific, 6,000 miles, costing $80,000 per mile, and leave remaining $40,000,000.

The figures here given are staggering. But they are as true as gospel.

We are simply cringing slaves to the money power. That power owns all press associations and all big newspapers. That power likewise bribes small newspapers when necessary, and hires precinct "workers" in order to defeat any public officer who dares to tell the public the truth.

I believe the country is growing better and stronger every day. I believe the people are going to win. I believe they will win in the congressional and senatorial elections inside of four years and thus actually control their own country. Then we will have a permanent prosperity in the United States heretofore unknown in any country that has ever existed. Until then, we shall be kicked and cuffed about as the slaves that we are. Some of us will kick back.

A nation is not always on the road to permanent prosperity when it appears to be prosperous, and it is not always going backward when things look blue. For example, London now appears to be much more prosperous than New York. But it is a fictitious prosperity that is tying a millstone to the necks of generations yet unborn. England is spending millions daily for war purposes and is piling up its bonded indebtedness. Everybody is "employed at good wages." Even the theaters of London report the best business for years.

Do we want that kind of "prosperity"? Big Business says to us: "Permit us to forge the chains of slavery for your children and your children's children by issuing watered stocks and bonds to our heart's content and we will 'employ labor.'" A ravaging war which would compel us to issue billions of dollars of bonds to be paid off in the sweat of the brow of posterity would give us identically the same kind of "prosperity." To hell with such prosperity! I prefer to go hungry a little while longer, as I have done more than once since my salary stopped three months ago, because it had been drawn against to pay for Government printing.

Then Big Business says that genuine rural credits furnished by the Government itself would be a "wildcat" system. Yet Big Business now has loaned out eight times as much money as there is in existence in the United States. When it comes to banking, Big Business is simply giving us a continual performance of tight-rope walking, holding in its hands a balancing pole with "deposits" on one end and "loans and discounts" on the other. And whenever the people get a little uneasy, and a run of depositors is made calling for what is coming to them from their end of the pole, Big Business rushes to Washington to get Uncle Sam to come to the rescue by furnishing ready funds to meet the situation. This is the same Big Business bully who says if Uncle Sam should get any of the profits out of loaning credit it would be a "wildcat" system. The truth is that Uncle Sam could run a safe system, while the present system of Big Business is a "wildcat" system.

At the end of four years, as I think it all over, and contemplate how I entered Congress with a little money and a little reputation, how I have tried faithfully to serve my constituents when it would have been easy and profitable to have followed the beaten paths of subserviency to Big Business, and how my constituents kicked me in the stomach the second chance they got; I wonder why they put it off for the second chance. But seriously, if I were not feeling grateful to my constituents and confident of the future, I should not indulge in any good-natured pleasantries at this time. To have come as nearly being reelected as I did, without a paper and without a party, convinces me absolutely that I am on the right track, and that a majority of the people will stand by me when they know the facts.

Mining Experiment and Mine Safety Stations.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD T. TAYLOR,

OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 1, 1915.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, the passage of this mining experiment station bill (H. R. 15869) is one of the greatest steps ever taken by Congress toward the development of the mining industry of this country. This is one bill that will receive the universal approbation of the entire population of the West and of all of the coal-mining regions of the East, North, and South. It is a measure fraught with tremendous possibilities for good in protecting the lives of our miners throughout the length and breadth of the Nation and in the conservation of the mineral wealth of our country, and every Member of this House will always look back with satisfaction to his part in bringing about this splendid piece of legislation. Personally, I can not express the pride and gratification that I feel over the passage of this bill to-day. And I feel that to the little city of Silverton, in the San Juan mining district of southwestern Colorado, is due more credit than any other city or association or State in this country for the consummation of this legislation.

Some five or six years ago the mining men of that district took up the question of inducing the Government of the United States to establish one or more metalliferous mining experiment stations, somewhat along the same lines that the Government is doing regarding agricultural experiment stations; and the Silverton Commercial Club prepared an elaborate statement, very forcibly showing the necessity of this kind of legislation. As a Representative of our State from western Colorado, they asked me to take the matter up in Congress, and, at their insistence, on June 9, 1911, I introduced, I think, the first bill ever introduced in this House—H. R. 11414—providing for the establishment of a metallurgical mining experiment station at Silverton, in San Juan County, Colo. On December 8, 1911, and January 11, 1912, the Mines and Mining Committee held elaborate hearings upon that bill, and after those hearings the committee authorized me to reintroduce the bill in an amended form as H. R. 22081, and to make a favorable and unanimous report thereon to this House, which I did on April 17, 1912—Report No. 567. My report sets forth so fully the necessity for and benefits of this measure, in so far as it applies to metalliferous mining, that I will quote from it at some length, as follows:

This bill is a substitute for H. R. 11414, which was introduced for identically the same purpose. On the latter bill the committee held very full hearings and investigation, and its report of the hearings of December 18, 1911, describes very fully the objects of the measure and the necessity for an experiment station at Silverton.

The bill is introduced at the request of the Colorado Legislature and of the mining men of that State. The eighteenth general assembly of that State passed a joint memorial to Congress, which was duly signed by the governor on March 7, 1911, and certified and transmitted by the secretary of state. The memorial is quite complete and concise, and is as follows:

[S. J. M. No. 46, by Senator Joyce.]

"To the President and Congress of the United States,
"Washington, D. C.:

"We, your memorialists, the Eighteenth General Assembly of the State of Colorado, do respectfully represent:

"That the mining industry of Colorado, including the mining and the reduction to pure metal of the gold, silver, lead, copper, zinc, and tungsten bearing ores, is of vital importance to the welfare of this Commonwealth, and is of very great importance to the prosperity of our Nation at large; and that this industry furnishes employment to thousands of workmen, provides a market for the products of factory and farm, supplies gold and silver for the mints, and produces the industrial metals now indispensable to the progress of the many industries of our country;

"That in mining, as in agriculture, from the very nature of the enterprise, there is and can be but very little cooperation in solving the problems of the industry; and that under the existing conditions a very large percentage of the metals contained in the crude ore, especially in the lead, zinc, and copper bearing ores, is lost in the course of milling or is sacrificed in attempting to ship the low-grade ore to distant smelters and in smelting that ore containing a high proportion of silica or other refractory and useless material; that the heavy percentage of loss of these metals experienced by the miners under existing methods of milling and ore dressing not only injuriously affects the mining industry itself but constitutes a substantial and irretrievable loss out of the natural resources of our Nation; and the conservation of the metal wealth of our country must be accomplished not by preventing the use of that metal but by preventing its loss and waste;

"That the Department of Agriculture of the United States has fully proven the efficiency of local or field experiment stations in solving the many problems of the farming industry, and there is every reason to believe that similar good results may be achieved by the same system in solving the problems of the mining industry;

"That the San Juan mining region of Colorado, covering as it does a broad expanse of mineral territory, and including almost every

known combination of gold, silver, lead, copper, zinc, iron, and tungsten bearing ores, as well as vanadium, uranium, and other rare metals, and holding large deposits of low-grade refractory ores, is a most favorable place for the location of a Government mining experiment station:

"Therefore we, your memorialists, do respectfully and earnestly request and petition that the National Bureau of Mines and Mining may be allowed such funds as may be necessary for that purpose and may be authorized and empowered to establish and maintain at Silverton, in the center of the San Juan mineral territory, a local mining experiment station, to be conducted under the charge of skilled chemists and metallurgists, and at which all metalliferous ores may be analyzed, and at which all known processes of ore treatment may be applied, tested, and compared, and at which new methods and processes may be developed and perfected—all to the end of improving the methods and conditions of the mining industry and saving from waste and conserving the metal resources of our country."

The Colorado Mining and Metallurgical Association has also memorialized Congress upon this subject, and sent to the committee resolutions which are as follows:

"Whereas the mining industry of Colorado, including the mining and the reduction to pure metal of the gold, silver, lead, copper, zinc, and tungsten bearing ores, is of vital importance to the welfare of this Commonwealth and is of very great importance to the prosperity of our Nation at large, and this industry furnishes employment to thousands of workmen, provides a market for the products of factory and farm, supplies gold and silver for the mints, and produces the industrial metals now indispensable to the progress of the many industries of our country;

"Whereas in mining, as in agriculture, from the very nature of the enterprise, there is and can be but very little cooperation in solving the problems of the industry, and under the existing conditions a very large percentage of the metals contained in the crude ore, especially in the lead, zinc, and copper bearing ores, is lost in the course of milling or is sacrificed in attempting to ship the low-grade ore to distant smelters, and in smelting that ore containing a high proportion of silica or other refractory and useless material the heavy percentage of loss of these metals experienced by the miners under existing methods of milling and ore dressing not only injuriously affects the mining industry itself, but constitutes a substantial and irretrievable loss out of the mineral resources of our Nation, and the conservation of the metal wealth of our country must be accomplished not by preventing the use of that metal but by preventing its loss and waste;

"Whereas the Department of Agriculture of the United States has fully proved the efficiency of local or field experimental stations in solving the many problems of the farming industry, and there is every reason to believe that similar good results may be achieved by the same system in solving the problems of the mining industry;

"Whereas the San Juan mining region of Colorado, covering, as it does, a broad expanse of mineral territory and including almost every known combination of gold, silver, lead, copper, zinc, iron, tungsten, and other mineral-bearing ores, as well as vanadium, uranium, and other rare metals, and holding large deposits of low-grade refractory ores, is a most favorable place for the location of a Government mining experiment station;

"Whereas the Secretary of the Interior, Walter L. Fisher, has recommended an appropriation of $100,000 by the National Congress to be used in experimental metallurgical work; and

"Whereas the Hon. EDWARD T. TAYLOR, Congressman from Colorado, has introduced a bill in the lower House of Congress calling for an appropriation of $35,000 for the construction and maintenance of an experimental metallurgical plant in Colorado: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That we respectfully and earnestly request and petition that the national Bureau of Mines and Mining may be allowed such funds as may be necessary for that purpose, and may be authorized and empowered to establish and maintain at Silverton, in the center of the San Juan mineral territory, a local mining experiment station, to be conducted under the charge of skilled chemists and metallurgists and at which all metalliferous ores may be analyzed and at which all known processes of ore treatment may be applied, tested, and compared, and at which new methods and processes may be developed and perfected; all to the end of improving the methods and conditions of the mining industry and saving from waste and conserving the metal resources of our country."

The Denver Chamber of Commerce and the Colorado Chapter of the American Mining Congress have also memorialized Congress upon this subject, as follows:

"Whereas increased activity of Colorado's metalliferous mining industry will correspondingly benefit all other industries and lines of business in the State and ephance the value of all real estate, urban and rural; and

"Whereas metallurgy in Colorado has made great strides in recent years, rendering profitable a vast tonnage of medium and low-grade ore not previously available; and

"Whereas there yet remains many millions of tons of medium and low-grade complex ore carrying five or more metals, the profitable mining and treatment of which ore involves the saving of practically all the metallic contents, a problem not yet solved, notwithstanding very large sums of private capital have been expended thereon; and

"Whereas the conservation of the mineral resources of Colorado and other States calls for new methods whereby the aforesaid classes of complex ores can be profitably treated by the saving of practically all the various metals therein instead of, as at present, involving loss; and

"Whereas the agricultural experiment stations, for many years conducted by the United States Department of Agriculture, have been of untold benefit to the agricultural industry in particular and to the Nation at large; and

"Whereas metallurgical experiment stations, under the management of the United States Bureau of Mines, will be of untold benefit to the metalliferous mining industry in particular and to the Nation at large; and

"Whereas, in view of the importance of the subject to Colorado, it is most desirable that the Colorado Chapter of the American Mining Congress should have the heartiest cooperation and support of the Denver Chamber of Commerce and all other commercial organizations of Colorado in securing metallurgical experiment stations in Colorado:

"*Resolved*, That this meeting of members of the Colorado Chapter of the American Mining Congress, the Denver Chamber of Commerce, and others, indorses the action of the American Mining Congress as embodied in the resolution adopted at the annual session of the Congress held at Chicago in October last, calling upon the United States Congress for the establishment of metallurgical experiment stations.

"*Resolved further*, That this meeting pledges itself to support the officers and directors of the American Mining Congress in their efforts to secure an adequate appropriation by the United States Congress for the establishment of such metallurgical experiment stations."

The American Mining Congress, which is composed of the most able and representative mining men of the West, at its recent annual meeting in the city of Chicago unanimously passed the following resolution:

"Whereas the development of processes of ore treatment capable of handling with profit the vast low-grade deposits and mine dumps of our mining districts is of the greatest importance to the mining industry and to all related industries: Be it

"*Resolved*, That it be the sense of the American Mining Congress that the Congress of the United States be, and is hereby, memorialized to provide for the establishment, under the direction of the Bureau of Mines, of a metallurgical experiment ore-testing station or stations for the purpose of devising methods for the extraction of metals from low-grade ores and appropriate sufficient funds for such purpose.

"*Resolved further*, That the officers of the American Mining Congress draft a suitable bill providing for the proper carrying out of this resolution, and that copies of the bill and of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States and each Senator and Representative; and that the officers of the American Mining Congress use all honorable means to the end that such a bill may become a law, in view of the increasing importance and complexity of the mining and metallurgical industries, the deplorable waste in mining under present methods, and the great need of trained men to aid in improving these conditions and in developing greater safety and efficiency.

"*Be it resolved*, That the American Mining Congress, now in session at Chicago, urges the Congress of the United States at Washington to provide for aid and cooperation in the maintenance of mining schools in the several States in a manner analogous to that which has been done in behalf of agriculture.

"*Be it resolved*, That the members of the American Mining Congress and the friends of the mining industry throughout the country are hereby urged to cooperate in securing the proper legislation necessary to carry above purpose into effect."

There are many other organizations of business men throughout the West that are and have for some years past been very urgently appealing to Congress for relief in the manner provided by this bill. It should be remembered that while the National Bureau of Mines is doing a splendid work in its limited field and in a limited way, yet its energies are thus far practically entirely devoted to coal-mining industries. There has been no recognition thus far of the metalliferous mining industries of the West, and it is believed that that industry is entitled to consideration by the Government.

This bill was referred to the Department of the Interior for consideration, and the report of the Secretary of the Interior thereon is as follows:

"DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
"*Washington, April 1, 1912.*

"Hon. MARTIN D. FOSTER,
"*Chairman Committee on Mines and Mining,*
"*House of Representatives.*

"DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of March 21, asking for my opinion on House bills 22080, 22081, and 22088, relative to the establishment of mining experiment stations in the States of California, Colorado, and Utah:

"The purpose of these bills is to provide for 'inquiries and scientific investigations concerning the mining, preparation, treatment, and utilization of ores and other mineral substances, with a view to improving health conditions, increasing safety, efficiency, economic development, and the prevention of waste in the mining, quarrying, metallurgical, and other mineral industries, and as will facilitate the proper and efficient development of the resources of the public domain.'

"This purpose and the main features of these bills meet with my approval.

"Such investigations will be helpful in the development of mining on the public lands of each of the States, both within and without the national forest reserves; and the necessary expenditures for conducting these investigations will be justified more than under ordinary conditions, for the reason that in these States the Government is itself largely interested in any and all investigations looking to the proper development of the mining and metallurgical industries.

"I believe, however, that in each of these bills, instead of locating specifically in each State just where the experiment station is to be established, it would be wiser to leave the question of specific location to the department, so that the investigations might be conducted from time to time at whatever point there proved to be most need of investigations and where the investigations might be carried on under the most favorable conditions. Indeed, a movable location for each station might enable the department to carry out the purposes of these bills with greater economy and efficiency than could be done under any other plan.

"Under the provisions of these bills there can be no possible conflict of interests between the investigations for which they provide and the work of private mining and metallurgical engineers and chemists.

"Very respectfully,

"WALTER L. FISHER, *Secretary.*"

The report of the Secretary, as will be observed from the above, is favorable. There is a suggestion that it would be wiser to leave the question of the specific location of the station to the Department of the Interior, rather than fixing it at any particular place. The reason your committee has not followed that suggestion is because it is believed that when the entire State of Colorado, acting officially through its legislature, has specifically designated a certain place, which is approved by various mining organizations and mining men, the judgment and wishes of the State should be considered in that respect.

It was fully shown at the hearings that the city of Silverton is in the center of what is known as the San Juan country, and it is surrounded by a mining region and a broad expanse of 3,000 square miles of mineral territory that has produced a very large amount of ore and a great amount of wealth to this country; and they say that in the immediate vicinity of that mining town there is practically every known combination of gold, silver, lead, copper, zinc, iron, tungsten, and other mineral-bearing ores, and that the most of it is what is known as low-

grade refractory ores—that is, ore which is difficult to treat. There are very large deposits and a great variety of it there, and the mining interests of the State have felt that there ought to be an experimental mining station placed there, in charge of skilled chemists and metallurgists, for the purpose of not only analyzing and testing those ores, but to devise, if possible, new means and processes of treatment—means and methods of aiding the mining industry and saving from waste and conserving the metal resources of the country and making the very valuable mineral substances in this region available for the use and general welfare of the Nation.

The State legislature and many of Colorado's mining men feel that the city of Silverton is the most advantageous place in that whole country for a local experimental station. There the ores are immediately adjacent and available; and our mining men are confident that if an experimental station can solve the problem of economically treating the various kinds of ores that are found at and near Silverton the information will cover practically the entire United States; that there are, comparatively speaking, no ores or mineral substances anywhere but what can be handled if the ores of that locality, including the southwestern part of Colorado, can be treated. As this official memorial says, there are as high as five different kinds of valuable substances in one body of rock that they take out.

On behalf of the mining industry of the West it was shown to your committee that the welfare of this Nation is very much dependent upon and affected by the conservation and economical production and treatment of the metals of the Western States; that the gold and silver, copper and lead, zinc and iron, vanadium and uranium, and other rare metals that are produced in the Rocky Mountain region are really the lifeblood of the business of this country and the basis of our prosperity. That the metalliferous mining industry is being neglected and has been neglected, and that metalliferous mining at the present time is at a comparatively low ebb. It is believed by your committee that if the Government could assist in evolving processes of handling low-grade ores—that is, ores running below $10 per ton—thousands of mines would be opened and the wealth of the world would be added to by many hundreds of millions of dollars.

It was shown that there are a large number of valuable substances that can not under the present process be handled at all, and the problem of the rejuvenation and continued prosperity of the mining industry depends upon the establishment of metallurgical experiment stations at which scientific and practical work along that line can be done.

The mining men of the West feel that the Government should take an interest in and assist in finding means of treatment of the low-grade refractory ores and get them into a merchantable condition. That will require experiments, expenditures, and skilled expert knowledge of the highest class. They prefer to have experts on the ground to examine the ores and the metal formations as they exist in nature.

Silverton has a population of over 2,000 people and is a splendid mining camp, located in the center of one of the principal mining and metalliferous portions of the State, and is most advantageously and suitably located for a mining experiment station.

The claims of the city of Silverton are forcibly presented by the commercial club of that city, which has also memoralized Congress in the following manner:

OFFICE OF THE SILVERTON COMMERCIAL CLUB,
Silverton, Colo., May 22, 1911.

Representative EDWARD T. TAYLOR,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The Silverton Commercial Club, including in its membership nearly all of the business and mining men of San Juan County, would ask for your personal assistance in the matter of procuring the National Government, through its Bureau of Mines, to establish at once a mining experimental station at Silverton, Colo.

The last General Assembly of the State of Colorado adopted by unanimous vote a joint memorial to the President and Congress, asking the establishment of this station. We inclose a copy of that memorial for your consideration and assistance. It is hardly necessary to call your attention to the importance of the mining industry to Colorado and the Nation at large; but we do desire to emphasize the urgent need for Government aid in solving the problems of this industry. Out of every hundred million dollars' worth of crude ore extracted from the mines in Colorado it is safe to say that from thirty to forty million dollars' worth of the metals are irretrievably lost. In the low-grade mines, which constitute the permanent mining industry, from 30 to 40 per cent of the crude lead, zinc, copper, gold, and silver is lost in the process of ore treatment and reduction. Where the timber of a country is destroyed it may be regrown in a limited number of years; but the metals lost in the process of reduction, returning as they do to earth or river bottom, are lost to our industries for all time.

These problems can be solved only by actual experimentation in the field—at the place where the problems exist. Silverton is situated in the center of the great San Juan mineral district and is undoubtedly the best place in the West for actual tests and experimentation. All kinds and combinations of ore are to be found in abundant quantities. Electric power is cheap and abundant. The coal fields are near by to the south. The town itself, while surrounded by the mines, has every convenience of the modern city and from this point four railways extend to important mining districts; and this San Juan section more than any other part of the West has need of a scientific experimental station. It is a country by itself, broad in extent, capable of great and permanent production of metals, but holding many varieties of refractory ores which try the skill of millman and metallurgist. This place was selected in the memorial of the Colorado General Assembly not only because it most needs the help of the national bureau, but because here the broadest opportunity for successful field work is presented.

We would ask your earnest and personal assistance in procuring the establishment of this mining experimental station. It will require an appropriation by Congress, which ought to be a fund of at least $100,000 to establish and equip the station and $25,000 per year for maintenance and operation. The plant will naturally demand the services of skilled metallurgists, able to do efficient work and employed to give their whole time. And the station should not be limited to narrow bounds of experiment, but should be enabled to procure and test any process and every mechanical device that may save the metals.

And if the National Government, by means of such a limited investment, can substantially increase the saving of the precious and industrial metals, it will not only improve the condition of a great national industry but will accomplish a great conservation of the natural wealth of our country.

We would ask you to give every assistance within your power to procure the introduction and passage of a proper appropriation bill at the present session of Congress, and to prevail upon the National Mining Bureau to establish the station this year.

Very truly, yours,

THE SILVERTON COMMERCIAL CLUB,
By W. N. SEARCY, *President.*
WARREN C. PROSSER, *Secretary.*
B. B. ALLEN.
J. A. MCCUMMON.
JOSIAH WATSON.
A. W. HARRISON.

The nineteenth session of the General Assembly of Colorado again memorialized Congress upon this subject on February 25, 1913, as follows:

SENATE JOINT MEMORIAL NO. 3—MINING EXPERIMENT STATION.

[By Senator Joyce.]

To the President and Congress of the United States, Washington, D. C.:

We, your memorialists, the Nineteenth General Assembly of the State of Colorado, do respectfully represent:

That the Eighteenth General Assembly of the State of Colorado unanimously adopted senate joint memorial No. 46, respectfully requesting the establishment of a mining experiment station at Silverton, San Juan County, Colo.

That in pursuance of the request contained in said memorial, Hon. EDWARD T. TAYLOR, Congressman at large from the State of Colorado, introduced House bill No. 22081, asking for an appropriation to carry out the purposes thereof. That said House bill 22081, after mature and careful consideration by the House Committee on Mines and Mining, was favorably reported, and the same is now on the House Calendar with favorable recommendation.

Now, therefore, we, your memorialists of the Nineteenth General Assembly of the State of Colorado, hereby reaffirm said senate joint memorial No. 46 as adopted by the Eighteenth General Assembly, and respectfully and earnestly urge an early passage of said House bill No. 22081, in order that the aims and purposes thereof may be served as speedily as possible.

Approved February 25, 1913, 8.12 o'clock p. m.

The hearings before the Mines and Mining Committee upon my bill contain several statements and some data that I think are of sufficient importance to warrant insertion in the RECORD, as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. TAYLOR, we will hear from you on your bill, No. H. R. 11414.

STATEMENT OF HON. EDWARD T. TAYLOR, CONGRESSMAN AT LARGE FROM COLORADO.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I might preface my remarks by saying that the Legislature of Colorado last winter passed a joint resolution memorializing Congress to establish a metalliferous mining and metallurgical experiment station in the mining town of Silverton, in southwestern Colorado. I will say that Silverton is in the center of what is known as the San Juan country, and it is surrounded by a mining region and a broad expanse of 3,000 square miles of mineral territory that has produced a very large amount of ore and a great amount of wealth to this country; and they say that in the immediate vicinity of that mining town there is practically every known combination of gold, silver, lead, copper, zinc, iron, tungsten, and other mineral-bearing ores, and that the most of it is what is known as low-grade refractory ores—that is, ore which is difficult to treat. There are very large deposits and a great variety of it there, and the mining interests of the State have felt that there ought to be an experimental mining station placed there, in charge of skilled chemists and metallurgists, for the purpose of not only analyzing and testing those ores, but to devise, if possible new means and processes of treatment—means and methods of aiding the mining industry and saving from waste and conserving the metal resources of the country and making the very valuable mineral substances in this region available for the use and general welfare of the Nation.

With that object in view, the mining interests of the State have prepared, and many organizations in the State have passed, elaborate memorials. I am in receipt of several of them recently. They recite many forcible reasons for the enactment of this bill, and I will insert some of them in the record.

We favor the large appropriations which have made possible the beneficial results that have been secured by the agricultural experiment stations. Those stations have proven wonderfully efficient in solving many problems of the farming industry, and we believe equally good results may be achieved by a similar system in solving many of the problems of the mining industry; and while we join with you gentlemen from these coal-mining States and wish you Godspeed, and will go right along with you in all the commendable work that you are doing in the interest of the coal-mining industry, at the same time we feel that the welfare of this Nation is very much dependent upon and affected by the conservation and the economical production and treatment of the metals of our western country, and that the gold and silver, copper and lead, zinc and iron, vanadium and uranium, and other rare metals that we produce in the Rocky Mountain region are really the lifeblood of the business of this country and the basis of our prosperity, and that it is being neglected and has been neglected, and that mining at the present time is at a comparatively low ebb. There is no use of shutting our eyes to that fact. If the Government could evolve processes of handling low-grade ores—that is, ores running below $10 per ton—thousands of mines would be opened and the wealth of the world would be added to by many hundreds of millions of dollars. We have lost many thousands of miners from the State of Colorado in the last 10 or 15 years because the Smelting Trust and the railroads have very largely consumed the values in our low-grade ores and we have been unable to treat them in a way that would be profitable; and there are a large number of valuable substances we know that can not under present processes be handled at all, and the problem of the continued prosperity and rejuvenation, we might say of the mining industry depends upon the establishment of metallurgical experimental stations, or at least a great deal of scientific work being done along that line.

It may be said that these ores could be shipped to places and possibly to more central places than the town of Silverton. But we have considered all that matter in the State of Colorado, and our State is certainly up among the first, if not at the head, of the metal production, and our legislature, which speaks officially for Colorado, has asked for

the establisment of this experiment station at Silverton, not at the State school of mines at Golden.

The CHAIRMAN. Why is it they do not ask for it at the State school of mines?

Mr. TAYLOR. They feel that the ore has got to be handled in large quantities. There should be a ton of it handled at a time, and they figure that the shipment backward and forward of the ores would be an expense that would possibly eat up all the appropriation. It is true there is only one railroad down into that country, and it is a narrow-gauge railroad. But the mining men, who have most actively taken up this matter, feel that the ore had better be experimented with on the ground where it is produced rather than be shipped a long ways to the station.

It is a question of brains, rather than locality; it is a question of scientific knowledge, examination, and experiment. What we need is expert knowledge, rather than the question of locality. Theoretically, possibly, it does not make so much difference where the ore is treated, but practically we think it can be more intelligently and advantageously handled near where it is found in the state of nature. I am not a mining expert, and I do not pretend to present this matter as lucidly, possibly, as a chemist or metallurgist or mining engineer might do.

While one metalliferous experiment station will not be enough for the entire West, at the same time it would be a start in the right direction, and it would be a very great service to the mining industry. The West—and I may say that I speak for all of the 15 mining States—feel at the present time that we are left out in the cold. We are not being provided for. We have been working for 25 years to get a Bureau of Mines; in fact, we have been working for a Department of Mines.

We felt that the mining industry of this country was entitled to a Cabinet officer, and we have been working to that end for all these years, and we have finally succeeded in getting a Bureau of Mines. That is a very great step, and we have been congratulating ourselves over that. But the Bureau of Mines up to the present time has not given any perceptible, or, at least, any practical attention to the metalliferous mining. It is devoting itself almost entirely to coal mining. The bureau is doing splendid work for the coal-mining industry and we are not objecting to that; but we do feel that it is our turn to begin receiving attention and that we should be put in a position where we can derive some of the benefits of the appropriations that are made for this bureau. Of course, I do not say the bureau has done anything for us, but what I mean is that in the main it is devoting practically its attention, as the appropriations have been made largely for that purpose, if not entirely, to the coal-mining industry. We do not want to detract from that, not a particle; but we do feel that the metalliferous mining of all these Western States should be taken into consideration, and what they want now is some effective means whereby they can add to what private capital has already done in the way of investigating and experimenting with the large number of classes of valuable substances that are deposited in that country.

We want to find means of treating those refractory ores and getting them into merchantable condition. That will require experiment; it requires expenditure; it requires skilled, expert knowledge of the highest class, and that is the knowledge that we need; it is a question of brains and money rather than one of muscle or railroad facilities. We want experts to go into those camps themselves and examine the ores and examine the manner in which they are found in the ground and the topography of the country and ascertain on the ground the best manner of treating the ores found there. We feel that if you put the station away off in New York City or Denver, then the work becomes too theoretical, and that it may get into politics. That is too far off, and we would not have as practical men as we would if we had them right there among those miners and in the camps. We want somebody with practical sense to be on the ground. We are suspicious of theoretical work at long range, and we would rather have it right there where the ore is taken out of the earth and experimented with. Moreover, we are confident that if there are any ores different in any other part of the West, especially in any other part of Colorado, than what they have at Silverton, that those ores can be shipped to Silverton cheaper than all of the numerous kinds of ores at Silverton can be shipped to other places. In other words, that is the center, in our State, of these various kinds of ores and minerals that we want to have treated and processes devised to economically handle them. I am simply presenting to you Colorado's official idea of the matter. If we can not get it at Silverton, the State will be glad to have it at the State school of mines. If we could get an appropriation of a million dollars to build a great central experiment plant, such as we ought to have and the mining industry is entitled to, then it should be located at our school of mines. But we have no present hopes of being able to secure such a plant, and we are now merely asking for the creation of a local field experiment station at Silverton.

"DENVER, *May 22, 1911.*

"Hon. EDWARD T. TAYLOR,
"House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

"MY DEAR MR. TAYLOR: Your favor of the 16th instant received, and I want to thank you very kindly for the compliment you have paid me, and I want to assure you that I will use all honorable means to promote, so far as it lies in my power to promote, the metalliferous mining in this State during my term in office.

"In my judgment mining is the greatest industry in this State, and there is no other industry that has been so badly neglected as this has been up to the present time. There has not been, so far as I know, one dollar expended by the Federal Government in this State in the way of erecting experimental plants, so that our mine owners and mining men may have some knowledge of what kind of reduction plants are most suitable and adapted to the treatment of the different characters of ore that are mined in certain mining districts in this State.

"Take, for instance, the Cripple Creek, Telluride, and Leadville districts, the problem has been practically solved as to the best methods for the treatment of ores, so that the values may be saved and the best results obtained. If you can secure an appropriation of $350,000 at the next session of Congress, so that two experimental plants can be erected in Colorado, say, one at Golden and one at Silverton, you will be doing the State a great benefit.

"The seventeenth general assembly made an appropriation of $75,000 to erect such a plant at the State school of mines, at Golden, and the eighteenth general assembly made an appropriation of $50,000 more to complete said plant. If you could, as stated before, secure an appropriation of $350,000, so that $200,000 could be added to this Golden plant and $150,000 be used for erecting a smaller plant at Silverton, whereby all the ores from the great San Juan mines could be tested, so that the different mine owners could erect on their properties such a plant as would be recommended by the men in charge of said experimental plants.

"To-day we have nothing but monuments, one after another, of mills strung from one end of the different gulches to the other end, which are absolutely worthless, all on account of the owners not knowing just what kind of a plant to erect that would save values. If you can secure this appropriation and place a first-class metallurgist in charge of said plants, you need not fear but what the Government will get anything but the best results from all moneys which shall be appropriated for the upbuilding of the mining industry. It is necessary, in my judgment, to erect two such experimental plants, as the ores in the San Juan districts vary more than they do in other districts. Take, for instance, the Red Mountain mining district, in Ouray County; their ores contain gold, silver, lead, zinc, copper, and iron; Ice Lake and South Mineral districts, the values are principally gold, silver, and lead; Sultan Mountain district, their values are gold, silver, lead, and copper; Bear Creek mining district, their values are mostly all gold; the Arasta Basin mining district, their values are gold, silver, lead, and zinc; Cunningham Gulch mining district, their values are gold, silver, lead, and copper; Minnie and Maggie Gulches, their values are mostly all gold; Eureka and Animas Forks mining districts, their values are gold, silver, lead, copper, and zinc; Boulder Mountain and Gladstone mining districts, their values are principally gold, copper, and zinc.

"All of the above-mentioned and several other districts are tributary to Silverton. There are four different railroads running into Silverton; all ores can be shipped to this experimental plant at very little cost to the owners. At Silverton they have cheap power and good water, and I am satisfied that the people in that district will secure a first-class location for erecting such a plant free of charge.

"For any further information in regard to the San Juan district, I would refer you to our mutual friend, Senator John T. Joyce, of Silverton. Senator Joyce introduced a resolution in the senate asking for an appropriation along the lines above mentioned, and he will forward you a copy of said resolution. I will do so myself, if I can find a copy of same.

"Very truly, yours,

"T. R. HENAHEN,
"State Commissioner of Mines."

[Silverton Standard, Silverton, Colo., Saturday, Nov. 18, 1911.]

"CONSERVATION AS APPLIED TO MINING AND IMPORTANCE OF FEDERAL INVESTIGATION ABLY EXPOUNDED IN BRILLIANT ADDRESS OF W. N. SEARCY BEFORE RECENT CHICAGO MEETING OF THE AMERICAN MINING CONGRESS.

"The following able address on the question of 'Federal investigation of ore-treatment problems,' delivered by Attorney W. N. Searcy, of this city, at the convention of the American Mining Congress recently held in Chicago, is attracting widespread attention in mining circles and is regarded by those interested in the general promotion of the great mining industry of the Nation as the most clear, logical, and forceful presentation of this most important question ever laid before the Congress for its consideration.

"As it deals with a question in which we are most vitally interested at this particular time, we take pleasure in publishing the address in full for the information and edification of our readers and urge them to carefully read and maturely consider the vital points it covers.

"Mr. Searcy spoke as follows:

"In the first place, it is rather embarrassing to me to undertake to discuss a question of this character which must naturally touch upon some of the technical phases of mining, when I myself am not actively engaged in the actual business of mining. I am interested in mining property. All that I have is invested in the mining country. I represent men who are engaged in mining, and therefore have been selected by some of my friends in Colorado to undertake to tell you a little about this subject. I will ask that you bear with my want of oratorical talent, for I hope that whatever may be lacking in oratory may be made up by the appeal which the plain facts concerning the mineral industry itself must make to your sound judgment.

"If the Federal Government takes hold of this proposition to solve the treatment of ore, it will deal only with general problems; it will undertake only the more intricate and difficult problems, and therefore it will be working not for any one section but for the people of the United States. I take it that this mining congress itself will not take up any sectional issues, and while in undertaking to discuss this subject I shall refer to some sections of the West, perhaps to some sections of Colorado, I wish you to understand, in fairness to this convention, that I refer to those localities only as illustrations, for Illinois and Michigan and Utah and Missouri are interested in this problem in the same way as is Colorado.

"Our president's address as delivered to you this morning goes quite fully into the foundation for asking Federal help in the solution of these questions. He has explained to you very fully the work which has been performed by the agricultural experiment department of the United States. He has shown you how valuable that work has been and the tremendous amount of good that has been accomplished. I will not repeat that part of the argument. What Mr. Dern has presented to you upon that subject should be enough.

"Now, in order to consider whether the Federal Government should undertake to help solve these problems of ore treatment it is necessary first to consider, to a limited extent, the importance of the industry itself. If you will take the 11 States situated west of the eastern Colorado line, you have the distinctively mountain States of our country. If you will add to them the Territory of Alaska, you have what may be called the metal mining section of our country. This is not because Missouri does not produce more zinc than some of those States, not because Michigan does not produce more copper than some of those States, but because in those Western States the mining industry is the basic or foundation industry. Mining in those States and Territories bears the same relation to general industry there that manufatcuring does to general industry in New England or cotton raising to the industry of the South. Furthermore, if it were not for the mining industry existing in large sections of those mountain States their progress would be very materially handicapped and their final development would be greatly limited. I desire to give you a local illustration: There is a section in Colorado known as the San Juan mining district. That territory is formed by the crossing of the great Continental or Rocky Mountain Divide by the San Juan Range of mountains, thus creating a large and very precipitous mountain country. For instance, in my little county there are probably 20 or 25 mountains rising to 13,000 feet elevation, and our engineers tell us

that if the entire county were leveled down it would all stand above the timber line. Silverton, our county seat, has an altitude of 9,000 feet—up so high that summer heat is unknown. Now, that territory itself covers practically 3,000 square miles of country—that is, the mineral section alone is the size of Delaware and Rhode Island combined—and it is rich in lead, copper, zinc, gold, silver, and other metals, but the important thing is that all of that territory would be vacant, all that territory would be idle, all that territory would be practically useless and unoccupied, were it not for the mining industry. That same condition exists in Utah, it exists in Idaho, it exists in all those Western States that I have mentioned, and if the mining industry is not to be protected and preserved we are going to leave a great portion of the western section of the United States practically unoccupied. We can not afford as citizens of the United States to neglect or overlook any possible measure or step which may make that portion of our country populous and prosperous. But that is not even the most important prosperity phase of this subject. While I have mentioned to you a mining district in southwestern Colorado as an illustration which covers 3,000 square miles of mountain territory I wish to state that south of that territory is a farming country which is fertile, well watered, capable of producing almost any product of the Temperate Zone. Now, that farming territory, including therewith the mining section, covers an area of 20,000 square miles and extends into the southwestern part of Utah, the northwestern corner of New Mexico, and it extends far eastward in Colorado. Now, that agricultural territory of 20,000 square miles is equivalent in size to Massachusetts and Connecticut and Delaware and New Jersey combined. It is capable of supporting hundreds of thousands of people. Yet that agricultural territory under present conditions would not know prosperity if it were not for the mining cities up in the mountains which make a market for the agricultural products. I desire to use this illustration to show you by a concrete example the importance to Colorado and to Utah and to Nevada and to Idaho and to every other State of preserving and conserving the interests of the mining industry itself.

"Now, it goes further than that. In the State of Colorado, and, I dare say, in Utah and other Western States, the mining industry forms the basis for the best market that the coal miners themselves know. We have a great deal of coal in that country, as you have here, but it takes the mining industry to stand in the place of your manufacturing and transportation industries of the East.

"Another idea that is worth considering. That western country that I have described, including Alaska, covers nearly one-half the entire area of the United States. Alaska alone is equivalent to five of the largest States you would be likely to name, excluding Texas. That big western section should not be brought into competition with the eastern agricultural sections, when by proper encouragement of the mining industry in that western metal-producing country it will provide its own market and prevent agriculture of the West from competing with and injuring agriculture in the East. Now, this is only a general consideration of the importance of the mining industry in that western section alone. The same considerations apply in a general way to the metal-mining industry in Illinois, in Missouri, in Wisconsin, and other States.

"The metal-mining industry has another phase more important than mere present prosperity for our generation. Something has been said about conservation. Now, I may not agree entirely with the views recently expressed concerning conservation, but I certainly do agree to some extent; and that is to say, the true conservation should be a conservation which saves for the people and not one which denies use to the people.

"This is preeminently the age of metals. It is the age of electricity. It is the age of invention. It is the age of speed. It is the age of machinery. Fifty years ago, if you had been sitting in this hall holding a convention and a neighboring building were being erected, you might have heard the blows of the carpenters' hand hammers. To-day a building is being erected there; and somewhere away off in another part of the city there is situated a tremendous plant, involving tons and hundreds of tons of iron and steel and copper in its construction. From that plant run electric wires, involving more tons of copper, out through the city, until they ramify every street and avenue in the metropolis. One of the wires it attached there on the side of the new building to some kind of an electric machine. The building itself is of steel. The machine that makes the noise is of steel, copper, and iron, and instead of the whack of the old-fashioned hammer you hear the vibrations of the machine hammer riveting beam upon beam and erecting a structure almost wholly composed of metal. Yet the giant steel frame you view from the window is merely an ordinary business building of this day. That building is only an illustration. We have passed by the old days of wood and stone. The cradle and the coffin are made of metal. The conveyances that we ride in along the street and the pleasure boat are made of metal. The man-of-war and the fortress resisting the guns must be made of steel.

"As our chairman told you in his very able address this morning, we are coming to the place where people will realize that mining in its broader phases and agriculture are but two equal supplemental divisions of the industry of our Nation, one as important as the other.

"The Government geological report for 1909 shows that in 1880 we used substantially $185,000,000 worth of metal produced from our storehouse. By the year 1900, 20 years later, that had increased to $511,000,000. In other words, after allowing for all reasonable change in the price of the commodity per pound, in 20 years we more than doubled the demand upon our storehouse for the use of metal therein contained; and in 1909 we had reached something like $750,000,000 annual production, proving that by 1920 we will again have doubled the demand upon the storehouse for the use of metal.

"Now, I do not believe it would be conservative or sound to say that we are rapidly approaching the place where metal can not be found, nor that we are immediately going to exhaust that storehouse. I do not believe that we have reached the place where any calamity views need be entertained; but I do believe we have reached the place where common sense and sound business policy should call upon the people of this Nation to use every reasonable endeavor to see that the metal extracted from the earth each year is put into form where it will be saved and used, and not wasted. That is the problem that is brought before you to-day. These Western States that I have mentioned and the Territory of Alaska produce substantially $250,000,000 worth of metal each year. This $250,000,000 worth, of course, includes silver and gold, and it is only fair to state that in certain sections of the country, like Cripple Creek, the miners have been able to effect a fairly successful saving of gold and silver contained in the ore, possibly 90 per cent—more probably an average of only 85 per cent—of the silver and gold contained in the ores bearing only those two products. But that is not the problem. The problem that arises in those mining sections is in treating what we call refractory or complex ores. The big veins cutting through the mountains contain lead and zinc and copper and iron and manganese and quartz, and perhaps half a dozen other metallic contents, combined in almost every conceivable form and proportion, and these big low-grade veins form the solid, permanent basis of the mining industry. Now, when you realize that a lead smelter can not treat zinc, but must burn it up, and that a zinc smelter can not successfully treat other metals, you will readily realize the difficult problem which is immediately presented to the man who is grinding that ore and sending it to the market. In this class of ore, known as refractory or complex ore, I believe it is safe to say that in the average low-grade mining district the saving effected in the course of milling does not exceed 70 per cent of the value of the contents. Seventy per cent saving necessarily means a 30 per cent loss or waste, because as a general rule the tailings from the mill go into streams or are scattered over the surface of the earth without being in any way conserved. Therefore the loss that is suffered is a permanent loss.

"It might be well to explain that in the low-grade mining districts of Colorado, Utah, and other States where the veins are known to occur, these low-grade ores in general carry values of from $4 to $20 per ton. Now, when you consider that these metallic contents are included along with quartz, or other materials constituting one-half or two-thirds of the total tonnage, and when you take into consideration the railroad freight that must be paid per ton and the rather high charge that must be imposed by any smelter that undertakes to treat ore containing so much silica, you will readily realize that the miners can not ship that crude low-grade ore to a smelter and have it successfully treated. Therefore the burden is imposed upon them of first separating out the silica or the quartz contents in connection with their ore. Next they must confront the problem of undertaking to separate zinc away from the lead, copper, and iron, and at the same time try to save the gold and silver value, so that when they market their product they may be able to send the lead and copper and iron to what is known as a lead smelter and the zinc contents of the ore to what is known as a zinc smelter. This presents a complex and difficult problem. I suppose there are a hundred different forms of mills or of machines or of contrivances that have been invented for the purpose of separating and treating these ores. Some are fairly successful in some branches of the industry, but no general solution of the problem has yet been presented. I believe it is safe to say, as I have told you, that the loss in this branch of the metal-mining industry will equal 30 per cent of the total product brought out of the ground.

"A further illustration of these losses may be found in the case of certain rare metals. For instance, in Boulder County, in Colorado, it was discovered a few years ago that minable quantities of tungsten existed. The miners there concluded that they would try to produce tungsten commercially. They found very substantial deposits of that metal. They proceeded to produce the metal, produce it commercially, and I understand they did so at a profit. But in producing the tungsten, as far as I have been able to learn, not less than 30 per cent produced from the ground is lost in the course of milling before the concentrates are shipped to the market.

"Another illustration of this same loss is in the venadium deposits also found in a southwestern county of the same State. Vanadium is used in hardening and toughtening certain varieties of steel and also for other purposes. It is a valuable metal, rather rare metal. Now, in the production of this vanadium which has been found in that county, it is reported that one company takes out that ore and ships it all the way across this country and across the ocean to Liverpool, in order to have it treated. The saving in Liverpool may be very good, but there is but little saving to the industries of our country in paying such freight, besides the treatment charge. Another company is undertaking to treat the vanadium on the ground by a process, as I understand, devised by their own metallurgists. It is stated concerning their own home treatment that the loss is at least one-third of the valuable metal; that they have found the saving only two-thirds.

"Another loss which is worth noticing in the metal-producing industry of the West is that of sulphur, arsenic, iron, manganese, and other similar materials, and chemicals of various kinds. These are disregarded because at the present time there is no profit in undertaking to save them. It is all right to talk of conservation, but no private citizen can afford to spend his own money and operate at a loss for the purpose of trying to conserve the natural resources; and it is only by the discovery of means which will enable him to conserve the natural resources while working at a profit that any miner will invest money in saving or producing a metal.

"Now, as a final effect of this loss in the treatment of the western metals, I believe it is fair to estimate that the $250,000,000 worth of metal marketed by these Western States and Alaska represent also an actual loss of metal which is not marketed of at least $50,000,000 per year in the lead, copper, zinc, gold, and silver alone, besides all the possible by-products. Then, when you consider the further loss, say 10 or 15 per cent, in the treatment of the simple gold and silver ores, and when you consider the further loss that is probably encountered in such States as Missouri and Wisconsin and Illinois in the treatment of any zinc or lead ore which happens to be in the leastwise complex, I believe it is safe to say that there stands here a problem of loss to our Nation of at least $100,000,000 per year of metal valuable in our industries and which some day will be indispensable to our industries. This is the problem that this congress, as I understand, proposes to present to the Federal Government; and it would certainly seem to be worth while for the Federal Government to interest itself in the solution of that problem.

"Now we have reached the point, in trying to discuss this question, of considering what it is proposed to ask the Federal Government to do. I believe there has been more misunderstanding, more misconception of this, not necessarily of the problem, but of its possible method of solution, than any other question that has come before this assembly. If you will stop and study the problem for a moment, you will readily realize that the problem is not one to be solved by the United States Government erecting a building like this, for instance, and setting up machinery there and shipping ore to that building to test it by that machinery. Why, if the Government had such a machine to-day, it would send it out to Colorado and Utah and mining would go right ahead. We would make other machines just like it. The trouble is that there is no such machine in existence for the mechanical saving of these metals. If there were, it would be patented by some private individual and he would make a million dollars a year out of it; or if he did not patent it, every mine in the States of Colorado, Washington, and Idaho would be using that one contrivance. Therefore, it is not a question of trying to procure the United States Government to erect a plant in Denver, nor in Salt Lake, nor in San Francisco, nor anywhere else. The problem is of such a nature that it is going to take years of work by the best metallurgists, by the best scientists, by the

best chemists, that our Government can afford to employ. I believe the final solution of this question will be a chemical or chemical and electrical solution and not a mere mechanical solution; but the work that is to be done must necessarily be done right down in the field where the problems exist.

"We need a department of mining of the United States, to be given money to commence on this work. An appropriation of at least $500,000 should be made for Mr. Holmes's department, so that he can commence upon the investigation of this problem in every mining district in the West. I do not mean by that each little isolated section, but each considerable section which appears to have problems peculiar to itself. In that way in your State of Utah you would be able to have a representative of the United States Government go in there in your district, analyzing your ore, watching the effect of each milling process that you are trying to put into effect, and he would finally, after a few months' study, be able to make a complete analytical report, not only upon your ore, but upon your processes and your saving and your problems. The same thing could be done down in the San Juan, or at Aspen, or up in Idaho, or in other mining sections. Then, after the local or field experiment-station work had progressed until some definite information had been obtained to be written down and compiled and printed as a general working basis, field experiment work would probably be undertaken. The local or field experiment stations are needed now; a general central plant may be needed later. The local stations should solve the problems, but if they show the necessity of a central plant, then you can locate your central plant at any point convenient for the mining sections; and then you will know for the first time what you actually want in that central plant or what could be devised for it.

"In the report of our president, in his address this morning (and which I believe will become as important as any public document which has been promulgated in our country for years), he has outlined to you very clearly the work undertaken and accomplished by the Agricultural Department. I believe it is safe to say that the agricultural experiment-station work of the United States has saved millions of dollars to the farmers. There is every reason to believe that if the work of the Federal Government is broadened out the same kind of work, or the same plan, can be instituted in the mining department, and just as great results will be accomplished; and there is some reason to hope that the results may be accomplished even more speedily. In the agricultural problems the question is generally a matter of long observation, of culture of plants, of watching the habits of insects, and of progress from year to year in undertaking to better the conditions of the industry. In other words, it is a culture or growth rather than a solution of a problem. While in the metal industry these problems are, in general, few in number and difficult of solution, yet they are in the nature of definite problems closely related to each other, and when the solution comes the remedy will be immediate and complete. I believe more is to be accomplished in the metal-mining industry by the Federal Government for the same amount of money expended than can be accomplished in the Agricultural Department. Now, if the Federal Government, by the investment of a few hundred thousand dollars in establishing these experimental stations, first in the districts that need them most and later in any district in any State where a substantial saving to the people may be effected, if the Federal Government by such limited investment can save one-tenth of what is now going to waste of those metals, is it not worth while? Ten million dollars saved by a few hundred thousand dollars investment should be a sound investment, whether for the Federal Government or any private industry. If the Federal Government can be so successful as to make a complete success in the solution of these problems we have here presented, which are only a part of the problems of the industry, then it will mean a saving to our Nation of at least $100,000,000 per year.

"Now, I believe that every patriotic citizen of this country views with approval the appropriation by our Congress of nearly $100,000,000 for the purpose of supporting the Army—that is, just so long as that Army is necessary; and I believe that every patriotic citizen likewise approves the appropriation of something like $125,000,000 by Congress for the support of the Navy so long as such a Navy is necessary. But I want to ask if it is not sound business, as well as sound government, to make a limited appropriation for the purpose of conserving and saving and producing the metals with which the armies must be equipped, with which the navies must be built, with which homes and cities and industries must be founded. The first effect of any such a move by the Government would, of course, be a profit to the metal-mining industry; but I have tried to show you that it is a foundation industry, a basic industry, in those Western States—in Illinois, in Missouri, in Michigan—wherever metal is produced, furnishing the market to the agriculturist, who stands by ready to supply the provisions, furnishing the market for the factories of the East that must supply hundreds of articles to every mining section of the western part of the Nation. There is something more about this. The Federal Government by undertaking such a campaign as this is not only bringing profit to the industry, it is not only improving the condition of every State which has the industry, it is conferring a direct and substantial benefit upon the whole people of America. Wherever an industry is enabled to produce at a less cost—or, what is the same thing in the operation of an industry, if it is enabled to save the entire product instead of losing one-third of it—then the natural, the inevitable result will be that the industry itself will be satisfied to take a less proportion, and the people at large will receive the final product of that industry for a less price. To-day your price of copper, your price of lead, your price of zinc, is fixed by the necessary charge on it in order to have it produced at a profit. If the United States Government can so far help the miners, those who are mining and treating this ore, that they can save the entire metallic content of the ore, more metal will be produced from year to year with the same work, and the people of the United States will receive a fair share of the benefits at a reduction in price; yet the industry itself making the reduction will not lose; it will receive enough to make it prosperous.

"As an illustration of the benefits to the whole people, I want to call attention to the tungsten production for one county in Colorado. Because it found it could produce that article commercially and profitably, it produces 80 per cent of the tungsten of the United States. That would appear to mean profit to that county alone, but it does not work that way. That county does receive profit, but the tungsten is used to double the durability and value of steel, a certain class of steel that is needed by the people; and now that it has become cheap enough, tungsten is used to make the filaments in the electric lamp, and in turn in every home throughout the land the amount of illumination through the electric lamp, for the same cost of power, for the same expense, is practically doubled through the use of the tungsten filament. The same effect is brought about by the successful mining of vanadium. Now, they have been able to reach a stage where they save two-thirds of the vanadium, and by using an exceedingly small proportion or fraction of 1 per cent of vanadium in steel it seems to double the value of certain high-speed tool machines by doubling the durability. In other words, the benefit comes back to the whole people.

"I do not wish to take more of your time; I believe that the members of this convention do not need to be persuaded to vote for a resolution asking Congress for a liberal appropriation for the purpose of enabling the metal miners of the United States to save that $100,000,000 that to-day is lost. That metal loss is practically a permanent loss. Now, we hear a great deal about conservation. The term is used every place it will apply, and sometimes where it will not apply. I want to tell you, however, that in comparing the conservation of timber and of metal there is something that is well worth considering. If the timber in a certain area of the country be destroyed or be used up, it is possible to reforest that entire area with better trees than grew there before in 60 to 70 years. In other words, while it is right to save the trees, yet if we do happen to use up the timber in a certain district the loss is not beyond remedy; it is not one from which we can not recover. But when we waste the fifty to one hundred millions per year of zinc, lead, copper, tungsten, iron, and gold and silver, the loss is practically irretrievable. It is a loss that can not be replaced; and it is not too much to say, when we are doubling the output of these metals every 20 years, that whether or not there is danger that we are going to run out of the metal, it certainly is sound common sense for our Federal Government to cut off that loss if there is any possible way to do it at any reasonable expenditure. As I started to tell you, I believe it would not be necessary to persuade any member of this convention to vote for such a resolution, but we ask you to do more than vote here. I believe it is the duty of the members of the American Mining Congress when they return to their homes to take up this question with their Congressmen and with the friends of their Congressmen, so that the great metal-mining industry, which to a great extent forms the basis of a successful coal-mining industry—so that this great metal-mining industry may be placed upon a sound and prosperous basis, where the product extracted from the earth will be saved for the benefit of our people and given to them instead of being wasted.

"Just one more suggestion on conservation. It may be right in trying to conserve timber to restrict the use of that timber, but in trying to conserve metals I believe that it is not the right method of conservation. If you extract the metals, such as copper, from the earth and put them in the form of bars, they are practically as indestructible above as they ever were below the ground. The right conservation of metal is not to prohibit the people from freely using metal or to try to impose leasing systems or restrictions upon the metal miners so that they can not mine the metals. The real conservation of metals is to see that the entire metallic content of the ore mined is saved and put into form where it is practically indestructible for all time.

"If the Federal Bureau of Mines shall lead the way in solving these important existing problems of the metal-mining industry, it will thereby increase the general prosperity of the mining States, promote the welfare of the principal industries throughout all the States, and effect a tremendous saving in the permanent wealth of our country."

STATEMENT OF HON. JOSEPH HOWELL, OF UTAH.

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, H. R. 11853, which I have introduced, presents the same principle as that so ably discussed by Mr. TAYLOR. Salt Lake City is another suitor for a mining experiment station. This city is so situated in the heart of the great metalliferous mining region of the West and possesses other features of advantage for the location of such a station unequaled by any other place. But my chief purpose this morning, Mr. Chairman, is to urge an extension of the work of the Bureau of Mines, so as to include in the scope of its usefulness technologic investigations in metallurgy and a study of metalliferous mining. The mining States for many years have been knocking at the doors of Congress for the establishment of a department of mines, but not until they secured the cooperation of the coal-mining interest of the East were they enabled to make much headway. Finally, after a persistent effort, the Bureau of Mines was created. This was hailed with a great deal of satisfaction by those engaged in precious-metal mining as an evidence that the great mining industry was about to receive the fostering attention of the Government that it deserved as one of the great basic industries on which rests the welfare and prosperity of our people. There were those in the beginning that opposed the Department of Agriculture and sneered at the futility of the General Government's activities in this respect, but time has abundantly proven the wisdom of the farsighted statesmen who advocated the promotion of agriculture by the General Government.

The Department of Agriculture has grown to be indispensable to the country. Its beneficial work, like a candle set upon a hill, shines upon the whole country. In the light of what has been accomplished for agriculture, we can confidently look forward to like achievements in the field of mining—its twin sister. These two industries are the source of all that we require for the welfare of mankind. Why should not the mining industry receive the same encouragement at the hands of the General Government as agriculture? The Bureau of Mines in the inception of its mission has confined its efforts largely to the coal-mining industry, and has done most excellent and praiseworthy work in that field. The horrible catastrophes constantly happening in coal mines have stirred the whole people and caused a demand on the part of the Government to put forth every possible effort to avert a recurrence of these calamities in the future, and toward improving the conditions affecting the health and safety of the miners. But the time has come that the metalliferous miners demand some attention to their industry. Here is a field lying fallow for scientific research and investigation. The mining of precious metals in our country is in its infancy. Only the richest and most tractable ores have been made to yield their treasure. Millions of dollars of ore have been taken from mines and thrown aside, because no known process permitted their reduction at a profit. Other millions of tons of ore lie undisturbed in our mountain vaults for want of knowledge to profitably extract their values. Then there is the problem of controlling the poisonous fumes that issue from smelters and destroy all vegetable growth in the vicinity and provoke never-ending bitter legal controversies to burden our courts. Scientific and economic experimentation along these lines are entirely beyond the reach of private investigation. This can be properly and adequately undertaken only by the General Government. What a field for effort! How pregnant of possibilities for the enrichment of the Nation! What an aim for the conservationist in utilizing to the highest degree our unborn wealth!

The Durango Exchange, of the city of Durango, Colo., represents, substantially speaking, the entire business interests of

all southwestern Colorado. That organization recently passed a resolution upon this subject that I will take the liberty of inserting in the RECORD at this place, as follows:

Resolution by the Durango Exchange concerning the Silverton mining experiment station.

Resolved by the Durango Exchange, in regular meeting convened, That we do earnestly appeal to the honorable Secretary of the Interior and to the honorable Director of the National Bureau of Mines that the first mining experiment station to be established under the Federal law authorizing the establishment of such stations shall be placed at Silverton, Colo.; that we do request our United States Senators and Representatives in Congress to use their best efforts toward presenting and obtaining recognition of the claims of Silverton to such first station; that in support of this resolution we do respectfully represent that Silverton is most favorably situated in the center of the largest, most continuous, most compact, mineralized area of mining country in the West; that directly tributary to Silverton the numerous big mineral districts produce and furnish all of the metals and combinations of ores found in other parts of Colorado, as well as ores difficult of treatment and not found elsewhere; that new deposits, such as uranium, borax, tungsten, platinum, and others not yet identified, are being found in this district, to the great extension of the heretofore known mineral territory; that the actual, present, and serious problem of the mining industry is the loss of 40 per cent or more of the valuable metals contained in the ores, in treatment by existing methods, and that this problem exists in the actual field of mining and milling operations, and must be solved there, in practical operations on a big tonnage basis, and that experimental work, to be practical and efficient, needs to be in direct contact with the operating industry.

Silverton was the pioneer in asking for and working for the establishment of a local Federal mining experiment station, and because her citizens knew the actual needs of the mining industry they have worked long and incessantly for the establishment of Federal experiment stations.

Our Colorado Legislature in 1911, and again in 1913, by unanimous vote, indorsed and requested the establishment of the Federal mining experiment station at Silverton, Colo. (See Colorado Session Laws of 1911, p. 712, and of 1913, p. 645.)

Therefore, in fairness to Silverton, in accordance with the legally expressed desire of Colorado, and especially for the most efficient possible aid to the metal-mining industry, we urge that the first experiment station shall be granted to Silverton.

THE DURANGO EXCHANGE,
W. I. GIFFORD, *President.*

Attest:

R. M. MORRIS, *Secretary.*

President Wilson recently paid tribute to the work of the American Mining Congress and recognized the importance of the subjects covered by this bill and the general interest now being taken in mining development and safety work as follows:

PRESIDENT WILSON COMMENDS MINING CONGRESS.

The following letter from President Wilson to the members of the American Mining Congress was read at the annual convention of that body held in Phoenix, Ariz., December 7–11, 1914:

"To the members of the American Mining Congress:

"I regret exceedingly that, owing to the press of circumstances, it will be impossible for me to greet you in person at the seventeenth annual session of the American Mining Congress at Phoenix, Ariz.

"I am well aware of the important part played by your great organization in the creation of our Bureau of Mines and am sure that the good work of that bureau in attempting better to safeguard the lives of the 2,000,000 men employed in the hazardous mining and metallurgical industries will continue to redound to your credit, as well as to the credit of the bureau itself.

"It will always be a tribute to your foresight and energy that this new Federal organization in the short period of its existence, with the kindly cooperation of State and their agencies, has been able by persistent and intelligent effort to turn an isolated local movement for greater safety into a great national movement for 'safety first' and has already gone beyond the mining industry of the country. I venture to say that thousands of lives have been saved by that movement, and that many thousands more will be saved in the future.

"Gratifying as the results of this life-saving campaign may have been, however, there is still vigorous work for your congress to do. I am informed that during the last year more than 3,000 men were killed and 100,000 injured in the mining and metallurgical industries of the country. At the same time, those in authority tell me that, from their observation and experience, one-half of such deaths and three-fourths of such injuries may be regarded as easily preventable.

"I suggest this situation as an opportunity for further endeavor on your part to cut down this excessive toll of death and injury. I can assure you of the fullest cooperation of all the proper governmental agencies, also of my earnest desire for your active and continued assistance.

"There is one other problem connected with the mining industry in which the Federal Government is vitally interested, and that is proper conservation and proper use of the mineral resources of the Nation. I realize that you, too, are interested in this problem, and I wish merely to call it to your attention because of its fundamental importance to the present and future prosperity of the Nation. I am happy to say that the profligacy of the past in the use of these resources is not being continued on so large a scale. There is, however, great opportunity for further reform along these lines, and in this your organization can be of invaluable service.

"Sincerely, yours, WOODROW WILSON."

The last Democratic national platform, adopted at Baltimore in 1912, contained a plank upon this subject, as follows:

We rejoice in the inheritance of mineral resources unequaled in extent, variety, or value and in the development of a mining industry unequaled in its magnitude and importance. We honor the men who, in their hazardous toll underground, daily risk their lives in extracting and preparing for our use the products of the mine, so essential to the industries, the commerce, and the comfort of the people of this country. And we pledge ourselves to the extension of the work of the Bureau of Mines in every way appropriate for national legislation with a view of safeguarding the lives of miners, lessening the waste of essential resources, and promoting the economic development of mining, which, along with agriculture, must in the future even more than in the past serve as the very foundation of our national prosperity and welfare and our international commerce.

Hon. J. F. Callbreath, secretary of the American Mining Congress, in an article in the January, 1915, number of the Mining Congress Journal, presents his views upon this subject very forcibly, as follows:

METALLURGICAL RESEARCH AND MINE SAFETY STATIONS.

There was recently in the United States a scattering epidemic of the foot-and-mouth disease among cattle, resulting in a rigid quarantine being established by the Department of Agriculture and the destruction of several hundred animals.

Immediately the congressional machinery was started to reimburse the farmers for their losses, and to appropriate funds to stamp out the disease and prevent its recurrence. Members of Congress suggested bills providing for this aid to the agricultural industry.

In the bill making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the next fiscal year now before Congress the committee has authorized an appropriation of $2,500,000 to take care of this situation.

In one of the best-known metal-mining districts of the United States, in addition to the number of men killed by accident, in the year 1912 there were 720 deaths from miners' consumption out of about 7,200 employed, 10 per cent in one year. Ten years of such conditions wipes out an important mining camp. This almost unbelievable condition has apparently existed for many years, with the loss of hundreds and hundreds of men. It is also stated that at the present time from 30 to 60 per cent of the miners employed in mining operations in this district now have tuberculosis.

In spite of this condition—and we know that miners' consumption is an occupational disease caused by stone dust in the mines, and largely preventable—there is no great national agitation, and there has been no particular suggestion from Congress that an immediate appropriation should be granted to investigate the causes of this disgraceful condition and to obviate them.

In one instance you have the deaths of cattle through a highly contagious disease, the great National Government stepping in with $2,500,000 to pay for the ravages of this disease and to exterminate it, and in the other you have the slaughter of human beings with no particular remedy or aid being suggested.

The point to all this is that agriculture is the best known and best cared for industry in the entire United States, and that the mining industry, despite the fact that it is second in importance as a basic industry, is the worst understood and the least aided.

It is not that Congress intentionally discriminates against the mining industry; it is rather that every man connected with agriculture has been alive and energetic to any aid that the Federal Government might give to their industry, and, I regret to state, the unwillingness of the men in the mining industry to present their cause to Congress.

With the creation of the Federal Bureau of Mines some advance has been made, but the industry is still far behind agriculture in Federal recognition.

Now, here is your chance to help:

There is now pending in Congress a bill to establish in the larger developed mining regions of the country 15 movable mine safety stations for rescue cars, with a view to advancing more rapidly and in a more satisfactory manner the mine safety education and mine rescue work under the Bureau of Mines, and to establish 15 experiment stations in important metal-mining regions in public-land States, with a view to the advancement of the mining industry in those regions.

Deaths in the mines.—The Bureau of Mines finds that the progress it is making in the saving of life is extremely slow, and it is one of the purposes of this bill to expedite this humanitarian work. In the year 1913 in the mines and quarries of this country 3,651 men were killed, a death rate of 3.49 for each 1,000 employed.

No one likes to estimate the money value of a human life, but at times it becomes necessary to do this, especially in working out the economics of compensation acts. It is a reasonable estimate that during the past 10 years more than 30,000 men have been killed and more than 100,000 seriously injured in connection with the accidents in the mining industries of this country. It is impossible to estimate the number who have suffered from bad health conditions in many metal-mining, tunneling, quarrying, metallurgical, and other mineral-industry plants. It is impossible to estimate the number of men with health shattered through these conditions who have had to give up their work for years before their natural time or the number of dependents who have suffered thereby.

If it be assumed that each human life is valued at $3,000, it will be seen that the deaths alone in the mines have cost in the 10 years $90,000,000.

If each of the 100,000 seriously injured lost 20 days, at $3 per day, a reasonable assumption, this represents $6,000,000 lost from this cause.

Whatever may be the value put upon human life in arranging for a reasonable compensation, these losses of life and labor are national in their extent and character and fall ultimately upon the general public as representing the consumers of mineral products.

A comprehensive investigation of conditions affecting the health of workers is one of the urgent existing needs of the mining industry. Such investigation would affect the health condition of one and a half million men employed in these several phases of the industry, and no one familiar with conditions will for a moment question its importance. In conducting it the Bureau of Mines would have the active cooperation of the Public Health Service, which would study the different ways in which mine conditions affect the health of employees, while the Bureau of Mines would seek to ascertain the existence and the causes of bad health conditions and the methods of improving the same.

A large proportion of the men entering the mines in the United States each year come from the farms and villages of different European countries; they are unfamiliar with our language, our institutions, and our laws, and know little or nothing of mining.

A majority of the men now working in the coal mines of the United States to-day speak and read but little English. It is therefore difficult to reach these men through publications, even when the latter are prepared in the most simple and elementary manner.

The mine rescue cars.—The plan followed most successfully by the employees of the Bureau of Mines in reaching and interesting these men is through giving actual working demonstrations in mine rescue, first aid, and other safety measures and methods, and the giving of lectures illustrated with lantern-slide pictures which contrast the safe and the dangerous methods. Each of these pictures used has a short, one-line description under it in four or more different languages most common among the miners. In these lectures and demonstrations local interpreters are used at intervals as the need for them may appear.

Work of this kind develops a new interest in the safety work among the miners, and following the movements of each of the existing rescue cars this interest on the part of the miners is shown in their call for the publications which treat of the mine safety work.

So far as it has gone this educational work is assuredly developing safer and better mining, and the leaders among the miners express the belief that if carried forward on a larger scale and in a more thorough manner the work can not fail to develop also better citizenship among these miners.

The work of the States in carrying out their part of this general program in mine safety is being carried forward in a reasonably satisfactory manner. The States are already expending in their inspection and police supervision work more than the Federal Government is expending in all of its investigations in behalf of mine safety. Thus, for example, a single State—Pennsylvania—maintains a well-organized and efficient inspection force, which includes a chief and 50 district inspectors; it expends in the maintenance of the work $213,000 per annum, paying its district inspectors an average compensation of $3,000 each in addition to traveling expenses. All of the other coal-mining States maintain a system of inspection.

The proposed experiment stations.—There are located within the boundaries of the several public-land States large bodies of low-grade ores of different types for the efficient treatment of which there are no known methods. There are other large deposits that are being worked in accordance with methods that are highly wasteful of valuable mineral products. On the public lands in these States there are many mineral deposits concerning the value of which little is at present known. These and other associated problems, general in character, will be investigated by the several mining experiment stations to be established in such regions, and it is believed that the results of such investigations will be not only beneficial to the industry, but also to the general public.

Mining is usually regarded as an industry made up mainly of the operation of a few large, profitable properties, such as old Comstock mines in Nevada, the Treadwell mine in Alaska, or the Homestake mine in South Dakota. It is usually considered to be an industry controlled by a few parties, the owners of which large properties would gladly avail themselves of an opportunity to unload on the National Government the cost of conducting researches in which they are particularly interested. Therefore it is usually considered as an industry which should be allowed, and even required, to take care of itself. These assumptions are far from correct.

The facts of the situation are: These large, profitable properties are few in number; that so far as known their owners have never joined in a request for Government appropriations to aid the mining industry, nor have they been given any special consideration either in the establishment or in the plans of the Bureau of Mines. They have neither asked for assistance, nor have they endeavored to unload upon the Government any investigations of their own. On the contrary, at the request of the Bureau of Mines a number of them have expended considerable allotments of their own funds on investigations which promise to be useful not only to them, but to other less important mining developments in which they were in no way involved.

While the number of large mines in this country is small, there is a large number of small mines. The records show that in the country as a whole there are about 40,000 coal mines, metal mines, and quarries, and about 170,000 oil wells, operated to a smaller or larger extent in connection with the mining operations. In addition to these there is a large number of operating plants connected with the smelting and other metallurgical operations and various mineral industry operations in different parts of the country. Few seem to appreciate the importance of helping those who hold these small properties to find methods of operation by which they can be worked at a profit instead of being helplessly transferred to a few large corporations, who alone may have the funds for developing the processes that will make such operations possible.

What the Federal Government is doing for agriculture.—Congress is now appropriating as an aid to agricultural advancement nearly $28,000,000 per annum, while mining is receiving through the Bureau of Mines and the United States Geological Survey less than $2,000,000. The per capita contribution from the people of the United States for the advancement of agriculture amounts to 28 cents and for mining 2 cents.

The Silverton Commercial Club has during all of these years been patiently and diligently working for the passage of this bill, and great credit should be given to Hon. W. N. Searcy, judge of the district court of that judicial district, and to State Senator John T. Joyce, of Silverton, for their untiring efforts in this matter. They have written many articles and done a tremendous amount of work in appealing to nearly all mining men and associations in the United States for support in the enactment of this legislation; and I feel that their untiring efforts should be mentioned in the RECORD as an inspiration to others to perform years and years of loyal services, against almost unsurmountable obstacles, for the general welfare of our country.

The bill that I reported to the Sixty-second Congress was never reached for consideration and died upon the calendar. On the first day of this Sixty-third Congress, April 7, 1913, I reintroduced the bill again as H. R. 1646, and after further hearings and amendments I reintroduced it again on December 20, 1913, as H. R. 11098. A number of other Members from the Western States have during the past two or three years introduced bills for the same purpose, and this present bill may now be termed a composite committee bill representing all those various measures.

The report upon this bill, as well as the bill itself, now applies not only to metalliferous mining but to coal mining and to mine rescue stations, which are so much needed for the protection of life, especially in coal-mining operations. So that while this measure was originally started as a metalliferous mining-experiment station bill for Silverton, Colo., it has been vastly broadened and extended. It is now a great national measure providing for safety, efficiency, and conservation in all mining operations throughout the United States and Alaska. The bill in its present form is as follows:

An act to provide for the establishment and maintenance of mining experiment and mine safety stations for making investigations and disseminating information among employees in mining, quarrying, metallurgical, and other mineral industries, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized and directed to establish and maintain in the several important mining regions of the United States and the Territory of Alaska, as Congress may appropriate for the necessary employees and other expenses, under the Bureau of Mines and in accordance with the provisions of the act establishing said bureau, 10 mining experiment stations and 15 mine safety stations, movable or stationary, including those already established, the province and duty of which shall be to make investigations and disseminate information with a view to improving conditions in the mining, quarrying, metallurgical, and other mineral industries, safeguarding life among employees, preventing unnecessary waste of resources, and otherwise contributing to the advancement of these industries: *Provided*, That not more than three mining experiment stations and mine safety stations hereinabove authorized shall be established in any one fiscal year under the appropriations made therefor.

SEC. 2. That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to accept lands, buildings, or other contributions from the several States offering to cooperate in carrying out the purposes of this act.

Passed the House of Representatives February 1, 1915.

Attest:

SOUTH TRIMBLE, *Clerk*.

The bill now has two main purposes: First, to establish 10 metalliferous mining experiment stations in important metal-mining regions in the public-land States, and one in Alaska, with a view to the developing of the mining industry of those regions in a great many different ways, but especially in the ascertainment of processes for the treatment of the unlimited quantity of low-grade, complex, and refractory ores, and of educating the people in the way of the economical and practical handling of those ores and the saving of their values and preventing the enormous waste of the valuable metals that has heretofore occurred. The second purpose of the bill is the establishment throughout the various coal-mining regions, as well as the metalliferous-mining regions of the country, 15 movable mine safety stations, for rescue cars, with a view of advancing more rapidly and in a more satisfactory manner the mine-safety education and mine rescue work under the supervision of the Bureau of Mines. The report upon this bill contains a large amount of valuable information that I feel should be preserved in the RECORD, and I will take the liberty of inserting the greater portion thereof as follows:

This legislation has been prepared with considerable care. It is not based upon the plans or wishes of any one person or organization, but it has been drawn up as a result of a series of conferences among the miners, mine operators, mine surgeons, and engineers from different parts of the country, careful consideration having been given to the needs of the industry and of the country along the lines indicated.

CONDITIONS SHOWING THE NEED FOR THIS LEGISLATION.

(1) That the mining industry of the country, and especially the metal-mining industries in our public-land States, are not keeping pace with the normal development of the country is clearly shown by the following data:

In the population of the public-land States west of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers there was an increase from 14,800,000 in 1900 to 19,600,000 in 1910, an increase of 32 per cent.

The agricultural crops of the public-land States had a valuation in 1900 of $921,000,000, and a valuation in 1910 of $1,950,000,000, an increase of 112 per cent.

During similar periods the average annual valuation of all the mineral products in the public-land States increased from $287,000,000 during the period 1901 to 1905 to an average annual valuation of $358,000,000 during the period from 1906 to 1910, an increase of a little less than 25 per cent; whereas the production of the precious metals in the public-land States decreased from an annual average valuation of $136,000,000 during the earlier period (1901–1905) to an average annual valuation of $127,000,000 during the latter period (1906–1910), a decrease of nearly 7 per cent.

No better illustration could be given of the contrast in the treatment of these two great national industries than the fact that in spite of this lagging behind of the mining industry during this 10-year period, the National Government expended for the reclamation of agricultural lands in these public-land States not only all of the moneys received from the sale of public lands for agricultural purposes, but also nearly $7,000,000 received from the sale of mineral lands.

The reduction in the number of men employed in the different metal-mining industries in the public-land States tells even more clearly than do the figures of production the falling behind of the mining industry. Unfortunately, the figures for the number of the men employed are not available for a majority of the public-land States.

Taking a single one of these States as an example, attention may be called to the fact that the average number of men employed in the metal mining and metallurgical industries in the State of Colorado for the four-year period 1900 to 1903, inclusive, was 36,189; during the period from 1904 to 1907 this annual loss was reduced to 34,364; and during the four-year period from 1908 to 1911, inclusive, the number of employees was further reduced to 22,560.

(2) Among the causes of this lagging behind of mine development are the following: (a) The exhaustion now under way of the more easily discovered and richer ore deposits and the fact that other rich ore deposits are not now being discovered to such an extent as to replace those now being worked as they become exhausted; (b) the absence of known methods through the use of which many existing low-grade ore deposits can be profitably worked; (c) the wasteful methods now followed in many of the mining and metallurgical operations, which, while in many cases they still bring temporary profits to mine operators, are reducing the national wealth in a manner which can be remedied only by the discovery and use of more efficient methods of treatment.

(3) Of a number of our important mineral resources we have for both the present and future needs of the country but one inadequate

supply. The utilization of certain of these important resources, as in the case of coal, oil, and natural gas, destroys them. Common prudence demands that through the necessary researches the Nation should learn how to use this one supply of its mineral resources more wisely and more efficiently or with less waste or loss than is now the case.

(4) The loss of life in the different branches of the mining industry is a discredit to the Nation. It calls for more extended inquiries and researches on the part of the Federal Government and a proper dissemination of the results obtained; it calls for more stringent police supervision or inspection by the States, and for more determined cooperative effort on the part of both the miners and mine owners in the way of making and enforcing safety regulations.

The National Government should do its full duty in this matter without further delay.

MINING, LIKE AGRICULTURE, WILL BE BENEFITED BY THE LARGER CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

Congress is now appropriating as an aid to agricultural advancement nearly $28,000,000 per annum. These funds are being expended and the work authorized is being carried forward through a well-organized department with a Cabinet head and with nearly 14,000 employees.

That these large expenditures have resulted in still larger benefits to the country there can be no doubt; and one of the evidences of benefits is to be seen in the large increases in the aggregate value of the farm products of the country, which had an estimated value of less than $5,000,000,000 in the year 1898 and nearly $9,000,000,000 in the year 1912.

The conditions underlying agricultural progress differ as to many details from those associated with mining, but the broad general principles of progress are the same; and the favorable response to the national aid for agriculture is itself an evidence of the result which can be depended upon if similar aid is extended to mining. Furthermore, the less extended actual experience growing out of the more limited expenditures through the Geological Survey and the Bureau of Mines on behalf of the mining industry furnishes specific evidence of the larger benefits which may be expected to result from larger expenditures in similar directions. Thus, under the Bureau of Mines, through a small expenditure, the saving in national wealth through stopping the waste of natural gas in a single season has aggregated more than $10,000,000, which is several times the total cost of the maintenance of the Bureau of Mines from its beginning.

The benefits which may be expected from more liberal aid to the mining industry will come (1) through the lessening of the unnecessary waste in the mining and treatment of the various mineral products; (2) through increased efficiency in mining operations by the improvement of health and safety conditions; (3) through the development of more efficient and cheaper methods in the treatment of low-grade ore deposits, which are either not now worked at all or are worked only in their richer parts or pockets. These benefits may come about either through the discovery of new methods in connection with the researches by the bureau itself, or through its activity in stimulating researches by private parties.

THE COUNTRY'S RELATION TO ITS TWO GREAT FOUNDATION INDUSTRIES.

A brief statement of facts will indicate in a general way what the National Government is doing to aid development of each of its two great basic industries, and what in turn these two industries are contributing yearly to our national wealth and progress. While the figures are not fully comparable in all respects, they will be found to be essentially correct.

AGRICULTURE AND MINING, THE NATION'S TWO GREAT FOUNDATION INDUSTRIES—WHAT THEY ARE DOING FOR THE NATION AND WHAT THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IS DOING FOR EACH OF THESE INDUSTRIES.

What these industries do for the Nation:

	Agriculture, including forestry.	Mining and mineral industries.[1]
Number of employees	13,000,000	2,300,000
Yearly value of products	$10,500,000,000	$4,600,000,000
What each worker in these industries contributes to the national wealth yearly	$800	$2,000
What each industry contributes to the freight tonnage of the country yearly .....per cent..	22	60

[1] The scope here includes mining, metallurgical, and other mineral industries, as does the work of the Bureau of Mines.

What the National Government is doing for each of these industries:

Yearly appropriations.	Agriculture.	Mining.
For education:		
From direct appropriation	$2,500,000	Nothing.
From land grants	1,030,000	.....
From Smith-Lever Act for demonstration educational work	[1] 480,000	.....
For 52 experiment stations, one in each State and Territory	1,550,000	Nothing.
For general researches and other work to aid agriculture and mining	22,410,000	[2] $1,967,000
Total	27,970,000	[2] 1,967,000
Per capita contribution from the people of the United States for the advancement of these industries	$0.28	$0.02
Of this contribution the per capita expenditure for safeguarding the lives of 2,300,000 employees in the mining industry is about one-half of 1 cent per annum	.....	.005

[1] $480,000 for 1915; increasing to $4,580,000 for 1925 and each year thereafter.

[2] Of this amount less than $500,000 is expended under the Bureau of Mines in behalf of improvement of safety and health conditions among the 2,300,000 employees in the mining industry; the remainder (about $1,300,000) is expended for geology, topography, water powers, and other problems having to do with the commercial side of mining and other industries, under the Geological Survey; and $135,000 is expended under the Bureau of Mines for the commercial testing of the coal and oil used by the Government.

Nothing can show the national neglect of the mining industry more clearly than does the above tabular statement, in spite of the hazards of that industry and the other conditions which should appeal to the humanitarian as well as to the commercial instincts of the people. But another fact that tells the story with equal emphasis is that during the past 10 years, in addition to the large sums paid out of the National Treasury for the benefit of agriculture and the payment toward the reclamation of agricultural lands in the Western States of all funds arising from the sale of public lands in those States, even the proceeds of the sale of the Nation's mineral resources in like manner have gone not to aid mining, but to the reclamation of additional agricultural lands.

WHY THE MINING INDUSTRY HAS RECEIVED RELATIVELY SO LITTLE NATIONAL AID.

Agriculture is much the larger of the two industries; it embraces a larger number of persons, more widely distributed, and each acting as an independent agent. Its products, supplying the country with food and clothing, bring this industry even closer to the lives of the people than is the mining industry, which supplies them with the fuel which cooks their food, heats and lights their houses (built largely of mineral products), operates and supplies a large share of the materials and all the machinery of their factories, conducts and operates largely their facilities for transportation and communication, and supplies more than 60 per cent of the total freight tonnage of the country.

But, more than the above, there must be some special reasons why the mining industry has received relatively so little aid from the National Government, and these are to be found, no doubt, in certain misapprehensions concerning the industry. Mining is usually regarded as an industry made up mainly of the operation of a few large, profitable properties, such as the old Comstock mines in Nevada, the Treadwell mine in Alaska, or the Homestake mine in South Dakota. It is usually considered to be an industry controlled by a few parties, the owners of which large properties would gladly avail themselves of an opportunity to unload on the National Government the cost of conducting researches in which they are particularly interested. Therefore it is usually considered as an industry which should be allowed, and even required, to take care of itself. These assumptions are far from correct.

The facts of the situation are: (1) These large, profitable properties are few in number; that, so far as known, their owners have never joined in a request for Government appropriation to aid the mining industry, nor have they been given any special consideration either in the establishment or in the plans of the Bureau of Mines. They have neither asked for assistance nor have they endeavored to unload upon the Government any investigations of their own. On the contrary, at the request of the Bureau of Mines, a number of them have expended considerable allotments of their own funds on investigations which promise to be useful not only to them, but to other less important mining developments in which they were in no way interested.

(2) While the number of large mines in this country is small, there is a large number of small mines. The records show that in the country as a whole there are about 40,000 coal mines, metal mines, and quarries and about 170,000 oil wells, operated to a smaller or larger extent in connection with the mining operations. In addition to these there is a large number of operating plants connected with the smelting and other metallurgical operations and various mineral industry operations in different parts of the country. Few seem to appreciate the importance of helping those who hold these small properties to find methods of operation by which they can be worked at a profit instead of being helplessly transferred to a few large corporations who alone may have the funds for developing the processes that will make such operations possible.

(3) The most urgent appeal for larger national aid to the mining industry comes from and on behalf of the 2,300,000 employees of the different branches of the industry, who are asking the aid of the Government in the development of safer and more healthful working conditions. This humanitarian appeal should be given precedence over calls for appropriations to advance commercial gains. It comes from employees working under hazardous conditions, and a majority of whom are unfamiliar with our language, our laws, or our institutions, who have not yet realized the good will of any Government. They have been led to believe that the Government of the United States is interested in their welfare and was planning to aid in bringing about safer and healthier conditions in the mining industries of this country; but they are becoming discouraged as to the realization of such plans.

(4) Another important need to be met through these larger contributions to the aid of the mining industry is on behalf of the consumers or users of the mineral products distributed throughout every section of the country. These mineral products are coming to be more and more indispensable for use in the domestic life of the people as a basis of our manufactures, a basis of transportation facilities, and in supplying the products to be transported. Under normal conditions, as our mines become deeper and our mineral resources depleted, the per capita cost of mineral products is increasing, and one important purpose of the larger investigations authorized in the pending legislation will be that of finding out how this cost may be kept down to a minimum.

The increasing per capita consumption of mineral products is illustrated by the facts as to coal. The per capita consumption of coal in 1870 was less than 1 ton; it increased to 2½ tons in 1890, and to nearly 6 tons for the year 1913.

SOME SPECIAL REASONS WHY MINING SHOULD RECEIVE LARGER NATIONAL AID.

(1) In agriculture, with ordinary care of our soils, the country may be continuously supplied with annual crops. In dealing with the mining industry the fact should be kept in mind that the country has but one supply of mineral resources; that this one supply must meet the future as well as the present needs of the Nation; and that a century's experience points clearly to the fact that our needs for the more important of these resources, such as mineral fuels, precious metals, potash and phosphate deposits, will increase much more rapidly than will our population.

(2) While certain of our mineral resources, as in the case of metals, are destroyed rather slowly in use, other essential resources, such as coal, oil, and natural gas, are consumed or destroyed beyond recovery in use.

(3) In the utilization of certain of our mineral resources, such as the natural fuels, zinc, and some other of our metals, there are large losses or wastes which are believed to be unnecessary; and it is a wise duty of the National Government that it should aid in the prevention of such wastes.

(4) And more important than all the above in their appeals for the larger aid of the Federal Government are the hazards of the mining industry; the accidents which yearly result in such large losses of

life, and the bad health conditions in many mines and metallurgical plants which affect adversely the vitality of employees. None of these conditions are met with in agriculture, but they are in a peculiar way characteristic of the mining industries; and these conditions alone more than justify this additional call upon the Federal Treasury.

PROPOSED MINING EXPERIMENT STATIONS.

The bill authorizes and directs the Secretary of the Interior "to establish and maintain in the several important mining regions of the United States and the Territory of Alaska 10 mining experiment stations." It is expected that these stations will be mainly in the public-land States. The exact location and the question of their being removed from time to time from one point to another is wisely left to the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior in order that the work of the several stations may be carried on at such places and in such manner as will best facilitate the metal mining resources of the country.

There are located within the boundaries of the several public-land States large bodies of low-grade ores of different types for the efficient treatment of which there are no known methods. There are other large deposits that are being worked in accordance with methods that are highly wasteful of valuable mineral products. On the public lands in these States there are many mineral deposits concerning the value of which little is at present known. These and other associated problems, general in character, will be investigated by the several mining experiment stations to be established in such regions; and it is believed that the results of such investigations will be not only beneficial to the industry but also to the general public.

RELATIONS OF THE WORK OF THE MINING EXPERIMENT STATIONS TO THE WORK UNDER THE GENERAL APPROPRIATIONS OF THE BUREAU OF MINES.

It has been suggested that the work authorized for the several mining experiment stations to be established under this legislation might be carried on under the general appropriations for the Bureau of Mines. If these appropriations were sufficiently ample and stable, an arrangement of the kind suggested might be possible under the existing organic act of the Bureau of Mines, in the same way that the Department of Agriculture a few years ago might have established a series of agricultural experiments in each of the several States. But Congress at that time decided—and no doubt wisely—that with a view to giving such work a more stable basis and a more ample support it were better by formal act to establish agricultural experiment stations in each of the States and Territories, for each of which an appropriation of $30,000 per annum has been authorized.

The Committee on Mines and Mining, after a careful consideration of this question, has decided that it will be unnecessary to establish so large a number of stations for the work in mining as was done in the case of agriculture, but, nevertheless, that there should be at least 10 such stations established and maintained through an appropriation of $25,000 for each such station, in order that the local interests of the more important metal mining regions in the public-land States might receive ample and continuous consideration.

COOPERATION OF THE STATES IN THIS WORK.

Section 2 of the pending bill authorizes the Secretary of the Interior "to accept lands, buildings, or other contributions from the several States offering to cooperate in carrying out the purposes of this act." It is considered wiser that the act should not make the cooperation of any State a condition of this appropriation, nor was such condition imposed upon the States in the making of the appropriation for agricultural experiment stations It is practically certain, however, that in mining, as in agriculture, the interested States will cooperate, and will cooperate liberally, with the National Government in carrying forward this important work.

In support of the agricultural colleges in the several States the appropriations by the States themselves are now many times larger than those by the Federal Government; and in the maintenance of the agricultural experiment stations established by the National Government in each of the States and Territories the appropriations by the States and Territories for 1912 were $1,250,000 as against an appropriation of $1,545,000 from the National Treasury.

It is believed that under the bill as reported the Secretary of the Interior will be able to locate the 10 mining experiment stations and the headquarters of the 15 mine safety stations, or rescue cars, at such points as will best serve the needs of the industry and the country, and that in doing this he will be able to secure the liberal cooperation of the several mining States in the maintenance of these stations.

The following letter from the Secretary of the Interior throws light on several phases of this legislation, though it relates especially to the proposal for the establishment of the 10 mining experiment stations:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, January 15, 1914.

Hon. M. D. FOSTER,
Chairman Committee on Mines and Mining,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR DR. FOSTER: Replying to your letter of December 2, which asks for an expression of opinion concerning H. R. 1646, a bill to establish a mining experiment station in the State of Colorado and for other purposes:

There is also before me a number of similar bills for the establishment of mining experiment stations in other Western States, some of which have already received the approval of this department.

Instead of proceeding with the consideration of the special bill now submitted (H. R. 1646), I beg to report that the general policy and purpose of these several bills, viz, the establishment of experiment stations in public-land States looking to the safer and more efficient development of the mining industry in these States meets with my hearty approval and commendation.

I would suggest, however, instead of submitting to Congress a number of separate bills for the establishment of individual stations in specified localities, the adoption of the following general policy:

That there be prepared a single bill which would authorize the establishment in the public-land States and in the Territory of Alaska, on a basis in a general way similar to that indicated in the bill under consideration, of 10 mining experiment stations, these to be located at such points in these States and in the Territory of Alaska as would best facilitate the efforts of the Government in behalf of the proper development of the resources on the public lands and the less wasteful development of the mining industry in these public-land States.

There are more than 20 public-land States and the Territory of Alaska in which the mineral resources, and especially the metalliferous resources, are sufficient to constitute an important factor in our future national development. My reason for recommending this much smaller number of mining experiment stations (10 in all) is that in the development of the mining industry we do not have to contend with the varying climatic conditions found in the many different States, and it does not, therefore, seem to me necessary to establish mining experiment stations in each of these States, as has been done in the case of agricultural experiment stations. Nevertheless, we do have marked differences not only in the nature of the mineral resources but also in the conditions under which they must be developed; and the distances between mineral districts in the western half of the United States are so great that I think this number of stations, properly distributed throughout this great region, will be necessary for the proper economic prosecution of the work.

My reason for recommending that the exact location of each of these stations be left for determination at a subsequent date by the Secretary of the Interior is that this arrangement will make possible such distribution of the stations as will not only be most suitable to the proper development of resources but will also make each station better supplement the work of each other station in carrying out the general purposes of this legislation.

In recommending the establishment of these stations in the public-land States, without, at this time, recommending the establishment of such stations in other parts of the country, the department is perhaps influenced by the fact that in these public-land States the Government is itself greatly interested in the proper development of the mineral resources in these lands; and owing to the large area of public land in these States which is nontaxable, these States are less able financially to provide for such investigations than would otherwise be the case.

For a number of years Congress has been appropriating annually for the maintenance of experiment stations in behalf of agriculture in the several States an aggregate sum of nearly $1,500,000. In addition to this, in the public-land States the Federal Government has expended during the past 12 years $77,150,180 in the reclamation work of making available additional agricultural lands; and of this sum more than $8,000,000 has come from the proceeds of the sale of mineral lands in the public-land States.

I mention these expenditures with no feeling other than that of approval; but in passing, I may call attention to the fact that the mining industry in this country does not appear to have had a square deal in the way of public recognition and aid. And in speaking of the mining industry, we need not especially concern ourselves about the profits of the few large mining companies. There are the many thousand small mine owners and prospectors struggling with difficult problems, there are the safety and welfare of the 2,000,000 employees in the various mining and mineral industries, and there are the other great national problems of waste in these industries, all of which should have our serious concern, and should have also the benefit of extended national inquiry and scientific investigation.

It would seem, therefore, that the annual appropriation necessary for the maintenance in the public-land States and in Alaska of these 10 mining experiment stations is not only a reasonable proposition but that it represents only a small part of what the Federal Government should do for the safer and more efficient development of the mining industries of this country.

Very truly, yours,

FRANKLIN K. LANE.

THE NEEDED ENLARGEMENT OF THE MINE RESCUE-CAR WORK, THROUGH THE ESTABLISHMENT AND MAINTENANCE OF 15 MINE SAFETY STATIONS.

The continuance of large mine disasters and the increase of mine fatalities during the year 1913 as compared with the preceding year have brought from the country a demand for greater effort by miners and mine owners in carrying out reform measures for a more exacting inspection and police supervision by the States, and for such a reorganization and enlargement of the facilities of the National Government as will carry forward its investigations more rapidly and result in a better safeguarding of the lives of miners and an improvement in the health conditions which prevail in many of the mining, metallurgical, and other mineral industries.

PLAN PROPOSED IS RESULT OF A SERIES OF CONFERENCES.

This reorganization and enlargement of urgently needed reform measures is the net result of a series of conferences among representatives of the miners, mine operators, and State mine inspectors. At these conferences there was a careful consideration and discussion of the many phases of a greater mine safety problem as related to the work of each of these agencies. It was the general opinion that the failure of the National Government to press various investigations to a conclusion was retarding the mine safety movement.

The committee has carefully considered the situation and is of the opinion that the plan proposed in this bill for the enlargement of the equipment and operations of the Bureau of Mines is a necessary feature of any general plan to bring about more rapid progress in the prevention of mine accidents and in the improvement of health conditions in the mining and metallurgical industries. In any general movement for greater mine safety the Federal Government must bear its share. This plan does not represent the conclusion of any one person, but is rather the consensus of opinion of persons familiar with the situation, and it is believed by the committee to be urgently called for at this time.

MINE SAFETY WORK OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AND ITS RELATION TO THAT OF THE STATES, MINE OPERATORS, AND MINERS.

The following plan of cooperation in mine safety work in this country has been discussed at these several recent conferences and has met with general acceptance as being in accord with existing law and custom. It is believed that this plan can and should be made more effective in the immediate future through the greater activity and hearty cooperation of the interested parties. The plan is as follows:

"1. That the National Government shall conduct on a larger scale the necessary general inquiries and investigations, and that it shall promptly disseminate the information obtained among the miners, mine owners, and mine inspectors, in such manner as will prove most effective in bringing about the needed reforms in preventing mine accidents and in improving health conditions.

"2. That each of the several mining States shall enact the needed improvements in legislation, and shall make ample provision for the proper inspection of the mines and the proper enforcement of the mining laws and regulations within their borders.

"3. That the mine owners or mine operators shall install and maintain improvements which give reasonable promise of greater safety and better health conditions as rapidly and as completely as the practicability of such improvements may be demonstrated by inquiries and investigations which the Bureau of Mines is conducting.

"4. That the miners and mine operators shall cooperate both in making and in enforcing such rules and regulations as their own experience

and as the investigations and inquiries in this and other countries show will aid in carrying out the purposes mentioned, especially such as will best safeguard the lives of the men who work underground."

THE WORK OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IS FURTHEST BEHIND.

Of the work of these four agencies in behalf of mine safety, that of the Bureau of Mines is most backward. It should, however, be in the lead. The State mine inspectors, mine operators, and miners have of late, through their growing interest in the safety movement, presented to the Bureau of Mines a larger and larger number of inquiries or appeals for information upon which to base their own activities. Such information is being sought for use as a basis for improved legislation in the States, or for a more rigid inspection of mines, or as a basis for better rules and regulations to be drawn up by the miners and mine owners. Improvements along all of these lines are being delayed because of the inability of the bureau to push a variety of its investigations to completion, and thereby supply the information needed.

Therefore the claim frequently set forth of late by the miners, mine owners, and inspectors, that the entire mine safety movement is being held back by the lagging of the bureau's investigations, is unfortunately a true and reasonable claim.

THE MINE SAFETY WORK OF THE STATES, MINERS, AND MINE OPERATORS.

The work of the States in carrying out their part of this general program in mine safety is being carried forward in a reasonably satisfactory manner. The States are already expending in their inspection and police-supervision work more than the Federal Government is expending in all of its investigations in behalf of mine safety. Thus, for example, a single State, Pennsylvania, maintains a well-organized and efficient inspection force which includes a chief and 50 district inspectors; it expends in the maintenance of this work $213,000 per annum, paying its district inspectors an average compensation of $3,000 each in addition to traveling expenses. All of the other coal-mining States maintain a system of inspection.

Many of the mine operators have inaugurated a system of operations in which the question of safety is considered of first importance. Something more than 170 mining companies (out of a total of some 3,000 large coal-mining companies and 12,000 smaller coal-mining companies) have individually, or through the association of two or more companies, established 76 mine rescue stations at which there have been installed some 1,200 sets of artificial breathing apparatus besides the auxiliary equipment for first-aid and fire-fighting work. There are also 12 mine rescue cars now operated by individual mining companies about their own local properties. The Bureau of Mines is endeavoring to stimulate such activity by private companies.

The miners are also taking up the work of safety and are appointing safety committees for the more active promotion of the movement; especially is this true in regions which have been visited by the Government mine rescue cars.

The representatives of the States, the mine operators, and the miners are all cooperating with the Bureau of Mines in this safety work, and this cooperation should, from year to year, become a more and more important factor in the progress of the safety movement. But the movement is yet in its infancy, and has reached but a few of the 2,300,000 employees in the industry.

WORK OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT FOR MINE SAFETY AND WHY IT SHOULD COOPERATE IN THIS WORK.

The question as to whether the National Government should contribute to the advancement of its basic industries was settled affirmatively long ago. Congress is now appropriating for the advancement of agriculture, the more important of the two great basic industries, nearly $30,000,000 per annum, and its program of good work includes educational and experimental or research features and general inquiries.

More recently, and on a smaller scale, Congress has inaugurated a series of inquiries and researches looking to the advancement of the other of its two great basic industries—mining. When it is remembered that in mining we deal with serious occupational hazards and with resources of which we have but the one supply, and that this one supply is not only limited but is consumed or destroyed in use, it will be seen that there are special reasons why the mining industry should be treated with a liberality at least equal to that applied to agriculture.

The work of the National Government for mine safety consists mainly in general inquiries and investigations applicable to the conditions in all the States and in which all States are interested. It seems reasonable that this general work should be done by the National Government for the following reasons:

1. It is unreasonable to expect any one State to bear the cost of this work, which is equally useful to all of the other mining States, and in which all the people in all the other States are directly or indirectly interested.

2. If such work were done by each of the several States, the result would be a serious duplication of cost and effort and with varying results. If it were done by the private mine operators there would be still greater duplication and still greater variation in the results, and both the public and the miners would be suspicious of the results obtained.

3. By whatever agency the work may be done, the consumer of coal and other mineral products, representing the citizenship of the entire country, will bear the cost.

It will therefore seem proper that this general work should be conducted by the National Government, under such conditions as will command maximum public confidence and represent minimum duplication of labor and costs.

Furthermore, it is easier for the Federal Government than for the individual States or private companies to obtain information embodying the results of similar inquiries and investigations both in the United States and in the different foreign countries where mining operations are carried on.

EXISTING MINE RESCUE CARS AND STATIONS.

During the past few years the Bureau of Mines has been maintaining and operating during portions of each year six mine rescue stations and eight mine rescue cars, all of these being considered largely as an agency for the dissemination of information among the miners and those in charge of the management of mines and for the training of miners in mine rescue and first-aid methods. This has been primarily an educational work, though in connection with it a large amount of valuable data on mine conditions has been collected.

In order to carry forward this cooperative work in a proper manner it will be necessary to reorganize and to enlarge the work of the mine rescue cars or movable stations to a considerable extent.

EXISTING MINE RESCUE STATIONS.

The six stations maintained and operated by the Bureau of Mines during the last few years have been located at the following points:

Pittsburgh, Pa., occupying War Department buildings assigned temporarily for the use of the Bureau of Mines.

Knoxville, Tenn., occupying rooms in the Federal building. This station will be transferred to Jellico, Tenn., in the heart of the coal fields.

Birmingham, Ala., occupying a building erected by the Bureau of Mines on a site donated to the Government for this purpose.

Urbana, Ill., occupying rooms supplied by the State University.

McAlester, Okla., occupying temporarily a building constructed by the local miners and mine operators of the district, cooperating.

Seattle, Wash., occupying a building on the State University grounds that was erected for the Philippine exhibit at the Seattle Exposition.

Each of these stations has been in charge of a foreman miner, whose special business it was to give training and instruction in mine rescue and first-aid work to such miners as came to the station for such training. When there are no miners applying for training at the station, the foreman miner in charge is authorized to visit the near-by mines and give instruction at the mines themselves, taking with him the equipment—usually one-half dozen helmet outfits and material for first-aid instruction kept at the station for training purposes. In case of a mine disaster in any of the coal fields near a station the foreman miner takes his rescue equipment to such mines and, with the aid of men trained by him in the immediate vicinity, renders such service as he can in connection with the rescue of the injured or imprisoned miners.

RELATIVE EFFECTIVENESS AND COST OF MINE-SAFETY CARS AND FIXED STATIONS.

The average yearly cost of maintaining the existing fixed mine rescue stations has been about $3,200 per station. The average yearly cost of operating a mine rescue car under the existing inadequate system has been about $7,000 per car.

In relative effectiveness—that is, as a means of disseminating information and awakening interest and cooperation among the miners in the mine-safety movement—the advantage is greatly in favor of the rescue car, for the reason that the work is carried on at the mines, where all the miners and mine officials can see it in progress and cooperate in the movement and where the miners who are willing to take special rescue and first-aid training can do so without loss of time from their mining work or incurring expenses of travel and board elsewhere.

For this reason it would be well to discontinue the operation of such fixed mine rescue stations as are not located in the center of a thickly settled mining population and have their work carried on by rescue cars or movable stations. It is, however, considered advisable to maintain certain fixed stations which are so located, such, for example, as those at Birmingham, Ala., and McAlester, Okla., and the two new stations at Jellico, Tenn., and Norton, Va. These five fixed stations, already provided with buildings, can each be operated within its restricted sphere without being considered a part of the pending legislation.

EXISTING RESCUE-CAR WORK.

The mine rescue cars are distributed as follows:

Car No. 1, anthracite coal field, Pennsylvania, headquarters at Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

Car No. 2, Colorado-New Mexico coal fields, headquarters at Denver, Colo.

Car No. 3, Indiana-Kentucky coal fields, headquarters at Evansville, Ind.

Car No. 4, Kansas-Missouri-Oklahoma coal fields, headquarters at Pittsburg, Kans.

Car No. 5, Montana-Washington coal fields, headquarters at Billings, Mont.

Car No. 6, Wyoming-Utah coal fields, headquarters at Rock Springs, Wyo.

Car No. 7, West Virginia-Virginia-east Kentucky coal fields, headquarters at Huntington, W. Va.

Car No. 8, Lake Superior iron and copper districts, headquarters at Ironwood, Mich.

One car (No. 8) is devoted to work in the metal-mining fields.

The cars are out-of-date wooden Pullman coaches, purchased from and refitted by the Pullman Co. to meet the special needs of the Bureau of Mines work, after they had been removed from the regular service because of age and wear. In refitting these cars for the mine rescue work of the bureau one-half of each car is arranged with small rooms containing office headquarters, certain equipment, and spaces for heating, cooking, eating, and for sleeping berths. In the other one-half of the car the lower Pullman berths have been removed and the entire space is taken up with mine rescue and first-aid equipment. The upper berths have been retained, and are used as additional sleeping places for the men connected with the work, and especially for the extra men who, in the absence of other accommodations, may be housed on these cars in times of mine disasters.

The average cost of the seven existing cars—which have no steel underframe—including their refitting, has been about $1,750 per car, this representing mainly the cost of refitting the cars; but the cost of repairs has been heavy, ranging from $500 to more than $1,000 per car per year, in order to keep them in a reasonably safe condition for travel on the road. Railway officials now advise, as being necessary to safety, that all these cars be overhauled and that steel underframes be substituted for the existing weakened and aged wooden underframes.

The average cost of the inadequate equipment on these cars has been about $2,380 for each car.

PERSONNEL, EQUIPMENT, AND OPERATION OF EXISTING RESCUE CARS.

The personnel of the rescue cars in operation during the past few years has been, on each car, two miners, one to give training and demonstrations in the use of breathing apparatus and other life-saving equipment, and the other to train miners in first-aid methods, and a cook-janitor to take care of the car and its equipment and to supply the meals for the miners and himself.

The equipment of each rescue car has comprised 8 to 12 sets of artificial breathing apparatus, together with the supplies used in the mine rescue training and demonstrations and the first-aid training and demonstrations, extra supplies of oxygen and other materials used in the demonstration work and in actual mine rescue work at mine disasters, a limited quantity of fire-fighting apparatus, and sets of ordinary tools to be used in case of repairs on the car or in repairs rendered necessary in portions of the mine.

The operations of each rescue car may be considered as divided between the work in connection with mine disasters and ordinary preventive educational work.

PREVENTIVE EDUCATIONAL WORK OF EXISTING RESCUE CARS.

Under normal conditions each car is expected to be traveling from one mine or group of mines to another in a given coal field. The car stops at a given mine or group of mines for a week or ten days. During this time the two miners give a number of general demonstrations of mine rescue and first-aid methods; and in addition to this they train from five to ten men at each mine or group of mines in rescue methods and usually a larger number of men, often two or three times as many, in first-aid operations.

Whenever it has been possible, as has been the case at occasional intervals, that a mining engineer could accompany the car, in addition to the demonstration work mentioned above, the mining engineer has given a number of public addresses to the miners and the managers of mines, illustrated with lantern-slide pictures, with inscriptions under each picture in different languages, showing in contrast the more dangerous and the safer methods of mining. In the work as it is proposed to enlarge it there will be a mining engineer with the car all the time; and in addition to the lectures and demonstrations he will make examinations into the mining conditions and advise the mine officials on the ground as to possible improvements. The mine surgeon will do the same as to mine sanitation and other health conditions.

WORK OF EXISTING CARS AT MINE DISASTERS.

While the rescue work of the cars is unquestionably important, the committee believes that the preventive educational work carried on by these cars is of still greater importance as a means of helping to prevent mine disasters. The aim of the educational work is to supply miners, mine foremen, fire bosses, and other mine employees with information concerning the latest safety methods and appliances, and to interest them and to secure their cooperation in the general movement for mine safety and better mining conditions.

When a mine disaster occurs in any coal field the rescue car nearest the mine disaster is carried to the scene of the disaster as quickly as possible by the first passing train or by a special locomotive. When it arrives, the two miners with the car, subject to the authority of the State officials, enter at once upon the rescue work at the mine, and they call into service to cooperate with them such additional miners in the vicinity as they may have already trained in rescue methods. In case of a large mine explosion, the two nearest mine rescue cars may be ordered to the scene of the disaster. Generally they are met there by two or more of the mining engineers of the bureau experienced in rescue work and whose business it is to examine into the nature and extent of the mine disaster, as soon as possible after the disaster occurs.

CONTRAST BETWEEN THE OLD AND PRESENT MINE RESCUE METHODS.

Under the system now being practiced in this and other countries, the pioneer work in entering the mine, while still perhaps full of wreckage and poisonous gases, is being done by men of a specially organized force wearing, as may be necessary, artificial breathing apparatus, and carrying with them as precautionary measures safety lamps and small animals (usually birds), which are used for detecting the poisonous carbon monoxide, known as "white damp" by the miners. As rapidly as the ventilation of the mine can be restored, these trained men with artificial breathing apparatus are followed by experienced miners who, while taking every precaution, do not need to wear artificial breathing apparatus.

In connection with the organized system of rescue work along these lines during the past few years, some 80 men have been rescued from the mines by the trained men of the bureau, and some 500 miners have been rescued by other parties, many of these other parties having been trained in rescue methods by the men connected with the bureau.

This well-organized rescue work is in marked contrast with the older rescue methods in force a few years ago. This is illustrated by the experience at a Wyoming mine disaster in 1909 at which 40 miners lost their lives in an unorganized effort to rescue 20 miners caught in a mine explosion a few hours before.

THE NEEDED EXPANSION OF THE MINE SAFETY-CAR WORK.

Each of the seven rescue cars operated in the coal fields during the past three years has been kept in operation during an average of five to six months each year, the full time that the cars could be operated with the funds available. Furthermore, it has not been possible to keep on each mine rescue car either a mining engineer or a surgeon, and for this reason not only has the work of the car been restricted in time but also restricted in effectiveness.

The experience during the past few years has shown that several of these cars were at the time of their purchase already too badly worn to permit of their being used for extended journeys, and in the case of several cars the cost of the repairs has already exceeded the original cost, so that even the present work can not be continued without the overhauling and repair of the cars now in the service.

Moreover, as regards several of the cars, although the railway companies have been willing to handle them on slow trains they have not considered it safe to handle these same cars on fast express trains, although, of course, speed is highly desirable in time of serious mine disasters.

Railway officials have therefore recommended that all of the existing rescue cars, except car No. 8 (which was so treated at the time of its original purchase), should have steel underframes substituted for the wooden underframes which these old cars now have, and should be subjected to a thorough overhauling and repairing before being placed in service. They also recommended that in the purchase of new cars in connection with the proposed extension of this work, all of these new cars should have steel underframes. These changes are regarded as being necessary, not only for the safety of the cars themselves and the men traveling with them, but also to prevent the wrecking of the trains to which these cars are attached.

The enlargement of the work should take place along the following lines:

(1) Each of the eight existing mine rescue cars should be thoroughly repaired, and as a part of such repairs each of the seven cars now having old wooden underframes should be given a steel underframe.

(2) The equipment for each of the existing cars should be thoroughly overhauled and repaired and increased in quantity, so that in addition to the ordinary equipment required for the training and demonstration work there would be certain new equipment kept in the best possible condition for the hazardous work attending mine disasters. Among other items of equipment there should be special facilities for hoisting (a few men at a time), fire fighting, etc., for use when the ordinary equipment of the mine may be destroyed or so badly damaged as to be temporarily out of commission.

(3) There should be added to each car a mining engineer, a mine surgeon, and a stenographic clerk. (The duties of and need for each of these is stated below.)

(4) The total number of cars should be increased from 8 now in hand (7 in the coal fields and 1 in the metal-mining regions) to 15, through the purchase of 7 additional cars. Thirteen of these cars should be operated in the coal fields and two in the metal-mining regions.

(5) Each of these cars should be operated for a period of 11 months. The thirteenth car would be operated as a relief car for the other 12 in the coal fields, replacing 1 of the 12 cars during each succeeding month. Under such a system, in the coal fields, 12 cars with full crews would in this way be actually in full operation for the entire year. The 2 cars assigned to the metal-mine regions should each be operated for 11 months.

(6) There should be a headquarters organization located at some central point, probably at the Pittsburgh laboratories, under the general direction of which all of the cars could be operated. Here the necessary researches could be conducted, looking to the improvement of rescue equipment, together with the repairs of such equipment; and such other work could be done as would contribute to the efficiency of the entire work connected with such central organization. There would be a chief surgeon and a chief mining engineer who, in addition to guiding the work of the several mining engineers and surgeons on all of the mine rescue cars, would follow up their work by suggestions and cooperation in the organization of local first-aid teams at the different mines, and encouraging the reading of miners' circulars and other publications sent out by the bureau. Engineers connected with this central organization should also visit each mine a few weeks or months subsequent to the visit of the mine rescue car, with a view to seeing that the new interest in safety measures, occasioned by the work of the rescue car, is kept alive.

DUTIES OF THESE ADDITIONAL MEN, AND WHY NECESSARY.

The mining engineer will have charge of the car operations. He will arrange for and will join in giving the public demonstrations and illustrated addresses to be attended by all of the miners of the particular region where the car may stop. He will make a careful examination of each mine as to its safety conditions and will suggest possible improvements in equipment and methods. He will submit to the Bureau of Mines reports of all operations of the car, and more especially as to safety conditions and possible improvements at each mine or group of mines. His recommendations will be taken up with the mine owners, with a view to securing their adoption. The services of an experienced mining engineer in charge of the work of each of these cars is of evident importance. Indeed, it may be regarded as essential to success.

The mine surgeon or sanitary engineer will make a medical examination of all the miners who may apply for training. This requires skill and experience. No miner should be accepted for rescue training who is not physically sound. The surgeon will himself superintend the training in first aid to the injured. Many physicians have protested against the former practice of the Bureau of Mines of having this training done by miners.

The mine surgeon will also make a careful examination into the health conditions in and about the mines, and will submit recommendations in behalf of such improvements to the mine management. This he will do on a basis of cooperation between the Bureau of Mines and the Public Health Service. He will give general illustrated lectures to the miners and other mine employees on possible improvements in health conditions. He will submit reports to the Bureau of Mines in connection with all operations relating to the examination and training of the miners and the examination of and possible improvements in the health conditions in and about the mines. At mine disasters the surgeon will aid in reviving the rescued miners, a work in which extended experience and skill is needed.

The stenographic clerk will assist the mining engineer and the mine surgeon in recording their examinations and inquiries and in the preparation of their reports to the Bureau of Mines and to the mine management. Inasmuch as the mining engineer, the mine surgeon, and the two miners will generally be absent from the car during the time of making their examinations and doing their training work, the stenographic clerk will at such times be in charge of the car, explaining its operations to visiting miners and mine operators, and will look after the instruments and other equipment kept on board the car. This work of the stenographic clerk would greatly increase the efficiency of all the other men on the car, and would give the bureau such records of the work and of mining conditions as would not be otherwise obtainable.

Of the two miners, the foreman miner will carry out the training in connection with the mine rescue work and the first-aid miner that in the first-aid work, both under the supervision of the mine surgeon. In time of mine disasters both these miners will be expected to take part in organizing and leading the rescue work in the mines.

DO RESULTS ALREADY OBTAINED WARRANT THIS EXPANSION OF THE WORK?

This question may be answered in the affirmative without hesitation if the entire situation is considered. Some evidence of past improvement is shown by the accompanying statistical data, although the improvement is neither decisive nor regular. However, in the examination of these data the following facts should be understood:

(1) That the safety investigations of the Government since their inauguration in 1908 have been limited almost entirely to a study of mine explosions (which cause less than one-fifth of our total coal-mine fatalities); and in these explosion investigations the bureau's experimental coal mine—in which its most important experiments are to be conducted—was not ready for satisfactory work until 1913. Meanwhile the requests for funds with which to study, investigate, and develop preventive measures in connection with other and even more important causes of mine accidents have unfortunately had little response.

(2) Every year our mining operations enlarge, the number of men working in individual mines increases, and our coal mines become deeper and naturally more hazardous from increasing gas, falls of roof, machinery, and other conditions associated with greater depths and pressures. Therefore, unless suitable safety improvements are devised and utilized, the death rate in our mines will increase even faster than our mineral production.

The tabular statement given below will indicate some of the important facts relative to the loss of life in the coal mines of the country during the past 12 years. Taking the average death rates for the six years, 1902–1907, inclusive, prior to the inauguration of the Government's investigations of mine explosions, and comparing these with the

averages for the six years 1908–1913, inclusive, since the inauguration of these investigations, it brings out the following facts:

Average number of men killed in the coal mines of the United States per 1,000 employed:
1902 to 1907, average for five years 3.71
1908 to 1913, average for five years 3.73
Number of men killed in the coal mines of the United States per 1,000,000 short tons of coal mined:
1902 to 1907, average for five years 5.88
1908 to 1913, average for five years 5.38
Production of coal in the United States, in short tons, per fatal accident:
1902 to 1907, average for five years ..... tons... 172,000
1908 to 1913, average for five years ..... do... 188,000

Production, number of men employed, and number of men killed in and about the coal mines in the United States in the calendar years 1902 to 1913.[1]

Year.	Production (short tons).[2]	Number employed.[2]	Number killed.			Production per death (short tons).
			Total.	Per 1,000 employed.	Per 1,000,000 short tons mined.	
1902	296,687,066	510,437	1,895	3.71	6.39	156,563
1903	345,200,166	547,431	1,752	3.20	5.08	197,317
1904	339,164,812	573,373	2,004	3.50	5.91	169,244
1905	386,379,243	615,628	2,232	3.63	5.78	173,109
1906	407,835,003	631,085	2,116	3.35	5.19	192,710
1907	461,406,023	655,418	3,197	4.88	6.93	144,325
1908	404,932,764	672,794	2,449	3.64	6.05	165,346
1909	460,761,427	666,523	2,668	4.00	5.79	172,699
1910	501,506,378	725,030	2,840	3.92	5.66	176,618
1911	496,221,168	728,348	2,719	3.73	5.48	182,501
1912	534,466,580	722,662	2,360	3.27	4.41	226,469
1913	[3] 570,000,000	[3] 728,355	[4] 2,785	3.82	4.88	204,688

[1] The figures for production and number of men employed are from Mineral Resources of the United States, U. S. Geol. Survey, except for the number of men employed in 1911, which were compiled by the Bureau of Mines.
[2] These figures represent the production and the number of men employed in those States in which records of fatal accidents are in existence. The figures are directly comparable with the number of men killed as given in the fifth column and are those on which the mortality rates are based. It will be noted that the portion of the industry not represented in the rates from 1902 to 1909 is small and that since 1909 the entire industry is represented.
[3] Estimated. Subject to revision.
[4] Does not include December fatalities in Kentucky.

Average number killed per 1,000 employed in the coal mines of the principal coal-producing countries for the 10-year period 1901 to 1910.

	India.	Belgium.	Austria.	Great Britain.	France.	New South Wales.	Germany.	Japan.	United States.
Average, 1901–1910	0.96	1.02	1.04	1.36	1.69	1.74	2.11	2.92	3.74

Average number killed per 1,000,000 short tons of coal mined in the principal coal-producing countries for the 10-year period, 1901 to 1910.

	New South Wales.	Great Britain.	Austria.	Belgium.	United States.	Germany.	France.	India.	Japan.
Average, 1901–1910	3.70	4.40	5.05	5.56	5.83	7.55	7.79	9.00	22.71

Safety work by the Bureau of Mines in metal mining in the United States has been limited to the past two years (1912 and 1913). The year 1911 is the latest for which metal mine accident data are available for other countries. The data for this one year will serve to indicate the relatively high death rate in the metal mines of the United States and other countries.

Country.	1911		Country.	1911	
	Number employed.	Number killed per 1,000 employed.		Number employed.	Number killed per 1,000 employed.
Australasia:			Great Britain	29,025	1.48
New South Wales	19,360	1.81	Greece	6,764	2.07
New Zealand	7,400	.68	Italy	49,498	2.36
Queensland	11,091	.90	Japan	80,896	1.76
Tasmania	5,247	.76	Portugal	7,484	1.34
Victoria	14,051	1.35	Spain	120,781	1.49
Western Australia	15,428	2.33	Transvaal	225,538	4.14
Austria	20,299	.49	United States	165,979	4.19
France	29,988	2.83			

(3) Among the more specific safety improvements that are being developed and are now being introduced in coal mining under the lead of the Bureau of Mines are: (a) A new type of quick-flame, low-temperature explosive much safer than black powder for use in gaseous and dusty mines. There are now 116 different explosives of this new type manufactured by 18 different companies, and there is already in use (1913) more than 25,000,000 pounds of these explosives annually; (b) new types of miners' electric safety lamps and safety electric motors for use in gaseous mines. These and other improvements now underway in connection with safety measures, rescue and first-aid methods, and the general educational work inaugurated in connection with the mine rescue cars and stations during the past three years have won the cooperation of the miners and the mine operators, and the conditions are now favorable to the far larger cooperation of the miners and operators with the Bureau of Mines in its proposed larger work.

Many large mine operators have already put in force safety precautions to such an extent that the death rate in their own mines has been largely reduced, and in this work they have the cooperation of the miners and mine inspectors.

It should be remembered, also, in this connection that the mine rescue car work has as yet reached only a small percentage of even the coal miners of the United States. But there is much evidence going to show that the miners and other mine employees who have attended the illustrated lectures and demonstrations given in connection with the work of the rescue cars have exhibited a much greater interest in the mine safety work of the bureau, have called for its publications in increasing numbers, and in other ways have shown a willingness to cooperate with the bureau and with the inspectors and mine operators in putting safety appliances and methods into practice.

The condition which, more than any other, is retarding progress in this great safety movement is the failure of the National Government to make adequate provision for the more rapid extension of its research and educational work. Miners and mine operators agree in commending the thoroughness and effectiveness of the work of the Bureau of Mines as far as it has been able to go, and in expressing their willingness to accept and act upon its advice and recommendations, but they complain of the long delays and of serious limitations in this work; and the lack of conclusions and of specific recommendations as regards many possible improvements in safety and health conditions is seriously holding back such improvements in all parts of the country.

PROGRESS OF THE WORK UNDER THE PRESENT AS COMPARED WITH THE PROPOSED LARGER OPERATIONS.

A careful estimate shows that at the rate of progress under existing conditions between 12 and 15 years would be required for a single visit of one of the existing rescue cars to each important coal mine or group of mines in the United States. If the enlargement of the work now proposed is carried out in full, a rescue car with its demonstrational and other educational work would visit each important mine or group of mines in the United States once in four years' time, and during this time the training work of these cars would be so extended that from 10 to 30 miners would be trained in rescue and first-aid operations at each important mine or group of mines in the country.

WHY THIS EDUCATIONAL WORK CAN NOT BE CARRIED ON BY PUBLICATIONS ALONE.

A large proportion of the men entering the mines in the United States each year come from the farms and villages of different European countries; they are unfamiliar with our language, our institutions, and our laws, and know little or nothing of mining.

A majority of the men now working in the coal mines of the United States to-day speak and read but little English. It is therefore difficult to reach these men through publications, even when the latter are prepared in the most simple and elementary manner.

The plan followed most successfully by the employees of the Bureau of Mines in reaching and interesting these men is through giving actual working demonstrations in mine rescue, first aid, and other safety measures and methods, and the giving of lectures illustrated with lantern-slide pictures, which contrast the safe and the dangerous methods. Each of these pictures used has a short, one-line description under it in four or more different languages most common among the miners. In these lectures and demonstrations local interpreters are used at intervals, as the need for them may appear.

THIS DEMONSTRATION WORK AWAKENS NEW INTEREST AMONG MINERS, AND IS GOOD WELFARE WORK.

Work of this kind develops a new interest in the safety work among the miners, and following the movements of each of the existing rescue cars this interest on the part of the miners is shown in their call for the publications which treat of the mine-safety work.

So far as it has gone, this educational work is assuredly developing safer and better mining, and the leaders among the miners express the belief that if carried forward on a larger scale and in a more thorough manner, the work can not fail to develop also better citizenship among these miners.

Certainly many miners in different parts of the country have expressed a growing interest in and friendly feelings toward the National Government, as they come to see the evidences that the National Government is interested in their welfare. On the other hand, the great majority of the miners have not yet seen evidences of any public interest in their welfare, and no one need feel surprised at their lack of interest in government. Their chief idea of government—brought with them to this country—is that of suppression or oppression. In the enlargement of the mine-safety work now proposed the National Government certainly has its best opportunity to show to more than 2,000,000 of its citizens that it does have a real and an active humanitarian interest in promoting their welfare; and it can thereby gain their good will.

All this demonstrational and other educational work is of a pioneer character. If the mining conditions of the country can be improved and mining made safer and more attractive, men will stay with the mining industry in this country as they have been doing in other countries, and there would be less need of training a new army of miners each year. It will therefore be real economy to push the work more rapidly now.

There is every reason to believe that such educational work carried forward by the National Government under such methods as to win the confidence and cooperation of the miner will make for real progress in this industry in the same way that the national appropriations for educational work in agriculture have led to improvements and real progress in that industry which are building up a greater public welfare.

COST OF THE PROPOSED ENLARGEMENT OF THE SAFETY-CAR WORK.

The cost of overhauling the eight existing mine rescue cars, of providing seven additional mine rescue cars with their full equipment, and of operating all of these cars throughout the entire year on the basis described above is shown in the tabular statement given below.

Of the eight existing cars, seven will need to be provided with steel underframes to be substituted in each car for the worn-out wooden underframes which they now have, for reasons previously stated. This substitution of the steel underframes, together with the other needed

repairs, will make the overhauling of seven of the existing cars cost about $3,000 per car. One of the eight cars already has a steel underframe, and its overhauling will be inexpensive. The estimates obtained covering the purchase of these additional cars indicate an average cost of about $5,500 per car.

Nearly all of the existing cars when originally constructed as new cars were valued at from $20,000 to $30,000 per car. They were purchased by the Bureau of Mines at from $1,500 to $2,500 each after they had been abandoned for ordinary usage by the Pullman Co.

The cost of repairing cars already in use, of purchasing new cars, and of equipping and operating the cars in accordance with the plan set forth is given in the following statement:

Cost of the cars:		
Repairs of 7 of the 8 existing cars, at $3,000 (providing each with safer steel underframes)	$21,000	
Purchase of 7 additional cars, at $5,500	38,500	
		$59,500
Cost of equipment:		
New additional equipment for 8 existing cars (estimated for in sundry civil bill, $30,000; if not incorporated in sundry civil bill, should be incorporated in this estimate), equipment for 7 new cars, at $4,500		31,500
Total cost of cars and equipment		91,000
Cost of operating 1 car:		
Services—		
1 mining engineer	$3,000	
1 first-aid surgeon	2,700	
1 foreman miner	1,800	
1 first-aid miner	1 680	
1 stenographic clerk	1,000	
1 cook and janitor	720	
		10,900
Maintenance—		
Travel of men when absent from car	1,200	
Subsistence of 6 men, at $1 per day on the car, 335 days	2,010	
Repairs to the car and equipment	1,200	
Supplies used in training	4,440	
Special extra material and labor at mine disasters	600	
		9,450
		20,350
Cost of operating in the field 15 cars, at $20,350 each		305,250
Cost of headquarters, organization, and work necessary to successful operation in the field of the 15 mine rescue of mine-safety cars (see par. 6, p. 16):		
1 mining engineer in charge	$4,500	
1 mining engineer in charge of rescue organization work following the car operations	4,000	
1 chief surgeon	4 000	
1 engineer in charge of rescue equipment and methods	3,000	
1 engineer in charge of publications for supplementing rescue and first-aid demonstrations	3,000	
2 special assistants, at $2,400	4,800	
2 mechanicians for rescue equipment, at $1,800	3,600	
2 assistant mechanicians for rescue equipment, at $1,500	3,000	
2 safety commissioners for special organization work among the miners, at $3,300	6,600	
Special expert services for improvements in rescue equipment and methods	6,000	
3 stenographers and typewriters at $1,500	4,500	
2 stenographers and typewriters, at $1,200	2,400	
Travel expenses and subsistence	10,000	
Shop equipment and supplies for rescue equipment, repairs, and improvements	10,310	
		69,750
Total yearly cost of the mine-safety work		375,000
Amount now expended for operation on the existing incomplete and inefficient basis of 8 existing rescue cars during current year (9 months) under the appropriations for mine-accident investigations		70,150

As will be seen from the above tabular statement, the total investment in additional cars and equipment and in the necessary repairs of existing cars and the equipment proposed for these larger operations aggregates $91,000. This is not to be considered an additional appropriation, for the reason that these expenses might be covered in the following manner: It is likely that between two and three months would elapse following the passage of the appropriation act before all the additional cars and equipment and personnel of the various cars could be secured, and therefore that disbursements for operation might be conveniently delayed until three months following the passage of the appropriation act. By this date a three-month portion of the proposed appropriation of $375,000 for the mine rescue work will be saved sufficient to cover the amount of the necessary investment in cars and equipment, and after that date the entire machinery of the enlarged operations would be operated continuously during the remaining nine months.

THE URGENT NEED OF ADDITIONAL MINE-SAFETY INVESTIGATIONS.

The amount to be expended for the operation of the eight existing rescue cars operated on their smaller scale, during seven to eight months of the current year, is estimated to be $70,150. This amount may therefore be deducted from the existing appropriation of $347,000 for mine accidents, but in the opinion of the committee it should be allowed to remain as a part of that appropriation to be expended on long-delayed urgent investigations in relation to other mine safety improvements, which for lack of funds the bureau has not yet been able to take up. These investigations are as follows:

(1) Necessary extension of experimental mine work.—Recent mine explosions render necessary during the fiscal year 1915 an increase in the allotment for the explosion tests in the experimental mine of $15,000 more than the allotment for this work during the current year. The results of the current year's experiments are highly encouraging as to the possible use of stone dust and dry clay as preventive of coal-dust explosions; but they also indicate the need of extending the dimensions of the mine to a considerable extent.

(2) Accidents from falls of roof.—One of these is the falls of roof in mining, which causes from one-third to one-half the total loss of life charged against the mining operations in this country. This is an investigation requiring thoroughly trained technical knowledge. The loss of life from this cause during the last five years in coal mines alone has been more than 6,000 and the seriously injured 18,000 to 20,000.

The situation is not to be remedied by the claim that this class of accidents is due to carelessness. There is often a reasonable ignorance on the part of both the miners and the mine foreman concerning the nature of the roof rock and its behavior under different conditions of moisture and pressure. A thorough investigation of the problems, using both the practical experience of the miner and the technical knowledge of the engineer, can not fail to be helpful.

It has been urged that in this country we should follow the practice of Great Britain, in which country the proportionate loss of life from this cause during the past five years was less than one-half that in the United States. But the adoption of the British timbering practice in all our American coal mines would add $50,000,000 to $75,000,000 yearly to the cost of coal in this country, to be paid by the consumers of coal in all the States.

It is estimated that an investigation during the next few years, costing about $40,000 per annum, would probably find other and far cheaper methods of accomplishing the same result.

(3) Accidents from mine equipment.—The loss of life from mining, haulage, and hoisting machinery, failure of signals, etc., in the coal mines of the United States during the past five years was 2,100 men; and more than 6,000 men were seriously injured. There is serious need of investigation in this subject, which as yet the bureau has not been able to undertake. It is estimated that such an investigation would cost $35,000 per annum.

(4) Accidents (other than explosions) from electricity.—From this cause there have been many deaths and many serious nonfatal accidents in the mines of the country during the past five years. An investigation of this subject has thus far been beyond the means of the bureau, but it should be taken up without further delay. Such an investigation continued during the next few years is estimated to cost about $20,000 per annum.

(5) Accidents (other than explosions) from explosives in mines.—During the past five years about 700 men have been killed and fully 2,000 have been seriously injured from this cause in our coal mines alone. In addition to accidents of this type, a large number of miners have suffered from the poisonous effects of the fumes or gases given off in metal mines and tunnels, where the ventilation is poor. Investigation into this subject to cost $20,000 during the fiscal year 1915 has been estimated for in the sundry civil bill.

(6) Improvements of health conditions in the metal-mining, metallurgical, and other mineral industries.—A comprehensive investigation of conditions affecting the health of workers is one of the urgent existing needs of the mining industry. Such investigation would affect the health condition of one and a half million men employed in these several phases of the industry, and no one familiar with conditions will for a moment question its importance. In conducting it the Bureau of Mines would have the active cooperation of the Public Health Service, which would study the different ways in which mine conditions affect the health of employees, while the Bureau of Mines would seek to ascertain the existence and the causes of bad health conditions and the methods of improving the same. A careful estimate indicates that the cost of the part of this work to be carried on by the Bureau of Mines would be $50,000 a year for the next few years.

The investigations to which attention has been called in the above statements, although possibly the most urgent, are by no means the only ones that should be made by the Government in any systematic and comprehensive attempt to increase safety, improve health conditions, and bring about a more efficient development in the various mineral industries.

SLOW PROGRESS IN THE PAST GOVERNMENT MINE-SAFETY INVESTIGATIONS.

During the past two years, and especially during the past year, many complaints have come from both miners and mine operators of the slowness with which mine-safety results were being obtained through the Bureau of Mines. Both operators and mine owners have shown a desire to inaugurate new improvements looking to greater safety and along any lines in which they could receive definite and satisfactory recommendations or advice; and within the bureau itself every effort has been made to press these inquiries and investigations more rapidly with a view to obtaining these results with less delay, but progress has been unfortunately slow.

In connection with the investigation of mine explosions, owing to the limited funds at the disposal of the bureau it has required three years to open up the experimental mine near Pittsburgh and get the same in proper shape for experimental researches. With more adequate facilities this could have been done within a single year. As another example, three years have been required for certain researches looking toward the development of miners' electric safety head lamps, all of which, with larger facilities, might have been done within a single year. We have found it difficult to give to the miners especially a satisfactory explanation of these delays.

THE ECONOMICS OF MINE ACCIDENTS AND HEALTH CONDITIONS.

No one likes to estimate the money value of a human life, but at times it becomes necessary to do this, especially in working out the economics of compensation acts. It is a reasonable estimate that during the past 10 years more than 30,000 men have been killed and more than 100,000 seriously injured in connection with the accidents in the mining industries of this country. It is impossible to estimate the number who have suffered from bad health conditions in many metal mining, tunneling, quarrying, metallurgical, and other mineral industry plants. It is impossible to estimate the number of men with health shattered through these conditions who have had to give up their work years before their natural time or the number of dependents who have suffered thereby.

If it be assumed that each human life is valued at $3,000, it will be seen that the deaths alone in the mines have cost in the 10 years $90,000,000.

If each of the 100,000 seriously injured lost 20 days at $3 per day, a reasonable assumption, this represents $6,000,000 lost from this cause.

As to the metal mines, metallurgical plants, and quarrying operations, unfortunately there are few reliable data regarding health conditions in the United States; yet there are sufficient isolated figures concerning certain districts to indicate that the death rate from occupational diseases is even greater than the accident rate.

Whatever may be the value put upon a human life in arranging for a reasonable compensation, these losses of life and labor are national

in their extent and character and fall ultimately upon the general public as representing the consumers of mineral products. Whatever the theoretical bases of value of these losses, the true cost falls directly upon the injured and upon the consumer. Also, whatever additional expenditures may become necessary on the part of the operators of mines and metallurgical and other mineral industry plants to reduce this loss of life and labor must ultimately be a charge upon the general public as representing the consumers of mineral products.

It is important, therefore, not only from the humanitarian standpoint, but also from the standpoint of economics, that everything possible should be done to reduce the loss of life and labor in the mining industry both through prevention of accidents and through the improvement of health conditions. It is also a matter of decided importance to the general public from both the standpoints that these improvements should be brought about at a minimum cost and in a minimum time. Real economy involves speedy accomplishment as well as efficiency in the improvements to be made.

It is important, therefore, from both the humanitarian and economic standpoints, that the investigations by the National Government, with a view to better safeguarding the lives of the men connected with the more hazardous branches of the mining industry, should be conducted as thoroughly and as rapidly as the work can be done effectively, in order that the improvements may be inaugurated without delay and to the fullest possible extent.

It is equally important that after the inquiries and investigations have been conducted and reasonable conclusions formed, the information should be disseminated promptly and effectively among the miners and those who manage the mines.

The committee unanimously recommends the passage of the bill.

Antitrust Bill.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM M. CALDER,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 26, 1914.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 15657) to supplement existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies, and for other purposes.

Mr. CALDER. Mr. Chairman, in recording my opposition to the measure now before the House, H. R. 15657, known as the Clayton antitrust bill, I wish to speak particularly in behalf of the business man of small means, whose opportunities will, I believe, be greatly injured if it should become a law. I shall call attention to one or two features of the bill which, in my judgment, will have a disastrous effect not only upon the small business man but upon the large business man as well.

Recently I was advised not to attempt to give my views on this subject because of the fact that a Representative from the city of New York expressing opposition to this measure would actually aid in its passage. I do not consider that, even if true, a sufficient reason why the business interests of New York should remain unrepresented on the floor of this House. They are entitled to the same consideration and the same voice as the business interests of any other section of the country. They include the small business man as well as the large one, the laboring man as well as the employer. They can not be ignored in the preparation or passage of any legislation which affects business.

I have carefully examined the Clayton bill and wish to here and now record my objections to it. The Hepburn Act and the amendments thereto have already given the Interstate Commerce Commission great latitude in its control over the common carriers of the country. The Sherman Antitrust Act has given the courts a great deal of power over the general business of the country. This bill now extends that power radically and in many respects, it seems to me, far beyond what the country really needs.

In a speech delivered on the Mann railroad bill in the Sixty-first Congress I called attention to the general disposition throughout the country toward cooperation in business. This has been demonstrated in the organization of labor unions. These organizations have, in my judgment, done more to uphold the wages of the workingman of the country than any other thing, and while labor organization affects the wages in the respective trades in different parts of the country, nevertheless it is in labor, as in everything else, the survival of the fittest. While the labor organizations preserve a minimum wage. they can not compel the employer to keep the inefficient man.

I am an employer myself. I have found it profitable to employ none but union men. But, like every other employer, I seek to get the very best men I can. The well-paid and efficient man is much cheaper in the end than the poorer or the lower paid man. So the good mechanic has steady employment and in many cases higher wages than the ordinary or poorer mechanic. So it is in business. The man who succeeds is the man who works the hardest, who perseveres, who has more ingenuity, and who is a better manager of his affairs than the less successful man. The legislation under consideration seeks to hamper, it seems to me, the business man of smaller means and smaller opportunities. We may talk of equal opportunities and the fact that everybody should have the chance to earn a living. I agree with all of that. But, after all, the great majority of the people depend upon the skill, the ingenuity, and the courage of the business man, through whose ambition and energy business opportunities are created, and upon whom those who lack these qualities must depend for their livelihood.

Take the young man who has made a struggle from his youth to accumulate a small amount of money. He has saved from $500 to $1,000 and is ambitious to start business for himself. With laws on the statute books like the measure under consideration it requires courage, indeed, for him to risk the loss of his little capital in an effort to establish himself. He has not only the permanent and going business of his wealthy neighbor to compete with, but he has a law that forbids him to meet competition when it is necessary in order for him to get his share of the business of the community in which he proposes to establish himself.

Let us cite a case or two. A farmer in Pennsylvania living across the Delaware, whose market place is Trenton, or a farmer in northern New Jersey who lives across the Hudson from New York City comes to the market place with his auto truck or farm wagon loaded with produce. He arrives in the morning before the other farmers come in. He is the first on the ground. He disposes of his goods at a fair rate of profit. Later in the morning his competitors arrive. He has sold about half his stock and the other farmers are underselling him. He is compelled, if he wishes to dispose of the balance of his stock, to sell out for less money than he obtained from his earlier customers. It would seem if he did this that under section 2 of this bill he could be found guilty of discrimination in price between purchasers. Would he be able to say as an offset that he sold a different grade, quantity, or quality? It may be maintained by some that such sales were not made to defraud and do not come within the provisions of this bill. But will he not have to go to court if anyone attempts to prove he is guilty of fraud, and is he not, in fact, laying himself liable to blackmail?

Let us cite the case of the small manufacturer or merchant in the city of New York or any other city who is making the struggle for a beginning. He sells his goods to people in a neighboring State. He finds that his competitor is selling almost the same goods at a lower price. He has disposed of some of his merchandise at a living profit. He must keep the rest on his shelves or in his factory and go into bankruptcy unless he is willing to meet the market. If he meets that market price, he, too, may be considered guilty under the terms of section 2 of this act and liable to suffer a fine of $5,000 and a year in prison. I could cite numerous other instances. Take the business man who at the end of the season finds that he has a surplus stock on hand. If, in an effort to dispose of the stock, he sells at a lower price than that at which he has been disposing of his goods, is he not, under the terms of this act, guilty of discrimination in price and punishable by a fine of $5,000 and imprisonment for one year?

I am opposed to this provision whether applying to the large or small business man. But if it is going to hurt anyone it will hurt the small business man. The big one will be able, by manipulation of his grades, qualities, and quantities, to overcome the law, but the farmer, merchant, or manufacturer doing a moderate business will have to have a lawyer at his elbow to advise with him in every transaction that he undertakes. He will violate the law nearly every day in his life, and by this very act you will make nearly every business man in the United States a criminal.

The whole question of competition is the survival of the fittest. I am going to get my share of the business even if I have to take my competitor's business to do so. Every one of us wishes our neighbor to do well, and it is to the interest of the community to have everyone happy and prosperous, but if it is necessary for me to secure my competitor's business in order to succeed I am going to take it if I can get it, and no power on earth and no laws on the statute books are going to stop me, though I may technically violate the law in doing so.

What is the attitude of the community toward this legislation? Recently I inquired of people in New York City relative to this subject, and if the committee will bear with me I will read some of the letters I have received from business men, merchants, and manufacturers of my city. Most of these men are Democrats; they are eminent citizens; they supported

President Wilson and the Democratic Party in the election of 1912. Some are Republicans. Without exception they are insistent that the Democratic Party, in its present effort to legislate, is trying to discourage the business of the country.

I represent in part the great city of New York, and I want to make as strong as I possibly can my indorsement of the statement made by my colleague [Mr. METZ] a few moments ago. He is the only Democrat of the 31 Democrats from that State in this House who has stood up in his place to denounce this legislation.

I have been home for a few days and have had occasion to meet many men—many of our business men, and men in the ordinary walks of life—and I have not met a single one who believes this legislation would be other than disastrous to the great and small business interests of New York State. Resolutions have been passed by our manufacturers' and business men's association, our merchants' association, our chamber of commerce, and I am going to read just a few extracts from some of them.

Mr. SLOAN. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. CALDER. I will.

Mr. SLOAN. The gentleman commented upon the speech of his colleague [Mr. METZ], a Democrat from New York.

Mr. CALDER. Yes.

Mr. SLOAN. Is there a disagreement between him and his Democratic colleagues in thought or in expression?

Mr. CALDER. I have not conferred with all of my Democratic colleagues from New York City, but as to those who have talked with me privately, in the main I find they agree with the attitude of my other colleague [Mr. METZ], but for some reason are afraid to express their views.

Mr. SLOAN. Then that agreement is in thought and the disagreement is in expression?

Mr. CALDER. Yes.

Now, Mr. Chairman, from the March number of the Manufacturers' and Business Men's Pamphlet I read the following:

THE MARCH SESSION, 1914, LITTLE MEN IN THE SADDLE.

Little men are in the saddle. That is the great trouble with this country to-day. It takes big men for big things, and there are not many big men in the world. Little men abound on all sides. They are all right when they stick to little things, but when they undertake to handle the big ones, they go to pieces.

It is incredible that the people of this country can not understand the situation. In every other country, great corporations have been organized and, by their tremendous capital, power, and influence are reaching out for the commerce of the world.

If the business men of this country were left alone, they would enter into competition with all the world for supremacy in trade and commerce.

Heretofore our industries have been supplying the home market. Now, they are reaching out to the markets of the world. Do the people understand what this means in expanding industries, developing mineral resources and opening the way for the maintenance of the American scale of wages at the highest figure in the world?

Some day the people will understand this situation and will turn and rend the demagogues who are doing all the mischief. Some day the plain, common people will realize that a demagogue never filled a pay envelope "and never will!"—Leslie's Weekly.

"As the soil is improved by sowing it with different seeds, so is the mind."

ACTION OF THE NEW YORK CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

I am going to read some extracts from resolutions adopted by the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York on March 3, 1914.

In President Wilson's message on the new freedom he stated that—

Constructive legislation when successful is always the embodiment of convincing experience and of the mature public opinion which finally springs out of that experience.

And further says:

What we are purposing to do, therefore, is, happily, not to hamper or interfere with business as enlightened business men prefer to do it or in any sense to put it under the ban. * * * And, fortunately no measures of sweeping or novel change are necessary; * * * what we have to do can be done in a new spirit, in thoughtful moderation and without revolution of any untoward kind.

Until recently the declarations of party leaders, Government officials, and publicists as to industrial conditions needing correction in the interest of the public welfare have been confined to business organizations seeming to have at least the potentiality of operating in restraint of trade, enjoying undue privilege or imposing unfair conditions.

Now, for the first time, the idea is suggested that all business, of whatsoever nature, conducted under corporate form shall be brought under the most exhaustive and complete scrutiny of its most intimate and personal affairs by a commission which has practically no other powers than those of investigation.

It is indeed a serious matter when the framers of legislation, being the elected representatives of the people in Congress, should seem to indicate that in their minds all those conducting industrial enterprise are less honest, less fair, and less public spirited than those who are drawn into public life to frame and administer the laws.

If business men of the country do not generally resent and protest against such implications, they will be considered to have tacitly admitted them.

There are three fundamental types of law affecting industrial life—legislative law, moral law, and economic law.

None of these types of law is immutable. On the contrary, all are changing.

Legislative law is enacted, amended, repealed, and reenacted.

Moral law, at least in its aspect as the expression of the conscience of the people, changes with the advancement of civilization and the influence of ethical and religious culture.

Economic law, the product of economic forces, springing from we know not where, is the most inevitable, as it is the most irresistible, of all law.

Let us not forget that statutory law, if incompatible with or too inflexible to be coordinated with the changing elements of economic force, or if administered contrary to or in ignorance thereof, will either be overborne by economic law and necessity or else will tend to restrain, if not to destroy, industrial progress.

A survey of the history of the remarkable industrial and business development of this country indicates that its achievements have been in the main due to the initiative, energy, enterprise, and bold courage of an immense number of individuals breathing and operating in the free air of untrammeled opportunity, in which alone true genius can work and survive.

The spirit of unrest has been said to largely spring not alone from unequaled conditions of life but from what has been called the unequal distribution of wealth.

Undoubtedly what has been meant is the unequal acquisition of wealth, but there will always be unequal acquisition of wealth as long as there is unequal distribution of brains, industry, and thrift, and those are qualities of mind and character which no statutory laws can regulate or control, but the beneficent exercise of which unwise law can greatly restrict and discourage.

Men having those qualities have ever been able to see and grasp opportunities, and men using them conscientiously have ever secured recognition among their fellows.

To shackle the genius of this country, to limit individual freedom and initiative within the confines of parental government direction other than the well-defined limits now understood and recognized as inconsistent with moral law, modern ethics, and the public welfare, would be to set brakes upon the splendid spirit of our people by which all our achievements have been inspired, if not, indeed, to break down the march of progress, and to force us to the rear in that international contest for the world's business, by which alone this country can continue to grow and reach the fruition of which there has heretofore been such ample promise.

Industry has not as yet fully adjusted itself to our changed tariff policy, and we are about to make great changes in our financial methods. Important fluctuations in our international balance of trade might add serious burdens to the new banking and currency system.

Your committee has been unable to ascertain from what business organizations or industrial sources there has emanated any important demand for legislation as outlined, and has not yet been able to find any expression of responsible or organized business opinion that legislation of such character would be timely, appropriate, or beneficial to the business interests or the people of this country.

With this consciousness abroad in the land, your committee believes that what business men generally desire, what industry most needs, is the certainty of a period of rest for the peaceful readjustment of all enterprise that is inconsistent with the accepted principles of law and ethics, and for the energetic advancement of all individual endeavor free of any sense of repression, secure in a sense of liberty of action, and guarded from the danger that the disclosure of personal prerogatives and private achievements would entail.

I have here a letter from the president of a bank in New York City. And I might add, Mr. Chairman, that when this bill was reported I sent a copy of it to every bank president in the city of New York and to every important business man that I knew in order to obtain an expression of opinion from them. Here is a letter from a gentleman who voted for Woodrow Wilson for President in 1912 and supported the Democratic ticket. Listen to what he says:

HARRIMAN NATIONAL BANK,
FIFTH AVENUE AND FORTY-FOURTH STREET,
New York, May 18, 1914.

Hon. WILLIAM M. CALDER, M. C.,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: I have your letter of May 15, inclosing copy of the so-called Clayton antitrust bill, and as you ask for my views on the subject, I give them condensed and to the point.

The Democratic Party, in my opinion, has done very well; but it is suicidal to consider further legislation at this time. The country is now prepared, through the promise of big crops and increased freight rates, to go ahead with good business; but if this continual legislative nagging is to be in order you can take my prediction that you will see the greatest upheaval at the election next November that has been seen in a great many years.

There is no more necessity for all this antitrust legislation than there is for a reregulation of the moon and stars. The country is getting heartly sick of politics. It is a thorn in the flesh and has caused capital to withdraw from many channels, necessitating the laying off of labor, and timidity by all capitalists toward embarking in new business and directions.

If you could but realize how I, as president of a bank in the retail-business center of the largest city in the country, have been called upon by our customers and depositors to explain the reason for the falling off in trade, you would appreciate the feeling I have in writing you as I do. My answers have invariably been that it is politics alone that is causing the disturbance, and it is to our representatives they must turn for the results.

Very truly, yours,
J. W. HARRIMAN,
President.

Mr. FLOYD of Arkansas. Is any name signed to that letter?

Mr. CALDER. Yes; Joseph W. Harriman, president of the Harriman National Bank, Fifth Avenue and Forty-fourth Street, New York City.

Permit me to call the attention of the committee to a number of newspaper editorials from some of the papers of the city of New York. I have several from the New York Times, one of the leading dailies in New York City. It was an earnest supporter of President Wilson and the Democratic Party in 1912.

The editorial of February 13 of this year in relation to antitrust bills says:

THE ANTITRUST BILLS.

NEW YORK, *Friday, February 13, 1914.*

Undoubtedly, it is well to exhibit more joy over the one sinner who repents than over the ninety and nine who never went wrong. But is it worth while in attempting to bring the hundredth man to repentance to raise such a turmoil, uproar, and disturbance that the other 99 can neither sleep nights nor work daytimes? That is the question presented by the five antitrust bills, called, seemingly without warrant, the administration bills. President Wilson, in his talk with the members of the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce on Wednesday, said that 90 per cent of the business of the country needed no governmental attention; legislation was needed only to prevent particular abuses by a minority of the business community. The question that confronts Congress and the administration, and in a very serious way confronts the country, is whether this legislation shall be wise and sound, adequate only for the proper protection of the public, or whether it shall be radical and destructive, looking beyond the welfare of the people to the political profit of demagogues and agitators.

The 90 per cent of the business interests of the country who, according to the President's statement, are in no need of correction are not opposed to any sane and necessary enactments for the restraint of the other 10 per cent, supposedly made up of transgressors. Sane and necessary legislation is not disturbing. But the holding up of all the business of the country, now after long trials hopefully awaiting the return of prosperous conditions, while ignorant and incompetent legislators fumble with projects of law that are the fruits of their own ignorance and incompetence would be a needless calamity and one which the country should not be called upon to bear. Men of experience in business, men who are not malefactors, have given Congress the benefit of their advice; others stand ready to give it. There was much wise counsel given in the addresses made at the chamber of commerce convention yesterday. If Congress goes wrong with these projects, if it adheres to the misshapen measures it has produced in committee, it can not plead lack of light in excuse. The true cause will be its own blindness. And in that case the greatest sinners of all will not be the President's 10 per cent of business men, but the Congressmen and Senators. The people will have been betrayed in the two Houses of their own Congress. But the President's perceptions are clear, his words indicate that, and his influence over Congress is great.

In the New York Sun, in its issue of April 13, in the financial review, attention is called to the great crops in the West and the excellent condition of business abroad, and that the only hope for the future is the indication of the election of a Republican Congress next fall, clearly outlined in the recent congressional election held in the seventh New Jersey district.

In an article in the Brooklyn Eagle, under date of May 14, this paper, which rendered valuable service in behalf of Mr. Wilson in the campaign of 1912, has an article entitled "Drive in the knife to the hilt."

So as to provide against any scarcity of issues when the next House of Representatives is chosen, the leaders, under the caucus-bound program, will insist that the Covington antitrust bill, the Clayton antitrust bill, and the Rayburn bill for Federal regulation of railroad stocks and bonds be passed in the order named, or at least voted upon and sent over to the Senate.

The right not to alter but to add to this list is, of course, held in reserve lest it be not long enough. If neither the width of a church nor the depth of a well will suffice, let there be more to come, much as we have had already. Take every possible advantage of the strength of the patient. Meanwhile it is not improper to remark that the new schedules are operating satisfactorily—for other countries. Symptoms of recovery from that "shock" are scarce.

Talk of conspiracy has come to an end. No longer is it alleged that factory doors are closing wholly and solely for the purpose of discrediting revision downward. Goods of foreign manufacture are coming here in larger quantities. Goods of domestic manufacture are going out in smaller quantities. In six months we have imported $13,000,000 more and exported $37,000,000 less than for the corresponding period of last year. Hence the shock, aggravated by the substitution of a deficit for a Treasury surplus.

There is optimism as to the effects of the second capital operation—the reformation of the currency. But there was also optimism as to revision downward. That was to be followed, as it were, on the spot, by a decrease in the cost of living. There is no sign of it. Prices are not lower than they were six months ago, but the wherewithal to pay them has contracted. How currency reform will affect conditions is not known. It awaits the test of actual operation.

There is a demand for more, and it is real. There is a demand for antitrust legislation, and its voice is stentorian. It comes from the Congressman who is anxious to make a record to which he can "point with pride." He will not point to the imports or to the exports, nor will he call attention to the Treasury deficit or to the increased and increasing number of the unemployed. Principally, he will confine himself to the rapacity of the rich and the oppression of the poor.

And why shouldn't he? Bait of that sort has been swallowed before, plus hook, line, and sinker.

This editorial is indicative of the attitude of the people of New York City on the legislation under consideration, and in my judgment ought to have the effect of causing at least the Representatives from the great city of New York to stop and take account of stock before passing a measure which the people from that community feel confident would do them great injury.

The attention of the business men of the country has been called to section 9 of this bill, prohibiting a man being a director in more than one bank or trust company, eliminating, however, towns and cities under 100,000 and banks whose capital and surplus and undivided profits aggregate more than $2,500,000. It seems to me this is the grossest kind of discrimination. The Judiciary Committee has sought in this provision not to offend the bankers in the smaller towns and cities of the Nation, and they seem to create the impression that it is possible for the bankers in the larger communities to be corrupt and dishonest with their depositors and stockholders and the people in the communitiy generally as against the officials of the banks in the smaller cities and where the resources of the banks are less than $2,500,000. I maintain, Mr. Chairman, that in the smaller towns the officials of the banks are of no higher standing than those in the larger banks in the great cities. I make the statement here, Mr. Chairman, that the bankers of the city of New York, with very few exceptions, are the very best men in our city and have the very best knowledge of the banking business, and the best informed and most valuable are directors of more than one bank.

I have a letter here from the president of the National City Bank of Brooklyn, advising me that if the provision relating to interlocking directorates becomes a law he will lose the services of the three most valuable men on his board. I have also a letter from the president of the First National Bank of Brooklyn citing the same objection. I have also a letter from the president of the Montauk Bank, of Brooklyn, Mr. Henry H. Randall, which is exceedingly interesting. Mr. Randall is a director in several banks on Long Island. He is one of the most conservative bankers in all the city. The president of the Importers & Traders' National Bank, of New York, also makes the same complaint. This is one of the great commercial institutions of the city; and this bank will lose as the result of this legislation five of her best directors, men upon whom it has depended in its great business transactions during the many years of its existence.

Mr. Chairman, I can not agree that the establishment of a police power over the legitimate business of the country will be of lasting value to the people. Would it not be better to have this measure thoroughly digested by the country and then come back next winter and discuss the matter with much more intelligence than we are able to do at this time? I have quoted from several of the great business concerns of the metropolis and I have read you letters from some of our leading bankers. These gentlemen are more interested in the business development of the country than anyone else. I do not believe there is a Member of this House who has had personal contact with large business matters that has the slightest idea that this legislation is going to help in any degree to better conditions. A Democratic Member of Congress from the State of New Jersey only yesterday informed me that the antitrust bills passed in that State just before President Wilson retired from the office of governor—the measures famed throughout the country as the "seven sisters bills"—have never been enforced in the slightest degree, and if enforced would drive out of the State a large portion of the business transacted there. We have been conducting a waiting policy in the matter of our dealing with the Republic of Mexico. Would it not be better, in a matter of such far-reaching importance, to hesitate before placing on the books a measure to which there has been so much objection?

Administration Critics—Wise and Otherwise.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. CONNELLY,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 1, 1915.

Mr. CONNELLY of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, from the first day that Mr. Wilson took his seat in the White House to this hour he has been bitterly assailed as to every move that he has made by the bitter partisans of the House and the country. Every now and then men who are blinded by a bitter partisan spirit proceed to come forward and spill their spleen on the President and his efforts to serve the great common masses of the people. There must always be conceded in a Government like ours the right to men who hold views at variance with the party in power to express a criticism of a policy and a party, and useful criticism is always to be courted rather than to be discouraged. But the bitterness of the criticism of President Wilson as to not only one of his policies but in each and every move that he makes and every stand that he takes shows how anxious some partisans and partisan newspapers are to serve the great interests that have for a half century fattened from the necessity of the great common people and which are willing to share the spoils with certain of these special newspapers. It is pleasant

to note that some of the real big men of the Nation, men who do not agree with many of the policies of the Democratic Party, have recently risen above the pettiness of partisanism and have not only merely refrained from this class of criticism, but have not felt that they were sacrificing their standing before the American people when they give liberal praise to some of the policies of the President. Not the least good that can come from the example of such men is the showing of the pettiness of the carping critic who fears that to give approval of one thing done by one who is affiliated with another party could safely be accorded for fear that in some way it might jeopardize his own little personal success. The little, narrow partisan in this great country of ours certainly can reflect no credit upon the intelligence of the people who sends him here. A prominent editor out my way some years ago made a very apt remark when he said that politicians were like automobiles in that the cheaper they are the more noise they make.

I like the fellow who really believes things. I would not give much for the fellow who does not have political convictions and political opinions. Some of the best men that I know are men who do not view many questions the same way that I do, and therefore they do not always come to the same conclusions as I do. This does not necessarily mean that they are always wrong and I am always right, nor does it prove conclusively that they are always right and I am always wrong. The fact, however, that they can appreciate that I may in some instances be right shows that they have been touched with the greater spirit of Americanism, a spirit that even these carping partisans will at no great time in the future adopt, for they will soon have discovered that the intelligence of their constituency has advanced to that place where it will rebel against the pettiness of puerile and unjust criticism.

Possibly the greatest criticism that has been leveled at this administration is the criticism of the tariff bill that it has passed. It is perfectly legitimate to bring any indictment that is true against this or any other bill, provided the indictment is made to point out a weakness of the bill, for, like all legislation, it is only the work of human minds and human hands; and that here and there may be found some schedules that will not bring exactly the results that the men may honestly expect them to bring is no special evidence of criminal incompetence on the part of those who framed the bill. I do not altogether agree with the expressed opinions of some of my Democratic colleagues who say that to change a certain schedule, even though for reasons unforeseen it has not produced the results that it was expected to produce, is in some way a confession of weakness. I believe the people of this country are coming to realize more each year that there is entirely too much party bigotry in all parties, and that they will approve of that spirit that will dare to break a precedent even in an effort to know and do the right.

Those who want to be fair—and they constitute a great per cent of those who do not profit by unfairness—will concede that some of the predictions made on both sides of this Chamber by members of both parties have not come true and will not come true. Some of the Republican Members have been kind enough to point out some of the mistaken prophecies made by the Democrats at the time of the making of the tariff bill, and I may therefore be pardoned if I presume to remind of some prophecies that were made by Republicans at that time that have not come true.

I recall that some of the Members from agricultural sections of the country, elected here as Republicans, went out of their way to predict great calamities that would come to the farmer under this tariff law. They said that wheat and cattle and corn and eggs and meats of all kinds would be greatly reduced in price because of it. They especially bemoaned the fellow who was engaged in the production of wool and sugar; he, according to the dire and awful prophecies of these gentlemen, was especially to be made an object of their solicitude. Of course they were mistaken. The farmer was never more prosperous in the history of the country than he is to-day. He is prosperous, but not more so than he deserves to be. He has in the long years of the past seldom reaped a just reward for the work that he has done and the sacrifices that he has made, but he has kept on his steady struggle for better things and better conditions, and now he is rewarded in some ways by being the beneficiary of some of the conditions that exist. I am not so narrow as to be ready to harshly criticize the fellow who represents an urban population for introducing resolutions here looking to the paying of an embargo on the foodstuffs that the farmer has to sell, provided that he is content to stop when he has made all the political capital that it will bring him; but when he attempts to press that resolution he will be met not only by the man who represents an agricultural people, but many of those who do not represent such a people will see the injustice and refuse to be a party to such a move. If the farmer has tread the wine press of adversity during the long years when his labor yielded no adequate return, he must not be legislated out of the first fair wind that has blown his way for many a day. But, lest I stray from the question I started to discuss, I will return to the unjust and unfair critic who has the last few weeks been working his jaw overtime and giving his brains a vacation. The protective tariff, after being tried for 30 years as a reviver of agricultural interests, was only a moderate success, if we are to view it in the light of history as we find it stored away in the musty volumes of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. In looking over the history of this House and the legislative body at the other end of the Capitol Building I find that on the 17th of March, 1890, the Hon. Daniel W. Voorhees, a distinguished and able Senator from the State of Indiana, introduced a resolution in that honorable body that would give some idea of the conditions of agricultural interests of the country at that time, which was 30 years after the Republican Party had started to make these people prosperous through the agency of a protective tariff, and no other party had during that long tenure of office been able to muster a force sufficient to displace a Republican tariff law from the statute books of the country. The following is the resolution above spoken of:

Whereas the deep and widespread depression and decay of the agricultural interests of the American people, the enormous and appalling amount of mortgage indebtedness on agricultural lands, the total failure of home markets to furnish remunerative prices for farm products, the palpable scarcity and insufficiency of money in circulation in the hands of the people with which to transact the business of the country and effect exchanges of property and labor at fair rates, are circumstances of the most overwhelming importance to the safety and the well-being of the Government: Therefore be it

Resolved, That it is the highest duty of Congress in the present crisis to lay aside all discussion and consideration of mere party issues and to give prompt and immediate attention to the preparation and adoption of such measures as are required for the relief of the farmers and other taxed and underpaid laborers of the United States.

I wish that every farmer as he comes in from his day's labor now and counts up that every bushel of wheat that he has in the granary is worth a dollar and fifty cents, every cow in the corral is worth from $50 to $80, every hog in the pen is worth from 7 to 9 cents per pound, every horse in the barn is worth fine and fancy prices, and every pound of butter that his wife makes and every egg that she gathers from her poultry yard are all eagerly sought for at remunerative prices—I wish that he, before he believes all that these severe critics have to say about the Underwood tariff law, would stop and read the above resolution that was introduced and discussed by as able a man as ever graced the Halls of that historic body at the other end of the Capitol, 30 years after the Republican Party started in to make the farmer prosperous by a protective tariff, and the Republican Party had written every line of tariff legislation that had been placed upon the statutes of the country for that long period of time. It is worthy of notice how the critics of the present tariff law have shifted their batteries from one position to another. They started out to show that the bill would drive producers here to the wall; in this they soon discovered that they were weak; then they worried for a while about the balance of trade being against us; recently the balance of trade has veered so much in our favor that they have now shifted and say that the bill does not produce revenue. It must be conceded that so long as the conditions are such as to prevent a free flow of commerce from nation to nation that any claim, either for or against the merits of a revenue bill, looking to its revenue-producing accomplishments, must be but little more than a guess, and all fair people will concede that no tariff bill framed to meet a normal trade condition could be either safely praised or fairly condemned at such a period of abnormal conditions. It is only fair, as it appears to us, to say that the new tariff bill up until the time of the breaking out of hostilities in Europe was even a greater revenue producer than its framers claimed it to be.

I know that the great body of the people of the country are not in sympathy with the severe criticism that has been accorded President Wilson from certain quarters regarding his Mexican policies. The people are intelligent, and they are in the main fair. They realize that to blaze out the way is one thing and to stand back and find fault after the lines have been run is quite another thing. The troublous times in the war-cursed country of Mexico is a matter that is deplored by every right-thinking man, regardless of what may be his political alignment. We, who are blessed with only a limited insight into conditions there, can now see where some little details could possibly have been improved upon, but we have the very great advantage of being able to look back on what has been done, rather than having to take the place of those in command

and look forward to what was to do. The one thing that saves us from losing faith in the future greatness of our country, when we hear the carping of petty and pittiless critics at this time, is the assurance that the great body of men and women, those who form the real bulwark of the country's greatness, those who work in the field and factory, those who work in the mills and mines, are not sharing in the bitterness of this petty criticism, but are, on the other hand, treading the higher grounds, where true patriotism has a higher ambition than to circumscribe itself with the desire for political advantage and a hope for partisan gain.

Mr. Speaker, I want now to refer to another criticism that has in the main been advanced with a different spirit and with a different purpose. I mean the criticism that has been made regarding the failure of the President and this Congress to place embargoes on munitions of war that are being sold to the belligerent nations, some of whom are so situated as to take advantage of the shipment of these arms and ammunition and some that are not. I know full well the hold that ancestry has upon all of us, and I approach the comment on this criticism with a good deal of charity for the position taken by those who have urged that this embargo be placed. In many instances it has been represented in the press of the country that these sales of arms and ammunition only profit the manufacturers of these commodities, while they violate the spirit of neutrality. Much has been said in an offhand way about such matters that have had a tendency to prejudice a great many well-meaning people as regards to this matter without giving much enlightenment.

Of course it is one thing to be free from responsibility and offer criticism, and quite another to have the responsibility resting upon you of upholding the Constitution and along with it those treaties and traditional customs that have become a part of the fundamental law of the land through a long term of usage. There are two very distinct sides to the laying of embargoes upon arms and ammunition that I hope I will be able to point out without being accused of entering into any long and labored discussion of the relative merits. On the one hand it is urged that the laying of these embargoes would have a tendency to terminate the deplorable conflict in Europe, and with that perspective I have no criticism against those who have urged it. I feel that even exceptional measures would be justified if for a certainty this object might be accomplished. On the other hand it has been almost the unbroken usage of centuries to allow the sale of these munitions by neutral nations to belligerents, and it is urged by those who justify the usage that another course would compel every country during the long intervals of peace to manufacture and keep on hand great stores of military supplies, which become obsolete with the passing of years; and thus every nation, in order to be ready for some emergency that might never come, yet because of the unreliability of human knowledge of what is to come in the future lives of nations, would be impelled to lay such a Federal tax burden upon the people in time of peace as to become almost unbearable. In order to escape this great military burden in times of peace it has been almost the uninterrupted usage of the past that neutral nations shall sell to any nations that may come and ask for them any munitions of war that they may have to sell. This being by long usage generally recognized as a part of the law of nations, it is not difficult to see why the President should hesitate to act in violation of this rule at a time when such a violation might involve us in serious complications with these other nations.

At this time, when the countries in actual conflict comprise not only a majority of the population of the earth but more than half of the land area of the earth, I plead with my countrymen that it is not a time to ask the President and Congress to establish new rules and violate customs of long usage in dealing as a neutral nation with the nations of the earth that are engaged in this unhappy conflict. Whatever may be our difference of opinion as to the value of the policies of different parties as now constituted and organized, whatever may be our choice as regards the best industrial policies that should be pursued in our own country, let us be charitable enough to concede that when danger knocks at the gate of our beloved country and threatens us with international complications we shall be a united people, ready, if need be, at all times to defend our flag with the last drop of patriotic blood that the Nation holds; but fully determined that if such a calamity shall come, it will come in spite of our best efforts to avoid it, rather than because we have abrogated rules of long international usage in order to provoke and invite it.

When we get far enough away from the present war that is devastating Europe we will, in my humble opinion, be more able to appreciate its magnitude than we are to-day. All the wars of Cæsar, Alexander, Napoleon, and Frederick the Great will then appeal to us as only skirmish lines in the great tragedy of world's wars. Its cost in men and money will stagger humanity and give future generations a new sum to compute in the crime of conflicts. It has driven more than 2,000 German ships of commerce alone from the sea, and a thousand more of English trade vessels have been diverted from the peaceful pursuits of carrying commerce to supply colliers and carriers for the needs of her navy. It has made every shipowner in every neutral nation hesitate to set sail with his ships of commerce over a sea that is bedecked with frowning battleships, cruel submarines, and hidden mines. Is it any wonder that in the first five months of this great war the international trade of the world diminished over $15,000,000,000, and has not only effected the commercial, industrial, and financial conditions of our own fair land, but other neutral nations no less than our own?

Finally, Mr. Speaker, may I indulge the hope that in the discussion of these criticisms and conditions I have not failed to exercise that charity for the opinions of others that should always characterize our discussion in a free country like ours. My purpose during the time that I may be honored with a seat in this honorable body, whether that time be brief or otherwise, I hope will always be to view every question with as wide a vision as I may be capable of and with as bounding a charity for the honest opinions of others as may be seemly and proper.

If these few remarks shall in any way help to clear the vision of those who honestly seek to know the right, if they shall increase the caution with which we as a people approach conclusions, if they shall add to the charity of those who have a common cause in the welfare of the great common people of the country, if they shall help to distinguish the bitter rantings of partisans from the pleadings of patriots, I shall be content.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HORACE W. VAUGHAN,
OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 27, 1915.

Mr. VAUGHAN. Mr. Speaker, under the privilege granted me to extend my remarks on the subject of rural credits, I wish to say that I regret exceedingly that while everybody is declaring in favor of legislation providing a rural-credit system, we have been unable to agree upon the kind of legislation or the kind of rural-credit system we should have. I do not berate this Congress for this failure, for I realize that this subject is comparatively new and the people have not yet had sufficient information upon it for public opinion to form in favor of any particular legislation upon it. I do not find any mention of the subject in the last Republican platform, and while the Democratic platform says it is "of equal importance with the question of currency reform," it merely recommends "that an investigation of agricultural credit societies in foreign countries be made, so that it may be ascertained whether a system of rural credits may be devised suitable to conditions in the United States." Such investigation has been made and much information on the subject has been obtained, but it has not yet become sufficiently generally known for public opinion to form in favor of any specific legislation. Though this is true, I can not but regret that this Congress has not availed itself of the opportunity to take the lead in the matter, to work out a proper system without waiting to be driven by public opinion after it is formed in favor of some specific legislation. This Congress has created two rural credit investigating bodies; they have reported bills differing widely, but agreeing in that each of them establishes a land-mortgage credit system; but neither of them makes, nor has any bill that has been introduced made, any provision for a cooperative agricultural credit system to enable the farmers to organize cooperative societies in their respective communities whereby, through the combined strength and credit of all, each member may be able to obtain such credit for productive purposes as he is entitled to at a fair rate of interest; none of the bills makes any provision for personal credit. They provide means whereby money may be obtained when needed by the man who has land he can mortgage. That man can now obtain money at the banks and from other sources. Of course, he now has to pay too high interest, and a proper system of making loans secured by land mortgages at a low rate of interest would doubtless help many owning a little land to get money

at fair interest, and enable many to acquire homes who otherwise are at the mercy of the money lenders, and I am for any safe proposition which will give our people money at 5 per cent, yet no land-mortgage system, however perfect it may be, will supply the needs of American farmers.

Farming must be made profitable to the man who actually tills the soil; it must be made more profitable for the tenant ever to be able to become a home owner. To bring about this condition it is necessary to provide ample credit facilities for the actual tillers of the soil. The farmer, the land-owning farmer as well as the tenant farmer, should have a credit system adapted to his business. The farmer needs an entirely different credit system from that which is required by commercial and industrial interests.

Providing the means whereby the land-owning farmers may borrow from the Government money not exceeding half the value of their mortgageable land by mortgaging it as security, though it will accomplish a great deal of good and enable many to save their homes from foreclosure, many to acquire homes, and many to escape the clutches of the money sharks, does not provide a credit system for the business of farming.

I favor making provision for lending on land security. I shall not vote against it because it does not provide a rural-credit system, but I am also in favor of a credit system that will answer the needs of the man who has no land to mortgage, as well as the man who has; a system under which the farmer may cooperate with his neighbors, form credit societies, and on the strength of the industry, character, and credit of all each may be able to finance himself.

I wish to call attention here to a letter from Mr. R. C. Milliken, a native Texan, who has devoted a great deal of time and study to the question and taken a great interest in advancing rural-credit legislation along the right line. He contends, and I agree with him, that the most effective way to accomplish this is for Congress to give the farmers themselves, through their own selected expert representatives, a hearing at which they may present bills and have the opportunity to show their merits before some committee or commission acting under authority of Congress during vacation. I hope one or the other of the resolutions providing for taking this action will be given consideration and agreed to.

Mr. Milliken's letter follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *February 25, 1915.*

Hon. HORACE W. VAUGHAN,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: I beg leave to direct attention to the pressing need for immediate passage of the Sheppard and Candler-Doolittle-Helgesen resolutions for the creation of a commission to hold hearings during vacation on such personal rural-credit bills as may be presented by experts having sufficient authoritative backing from farmers or leaders of farmers' organizations.

Personal or short-time rural-credit societies are not untried experiments, for nearly every country in Europe has them, and they have proven most beneficial to the agricultural classes of those countries. The need of such societies is well stated in the report I hand herewith from J. R. Cahill on Agricultural Credit and Cooperation in Germany, Senate Document No. 17, page 17.

You are aware of the fact that I drafted a bill on this subject more than a year ago, which the chairman of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee had printed for the use of his committee. The publishers and editors of the largest farm papers petitioned the chairmen of the Banking and Currency Committees for special hearings on my bill, and asked that I be employed to represent the farming interests at such hearings. The signers of that petition represent papers with an aggregate circulation in excess of 3,500,000 and a capital of several million dollars. I hand herewith a copy of that petition.

The Farmers' Union of Virginia circulated petitions asking Congress to grant the requests of that farm press petition, several thousand Virginia farmers signing them. I hand you a copy of that also.

All those petitions invoke the same principle invoked in the four resolutions I call your attention to, namely, a judicial investigation of bills on this subject by experts selected by the interested parties. The present banking institutions of this country do not meet the requirements of our farmers, but there is so much ignorance on the subject that the farmers had best meet the bankers in open court than in the secret lobby. The farmer has everything to gain and nothing to lose by an open investigation of this question, and that is the only way he can ever obtain his rights in this matter.

Let me call your attention to the fact that the method of investigation proposed by those resolutions has received the indorsement of the legislative committee of the National Grange, with accredited representatives of the largest body of organized farmers in the country, and many prominent members of the farmers' union have indorsed this method.

There is such a rush of business in the House at this time that I fear nothing can be accomplished at this session. There is but one way by which our farmers can secure this legislation, and that is for the weekly press to take it up and everlastingly keep it up until Congress meets next December. The first step is to secure a proper investigation of it. Therefore if the weekly press were to begin, week in and week out from now till then, and insist on the adoption of the Sheppard and Doolittle-Candler-Helgesen resolutions, Congress would be forced to grant their requests. We would have land-mortgage legislation now if we had had the right kind of investigations. Congress created two rural-credit investigating bodies two years ago. Each has a land-mortgage bill, and because they are at loggerheads the farmers can get nothing. Three years ago I made an argument before the first rural-credit investigating committee, and I predicted then that the farmers would never secure anything unless Congress appointed a committee of experts. I hand you herewith that report.

Let me repeat, the weekly press can secure this investigation for the American farmer; and what a victory it would be for them. Let them begin at once treating those resolutions editorially. Let them ask their Members of Congress what objections they have to them. Let them ask their readers to demand the adoption of those resolutions. Those resolutions are the same, and they only ask for an appropriation of $9,000. Why, I have personally spent more than that to advance this cause, not to mention the time I have devoted to it.

I have not the slightest question of the patriotism of the weekly press to take this in hand if it is properly brought to their attention, and I am gratified to know of your willingness to cooperate in the matter, because you know that this question of personal rural credit is the most important one for the people of this country to-day.

Again thanking you for your efforts in this matter, and with every assurance of my high regard for your abilities and patriotism, believe me,

Sincerely yours, R. C. MILLIKEN.

VIRGINIA FARMERS' PETITION.

To the Congress of the United States:

We, the undersigned farmer citizens of the United States, pray that the requests contained in the farm press petition asking for a special committee to investigate the personal rural-credit bill drafted by Mr. R. C. Milliken be appointed and employment of its author to appear and prove up its merits. The system of personal rural credit is not an untried experiment, for nearly every country in Europe has enjoyed the benefits of the same for years. So the only thing for us to do is to adapt the principles underlying the success of those systems to meet the conditions in this country.

There have been four rural-credit investigating bodies established by Congress during the past two years, and as not one of them has reported a bill for personal farm credit, are we not justified in concluding that the fault may lie in the investigating machinery? We believe the function of a congressional committee to investigate a purely scientific question like credit is judicial rather than legislative, and, being judicial, its machinery should comport with that of other judicial bodies, which provide that the interested parties may appear by expert representatives and establish the justice of their contentions.

Therefore we earnestly pray that Congress at the present session grant the requests of that farm-press petition, so that the investigation may be held during vacation and a report made at the next session, and thus enable the country to have this legislation from the Sixty-third Congress.

Name and post-office address of petitioners.

Name.	Town.	State.	Rural route.
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.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....

NOTE.—Several thousand Virginia farmers signed these petitions, which were presented to Congress.

FARM PRESS PETITION.

(This petition was signed in duplicate and addressed to the chairmen, respectively, of the Senate and House Banking and Currency Committees.)

DEAR SIR: We, the undersigned representatives of the rural press, would respectfully call your attention to the necessity for rural personal credit legislation. We are earnestly of the opinion that farm mortgages alone will not meet the needs of rural finance, no matter how good the land-mortgage system may be. Of the two, personal credit is needed the more.

No personal credit bill is even pending so far as we know, to say nothing of being pressed for passage. None of the commissions or committees has drafted a bill on this subject, and the only one to which our attention has been directed is the one drafted by Mr. R. C. Milliken, which has been printed for the use of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee.

We feel that the country needs more light on this subject, and we believe that if a committee of your body, or perhaps a joint committee of both bodies, were appointed to conduct hearings on the bill drawn by Mr. Milliken and a monetary expert who is thoroughly familiar with its provisions and the objects to be obtained through it were employed to aid the committee in proving it up it would be conducive of good results, especially so if all the interests affected by it were also permitted to appear before the committee by experts who oppose it. This would be in the nature of a trial by court, where the parties at interest are presented by counsel of their own selection; and experience has never shown a better method of establishing the truth.

We would respectfully ask, therefore, that you use your good offices for the appointment of such committee and employment of Mr. Milliken to aid it in establishing the merits of that bill. We might suggest that it might be well for the chairman of the committee to notify the presidents of the American Bankers' Association, the State Banking Commissioners' Association, the State Insurance Commissioners' Association, and the Association of Life Insurance Presidents of their privilege to appear before the committee, either in person or by such monetary expert, actuary, or other representative as they may select, who would be accorded the same rights and privileges as accorded by the committee to the monetary expert for the proponent.

Respectfully, yours,

HERBERT QUICK,
Editor Farm and Fireside, Springfield, Ohio.
WILMER ATKINSON,
Proprietor Farm Journal, Philadelphia, Pa.
ARTHUR CAPPER,
Proprietor Capper Publications, Topeka, Kans.
ALSON SECOR,
Editor Successful Farming, Des Moines, Iowa.
J. E. JONES,
President United States Press Service, Washington, D. C.

NOTE.—The signers of this petition represented farm papers with more than 3,500,000 circulation and several millions of capital.

EXCERPTS FROM THE ARGUMENT OF R. C. MILLIKEN AT THE HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, ON SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 75, FOR THE CREATION OF A COMMISSION TO GO ABROAD AND STUDY RURAL CREDIT, DELIVERED MAY 29, 1912.

Mr. MILLIKEN. Our consuls can't make such an investigation as is necessary for the guidance of Congress, as they are not monetary experts. A lawyer must know something about his case before he begins to bring out his evidence before the jury. * * * An attorney can not properly present his case on its merits to the jury through his witnesses unless he has previously studied and assimilated the evidence himself. He can't pot luck and succeed. Therefore if you send over there men who are not monetary experts it will be a waste of money. It would be better to have a commission composed of philosophers of credit. They certainly should know enough about monetary science to be able to tell when they were investigating an unsound system and to discuss the subject intelligently with foreign monetary experts.

* * * * * * *

It is well recognized that we have the weakest banking system in the world; yet if foreign consuls in this country should write critical analyses of it for their own people and they should be published, as would be the case, don't anybody know they would have to leave this country? They would be charged with meddling with political conditions here.

Members of Congress have quite enough to do without spending years of their time studying monetary science, and I mean studying and not merely reading such literature on the subject as now exists. There is no more reason to expect a Member of Congress to be a monetary expert than to expect him to be an astronomical expert. The questions asked and statements made here to-day by members of this committee, some of them bankers of long experience, demonstrate clearly to my mind the necessity for the appointment of a commission of experts to investigate this important subject. Congress should have a critical analysis of those systems over there (Europe) before attempting to legislate. European parliaments, in appointing commissions to investigate and report on scientific subjects, invariably select experts, and that is the reason the reports of their commissions carry such weight and become so useful in formulating legislation.

NOTE.—The committee recommended the cooperation with President Taft in the use of our consuls, and nothing was done. Later we sent to Europe a commission composed of nonexperts, and no legislation has resulted from that effort and expenditure of public funds.

EXCERPT FROM THE REPORT OF J. H. CAHILL ON PERSONAL OR SHORT-TIME AGRICULTURAL CREDIT AND COOPERATION IN GERMANY, SENATE DOCUMENT NO. 17, PAGE 17.

For the provision of this form of credit in adequate amount and on suitable conditions as to interest and repayment, farmers, especially medium and small farmers, require a different credit organization from that which has been evolved for merchants and manufacturers; and for certain obvious reasons. The outstanding feature of the agricultural industry is the length of period of production. Within limits the manufacturer can hasten at will the process of production and repeat his products, or the trader can restock his store several times within the year; for the farmer the time of beginning and the time of finishing production are fixed by nature. Although the duration of the period of production may be shortened to some extent, artificial hastening processes are not applicable in most cases and lack the effectiveness of the machine in industry. In certain important branches of agriculture the period of production may extend over several years. Thus, a foal requires three or four years, and a calf two or three years before becoming utilizable or marketable. And the returns of agricultural production are more uncertain than those of commerce and industry owing to incidents of harvest, risk of disease, perishability of produce, and other causes. Another peculiarity—making due allowance for depressions and for numerous seasonable trades outside agriculture—is the irregularity of monetary returns from year to year or their tendency to fall in certain months or periods in each year. Unless his farming is mixed the farmer obtains his main receipts in autumn when he sells his crops. Under these circumstances a banking system which aims at a rapid turnover of funds and grants credits of three and four months, with one or two renewals for like periods, is of little advantage.

NOTE.—Under the Raiffeisen system of Germany alone is done the vast amount of $5,000,000,000 of business yearly, and the German farmers obtain that credit at from 3 to 5 per cent.

The Shipping Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE A. NEELEY,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 16, 1915.

Mr. NEELEY of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, an extraordinary situation obtains to-day. A situation without parallel in the history of the world.

We are at peace with all the world, yet our commerce is practically destroyed and industry threatened by the greatest war in history. We are to-day the only first-class civilized power in all the world at peace both at home and abroad, and none of this trouble is of our making.

The past 50 years have been the very pride of the world's existence. Never before within the span of a human life has there been so much to make for the peace, prosperity, and happiness of mankind, with the result that luxuries have become necessities, and necessities have so multiplied that every corner of the universe has been called upon to contribute its share to the comfort of the human family.

Mr. Speaker, it is a sad commentary on American industry and enterprise that, although we have grown to be the largest and most powerful Nation in the world, our shipping interests have not kept pace with our trade expansion, resulting in a very large share of our foreign commerce being carried in foreign bottoms.

When the present European war began the nations engaged in our carrying trade immediately withdrew their available vessels for their own purposes, leaving us with our bins and warehouses filled to overflowing with domestic products, paralyzing our foreign commerce, interfering with the transmission of the mails, and leaving us practically ostracized from the great consuming portion of the world. It became necessary that something be immediately done to relieve this situation, and the pending bill is the answer of the Democratic Party. Its enactment will meet the emergency. It will mark the beginning of an active campaign for commercial supremacy on the high seas and will in time make us independent of Europe and her broils; will make the Stars and Stripes known in every port on the globe, to the great glory of the American people.

The first section of the pending act provides:

That with the approval of the President the Secretary of the Navy is hereby authorized to establish one or more United States Navy mail lines, by employing such vessels of the Navy as in his discretion are available, without impairment to the paramount duties of the Navy, and as are necessary and appropriate for the purpose of establishing and maintaining regular communication between the east or west coast, or both coasts, of the United States and either or both coasts of South America and between the United States and the countries of Europe. The vessels so employed shall carry United States mail, passengers, and freight under such regulations and at such rate or rates as the Secretary of the Navy may prescribe. * * *

THE COMPANY ORGANIZED.

Sections 2, 3, and 4 provide for manning the above-mentioned Government vessels by enlistment and by transfer from the regular service, and then section 5 provides:

That the United States, acting through the shipping board hereinafter created, may subscribe to the capital stock of a corporation of the District of Columbia. Said corporation shall have for its object the purchase, construction, equipment, maintenance, and operation of merchant vessels to meet the requirements of the foreign commerce of the United States, or to charter vessels for such purposes, and to make charters or leases of any vessel or vessels owned by such corporation to any other corporation, organized under the laws of a State, a majority of the stock being owned by citizens of the United States, firm or individual, citizen or citizens of the United States, to be used for such purposes, and shall have power to carry out said objects and purposes: *Provided*, That the terms and conditions of such charter parties shall first be approved by the shipping board, the initial capital stock of which corporation shall not be over $10,000,000, of the par value of $100 per share: *And provided further*, That said corporation shall make no charter or lease of any vessel to any corporation, firm, or individual for a longer period than 12 months, and said corporation shall specify in the charter or lease the rates, charges, and fares to be observed by such corporation, firm, or individual chartering or leasing any such vessel or vessels as a maximum to be charged during the life of such charter or lease, and there shall be contained in said charter or lease a provision terminating the same whenever the charterer or the lessee shall violate any of its provisions.

POWERS OF SHIPPING BOARD.

The proposed act confers certain powers necessary to the life of the corporation, such as the power to sue and be sued, to require security from its employees, to collect the full amount of the subscription at the time it is made, authorizes the shipping board to vote the stock of the Government, requires the officers and trustees of the corporation to be citizens of the United States and subjects them to removal by a majority vote of the stockholders, exempts the corporation and its stock from taxation so long as the Government owns a majority of the stock, provides that the Government shall retain control as long as it owns any of the stock, and retains to Congress the right to alter, amend, or repeal the act.

Section 6 provides that the Government shall subscribe for 51 per cent of the capital stock at par, the balance to be offered to the public at not less than par, but reserves to the United States the right to own all the stock not subscribed for by the public.

SHALL NOT VIOLATE NEUTRALITY.

The bill also authorizes the shipping board to purchase or construct suitable vessels, using the proceeds from the sale of thirty million Panama Canal bonds for this purpose, providing that no purchases shall be made during the pending European war in such manner as to affect neutrality, the shipping board to deliver to the United States the gold bonds of the corporation, bearing interest at 4 per cent, for the amount of the advancement made by the Government.

The act further provides:

That the Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of Commerce, and three additional members, two of whom shall be of practical experience in the management and operation of steamships in the foreign trade, are hereby constituted a board to be known as the shipping board, with full power, subject to the approval of the President, to vote the stock of the United States in said corporation, either as a body or by one or more of its members duly authorized by a majority, and to do all things necessary, whether specifically enumerated or not, to carry out the purposes of this act and protect the interests of the United States, said three additional members to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

KEEP CONGRESS ADVISED.

Further provision is made for the acquisition of boats by transfer of naval auxiliaries suitable for commercial purposes; the transfer of vessels belonging to the Panama Railroad Co.; provides for a report to Congress at the beginning of each regular session; appropriates $10,000,000 additional to carry out the terms of the act, and then provides:

That two years from and after the conclusion of the present European war, that fact to be determined by the President, the corporation and the shipping board shall turn over and transfer all vessels purchased or constructed under the provisions of this act to the Navy Department, and the Secretary of the Navy shall have the right, with the approval of the President, to lease or charter any of such vessels not needed for naval or military purposes to any firm, individual, or corporation for use as merchant vessels.

THE POSTAL SYSTEM.

Some oppose this measure because they say there is no precedent for its enactment, and that it is the beginning of Government ownership. Let us see. With the multiplication of Colonies along the Atlantic coast some means of communication became necessary. At first they sent letters and packages from plantation and from hand to hand until, in 1672, Francis Lovelace, the then governor of New York, conceived a plan for the transmission and delivery of inland domestic mail, and on May 22, 1695, the governor of Maryland issued a proclamation establishing a post route "betwixt the river of Potomock in Maryland and Philadelphia in Pennsylvania," and on February 7, 1691, William and Mary granted a monopoly of the postal business of the Colonies to one Thomas Neale, Esq.

It will thus be seen that the postal business began as a private institution under the protection of the Crown nearly a hundred years before the Revolution; but the varying rates, the indifferent service, the opportunity for profit, and the demands of the times were such that in 1707 the Crown purchased the Neale patent and thenceforth until the Revolution the Postal System was a Crown institution.

When our Government was organized the fathers made provision for this favored institution in the Constitution, and it has now grown until it is perhaps the largest department of the Federal Government and the greatest business concern in the world.

THE BANKING SYSTEM.

The history of banking in this country is very similar to that of mail carrying. Beginning with a trust reposed in some person of great probity in the community, it was gradually extended to partnerships and later to corporations until it has finally reached the place where this great Government has complete supervision and control for the benefit of the whole people. The growth of the Republic and the extent of our commerce and business became such that it was necessary that a uniform system be devised sufficiently broad and comprehensive to care for every class and condition of enterprise, and the people naturally turned to this great Government to mark out the way. It has done so by taking complete charge, and stands to-day the final arbiter between the different elements that make up our business population.

THE PANAMA CANAL.

When private enterprise had become exhausted and completely discouraged with failures and there was no other place to go the same Republican Party that now attempts to block this splendid piece of constructive legislation turned to the agency that has never yet made a capital failure, and the Panama Canal became Government surveyed and Government financed. To-day under the splendid leadership of the party that proposes to establish this line of ships in aid of American commerce the Panama Canal is Government built, Government owned, and Government operated, and the Government still lives.

But this is not all. The producers of this country are going to have a Government farm-loan system Government managed for the benefit of the whole people, and when this is done they will then take up some other Government agency to better their condition.

TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONES.

We may as well recognize the situation as it is. The time is rapidly coming when we will have Government ownership of the telegraph and telephone. The rumble of this demand is distinctly audible, and our party may as well take a stand with the people now as to have the people take a stand against it later.

If the owners of these conveniences complain they should be answered that they and they alone are responsible for this condition. Inefficient and in many instances grossly indifferent service, excessive wire toll, and telephone rates, together with a "public be damned" policy, on the one hand, and the splendid example of the Postal Department, despite the political jugglery of our predecessors, on the other, have promoted dissatisfaction and distrust that will result in placing this necessary public agency at the command of the people in every nook and cranny of this Republic to which the blessings of the Postal System have been extended.

And this is right. The only excuse for the existence of a government is that it serves the people who brought it into existence, or who permit it to exist. Governments were not designed simply to provide pleasant berths for a few favored ones, and neither were these great public agencies created for the sole purpose of piling up enormous fortunes for their owners. Whenever the time comes that the ends of human happiness are better served by dedicating them to the public service, the time has then arrived when the Government should take charge of and administer them for the benefit of the whole people.

THE IMMIGRATION VETO.

Some gentlemen find reason to criticize the President because of his action in vetoing the immigration bill upon which his party had not spoken nationally, because he at the same time urges the enactment of this legislation, but the premise is not the same. I see nothing inconsistent in the President's action, although I disagreed with him in the immigration matter and voted to pass the bill over his veto. My reason for so voting was that the immigration question had been an issue in my district, and I had pledged my constituents to support a measure embodying the principles of this measure. By their act in electing me to Congress they had instructed me to support those principles, and good faith demanded that I obey the instruction.

The facts of the case are simply these: The immigration question has been a live issue in this country for many years; in fact, practically ever since the Government was organized. There was a time when we had a political party known as the American Party, the campaign slogan of which was "America for Americans," and the chief plank in its platform demanded that immigration be greatly restricted, indeed if not absolutely prohibited.

The last session of the Sixty-second Congress saw a bitter fight over this matter in which an ineffectual attempt was made to pass a bill embodying substantially the provisions of the Burnett bill over President Taft's veto, yet with all this history and agitation the Democratic Party in its national convention declined to commit its candidates on the question and left them free to act as they saw fit. But here the situation is entirely different.

At the time of the last Democratic national convention no one even dreamed that such a situation as now exists would ever occur. The whole world was at peace when, like a mighty holocaust, comes the roar of arms, and England, France, Germany, Russia, Belgium, Austria, Turkey, Servia, and Japan are in a mighty death struggle. The Democratic national convention is not in session. It will not reconvene for over a year, and good faith with the great party whose chief he is, good faith with the American people over whose destinies he presides, and a due regard for his obligation "to faithfully execute the office as President of the United States" demands that President Wilson proceed in emergencies without waiting for the party to act.

Suppose, Mr. Speaker, that it were true that the Democratic Party could not act in emergencies until they had been submitted to the national convention; and suppose that some European nation should commit a series of overt acts designed to humiliate us, or should invade our shores with hostile armies, while we sat idly by like a bunch of nincompoops waiting for the next national convention to meet and determine what we should do. Not a single Member of this House would acknowledge allegience to a party so lacking in patriotism and leadership, and the American people would see to it that its name became only a memory.

The Splendid Record of Gen. Crozier.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. HUMPHREY,

OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 1, 1915.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Washington. Mr. Speaker, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 15, 1915, there are recorded the extended remarks of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. TAVENNER], which are apparently intended as an argument in favor of Government manufacture of war material as opposed to its

purchase by the Government from private manufacturers. The argument is supported by statements of excessive prices which have been paid by the Government for articles of private manufacture as compared with the cost of similar articles made in the Government's own factories. With the gentleman's ideas on this subject nobody can find any fault. He gives his views and his conclusions, and he has a right to them whether others agree with him or not. But in support of his views he uses a method of which the same can not be said. He alleges that the Government has been outrageously overcharged for years by what he calls a ring of private manufacturers; he declares that these overcharges have been permitted by officers of the Army and Navy, among whom he particularly mentions Gen. Crozier, Chief of Ordnance of the Army, through motives which, without directly stating it, he, by unmistakable inference, characterizes as corrupt.

The support of the charges against Gen. Crozier consists of certain differences between public and private costs, particularly of artillery ammunition and small-arms ammunition, some of which the gentleman mentions individually and many of which are published in tables which are incorporated in his remarks. Now, the first thing to be noted about this information which forms the basis of the gentleman's charges is that it has all been voluntarily offered and brought to the attention of the Congress by Gen. Crozier himself or by officers of his department acting for him. I do not find a single instance among the gentleman's statements where the ground upon which he stands is not thus gratuitously furnished by the man against whom he makes the charges. Gen. Crozier has furnished this information in his annual reports and in his hearings before committees of Congress. He has in these called attention to the economies in manufacture which have been effected by his department, and he has progressively, from year to year, submitted evidence of his success in reversing the common statement that private manufacturers could manufacture all the Government's material for it cheaper than could the Government itself, and secure their own profits besides. When questioned, as would be natural and inevitable as to the policy, in view of these Government savings, of patronizing private manufacturers, he has many times given his views upon the subject, to the effect that he thinks it desirable that the Government should manufacture part of each class of material which it uses, which is not also a commercial article; and he has given his reasons for his views. One of the latest occasions was at his hearing before the Military Committee of this House, when he stated as follows:

Mr. MCKELLAR. Do you not think you ought to manufacture all of your powder under these circumstances?

Gen. CROZIER. I do not think so, Mr. MCKELLAR. I only gave one reason to the chairman when he asked me a moment ago why I thought we should get some from private manufacturers.

Now, I will give you two others reasons. One of the two is that I think it is a good plan for our Government factory at Frankford Arsenal to be up against the private manufacturers, both in the matter of price and quality; that is in order to stimulate Frankford Arsenal. We have never won out at the contests for accuracy that we have annually. We have been pretty near the top a number of times, and the differences have been very small, indeed; but we have never come out ahead. I am not ashamed of our showing. I think possibly these private manufacturers have had to put a little more money in what they furnish than they would have put in it if they made it in large quantities as we do. They put more care into the making of it. Now, we furnish pretty good ammunition and plenty good enough, and it is among the best manufactured in the country. But we need that stimulus of private manufacture to keep the quality up. The quality is all the time trying, in the most curious way, to run down. The cartridge metal gets poor, the bullets are not concentric; the jacket metal is troublesome, and the loading is not accurately done if you do not watch it like a hawk all the time. I think that stimulus is very worth while.

Now, the third reason is this: Of course, I come before you every year here and make a great claim for economy of manufacture. If you have not made any comparisons, you do not know anything about it except what I tell you; and nobody can verify it without a great deal of trouble and expense. You can not go into our factories, unless you employ experts, and really tell whether the manufacture is economical or not, unless you have got something to compare it with. That is the case with reference to the small arms, the rifles themselves. The Government makes all of its rifles. I claim great economy for them. They cost us $14.40 apiece. I do not believe we could get that rifle from private manufacturers for less than $25, although I can not prove it.

Now, I can prove it with reference to this ammunition; and I think it is worth while for the country to know whether its manufactures are carried on economically; and there is no other way than the comparison of the cost price of the article.

But the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. TAVENNER] has not been dependent upon this hearing alone for information as to Gen. Crozier's reasons for his views. They were brought directly to his attention in correspondence between himself and Gen. Crozier, as I find in a letter to him from Gen. Crozier, dated September 18, 1913, which is found on page 526 of the hearings before the Appropriations Committee of this House upon the sundry civil bill for the fiscal year 1915. In this letter Gen. Crozier says:

I have never been in favor of the Government doing all of its manufacturing. I think it desirable for the officers conducting a manufacturing establishment to have the stimulus of rivalry with private plants, and I think it advantageous to have others than Government officers stimulated to an effort to improve the quality of the material. I also think it worth while to have an opportunity for comparison of costs, so that it may be known beyond doubt whether or not Government manufacture is economically carried on. It addition, there is great advantage of having in existence private plants capable of aiding in doing the increased amount of work which is necessary upon emergency.

Gen. Crozier has often, in his hearings, also said that under the influence of the lower costs demonstrated by the arsenals the prices of private manufacturers have come down, and he has illustrated these statements by examples. A conspicuous example is the price of powder, which has been brought down within recent years from a price of about 70 cents per pound to a price of about 53 cents per pound; the arsenal cost, including all overhead charges, being now about 40 cents per pound. This process has been partly one of voluntary reduction in price by the manufacturers and partly one of compulsory reduction, imposed by Congress in prescribing limitations of price. Both are undoubtedly based upon the demonstration which has been made at the Picatinny Arsenal of the cost at which it is possible to manufacture powder. Another conspicuous example of reduction of purchase price is the first article which the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. TAVENNER] mentions in support of his charges.

The gentleman states, and truly enough, since he gets his information from Gen. Crozier, that in 1913 the War Department purchased 7,000 4.7-inch common shrapnel from what he calls "the ammunition ring," paying $25.26 each, while at the same time the arsenal cost for manufacturing this article was $15.45. It now appears from Gen. Crozier's hearing before the Committee on Appropriations this year, page 177, Table II, that the price of this 4.7-inch common shrapnel has been cut down to $19.21, including cost of inspection, while the cost of their manufacture at the arsenals is $17.93, including all overhead charges. Gen. Crozier has oftentimes explained in his hearings that when a manufacture is in a new stage the prices of private manufacture are apt to be abnormally high, due to lack of knowledge of what the real costs are going to be, and has claimed that one of the most useful results of Government manufacture is the frequent demonstration to private manufacturers that the articles can be manufactured for less cost, and that the Government has a means of checking their prices.

Gen. Crozier's hearings also show the extent to which he has, in pursuance of the policy of having the Government manufacture at least a part of all the noncommercial articles which it uses, inaugurated the manufacture at the arsenals of things which had theretofore been produced only by private manufacturers, accompanied in almost every case by a material reduction both in the cost of Government manufacture and in the price paid when procured from private manufacturers. As examples he mentions automatic pistols, telescopic sights, forgings for cannon, machine guns, and armor-piercing projectiles. In other cases he has secured appropriations from Congress and has considerably enlarged the capacity of the arsenals for the manufacture of certain classes of material; for instance, he has greatly enlarged the capacity of the Rock Island Arsenal for the manufacture of field artillery guns, limbers, and caissons, and has similarly enlarged the capacity of the Frankford Arsenal for the manufacture of field artillery ammunition. One may or may not agree with Gen. Crozier in his view that the Government should patronize private manufacturers for a part of its war material; but he could not possibly have been more open in the expression of his view, nor more specific in his statement of his reasons for holding it, neither of which is subject to honest misconception. Congress itself has at different times been found upon both sides of the question. At present it is strongly favoring Government manufacture whenever possible; but a few years ago its attitude was just the other way, and there was a strong tendency to encourage patronage of private manufacturers for everything which they were fitted to produce.

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. TAVENNER], in his unmistakable charge of corrupt motive upon the part of Gen. Crozier, endeavors to present a reason for this motive. He asserts that Gen. Crozier was formerly in partnership with the Bethlehem Iron Co., now the Bethlehem Steel Co., and he supports this charge by the statement, which is true enough, because it was also furnished by Gen. Crozier himself, that when Gen. Buffington and Gen. Crozier had brought to a stage of practicability the construction which is now generally known as the Buffington-Crozier disappearing gun carriage, upon which most of the heavy guns of our seacoast fortifications are mounted, they sold the foreign rights in the invention to the Bethlehem Iron Co., upon terms which are stated. The circumstances of this transaction are fully set forth by Gen. Crozier himself in a letter to the Hon. F. M. Cockrell, which was published in 1902 in Senate Document No. 387, Fifty-seventh Congress, first session. The reasons for the transaction are there stated to be the im-

possibility of keeping secret the principles of the invention and the belief of Gen. Buffington and Gen. Crozier that there was no reason why foreign Governments should be granted free use of it. It is the practice of the War Department to issue for the use of its own service descriptive pamphlets of material of this kind, fully illustrated, in order that its officers and enlisted men may become familiar with it. This educational process for its own people is considered to give a better return in accurate knowledge of its war material upon the part of those who use it than could be had from any attempt at secrecy. Things which the War Department endeavors to keep secret are very few in number. Having neither the time nor the means for exploiting it abroad, Gen. Buffington and Gen. Crozier sold the foreign rights to the invention to the Bethlehem Iron Co., but took care at the time to fully safeguard all the rights of the United States. These rights are not very well defined by statute. There have been presented for the consideration of Congress at various times bills for regulating the compensation which should be paid to officers in the Government service for useful inventions of which the United States avails itself, but none of them have been enacted into law. Intending that no uncertainty, either at the time or in the future, should attend the use by the Government of this disappearing carriage, Gen. Buffington and Gen. Crozier inserted in the specifications for their patent the following language:

We hereby dedicate to the Government of the United States the full right to use, to make, and to have made in the United States for its own use gun mountings embodying this invention.

The circumstances of this transaction between Gen. Buffington, Gen. Crozier, and the Bethlehem Iron Co. are not such as to constitute a partnership, or anything like it, and a charge of partnership resting upon them can not but be recognized as unsupported by the person who makes it. It is a simple business transaction, of a perfectly proper character, made in such a way as to conspicuously safeguard every public interest.

It was exploited in opposition to the confirmation of the nomination of Gen. Crozier as Chief of Ordnance and was thoroughly investigated; following which he was confirmed by what was reported at the time to be an overwhelming majority, although the vote, being taken in executive session, was not published.

Some months after Gen. Crozier's confirmation as Chief of Ordnance he voluntarily relinquished all right, title, and interest in the Buffington-Crozier disappearing carriage, not wishing, as Chief of Ordnance, to have any other than an official interest in any article of war material. For this reason he also formally relinquished his patent rights in a wire-wrapped rifle of his invention, which is largely used in the Government service, as is evidenced by the following letter from the Commissioner of Patents:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
UNITED STATES PATENT OFFICE,
Washington, D. C., January 22, 1903.

Brig. Gen. WILLIAM CROZIER,
Bureau of Ordnance, War Department, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 20th instant is received as follows:

"Replying to your letter of the 19th instant, in which you state that the most effective way to accomplish my purpose of throwing open for the free use of all persons my patent, No. 671,879, for wire-wound guns, is by filing for record in your office among the transfers of patents an instrument relinquishing my rights under this patent and giving the invention to the public, I have the honor to state that I hereby relinquish all such rights in the aforesaid patent, and freely give the use thereof to the public. And I request that you publish a notice of this action in the Official Gazette of your office."

Complying with your request I have ordered that this letter of dedication be recorded in the assignment division of this office, and that notice of this dedication be published in the Official Gazette.

Believing that you are entitled to be thanked for this gift of a franchise to the people of the United States in general, and being acquainted with no other person who can make such acknowledgment, in their behalf will you permit me to thank you for this generous act upon your part.

Yours, very truly, F. I. ALLEN, *Commissioner.*

In his remarks the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. TAVENNER] states that the advancement of Gen. Crozier from the grade of captain when he was appointed Chief of Ordnance, passing over all the intermediate grades, "furnishes an excellent illustration of the rapid advancement possible to officers who make themselves agreeable to and are on friendly terms with war traders." As stated above, there was opposition to Gen. Crozier's confirmation. The inspiration of this opposition is believed to be known. It came from the interests of certain private parties in military inventions which it was thought that Gen. Crozier would not favor, and it was urged with the intensity which generally proceeds from this kind of motive. It brought forth a letter from the Secretary of War, giving the circumstances and reasons for Gen. Crozier's selection for his present post, which is published in Senate Document No. 387, Fifty-seventh Congress, first session, which I have before mentioned. It is from Secretary of War ROOT, the distinguished gentleman who is now a Senator from the State of New York. It is as follows:

[Senate Document No. 387, Fifty-seventh Congress, first session.]

SELECTION OF CAPT. CROZIER FOR CHIEF OF ORDNANCE.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, May 31, 1902.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I have just received your letter of to-day, asking the reasons for the selection of Capt. Crozier to be Chief of Ordnance over so many officers of greater age and longer service, and by whom he was recommended, and whether he made any application, orally or in writing, personally or through relatives or friends, for such appointment.

I am about leaving the city for several days, and reply somewhat hurriedly rather than to delay until after my return.

Capt. Crozier never applied for the appointment, directly or indirectly, personally or through anyone else; neither has he nor any other person, either in the Army or out of it, ever asked for or suggested his appointment. His appointment was recommended to the President by me solely upon the evidence furnished by his military record that he was the best man in the Ordnance Corps to fill the place and to do the work of Chief of Ordnance.

The following considerations contributed chiefly to that conclusion:

(1) Upon assuming the office of Secretary of War, in the summer of 1889, I found the Ordnance Department in a position in several respects unfortunate. The relations between that department and the officers of the Artillery had become strained almost to the extent of a chronic controversy. The same was true of the Ordnance Department and the Board of Ordnance and Fortification. Practically everything the one proposed the other opposed. Repeated attacks upon the Ordnance Department in Congress, and by officers of the Army, and by civilian inventors, had put the corps on the defensive and made it sensitive to criticism and constantly in the attitude of repelling attack. There was not the free and unprejudiced intercourse, exchange of views, and reception of suggestions between the Ordnance Corps and the other arms of the service which are essential to efficiency. I became satisfied that through the long-continued operation of these and other influences the Ordnance Corps had reached a condition of working by itself alone, confined within its own hard and fast lines, with too little initiative and too little understanding of and sympathy with the line of the Army, which was to use the implements of war that the Ordnance Corps produced.

At the same time that corps, I knew, contained a great number of able, faithful, and devoted men, doing excellent work, and capable, under proper administration and in due relations with the other arms of the service, of producing the most effective possible results. It seemed to me that the proper course to follow in the interests of the country was not to attack the Ordnance Corps, but to improve it by putting at its head the ablest, strongest, most broad-minded, vigorous, and competent administrator to be found in the corps; and it seemed to me that the situation demanded that personal considerations, which might under ordinary conditions lead to the selection of the ranking officers of the corps, ought to yield to the general requirements of the service in the selection of such a man.

(2) A careful consideration of the efficiency reports of the officers of the Ordnance Department seemed to me to clearly indicate Capt. Crozier as the man to be selected under the foregoing considerations. Although there are officers of greater age and longer service in the corps, he has served 5 years in the Artillery and 21 years in the Ordnance Corps, and is 47 years of age, and the greatest degree of initiative and energy is not usually to be looked for among men older than that. He was the officer who had the courage and skill and insight to make the report upon our coast fortifications at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War which opened the eyes of the country to their real conditions. That report not only marked him as a man of extraordinary ability, but constituted a starting point of renewed and intelligent activity in the improvement of the defense of the country.

I had carefully read the comments of officers of Artillery upon that report, and was struck by the high respect which they exhibited for its statements and conclusions and by the evidence that if its author should be made Chief of Ordnance a long step would be made toward securing that respect for the ability and insight of the Ordnance Department on the part of the Artillery which is so desirable. I inclose herewith a copy of that report and a copy of the annual report of Col. Joseph P. Storey, the inspector of Artillery of the Department of the East, commenting upon it, the officer who upon his superior merits as a scientific artillerist has now been placed in command of Fortress Monroe and the Artillery School.

Capt. Crozier before I came into office had been selected as the military representative of the United States at The Hague peace conference, and in that great international congress which remodeled the laws of war for the civilized world he acted as the competent and trusted representative of the United States, and we are not without informal evidence that his mind and character had a controlling influence upon the deliberations of that body.

Capt. Crozier served as chief ordnance officer of the China relief expedition, a difficult position, because the unknown and unascertainable conditions through which that expedition was to pass required skill, foresight, and an intimate knowledge of the needs of troops under varying and conjectural circumstances. He acquitted himself of this duty with the highest credit. In this service and in service as the chief ordnance officer in the Philippines he had acquired that intimate knowledge of the needs of the service which can be acquired only by actual service with troops in the field.

In the year 1901 I had been called upon to recommend to the President a successor to the late Peter S. Michie as professor of natural and experimental philosophy at West Point. This was regarded as the most important position connected with the institution. I requested the academic board of the academy to submit a list of officers whom they considered especially competent for the position, and Capt. Crozier's name stood high in the list among those recommended. I recommended him for appointment. He was appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. His appointment was received with universal approval, the other candidates themselves in several instances saying to me that Crozier was so clearly the best man for the place that they cheerfully yielded their claims to his. The recommendation and the appointment were made without any communication with Capt. Crozier, and without any request or suggestion on his part, directly or indirectly, and after confirmation he declined the appointment because he was unwilling to leave the active service of the Army in the Ordnance Department. The recommendation of the academic board and the universal approval of Capt. Crozier's appointment furnished the highest evidence of his attainments and capacity as a scientific man.

Far from considering his invention or perfection of the service disappearing gun carriage as a reason against his appointment, it appeared to me to be additional evidence of the extraordinary scope of his ability and of his possessing the qualities of a practical mechanical engineer, so important to the position of Chief of Ordnance; for I found in the report of my predecessor, Secretary Lamont, for the year 1894, and in the reports of the Board of Ordnance and Fortification, that after the Endicott Board of 1885 had adopted the principle of the disappearing gun carriage and called upon the Ordnance Department to produce and perfect a practical disappearing carriage, Capt. Crozier was the only man who accomplished the result desired by the board. Secretary Lamont said of it:

"The establishment of type disappearing gun carriages for 8-inch and 10-inch guns invented by officers of the Ordnance Corps, and believed to be unequaled for rapidity and simplicity of action by any carriage elsewhere in use, is a notable achievement of the year (1894). This problem solved, the armament of our harbors may now be prosecuted as rapidly as means are available. * * * The carriage is the combined invention of Col. Buffington and Capt. Crozier, of the Ordnance Department, and reflects credit upon the inventive skill of American officers. It is a satisfactory solution of one of the most difficult problems which has confronted military science *. * *."

This conclusion of Secretary Lamont was based upon the unanimous reports of two successive Boards of Ordnance and Fortification, under the presidencies of Gen. Schofield and Gen. Miles, and the conclusions of the Boards of Ordnance and Fortification were based upon the reports of extensive and practical tests of the carriage made by two successive boards of officers.

After examining, I think, substantially all the reports upon the subject and observing the operation of the carriage at various times at five different fortifications on the Atlantic coast, I have seen no reason to question the conclusions of the Endicott Board, of the Boards of Ordnance and Fortification above mentioned, or of Secretary Lamont.

Having in view these facts and the great range of less conspicuous service which Capt. Crozier has performed with unremitting industry during his long period of service, it seemed to me no disparagement of the able and faithful officers of longer service to say that Capt. Crozier had so especially demonstrated his fitness to perform the difficult duties of Chief of Ordnance under the existing circumstances that it was the duty of the President to select him. He is the most distinguished officer of the Ordnance Corps. He is one of the most distinguished officers of the American Army, and important as his retention of his present position undoubtedly is to him, it seems to me to be far more important for the country.

Sincerely, yours,

ELIHU ROOT.

Hon. F. M. COCKRELL,
United States Senate.

It is worth while to be attacked in order to have such a letter as this appear as part of an officer's record. I take pleasure in placing this letter against the insinuations and misleading statements of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. TAVENNER].

As in the case of the differences in costs of ammunition and other material, all of the information in regard to this gun-carriage transaction was furnished by Gen. Crozier himself, voluntarily and over his signature. The gun carriage itself has stood the test of 20 years' use in the fortifications of the United States, and is still considered by those who are responsible for our seacoast fortifications as the best form of mounting which is known. It ran the gantlet of more extensive tests and more critical examination by boards than any article of military equipment which can now be recalled. It was heartily and unqualifiedly indorsed by the following boards, namely, the Ordnance Board; a War Department board composed of an officer of Engineers, an officer of Ordnance, and an officer of Artillery; the Board of Ordnance and Fortification; and a statutory board of Army and Navy officers and a civilian engineer. The following statement in regard to it was made by the Chief of Artillery in 1904, after it had been in use in the seacoast defenses something over 10 years:

I have no hesitation in saying that for all purposes I believe the disappearing carriages mounted on our coast to be the best service carriages on land mounts for heavy-caliber guns in the world.

So much for Gen. Crozier. Now, as to the motive for the charge which is made against him: In the speech of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. TAVENNER], which is reported on page 4596 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for March 4, 1914, as having been made on Friday, February 27, 1914, there occurs the following passage:

Gen. Crozier has from the start opposed—not openly, but from under cover—my efforts to have these two buildings—

Speaking of two buildings at the Rock Island Arsenal, Ill.—

equipped with machinery for manufacturing field artillery ammunition. If these buildings were equipped, Gen. Crozier could no longer go before the Appropriation Committees and testify that he does not have capacity in the Government arsenals to do such manufacturing, and must therefore award the fat contracts to the ammunition ring.

The gentleman himself thus supplies his motive for his attack. It appears that in his diligent efforts to commend himself to his constituents he conceived the idea of having Government money expended in his district for an ammunition plant, and that he did not succeed in persuading Gen. Crozier that this was a necessary expenditure. It appears from Gen. Crozier's hearing before the Appropriations Committee on the fortifications bill that the Government now has facilities at other places for the manufacture of all the ammunition which is appropriated for; and it appears from correspondence between him and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. TAVENNER], which correspondence is set forth in Gen. Crozier's hearing on the sundry civil bill for the fiscal year 1915, commencing on page 525, that a similar condition existed at the time when the gentleman was endeavoring to secure Gen. Crozier's assistance in providing Rock Island Arsenal with an ammunition plant, and was brought to his attention in this correspondence. Notwithstanding the sufficiency of other plants, it is made clear by the gentleman's own statement that the resentment induced by Gen. Crozier's refusal to stand in with him in an unnecessary expenditure which he was advocating has brought upon this officer the scurrilous attack which has been made in the RECORD under leave to print.

But Gen. Crozier need not be disturbed by these distempered effusions. The motive for them is too transparent; they reflect only on those who make them. These charges, inspired by failure and disappointment, will not injure Gen. Crozier in public esteem nor in any degree dim his splendid reputation.

Stock-Raising Homesteads.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. RAKER,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 18, 1915.

The House had under consideration H. R. 15799, a bill to provide for stock-raising homesteads, and for other purposes.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, the pending bill (H. R. 15799) providing for a stock-raising homestead is one of much importance to the West. The first section provides that it shall be lawful for any citizen qualified to make entry under the homestead laws of the United States to make a stock-raising homestead of not exceeding 640 acres upon the unappropriated, unreserved public lands in reasonable compact form. The land upon which entry is to be permitted shall be designated by the Secretary of the Interior as "stock-raising lands."

One of the purposes of the bill is to restore and improve the grazing capacity of the lands, and therefore stock raising and meat-producing capacity of the semiarid lands of the West, and at the same time to furnish homes thereon for the people of this country who are desirous of acquiring a home in the semiarid country.

It was presented to the Committee on Public Lands of the House having charge of this legislation in statements of officials of the Department of the Interior and the Department of Agriculture, that all unappropriated public lands in the semiarid States, exclusive of Indian, forest, military, park, and other reservations, the enormous total in round numbers was 330,000,000 acres.

It also appears that the area of public lands in these States now included in forest reservations alone amounts in round numbers to 165,000,000 acres.

It is agreed on all sides that further legislation on the semiarid lands is necessary and needed now to stop the further destructive use of such lands and secure for the future their highest and best use for our own people. To accomplish this end the stock-raising homesteads, as provided for in this new legislation, giving to each settler a home on such lands with sufficient acreage to support his family by combining forage farming, is the way to accomplish the desired results with stock raising. It is an established fact that on the lands under consideration homesteads of 160 acres, or even of 320 acres each, are not sufficient to support a family, and the concensus of opinion is that at least 640 acres is necessary to each stock-raising homestead.

It is the object, as far as may be practicable, to adhere to the time-honored plan of using the public domain to furnish homes to the citizens of our country. It is generally conceded that these semiarid lands, where by combining farming of dry-land forage crops and the raising of cattle or sheep, 640 acres will support a family. This plan for providing homes is best for the Nation as a whole, as it tends to increase the supply of cattle and sheep and at the same time lower the price of meat—a universal necessity, especially to the laboring classes—and because it affords an outlet to the congested civic and labor centers of our population without driving home seekers to take advantage of the liberal land laws of Canada. Moreover, the Nation as a unit needs more States where each citizen is the sovereign of a portion of the soil, the owner of his home, and

not a tenant of some distant or other landlord—a builder of schools and churches, a voluntary payer of taxes for the support of his local and State government.

This homestead plan is best for the semiarid West. It takes homes to insure permanent settlers and taxpayers. It takes homes to build churches and towns that attract laborers and mechanics. Population invites railroads, which in turn bring more immigration and capital to develop the resources of this great semiarid West.

This bill has all of these objects and purposes in view.

The Secretary of the Interior is authorized, on application or otherwise, to designate as stock-raising lands, subject to entry under this act, lands the surface of which is, in his opinion, chiefly valuable for grazing and raising forage crops, and which do not contain merchantable timber, that are not susceptible of irrigation from any known source of water supply, that are of such character that 640 acres are reasonably required for the support of a family; and it is further provided that the Secretary shall not designate for entry any lands under the act, owing to the general character or general conditions, that, in his opinion, 640 acres clearly will not support a family.

When the Secretary of the Interior designates the stock-raising lands subject to entry under this act, they may be applied for and entered. The qualified homestead entryman who makes homestead entry under this law, not exceeding 640 acres, by compliance with the terms of the homestead law, but instead of the usual cultivation, as required by the present homestead laws, shall be required to make permanent improvements on the lands entered before final proof of the value of $1.25 per acre, which shall be done within three years from the date of entry.

It further provides for any homestead entryman of the character described, who has not made final proof upon his existing entry, that he shall have the right to enter an amount of contiguous lands of the same character which will not exceed with his original entry 640 acres.

His residence upon the original entry is sufficient for both entries, although additional improvements must be made upon the additional entry to the amount of $1.25 for each additional entry.

Another very important provision is, although the person has submitted final proof or received patent for the lands of the character described in the bill under the homestead laws, and who still owns and resides upon the lands so acquired, may make an additional entry for and obtain patent for contiguous lands designated for entry under this act, together with the amount of his original homestead; but the land, together with the amount acquired under this act, shall not exceed 640 acres, upon proof of the expenditure required on account of permanent improvements upon the additional entry only.

The bill contains another very wholesome provision. When it is found that there is not contiguous lands adjoining the original homestead, the person who has received the homestead patent, or still owns and resides upon his land, to complete an entry of 640 acres he is given the right to enter other lands within a radius of 10 miles of his first entry which shall not exceed 640 acres, including the original and subsequent entry. All contiguous land must be taken before noncontiguous land within the radius of 10 miles can be applied for or entered by the original homesteader or patentee.

Still another most salutary provision is contained in this bill, wherein the homesteader who has acquired lands of the character described, the area of which is less than 640 acres, and who is unable to exercise the right of additional entry upon contiguous lands or within the 10 miles radius, he may relinquish to the United States the land so acquired and in the proper land office reenter and acquire 640 acres of lands of the character provided for by this act as though his former homestead and relinquishment had not been made. The homesteader or patentee who is entitled to an additional homestead shall for 30 days after the designation of the lands subject to entry under the provisions of this bill have the preferential right to make such additional entry.

The land so relinquished or reconveyed shall thereafter be subject to disposition only on such terms and conditions and under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe.

Where there is not enough contiguous lands for two or more entrymen or patentees, then the Secretary shall make an equitable division of the lands among the several entrymen or patentees.

Another provision of the bill authorizes any person who has acquired title to land of the character referred to in the act under the homestead laws, and who is still the owner and occupant of the land, to purchase not exceeding 320 acres of stock-raising lands, which is contiguous to his homestead, upon paying the sum of $1.25 per acre. This is to be governed by rules and regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior, but homesteader or patentee is not permitted to acquire any lands by purchase, or any lands together with the lands already owned and acquired under the homestead laws, which shall exceed 640 acres.

Because of the large quantity of land being permitted to be entered by the homesteader or patentee under this act, all coal and other minerals are reserved to the United States, and permission is granted for the purpose of mining such coal and other mineral deposits if at any time later discovery thereof is made.

If any damage or injury is done to the homesteader or patentee he is to be fully recompensed therefor, such as damage to crops or other tangible improvements, and a reservation, as to coal and other minerals, is to be in the patent when issued, reserving such coal and other minerals and the right to enter and prospect and remove the same; the Secretary of the Interior is given power to provide all necessary rules and regulations in harmony with the purposes and provisions of the act, to the end that it may be fully and properly carried into effect.

It will be observed that many defects are corrected by this legislation, and it will be indeed a day of congratulation for the Western States when the bill is finally enacted into law.

I have at all times been an active supporter of this legislation. The Committee on the Public Lands of the House, of which I am a member, gave long and careful consideration to this legislation, to properly perfect it.

I firmly believe that this legislation will have an important bearing upon the early development of the semiarid lands of the West, and that its beneficial effect will be evidenced within a short time after the bill is finally passed and its provisions are in full force and operation.

This legislation will fully answer those, if there are any yet remaining in this country, who have contended that public lands should be leased.

We want homes and not tenants, even if the Government of the United States should be that landlord. If water should be later discovered by boring deep wells, then so much the better. The pioneer, who has gone through all the hardships and privations, will be the man to be benefited. We hope he may.

Western Judicial District of South Carolina.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WYATT AIKEN,

OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Saturday, February 27, 1915.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago I called up for passage House bill 20894, on the Unanimous Consent Calendar, providing for a judge, and so forth, for the western judicial district of South Carolina. At that time objection was made. The bill is on the Union Calendar, and I propose to move to suspend the rules and pass the bill. I am sure the following will prove interesting, for it is reliable data from the Department of Justice:

The State of South Carolina is now divided into two judicial districts under the provisions of sections 69 and 105 of the Judicial Code. This was distinctly decided by District Judge Smith in the United States district court at Charleston at the December term, 1913, in the case of Emily S. Cleckley and Annie M. Spear against the United States. By section 1 of the Judicial Code every distinct judicial district in the United States has at least one judge except the two districts of South Carolina, the two districts of Mississippi, and the eastern and middle districts of Tennessee. But the whole State of Tennessee—that is, the three districts of Tennessee—has two judges. In Mississippi each district has a district attorney (sec. 767, R. S.), marshal (sec. 776, R. S.), and other officers (act June 15, 1882, ch. 218); so that South Carolina is the only State in the Union which is divided into two judicial districts and yet has only one judge and other court officers for the whole State.

An examination of the records of the clerk of the United States court in South Carolina will show that for the past 25 years three-fourths of the criminal cases and nearly one-half of the civil cases arose in the western district of South Carolina.

Yet the headquarters of the United States court, residence of the judge, district attorney, marshal, and other officers are fixed at Charleston, and all the records are kept at Charleston, 250 miles away from where the bulk of the business is. It is necessary, however, for a district judge to be in Charleston nearly all the time on account of the admiralty business arising on the seaboard, as important matters respecting shipping, maritime business, libeling and detention of vessels, and other matters, which require immediate attention.

Important matters respecting shipping, maritime business, libeling, and detention of vessels and other matters which require immediate attention are arising and likely to arise at any time. It is therefore manifestly impossible that the present district judge can do otherwise than remain most of the time at Charleston, nor can he spend any considerable portion of his time in the western district. At present only two terms of court are held in the western district, to wit, at Greenville in April and October. As soon as the term is completed the district judge is compelled to return to Charleston, so that the larger part of the year, whenever any matter comes up in the western district in bankruptcy, motions at chambers, and other matters it becomes necessary for the attorneys and litigants to take long and extensive trips from one end of the State to the other.

Prisoners who may be arrested in the western district on bench warrants have to be transported to Charleston at great expense to the Government for sentence or else lie in jail till court meets again in Greenville. In this statement no reflection is intended upon the present district judge, who is an able, hard-working judge, and does everything he can to minimize the disadvantages of the arrangement under the present law.

Formerly a part of the business of South Carolina was conducted before the circuit judge. But under the Judicial Code the circuit court business is now transferred to the district court. The circuit judge therefore practically does not transact any of the business in this State, but his time is wholly taken up in the circuit court of appeals. Moreover, the district judge from this district is frequently called to sit in the circuit court of appeals. On such occasions there is no judge in South Carolina who can be reached in case of emergency. If South Carolina had a judge for each district, whenever one is called into the circuit court of appeals, provision could be made for the business of both districts to be transacted by the other, so that at all times there would be a judge within the State within reach.

Under the law at present only two terms of United States courts are held each year in the western district, viz, at Greenville in April and October. In the eastern district, however, which does not have near so large a business, two terms are held at Charleston, to wit, in November and January. The eastern district covers very little more territory than the western district, has no larger population, does not have near so much business for the Federal courts, and yet they have United States courts in the eastern district sitting in three different places and holding five terms in each year, while in the western district, the United States courts sit only twice a year and at one place. It is evident that to give the people of the western district the facilities to which they are entitled, the court should sit at one or two other places at least in the western district. This would bring the courts closer to the people and be a great saving in mileage of witnesses, jurors, marshals, and so forth, transportation of prisoners, both to the Government and to the people who have business in the court. But, if additional terms are provided for the western district and only one set of court officers provided for both districts, they would then have to hold about 9 or 10 terms a year, and the work would be entirely too heavy for one set of officers. Additional court officers should, therefore, be provided for the western district.

The western district embraces the Piedmont section, which in the past 10 years has shown such remarkable development in manufactures, agriculture, and all the avocations of life. This growth will continue for many years. With the growth of the country, the business of the courts has increased and will continue. The people of the western district feel that they are entitled to better facilities. The demand for additional court officers has been made from time to time for several years and grows more and more urgent each year. It is but fair to the progressive, intelligent people of the western district that attention should be given to their claims and that they should be given facilities at least as good as those afforded the eastern district of this State and other districts of the United States. They feel that having the territory and population they have and having by far the greater part of the business of the United States courts, they should not any longer be tied to the eastern district, but that they should have a judge and other court officers residing in their own district, near at hand in case of emergency, that they may have terms of court at other places than Greenville, in order that the courts and the people may be brought closer together and all lingering prejudices that may exist against the United States courts be entirely removed.

There can be no doubt that where there are two judicial districts it is to the interest of the Government and the public that court officers should be provided for each district. It is exceedingly troublesome for one set of officers to carry on the business of separate districts, keep separate records of each, and troublesome questions are constantly arising under such an anomalous system. The interests of the people of the western district demand an additional judge more strongly than they do the other court officers, such as district attorney, marshal, and so forth. But as a practical question, while it would be possible to transact the business with an additional judge only and without the other court officers referred to, yet such a system would be so inconvenient that there can be no doubt that the best course is for Congress to provide for a judge and for all court officers for the western district, so that each district in the State will have its full working machinery. The best results can only be obtained by having the two districts entirely distinct and each with its full corps of separate and distinct officers.

I invite careful attention to the following comparative statements:

ALABAMA.

[Census 1910.]

Districts.	Population.	Salary.
Northern	1,037,123	[1] $4,000 [2] 4,000
Middle	684,298	[1] 4,000 [2] 4,000
Southern	416,672	[1] 3,000 [2] 3,000
Total		22,000

ALASKA.

Districts or divisions.	Population.	Salary.
No. 1	[3] 64,356 [4] 16,089	[1] $5,000 [2] 4,000
No. 2		[1] 4,000 [2] 4,000
No. 3		[1] 5,000 [2] 4,000
No. 4		[1] 5,000 [2] 4,000
Total		35,000

ARKANSAS.

Districts.	Population.	Salary.
Eastern	980,380	[1] $4,000 [2] 4,000
Western	588,069	[1] 4,000 [2] 4,000
Total		16,000

CALIFORNIA.

Northern	1,407,368	[1] $4,500 [2] 4,000
Southern	970,181	[1] 4,000 [2] 4,000
Total		16,500

FLORIDA.

Northern	266,649	[1] $3,500 [2] 3,000
Southern	485,970	[1] 3,500 [2] 3,000
Total		13,000

GEORGIA.

Northern	1,254,328	[1] $5,000 [2] 5,000
Southern	1,354,793	[1] 3,500 [2] 3,500
Total		17,000

[1] Attorney.
[2] Marshal.
[3] Entire territory.
[4] Average population per division.

ILLINOIS.

Districts.	Population.	Salary.
Northern	3,107,261	[1] $10,000 [2] 5,000
Southern	1,335,969	[1] 5,000 [2] 4,500
Eastern	1,195,361	[1] 5,000 [2] 4,500
Total		34,000

IOWA.

Districts.	Population.	Salary.
Northern	1,058,101	[1] $4,500 [2] 4,000
Southern	1,166,949	[1] 4,500 [2] 4,000
Total		17,000

KENTUCKY.

Districts.	Population.	Salary.
Eastern	1,118,343	[1] $5,000 [2] 5,000
Western	1,171,562	[1] 5,000 [2] 5,000
Total		20,000

LOUISIANA.

Districts.	Population.	Salary.
Eastern	827,478	[1] $3,500 [2] 4,000
Western	828,910	[1] 2,500 [2] 2,500
Total		12,500

MICHIGAN.

Districts.	Population.	Salary.
Eastern	1,621,270	[1] $4,000 [2] 4,000
Western	1,188,903	[1] 3,500 [2] 3,000
Total		14,500

MISSISSIPPI.

Districts.	Population.	Salary.
Northern	671,092	[1] $3,500 [2] 3,000
Southern	1,126,022	[1] 3,500 [2] 3,000
Total		13,000

MISSOURI.

Districts.	Population.	Salary.
Eastern	1,621,023	[1] $4,500 [2] 4,000
Western	1,672,312	[1] 4,500 [2] 4,000
Total		17,000

NEW YORK.

Districts.	Population.	Salary.
Northern	1,862,630	[1] $4,500 [2] 5,000
Southern	3,510,226	[1] 10,000 [2] 5,000
Eastern	2,184,429	[1] 4,500 [2] 4,000
Western	1,556,329	[1] 4,500 [2] 5,000
Total		42,500

NORTH CAROLINA.

Districts.	Population.	Salary.
Eastern	1,119,593	[1] $4,000 [2] 4,000
Western	1,086,694	[1] 4,500 [2] 4,500
Total		17,000

OHIO.

Districts.	Population.	Salary.
Northern	2,405,181	[1] $4,500 [2] 4,000
Southern	2,361,940	[1] 4,500 [2] 4,000
Total		17,000

[1] Attorney. [2] Marshal.

OKLAHOMA.

Districts.	Population.	Salary.
Eastern	834,395	[1] $4,000 [2] 4,000
Western	822,760	[1] 4,000 [2] 4,000
Total		16,000

PENNSYLVANIA.

Districts.	Population.	Salary.
Eastern	2,826,891	[1] $6,000 [2] 4,000
Middle	1,874,310	[1] 4,500 [2] 4,000
Western	2,963,910	[1] 4,500 [2] 4,000
Total		27,000

TENNESSEE.

Districts.	Population.	Salary.
Eastern	723,232	[1] $4,500 [2] 4,000
Middle	804,251	[1] 4,500 [2] 4,000
Western	657,306	[1] 4,500 [2] 4,000
Total		25,500

TEXAS.

Districts.	Population.	Salary.
Northern	1,160,676	[1] $4,000 [2] 4,000
Southern	660,860	[1] 4,000 [2] 4,000
Eastern	1,004,633	[1] 4,000 [2] 4,000
Western	1,070,343	[1] 4,000 [2] 4,000
Total		32,000

VIRGINIA.

Districts.	Population.	Salary.
Eastern	1,029,806	[1] $4,000 [2] 3,500
Western	1,031,806	[1] 4,500 [2] 4,000
Total		16,000

WASHINGTON.

Districts.	Population.	Salary.
Eastern	409,699	[1] $4,500 [2] 4,000
Western	732,291	[1] 4,500 [2] 4,000
Total		17,000

WEST VIRGINIA.

Districts.	Population.	Salary.
Northern	614,224	[1] $4,500 [2] 4,000
Southern	606,895	[1] 4,500 [2] 4,000
Total		17,000

WISCONSIN.

Districts.	Population.	Salary.
Eastern	1,243,932	[1] $4,000 [2] 4,000
Western	1,089,928	[1] 4,000 [2] 4,000
Total		16,000

[1] Attorney. [2] Marshal.

In South Carolina (population, 1,515,400) there is but one United States attorney and one United States marshal, the salaries of each being $4,500.

The population of South Carolina (census 1910) exceeds that of 45 out of the 58 districts above mentioned. The population of South Carolina exceeds the combined population of the northern and southern districts of Alabama; the four districts in Alaska; lacks less than 60,000 of exceeding the combined population of both districts in Arkansas; exceeds the combined population of both districts in Florida; lacks less than 141,000 of exceeding the population of both districts in Louisiana, and about the same of exceeding the population of both districts in Oklahoma; exceeds the combined population of both the middle and western districts of Tennessee; exceeds that of both dis-

tricts in the State of Washington and both those in West Virginia.

Compared with the 23 States above, divided into two or more districts, and Alaska, the State of South Carolina clearly exceeds in population three of those States, to wit, West Virginia, Washington, and Florida; also Alaska; while its population is approximately as large as either of four other States which have two districts, viz, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Mississippi.

The extreme length of the State of South Carolina is 215 miles and its extreme breadth 235 miles. In length from north to south it exceeds either Iowa, Kentucky, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, or Virginia, all of which have been divided into two or more districts, Pennsylvania and Tennessee having three districts each and the others two. In breadth, from east to west, it exceeds Alabama, with three districts; Illinois, with three districts; Mississippi, with two districts; Ohio, with two districts; and West Virginia, with two districts; and South Carolina exceeds the latter State in total area by 5,790 square miles.

It is thus seen that if population and area, especially considering the peculiar shape and dimensions of a State, are factors in determining the creation of districts, then South Carolina certainly has those factors in her favor to a convincing degree.

Another factor to be considered is the diversified vocations and industries of its more than a million and a half citizens, covering almost every business and calling known to civilization. Within its domains are mountaineers and seamen. Those of the piedmont, middle country, and lowlands. The cotton manufacturer and the cotton producer, the apple grower and the rice planter, the sheep raiser and the sugar cane planter, the factory employee and the lumberman, the stock raiser and the turpentine maker, the manufacturer of "mountain dew" and the seaside hotel keeper. Its a far cry from the Blue Ridge mountaineers in Pickens and Oconee Counties to the truck grower in Beaufort, Georgetown, or Horry Counties on the Atlantic Ocean, or to the cotton factor at Charleston who exports thousands of bales of cotton in tramp steamers to every foreign country. As the soil and climate in the western and northwestern part of the State differ from those in the eastern and southeastern section, so the industries and vocations of the people differ. Obviously the judicial business will correspondingly differ, both on the civil and criminal side of the court. To transport a mountaineer "moonshiner" to the seaport city of Charleston to try him would be (to him) like transporting him beyond seas. To hear admiralty and maritime causes in the Piedmont would be as incongruous.

South Carolina has more than 150 miles of seacoast, largely more than Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi together. Georgia has two districts, so has Mississippi, and Alabama three. Of other States divided into two or more districts, the following have no seacoast: Arkansas, Illinois, Iowa, Kentucky, Michigan, Missouri, Ohio, Oklahoma, Tennessee, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

A fair comparison of the business before the United States courts in South Carolina with that transacted in the districts of the 23 States—which have two or more districts therein—shows that the need for two districts in South Carolina is as great, or greater, than in most of the others. It is not practical here to give all the statistics in detail, but a few comparisons will suffice to show the correctness of the above statement. During the fiscal year ended June 30, 1913, there were 155 criminal prosecutions terminated or finally disposed of in South Carolina, while in the southern district of Alabama there were 41; Alaska, first division, 65; second division, 43; third division, 21; fourth division, 58; southern district of California, 127; northern district of Florida, 65; southern district of Florida, 51; northern district of Iowa, 96; eastern district of Louisiana, 74; western district of Louisiana, 44; eastern Missouri, 97; middle Pennsylvania, 46; western Pennsylvania, 63; northern Texas, 80.

During that year the fines, forfeitures, and so forth, imposed in South Carolina amounted to $10,625.22, while in the southern district of Alabama they amounted to $2,551.34:

First division of Alaska	$2,590.00
Second division of Alaska	850.00
Third division of Alaska	1,350.00
Fourth division of Alaska	910.00
Southern district of California	8,725.00
Northern district of Florida	1,922.62
Southern district of Florida	1,765.00
Northern district of Iowa	8,624.17
Eastern district of Louisiana	6,026.56
Western district of Louisiana	1,225.00
Eastern Missouri	10,469.64
Middle Pennsylvania	3,531.74
Western Pennsylvania	1,659.40
Northern Texas	3,709.75

During the same fiscal year the civil cases to which the United States was a party which were terminated or finally disposed of in the United States courts in South Carolina totaled 35, while they numbered in—

Northern Alabama	11
Middle Alabama	9
Southern Alabama	9
Division No. 1, Alaska	7
Division No. 2, Alaska	2
Division No. 3, Alaska	0
Division No. 4, Alaska	0
Eastern Arkansas	18
Southern California	18
Northern Florida	14
Southern Georgia	18
Southern Illinois	8
Eastern Illinois	31
Southern Iowa	17
Western Kentucky	13
Western Louisiana	23
Western Michigan	20
Northern Mississippi	19
Southern Mississippi	18
Northern New York	11
Eastern North Carolina	6
Eastern Tennessee	7
Middle Tennessee	12
Northern Texas	16
Eastern Texas	15
Northern West Virginia	7
Southern West Virginia	10
Eastern Wisconsin	10
Western Wisconsin	12

The amount of judgments in civil suits during said fiscal year (1913) was in—

South Carolina	$3,964.46
Northern district of Alabama	2,845.00
Middle Alabama	434.46
Southern Alabama	1,777.72
Division No. 2 of Alaska	----------
Division No. 3 of Alaska	----------
Division No. 4 of Alaska	----------
Northern district of Florida	1,415.91
Southern district of Georgia	1,800.00
Southern district of Illinois	1,270.95
Southern district of Iowa	2,385.93
Western district of Kentucky	100.00
Western district of Michigan	1,200.00
Northern district of Mississippi	1,600.00
Eastern district of North Carolina	500.00
Eastern district of Tennessee	400.00
Middle district of Tennessee	666.29
Northern district of Texas	1,973.65
Eastern district of Texas	1,679.15
Northern district of West Virginia	600.00
Eastern district of Wisconsin	323.75
Western district of Wisconsin	1,945.01

In South Carolina there were pending at the beginning of the fiscal year 15 suits in admiralty and 9 more were commenced during that year, making a pending total of 24 admiralty cases, 10 of which were terminated and judgments were rendered for plaintiffs in the sum of $15,672.02. Out of the 23 States that have been already subdivided into two or more districts there were no admiralty cases in the following districts so subdivided:

Northern Alabama, middle Alabama, western Arkansas (1 case in eastern Arkansas), northern Georgia, northern Illinois, southern Illinois, northern Iowa, southern Iowa, western Louisiana, eastern Michigan, northern Mississippi, western district of North Carolina, eastern Oklahoma, western Oklahoma, middle Pennsylvania, eastern Tennessee, northern Texas, western Texas, western district of Virginia, eastern Washington.

During the fiscal year there were in South Carolina 18 field deputies busily engaged in serving process, warrants, and so forth, who earned $4,604.80 in net fees. These field deputies, like the number of deputy sheriffs in a county, reflect to a large extent the amount of business done, particularly so with field deputies who are engaged principally in arresting criminals.

The number of regular field deputies required during the fiscal year to serve process, warrants, and so forth, in the 23 States which contain two or more districts are as follows:

Northern Alabama	0
Middle Alabama	0
Southern Alabama	0
Eastern Arkansas	5
Western Arkansas	0
Northern California	1
Southern California (for 9 days)	1
Northern Florida	5
Southern Florida	2
Northern Georgia	15
Southern Georgia	0
Northern Illinois	0
Eastern Illinois	3
Southern Illinois	0
Northern Iowa	0
Southern Iowa	0
Eastern Kentucky	16
Western Kentucky	0
Eastern Louisiana	0
Western Louisiana	0
Eastern Michigan	0
Western Michigan	1

Northern Mississippi	7
Southern Mississippi	0
Eastern Missouri	0
Western Missouri	0
Northern New York	5
Eastern New York	0
Southern New York	0
Western New York	0
Eastern North Carolina	14
Western North Carolina	0
Northern Ohio	0
Southern Ohio	0
Eastern Oklahoma	0
Western Oklahoma	0
Eastern Pennsylvania	0
Middle Pennsylvania	0
Western Pennsylvania	1
Eastern Tennessee	0
Middle Tennessee	7
Western Tennessee	8
Northern Texas	0
Eastern Texas (temporary)	3
Southern Texas	3
Western Texas	0
Eastern Virginia	0
Western Virginia	16
Eastern Washington	0
Western Washington	0
Northern West Virginia	3
Southern West Virginia	5
Eastern Wisconsin	0
Western Wisconsin	0

Compared with the above 19 districts wherein field deputies are required, the fees earned by the field deputies in South Carolina exceed those in all but 7 of the other said districts, as follows:

South Carolina	$4,604.80
Eastern Arkansas	3,959.32
Southern California	3.00
Northern Florida	1,756.47
Southern Florida	551.34
Western Michigan	2.00
Northern New York	2,858.95
Western Pennsylvania	199.94
Middle Tennessee	2,176.36
Western Tennessee	425.50
Eastern Texas	86.92
Southern Texas	1,703.81
Southern West Virginia	4,243.40

There are also three office deputies in South Carolina, and a varying number in other districts.

There are 28 United States commissioners required in South Carolina, each of whom acts as a committing magistrate. The fees of United States commissioners reflect the business transacted by them, and compared with the other 23 States wherein there are two or more districts, the fees in South Carolina exceeded those in the following districts:

South Carolina	$2,558.70
Northern Alabama	2,515.40
Southern Alabama	475.10
Northern California	2,124.80
Southern California	1,230.55
Northern Florida	779.04
Southern Florida	854.07
Southern Georgia	1,200.01
Northern Illinois	1,994.40
Eastern Illinois	744.10
Southern Illinois	891.40
Northern Iowa	1,110.15
Southern Iowa	1,496.40
Western Kentucky	1,233.35
Eastern Louisiana	543.25
Western Louisiana	141.80
Eastern Michigan	1,352.75
Western Michigan	$104.10
Southern Mississippi	427.00
Eastern Missouri	1,366.30
Western Missouri	1,488.00
Northern New York	687.85
Eastern New York	849.60
Southern New York	924.30
Western New York	934.80
Western North Carolina	2,178.40
Northern Ohio	1,448.90
Southern Ohio	879.45
Western Oklahoma	915.30
Eastern Pennsylvania	1,095.02
Middle Pennsylvania	237.75
Western Pennsylvania	330.40
Eastern Tennessee	1,917.15
Middle Tennessee	1,298.40
Western Tennessee	777.10
Northern Texas	940.13
Eastern Texas	256.30
Southern Texas	1,176.45
Western Texas	2,452.05
Eastern Virginia	534.05
Eastern Washington	1,666.50
Western Washington	1,050.05
Northern West Virginia	1,355.90
Southern West Virginia	1,274.95
Eastern Wisconsin	712.85
Western Wisconsin	232.40

The amount for fees of necessary witnesses in South Carolina during the fiscal year 1913 was $10,204.70, which exceeded the amount for witnesses in the following districts in States where there are two or more districts: Middle Alabama, southern Alabama, northern Florida, southern Florida, southern Illinois, northern Iowa, southern Iowa, western Kentucky, eastern Louisiana, western Louisiana, western Michigan, northern Mississippi, southern Mississippi, northern New York, eastern New York, western New York, eastern North Carolina, western North Carolina northern Ohio, eastern Pennsylvania, middle Pennsylvania, western Pennsylvania, middle Tennessee, western Tennessee, northern Texas, eastern Texas, southern Texas, eastern Virginia, northern West Virginia, southern West Virginia, and eastern Wisconsin.

It would seem to be entirely unnecessary to multiply comparisons to show that if population, area and dimensions, diversified nature, and amount of judicial business transacted are to be considered, then South Carolina is justly entitled to an additional judge, attorney, and marshal—fully as much so, if not more so, than a number of other States which have been subdivided into two or more districts and have already two or more complements of court officials.

THE LAW.

The State of South Carolina has already been divided into two judicial districts by the act of February 21, 1823 (3 Stat., 726), which act was carried into the Revised Statutes of 1878 as section 546, wherein it is provided that—

> The State of South Carolina is divided into two districts, which shall be called the eastern and western districts (of the district) of South Carolina. The western district includes the counties of Lancaster, Chester, York, Union, Spartanburg, Greenville, Pendleton, Abbeville, Edgefield, Newberry, Laurens, and Fairfield as they existed February 21, 1823. The eastern districts includes the residue of said State.

The original act, approved February 21, 1823, is as follows:

> An act to divide the State of South Carolina into two judicial districts.
>
> *Be it enacted, etc.*, That the State of South Carolina be, and the same is hereby, divided into two districts in the manner following, that is to say: The districts of Lancaster, Chester, York, Union, Spartanburg, Greenville, Pendleton, Abbeville, Edgefield, Newberry, Laurens, and Fairfield shall compose one district, to be called the western district, and the residue of the State shall form one other district, to be called the eastern district.

Then follows names of places for holding court, not material here.

That act provided clearly that the State should be and was divided into two districts, not that the district of South Carolina should be divided into two districts. The act also specified that certain counties (or "districts," as the counties were then called) should be called the western district, and that "the residue of the State shall form one other district, to be called the eastern district." Could anything be plainer? Was or is it possible to use more definite and precise words to divide a State and establish therein two judicial districts than was employed in the act approved by the President February 21, 1823?

Other acts of Congress subsequently have recognized the existence of two judicial districts in South Carolina. (See act of April 26, 1890 (26 Stat., 71), sections 2 and 3 of the act of December 21, 1898 (30 Stat., 769), and section 105 of the Judicial Code approved March 3, 1911 (36 Stat., 1135).

Section 767 and 776, Revised Statutes, also recognize that fact, but said sections provide that (767) "the district attorney for the eastern district of South Carolina shall perform the duties of district attorney for the western district of said State," and (776) that "the marshal for the eastern district of South Carolina shall perform the duties of the marshal of the western district of said State." Thus, while there are two districts in the State, there is only one judge, one attorney, and one marshal, a most extraordinary, unusual, and anomalous condition. The restrictive or prohibiting provisions in sections 767 and 776, Revised Statutes, are apparently the work of the codifiers and originated in their fertile brains. The law in force at the time provided for a full complement of officials in each district. Section 35 of the act of September 24, 1789 (1 Stat., 92), expressly provides that "there shall be appointed in each district a meet person learned in the law to act as attorney for the United States in such district," and section 27 of the same act (p. 87) provides specifically that "a marshal shall be appointed in and for each district."

The Judicial Code approved March 3, 1911, provides in chapter 5, sections 69 and 105, as follows:

> The United States is divided into judicial districts as follows (sec. 69):
>
> "The State of South Carolina is divided into two districts, to be known as the eastern and western districts of South Carolina. The western district shall include (naming various counties). The eastern district shall include (naming various counties)."

Section 1 of the Judicial Code provides that "there shall be one judge for the eastern and western districts of South Carolina." Simply more prohibitory and restrictive work of the codifier.

It is absolutely clear and certain that the law as it now stands provides for two districts in South Carolina, and it seems equally clear that through the voluntary and gratuitous activities of the codifiers prohibitory and restrictive provisions have been introduced into the Revised Statutes and into the Judicial Code limiting the two districts in South Carolina to only one set of court officials. Congress adopted the codes as a whole, but by no separate act originating in the ordinary manner, well known in legislating upon important matters, has Congress so deprived the two districts in South Carolina of their rightful number of court officials accorded by the acts of September 24, 1789, supra, and February 21, 1823, supra, which acts have never been expressly repealed.

It would seem eminently proper for Congress to correct the wrong imposed upon South Carolina by the codifiers, and perhaps unwittingly sanctioned by Congress, by now passing an act providing for a full set of judicial and court officials for the eastern and for the western districts of South Carolina, respectively, each official with like salary, emoluments, fees, and allowances as are now paid to like officials of the United States courts in that State. Such action, though tardy, would be welcomed by all fair-minded citizens as according to that State her just due, and extending to her the same liberal treatment already long since extended to her sister States of like importance.

Stock-Raising Homesteads.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MOSES P. KINKAID,

OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 18, 1915,

On the bill (H. R. 15799) to provide for stock-raising homesteads, and for other purposes.

Mr. KINKAID. Mr. Speaker, I am heartily in favor of the enactment of this bill. I believe if its provisions shall become law it will prove a great boon to thousands of home seekers, not merely home seekers in the semiarid West and in the Mountain States, where the act will apply, but home seekers throughout the United States.

Mr. Speaker, the operation of the provisions of this bill duly enacted into law need not be an experiment; substantially the same provisions have now been in operation in Nebraska for more than 10 years. April 28, 1904, the Congress was generous enough, considerate enough, and farseeing and wise enough to enact the bill introduced by me permitting a one-section homestead of the remaining public lands in the State of Nebraska. At that time the records of the Department of the Interior disclosed that about 9,000,000 acres were subject to the act, but, in my judgment, approximately 2,000,000 more acres were made subject to the act by cancellations of entries that had been abandoned for from 1 to 20 years or more, thus making perhaps 11,000,000 acres in Nebraska which were subject to the one-section homestead law. The records of the General Land Office now show that of this vast area, say, 11,000,000 acres, less than 200,000 acres of public lands now remain in Nebraska subject to homestead entry, and this consists in the main of tracts and subdivisions inadequate in size for a home stead entry, and which are subject to sale under the isolated-tract act at not less than $1.25 per acre.

Mr. Speaker, has the operation of the Nebraska act proved a success? While this has been more or less a disputed question outside of Nebraska for the last 10 years, there has remained very little room for dispute within the territory covered by the act. Subjected to the same kind of a test as is observed in the courts to determine the character of an individual when it may be in issue, which is the judgment of his neighbors who come in daily contact with him, the operation of the one-section homestead law in Nebraska has proved a marked success. The consensus of opinion of those who live within the area covered by the act, including homesteaders themselves, their neighbor farmers and ranchmen and the business people in towns with whom they deal, is that no other law has ever proven so great a benefit to the State as this.

Mr. Speaker, in 1904 when the Nebraska act was passed the public-land question constituted the greatest problem of any required to be solved by the Congress for the good of Nebraska. I shall not go into detail as to the then existing conditions, but let answer the present purpose to say that the one-quarter section unit for the most part of the area of our State, where the remaining public lands were then to be found, had proven inadequate in size for the support of a family, and the result was that the most of the entries made were commuted and sales and transfers of title were made so soon as title had been perfected, and the lands fell into the hands of speculators or large ranchmen. The result was the contrary of what should occur and what ordinarily takes place in a new country. Instead of increasing population and development in due proportion, settlement decreased and the large land holdings were added to by sales made at low prices of homesteads and preemptions, as patents were issued therefor. Did the towns grow? The small towns grew smaller; frame buildings were not repainted; stores and shops were abandoned; hotels, livery barns, and lumberyards here and there were given up. This was the rule as to a large part of the area of more than the west half of Nebraska.

Mr. Speaker, the highly favorable effect of the operation of the one-section homestead act in Nebraska was immediate. The towns at once took on new life. The businesses of hotel keeping, livery, and lumberyards were immediately reestablished and revived and prospered as the settlers came and availed themselves of four quarter sections for their entries instead of one quarter section, which had been the limit under the old régime. But notwithstanding the many obstacles thrown in the way of the act; notwithstanding it was severely criticized, censured, and condemned by papers representing large interests and in behalf of large interests, which circulated over the West; notwithstanding the operation of the act arrayed against itself those whose interests, direct and indirect, had been unfavorably affected, the measure continued to grow in popularity and has ever since continued to gain in the favorable estimation of the people who live in the territory covered by the act. The fact is the measure is now about universally agreed by all the different interests and elements of Nebraska to have brought the greatest benefit to the State of any law that has ever been passed. It is now commended by homesteaders upon their claims and well-developed farms, and just as enthusiastically by the business people in the towns where they deal. Added to these large ranchmen, many of whom at the start regarded it as a radical and revolutionary measure, viewed from the standpoint of what had hitherto existed, nearly every one, if not all, now grants that it constitutes the best legislative solution that could have been made of the public-land problem, which had become a serious economic problem when my bill was introduced.

Mr. Speaker, just as the issue arose when the pending bill was up for consideration with the Public Lands Committee, the question of whether it should be an enlarged homestead or an act for the leasing of the public lands, these same alternatives were presented at the time my bill was introduced. These were the two alternatives—an act for the leasing of the remaining public domain, which would in its effect have forbidden settlement, development, and home building, or an act for a homestead sufficiently large to sustain a family. I am frank to say I did not hesitate in making my choice in favor of the enlarged homestead. It is true I introduced a bill providing an entry might contain two sections; had I not done so it is not improbable that my bill would have been amended to permit of not exceeding one-half section, as the committee did reduce the area by one-half by amending the bill allowing one section instead of two sections.

Mr. Speaker, it is pertinent to add that as a direct and an indirect result of this one-section homestead law the population of the territory covered by the act has been increased by about 100,000; but I do not pretend that it is practicable to ascertain accurately what the increase has been, for the reason that all the while since the act has been in operation thousands have emigrated from western Nebraska to other parts of the United States and to Canada.

I should add that instead of the decline in values of the lands to which title had passed, as some scary persons predicted would be the case, the effect was to increase land values, and values have constantly continued to grow higher as the remaining public land has been entered by the newcomers. It is true that land values have increased from 100 to 500 per cent in the territory covered by the act since it took effect. It is true also that by passing the title of these public lands to individuals, together with the improvements made incidental to home building, the establishment of schools and churches, and the growth of towns and the increase of holdings of personal property and the consequent rise in values of land previously owned by individuals, the volume of taxable property of western Nebraska has been many times multiplied and enormously increased, thus reducing proportionately the rate of taxation of every property owner in the State.

Mr. Speaker, the direct and the indirect benefit to individuals, to the State, and to the Nation of the home building promoted

by the one-section homestead law for Nebraska are so manifold as to challenge an adequate portrayal, and I shall not go into details here about it.

Mr. Speaker, I have already shown that of the 11,000,000 acres made subject to the one-section act for Nebraska, less than 200,000 acres thereof now remain untaken. This of itself verifies the success and the wisdom of the law. With so little of public lands remaining in Nebraska, and that consisting wholly of separated or isolated tracts too small for an entry, the act can have but little effect in the State, even if the Secretary of the Interior should make it applicable, which he is authorized to do. Therefore, it is not for the direct benefit of my constituents that I am giving the bill my most hearty support, but for the benefit generally of the portions of the great West to which the act will be made applicable by orders issued from time to time by the Secretary of the Interior. I should also add the act might be made applicable to Nebraska, with material benefit with respect to the purchase by settlers of isolated small tracts at not exceeding $1.25 per acre. Under the present law these isolated tracts can not be sold at less than $1.25 per acre, but the purchaser is required to pay the highest price bid therefor at an auction sale and not less than the price appraised at by a special land office agent, which appraisement is often so very high as to make the purchase of the tract prohibitive. The Members from the public-land States in particular know that the statute itself does not authorize that an appraisement be made, but rules and regulations of the Department of the Interior do so require, but, in my judgment, as a rule such practice operates to the detriment of communities and to the injustice of the pioneer settlers. Whether or not the Secretary would order the act to be applied to any particular locality for the sole purpose just suggested, I am firmly convinced that a policy should be adopted for the disposition of isolated tracts which would be calculated to secure to the owners of adjoining lands a preference to purchase, and I think the Government would be sufficiently safe in selling to the highest bidder without requiring an appraisement to be made, and the price so fixed to constitute the minimum at which the tract may be sold.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Nebraska has expired.

Torpedo Boats.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEMUEL P. PADGETT,

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 27, 1915.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, I desire to ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing a letter from the Secretary of the Navy giving a detailed statement of the awarding of contracts with reference to torpedo boats.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The letter is as follows:

NAVY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, February 25, 1915.

DEAR MR. PADGETT: I should like to supplement my brief note of yesterday on the allegation that last December I awarded a destroyer contract to a Bath shipyard at $10,000 more than the bid of a Seattle shipyard by the full history of bids and awards for these destroyers.

I append hereto a statement showing all bids received in connection with the six destroyers concerned opened November 10, 1914. In addition to the bids from private contractors there were received estimates from the Mare Island Navy Yard, the lowest estimate for the construction of one destroyer being $626,487, and it being stated that the estimate for a second vessel would be from $25,000 to $34,000 less than for the first vessel.

These bids and estimates were referred to the Bureaus of Construction and Repair and Steam Engineering, which bureaus on December 2, 1914, submitted joint recommendation based upon the faces of the bids. The recommendation of the bureaus is summarized as follows:

One vessel to the navy yard, Mare Island	$626,487
One vessel to Fore River Shipbuilding Corporation	815,000
Two vessels to Wm. Cramp & Sons S. & E. B. Co. (each)	841,000
Two vessels to Bath Iron Works (each)	850,500

It will be observed that in spite of the great possible saving, amounting to about $200,000, the bureaus recommended that only one vessel be built at the Mare Island Navy Yard. In this connection the bureaus stated:

"It should be borne in mind, however, that neither the Mare Island yard nor any other United States navy yard has built a vessel of this class. While, therefore, the bureaus are inclined to recommend that destroyer construction be undertaken at the Mare Island yard, it is believed that it would be unwise to undertake more than one, as this class of work is in itself a specialty, and it is to be expected that unforeseen difficulties of various kinds will be encountered which will increase the cost of the first vessel beyond that of subsequent ones. The bureaus accordingly recommend that one of these vessels be built at the navy yard, Mare Island, in accordance with the estimate of $626,487."

It will be noted that the bureaus recommended the award of two vessels to the Bath Iron Works, although their bid was higher than that of Fore River and of Cramp & Sons. This recommendation was for the reason that the record of the Bath Iron Works in connection with destroyer construction was particularly good and superior to that of either of the other bidders. No mention was made in the bureaus' recommendations of the Seattle Construction & Dry Dock Co. or of the other two high bidders. The bid of the Seattle Construction & Dry Dock Co., as seen from the tabular statement herewith, was materially higher than the bids of Cramp and Fore River.

I gave very careful consideration to the bids received, consulting freely with the technical experts of the department, and came to the conclusion that all of the bids were unduly high. I have felt for some time that we were paying too much for destroyers, and largely for this reason arranged to have Mare Island investigate and submit estimates of the cost of building these vessels. The low estimate submitted by Mare Island went far to confirm me in my opinion that previous prices and the bids received for these destroyers were higher than they should be. Accordingly, I informed bidders that I regarded the prices named by them as too high and would give consideration only to lower figures. Some question having been raised as to the legality of this procedure, the matter was referred to the Solicitor of the Navy Department, who gave an opinion on December 17, 1914, that "* * * the Secretary was well within his legal authority in receiving from bidders on the destroyers for which the awards were now under consideration modifications of their prices."

After receiving the modifications referred to and consulting with representatives of the bidders the award of contracts was finally made as follows:

1 vessel to the navy yard, Mare Island, at	$626,487
2 vessels to the Fore River Shipbuilding Corporation, each (their original bid)	795,000
2 vessels to the Bath Iron Works, each	800,000
1 vessel to the Wm. Cramp & Sons S. & E. B. Co., at	812,309

It will be observed that the total cost of these six vessels, as thus awarded, is $4,628,796, as against $4,824,487, the award recommended by the bureaus on the face of the bids—a difference of nearly $200,000.

The awards as finally made were strictly in accordance with the lowest prices obtained, except that an award of one boat was made to the William Cramp & Sons Co. at a price of $812,309 (reduced from $853,000), while the Seattle Construction & Dry Dock Co. reduced its price for one boat from $873,000 to $810,000, a difference of $2,309 in their favor. Of course, the allegation that I gave a contract to a Maine shipyard at a price $10,000 greater than the price of the Seattle company is without foundation in fact, the contract price for the Bath boats being $10,000 less, not greater, than the lowest figure of the Seattle company.

As the Seattle Construction & Dry Dock Co. had never undertaken this class of work, and as its record in connection with previous work for the Navy Department did not entitle it to exceptional consideration, I did not believe it to the interests of the Navy for a saving of less than three-tenths of 1 per cent to award a contract to this company, with accompanying risk of delays and difficulties in its execution, practically inevitable in the case of inexperienced contractors. I assured the representatives of the company, however, that the department appreciated their desire to meet its views, and that I hoped to be able at some future date to award this company a contract for the construction of a destroyer.

I may add in this connection that my action in awarding this destroyer to the Cramp company instead of to the Seattle company was fully indorsed at the time by my technical advisers.

As you know, six destroyers were contracted for in 1912, the same number in 1913, and these last six in 1914. I append a table giving a comparison of the contract prices of these destroyers, from which it will be seen that the total cost of the 1914 destroyers, which are larger than their predecessors, will be $4,629,156, as compared with a total cost of $5,064,000 in 1912 and $5,157,000 in 1913. I regard this saving of something over half a million dollars—in the neighborhood of 10 per cent of the total cost of these vessels—as one of the most creditable things in connection with my administration of the Navy Department.

Sincerely, yours,

JOSEPHUS DANIELS.

Hon. LEMUEL P. PADGETT, M. C.,
Chairman Committee on Naval Affairs,
House of Representatives.

Table giving comparison of contract prices of destroyers of 1912, 1913, and 1914.

	No. of vessel.	Name of contractor.	Displacement.	Guaranteed speed.	Contract price.	Total.
			Tons.	*Knots.*		
1912	51	Wm. Cramp & Sons	1,052	29.0	$842,000	$5,064,000
	52	do	1,052	29.0	842,000	
	53	do	1,052	29.0	842,000	
	54	Bath Iron Works	1,025	30.5	810,000	
	55	Fore River Shipbuilding Co.	1,050	29.0	854,500	
	56	New York Shipbuilding Co.	1,090	29.0	873,500	
1913	57	Fore River Shipbuilding Co.	1,090	29.5	861,000	5,157,000
	58	Wm. Cramp & Sons	1,090	29.5	881,000	
	59	do	1,090	29.5	881,000	
	60	Bath Iron Works	1,050	30.0	884,000	
	61	New York Shipbuilding Co.	1,150	29.5	825,000	
	62	do	1,150	29.5	825,000	
1914	63	Fore River Shipbuilding Co.	1,126	29.5	795,000	4,629,156
	64	do	1,126	29.5	795,000	
	65	Bath Iron Works	1,075	30.0	800,000	
	66	do	1,075	30.0	800,000	
	67	Wm. Cramp & Sons	1,110	29.5	812,309	
	68	Mare Island Navy Yard	1,110	29.5	[1] 626,847	

[1] Estimated.

Bids for destroyers Nos. 63 to 68, opening Nov. 10, 1914.

Class 1: In accordance with plans and specifications provided by the Secretary of the Navy (including hull and turbine propelling machinery).
Class 2: Hull and equipment per plans and specifications provided by the Secretary of the Navy, and machinery per bidder's design.

LIMIT OF COST, $925,000.

Bidder.	Class 1.				Class 2.			
	Speed.	Number of vessels.	Time.	Price.	Speed.	Number of vessels.	Time.	Price.
	Knots.		*Months.*		*Knots.*		*Months.*	
Bath Iron Works					30	1	21	$831,000
Do					30	2	21 24	850,500
Do					30	3	21 22 24	850,500
Bath Iron Works, class A					30	1	21	864,000
Do					30	2	21 24	850,500
Do					30	3	21 22 24	850,000
Wm. Cramp & Son's Ship & Engine Building Co	29½	1	24	859,000	29½	1	23	853,000
Do		2	23½ 24	847,000	29½	2	22 23	841,000
Do	29½	3	23 23½ 24	834,000	29½	3	21 22 23	830,000
Do	29½	1	24	859,000	29½	1	22	845,000
Do		2	23½ 24	847,000	29½	2	21 22	834,000
Do		3	23 23½ 24	834,000	29½	3	20 21 22	825,000
Newport News Ship Building & Dry Dock Co					29½	2	23 24	885,000
					29½	2	23 24	875,000
Union Iron Works Co	29½	2	24	880,000				
Seattle Construction & Dry Dock Co					29½	1	22	873,000
Do						2	22 24	863,000
Fore River Ship Building Corporation	29½	1	24	872,000	29½	1	24	883,000
Do	29½	2	23 24	852,000	29½	2	23 24	867,000
Do					29½	1	24	815,000
Do					29½	2	23 24	795,000

Curtis.

Outlook for Prosperity.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANDERSON H. WALTERS,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 1, 1915.

Mr. WALTERS. Mr. Speaker, I desire to print in the RECORD an address by Mr. George W. Perkins, on the "Outlook for prosperity," delivered before the Economic Club of New York February 10, 1915. Mr. Perkins said:

"Something must be wrong when, in a country as marvelously rich as ours in agricultural and mineral resources, where the people are industrious and ambitious, it is necessary for the members of the Economic Club of New York to spend an evening discussing the outlook for prosperity. What is the trouble? Is it superficial or fundamental? For one, I believe it is fundamental; that it is a conflict between economics new and economics old—a conflict that has been raging in this country for 20 years or more.

"In recent years we have been given a myriad of inventions having to do with steam, electricity, and wireless, every one of which has made possible the expansion of man's energies and opportunities. At the same time we have been given a myriad of laws having as their one and only object the contraction of man's energies and opportunities. As a matter of fact, it is difficult to recall one single permissive or constructive law, either State or National, that has been passed in recent years. I do not know of a piece of recent national legislation that has had as its declared or underlying purpose the promotion of business and the protection of investor, laborer, and consumer, or that has been based on sound twentieth-century economics and morals. The inventor has been headed in one direction, the lawmaker in exactly the opposite direction. How can we expect prosperity under such conditions? A house divided against itself must fall, and our prosperity has fallen.

"In 1876 Messrs. Bell and Watson startled the world by announcing that they had talked to each other over a 2-mile wire while they themselves were in Cambridge and in Boston, respectively. Since then the telephone has been gradually perfected, until last week the same two men were able to talk to each other while they were in New York and San Francisco, respectively. In 1876, San Francisco was 3,400 miles from New York, and the only possible way then for a man in New York to talk to a man in San Francisco was by transporting his body from New York to San Francisco, which at that time took eight or nine days. Through the perfection of the telephone the 3,400 miles separating San Francisco from New York have been annihilated; and, for conversational purposes, business in San Francisco is now nearer to the New Yorker with a long-distance telephone than is his neighbor around the corner who has no telephone. We do not do business with our bodies, we do it with our minds; and the telephone has emancipated the mind from the body and given it wings, so to speak, which allow it to go hither and yon, doing business where it will, while the body remains in one place. San Francisco is no longer 3,400 miles from New York; it is only a few seconds from New York.

"This is but one of countless illustrations of the new economics against the old.

"While this miraculous economic transformation has been taking place almost all our political leaders and so-called statesmen have stood still, both in thought and in action; they have refused to budge an inch toward accepting the new conditions or toward changing their own views on economics, as they learned them when boys, from books that are now musty and obsolete. The result has been a great tug of war between our vast body of political leaders and our vast body of business leaders; first, because of the utter and complete lack of thought, study, and research on the part of our political leaders as to the new economic conditions under which we have suddenly found ourselves living; and, second, because our business men, confronted with these mighty economic changes, have been obliged to adjust themselves to the new economic conditions and yet try to comply with laws enacted to meet the old economic conditions.

"Did any man in this room ever hear of a political leader or so-called statesman delivering a speech in a State legislature or the National Congress calling the attention of the people to the mighty changes that have taken place in the methods of intercommunication during the last 20 years and pointing out that, as intercommunication is the first requisite for doing business,

these mighty changes are entirely responsible for the centralization of business?

"On the contrary, speech after speech has been made, haranguing our people with the grossly misleading statement that the trusts exist because of the tariff and the greed and avarice of a small group of men. A more pernicious and misleading statement has never been thrust on the attention of our people. No one would dare make it if our political leaders had their minds on the real problem rather than on vote getting; if they really studied big industrial questions from the viewpoint of the public good rather than their own good; if they had the courage and honesty to stand up for what is right and sound in law and business rather than for what is for the moment popular. The tariff never made a trust, and free trade never will destroy one. It requires only a little serious, intelligent thought to reach the inevitable conclusion that if we were given free trade in this country to-morrow not a single so-called trust would dissolve. On the other hand, even though our tariff were put as high as the mountains, if that strange force that we call electricity were suddenly withdrawn from our use, and the telephone and the telegraph went out of existence, not a single so-called trust could continue for 24 hours. In all the hours and years of debate on the question of corporations and big business I doubt if a single speech has ever been made calling attention to the great fundamental fact that a volcanic upheaval has taken place in methods of intercommunication; that the ox team, the stage coach, the sailing vessel, and the horse car have been buried deep in the ashes of the past and in their place have arisen steam, electricity, and the wireless. While this great change has come suddenly it has come so naturally that we have scarcely stopped to realize that it has shaken the very foundations of our economics, for with the disappearance of old methods of intercommunication has disappeared the old school of economics, and with the advent of new methods of intercommunication has arisen a new school of economics.

"In 1876, when Bell first used the telephone, our tariff was much higher than it is to-day, and yet there was not a single so-called trust or giant corporation in this country at that time. If you will trace the evolution of the trust from the day that Messrs. Bell and Watson talked over that first telephone line, in 1876, down through the last 40 years, you will find that centralization of all sorts—in society, in the growth of cities, in department stores, in methods of transportation, in giant office buildings, in corporations and trusts—has kept almost exact pace with the development of the telephone, of electricity generally, of steam, and the wireless. Yet while this progress has been going on, mighty and gigantic as it has been, our political leaders by speech and act have shown themselves to be entirely oblivious to what was happening. They have had the effrontery to stand up before our people and tell them that the centralization of business power has been largely due to our protective tariff and greedy, unscrupulous men, and that by legislation this centralization can be stopped, and we can be turned back to the methods under which our forefathers did business, when, as a matter of fact, there is only one law that could accomplish this, viz, a law that would make it a penal offense to use steam or electricity. You might as well attempt to change the course of the sun as to attempt through legislation to return us to the business conditions of our forefathers while permitting us to use steam and electricity. It is not the trusts that have made the times; it is the times that have made the trusts.

"When a man elected to one of the highest offices in the gift of our Nation makes a definite and public statement, and that statement is printed by our newspapers and carried to the people throughout the land, we must not blame the people for accepting it as the truth, especially when it goes unchallenged. To illustrate precisely what I mean, the President of the United States during the last few weeks has repeatedly assured the country that prosperity is knocking at our door because of the legislation the Democratic Party has enacted during the last two years; that the Government has no further quarrel with business; that business on a large scale is perfectly legitimate; that size is no crime; that business enterprises should be measured by the standard of conduct alone.

"While the President has been delivering these addresses the business world has been confronted with the following actualities: In the Government suit to dissolve the International Harvester Co. the United States District Court for the District of Minnesota handed down a decision a short time ago dissolving that company on the ground that it had acquired too large a percentage of the business in which it was engaged; yet all the judges who joined in the decision gave the company a clean bill of health as to its conduct, and even went so far as to criticize the Government for charging that the company had improperly conducted its business. The Harvester Co. has taken an appeal to the Supreme Court.

"Again, only three weeks ago, the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania—a court of precisely the same standing and power as the court that decided against the Harvester Co.—handed down a decision refusing to dissolve the Keystone Watch Case Co., specifically stating that, in its opinion, under the Sherman law, size is no crime; that the company had been guilty of a few improper practices, but that these could and should be reached by governmental injunction and not by governmental dissolution. The Attorney General has appealed this case to the Supreme Court.

"Here we have the President saying that size is no crime, and here we have the President's Attorney General at almost the same moment appealing to the Supreme Court to overrule the circuit court and decide that size is a crime. Here are two circuit courts of exactly the same rank and judicial power, second in authority only to the Supreme Court itself, handing down within a few weeks of each other decisions that are absolutely in conflict. Could there be confusion worse confounded?

"When our highest courts can not agree as to what the business laws of the country mean and permit, when the President talks one way and his Attorney General acts the other, how can a business man know on what basis he can do business? How can capital be expected to invest money in enterprises and do business and employ labor? What say you of the outlook for prosperity under such conflicting and impossible conditions?

"Now, you gentlemen who are listening to me this evening know that business has got to be done on facts, on acts, and not on theories and the personal opinions of individual men, no matter how important may be the governmental positions they temporarily hold. Eager and anxious as our great business world is to follow President Wilson in his assurance that all is well between the Government and business, that capital need no longer hesitate, and that business may forge ahead, it is utterly impossible for it to do so while actually existing conditions are as outlined above. The decisions in the Harvester and Keystone Watch cases proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that up to date no business man, no lawyer, no court has been able to find out definitely how business can be done legally, on a large scale, under the Sherman law.

"Prosperity that is permanent, that is fair to one and all, can not be had while all these contradictory conditions exist; and they exist largely because the business men of our country have been so obsessed with chasing the 'almighty dollar' that they have neglected their civic duties. They have allowed our politicians to talk any sort of 'hot air' doctrine to the people that would temporarily bring success at the polls, and they have not lifted a voice or raised a hand to point out to the people the absolute falsity of the doctrines that were being preached.

"While these things have been happening in our own country our greatest industrial competitor, Germany, has been pursuing exactly the opposite course. While our so-called statesmen have been haranguing our people on the subject of giant corporations being a menace to their liberty, to their business and physical welfare, and have been demanding that we return to the methods of ruthless competition and abandon the idea of cooperation, German statesmen have been preaching exactly the opposite doctrine to their people. For 25 years Germany and this country have been pursuing opposite economic policies. Our Sherman law was passed 25 years ago; and since that time, and particularly during the past 15 years, our politicians have thrived and grown fat in an effort to force our business men to do business under a literal interpretation of that law, which, our politicians have told us, means the breaking up of all large business units and the holding of our commercial relations to a strictly competitive basis.

"Twenty-five years ago Germany was the land of the small industrial unit, and her people were leaving the country every year in large numbers, seeking some other land where they hoped to find better industrial conditions. Then Germany gradually changed her system of economics. Her political leaders, her statesmen, with great foresight and after careful thought and study, realized that modern intercommunication must inevitably mean centralization, vast expansion in trading opportunities, vast responsibilities for the State, vast additional powers for the man of large mental endowment and of large means. In place of passing laws to repress and repel and prohibit all this, the Germans took exactly the opposite course and began to gather their industries together into large units, under the watchful eye of the Government or under the actual control of the Government in some form. Rapidly, and practically in unison with the mighty growth of intercommunication, Germany has forged ahead during the last 25 years, centralizing

her various industries, until now nearly every industry in Germany is organized and centralized in some form of large business unit. As a result, great commercial power and vast commercial profits have come to her people. And now, mark this well, while this centralization has been going on, emigration from Germany has fallen from what was a very large figure 25 years ago practically to zero during the last two or three years. Does not this rebuke the theories of our politicians and so-called statesmen? For the theory they have been preaching has been that if we permitted centralization and cooperation in business it would bring hardship and ruin to our people, while the actual carrying out of such a policy in Germany has resulted in the industrial prosperity and contentment of her people.

"Whatever may be said or thought regarding Germany's attitude in the present war, no thoughtful, studious man who has taken the pains to study Germany's commercial evolution during the last 25 years can for one moment doubt that her statesmen have been on the right industrial track; that they have been long-headed and farsighted; that they have cast off the economics of the past and taken on the economics of the future; that they have discarded old laws and old methods and enacted new laws and adopted new methods to keep abreast of the new age in which the world is moving and living; and that all this has been to the great material advantage of Germany's people as a whole.

"On the other hand, no thoughtful, studious man who has taken the pains to study our own commercial evolution during the last 25 years can for one moment doubt that our so-called statesmen have been on the wrong industrial track; that they have been shortsighted; have refused to cast off the economics of the past and take on the economics of the future; have refused to discard old laws and old methods and to enact new laws and adopt new methods to keep abreast of the new age in which the world of to-day is moving and living; and that all this has been to the material disadvantage of our people as a whole.

"Is it not high time that we called a halt; that we got our bearings both at home and abroad? Is it not just possible that Germany's industrial program is more in keeping with the twentieth century than is our own industrial program? If so, will she not outstrip us in the next quarter of a century in the race for commercial supremacy? Is it not just possible that our statesmen have been wrong in claiming that the commercial salvation of this country depends wholly on the enforcement of their interpretation of the Sherman law? Is it not just possible that, in place of repressive legislation, what has been and is needed is permissive legislation, with restrictions that will safeguard the people from the avarice of unscrupulous men?

"On many occasions I have publicly stated my views on this subject, strongly advocating publicity with Federal regulation of our great interstate and international industrial concerns. I have made known my own views upon the subject of the public policy that is required to enable the economic development of the United States to hold its own with that of Germany. The results of my reflection upon the problem may be summed up in two brief phrases: (1) Federal regulation of our great interstate and international industrial concerns; (2) complete publicity as to the affairs of these concerns. The latter is as important as the former, for both are needed to establish and maintain public confidence in the rectitude and public spirit of the conduct of our great business enterprises. The people must be satisfied that centralized power will not be abused in the future as it has been in the past. For while human nature may not be as selfish as of old, it is still selfish; and while we can and must discard old economics for new, it is not so easy to discard selfishness for unselfishness. I believe a solution of this problem must come largely through the setting up in this country of some other standard of reward than that of the 'almighty dollar'—some other mark of distinction than the number of millions a man is worth or leaves at his death. The yardstick of wealth, as the measure of a man's worth, must give way to the yardstick of service for service's sake. Our industrial system must be such that a man holding a high business position will be held in high esteem as a public servant, receiving two kinds of pay: His reward in money and his reward in honors—both in exchange for service rendered. Publicity, full and frank, would be potential in establishing such a system.

"The larger our industrial concerns and the greater the power of individuals, the more searching must be the measure of publicity required of them by law, and the stronger and more constant must be the limelight on their every action. For many years, both privately and publicly, I have strongly advocated and worked for the adoption of the principle of publicity in our business world; I have long been a firm believer in publicity as a cure-all for most industrial ills and as a safeguard for the public's interests. The law of publicity is about the only law governing the President of the United States, to whom the people give vast power. They can do this because everything he does, every move he makes, every word he utters, almost every change of his countenance is watched, recorded, and publicly interpreted. It would be impossible to have any code of laws, minutely defining the power of the President, that could possibly be as effective as the power of publicity which constantly regulates and controls him. What better precedent could we have for the regulation and control of our semipublic servants in our great industrial world?

"The responsibility for future prosperity is solely up to the sober, able business men of this country. They can no longer shirk this responsibility without disastrous results. They have been shirking it right and left, and they have only been saved up to date because of the unsurpassed resources of our land and the indomitable energy of our men. The limit has been reached, however, and we can no longer defy the new economic conditions and still hold our place in commerce, either at home or abroad. We can no longer leave the solution of this great problem to men of theories, men who talk much and think little, men who do not care for anything except their own political success, whose thoughts are limited in scope to the size of their election districts, who never had a world-wide view or opinion on any subject, men who continually deal in finely rounded but utterly meaningless phrases, in half truths, in evasions, and who are experts in the art of side stepping. If our public men insist on being superficial in thought, insincere and cowardly in action, then it is up to the business men, little and big, to see to it that such men are elected to stay at home, and that others are sent to our legislative bodies who will have broader vision and higher ideals.

"No greater evidence has ever been given of the intelligence of our people than that which is being given right now in the unmistakable change that is coming over their minds as to the methods under which business must be conducted in this country if prosperity is to be ours. For years our public speakers have filled the people full of a false doctrine, and very little, if anything, has been given to them on the other side of the question; yet, through their own intelligence, they have begun to see the light, and, I feel certain, are now ready to listen with impartial care to an educational campaign on this whole question.

"The people know that something is radically wrong. They are in a thoughtful mood, and this provides the best possible opportunity and occasion for an educational campaign to thrash out with the people the great difference between economics new and economics old. The time is as ripe for an educational campaign on this subject as it was for the campaign of gold against silver in 1896.

"Economics new in place of economics old will open up to our great country an era of prosperity—permanent general prosperity, the like of which we have never known—prosperity that will be ours in an abundance beyond the hopes and dreams of even the greatest optimist."

Oregon Railroad Land Grant.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. W. LAFFERTY,

OF OREGON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 1, 1915.

Mr. LAFFERTY. Mr. Speaker, last Friday I filed in the Supreme Court the following brief, which I print in the RECORD by way of extension of my remarks on the subject of the Oregon railroad land grant:

[In the Supreme Court of the United States, October term, 1914. No. 679. Oregon & California Railroad Co., Southern Pacific Co., Union Trust Co., and Stephen T. Gage, defendants and appellants; John L. Snyder et al., cross complainants and appellants, and William F. Slaughter et al., interveners and appellants, *v.* The United States of American, appellee. On certificate from and writ of certiorari to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit.]

SUGGESTIONS OF JOHN L. SNYDER ET AL. IN SUPPORT OF MOTION BY THE UNITED STATES TO ADVANCE CASE FOR EARLY ARGUMENT.

"May it please your honors, leave to file these suggestions within three days was granted in open court on February 23, 1915.

"Thirty copies hereof were filed with the clerk on February 26, 1915. On the same day service was made by mail upon all other counsel to the record, such service being made upon Mr. A. A. Hoehling, jr., of Washington, D. C., in behalf of the Oregon & California Railroad Co., the Southern Pacific Co., and Stephen T. Gage; upon Mr. John C. Spooner, of New York, in behalf of the Union Trust Co.; upon Mr. John W. Davis, Washington, D. C., Solicitor General, in behalf of the United States; and upon Mr. John Mills Day, of Tacoma, Wash., in behalf of the interveners.

"This litigation was started on September 16, 1907, by John L. Snyder, one of 65 cross complainants, whom I represent in this record. These cross complainants were then, and are now, actual settlers upon certain tracts of the land involved, as is shown by the record.

"It will be my endeavor to show to your honors that this case ought to be advanced for argument for April during the present term.

"The litigation has now been pending for nearly eight years. That in itself ought to be a strong reason for refusing now to delay the case practically another year by putting it over until October, as is desired by the railroad company. The cross complainants, who are the only settlers on the land, have at all times been diligent and have at all times urged reasonable speed in the case, but they have been held back and hampered by long and unreasonable delays, both by the railroad company and by the United States, as will be shown by the record.

"In May, 1914, nearly one year ago, the case was argued before the circuit court of appeals, and at the conclusion of the argument the court announced that, owing to the importance of an early final decision, it would immediately certify the case here. That course was taken to save time. Yet no time will be saved if the case now goes over until October, for the case would have reached here by October, 1915, if the court of appeals had gone ahead and decided it instead of certifying it. It was clearly understood at the time of the certification that the parties would all agree to a motion to have the entire record sent up, and that the case should come on for argument at the October, 1914, term. Counsel for the railroad at that time announced that they were anxious for a final decision here, and that they would join the Government in a motion to bring up the whole record and to advance the case, and such announcement on the part of the railroad was given to the press of the Pacific coast at the time and widely circulated. The public was given to understand that if any delay should occur in bringing the case to final issue here it would not be because of any lack of desire on the part of the railroad company for an early decision. Such an interview was given out by W. D. Fenton, leading counsel in the argument of the case for the railroad company, and was printed in the Portland Oregonian on June 5, 1914. The same is on file in the Congressional Library, and is hereby referred to and made a part hereof.

"In that interview Mr. Fenton said:

"We expect that the case, under the Federal practice, will be certified to the Supreme Court to be docketed at the October term, 1914, and that it will be regularly assigned for trial on motion to advance about March next. The statute provides that when the case reaches the Supreme Court on a certificate of the judges as to questions to be answered by the court that the Supreme Court may answer the questions or may make an order that the entire record shall be sent up.

"All parties, I believe, will join in a motion in the Supreme Court to have the entire record sent up, so that that court may try the questions involved, both law and fact, without the necessity of sending the case back to the circuit court of appeals with the answers to the questions to be certified.

"The case, I have no doubt, will be heard upon the merits and upon the entire record by the Supreme Court as early as I have indicated, certainly within the next 12 months. This long litigation will thereby be ended, very greatly to the satisfaction of everyone and to the interest of the public as well as the companies.

"The foregoing certainly shows that the railroad company has had ample notice to be ready for trial and that it is ready to present its case now.

"By the acts of April 10, 1869, and May 4, 1870, the Oregon & California Railroad Co. received in Oregon 3,100,000 acres of land to aid in building a railroad from Portland to the California line, but with a specific provision in each grant as follows:

"*Provided*, That the lands hereby granted shall be sold by said railroad company to actual settlers only, in quantities not greater than 160 acres to any one settler, and for prices not exceeding $2.50 per acre.

"The lands were to be patented to the company as fast as the road was built. The road was completed in 1887, but most of the patents were withheld till 1895 because not applied for by the company. So the lands have actually been patented to the company only about 20 years, and during the last 8 years the lands have been involved in this litigation. A few tracts have been sold and conveyed by the company since this litigation was started, no restraining order having been issued.

"Prior to the starting of this litigation the company had sold, contrary to law, 800,000 acres, and, therefore, had remaining 2,300,000 acres. Since this litigation was started Congress has confirmed the titles of all those who purchased prior to the beginning of this suit. Hence the 2,300,000 acres, or thereabouts, remaining unsold in the possession of the company and unaffected by the claims of any so-called innocent purchasers are the only lands now involved.

"The Oregon & California Railroad Co. is the original grantee of the Government. The Southern Pacific Co. gets into the case only because it owns the stock of the Oregon & California Co. Stephen T. Gage comes in only because he was a trustee in a mortgage given on the land at one time by the grantee company to secure the preferred stockholders. The Union Trust Co. is a defendant because it is trustee in a mortgage given on this land by the grantee company to secure the payment of bonds that were issued to get money to build the road. The defendants have all been named in this paragraph.

"Snyder and the 64 other actual settlers on the land are the original complainants, and it was these settlers who instituted the present litigation in 1907. I was their attorney at the time, and am still their attorney. One year later, September 4, 1908, as shown by the record, the United States intervened in the suits started by these settlers, and filed a bill in equity, asking that all the 2,300,000 acres of unsold lands here referred to be forfeited to the United States. After six years the district court for Oregon rendered a judgment of forfeiture. That was in 1913.

"As stated, no opinion was expressed in the court of appeals, and the case is now here.

"The only question involved is the very simple one of construing the meaning of the words:

"*Provided*, That the lands hereby granted shall be sold by said railroad company to actual settlers only, in quantities not greater than 160 acres to any one settler, and for prices not exceeding $2.50 per acre.

"The settlers on the land, whose suits are in the nature of test cases, claim that this language constitutes a trust which must be enforced by the court. The United States claims that it constitutes a 'condition subsequent,' for breach of which forfeiture is a proper remedy. And the railroad company claims that the language is so vague, indefinite, and uncertain as to be unenforceable, and, besides, that the settlers and the United States are barred by laches, and that the bills should all be dismissed for lack of equity. The Union Trust Co. claims that it is an innocent encumbrancer to secure the payment of $20,000,000 in bonds, and that no judgment should be rendered cutting off its security. These are the simple issues in the case, and no one should be concerned by the voluminous record which has been stuffed and padded with statutes, documents, and everything else that could be set out in the same.

"The 'interveners' are a class of people who have signified their willingness to settle upon the land and buy certain tracts from the railroad company, and who have tendered certain applications to purchase, but who do not claim to have been actual settlers at the time, and who, therefore, did not bring themselves within the terms of the statute, and clearly have no rights in the case.

"The prayer of the Government's bill of complaint is in the alternative. It asks, first, for a forfeiture; and, second, if forfeiture shall be denied, for the appointment of receivers to administer the grant and sell the lands out to actual settlers under such rules and regulations as will secure an orderly disposition of the same. Such rules would doubtless provide for a drawing system, for the lands are now very valuable. Less than 100 settlers are actually on the land, and none can go on hereafter without the permission of the court, as the trust estate is in the custody of the court. Therefore it would be a simple matter for the court to enforce the trust.

"The lands here involved would make 15,000 homes of 160 acres each, or 60,000 homes of 40 acres each. I am going to contend for the sale of the lands through receivers in tracts of 40 acres each, and through a drawing system, which would give all citizens an equal chance to get a home in this most favored of all sections of the United States. The law says the lands shall be sold to actual settlers only 'in tracts not exceeding 160 acres,' so that the court in administering the grant could very properly order the lands sold in tracts of 40 acres to each settler.

"The suggestions to be filed by the railroad through Mr. Hoehling in favor of putting this case over till October have not yet been served upon me, and I am, therefore, in poor position to anticipate and answer them. But I can say generally that all parties are as nearly ready now as they will ever be. This case was fully briefed a year ago in the court

of appeals upon the identical record now here. Very few changes, if any, will be made in those briefs when reprinted for filing here. They could be amended as desired, and refiled here within 15 days without the slightest inconvenience.

"It is very usual for railroad attorneys to urge business elsewhere as a ground for a continuance when they desire one, so I shall anticipate that argument. It is an argument that could as well be urged where the business is elsewhere pending, alleging that counsel would have to be present here. And I dare say that the railroad company has no business pending anywhere more important than this case. Counsel should get continuances elsewhere, if any continuances are necessary, and be on hand here to argue this case in April of this year.

"Conservatively the lands involved in this suit are worth $25 per acre, or $50,000,000. The settlers are not trying to 'get something for nothing,' because, in addition to the $2.50 per acre, and all taxes and disbursements, which they offer to pay to the railroad company, the settlers will have to make homes out of the land, and they will thereby give to the United States all the lands are worth. The establishment of happy and prosperous homes in this Switzerland of America was the real consideration that Congress contemplated should pass from the settler to the Government for the land. The giving of the $2.50 per acre to the railroad company was only incidental. The railroad company was made merely the sales agent of the Government. In the debates in Congress when the lands were granted Mr. Holman, of Indiana, objected to the bill and Mr. Sargent, of California, answered in this language:

"The gentleman, in his blind rage, does not distinguish between this grant and those which were unrestricted. He says the lands along the Union Pacific now sell for $10 per acre. Under the provisions of this bill the company can never realize more than $2.50 per acre for the land, even if the building of the road makes them worth $100 per acre."

"And in the Senate, upon the same bill, Mr. Williams, of Oregon, who had been Attorney General of the United States, said:

"These lands will be as open to settlers under the provisions of this bill as they are under the preemption laws of the country. Notwithstanding the grant of this aid to this railroad company, every foot of the lands granted must be sold by the company to actual settlers, and for prices not exceeding $2.50 per acre."

"This much of the record is cited in order to show to your honors the great responsibility that now rests upon this honorable court to enforce a bequest of a Congress of the last generation made for the benefit of the homeless of the present generation. This honorable court may wish to hold the case under advisement during the summer vacation, in order to reach, after mature thought, the best solution for carrying out this great trust. No one could object to that. But to put the case off for argument till October would, in my opinion, be without just cause.

"It is certain that the parties are not going to agree to an abbreviation of any part of the 17 volumes of the record in this case. It is certain that they are going to put on the court the burden of looking through the whole record. In fact, a proposition made by the Solicitor General to agree to an abbreviated record has already been refused by the railroad company. They simply agree that all parties shall point out in their briefs those portions of the record which they deem important. That very thing is already provided for by rule. That very thing was done in the briefs already prepared and filed in the court of appeals. Therefore no stipulation recently filed can afford any excuse for giving further time to prepare briefs.

"All parties have known for one year that this case would come on for hearing here this spring. All parties are, therefore, ready, or if any party is not ready it is his own fault, and it would be generous enough for this honorable court to give such party until April 5 to get ready.

"If this case goes over till October for argument, this honorable court will have but little time next fall and winter for anything else; but if the case shall be argued now members of the court may examine the record at leisure during the coming summer vacation, and be prepared to render a decision early next winter, or possibly sooner. The sooner the case is taken up the easier the task will be for all concerned. The longer it is put off the better will be the chance of the railroad to defeat justice, which it has striven craftily to do ever since the grant was made. The railroad is entitled to no further delay, but should meet the issue now. It has had eight years over the protest of the settlers on the land, who are responsible for this suit being here, and it should not be granted another year now.

"With greatest respect for this honorable court, I submit these suggestions with all the earnestness at my command.

"A. W. LAFFERTY,
"*Solicitor for Cross Complainants.*"

Mr. Speaker, on Monday, March 1, 1915, the Supreme Court sustained the foregoing brief, and set this land-grant case for argument for April 19, 1915.

This was a great victory for the settlers on the land, because both the Government and the railroad company wanted the case put over till October, 1915, for argument. The case will now be finally argued and finally submitted in April, and will be finally decided probably as early as October, 1915.

I shall do all within my power to secure a decree for enforcement of the terms of the grant and for the sale of these lands to settlers under the drawing system.

If the lands should be forfeited to the Government, then Congress should pass an act opening them up to homestead settlers under a drawing system. In other words, the intention of the original granting acts that these lands should go to settlers ought to be carried out.

These will probably be my last remarks in this House during my present service. Under the law I am charged with the duty of distributing the books, maps, and bulletins due my district between March 4, 1915, and the time when Congress shall again convene. Anyone desiring any such documents who will apply by letter, telephone, or in person at my office, 736 Pittock Block, Portland, Oreg., will be supplied.

The City of Hartford, Conn.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUSTINE LONERGAN,

OF CONNECTICUT,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 2, 1915.

Mr. LONERGAN. Mr. Speaker, the city of Hartford, for which H. R. 18310 aims to acquire a site for a public building, is one of New England's busiest industrial centers. An indication of its remarkable growth is found in the upward tendency of the postal receipts of the city. In 10 years the receipts have doubled, and for the year ending June 30, 1913, the receipts were six times what they were in 1880. In 1880 the receipts were $104,000; in 1913 they were $660,026.51.

Hartford had one particular advantage in its early history. It began right. When the Rev. Thomas Hooker and his party came there to establish a permanent settlement, in June, 1636, they exercised wise forethought in dealing with the Indians. Instead of separating the red men from their lands by force, they acquired the lands by purchase. Consequently they were welcomed by the river Indians, the band which occupied Suckiang, the Indian name for Hartford. Although Edmund Andros was wont to say, "A title acquired of the Indians is no better than the scratch of a bear's paw," the title acquired by the Hooker party was a just title, and the grantors thereafter regarded the white men as their allies. Having commenced right, Hartford has continued on the right course ever since, and the best testimony of its rewards is found in the progress and prosperity of its institutions.

The population of Hartford is now close to 120,000, and it is estimated that the increase since 1900 is 41,000. The city is located on the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad line, midway between New York and Boston, and has the benefit of over 150 passenger trains daily. The growth of this thriving city is guaranteed by the important and diversified manufacturing, insurance, and commercial interests. Known the country over as "the home of insurance companies," the word "Hartford" is the synonym for strength and honor when applied to these organizations. It is a well-known fact that at the time of the great earthquake and conflagration on the Pacific coast the real sufferers were San Francisco and Hartford—San Francisco because of its property losses and Hartford because of its insurance losses. Although almost staggered by the millions upon millions of dollars which they found themselves called upon to pay, every Hartford insurance company met its burden squarely, paying dollar for dollar on every claim; and, in addition to this, no city in the United States responded more generously than Hartford in voluntary contributions for the relief of the earthquake sufferers.

Hartford's banking institutions, like its insurance companies, are modern in methods and equipment, efficient in service, and are excelled by none in the country. It is a noteworthy fact that the Hartford banks have $1,000,000 worth of assets to every 1,000 inhabitants, and its insurance companies $1,000,000

assets to each 250 inhabitants. Its National and State banks and trust companies have combined capital of $6,965,000; its savings banks have deposits of over $51,000,000.

Mr. Speaker, the manufacturing district of the city is a cause for pride on the part of every Hartford citizen. This district, representing millions of capital, is one of the cleanest in the world; a tour among the various plants discloses well-designed and well-lighted buildings, many of them vine covered and surrounded by spacious, well-kept lawns. Their products include typewriters, guns, pistols, machine tools, horseshoe nails, automobiles, automobile and bicycle tires, steel balls, screws, electrical apparatus, marine engines, machinery of all kinds, and countless other articles of utility in the industrial field.

PARKS, LIBRARIES, AND SCHOOLS.

Over 1,000 acres of parks, 700 of which are city owned, contribute to the pleasure and well-being of Hartford's citizens, providing playgrounds for the children, baseball diamonds, golf links, tennis courts, and bowling greens for the grown-ups—all extending a perpetual invitation and welcome to the whole people to come out more into the open to enjoy nature's richest landscape beauties and to breathe God's own fresh air.

The Hartford Public Library has over 90,000 volumes, and is as capably conducted as any library in the country. Its reading and reference rooms are veritable mines of information. The Connecticut Historical Library has 25,000 volumes. Adjoining the public library is the Morgan memorial, the gift of the late J. Pierpont Morgan, once a native of Hartford, in memory of his father, the late Junius Spencer Morgan. This handsome structure contains many priceless art treasures.

Hartford has 18 public schools, 5 parochial schools, 4 seminaries, and 1 college. These institutions have established their reputation for efficiency.

Hartford is fortunate in its suburbs. It has been estimated that the city's population is 120,000 and the population of the city's suburbs 120,000 more. Steam train and trolley service are playing their part in bringing the communities together. An important movement in this direction is the farm-to-table parcel post extension which was inaugurated recently. Under this plan, the growers of produce in the suburbs are placed in communication with the consumers in the city; arrangements are made for disposing of the farm products and the delivery of the goods follows by parcel post. Mutual advantages result from the position of Hartford with relation to the manufacturing and agricultural districts.

H. R. 4388 provides for the erection of a public building at Manchester, a community which is one of Hartford's near neighbors. Not only do we look for favorable action on the bill for the Hartford Federal building site at the next session of Congress, but we also expect favorable action on the Manchester bill at that time. Manchester is a rapidly growing manufacturing community located within easy reach of Hartford, with a population of close to 16,000. The great Cheney silk industry, known all over the United States, is located in that town, furnishing employment to 4,000 hands. There are several other important interests in the town. Paved streets, fine schools, prosperous people, and attractive, well-kept homes owned by the workers, have earned for this community the title, "Manchester, the model manufacturing town of New England."

While the city of Hartford has many institutions which are sources of pride, the best asset of the city is the spirit of progress which dominates its people. No matter what movement is instituted, if it has a praiseworthy object in view, there will be no lack of support and that public spirit which has made Hartford one of the leading cities of the East is sure to assert itself in the interest of every worthy project.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. FREAR,
OF WISCONSIN,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Tuesday, March 2, 1915.

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Speaker, no rural-credit bill has been considered by this Congress until three or four days ago, when the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. MCCUMBER] succeeded in attaching his bill as a rider to the Agricultural bill. That bill is now before us. Rural-credit legislation has been sidetracked during the present session. The gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. WINGO] declares that in a Democratic caucus held on the currency bill over a year ago he was promised early legislation on the subject, but it is not until the closing days of Congress that, through accident, we are permitted to consider this important measure.

The House committee desires to now substitute the denatured Hollis bill in place of the McCumber bill, which has passed the Senate, and the friends of rural credits have tried to-day to strengthen the Hollis bill. Of a dozen bills offered to-day, some of which cover over 100 pages, I believe the Bathrick bill is the best, because it provides workable machinery and genuine Government aid; but that bill has been defeated by this committee.

We have been advised by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN] that the President will probably veto any measure that affords actual financial aid by the Government—a remarkable statement—and in these closing hours of Congress we are compelled to choose from a dozen bills that have been presented.

I shall not waste words in further presenting a situation which condemns itself.

Neither the McCumber bill nor the Hollis bill, in my judgment, are free from defects, but this seems to be the only chance of securing legislation on farm credits, and all defects can be corrected by proper legislation as soon as they become manifest. I am not willing to vote for the denatured Hollis bill that proposes an expensive machinery and maintains a corps of high-priced officials in order that farmers may borrow from other farmers or borrow from themselves. Farmers will never avail themselves of a law that only resolves itself in a mass of words used to authorize cooperation, but which does not carry any form of Government aid as is proposed by the Bulkley amendment or the McCumber bill. I believe either of these two latter measures can be made workable, and one or the other should be passed by the House.

Gentlemen have told me that in States in which they live interest rates, commissions, and discounts, all employed to evade usury laws, compel farmers in those States to pay from 10 to 20 per cent annually on borrowed money secured by farm mortgages. I am informed by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BATHRICK], an acknowledged authority, that farm-loan interest rates in my own State are exceptionally low, and that in southern Wisconsin the average interest rates are lower than in any other part of the country.

The McCumber bill provides for a 5 per cent interest rate, and the amended Hollis bill for a rate not to exceed 6 per cent. To this rate must be added abstract charges, title opinion, and other expenses, so that the farmers of my own State will not be materially benefited by the passage of either bill. I believe, however, these bills if framed into law and carefully administered would reduce excessive farm-loan rates in many other States. If we can aid farming interests anywhere in the country, if we can lessen the burdens borne by those who replenish the Nation's storehouse in peace and in war, if we can make farm life more attractive by a fairer adjustment of conditions, every man should do his share.

Those who toil on the farm will be doubtful of professions of friendship or concern if Congress passes a rural-credit bill that is a sham. Just as the farmer finds cold comfort in a tariff law that places his own products on the free list in competition with the world but compels him to buy from those given tariff protection.

He knows full well that while this Government is pouring from eight to ten millions annually into the Mississippi River in a futile, wasteful effort to reclaim lands for private speculators he, the farmer, and nine hundred and ninety-nine disinterested citizens out of every thousand pay the bills without any resulting benefit.

He knows that while efforts are being secretly and openly pushed to have Congress appropriate $19,000,000 for a private water power company in Alabama—we beat it this year—that one-quarter of that amount will finance a rural-credit system as proposed by the Bathrick bill. Without one cent of aid from the Treasury other than an advance loan of $5,000,000 this can be done, because the bonds or debentures based upon mortgages received would furnish a revolving fund for continuing the work.

The farmer knows that if $8,200,000 is thrown into the Ohio River wild canalization scheme this year, as the river and harbor bill proposes, that about half of that amount, which will be largely wasted, would serve to start the preliminary investment under the Bathrick bill provisions.

Mr. Speaker, only day before yesterday the Treasury statement showed $62,488,677 of Government money on deposit in national banks of the country, and that money is being loaned to the banks at 2 per cent. How can we defend this practice and yet refuse rural-credit aid?

Notwithstanding a direct income tax and a brand new war tax is in effect, the general fund is now down to $42,636,000,

according to that same statement, the lowest point reached in many years. On the heels of this net balance of $42,000,000 the farmer and every other citizen will know within a day or so that a compromise river and harbor bill of $30,000,000 is likely to come over to us from the Senate, carrying over one-half of that extravagant amount for wasteful rivers and worthless creeks.

I will not favor any credit bill that would tend to unsettle legitimate business conditions in any locality, nor a bill that is not hedged about by careful provisions. In the study afforded in the Bathrick or McCumber bills as amended I believe they are not subject to either criticism. It is unlikely that any rural-credits bill that loans money at 5 or 6 per cent, with other loan expenses, will be of much service to the farmers of my own State, but I do believe we should do what we can to fairly adjust individual burdens so far as we may properly do so, and make our Government what it was originally intended to be—a means of raising standards of social conditions and material prosperity to all its citizens.

It has been said that this year's Agricultural bill carries an unprecedented sum of $27,000,000, in round numbers; that $2,154,535 is for plant industry; $2,747,976 for animal industry; $2,500,000 for preventing the foot-and-mouth disease; and a large item of $8,553,256 is for the Forestry Service. I have also heard it suggested upon this floor that the House has passed a highway bill giving Government aid to farmers.

Admitting the increase in appropriations, no intelligent man will have the effrontery to say that the appropriation is all for the farmers of the country. Is not the public equally interested in stamping out disease, whether among men or animals? Is not disease, in the final analysis, an economic loss that is borne by the public, whether through appropriations for health boards or to prevent injury to the public welfare? Is the farmer any more interested than other citizens in eight and a half millions given to forestry? To credit such appropriations to agriculture is to unload on that industry what may with equal reason be charged to any other business.

But if the whole $27,000,000 were for agriculture, we must not forget that over $33,000,000 in cash was saved from the iniquitous river and harbor bill last year—more than enough to cover the entire agricultural appropriation for 1915. Although several millions more have been stricken from this year's river and harbor bill, an amount will be sent over from the Senate to-day, according to report, that will exceed the entire 1915 Agricultural bill—for what? Can any sane man question the prodigious waste exposed in that bill?

Highways are for the use of the general public as much as for farmers; so the suggestion that Government aid for highways is a favor extended to the producers of the country alone becomes farcical. It is worse than farcical; it is pure buncombe; because while a cotton-loan bill and a ship-purchase bill have been kept before the Senate for weeks and months during the Sixty-third Congress, the party in power, that without difficulty passed the Underwood law, the currency law, and other administration bills, has done nothing with the highway bill. That has been smothered somewhere around the Senate committee having it in charge. The rural credits bill would also be sleeping but for Senator McCUMBER's bill which he has placed before us. Is it not significant that the last national Democratic platform declared for rural credits and national highway aid?

The great majority of our people are directly or indirectly interested in both highways and rural credits, whereas only a comparatively small section of the country is affected by the cotton-loan bill or the temporary ship-purchase bill as proposed.

All these last-named proposals have received solemn, deliberate, exhaustive, and exhausting attention from the party in power that controls legislation in Congress. Weeks and months for a cotton-loan bill and ship-purchase bill, one day for a rural-credits bill, and not a minute to Government aid for highways. Why?

Would it not have been better public policy to meet the self-evident needs of the country instead of bending every effort to care for sectional or special interests?

Mr. Speaker, I shall vote for the rural-credits bill before us, notwithstanding it is not all that could be desired. It is, in my judgment, something that, properly handled, may furnish this country with needed credit organizations as efficient and helpful as the Landschaften of Germany, the Bavarian agricultural bank, the Hungarian land-mortgage institute, the Canton banks of Switzerland, or the land-credit banks of France. We are behind other countries in this respect, and our Government owes a duty not to agricultural interests alone, but to itself, for whatever is just and whatever benefits the farmer, either directly or indirectly, benefits all.

Memorial to John Fitch.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Tuesday, March 2, 1915.

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, because of its great value as a historical document, I have asked the privilege of extending my remarks by inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an address made to the Committee on the Library by Mrs. Ben Johnson, of Kentucky, in support of a movement inaugurated by the John Fitch Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution to secure a suitable memorial to mark the last resting place of John Fitch, at Bardstown, Ky. The House having granted this request, it is only fair to say that this brilliant piece of research work by the wife of our own distinguished colleague from Kentucky [Mr. JOHNSON] will be found worthy of the national interest which its publication in the RECORD evokes.

In a spirit of fairness to the memory of Robert Fulton which is most commendable, Mrs. Johnson presents such facts as to the life and work of John Fitch, with details culled from original documents, as to leave no room for doubt as to the usefulness and priority of the services of John Fitch in applying steam to the purposes of navigation. The records have been searched and the facts with respect to Fitch's endeavors have been faithfully scanned by the painstaking Kentucky biographer who has undertaken to attain for Fitch his rightful place in history. Mrs. Johnson carries the story from the birth of Fitch, in South Windsor, Conn., in 1743, on through his experiences as mechanic, surveyor, and inventor, until he started his first steamboat on the Delaware River in 1787 from Philadelphia to Burlington, N. J., and then to his last resting place where the Daughters of the American Revolution stand guard over his remains at Bardstown, Ky., where he died in July, 1798.

I shall not further trespass upon the excellent paper which Mrs. Johnson has prepared, except to say that with many Pennsylvanians I concur in her happy thought, that John Fitch's memory should be commemorated by the National Government to which he gave the benefit of his great achievement with that personal inconvenience and sacrifice which is so often characteristic of men of genius.

It was my good fortune to have given some study years ago to the work of John Fitch, incident to the celebration in August, 1887, of the one hundredth anniversary of the expedition made by Fitch in his second boat, launched from Philadelphia and paddled up to Burlington under the power of a small steam engine. Having joined in that celebration, which covered the entire route of the original Fitch expedition, I can appreciate the importance and the propriety of the research work which Mrs. Johnson has made a labor of love.

STATEMENT OF MRS. BEN JOHNSON.

I append herewith the statement of Mrs. Ben Johnson, delivered before the Committee on the Library February 27, 1915:

MEMORIAL TO JOHN FITCH.

Mrs. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I appear before you to-day to urge a favorable report upon House bill No. 19393. This bill has for its purpose the erection of a suitable memorial to John Fitch.

In having this bill introduced and in appearing before you to urge a favorable report upon it, it is neither my purpose nor desire to reopen the question as to who first applied steam to navigation. However, I hope to convince you before I conclude that John Fitch was such a pioneer in this respect that our National Congress will not hesitate to mark the grave where his remains lie buried.

In discussing his inventive genius it will become necessary for me to give the dates when he applied steam to navigation. I wish to impress that if those dates are prior to the time that any other persons attempted to apply steam to navigation they are not used with the view of in anywise lessening the honor attaching to another for whatever part he may have taken in the development of this great work, but solely for the purpose of having Fitch recognized by the Nation as he should be.

Some years ago a chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution was organized at Bardstown, Ky., at which place I reside. The ladies who undertook that patriotic work did me the honor of making me the organizing regent.

John Fitch, the subject of my remarks to-day, was a Revolutionary soldier. This is one of the reasons that local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution has been named the John Fitch Chapter.

In the old Municipal Cemetery at that place rest his remains.

As I said in the beginning, the purpose which I have in view in addressing you is to secure a suitable marking for his grave.

The credit of first applying steam to navigation is generally given to Robert Fulton. I concede at once that Fulton's steamboat, the *Clermont*, was the first to navigate the River Hudson. It is also true that Fulton, with the aid of Robert R. Livingston, materially developed the steamboat. Much credit should also be given to Oliver Evans, Nicholas I. Roosevelt, Samuel Morey, John Cox Stevens, and a few others. History correctly records that the *Clermont* made its initial trip from the city of New York to the city of Albany, N. Y., in August, 1807. No claim whatever of an earlier invention has been made in Fulton's behalf.

The elastic force and the propelling power of steam had been known for several centuries before the birth of either Fulton or Fitch or the others who undertook its application to navigation. It is highly probable, indeed, that men of inventive minds, recognizing this power in steam, conceived the idea that eventually it would be applied to water navigation, just as in more recent years, long before aerial navigation became an actuality, its coming was predicted in all civilized countries.

Since I am here urging a favorable report for this bill upon the ground that Fitch, at a very early date, applied steam to navigation, I shall now proceed to give you dates and facts justifying the position which I take relative to him.

John Fitch was born in South Windsor, Conn., on January 21, 1743. During his early life he exhibited a marked talent for mechanics. Early in life he qualified himself as a practical surveyor, and a large portion of his life was devoted to surveying in what was then termed the Northwest—the country west of the Allegheny Mountains, including the States of Ohio and Kentucky. He was an active man, mentally and physically, and was gifted with wonderful perseverance. He died at Bardstown, Ky., in July, 1798.

It is a self-evident fact, therefore, that whatever his achievements were, they must have been prior to August, 1807, at which time Fulton made his trial trip with the *Clermont* on the Hudson.

In the early part of 1785 John Fitch resided in Bucks County, Pa. On April 15 of that year he expressed his conception of the idea of applying steam to water navigation. Prior to that time he had considered the possibility of propelling carriages by steam, but later abandoned this idea because of the then lack of good roads, an insurmountable obstacle.

On April 15, 1785, as he was returning from Neshaminy meeting to his home, the idea of the steamboat occurred to him.

In the document division of the Congressional Library, Washington, D. C., there are many interesting originals and authenticated copies of letters, certificates, documents, and miscellaneous papers relative to the first steamboat. Most of the proofs to which I shall invite your attention have been taken from this collection. The authenticity of others to which I shall refer can be easily established.

From the collection in the Congressional Library I have taken the two following statements:

I do certify that as I was returning with John Fitch from Neshaminy meeting some time in April, 1785, as near as I can recollect the time, when a gentleman and his wife passed by us in a riding chaise. He immediately grew inattentive to what I said. Some time after that he informed me that at that instant the first idea of a steamboat struck his mind.

JAMES OGILBEE.

—

You are desirous of knowing from me when the first thought of a steamboat came in your head; this I can not tell, but this you told me, that in the month of April, 1785, you was traveling down Street road in company with Mr. James Ogilbee, and Mr. Sinton passing you on Street road, then the first thought occurred to you of a steamboat, and in the month of May or June following you showed me a plan of your machine on paper. This truth I shall seek no further testimony to support; 'tis too generally known; let them that doubt it come and hear more from

Your humble servant,

JAMES SCOUT.

APRIL 15, 1789.

Fitch states in his autobiography that the idea of the steamboat occurred to him about the time mentioned by these two witnesses. Shortly thereafter Fitch began the construction of a model, and later his first steamboat.

At that time there were in this country no facilities for constructing steam engines. Therefore Fitch was forced to rely upon very crude materials and workmanship. He called to his assistance a blacksmith of the neighborhood, and in Cobe Stout's log shop he made his first steamboat.

Of the model of that boat Dr. William Wood, of East Windsor Hill, Conn., said:

The model was tried on a small stream on Joseph Longstreth's meadow, about half a mile from Davisville, in Southampton Township, and it realized every expectation. The machinery was made of brass, with the expection of the paddle wheels, which were made of wood.

On file in the Congressional Library is an original bill against John Fitch in favor of Jacob Schieffel. It bears date July 20, 1785, and shows that it was paid by Fitch July 25, 1786. One item of this bill is "for bar iron and cols. for steam ingin."

In August, 1785, Fitch decided to ask the assistance of the Continental Congress, which was then in session in the city of New York. Before doing so, however, he obtained letters of commendation from men prominent at that time.

Dr. John Ewing, then provost of the University of Pennsylvania, gave him a commendatory letter to William C. Houston, who had been a Member of Congress. Fitch presented this letter to Mr. Houston, who, after examining Fitch's steamboat model, gave him a similar letter to Hon. L. Cadwalader, a then Member of Congress. Dr. Samuel Smith, provost of Princeton College, also gave him a letter to Congressman Read of North Carolina.

Upon arriving in New York Fitch presented these letters. He also presented to the president of Congress his own petition, wherein he asked for the encouragement of his invention by Congress. These letters and the petition are now to be found among the documents in the Congressional Library, and read as follows:

PHILADELPHIA, *August 20, 1785.*

DEAR SIR: I have examined Mr. Fitche's machine for rowing a boat, by the alternate operation of steam and the atmosphere, and am of opinion that his principles are proper, and philosophical, and have no doubt of the success of the scheme if executed by a skillful workman. It is certain that the extensive force of water when converted into steam, is equal to any obstruction that can be laid in its way, so as to burst any metallic vessel in which we would endeavor to confine it, and the application of this force to turn a wheel in the water so as to answer the purpose of oars seems easy and natural by the machine which he proposes, and of which he has shown me a rough model. Should such a machine be brought into common use in the inland navigation through the United States, it would be exceedingly advantageous in transporting the productions of America to market, and thereby greatly increase the value of our back lands. He proposes to lay his invention before Congress, and I hope he will meet with the encouragement which his mechanical genius deserves. The project deserves a trial to be made of it, to see how far the execution will answer the theory; and countenance of Congress in these productions of genius, will encourage others and thereby give birth to discoveries that may be infinitely beneficial. As you are a gentleman of knowledge in these matters I make no doubt of his receiving your patronage so far at least as to give him an opportunity of laying his scheme before Congress.

I am, sir, etc.,

JOHN EWING.

—

TRENTON, *August 25, 1785.*

SIR: I have examined the principles and construction of Mr. Fitche's steamboat, and though not troubled with a penchant ior projects, can not help approving the simplicity of the plan. The greatest objections to most pretensions of this sort is the delicacy and complication of the machinery. This does not seem liable to such objections. As to the moving force of the whole, we know very well that the power of steam is beyond conception; it is everything but omnipotent, and almost that.

The model is plain, and you will at once form a judgment of its probable general effect. The difference produced by standing or running water is to be more attentively considered. I inclose you Dr. Ewing's letter. He is certainly an able judge in these cases, and I can not help expressing a wish that it may be practicable to do something toward procuring an experiment. The person who offers it, you know. He is a man highly deserving, as modest, ingenius, enterprising, and of good morals.

I am, sir, etc.,

WILLM. C. HOUSTON.

Hon. L. CADWALDER, Esq.

—

PRINCETON, *August 27, 1785.*

SIR: The bearer, Mr. John Fitch, has shown me a model of an instrument to row a boat against streams, which appears to me to be constructed on just and philosophical principles. As he desires to propose it to Congress in order to obtain their encouragement and assistance to construct a boat on the same principles, he has requested to be introduced to some gentlemen of distinction in the honorable body, supposing it may be of use to forward his intentions. After convincing them of its practicability and utility, if he should obtain adequate assistance for that purpose, he makes no doubt that Congress will so recommend him to the legislators of particular States that are likely to derive the most benefit from it, so that he shall not want a proper compensation. You will best judge about this. But I am assured that if it be consistent with their duty a scheme that is the effect of ingenuity and application and promises to be of public service will not want a proper patron in you.

I am, sir, etc.,

SAML. SMITH.

Hon. Mr. READ.

—

AUGUST 29, 1785.

SIR: The subscriber begs to lay at the feet of Congress an attempt he had made to facilitate the internal navigation of the United States, adapted especially to the waters of the Mississippi. The machine he had invented for the purpose has been examined by several gentlemen of learning and ingenuity, who have given it their approbation. Being thus encouraged, he is desirous to solicit the attention of Congress to a rough model of it now with him, that after examination into the principles upon which it operates they may be enabled to judge whether it deserves encouragement. And he, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

JOHN FITCH.

The committee to which the matter was referred did not report thereon. This failure of action is not unlike that which usually has been accorded to men of inventive genius when seeking financial assistance from public sources.

Seeking encouragement elsewhere, Fitch then proceeded to Philadelphia. On September 27, 1785, he presented to the Philosophical Society of that city a model and specifications of his invention.

Attention is especially invited to the fact that in all of these papers it affirmatively appears that Fitch's idea was accepted as entirely new, and that it contemplated the use of steam to propel vessels.

What action was taken by the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia does not appear, but the records of that society furnish abundant evidence of Fitch's invention. In the Congressional Library there is an excerpt from the minutes of the society, attested by one of the secretaries, which reads as follows:

September 27, 1785. Philadelphia. At a special meeting of the American Philosophical Society.

A model, accompanied with a drawing and description of a machine for working a boat against the stream by means of a steam engine, was laid before the society by Mr. John Fitch.

—

At a meeting of the American Philosophical Society on December 2, 1785.

A copy of the drawing and description of a machine for working a boat against the current which some time ago was laid before the society by Mr. John Fitch he this evening presented to them.

Extract from the minutes.

SAM MAGAW,
One of the Secretaries.

Prior to this time Fitch had made a map of the northwest country, and he hoped that Congress would assist him in the building of his boat by encouraging the sale of his maps. On August 30, 1785, he presented to the committee to whom his original petition had been referred the following communication:

To the honorable, the COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS:

It is with the greatest diffidence, though with the advice of several gentlemen of science, I have at last presumed to lay at your feet an attempt to assist the inland navigation of the United States, and particularly calculated for the waters of the Mississippi, by a steam engine.

JOHN FITCH.

NEW YORK, *the 30th August, 1785.*

With this communication, Fitch sent a rough drawing of the plan of his steamboat, which he described in detail.

He asked Congress to assist him in selling 4,000 maps, in consideration of which he stipulated that he would construct a steamboat at his own expense. Failing in his efforts to obtain assistance, either from Congress or from private individuals of means, he continued his efforts to obtain the necessary funds by the sale of his maps.

On November 15, 1785, he obtained from the soldier and statesman, Patrick Henry, the following certificate respecting his intention, if a sufficient number of maps could be sold. I will read the certificate:

I certify that John Fitch has left in my hands a bond payable to the governor, for the time being, for £350, conditioned for executing his steamboat, when he received subscriptions for 1,000 of his maps, at a French crown each.

P. HENRY.

On December 20, 1785, Fitch had printed and posted in Philadelphia, the following advertisement, a copy of which is in the Congressional Library:

To the encouragers of useful arts:

The subscriber humbly begs leave to inform the public that he has proposed a machine for the improvement of navigation, with other useful arts; that it has been honored with the approbation of many men of the first characters for philosophical and mechanical knowledge in each of the Middle States; that he has laid it before the honorable Assembly of Pennsylvania, now sitting, whose committee have been pleased to make a very favorable report on the subject. The result has been that a number of gentlemen of character and influence have undertaken to promote a subscription for his map of the northwest parts of the United States, in order to enable him to make a full experiment of his machine. He flatters himself the subscribers will think the maps well worth the money, yet he pledges himself to employ one-half of the money so contributed in constructing and bringing to perfection a machine that promises to be of infinite advantage to the United States.

JOHN FITCH.

N. B.—The following opinion was given to said Fitch, and subscribed by a number of gentlemen whose names would do honor to any projection in philosophy or mechanism.

"Upon considering the extent of the principles on which Mr. Fitch proposes to construct his steamboat and the quantity of motion that may be produced by the elastic force of steam, we are of opinion that if the execution could by any means be made to answer the theory when reduced to practice, it might be beneficial to the public, and it seems to be deserving of a fair experiment, which alone can justify the expectation of success.

"December 20, 1785."

In further prosecution of his efforts to interest those in authority, on November 25, 1785, Fitch visited ex-Gov. Johnson, of Maryland, and obtained from him a letter addressed to Gov. Smallwood, of Maryland, which letter I will now read:

FREDERICKTOWN, *November 25, 1785.*

SIR: Mr. John Fitch, of Bucks County, in Pennsylvania, called on me on his way to Richmond. He has gone through a variety of scenes in the back country, which has enabled him to collect a knowledge of a great part of the new States, on which and other helps he has made a map useful and entertaining. His ingenuity in this way strongly recommends him, but his genius is not confined to this alone. He has spent much thought on an improvement of the steam engine by which to gain a first power applicable to a variety of uses, amongst others to force vessels forward in any kind of water. If this engine can be simplified, constructed, and made to work at small expense there is no doubt but it will be very useful in most great works and, amongst them, in shipbuilding.

Mr. Fitch wants to raise money to make an experiment on boats. The countenance he has met with in Virginia he hopes will enable him to do it. He wishes also to make other experiments and is willing to enter into engagements to apply a large proportion of the sales of his maps his principal fund. I believe his proposition for this improvement will be ample security for his applying the money in that way. All that I have to request of you, sir, is that you will give him an opportunity to converse with you. You will soon perceive he is a man of real genius and modesty. Your countenancing him will follow, of course.

I am, sir, your excellency, most obedient and most humble servant,

THOMAS JOHNSON.

During the summer of 1785 Fitch succeeded in constructing a small steamboat which was successfully operated. In 1786 he began the construction of a second steamboat, which was not completed until 1787.

Dr. William Wood thus describes this latter boat:

This boat was 45 feet long and 12 feet beam. It had six oars or paddles on each side. The engine was a 12-inch cylinder.

While this boat was being constructed Fitch undertook to protect his invention by asking the Federal Congress to grant him a patent "for some reasonable time."

On March 15, 1786, he addressed the following petition to Congress:

To the honorable the United States in Congress assembled:

The representation and petition of John Fitch humbly sheweth that your petitioner having constructed an easy and expeditious method of urging boats through the water by the proper application of the force of steam, whereby the inland navigation of the United States of America is likely to be greatly promoted the principles whereof has been honored with the approbation of gentlemen of the first character for philosophical knowledge in several of these States who have expressed their desires of seeing it carried into execution by an experiment. And as it has been a general practice to encourage new invention and useful improvements by allowing their first projectors the advantages of their discoveries for some reasonable time wherefore your petitioner humbly prays that your honors will be pleased to grant him the exclusive privilege of constructing boats impelled by the force of steam and the advantages arising from that discovery on all waters now belonging to the United States, particularly on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, for such length of time as your honors may judge proper.

And your petitioner, etc.

JOHN FITCH.

TRENTON, *March 15, 1786.*

Congress took no immediate action on this petition.

In the early part of 1786 Fitch organized a company to construct steamboats of his design and otherwise to promote his invention. All of the records of this company are not now available, but it does appear that on August 2, 1786, the company acceded to Fitch's request that an assessment be levied upon each of the shareholders for the purpose of providing additional funds with which to finance the company.

In the Congressional Library is a letter written by Fitch to John Cox on August 2, 1786, which sets out the action taken by the shareholders on the preceding day. This paper reads as follows:

WORTHY SIR: The company met last evening to determine what further should be done concerning the steamboat, when there were eight present, to whom I made the inclosed proposals, and on considering the matter unanimously came to the following resolution:

At a meeting of several of the company's proprietors of the steamboat held the 2d day of August, 1786, agreeable to general notice given, the new proposals of John Fitch for an enlargement of his plan by further advances of money being now laid before us and considered of. It is agreed that the said plan be carried into effect upon a larger scale than was at first proposed, and that the further advances be $30 per share more than specified in on articles of agreement dated April 19, 1786. I could wish, sir, to be made acquainted with your determinations on the matter, and also Mr. Stevens's, as soon as may be convenient. I pray you, sir, also to communicate this to Mr. Stacy Potts, as I have not time to write him on the action at present, and request him to write to me whether he agrees to the proposal or not, and could wish it might be soon, as the money must be shortly raised for the purpose to have the boat a running in 10 weeks. With the most perfect respect, sir, I beg leave to subscribe myself,

Your ever faithful and very humble servant,

JOHN FITCH.

JOHN COX, Esq.

Fitch's second boat was completed in 1787 and was launched at once upon the Delaware River at Philadelphia.

At that time the Federal Constitutional Convention was in session in the city of Philadelphia, and the members of that convention witnessed the success of Fitch's steamboat.

Fitch himself said that practically all members of the convention were present on that occasion. That they were well pleased

with the trial is attested by the fact that letters of congratulation were given to Fitch by some of the prominent gentlemen who were present. Among those who gave letters to Fitch were Gov. Randolph and Dr. Johnson, of Virginia, David Rittenhouse, Dr. John Ewing, and Prof. Andrew Ellicott, of Pennsylvania. Chief Justice Ellsworth, of Connecticut, who was on board Fitch's steamboat upon that occasion, also said the experiment was a success.

This trial trip of Fitch's boat was made on August 22, 1787. Please bear in mind that it was not until August, 1807—exactly 20 years later—that Fulton launched the *Clermont* on the Hudson River.

The testimonials just referred to were given in December following August 22, 1787, several of which are now on file in the Congressional Library. The following letters, which I will now read, are indicative of the unqualified success of the trial trip made by the Fitch boat on August 22, 1787.

The first is from David Rittenhouse, and reads as follows:

These may certify that the subscriber has frequently seen Mr. Fitch's steamboat, which with great labor and perseverance he has at length completed, and has likewise been on board when the boat was worked against both wind and tide with a very considerable degree of velocity by the force of steam only. Mr. Fitch's merit in constructing a good steam engine and applying it to so useful a purpose will no doubt meet with the encouragement he so justly deserves from the generosity of his countrymen, especially those who wish to promote every improvement of the useful arts in America.

DAVID RITTENHOUSE.

At the bottom of the letter which I have just read is the following statement signed by John Ewing, which I will read:

Having also seen the boat urged by the force of steam and having been on board of it when in motion, I concur in the above opinion of Mr. Fitch's merits.

JOHN EWING.

PHILADELPHIA, *December 12, 1787.*

I will now read a letter signed by Mr. Andrew Ellicott:

From the well-known force of steam I was one of the first of those who encouraged Mr. Fitch to reduce his theory of a steamboat to practice, in which he has succeeded far beyond our expectations. I am now fully of opinion that steamboats may be made to answer valuable purposes in facilitating the internal navigation of the United States and that Mr. Fitch has great merit in applying a steam engine to so valuable a purpose and entitled to every encouragement from his country and countrymen.

ANDREW ELLICOTT.

PHILADELPHIA, *December 13, 1787.*

While the success of Fitch's invention was now assured, he was not satisfied with the speed which his boat attained on this occasion. After much labor and many vexatious delays he succeeded in obtaining the necessary funds with which to construct another steamboat.

This boat was 60 feet long with a beam of 12 feet. The trial trip of this boat was made during the latter part of July, 1788. Of this boat Dr. William Thornton, a prominent man of that time and who subsequently prepared the designs of the present Capitol Building at Washington, wrote:

Our boat will be tried this evening or to-morrow. Ours is moved by paddles placed at the stern, moved by a small steam engine.

The initial trip of this boat was from Philadelphia to Burlington, a distance of 20 miles—the greatest distance that had ever been traversed by a steamboat. Of this trip Dr. William Wood writes:

At every town along the river banks they were greeted with cheers and waiving of handkerchiefs, and when within a few rods of their destination, the pipe boiler sprang a leak and they came to anchor. The boiler was soon repaired and the boat made several trips to Burlington and back without any accident. On the 12th of October, 1788, there were 30 passengers on board, and these were taken from Philadelphia to Burlington (20 miles upstream) in 3 hours and 10 minutes, which fact was certified to by Andrew Ellicott, Richard Chase, John Poor, and John Ely.

The certificate to which Dr. Wood refers does not appear among the papers in the Congressional Library. However, there is in this collection the certificate of four passengers (two of whom are mentioned by Dr. Wood), which fully sustains Dr. Wood's statement.

I will read this certificate:

We, the subscribers, were passengers in Mr. John Fitch's steamboat from the city of Philadelphia to the city of Burlington, a distance of about 20 miles, which was performed in 3 hours and 10 minutes, with the tide, which gets in at the rate of 2 miles per hour.

There were upward of 30 passengers on board the boat, which was propelled by the force of steam, without any manual labor except that of tending the steam engine.

ANDW. ELLICOTT.
JOSEPH ELLICOTT.
BENJN. ELLICOTT.
RICHARD CHASE.

Although this trial was in every respect a success, Fitch, with his overpowering desire for improvement, determined to construct still another boat with larger machinery. The new design contemplated that the cylinder should be 18 inches instead of 12 inches in diameter.

The trial trip of this new boat was made on April 16, 1790—nearly 17 years before Fulton's trial with the *Clermont* on the Hudson River.

Fitch, in writing of the trial made on April 16, 1790, said:

Although the wind blew very fresh at the northeast, we reigned Lord High Admirals of the Delaware, and no boat in the river could hold its way with us; all fell astern, although several sail boats, which were very light, and heavy sails that brought their gunnales well down to the water, came out to try us.

During the summer of 1790 Fitch made a number of trips up and down the Delaware River with this boat. Those trips were so successful that Fitch, in writing of them, said:

Thus has been effected by little Johnny Fitch and Harry Voight one of the greatest and most useful arts that has ever been introduced into the world; and although the world and my country does not thank me for it, yet it gives me heartfelt satisfaction.

At this point I wish to say that some of Fitch's writings upon this subject are in the Congressional Library, while others are filed with the Historical Society in Philadelphia.

The success attained by Fitch's steamboat was so pronounced that during the summer of 1790 it was operated as a regular boat between Philadelphia and Burlington; and there regularly appeared in the two Philadelphia papers—the Pennsylvania Packet and the Federal Gazette—notices of the days and hours of sailing.

In the old National Museum at Washington can be found a copy of the Federal Gazette of July 27, 1790, in which appears the following advertisement:

The Steam Boat sets out to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock from Arch Street Ferry in order to take passengers for Burlington, Bristol, Bordentown, and Trenton, and return next day.

The advertisement which appeared in the Pennsylvania Packet of June 12, 1790, reads as follows:

The steamboat is now ready to take passengers, and is intended to set off from Arch Street ferry in Philadelphia, every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, for Burlington, Bristol, Bordentown, and Trenton, and to return on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday.

These two newspaper advertisements are conclusive proof of the success of Fitch's invention and appeared 17 years before Fulton launched the *Clermont* on the Hudson.

From an inventive standpoint no historian claims that the slightest credit is due anyone other than Fitch for the steamboat that plied between Philadelphia and Burlington during the summer of 1790. That boat was propelled solely by the power of steam and carried passengers on regular, schedule trips.

According to modern standards it might have been of crude and rough design; nevertheless it and the date must stand in history as a practical exposition and demonstration of an invention that has revolutionized water navigation throughout the civilized world.

Those who have written of this boat say that it attained a speed of 8 miles an hour in ascending the Delaware, which was a higher rate of speed than was obtained by Fulton's *Clermont* 17 years later.

Elated with the success of the boat just referred to, Fitch designed and with the financial aid of his company constructed still a larger boat, which he very appropriately named *Perseverance.* It was intended that this boat should navigate the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. In this hope, however, Fitch was disappointed, for about the time it was completed it was blown by a violent storm upon Pettys Island, in the Delaware, opposite the city of Philadelphia, and seriously damaged. Fitch's stockholders then became discouraged and declined to advance other funds. Fitch's own resources being exhausted, the boat was abandoned. For four years it remained upon Pettys Island, and was finally offered for sale at public auction on August 18, 1795.

In 1796, while residing in the city of New York, Fitch constructed another steamboat. Successful experiments were made with this boat on the old Collect Pond, on the site of which the present Tombs Prison now stands. There is abundant testimony relative to the construction and the success of this small steamer, but I do not deem it necessary to prolong my address by any extended reference thereto.

It is worthy of note, however, that this boat was driven by a screw propeller, and was unquestionably the first boat of this kind ever constructed.

Next, I desire to refer to what may be termed legislative proof of the dates of Fitch's invention.

On March 18, 1786, the Legislature of New Jersey passed a law granting Fitch—

the sole and exclusive right of constructing, making, using, and employing or navigating all and every species or kinds of boats or water craft which might be urged or impelled by the force of fire or steam in all the creeks, rivers, etc., within the territory or jurisdiction of this State for a period of 14 years.

On February 3, 1787, the Legislature of Delaware gave Fitch similar rights within that State. The State of New York, by its legislature, did the same thing on March 19, 1787. Pennsylvania gave such exclusive rights to Fitch on March 28, 1787, and similar action was taken by the Legislature of Virginia on November 7, 1787.

On November 16, 1787, James Rumsey presented to the House of Representatives of Virginia a petition in which he sought the repeal of the prior exclusive grant to Fitch on the ground that he was the inventor of a boat propelled by steam. This petition was referred to a committee, which reported a bill repealing the exclusive grant to Fitch. On November 26, 1788, this bill was defeated in the Virginia House of Representatives, which is very strong evidence not only of Fitch's invention, but also of its priority over Rumsey's; but if Fitch's invention antedated that of Rumsey it certainly antedated that of Fulton, which did not come until 19 years after the action of the Virginia House of Representatives.

The records of the Virginia Legislature show that on November 17, 1790, John Fitch filed a petition for an extension of his exclusive privilege to use the waters of the State for steamboat navigation on the ground that, while his boat had been completed, it had been injured by a storm. This boat was the *Perseverance*, to which reference has been made. The committee to which this petition was referred made a report thereon on December 7, 1790. I will read a copy of the record on this subject:

Mr. Henry Lee reported, from the Committee of Propositions and Grievances, that the committee had according to order, had under their consideration the petition of John Fitch, to them referred, and had come to a resolution thereupon, which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered it at the Clerk's table, when the same was again twice read, and agreed to by the House, as followeth:

"*Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this committee that the further consideration of the petition of the said John Fitch, praying that the time allowed him by law to complete and navigate a steamboat in this State may be extended one year from the 7th day of November, 1790, be deferred to the 31st day of March next."

While Fitch was thus obtaining exclusive rights of navigation from the States, he also undertook to procure other assistance from the legislatures of other States.

On January 5, 1786, he addressed the following memorial to the General Assembly of Maryland:

To the honorable the General Assembly of the State of Maryland:

The subscriber humbly begs leave to inform this honorable legislature that he has proposed a machine for promoting navigation which has been approved by the honorable assemblies of Virginia and Pennsylvania, and by many men of science who have examined the same and certified their approbation. A number of gentlemen of character and influence in the different States have undertaken to promote a subscription for his map of the northwest parts of the United States in order to enable him to make an experiment of said machine. He flatters himself by that means he might in time be enabled to do it, but as the means of procuring it is so dilatory and he proposes to send to Europe for a steam engine to effect it. He prays this honorable legislature to lend a sum sufficient for that purpose, and empower Andrew Ellicott, Esq., under whose patronage he wishes to erect it, to draw out of the treasury a sufficient sum to procure said engine, and the subscriber will refund the same to the treasury of this State out of the first subscriptions he shall obtain, or give sufficient security if he should take it out of the State. Should this honorable legislature see fit to appoint a committee to examine into the principles of said machine your petitioner as in duty bound will ever pray.

JOHN FITCH.

Fitch sent along with this letter the supporting statements, which I will now read:

Upon considering the extent of the principles on which John Fitch proposes to construct his steamboat, and the quantity of motion that may be produced by the elastic force of steam, we are of opinion that if the execution could by any means be made to answer the theory, when reduced to practice, it may be beneficial to the public, and it seems to be deserving of a fair experiment which alone can justify the expectations of success.

JOHN EWING.	RICHARD WELLS.
ANDREW ELLICOTT.	WM. LIVINGSTON.
R. PATTERSON.	EDWARD DUFFIELD.
FRANCIS HOPKINSON.	JOHN NANCARROW.

Fitch's request was referred to a committee, of which William Pinkney was chairman; and, on January 9, 1786, that committee made the following report to the general assembly:

The committee appointed to consider the petition of John Fitch beg leave to report—

That they have endeavored to obtain an adequate idea of the machine mentioned in the said petition and, from the great quantity of motion that may be produced by the elastic force of steam, the committee are strongly inclined to believe the probability of the success promised by the theory. Your committee beg leave to observe that the state and condition of our finances is such that no advance of public money can be made to assist the petitioner in bringing his theory to experiment, however desirable it may be to a liberal and enlightened legislature to encourage works of genius and promote the useful arts.

All of which is submitted to the honorable House.

By order,

WM. PINKNEY, *Chairman.*

JANUARY 9, 1786.

An authenticated copy of Fitch's petition to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania asking for exclusive rights of steam navigation in that State is among the documents relative to this subject in the Congressional Library. It bears date March 10, 1786, and, with the accompanying supporting statements, reads as follows:

MARCH THE 10TH, 1786.

To the honorable the representatives of the free men of the State of Pennsylvania in general assembly met:

The petition and representation of John Fitch humbly sheweth that your petitioner some time ago contrived an easy and practicable method of applying the force of steam to the urging of boats forward in our rivers whereby the inland navigation of the United States may be greatly promoted, which he has explained to gentlemen of science and mechanical abilities in several of the States, who have approved of the principles and wish to see the scheme carried into execution. That your petitioner has laid the scheme before the assemblies of Virginia and Maryland and has entered into obligations with the former of these for completing the work, and now apprehensive that others, from some trifling alterations which they may propose in the mechanism may deprive him of the benefit of his own invention and thereby frustrate his just expectations and encouragements, he prays that your honorable house would be pleased to grant him an exclusive privilege of constructing boats for a limited time upon the principles of working them by the force of steam.

And your petitioner, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

JOHN FITCH.

We, the subscribers, have been acquainted with the principles and some of us examined the mechanism of Mr. John Fitch's steamboat, and are of opinion that it may be the means of improving the inland navigation of the United States.

We doubt not, therefore, that the inventor will find, as he appears to merit, the protection and encouragement of the legislature.

Bucks County, March 18, 1786.

(Signed)	HENRY WYNKOOP.	JOHN THORNTON.
	ANDREW MCMINN.	JOHN EDWARDS.
	GARDUS WINKOOP.	JACOB SOMMER.

Upon that petition the general assembly passed the act of March 28, 1787, to which I have heretofore made reference.

On April 23, 1791, Fitch applied to the Federal Congress for a patent of his invention. This patent was granted on August 26, 1791, the original document being signed by George Washington, and by Commissioners Thomas Jefferson, Gen. Henry Knox, and John Randolph. I invite your attention to the date of Fitch's patent—August 26, 1791—which was 16 years before Fulton sailed the *Clermont* on the Hudson.

I will read a copy of the record of the action taken by Congress upon this subject:

August 26, 1791, whereupon ordered that letters patent be granted to the said John Fitch for his aforesaid invention for the term of 14 years.

Unfortunately, the records of the General Patent Office were destroyed by fire on September 24, 1877. However, there was saved and is now in print a bound volume, giving a list of patents granted between 1790 and 1836. On page 5 of that publication it appears that on August 26, 1791, John Fitch was granted a patent "for propelling boats, etc., by steam, etc."

This book also shows that no earlier patent was granted to anyone for a similar invention.

On November 20, 1791, the French Government also granted letters patent to Fitch which protected his invention in that country for 15 years.

The original of this French patent is now in the old National Museum in Washington.

The application for this patent was made by Aaron Vail, an American consul in France, as attorney in fact for John Fitch.

Omitting the preamble, the recitation of the application, and the description of the invention, the following is a translation of the material clauses of this patent:

We have, according to the aforesaid law of the 7th of January, 1791, conferred and by these presents signed by our hands we grant to Mr. John Fitch an invention patent for the construction, exercise, and use throughout the kingdom for the time and space of 15 consecutive years from the date of these presents of a mechanism which moves boats, ships, and other vessels by means of a fire machine, by the means consigned in the note and the drawing below, and on the which note shall be placed a stamp or seal with the words "invention patent" and the name of the inventors, for him and his attorney in fact to use said patent throughout the kingdom during the time mentioned above, all in conformity with the order of the law of the 7th of January.

We must positively forbid any person to imitate or counterfeit the said machine under any pretext whatsoever. We desire to insure the said Mr. Fitch the use of his patent; that this be made a proclamation in our name which no one can ignore.

We command and order all tribunals, administrative bodies, and municipalities to grant fully and peaceably the use of the rights conferred by these presents upon Mr. Fitch and his attorney in fact, and to cease and make to stop all contrary troubles and hindrances. We command them also that at the first requisition of the patent they copy the presents on their registers, read, publish, and advertise them in their respective jurisdictions and departments during their duration as the law of the Kingdom.

In faith of which we have signed and made to be countersigned the said presents, to which we have affixed the State seal.

Paris, the 29th day of the month of November, 1791, and the sixteenth year of our reign.

LOUIS.

By the King.

The minister of the interior,
P. C. CAHIER.

As I said in the beginning, I desire in so far as it is possible to avoid raising any issue as to priority between Fitch and anybody else. But since Thurston, in the life of Robert Fulton, does not himself claim priority for Fulton, I trust I may be pardoned for here calling attention to what Thurston says.

On page 1 of Thurston's life of Robert Fulton the following appears:

Robert Fulton has often, if not generally, been assumed to have been the inventor of the steamboat, as Watt is generally supposed to have been the inventor of the steam engine, which constitutes its motive apparatus. But this notion is quite incorrect * * *. But while Fulton was not the inventor of the steamboat, and while James Watt was not the inventor of the steam engine, in a proper sense, it is the unquestionable fact that the latter was the first to secure a general introduction of the machine into practical use; and the former was the first to make the steamboat a commercial success, and to make its ultimate and permanent employment for marine transportation sure. As an inventor Fulton accomplished far less than Watt; in fact, he did comparatively little in this realm of intellect. Watt invented many improvements of the steam engine, and left it in vastly better form than when he found it, as it came from the hands of his predecessors, Newcomen and Calley. He gave the already well-shaped machine the separate condenser, the steam-jacket, the double-acting form, the rotative type, the expansive system, the governor, and the "engineer's stethoscope," the indicator. Fulton did nothing to modify the engine, or to improve the steamboat even. He simply took the products of the genius of other mechanics, and set them at work, in combination, and then applied the already known steamboat, in his more satisfactorily proportioned form, to a variety of useful purposes and with final success.

On page 34, in speaking of John Fitch and William Henry, of Chester County, Pa., Thurston says that while Henry was probably not the first to conceive the idea of the steamboat, "Fitch evidently made the first successful experiment in the propelling of boats by steam."

I shall be glad to here read what Thurston, in his life of Fulton, says regarding Fitch and his invention. I read from pages 36 to 39, inclusive:

John Fitch was an ingenious Connecticut mechanic. In April, 1785, as Fitch himself states, at Neshamony, Bucks County, Pa., he conceived the idea that a carriage might be driven by steam. After considering the subject a few days his attention was led to the plan of using steam to propel vessels, and from that time to the day of his death he was a persistent advocate of the introduction of the steamboat. At this time, Fitch says, "I did not know that there was a steam engine on the earth"; and he was somewhat disappointed when his friend the Rev. Mr. Irwin, of Neshamony, showed him a sketch of one in "Martin's Philosophy."

Fitch's first model was at once built, and was soon after tried on a small stream near Davisville. The machinery was made of brass, and the boat was impelled by paddle wheels. His own account of his invention is as follows:

PHILADELPHIA, *December 8, 1786.*

To the EDITOR OF THE COLUMBIAN MAGAZINE.

SIR: The reason of my so long deferring to give you a description of the steamboat has been in some measure owing to the complication of the works, and an apprehension that a number of drafts would be necessary in order to show the powers of the machine as clearly as you would wish. But as I have not been able to hand you herewith such drafts, I can only give you the general principles. It is in several parts, similar to the late improved steam engines in Europe, though there are some alterations. Our cylinder is to be horizontal, and the steam to work with equal force at each end. The mode by which we obtain what I take the liberty of terming a vacuum is, we believe, entirely new, as is also the method of letting the water into it and throwing it off against the atmosphere without any friction. It is expected that the engine, which is a 12-inch cylinder, will move with a clear force of eleven or twelve hundredweight after the frictions are deducted; this force is to act against a wheel of 18 inches diameter. The piston is to move 3 feet, and each vibration of the piston gives the axis about 40 evolutions. Each revolution of the axis moves 12 oars or paddles, 5½ feet, which work perpendicularly, and which are represented by the stroke of the paddle of a canoe. As 6 of the paddles are raised from the water 6 more are entered, and the two sets of paddles make their strokes about 11 feet in each evolution. The cranks of the axis act upon the paddles about one-third of their length from the lever end, on which part of the oar the whole force of the axis is applied. Our engine is placed in the boat about one-third from the stern, and both the action and the reaction turn the wheel the same way.

With the most perfect respect, sir, I beg leave to subscribe myself,

Your very humble servant,

JOHN FITCH.

Another of Fitch's boats, in April, 1790, made 7 miles an hour. Fitch, writing of this boat, says that "on the 16th of April we got our work completed and tried our boat again; and although the wind blew very fresh at the east, we reigned lord high admirals of the Delaware, and no boat on the river could hold way with us." In June of that year it was placed as a passenger boat on a line from Philadelphia to Burlington, Bristol, Bordentown, and Trenton, occasionally leaving that route to take excursions to Wilmington and Chester. During this period the boat probably ran between 2,000 and 3,000 miles, and with no serious accident. During the winter 1790–91 Fitch commenced another steamboat, the *Perseverance,* and gave considerable time to the prosecution of his claim for a patent from the United States. The boat was never completed, although he received his patent, after a long and spirited contest with other claimants, on the 26th of August, 1791, and Fitch lost all hope of success. He went to France in 1793, hoping to obtain the privilege of building steam vessels there, but was again disappointed, and worked his passage home in the following year, and later brought out a new boat in New York City driven by a screw propeller. It seems to have been customary to secure a witness in those days as in our own, and we have the following:

"This may certify that the subscriber has frequently seen Mr. Fitch's (John Fitch) steamboat, which with great labor and perseverance he has at length completed, and has likewise been on board when the boat was worked, against both wind and tide with considerable velocity, by the force of steam only. Mr. Fitch's merits in constructing a good steam engine and applying it to so useful a purpose will no doubt meet with the encouragement he so richly deserves from the generosity of his countrymen, especially those who wish to promote every improvement of the useful arts in America.

"(Signed) DAVID RITTENHOUSE.

"PHILADELPHIA, *December 12, 1787.*"

I shall be glad to here read a part of a letter written by Fulton to Lord Stanhope in November, 1793:

In June, 1793, I began the experiments on the steamships. My first design was to imitate the spring in the tail of a salmon. For this purpose I supposed a large bow to be wound up by the steam engine and the collected force attached to the end of a paddle, as in No. 1, let off, would urge the vessel forward.

In the old National Museum at Washington models of the steamboats of Fitch and Fulton, as well as a model of a boat designed by James Rumsey, are exhibited. On the glass cases in which these models are contained are explanatory labels. The dates, as well as other facts, stated on these labels fully sustain the claims I am making.

These labels are as follows:

JOHN FITCH'S STEAMBOAT.

Designed by John Fitch, built in Philadelphia in 1786, and first tested on the Delaware River July 27 of that year, when a successful public trial was made. Length, 34 feet; width, 8 feet; depth, 3 feet 6 inches. Equipped with a steam engine which, connected by geared machinery, sprocket whcel and chain, operated six oars placed vertically in a frame on each side of the boat.

In 1788 Fitch completed his first commercial boat for carrying passengers, and it was driven in a similar manner. This boat was 60 feet long and 8 feet wide. She made a trip from Philadelphia to Burlington, about 20 miles, in July, 1788, the longest ever made by any steamboat up to that date. October 12, 1788, the boat took 30 passengers from Philadelphia to Burlington in 3 hours and 10 minutes, a speed of over 6 miles an hour. In 1790 Fitch built another boat, which attained a speed of 8 miles an hour, and continued to run on the Delaware River, carrying passengers and freight, for three or four months.

—

RUMSEY'S STEAMBOAT.

Propelled by jets of water forced out through the stern. Tested on the Potomac River at Shepherdstown, Va., 1787.

—

STEAMBOAT "CLERMONT," 1807.

Designed by Robert Fulton, built in the city of New York, and made its first trip from that city to Albany in August, 1807. Length, 175 feet; breadth, 12 feet; depth, 8 feet. Equipped with a single-acting bell-crank engine, 24-inch cylinder, and 4 feet stroke; made by Boulton & Watt in England, which operated the side wheels, 15 feet in diameter. The hull was built with flat bottom, sharp vertical ends, perpendicular sides being straight on top, open in the middle, and having small cabins at the bow and stern. This model represents the first experimental boat designed and constructed by Robert Fulton. After making several successful trips it was replaced in the winter of 1807–8, by another boat also called the *Clermont,* which embodied numerous improvements made by Fulton.

In 1817 the question of priority between Fitch and Fulton was submitted to the General Assembly of New York.

On this subject Dr. William Wood says:

In 1817 the original patents, drafts, specifications, and models of Fitch and Fulton were exhibited before a committee of the New York Legislature, raised upon the petition of Gov. Ogden, of New Jersey. Witnesses were examined and able counsel employed. Fulton and Livingston were represented by Cadwalader D. Colden and Thomas Addis Emmet; Fitch's interests by Samuel A. Southard, Joseph Hopkinson, and Col. Ogden. Certificates of Dr. Rittenhouse, Andrew Ellicott, Oliver Evans, and John Ewing were produced, stating the performance of Fitch's steamboat. Gen. Bloomfield testified that he had been a passenger on board Fitch's boat on the Delaware in 1787 and 1788, and regarded the experiment as successful.

The committee having charge of this matter, after careful consideration, reported to the general assembly as follows:

The steamboats built by Livingston and Fulton were, in substance, the invention patented to John Fitch in 1791, and Fitch, during the term of his patent, had the exclusive right to use the same in the United States.

I wish to invite your attention to the fact that this finding was made by a body of men who resided in the State where Fulton's steamboat was built and where it was a matter of State pride.

In 1887 the Connecticut Legislature appointed a committee to investigate the matter of "the discoveries and inventions of John Fitch, of Windsor." The report of that committee was submitted to the general assembly in April, 1887, and was approved by the house of representatives on April 28, 1887, and by the senate on May 10, 1887. That report is very illuminating of the question under discussion, and reads as follows:

To the honorable, the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Connecticut, in General Assembly convened.

The undersigned, appointed a special committee by joint resolution, beg leave to report as follows:

That in accordance with the instructions of said resolution your committee have carefully investigated the facts rendered available by existing records, indicating the date and extent of the agency of John Fitch, of Windsor, in this State, in the practical application of steam as a motive power in the propulsion of vessels on the water, and we find the same sufficient to fully establish the correctness of the following statement:

1. That as early as April, 1785, John Fitch claimed to have invented a machine, using steam as a motive power to propel vessels.

2. That in August of the same year, Dr. John Ewing, provost of the University of Pennsylvania, in a letter to William C. Houston, formerly Member of Congress, certifies to having personally "examined Fitch's machine for rowing a boat by the alternate operation of steam and the atmosphere."

3. That on September 27, 1785, Fitch presented a drawing and model of his boat to the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia.

4. That on March 18, 1786, the State of New Jersey gave to John Fitch "the sole and exclusive right, for 14 years, of constructing, making, using, and employing, or navigating, all and every species or kinds of boats or water craft, which might be urged or impelled by the force of fire or steam, in all the creeks, rivers, etc., within the territory or jurisdiction of this State."

5. That similar rights were granted to John Fitch by the States of New York (March 19, 1787), Delaware (February 3, 1787), Pennsylvania (March 28, 1787), and Virginia (November 7, 1787).

6. That a boat moved exclusively by steam power applied to paddles placed at its stern, was constructed by Fitch, and made the trip from Philadelphia to Burlington, a distance of 20 miles, upstream and against the current, in 3 hours and 10 minutes, with 30 passengers on board, on October 12, 1788.

7. That a second and larger and more efficient vessel was constructed by Fitch, and made a trial trip on April 16, 1790; and that this vessel was thereafter run as a regular passenger boat during the summer of 1790, between Philadelphia and Burlington, being so completely successful that a regular advertisement of her days of leaving and returning and her place of departure, with her readiness to convey passengers, may be found at repeated intervals and dates in the local newspapers of the time—the Pennsylvania Packet and the Federal Gazette.

8. That an account of the fine performance of this vessel may be found in the New York Magazine of August 13, 1790. Your committee have been unable to find any authentic record of inventions for the successful application of steam to the propulsion of vessels and the actual use of the same, by any person or persons, anywhere in the world, at so early a date as that which is clearly and fully established, by the facts hereinbefore mentioned, to the credit of John Fitch; and they therefore deem it a measure of justice, as well as of proper State pride, that such action be taken, commemorative of the great achievements of this native and humble citizen of our Commonwealth, as that proposed by the joint resolution of this general assembly. Your committee recommend that the full and interesting monograph of the late William Wood, of East Windsor, setting forth the facts of the case, be made a matter of record in the archives of the State, in connection with this report.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

O. VINCENT COFFIN, *Senate Chairman.*
A. FOSTER HIGGINS, *House Chairman.*
(By O. V. C. by request.)
LUKE E. WOOD, *Senate Committee.*
C. E. OSBORNE, *House Committee.*

Fitch spent the last days of his life at Bardstown, Ky. Of his inventions and disappointments during this period, he wrote:

I confess the thought of a steamboat, which first struck me by mere accident about the middle of April, 1785, has hitherto been very unfortunate; the perplexities and embarrassments through which it has caused me to wade far exceed anything that the common course of life ever presented to my view.

Mr. C. Seymour Bullock, in the Connecticut Magazine, says:

Had Fitch been as thrifty as he was inventive he might have become wealthy, for Gardoque, the Spanish envoy to this country in 1796, wished to buy his invention for the sole and exclusive use of the King of Spain. Fitch replied, "No; if there is any glory or profit in my invention my countrymen shall have the whole of it."

It is a sad commentary upon the gratitude of this Nation that no fitting stone marks the grave of this great pioneer.

The bill before your committee seeks a tardy recognition of his great achievements. Its passage would be a belated acknowledgment of the genius of one of America's most illustrious sons.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I thank you most genuinely for the patient hearing which you have given me, and most sincerely trust that you may see your way perfectly clear to favorably report the bill and urge its passage by Congress.

Mine Experiment and Safety Stations.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. EVANS,
OF MONTANA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Tuesday, March 2, 1915,

On the bill (H. R. 15869) to provide for the establishment and maintenance of mining experiments and mine safety stations for making investigations and disseminating information among employees in mining, quarrying, metallurgical, and other mineral industries, and for other purposes.

Mr. EVANS. Mr. Speaker, I am greatly interested in the passage of this bill.

If enacted, this bill will provide for the establishment of 10 mine experiment stations and a total of 15 mine safety stations, including those already in existence. It provides for the investigation of conditions existing in mining, quarrying, and other mineral industries and for the disseminating of this information obtained.

The lack of information along this line has been a great impediment and stumblingblock to our national wealth, and the loss financially has been almost inestimable. It will open a new field of development, and there has been a growing realization of this need, and I believe the enactment of this bill will be to the mining industry what the establishment of agricultural experiment stations has been to the farmer. To the farmer now it is almost indispensable; it has saved him fruitless work and great pecuniary loss.

I come from a State having great mineral wealth as well as agricultural resources. It is the Treasure State, and it is well named. Yet the real attainments along this line are still in their infancy; only a small portion of this vast area has been prospected and searched for its costly minerals. Of the minerals that are being mined only the most valuable are being sought. The minerals that cost more to extract from the ore are being cast aside and rendered worthless by erosion and the action of the elements.

A great portion of this ore is obtained two and three thousand feet below the surface of the earth. Should we permit the loss of a great portion of the value of this ore when the scientific knowledge secured as a result of a small appropriation would save it?

It was only a short time ago that the Bureau of Mines in one of its investigations found that there had been a loss of by-products in the coking of coals to the amount of $75,000,000. The bureau is now making a study of industrial carbonization processes and hopes to save much of this loss in the future. It is estimated that the daily loss in our mineral resources is $1,000,000 a day—a colossal sum.

By the establishment of these stations in the needed parts of the country such experiments would result in untold benefit to the whole country, and it is gratifying to know that the miners of the country, through their representative agencies, are awakening to this need.

It may be opportune to note in a general way what the National Government is doing to aid development of each of its great basic industries, and what in turn these two industries are contributing annually to our national wealth and progress.

AGRICULTURE AND MINING, THE NATION'S TWO GREAT FOUNDATION INDUSTRIES—WHAT THEY ARE DOING FOR THE NATION AND WHAT THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IS DOING FOR EACH OF THESE INDUSTRIES.

What these industries do for the Nation:

	Agriculture, including forestry.	Mining and mineral industries.[1]
Number of employees	13,000,000	2,300,000
Yearly value of products	$10,500,000,000	$4,600,000,000
What each worker in these industries contributes to the national wealth yearly	$800	$2,000
What each industry contributes to the freight tonnage of the country yearly.....per cent..	22	60

[1] The scope here includes mining, metallurgical, and other mineral industries, as does the work of the Bureau of Mines.

What the National Government is doing for each of these industries:

Yearly appropriations.	Agriculture.	Mining.
For education:		
From direct appropriation	$2,500,000	Nothing.
From land grants	1,030,000	.....
From Smith-Lever Act for demonstration educational work	[1] 480,000	.....
For 52 experiment stations, one in each State and Territory	1,550,000	Nothing.
For general researches and other work to aid agriculture and mining	22,410,000	[2] $1,967,000
Total	27,970,000	[2] 1,967,000
Per capita contribution from the people of the United States for the advancement of these industries	0.28	0.02
Of this contribution the per capita expenditure for safeguarding the lives of 2,300,000 employees in the mining industry is about one-half of 1 cent per annum	.....	.005

[1] $480,000 for 1915; increasing to $4,580,000 for 1925 and each year thereafter.

[2] Of this amount less than $500,000 is expended under the Bureau of Mines in behalf of improvement of safety and health conditions among the 2,300,000 employees in the mining industry; the remainder (about $1,300,000) is expended for geology, topography, water powers, and other problems having to do with the commercial side of mining and other industries, under the Geological Survey; and $135,000 is expended under the Bureau of Mines for the commercial testing of the coal and oil used by the Government.

Nothing can show the national neglect of the mining industry more clearly than does the above tabular statement, in spite of the hazards of that industry and the other conditions which should appeal to the humanitarian as well as to the commercial instincts of the people. But another fact that tells the story with equal emphasis is that during the past 10 years, in addition to the large sums paid out of the National Treasury for the benefit of agriculture and the payment toward the reclamation of agricultural lands in the Western States of all funds arising from the sale of public lands in those States, even the proceeds of the sale of the Nation's mineral resources in like manner have gone not to aid mining, but to the reclamation of additional agricultural lands.

Our agricultural wealth is dependent greatly upon the efforts extended along that line. Our minerals can only be mined once, and when the value is extracted from a mine another must be found to take its place. It is clearly seen that we must spare no efforts to get the full value from each mine, and not allow it to be wasted through ignorance or neglect in mining methods.

Congress is now appropriating for agriculture upward of $28,000,000 per annum, which is being expended through an organized department with nearly 14,000 employees. Even this large expenditure has resulted in still larger benefits to the country. And I would be the last one to say that this amount is needlessly spent. One of the evidences is that in the last 14 years our agricultural wealth has increased $4,000,000,000.

The Federal appropriations for the mining industry have been noticeably small.

While conditions underlying agricultural progress are somewhat different, yet the principle of progress is the same. Through the efforts extended in one instance alone by the Bureau of Mines, the national wealth through the stoppage of waste in natural gas exceeded $10,000,000.

The mining business has been considered to be a business controlled by a few powerful companies, and therefore not entitled to any governmental aid. The lack of such aid is one of the reasons why smaller companies have been compelled to sell their interests to the larger companies. They do not know, and it costs too much to learn, the systems of mining and mining economy. It is the smaller mine operators that will benefit greatly by this aid, and the Director of the Bureau of Mines has reported that many of the large holders have promised to contribute largely to any such research work.

The appeal comes from the 2,300,000 employees of the mining industries who want better and even more healthful conditions in their work. It is from the employees of operators connected with smelting, metallurgical operations, and various mineral industries that the passage of this bill is urged.

Our country has but one supply of mineral resources, and we should take care to utilize this supply to the best advantage. We should devise such systems as will best preserve it to our use. Our needs are growing greater every day. While our metals are destroyed rapidly, it is also true with coal, oil, natural gas, potash, and phosphate deposits. They are destroyed when once used. The results of the European war have placed this country upon its own resources for many minerals. There is a large waste in our natural fuels and zinc, and this could be saved to a great extent.

In the State of Montana there are large beds of low-grade ores of different types. Much of this can not be profitably treated according to any known method. Other bodies of ores are now being worked with the loss of vast quantities of mineral products. The value of many of these products in the public-land States is little realized, and by the establishment of stations these problems could be investigated. In many cases ores from which copper has been taken are now being reworked for the copper that was lost in the first treatment, and for other values not saved in the first process. There has been a large waste and avoidable expense in doing this. As our supply becomes exhausted, we will have to resort to this treatment more than ever, and it deserves every consideration.

Such stations could be controlled by the Bureau of Mines, and it would be a great aid in many ways, and the expense would be very small, and the experiments would be available to the public, and not, as suggested, only to the corporate interests.

This bill also provides for more protection to the workers by way of mine safety stations. For the protection of over 2,000,000 of mine workers the Government expends only $200,000 for their protection and welfare. We can make no mistake in lending aid along this line, and I would like to see it. The field for the perfection of safety appliances and mine rescue work is unlimited. Many men now go down into the depths of the earth never to return, and miner's consumption and other diseases of a similar nature have cost the lives of many of our young workers. It is estimated that in the last 10 years more than 30,000 men have been killed and more than 100,000 seriously injured in connection with mining accidents in our country. It is appalling to think of this.

While we are doing so much good work for the farmer, we should not forget the miner and his hardships. If we can preserve the health of our miners and increase our mining wealth and make our production greater by the expenditure of a small amount, we will bestow a great benefit upon humanity and increase the world's wealth.

I believe the inauguration of a system along the lines contemplated by this bill will be helpful and productive, and I urge the support of the bill.

Mr. Speaker, the amount of gold, silver, copper, and zinc and other metals which annually goes into the dump heap for lack of knowledge of treatment is simply appalling. There are hundreds of mines to-day in our western land where the tailings of the dump of 20 years ago are now being worked over and returning good compensation for the workmen.

The Sacredness of Jury Trials.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. MURRAY,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 2, 1915.

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. Speaker, we may make experiment in forms of administration as to policies of government, but there is no room for such experiment in the well-established principles of liberty except with a view of extending that liberty, but in no case to curtail it. In the Oklahoma constitution we made change in the common law, which had been universal, for the first time among English-speaking peoples, by providing for jury trial in cases of ex parte contempt, which power, inherent in a court of record, had in late years been abused when applied to labor organizations; but we did not attempt to curtail the power of trial by jury. I realize that there are those who tell us that they had rather be tried by a judge than by a jury. Men who make this statement have usually served long periods as judges, and who have become prejudiced by their inability to control the verdict of juries. But were they subjected to political persecutions and to trial by military tribunals, without the right of trial by jury, or were they to delve into past history sufficiently to obtain a deep conviction of the usurpation of the judiciary, they would look upon this question quite differently. Students of history intimately acquainted with the events which happened immediately following the Civil War, particularly in the military trial of Mrs. Surratt and her associates and their subsequent execution, will shudder at any sacrifice of the rights of popular trial by jury, an institution which had its inception in England among our ancestors, beginning in the popular demand in the right of trial by one's "peers."

The military execution, under the name of a so-called trial by the judge advocates, just after our Civil War, began to become so harsh that finally one Milligan, a penniless lawyer, was defended perhaps by the greatest lawyer—Jeremiah S. Black, of Pennsylvania—this country ever produced, and is known as the case of "Ex parte Milligan." It is known that Mr. Black never received a cent of fee for this work, but he realized that if Milligan, as poor as he was, could not secure his constitutional rights there would ere long be no guaranty that any other person could secure them. Whereupon Jeremiah Black became interested, and went into the Supreme Court with the popular prejudice growing out of the great Civil War against his client, delivered the greatest argument in favor of jury trials known to man, and saved this right not only to the friendless Milligan but to every American citizen since that time. Theorists now seek to change our constitutions by giving supreme courts greater control over verdicts of jurors, but it is dangerous to permit it.

As one English statesman well puts it, in the first adoption of the jury system of trials in England every law upon the statute book had for its object the selection of 12 honest men for the jury box. So that Mr. Black in this speech has well said "that the development of the Anglo-Saxon race is due to jury trials more than to any other causes."

Thomas Jefferson has well said, "That between taking the people out of the legislative branch of Government or out of the courts, they could better afford to leave monarchs to make the laws than they could to leave judges alone to pass upon the rights of the individual citizen without the right of trial by jury." The ordinary man, daily accustomed to these rights of trial by jury, can scarcely realize the philosophy of Jefferson's statement. I never did until I moved to the Indian Territory, where we had a government wholly of courts. The people of the Indian Territory had no right to vote, no right to make law, as all laws were made at Washington. They had no right to select their officers. The only thing they had left was the right to fill up the juries from among their citizens; and I say to you that during the many years of my residence in the Indian Territory, if it had not been for that right of the people to go in and compose the juries, it would have been intolerable to have lived in that country. So I shall look with abhorrence upon any proposed change, whether in State or Federal Government, experimenting in these fundamental safeguards of the liberty of the citizen, chief among which is the right of trial by jury.

No one can read the great and profound argument of Jeremiah Black, delivered during the days following the Civil War, and which was placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD October 6, 1914, by the Hon. WILLIAM GORDON, of Ohio, and yet escape the conclusion that I have here announced with reference to this, the most important of rights.

Agricultural Credit.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GUY T. HELVERING,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 1, 1915.

Mr. HELVERING. Mr. Speaker, the necessity of a system of agricultural credits is something which but few will deny. Practically every nation has come to not only see the need, but to take steps to remedy the evils which tend to make the burden on the farmer so heavy that his work becomes a grind which holds out no hope for the future; and the very bleakness of the future is such that it is driving his sons away from the farms

In 1910 the farm-land mortgage indebtedness of the United States amounted to the enormous sum of $3,460,172,851. On that amount of indebtedness the farmers and landowners of the country are paying an annual interest toll which approximates $7 per capita for every man, woman, and child in the United States. It is the consuming public which must finally pay that debt, as it must pay every expense entering into the production cost of the things it consumes, and consequently every family of and to the cities, where they can secure day wages and be certain of a surer and safer income than they can derive from the cultivation of the farm.

five in these United States is paying an annual consumption toll of $35 in order that the producers can carry this debt.

How are we going to diminish this evil? How are we going to provide means so that the farmer can get the money needed for improvements and for actual necessities at a reasonable price? We can not sweep these questions aside, as only affecting the farmer. They affect each and every one of us, and they affect the generations yet to come, because just to that extent that we afford the farmer a chance to live and share in the reasonable profits made in our country just to that extent will we stimulate productiveness, make of the farmer's life a more attractive one, and insure to the future conditions which will supply our needs and at prices which are not prohibitive.

But once we are agreed as to the need of a system of agricultural credits we are met at once with a stumbling block in the shape of divergent views as to the kind of a system we most need. Many men sincerely believe that the solution lies in cooperation, and joined with them are many others who are equally sincere—but it is with the sincerity which selfishly strives to retain unjust advantages which now fill their pockets—and these men are for cooperation, simply for the reason that they feel that cooperation will fail and the golden stream which now runs in their direction will not be diverted.

Among the latter class I would place those who have been flooding myself and the other Members of this branch of Congress for the last few days with telegrams objecting to the rural-credits legislation passed by the other body. These telegrams are usually sent by some investment company, and when you have read one then you have the substance of all. They object to the legislation proposed as being ill-advised and not intelligently framed or digested. They favor rural-credits legislation, at least they tell us that they do, but they would favor delay, which is simply the time-worn method of keeping an injustice as long in existence as possible, particularly when the injustice means personal profit to those who plead for delay.

There is not one Member of this House, receiving these messages, who does not realize that the senders are not so much opposed to ill-advised legislation as they are to any legislation which would decrease the interest burden. They have filled their coffers by loaning money to the farm owners at exorbitant rates and when you strike at their graft you are bound to arouse resentment, but as they well know the selfishness of their motives they are forced to appear in borrowed plumage and they would advise us to pause lest we do injury to our country by passing ill-digested legislation.

From the outset I have been convinced that if we are to depend upon cooperation wholly for the solution of our agricultural-credits problem then we will fail totally, and instead of making progress in the direction desired we will give to the reform such a black eye that its progress will be delayed for years, and perhaps forever.

We can not ingraft European customs, no matter how successful they may be on the Continent, on to our American life until such time as American environment and customs come more closely to European standards, and that time, I hope, never will come. To insure cooperation we must have mutual understanding and common aims. In Europe you can take the many families tilling the soil on a square mile of land and you will usually find that the same identical soil was tilled by the ancestors of the present holders from time immemorial. Each and every one of these people have a thorough knowledge of each other. They know that as long as natural causes operate the same family will be holding on to the same land just as long as life lasts, and between such people, bound by all sorts of ties of nationality, blood, and understanding, cooperation is not only possible but it is natural.

How different conditions are here in this land of ours. You can take a section of land, tilled by four families, and often you will find that no two of them are of the same race. The neighbor of to-day may be in the far West or in Canada tomorrow. Our form of Government leads also to independence of thought and of action, and to that extent it does not lend itself so well to cooperation between individuals as does the Government which molds the individuals so that they think and act alike. Cooperation has never succeeded in this country, except upon a limited scale, and it never will succeed until the time in the far distant future, when the melting pot will have operated to such purpose that the stamp of all other nationality will be obliterated and all will be working in the harmony of men and women who are Americans, and Americans only.

There is no future for agricultural credits, in my opinion, from cooperation without Government aid, and for that reason I favor the McCumber plan, crude and faulty as it is, and, failing in that, I shall vote for the Bulkley bill, for, although it falls far short of giving to the agriculturists the relief which they demand, and which I would like to see them secure, nevertheless it means a step in the right direction. We have promised the people to give to them legislation providing for rural credits. At the special session held in 1913 the Democratic Representatives went on record in a promise to give them such legislation before this Congress adjourned. I for one am not willing to violate that pledge, and I prefer to vote for this legislation now, and work to perfect it in the Sixty-fourth Congress, rather than to aid in defeating all legislation at this session and go back to my constituents and explain a pledge violation.

I am not content with the McCumber proposition. To issue bonds at a rate of 4½ per cent interest is entirely unnecessary, and would only mean that the interest rate to be charged the farmers would be greater than is needed. I am not content with the Bulkley bill. It has many admirable features, but the machinery provided seems to me to be unduly top-heavy, and I am not in favor of permitting the interest rate under the bill to run as high as the interest rate legally permitted in the various States. The interest rate should be governed wholly by the cost of obtaining money and of loaning it under the legislation we enact, and we should be guided more by the interests of the people of the country than we should be by the limitations of the various States.

It is strange to me that every time a proposition is advanced here for the benefit of the American people that we should be

met always with the cry that it is "unconstitutional." I claim to have as much regard for the Constitution as any man. I admire the wonderful handiwork of the men who framed it, and I fully realize that it has proven itself admirably adapted to the needs of this Republic. When one considers that its framers had to blaze a path entirely new and provide a Constitution to cover conditions unlike any the world had ever seen, it seems little short of providential that it has so fully performed its mission. But, after all, what is a constitution for, if not to be an instrument of good for those who have to live under it? Are we compelled, perforce, to always make a narrow construction of its provisions, or are we to realize that as we have made progress, have blossomed forth into a Nation of 100,000,000 people, instead of the few millions originally brought under its guardianship, so have we come to solve new problems, have been brought face to face with new needs, and are forced to intelligently, or else suffer needless loss? Is it not evident, then, that there is no place in a Republic for a narrow construction of the fundamental law when by a broad construction we minister to the greatest good of the greater number and neither destroy or injure any vested right possessed by the individual?

But will those who claim that the legislation proposed is unconstitutional, because of the fact that as they see it it will benefit only a class, will they claim that we have not plenty of congressional precedents to justify our action? If this legislation is unconstitutional, as they claim, have we not passed many other acts equally unconstitutional, but whose validity has not been questioned? Let us see.

This legislation does not propose to place the Government in the attitude of giving the farmers anything, and they have too much self-respect to come here and ask for charity at your hands. It does propose to place the Government in the position of responsible agent, to do for the borrower on farm property that which he is unable to do for himself, and that is to bring him into closer relationship with the money which is seeking a market in which it can be safely loaned. The Government assumes no risk. The expense it has to undergo is certain to be paid back. The loan which it arranges is secured by twice the value at least of the amount involved, and there is no more of paternalism or of special privilege in that than the relationship which this Government bears to our banking system.

Now let us examine some of the precedents. We have appropriated millions of dollars out of the Government Treasury to be used on irrigation projects. In some instances we have made this expense reimbursable to the Government by the lessees of the land, just as we make the money expended under this legislation reimbursable. In some cases we have made the irrigation expense a direct charge upon the Treasury and have not received a penny of it back. Under irrigation legislation the money invested, even though hinged around with restrictions providing that it is reimbursable, is always involved in more or less of speculative risk. In the instance of farm loans, as safeguarded in the legislation we favor, there is no possible risk involved. Where, then, can it be shown that our proposition is unconstitutional if the appropriations made for irrigation projects were not?

Citing an incident which must be fresh in the minds of all Members, I would call attention to something that happened here shortly after the breaking out of hostilities in Europe. At that time many thousands of our fellow countrymen and women were in the territory drawn into the war. Their drafts and letters of credit were of no use, moratoriums were declared in many sections, and our people found themselves abroad in strange lands unable either to pay for the means of living there or for the means to take them to the country of their citizenship.

The President laid this problem before the Congress, and we promptly appropriated the sum of $2,500,000, reimbursable as far as possible, to be expended in caring for our people abroad. Did any one of the ultraconservatives here on the floor raise the issue of the constitutionality of that piece of class legislation? If they did they would have met with deserved censure. We were called upon to do the large thing—to provide for American citizens who were in danger—and the Constitution would but illy meet our needs if it prohibited us from doing such an act of humanitarian necessity.

I have no desire to be narrow or to array class against class or section against section. Nevertheless, there were mighty few of those who ask for agricultural credits legislation who had to be assisted out of the $2,500,000 which we appropriated for our people then in Europe; but many of the constituents of those who now express such a horror of class legislation and who deem that Government participation in farm loans is unconstitutional were to be found among the European colonists. Did these Representatives arise here to protest against us appropriating $2,500,000 to aid a class; and if not, would it not be in better taste for them now to cease to raise the point when we propose to legislate, not for a class but in reality for the masses—ultimately for the benefit of all of the American people?

Gentlemen, this is our one and only opportunity to make progress in the direction of securing agricultural relief at this session. Can we afford to ignore that opportunity? The farmers of the country are asking for it, while on the other side we find the money lenders in opposition. On which side do you propose to take your stand? Let us admit, and we will, that this legislation is not what we want it to be. Let us admit that it would be far better to deliberate and remove all crudities; but, with all that, is it not far better that we should take this first step, spend the next few months in studying to amend and improve, and come back here at the next session prepared to round out and perfect our work than it would be for us to vote down the proposition, play into the hands of the usurers, and come back here next winter still as far apart as ever?

This may be only a step, but it is a step in the right direction. It will be followed by others which will give to the tenant a chance to become an owner, and once we have solved that problem we will have afforded to the producer the golden opportunity to secure a greater share of the products of his toil and we will have proceeded a long way in the direction of stopping our annual toll of American farmers to Canada and will have at the same time solved the problem of the exodus of the best blood of the farms which has in recent years been directed from the farm and to the cities. Make farm life more attractive and you will aid in this by the enactment of the legislation which we favor and you will hear much less of the need of a "back-to-the-farm" movement.

The Late Hon. Lewis J. Martin.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. BROWNING,

OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, February, 14, 1915,

On House resolution 735, as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the business of the House be now suspended that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. LEWIS J. MARTIN, late a Member of this House from the State of New Jersey.

"*Resolved*, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased and in recognition of his distinguished public career the House at the conclusion of these exercises shall stand adjourned.

Mr. BROWNING. Mr. Speaker, during this Congress, soon to pass into history, death has entered the House frequently, and in its visitations its hand has been laid indiscriminately upon both young and old alike. Those young in service and young in years have been beckoned away as well as those who were seniors both in years and in service in this House.

My colleague, Judge MARTIN, had lived beyond the allotted three score years, a life of usefulness and of public service, and was ready for the summons that came to him suddenly, before he had become fully acquainted with his duties here.

My other colleague, the lamented Bremner, was but a boy in years, ambitious for service for his fellow men, and but a short time among us, when he, too, was called to join Judge MARTIN.

So, Mr. Speaker, in my own delegation we have seen in this Congress, within a brief two years, an illustration of the truth of the saying that death is no respecter of persons.

But as brief as was Judge MARTIN'S service in this House, a few weeks only, he had won the hearts of all who were privileged to meet him. Possessing an attractive personality, that made him easy to approach, and himself having no hesitancy in making himself known to strangers, Judge MARTIN was not long in becoming identified in the House as a genial gentleman of the old school, whose personal qualities would win for him the friendship of his colleagues, regardless of partisan politics, and we, who have been in the crucible of the House's opinion of its own Members, know what a valuable asset the friendship of our colleagues is. It stands us in great stead at times, even when wisdom and ability fail.

But Mr. Judge MARTIN'S charming personality was not his only or chief possession. He had ability for useful and effective service in this body. He had a legal mind and legal training, and legislative experience in the New Jersey Senate. He was a born advocate, but his advocacy did not prejudice his mind, nor blind him to the fact that there are two sides of every

question. He was a judge, and as such construed and interpreted law impartially and justly. When Judge MARTIN rendered a decision there was general acquiescence, for litigants on both sides knew that he had weighed the evidence and interpreted the law as only a just man and a just judge would.

"To be true and just in all my dealings," was to Judge MARTIN the rule of life; and how well he lived up to this rule could be attested by the host of friends in old Sussex County, who mourn his death and love the memory of his good works.

Mr. Speaker, environment, as much as anything else, molds character. So it was in the formation of Judge MARTIN'S character. In old Sussex County, where he was born and where he always lived, he led a simple, rugged life, as most of his neighbors did. He partook of his environment. The people of old Sussex were a God-fearing lot, who believed in working out their destiny by honest, hard work in that state of life into which it has pleased God to call them. They were content with their lot, but it was a contentment that made for progress where progress was not at the expense of a less fortunate neighbor. They were honest folks, who valued character above ill-gotten gain. They were sober, discreet, law-abiding, just. It would seem that something in the community itself, apart from men, perhaps in the very nature of the physical character of old Sussex County with its soil, its homes, its places of worship, its history, its templed woods, contributed to the sturdy integrity and right manner of living of its people. Whatever it was and is, it makes for the building of fine character, and in Judge MARTIN was found an excellent sample of a product of old Sussex. His whole life was a preparation for the sudden summons that came to him.

Naval Appropriation Bill.

SPEECH

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY,

OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 29, 1915.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 20975) making appropriations for the support of the Navy for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. Chairman, in view of the attitude of some Members of Congress toward our naval and military forces, and our preparedness and unpreparedness for war, I desire to call to the attention of the House a few facts which I have gleaned from recent investigation upon this subject.

I suppose that if some inhabitant of one of the planets, if, as some of the astronomers tell us, they are inhabited, should drop suddenly into this Chamber on a day when the House is engaged in discussing our military and naval affairs he would immediately reach the conclusion that the chief object and ambition of the inhabitants of this world is to fight. He would undoubtedly reach the conclusion that the major portion of our discussions and even of our occupation revolved around the question whether one nation should fight another, and, if so, how best to engage in that occupation with the most deadly effect.

It is a source of much regret to me, and in my opinion a sad commentary on our so-called Christian civilization, not of our Nation alone but of all nations, that the representatives of any great nation should be called upon to occupy their time in talking about war. Yet, inasmuch as we are called upon to discuss it, in view of our moral as well as our intellectual limitations, it undoubtedly behooves us to discuss the subject in the light of our preparedness or unpreparedness for war as well as the method of its pursuit.

I need not, Mr. Chairman, at this time reiterate my hatred of war. I do not believe there is a rational being who does not in his heart hate war; for who is there among us with heart so cold or conscience so dead as not to hate this thing that is to-day drenching one-half of the world with blood, and is causing more suffering, the expenditure of more money, the loss of more lives, the shedding of more tears, and the creation of more desolate widows and orphans than in any other period of the world's history?

War plants no fields, it gathers no harvests, it builds no churches, it educates no children, it creates no wealth, and adds no item of happiness or contentment either to those engaged in it or to those who are affected by it. It endows no schools or universities, it plants no flowers, either in the garden or in the hearts of men; but, on the contrary, it destroys those things for which humanity has been toiling and laboring since the world began. Instead of planting fields or gathering harvests it plants hatred in the hearts of men and reaps its reward in the tears of women and children. Instead of endowing churches, schools, or universities, it heaps upon those who are left an enormous burden of debt and taxes from which there is small hope of escape. It is contrary to every contention of the Christan religion, contrary to every impulse which tends to ennoble or lift up the human race and aid mankind in the effort to rise from barbarism to civilization.

Since the outbreak of that terrible war that is now engaging all Europe, a part of Asia, Africa, and America, we have heard much in this country about our own readiness or unreadiness for war, and I regret exceedingly that among some of our people the war spirit has found a fertile field for cultivation.

I have been much interested in the discussion that has been going on among certain gentlemen during these months upon the subject of our unpreparedness for war, and I have been anxious for them to tell us when we will ever be prepared for war. If we, as a nation, are to keep ourselves continually prepared to fight, will some one inform us what war we must be prepared to fight, and what nation there is any likelihood of us being called upon to fight? Will they also tell us how much money it will require to keep us continually prepared to fight, with our guns drawn and our hands upon the trigger? What nation now besets our footsteps with a desire to fight us? What lurking enemy hides in ambush to pounce upon us unawares? If we are to be continually ready to fight, and then it should happen that nobody wanted to fight us, what will we do with our preparedness for war? Should we then embark upon an effort to find some nation with whom we might pick a quarrel in order to demonstrate our preparedness for war? And if such a search should not reveal any nation who might desire to engage in such a contest, would we then force such a nation to fight merely because we could, or to justify the enormous expenditure of money that such a course would entail? Or suppose some other nation or nations, observing the rapidity with which we are preparing to engage in some international contest, should desire to keep up with us in preparedness, so as to be entirely ready when such a contest should arise; can anybody, even with the most vivid imagination, predict the point to which an unwise policy would bring us in the long years that stretch out in the future?

Mr. Chairman, to speculate upon a policy of this kind is as futile as to speculate as to the time of the coming of the millennium, or the second coming of the Messiah. You may as well undertake to solve the problem which has divided scientists, scholars, and theologians in all the years of the past, to wit, whether God made the earth and all that is in it, under it, or above it, in six days, or whether it was created by a process of evolution which required thousands of years. You might as well undertake to solve the question whether God made man out of mud and breathed into him, instantly, the breath of life, or whether, as the evolutionists tell us, he came up through an endless series of evolutions from the monkey, the babboon, and the ape.

If our standing as a fighting nation and our preparedness for war should be determined by the amount of money expended by the United States, compared with that expended by other nations, then it will be profitable for us to make some comparison in order to determine our own status with relation to that of the other nations of the world. If the relative amounts of money expended by every great nation in the world is a true index of the preparedness of those nations for war, then the United States should be, and is, prepared to cope with any nation on the earth, either on land or on sea, with the possible exception of Great Britain—the only nation whose naval expenditures exceed that of this Government.

My friend from Ohio [Mr. FESS] a few moments ago gave a very beautiful and touching illustration of the effect of the Spanish-American War upon the history and policy of this Nation, in connection with his tribute to the life of President McKinley. He mentioned as one of the results of that war that the North and the South had been thereby united, because Gen. Joe Wheeler, who was an officer in the Confederate Army during the Civil War, had also become an officer in the United States Army during the Spanish-American War, thus bringing about the reunion of the North and the South and wiping out to a certain extent the bitter feeling that had heretofore existed. But, Mr. Chairman, I hope I am not wholly uninformed when

I state that it was not the war of 1898 between the United States and Spain that reunited the North and the South. That reunion had already taken place. Coming from the South, as I do, I do not hesitate to state that already the North and the South had been reunited and rebaptized in the spirit of patriotism, love, and brotherly affection; but I agree with the gentleman from Ohio that this war of 1898, and the fact that men from both the North and the South fought shoulder to shoulder in that war, merely exemplified the reunion that had already taken place in the hearts of the American citizens, both in the North and the South. [Applause.]

But with the manifestation of this reunited spirit of America before us we can not shut our eyes to another result that was perhaps inevitably brought about by the issue of that war. I refer to the enormous increase in the expenditure of the people's money for increase in armament, both on land and on sea, since the close of that war.

It is amazing to me when I compare the enormous, and as it seems to me, criminal increase in the expenditures of the money of the people of every nation for military purposes during the last 15 or 20 years; when I consider the fact that this enormoust increase in the military expenditures has not only been of no benefit to the people, but may be directly responsible for the greatest military struggle that the world has ever seen, which is now in progress across the waters, it seems to me that we should not be swept off our feet, but should pause in this hour of the world's great catastrophe and engage in the helpful occupation of self-investigation, in order that we may not lose our sense of proportion, nor lose sight of the eternal fitness of things.

Let me give you for your serious consideration, in connection wth the tendency of this age, the figures of the seven greatest nations in the world, comparing the amounts expended for naval purposes during the last 15 years:

Total naval expenditures by principal naval powers.

Fiscal year.	Great Britain.	United States.	Germany.	France.	Russia.	Italy.	Japan.	Total.
1900-1	$145,792,850	$61,721,695	$37,173,074	$72,683,180	$42,101,212	$23,829,206	.....	.....
1901-2	150,569,190	68,438,301	46,315,800	67,097,011	45,488,462	23,875,532	$21,373,954	$423,140,250
1902-3	150,679,328	82,977,641	48,818,700	59,217,558	50,769,465	23,522,400	17,654,528	433,639,620
1903-4	173,543,058	104,126,192	50,544,000	59,740,222	60,018,895	23,522,400	17,553,279	489,053,046
1904-5	179,138,049	116,655,826	49,110,300	60,178,623	58,076,543	24,300,000	10,018,024	497,477,365
1905-6	161,117,947	109,725,059	54,918,000	61,565,779	60,228,444	24,494,400	11,378,202	483,427,831
1906-7	152,951,342	98,392,144	58,344,300	59,514,296	60,703,557	25,865,668	30,072,061	485,846,368
1907-8	151,880,617	117,353,474	69,133,500	60,685,813	43,012,166	27,516,454	35,124,346	504,706,370
1908-9	156,401,161	120,421,579	80,737,626	62,194,916	49,682,482	30,453,697	39,347,332	539,238,793
1909-10	181,936,341	122,247,365	95,047,820	64,899,589	58,680,915	31,812,885	35,005,719	589,008,759
1910-11	202,056,258	111,791,980	103,302,773	74,102,439	46,520,465	40,595,204	36,889,158	615,258,277
1911-12	211,596,296	133,559,071	107,178,480	80,371,109	56,680,915	40,780,987	42,944,329	673,111,187
1912-13	224,443,296	129,787,233	109,989,096	81,692,832	82,019,633	41,893,420	46,510,216	716,335,726
1913-14	237,530,459	136,858,301	112,091,125	90,164,625	117,508,657	49,550,147	48,105,152	791,808,466
1914-15	260,714,275	141,872,786	113,993,329	123,828,872	128,954,733	56,920,440	69,111,653	895,396,088
Total	2,740,358,467	1,655,828,647	1,136,727,923	1,077,918,864	959,823,669	488,932,840	461,087,953	8,137,447,146

It will be seen from these figures that for the years 1901 to 1915 the United States increased her naval expenditures from a little more than $61,000,000 to more than $141,000,000; that Great Britain for the same period increased her naval expenditures from more than $145,000,000 to more than $260,000,000; for the same period Germany increased her annual naval expenditures from more than $37,000,000 to more than $113,000,000; that France for the same period and for the same purpose increased her expenditures from $72,000,000 to more than $123,000,000; that Russia increased her naval expenditures from a little more than $42,000,000 to more than $128,000,000, and that Italy increased her annual naval expenditures from a little over $23,000,000 to nearly $57,000,000, and that Japan, that great nation in the Orient, which rises up to plague our genial friend from Alabama [Mr. HOBSON] in all his nocturnal dreams, increased her naval expenditures from a little over $21,000,000 to nearly $70,000,000 in the same period.

It will be observed that for the year 1915 the only nation which will exceed the United States in the expenditure of money upon her Navy is Great Britain. During the 15 years it will be observed that Great Britain expended upon her navy the enormous sum of $2,740,358,467, that the United States during that period expended upon her Navy the enormous sum of $1,655,828,647, that Germany during this 15 years has expended upon her Navy the sum of $1,136,727,923, that during that same period France has expended $1,077,918,864, that for the same period Russia has expended $959,823,669, and that Italy has expended $488,932,840, and that for the same period Japan has expended for her navy the sum of $461,087,953.

Thus it will be seen that for the past 15 years Great Britain exceeded the United States in the expenditure of money for naval purposes by he sum of $1,084,529,820; and that the United States for the same period and for the same purpose expended $519,100,724 more than the German Empire. Yet, Mr. Chairman, according to the report of the Committee on Naval Affairs, accompanying the present appropriation bill, England stands first in naval strength, Germany second, and the United States third among the nations of the world. In other words, notwithstanding the fact that during the last 15 years the United Sates has expended more than half a billion dollars more upon her Navy than Germany has expended, it is claimed by the Naval Committee that Germany outranks the United States as a naval power.

Mr. FESS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BARKLEY. Yes; I will yield.

Mr. FESS. I am interested in those figures. Is that the sum total for many years?

Mr. BARKLEY. That is the sum total of the nations which I have named, beginning with the year 1901 and ending with the present year, 1915.

Mr. FESS. Well, according to that we ought to have a higher rank and force.

Mr. BARKLEY. That is the point to which I am coming. It is admitted on all sides that, by reason of the widely scattered possessions of the British Empire, together with the situation of the British Isles, it is necessary for that nation to preserve her superiority upon the high seas in order to maintain the integrity of her territory and protect herself against displacement as one of the great nations of the world. Therefore it is not contended, even by those who believe in a large Navy for the United States, with few exceptions, that we ought to undertake to maintain as large a Navy as the British Empire. The reasons for this are obvious. The British Empire is composed of a large number of islands and sections of territory scattered through the length and breadth of the earth. The very existence of that great Empire depends very largely upon her naval strength. This is not true of any other nation in the world, although it may be true at some time in the future of Japan, whose situation in the Orient is somewhat similar to that of England in Europe. We may therefore dismiss from discussion the contention that the United States Navy is under any necessity, either real or imaginary, to outstrip or to equal the strength of Great Britain.

But it has been contended by those who have set the high standard for the naval policy of the United States that we ought to maintain as large a Navy as Germany. In other words, that we ought to accept Germany as our standard and keep our Navy as large, at least, as the Navy of the German Empire. The question, therefore, which causes me some consideration, is that if it is our aim merely to keep pace with Germany, why is it that we have in the last 15 years expended upon our Navy half a billion dollars more than Germany has expended upon hers, and yet Germany outranks us as a naval power? If the amount expended is a true index of the efficiency or strength of a navy, then we ought at least to be the second naval power of the world, and we ought by far to outstrip Germany, or else somebody has gotten a profit out of the construction of naval equipment to which they are not entitled.

Mr. PADGETT. Will the gentleman permit me to interrupt him just at that point?

Mr. BARKLEY. I will.

Mr. PADGETT. Earlier in the evening I called attention to the fact that for the year 1913, as an illustration, the United States paid for pay of the Navy, pay of the men, $44,300,000;

Germany paid $11,400,000, having a conscription system. For provisions the United States paid $8,600,000; Germany paid $900,000. For clothing the United States paid $1,400,000 and Germany paid $140,000. In other words, the United States has paid $54,000,000 for these items, for the men, as against $12,000,000 for Germany, or, in other words, a difference of $42,000,000; and if the gentleman will run it through for 15 years he will get the explanation. And then, in addition, I will call to your attention that in 1913 for new construction the United States appropriated $35,315,000, and Germany appropriated for new construction $53,568,000. In other words, for the benefit of humanity, the men, the United States spent $44,000,000 a year more, and for new construction Germany spent $18,000,000 a year more. That explains your figures.

Mr. BARKLEY. I am not charging anybody with anything wrong in connection with these figures. I just wanted to have an explanation. If it is true that all of this difference is made up in salaries and in clothing and allowances to officers and men in the Navy of the United States, and if it is true that the German officers and navy personnel is so efficient as it is claimed, then Germany is paying too small salaries or we are paying too large salaries. And the whole difference in the amount in the last 15 years between Germany and the United States is not made up in salaries paid to naval officers.

Mr. PADGETT. If the gentleman will permit a question?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield for a question.

Mr. PADGETT. The gentleman will recognize that the wage level of pay and wages paid for construction in this country and Germany is very different, Germany being much lower than here.

Mr. BARKLEY. The point I was undertaking to emphasize was the fact not that part of this difference could not be accounted for in the salaries of officers and other necessary evils connected with the naval service, but the claim has been constantly made, not only to-day, but in all of the naval bills that have been reported in the last several years, that it has been the object of the United States merely to keep pace with Germany; that we have set Germany as our guidepost, so to speak, that we will hold up as an example for naval construction, and I wanted to show the House and the country that we have in the last 15 years spent $519,000,000 more than Germany, according to the admissions of the big Navy men on the floor of the House, and we are no stronger now as a naval power than Germany, and according to the report of the committee, not as strong.

Those who are now claiming that we ought to embark in the expenditure of much larger sums of money to increase our Navy took steps to accomplish that result years ago. If our Navy is so inferior, in the opinion of the jingoes, what has become of all this money which has been expended upon the American Navy in the past 15 years? And if our Army is so inferior, what has become of the great amount of money which has been expended upon it in recent years? Is it all going to salaries of officers, some of them active and some retired? Is some of it going for enormous profits to those who get contracts to supply the Government with materials? These are interesting inquiries, which I would like to have answered by those who are undertaking to embark this nation in an era of militarism similar to that of the European nations now at war.

It has been claimed that to be prepared for war will insure peace. It has been claimed that the expenditure of enormous sums of the people's money in preparing for war will insure peace. But it is a singular fact that all the nations of the world which have expended more money for military and naval purposes than the United States are now at war. Only one nation expends more money upon her navy than the United States. Only five nations expend more money upon their armies than the United States in times of peace. Yet, that expenditure was not able to keep them out of the greatest war of all history.

I hope the day will never come when this peace-loving, God-fearing, prosperous Nation will pattern after the military nations of Europe. Already, about 70 per cent of the ordinary revenues of the Government goes to pay for wars we have had and those that may come in the future. What must be the prospect if we are to enter upon a field where we shall undertake to keep pace with the military despotism of the Old World? We are not a warlike people, though we are swift to defend our national and individual rights whenever they are trampled upon. And as we have been able in the past to defend ourselves with honor and success when we have been attacked, without becoming a great military power and warlike nation, always suspecting the motives of others, I have sufficient faith in the patriotism and devotion of the people to the principles of this Nation to believe we can do so again if occasion should arise. [Applause.]

It is not true, Mr. Chairman, that preparation to fight will keep a nation from having to fight more certainly than it will keep an individual from having to fight. Most of the nations of Europe were prepared to fight, and it has been said by many statesmen and thinkers that the real cause of the present European war was military efficiency. If a man starts down the street ready to fight, because he is prepared to fight, he is more than apt to have an encounter before he returns home. We usually do the things we prepare to do. This is true of nations as it is of individuals. The only hopeful sign connected with the present European war is the fact that each nation is trying to unload the responsibility for starting it upon the others. They are all ashamed of it. [Applause.]

Therefore, let us not become excited because half the world is at war. There is no European nation which desires to have a war with us. When they get through with the one they have on their hands over there, they will not be ready for the war business for several years to come. If the thing continues much longer, they will all be bankrupt, their armies destroyed, their battleships all sunk, their commerce gone, and the cry of the widow and the orphan will be heard for many years. Let us, therefore, bend our energies toward the accomplishment of peace. Let us make such sacrifices as may be necessary to adjust ourselves calmly to the agitated condition of the world and await the coming of the day when our voice may be heard around the world in the cause of peace and international righteousness.

I shall be a proud American, Mr. Chairman, if under the leadership of our great President, strengthened by the wise counsels of his great advisers, we shall escape the maelstrom of hate and murder now enveloping Europe, and in the end vindicate our mission as a Nation in upholding the principles of a just and free Government, placing the peace, the happiness, the prosperity, and the love and fellowship of the people above the imaginary glories of organized murder, masquerading in the name of war. [Applause.]

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HORACE W. VAUGHAN,
OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 2, 1915.

Mr. VAUGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I put some remarks in the RECORD on February 27 on the subject of providing credit facilities for the farmers. I do not wish to reiterate, but wish to say that while I favor legislation that will enable the farmers to organize cooperative credit associations in their respective communities throughout the country, and obtain such cooperation from the Government, under proper safeguards, as may be necessary to establish a credit system, adapted to the business of farming, that will furnish credit facilities for the man who has no land to mortgage as well as the man who has, I know that making provision whereby landowning farmers may, by mortgaging their land, obtain money at 5 per cent will do a great deal of good. It will lower the interest rate the farmers have to pay. It will enable many to save homes from foreclosure. It will enable many to acquire homes.

I voted for the McCumber amendment because it proposed that the Government make the loans direct to the farmers. Other bills and amendments proposed that the Government create and aid land banks to make loans to farmers. There is too much machinery about them. I prefer the direct to the indirect method. I voted to agree to the McCumber amendment without amendment because I did not wish to risk the chance of no legislation on account of disagreement over the matter between the House and the Senate. The McCumber amendment needs to be amended in a few particulars, but we could trust the next Congress to amend it rather than do so now under the circumstances of the situation. Some gentlemen talk with great vehemence against the Government lending money to the farmers, and, Cassandra-like, wail over the sad condition of the Republic that such a proposition is made. It is not proposed to give the farmers anything. It is simply proposed to use the credit of the Government in a safe and businesslike way to help reduce the exorbitant interest rate the farmers have to pay in many parts of the country; to lend them some of the Government's money as well as the banks; and the security required of them for the loan is as good as that required of the banks for the money the Government lends them.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. M. C. SMITH,
OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 2, 1915.

Mr. J. M. C. SMITH. Mr. Speaker, one of the most important bills that this Congress has been called to act upon is that providing for rural credits or farm-mortgage banks.

The purpose of the bill is to loan money to our farmers upon real-estate mortgages. There have been several bills introduced by different Members for this purpose, and testimony has been taken by the Banking and Currency Committee for over one year, but this committee failed to agree upon a bill or make a report on one to the House, so that it is up to this body to enact such a bill in a single day, and upon which only two hours have been set aside and allotted for general debate.

The subject of loaning money to the American farmer in aid of agriculture has been a topic of more or less discussion for a number of years, and in the year 1912 the Republican national convention adopted the following platform:

It is of great importance to the social and economic welfare of this country that its farmers have facilities for borrowing easily and cheaply the money they need to increase the productivity of their land. It is as important that financial machinery be provided to supply the demand of farmers for credit as it is that the banking and currency systems be reformed in the interest of general business. Therefore we recommend and urge an authoritative investigation of agricultural credit societies and corporations in other countries and the passage of State and Federal laws for the establishment and capable supervision of organizations having for another purpose the loaning of funds to farmers.

The Democrats at their Baltimore convention in 1912 adopted a platform for the investigation of the subject of rural credits, and while not going as far as the Republican Party in pledging itself to a policy for borrowing easily and cheaply money needed in farm productivity, went far enough to commit itself to the subject of rural credits and the loaning of money by national banks upon farm mortgages, and I herewith incorporate as a part of my remarks the Democratic platform upon that subject, which is as follows:

RURAL CREDITS.

Of equal importance with the question of currency reform is the question of rural credits or agricultural finance. Therefore we recommend that an investigation of agricultural credit societies in foreign countries be made, so that it may be ascertained whether a system of rural credits may be devised suitable to conditions in the United States; and we also favor legislation permitting national banks to loan a reasonable proportion of their funds on real estate security.

I wish to say, in the interest of agriculture, that it is the greatest industry in our country. It is known as the chief industry. It is before manufacture and transportation. One-third of our population, 30,000,000 people, are engaged in agricultural pursuits, while our whole Nation of 100,000,000 is dependent upon it. Our national wealth is estimated at $125,000,000,000, of which amount $40,000,000,000 is the estimated wealth of agriculture. It is stated in the latest census that the farmers who are engaged in the business of agriculture owe $6,000,000,000, so that we can at a glance see not only the importance but also the benefit of extending to the American farmer assistance in conducting and carrying on his farming operations and in making the burden of his indebtedness, if possible, lighter.

May I also state, possibly not as a premise to what I may say further on, that it is generally understood and claimed that farming at the present day is lucrative and profitable. It is possibly no more prosperous than any other business at the present time.

It is authoritatively stated that the net income on farm property in the four great agricultural States of Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, and Iowa was 4 per cent net upon the capital invested, which would be considered a very poor investment at the present time for any manufacturing industry.

It is frequently stated on the floor of the House that in many parts of the United States the rate of interest on farm mortgages is as high as 12 per cent, while in others it is very difficult to obtain a mortgage loan at all; and, as far as any bills I have been able to consider, rural credits limit loans to the proprietor or owner of farms at not to exceed one-half their actual value at a low rate of interest.

In my own State of Michigan it is not difficult to secure a loan upon a farm at one-half its value at the uniform rate of 6 per cent interest, while under rural credits it is supposed that the owner can secure a mortgage loan for 5 to 35 years at a rate of interest from 4 per cent to 5 per cent.

There have been two ways proposed to make it easy for the farmer to borrow money upon a real estate mortgage.

First. By a direct loan from the Government.

Second. By the Government guaranteeing the mortgage note or bond.

Around these two ways of aid from the Government all the other proposals may be centered, and I wish for a few minutes to call attention to the difference between them.

With all those who think that the Government should go into the loaning business and loan money direct upon farm mortgages and real estate I have no controversy. But my mind goes back to the formation of many companies and corporations for the specific purpose of foreclosing mortgages in an earlier day on Kansas and Nebraska farms where the money had been furnished by eastern capitalists. I have no controversy with those who believe that the Government should buy up all the railroads in the country, street car lines, electric light companies, telegraph and telephone companies, waterworks, and all other public utilities, including steamboat lines and railroad equipment, and issue bonds therefor, and then employ 10,000,000 people to operate them. But I do not believe the people are in favor of doing so just yet.

Some of the bills provide that money should be taken out of the Public Treasury and loaned directly to the farmer upon farm mortgages, and that the Government should sell the Panama Canal bonds, issue new bonds, or take the money in the postal savings banks for such purpose.

If the Government takes money out of the Public Treasury and loans it out on farm mortgages to the farmer, why not the Government take money out of the Public Treasury and loan it to the laboring man to assist in the purchase of his home?

I note fully that the Republican Party through its platform has recommended that a provision for loaning to farmers more easily and cheaply the money borrowed by them to increase the productivity of their land. But it says nothing about how this shall be brought about, and for a moment let us consider the second proposition of indorsing or securing the mortgage loan made to the farmer by the Government or State. This can be done without the Government furnishing the money. Two of the bills specifically provide a system which would afford the same relief as a loan from the Government without furnishing the money.

One bill provides for associations, small banks, and larger banks, for doing the business, and to which the farmer would go for his loan and to give his mortgage. When the application is made out and the loan is passed on by the association it is sent to the Government bank, or the State bank, together with the mortgage and the mortgage note or bond. If the loan is approved the Government bank, or State bank, retains the mortgage, and either guarantees the loan on the back of the note or bond given by the mortgagor, or issues a certificate guaranteeing the loan, which is sent back to the mortgagor and disposed of by him upon the market or to people wishing this kind of investment or the bank can purchase or sell it for him.

It is presumed that people having money to loan will prefer to loan it upon a certificate of indebtedness guaranteed by the Government or State than to loan it themselves upon the real estate and take the mortgage direct. It is claimed for this that the Government having a prior mortgage upon the real estate for double its value would never become a loser and would never be called upon to pay an obligation indorsed by it.

It is further claimed that people having money to loan prefer to loan upon some kind of a security guaranteed or issued by the Government or State rather than upon a real estate mortgage, although it is known that good real estate security is as sound as that so guaranteed. In fact, it is stated that in Germany and France at times these bonds or certificates, secured by real estate, have been known to sell on the market for a higher price than the Government bonds.

The subject is not without its intricacy and complexity, and possibly pervades some of the rules of taxation. Like all other questions of finance, however, it is also subject to well defined rules. But my observation with the questions of finance and of money is that they are not in trade and practice generally greatly affected by legislation.

Approximately one-half of the farms in the country are owned by people now living in town. This tends to build up a tenancy, and we hear more complaint about inability to secure farm labor than there is to secure money with which to conduct the farm. It is not encouraging for any man to recommend to his neighbor or anyone else to execute a mortgage upon his real estate if he don't have to. Mortgages are a mean

thing and are to be avoided if possible and hated rather than encouraged.

Certainly we all have the welfare of the farmer at heart. One would think from the remarks made here on the floor of the House that there is no one loved so much as he. Being a farmer myself I may speak with a little more freedom than license would otherwise permit. What I say may be accepted or rejected if it does not coincide with the experience of others.

The Republican national platform commits us to a rural farm credit. Sooner or later this legislation must be enacted into law. The choice may be between the two methods above referred to, and I concede to the man who thinks that the Government should loan its money directly to the farmer his right of opinion the same as I myself might prefer Government security instead of Government aid. The question being what is the best way to accomplish the result.

The subject is one of much interest. All the leading nations of Europe have a system of rural farm credits. A commission was sent from this country to Europe to study farm credits, and have reported in favor of establishing rural credits here, and if it will be productive of the good claimed for it the date ought not to be far distant when some system of establishing farm credits should be enacted into law.

Listening to some of our Members from the South, especially when the cotton bill was up, and hearing it frequently stated here on the floor of the House that the fall in price of cotton resulted in a great loss and created great distress similar to that of the Civil War; and that the high cost of living, which was the Democratic slogan during the last campaign, was soaring, all on account of the high price charged by the farmer for his product, and noticing the frequent editorials charging the farmer with unfair methods, my sympathy was much aroused.

But we must not pass a rural credit bill by which he can secure money that he does not want, merely because he can secure it cheaply.

There are many idle acres not being worked because no help or labor can be secured to work upon the farm. I would like to have some one of the committee explain whether or not the high cost of living is not more the result of not being able to get farm labor than it is to get money on a farm mortgage. It is not an uncommon sight to see gentleman from town riding past the fields in their automobiles while the farmers are either in the furrow or picking potato bugs to save his crop and to keep down the high cost of living.

The trouble with the Government going into the land-mortgage business, and purchasing these bonds direct either by investing the deposits of the Postal Savings Bank, selling Panama bonds, or purchasing each year mortgages direct out of money in the Treasury, are manifold. There is the paternalistic side of the precedent for the Government to go into other more hazardous business, especially if there is a depression.

Then, there will be the question of who comes first. In what section of the country will the Government loan its money? Will the Government buy or take all the mortgages now extant, should they be offered for sale? And ought the Government go into this business to the exclusion of furnishing money to conduct and carry on other business? And how are they to qualify these mortgages, or fix their value?

In determining the value of the security, some have taken the position that the security should be passed upon by a commission or an authorized commissioner in each locality who knows the market value of the land, and the mortgage taken for only one-half of what the land is worth. This is a restriction or limitation that prevents a great majority of farmers from getting any of the low-rate money upon a mortgage, as the value of a farm fluctuates largely with each man's opinion who is asked for one, and its value is not of a settled or fixed character.

In fact, a person having his farm half paid for is in fairly good circumstances, and can readily secure money in any locality at the current rate, and the only benefit a person would get from a long-time mortgage, or the only reason why he would mortgage his farm to the Government, would be the inducement of a low rate of interest.

Another proposed to fix the value of the farm according to its income. This method would be so entirely impractical as to be useless. The income of a farm is governed by the crop it raises. A crop of wheat might net $5 an acre, a crop of beans, potatoes, cabbage, or hay might net $10 an acre, while it would not be unusual for a crop of sugar beets and cotton to net $20 an acre. If the season is bad, the crops—either by too much rain or being too dry—are a failure, and the determination of the value by the income of the farm is too uncertain to form the basis for a commercial transaction.

But it is supposed that the farmer will be attracted by the long time in the mortgage for payment. Experience has rather proven that the person giving the mortgage upon his farm rarely ever wants it to run more than 5 years, and in this country it is very doubtful whether a mortgage drawn to run for a period of 10, 20, or 30 years would be acceptable by any of the investing American husbandmen.

It is proposed to make the mortgage exempt from taxation. Real estate mortgages do not pay any Federal taxes now, and some of the States in the Union, and the District of Columbia, have a law exempting mortgages from State, county, and local taxation. It would not be very polite of the Government to waive the taxes on property upon which it levies no taxes, and it would not be very courteous to the States for the Federal Government to destroy the authority of the State to levy taxes for its State, county, or municipal uses.

When the questions of national prohibition and woman suffrage were considered in the House, the great objection thereto by many of the Members was that it interfered with the rights of the States to pass their own laws affecting these subjects, and when it comes to the point of denying the States the right to tax mortgages upon real estate, undoubtedly much will be said about State rights, although we have heard very little upon the constitutional question in the consideration of this subject.

Hand in hand with the American farmer goes the interest of the American laborer, whose interest and welfare is as much entitled to consideration. What is done for him? Is his home, valued at $1,000 or $1,500, in which to support his family, to be taxed while the money of the investor is to escape taxation in mortgages? These are a few of the questions to be solved in determining the policy of rural credits.

I join with those who desire to aid the American farmer and the American laboring man to see our factories running and prosperity restored in every community throughout our Republic. But if the law to be enacted for this purpose is to be of the same effect as the law in Germany, France, and other foreign countries, and is to remain upon our statute books for all time, we should not only determine what is the best law for the purpose intended, but what law will best conserve the rights of all the people concerned.

Charges Against Judge Speer.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

BY

HON. A. J. VOLSTEAD,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

March 1, 1915.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Mr. Speaker, it has not been my intention to say anything to this House in regard to Judge Speer or the charges made against him, but the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. EDWARDS] a few days ago took occasion to read into the RECORD those charges and a part of the majority report made by the subcommittee which investigated them. In view of this I desire to submit some observations, together with some excerpts from my minority report in answer and explanation. The subcommittee which made this investigation consisted of three members of the Judiciary Committee. All three agreed in reporting to the Judiciary Committee that the evidence did not sustain any of the charges. Upon this report the proceeding against Judge Speer was dismissed and all charges abandoned. Though the two majority members of the subcommittee admit that the evidence failed to establish any guilt, they nevertheless reflected upon the judge in a manner that seems to me very unjust. It was some of these reflections that the gentleman from Georgia saw fit to read into the RECORD. Let me call to the attention of this committee some of the facts that appeared in the investigation.

It may be conceded that there is considerable bitterness among a certain class of people in Georgia against Judge Speer. An attempt has been made to account for this bitterness by calling attention to the fact that he was appointed judge by a Republican President. While it is true that politics played an important part, party politics is only one element. The evidence taken on the charges bristles with facts that unmistakably point to matters less creditable than politics. The one thing above all others that stirred sentiment against Judge Speer is his conduct in trying peonage cases, and in this class of cases

may be included the so-called Jamison habeas corpus case. When he dared to hold the State statute void under which peonage is practiced in Georgia, including that barbarous State law under which petty offenders against city ordinances were sent to the State prison for six months at hard labor on the public road, he committed an unpardonable offense.

That peonage does exist in Georgia and that it is eagerly cherished by many people no one can doubt who has read the record in this case. Some time ago I received a newspaper from Georgia containing what purports to be an account of a speech delivered by Attorney General Felder, one of the witnesses against the judge. In that speech Mr. Felder appealed to the voters in behalf of his candidacy for the United States Senate on the ground that he is in favor of the repeal of the Federal peonage law. This issue could not be popular unless there is strong sympathy for this barbarous institution, which is worse than slavery.

The following from my minority report will give some idea of the manner in which peonage is carried on. The Crawly & McClellan case was one of the first peonage cases tried in the South. It had been carefully selected by the Attorney General of the United States after a report by a special examiner. In substance, the following evidence was submitted on the trial:

McClellan was the sheriff of Ware County and also jailer. Crawley was a lawyer. Henry Brunage and Dave Smith, two colored boys, were arrested and tried for stealing a watermelon and were convicted before the judge of the county court of Ware County and sentenced to imprisonment in Ware County, with no alternative of fine. Mr. E. J. McRee was asked to come for the boys by Crawley. McRee testified: "I received a letter from Mr. Crawley, which I can not find after a search, in which he asked me to come to Waycross; that there were some boys there who wanted to come to my place." McRee went to Waycross and, accompanied by Crawley and McClellan, went to the jail where the two boys were confined, and also found, outside of the jail, Jeff Brunage, a brother of one of the boys in jail. Jeff was not charged with any offense, but "was just out there interceding for them." McRee gave a check for these boys, the check being dated August 6, 1903, for $65, payable to the order of T. J. McClellan, payable at the Citizens' Bank of Valdosta, and indorsed by T. J. McClellan. This was to cover the fee of Mr. Crawley, the lawyer, and the jail fees of Mr. McClellan. Although in jail under commitment, and no provision made for release upon the payment of a fine, and no order of any court authorizing their release, the two boys were turned over to Mr. McRee, and not only were they carried to the plantation of the McRees, at Kinder Lou, but the little brother, who was "interceding for them," was also carried to the plantation, and E. J. McRee afterwards pleaded guilty to holding the three in peonage.

Another of the indictments charged a similar sale of Lula Frazier, who had been arrested for adultery, but on the hearing before the county judge he decided that if she was guilty at all it was of bigamy, of which offense his court did not have jurisdiction. While she was in jail with no charge against her, Mr. Crawley, her lawyer, telephoned to the McRees as follows: "E. J. McRee, Valdosta, Ga.: Come to Waycross for woman. W. F. Crawley." Mr. Frank McRee went to Waycross for her and was accompanied to the jail by Crawley and McClellan, the latter being the jailer. McRee gave a draft for $50 to Crawley, and the woman was released and carried to the Kinder Lou plantation in Lowndes County. This draft was dated August 27, 1902, payable to W. F. Crawley, for $50, drawn on the Citizens' Bank of Valdosta, and signed by Kinder Lou Mills, by F. I. McRee.

Other checks were tendered in evidence, in payment for other negroes, one for $88, payable to T. J. McClellan, for George Davis and Ed. Hardy, dated July 8, 1902. George Davis carried his wife with him to the Kinder Lou plantation. Another check, for $40, dated August 11, 1902, payable to T. J. McClellan, in payment for John Westley Brown. A third check was dated December 15, 1902, payable to T. J. McClellan, for $240, for "four men and one woman."

The two boys charged with stealing a watermelon were kept at McRee's for six months and 10 days each, and Lulu Frazier, the woman who had not been convicted of any offense, was kept there for 7 months.

The McRees at that time operated a large plantation in Lowndes County, about 70 miles from Waycross, where these parties were confined in jail. They also operated a large crate factory. About 200 hands were employed by them, many of them obtained in the manner above described. The negroes were worked under guard, locked up at night, whipped by overseers, and made to work out the money advanced to them. They were not permitted to leave the plantation. Some escaped and were captured; some made good their escape. The prison commission of Georgia made an investigation of the conditions at the McRee plantation a short time before these indictments were returned, and, as Mr. E. J. McRee stated, "did not exonerate us entirely."

The Branen case was another peonage case. It had also been selected by the Attorney General of the United States for prosecution. Parties interested in peonage contributed to the payment of Mr. Felder's fee; he was the attorney for the defense. After the defendant had been acquitted those interested in the defense arranged to have a barbecue to celebrate their victory. To this the jurors were invited. Complaint is made that the judge persuaded the jurors not to attend by publishing in one of the Macon papers a protest against the propriety of such action.

Branen, on being acquitted, went straight home and found a negro that had induced his sister, whom Branen held in peonage, to run away while the trial was going on. He went to a gathering of innocent negroes where the young negro was and arrested him, stating, "I will show you how to fool with my hands"; took him over to another county, in a graveyard, strapped him down to a log, and beat him to death; then tied a rope to his body, attached it to his buggy, and dragged it along the road to a conspicuous place as a warning to others. The judge simply sought to secure justice for these poor people, and as a consequence all the venum of race war was directed against him. The criticisms of his course are absolutely ridiculous.

The statute under which peonage is practiced in Georgia is almost identical with a like statute in Alabama. The Supreme Court of the United States has held this latter statute void, as in contravention of the Federal Constitution.

The so-called Jamison habeas corpus case illustrates a phase of the judge's character that was repeatedly emphasized in the hearings—his sympathy for the poor and oppressed—and is another of the chief grievances against him. It grew out of a statute under which the city recorder of Macon was authorized to summarily try offenders against the ordinances of the city without any written charge and without a jury, and impose upon the offenders a six months' State prison sentence at hard labor on the public roads.

The county of Bibb, in which the city of Macon is located, had entered into a contract with the city under which it was agreed that if those convicted by the city recorder were sentenced to the county chain gang (a part of the State prison system), the county would pay to the city $8,000 annually for the labor of these prisoners. A young man, as inhuman a wretch as ever disgraced a judicial position, was appointed city recorder of Macon a short time before this case arose. He promptly proceeded to fill the Bibb County chain gang. In the month of March, 1904, the month during which Mr. Jamison was sentenced, he sent 149 unfortunate victims to this chain gang.

Jamison, an inoffensive colored person, between 55 and 60 years of age, who had been engaged about town in odd jobs, like cleaning houses and laying carpets, was arrested, charged with being drunk. He was brought before the city recorder and promptly sentenced to the Bibb County chain gang for three months for drunkenness, and because while in this drunken condition he did not, while in the barracks, speak as politely to the officers in charge of him as they thought he ought to, he was sentenced to an additional four months for using abusive language, making in all seven months at hard labor in the State penitentiary.

Among those not blinded by any selfish interest in the $8,000 a year, there was naturally a good deal of hostility to the system and a good deal of sympathy for the unfortunate victim. While nearly all those sent to the chain gang were colored, occasionally a white person would be drafted in this fashion to do work. About this time a young white boy came to Macon to do some business. When this was finished, and on the same day, he repaired to one of the depots and bought his ticket to return home. The train was late; he sat down in the depot to wait and fell asleep. The train came and left without waking him. An industrious officer looking for a victim gathered him in, and the next morning, regardless of explanations and protests, the city recorder promptly railroaded him into the county chain gang, there to stay for several months. The charge against him was vagrancy. Public indignation, however, soon released him.

When Mr. Jamison was convicted Mrs. Speer's sympathies were aroused. She knew him; he had done some odd jobs at her home, and she called her husband's attention to the matter. This complaint was brought to the attention of the assistant district attorney, who presented to Judge Speer a petition for writ of habeas corpus. The writ was issued. Upon a hearing Judge Speer released Jamison on the ground that the statute authorizing the conviction was unconstitutional.

To give some idea of the character of this punishment and the motives that must have actuated him, I quote from Judge Speer's opinion in that case (130 Fed., 351):

The most cursory view of the evidence in the record will convince the impartial that practically every ignominious mark of infamous punishment is stamped upon the miserable throng in Bibb County chain gang. This is clear from the testimony of the superintendent, E. A. Wimbish, and from the uncontradicted evidence of witnesses who have there expiated their disregard of sundry provisions of the city code. The sufferers wear the typical striped clothing of the penitentiary convict. Iron manacles are riveted upon their legs. These can be removed only by the use of the cold chisel. The irons on each leg are connected by chains. The coarse stripes, thick with the dust and grime of long torrid days of a semitropical summer, or incrusted with the icy mud of winter, are their sleeping clothes when they throw themselves on their pallets of straw in the common stockades at night. They wake, toil, rest, eat, and sleep to the never-ceasing clanking of the manacles and chains of this involuntary slavery. They progress to and from their work in public, and from the public roads and before the public eye. About them as they sleep, journey, and labor, watch the convict guards, armed with rifle and shotgun. This is to at once make escape impossible and to make sure the swift thudding of the picks and the rapid flight of the shovels shall never cease. If the guards would hesitate to promptly kill one sentenced for petty violations of city law should he attempt to escape the evidence does not disclose the fact.

And the fact more baleful and more ignominious than all, with each gang stands the whipping boss, with the badge of his authority. This the evidence discloses to be a heavy leather strap about 2½ or 3 feet long with solid hand grasp and with broad, heavy, flexible lash. From the evidence, we may judge the agony inflicted by this implement of torture is not surpassed by the Russian knout, the synonym the world around for merciless corporal punishment. If we may also accept the uncontradicted evidence of the witnesses, it is true that on the Bibb County chain gang for no days is the strap wholly idle, and not infrequently it is fiercely active. One witness, who served many months testified that if the gang does not work like "fighting fire" (to use his simile) the whipping boss runs down the line striking with apparent indiscrimination the convicts as they bend to their tasks. Often the whipping is more prolonged and deliberate. At times, according to another witness, also uncontradicted, the convicts when at the stockade are called into the "dog lot." All present, the whipping boss selects the victim in his judgment worthy of punishment. They are called to the stable door, made to lie face downward across the sill, a strong convict holds down the head and shoulders, and the boss lays on the lash on the naked body until he thinks the sufferer has been whipped enough. It is but just to Mr. Wimbish to record his statement that he knew nothing of the ceremony.

It may be judged from the evidence that it is a whipping more formal and drastic than any other inflicted. Since this is done at the stockade, we may presume that the spectators and guards are the only witnesses, but on the public roads, in the presence of wayfarers and bystanders, often the convict, to use an expression of a witness, "is taken down and whipped." The evidence gives us the account of two white persons who were thus whipped, one a boy with but one arm. For this reason it was not necessary to hold him. He stood and cried as the boss applied the lash. The other white boy was compelled to place his head between the legs of a burly negro convict and was thus immovably held. The punishment will mark the lad with infamy in the minds of his fellows as long as he may live. The offense of one of these lads was "loitering in the depot."

At another point in this opinion will be found the following:

He [Jamison] applies for the great writ of right, the writ of habeas corpus, and he humbly seeks the portals of that court whose judges are sworn to know no difference between the rich and the poor, where justice ever bends the listening ear to catch the plaint of the humble and the lowly, and through all whose generous and benign jurisprudence is heeded the admonition of the Master: "Inasmuch as ye have done it to one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto Me."

That the judge exhibited some interest in this unfortunate victim of a cruel system is now charged up against him, and this offense is greatly aggravated by the fact that his good wife asked him to do so. I wonder when it became an offense for a person on the bench to be actuated by motives and feelings such as those disclosed in this opinion? Is the inhumanity of the city recorder the sort of impartiality to be commended? I hope that our country may always have judges whose hearts beat in sympathy with the poor and oppressed. The Supreme Court of Georgia has, since this case was heard, held this statute void.

The action of Judge Speer in this case forced the city of Macon to have its charter so amended that the city recorder can not now send a person even to the city prison for more than 30 days instead of to the State prison for 6 months.

The famous Green and Gaynor case is another favorite topic in abusing the judge. These parties stole some $2,000,000 from the United States Government and spent it with the lavish hand of a drunken sailor in and about Savannah. They were highly in favor there, and when the judge, on a proper application, made an order excluding jurors from that town and the surrounding country from the trial panel he was condemned as a lawless tyrant. The case took three months to try. After conviction the case was appealed to the Circuit Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court of the United States and affirmed in both. The attorneys for the defendants—and they had an army of them—now swear at the judge with a vehemence that is amusing. They do not deny that their clients were guilty. Many phases of this same case have been before other courts, with the same results. The Government recovered some three-quarters of a million dollars in different civil suits subsequent to their conviction for the embezzlement.

The array of eminent counsel engaged in some of these peonage cases testifies to the supreme importance attached to the issue. The bitterness shown by the parties interested in these cases is simply amazing to a person not familiar with the situation. When you eliminate from the evidence taken to sustain the charges against Judge Speer the evidence in the Jamison case, the peonage cases, and the Green and Gaynor case you have eliminated the bulk of the evidence against him. When you understand the situation it is easy to explain why these parties criticize the judge; but there is another phase of this matter that should not be overlooked and no one can miss it in reading the evidence. Look at this list of corporation counsel who appeared as witnesses:

A. R. Lawton, vice president and general counsel, Central of Georgia Railway Co.

P. W. Meldrim, division counsel, Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Co.

Stanley S. Bennett, division counsel, Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Co.; general counsel, South Georgia Railroad.

L. W. Lambdin, division counsel, Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Co.

John W. Bennett, division counsel, Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Co.

Alexander Akerman, special counsel, Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Co., and assistant general counsel, Macon, Dublin & Savannah Railroad (controlled by Seaboard Air Line Railroad).

Minter Wimberly, general counsel, Macon, Dublin & Savannah Railroad.

W. A. Harris, division counsel, Southern Railway Co.; division counsel, South Central Railroad.

George S. Jones, counsel, Georgia Railroad and Louisville & Nashville Railroad.

A. A. Lawrence, counsel, Southern Railway Co. and Street Railways of Savannah.

W. W. Osborne, counsel, Southern Railway Co. and Street Railways of Savannah.

W. C. Snodgrass, president, Blakely Southern Railroad, connecting with Central of Georgia and Atlantic Coast Line Railroads.

Boling Whitfield, division counsel, Atlanta, Birmingham & Atlantic Railroad Co.

S. B. Adams, counsel, Merchants & Miners' Transportation Co., Naval Stores Trust, and other corporations.

J. R. L. Smith, president, Floville & Indian Springs Railroad, short line connecting with Southern Railroad.

W. E. Simmons, attorney for the Corbin Banking Co. and other corporations.

Why are these witnesses opposed to the judge? The reason is at hand: In the Rankin against Louisville & Nashville Railway Co. case, the United States against The Atlantic Coast Line case, the Central Railway Co. case, the McReynolds against City & Suburban Railway Co. case, the Holst against Savannah Electric Co. case, the Tifft against Southern Railway Co. case, the Johnson against Southern Railway Co. case, and other cases, complaints are made on behalf of these corporations by their attorneys. In every case it is apparent the judge strove to do justice. The complaint of W. E. Simmons is another illustration. As attorney for the Corbin Banking Co., a firm famous for its usurious exactions, he was not looking for justice; that was the last thing his client wanted. Judge Speer tried to give him what he was honestly entitled to, and he fled from his court and has not quit cussing the judge even unto this day, though that was more than a score of years ago.

It may be easily guessed that the judge's record on labor and trust questions is not very enthusiastically approved by these men. In Waterhouse *v.* Comer (55 Fed., 148) Judge Speer, for the first time in the history of our jurisprudence, recognized the right of labor organizations. His opinion in that case was printed as a Senate document. In the case of Farmers' Loan & Trust Co. *v.* Central of Georgia (166 Fed., 333) the receiver of that railway had without just cause discharged a conductor from employment on the road. The conductor appealed to Judge Speer's court for relief. Over the vigorous protest of Mr. Lawton, one of these railway attorneys, now a witness against the judge, he reinstated the conductor and condemned the unfair practice of the receiver. In the Erie Lumber Co. case (150 Fed., p. 807) will be found another opinion of Judge Speer of inestimable value to labor in protecting wages. Mr. George L. Jones, another railway attorney who testified against Judge Speer, opposed this view of the law. Shortly after the Federal employers' liability act was passed it came before Judge Speer. It was attacked as unconstitutional by this same Mr. Lawton. Judge Speer, however, not only sustained its constitutionality but commented it in vigorous language. With such a record it is not surprising that some years ago Grand Chief Engineer P. M. Arthur and Assistant Chief A. B. Youngson, acting for the brotherhood, strongly commended the judge for promotion to the circuit court of appeals. But these are not all the grievances corporation counsel have against Judge Speer. In the Naval Stores case (reported in 151 Fed., 834) this trust was indicted and convicted. It was claimed upon the trial that under the operation of this trust the people of southern Georgia had been robbed of more than $40,000,000. Mr. Adams, a railway attorney and witness against the judge, strove to avert this conviction. In the case of United States *v.* Merchants & Miners' Transportation Co. (187 Fed., 355) rebates were given in violation of the interstate-commerce law. The company was convicted and fined $30,000. This same Mr. Adams was again of counsel for the accused. In United States *v.* Miller (187 Fed., 355) Mr. Miller, who was the beneficiary of the rebates, was fined $5,000. Messrs. Osborne & Lawrence, who testified with

exceeding bitterness, were of counsel for the accused. In the case of Tifft et al. (123 Fed., 789, and 138 Fed., 753) Judge Speer enjoined the exactions of excessive rates on lumber, and by final decree compelled the repayment of more than $2,000,000 to shippers. The same Mr. Lawton was of counsel in opposition to this decree, which was affirmed in Two hundred and sixth United States, page 428. This case affected every railroad represented by the attorneys who testified against the judge. Osborne, Lawrence, and Meldrim were all of counsel in the famous Green and Gaynor case.

Is it not strange that none but disappointed attorneys and their clients should have been called in this inquiry? Why, that is what they are, with hardly a single exception. If the attorneys or parties who appeared on the other side in these suits or proceedings had been called, is there any doubt that their testimony would have been favorable to the judge? The fact that this testimony was not produced is almost as conclusive on that point as anything can be. Every piece of gossip from almost before the war down to the last edition of some newspaper that did not get the last bankruptcy notice to publish was dragged into this hearing.

It is perfectly evident that there is a motive behind this proceeding that does not rest on the highest order of disinterested patriotism. After these charges had been made against the judge the Valdosta Times, on December 21, 1912, edited by Mr. C. C. Brantley, now editor of the Macon Telegraph, published the following editorial:

A FIGHT ON JUDGE SPEER.

The grand jury of the United States court concluded its work in Valdosta yesterday by passing some resolutions putting itself on record as being opposed to the proposition to emasculate the southern district of Georgia and the creation of another division. It is generally understood that this movement was started for the purpose of trying to get rid of Judge Emory Speer, and that it is backed up by some men who are antagonistic to Judge Speer because of the fact that he does not look with any degree of allowance upon the misdeeds of the high any more than he does on the wrongdoings of the humble.

Judge Speer, though affiliated with the Republican Party, is a judge of the strongest democratic tendencies and spirit. He nearly always takes sides with the weak against the strong. The men who have been in his court have been impressed with the fact that humble offenders are shown the greatest consideration by him. He bas adopted a system of handling cases against moonshiners that has had a splendid effect, though he has not had to impose any severe penalties upon them.

Several years ago, when Judge Speer wanted to try the Green and Gaynor case, he went away from the scene of their operation and influence to get a jury to try them. It is said that they had strong friends who wanted them tried by a jury nearer home, believing that they would gain much in that way.

Later on Judge Speer had a round with the Naval Stores Trust, which was composed of large influences in and around Savannah, and it is said that these influences have been busy ever since trying to get rid of him. They are supported, of course, by the friends of the other culprits who have had to suffer because of Judge Speer's strong stand against "crime in high places."

The Times believes that the grand jury on yesterday expressed the sentiments of a large majority of the people of south Georgia in protesting against the proposition to tear up the southern district and to remove Judge Speer from the place which he now occupies with so much firmness, yet tenderness, in dealing with criminals of all types.

The resolutions which were adopted yesterday are printed in this issue of the Times, and we commend them and the spirit behind them to our readers.

Has not the hostility shown upon this hearing been nursed into being, in the hope that a Democratic House and Senate would remove Judge Speer, so that he might be replaced by some one subservient to the interests hostile to him?

As late as May, 1913, Mr. Akerman, the district attorney and one of the judge's bitterest enemies, expressed the highest regard for the judge. In 1910 the Bar Association of Macon tendered to Judge Speer a banquet on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his appointment as judge. At this, which was largely attended by the bar of the district, the kindliest feeling toward the judge appears to have existed, as is evidenced by the newspaper accounts of the occurrence. He was eulogized in the most flattering manner. This would clearly demonstrate that less than four years ago public sentiment was friendly to him. Five years earlier the bar association at Macon passed resolutions commending the judge. In these resolutions they emphasize by inserting as the first resolve:

That in the decision of cases in his court he has known neither the rich nor the poor, and that in the enforcement of the criminal laws he has tempered justice with that mercy which blesses him that gives and him that receives.

The Chamber of Commerce of Macon at this time, by resolutions presented to him, offered this tribute:

We recall with a great deal of pleasure—

First. That it was he who reorganized the jury system in these courts and eliminated the professional and unworthy jurors.

Second. Through his administration the criminal laws of the United States have come to be respected by all classes in this jurisdiction and justice is done to the mightiest as well as to the lowliest lawbreaker. The reform wrought by Judge Speer by crushing the great system of land piracy which once cursed this State has done a great deal to encourage immigration into Georgia and facilitates the work of the chambers of commerce and other commercial organizations in bringing investments into this section.

Third. We appreciate the fact that his great power, used as it has been used, has proven a protection for the State against men of enormous wealth and influence who have at times sought to increase their riches through crimes of the greatest magnitude.

Fourth. We are especially appreciative of the fact that the court has from time to time, on proper pleadings, taken charge of insolvent corporations involving great values, and through the skillful selection of receivers and by constant guidance brought about a reorganization of the properties and a restoration of their values, thus preventing untold losses in the community.

Fifth. We note with considerable pleasure the fact that in the administration of the bankruptcy law the records of the Attorney General's office show that in Judge Speer's district there is a maximum of net assets, homestead exemptions, priorities paid, and dividends distributed, while the same records show a minimum of cost of administration comparing most favorably with any district in the Southern States and with any district in the United States.

Sixth. It is also with pride that the people of Macon recall that within his 20 years on the bench Judge Speer has been reversed for his rulings in only one jury trial, and that in a large majority of the appeals in cases of all classes his decisions have received the approval of the Supreme Court of the United States and of the circuit court of appeals; and we find among his most ardent admirers the highest representatives of labor on one side and of capital on the other.

In 1906, at a banquet tendered Judge Speer at Savannah, Judge Carlton (now and for a long time judge of the superior court in that city) paid to Judge Speer an eloquent tribute. I copy from this the following:

And throughout the vicissitudes of his career—as soldier, as politician, as lawyer, as judge—he has loved his State and her people with a tenderness which is as pronounced to-day as it was when as a boy he took his chances, for their sakes and their honor, in the fighting line. His broad culture, his signal ability, the delightful humor which oozes from him as did Greek from Gladstone, his grace of oratory, are all known to you. But greater than these—perhaps the greatest dignity which can come to a man—is the humanity which has marked his judicial career.

There is no court in the land where the administration of justice is characterized by more dignity, and there is no court wherein the humble and the helpless are safer. The far-reaching effect of the Jamison case has not only struck a decisive blow at the unmerciful dispensation of unregulated justice—it has brought its administration by subordinate tribunals to a sense of proportion and laid upon them the humanizing touch which brings consideration for the casual errors of the weak and the poor and the friendless, and this is the straight path to the highest civilization it is given us to reach.

It is a signal tribute to his administration of his high office that while in this district population has increased and human frailties are the same, there is less crime than when he came upon the bench and fewer Georgians in Federal prisons.

Because of all these things, because of any of them, may time so lightly touch his heart that as the richly laden years shall pass along content shall follow in their wake, and friends be near, and hope and fame and peace.

In 1903 Judge Speer was a candidate for promotion to the circuit court of appeals. At that time he received the indorsement of nearly all of those who testified against him at this hearing. Some of these indorsements are significant. The one from the Savannah bar, which bears the signature of Meldrim, Osborne, Lawrence, Lawton, Cunningham, Saussy, Gazan, and many others, contains this language:

The long and faithful service of Judge Speer on the bench of the district court, during which time questions of the utmost moment have been settled by him with unusual ability, indicates him as preeminently fitted for the new honor with which his name is now associated.

During his administration this community has not only benefited by the singular ability and clear thought which he has brought to bear upon the issues which have been submitted to him, but our observation justifies us in declaring him one of the most humane of judges. During his term not only has crime diminished, but his eloquent charges to the juries impaneled in his court have done more than any other influence to make the people of Georgia feel that the Federal court is one of their own institutions.

The variety of novel points which have arisen in the cases tried by him, many until then undetermined, have demanded an acuteness of intellect and patience of research rarely exacted in the judicial career of any judge. His success in this direction, illustrating his preeminent fitness for the bench of the circuit court, is of record in the published reports. The daily evidences of usefulness to the public and consideration for the misguided and helpless are matters to which it is just that we should invite your attention, since they appear only inferentially in the plain statement of judgments.

The business men of Savannah furnished this tribute:

During his long service as the judge of this district the proceedings of his court have been marked with a dignity which has commanded respect, and his firm and humane dispensation of the law has at once diminished crime and tempered its consequences to the ignorant and the lowly. His quick and clear apprehension of the intricate constitutional and commercial questions which have been constantly submitted for his adjudication has invited the confidence of the business public, and the patriotic utterances, expressed with a singular and forceful eloquence, with which from time to time he has recalled to the people of this State the great principles which underlie the Republic, have had an influence for good, far-reaching and permanent.

The Augusta bar expressed this opinion:

We desire to bear testimony to Judge Speer's great learning, scholarship, and distinguished ability. As a judge his greatest characteristic is perhaps his love for substantial justice and equity. It is a common saying among the profession in the southern district of Georgia that

no innocent man is ever convicted in his court, and the guilty rarely escape. The lawyer with a meritorious cause does not hesitate to enter his court, while those with bad causes are usually wise to avoid them.

The business men of Augusta testified:

We have known Judge Speer personally for many years. He is a man of unquestioned ability, absolute fairness and impartiality, and has always undertaken to conserve the interests and rights of persons and property when they have been committed to his care.

Like indorsements came from his own town, Macon, and from other places in his district. In addition to this, he was indorsed by the city of Atlanta, not in his district, and by a great many public men in different sections of the country. It is significant that nearly all the complaints now presented were then known to the men who now so bitterly condemn him. That the judge has at all times been very humane and has striven earnestly to preserve the rights of the poor and oppressed as against the rich and powerful stands out prominently throughout this record. It is one of the things that appealed to those who signed these indorsements. It is the one thing for which he has been most severely criticised in this inquiry. Still there is no showing that any injustice has been done to anyone. In Georgia a judge of a State court can not comment upon the testimony in charging a jury, while under the Federal practice it is the duty of the judge to aid the jury by summing up the evidence, just as is done in the State courts of my State and in a great many other States. Against this Federal practice, which has aided in sending rich clients of those who complain to jail, there is vigorous protest. Lawrence, speaking of the judge, gives vent to this complaint:

He should never have been a judge; he has not got the judicial temperament; he has not got the judicial mind; he has not got the judicial character. I believe if he had remained at the bar he would have made one of the greatest advocates that ever lived, because he is talented in that line, and talented as I have never seen anybody else. He is the best cross-examiner of a witness I have ever known; he knows the jury, knows how to play on their passions, on their prejudices, as no living man that I have seen could do it; he has a faculty for marshaling evidence that I have ever seen another living man able to marshal; and in that Green and Gaynor case he charged that jury for eight hours, and I will challenge any six prosecuting attorneys in the United States, from the Attorney General down, all of them together, to take that mass of testimony taking three months' time that Judge Speer heard, and then put it down in as ingenious an argument against the defense as Judge Speer put it in that thing. It was a masterpiece of oratory, but a very poor thing when you come down to look at it from a judicial standpoint.

Despite this condemnation the circuit court of appeals and the Supreme Court approved the charge. I have had some experience in practicing law under both systems, and have no hesitation in indorsing the Federal practice in preference to that which prevails in the State courts of Georgia. I have never heard anyone but a lawyer complain because the judge in charging the jury in a Federal court is required to point out the questions to be decided by the jury and call attention to the evidence that has a bearing on those questions. That this practice greatly assists the jury in arriving at a just verdict no one can doubt. Under its restraining influence lawyers find it to their advantage to try cases fairly. They know that any appeal to passion or prejudice or appeals to misleading or irrelevant matters may be promptly rebuked in the court's charge. They find it necessary to appeal not only to the jury but also to the judge. It takes 13 men to steal a man's home in the Federal courts, while it may take only 12 under such a practice as that which prevails in the State courts of Georgia. The Federal practice is the old English practice, and it can not be said that it invades the province of the jury, as that institution was handed down to us. The Georgia practice gives a lawyer of superior ability a great advantage over his less fortunate competitor, but that advantage is at the expense of justice.

When it is remembered that none but men with a grievance were sought in this investigation, it is surprising that the record does contain some very striking indorsements.

Mr. Preston, one of the oldest attorneys at the Macon bar, testified that in some respects Judge Speer was the finest presiding officer he had ever seen. He added that the judge's exalted intellect and his splendid manner on the bench always impressed him. Judge Nottingham, speaking of the judge, said:

I have shot off my mouth about the judge, as all lawyers do. That is one of the usual things in the profession. It soothes our clients. When I came to Macon in 1888 to practice law, Judge Speer had been on the bench for two or three years perhaps. I found nearly every member of the bar criticizing him. The burden of the cry was, "Damn Republican. We want a Democratic judge sent in to help the party in north Georgia." I found the feeling pretty bitter even when I undertook to be his master in chancery. But the judge gained in popularity, and in less than two years, when Mr. Lamar died on the bench, I took a petition around for him and got all but 15 of the 45 members of the bar to sign it.

In regard to the charges of favoritism and antipathy to certain lawyers, I have never encountered any trouble of that sort. In the 40 years I have practiced at the bar, I have heard just as grave charges against the judges of the superior bench of this county. I have heard them charged with favoritism. Even dear old Barnard Hill, it was charged, had a school of favoritism in Anderson, Hill & Harris, and he was even insulted in open court as being a member of that firm. You could meet one man and he would tell you Judge Speer was unjust, unfair, and tyrannical. Of course he has made strong friends and bitter enemies, as every man with a strong personality must.

Minter Wimberley, speaking of Judge Speer, said:

When Judge Speer was appointed judge of this court, he cleared out the Augean stables. If there ever was a court that was a den of infamy, it was the Federal court of this district at that time, in my opinion When Judge Speer did clean out this court, I felt the deepest gratitude to the judge as a citizen and as a patriot, if I may be permitted to class myself as such. Judge Speer did me once a personal favor, and I never forget a personal favor. I took the first petition around Macon. I wrote it myself in the effort to put him on the Supreme bench of the United States. The feeling against him in some quarters was very intense; that was 15 or 20 years ago. I have known Judge Speer to do a great many beautiful acts of mercy to the oppressed.

Speaking of the judge's conduct in the Jamison case, Mr. Wimberley said:

I do not want to use the witness stand as a way to punish him for a fancied wrong. He thought he did me right; I thought he did me wrong.

At another point in the evidence he said:

The judge has been exceedingly kind to me and maybe in other cases he has not, and I did not expect him to be any kinder to me than to anybody else, but at no time did I think he did the other side an injustice when he decided in my favor.

Then again:

Except in the Jamison case—I am speaking for myself—I got fair and just treatment, and I do not know of my own personal knowledge of any other case in which I can say he did anybody any injustice.

Mr. J. R. L. Smith, who is very hostile to the judge, was asked on cross-examination, "Can you recall and cite a single judicial opinion of Judge Speer in which any human right or any Federal statute was violated or any right either of person or property denied to anyone?" To this he answered, "Not at this time." Mr. Toomer gave this opinion of the judge:

I have, while I have heard some slight testimony to the contrary, always had the impression that Judge Speer was a very hard worker. He certainly worked out very promptly and thoroughly every case that I ever had any personal knowledge of when I was representing the Government, as I have done in a number of cases, or the defendants, or in civil cases; I think that the judge is a judge of commanding capacity. I think that his capacity as a lawyer and as a literary man as well is simply superb.

I have never been able to convince myself, after 20 years of my knowledge—and he has never done me a financial favor in his life—I have never been the recipient of an appointment that meant one dollar to me, from him; I have tried cases that I lost in his court, but I have never been able to think that Judge Speer was not personally honest and judicially honest. I will go further and say this, that while there are some men—we all have our peculiarities—I know some very distinguished members of this bar who have grievances of manners, and this and that and the other kind, against Judge Speer, my own opinion is that the rank and file of the plain people and business men of this district find in Judge Speer and in his court a perfect terror to evildoers, not because of the severity of the sentence he is going to impose, but because of the certainty of their conviction in his court.

Since the hearing was held in Georgia, I have received a large number of letters and affidavits from lawyers, bankers, and business men residing in different sections of Judge Speer's district commending the judge in the strongest terms, and he has since been reelected dean of the law school of Mercer University. The jurors attending the various divisions of Judge Speer's district in 1913 protested against the project of dividing his district, and in that connection strongly indorsed Judge Speer, showing clearly not only friendly feeling toward him, but confidence in his ability and fairness as a judge.

While I concur in the recommendations made in the majority report that no further proceedings be had upon the charges against Judge Speer, I desire to express in as emphatic language as possible my protest against the methods that have been pursued; but I do not criticize the motives of my associates. In this investigation no effort was made to protect the judge against mere slander and abuse that could serve no other purpose than to disgrace and humiliate him. Every enemy that 29 years on the bench had produced was invited and eagerly encouraged to detail his grievance and to supplement that with all sorts of innuendoes, insinuations, and insulting opinions, utterly illegal as evidence and incompetent for any proper purpose.

It is humiliating to have to admit that a committee of Congress could consider such methods justifiable. No court in any civilized country would tolerate any such proceeding. The framers of our Constitution sought to give to the judges of our courts a position of security beyond the reach of passion and prejudice so that they might have the courage of their honest convictions. If judges are to be subjected to the treatment accorded Judge Speer, how can they be expected to maintain

that spirit of independence so essential to the just administration of the law?

It is not necessary to say anything in commendation of Judge Speer. The last line in the majority report, recommending no further action upon the charges, is, despite all criticism to the contrary, a complete vindication. It would not have been written if the evidence had pointed to anything worthy of real criticism. In conclusion, let me add, the day will come when Judge Speer will be remembered with pride by the people of Georgia, not only for his ability and integrity, but especially for what Mr. Wimberly called his many beautiful acts of mercy to the oppressed.

Standardization of Grain Grades and the Development of the Modern Grain Market.

SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE R. SMITH,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 4, 1915.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 17971) for securing the uniform grading of grain, preventing deception in transactions in grain, and regulating traffic therein, and for other purposes.

Mr. SMITH of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, I indorse all my colleague has said about the Minnesota Railroad and Warehouse Commission. It is natural that this commission should be opposed to any legislation that in any way interfered with its control over weighing and inspecting grain in the State of Minnesota; they have spent years of faithful service in perfecting a grain-inspection system that has no equal in the country, and they are justified in their belief that they can maintain this system in its present high state of efficiency better than an outsider having little, if any, practical knowledge of the subject. They are to be admired for their efforts to sustain an institution which has given such universal mutual satisfaction to both the producer and consumer of grain. I am satisfied that the people of the Northwest, and especially those of the State of Minnesota, would bitterly oppose a proposition to displace the railroad and warehouse commission system of grain inspection by any other system.

However, I am in favor of the pending measure, because, in my judgment, it will greatly extend the field of usefulness of this commission rather than in any way impair its present organization or its power to adopt and enforce its own rules and regulations.

In the different markets great lack of uniformity exists under the present system of grading grain, which causes considerable confusion to the grain trade and frequently causes injustice to buyer and seller. Each State or exchange fixes its own grades and can change them at will independent of any action taken by other States. In Minnesota there are 6 grades of wheat, while in Illinois there are about 25 grades, and like differences exist between other markets. Even where nominally the same grade exists the grades are differently applied in different markets. The present description of grain grades are too general in their terms permitting a variation in their application during the different conditions of the market and at the different State exchanges. Therefore, it is apparent that uniform grading or standardization of grades would be of great benefit to the grain trade. It would reduce the risk in buying and selling grain, thus enabling the dealer to handle it at a smaller margin and to get better results for the producer, and with uniform grades established, a grain grower or dealer in Iowa could ship to Minneapolis, Chicago, or St. Louis knowing that he would get the same grade in any of these markets: the one paying the highest price would get his shipment. Such a condition will tend to stimulate competition and materially benefit the producer.

The growth of the grain trade in the last 50 years, like nearly every other American enterprise, has been by leaps and bounds. In the early history of the production of grain the farmer carried his grain by team direct to the mill and sold it direct to the miller, who bought the grain by sample; that is, by inspection of the particular amount offered for sale. With the rapid growth of grain production, especially in the Northwest, it became necessary to remove vast quantities of grain to distant and seaboard markets, which necessitated the erection of large warehouses for storage of the grain awaiting further sale or exportation. As these practices developed it soon became impractical and exceedingly expensive to keep the grain for each sale and transaction separate. However, it was highly essential that the different qualities should not become intermixed or confused, as quality is a determining factor in price and a substitution of an inferior grade meant loss. Therefore, at an early date it became necessary to establish a system of grading or separation of the different qualities in a manner that would give mutual satisfaction to buyer and seller without the interference of partiality to either. In response to this demand the systems of grading have developed, and now, instead of receiving the identical grain brought in for sale, the buyer receives an elevator receipt calling for a definite amount of a specific quality or grade that he has purchased.

No step in the merchandising of grain means so much to the trade as an efficient, comprehensive grading system. To-day every produce exchange in the country, whether public or private, operates under a grading and weighing system. As early as 1885 the State of Minnesota created and established a grading and weighing department and lodged it under the control of a commission known as the Railroad and Warehouse Commission, where it has ever since remained. The Minnesota weighing and grading system has been adopted by Canada and several domestic exchanges and is to-day looked upon by the grain trade as one of the best systems in operation. About 250 men, under a chief inspector, are employed in the grading department of the State. These men are known as helpers, samplers, inspectors, graders, and clerks.

The method of weighing and grading under the Minnesota system is as follows: upon the arrival of a car of grain at a terminal market it is placed on a track reserved for inspection purposes. As soon as may be, a helper makes an inspection of the physical condition of the car and examines the seal, and makes a written report of the car's condition. A sampler then enters the car and takes samples from at least seven different places with a sectional probe long enough to penetrate to the bottom of the car. The sample thus taken is put into a small sack, together with a card on which is written the car number, the initial of the car, and the sampler's number. The sack is then brought to the office of the grader, who inspects the sample, gives it a grade, and enters the grade thus made in a grade record. He also makes out a slip showing the grade given the car and places it in a conspicuous place in his office, where it can readily be seen by anyone interested in the car either as buyer or seller. Under such a system as this it is impossible for the sampler or the grader to learn who the seller or buyer might be. Thus the possibility of playing favorites is entirely eliminated, since the weigher, the helper, the sampler, the grader, as well as the commission are all officials of the State. The commission, an elective body, appoints all employees. It is manifest that the whole weighing and grading system as organized and carried on gives to both buyer and seller efficient and impartial service. The State has no other interest except to see that the rights and interests of the parties engaged in the buying and selling of grain are protected by a disinterested board. Such a system has many advantages over a private system maintained by an exchange. Under the public system the weighers and inspectors occupy an absolutely neutral position, whereas in the private system they are apt to consider the interests of the party who employs them as against the interests of an outsider.

Federal supervision of State systems of grading and weighing, with grades established by the National Government, will be a vast improvement over any system we now have. Under the system in vogue in Minnesota the grades are established once a year by an appeal board, consisting of six members, appointed by the governor. Thus, it is seen that the railroad and warehouse commission's objection to the pending bill on the ground that they do not wish to have their work interfered with by the Federal Government for fear that the rules of grading that might be adopted will not be practicable or workable, does not seem to be well founded, because under the present system the appeal board of the State establishes the grades and not the commission; and is there any reason to believe that the commission will experience any more difficulty in operating under grades established by Federal authority than by State authority? It has been admitted by practically every witness who appeared before the congressional committee having charge of this bill that the standardization of grades by the Federal Government and the supervision of inspection would be beneficial to the grain trade, if practical. Moreover, they advanced no plausible reason why the Federal Government can not establish grading rules that will be as practical as those established by a State government. Likewise these witnesses admitted that if the Government officials whose duty it will be to establish these grades will call to their

aid men who have had practical experience in the grading of grain, they could see no reason why the grades established by the Federal Government with such assistance would not be as satisfactory and workable as other State grades.

Therefore, it is evident that the standardization of grades and the supervision of inspection by the Federal Government is both plausible and desirable from every point of view and that this legislation should be enacted into law without further delay.

MARKET PLACES.

Co-existent with the establishment of systems of both private and public warehouses for the housing and storage of the large surplus stock of grain, as well as the development of the systems of weighing, grading, and issuing of elevator receipts, scientific and efficient market places likewise developed, and to-day constitute the great centers in the commercial world. These market places, which, like the other steps in the grain trade, grew from small trade rooms where a few men met to buy and sell grain for immediate use, have become extensive and highly organized institutions known as exchanges.

The Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce, a type of the modern exchange, is the leading primary wheat market in the world. This institution is organized under a general statute of the State, which grants to the chamber the usual rights of holding property, organizing under its officers and under rules and by-laws adopted at will. In addition to the usual rights granted to organizations incorporated for commercial purposes, there is added to this class of associations an important provision giving them the right to establish an arbitration committee, as follows:

First. Said corporation may constitute and appoint committees of reference and arbitration and committees of board of appeal, who shall be governed by such rules, by-laws, and regulations as may be prescribed by said corporation, for the settlement of such matters of difference as may be voluntarily submitted for arbitration by members of said corporation or by other persons not members thereof. The acting chairman of either of the said committees or boards, when sitting as arbitrators, may administer oaths to the parties and witnesses, and, upon request of any party to such arbitration, any clerk of any court of record, on payment of his fees therefor, shall issue subpœnas for the attendance of witnesses and production of papers before said committees, and the same may be served and obedience thereto enforced in like manner as process requiring attendance before court issuing the same.

Further:

Said corporation may inflict fines upon any of its members and collect the same for breach of its rules, regulations, or by-laws. Said fines may be collected by action for debt before a justice of the peace, or in any court of record having jurisdiction of the amount of the fine, in the name of the corporation, or by temporary suspension or removal from the membership, or removal from office therein.

MEMBERSHIP.

The membership in all exchanges is limited; for example, the Minneapolis chamber's membership is 550. After that number is reached new members are admitted only by transfer of membership. Experience has shown that about 15 per cent of the total membership of the chamber changes each year.

The section of the by-laws regulating the admission of members to these associations are quite similar and are about as follows:

Any respectable person, on the proposal of one member, seconded by another, and on presentation of a certificate of membership duly assigned to him, and a written application stating the nature of his business, and such other facts as the board of managers may require, after a certain number of days' notice of such application has been conspicuously posted in the exchange, shall be admitted to membership, if approved by the committee on admissions and elected by the board of managers, on the signing of an agreement to abide by the charter, by-laws, and rules of the exchange and all amendments that may be made thereto.

One of the advantages for a limited membership is that it enables the board of directors to enforce the rules of the organization with little difficulty on account of the fear of the loss by the member of the privileges of the exchange, which are of greater value by reason of the fact that the membership is limited.

Every modern device tending to facilitate the gathering and dispatching of information will be found in the exchange room of an up-to-date market such as the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce, with its well-equipped rooms suitable for the use to which they are put, with its blackboard recording complete statements of the supply of grain in store at the leading markets, and with the daily quotations of prices sent from all the leading markets instantaneously with any change in price. The objects and purposes of these associations, in addition to the supplying of these accommodations and facilities, are stated in the articles of incorporation as follows:

To inculcate just and equitable principles in trade; to establish and maintain uniformity in commercial usages; to acquire, preserve, and disseminate valuable information; to adjust controversies and misunderstandings between persons engaged in business, etc.

COMMISSIONS.

The Minneapolis chamber, like all other chambers, by rule fixes a definite rate of commission to be charged for the purchase and sale of grain. Much criticism has been leveled at this commission rule; however, no complaint has been made that the charges for the services rendered are either unfair or unreasonable. It is of vast importance to the shipper to know what commission he will have to pay; and since the shippers can not all appear in the market to sell their own grain, they must be represented by an agent, who is known as a commission broker; and this agent, if he is going to stay in the business, must make a charge; and it is much better for all parties concerned to have a reasonable fixed commission with uniform application than to have one that fluctuates from day to day.

In the merchandising of grain the commission merchant, in so far as the producer is concerned, performs the most important function. He must of necessity be an expert in the handling of grain so as to intelligently advise his client—the country shipper—of the market conditions as well as to match the skill of the buyer who is invariably an expert dealer. It is to the merchant's interest to secure the highest price for his customer's grain, since he has to depend on the country shipper for this business. A very close relation exists between the shipper and his broker on the exchange. It is no uncommon thing for these brokers to have and retain the same customers for years.

It requires three to four hundred millions of dollars to move the annual crop harvested in the Northwest, which places a great burden on the banks and grain traders of this section of the country. The country shipper looks to his broker to furnish him a portion of the money needed to carry on his business, and unless the broker is a man of considerable financial standing he will be unable to meet this demand made upon him by his customers. However, these demands have invariably been promptly met by the commission merchants of the chamber of commerce. All of which goes to show that a commission merchant must be a man of ability, integrity, and financial standing to operate upon the exchange and to hold the confidence and business of his customers.

SPECULATION.

The Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce has grown and developed in response to the desire and the need for a large, well-organized market that would take care of the surplus stock of grain. With the rapid development of the enormous agricultural areas, especially in the central and western portions of the United States, the supply in this section of the country far exceeded the local demand, and the necessity arose for the proper distribution of this surplus to the consuming markets of the world where it could be properly used.

In other words, there was an urgent need to find some organization that would introduce the northwestern producer into the world market, where his surplus grain could compete with the crops of other nations and other parts of the country. The commission broker still continued in his field of operations, acting as agent on the market for the country shipper, but in addition to these men there developed a class of persons who, instead of caring for the local needs of producer and miller, sought to introduce the surplus supply of the Northwest into the world's and distant markets for competition. The country shipper did not have adequate facilities, information, or finance to take the risks in this new field, and there soon sprang up a class of persons who entered this realm voluntarily, known as speculators. Speculation now has become an important economic feature in modern business; in fact, it is the very life, the vital part of our present exchanges and chambers of commerce. Speculation is not a creature of modern invention, but has existed as long as there has been trade of any kind; it is only since the eighteenth century that it has become highly organized in the routine of business to the extent of becoming an indispensable factor in economic production, and the modern speculative machinery is now one of the most important factors in determining price.

The word "speculation" connotes to the average mind such ideas as gambling; in fact, it is frequently thought of as a synonym for gambling. Naturally, such an interpretation and suggestion is extremely odious to the lay and professional mind, and a popular prejudice has arisen against anything connected with speculation, and especially against exchanges and chambers of commerce where such functions are carried on daily. This popular antipathy has been due largely to a lack of accurate knowledge and an understanding of the real significance of the terms. Especially is this true in respect to the terms "dealing in futures" and "hedging," terms of which few people, other than those actually engaged in the business, know the meaning, and they gather their ideas from the current reports

issued from time to time when evils have resulted from the practice and use of these usages of business.

It would be foolish to try absolutely to defend the methods and practices of speculation, "dealing in futures," "hedging," and "options," for it must be admitted that many evils have arisen through the use of these business usages and practices; but, on the other hand, it is equally true that a great amount of good is directly traceable to them, and moreover, such practices are, and no doubt always will be, vital factors in modern business. If this is true, then the important thing is to find out the exact nature of speculation, its legitimate functions, its use in the modern business world, and from these sources of information the question may be answered, "Is speculation a necessary part of the modern commercial machine?" Only after acquisition of such knowleuge, at least to a fair degree, will anyone be able to respond or answer to the spreading propaganda to wipe out all exchanges and chambers of commerce, which has started from the arousing of popular sentiment against these business machines. There has only been one real attempt to wipe out these exchanges and chambers—detailed information will be given later—and several attempts have been made in other countries with varying degrees of success to regulate, and in the United States several different schemes have been introduced into Congress only one of which was ever successful in passing even one branch of Congress.

Speculation is not gambling; in fact differs materially from it. In speculation the risk already exists, no chances are created, but are already in existence, just as in the case of fire insurance the danger of fire exists long before there is any policy and long before the creation and development of fire insurance companies. In the case of fires the assumption of the risk has been taken over by organizations known as insurance companies. They have really done nothing else than speculate as to the future and the possibility of destruction of property by fire or other causes. During the course of years and by experience this risk has been reduced as far as possible to an accurate scientific basis and the companies can determine the rates to very small margins of accurateness. The insurance business has developed a special class of men who have undertaken the assumption of the risk of future loss by fire, tornado, and so forth; they merely assumed risks already in existence, because the great majority of business men and property owners did not wish to carry this risk themselves. In gambling, an unnecessary element of risk is created.

A man bets on the outcome of a certain event, a race for example, and he puts up his money as to the outcome; the outcome of the event was uncertain, but there was no necessity for creating this risk of losing his money on the probable results. Gambling is needless, and the risks it creates are not helpful. But in speculation, as in insurance, the risk already exists. When the farmer harvests his grain and stores it in his granary, he is subject to the change in price of the commodity; in other words, he is speculating. He does not know the amount of the total crop; that is, the supply or the demand, and consequently he can not determine the price. The only reason that he holds his grain is to wait for a better price than the one obtainable at the time of harvest. Price is an uncertain thing which is bound to fluctuate, and with the fluctuation there is a chance of loss to the farmer. When he thus keeps his crop he is assuming the risk of change in the price of grain; if the market goes up he is the winner; if it goes down he is the loser. In either case there is the element of speculation with its ever-present risk. Although there are insurance companies that will insure products to be carried from one place to another, there are no companies that will insure the carrying of products from one time to another; but instead of the development of insurance companies there has grown up a special class of men who have been willing to take over the risk of the change in price. These men have made a special study of the risks involved in the carrying over of commodities from time to time, they have endeavored to lessen the field of chance, to discover methods of penetrating the future, and to anticipate events affecting price and the sale of commodities. In other words, speculation is nothing else than foresight, and the most successful speculator is the one with the keenest foresight and the best ability of effectuating and devising means for effectuating the ends in view.

It must be remembered that the annual crop of grain is not sent to the market in a steady stream throughout the year, but is suddenly dumped on the market soon after harvest. Somebody must carry the amount needed in future months, the surplus, and must assume the risk of the changes in price. It is in this field of business that the speculator has appeared, and to the best advantage. If, at the harvest time the exact crop could be determined and the demand accurately ascertained, then the crop could be distributed over the year and an ideal or theoretical price would result.

But the future is uncertain. Events may arise which will change the entire aspect of the market and the crop can never be accurately estimated. Fluctuation is inevitable, and the speculators assume the risk because of their knowledge of conditions throughout the whole world, made possible by the modern means of communication, and because they are educated and are competent financially of performing this service, which is analogous to insurance. The general effect of speculation, contrary to popular opinion, is to moderate these fluctuations in value and to maintain the price in the fall months, when the crop is suddenly thrown on the market, and when under ordinary economic conditions the price would fall to low levels, and, on the other hand, tends to prevent exaggerated prices in the summer, when the crop is becoming exhausted. The speculator, in other words, distributes the crop over the year, and thus tends to steady prices and to keep them close to the theoretical price.

The question might be raised, Why can not the farmer or the local elevator man do his own trading without resorting to this class of speculators? Theoretically there is nothing to prevent such action, but it is not to the advantage of the farmer to do so.

In this modern world of business, with its swift means of transportation and highly developed system of communication, the local conditions are not the controlling factors in price. The modern market is the whole world, and every country contributes to this market and to the determination of price. A poor crop in Russia increases the demand in some other locality, a bountiful crop in Argentina influences the markets here in this country, the whole world contributes to the supply of grain and consequently to the determination of price. With this greater complexity in the business world it has become more and more difficult to ascertain the supply of grain and to compute the theoretical price. The farmer has not the sources of information regarding the conditions of other countries or does not keep in touch with conditions in other parts of the world, and yet the world conditions are determining the prices and the changes in values. In order to facilitate the interchange of grain and to keep in constant touch with world conditions a class of persons, called speculators, who operate upon the exchange have arisen and they have assumed the risk of the fluctuations and the effect of future events upon the price.

Mr. Irving Fisher, professor of political economy at Yale, in commenting upon speculation, said:

> Business men try not only to estimate the risks they must encounter and to adjust their accounts accordingly, but they also endeavor to avoid such risks altogether. One method in which risks may be reduced is by throwing risks into the hands of a special class of speculators.
>
> Where risks can not be reduced to a statistical basis and therefore can not be insured against, recourse is often had to the shifting of the risk into the hands of those who are willing to take it. Such persons are speculators. A speculator is usually fitted for his work by special knowledge, so that the risk to him, owing to superior foresight, is at the outset less than it would be to others. The indiscriminate prejudices against all speculations which is so often met with is beside the point, for were there no speculators the same risks would have to be borne by those less fitted to bear them.
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> Where speculation is based on independent knowledge its utility is enormous. It operates both to reduce risks by means of utilizing the special knowledge of speculators and also to shift risk from those who lack this knowledge to those who possess it. The consequence is that normally speculative property will gravitate into the hands of those most able to forecast its true income.

Prof. Seligman, a noted economist at Columbia University, says, in his Principles of Economics (1905):

> Speculation and the result of regular speculation is to steady prices. Speculation tends to equalize demand and supply, and by concentrating in the present the influences of the future it intensifies the normal factors and minimizes the market fluctuation.

"FUTURES."

A special form of speculation known as "dealing in futures," or simply "futures," has been the subject of the most extreme and adverse criticism. A "future," according to the use of the term in grain exchanges, is "the contract for the purchase and sale of grain to be delivered during some future months," usually the months of May, July, and September, or December. Any other months would be permissible, but these months have been determined by the movement of the crop.

A "future" does not call for a special or specific quantity of grain; it is merely a contract to deliver in the future a certain and specified amount. The man who sells may or may not have the grain in his possession at the time he makes the sale. The seller may think that the price will go down and that in the future he will be able to supply his contract by purchases made below his original contract sale. At the termination of his contract the seller is merely obligated to deliver the amount.

and he does this by delivering warehouse receipts on some licensed warehouse—that is, a warehouse which is recognized by the chamber as qualifying to the State regulations and doing business in a way satisfactory to the rules of the chamber. In Minneapolis, in all contracts for future delivery, it is understood that No. 1 northern wheat is to be supplied. The grades are determined not by the buyer or by the seller, but in Minnesota by a State inspection department which judges the quality and determines whether the grain is No. 1, or what it is. This grading process makes deals in "futures" possible, for a man may sell any amount of grain without actually at the time being in possession of the grain.

In the ordinary course of legitimate business there is an actual delivery contemplated by the party who sells to the party who buys. The party who buys does so because he knows that he will need grain along in May, or some other month in the future, for the purpose of carrying on his business, and he believes that the price at the time of this purchase is better than it will be in the future. For example, A knows that along in May he will need 50,000 bushels of wheat to carry on business for the rest of the year. He has not the storage capacity for keeping it from now until then, but he needs the wheat in May. He could wait until May and supply his need then at the prevailing market price; but he thinks that the present price and quotation on May wheat is better now than it will be along in May, so he contracts with some one, B, who is willing to supply A wheat in May. If the price goes down, A is the loser, and his profit is less than it would have been had he waited until May to buy his wheat. But B is the gainer, on the other hand, by the transaction. This is a simple illustration, and on the market the average dealings are far more complex; men are constantly selling and buying as the market varies from day to day as the report comes which they think will affect the future market.

"HEDGING."

In the business world futures are used as effective means of protection in the transaction and carrying on of the grain and milling business, and this protective application and appliance of futures in the legitimate business realm is known to the trade as hedging, which is really nothing less than insurance.

In many classes of produce and manufactured goods it is impossible for the owner of the articles to hedge and to protect himself from the fluctuations which might occur in the market, and there is no class of persons who will assume this risk for him; so, consequently, these products and manufactured articles must be "merchandised," that is, the owner, manufacturer, wholesaler, or retailer must assume this risk himself, with the result that he must take a large profit to justify the risk and to insure himself, for it is only in this way that these articles can be handled in safety, and only such articles of commerce as are not susceptible to speculative risk—as in the case of articles where the supply is always fairly constant and generally capable of accurate computation—can be handled on a narrow margin of profit.

A simple example of hedging will illustrate the effects of this feature of the market and the use to which it is put:

A farmers' elevator out in some small country town buys wheat from the farmers soon after harvest for cash and stores this wheat in his elevator. Most farmers do not like to keep their grain on hand in their own buildings when the market price is reasonable at the time of harvest, as the market is always uncertain, and they would sooner have the spot cash for their products and grain, and in some instances they need the spot cash. The elevator man as soon as he purchases the wheat assumes the risk of price fluctuation and a possible loss or profit. The market may go up soon after his purchase and the elevator man sees a chance to sell his wheat that he has purchased for a future delivery at a profit of a few cents—for example, 4 cents. He knows that there is a possibility for a further rise, but this possibility is uncertain, and rather than take the chance he shoves it off on the speculator and is satisfied with his 4-cent assured profit. The elevator man has hedged his wheat; or, in other words, he has given the risk over to a speculator.

If the contract made by the elevator man called for delivery in May and the elevator operator did not wish to keep the wheat on hand that long, it would be a very natural thing for him to ship his wheat to the terminal market in the fall, arriving along in November. If the price of wheat had advanced 5 cents, he could sell this wheat, and apparently would be making a profit of 5 cents per bushel; but he has his contract, or hedge, to supply, and if the current price has gone up 5 cents the May price will likewise go up correspondingly, and in order to buy back his hedge he will have to pay 5 cents more than the original purchase price called for; so he is still left only the original profit of 4 cents.

On the other hand, should the market decline 5 cents and the wheat was shipped in November to the terminal market and sold, the elevator operator would apparently lose 5 cents per bushel, but if the current price goes down 5 cents May prices would go down to the same extent, so he could buy back his hedge at a profit of 5 cents, thus offsetting his loss, with the ultimate result that he would still have the original profit of 4 cents as contemplated.

On the other hand, the miller may want to purchase wheat to cover up his sales of flour which he has made in advance, basing his prices of the sale on the current market. If the price of wheat should go down along in May he would reap a greater profit on the sale of his flour than he had contemplated; but if the price should rise he would be obliged to supply the contract calling for flour, and his profit would be wiped out. Therefore he will go on the market and hedge his flour sales for future delivery by buying wheat for future delivery. By so doing he loses all chance at the speculative profits; but he is willing to forego this chance and is satisfied by a small profit, because he has also insured himself against speculative losses.

In fact, therefore, hedging is an insurance against a real and ever-present hazard in business. Every leading grain exchange renders in this respect a function as legitimate and useful as our life and fire insurance companies, and, in fact, they should be regarded as among the greatest insurance interests in existence. Here is a type of insurance that is so dangerous that no private insurance company has ever wanted to underwrite it. A purchaser of large amounts of grain and cotton who does not enter the future market for hedging purposes speculates as really as if he purchased the "future" for purely speculative reasons.

In the cotton business the Liverpool banks refuse in some instances to lend money on cotton in the warehouses unless it is hedged, and if money is lent on cotton not hedged the interest rates are invariably higher. The reason is evident, as the risk of loss in the change of prices is done away with and the price is assured; consequently the banker can depend upon the return of his capital.

The use of futures for hedging purposes is clearly within the realm of legitimate business and is a real insurance and security to the grain and milling business, preventing speculative profits and also speculative losses.

On the other hand, there is a large field of operations in the future market carried on by persons who deal in futures with no bona fide purpose or intent ever to deliver or to secure delivery. They are constantly watching the market and conditions affecting it, buying and selling, and taking the profits expressed in the difference between purchase and selling price. Such selling and buying is bound to affect the market to some extent, and at times is effectual in producing serious fluctuations in the market prices. Persons doing business for differences only, those who play the market for what there is in it, are the ones who try to manipulate prices and reap the benefits of the change thus artificially produced. These classes of persons have been responsible for the extreme criticism leveled against the exchanges, but the persons criticizing usually fail to distinguish between legitimate speculation, which includes hedging, but classify all speculation as unworthy, producing bad effects upon the market, and artificially manipulating prices.

In order to avoid adverse popular criticism and to bring the exchanges wholly within the realm of legitimate business it is the present problem of these exchanges to rid themselves of the evils of wild speculation and manipulation. These are the problems confronting the chambers of commerce for solution.

The Minneapolis Chamber has put itself on record as desiring to—

make Minneapolis a safe place for hedging, a real grain exchange, and a safe market without the chance for manipulation and the opportunity to corner any grain, and has evidenced a bona fide intention to effectuate these results by the adoption of rules and regulations, a few of which are hereafter enumerated:

Resolved, That offers to buy or sell large quantities of grain or seed for future delivery, with limitation requiring the buyer or seller to purchase or sell the entire amount offered, is not permissible and is hereby forbidden. All such offers to buy or sell grain or seeds must be open for acceptance by any member in lots of 5,000 or multiples thereof.

The spirit of this order is that pit trading shall be open and free. This is directed against the possibility of manipulators who come in on the floor and offer to sell all or none below the market price or offering to buy all or none above the market price, thus causing an artificial or manipulated change in the market price. If any such offer were made on the Minneapolis Chamber floor, more than one person could buy or

accept the offer, which would result in a loss to the person without the desired change in the market.

Another rule looks toward the prevention of corners. It reads:

SECTION 1. In all sales of grain for future delivery the grades shall be No. 1 northern wheat, No. 3 corn * * *: *Provided*, That on all sales of wheat No. 2 northern wheat, as established by joint board of grain appeals or other properly constituted authority of the State of Minnesota, may be delivered and applied at a discount of 3½ cents per bushel below the price of No. 1 northern wheat.

A corner is only possible when some person has ample means to get control of the supply in that market. The smaller the supply the greater the possibility for getting control and, conversely, the larger the supply the more difficult. Now, if there are a large amount of contracts out for May delivery, any person who can get control of the May wheat can ask a prohibitive prices from those persons who are bound to deliver according to contract, and thus the price is sent way up. But by this rule the seller, if he can not get No. 1 wheat, has the option of supplying No. 2 at a rate 3½ cents less than the price for No. 1 northern. The actual difference in value between the two grades is less than 3½ cents, so that the seller would endeavor to supply the No. 1 northern as per contract. It is next to impossible for any person to get control of the supply of both grades, and thus the risk of corners is minimized.

Realizing the unproductive results of dealing in futures with no intention to deliver, but for the mere purpose of dabbling in the market, the chamber has passed the following resolution, which helps in a large measure to shut out such persons:

Resolved, That the making of pretended or fictitious offers to buy or sell futures in pit trading is uncommercial conduct, and is hereby forbidden.

The purpose is to put an end to all bids or offers which are not made in good faith and intended to be carried out if accepted.

The Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce has attempted to secure concerted action of all the exchanges to formulate rules and regulations which make it difficult for the incompetent person to deal or work on the market, and, if possible, adopt such rules as would make it impossible for these persons to engage in speculative trading. In other words, they are endeavoring to keep out the manipulator, the so-called "lambs," who are nothing less than inexperienced persons who dabble on the market and take what are known as "fliers" or chances on the market conditions, which usually result in loss—or, to use the exchange phrase, they are "shorn." It is a big problem to keep these persons out and at the same time to keep the market open to the small elevator man and the farmer and offer them the opportunities for legitimate hedging of small quantities of grain. The question presents difficulties and the Minneapolis Chamber has expressed itself as willing to help in any propaganda which will look toward the abolition of the abuses and evils of an exchange and which will recognize the benefits and help the legitimate field of operations.

Several countries have made efforts to control or regulate exchanges, and especially trading in "futures." France has the most complete system and exercises the greatest control. In that country there is an authorized exchange, and the Government appoints 60 brokers, who are permitted to operate on the market, and they alone are given the license to operate. The rules of the market are formulated by the Government and enforced by the governmental machinery. Time operations or dealing in futures are not permitted, and the Government provides that all contracts for time operations shall be null and void. The markets have been greatly hampered in their work and the results are far from satisfactory, and would probably be entirely unworkable here in our larger exchanges.

In England several different methods of legislating against speculating had been tried and after six centuries of unsatisfactory legislation a commission was appointed to "inquire into the origin, objects, present constitution, customs, and usages of the London Stock Exchange." The report of this commission was published in the parliamentary bluebook (1878).

The commission reported:

In the main the existence of the stock exchange and the coercive action of the rules which it enforces upon the transaction of business and upon the conduct of its members have been salutary to the interests of the public. We wish to express our conviction that any external control which might be introduced by such a change should be exercised with a sparing hand. The existing body of rules and regulations have been formed with much care and are the result of long experience and vigilant attention of a body of persons intimately acquainted with the needs and exigencies of the community for whom they have legislated. Any attempt to reduce this rule to the limits of the ordinary laws of the land or to abolish all checks and safeguards not to be found in that law would, in our opinion, be detrimental to the honest and efficient control of business.

The report goes on further to absolutely uphold the purpose of the exchange and the legitimacy of speculation, pointing out the dangers of attempting to control by external pressure, but advocated the adoption of new rules through the creation of public sentiment and suggestions by the legislative body.

In Germany it was thought for a time that the Bourse was the cause of the low prices paid to the producer, and therefore in 1896 legislated against the Bourse and absolutely abolished the dealing in options and futures. The result was that Berlin, which at one time was the grain center of Germany, lost her prestige, and for a time the produce exchange went out of existence, but was later revived in 1900. The exchange was directly under the Government, who gave some control to a body known as the Elders of Berlin Merchants. In their annual report for 1899, the year when there was no exchange, they reported as follows:

The heavy loss suffered by the dealer choked with merchandise, difficulties experienced by the producers in disposing of their corn, and the depression in the milling industry were the features of the year.

Business was so restricted that many firms closed their doors altogether. The effect of the abolition of futures was supposed to be realized in the increased price paid to the producer, but the actual results were directly opposite to those expected and legislated against. During the period of high prices in the spring and the low prices in the fall the German quotations as rendered by the Government were below the New York prices; in fact, they were considerably below the American prices.

In 1900 the exchange was again opened, but the restriction on futures was not taken off. With the opening of the exchange conditions improved, but because of the lack of opportunity to deal in futures and options the exchange played little part in the determination of price, and business was paralyzed; effectual insurance against loss became extremely difficult and expensive, as the foreign markets—London and New York—had to be resorted to. The effect was to throw business into the American markets or other foreign markets, and these markets practically controlled the local price. Efforts were made to find substitutes for futures, but without any real degree of success. The condition of the German market and conditions is summarized in the report of the Elders of Berlin Merchants for 1901:

Prices on home markets were regulated chiefly by the American exchange, which derived the greatest advantage from the suppression of the business in futures and options in Germany. They were fully aware of this fact and had their quotations published and circulated all over the country. It can safely be stated that no transaction of any importance is made in Germany (1901) without being largely influenced by the American tendency.

Even the Government admitted that the laws had been "injurious to the public" and that "the dangers of speculation had increased," so in 1908 a new law was drafted which reinstated dealing in futures and options except in corn products and combed wool.

Germany, in 1896, laid the blame for the low prices being paid to the producer and all the evils connected with exchanges on speculation in futures and options, and declared that these elements were responsible for the fluctuations of price, and consequently they thought they would eliminate all these evils by destroying the source, with the consequent abolition of futures.

The American people to-day are making the same charges against our chambers and exchanges as the German people made in 1896. In Germany they tried to remedy the legitimate dealings in futures by destroying them. Germany has experienced the actual effects of the abolition of futures and options.

It is interesting to note that the very evils that were supposed to be removed by this legislation were, in fact, increased.

Prof. Henry Emery, of the Columbia University, made a study of the effects of the bourse law in Germany which may be enumerated as follows:

1. Fluctuations in prices have been increased rather than diminished. The corrective influence of the bear side of the market having been restricted the tendency to an inflated bull movement was increased in times of prosperity. This in turn made the danger of radical collapse all the greater in proportion as the bull movement was abnormal. The greater funds needed to carry stock on a cash basis further increased the danger when collapse was threatened. The result was an increased incentive to reckless speculation and manipulation.

2. The money market has been increasingly demoralized through the greater fluctuations in demand for funds to carry speculative cash accounts.

3. Business within the banks is done on the basis of exchange prices, but these became more fluctuating and subject to manipulation as the quantity of exchange dealings were diminished and were concentrated in a few hands. The advantages of a broad open market were lost. The object of the act has been to lessen the speculative influence over industrial undertakings. Its effect was to increase it.

4. The effect of interference, increased cost, and legal uncertainty was to drive business to foreign exchanges and diminish the power of the Berlin exchange in the field of international finance.

I have tried to do nothing more in these remarks than to give a short history of the grain trade as it has developed in this country and to show the different elements which enter into the business of merchandising grain. It is evident from the foregoing remarks that the development of elevators, elevator receipts, warehouses, as well as the system of weighing, inspection, grading, and markets, are all necessary to the economic handling of grain and serve a useful and important function which has grown up in response to an imperative demand for an efficient method of handling and marketing of produce. However, the relation of speculation to a modern market and its good and evil effects is debatable. But before we attempt to destroy the whole system of speculation we should first try to preserve the good in our attempt to eliminate the evil, and if that is impossible, then the speculative feature will have to give way.

Regulation in Interstate Commerce of Watchcases and Watch Movements.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. HENRY GOEKE,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 2, 1915.

Mr. GOEKE. Mr. Speaker, early in this Congress I introduced the bill H. R. 2972, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, of which committee I have the honor of being a member, having for its purpose the regulation in interstate commerce of watches and watchcases, and to prevent the transportation in interstate commerce of gold-filled or gold-plated watchcases bearing "time guarantees," and to prevent the misbranding of watch movements and watchcases. Extended hearings were had by the committee on the subjects of the bill, all of which have been printed, but for want of time and because of the press of other important business, it was impossible to obtain consideration of the measure in this Congress. The committee recently adopted a resolution in which it expresses its belief in the importance of giving early attention to this and kindred subjects, deeming it necessary in order to bring about fair dealing and prosperity to consumers as well as to the dealers in such articles, and expressing it as the sense and opinion of the committee that consideration of these subjects should be had by the committee at an early date during the next session of Congress, and strongly recommending such course.

The frauds perpetrated upon the public by resorting to the practices that I shall hereafter disclose are among the most flagrant evils that exist in the entire business world. Under the pretense of a guarantee that gold-filled watchcases are durable in wear and honest in ingredients and workmanship, the most unwarranted and exorbitant prices, entirely out of proportion to the value of the article offered, are obtained from the consumers. A large percentage of the people of this country are constantly being defrauded by the placing upon the market for sale misrepresented gold-filled watchcases and watch movements. In most cases retail dealers are not to blame for the impositions practiced upon the public. This particular fraud is universally carried on by so-called auction stores, and the owners of these auction stores are able to carry on and practice these frauds by reason of the dishonest manufacturers engaged in the business. Therefore the frauds practiced in this line of trade are, of course, made possible in the beginning by the manufacturer, and there is where it ought to be corrected.

The simple purpose of the pending bill is to require that gold-filled or gold-plated watchcases shall be placed upon the market in such a manner that the consumer may know whether he is getting a genuine article or a counterfeit. The proposed act does not prohibit the manufacture of an article and manufacturers may continue to turn out what they please, but its effect is to prohibit the shipment in interstate commerce of the articles mentioned unless they comply with the provisions of the bill.

The provisions of the bill are as follows:

Section 1 of the bill relates to gold-filled or gold-plated watchcases only, and prohibits the transportation in interstate commerce of gold-filled or gold-plated watchcases, which, or the tags, etc., attached to which, are stamped with the word "Guaranteed" or the word "Warranted" with or without other words indicating duration of wear or with any other words importing time or permanance.

Section 2 relates to gold-filled or gold-plated watchcases only, and prohibits the transportation in interstate commerce of gold-filled or gold-plated watchcases unless there be stamped or marked conspicuously and indelibly on the inner surface of the lids or caps of such watchcases the name or properly registered trade-mark of the maker or manufacturer thereof. It also provides that where the words "gold-filled" are stamped upon a watchcase such stamp shall be accompanied by a mark indicating the fineness of the gold contained in the case by karat. It defines what shall constitute a case marked "gold-filled"; providing that a watchcase marked "gold-filled" shall have a minimum thickness of gold of three one-thousandths of an inch for the outside of the backs, etc., and one one-thousandths of an inch for the inside of the backs, etc.

Section 3 relates to solid gold watchcases only, and provides that where the word "gold" is stamped upon a watchcase it shall be accompanied by words or marks indicating the carat or fineness of the gold or its alloy contained in such watchcase, and it further provides that the name or the properly registered trade-mark of the maker or manufacturer thereof shall be stamped on the inner surface of the lids or caps of such watchcase.

Section 4 relates to watch movements only, and prohibits the transportation in interstate commerce of any watch movement unless there be cut, engraved, or diesunk conspicuously and indelibly on the top plate of such movement the name or properly registered trade-mark of the manufacturer or maker thereof, and unless there also be cut, engraved, or diesunk on such top plate the number of jewels contained in, and the number of adjustments of, such watch movements, such numbers to be expressed both in words and Arabic numerals. This section also prohibits the improper marking of watch movements in respect to the number of their jewels and their adjustments.

Sections 5, 6, and 7 are administrative sections, and section 8, the last section, provides that the bill shall take effect six months after the date of its passage.

TIME GUARANTIES.

The use of "time guarantees" on gold-filled or gold-plated watchcases is prohibited by section 1. The "time guarantee," as applied to gold-filled or gold-plated watchcases, means a guarantee as to the length of time or number of years the gold on such plated watchcase will wear before the base metal shows through. Nothing in the section prevents a manufacturer from stating that the case is of a certain quality or kind of workmanship, but the prohibition goes to "time guarantees" only, and the use of the words "guaranteed" and "warranted," which have acquired by reason of long usage a limited meaning, to wit, time of wear, and in order to make the remedy really effective the use of said two words must be prohibited.

Time guarantees on gold-filled or gold-plated watchcases should be prohibited because of frauds practiced on the public which result from their use.

EVIL TO BE REMEDIED.

Frauds.—The opportunities for deception in the manufacture and sale of gold-filled or gold-plated watchcases have resulted in flagrant frauds on the public. The country is flooded with brass watchcases thinly plated with gold and stamped with guarantees of wear for long periods, generally for 20 years. Thousands of such watchcases are now on the market, containing less than 20 cents' worth of gold on them, which is guaranteed to wear for 20 or even 25 years, a thing utterly impossible. Such spurious marking is done in different ways:

First. Sometimes by the manufacturer, either of his own motion or at the request of a wholesale customer.

Second. After having left the manufacturer's hands without any guarantee, and sold for what they really are, the cases are then spuriously marked by dealers.

In either instance the consumer, at least, if not the retail dealer, is imposed upon, being induced to purchase an article whose wearing qualities are ridiculously below those of the so-called guaranty. Where the guaranty has been stamped by the dealer, to the purchaser it appears as the guaranty of the manufacturer, when it is the guaranty of an irresponsible and fraudulent dealer, and the manufacturer can not be held on the guaranty; and where it is stamped by the manufacturer, the latter is liable to go, and in many instances has gone, out of business, leaving quantities of cases with spurious and unredeemed guaranties in the hands of the dealers and consumers. Moreover, the guaranty is frequently accompanied by the name of a fictitious manufacturer, the real manufacturer concealing his identity. In these instances the unfortunate purchaser of

the watchcase is remediless when the plating of gold wears through. He then for the first time learns that he has a worthless brass case, and there is no one upon whom he can call to make it good. By reason of these fraudulent practices, the innocent purchaser is cheated. The reputation of the dealer suffers, and he loses the confidence of his customers. The honest manufacturer who attempts to put as much gold on his filled cases as he thinks will make them wear for the time for which they are guaranteed finds himself in ruinous competition with his dishonest competitor who places long-time guaranties of wear on watchcases which contain so little gold as to make them practically worthless.

The processes of manufacture of gold-filled or gold-plated watchcases are such as to make it impossible to tell the exact thickness of the plates of gold on a finished watchcase, and the length of time the gold plate on a gold-plated watchcase will wear depends upon the conditions under which it is worn, as well as the thickness of the plates of gold covering the base metal.

PROCESSES OF MANUFACTURE.

The stock from which gold-filled or gold-plated watchcases are made consists of a plate of gold soldered to each side of a bar of base metal and rolled to thickness. A bar of base metal about 1.060 inches in thickness has soldered to each side of it a bar of gold about 0.150 inch in thickness on the outside and 0.060 inch in thickness on the inside. This bar is then rolled down to the proper thickness required in a rolling mill. Great care must be exercised in preparing the base-metal bar, as well as the gold bars soldered thereto, in order to prevent too great a variation in the relative thickness of the base metal and the gold plates, which will result from a variation in the density or the consistency of the metal used.

Experience has shown that no two bars will reduce in exactly the same proportion, due to the variation in the density of the metals. After the metal has been rolled down to the requisite thickness, the stock is then taken to the presses and cut out, first in disks and then domed up to shape, and after being domed to shape the edges are turned over, making the snaps. After leaving the press department the pieces are taken to the turning department, where they are spun up to finished shapes. The various parts are then assembled and ready for the polisher and decorator. To secure a perfectly smooth surface the outside of the lids must be stoned off and polished down before being engraved or engine-turned.

There are a great many parts, trimmings, etc., for which the metal is prepared in the same manner as described above. If the case is to be engraved the design is cut into the gold by an engraver. If it is to be engine-turned it is placed in a machine and the desired decoration put on it by machinery.

While manufacturers aim in preparing the parts to put the gold on of sufficient thickness to finish up from thirty-five ten-thousandths to five-thousandths, yet the process of manufacture makes it impossible to determine the exact thickness of the plates of gold covering the base metal when the case is finished.

The evidence submitted would seem to justify the following conclusions:

1. It is impossible to tell the thickness of the plates of gold on a finished gold-filled watchcase without destroying the case, for the reason that the only way to test a case for actual thickness is to cut out a piece of the gold and measure it. This is done by eating the base metal out with acid, thereby ruining the case.

2. The thickness of the various plates of gold is sure to vary on all cases, and the processes of manufacture are such as to make it next to impossible to make them uniform. For instance, if 25 cases were made from one bar of gold, some of the cases being finished engine-turned, some engraved, and the others plain, it is improbable that any two of said cases, when finished, would show the same thickness of gold on the various plates.

3. The different parts of a properly constructed watchcase have different thicknesses of plates of gold for the centers, backs, caps, bezels, and outer and inner plates. In other words, all the parts are made from the same character of stock but from different pieces of stock, each of which is thicker or thinner than the others.

4. While manufacturers of gold-filled watchcases have certain thicknesses which they attempt to work to, yet, no matter how great care is exercised, there will always be more or less variation in the finished article. This is influenced by a great many things which are beyond absolute control. For instance, two meltings of gold of the same alloy will come out with different degrees of hardness, as will also different meltings of composition metals which form the filling. In consequence, when plating two bars of filled stock, though the relative proportion of the gold to the composition metal at the time of laying it on be identically the same, by the time these are rolled down to a thickness of stock for making the various parts of the case the thickness of the plates of gold may vary somewhat from that intended.

The various parts of a watchcase are formed in dies or by spinning operations, so that at times in certain places on parts of a case the gold may be stretched a little thinner, while in other parts it may be crowded in the die so as to make it a little thicker.

5. Engine turning and engraving a case always take off a certain amount of gold and make it impracticable to fix certain absolute standards of thickness, and one workman may take off more gold in engraving and engine turning a case than another.

6. An important matter that must be taken into consideration is the polishing. One case may have a few more scratches or imperfections in the surface and need more polishing than another, or one workman may be a little more careless in his work than another, thereby materially affecting the actual measurement of the plates of gold. Very often a case has to be repaired in some way so that it requires repolishing, which would again affect the thickness of the plates of gold, and very often jewelers will buff cases off which they have in stock, and this may again affect the thickness. Also, in soldering the joints, pendants, and so forth, the metal becomes oxidized and must pass through a pickeling solution of sulphuric acid, which removes the oxide and takes a small scale of the gold with it. From the processes of manufacture, therefore, the manufacturer who attempts to guarantee a watchcase, even though he had the means of knowing the conditions under which it would be worn, which is impossible, not being able to determine the thickness of the plates, would be only guessing at the length of time the watchcase would wear.

CONDITIONS OF WEAR.

The length of time a watchcase will wear depends upon the manner in which it is worn, so that no fixed standard can be determined or worked out as to the amount of gold that should be placed upon a filled watchcase in order to make it wear for a specified time. A watchcase in the pocket of an engineer or a stonemason, where the pocket is subjected to or contains more or less dust and grit, can not possible wear the length of time that a watchcase worn by a bookkeeper or a professional man, where the pocket is not subjected to dust and grit, would wear.

The evidence of fraud developed during the hearings on the bill were very complete. In this connection it was shown that six watch cases were submitted to Jacob B. Eckfeldt, assayer of the mint of the United States at Philadelphia, each of said watch cases being guaranteed for 20 years. Also, five watch cases were assayed by Henry W. Detmering, superintendent of the Dueber Watch Case Manufacturing Co. In each instance reports were rendered and submitted to the committee showing the amount of gold in each case.

EXHIBITS ILLUSTRATED IN HEARINGS AND REPRINT OF SPEECH.

Owing to a ruling of the Joint Committee on Printing, I am unable to print herewith exhibits of these cases with the assayers' reports thereon, as I would like to do, but invite your attention to the same as printed in the hearings before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. These exhibits, together with other illustrations bearing on this subject, will also be found in a reprint of this discourse.

Upon examination it will be found that the cases submitted to the assayers, as above mentioned, were all stamped "Warranted 20 years," but that, according to the assayers' reports, the gold contained in them ranged from 4.7 cents in value to 50 cents in value per case. Further, it will be found that each case bears a supposed name of a manufacturing company which in reality has no existence as such.

This spurious marking is done in different ways, sometimes by the manufacturer either of his own notion or at the request of a wholesale customer, and very often the spurious marks are placed upon the case after it has left the manufacturer's hands without any guaranty being stamped in the case. A very convincing exhibit showing how this is done was submitted during the hearings before the committee under affidavit. This exhibit will be found, as above mentioned, in copy of the hearings, as well as in reprint of this speech.

COURT-RECORD EVIDENCE.

The record in a suit brought in the United States Circuit Court for the Southern District of Ohio, between a certain watchcase company and a certain firm of wholesale dealers, shows that the defendant had ordered from plaintiff 19,000 so-called five-year watchcases to be stamped "Ohio Merc. Co., warranted 20 years," for which the defendant agreed to pay

$1.10 each. According to the pleadings about 6,000 of the cases were actually delivered, when the defendant refused to receive the balance, because, apparently, they were so bad that even he could not dispose of them. One of these watch cases, marked "Ohio Merc. Co., warranted 20 years," was assayed as having 4¼ cents worth of gold in it.

In addition to the foregoing evidence, and for the purpose of showing to what extent the guaranty is being used for the purpose of baiting innocent purchasers, an affidavit of Norman L. Schneider in regard to 12 watches, including cases, advertised as guaranteed from 5 to 20 years in a farm journal of general circulation, with facsimiles of the advertisements, was submitted to the committee during the hearings. Mr. Schneider sets out in his affidavit clearly the kind and nature of the articles he received by answering said advertisements. The guaranty was used as a strong argument in each advertisement to attract the prospective purchaser. The junk Mr. Schneider received in answering these advertisements almost fills a suit case. He got all kinds of jewelry in addition to the watches, all of which was simply junk and of no real value whatsoever. The 12 advertisements will be found illustrated in the prints mentioned above.

One of the methods used in guaranteeing watchcases for a specified number of years has been to place in each case a paper certificate. During the hearings there was submitted evidence of instances where these certificates were issued under a fictitious name, some of them in imitation of the names of reputable concerns, the guaranties being false in every particular. Forcible illustrations of this will be found as above mentioned.

Section 2 of the bill as originally drawn prohibits the transportation in interstate commerce of gold-filled or gold-plated watchcases unless there be stamped or marked conspicuously and indelibly on the inner surface of one of the lids or caps of such watchcase the name or properly registered trade-mark of the maker or manufacturer thereof. This provision, when enacted into law, will enable the purchaser or dealer to trace each case to its maker.

In order to fully carry out the purpose of the measure I have concluded, after careful study, that certain changes should be made in the pending bill, viz:

Section 2 should be amended so that it provides that watchcases stamped gold-filled shall be manufactured so as to comply with the following minimum requirements as to thickness and distribution of the gold.

First. The backs and the caps shall be made of two sheets of gold soldered, brazed, or otherwise affixed to inferior metal.

Second. The center, bezel, pendant, and bow shall be made of one sheet of gold soldered, brazed, or otherwise affixed to inferior metal.

Third. The thickness of the sheet of gold on the outside of backs, center, open-face bezel, pendant, and bow shall not be less than three one-thousandths of an inch.

Fourth. The thickness of the sheet of gold on the inside of the backs, both sides of the caps, and the outside of the hunting-case bezel shall not be less than one one-thousandth of an inch.

Fifth. Gold sheets of uniform carat fineness shall be applied to each part of every gold-filled case where gold is used.

Sixth. Any watchcase stamped gold-filled containing sheets of gold of greater thickness than three one-thousandths of an inch upon parts where three one-thousandths of an inch are therein provided may be marked or stamped by the manufacturer thereof in such a manner as will denote the thickness of the gold sheets so used, but in case such watchcase is so marked then such mark or marks shall state such thickness correctly.

Seventh. Whenever the thickness of the gold sheet is stamped in such watchcase it shall only refer to the thickness of the sheet of gold on the outside of the backs, the open-face bezel, the center, pendant, and bow, and in no instance shall the thickness of the gold on any of such parts be less than the mark indicating such thickness which may be stamped in the case. Such marks shall be in decimals indicating the thousandths of an inch.

Eighth. For testing purposes the thickness of the sheet of gold shall be determined by measurements at a point on such part of the watchcase where there has been no gold taken from or added to such watchcase by any process of decoration.

Ninth. Every watchcase stamped "gold-filled," in accordance with the terms and definitions provided therein, shall also have conspicuously stamped, die sunk, or engraved within such case the degree of carat or fineness of the gold sheets used.

Tenth. The carat fineness must be stamped in accordance with the requirements of the Vreeland law.

SECTION 3.

Section 3 as originally drawn provides that no watchcases stamped with the word "gold" shall be transported in interstate commerce unless the gold, or its alloy, of which such watchcase is composed shall not be less by more than three one-thousandths parts than 9 carats in fineness, and unless accompanying such word "gold," or any words or marks indicating gold or its alloy, and in close proximity thereto, there be also stamped, branded, engraved, or imprinted figures or marks indicating the carat or fineness of such gold or its alloy.

Pure gold is 24 carats fine. The original standard of manufacturers of gold watchcases was taken from the standard of foreign countries, such as England and France, in which countries the purity of the metals used in the arts has been regulated for years, so that by the infliction of severe penalties it was possible in those countries to keep the fineness and the purity of the gold used up to standard. In the early history of the manufacturing of gold watchcases in America 18 carat, 14 carat, and 10 carat were used. It was not considered advisable, either from a mechanical or commercial standpoint, to go lower than 10 carat. A minimum of 9 carat is provided by the laws of England, Canada, and Australia. Nine carat is probably the lowest that should be allowed, as it will stand the acid test and maintain its color. It would, therefore, seem that 9 carat is the proper minimum standard that should be fixed for gold watchcases in this country.

The 9-carat minimum provision of this section, however, should be eliminated.

The provision of section 3 that all watchcases marked "gold" or "solid gold" shall be stamped with figures or marks indicating the carat or fineness of such gold is a most important provision, for it will prevent the dishonest manufacturer or dealer from making a case of a very low carat of gold, marking it "gold," and then disposing of it to the unsuspecting public as an article of a very much higher grade of gold than it actually contains. The carat mark should be required to be stamped upon all cases marked "gold" or "solid gold."

This section (3) should be amended to provide:

First. That the name or properly registered trade-mark of the maker or manufacturer be required to be stamped on all gold cases.

Second. For the double and concurrent test provided in the Vreeland law for testing gold watchcases.

As heretofore stated, the 9-carat minimum provision of section 3 should be eliminated.

SECTION 4.

Section 4 should stand as originally introduced. This section prohibits the transportation in interstate commerce of any watch movement unless there be cut, engraved, or diesunk, conspicuously and indelibly, on the top plate of such watch movement the name or properly registered trade-mark of the manufacturer or maker thereof, and unless there also be cut, engraved, or diesunk on such top plate the number of jewels contained in and the number of adjustments of such watch movements, such numbers to be expressed both in words and in Arabic numerals.

This section also prohibits the improper marking of watch movements in respect to the number of their jewels and their adjustment.

In 1908 it was suggested to the committees of Congress that for the purpose of preventing frauds in the importation of watch movements a provision be written into the tariff law requiring that the number of jewels and adjustments be stamped upon the plates of all watch movements imported. These suggestions to Congress not only provided that the number of jewels and adjustments be stamped upon all watch movements imported, but provided that the name of the manufacturer as well be stamped upon the plates. Evidence submitted showed that it was the practice, which had become prevalent, for watches to be imported without any marks whatever upon the plates and, after they had been cleared, to have false marks engraved upon the plates of the movements; for instance, a 7-jewel watch would be marked 23 jewels; the movement not being adjusted within the scientific acceptance of the term "adjusted," would be marked adjusted three position, to heat and cold. Furthermore, a name would be engraved upon the plate, simulating the name of American railroad watches. These watches were then sold to the public at exorbitant profits under these fraudulent representations by watch droppers, auction houses, and in various ways. These fraudulently marked watches were frequently sold to railroad

men, in whose hands they were discovered by the officials of the railroad time-inspection service.

A great many letters and affidavits have been submitted in regard to these fraudulent practices. One instance is a good example of many. A prominent watch inspector says:

I have before me a Swiss-made watch which was brought into my office yesterday by a man who loaned a railroad employee $5 on the watch. The markings on this watch are as follows: "Missouri Pacific," "Specially adjusted," "Extra quality," "Highly 21 jeweled," "Swiss." I find it has five "jewels," made of glass; and the center "jewel," one of the most important bearings in the watch, has the appearance of a ruby, but upon examination we find it is made of red wax. The markings on this watch indicate that the figures giving the numbers of jewels at 21 were stamped on the plate after the watch passed through the customhouse. I have another watch movement before me, which was recently detected in the hands of a railroad employee. It bears the following markings on the plates: "Bell special," "23 Ruby jewels," "Adjusted." On the dial is also marked "Bell special." The number '23" was stamped on this watch evidently after it passed through the customhouse, as it is a very rough job, while the other lettering is plain and well done. This watch has only seven glass jewels. The general inside finish of both watches, and under the dial, is very rough and poor.

Such fraudulently marked watches are sold to the innocent customer at a profit of between 500 and 1,000 per cent.

A large business has been built up in America in cheap Swiss watches, made in imitation of American movements, by the use of false markings and fictitious names and initials to simulate the names of well-known American manufacturers of railroad watches. After the passage of the act of 1909, in order to carry on this practice, it was necessary to bring in the movements as material, for the reason that complete movements are required to be marked, and the result has been that large quantities of knock-down, cheap watch movements have been brought into this country, assembled and marked with the false markings, and sold to the innocent consumers as heretofore. In order to stop this practice, and to prevent any American manufacturer from marking his watches falsely, this section (4) was incorporated in the bill.

SECTION 5.

Section 5 of the bill will be made much stronger by amending so as to provide that the sale or importation in interstate commerce of watchcases or watch movements in violation of any of the provisions of the act shall be prima facie evidence that such violation was committed knowingly.

SECTION 7.

Section 7 of the bill should be amended by broadening the definition of the word "jewel" so as to include scientific rubies or sapphires and stones of equal hardness, provided they serve a mechanical purpose as a frictional bearing.

CANADA ABOLISHES TIME GUARANTEES.

E. M. Trowern, of Toronto, Canada, provisional secretary of the Retail Merchants' Association of Canada, where time guarantees on gold-filled and gold-plated watchcases have been prohibited by law for over seven years, has written the following strong letter upon this subject. This indorsement is of great importance, in view of the fact that it comes from a man who has been in close touch with the workings of the Canadian law, and who is in a position to know the benefits the public, as well as the legitimate dealer, will gain from the prohibition of time guarantees on gold-filled and gold-plated watchcases and the provisions of this bill.

Mr. AUGUST LOCH,
Chairman Special Committee,
The National Retail Jewelers' Association,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

DEAR SIR: I am in receipt of your esteemed favor of June 3, and also a copy of a bill which has been introduced in the United States Congress, and the brief accompanying same, all of which I have read over with a great deal of interest. I must apologize for the delay in answering your letter, owing to my absence from the city.

In reading over your letter, I can see that you have experienced in the United States the same troubles in connection with guarantees in filled watchcases as we have gone through in Canada.

Your bill seems to me to be a very good one, indeed, and as it is for the protection and in the interests of the watch-buying public at large, and works no hardship to anyone (except those who have been using the guarantees for the purpose of defrauding), there would seem to be no reason why your legislators should not take prompt action in passing this bill.

For many years the retail jewelers of Canada, who desired to build up their businesses upon a sound foundation and sell goods according to their merits, found themselves in competition with, and seriously handicapped by, those who were more anxious to secure exhorbitant profits than they were to secure for themselves a good reputation. As time passed on the evil became worse, and as competition grew more keen the unscrupulous dealers would have filled cases of an inferior quality bearing guarantees made for them, which were represented as being much better than they really were, and naturally the public were the ultimate sufferers.

The situation finally became so acute that the retail jewelers of Canada decided that the only way to correct this was through an act of Parliament prohibiting the stamping of guarantees in filled cases, and thus compelling goods to be sold on their merits, rather than on account of fictitious guarantees.

In due course this law was enacted by Parliament, and at the same time there was embodied in the act a provision that in articles made of solid gold the actual fineness of which must be made according to the carat of quality stamp on the article, and that no article should be stamped or represented as solid gold which was less than 9 carats in fineness—as anything below that can not be depended upon to hold its color in service and should not be represented as gold—and thus putting a stop to the frauds which had become so prevalent, of selling articles of gold stamped a much higher quality than they actually were.

The act also provided that watchcases and other articles must bear the name or registered trade-mark of the maker, in order that the manufacturer can be traced and held responsible for any misrepresentation.

The purpose of the act is to protect the honest retailer from the false advertisement and representation of unscrupulous competitors, and to protect the consumer from the frauds and misrepresentations which had become so prevalent.

When the act was first prepared and presented to the trade there was a fear expressed by a few that the abolition of the right to guarantee a gold-filled watchcase to wear for a certain number of years would mean a loss of sales, on account of the long time for which this custom had been established, but these fears have long since disappeared, and the result (after the law has been in effect for about seven years) has been greater stability and confidence, not only on the part of the public, but also as between the retailers, wholesalers, and manufacturers.

A little reflection regarding the guaranteeing of gold-filled cases will soon convince any honest retailer that he should not be a party to foisting upon his customer a condition that it is impossible for anyone to carry out, as each watchcase sold is subject to the varied conditions of the wearer; one case with twice as much gold on as another may only wear one-half the length of time.

It would readily be seen that a watchcase in the pocket of a railroad engineer, stonemason, farmer, mechanic, or anyone where the pocket becomes filled with dirt or grit, can not possibly wear for anything like the length of time as the same case in the pocket of a merchant, clerk, or anyone whose occupation is such that the pocket remains clean and free from dirt and grit.

In many instances watchcases which were stamped by the manufacturer with a five-year guaranty would fall into the hands of a dishonest dealer, who would stamp or engrave a 2 in front of the 5 and then sell them for a 25-year guaranty case.

From our personal experience of several years operating under the law prohibiting guaranties in Canada, I have no hesitation in saying that our brother retail jewelers in the United States will soon have cause to congratulate themselves if your legislature will pass the bill which has been introduced, and give you the relief asked for from this very pernicious system of guaranteeing filled cases. Watches will then be sold upon the reputation of the maker and the dealer and the merit of the goods, and the watch-buying public will be benefited thereby.

Wishing you every success in your undertaking, I am,

Sincerely, yours,

E. M. TROWERN,
Secretary Jewelers' Section.

CANADIAN LAW.

The United States and Canada have been the greatest markets for gold-filled and gold-plated watchcases. Comparatively few gold-filled watchcases are sold abroad. Canada, where gold-filled cases are extensively sold, about seven years ago, by an act of Parliament, prohibited the stampings of guaranties on gold or silver plated ware, including gold-filled and gold-plated watchcases. Canada thereby set a precedent for a similar law in this country. The Canadian act was first passed in 1906. The Canadian act assented to July 13, 1906, and cited as the "Gold and silver marking act, 1906," provides:

2. Everyone, being within the meaning of this act a dealer, is guilty of an indictable offense and is liable to the penalty by this act provided, who (c) makes use of any printed or written matter, or applies any mark guaranteeing or purporting to guarantee that the gold or silver on or in any article of the kind referred to in this section will wear or last for any specified time.

In 1912 the Canadian law was revised in a number of particulars and very materially strengthened and made more drastic in regard to the stamping of time guaranties on plated articles as follows:

14. Everyone is guilty of an indictable offense and liably on conviction thereof to a fine not exceeding $100, who, being a dealer within the meaning of this act, (a) applies to a plated article any mark which guarantees or purports to guarantee or induces or tends to induce a belief that the gold or silver with which the article is plated will wear or last for any time, whether specified or not; (b) makes in Canada, sells in Canada, or imports or otherwise brings into Canada any plated article to which any such mark is applied; (c) in Canada prints, causes to be printed, issues, publishes, or otherwise makes use of any printed matter of the nature of an advertisement guaranteeing or purporting to guarantee or inducing or tending to induce a belief that the gold or silver with which a plated article is plated will wear or last for any time, whether specified or not; (d) imports or otherwise brings into Canada any such printed or written matter; (e) attempts to commit any offense described in the foregoing paragraphs of this section.

Careful investigation of the results of the operation of the Canadian law proves that it has been extremely satisfactory.

LEGISLATION UP TO DATE ON THE SUBJECT.

(*a*) United States assay law.—In 1905 Congress passed an act to prevent the use of devices calculated to convey the impression that the United States Government certifies to the quality of gold or silver used in the arts. This law, known to the trade as the United States assay law, was the first enactment by Congress tending toward an abatement of frauds in interstate commerce in the manufacture and sale of articles manufactured from gold or silver.

(b) Gold-stamping law.—In 1906 Congress enacted the gold-stamping law. The President signed the national gold-stamping law on June 13, 1906, which was an important step in the right direction and which has tended to prevent fraud by dishonest manufacturers and dealers in spuriously marked articles of gold and silver.

INDORSEMENTS OF THE BILL.

This proposed legislation has been generally indorsed, as will be seen from the following:

The American National Retailer Jewelers' Association, with 26 State retail jewelers' associations affiliated, unanimously approves this bill.

The National wholesale Jewelers' Association passed resolution approving elimination of time guaranties.

Detroit Jewelers' Board of Trade passed resolution indorsing bill.

Idaho retail Jewelers' Association unanimously passed resolution approving bill.

Illinois Retail Jewelers' Association unanimously passed resolution approving bill.

Indiana Retail Jewelers' Association unanimously passed resolution approving bill.

Kansas Retail Jewelers' Association unanimously passed resolution approving bill.

Maryland Retail Jewelers' Association unanimously passed resolution approving bill.

Michigan Retail Jewelers' Association unanimously passed resolution approving bill.

Minnesota Retail Jewelers' Association unanimously passed resolution approving bill.

Missouri Society of Retail Jewelers unanimously passed resolution approving bill.

New Jersey Retail Jewelers' Association unanimously passed resolution approving bill.

New York Retail Jewelers' Association unanimously passed resolution approving bill.

North Carolina Retail Jewelers' Association unanimously passed resolution approving bill.

North Dakota Retail Jewelers' Association unanimously passed resolution approving bill.

Ohio Retail Jewelers' Association unanimously passed resolution approving bill.

Oklahoma Retail Jewelers' Association unanimously passed resolution approving bill.

Pennsylvania Retail Jewelers' Association unanimously passed resolution approving bill.

South Dakota Retail Jewelers' Association unanimously passed resolution approving bill.

Texas Retail Jewelers' Association unanimously passed resolution approving bill.

Virginia Retail Jewelers' Association unanimously passed resolution approving bill.

Washington Retail Jewelers' Association unanimously passed resolution approving bill.

West Virginia Retail Jewelers' Association unanimously passed resolution approving bill.

Wisconsin Retail Jewelers' Association unanimously passed resolution approving bill.

Colorado Retail Jewelers' Association unanimously passed resolution approving bill.

Arkansas Retail Jewelers' Association approve eliminating time guaranties.

Iowa Retail Jewelers' Association approve eliminating time guaranties.

Maine Retail Jewelers' Association approve eliminating time guaranties.

Nebraska Retail Jewelers' Association approve eliminating time guaranties.

The Pacific Coast Gold and Silversmiths' Association approve elimination of time guaranties.

Retail jewelers in States not having associations indorsed bill: Laramie and Cheyenne, Wyo., and Reno, Nev.

Mid-year conference of officers and committees of the American National Retail Jewelers' Association, held at Chicago, January 14, 15, and 16, 1914, approved bill and proposed amendments.

The Connecticut Retail Jewelers' Association on January 27, 1914, unanimously passed resolution approving bill.

The Southwestern Michigan Retail Jewelers' Association on February 2, 1914, unanimously passed resolution approving bill.

Maine Retail Jewelers' Association on February 10, 1914, again unanimously passed resolution approving bill.

The Nebraska Retail Jewelers' Association on February 17, 1914, again passed resolution unanimously indorsing bill.

Minnesota Retail Jewelers' Association on February 25, 1914, again passed resolution unanimously indorsing bill.

Northwestern Wholesale Jewelers' Association in March, 1914, unanimously passed resolution indorsing bill.

Oklahoma Retail Jewelers' Association on April 15, 1914, again unanimously passed resolution indorsing bill.

Ohio Retail Jewelers' Association on April 22, 1914, again unanimously passed resolution indorsing bill.

The Pacific Coast Gold and Silversmiths' Association on April 21, 1914, unanimously passed resolution indorsing bill.

Macon (Ga.) Jewelers' Association filed letter approving bill.

Iowa Retail Jewelers' Association on April 15, 1914, unanimously indorsed bill.

West Virginia Retail Jewelers' Association on May 5, 1914, again unanimously passed resolution indorsing bill.

Virginia Retail Jewelers' Association on May 14, 1914, again unanimously approved bill.

New York Retail Jewelers' Association in annual convention in 1914 again passed resolution approving bill.

May 6, 1914, Retail Jewelers' Association at Tucson, Ariz., approved bill.

Pennsylvania Retail Jewelers' Association in annual convention at Philadelphia on May 20, 1914, again unanimously approved bill.

Maryland, Delaware, and Virginia Peninsula Retail Jewelers' Association in annual convention at Salisbury, Md., on June 3, 1914, unanimously approved bill.

The Jewelers' Guild of Philadelphia on June 4, 1914, unanimously approved bill.

The North Dakota Retail Jewelers' Association on June 10, 1914, at Minot, N. Dak., again unanimously approved bill.

North Carolina Retail Jewelers' Association in annual convention at Asheville, N. C., on June 24, 1914, again unanimously approved bill.

Wisconsin Retail Jewelers' Association in annual convention assembled at Milwaukee on July 9, 1914, again unanimously approved bill.

Indiana Retail Jewelers' Association in annual convention assembled at Laporte, Ind., on July 22, 1914, again unanimously approved bill.

Utah Retail Jewelers' Association in annual convention assembled at Salt Lake City, on August 3, again unanimously approved bill.

Idaho Retail Jewelers' Association at Boise, Idaho, in annual convention assembled, August 6, 1914, again unanimously approved bill.

Washington Retail Jewelers' Association in annual convention assembled at Seattle on August 10, 1914, again unanimously approved bill.

The Oregon Retail Jewelers' Association in annual convention assembled at Portland on August 14, 1914, again unanimously approved bill.

The American National Retail Jewelers' Association in annual convention assembled at Chicago, in August, 1914, unanimously approved report of special legislative committee relative to this legislation. Strong resolutions were passed urging Congress to pass the bill.

Twenty thousand retail jewelers in America have expressed their approval of the bill individually by writing thousands of letters indorsing its provisions and commending it as a public measure of great importance to the purchasing public as well as to all honest dealers.

I have discussed this subject at length in the hope of being able to convince the House, as well as the country, first, that the fradulent practices complained of by the honest jewelry manufacturer and retailer are a reality and do great harm not only to them, but to the consumers who buy these spurious articles without knowledge of the existence of these frauds; and, secondly, that the legislation proposed is necessary in order to put a stop to them. As my services in Congress will come to an end with the termination of this session, I will, of course, not be in a position to continue the work of bringing about the enactment of this legislation. I hope, however, that my remarks on this subject may appeal to the Members-elect of the next Congress with sufficient force that the legislation under consideration may be speedily enacted, and thus afford the remedy that will quickly and effectually eliminate from the business world this almost criminal trade practice. I feel confident that the mere publicity given to these frauds by reason of bringing the matter to the attention of the country will make it more difficult in the future for men now engaged in this fraudulent trade to thrive and prosper. For dishonest, crooked, and fraudulent business methods and practices such as those to which I have referred, amounting to nothing more or less than a swindle, can never continue to exist under the searchlight of publicity; but it is not possible to inform everybody, and therefore the ignorant and uninformed or those not in a position to receive information and

who are frequently the least able to bear the injury suffer by permitting these trade frauds to be practiced. The honest manufacturer who is willing to have his workmanship as well as the quality of the article which he holds out for sale to the public tested and examined, the responsible retail and wholesale jewelers who are liable for their business transactions and believe in fair and honest dealing, ought certainly to be protected by law against the unfair and dishonest competitor who now resorts, free from fear of being punished by law, to the use of fraud and misrepresentation in order to out strip them by the sale of his spurious articles to the unsuspecting consumers. I do not believe that any fair-minded person who believes in honest business methods will hesitate to say that legislation of this character ought to be enacted. Certain it is that no honest man can defend such frauds or advocate their existence or continuance. To do so would be to tolerate dishonesty and cheating.

While I greatly regret that the state of business in this Congress has been such that it has been impossible to secure consideration of this legislation, I feel that my labor in behalf of the same has not altogether been in vain if it will result in bringing the subject again to the attention of Congress in its next session. For, though I shall not be here to give the matter further attention, I am sure that some one, perhaps more able than myself to champion the cause, will take it up and bring it to a successful conclusion.

Agricultural Appropriation Bill—Discrimination Against the Ports of the Cotton States.

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES L. BARTLETT,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 28, 1915.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 20415) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916.

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment: On page 74, at end of line 2, after "$50,000," add the following:

Provided, That no part of the sum in this paragraph or this act appropriated shall be used or expended in the enforcing of any rules or regulations promulgated by the Secretary of Agriculture which have for their purpose and intention to, and do in effect, give preference to the ports of one State over those of another.

This amendment is not subject to a point of order made by the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. LEVER]; it is simply a limitation. Mr. Chairman, I know it is late, but I have waited for two days in order to offer this amendment. This amendment is offered for this reason, and it is in the language of the Constitution of the United States, the exact language, which I will now quote:

"Article 1, section 8, paragraph 6: No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over another."

The purpose of this amendment is to prevent what would be a great injury to the cotton States that manufacture cotton, the States of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. Some time last year a campaign was inaugurated for the purpose of preventing the southern States from having an opportunity to purchase Egyptian cotton. It was proposed to exclude the importation of Egyptian cotton from the ports of the cotton-producing States but admit to certain ports in the non-cotton-producing States.

This would work serious injury to many manufacturing institutions in the South. I read a letter from the president of the Bibb Manufacturing Co., of Georgia, to show what effect it would have on the business of that company.

BIBB MANUFACTURING CO.,
Macon, Ga., May 20, 1914.

Hon. CHAS. L. BARTLETT,
Care House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 18th instant is duly to hand, and I must say that what you write and the inclosures you send of the proposed action to be taken by the Department of Agriculture gives us a great deal of concern. I alluded to this in postscript of my letter to you yesterday.

This would be for us about as bad as the Edwards bill, and would absolutely, in my judgment, paralyze all the fine yarn mills in the South and turn all the business over to northern and European mills. I think all the southern mills would be absolutely willing to have a Government inspector in their picker room where Egyptian cotton is opened, and if necessary, they themselves pay the wages of such an inspector, rather than have this sort of a proposition go through. So far as the Bibb Manufacturing Co. is concerned, and we think it true of all southern fine yarn mills—all the product of these mills, so far as waste is concerned, is shipped North. There is absolutely no seed that can come out of this cotton that is fit to be used for planting purposes. There is no part of the waste that could in any possible way, in my judgment, be scattered over the country.

Of course, you understood the matter perfectly right—how much New England would jubilate if these restrictions were put on the South.

We are good Democrats in the South, and it does seem to me that we are entitled to some consideration from a Democratic administration.

We are trying to raise long staple cotton out West. We are continually trying to raise it in the South—sea-island, Floradora, and other long staple varieties of cotton—but we can not spin any of this cotton successfully if we should be restricted to it alone. There are competitors in Europe and New England who have a quarter of a million bales of Egyptian cotton that is raised annually to draw from.

There would be one way to deal with this question.

If Egyptian cotton were prohibited from the whole country, if a prohibitive tariff were put on the importation of fine yarns and all fine-yarn goods, of course we could spin up our crop of sea-island and fine staple cotton, but if a thing of this sort were attempted, every automobile manufacturer in the country and the people themselves would raise a howl that would go from one end of the country to the other.

The Bibb Manufacturing Co. itself has contracts outstanding for 1,000 bales of Egyptian cotton, 250 bales to be shipped in June, 250 in July, and 500 in August. If such a bill were passed, restricting the importation of this cotton the 1st of July, it would put us in a very serious position, indeed. Of course, we have goods sold largely to cover our production from this cotton. We could not fill our contracts—our people would be out of work and our Columbus property would be shut down.

I would thank you very much if you would take this matter up with Senator SMITH and the Secretary of Agriculture and advise us by wire of the possible rulings of the department. If they seriously contemplate passing such an order, we would like to know it at once, and, if necessary, I think it would be better, possibly, for the writer and Mr. Jordan to come to Washington rather than simply file a protest, except that you advise especially this proceeding.

Kindly wire me on receipt of this.

Yours, very truly, E. T. COMER, *President.*

This proposed action was taken for one reason, it was said, because the cotton factories in the South were accessible to the cotton fields; the cotton raised in the South was more accessible to its mills than to the mills not located there. The cotton manufacturers of the South had proceeded to that point in the manufacture of cotton goods where they were using Egyptian cotton to manufacture the finer grades of goods. It was then found out by those who were being hurt by the competition of the southern mills that they could manufacture cotton goods of all sorts more cheaply than they could be manufactured elsewhere, and that the competition could not be withstood unless some means were devised by which the Egyptian cotton could not find its way into the markets of the southern manufacturers. And so they said there was danger of a new kind of boll weevil being found in the Egyptian cotton, called the pink boll weevil, and they proceeded to develop this theory of protecting the crops of the South from the invasion of the pink boll weevil.

That effort did not originate in the South, where the crops were said to be threatened by the pink boll weevil, but it originated with the manufacturers of New England, who said we came too fiercely into competition with them in the use of Egyptian cotton in the manufacture of goods by the combination of Egyptian cotton with the short staple cotton. So we appealed to the Secretary of Agriculture, and we had a meeting or hearing some time in May, 1914. I have a copy of the proceedings here. At that hearing the whole matter was gone into. The manufacturers of cotton goods in the South appeared before this board, and showed that the danger was not great, and that by the use of certain means and preventives, which they agreed to use, such as the destruction of the waste that came out of the Egyptian cotton bales and the like, there was no danger. The Horticultural Board of the Agricultural Department came to the conclusion and decided that they would not undertake to resort to harsh means, which they claimed they had the right to take under the quarantine act passed in 1912, to exclude from the ports of the South all importations of Egyptian cotton, but said that if the southern manufacturers would comply with certain requirements that would be all that would be necessary to be done in order to prevent the introduction of this pink boll weevil. So our manufacturers had inspectors sent to the factories and they complied with the rules and regulations, and there has not been any indication that the pink boll weevil will invest the crops of the South.

However, these New England people, bringing into play the forces which started this propaganda, were not satisfied with that, as I am informed by the chairman of the Horticultural Board, or Federal board, in a communication dated January 18, 1915. They did not propose simply to act upon that, but they stated that the means of protection proposed requires the storage of cotton in normal warehouses for four months, in

order to make it absolutely sure that the insects contained in the bales have all perished, and they proposed that the admission of such foreign cotton, including the Hawaiian cotton, will only be permitted when limited to special ports of entry, including the ports of New York, Boston, and San Francisco, the idea being that if Egyptian cotton is imported into the ports of the South, that being a warmer climate, the danger from the pink boll weevil would be greater.

That opinion, however, must vanish when you see that the same order provides that these imports of Egyptian cotton shall be admitted to the port of San Francisco, and I apprehend that no man from California or San Francisco will at any time admit that the climate of San Francisco is not as good as that of Georgia, so far as healthfulness and warm, balmy air are concerned. Now, I say, in order to protect my people, and I have constituents——

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Georgia has expired.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that my colleague from Georgia may proceed for five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the gentleman's request?

* * * * * * *

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN] says we are not going to permit any more boll weevils in the South; and that you have got plenty of sea-island cotton in Georgia and elsewhere. There is no danger to the South from the new-found "pink boll weevil"—the gentleman is not informed on the subject. But regardless of that, we should observe the provisions of the Constitution. I am of that school of Democrats who do not believe we should exclude by law any product in order to give an advantage to the product of my State or to the product of the State of the gentleman from Alabama. I say this, that it has been demonstrated that this pretense of keeping the boll weevil out of the Southern States did not originate with anybody in the Southern cotton-growing States. It originated at the instance of the manufacturers in New England, who grew very anxious about our crop and the invasion of our crop by the boll weevil, not because they were anxious about our trouble with the boll weevil, but because we were competing too sharply with them in the manufacture of the cotton that was imported. It did not come from anybody who raises cotton in Georgia or Alabama or North or South Carolina, but the anxiety to protect us grows out of some other motive. There was a bill passed here in 1912, which I then resisted. In fact, I called attention to the fact that it gave to the Secretary of Agriculture powers which ought not to be given to him. My desire was to protect the people of my district and my State, and the people of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Alabama. They all had representatives in May, 1914, before the Secretary of Agriculture, resisting his proposed order.

And after they had been heard, after they had entered into an agreement with the Secretary of Agriculture to comply with all the demands he made upon them, without notice to them the Secretary of Agriculture, through this board, promulgated this order which will prevent them from buying Egyptian cotton for two years after it is imported into the ports of New York, Boston, or San Francisco. In order to protect my people I have simply raised over them the shield of the Constitution, in order that they may not be unduly discriminated against. When the States gave up the right to regulate interstate commerce between the States, when that was consented to, this provision was written into the Constitution, that Congress could not by any regulation of commerce discriminate or give preference to the ports of one State over those of another; and the Supreme Court in construing that provision has said that it is an inhibition against Congress passing any law or regulation of commerce or revenue that prefers the ports of one State over those of another.

Gentlemen, you may vote this amendment down, but you vote down the very words of the Constitution put in there to protect the people in an emergency like this; that is, that Congress or a department, even though it be the Department of Agriculture, can not by an order or regulation for revenue or commerce say that any article shall come into a port of New York, Boston, or San Francisco that can not go into the ports of Georgia, North Carolina, Mississippi or South Carolina.

Mr. Chairman, as a part of my remarks I submit parts of a letter from the chairman of the Horticultural Board.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
FEDERAL HORTICULTURAL BOARD,
Washington, D. C., January 18, 1915.

DEAR SIR: You will find inclosed a statement giving the present situation in relation to the pink boll worm, and outlining the action which will probably shortly be taken by the Department of Agriculture to prevent the establishment of the pink boll worm in this country. I will be very glad to receive from you any suggestions which you may wish to make.

Yours, very truly,

C. L. MARLATT,
Chairman Federal Horticultural Board.

PROPOSED ACTION TO PROTECT THE COTTON INDUSTRY OF THE UNITED STATES AGAINST THE PINK BOLL WORM.

A public hearing was held at the Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., May 15, 1914, on the three following proposed orders restricting the entry, movement, and utilization of foreign lint cotton, including Hawaiian cotton, with the object of preventing the introduction of the pink boll worm into our cotton-producing States.

(1) An order placing restrictions on the importation of lint cotton such as apply to the importation of nursery stock, so that the entry of such cotton may be limited to the Northern States. (2) A proposed quarantine order regulating the movement of imported lint cotton from Northern States to cotton-growing States. (3) A quarantine order proposing to restrict the movement of Hawaiian cotton to certain Northern States.

Action has been deferred on these orders to obtain fuller information in regard to the utilization of foreign lint cotton in southern mills, and to give practical trial to a plan proposed at this hearing of daily burning all picker waste from such cotton as a possible means of preventing the establishment of the pink boll worm. Tests have also been made of certain suggested means for disinfecting baled cotton. The results of this investigation, summarized below, indicate the need of promptly placing foreign lint cotton under the restrictions substantially as proposed at the hearing of May 15 last, and this notification and explanation of the action shortly to be taken is issued for the information of those interested.

EFFECT OF THE PROPOSED RESTRICTIONS.

The restrictions proposed and discussed at the public hearing of May 15, 1914, enumerated at the beginning of this announcement, now seems to be the only practicable method of excluding the pink boll worm from the United States. This action will place no important handicap on the importation and utilization of foreign cottons in the manufacturing districts north of the cotton-growing States. The admission of such foreign cotton, including Hawaiian cotton, under permit, will proceed as at present, but will be limited to special ports of entry, including the ports of New York, Boston, and San Francisco, through which practically all of the cotton now reaching the United States enters.

The proposed quarantine of certain Northern States into which foreign cotton will thus be allowed to enter is to provide means of regulating and controlling the movement of such imported cotton from the quarantined States to mills located in cotton-growing States. It is not contemplated to prohibit altogether the movement of such cotton to southern mills. The means of protection proposed is to require as a condition of such movement a period of storage of foreign cotton in northern warehouses for 24 months to make it absolutely sure that the insects which may be carried by the contained seeds have all perished. It has been experimentally shown with this insect, as with related species, that not all of the larvæ transform during the first summer following harvest and a certain percentage may therefor go over as larvæ to the second summer, hence the necessity of a 24-month storage requirement. This means, for example, that the Egyptian cotton, crop of 1914, would not be available for utilization in southern mills until October, 1916. The department is advised that foreign cotton is frequently kept in storage in this country for a considerable time, and it is therefore possible that the few southern mills which, from the nature of their trade, are dependent on this foreign cotton, can secure cotton which will meet this 24-month storage condition, and in the future provision to meet this requirement can be regularly made. Furthermore, it was brought out at the hearing that a sufficient quantity of long staple and Egyptian cotton is now produced in Arizonia and elsewhere in the South to meet any imperative need in southern mills.

The investigation of the use of foreign cottons in southern mills developed the fact that for the most part these cottons are not essential to the business of these mills, and most of the foreign cotton so used is of inferior grade and purchased simply because of its low market price. There appears to be but one large southern establishment whose output necessitates a good grade of Egyptian cotton.

Whatever hardship may be worked to the southern manufacturers by these restrictions will be vastly more than offset by the prevention of the entry of an insect which, from its record, would probably prove fully as disastrous as the boll weevil.

C. L. MARLATT,
Chairman Federal Horticultural Board.

JANUARY 18, 1915.

For a Fair Investigation of Personal Rural Credit Bills.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILAS R. BARTON,

OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 2, 1915.

Mr. BARTON. Mr. Speaker, of all the do-nothing attempts of any legislative body I ever heard of has been the efforts of the Sixty-third Congress on rural credit. It has created two rural-credit investigating bodies; one took a junketing trip to Europe and reported a poor land-mortgage bill and said that personal credit could "best be enacted by the various State legislatures." The other was composed of members of the two banking and currency committees, known as the Rural Credit Committee. It, too, reported a land-mortgage bill, which was an attempt to bind the farmers to the Federal Reserve Board, a

body which will for all time to come be dominated by bankers. But it failed to report a bill on personal rural credit, a system which has been tried for years in most European countries and proven most beneficial to the agricultural interests of those countries.

There are four resolutions now pending in Congress, one (S. J. Res. 232) introduced by Senator MORRIS SHEPPARD, and House joint resolutions 416, 417, and 430, introduced, respectively, by Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi, Mr. DOOLITTLE of Kansas, and Mr. HELGESEN of North Dakota, each being identical, and which provide for the creation of a commission before which farmers or associations of farmers may appear by their own experts with bills and prove them up during vacation, so as to have a bill or bills for the consideration of Congress when it convenes in December next.

Those resolutions provide the only means by which our farmers can hope to secure sound personal rural credit legislation, as it means an open investigation, and the farmer has everything to gain and nothing to lose by an open investigation of this subject by his own selected experts. How different this investigation would be compared to the monetary investigations conducted by the Sixty-third Congress. The chairmen of the committees selected the witnesses to establish their own theories and employed experts at Government expense to aid them in that effort. How is it possible to obtain the truth under such a method as that? It is silly to expect it. If we do not have a plan of investigation as is proposed under these resolutions for personal credit, the American farmer will never secure any legislation worth asking for.

It is gratifying to know that there is an attempt on the part of private initiative to enable the farmers to secure this fair plan of investigating this important subject, and the only hope for the country is for the rural press to take it up and keep at it from the adjournment of this Congress until the convening of the next and urge the people of the rural districts to ask their Members of Congress why they can not give this method of investigation to the farming interests. If the rural press will take it up and keep at it, the farmer will secure this investigation, and with a proper investigation nothing can prevent him from securing a sound and practical personal rural-credit system.

Mr. HELGESEN sets out in his resolution strong argument for an investigation along this line. He says:

Whereas none of the several rural-credit investigating bodies appointed by Congress within the past few years has drafted a personal rural-credit bill; and

Whereas personal rural credit is more necessary than a land-mortgage system, although such system is good so far as it goes; and

Whereas nearly every highly civilized country has in successful operation a personal rural-credit system through which the farmers of those countries obtain credit for productive purposes at low rates of interest and in sufficient amounts to enable them to produce agricultural products more economically than is done in this country, even though our farmers possess many natural advantages not enjoyed by them; and

Whereas the great European war now being waged is wasting capital at a rate never before approached, which condition is bound to result in materially effecting the world's capital and credit markets; and the American farmers having no organized credit machinery, it naturally follows that their interests will suffer more than any other interests in the country and make it more difficult for them to obtain credit in the future than it has been in the past; and

Whereas the function of a body to investigate a scientific question like credit is judicial in character and not legislative in any sense, because its chief mission is to ascertain the truth to form the basis of sound legislation, just as it is the mission of the court to ascertain the truth to form the basis of its judgment, and the function of an investigating body being judicial in character, it follows that "its machinery should conform to that of other judicial bodies, which provides that the interested parties may appear in open court and establish the merits of their respective contentions, and if the selfishly interested parties are brought into court to fight out their own battles in an orderly manner and on fair terms prescribed by the commission, then the Members of Congress would not be charged with representing any special interest: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Committees on Agriculture of the Senate and House of Representatives are hereby authorized, through a subcommittee, to investigate and hold hearings on such personad rural-credit bills as may be presented to them, in the manner hereinafter more specifically set forth, and make a report thereof not later than the 10th day of December next.

It is a farmers' farm credit and personal legislation we desire, not a bankers' bill. The criticism of Democrats like Mr. HOWARD, Mr. WINGO, Mr. BATHRICK, Mr. EAGLE prove to my mind that an honest effort has not been made, and will not be made if bankers are permitted to dominate the legislature. This body has already favored the big bankers in their Federal reserve act, why now turn the system of farm and personal credit over to them?

I predict that the farmers will demand a bill that cuts out bankers and middlemen margins, and legislation that will give them relief from their present condition of annually, semi-annually, in season and out of season, paying all their profits out in unjust payments.

The Sixty-third Congress.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SIMEON D. FESS,

OF OHIO.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 3 (legislative day of Tuesday, March 2), 1915.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, I have exercised my right, as I view it, to act the part of a Member of this House—to vote on every measure in accordance with my judgment. I have thus found myself at times supporting a bill brought into the House as an administration measure. From the very outset I promised myself not to oppose any measure which my judgment would approve simply because it was made an administration measure.

When the Federal reserve act was before us, I saw many good features, which I readily admitted in a speech on the floor of the House. There were in it objectionable features, which ought to have been omitted, such as the partisan feature of the board, which, in the hands of men willing to use it for partisan purposes, is serious; and other features, the possibilities of dangerous inflation and the dangerous redemption clause which could have placed the country upon the silver basis. When amendment preserving the gold standard, offered by myself, was accepted by the House, I agreed to vote for the bill, notwithstanding the other features I disliked. I did this with my eyes wide open to the facts that under the old law our country had made the most wonderful progress known to man. But the old law had some features that needed correction, and in the belief that the reserve act was largely copied after the recommendations of the Republican Monetary Commission, I voted for it.

THE MEXICAN SITUATION.

The President's refusal to recognize Huerta, because he had not come to the presidency in a constitutional manner and had not been able to maintain a state of order, had some influence upon me. In that extent I was in accord with him. In addition to these reasons, the complication growing out of the possible legal entanglements of a recognition on the matter of validating obligations of Mexico to other countries was with me a serious matter. I did not then, and do not now, believe President Wilson can be justified in his promulgation of the decree that at an election Huerta can not be a candidate. I did not then, and do not now, believe he was justified in the decree to Congress that "Huerta must go." I did not then, and do not now, believe he was justified in virtually becoming an ally of Villa in his efforts to expel Huerta. I did not then, and do not now, think the country will ever indorse the refusal to lend protection to our citizens in that country who were left to the alternative of relying upon the issues of the sword or to take refuge under foreign flags. The country can not reconcile the President's denial of Huerta's position as head of the Mexican nation with his command to him to salute our flag as an apology. These were steps which I, with other Republicans, deplored and criticized; yet when our troops were landed on foreign soil at Vera Cruz it was an act of war on our part. Believing that all partisan criticism should cease at the international line, I supported the President and asked from the floor of the House my Republican colleagues not to repeat the mistake of the Democrats in 1898 when they assaulted President McKinley for his inaction at a moment when the country was in acute danger. But this position does not indorse the landing at Vera Cruz as a mere opera bouffe. It did not mean a march up the hill in order to march down again.

The country wants to know why the landing was made. It asks whether it would have landed on British, German, or French soil? If not there, why on Mexican? The country wants to know what was gained by the death of a score of American soldiers, 200 Mexicans, and an expenditure of more than $15,000,000. Surely, if the only Government known in Mexico is vacated by order or assistance of our Army, then we have made ourselves responsible for what follows. Did the administration propose to meet such a contingency?

Is the country to understand that the President stated his final policy at Indianapolis when he insisted Mexico has the right to spill as much blood as she cares to? If so, I doubt the wisdom of it.

INTERSTATE TRADE LAW.

The interstate trade bill and the bill for regulating the issue of stocks and bonds I supported. They were recommended by Taft and are Republican measures. But I do not indorse the

extreme partisan character of the Trade Commission just named by the President. To me it is not reassuring to place the business of the country under the control of men whose principal activities known to the country are as party managers. The appointment of the secretary of the Democratic national committee, conducting a campaign in which the main issue was business heckling, may please the Democratic managers, but must be looked upon with seriousness by the average citizen of our country, and especially by those responsible for the country's investors of capital and employers of labor. This seriousness is not relieved by a close scrutiny of the rest of the commission.

BUSINESS HECKLING.

I supported the Alaskan and the conservation propositions of this Congress. But I opposed with all the vigor I possessed the Underwood bill; I opposed the Clayton bill and gave my reasons. I would not vote for any law that denies equal protection under the law to all men alike, not especially when it is offered as a sop for votes.

CANAL TOLLS.

I opposed the Panama tolls proposition because I refused to surrender our control of that gigantic enterprise, the greatest achievement of engineering known to mankind, for which we paid nearly $400,000,000, to any foreign country.

OUR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

In the matter of our relations with Europe, I pointed out February 18 our most acute situation, as it appeared to me, growing out of neutral rights. I also pointed out the remarkable similarity of the years immediately preceding the War of 1812 with the present time since the 1st of last August. In my judgment, from the viewpoint of the past, the administration has the most critical situation facing it since 1860. We are in the midst of events that are fraught with possibilities which are alarming to say the least. The retaliatory measures of both sides will affect the United States most of all. We may be called upon to lay an embargo as a retaliatory measure, as was done in 1807 by Jefferson. In that case dire distress will follow and widespread disaffection among our people will ensue. In addition, such an embargo will be regarded by nations, especially the allies, as an unneutral act.

The present situation will require the highest type of diplomacy to avoid the calamity of war. The administration will have the support of all parties in its effort to avoid such a fatality.

This situation loudly demands caution on all movements of international significance. It certainly will avoid the possibilities involved in the proposed ship-purchase bill.

THE SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

But, Mr. Speaker, many distinguished gentlemen grow eloquent in their recital of what they are pleased to term the achievements of the notable Democratic Congress just closing. To say the least, it takes a peculiar type of mind to applaud a program of legislation which within less than two years—to be exact, but a year and five months—has transformed a people happily employed and universally enjoying the fruits of the Nation's greatest era of prosperity to a state of distress that is taxing to the utmost extent the altruistic character of our people as in no other period in its history. If it be the province of Democratic Members to call the country's attention to what they style a notable Democratic Congress, surely no one will deny to a Republican his duty to note the reasons for the title. Two years ago the press carried the daily story of national achievement as written in the transactions of an independent people; independent because they were not seeking relief from charity organizations. In the campaign of 1912, when the Democrats promised free trade, our people were warned of the inevitable results. To-day, after one year and six months of free-trade legislation, with a banner year of nature's production, the front page of the daily newspaper portrays the task of church, employing every agency at its command; municipality, by issue of bonds for public works; and charitable associations, in attempts to relieve suffering by resorting to the employment of soup houses, bread lines, and lodging stations in every great city.

In the face of immediate suffering, the direct result of a program of legislation, all of which was predicted as an inevitable result of an abandonment of protection, a suffering that was not only predicted by Republican Members but pointed out by unerring argument, these Democratic orators continue to remind the country of this notable Democratic Congress. In the light of conditions incident to the work of the Congress, one asks whether there is anything that could possibly embarrass our Democratic friends.

ITS PARTISAN CHARACTER.

In a sense these men are correct in their title. No one will deny that this Congress is notable for its partisan character. It is notable in this regard, since this feature was unexpected from one of the type of the President. To begin with, it is headed by the most intense partisan since the days of Andrew Jackson. This is a surprise to the country, since the writer of history is usually looked upon as impartial to the facts of history. The President is not only giving an intense partisan administration, but a most arrogant treatment of a coordinate branch of the Government. No one will seriously deny that the Congress is but an echo of its head, which, in this case, is not the Speaker or floor leader, but the occupant of the White House. It moves and lives and has its being in Woodrow Wilson. The jitney line between the White House and Capitol Hill is not needed. Congress has virtually abdicated. It begins and ends in the White House. Even such independent Members as the chairman of the Appropriations Committee [Mr. FITZGERALD] admits that the House is but a ratifying body in matters of appropriation. The executive department hands down the estimates, and Congress as a matter of form applies the rubber stamp. He should have gone further and confessed that the Congress has ceased to be an integral department of government. We hear of a command to pay $25,000,000 to Colombia. The order is given to the Senate. The House, which must originate measures to pay money, was not even consulted, but contents itself with the function of a rubber stamp with the "Wilson" imprint, and in such a case does not even need to apply the stamp.

EXECUTIVE DOMINATION.

It is Wilson that initiates. It is Wilson that terminates. It is Wilson that says "go." It is Wilson that crys "ho," and Wilson that orders rest between heats. Most of the legislation of the Sixty-third Congress wears the well-known brand "'Tis Wilson, that's all." To the Senate he gives orders to pass a ship bill. Opposition to it is classified in a public address delivered to an Indiana audience but directed to the Nation—"Some misguided, others blind, but most of them ignorant." After the most determined opposition in the history of legislation, led by the Republicans, assisted by seven Democrats who insisted on their right to think, by order of the White House it was transferred from the Upper Chamber to the "House of Wilson" and ordered passed under a rule denying the right of amendment, permitting six-sevenths of one minute to each Member to discuss a measure at once revolutionary as a national issue, since it proposed to launch the Government into an enterprise which private capital had not successfully entered, and acutely critical as an international step because it proposed to send a Government-owned ship upon the sea at a time when half the world was in arms. The six hours allotted for discussion were interrupted by a dozen roll calls in a vain endeavor to compel absent Wilsonites to hear discussed the folly of their servility. There was as much time consumed in this way as in debate of the measure. Minds foreclosed by Executive orders are not subject to strong convictions. Why any debate? Why the sham, the opéra bouffe? Condemn in the cloakroom and vote approval on the floor. Time is called; debate closed; vote ordered; bill passed; in a body of 435 Members, many of whom involuntarily sacrificed all self-respect as well as conviction in order to avoid the charge of independent thinking, and all done in letter-perfect form by a House that to-day boasts of its history. What the Senate considered day and night for four weeks the House in a day neatly wrapped, carefully tied into a bundle, and obediently handed back to the Senate for further orders. The Senate rests until ordered to resume. Not even Jackson's time knows of such performances; and it is said by the historian he ruled as a Cæsar for eight years. Jackson was partisan from impulse; Wilson from political theory.

WILSON AS A PARTY LEADER.

If Jackson thus ruled eight years, it is pertinent to propound the query, "How long will Wilson rule?" Jackson believed himself responsible to the Nation, because he as President was the head of his party. Wilson regards himself responsible to the party, because he as a Democrat is the head of the Nation. Note his words:

> If any group of men should dare to break the solidarity of the Democratic team for any purpose or from any motives, theirs will be a most unenviable notoriety and a responsibility which will bring deep bitterness to them.

When he declared the Republican Party had not had a new idea in 30 years the public were inclined to accept it as a petulant utterance. The language was so unlike its author, and especially the President of the country. But he reminds the country that he speaks not as a politician but as a historian. This preposterous statement, which blindly ignores the country's era of greatest achievents, is quite in keeping with his treatment of the minority party in all matters of legislation in the Sixty-third

Congress, and is but a commentary of his political theory as expressed in his prior utterances on party government.

PARTISAN TENDENCIES.

It throws light upon the assault upon the civil service by one who has been for years a member of an association whose sole purpose was to prevent such assaults. It explains the star-chamber sessions of the majority members of the committees while considering great measures of no partisan significance. The procedure was based on the theory that the minority had no ideas worth considering. The Federal reserve act, based upon the Republican Monetary Commission's recommendation, was first handmade by the Executive, then passed over—not to the Banking and Currency Committee, but to the Democratic members of that committee, who excluded both Republican and Progressive members from all proceedings upon the basis that the majority members desired to caucus on the matters.

When the Democratic Members were sufficiently coached they called the caucus and steam rolled the bill through, after which it came to the House with the Executive stamp, with orders to pass it without amendment. The subserviency of the House on this, as upon all other measures, is emphasized by contrast with the procedure in the Senate, where some independence still obtains.

CAUCUS LEGISLATION.

The RECORD of this Sixty-third Congress as it affects the country is but an expurgated copy of the minutes of the Democratic caucus. Legislation is not an open-forum performance, it is a secret-caucus ex parte proceeding. Each measure bears the same earmarks.

(1) Executive handmade bill. Prepared in the White House, frequently by men with no legislative function or experience. Sent down to the Congress.

(2) Perfunctory consideration by Democratic members of the committees. This in order to fall within the rules of the House for introduction of bills.

(3) Caucus order. This not for the purpose of discussion, but quite the contrary—to prevent it. To bind and gag an unwilling minority of the majority, thereby controlling 435 Members by 146 Democrats.

(4) Special rule to gag the House. This to prevent all amendment and limit discussion so as to obviate exposure of gag methods.

(5) The steam roller in motion. The farce of the pretension of legislation when it is mere ratification.

This tells the story of the enactment of the administration measures.

CASES CITED.

The country needs but acquaint itself with the method of the enactment of the Underwood bill. The Democratic majority proposed 20 per cent on wool and a retention of a duty on sugar, but the White House ordered it otherwise, hence they go on the free list. This is but a recital of the story of the Federal reserve act, the tolls-repeal act, the Clayton Antitrust Act, the war-stamp act, all steam rolled through the House with but one conductor and no one needed to keep a clear track.

The ship-purchasing act, hauled through the House in a single day, after it had been held up in the Senate by aid of Democrats, is the most striking example of one-man legislation through men who "recognize their master's voice," of the many similar cases in this "notable Democratic Congress."

GAG RULE IN OPERATION.

The special-rule method of legislation, which in 16 years of Republican administration was employed but 110 times, in this single Congress has been resorted to over 60 times. In Republican times it was resorted to as an exception, in Democratic times as a rule.

The Democratic character of this legislation is shown in the assaults upon the civil-service or merit system, which has been undermined and which is rapidly being superseded by the old "To the victor belongs the spoils" system. It did it in the income-tax law, again in the deputy revenue collectors, again in the United States marshals, and Post Office Department. This administration, headed by a member of the United States Civil Service Commission, has stamped its disapproval of the merit system upon every administration measure. This extreme partisan character of the administration is not confined to the utterances of the President and his spokesmen. Strong opposition was offered to the Federal Reserve Board on the ground of partisan bias. It is well to note how it is displayed in the personnel of this board as it was finally constituted. No more flagrant violation of this privilege could be made than to choose a board of seven, all of whom were Democrats. In the Interstate Trade Commission just appointed we see the same abuse, where on a commission which by law must not have more than three members of the same party there is not a single Republican. But this is not the serious feature. The political activity of at least three of the five members as campaign managers in an election where the issue was persecution of business men, in which the country's industries were pilloried by the demagogue, who attacked men who had won success, makes the possibilities of this partisan commission a serious fact. Surely no Republican would care to share the odium that must inevitably abide with a program that is filled with such fatalities. The country's enterprises under the control of a commission of political workers unacquainted with business is a policy that should be viewed with great concern.

PROSTITUTION OF THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE.

The universal displacement of men trained in the Diplomatic Service of the country and serving the Nation with distinction, especially in Central and South America, by men whose only claim to recognition is partisan loyalty to the Secretary of State in the many campaigns conducted on his behalf, is a shameful prostitution of our Diplomatic Service which should be condemned by all citizens, Democrats as well as Republicans.

The most recent information on this angle of the notable character of this administration is the Vick letter of Mr. Bryan seeking vacancies in Santo Domingo for "deserving Democrats."

THE UNDERWOOD BILL.

This Sixty-third Congress may well be styled both Democratic and notable, first, because of the Underwood bill, the first performance on this program of national disaster. This measure was brought into the House on the 8th of April, 1913. Its author promised four things—(1) reduce the cost of living, (2) not to disturb business, (3) increase our foreign trade, (4) and raise revenue sufficient to run the Government.

On the 25th day of April, 1913, while this bill was under discussion, I said on the floor of the House in the first two minutes of my address in opposition to the measure, which could have but one effect:

> If this Democratic measure goes into effect, there certainly must be a reversal of public opinion, and it will as certainly come in a very short time—just as soon as the people can register their will. My judgment is that few things will be more sought after than a chance to vote.

This statement was made in the light of what had occurred in 1894, when the McKinley bill was repealed by the Wilson bill. This Underwood bill was passed in the House 15 days after the statement was made. It went to the Senate, where, after discussion for five months, 672 amendments were made. It was signed by the President October 3 and became a law the next day, the 4th of October, 1913. By the end of this Congress it will have been on the statute books one year and five months. What about the prophecy of the wish of the people to vote?

There may be some suggestion in the election of the 3d of November last, the real significance of which lies not in what was actually accomplished by the Republicans, but by the nearness with which they came to revolutionizing matters in the country. A Democratic majority of 145 was wiped out, with but a margin of 29 to go on in the rest of this administration. Prior to the 1st of August, before the war in Europe broke out, and before the Democratic leaders could claim the war as relief from the fatality of their folly, the records of the country's business will tell the story of the effects of the Underwood bill. Industries paralyzed, labor unemployed, capital uninvested, balance of trade against us, loss of gold to Europe, Treasury embarrassed. Nothwithstanding those records, which were constantly kept before the country by frequent recital from the floor of the House and Senate, to the utter discomfiture of the administration, Democratic Members of this House are heard to attribute the distress of the Nation to the European war. At first they denied the statement of fact of real conditions. Then they minimized the effects. Later, they attempted to explain them. It was a conspiracy to discount the Underwood law. Then it was placed on the failure of the Interstate Commerce Commission to allow an increase of rates. Then it was the abundant crops that clogged the markets. Finally, in May, the President explained it as merely psychologic, and on January 8 he pronounced it a state of mind. But the war by unanimous consent of Democrats has been voted as the best Democratic excuse and explanation of this Democratic legislation.

PROMISE VERSUS PERFORMANCE.

It is folly to ask whether the promise to reduce the cost of living was kept. What about our business, domestic and foreign? The first seven months of the Underwood bill, and that was before the war, saw a loss to American labor and capital of a quarter of a billion dollars. We imported $122,000,000 more and exported $126,000,000 less. Every dollar's worth of goods imported and every dollar's worth of goods we failed to export was so much loss to American labor. In these

months this legislation favored the foreign producer and cheap laborer by this sum, displaced from American enterprise in favor of European a sum that would have employed three quarters of a million men at $2 per day for the seven months. You can not buy an article from Europe, and at the same time the same article from America. If from Europe, we employ European labor. The very purpose of the law was to open our markets to the foreign producer. This is but one expression of the choler of this administration toward American enterprise.

RESULTS PREDICTED.

This direful condition was foreseen by Republicans, who declared it to be inevitable. They pointed in specific terms and figures what must follow such legislation. The reply to such declarations was made by its author, Mr. UNDERWOOD, in his famous threat that a Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, created for the purpose, would investigate any firm that would either close its doors or reduce its labor, either in time or wages. Behold, what a commentary upon that boast is the situation now, with every feature of industrial America prostrated until the demands of war-ridden Europe partially relieved the situation; with banks breaking, firms going into receiverships, with dividends passing, the President, on January 8, congratulated the country that banks were not embarrassed by paying dividends. What a comment. In the light of it, the personnel of the Trade Commission may be studied.

INSIDIOUS LOBBY.

Another item may here be examined. During the discussion of the Underwood bill, men whose very business existence was hanging upon the caprice of the legislator who, too often, sought popularity by crying out against those who had achieved success, these men of affairs who came to the Capital to seek a hearing upon proposed legislation by men who had, to say the most, the slightest ideas of the business they proposed to deal with, were stigmatized as a part of an insidious lobby. A Congressman must be protected from the temptation of influence. His knowledge of details of tariff legislation is sufficient and he must not see others; hence the fiasco of an investigation was ordered by both Senate and House. The Senate report is in innocuous desuetude, while the House found one Democratic Member worthy of chastisement for conduct not connected with the bill in question. We were told that any man who came to protest against this business-wrecking legislation was evilly disposed; that every Member who fought it was under the influence of the interests as against the people. The administration proposed to separate politics and business by destroying the latter by the former.

DEMOCRATIC.

In at least two items the title of this Congress claimed by the Democrats justify their contention. Its partisan character justifies the label "notable." It could well be styled a Government of Democrats for Democrats and by Democrats. Its paralyzing effects upon the country in every department of labor and capital distinguish it as Democratic. Let us specify:

It is Democratic in the sense that it wears the Wilson label. Not because that is Jeffersonian, but because modern Democracy has lost its former anchorage and is to-day absorbed in a political personality.

It is Democratic in the sense that the legislation was inspired by a pronounced and well-defined antagonism to American enterprise—opposition to business success and persecution of those who achieve success. Consult the campaign slogan of 1896 to 1915. Note the drift to socialism. Note the character of debate on the Underwood bill, also the business-distracting Clayton bill, also the character of debate on the currency bill, the attitude both in word and act of the President, and especially his last act, the Trade Commission.

It is Democratic in the manner of carrying into effect business-heckling legislation. No one seriously believes that the Clayton law will be enforced, but a mere sop to appease a class of voters quite numerous. This law rigidly enforced would open the penitentiary to most men who are in business, no matter how careful they might be.

It is Democratic in its nation-wide effect upon all classes of people. It is impossible to harm the producer without hurt to the consumer. You can not help the employee by harm to the employer. Legislation to hurt the business man without harm to all others is the merest demagogy.

NOTABLE AND DEMOCRATIC.

It is both notable and Democratic in that it abandons protection to embrace free trade; it surrenders the American market to the capture of European goods; it displaces American high-paid labor in order to employ European cheap-paid labor; it discourages American capital by destroying American investments for the sake of the foreigner.

This Sixty-third Congress is both Democratic and notable in that, true to its history, it reduces the output of the producer and thereby increases the cost to the consumer; it lowers the price paid to the workingman for his labor and increases the price paid by him for his living; it decreases his ability to sell his labor and increases his disability to buy bread; it transfers him from the mill to the street; it substitutes for steady employment at good wages, with which to maintain the American standard of living, the curse of enforced idleness and the inevitable soup house and bread line of Democratic times.

This Sixty-third Congress is both notable and Democratic in that it has adopted a revenue policy which prior to the outbreak of the war increased imports and decreased revenue; that is, it increased the sales of the European producer and decreased his burdens for the privilege of selling, while it decreased the sales of the American producer and increased his burdens in supplying revenue.

"REVENUE ONLY" LEGISLATION EXPENSIVE.

The free list removes the obstacle from the foreigner and places it upon the American. Our revenue depends upon duty paid upon imports; goods on the free list bear no such burden. Wool is ordered on the free list by Executive decree, hence a loss of $15,000,000 revenue on this alone. The American woolgrower discriminated against, his flocks and fleece decrease, the price of woolens, in the control of the importer, increases to the consumer, and the loss of revenues, heretofore paid by the foreigner, now paid by the American.

Sugar, by the same order, goes on the free list; the American sugar producer discriminated against, domestic production decreases, price to the consumer increases, the loss of nearly $60,000,000 of revenue, heretofore paid by the foreigner, now paid by the American.

THE DEMOCRATIC DEFICIENCY STAMP ACT.

This Congress is notoriously Democratic, in that it relieves the foreigner from paying this revenue by placing it upon our own people in the form of a stamp tax, and that, too, under the Democratic and demagogic pretense that they are legislating for the people. This Congress stamps its character in its abandonment of Republican protection as a revenue producer, which places the burden upon the foreigner, for the Democratic free-trade scheme of the peaceful war tax, which is a deficiency tax fastened upon our own people.

It thus surrenders a system of taxation that not only supplies the necessary revenue to run the Government, but enough to complete the most gigantic engineering enterprise—the Panama Canal—known to man, by paying for it out of current funds, for a system of free trade that not only fails to supply the necessary funds to care for current expenses, but which resorts to the infamous stamp tax—of $90,000,000, deceitfully and dishonestly styled war tax—a system that within less than one year and five months after its adoption sees the magnificent Republican balance of over $100,000,000 in the Treasury almost wiped out and an actual deficit from this date in March of 1913, under a Republican law, of $87,000,000, notwithstanding the war tax of $90,000,000 of but five months ago. In the face of these startling figures what sort or brand of courage does it require to still speak of any Congress with such a record with pride? It is that brand which is spelled with four letters.

EXPLANATIONS, EXCUSES, AND APOLOGIES.

This Congress is both Democratic and notable for the explanations, excuses, and apologies now offered for the universal disaster their legislation has caused. The country has not forgotten the hue and cry of the former free-trade period of 1894 to 1897. It is also both Democratic and notable for the remedies we now hear proposed. It is too soon to forget the 16 to 1 nostrum of the present Secretary of State in 1896 as a remedy for the folly of the Wilson bill. The voter will not forget that relief from Democratic soup houses and bread lines was the repeal of the Wilson bill and the enactment of the Dingley bill of 1897.

STRIKING INCONSISTENCY.

It is Democratic in the sense that it strikes to earth American enterprise, and that after the warning had been thundered at them when the blow was delivered, and then investigates why it does not get on its feet. It is both notable and Democratic when it takes away from labor its employment, and then sends a commission headed by an advanced type of this prejudiced administration in the person of one Walsh to ascertain why men are not at work. Could any further evidence of virulence against business success be adduced to gauge the purpose of present-day Democracy? His socialistic nostrums and "embezzled fortunes" are head lines to recommend the Democratic character of this administration to the country. But what would the fathers say could they read modern Democracy in the light of such representatives? It is Democratic in its

campaign of substituting the soup houses, the bread lines, the lodging places, the altruistic organization, to feed and clothe the distressed, for a system of American industry that gives employment at good wages to everyone who desires to work. It is Democratic in that it proposes charity instead of work, a Federal employment bureau instead of a mutual cooperation between labor and capital under a system of protection that would guarantee a reasonable profit to the employer and good wages to the employee.

It is Democratic in the theory that it can substitute psychology for prosperity, that a state of mind can supply the needed diet for the empty stomach to relieve the pang of hunger, the necessary clothing to dispel the blasts of winter.

It is Democratic in the sense that its "watchful-waiting" policy has created a "wakeful-watching" period for the Nation. It is Democratic in the sense that national prosperity means Democracy out of business, while Democratic prosperity means the country out of business.

INTERVIEW WITH A CONGRESSMAN IS LOBBYING—INTERVIEW WITH THE PRESIDENT IS LEGISLATION.

A man who seeks a hearing upon a proposed business-distracting program is per se an undesirable and should be stigmatized as a lobbyist. The man who opposes the laws which must inevitably paralyze all enterprise is not to be permitted an audience with the Congressman who represents his district. It is Democratic in the sense that such branding is to be applied only when the hearing is sought with legislators upon the theory that the character of their position renders them unsafe from temptation; hence the necessity of the Executive order. The head of the Nation can safely receive at the White House the banking interests, headed by the Morgans, the railroad interests and various other industries headed by the captains, while the lobby committee holds its sessions on Capitol Hill. In other words, what lobbying is to be done, in this as in other matters, will be committed into the hands of the "captain of the team." This Sixty-third Congress is both notable and Democratic in the sense that business control is safe so long as under the guardianship of men who are free from business prejudice because they have never been in business.

ATTEMPT TO SET CLASS AGAINST CLASS.

It is notable and Democratic in that after a campaign which covered much of the time since the famous days of the Bryan 16-to-1 cure-all, a campaign designed to set class against class, to create prejudice against the frugal and the successful, a campaign in which the bloated bondholder, the swollen fortunes were the general objectives and the Standard Oil and United States Steel were the particular issues, the golden opportunity arrives. Loud were the charges against the interests on behalf of the people. The Underwood bill is the remedy against the bloated bondholder and owners of swollen fortunes. The Clayton bill is the cure-all for the Standard Oil and United States Steel. Every man who takes the time to study the Clayton law will see it does not prevent the evils it professed to cure, but gives the monopolist a greater hold by displacing the small competitor, a fact that was time and again pointed out in the debate.

BIG BUSINESS BEFORE AND AFTER.

In the light of this campaign for political purposes against "big business," it would be well to note the recent change of front, the ship-registry law and the war-risk law, the first permitting foreign-built vessels owned by Americans to have our flag. In this way the Standard Oil Co., the United States Steel Co., and the United Fruit Co. steamships, numbering at least 200, up to this time denied the use of our flag, because built in foreign shipyards with cheap labor in competition with our own workmen, by this Democratic Congress, which rode into power in a campaign at the head of which was carried the banner denouncing the Standard Oil, may now use the flag.

In this connection it is useless to quote the campaign speech of the leader of Democracy upon the free-tolls proposition in contrast with his Executive order to the Congress a few months later.

PARTISANSHIP IN FEDERAL COMMISSIONS.

It is Democratic in the determination that the banking resources of the Nation must be placed under the control of a board of seven, six of whom are Democrats. This, after the most telling assaults from Republicans in the House against the possibility of converting this money agency into a political committee. It is Democratic as well as notable in the character of the Industrial Commission, headed by Walsh, which explains the widespread conviction that the vital affairs of the Nation are not intrusted to men of either wisdom or balance. The possibilities for good are entirely lost by the irresponsible mouthings of its chairman; while every man of business experience is bending his energies to save the country from a fatality of business ruin, this governmental agency, headed by a vituperative and prejudiced individual, is adding to the distress. It is Democratic, in the modern sense at least, in consuming months to find a suitable group—that is, suitable to one man—even though it brings the time to within a few days of adjournment of Congress, when the Senate, which from the beginning of the short session, by Executive order, has been busy and has left but a few days to pass supply bills which carry over a thousand million dollars, is expected to ratify the appointments of the Trade Commission. If not, recess appointments will be made. This latest is both notable and Democratic. I quote an editorial of the New York Sun, an independent paper with Democratic leanings:

THE NEW BUSINESS BOSSES.

With the announced appointments to the Federal Trade Commission, the circle of commission government of business is completed. Presumably if the Senate refuses to confirm his nominations the President will make recess appointments of them. Then all our important economic activities within the constitutional reach of Washington will proceed under national control, the Interstate Commerce Commission running transportation services, the Federal Reserve Board running the banks, and the Federal Trade Commission running manufacture and commerce.

The Secretary of Commerce some time ago invented the phrase "mental mourning" to describe what was in administration eyes a reprehensibly depressed business attitude toward the political creations of the new freedom, but in his choice for the Federal Trade Commission President Wilson has made it just so much harder for corporate enterprise to recover confidence. It may be said that there is nothing very much against his appointees except that there is nothing for them, but is not that bad enough from the business point of view?

Even the business career of Mr. Hurley, on which so much emphasis is laid, is not enough to alter the fact that it is a typical new freedom commission, such as might have been expected to emerge from the source which discovered the astonishing Walsh and put him at the head of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations. Is not the caliber of the Federal Trade Commission as a whole measured by the inspired intimation that George L. Record, of New Jersey, was deemed fit for a place upon it and failed to obtain it only because the President's home State had already had a copious share of Federal patronage?

If the first impression which the new Federal Trade Commission gives is that it reeks with politics, the fact is not surprising. It expresses the very law of the commission's being. The only qualification respecting the appointments to the commission was that "not more than three of the commissioners shall be members of the same political party." Nowhere in the law is there the slightest suggestion that some or all of the commissioners should be men of business experience. The only statutory restriction regarding them is political.

The law creating the new body of business regulators had its origin in the realm of politics; it did not emerge from the facts and necessities of business experience as did the Federal reserve act. Politics of a nonbusiness sort tends toward antibusiness politics.

There is always the chance, of course, that the performance of the Federal Trade Commission may be better than the promise of its beginnings. This, however, is all on which the business community has to rely in seeking, as it must, to make the best of the fresh manifestation of the meaning of the new freedom.

Let the Washington Post, an independent Democratic paper, speak upon the personnel of these men who by the President's decree are to have control of the business of the country. If the Senate hesitates, adjournment leaves open the way for recess appointment which makes the President supreme. If the commission are chosen upon the theory expressed at Indianapolis, "I have never been in business and therefore have no business prejudices," the questions which would otherwise arise would be cleared up. The Interstate Trade Commission is a Republican recommendation, initiated by Taft and very largely supported by Republicans; but the personnel is not Republican; it is extremely partisan, not having a single Republican in the list. Its importance is suggested by the following editorial:

PERSONNEL OF THE NEW TRADE COMMISSION.

The salary of each member of the new Federal Trade Commission is to be $10,000 a year and the term of each, after the commission is fully established, will be seven years.

This is a longer term than is granted to any officials of the Government, with the exception of judges.

The salary is larger than that paid to Senators or Representatives or judges of the circuit and district courts. The judges who will pass upon the findings of this commission receive $3,000 each less than members of the commission.

The builder of the Panama Canal, Col. George W. Goethals, receives only $10,000 a year.

The only officers of the Government receiving larger salaries are the President, Vice President, Speaker, justices of the Supreme Court, and certain ambassadors.

Congress thus manifested its appreciation of the great importance of the Federal Trade Commission and the necessity of obtaining the services of the ablest men in the country as members of the commission.

It is no reflection upon the caliber of the men nominated as members of the new commission to remark that they are not in the same class with justices of the circuit courts of the United States or with Col. Goethals or with scores of Members of the Senate and House. They have not had the training and experience of jurists or business men of large affairs. Only one of them may be included in the list of first-class business men. Two of them have been filling subordinate places

in the Government service. The other two are unknown and untried, bearing good reputations and all that, but without other qualifications than are possessed by millions of average Americans.

And yet this commission, so constituted, is to be placed in control of American commerce. It is to wield powers greater than those conferred upon any persons in the United States, with the exception of the President and the Supreme Court.

Can it be possible that the President exhausted the list of really strong, able men in this country, and was forced to make this feeble and unsatisfactory choice?

We can not believe that an appeal was made to the patriotism of men who, by reason of their great abilities and wide experience, should have been selected. The Trade Commission, if successful, will evolve into one of the most potent agencies of the Government, and no man is so conspicuous or so able that he would not be honoring himself by sharing in the task of establishing the new tribunal. Surely the President could have found—surely he can find—the right kind of men to insure the successful operation of this commission.

The Senate should reject the nominations sent in, making it plain that such action is not in disparagement of the personal or business standing of the men who have unfortunately accepted the nomination. Since Congress set a high standard for the character and composition of the new commission, the Senate should insist that the members composing it shall be men of the first rank.

DISCRIMINATION LEGISLATION.

Is it Democratic to order enacted a discrimination law which makes an act a crime when committed by one set of men and a virtue when committed by another. This character of legislation discloses the extent of certain influences operating upon our public men, and is of serious import. It may be Democratic to pass a law that will compel every business man to be more concerned in keeping out of the penitentiary than in succeeding in business, and then to appease the employers of labor by insuring the national chambers of commerce at their recent annual session in Washington that this handicap to business should not be too rigidly enforced. Can it mean that the measure was so much sop to catch votes, and business need not fear because the law will not be enforced? I quote an editorial from the Washington Post purporting to give the interpretation of the law:

THE ANTITRUST HANDICAP.

President Wilson, in his speech before the United States Chamber of Commerce last night, plainly indicated that in his opinion the antitrust legislation had gone a step too far when he advocated its amendment in a way to permit cooperation among American merchants and manufacturers in the search for trade in foreign markets. Drawing distinction between a corporation and combination, the President remits none of his opposition to the formation of monopolistic trusts. He merely at this time declares that in his judgment the law is too rigidly restricting the enterprise of American producers and shippers by making it impossible for them to cooperate effectively.

The modification of the antitrust statute to this end is not likely for some time. If there is an extra session of Congress, precipitated by the present blockade in the Senate, the matter may be considered then, though, unless it is made an administration measure and pressed vigorously as such, it is of doubtful success in the circumstances. The President, however, might fully justify the calling of an extra session on this ground alone, if the antitrust laws do, in fact, put a handicap upon American producers in their search for foreign markets.

PROSPERITY BY FIAT.

When attention is called to this harrowing program and the country is loudly calling for relief in a demand to "revise the tariff, repeal the war tax, abolish the deficit," we hear in reply more psychologic remedies proposed, such as substitution for business sense the slogans, "Made in America," or "Buy it now," or "Buy a bale of cotton," or "State of mind." And all this within less than two years after the disastrous legislation was placed upon the statute books. During the debate upon this program of legislation and whenever a plea was made by a Republican—and it was quite frequent—that the proposed legislation would operate most disastrously upon all classes of our people, especially the laborer, both skilled and unskilled, the demagogic, ready-made reply was always heard, "You propose to legislate for the interests, but we propose to legislate for the people." Think of it! "Legislate for the people" by displacing American products by foreign products. Loud was the boast of our Democratic orators and statesman that they would reduce the cost of living. Note the manner in which they have kept that pledge. Also note the profound silence of the majority side of this House when the question is mentioned. The demagogic character of that pledge is equaled by its insincerity, for no man of responsible reasoning ability would hold that the high cost of living is due to the tariff. Democrats know as well as Republicans that the way to reduce the cost of living is to multiply the product. Republican policy looks to encouraging production, but Democratic policy seeks purchases abroad and thus discourages American production. Cost of living is not lowered when you discourage production by legislation against it.

Increase of production will result from stimulation, not from strangulation. Legislation that reduces the supply without reducing the demand inevitably increases the cost of living. Psychology will whet the mind if pursued in the classroom, but it is not a substitute for the law of supply and demand. This legislation was proposed to increase our foreign trade. It did increase our imports up to the time of the war, but it decreased our exports for the same period. That sort of increase of foreign trade, which augments what we buy and reduces the amount we sell, is vicious and un-American.

EFFECTS OF THE WAR.

Since the war our imports have fallen off as was to be expected, and our exports have increased, as was known by all who exercised any thinking power. I said at the outbreak of the war, "Any man with a thimble full of brains must know and will recognize that Europe, with her production disarranged, if not almost totally held up, will depend upon America to feed her." I pointed out that any industrial history of the United States shows that our export trade began in the Crimean War, back in the fifties, when five of the nations now at war were then in arms. The production of those countries being disturbed, our Nation was called upon to supply them. So will it be in this war. Until this Nation lays an embargo, her exports will be simply fabulous. Half the world in arms totally disarranges production among the warring peoples. That taxes the neutral countries to their very limit of production to supply the belligerent countries.

Whatever advantages this country's industries, its capital and labor reap, these are due to the war, and will not continue long after its close. The demands of those countries upon the productive energies of their people when the war is over will see Europe again the workshop of the world. Labor will be still lower in those countries after this awful cataclysm is over, and our country will see a competition in due time, with labor underpaid, that must not be overlooked and which will prove an additional reason for the repeal of a "revenue only" tariff measure which does not raise sufficient revenue. This means a speedy substitution of a protective system.

A DEADLY PARALLEL OF 1914 WITH 1894.

At various times I have pointed out the deadly parallel with the prior free-trade period of 1894–1896, or the Cleveland free-trade period with the Wilson free-trade period. Republicans reminded the country that the same argument used in 1893–94 on behalf of the Wilson bill was employed 20 years later on behalf of the Underwood bill. Twenty years ago the story was brief. Democratic control, the Wilson bill—1894–1897—American markets opened to foreign-made goods by cheap labor; paralysis of industry; business distress; an army of the unemployed; capital in hiding; imports increasing; exports decreasing; balance of trade against us; gold going out of the country to settle balances; deficit in the treasury; issuance of bonds (1895).

When this record is examined for light to interpret the present situation it becomes a deadly parallel. Democratic control; the Underwood bill; a lower rate than the Wilson bill; American markets open to foreign-made goods; American labor and capital displaced by foreign labor and capital; paralysis of enterprise; business distress; labor out of employment; capital uninvested; imports in seven months increased $122,000,000; exports decreased same period $126,000,000; loss to American labor a quarter of a billion dollars, enough to keep three-fourths of a million men employed the seven months at $2 a day; balance of trade turning against us; gold going out of the country on an alarming scale; deficit in the Treasury.

The next step should have been an issuance of bonds, but no! This administration deceived itself into the belief that it could hide causes by the use of names—hence, "War Tax."

This is a record before the war and can not be affected by it, since it came too late. Since the war imports have fallen off somewhat, but exports have fabulously increased. Even the war can not overcome the injury of this legislation.

THE PEOPLE CAN NOT BE FOOLED ALL THE TIME.

The people of the country are impatient with the politician. His attempt to convince them that business was good is resented. "Psychology" is not a satisfactory explanation of the loss of opportunity. No sort of subterfuge can reconcile the fact that in 1912 the country was at the zenith of prosperity under a protective tariff that not only protected American capital and labor, but that raised sufficient revenue to run the Government without resorting either to the issue of bonds or the levy of a direct tax to make up the deficiency produced by a vicious revenue measure, and insulting the intelligence of the country by calling it a "war tax," when the country was at peace with all the world.

The people will not forget that the same trick was attempted back in 1896, when the present Secretary of State, under the slogan of "16 to 1," assured the country that all our suffering was due to the gold standard, and proposed the free coinage of silver as the cure-all for the evils into which free trade had precipitated us. This time it is not the money question, but it is a European war to which we owe all our misfortunes.

As the people 20 years ago refused to be misled by political propagandists and returned to a protective tariff as a permanent remedy, so they will refuse to be caught up by high-sounding phrasing of "New freedom," "Emancipation of business," "Constitution of peace," and "Watchful waiting," and will again turn to the party committed to the principle of protection.

It is difficult to understand the credulity that could see in the European war distress to American industry. It is the one only item to save us from the blighting effects of a bill that not only paralyzed our home industries but suggested the iniquitous stamp tax as a remedy, which at best can be but temporary. The war, in the extent that it disturbs European production, annuls foreign competition with our labor, the very purpose of a protective tariff. In that degree it leaves the American market to be supplied by our own producers, and loudly calls us to the foreign market, now unsupplied by the European producer, whose ability is arrested, if not destroyed.

The people of this country will not be deluded by such appeals, and they will register their protest in no uncertain tone. The elements which in 1914 prevented it will not be present in 1916. The work begun in 1914 will be completed by 1916.

DEMOCRATIC EXPENDITURE.

This Congress will be notable because of its position upon economy. In 1912 the Baltimore platform charged Republicans with "profligate extravagance" and pledged the party to bring the country back to Democratic simplicity. The first year its appropriations reached over $100,000,000 more than any Republican year in our history. This was in spite of the fight for economy led by a Republican which saved the country $30,000,000 on a single bill. To-day in spite of an alarming condition of the Treasury, with a deficit of $87,000,000, when compared with the corresponding day in 1913 under protection, notwithstanding the stamp tax of $90,000,000 now in operation, we are told the Colombian treaty, carrying $25,000,000 and an apology must be entered upon. We are also informed that the country must appropriate another $30,000,000 with which to buy ships to enter upon a Government-owned merchant marine, at the moment when our exports are the largest in our history, which to say the least would indicate not a great lack of ships, and also at a time when the sea is mined, and war zones of the belligerents are extended, and many of our people clamoring for an embargo upon all goods as a method of stopping the war.

Mr. Speaker, some 20 years ago I came across some verses descriptive of those days. A slight change in the lines brings them down to date.

How dear to our hearts is the Sixty-third Congress,
When business intermeddling presents it to view;
The bill of poor UNDERWOOD, the anguish caused by it,
And all the wild fads that its verdancy knew.
The nation-wide sorrow, the wages lost by it,
The steam-roller process, whence self-respect fell;
Has split wide the country—Who dares to deny it?
And Democracy's hopes gone—where, pray, you tell.

CHORUS.

This "Wilsonette" Congress,
This "rubber-stamp" Congress,
This "revenue-only" Congress,
We all know so well.

The Baltimore pledges no one longer mentions,
For planks in a platform with sweetness are spread;
The high cost of living with no way to meet it
But points to the goal, to the realms of the dead.
How zealous we urged them with pleas overflowing,
With sulphurous blessings, as great swearwords fell;
The emblems of hunger, free-trade and new freedom,
Are sounding in sorrow the workingman's knell.

CHORUS.

This business-wrecking Congress,
This platform-breaking Congress,
This spoils-system Congress,
We all know so well.

How loud were their boasts that Democracy had triumphed,
Robber tariff protection no longer uphold;
Psychologic conditions—our dinner pails empty,
The factories silent, the furnaces cold.
And now, far removed from our lost situations,
The tear of regret does intrusively swell.
We yearn for Republican administration
And sigh for the Congress that served us so well.

CHORUS.

This "new freedom" Congress,
This "psychologic" Congress,
This "watchful waiting" Congress
We all know so well.

Some Members with the habit of plain speaking have suggested as a closing refrain for this notable (?) "Democratic Congress" the following:

This Sixty-third Congress,
This long-winded Congress,
This Democratic Congress,
We wish were in ——— well.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM KENT,
OF CALIFORNIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 3 (legislative day of Tuesday, March 2), 1915.

Mr. KENT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend remarks concerning the rural credits bill, I herewith submit statement by Mr. David Lubin at the hearings granted by the Senate Committee on Agriculture on January 2, 1915.

Mr. Lubin is a great student of economics, with world-wide knowledge, and no subject is more intimately related to rural credit and the welfare of the agricultural producer than the plan which he advocates as a means of securing cheapened and nonwasteful distribution.

It will be noted that the proposed amended section 2 provides for a maximum salary of $6,000 for each of 18 commissioners. Some of those most interested in the measure believe that better service can be secured by such payment than by narrowing the field of candidates to those able to spend an adequate amount of time without compensation. Considering the benefit to accrue, the cost would be extremely small.

HEARING BEFORE A SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY ON H. J. RES. 344.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C., January 2, 1915.

Present: Senators GORE, NORRIS, FLETCHER, Representatives KENT, GOODWIN, and others; also Mr. David Lubin, delegate of the United States to the International Institute of Agriculture, Rome, Italy.

The subcommittee met at 10.30, Senator THOMAS P. GORE presiding.

The following House Joint Resoluition was under consideration:

Whereas it is patent that there are defects in the economic system of the United States which affect adversely the producers and the consumers of agricultural products; and

Whereas these defects have been accentuated by the present European war to a degree justifying the recent utterances of the President of the United States in the matter of the high cost of living; and

Whereas various attempts have been made from time to time to overcome these defects mainly through nongovernmental agencies, and recently under Governmental agency under the Bureau of Marketing of the Department of Agriculture; and

Whereas experience has, however, proven that the solution of this question is not to be found in nongovernmental agencies, nor is it to be found in a governmental agency. It is to be found in a semiofficial governmental agency, as is here proposed, as witness the success in the European countries of such a system, a system which has swept aside the trusts in food products and which renders the trust an impossibility; and

Whereas the present abnormally high prices for food products not alone offers an opportune time for the establishment of a semiofficial governmental agency as a means for the temporary solution of this problem, but also for the organization of the agricultural forces of the United States on the lines indicated as a means for the permanent solution of this problem: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, etc., That the President be authorized and requested to appoint a national marketing commission to be composed of 29 members, 15 of whom shall be farmers, and 14 of whom shall be selected with reference to their eminence in commerce, law, finance, and transportation.

SEC. 2. That such national marketing commission shall meet in the city of Washington, at a time designated by the President, and organize by the election of officers; and adopt a plan of action for the effective organization of the States, counties, and localities in the United States for the economic distribution of the products of the farm, with power to act in so far only as affecting individuals and organizations that shall elect to become a part of this national marketing system.

The following House joint resolution 423 was suggested as an amendment by Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas in place of section 2:

That the President be authorized and requested to appoint a national marketing commission, to be composed of 18 members, 12 of whom shall be engaged in agricultural or horticultural pursuits and 6 of whom shall be selected with special reference to their knowledge of commerce, finance, transportation, and law, and who shall receive compensation not in excess of $6,000 each per annum.

That said commission shall meet in the city of Washington, at a time designated by the President, to organize by the election of officers and to adopt a plan of action for the effective organization of the States, counties, and localities of the United States.

Said commission shall be empowered and directed to act with organizations and individuals as may become part of the national marketing system when such organizations and individuals may have been authorized by said commission to cooperate to that end and under such rules and regulations as the national marketing commission may prescribe.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, we will be glad to hear Mr. Lubin's statement on the resolution before us.

Mr. LUBIN. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, that subject deserves at least a patient hearing, and I would therefore ask that all extraneous thoughts be put aside for the time being, so as to concentrate the mind on the matter before us.

I am under the impression that no subject can be presented for public action which can transcend in importance the one of the economic distribution of our farm products. This is a statement, an assertion, and it now becomes my duty to sustain this assertion. If I can succeed in placing this matter so clearly before your minds as

to merit your indorsement, I shall then have accomplished an important step forward in the progress of the work before us.

What, then, is this matter? Let me illustrate its importance from an incident. About a year and a half ago the American Commission on Rural Credits, when visiting at Neuwied, Germany, the monument to Raiffeisen, called on me for some remarks. I then made the statement that it seemed to me that there was one great, strong nation in the world, a nation that if put to the test would give irresistible evidence of its powers of resistance and endurance, and that this nation was Germany. I based this opinion, not on the fact that Germany was a powerful bureaucracy, not because Germany has drilled armies or a growing navy, but because she has the most scientific, common-sense way of caring for the distribution of her farm products, a system which excludes the possibility of placing these products in the hands of trusts.

So believing, I said in my remarks that "in so far as this has been accomplished to a greater extent in Germany than in other countries, in so far is it safe to say that the political life of Germany is more sound to the core, contains within itself a greater resisting power, than the political life of other countries."

So as to leave no room for wrong inference I explained at that time that these observations were not intended as a panegyric on the German Empire at the expense of the American Republic. The purpose of this statement was to bring out a truth, a truth which, when understood and applied, might prove profitable to the American people; a truth which would clearly indicate the value of adapting in the United States methods of scientific distribution of farm products on the lines of the German system of distribution, on the lines of the Landwirtschaftsrat.

During the past 10 years my labors in the International Institute of Agriculture have made me familiar with the facts I am treating of in this "hearing." As early as February, 1905, in a paper for the institute in Rome, I said: "The way to abolish detrimental trusts, combinations, and mergers is to prevent them from getting hold of the products of the farm in the first place." Then followed a suggestion for the adaptation of the Landwirtschaftsrat system, in the following words:

"The individual farmer would present his needs, suggestions, and desires to his local (township) commission. The local commission would present such of them as won its approval to the county commission, which, in its turn, and whenever necessary, would pass them on to the national commission for action."

In a letter to the Director of the United States Census, October 6, 1911, I said: "In my opinion the organization (like the Landwirtschaftsrat) should be semiofficial."

In proceeding with this presentation I purpose to bring out my meaning the more clearly by a series of illustrations, and I shall let you draw your own inferences from them. I do this because I realize that I am not here to instruct the men of the Senate and the men of the House. They can instruct me. I am here simply in the capacity of a reporter, just as a newspaper reporter might bring in a report of an event in the street. I will try to put the facts together, and you will draw the inferences, and perhaps the ideal aimed at will be discerned.

Here is the first illustration: Let a group of American farmers meet to discuss their economic conditions, and you may almost rest assured that "Wall Street" will be brought up; 'Wall Street," and its manipulating operators, and its deteriorating influences on the industry of agriculture. But let a group of German financial and commercial men meet, and we may be assured that the "Agrarpartei," the agrarian interests, will be denounced. "Wall Street is eating us up," will be the cry in the first case; in the second case it will be "the agrarian interests are eating us up." Thus we see that in the United States the power is centered in Wall Street, but in Germany the power is centered in the agrarian interest. Now the fact is that it would do no harm if the agricultural interest were to acquire in the United States a little of the power which it has in Germany. In fact, a good deal of this power would not hurt; we need as much of it as the farmers have in Germany, and that is quite a great deal.

And right here some one may ask: "Given a certain number of dollars in a country, what difference does it make to the economic life of that country whether those dollars are made to drift into the pockets of Johnson, who lives on Fifth Avenue, or of Thompson, who lives on a farm in Oklahoma? What difference does it make, so long as the same number of dollars are in the United States?"

It appears to me that it would make a great deal of difference. Causing the dollars to flow to Wall Street when they ought of right to go to the farmer does not merely injure the economic status of the farmer, but it injures likewise the economic status of the industry and commerce of the country. It diminishes land values; it unsettles securities; it has a disturbing influence on wages.

But can the full importance of this question be measured merely from the dollar point of view? What effect does it not have on the political status of this nation? When may we say that this nation is strong? When may we say that it is weak? A democracy may be said to be strong whenever there is an equipoise of power between the progressive element on the one hand and the conservative element on the other.

And right here is the value, the political value, of the farmer to the nation; the value of the farmer who owns his land, the farmer who makes a comfortable living. Such farmers are conservatives; it is their mode of thought and their environment which makes them so. Given a country with its due proportion of these conservatives, and you will find that country politically sound and strong. And this is the strength of Germany. Let us not deceive ourselves; her strength is not due to the "goose step" of her soldiers nor to her Krupp guns, but is primarily due to the fact that she has had sense enough to make of her farmers a conservative, status quo element, and this element is for her the real "power behind the throne."

That this is not overdrawn will be evident when we observe the operation of the Landwirtschaftsrat system in the scientific distribution of Germany's farm products. And what is this Landwirtschaftsrat? To my knowledge, the clearest and briefest explanation is that given by Dr. Dade, its secretary general:

"The German Empire is composed of 24 States. The largest of these is the Kingdom of Prussia, which is divided into 12 provinces. Each of these provinces is required by the Prussian law to elect a chamber of agriculture. The same system prevails in the other German States—all have their chambers of agriculture instituted under law. Each of these chambers of agriculture sends one or more delegates, proportionate to its importance, to the German Landwirtschaftsrat, which thus becomes the official council of agriculture for the whole of the German Empire."

The effect of this system on the distribution of farm products is shown by the following reply given by Dr. Johannsen, director of the Chamber of Agriculture of Hanover, to the question: "Are there any agricultural trusts in Germany?" He replied: "No; there are coal trusts, iron trusts, etc., but no agricultural trusts."

Speaking on the system, Baron Hermann von Schoen, of Munich, a member of the leading cooperative societies of Bavaria, said:

"The Imperial German Landwirtschaftsrat covers the whole of Germany; it is the semiofficial link connecting the official body, the Imperial Government, with the unofficial, with the people actually engaged in agriculture. It works from the top down and from the bottom up."

Thus we see from the above that the German has constructed for agriculture a wonderful organization, leading, like a pyramid, from the base, the land-owning farmer, up to the apex, the National Council, guiding and directing the farmer toward the best economic results.

Senator GORE. You would reverse the German plan. You would begin at the top and go to the bottom. By the voting proposition you might get a lot of radicals at the top. Do you see the point?

Mr. LUBIN. Yes; I see; the organization proposed for the American farmers under House joint resolution 344, the resolution before us, differs somewhat from the German system, which is an easy matter to understand. Under the resolution the national commission would be appointed by the President of the United States, and the State commissions would be appointed by each of the State governors. In the township and county commissions the elective principle should apply. The paying members of a township organization would elect their township commission; and the township commissions would each elect a delegate to the county commission. For the national commission the resolution provides for 15 able farmers in the front row and 14 able men who are not farmers behind them. Fourteen and fifteen make twenty-nine. The 14 men are to be experts in various lines; experts on carriage, like President Ripley, of the Santa Fe Railway; a financier of national reputation who knows all about money; an authority on interstate relations, like Mr. Franklin K. Lane, of California; a man familiar with the working of the parcel post, say, like Mr. Hitchcock; and the others should be experts on the laws of commerce, "captains of industry," men of national reputation. These would constitute the national commission appointed by the President and would form the apex of the pyramid. The next step, the next layer in the pyramid, would consist of a similar commission appointed in each State of the Union by the governors. The third step, the third layer in the pyramid, would consist of county commissions elected by the township commissions in each of the counties of a State; and the fourth and last step, the final layer in the pyramid, would be commissions elected in each township of the county by the paying members of the township organization.

Senator GORE. The national and State commissions would then be governmental agencies, and do you think that they would be exempt from undue political pressure?

Mr. LUBIN. There is a great deal in what you say, but inasmuch as all the people in the United States—the consumers and the producers—would be so closely interested in the personnel of these commissions, they would not be appointed overnight, and it would not be done in secret, and there would be a great deal of responsibility attaching to the Executive in the selection of each of the members. It must be conceded that members thus appointed would be likely to be better adapted to handle the complex and far-reaching issues and the technical details involved in the labors of the commissions than would be commissions composed solely of farmers.

Mr. KENT. These commissions would have the functions of bureaus of information?

Mr. LUBIN. Yes; that would be one of their main functions. Let me give some instances of the need for such work. While on a recent visit to Boston I went for a motor drive through the country. I saw some apples in a field and stopped the auto, and a lady who was with me got out and came back with a whole lot of them. They were very nice apples. I asked her whom I should pay, but she replied: "There is nothing to pay; we just take the apples for nothing. There is no sale for them; they are just lying there and will rot in the field." "But," I said, "are not apples wanted in Illinois or some other State or section? Are they not wanted in many parts of the United States?" My friend replied: "Well, all I know is that you can take all the apples you want, because there is no sale for them."

Again, I read in the Waco, Tex., paper of October 25 that thousands of pounds of fish and oysters are being dumped into Galveston Bay every week because the fishermen are unable to find a market for them.

The trouble right here, it seems to me, is not that the apples or the fish are not wanted, but rather that there is lack of marketing opportunities. As Senator FLETCHER has said:

"Products of the farm go to waste and bring nothing while hungry consumers would gladly pay prices running into millions for them if there was a way of getting these to markets so that a product which has no value where it is might be placed where it has excellent value, to the benefit of all concerned."

What would be done in cases such as those described were the system provided for under resolution 344 in operation? This: The farmer in that township would communicate with the county commission on the subject of the distribution of his apples. The county commission may have received many similar inquiries. It either will have the requisite information itself, in which case it will reply direct to the township commissions, or it will classify and assemble the inquiries received and transmit them to the State commission. If this State commission has the information, it will reply; if not, in its turn it will assemble and classify the inquiries received and will send them on to the national commission, whose field of operation will embrace both the home and foreign markets. As a result of all this, the apples will be disposed of to the best possible advantage.

Another incident: While in California a few weeks ago I called on a prominent fruit grower, Mr. Towne, of Lodi, a relative of the late A. N. Towne, who used to occupy an important position in the Southern Pacific Railroad. I asked him, "How is business?" and he replied, "All right, so far as production is concerned. I am producing more to the acre than ever before." I then asked: "How about distribution?" "Well," he said, "there is where the mischief comes in. We used to get $20 to $25 a ton for wine grapes, and now prices have been forced down to $10, then to $8, and now they stand at $7.50 a ton (the average price for similar grapes in Italy is $30 a ton). This is below the cost of production." "What are you going to do about it?" I inquired, and he replied, "We propose to organize." "But who is 'we'?" I asked. "Oh, us fellows in and around Lodi."

Now, then, let us suppose that these fruit growers do organize; what would be the result? What but traveling toward a cul-de-sac? The fruit growers of Lodi would be as powerless to reach out to their best possible markets as a pedestrian would be to reach his destination by walking down a street which ended in a blank wall. There is but

one way out of such a cul-de-sac—the adoption of the German Landwirtschaftsrat system or its substitute as proposed under the pending resolution. Under the proposed system the man in a remote township in any State in the Union would be able to reach through the county, the State, and the National commissions the best possible markets within the United States or the remotest markets of the world.

Are arguments required to prove the need of boards of trade, chambers of commerce, clearing houses, and commercial travelers so far as the needs of commerce are concerned? Could commerce be conducted successfully in our age without these aids? And yet the business of farming in the United States has no such facilities. As a result, in place of proceeding along on rational, normal lines, agriculture is compelled to halt, hobble, and stumble along in any manner that fortuity or designing manipulations may permit, all at the expense of the producer and the consumer. The defect here pointed out was perceived in Germany and remedied there by the Landwirtschaftsrat system. Such a system is as necessary for the United States as it is for Germany.

Speaking on this head, Senator FLETCHER has said—

"This is the great unsolved problem in this country, and until it is solved there will be waste, unprofitable labor, and high-living cost. A commission of experienced, public-spirited men, experts in the various lines involved, in all the elements of proper marketing, with some authority and power behind them, could accomplish results vastly beneficial to all our people."

Fortunately a precedent on a small scale may be offered which tends to illustrate the practicability of the proposal before us. The precedent that I refer to is that afforded by the Citrus Protective League of California. In a conference held at Los Angeles with Mr. G. Harold Powell, manager of the league, he informed me that 20 years ago the growers produced about 5,000 carloads of fruit which they sold, as most farm crops are sold now, to local buyers, to representatives of distant firms, or by consigning it on commission to markets from 1,500 to 3,000 miles away, the only return in this latter case frequently being bills for freight and selling charges. Mr. Powell then went on to state:

"Sometimes the local buyers divided the territory between them and did not compete with each other, and sometimes they fixed a maximum price to be paid for the fruit."

Continuing on, he said—

"Under either of these systems of suppressed competition, the growers became helpless. These were known as the 'red ink' days in the California citrus industry (the red ink being a sign of loss). With 5,000 carloads of fruit to market annually, the growers thought that overproduction stared them in the face, and the stability of the industry was questioned. The real trouble, however, came through bad distribution."

To rectify this state of affairs, the Citrus Protective League was founded, and with astonishingly gratifying results. Where before there was hazard, difficulty, and oftentimes loss in disposing of 5,000 carloads of fruit annually, the growers now handle 45,000 carloads to the best economic advantage. In substance, what this league is to the citrus growers of California, the system proposed under resolution 344 is intended to be to the farmers of the United States.

"Well," it may be said, "since the league takes the place of the landwirtschaftsrat for the citrus growers, would not similar leagues for the other farm interests take the place of the system set forth under the proposed resolution?"

Let us see: Mr. Powell informs me that it costs $75,000 a year for the maintenance of his league. This is an enormous sum, yet the products of the citrus growers are confined to a very limited area. It would obviously cost a very much greater sum to run similar leagues for the other farm products which cover so much wider areas of production, such as cereals, potatoes, live stock, hay, apples, dairy and truck farm products, poultry, etc. It would therefore seem evident that as a means toward economic distribution, the formation of such leagues for each of the multitudinous interests of agriculture would, from a practical point of view, be inadequate. Besides, the citrus growers' league, even under its great expense and with the restricted area under production, is, nevertheless, at present limited as to the quantity and quality of the information which this expenditure can procure for it. Under the system proposed in the resolution before us, this same league would be in a position to obtain a very much wider range of the information it should have. For observe, at the present time the league is under expense for each and every link in its chain of information, whereas, under the proposed system, it would only be assessed for its proportion of the clerical expenses of its township, county, and State commissions and for the national commission, and in return for this it would be afforded authoritative information from every township, county, and State in the United States and from foreign markets all over the world; and all this at a very much lower rate of expenditure than it incurs at the present time.

Mr. KENT. I think it would be well if you could give us a description of what these commissions would do after they were appointed. If I understand, their function would be to supervise distribution?

Mr. LUBIN. The commissions would organize and adopt their by-laws. They would then employ the necessary clerical force, and start to work. This clerical force should receive preliminary training in the technique of its duties from experts, for instance, of the telegraph and telephone companies, from the Dun and Bradstreet mercantile agencies, and from others competent to instruct it in the details of its proposed duties. Thus equipped, the commissions would be ready to ask and give information along the lines of the proposed work.

And now it will be well to bring forward a question that has been asked as to the practicability of the system proposed under the resolution before us: "Could the national commission technically familiarize itself with all the varieties, qualities, and quantities of the vast number of farm products of the United States? Could it undertake to handle, to sell them successfully?"

Right here let me state once for all that there is no more need of technical knowledge of this kind on the part of the commissions proposed under resolution 344 than there is of such knowledge on the part of the German Landwirtschaftsrat. The commissions would do no selling; they would supply information which should enable the distribution of the products to be conducted to economic advantage, they would point out to the farmers where, when, and how they should sell, and where, when, and how they should not sell. They would serve as the great clearing houses of information along practical, economic lines, and their work could, of course, be made use of by all the producers, and by such buying and selling cooperative associations of the farmers as may wish to avail themselves of it.

Mr. GOODWIN. I will ask a question. The Secretary of Agriculture reports on this matter that he considers the proposal as premature, because the department has undertaken, through its Bureau of Markets, to solve this problem and is proceeding with it. Have you anything to suggest to us as to the limitations of the department that might interfere with its working this thing out itself?

Mr. LUBIN. That depends on just what is intended to be conveyed by the words "working this thing out itself." If the Secretary means that his department is paving the way toward a scientific system of distribution by the farmers, then in so far as it is doing this effectively it is certainly doing good work. But if the words "working this thing out itself" are to convey the meaning that the Department of Agriculture intends to do the work contemplated under resolution 344, the work of the scientific distribution of farm products in the United States, then I certainly do see "limitations" which would interfere with its performing this task.

I am strongly inclined to the belief that the Secretary holds this very same opinion, for how could the Government step in and tell the farmers "you must not sell to these people; you must sell to those people"? Hitherto the Department of Agriculture has confined itself almost exclusively to the problems of production, and it is to the credit of the present Secretary that he has taken up the problems of distribution. Having done so, I am hopeful that on due consideration he will see his way clear to favor the proposal before us. The work of the department, through its Bureau of Markets, and the work of the commissions would not clash; on the contrary, each would complete the other. The commissions would supply the effective channel through which the information gathered by the department could be made of practical economic value to the American people.

Three different methods of approaching this work have been tried in Germany. The first, the unofficial method; bodies of farmers would form into organizations, a number of which would designate themselves as national, assuming the right to speak in the name of the farmers of the nation. This mode was found as ineffective in Germany as it is in the United States. The next method tried was that of direct official organization by the Government, and this, for many and obvious reasons, was also found to be impracticable. The third method was the semiofficial organization, culminating in the Landwirtschaftsrat, and this has proved successful; and the measure before us, as you know, is but an adaptation of the German system.

Now, going back to Mr. GOODWIN'S question, as an instance of the kind of "limitations" which would beset a Government department in attempting to do the work outlined under the resolution, let me quote a recent example.

As you may know, the borough president of New York, in order to reduce the cost of living, started in New York City what are known as the "free markets." Space was given free under the Brooklyn Bridge approaches for the sale of the products which the farmers brought in. By this means the farmers were to get into immediate touch with the consumers, thereby benefiting themselves on the one hand and the consumers on the other. From all accounts this venture proved a great success. While in New York lately I called on the borough president, and after he had explained the operation of this plan I remarked that it seemed to me that such an effort was impracticable so long as it was done by direct official action; that this endeavor would be likely to bring him up presently to the political "buzz saw." He could not see the matter in this light; on the contrary, he said he was going to assist in starting similar institutions in Philadelphia and in Baltimore.

Shortly after, when in Boston, I read an account in one of the daily papers which indicated that the borough president really had come up against the "buzz saw." The account stated that the borough president's secretary rushed into his chief's office exclaiming: "There's a wild-eyed committee outside, and a lot of them, too, and they want to see you." "Send them away," he replied. "They won't go," said the secretary; and in they came, the entire lot, and the spokesman stepped up, saying, "We are a committee of the retail grocery men, and we want to know what all this free market business is about. We pay taxes and we pay rent, and can you tell us why you start a proposition calculated to drive us into bankruptcy?" That may be good politics, and perhaps it may not. Perhaps the borough president will find that out next election time.

Now, let us go back to the proposal before us; let us assume that it be put into operation; that the details of the routine work of the township, county, State, and national commissions have been mastered; that the great distributing organization is in working order, and what then? Shall all this machinery be placed in the hands of the Government? Shall the Government be given the power of directing the distribution of billions of dollars' worth of products annually? Would not this be a dangerous power? Would it not be a power unprecedented in the economic history of nations? It seems to me that the work of directing the handling, the purchase, and sale of the products of the American farmers is not a governmental function. The assumption of such functions would not be tolerated even under such paternalistic Governments as those of Persia, Siam, Burma, or Morocco.

It would be as impracticable to have the distribution of farm products under the control and direction of the Government as it would be to have the distribution of shoes, clothing, and dry goods under the control of the Government. Such control and direction would not even have the merit which would entitle it to be considered as good socialism. It would in substance be socialism run mad.

It is, of course, possible for the Department of Agriculture to render valuable service in this work; valuable service can likewise be rendered by the chambers of commerce, the boards of trade, the International Institute of Agriculture, and other similar bodies.

Senator NORRIS. What about the expense of the organization of the entire system proposed?

Mr. LUBIN. The expense for maintaining the entire system of national, State, county, and township commissions, the cost for the clerical force and for its operation should be borne by an assessment which would fall on the members forming the township commissions. Taking the required total for the maintenance of a township commission as 100 units and supposing there be 100 members in the township, then each member would be required to pay one-hundredth part of the total; if there were 50 members, each would have to pay one-fiftieth part; if there were 25 members, each would pay one twenty-fifth. Of the total assessment thus raised the township commission would retain a portion to meet its own clerical and operating expenses, and the remainder would be assigned in given proportions toward the expense for the clerical force and operation of the county, State, and national commissions. To insure the consistent and coherent operation of the entire system I would suggest that it operate under charters (for which an initiation fee could be charged) to be granted by the national commission to the State commissions, and by the State commissions to the county and township commissions. The general laws under which the commissions would operate could be laid down in these charters.

Senator NORRIS. Yes; but how about paying the headmen, the men that do the guiding?

Mr. LUBIN. Those men would not want any pay.

Senator NORRIS. Well, then, Mr. Lubin, your national commission would be composed almost entirely of wealthy men.

Mr. LUBIN. Really the question before us is not one of wealthy men but of competent men. If a compensation were attached to these positions it is likely that they would be eagerly sought after by men of mediocre ability. Of the 29 men on the national commission, the President could select the 15 farmers from, say, the most competent members of the prominent agricultural associations. The 14 men, the experts on carriage, finance, interstate relations, parcel post, the "captains of industry," the men of national reputation, all these would not have to be paid. In view of the indirect benefits which the operation of these commissions would confer, in view of their broad national importance, such men would be glad to serve without compensation.

Mr. GOODWIN. You think, then, that these men would give their time, that they would not require any money, that they would consider it an honor to initiate this idea and would work for nothing?

Mr. LUBIN. Yes; I think that these men would not alone be willing to give their time, but that, in view of the broad national importance of this matter, they would be very glad to do so. I take it that every intelligent man understands that the question of the distribution of our farm products to the best economic advantage concerns not only the American farmers, but that it also concerns all consumers, and especially so all interested in land values, in securities, and in the maintenance of a steady wage rate. Now, take it in the case of a railway president like Mr. Ripley. He, as well as his colleagues of other roads, surely understands that the value and dividend of his road is dependent on the earning power of the farmers on either side of the track. This alone would be sufficient spur to induce him to serve on this commission, and he will not be likely to want your $1,500 nor your $2,000 nor your $5,000 for this service. If he serve at all, he will serve free of charge, and will give the best service that is in him.

Mr. GOODWIN. Do you think that a man like Mr. Ripley, or a man from Sears, Roebuck & Co., who understands shipping and the handling of men and affairs, or any other big man, could afford to surrender his time from the business in which he is at present engaged and turn himself over to this commission, which would require so much of his time and effort, whether he gave his time gratuitously or for a salary?

Mr. LUBIN. I certainly do; and for the reasons that I have already given; especially so since the time which has to be given up to the sessions of the commission in Washington would not be nearly as considerable as may at first be supposed. It must be remembered that the actual work under the commission will be carried out the year around by the working staff, by the secretary general, and the clerical force under him. But one or two sessions of the commission a year at Washington, lasting a few days each, like those of the Landwirtschaftsrat at Berlin, would probably be all that would be required.

And right here it is pertinent to bring up the question, "Would not this proposal meet with serious opposition, especially with opposition from capitalistic interests?" Yes; it certainly would. In fact, it has already met with some strenuous opposition from that quarter. But it would be a mistake to say that it has met with opposition from all the capitalistic interests. It has only met with opposition from that small proportion which profits by the present chaotic and fortuitous marketing conditions. It is reasonable to suppose that the far greater proportion of the capitalistic interests, when the significant bearing of this matter is properly understood, will favor this proposal as being a conservative measure, a measure not alone in the interest of the American farmer but likewise so in the interest of capital. There are those who are seeking for capital, and there are those who have already acquired it. It is the purpose of those who have already acquired capital to conserve it, and what better means of conserving that capital can be pointed out than through the stability which would result from the distribution of the products of the American farmers to the best economic advantage? Just as soon as this phase of the proposal before us will be rightly understood it can be confidently expected that the capitalistic interests will favor it as much as the farmers and the consumers.

And on this head it may not be irrelevant to present the following from the Los Angeles Times of December 6:

"Competition between the transcontinental railroads and the steamship companies using the Panama Canal has become so keen and its results are making themselves felt in such far-reaching fashion that President William Sproule, of the Southern Pacific Co., in an authorized interview here to-night, said:

"'The commerce of the Pacific coast is in the throes of a transportation crisis. * * * We are after the oranges and the apples and the celery and the casaba melons at this season of the year, and when the season for deciduous fruits opens we expect to be in that line, too. * * * The tonnage from California to the Atlantic seaboard by sea and rail combined in August, September, and October of 1913 was 120,000. Of this the railroads got 56 per sent and the sea carriers got 44 per cent. For the same period in 1914 the total tonnage was 170,000. Of this the railroads got 39 per cent and the sea carriers got 61 per cent. Thus the sea carriers' proportionate takings of the total tonnage from California for these three months increased 17 per cent, while the tonnage by rail decreased to the same extent.'"

In a statement to the Times of December 9, Mr. Julius Krutchnitt, chairman of the executive committee of the Southern Pacific Co., said:

"The number of railroads that have gone into receiverships in late years and the lack of signs of any betterment in the railroads' condition sometimes leads me to believe that one after another all the railroads of this country will pass through the courts' hands, the weaker ones first and then the stronger ones. * * * But such a condition of affairs can not go on forever."

Well, what should be the remedy? Should it be the refilling of the Panama Canal? Should it be in the higher rates to the railroads? Why not find the remedy in an increased volume of carriage, and how else may this be found than through a system of scientific marketing? The attempt to maintain the railway rates prevailing before there was a Panama Canal by simply raising the present rates would be but another way of nullifying the economic utility of the said canal.

"But," say the railroads, "unless you give us higher rates you will drive us into receiverships, into bankruptcy," and so we have here a vicious circle. Around and around we go, and the circle is vicious all the way round.

And pray, what do higher rates for carriage mean? What do they mean for the home price of farm products? They mean that an increase in the cost of carriage brings a corresponding decrease in the price of the product, and not alone for the amount carried, but for the entire amount offered for sale in the home market.

Let us take, as an example, peaches and apricots, of which one-third of the entire production is sold for home consumption, one-third for the home canneries, and one-third for shipment outside of the locality. A rise in the cost of carriage high above the normal rate will prevent the shipment and cause a glut in the locality, lowering the price. He who buys for shipment will, of course, pay no more than the canner or the buyer for home consumption; it thus follows that a rise in the cost of carriage will lower the home price of the quantity carried, of the quantity canned, and of the quantity for home consumption. A rise in the price of carriage is, therefore, a distinct block in the road to progress, just as surely as a decline in the cost of carriage means a distinct step forward in the field of progress.

Thus we see that the carriers are now brought up to a condition which they must face. We must, on the one hand, either curtail the carriage facilities or raise the rates or drive the carriers into bankruptcy; or, on the other, we must increase the quantity of products to be carried and thereby increase the earning power of the carrier by reason of the increased volume carried.

And is there not plenty of scope for the increase of the quantity to be carried? There certainly is when we remember, for instance, that the German Empire is not as large as our State of Texas and only a little larger than the State of California. Yet Germany holds 66,000,000 people, and on mighty poor land. You get a good portion of Prussia poor, miserable sand, and those people have to labor hard to make that land perform some of the functions of farm land. Now, in extent we have empire overlapping empire. Shall we make these over, bound hand and foot, to a few trusts and thereby consign our interests to Mephistopheles, to the devil, or shall we, rather, travel in the pathway that will bring out the potentialities of this great and mighty force?

Let me give but one example of these potentialities. We all know that there is a world-wide demand for olives and olive oil. Spain, for instance, produces 71,000,000 gallons of olive oil a year; Italy, 69,000,000 gallons, and France, 9,000,000, but California produces only a nominal quantity. Now, recently, while traveling from Los Angeles to San Diego, it seemed to me that the hill country in that region was of about the same character and climate as the olive-growing lands between Rome and Tivoli. There is room between Los Angeles and San Diego for from five to ten million olive trees. Why are those olive trees not there? Simply because the distributing machinery for olive-tree products in California is so defective that the further development of production is negatived.

In its issue of October 20, 1914, speaking on the subject before us, the Louisville Courier Journal says:

"Systematic marketing has been highly developed in Europe, while in this country it has barely made a beginning. The day is coming when the producers of the United States will adopt the European method, and when their organizations will stand for something other than sound and fury. * * * Assuredly the farmers and consumers of this country ought to be able to handle the problems of food distribution to as good effect as it has been done in Europe."

In concluding my statement, I am prompted to say that if you gentlemen of the Senate and of the House are able to advance this work toward a successful issue, if through your efforts the resolution pass the Senate and the House and receive the signature of the President, you will have accomplished an important labor toward shaping the destiny of the United States. For an effective measure which would throttle the trusts and insure the distribution of the products of the farm to the best economic advantage may truly be denominated a measure which would reinforce the great experiment—the experiment which was made here in founding this Republic. Among the founders of the Republic were men whose minds transcended the commonplace and the mediocre. These transcendent minds looked forth into something beyond the mere practical. It was their purpose to build up an empire of light—light which should tend to dispel the darkness from off the face of the earth. This was the empire that they intended to build, and this is the empire which you, as the lawmakers of this Republic, are called upon to guide forward in the direction which they have set for you. If you have lost the spirit and hold only to the letter, then they have builded in vain; they then have builded upon a rotten foundation, and the rottenness is in yourselves. But if you have within you the spirit that transcends the letter, the spirit that inspired and moved the mighty founders of this Republic, then their labors will not have been in vain; they will then have builded to a purpose; the experimental days in the life of this Republic will be at an end and the experiment will have materialized into a structure which shall be enduring, permanent.

ADDENDA.

The following letter of September 28, 1914, was addressed to Congressman W. S. GOODWIN:

Commenting on your several communications, I wash to say that you should have a serious talk with the Democratic leaders of the House, so that if they see their way clear, they may exert the proper effort in having House joint resolution 344 immediately passed by the House and by the Senate.

Apart from anything that has been said in the hearings, I would add the following:

1. The strength of Germany is directly due to the Landwirtschaftsrat.
2. It can easily be adapted and adopted in the United States.
3. It would elliminate the trusts.

Please remember that I did not invent this Landwirtschaftsrat; it is no brilliant inspiration of mine; I am simply a reporter, and as such I tagged after the administrations of Roosevelt and Taft to take this up. They did take something up, but it was a faint shadow with no substance. So I sent out thousands of documents written so that the farmer with mud on his boots could understand.

And when the farmer began to squirm, Mr. Taft, toward the end of his term, begun to "get busy," but his cry was in incomplete shape and went out entirely too late.

Then the Democratic Party came along and took hold of the lines, and promised to give the farmer rural credits. The promise was given on the "Give me liberty or give me death" style. The farmers were to have rural credits immediately—if not sooner. The farmer was to have the best and first place in the legislative trough—a trough to be supplied with good and rich legislative slops. He was to have it sure, right there and then, and the first installment was to be rural credits. "Sink or swim," "live or die," the farmer was to have it sure. Rural credits were his. The Democratic Party affirmed this over and over again. And a Democratic majority has now been in session for a longer period than any session ever in the history of the United States. So there was plenty of time for the Democratic

Party to deliver the goods to the farmer. But, let me ask, what has the farmer got from this same Democratic Party up to this minute? What has he got in the form of rural credits? Do you know? Does anyone know?

And now to return to H. J. Res. 344: If the Democratic Party allows this resolution to go into innocuous desuetude, it will prove itself truly to be possessor of the long ears that we frequently see it pictured with, for just as sure as the Democratic Party allows this Landwirtschaftsrat matter to go by default, it will be picked up and taken up by the Republican Party. What effective use this can be made of in practical politics will be evident to you if you will read over the hearing, and read it quietly, and pick out point one, point two, say up to all the points that will count, and you will have a respectable number of counts, invaluable on the stump, invaluable in the papers, and damaging to the party which had the opportunity of handling this matter, but which either overlooked it by reason of a sluggish brain or, worse yet, for fear of offending the trusts, for, mark you, this proposal gives a deathblow to the trusts, as you know, and as nothing else can do.

DAVID LUBIN.

The Olympic National Monument.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,
OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 24, 1915.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity of presenting some statements with reference to the proposed reduction of the size of the Olympic National Monument, which monument lies within and comprises the heart of the Olympic Forest Reserve. That the monument will be greatly reduced in size now seems certain. It should be made clear, however, that lands taken out of the monument are not thrown open to homestead, except under such regulations as apply to lands in forest reserves. Many persons who have written to me do not seem to realize that although certain townships are to be taken out of the monument they will still remain within the Olympic Forest Reserve, and will continue so to remain.

The reduction, when made, will permit mining and prospecting for minerals on lands where such activities are now forbidden, and which are known to contain tin, manganese, mica, feldspar, copper, and so forth.

In connection with this reduction in the size of the monument two interesting statements have developed. One is that although the monument was established for the protection of the Olympic elk—now known as Cervus Roosevelt—it develops that the breeding grounds, the winter feeding grounds, and nearly all of the summer feeding grounds are without the present lines of the monument.

Also, the present herd of elk is established at about 7,000 and is increasing rapidly. The feeding of the elk will soon become a problem, particularly as it is thought that many fine agricultural valleys in the Olympic Forest Reserve will be opened for settlement before many more years have passed.

Another item of interest is the discovery that many townships in the monument have been so carelessly surveyed that they contain double area.

In connection with the proposed change of boundaries, I received the following letter from Hon. H. S. Graves, Chief of the Bureau of Forestry:

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
FOREST SERVICE,
Washington, February 11, 1915.

HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. JOHNSON: In our recent conference you requested a statement in regard to my conclusions and recommendations relative to the Mount Olympus National Monument. I have made a specific recommendation looking to a modification of the boundaries of the monument which will retain the scenic portion within the monument and restore those portions which contain very heavy timber to exclusive national forest status. The portion of the monument which would under this plan be restored to the forest would be handled under the national forest principles and be subject to the same protection from every standpoint as the balance of the Olympic National Forest and other national forests. The various resources, however, would be available for use, which under the national monument withdrawal is impossible.

The portion which would remain as a national monument comprises the main mass of high mountains and would constitute an admirable unit for a national park, if it should finally be deemed wise to take such action. I am desirous of seeing an investigation made of the question of whether a park should be established, this to be a joint investigation by the park authorities of the Interior Department and representatives of the Forest Service.

Certainly the scenic features of the Olympic Mountains are unique and very remarkable, and this resource should not only be protected but developed. In the administration of the national forest full consideration is given to the protection and development of the recreation resource so that the whole region, including both the portion which would remain in the monument and that portion which would remain in the national forest, will be safeguarded, so far as this feature, as well as other features, is concerned. Specifically the changes in the boundaries which I am recommending will result in the restoration to the national forests of the following areas:

Willamette meridian and base.

T. 28 N., R. 9 W.[1]: Unsurveyed sections 4 to 9, 16 to 21, 28 to 33, inclusive.
T. 28 N., R. 7 W.: Unsurveyed sections 1 to 3, 10 to 15, inclusive.
T. 28 N., R. 6 W.: Unsurveyed sections 1 to 18, inclusive.
T. 27 N., R. 9 W.[1]: Unsurveyed sections 4 to 9, 16 to 21, 28 to 33, inclusive.
T. 26 N., R. 9 W.[1]: Unsurveyed sections 4 to 9, 16 to 21, 28 to 33, inclusive.
T. 25 N., R. 8 W.: Unsurveyed sections 19 to 36, inclusive.
T. 25 N., R. 7 W.: Unsurveyed section 19 to 36, inclusive.
T. 25 N., R. 6 W.: Unsurveyed sections 19 to 36, inclusive.
T. 24 N., R. 8 W.[2]: Unsurveyed, all.
T. 24 N., R. 7 W.: Unsurveyed, all.
T. 24 N., R. 6 W.: Unsurveyed, all.
T. 23 N., R. 8 W.: Unsurveyed, all.
T. 23 N., R. 7 W.: Unsurveyed, all.
T. 23 N., R. 6 W.: Unsurveyed, all.
T. 22 N., R. 8 W.: All (partly surveyed).
T. 22 N., R. 7 W.: All (partly surveyed).
T. 21 N., R. 8 W.: Surveyed sections 4 to 9 and 16 to 18, inclusive.
T. 21 N., R. 7 W.: Sections 1 to 6, inclusive, partly surveyed.

Very sincerely, yours,

H. S. GRAVES, *Forester.*

The Forest Bureau is also contemplating some road extension in the Olympic Reserve, a statement concerning which recently appeared in the Tacoma Ledger, as follows:

STATE MAY GET MUCH ROAD MONEY—NEW POLICY OF FORESTRY SERVICE ANNOUNCED HERE LIKELY TO PASS CONGRESS.

Hundreds of thousands of dollars additional for road expenditure in the State of Washington will be available for undeveloped sections if the new policy agreed upon by the forestry department officials and the Secretary of Agriculture is sanctioned by Congress, as is expected, according to Charles H. Flory, of Portland, assistant district forester, who was in Tacoma yesterday.

Mr. Flory came here for a conference at the Commercial Club with members of the intercity national park committee and County Engineer D. H. White relative to road matters this year affecting the forest reserve either within this county or within the policy of the intercity committee.

Mr. Flory said the Forest Service had long realized that the national forest areas took up so much of the area of certain counties—in some from 20 to 40 per cent—that they were a drain upon the county in a way, as being an area unavailable for county taxation, thus making the rest of the county pay a higher tax rate.

LOANS ON UNSOLD TIMBER.

"Congress has recognized the need of assistance for the counties," said Flory, "and has allowed 25 per cent of the net receipts from sales of timber in the forest reserves to go every year to building of roads and schools in the county where the sales were made. This has been a good thing for those counties where sales were going on, but for the undeveloped counties the policy has not helped. It is now proposed to ask Congress to allow the advance of such money to those counties every year as might result from the sale of timber, holding the timber itself as security for the sums advanced. A careful cruise of the timber would first be made to determine its value, and the amount advanced would be paid back when the timber is sold. In this way it is expected there will be hundreds of thousands of dollars available for Washington road and bridge development."

Mr. Flory says his office has had applications for a dozen or more road projects this year, although there is money enough for only one or two. He thinks there will be $15,000 available for Pierce County work within the reserve limits, and while here yesterday discussed the matter of building the Carbon River Valley Road into the northern side of the park. Surveys for this road, which would extend from Orting by way of Fairfax, were completed last year by M. Roy Thompson, former county engineer. If the north side road should be built, the mountain will be completely encircled, permitting the construction of a chain of chalets.

THREE ROADS UNDER WAY.

"There are three road projects either practically completed or under way now by the Government in the forestry reserves of the State of Washington," said Mr. Flory. "One is the Wind River Road, in Skamania County; a second the Loop-Loop Road, in Okanogan County to Methow; and the third is the White Salmon River Road."

In this connection the following statement concerning the Olympic Highway is of interest:

THE WONDERFUL HIGHWAY AROUND OLYMPICS—A 350-MILE HIGHWAY OPENING NEW FIELDS TO SETTLERS AND TOURISTS.

HOQUIAM, *February 16.*

A 350-mile drive through beautiful scenery, lakes, sea, and mountains, traversing valleys of fertile land, an automobile road clear around the mysterious Olympic Mountains, the only unexplored section of the United States—such is, in brief, the story of the Olympic highway that will interest the Seattle motorist, when completed. Of this great highway, 295 miles are constructed, and only 55 miles of the road remain to be built, the section on the west side of the peninsula between Lake Quiniault, in northern Chehalis County, and The Forks, in southwestern Clallam County, all but 7 miles of it across the Quiniault Indian Reservation and western Jefferson County.

As an attraction for the automobile tourist, the value of this great highway is hard to estimate.

[1] The west tier of sections in each of these townships is apparently excessive, and according to present calculations is about 2½ miles wide on the latitudinal line.

[2] The north tier of sections in this township is abnormally long in the meridianal line, and each section should contain about two ordinary sections.

The Olympic Highway is a combination of State roads Nos. 9 and 14 and certain county roads, to make a road clear around the Olympic Peninsula, and is a project long advocated by those who are familiar with the resources of the Olympic Peninsula. While State road No. 9 and State road No. 14 have been recognized projects for a number of years, the Olympic Highway, as a road looping the peninsula, was only adopted two years ago by the State legislature.

With the completion of State work on the highway north of Hoquiam, to open the road to Quiniault Lake, and the building of the highway along the west side of Hood Canal, between Hoodsport and Duckabush, the Olympic Highway becomes a realty from Quiniault clear around the peninsula to The Forks, 5 miles north of the Jefferson County line in western Clallam County. With the clearing of slides from the highway along Hood Canal in the spring the autoist can drive from Lake Quiniault clear around the Olympic Mountains to The Forks without difficulty, and all the time he will be passing some of the most beautiful scenery in the entire country. When completed, those familiar with the country's great scenic highways declare there will be no road in the country to excel, and few to compare, with the Olympic Highway.

The road winds through the greatest single forest of the Northwest, it being estimated the west side of the peninsula alone contains a stand of approximately 125,000,000 feet of timber, including some of the finest fir, cedar, and spruce the great Northwest has produced. This area includes the rich area of the Quiniault Indian Reservation.

At points the road runs out to the Strait of Juan de Fuca or skirts Hood Canal. At other points it runs at the foot of the Olympic Range of mountains, and snow-capped peaks tower above the tourist. At other places the traveler comes upon such lakes as Quiniault and Crescent. He is now ferried from one end of Crescent Lake to the other, a distance of 12 miles, between hills covered with their virgin veil of green; hills which run down almost to the water's edge. The highway survey crosses the Quiniault Valley and River at the foot of that lake, and that silver body of water spreads out for a distance of 3 miles between steep and high wooded mountains, which run down to the lake on both sides, while in the distance beyond the lake one sees the towering peaks of Olympus and Queets, and, nearer by, Mount Baldy. The white of the snow and glaciers on these peaks is seen in a setting of gray-brown crags and the rich green of the forest below, with the green of the lake in the foreground.

Again the road passes through wide, rich valleys in which the ranchers already have brought their land to a good state of cultivation. The valleys of the Olympic Peninsula are all rich in soil and are well protected, making them adapted to almost any kind of agricultural or dairy pursuits. On the south, east, and north sides of the peninsula these valleys, with means of getting to market open, are fast being developed, and there are many fine ranches to be seen along the highway or back on the side roads which run into the Olympic Highway.

On the west side of the peninsula, however, it is different. The Quiniault Valley, containing several thousand acres of land, is already well settled.

The road will cross the Queets River about 4 miles from the Pacific Ocean, will follow up the Clearwater Valley for several miles, and then strike across to the Hoh and from there across to The Forks.

Western Jefferson County, cut off as it is by the Olympic National Forest, presents a matter of interest to the State of Washington at large, for about half the area between the western national forest line and the Pacific Ocean is owned by the State, either as school, university, or capital lands. Western Jefferson County alone contains about four townships of State lands. This is heavily timbered, but at present inaccessible.

As nearly as can be ascertained, from figures furnished by engineers of the various counties traversed by the Olympic Highway, the portion of the road already opened represents an expenditure of at least $2,000,000. Only about one-tenth of this sum has come from the State public-highway fund, the remainder having been expended by the counties, part of the sum being from the permanent highway fund, levied by the State, but which is spent by the county on whatever main road it desires, so long as the funds are used on a State specification highway. That the $2,000,000 estimate is none too high is shown by the fact that Chehalis County alone has expended $980,000 on the Olympic highway crossing it, of which $83,000 has been furnished by the State. Ninety-nine miles of the road is in Chehalis County. Thurston has 25 miles of the Olympic Highway; Mason County, 48 miles; Jefferson County, 78 miles, counting both the east and west ends of the county; and Clallam County has 100 miles, a total of 350 miles.

The greater part of the road now built is high-class highway, with good gravel surface and good grades, though parts of the road are not entirely up to the standard, but easily passable and safe, and with only a few bad hills, and autoists say these are not at all out of the ordinary.

A few days ago I received the following letter from Mr. Graves:

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
FOREST SERVICE,
Washington.

Hon. ALBERT JOHNSON,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. JOHNSON: I have received your letter of February 24, inclosing a communication from Mr. F. H. Stanard. I shall be very glad to inform you when I can ascertain the time of final action on the part of the two Secretaries regarding my recommendations for the reduction of the area of the Mount Olympus National Monument.

I shall also be glad to keep you informed about the plan of development for the Olympic Peninsula. This plan will contain specific recommendations looking to public improvements.

Very sincerely, yours,
H. S. GRAVES.

I have been informed that the recommendations of Mr. Graves have been approved by the Secretary of Agriculture, and that the approval of the Secretary of the Interior may be expected at any time, possibly before these remarks can be placed in print.

From all the foregoing it will be noted that at last we are to have some improvements and betterments in the great Federal holdings in the Olympic Peninsula. Progress in the actual work may be, and probably will be, slow, but it is most gratifying to know that the start has been made. During the three sessions of the Sixty-third Congress I have devoted much time to this end, and I know that the people of western Washington will be pleased that the many matters of detail pertaining to the Olympic Peninsula will be looked after by two Members of Congress, Hon. L. H. HADLEY and myself. It goes without saying that in all matters for the development of the southwest, the Member from that section has had the support of the entire State delegation. After March 4, however, Clallam and Jefferson Counties, with nearly three-fourths of the Olympic Forest Reserve, go into the district which will be represented by Mr. HADLEY, leaving the smaller portion in the district I have the honor to represent—hereafter to be known as the third district.

Steam as a Motive Power in Navigation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD W. TOWNSEND,
OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 3 (legislative day of Tuesday, March 2), 1915.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Mr. Speaker, there has been some discussion on the floor of the House recently of the question to whom should the honor be given historically for the application of steam as a motive power for navigation.

Very fortunately for historical accuracy, W. F. Sadler, jr., who is adjutant general of New Jersey, has delved into the archives of my State and produced documentary evidence which, to anyone who will read so much of that evidence as I may be able to reproduce here, proves that Mr. Fitch, then a resident of New Jersey, made this application of power before it was applied so by any other invention. It is not necessary that I should base any argument upon the documents which Gen. Sadler has been so kind as to forward to me; but rather I shall here present in permanent form in this RECORD a transcript of those authentic and very interesting documents. But to add historical value to what I here present I shall insert, first, a letter written to me by Gen. Sadler, because, besides briefly summarizing the Fitch claim, it contains some very interesting historical matter concerning Mr. Fitch aside from the facts directly relating to the wonderful invention:

STATE OF NEW JERSEY,
OFFICE OF THE ADJUTANT GENERAL,
Trenton, January 25, 1915.

Hon. E. W. TOWNSEND,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. TOWNSEND: Supplementing my letter of a few days since, in regard to the Fitch matter, would say that on April 15, 1785, steam, as a motive power, was conceived by Fitch to be applied to carriages, then to vessels. On August 20, 1785, he exhibited a practical model, and on August 29, 1785, he memoralized Congress in respect to internal navigation, especially on the Mississippi. On September 27, 1785, he submitted drawings and models of his boat to the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia.

On March 18, 1786, New Jersey passed a law giving Fitch the sole and exclusive right to operate steamboats on the navigable waters of the State for 14 years. On February 3, 1787, Delaware granted similar rights, and on March 19, 1787, New York did the same. On March 28, 1787, Pennsylvania passed a similar act, and on November 7, 1787, Virginia did the same.

On July 26, 1788, Fitch made a trip in his boat, with witnesses, a distance of 20 miles, from Philadelphia to Burlington. On October 12, 1788, the boat ran from Philadelphia to Burlington carrying 30 passengers. In 1790 the boat made regular trips. On August 26, 1791, Congress granted letters patent covering a period of 14 years, and the document was signed by Washington, Jefferson, Randolph, and Gen. Henry Knox, the commissioners.

In 1793 Fitch went to France and left his drawings with Mr. Vail, which drawings were loaned to Fulton.

On July 2, 1798, Fitch died in Kentucky—probably committed suicide.

He was born in the town of Windsor, Conn., on January 21, 1743, and on December 29, 1767, married Lucy Roberts. In 1769, because of his unhappy married life, he left home, walked to Albany, then to New York and across New Jersey to Trenton, where he took up his residence. He started to make brass sleeve buttons and cleaned clocks, enjoying considerable prosperity, when the War of the Revolution commenced.

He enlisted in the American Army and was made first lieutenant of a company raised in Trenton. William Tucker, an old resident, was appointed second lieutenant, and Fitch proposed changing places with him because he felt that Tucker was more able to do military duty.

His services as gunsmith were soon so greatly needed that he was appointed armorer by the Committee of Safety of the Province of New Jersey, and so greatly were his services needed that he worked on Sunday, causing his expulsion from the Methodist Church. When the British reached Trenton in December, 1776, they destroyed his shop and his tools.

He, having crossed the river with the Army, was with Washington's forces at the Battle of Trenton, which occurred on December 26, 1776. After the battles of Trenton and the Battle of Princeton he located for a time in the town of Warminster, in Bucks County, Pa. He was with the American troops at Valley Forge.

In 1780 he was made a deputy surveyor, and did work in Kentucky and Virginia. In 1781 he surveyed in Virginia.

In 1782, while trying to take some boats to the Mississippi, he was captured near the mouth of the Muskingum River. Two of his party were shot and subsequently scalped. The balance were taken to Detroit, where there was a military post. Two weeks after their arrival at Detroit they were taken to Prison Island, reaching there on May 25, 1782. After five months they were taken to Quebec, and a month later were sent, for exchange, to New York, where they arrived after a voyage of 10 weeks, and were released.

Fitch made his way back to Warminster, and early in 1783 a company was formed and he was sent to survey lands in Virginia and Kentucky. In December, 1784, he petitioned Congress for an appointment as surveyor in the western country.

In April, 1785, it occurred to Fitch that steam power could be employed to move wagons along roads and he began to plan steam carriages. He gave this up, however, and turned his attention to the propelling of boats by steam. There is plenty of proof that Fitch's boat operated on the Delaware River in 1790, and, as you know, Fulton's boat was not operated on the Hudson until 1807.

I think I said in a former letter that James Rumsey claimed that he had first suggested the propelling of boats by steam. His claims were investigated by a committee of the Pennsylvania Legislature and a committee of the New Jersey Legislature, who decided that Rumsey had no claims whatever.

Fulton's steamboat, the *Clermont*, made the trip from New York to Albany at the rate of somewhat less than 5 miles an hour. Fitch's steamboat ran between 2,000 and 3,000 miles on the Delaware River during the summer of 1790, 17 years earlier, at the rate of from 7½ to 8 miles an hour.

I have many facts and much data on this subject, but feel that I should not burden you with more of it at this time, because I have given you a general outline. As I wrote you recently, I am having some photographs made of original documents, which I will forward to you within a few days.

If there are any further facts and figures that you would like to incorporate into your proposed speech, please do not hesitate to ask for them, as I feel that Fitch should be given some recognition and that the people of the country at large should in some way be made to understand that he and not Fulton was the inventor of the steamboat.

Very truly, yours,

W. F. SADLER, Jr.

Following the above letter of Gen. Sadler's I shall present in their order these seven documents in support of the Fitch claim, and which, I think, all fair-minded readers will concede make a demonstration of the validity of his claim. The documents are:

Petition of John Fitch to the New Jersey Legislature, February 27, 1786.

Petition of John Fitch to the New Jersey Legislature, March 14, 1786.

Affidavits of prominent men regarding John Fitch's boat, tubes, and boiler, 1788.

Report of committee, Pennsylvania Legislature, in favor of John Fitch, October 31, 1788.

Petition of John Fitch to the New Jersey Legislature, November 1, 1788.

Letter of John Fitch to the New Jersey Legislature, November 3, 1788.

Final petition of John Fitch to the New Jersey Legislature, November 25, 1788.

Petition of John Fitch to the Legislative Council and General Assembly of New Jersey, dated Trenton, February 27, 1786, stating that he "proposes to apply the force of steam engine to the use of navigation."

Requests appointment of a committee to examine his plans.

To the honorable the Legislative Council and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey:

The petition of the subscriber humbly showeth that your petitioner proposes to apply the force of steam engine to the use of navigation (by impelling vessels to go through the water with considerable rapidity without the assistance of winds or current) and many other useful purposes.

Wherefore, your petitioner humbly prays that your honors will be pleased to appoint a committee to examine the proposed plan, together with the opinions of several gentlemen of eminence and character in these Middle States, who have favored him with their certificates respecting it; and grant such encouragement to your petitioner, as on the report of your committee, his proposals may, in the wisdom of your honors, appear to deserve.

And your petitioner, etc.

JOHN FITCH.

TRENTON, *February 27, 1786.*

Petition of John Fitch to the Legislative Council and General Assembly of New Jersey, dated Trenton, March 14, 1786, stating that he has "constructed an easy method of urging boats through the water by the proper application of the force of steam." Requests exclusive privilege of constructing boats impelled by the force of steam.

This petition is indorsed by Robert Pearson, jr., A. Hunt, Stacy Potts, Thomas Yard, Samuel Tucker, Rensselaer Williams, John Stevens, jr., W. M. Bell, Isaac Smith, John Cox, Samuel W. Stockton, and W. C. Houston.

To the honorable the Legislative Council and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey:

The remonstrance and petition of John Fitch humbly showeth

That your petitioner having constructed an easy method of urging boats through the water by the proper application of the force of steam, whereby the inland navigation of these States is likely to be greatly promoted, the principles whereof have been honored with the approbation of gentlemen of the first character for philosophical knowledge in several of these States, who have expressed their desire of seeing it carried into execution by an experiment.

And as it has been the general practice of giving encouragement to new inventions and useful improvements by allowing their first projectors the advantage of their discoveries for some reasonable time, therefore your petitioner humbly prays

That your honors will be pleased to grant him the exclusive privilege of constructing boats impelled by the force of steam, and the advantages arising from that discovery, for such length of time as to your honors shall seem proper.

And your petitioner, etc.

JOHN FITCH.

TRENTON, *March 12, 1786.*

We, the subscribers, having examined the principles of the steamboat constructed by John Fitch, are of opinion that it may be the means of improving the inland navigation of these States to great advantage, and therefore that it deserves the protection and encouragement of the legislature.

ROBT. PEARSON, Jr.	JOHN STEVENS, Jr.
A. HUNT.	W. M. BELL.
STACY POTTS.	ISAAC SMITH.
THOS. YARD.	JOHN COX.
SAML. TUCKER.	SAML. W. STOCKTON.
RENSSEL'R WILLIAMS.	W. C. HOUSTON.

Certificates showing that John Fitch's steamboat, 60 feet in length, carrying upward of 30 passengers, steamed from Philadelphia to Burlington, a distance of 20 miles, in 3 hours and 10 minutes, on October 12, 1788; also certificates regarding his tubes and boilers. Signed by 15 prominent men of Pennsylvania.

Certified as true copies of originals produced by John Fitch before William Cavenough, notary public, Philadelphia, October 27, 1788.

PHILADELPHIA, *October 18, 1788.*

No. 1. We whose names are hereunto subscribed do certify that we have been in John Fitch's steamboat of 60 feet in length in the River Delaware when the said boat was propelled through the water with a considerable degree of velocity regularly and uniformly without any manual labor by the force of steam, and we are clearly of opinion that the rivers of America may be navigated by the means of steamboats, and that the present boat would be very useful on the western waters.

JOHN EWING.	JAMES HUTCHENSON.
ROBT. PATTERSON.	T. Y. MATLACK.
ANDREW ELLICOTT.	CHAS. PETTIT.
JOHN SMILLEY.	J. B. SMITH.
DAVID REDICK.	DAV'D RITTENHOUSE.

No. 2. This may certify that on the 12th instant we, the subscribers, went in Mr. John Fitch's steamboat from this city to the city of Burlington, 20 miles in the space of 3 hours and 10 minutes, there being upwards of 30 passengers on board, and that said boat was propelled through the water entirely by the force of steam; and from our own observations we are of opinion that the discovery which Mr. Fitch has made may be of much service to inland navigation.

JOHN POOR.
JOHN ELY.

PHILADELPHIA, *October 18, 1788.*

No. 3. On the 16th instant I was on board Mr. Fitch's steamboat in the river Delaware; saw it perform; and I do certify that it was impelled by the force of steam at the rate of at least 4 miles an hour against the strength of tide, and am fully convinced that the force applied to that boat would be sufficient to carry it against the most rapid waters between the mouth of French Creek, on the Allegheny, and the mouth of Muskingum, on the Ohio, and that on an average it would carry it between 3 and 4 miles an hour on any of the western waters.

JONA HEART,
Captain, First United States Regiment.

PHILADELPHIA, *October 18, 1788.*

No. 4. This may certify that I, the subscriber, was one of the committee appointed in March, 1786, by the general assembly of this State on the petition of John Fitch and Arthur Donaldson, respecting their several schemes for the improvement of navigation by means of steam engines; when Mr. Donaldson produced his plan to the committee for drawing water in at or near the bottom and forcing it out abaft as a means of propelling a vessel forward.

The committee having fully heard the petitioners and afterwards received Mr. Fitch's model of an invention for moving a boat by means of a steam engine, agreed to make a report to the house in his favor.

JAMES IRVINE.

PHILADELPHIA, *August 7, 1788.*

No. 5. Mr. Fitch, in his explanation of this draft to me, before he presented it to the Philosophical Society, mentioned that his intention of conveying the water from his forcing pump in a tube that passed through the fire was that it might thereby be set a boiling before it entered in the receiver, lest the cold water mixing with the boiling water in the receiver should impede the generation of the steam.

JOHN EWING.

No. 6. (Indorsed:) Presented to the society September 27, 1785.

R. PATTERSON, *Secretary.*

No. 7. Some time about the middle of the sixth month of 1786, I was consulted by Henry Voight, of this city, clock and watch maker, respecting the application of a spiral tube for the purpose of generating steam, a drawing of which he then showed me and requested my opinion of its utility if applied to John Fitch's steamboat. I advised him not to adopt it immediately, but wished him to make use of the common boiler till such time as the merits of this new invention should be fully ascertained by experiment.

Timothy Matlack, to whom this invention was communicated soon after my having first seen it, accompanied me yesterday to examine the tube itself, and found it nearly ready to be placed in the boat, and we are both clearly of opinion that it is constructed on the same principles with those of the plan at first exhibited to us.

At the request of said Henry Voight and John Fitch, partners in the steamboat, I hereby certify that the above-mentioned facts are truly stated in every respect, to the best of my knowledge and belief; and I also further declare that I have neither part nor share in the said steamboat nor any interest whatsoever in the concern.

JNO. NANCARROW.

PHILADELPHIA, *September 15, 1788.*

On the 17th day of September, 1788, before me, Isaac Howell, Esq., one of the justices, etc., came John Nancarrow, above named, and on his solemn affirmation, according to law, did declare and say that the above written certificate, signed by him, is true according to the best of his knowledge and belief.

JNO. NANCARROW.

Affirmed before me.

ISAAC HOWELL.

No. 8. About the last of June, 1786, Henry Voight, of this city, clock and watch maker, showed to me the draft of a spiral tube for generating steam, as a device of his own, for supplying cylinder of John Fitch's steamboat. John Nancarrow, of this city, an engineer by profession and much accustomed to the erecting of steam engines in England, was present at the time, and I then understood that he had been consulted upon it a few days before. We both advised Mr. Voight to exhibit the first experiment on the steamboat by means of the common great boiler rather than involve himself in the difficulties and delays which would probably arise in the execution of this new mode of generating steam. Mr. Nancarrow and myself have this day examined the tube, now nearly ready for the purpose aforesaid, and find that the principles on which it is constructed are the same with those of the said plan.

Mr. Voight having shown the plan aforesaid to me very soon after my arrival here from Georgia enables me to ascertain the time thus nearly.

At the repeated request of Mr. Voight and of John Fitch, I make known and certify the facts aforesaid; and I do declare that I have no part or share in the said boat.

TY. MATLACK.

PHILADELPHIA, *July 14, 1788.*

On the 17th day of September, 1788, before me, Isaac Howell, Esq., one of the justices, etc., came Timothy Matlack, above named, and on his solemn affirmation, according to law, did declare and say that the above written certificate, signed by him, is true according to the best of his knowledge and belief.

TY. MATLACK.

Affirmed before me.

ISAAC HOWELL.

I, William Cavenough, notary and tabellion in and for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, by lawful authority duly admitted and sworn, dwelling in the city of Philadelphia in the said Commonwealth, do hereby certify and attest unto all whom it doth or may concern, that the aforegoing writings from No. 1 to No. 8 do contain just and true copies of original certificates to me the said notary bona fide, produced by John Fitch in the said certificates named, and that I have carefully compared the said copies with their respective originals and do find them exactly to agree with each other. And I do hereby further certify that the several gentlemen signing and subscribing their names to the said certificates now are or heretofore have been in the posts, trusts, or employments hereinafter following their respective names, viz: John Ewing, provost of the university and vice president of the philosophical society; Robert Patterson, professor of mathematics and natural philosophy; Andrew Ellicott, professor of mathematics and astronomy in the Episcopal academy; John Smiley, member of the executive council for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania; David Redick, present vice president of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania; James Hutchenson, one of the secretaries of the philosophical society; Timothy Matlack, late secretary to the State executive council for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania; Charles Pettit, late Member of Congress from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania; Jonathan Bayard Smith, present prothonotary of the court of common pleas for the city and county of Philadelphia; David Rittenhouse, present treasurer for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania; John Poor; John Ely; Jonathan Heart, captain of the First United States Regiment; James Irvine, late vice president Commonwealth of Pennsylvania; John Nancanon.

In testimony whereof I, the said notary, have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal of office in Philadelphia aforesaid, the 27th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1788.

[SEAL.] WM. CAVENOUGH, *Notary Public.*

Report of the committee of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, dated October 31, 1788, in favor of John Fitch, and refusing the request of James Rumsey to operate the steamboat in the waters of the State of Pennsylvania:

The committee to whom was referred the petitions of James Rumsey, John Fitch, and Henry Voight beg leave to report—

That having examined the said petitions and with great attention heard the parties in support of their respective claims are unanimously of opinion that the law which grants to John Fitch an exclusive right to all boats propelled by fire and steam, hath not only secured unto him, his heirs, etc., the exclusive right to the method he had then invented for the purpose of applying the power of fire or steam in order to propel boats, but also whatsoever improvements he make himself or obtain from others during the time limited by said law. And however improper so extensive a law may be in its principles, yet considering that upon a faith of the said law, several citizens have spent much labor and money for which they are not yet reimbursed. And notwithstanding the legislature may have a right to repeal laws which convey grants that are highly injurious to the general welfare, yet the resuming such legislative grants ought never to be done unless upon the most pressing necessity.

Your committee therefore beg leave to offer the following resolutions, viz:

"*Resolved*, That the prayer of the petition of James Rumsey be granted, excepting so far as it respects the propelling of boats by the force of fire or steam.

"*Resolved*, That the prayer of the petition of Henry Voight can not be granted."

The foregoing is a true copy of the original remaining on the files of the General Assembly, Philadelphia, October 31, 1788.

J. SHALLUS, *Assistant Clerk.*

Petition of John Fitch to the General Assembly of New Jersey, dated November 1, 1788, protesting against the claims of James Rumsey:

To the honorable the Assembly of the State of New Jersey:

The petition of John Fitch, of the city of Philadelphia, humbly showeth—

That your petitioner, in consequence of the countenance and support granted him by the honorable the Legislature of New Jersey, as well as by four other of the Middle States, has with unremitted diligence and prodigious expense brought his steamboat to a very considerable degree of perfection, and is still pursuing his plan in full confidence of reaping the reward of his labors under the sanction of the laws he hath obtained. That your petitioner heard with great concern that a petition had been presented to your last honorable house by or on behalf of a certain James Rumsey with a view of obtaining a law to deprive him of his just and legal rights granted him by your honorable predecessors, and that your petitioner, the moment he heard of his design, hastened to Trenton, but did not arrive time enough before the house broke up, yet he had the happiness to find that nothing was done to the prejudice of your petitioner. That since that time a similar attempt was made on behalf of the said James Rumsey in the Assembly of Pennsylvania, who, by committee, gave a long and patient hearing to both parties, and they, by report, determined in the most solemn manner in favor of your petitioner, which report he begs leave to hand in herewith. That receiving intelligence of the renewed intentions of the friends of the said James Rumsey to repeat an application to your honorable house, your petitioner presents himself before you, praying that you will be pleased to do nothing to invalidate the laws heretofore solemnly made in his favor, but that your petitioner may be heard at the bar of your honorable house by counsel in defense of his rights, as well in support of his steamboat, as in support of his claims to the emolument and use of boiling water in a pipe or tube the more effectually to create steam, a mode he devised and laid before the Philosophical Society previous to any pretentions ever suggested by James Rumsey, which your petitioner is ready to prove. That the new Congress being vested by the Constitution with powers of granting exclusive rights for inventions, your petitioner flattered himself that instead of repeating his claims before the individual houses of assembly he should only have been called on by the said James Rumsey to support his several claims before that body, whereby much expense of time and money might be saved to the public and themselves; but if your honorable body should think proper to go into the business, your petitioner humbly prays that he may be allowed time and opportunity to defend his just claims and rights, and your petitioner as in duty bound will ever pray.

JOHN FITCH.

TRENTON, *November 1, 1788.*

Letter of John Fitch to the Legislature of New Jersey, dated November 3, 1788, in support of his petition of November 1, 1788, relative to his steamboat and pipe boiler.

States that his plan for a pipe boiler was laid before Congress in August, 1785, and recorded in the Philosophical Society in the following month. Intimates that James Rumsey obtained his ideas through improper methods:

To the honorable Legislature of the State of New Jersey, now sitting at Princetown, November 3, 1788:

The subscriber humbly begs leave to subjoin the following reasons to his petition in support of his just claims to his steamboat and pipe boiler, and doubts not but your indulgence will save a great expense and trouble in having the subject represented by counsel, which reasons are as follows, viz:

First. The law is positive and clear, and no explanation nor alteration can take place in assembly to the prejudice of the subscriber.

Second. That a patent stands on ground very different from a law, the one being open to all men, but the other to be obtained only after deliberation and public consent.

Third. The specification so warmly contended for applies to the power employed to produce the effect and not to any indifferent intermediate agent, such as wood, water, or iron. But if, for argument sake, this was even admitted, the part now urged was fully specified in the contest with the subscriber and Arthur Donnaldson before the Assembly of Pennsylvania, as per their minutes and Gen. Irvine's certificate.

Fourth. That the Law of Nations, vattel 36 and 200; the Law of England, 21 James I; constitution of New Jersey; and the special law in question are all clearly in his favor.

Fifth. That having expended his money and the money of others in full confidence of public faith their houses and their farms are not more firmly secured to them than the property conveyed by this law.

Sixth. That any limitation or restriction to the law not warranted by the law itself would be a violation of the Constitution, which directs all controversies about property to be divided in courts of justice. A contrary procedure would introduce a most alarming precedent.

Seventh. That all ways and modes of invention made public before the passing of the law are open to common use, unless special prior grants should interfere.

Eighth. That the invention now contended for of pushing water from the stern was published 50 years ago by Mons. Bernoulli, a celebrated genius, in France, and republished with improvements by Dr. Franklin before the passing of the law that no suggestion of ignorance of such publications shall avail a subsequent protender.

Ninth. That even if the arguments used in favor of James Rumsey contained any real weight, they are produced at a wrong hour. The law is passed, and it is too late. He made no objection in Virginia or elsewhere.

Tenth. That with respect to the boiler it was the original thought of the subscriber, and the similarity thereof is nowhere to be found in the books.

Eleventh. That the scheme of the subscriber was to convey water into the pipe and then convey the said pipe into the body and through the hottest part of the fire in order to boil the water before it went into the great receiver. This is explained and certified by the papers in the possession of the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia.

Twelfth. That this pipe, instead of being a trifling object, as contended by the counsel of Mr. Rumsey before the committee of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, is the only pipe and passes all the water consumed

by the engine, which in the present small machine consumes about 30 gallons in an hour.

Thirteenth. That the originality of the idea of boiling water in a pipe is recorded in the philosophical society September, 1785, a body recognized by law as capable of receiving such deposits, and that the said idea of pipe boiling can not be confined to any specific dimensions, otherwise every fresh foot of pipe added to an engine would require a fresh law.

Fourteenth. That the subscriber carried his plans and drawings to the Assembly of Virginia, everywhere exposing his scheme, and that from this first drawing either by direct or indirect means, by circuitous information, James Rumsey may have got the idea of the boiler he now claims. The plagiarism is certainly retortable with equal force to any charges against your petition.

Fifteenth. That James Rumsey, in his pamphlet and by the acknowledgment of his counsel before the committee of Pennsylvania, does not pretend to any idea of a pipe boiler longer ago than the winter of 1785–86, whereas a drawing and description of the pipe boiler of the subscriber was not only laid before Congress in August, 1785, but a drawing and description was lodged with the philosophical society in September, 1785.

Should this be the opinion of the legislature, the petition of James Rumsey will be laid aside.

JOHN FITCH.

NOVEMBER 3, 1788.

The final petition of John Fitch to the Legislative Council and General Assembly of New Jersey, dated November 25, 1788, claiming the pipe boiler as his original invention and protesting against the false pretensions of James Rumsey:

To the honorable Legislative Council and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey:

The petition of John Fitch humbly showeth—

That the legislature of this State did by a law passed in the month of March, 1786, vest in your petitioner the exclusive right of constructing, etc., steamboats within the State, granting him at the same time full power to apply any machinery on board his boat which he might deem proper, provided the boat was propelled by the force of fire or steam; that your petitioner has learned with grief and surprise that a bill is now lying before your honorable house to vest in James Rumsey an exclusive right to a pipe boiler, a machine that your petitioner has long used in his boat, and which is essentially necessary to the completion of that design for which your law was made in his favor.

Your petitioner humbly conceives that vesting such right in James Rumsey is an interference with private property already conveyed by law, and will produce such a clashing of laws as is impolitic in a well-regulated State. Your petitioner has authentic documents to prove that he was in possession of the secret of a pipe boiler as early as the year 1785, before your law in his favor was enacted, and that in September of that year he laid a drawing of it before the Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. After this period he communicated his principles to a friend and acquaintance of the said Rumsey, from whom he has reason to believe Mr. Rumsey adopted the idea. Mr. Rumsey's claim to the idea is many months posterior to this date; and as your petitioner had previously thereto communicated his views to the public without any reward, he conceives that he is entitled to the law he has obtained as his only emolument, and that the bill depending before your body if enacted into a law would be an unjust and cruel invasion of his indubitable right. The law on your table in his favor forbids any machine being made on the same principles with those of his description of boilers, which is giving the improvement either of Mr. Rumsey or Voight the preference of an original invention, as said description will undoubtedly include the original invention itself, which is invariably on the same principles. A precedent of this kind your petitioner conceives was never known—for the improver to take the preference of the original inventor. Therefore, if Mr. Rumsey or any other person even propose an improvement in the structure of the machine your law will preclude the legislature from framing a posterior law to advance this improvement to the rank and confer on it the emoluments of the original invention.

Your petitioner begs leave to remind this honorable body, moreover, that, as the encouragement of invention and genius and securing the property and benefits of them to the owner seems to be referred by the new Constitution to the Congress of the United States, it is probable this dispute between Mr. Rumsey and him will be ultimately decided before that body.

He therefore prays that, if it seem good to your honorable body, it may now be referred to that tribunal, and no law be passed at your present session. But should this legislature resolve at present to take up the bill, your petitioner humbly prays that he may be indulged with a hearing by his counsel before your honorable body in support of his rights. And your petitioner, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

JOHN FITCH.

PRINCETON, *November 25, 1788.*

The Relations of the District of Columbia to the General Government.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM P. BORLAND,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 2, 1915.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, I do not intend to discuss the intimate personal or local history of the District, nor to catalogue the various acts of Congress relating thereto, nor to present to you tedious statistics. I hope to take briefly a broad glance at the situation.

The District of Columbia exists by virtue of the provision of the Federal Constitution giving Congress exclusive jurisdiction over a district not exceeding 10 miles square which shall be ceded to the United States for the purpose of the seat of Government. The reason for this provision of the Federal Constitution is found in the early history of the Continental Congress and of Congress under the Articles of Confederation. The Federal Government, in its infancy and in its feebleness, found itself unable to command respect, maintain dignity, or even to protect its own peace and safety if required to meet in a city in some one of the States where the police authority and the maintenance of public order was entirely under the control of the local sovereignty. This was the compelling cause of the creation and establishment of the District of Columbia. It was desired that Congress should have exclusive jurisdiction over sufficient territory to establish in peace, dignity, and safety the National Capital, and to protect the administration of the national power and the sessions of the National Legislature. Washington is not only primarily a national capital; it is exclusively a national capital. It belongs to the people of the Nation. It has been determined that no government can exist in the District of Columbia, no matter what its form may be, which is independent of the Federal Government. The District of Columbia is not, never has been, and never can be an organized political entity like a State, nor even a corporate political entity like a municipality, with power to deal on a contractual basis with the Federal Government. I say this because it seems to be fashionable in discussing the affairs of the District to use the term "organic act" in referring to the act of 1878, and to talk of a solemn contract as though some contractual relations existed between two relatively equal bodies which could not be violated or altered without the consent of both. The reference to any particular act of Congress creating or altering its relations to the District of Columbia as an organic act, in the sense that word is used, in creating a new entity in the system of States, is a legal absurdity.

Congress is charged not only with the right but with the duty to deal with the District from time to time as altered conditions may justify. It is absurd to talk of an act as though it were irrepealable and beyond the power of amendment, or as though it were a contract based upon some form of valuable consideration. The only restriction upon the power of Congress to deal with the District is that it shall not invade private property rights except within the well-defined limitations of the exercise of the police and taxing power. Congress can exercise all of the usual powers of taxation over the District which are exercised by States through their municipalities or otherwise over the property of private citizens. Congress has not relinquished, waived, nor bargained away any portion of its taxing power, and it has no moral right to exempt private property in the District, either real or personal, from the operation of laws imposing taxes which are usual and necessary in other portions of the United States.

Prior to 1874 the District enjoyed a Territorial form of government with a species of local autonomy. In 1874 this local government broke down. The policemen, firemen, and city employees were unpaid, an enormous public debt had been contracted. The credit of the District was entirely exhausted, and at the same time the tax burden was very grievous. The physical appearance of Washington at that time must have been ludicrous if we believe the account of Louisa M. Alcott. She described in detail the pigs she met on Pennsylvania Avenue and their individual traits and habits. I suppose the cows still fed in Lafayette Square at that time. The debt which had been incurred for public improvements was out of all proportion to the population of the city, and any tangible results were scarcely apparent. Various reasons were given for this humiliating condition. It is said that the great number of ex-slaves who poured into Washington during and following the Civil War demoralized the local government and introduced an element of ignorance and corruption which made home rule impossible. This may be partially true, but the demoralizing effects of the Civil War were by no means confined to Washington. Hundreds of municipalities and a score of States were struggling with the unusual burdens and revolutionary changes of that period, and they were required to meet their problems unaided by the Federal Government. The truth is that all of the larger cities of the country were suffering from the era of extravagance and corruption which followed the Civil War. New York had its "Tweed ring" which saddled it with an enormous public debt. Many of the cities throughout the country were burdened with public obligations recklessly imposed upon the people without adequate return. Private property was everywhere confiscated by the tax burdens to meet these obligations. Many of the

cities were utterly unable to refund their public indebtedness at any rate of interest, and public securities were considerably below par.

Some American municipalities actually went out of existence as a means of avoiding this weight of obligations, which were wholly political and largely fraudulent. Washington, however, was fortunate in being the National Capital. It was imperative that a city government be maintained here of the best type, and that it be done without the confiscation of private property. Law, order, and the usual functions of the local government must be carried on and paid for. Washington must not be permitted to suffer from the sins of its political rulers, or even from its own sins, although other American municipalities could hope for no special relief. In 1874 the District was put into the hands of the receivers, and its affairs were straightened out by Congress. The Federal Government contributed by special appropriations as much as was needed to keep the District government running, and even to provide for the interest on the public debt.

I will not stop now to discuss the honesty of this public debt, nor whether the refunding of it, which was accomplished by the Federal receivers, was in the interest of the local bondholders or in the interest of the people. I do not know whether the persons who claimed to own the bonds paid 30 cents on the dollar for them or less. I do not know how many private fortunes in the District or elsewhere began with the refunding of these bonds. It is utterly useless to stir the depths of that stagnant pool. I do know, however, that the financial and property-owning interests in the District were treated liberally at that time by Congress, as they have been treated liberally ever since.

The act of 1878 establishing a permanent government for the District of Columbia proved to be a wonderful blessing to the District. Its liberality to the District is doubtless due to the utter financial and political prostration in which the District was then found. It is the wildest dream of the imagination to call it a solemn contract, as though it were a contract between two independent and competent parties. It imposed then and imposes now no obligations upon the Federal Government beyond the obligation contained in the Federal Constitution to provide a seat of government for the Federal power. The false note in all of this recent discussion has been to treat the interest of the property owners of the District as something entirely apart from the rights of other American citizens. The District was not created and is not governed in the interest of those who choose to buy real estate here. It is not a foreign nation or principality with whom a treaty must be made. The taxes collected in the District are not tribute from a fallen foe, but they are a part, and only a very small part, of the money which Congress has lavished on the National Capital.

The act of 1878 relieved the District from its embarrassments and removed a great load from private property. It prevented the confiscation of property by excessive taxation. It relieved the people of the District from the results of mismanagement. It refunded the public debt at the rate of 3.65 per cent interest. At that time no State or municipality in the Union could refund its public debt for less than 6 per cent, and in most cases, on account of the sale of the bonds below par, they were paying from 8 per cent to 10 per cent. For more than 30 years the District has enjoyed this low rate of interest.

This would be a great benefit even if the District had to pay all of the principal and interest, which is no more than all other American municipalities were compelled to do with indebtedness of this character. This result was achieved by placing the credit of the United States behind the bonds. It is now claimed that the United States not only guaranteed the bonds, but jointly agreed to pay them. If the technicalities are with the District in this matter, the people of the United States must submit, whatever may be the moral aspect of the question. The act of 1878 not only saved the District at the time, but has made possible its continuous growth and improvement. It has made it truly a national capital. Congress has paid 50 per cent of the running expenses of the District, and in addition thereto it has spent a large amount of money in improving the District in various ways, which is not charged against the District. These improvements are of a class that other cities would have to pay for themselves, or look to the generosity of some patriotic citizen. The most striking of these is the park system. Congress has done so much for the District in addition to its contribution of one-half of the running expenses that it may be truly said that we found Washington of mud and left it of marble.

The act of 1878 provides that taxation in the District should be limited to 15 mills on all of the real property and upon all personal property not taxable elsewhere. This is a very moderate rate of taxation. It must be remembered that this rate covers all of the taxation paid by a property owner in the District. It includes what in other States throughout the Union would be divided into several additional assessments. It includes not only the general expenses of the District government, but the school taxes, street improvements, special assessments, road taxes, and so forth. While in the other municipalities an additional tax for the support of the county and State is assessed.

The rate of assessment in the District of Columbia is 66⅔ per cent of the cash value. In other cities the rate of assessment runs from 33⅓ to 100 per cent, so that it requires some care to compare the tax rate in the District with the tax rate elsewhere, and it is very easy to make misleading figures. The statistics are available in a speech of Judge Prouty, of Iowa, in Congress, and therefore I will not repeat them. It is sufficient to say that the cost of government per capita is higher than in any other city, except New York and Boston, while the rate of taxation per dollar on property in the District is the lowest of any municipality of 100,000 people or over, and the per capita wealth in Washington is the greatest of any city on the globe. Fifteen mills is the average taxation in American cities for city purposes alone, which does not include such taxes as the school tax, and special improvements such as street paving, and frequently does not include park taxes. In addition to this the property owner in the average American city must pay county taxes and State taxes. The aggregate which he pays runs from 30 to 50 mills on the dollar. If the assessment of property were only half the assessment of property in the District of Columbia he would in that case pay more taxes, but the assessment probably averages very close to the assessment of the District of Columbia.

Property in the District of Columbia is not overtaxed. I may illustrate by a comparison with my own city of Kansas City, Mo. That city raises approximately $6,000,000 for city purposes, including the general fund, schools, and public improvements, and it raises about $3,000,000 more for county and State purposes. Thus this city, which is fairly moderate in its tax rate, has constructed one of the most beautiful park systems in the world, raises $9,000,000 from 250,000 people, while the city of Washington raises about $7,000,000 from 350,000 people. In that city the special improvements such as street paving are paid for by the abutting property owners, and this is an almost universal rule in American cities. The Supreme Court of the United States has declared that these improvements are special benefits which are not properly included in the general term "taxes."

The act of 1878 provided that there should be levied in the District of Columbia a tax of 15 mills on all real estate and all personal property not taxable elsewhere. It does not seem to be generally understood by the people of Washington that this act has been violated for 30 years in the interest of a privileged class. In the act of Congress providing the machinery for the assessment of personal property in the District the words in the act of 1878 were changed by the addition of the word "tangible" before the words "personal property." I would not undertake to say how this word "tangible" crept into the law. The result is that there is no legal machinery in the District for the taxation of intangible personal property, such as stocks, bonds, and investment securities generally. A merchant pays on his stock of goods because that is tangible, but the banker or the owner of invested capital pays nothing on his securities. There is no inheritance tax in the District of Columbia, although such a tax exists very generally in the American States. The low tax rate of 15 mills, the exemption of intangible personal property, and the absence of an inheritance tax have resulted in bringing to the District of Columbia a large number of invested fortunes representing wealth which was not created in the District, but which was created in some one of the several States. The owner of one of these invested fortunes who thus withdraws his wealth from the State which produced it, and where it can be subject to taxation, practically escapes taxation on it by becoming nominally a legal resident of the District of Columbia. The State from which he withdrew the fortune is doubly wronged, for it not only loses that taxable wealth, but it continues to pay its full quota of the expenses of the District of Columbia for the protection and enjoyment of the owner of the fortune. In my judgment this condition of affairs is morally and economically wrong.

The fact that Washington is the National Capital is no reason for providing tax exemptions in favor of those citizens who can remove their wealth here. Property in the District of Columbia should be assessed and taxed upon an equal and just basis in comparison with property in other American cities. Of all localities in the country the National Capital should be the last place where invested wealth can escape its just share of public burdens. An experience on the District of Columbia

Committee and a subsequent service on the Appropriations Committee of the House has led me to believe that to bring the taxes within the District to a just level with taxes outside of the District it is necessary, first, to segregate public improvements from the general fund, and tax them upon the abutting property owner. Second, to provide for the taxation of intangible wealth on the same basis as tangible property. Third, to provide for an inheritance tax. All of these reforms will meet with bitter opposition from certain elements in the District, but no reform is ever popular and no tax was ever received with enthusiasm. If these reforms are accomplished the District, instead of raising $7,000,000 annually, will raise $11,000,000.

The plan of paying one-half of the District expenses out of the Federal Treasury and one-half out of the District revenues is responsible for keeping static these abuses of the taxing system. In practice the plan is that every dollar raised in the District shall be matched with a dollar out of the Federal Treasury. If the untaxed wealth in the District were subject to taxation and the revenues of the District correspondingly increased the charge upon the Federal Treasury would also be increased. As long as the $7,000,000 raised from small house owners and business men, supplemented by an equal amount from the Federal Treasury, is ample for the District expenses no serious attempt is made to tax the exempt classes. As soon as a serious attempt is made it will reveal that the half-and-half plan has long since performed its function, and is becoming an increasing burden to the Federal Government, and a temptation to extravagance. Hence the sacredness of the half-and-half plan is the citadel of privileged wealth. It is sometimes urged in justification of the half-and-half principle that the Federal Government owns half of the real estate in the District. So far as I can find this was never true. When the boundaries of Washington extended only to Florida Avenue it may have been possible to make such a showing by charging to the Federal Government all of the area of streets, squares, parks, and other land used for city purposes, as well as that used for Federal purposes. My best information is that the Federal Government actually occupies for Federal purposes less than 100 acres in the District of Columbia. It has the title to a great deal of land like the big parks and the tiny parks at the intersection of avenues, which it has acquired for the beautification of the city, and which it holds not as a private landowner but as trustee for the public. Most of the avenues shown on the map as of exceptional width are not so in fact, the surplus width being actually fenced into the front yards of the adjoining proprietors. I believe that all of the public land in the District will total less than 20 per cent of the area of the District.

The half-and-half plan of contributing to the support of the District has broken down and must be repealed. Its absurdity as applied to the present conditions is shown by the following facts: When the law was originally passed in 1878 the revenues of the District were only about $3,000,000, and it was necessary for the Federal Treasury to contribute an equal amount in order to maintain a city government fit for a national capital. To-day the revenues of the District are more than $7,000,000. If the Federal Government is required by law to contribute an equal amount, the total is $14,000,000. Congress has only found it necessary to appropriate $12,000,000 for all the expenses of the local government. This leaves a surplus which will have to be used in one of three ways: Either it must be spent foolishly and extravagantly in raising salaries and in unnecessary public work to support a ring of contractors and bankers, or it must be used to reduce the already low tax of 15 mills on the property in the District, or it must remain in Uncle Sam's Treasury until needed. I favor the last. Why should we yield to the clamor of bankers and contractors in the District? Why should we decrease the taxes on the real estate speculators in the District when we are compelled, by the war in Europe, to increase the taxes of all other American taxpayers?

The situation is getting worse yearly. Next year the District revenues will be $8,000,000, and if the half-and-half plan is maintained Uncle Sam will have to add another $8,000,000. Soon the District revenues will be $10,000,000, and if doubled under the existing law there will be $20,000,000 to spend and waste. I favor the amendment that proposes to apply the District revenues to the expenses of the District government as far as available and pay the balance of the expenses out of the Federal Treasury. This is fair to the District. It does not raise the taxes of a single merchant or small home owner in the District, but it does enable Congress to pass laws to catch the tax dodgers and to tax the untaxed wealth of the District without at the same time being compelled to match every dollar raised in the District with a dollar out of the Federal Treasury and thus raise the taxes of the whole United States. The Federal Government owns certain property in the District which is used exclusively for the city, and which brings in a revenue, like the market house and the fish wharf. It makes the District a present of these revenues, and then it has to match them, under the present law, by an equal amount out of the Federal Treasury. Every time a saloon keeper on Pennsylvania Avenue pays $1,000 license the people of the United States have to pay an additional $1,000 for that saloon.

The half-and-half plan should be repealed. It is unjust to the people of the United States and demoralizing to the people of the District. But dinner-table diplomacy is a fine art in Washington. Many Members of Congress and more Senators are found voting for the exemption for the rich in Washington that they would not dare vote for in their home cities. I know a Senator who had no sooner reached Washington than he sent back and sold his home in his own city and bought a new and fashionable house here. Of course he is silent as the tomb on tax reform in the District.

The half-and-half plan should be modified by providing that a fair tax be levied upon all private property in the District at approximately the same rate that such property would bear in other American cities and that the Federal Government should contribute either on the basis of its holdings as a private landowner, or on the basis of the increased burdens, if any, which it places on the District to maintain a higher standard of government than would be necessary in other cities.

Much has been said about making Washington a beautiful city, and the appeal to the Nation at large is always on this basis, but it is utterly impossible to show any connection between these tax exemptions and the beautification of Washington. Washington has been beautified by Congress, and will continue to be so beautified without expense to the property owners, and thus Washington enjoys an advantage which no other city can possibly enjoy. It is more than probable that the liberality of Congress has discouraged rather than encouraged the growth of the spirit of public enterprise in the District. The presence of the Federal Government has never been a burden on the people of Washington, but is an asset to any city. Uncle Sam has a pay roll of $50,000,000 a year in Washington, and no panic has ever stopped his pay roll.

The present plan of the city of Washington follows, in a general way, the plans of Maj. L'Enfant, which were made out at the instance of President Washington. As far as they have been adhered to, they have resulted in a very beautiful city, although beauty was not the primary reason for such plans. The first element to be considered in a national capital is not beauty, but strength and defensibility. In this respect Washington is woefully deficient. Twice in our national history we have found that Washington was utterly incapable of defense from a military standpoint. In 1814 the disaster really happened; in 1864 it was only threatened. However, the National Capital is here, and whether it be defensible or not, it has around about it the powerful arms of Uncle Sam, and the whole Nation must stand or fall with the Capital. The Capital can not protect the country, nor be the last citidal of its strength, as is the case in most powerful nations, but the country can and will protect the Capital in any case of risk. The plans of Maj. L'Enfant contemplated that Washington should be laid out on a very generous scale. The usual number of streets were provided for, but of a width which was then thought unusual. In addition to the usual streets were the avenues running diagonally across the city, which were all of unusual width. At the crossing of these avenues were arranged circles and squares. At a glance it would appear that this was a plan merely to beautify the city, and a design to create a large amount of public grounds and open space within the District. We know, however, that this was not the primary object. The idea was adapted from Napoleon's plans for Paris, and is a very useful and effective way of guarding against a sudden rising of the populace, accompanied by rioting and mob violence, which so frequently disturbs capitals and threatens the Government. Napoleon conceived the idea that if a sufficient number of circles and squares, connected by broad avenues, could be dispersed throughout the city of Paris, he could plant artillery at the circles and sweep any one of the radiating avenues clear of a mob in a very few moments. The most striking example of this idea is La Place d'Etoile, in Paris, which, taking advantage of a little knoll, is surrounded by radiating boulevards like the spokes of a wheel. From this commanding point of Paris all that side of the Seine can be held in order by a minimum number of men and guns. Fortunately we have never been called upon to put this idea to a test in Washington.

The plan remains with us as one of those happy accidents which produce beauty and which are the despair of the artist who labors so hard with line, scale, and rule to accomplish, in the creation of artistic beauty, that which is so frequently done without his aid or even his knowledge.

It took Washington three-fourths of a century to grow into L'Enfant's plan; but what is three-fourths of a century in the life of a nation? It is well for us that the plan was comprehensive enough at the beginning. About a decade ago it was assumed that an improvement could be made upon L'Enfant's plan, and a committee of artists was set to work on a plan for the beautification of Washington. This has resulted in some fragmentary good. It has resulted in the permanent reclamation of the unsightly swamp near the Potomac Drive. It may further result in the grouping of public buildings in some artistic and imposing way. As far as I can discover, however, it has utterly neglected the possibilities of beauty in other locations of the District. It did not take advantage, as it might have, of the beautiful circle of hills surrounding Washington and the wonderful valleys behind them. It provided no circling boulevards adapted to the topography of the country, opening up the more remote sections of the District for future development. It is not for me, as a mere layman and an untutored barbarian, to criticize a plan gotten up by a committee which themselves admit that they are fine artists. It is my misfortune, however, to grasp only the art which links itself to nature, and smell with a rather keen nose the midnight oil which betrays the laborious efforts of the literary hack or the artistic hack, to grasp only the conventionalities of others. However, we should all be gratified, though we may differ as to details, that Washington is rapidly becoming the most beautiful capital in the world, and the only danger that we have of marring its beauty is in overloading it with too many statues and monuments, many of which we may eventually destroy. In the brief time of six years that I have served in Congress 11 statues or monuments, or an average of two a year, have been constructed. This is going fast enough, it seems to me, for a capital which we hope will endure for several hundred years at least.

The obligations of the Federal Government toward the National Capital do not stop with a mere reform in its financial relations. It should be the aim of Congress, with the cooperation of the people of the District, to build here not only the most beautiful but the most progressive city in the country. Living conditions in Washington should reflect the high type of the American ideal of city life. A city is both a home and a workshop. In most of the American cities the workshop idea predominates, because their very existence as cities depends upon their industry and commercial operations. In Washington the home idea predominates.

The great population of Washington is dependent upon the existence here of the seat of the Government. The largest employer of labor in the District is Uncle Sam, and even the commercial and financial interests here are dependent upon the business created by the sessions of Congress and the employees of the Federal Government. Washington is not a manufacturing city, and never will be. It is entirely unlikely that Congress would encourage or even tolerate the creation of manufacturing districts in the District of Columbia, with the massing of industrial population, the danger of strikes, boycotts, lockouts, the fluctuation in the labor market, caused by recurring trade depressions, and all of the problems which arise in an industrial center. No one but a few real estate agents could possibly profit by the establishment of manufacturing industries in the District. In all other respects it would be a distinct and irreparable disadvantage. On the other hand, Washington will be not only the Nation's Capital and the center of its political life, but in many respects the center of its artistic, literary, and scientific life. It will always be a great educational center and will be the greatest convention city of the United States. We are on the eve of a new awakening of the civic consciousness all over our land. Cities which have boasted only of their material wealth and their pagan appeals to the senses are beginning to have a soul. This soul of the city is a realization of the demands of social justice. The humblest worker in the city is entitled to decent conditions for home and family life. He is not only entitled to them, but through the inscrutable justice of Providence we realize that he will either get them or inflict the penalty upon the city at large. Slum politics have never plundered Washington as they have other cities, but slum conditions exist here, because they are a by-product of American civilization. A city can not be made exclusively of boulevards, parks, grand-opera houses, and public buildings. Washington should not only be known throughout the world as the city beautiful, but as the city with a soul. This is a type of civic effort in which the good people of Washington can command the enthusiastic support of the Nation. Many other American cities are far in advance of Washington in grasping this problem, although they have greater burdens to carry and greater problems to solve.

The time has come for constructive legislation for the city of Washington. Not constructive in the mere sense of expending Federal money wisely or unwisely in the purchase of property or the erection of public buildings, but constructive in the sense of establishing a rule of social justice which will bring the city organism to its highest development.

In my view, the first step in this direction is a reform in the tax laws, by which special privilege should be abolished and all taxpayers made to stand on an equal footing. Second, the abolishment of the alley slums, with their danger of physical and moral contamination. Third, the rehousing of the former slum dwellers in sanitary quarters. Fourth, the physical appearance of all parts of the District should be improved, including the reclamation of the Anacostia Flats, the bed of Rock Creek, and other abandoned spots. Both banks of the Potomac should again be in the control of the District by a recession of the Virginia shore. Fifth, a control of the public utilities of the District. There should be universal transfers between the street car lines, and better car service. The price of gas in the District is now 85 cents, while in Indianapolis, Ind., it is 60 cents and in many other American cities it ranges from 70 cents to 75 cents. Electric current in the District is selling at 10 cents per kilowatt, and the greatest natural hydroelectric power in the world lies at the very door of the District without being used. As fast as these public utilities come under public ownership they should be put upon a business basis, so that they will pay not only their running expenses, but the sinking fund represented by the investment. Sixth, the schools should be made social centers, especially in view of the fact that the plain citizens of Washington have no other common meeting point. All of the schools should be modernized on the Gary plan. They should be made not only centers of instruction for the children, but for the adults as well. They should combine manual training, public baths, public playgrounds, physical and public recreation, day nursery, and library features. They should be open every night, either for public discussion or amusement, and available for any legitimate meeting, either political, civic, or social. In offering recreation of this kind they should lead to a higher standard of citizenship by putting low-class and doubtful places of amusement out of business. Seventh, if I may borrow again an illustration from my own city of Kansas City, Washington should have a board of public welfare to look after the condition of its police court, its juvenile court, public dances, cafés, and other places of resort, and expending its activity in helpful ways for the young citizens, especially the inexperienced boys and girls, who may drift into the dangerous environments of a big city. Kansas City, under the direction of its welfare board, even conducts a free legal aid bureau for poor women and laboring men who can not afford to go to law to secure their rights. It conducts a municipal loan bureau, which has almost solved the loan-shark evil. These are some of the constructive measures which ought to find their highest development in the Nation's Capital, so that life here would not only be more beautiful, but purer and cleaner than ever before in the world's history. Before we had gotten very far on such a program as this, Washington would not only be known as the most beautiful city, but as the city with a soul.

A Tribute to Cotton.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. ABERCROMBIE,

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 3 (legislative day of Tuesday, March 2), 1915.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Mr. Speaker, under the privilege extended by the House I shall print in the RECORD the beautiful tribute to cotton which our able, eloquent, and popular colleague, the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MCKELLAR], delivered on the occasion of a social meeting held recently in the city of Washington for the purpose of promoting the culture, the manufacture, and the use of the South's chief product. Always eloquent and happy in expression, Mr. MCKELLAR was

unusually happy and eloquent on that occasion. He impersonated "King Cotton," and spoke as follows:

I am King Cotton! "Master of human destinies am I. Fame, Love, and Fortune upon my footsteps wait." I clothe the world with my fleecy staple and from my juicy kernel I give food to all mankind and to all beasts. My mother was Discovery, my father was Invention, and Manufacture has made me famous in every land under the sun. I bring wealth to all who deal in me—to those who plant me, to those who raise me, to those who sell me, to those who buy me, to those who keep and protect me, to those who ship me, to those who manufacture me into splendid fabrics—to all of these I bring wealth, and to every living creature that uses me I bring comfort, contentment, and happiness.

I am the fabled Atlantis, the long-sought-for Eldorado, the Golden Fleece, the modern Aladdin's lamp! Men of every nation and clime seek me out in order to become rich and happy. I make every man that wears me comfortable. I make every woman that clothes herself with me both comfortable and beautiful. All men are my worshipers and all women are my subjects.

Peace and Prosperity and Happiness are my friends. They go hand in hand with me through every land and on every sea. When they are with me my joy is complete. When they leave me I am undone and miserable. I have but two enemies, and they are sordid Poverty and awful War. To-day these enemies greatly oppress me. They have desolated my peaceful dominions; they have usurped my market places; they have destroyed my ships; they have taken away my Prosperity and Happiness!

My annual revenue is greater than that of any other king or potentate, however rich or powerful. My name is on the lips of every civilized person, directly or indirectly, on every day. There is no electric wire in existence that does not carry daily report of me. There is no great newspaper that does not advertise me. When my price is low, the years are lean. When my price is high, the years are fat. I am the first aid to the sick and wounded. I am the last resting place of the dead. I dwell in the palace of the rich. I am ever at home in the humble cottage of the poor. I am used in battle, in murder, for the purposes of wounding and killing, and then my glossy folds are the first to wrap the bodies of the killed or maimed. I am the best freight of railroads and the most fruitful cargo of ships.

I sail under every flag and am the flag itself; but I love best the flag that I make for my country. Paraphrasing the words of another: Go to the uttermost limits of the earth, follow the remotest waves of the sea, stand on any spot in the vast expanse of sea or land, and look up and behold the flag of your Republic, and the starry banner that streams above your head will recall at the dawn's early light and the twilight's last gleaming the genius and soul of my wonderful fabric, which shines from every star and glistens from every stripe.

To-night, therefore, I have called together all my loyal subjects to listen to words of wisdom spoken by our Royal Counsel, Senator HOKE SMITH. He will deliver to you words of skill and craftiness, touching how we may recover our lost dominions and forever put an end to our enemies, evil Poverty and horrid War. Hear ye him!

Sales of Arms and Munitions of War to Belligerents.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEPHEN G. PORTER.
OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 3 (legislative day of Tuesday, March 2), 1915.

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, the deep interest which our people are taking in promoting the passage of the resolutions pending before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives prohibiting the shipment of arms and munitions of war to the belligerent nations of Europe and Asia is most gratifying. I know of no better evidence of the lofty moral standards of our people, who believe with the lamented McKinley, that "there must be a constant movement toward a higher and nobler civilization" than the efforts being made to stop the shipment of murderous instruments of war to these unfortunate countries.

I hold no brief for any of the contending nations, and if my recital of historical facts may appear to favor one nation over another such is not my purpose. My sole object in the use of these facts being to support my contention in favor of the establishment by our country of a higher standard of morality by stopping the shipment of the "things which kill" to the warring nations of Europe and Asia.

The pioneer, in clearing the land, gathers all the stumps, brush, and débris into a great pile, and after it is thoroughly dried it takes but a single match to start the conflagration. The political conditions in Europe and Asia for the last two decades have been very much like the pioneer's brush pile—it required but a match to start a conflagration which has appalled mankind and caused civilization to perish among the belligerent nations.

Nearly all the wars of the past were commercial. While their commercial nature may not appear at the first glance, a careful analysis of the causes leads the mind to the inevitable conclusion that it was the desire for gain which brought them about. There is no difference between the wars of conquest of ancient times and the wars for commercial supremacy of modern times; they both sought the same end, money, the love of which Holy Writ tells us is "the root of all evil." Certainly it is the foundation of all wars. Civilization, or so-called civilization, throughout the centuries has never been able to resist the "metallic voice of the Goddess of Commercialism" which, with racial prejudice and religious intolerance, has always stood in the way of human progress. They have been the enemies of civilization. Some great thinkers contend that we should measure our civilization by the extent of war. If this rule be correct, then this is the most uncivilized era in the world's history.

Our recent War with Spain is a splendid exception to this statement, in which, actuated by the purest motives, solely in the interests of humanity, and guided by the gentle McKinley, we reached out the hand of brotherhood to crushed and bleeding Cuba, bade her arise and be free and take her proper place among the nations of the earth. The return by the Government to China of our share of the indemnity arising out of the Boxer insurrection, and other beneficent acts which I have not the time to enumerate, have established for this Nation in the eyes of the world a moral standard of the highest order. Why not apply the same noble morality to the shipment of arms and munitions of war to Europe and not allow the desire for gold to make us a party to the carnage which is now going on in those stricken countries? If we could remove the powerful opposition of the commercial side of these transactions, there is no question in my mind but that these shipments would stop and stop at once. I am a firm believer in retributive justice, and every dollar we receive from the sales of instruments of war will do us more harm than good, as they are bathed in the blood of our fellow men and the tears of widows and orphans. A humane and just neutrality in this war, founded upon the eternal principles of justice and right, will be of more value to this Nation than all the wealth of Europe.

For many years we have heard talk, in season and out, of universal peace. Where are these peace advocates in the present crisis, at least those who are not busily engaged in keeping The Hague Peace Palace out of the range of cannon balls? With the exception of Dr. BARTHOLDT and a few of his associates, they are all conspicuous by their silence.

There is only one practical way to prevent war, to some extent at least, and that is by the absolute refusal by all neutral nations to supply the belligerents with supplies of any kind. This international policy would at least shorten wars. If Russia had known when she declared war against Japan that she could not secure arms and ammunition from Germany, or Japan had known that she could not secure similar material from England, they both would have hesitated before entering the contest. If Russia had known before the beginning of this war that she could not buy cannon from her recent enemy, Japan, or if England and France had known they could not depend upon this vast storehouse of ours for even food for their people, the sword would have remained much longer in its scabbard. To those who look upon these shipments solely through the eyes of "Mammon" I call their attention to the fact that almost every line of business in this country is affected by the war. Thousands and tens of thousands are out of employment; abnormal conditions are arising even in regard to our own food supply, and the quicker this war is ended the better it will be for the commercial life of this Nation. Take a sordid view of the transaction if you desire—are we helping ourselves commercially by aiding and abetting the prolongation of the war? That our assistance to the belligerent nations will prolong it is a conceded fact; even the Secretary of State admits it in his official interview of two weeks ago.

The immediate profits from this unrighteous trade may be considerable; and brushing aside all considerations of humanity, have you ever considered how costly they may be to us in the future? A friend of mine has a relative fighting in the German trenches in northern France. She received a letter from him recently, and it, no doubt, represents the sentiment of the German soldiers. Translated, it reads as follows:

The part which your country plays in this war has indeed changed. Wilson's fine proclamation at the beginning of the war was received here with great interest and joy. It breathed sincere neutrality. We had not expected more, and we remembered the saying in the Bible that "the letter killeth, the spirit giveth life," for it was a neutrality even of the thoughts that the President called for. Months have gone by in the field, and now we are confronted by the fact that we are assailed by American-made shells and shrapnel, perhaps also by bullets, bombs, and other death-dealing instruments of the same origin. The letter of the law may be on your side, but where now is the spirit of neutrality? Our statesmen may yet succeed in preventing animosity between Germany and the United States; that may satisfy statesmen,

but in the place where the heart of the German people beats now—that is, here at the front—opinion is different. We German soldiers can make no distinction between those who shoot at us with shells and those who prepare and sell them with the definite knowledge of their ghastly use. One is just as much our enemy as the other. After the war it will be hard for us to remember the actions of your world of trade.

The duty of the American people in this situation is plain and simple—maintain not only a strict but an honest neutrality. Ours should be the cold neutrality of an impartial judge, not only because it is right but because it is likely this Nation will be called upon to act as judge or arbiter in the final settlement of the war. We should be, as President Wilson so well put it in his neutrality proclamation—

Neutral in fact as well as in name, and we must put a curb on every transaction which might give a preference to one party in the struggle over another.

Webster defines neutrality as "lending no active assistance to either or any belligerent." Are we neutral when our factories for the manufacture of munitions of war are working night and day, many of them building extensions to their plants, so as to take care of the increased business, and all sending shiploads of deadly implements to aid the allies in carrying on the warfare? Can any reasonable human being suggest anything that would be more unneutral or more inhuman or more in violation of the traditions of our country than this?

The only answer which the opponents of this movement to stop these shipments make is the very remarkable one that unless we do so we violate our neutrality, and base their arguments on the customs of nations. This world, to an extent at least, is ungoverned, and while we call the diplomatic notes exchanged between Governments, the treaties between nations, and international customs, international law, there is no forum for their enforcement except the battlefield. These precedents of international law were created, in most instances, by the power of the sword and are not founded upon right and justice which should govern the affairs of men as well as nations. It is a case where "might makes right." A noted English author once said, "That which is boldly asserted and plausibly maintained is law." This certainly is true of international law, especially when it is asserted at the cannon's mouth. If the warring nations had equal opportunity to buy from us our positions would not be so untenable, but ever since the defeat of the Spanish Armada England has been mistress of the seas, and no specious argument can convince a reasonable man that we are not directly aiding and abetting the allies in carrying on this war by these shipments.

The Secretary of State, in an official interview, carefully refrains from defending these shipments on their merits, but declines to interfere solely on the ground that we are within the rules of international law in permitting them. Conceding our merchants and manufacturers have a right under a flimsy and immoral rule of international law to do so, and in making these unholy sales they are "within the law," were not many of the grave crimes of history committed "within the law"? It is an amazing defense of a moral crime for a public official to make who has delighted tens of thousands of our citizens with his lofty ideals and purity of thought and action. He goes further and says we are bound to do so, otherwise we violate our neutrality. In this contention he is without the support of a single precedent or tradition of our national history. On the contrary, Congress, on May 22, 1794, prohibited for one year the shipment of munitions of war. In 1807 it passed a general embargo on all shipments, on the recommendation of President Jefferson. On April 12, 1812, on request from President Madison, it again passed a general embargo. Even as late as 1905 President Roosevelt issued a proclamation forbidding the export of arms to the Dominican Republic. All of these embargoes violated our neutrality if the opinion of the present Secretary of State is correct, but diplomatic history does not disclose a single protest from any of the nations affected thereby.

If these three great Presidents—Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, and Mr. Roosevelt—were right in recommending embargoes—and the fact that they were right is conclusively proven by the failure of the nations affected to protest—then the present Secretary of State is wrong in his conclusions. It is contended by those who are friendly to these shipments that these former embargo acts were passed to prevent the draining of our country of supplies and causing hardships upon our own people. This is true; but we have the legal right to do it without giving any reason, and surely the principle involved is the same, whether we stop the shipments through necessity or in the interest of humanity. Even the courts have no right to inquire into the motives of a legislative body in making a law, as no two legislative minds are moved by exactly the same reasons. In this very instance, I have no doubt, many Members of Congress would vote for an embargo on the "things which kill" on humanitarian grounds and many others would vote for it solely as a protection against what they believe to be our "unpreparedness for war" and the necessity of retaining a large proportion of these instruments of destruction for our own protection, as it is remotely possible that they might be used on us before this strife is over. Congress has had, throughout our national existence, an undoubted right to legislate upon such matters, and it is absurd to say that if it did so it would be an unneutral act toward the belligerent nations. Judge Storey, the greatest of all writers on the Constitution and whose textbook on international law is supplied to every captain in the English Navy, says:

No one can reasonably doubt that the laying of an embargo suspending commerce for a limited period is within the scope of the Constitution.

It is urged by the Secretary of State that Great Britain is entitled to all the advantages which accrue by reason of her absolute control of the sea, such as freedom to purchase the necessities of life for her people and arms with which to carry on this war. It is also urged by others closely connected with the present administration, as an excuse for these shipments, that Germany was fully prepared for war and the allies were not. That if we do not help the allies we place a premium on preparedness for war; truly, a most extraordinary neutrality. If Great Britain is entitled to all the advantages accruing to her by reason of her preparedness at sea, Germany is certainly entitled to the same advantages by reason of her preparedness on land, and common sense undoubtedly ordains that to aid either of the nations wherein they are unprepared is a flagrant violation of neutrality.

I am satisfied that all of you agree with me that these shipments are morally wrong, and if you have any lingering doubts of our legal right to refuse to make them the message of President Wilson to Congress on August 27, 1913, on the Mexican affairs ought remove them. He said:

For the rest I deem it my duty to exercise the authority conferred upon me by the law of March 14, 1912, to see to it that neither side to the struggle now going on in Mexico receive any assistance from this side the border. I shall follow the best practice of nations in the matter of neutrality by forbidding the exportation of arms or munitions of war of any kind from the United States to any part of the Republic of Mexico—a policy suggested by several interesting precedents and certainly dictated by many manifest considerations of practical expediency. We can not in the circumstances be the partisans of either party to the contest that now distracts Mexico or constitute ourselves the virtual umpire between them.

President Wilson has had more perplexing problems to solve than any other President of recent years. As my constituency well knows, I have voted with him when I believed him to be right, and against him when I believed him to be wrong, in harmony with the policy which I have always followed of placing the welfare of our common country above that of the party to which I belong. But there is no escape from the proposition that if it was right to forbid the shipment of arms to Mexico it is right to forbid the shipments to the nations across the Atlantic. It is idle for the friends of the President to contend that there is a distinction between the selling of arms and munitions of war to a nation engaged in internal warfare and a nation engaged in war with another nation. It certainly is a distinction without a difference.

It is a strange proposition, to my mind, that our Nation, to comply with the rules of international law, which Blackstone defines as, "A system of rules deducible from natural reason, etc," must commit a great moral wrong against nations which have always been friendly to us, against nations which have helped, materially helped, to build up this wonderful Nation of ours. There are in this country to-day upward of 20,000,000 people of German and Austrian blood. That they are citizens of the highest type no one will deny. The fact that the German Government has made the home country so attractive to the German people during the last two decades that emigration to this country has practically ceased I regard as a distinct misfortune to this Nation. Many thousands of them have relatives in the German and Austrian armies, and there are, no doubt, many men and women citizens of this country who have had brothers or others of their own flesh and blood killed on the battle fields of Europe with bullets made in American factories, propelled on their deadly errand by American powder, and hurled from American-made guns. For this reason alone this nefarious trade should be stopped.

The Secretary of State, in his official interview two weeks ago, states in defense of his position that Germany shipped munitions of war to Japan and Russia during their conflict. Probably she did; but that is no argument against our con-

tention for a higher standard of international morality so far as this Nation is concerned. Because Germany and other nations have done wrong in this respect, from a moral standpoint, is no reason why we should do likewise.

The Secretary of State, in making the above statement concerning Germany's conduct in the Russian-Japanese War, probably overlooked the fact that Germany did not permit her citizens to sell arms or munitions of war to Spain during our war with that nation. That she acted in this humane and friendly way toward us in that struggle is not open to question.

Our ambassador to Germany during the Spanish-American War was the distinguished statesman and scholar, Hon. Andrew D. White, who fully confirms my assertion in his autobiography (1905), volume 2, page 167, where he says:

> As to the conduct of Germany during our war with Spain—the course of the Imperial (German) Government, especially of the foreign office, under the Count von Bülow and Baron von Richthofen—was all that could be desired. Indeed, they went so far on one occasion as almost to alarm us. The American consul at Hamburg having notified me by telephone that a Spanish vessel supposed to be loaded with arms for use against us in Cuba was about to leave that port, I hastened to the foreign office and urged that vigorous steps be taken, with the result that the vessel, which in the meantime had left Hamburg, was overhauled and searched at the mouth of the Elbe. The German Government might easily have pleaded in answer to my request that the American Government had shown itself opposed to such interference with the shipments of small arms to belligerents and had contended that it was not expected to search vessels to find such contrabands of war, but that this duty was incumbent upon the belligerent nation concerned. This evidence of the fairness of Germany I took pains to make known in my address at the American celebration in Leipzig on the Fourth of July.

Later, on page 169, he says:

> Of one thing I then, and always, reminded my hearers, namely, that during the Civil War, when our national existence was trembling in the balance and our foreign friends were few, the German press and people were steadily on our side.

And again, on page 170, he says:

> As the War with Spain progressed various causes of difference arose between Germany and the United States, but I feel bound to say that the German Government continued to act toward us with justice.

While I hold no brief for Germany or any other nation engaged in this titanic struggle, I believe it but right and proper that Germany's attitude toward the shipment of arms during the Spanish-American War should be fully known, and that our people should not be left under the false impression that Germany had a fixed policy of allowing such shipments, as she certainly made an exception in our favor, as stated by Ambassador White.

Our population is composed of former citizens of all the belligerent nations and our position in the matter of these shipments is entirely different from that of any other country. They can sell these deadly materials to other nations without being a party to the death or wounding of those who are kin to their own people. Many a bullet made in an American factory, by an American workman, has found its deadly resting place in the body of that workman's brother, nephew, cousin, or even his father or son—the mere thought of which is horrible to contemplate.

The President set aside October 4, 1914, as a day of prayer for peace in Europe, which was responded to and approved by the American people. Later, when the cry of distress occurred, the masses of our people rushed to the relief of the afflicted, and when Christmas season arrived—which is dear to us all—while our manufacturers and merchants were shipping the deadly implements of war with which these people were to forget the teachings of humanity and murder each other, we sent toys to the little children—dolls to flaxen-haired little girls, miniature horses and ponies to little boys, whose fathers had been killed with bullets and shrapnel made in American factories. If this is not the Alpha and Omega of national hypocrisy, pray tell me what is!

It is not my purpose to discuss the causes which led up to this frightful catastrophe, whose reverberations are felt at every fireside of the civilized world. In fact, I believe it our duty, as lovers of right and justice, to suspend judgment until all the facts are fully understood and comprehended and let the future historian lay the fault at the door of the wrongdoer.

The American citizen who was formerly a citizen of Great Britian, France, Germany, or any other of the belligerent nations naturally sympathizes with the land of his birth. In many cases this sympathy is accentuated by the fact that his kinsfolk are now engaged in this bloody struggle of the former home country to retain a national existence. That they are patriotic Americans the pages of our history fully demonstrates.

The place where one is ushered into this world, "pulsating with life and energy," is always dear to the human heart. The farmhouse in Columbiana County, Ohio, in which I was born, with its sweet associations of parental love and childhood's joys and sorrows, is the most cherished of all the fading memories of the long ago.

To criticize these American citizens of foreign birth by referring to them as hyphenated American, and so forth, as some of our newspapers and citizens do, for their red-blooded sympathy for the land where they first saw the light of day, is unwarranted, unjustifiable, and cruel. It is a natural sympathy that all of us would display under similar circumstances.

A great deal has been said about the unpreparedness of the United States for war. When our forefathers took possession of this virgin country it was filled with an unlimited supply of natural resources and protected from hostile invasion from Europe by the Atlantic Ocean and from Asia by the Pacific Ocean. These two great bodies of water are worth more to us as a protection than all the armies and navies of the world. From this terrible war we may draw a very comforting military lesson; in fact, we had an indication of it during the Russo-Japanese War, i. e., that the day of forts and fortifications, no matter how strongly built and carefully concealed, is over. The destruction of the forts of Liege and Namur, forts which the engineering minds thought would resist for months, has demonstrated the fact that the man in the trench, armed with a rapid-fire rifle, is supreme in modern warfare. We have in this country a colossal latent strength of sixteen millions of men of military age. We have the men and the picks and shovels to dig the trenches, and we need nothing more, except to do as the Swiss have done—make marksmanship at Government expense one of our national sports. We should have in every community a shooting range maintained at national expense, where the youth of the Nation could go and practice shooting. It is a clean and manly sport, and our men by the thousands would take advantage of the opportunity. The expense to the Government would be small compared with the benefits derived from such a policy. I have always believed that the integrity of the Swiss Republic was due to the wholesome fear that other nations in Europe have of the Swiss marksman shooting him from his native mountain crags.

Much has been said in this country of the menace to us from German militarism, but little, if anything, has been said of the menace of British navalism. Napoleon was the world's greatest military strategist, but he was unable to cross the 22 miles of water between Calais, France, and Dover, England, and no German militarism will ever succeed in crossing the Atlantic Ocean. Germany has always been, from necessity, a military nation. She has never bothered us; in fact, our relations with the German Empire throughout our national existence have always been of the most friendly kind. But what about British navalism? It has controlled the common waters for several centuries. In 48 hours, in combination with Japan, it could block every port of our Nation. It could exercise drastic and unwarranted searches and seizures of our vessels and seamen, as it did in 1812. It could interfere by vexatious annoyances with our shipping—in fact, control it—in case we have a war with any other nation, as it did in the Civil War. Its unwarranted examination of our vessels at the present time is delaying and injuring our commerce to such an extent that the State Department has notified England in diplomatic language that such flagrant abuses of our rights at sea will not be permitted any longer by the United States. It is indeed strange—and I desire to emphasize this statement—that if German militarism is such a menace, that all our clashes have been with English navalism.

In obedience to the mandate of Washington, which has the force of law with the American people, we have made no "entangling alliances with foreign nations," and therefore have been at peace throughout our national existence with all of the belligerents except Great Britain. We as a nation owe much to the men who were formerly citizens of the belligerent nations and founded this Republic. Our "melting pot," which makes racial prejudice—one of the greatest curses of mankind—impossible, has produced a distinct race of liberty-loving people. We should and do feel kindly toward all of them. We remember, with deep affection, the Frenchman, Lafayette, whom we have honored by placing his portrait beside that of Washington in the House of Representatives, who with his associates so materially aided us in becoming a nation. We remember with gratitude the Czar of Russia, who struck the shackles from Russia's slaves a few years before we did from ours, who sent to President Lincoln during the Civil War a portion of his navy and authorized that immortal man to use it as a protection against the flagrant abuse of our rights at sea by Great Britain. I have often thought that this was the turning point in the War between the States. We remember with pleasure the German, Von Steuben, in whose memory we have erected a

magnificent monument in the Capital of our Nation, who trained Washington's raw recruits at Valley Forge for their successful siege of Yorktown, and the German, De Kalb, whose life paid the price of our victory at Camden, Va., and we never should forget the men who fought "mit" Siegel. We feel kindly toward England, the mother country of many of us, and forget the hiring of the savage Indians to murder and pillage the peaceful citizens of the Mohawk Valley and elsewhere during the Revolutionary War. We have forgotten her abuse of our rights at sea, which brought about the War of 1812. We have forgotten the Mason and Slidell affair, when one of our warships took Mason and Slidell, traitors to our country, from an English vessel, and how England, by force of might and not right, compelled our troubled country to apologize for this affront to the mistress of the seas. We want to be patient with her at the present time, as she and all other warring nations are fighting to maintain their existence, even though she has laid down rules and regulations for the sea that have practically destroyed our commerce; but I certainly resent the claim that England, or any other nation, has the right to compel us, Secretary Bryan to the contrary notwithstanding, to ship her firearms. No nation ever had, no nation ever will have, as long as we maintain our integrity as a Republic, the power to compel the American people to do a thing which they know is everlastingly and eternally wrong.

Last week an English vessel, as a protection against German submarines, hoisted the American flag for the purpose of deceiving England's enemies. There is no justification for this abuse of our flag. It has always stood for everything noble and good. Under it we have grown from a Nation of 3,000,000 to 100,000,000 of people. "Upon it you will find neither beast nor bird of prey." The stars, which awaken the night from darkness, and the red bars of light, which give notice of the awakening day, are alone upon its folds. As it swishes over the public buildings and public schoolhouses of our Nation, beckoning the downtrodden of the world to our shores, it should not be debased by using it to deceive, by England or any other nation.

I am told that there hangs in the State Department at Washington a painting which shows a man, dressed in the garb of a soldier, bidding good-by to his wife, who, it is needless to say, is in tears; his little boy of 4 or 5 years and a little girl of about 10 are clinging to his knees. The little girl is saying, "Daddy, are you going out to kill some other little girl's daddy?" This painting, my friends, tells its own story. It is as great an argument against the ravages of war as Uncle Tom's Cabin was against human slavery. I have often wondered, since the question has arisen about these shipments, if Mr. Bryan, the Secretary of State, who has lectured on The Prince of Peace from almost every platform of the Nation, has not awakened from his dreams of the Presidency long enough to appreciate the fundamental teaching of that immortal spiritual adviser and withdrawn his unwarranted and uncalled-for opposition to the pending resolutions, so that Congress may stop the killing of thousands of "little girls' daddies" with American bullets across the seas?

At this point I believe a portion of Washington's Farewell Address is peculiarly appropriate. It is marvelous how this greatest of all Americans, 119 years ago, could point out with such unerring accuracy our duty to-day. In reading it one can hardly escape the thought that it was written on yesterday. He says:

Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages, which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, humor, or caprice.

'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world.

Let me, in conclusion, express the hope that the opposition of the executive branch of our Government to these resolutions will cease and that Congress may put an end to the shipment of "things which kill," and stop a traffic which shocks the sense of justice of the masses of the American people; and that when next Christmas arrives we can, without hypocrisy, send Christmas gifts to homes in Europe and Asia, in which we have materially aided to preserve happiness and sunshine. No one can predict with any degree of certainty the length of this war; but I know it is the wish and hope and prayer of every fireside in Christendom that on next Christmas eve we can truthfully say, "Peace on earth, good will toward men."

And that the day will soon arrive—

When the war drums throb no longer,
And the battle flags are furled
In the parliament of man—
The federation of the world.

For an Effieient Investigation of Personal Rural Credits Bills as Distinguished from Land Loan Bills.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DUDLEY DOOLITTLE,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 2, 1915.

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to incorporate herein House Joint Resolution 417, which reads as follows:

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 417) to authorize the Committees on Agriculture of the Senate and House to investigate a system of rural personal credit.

Whereas none of the several rural credit investigating bodies appointed by Congress within the past few years has drafted a personal rural credit bill; and

Whereas nearly every highly civilized country has in successful operation a personal rural credit system through which the farmers of those countries obtain credit for productive purposes at low rates of interest and in sufficient amounts to enable them to produce agricultural products more economically than is done in this country, even though our farmers possess many natural advantages not enjoyed by them; and

Whereas the great European war now being waged is wasting capital at a rate never before approached, which condition is bound to result in materially affecting the world's capital and credit markets; and the American farmers having no organized credit machinery it naturally follows that their interests will suffer more than any other interests in the country and make it more difficult for them to obtain credit in the future than it has been in the past: Therefore be it

Resolved, etc., That the Committees on Agriculture of the Senate and House of Representatives are hereby authorized, through a subcommittee, to investigate and hold hearings on such personal rural credit bills as may be presented to them, in the manner hereinafter more specifically set forth, and make a report thereof not later than the 10th day of December next.

SEC. 2. That such subcommittee or investigating body, which is hereinafter referred to as the commission, shall hold its hearings and investigations in such manner that will permit persons who, in the commission's opinion, have sufficient authoritative backing, to present bills for a personal rural credit system in the United States to the commission and appear before them by experts of their own selection to establish the merits of their respective bills and to disprove any provisions contained in bills not presented by themselves. The commission shall notify at least one leading representative of every interest affected by such bills, including the president of the American Bankers' Association, of his privilege to appear before the commission by an expert of his own selection and to advocate or oppose any bill presented, who shall enjoy the same rights and privileges before the commission as the experts of the proponents.

SEC. 3. That it shall be the further duty of the commission to send for persons and papers; to administer oaths; to summon and compel the attendance of witnesses and have the same examined by themselves or by the representatives of the parties at interest appearing before them, or both; to adopt rules of procedure and the same to amend; and to employ such secretaries, experts, stenographers, and other assistants as shall be necessary to carry out the purposes for which the commission was created.

SEC. 4. That the members of the commission shall receive no compensation for their services on the commission, except traveling expenses incurred outside of the District of Columbia while attending to the duties imposed under this act.

SEC. 5. That the sum of $9,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this act and to defray the expense of the commission, is hereby appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated. Such appropriation shall be immediately available and shall be paid out on the audit and order of the chairman or acting chairman of said commission, which audit and order shall be conclusive and binding upon all departments as to the correctness of the accounts of said commission.

House joint resolution No. 417, introduced by me, provides for the creation of a commission before which groups of farmers may appear by experts with bills for the establishment of a personal rural-credit system in the United States, and introduce evidence to show the merits of the bills presented by themselves and the faults of bills not presented by themselves.

This principle of an open court investigation of this important subject has received the indorsement of the largest farm journals of the country, namely, The Copper Farm Papers, Successful Farming, Farm and Fireside, and The Farm Journal, also by the legislative committee of the National Grange and prominent members of the Farmers' Union. The appropriation called for to make this investigation is only $9,000.

The farmers have everything to gain by an open investigation and presentation by their own experts. Under the method of investigation provided by this resolution, one group of farmers could employ an expert presenting a bill embodying the Raiffeisen system of Germany, another the Belgian system, another the French system; and the experts could present evidence and arguments for the systems provided for by their respective bills, so that Congress would have the benefit of the knowledge of each of those farmers' experts.

It is quite unlikely that this resolution can pass at this session, owing to the press of business at the close of this Congress, and if it fails of passage, the press, especially the rural press, should take it up during recess and acquaint the public concerning it.

Looking Back Over Four Years of Congress.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. CHARLES LINTHICUM,

OF MARYLAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 3 (legislative day of Tuesday, March 2), 1915.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Speaker, in looking back over the record of Congress for the past four years we can not help but realize the arduous and immense task which that body has struggled with in the interest of the American people. The history of the world, as well as that of the American Congress, during this period of four years has embraced so many different subjects and has been so constantly in the minds of the public, when dealing with these numerous and perplexing matters, that unless we devote some time to study and research or one has an extremely retentive memory the whole proceeding appears to have a kaleidoscopic effect upon the mind.

When I came to Congress four years ago the great question before the American people was that of tariff reduction, the revision of the tariff downward. We heard this expression on all sides. The people had been so misled by the previous Republican Congress that they were anxious to take the matter in hand and bring about a change. The Republicans had in 1910 promised the people a revision of the tariff, but when they won the election the people found that a revision of the tariff did not necessarily mean a revision downward, as they had supposed, but might mean a revision upward, as the Republicans had interpreted the same and enacted it into law. The great cry was, therefore, for a reduction of the tariff, and Congress immediately grappled with this situation and began to formulate laws to carry out the will of the people. At that session, while the Democratic House of Representatives passed tariff laws which would have given relief to our people, the Senate was in the hands of the Republicans, and, although certain laws finally reached President Taft, he promptly affixed his veto and rendered valueless the legislation upon which Congress had been so long engaged.

The election of 1912, however, restored the Presidency and Congress to the people by the election of a Democratic President and a Democratic Senate and House of Representatives. Real work in the revision downward of the tariff then began, and from that time on constructive legislation for the relief of the people and the upbuilding of the business interests of the country began at a rapid pace.

It would be impossible for me to enter upon a discussion of the great measures which have engaged the attention of Congress since the election of Woodrow Wilson and his inauguration on the 4th of March, 1913. To do so would require more time than this House would be willing to grant me and occupy more space than the people would be willing to read.

It might be well, however, to mention a few of the more important, which I shall proceed to do.

THE NEW TARIFF.

The tariff act was the first piece of important legislation which occupied the attention of the Sixty-third Congress. When it was reported into the House it was generally recognized that this great measure unfettered industry and commerce and deprived monopolies of their control over production, distribution, and prices; that it was the redemption of the Democratic promise to revise the tariff downward. It was admitted to be the first tariff law of a generation which neither special interests nor lobbies helped to formulate. I believe that this measure will prove a solution of the tariff question—the most vexatious question which has disturbed the country. I believe the press and all persons interested in the development and prosperity of our land will agree that this tariff measure should remain as the great foundation stone of tariff legislation. It materially reduced the customs taxation and in consequence lowered the price of food, clothing, glass and metal utensils used in the homes of the land until that great calamity, the war in Europe, upset all calculations as to revenue and prices, an event which the wildest imagination could never have foreseen nor its effect be calculated.

FEDERAL RESERVE ACT.

The great question which occupied the attention of the business and financial interests of the country was the improvement of the currency and banking laws, which were recognized as insufficient, antiquated, and to be the cause of much of the unrest in the financial world, and perhaps the breeder of panics and trouble for many years. Congress had for years been deliberating upon and formulating currency and banking laws which some believed would be satisfactory, but each Congress refused to enact a law. This state of affairs continued, and it was not until a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress took over the reins of Government that there was any apparent prospect for the passage of currency and banking legislation. It was not long before a bill was formulated which placed before the people a financial system second to none in the world, the great financial bulwark upon which we might safely rely. This law made it impossible for monopolies to control the great wealth of the country to determine the prosperity of the bankers, and destroy values. Many persons were apparently much opposed to the law when it passed Congress, but so well has it demonstrated its soundness that nowhere can complaint now be heard. The system has shown itself to be capable of the greatest strength. Had this law not been enacted when it was, the financial strain caused by the war in Europe would no doubt have created a tremendous panic in our country. That this has not happened, and that we are financially strong, is due entirely to the Federal reserve act; that it withstood the test demonstrates its soundness.

TWO AMENDMENTS.

The Democrats had long contended that Senators, as well as Representatives, should be elected by the direct vote of the people, and although the House had on several occasions passed resolutions to this effect, these had failed in the Senate. This amendment has now been passed by Congress and ratified by the States, and to-day the Senate is brought in closer touch and is more responsive to the people by the direct election of its Members.

Congress likewise submitted an amendment to the Constitution providing for an income tax. This was submitted to the States and ratified. The income-tax feature of the tariff bill, based upon the ratification of this amendment, will provide nearly $100,000,000 and make up for the loss caused by the reduction in tariff duties. This income-tax feature takes the burden from the shoulders of the small owners having incomes of less than $3,000 and places it upon the revenues of the wealthier who can more readily contribute their just proportion of taxation for the protection to themselves and their large property interests.

ALASKAN RAILWAY ACT.

We have not been satisfied to limit our legislation to the bounds of the original country, but have gone beyond to that great storehouse of natural resources, Alaska, and have unlocked its doors and released it from the shackles of the syndicate which controlled it. We are endeavoring not alone to conserve its great resources, so that they may not be wasted and despoiled, but are endeavoring to develop and to bring those resources to the people who need them. For that reason the constructive Wilson administration has begun to open up Alaska and develop this country of the great Northwest. The President has been authorized to build 1,000 miles of trunk line, and Congress has approved an expenditure of $35,000,000 for the

work. Engineers are busy, and it will not be long before that region will become a great wealth producer in the interest of the Nation, with its harbors and interior open to the world for development and expansion.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION.

We have noticed for many years the concentration of the commercial interests of the country into the hands of large capitalists and large corporations having unlimited resources at their back. This concentration of the activities of life has converted many former proprietors into employees of these large interests. It was possible before the advent of trusts and monopolies to conduct business on a small scale, and many men earned their living in this manner; but monopolies and combines have so excluded the small man that thousands have become employees instead of proprietors. It has been recognized that much of this was brought about by unfair methods of competition—by discriminating rates, by underselling the small dealer, by offering special inducements, and many other systems which had a tendency to put the small dealer out of business, being unable to compete.

Congress has therefore placed upon the statute books an act creating a Federal Trade Commission, composed of five commissioners, appointed by the President, whose duty it shall be to prevent persons, partnerships, and corporations—not including banks and common carriers, who come under the acts to regulate commerce—from using unfair methods of competition in commerce. It is believed that this act will be a tremendous lever in so regulating commerce as to prevent unfair treatment of the man doing a small business and to place commerce and business upon a higher and more substantial plane.

PARCEL POST.

I would be neglecting perhaps one of the greatest measures if I did not bring to your attention the parcel post—the express system of the people—the system by which the mere attachment of the stamp and delivery in the proper receptacle guarantees the carrying of the parcel to any part of our country. It is a great advantage over the express system proper in that the parcel post makes every post office a Government express office and makes every carrier an expressman to bring goods to your door. It would be impossible for me to say too much in praise of this great measure, and it gives me even more pleasure by being able to say that it was a Marylander who brought it into effect.

AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION.

Farm-extension work has been in force among European nations for many years and has produced splendid results, increasing the yield per acre and the quality. When we recollect that the farmers produced nine billions of wealth last year, the importance of farm demonstration and experimental work can not be doubted. Congress has, therefore, enacted into law the Lever agricultural extension act and has appropriated about a million dollars to carry on experimental and demonstration work throughout the land, especially farm and home demonstration work. It is believed that in a few years the production of the American farms can be doubled. When we recognize that the population of the country is increasing by leaps and bounds, we can readily see that an increase of production is highly necessary if we wish to keep down the cost of living. I believe this measure will prove of inestimable benefit to the farmers, and what benefits the farmers is bound to benefit those who live in the city, because the farmer produces that upon which we live.

And so, Mr. Speaker, I might continue to enumerate these splendid achievements. I have not the time nor the space, however, to do that, and can only mention a few of those additional acts which are of inestimable benefit to the people.

Hog cholera is being fought in every State in the Union under an act appropriating half a million dollars. It is estimated that in one year this disease has wiped out 6,000,000 head, worth $65,000,000. If we can but destroy this dread disease, it is bound to decrease the cost of pork by increasing the supply.

Old soldiers drawing pensions are now paid directly by check from the National Government, saving them at least $1,000,000.

Conservation measures have been passed to conserve the natural resources of the country.

A million dollars has been saved to the country by demanding interest on Government deposits.

International peace treaties have been negotiated and ratified.

Our commerce has been fostered and developed at home and abroad by the appointment of commercial attachés to the various countries of the world, and so I should like to continue to greater length, but must refrain.

BALTIMORE INTERESTS.

These great achievements which I have noted and for which I have worked and voted have not thwarted work of special interest to Baltimore and through it our splendid Commonwealth of Maryland.

While in Congress I have introduced bills for a survey and the widening and deepening of York Spit Channel, leading to our city; the erection of an immigration station for Baltimore; the allotment of a site for the station at Fort McHenry; the transfer of Fort McHenry to Baltimore as a public park; the erection of a memorial to Francis Scott Key; the appropriation of $50,000 for the restoration and exhibition of the warship *Constellation;* the relief of hospitals from the technical violation of alcohol-tax laws, saving them in Baltimore alone nearly $100,000 in fines; the resolution authorizing the President to invite diplomats to the Star-Spangled Banner celebration; the placing of our extract manufactures on the same basis as perfume manufactures; the recording of Government liens in the jurisdiction where the property lies, thus avoiding title mistakes; the survey of Baltimore Harbor and approaches thereto; the survey of Patapsco River from Spring Gardens to Elkridge, both preparatory to appropriations for dredging the whole or parts thereof; and various other bills which I do not just now recollect.

All these measures have now been enacted into law.

Fort McHenry, sacred to us for the writing of the Star-Spangled Banner, has been transferred to Baltimore, and under the guidance of our city authorities will be made a most beautiful water-front park, and become interesting not alone to our people, but also to visitors from far and wide.

In one corner will stand the beautiful buildings forming the new immigration station and costing $550,000, the most modern and complete station in the country. They will be one of the sights as we enter the harbor, and thousands of immigrants who, no doubt, will land at that station in years to come will behold Old Glory floating from the same place where our banner floated in 1812 and inspired Francis Scott Key to write the national anthem which gave to a people courage and determination and united them into one great Union.

Arising from another point on the old fort grounds will be seen the $75,000 monument erected in honor of Francis Scott Key and the soldiers and sailors who fought in the War of 1812, as provided by a Senate amendment.

York Spit Channel, that dangerous portion of the 35-foot channel which leads from the ocean to Baltimore, has now been widened to 1,000 feet by an appropriation obtained from Congress of $326,000.

The Star-Spangled Banner celebration, which was held in Baltimore last year, was attended by the diplomats from other countries under the invitation mentioned, and old *Constellation,* built in 1797, proved a great feature. All this work in the interest of our city and State has been accomplished by the constant effort and energy of Maryland's united representation in the Senate and House and with the assistance of the mayor of Baltimore city and the representatives of the progressive business organizations of our city. The courtesy of those men in the House of Representatives and Senate who have given us such able support must likewise be recognized and appreciated to the highest extent.

WORK NOT COMPLETE.

That there is much more to do not alone from a national standpoint but from the standpoint of our city and State is evident. Baltimore must have a channel leading from the ocean to the city of 40 feet if she wishes to keep abreast of the times. She can not afford to await the coming of deeper draft boats, but must be ready when they do come. Curtis Bay must be deepened to 35 feet to accommodate Government colliers and other boats requiring more than the present 30-foot channel.

The comprehensive survey provided for the harbor of Baltimore and the approaches thereto should be made, looking forward to a great increase of commerce and business at the port of Baltimore in the years to come.

The Patapsco River, leading to Elkridge Landing, will be surveyed and its availability for docks and piers ascertained. I believe a portion thereof should be prepared at the earliest time possible, so that wharf facilities may be afforded for the transshipment of goods and for those manufactures which require water-front facilities. Not alone would we acquire more wharf facilities, but by filling in would likewise eliminate some of the marshlands and thereby remove a menace to the health of Baltimore.

That Baltimore is destined for a great future can not be denied; that her commerce and business will increase from year to year by rapid strides is certain; that her location for business and transportation facilities are ideal is admitted; that we must prepare for the future upon broad and comprehensive lines with an eye single to the welfare of our great metropolis on the banks of the Patapsco is recognized by all.

I called the attention of this House on February 8, the anniversary of Baltimore's great fire, to the fact that, aside from Baltimore's close proximity to the Central West and her splendid port facilities, she is one of the best-located cities to grapple with the South American trade, which is fast increasing.

Taking San Francisco as a comparison, Baltimore is 1,369 miles closer than that city to the Panama Canal. It is 470 miles closer to the city of Valparaiso, Chile, which city is the chief seaport on the western coast of South America. It is 1,908 miles by water route to the eastern entrance of the Panama Canal, while it is 3,277 miles from San Francisco to the western entrance. After computing the 50 miles which is the length of the canal from Colon to Panama, it is only 4,670 miles from Baltimore to Valparaiso, while it is 5,140 miles from San Francisco to that city. Baltimore is closer than any of the other Atlantic seaboard cities to the cities on the east coast of South America.

Certainly with these natural advantages, with this close proximity to South America, we can not help but forge to the front. With an aggressive citizenship, an energetic and efficient administration, a city with the best possible improvements, a climate in which it is good to live, and with schools and hospitals first in the category, she is bound to increase as one of the greatest cities of the Union.

PRESIDENT WILSON.

I can not close without expressing my deep appreciation and that of my people to the great President of the American Republic. It seems that our country is wonderfully fortunate in that Providence has bestowed upon us men of honesty and integrity, of ability and firmness to master serious conditions. In our fight for independence George Washington came to the front and made us a free people. In the great Civil War Abraham Lincoln sprung from the body of the people and made us a united people, and to-day, when war menaces us on every side, when bloodshed and death permeates the great civilized nations of the globe, when devastation and ruin and colossal debt so staggers these people that they know not where to turn, Woodrow Wilson, the people's friend, a member of that party of the people, occupies the Presidency of the Union, and while others are suffering the ruin I have mentioned the United States of America, that great empire of the West, continues on in prosperity and peace. Not to honor him, not to thank him, not to place every confidence in him would be ungrateful, unmindful, indeed. Let us wish him Godspeed in his great work. In the language of that great American poet, Longfellow, let us say:

Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
  Humanity with all its fears,
  With all the hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!
  We know what Master laid thy keel,
  What workmen wrought thy ribs of steel,
Who made each mast, and sail, and rope;
  What anvils rang, what hammers beat,
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope!
  Fear not each sudden sound and shock,
  'Tis of the wave and not the rock;
'Tis but the flapping of the sail,
And not a rent made by the gale!
  In spite of rock and tempest's roar,
  In spite of false lights on the shore,
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea!
Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee.
  Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
  Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee—are all with thee.

The Purchase of the "Dacia."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM J. MacDONALD,
OF MICHIGAN,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 2, 1915.

Mr. MacDONALD. Mr. Speaker, I desire to insert a letter and a statement of Mr. E. N. Breitung, a resident of my district, containing a narrative as to the purchase of the *Dacia*.

The letter and statement are as follows:

NEW YORK, *March 2, 1915.*

Hon. WILLIAM J. MacDONALD,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I take great pleasure in inclosing herewith copy of a statement which I have prepared for my lawyers in the *Dacia* matter.

Since certain parties opposed to the welfare of our country have done their utmost to discredit the *Dacia* purchase, and have succeeded in poisoning a great many of our newspapers and prejudicing the reading public, I consider it a duty to my country, as well as myself, to make known the motives and facts in the matter.

I appeal to you to make as much use of my statement as you think beneficial to the best interests of our country.

Yours, sincerely,

E. N. BREITUNG.

I was born in Negaunee, Mich., November 1, 1871. I have always been a citizen of the State of Michigan, where I have paid my personal taxes, and my present address is Marquette, Mich.

My father was a member of the State legislature, and of the Congress of the United States from Michigan, and served his country in those capacities for several years. At my father's death the House of Representatives of the State of Michigan passed in regard to him the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That in the death of Hon. Edward Breitung the State of Michigan sustains the loss of an eminent citizen, whose skill, intelligence, and industry promoted the discovery of vast portions of the mineral wealth of the State, whose business activity aided in the development of the mines and the building up of prosperous communities in the Upper Peninsula; one whose patriotism conduced in many ways to the welfare of his fellow citizens—a well-deserving, honest man, whose good and faithful services as a member of the legislature are worthy of public recognition.

"DANIEL P. MACKEY,
"*Speaker of the House of Representatives.*"

I inherited from my father mining and lumber interests, and since my father's death I have engaged in enterprises in various parts of the United States, Canada, and of South America. It has been my policy to investigate and become interested in any propositions of a commercial or financial character that appealed to me as having merit.

I first became interested in an American-owned merchant marine about 10 years ago in this way:

In looking over the fields of South America for mining properties I discussed with my associates and friends the expediency of having a merchant marine of our own, but found the conditions not ready. At that time I wrote a pamphlet on the subject and became keenly interested in the whole matter. About three years ago I first met H. O. Schundler. I think he was introduced to me by Mr. William A. Hamilton, of my office. We were introduced because we were both interested in mining, timber, and railroad matters. Upon this occasion we discussed a proposition relative to dock and terminal improvements on the Pacific coast, but nothing came of our negotiations. The other parties in this venture were English interests. About a year and a half ago Mr. Schundler and I had another conference in regard to the building in the Province of Quebec, Canada, of a railroad. About May 1, 1914, I sent for Mr. Schundler in order to get his advice on a contract which had been brought to me for the irrigation and colonization of certain lands of the Peruvian Government. I had many consultations with Mr. Schundler about this matter, because I had great faith in his judgment. Our conferences resulted in my requesting Judge Howard, who was formerly American minister to Peru, to take charge of the matter and advise me about it, and he is now in Peru on this matter. Mr. Schundler at that time advised that it would be good policy to have a working agreement with the Peruvian Steamship Co. and perhaps with other steamship lines in regard to carrying colonists to Peru; and, further, Mr. Schundler also thought that it might be still better to own some vessels to facilitate the export of products from these irrigated lands. At this time we both gave serious consideration to the possibility of obtaining ships. I also discussed at this time—that is, in May, 1914—the possibility of our going into the steamship business in general.

I had no further conference with Mr. Schundler in regard to ships until November of 1914. In the meantime, and in August, 1914, I realized that there would be a famine in tonnage and a continual increase in freight rates. I detailed Mr. M. J. O'Shaughnessy, of my office, to study the trade and shipping situation between this country, the West Indies, and South America. At the same time the Hon. Robert Seton Beresford, who at that time made his headquarters in my office, put before me contracts providing for the transportation of horses and supplies to England, and discussed the question of carrying coal to South America.

Therefore, I again started out to investigate the possibility of acquiring ships. In August, 1914, I made an effort to obtain for ocean service boats which were plying on the Great Lakes.

On August 6, 1914, in this connection, I wrote to Capt. Mitchell, of the Cleveland Steamship Co., Rockefeller Building, Cleveland, inquiring as to whether it would be possible to bring lake boats through the Welland Canal to the sea. A true copy of this letter is hereto annexed, together with copies of the correspondence had with Capt. Mitchell on this subject. I also wrote on the same day to Pickands, Mather & Co., of Cleveland, Ohio, and I received from them a letter dated August 7, 1914. I am annexing hereto a copy of my letter and their reply, in which they inform me that their boats were too long or too wide to go through the Welland Canal, and were therefore not available for the purpose. They called my attention to the boats of the Great Lakes & St. Lawrence Steamship Co., which might be suitable for our purposes. I telegraphed on September 2, 1914, to Mr. D. Sullivan, the manager of that company, and received three letters in reply, dated, respectively, September 3, 8, and 12, which are annexed hereto; also copy of my letters of September 4 and 10.

As appears from this correspondence, I could not obtain suitable boats here.

I am annexing hereto copies of telegrams and letters which passed between M. J. O'Shaughnessy, of my New York office; R. C. Dutton, of my Cleveland office, and myself, in regard to my efforts to obtain ships for ocean trade between August 31 and September 9, 1914; also letter on this subject dated February 8, 1915.

I received a letter from the Hon. Robert Seton Beresford, dated August 28, 1914, urging me to buy an English vessel, in regard to which we had some discussion, a description of which was inclosed in his letter. The letter of the Hon. Robert Seton Beresford and the description is hereto annexed, also a letter written by this gentleman on this subject, dated September 13, 1914. An examination of this vessel disclosed that the price was altogether out of proportion, and therefore I did not purchase this boat.

After all of these negotiations it seemed impossible to purchase any vessels for the South American or the Atlantic trade at a reasonable figure, and I took no further active steps in trying to obtain vessels. Toward the end of November, 1914, Mr. Schundler called at my office

and had a conference with me in regard to the shipping situation then prevailing. Mr. Schundler told me he thought there were some American boats, some French and a few English boats, and possibly some German boats that could be obtained at reasonable prices, and that in consequence of the very high rate of freight, especially on cotton, he considered it would be good business to purchase vessels and carry cotton on them to Europe.

In going over the figures with Mr. Schundler and examining the freight rates and the cost of the vessels, it appeared that the first freight money earned would practically pay for the cost of the boats and so the vessels would be standing on my books at a very low cash investment. I told Mr. Schundler that if he would put before me some concrete cases as to both vessels and possible freight contracts, I would give the matter serious consideration. Thereafter, and on or about December 3, 1914, Mr. Schundler submitted to me a written report, which I am annexing hereto. In this report he outlined the prevailing freight rates on cotton to Gottenberg, Copenhagen, Rotterdam, Bremen, and Liverpool. He also reported to me on the grain rates. He stated that the boat mentioned in his report No. 1 was an American boat, the steamer *Mae;* that No. 2 was a German boat, the steamer *Dacia;* and that No. 3 was a British boat, the steamer *Clement,* but that the British boat had been reported sold that day.

I had a long conference with Mr. Schundler in regard to his report. He submitted to me an opinion written by Hon. Cone Johnson, Solicitor to the State Department, on my right to buy the vessels of belligerents. After hearing this opinion I directed Mr. Schundler to negotiate for boats at the prices named in his report or at a less figure. Shortly after this conference Mr. Schundler reported to me that it had not been possible to purchase the American boat, as other parties had bought her. At this conference Mr. Schundler suggested the possibility of buying three French boats of 12,200 tons each, which were then building, and one of which had just been completed at Rouen, France. Mr. Schundler showed me a photograph of one of these French boats. I authorized Mr. Schundler to bid for these French boats and at the same time to continue his negotiations for the German boat mentioned in his report, which was the steamship *Dacia.* At this hearing Mr. Schundler submitted to me details in regard to the purchase of several English boats, and we spent some time discussing the possibility of these purchases, and I authorized Mr. Schundler to negotiate for the British boats and also for two of the largest American freight boats, the *Atlantic* and the *Pacific.* I am annexing hereto a copy of my letter to Mr. Schundler dated December 7, 1914, authorizing him to purchase these vessels.

I thereupon took Mr. Schundler to the law office of Messrs. Carter, Ledyard & Milburn, in company with Mr. M. Breitung, the manager of my New York office, and we had a consultation with a member of that firm. After this consultation I instructed Mr. Schundler to purchase the German boat, the *Dacia,* upon the terms set out in his report, and any of the British or French vessels which he could obtain at the figures discussed by us. About the middle of December, 1914, I provided funds and I instructed my office manager to proceed in my absence with the purchase of any of these vessels, as I was about to leave for Chicago. I also instructed him to consult with the law firm of Marvin, Hooker & Roosevelt in case any legal formalities were necessary in transferring title and in carrying out the provisions of the law known as the amendment of August 18, 1914, to the Panama Canal act, which relates to the American registry of foreign-built vessels.

I thereupon left for Chicago. While in Chicago I received from my office a form of affidavit, on a form prepared by the United States Government, which had been issued by them for such a case as this. I examined the affidavit carefully, signed it, and returned it, so that it would be received when title was to pass in New York. The first payment of $16,500 had been made to the Hamburg-American Line on December 16, and the deed thereupon prepared and dated December 17.

The final payment of $148,500, as I am informed by my office manager, was made on December 21, 1914, on which day the deed was signed, acknowledged, and delivered, and title passed, subject to the vessel being granted American registry. True copies of the certified checks, drawn on the Guaranty Trust Co. of New York, with which payment was made, are hereto annexed. The affidavit which I signed stated that the transfer of the vessel was bona fide, was intended to and did convey complete and unconditional ownership to me; that there was no agreement or understanding reserving to the vendor, or for his benefit, any interest in the vessel or its operations, or right or voice of control therein; that the transfer was intended to be permanent and not temporary, and that no right to repurchase the vessel was reserved to the vendor, and that there was no understanding for its retransfer; that the transfer was not made during the voyage of the vessel or while it was in a blockaded port; and that I was a citizen of the United States. All of these statements in the affidavit are the exact truth.

Upon going into the shipping business I arranged with Mr. Schundler, who is an American citizen, to take charge of the marine department of my office. He is now directing the management of my shipping business.

I have recently purchased the American steamship *Seguranca* and also agreed to purchase the two British ships *Ocamo* and *Oruro,* and have made the first payment on account. The latter two vessels were obtained by Mr. Schundler for me through Samuel Holmes, a British citizen in New York. Shortly after I had bought the *Dacia* Mr. Schundler bought for me, through the same Samuel Holmes, the British boat *Horatius,* but the owners failed to deliver it according to contract and Mr. Holmes is now suing for the delivery of this vessel. The correspondence on this subject is hereto annexed. I also annex hereto a list of the British, French, and American vessels which Mr. Schundler tried to buy for me during December, 1914, and January, 1915, and which I was unable to obtain. I am annexing copies of the cables and letters having to do with this subject covering negotiations and bids made in my behalf.

AUGUST 6, 1914.

CLEVELAND STEAMSHIP CO.,
Rockefeller Building, Cleveland, Ohio.

Capt. MITCHELL.

DEAR FRIEND: I understand there is to be quite a call for a tonnage at sea, and write you to find out if it would be practicable to bring lake boats through the Welland Canal to the sea, even if they had to be cut in two and reriveted in some parts.

I think I could arrange profitable cargoes between England and the United States.

Please reply and let me know what you think of the idea—whether it is practicable, and also whether it could be accomplished, and at what cost.

I presume some of the smaller boats could be brought through all right.

Yours, very truly,
E. N. BREITUNG.

P. S.: You will remember meeting me in Cleveland, as I am senior member of the firm of E. N. Breitung & Co., who have an office in your building.

—

THE CLEVELAND STEAMSHIP CO.,
Cleveland, Ohio, August 1¼, 1914.

Attention, Mr. RALPH D. MITCHELL.

MY DEAR MR. MITCHELL: On my return I find your letter of the 8th instant, and note what you say, that the cost will be too great to cut the vessels in two to go through the canal.

I thank you for referring me to Mr. Sullivan, who has a fleet of bulk freighters that are probably ready for ocean navigation.

I am much obliged to you for your advice, and if there is anything further you have to say I would be glad to hear from you.

Yours, very truly,
E. N. BREITUNG.

—

CLEVELAND, OHIO, *August 1¼, 1914.*

Mr. E. N. BREITUNG,
11 Pine Street, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. BREITUNG: As per my letter to you a few days ago, I have looked into the matter of what suitable and available lake boats there are for ocean navigation.

There is a fleet of nine boats here that are already equipped and that could be put in the ocean trade at once. Their dimensions are: Length of keel, 241 feet; beam, 41 feet; depth, 18 feet.

They have six hatches, 12 feet wide fore and aft, with 24-foot centers. They will carry on the Atlantic about 85,000 bushels of wheat or about 2,600 net tons of coal. They have three compartments, each of about equal size. These boats were built in 1903 and are of steel construction. The price asked for each vessel is $150,000.

Yours, very truly,
JOHN MITCHELL.

—

THE CLEVELAND STEAMSHIP CO.,
THE BUFFALO STEAMSHIP CO.,
Cleveland, Ohio, August 15, 1914.

Mr. E. N. BREITUNG,
Care of Breitung & Co., 11 Pine Street, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. BREITUNG: I beg to acknowledge receipt of your favor of the 14th relative to lake vessels for ocean service. I yesterday wrote you fully about this matter.

Yours, very truly,
RALPH D. MITCHELL.

—

AUGUST 17, 1914.

Mr. RALPH D. MITCHELL,
960 Rockefeller Building, Cleveland, Ohio.

MY DEAR MR. MITCHELL: I have your good letter of the 14th. I will take up the question here in regard to the ships, and you will hear further from me.

What would have to be done, in your opinion, about these to make them ocean-going vessels, or would they be ready for it in their present condition?

Please let me hear from you in regard to this.

Yours, very truly,
E. N. BREITUNG.

—

THE CLEVELAND STEAMSHIP CO.,
THE BUFFALO STEAMSHIP CO.,
Cleveland, Ohio, August 18, 1914.

Mr. E. N. BREITUNG,
11 Pine Street, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. BREITUNG: Answering your favor of the 17th relative to the nine boats about which I wrote you, I am given to understand that they are now ready for ocean service.

Yours, very truly,
RALPH D. MITCHELL.

—

BREITUNG & CO. (LTD.),
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
11 Pine Street, New York, August 6, 1914.

GENTLEMEN: I understand that there will be a large call for tonnage on the sea, and want to get into communication with you to see if it is practicable to bring a number of lake vessels through the Welland Canal to the sea, as I believe I could get good cargoes for them to and from England, at a good-paying price.

Please acknowledge receipt of this and give me what information you can in regard to it.

Yours, very truly,
E. N. BREITUNG.

P. S.—Some of the different members of your firm know who I am, as I am the Mr. Breitung who is senior partner in E. N. Breitung & Co., who have an office in your city.

E. N. B.

PICKANDS, MATHER & CO.,
Cleveland, Ohio.

—

PICKANDS, MATHER & CO.,
Cleveland, Ohio, August 7, 1914.

DEAR SIR: We have your esteemed favor of the 6th instant, and regret that we are not in a position to offer you any definite information in regard to the matter in question. Our own boats are all too long and too wide to go through the Welland Canal, and are therefore unavailable for the purpose. Offhand, we know of only one fleet of reasonably good vessels that might be worth looking into, and that is the Great Lakes & St. Lawrence Steamship Co.'s boats. They are managed by a Mr. D. Sullivan, Western Union Building, Chicago, Ill. Whether they are suitable for ocean carrying trade or not we do not know, but you could communicate with Mr. Sullivan and he could tell you, and inasmuch as he is familiar with any other boats that might be suitable for this business, we believe that you can get more reliable information from him than anyone on the Lakes that we know of.

Regretting our inability to serve you ourselves, we remain,

Sincerely, yours,
PICKANDS, MATHER & CO.

E. N. BREITUNG, Esq.,
11 Pine Street, New York City.

BREITUNG & CO. (LTD.), EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
New York, August 14, 1914.

Messrs. PICKANDS, MATHER & CO.,
Cleveland, Ohio.

GENTLEMEN: On my return I find your letter and wish to thank you for the same. I am much obliged to you for referring me to Mr. D. Sullivan, of Chicago.

Yours, very truly,

E. N. BREITUNG.

MARQUETTE, MICH., *September 2, 1914.*

Mr. D. SULLIVAN,
Manager Great Lakes & St. Lawrence Steamship Co.,
Western Union Telegraph Building, Chicago, Ill.:

Let me know by mail right away what boats you have or know of that are fit for ocean service or at small expense could be made fit for ocean service quickly. Send as full particulars as you can to me to Marquette, Mich., and I could either come to Chicago or you could come up here or we could have some representative act for us, as I have an opportunity to use such boats if I can get the right boats at the right price and terms. You will find me quoted personally in R. G. Dun's Mercantile Agency and in Bradstreets under Breitung & Co. (Ltd.), of which I am senior partner. Refer you in Chicago to City National Bank, where you ask for Mr. Perkins, assistant cashier; Continental & Commercial National Bank, where you ask for Mr. Reynolds, president.

E. N. BREITUNG.

GREAT LAKES & ST. LAWRENCE TRANSPORTATION CO.
(ST. LAWRENCE ROUTE),
Chicago, September 3, 1914.

Mr. E. N. BREITUNG,
Marquette, Mich.

DEAR SIR: I have for acknowledgment your night letter of the 2d instant, and all carefully noted. I represent nine (9) steamers, fitted with surface condensers, and they are regular canal size. Their deadweight capacity is about 2,500 net tons.

I could not give you a price on the boats or any definite offer of sale without calling the board of directors together, putting the matter before them, and having their authority. The vessels are 10 years old, but are in good condition and could be fitted for Atlantic coast service for very little money. They have contracts for both coal and grain up to the 1st of November, but I suppose that those contracts could possibly be canceled if the inducements were sufficient to warrant that.

Yours, very truly,

D. SULLIVAN,
President and General Manager.

BREITUNG & CO., LTD.,
Marquette, Mich., September 4, 1914.

Mr. D. SULLIVAN,
President and General Manager Great Lakes & St. Lawrence Transportation Co., Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. SULLIVAN: I have your letter of the 3d, and would you let me know whether these vessels are fit for the South American freight service; that is, the one I have in mind to use them in?

Please let me know this just as soon as you can by mail to Marquette.

Yours, very truly,

E. N. BREITUNG.

GREAT LAKES & ST. LAWRENCE TRANSPORTATION CO.,
Chicago, September 8, 1914.

Mr. E. N. BREITUNG, *Marquette, Mich.*

DEAR SIR: I have for acknowledgment your letter of the 4th, and all noted. You ask if the Great Lakes & St. Lawrence steamers are fit for the South American freight service, as that is the one you have in mind to use them in. I can not answer this question intelligently. I don't know what the distance is and the bunker capacity you would require. If the route was not too long, they would be very desirous little ships, but if it was over 18 or 20 days of a voyage, they would have to be provided with fuel and their bunker capacity would have to be enlarged if they went into the trade.

Yours, very truly,

D. SULLIVAN,
President and General Manager.

MARQUETTE, MICH., *September 10, 1914.*

Mr. D. SULLIVAN,
Great Lakes & St. Lawrence,
208 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR: I have your letter of the 8th, and I am sending copies of it to New York to find out the question you ask and get more full particulars.

Acknowledge receipt of this and keep me informed.

Yours, very truly,

E. N. BREITUNG.

GREAT LAKES & ST. LAWRENCE TRANSPORTATION CO.
(St. Lawrence Route),
Chicago, September 12, 1914.

Mr. E. N. BREITUNG,
Marquette, Mich.

DEAR SIR: I am in receipt of your letter of the 10th instant, and will await to hear further particulars from you after you get the necessary information from New York.

Very truly, yours,

D. SULLIVAN,
President and General Manager.

NEW YORK, *August 31, 1914.*

Mr. E. N. BREITUNG,
Care of Breitung & Co. (Ltd.), Marquette, Mich.:

Telegraph me quickly as possible full particulars of ten 10,000-ton Lake boats you told me could be brought through Welland Canal for service in South American trade. Had long conference this morning with National City people. They are interested, and I believe on proper basis would cooperate in a company to be composed largely of shippers in this country and South America to operate such a fleet as the above. Would like information quickly as possible so as to push matter. Looks like very profitable piece of business can be done. Very important not to mention name party we are dealing with or disclose any information whatever for present.

M. J. O'SHAUGHNESSY.

MARQUETTE, MICH., *September 2, 1914.*

M. J. O'SHAUGHNESSY,
Care Breitung & Co. (Ltd.), 11 Pine Street, New York.

Your night lettergram received. Will get particulars as soon as I can. I am in doubt whether 10,000-ton boats built on the Lakes would be fit for ocean service, because they would be too long and narrow, but there are a number of smaller boats that are. Let me know what your people wish to do, as I must have some information so when I approach the ship people for a deal I can tell them something as near definite as possible. Believe I can obtain ships for a large tonnage, but they would be smaller ships and many of them, but they can be run cheaply, so that the effect would be the same.

E. N. BREITUNG.

BREITUNG & CO. (LTD.),
Marquette, Mich., September 4, 1914.

Mr. M. J. O'SHAUGHNESSY,
Care Breitung & Co. (Ltd.), 11 Pine Street, New York City.

DEAR SIR: Inclosed find copy of letter from Mr. Sullivan, and also my reply to the same.

I am also on track of several other lines of steamers and several separate ones.

I want to suggest to you that one of the best lines of steamers for this service available is the Panama Line, which belongs to the United States Government. I believe I could arrange, through myself and friends, to acquire this on bonds, as it would be good for the trade of the United States.

Let me hear from you fully as to how things are progressing.

Very truly, yours,

E. N. BREITUNG.

P. S.—Get full particulars in regard to the Panama Co. of the United States Government.

E. N. B.

BREITUNG & CO. (LTD.),
SALES DEPARTMENT,
New York, September 8, 1914.

Mr. E. N. BREITUNG,
Care of E. N. Breitung Offices, Marquette, Mich.

MY DEAR MR. BREITUNG: Your telegram of the 2d and letters of the 2d and 4th instant came to hand while I was away, which accounts for my not having answered before this. I regret that I can not at this writing give you any very definite lines to work upon, as the whole idea of our taking advantage of the opportunities offered by South American trade is as yet so indefinite that no real plan has been devised. I am working this matter with some important people, and as soon as I can form any definite plans I will advise you. In the meantime, if you hear of any ship suitable to this service, you might get in touch with the owners, so that when some plan is adopted suitable bottoms will be available.

I found among your files a description of the nine ships which you mentioned in your letter of the 4th, and I have been advised that they would not be suitable for ocean traffic. It would be difficult to secure the necessary insurance on these bottoms to South America.

I will investigate the Panama matter which you suggest. This may offer a very interesting situation.

I will keep you posted, and I hope that I can very shortly be more specific.

Yours, very truly,

M. J. O'SHAUGHNESSY.

BREITUNG & CO. (LTD.).
Marquette, Mich., September 2, 1914.

Mr. M. J. O'SHAUGHNESSY,
Care of Breitung & Co., 11 Pine Street,
New York City.

DEAR MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY: I received your wire, and answered as follows:

"Your night lettergram received. Will get particulars as soon as I can. I am in doubt whether 10,000-ton boats built on the Lakes would be fit for ocean service, because they would be too long and narrow; but there are a number of smaller boats that are.

"Let me know what your people wish to do, as I must have some information so when I approach the ship people for a deal I can tell them something as near definite as possible. Believe I can obtain ships for a large tonnage, but they would be smaller ships and many of them, but they can be run cheaply, so that the effect would be the same."

I note that you say your people are largely composed of shippers who will cooperate and who have good ships, and also that probably the City National Bank might cooperate or take an interest, or some of the people interested in the City National. I will certainly not mention anything about the City National, as I note that you want it kept quiet.

Now, there are a good many boats on the Lakes that can be got for ocean trade, and I am afraid the large boats on the Lakes—10,000 tons and more tonnage—are not fit for ocean service, as they are too long and narrow; also they could not be brought through the Welland Canal without first cutting them in two. But a fleet of medium-sized boats can be got that can be operated cheaply, so that the actual cost of carrying freight would be about the same, and these smaller boats can be purchased reasonably, if gone about in the right way. At one time they would have almost given them to us, but now they may foresee the trade that they could get, although they have not said so to me, and we might be able to get bargains.

I am taking this up thoroughly with them and will do everything possible to find out just what we should do.

Very truly, yours,

E. N. BREITUNG.

BREITUNG & CO. (LTD.),
Marquette, Mich., September 2, 1914.

Mr. R. C. DUTTON,
901 Rockefeller Building, Cleveland, Ohio.

DEAR SIR: Inclosed find copy of letter to Mr. O'Shaughnessy in answer to his telegram reading as follows:

"Telegraph me quickly as possible full particulars of ten 10,000-ton Lake boats you told me could be brought through Welland Canal for service in South American trade. Had long conference this morning with National City people; they are interested, and I believe on proper basis would cooperate in a company to be composed largely of shippers in this country and South America to operate such a fleet as the above. Would like information quickly as possible so as to push matters; looks like very profitable piece of business can be done. Very important not to mention name party we are dealing with or disclose any information whatever for present."

From the letter and this telegram and also telegram sent him (which you will find in copy of letter inclosed) you will see just what I want. I want to find out if there are any ships in Cleveland, Buffalo, Toledo, or in that vicinity that are fit for ocean trade that we could get. You, of course, understand that we are to keep the connections of the City National Bank secret.

Also do not write or interfere with any deal that Mr. D. Sullivan, of the Great Lakes & St. Lawrence Steamship Co., of Western Union Telegraph Building, Chicago, has on, because we are taking it up direct with him.

Very truly, yours,

E. N. BREITUNG.

—

CLEVELAND, *Monday, February 8, 1915.*

BREITUNG & CO. (LTD.),
11 Pine Street, New York, N. Y.

Attention of Mr. Max Breitung.

GENTLEMEN: In compliance with your favor of the 5th, we are pleased to hand you herewith letter under date of September 2, 1914, from Mr. Breitung to the writer, relative to the Lake vessels for ocean service.

We sent you, on December 22, a copy of my reply to the above-mentioned letter; also a letter written by our Mr. Carey on December 22, on the same subject, in reply to Mr. E. N. Breitung's letter of December 17 and your letter of December 19.

We might say, in connection with this matter, that we heard several days ago that the New York Central people had sold the steamships *Arlington* and *Rutland* out of their Lake freight line for coastwise service. This leads us to think that possibly the Erie Railroad might be induced to part with some of their older and small boats. These vessels would very likely serve all right for coast trade, but we do not believe that they would be of any use in the over-sea service. We were very much surprised to hear that any owner would part with packet-freight boats, as this trade has been almost uniformly profitable, no matter what the state of the bulk-freight market.

Yours, very truly,

E. N. BREITUNG & CO.,
By R. C. DUTTON.

—

CLEVELAND, *Wednesday, September 9, 1914.*

Mr. E. N. BREITUNG,
Marquette, Mich.

DEAR SIR: In compliance with yours of the 2d instant, I have been making a number of inquiries relative to Lake ships suitable for the ocean trade, having discussed the subject guardedly with several vessel owners, and also with my friend, Mr. George A. Marr, secretary of the Lake Carriers' Association.

From all I am thus far able to find out, there are only some 22 vessels on the Lakes which, in their present condition, could be gotten through the Welland Canal Locks; 9 of those, it appears, are controlled by the Great Lakes & St. Lawrence Navigation Co., which is Mr. D. Sullivan's concern, leaving 13 as possibilities. All of these are old, small, steel vessels, without sufficient bunker capacity for fuel for ocean voyages. They are at present engaged in a reasonably profitable Lake trade and could hardly be secured at any reasonable figure, considering their age and the expense necessary to fit them for the work desired.

The Steel Corporation has a few of the 3,000-ton class of steel steamers, built in 1888 to 1892, but even these boats are too large to get through the canal, as no vessel broader than 42 feet, at the very outside, or longer than 259 feet can be taken through the locks. It is entirely impossible to take a 10,000-ton ship to the coast, as these vessels are about 525 feet long and average 54 feet broad; hence, even if cut in two, which is a very expensive operation, they would be much too broad for the locks. It is also pointed out that these vessels, by reason of having their machinery all in the stern, and being of much lighter draft than ocean designs call for, are unfit for the ocean trade.

Brokers in the East have been very busy seeking to obtain options on vessels suitable for this purpose, but without any success whatever. This may be due to the fact that they had no particular financial standing and were not willing to put down real money for the options.

This whole subject was very exhaustively taken up before Congress about the time the European war broke out, and particular inquiries were made of vessel owners and others by Senator T. E. BURTON, of this State, who is himself considerable of an authority on the subject. So far as I could judge from the press reports, it was finally decided that the Lakes offered no material which would help out with the ocean merchant marine.

In addition to the few small vessels mentioned above, there are a number of British-built vessels, ranging from 1,800 to 2,500 tons capacity, plying on the Lakes, but they are owned by the British and sail under that flag. They come to the Lakes during the depression of the ocean freight markets, and some of them, at least, return to the ocean when business there picks up. I think no one has taken any account of the few remaining wooden steamers of Welland Canal size, as they are hardly fit to take outside of a lake harbor, being antiquated and in very poor repair.

I trust that the foregoing gives you the information desired, and if there is anything further you would like to have me do in this connection, would be very happy to serve you.

Yours, very truly,

E. N. BREITUNG & CO.,
By R. C. DUTTON.

THE BILTMORE, *New York, August 28.*

DEAR ED: I hope you and Louis had a good journey and are well.

I inclose description of the English ship, new, first voyage; owners need money.

She could carry 8,000 tons, at $3. I am cabling Buenos Aires to see if credit good, demand as represented, etc. There are numerous things we could ship. Now German export is closed, and in a year we could have several ships, if you care to take it up. I shall be very pleased. It is a business we can do.

I will see Puiola when I get your letter.

I can get coal, insurance, etc., and will find out re payments, etc.

With kind regards,

Sincerely, yours,

SETON.

—

AUGUST 25, 1914.

Mr. GEORGE D. MACKAY,
27 Pine Street, New York City.

DEAR SIR: I herewith inclose description of steamer, as promised: New steamer, one deck, poop 38 feet, bridge 126 feet, forecastle 37 feet, double bottom for water ballast. Steel. Length over all, 400 feet. Breadth, 52 feet. Depth of hold, 29 feet 6 inches. Class, 100–A–1, Lloyds. Dead weight capacity, 8,000 tons. Gross tonnage, 4,735 tons. Engine, triple expansion, 25′ 40′ 68″. Length of stroke, 48″. Three boilers, 180 pounds. Price, $350,000.

Yours, very truly,

———— ————.

—

SEPTEMBER 13, 1914.

DEAR ED: Those boats of which you write are no good.

I can get all the boats required, but there is no freight being carried at present.

I am working on a plan that may go through; if so, we could buy one or two ships and be assured of a freight contract. It would be very, very attractive. The ship I spoke of is not a great bargain as regards value and price, but it would be a very good buy under certain conditions that I may be able to create and on which I am working. I think the present moment most opportune for various propositions.

I inclose cutting that will interest you. I should have liked to have taken this up with you some time ago. I do not think Mr. Buckwalter can interest the right people.

Sincerely,

SETON.

—

No. 193.

GUARANTY TRUST CO. OF NEW YORK,
140 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, *December 16, 1914.*

Pay to the order of Hamburg-American Line $16,500.
(Sixteen thousand five hundred dollars.)
Payable through the New York clearing house 1–107.

W. A. HAMILTON.
MAX BREITUNG.

—

No. 206.

GUARANTY TRUST CO. OF NEW YORK,
140 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, *December 21, 1914.*

Pay to the order of Hamburg-American Line $148,500.
(One hundred forty-eight thousand and five hundred dollars.)
Payable through the New York clearing house 1–107.

W. A. HAMILTON.
MAX BREITUNG.

—

NEW YORK, U. S. A., *December 3, 1914.*

Present approximate prevailing freight rates for cotton, which has been declared immune—that is, as noncontraband of war—by all nations at war, and that is at present obtainable at almost any quantities desired for freighting to European ports:

Gothenburg or Copenhagen, $1.25 has been paid for per 100 pounds, there being 500 pounds in a compressed bale of cotton; $1.50 is price now asked, and even higher rates are expected.

Rotterdam, about $1.75 to $2.50.

Bremen and Hamburg, $3 per 100 pounds has been done, and no surprise will be felt if higher price will be obtained.

Liverpool, $1 upwards.

Liverpool would probably mean coming back to the United States in ballast. Copenhagen probably can give fair cargo for return trip. Return cargo from Rotterdam can be practically engaged for before starting on voyage. Return cargo of very high-class rates can be obtained from Bremen or Hamburg.

Our Government covers war risk insurance on American bottoms.

The present grain rates and general cargo rates are also so that large returns can be obtained on any boat. Carrying contraband, of course, is done at still considerable better prices, but it is somewhat risky.

On the next page I have cited what could be done at this moment with certain definite vessels.

Boat No. 1. American-built boat, 15 years old, has been in Atlantic coast service. In good condition. Gross tonnage, 2,100 tons; net tonnage, 1,300 tons.

Would not need registering, since she is outright an American boat. Would carry about 4,500 and upwards bales of cotton.

To Bremen: 4,500 tons at $15, $67,500 in prepaid freight, collected after loading, upon signing of bill of lading. Expense, including mine and war risk on the vessel itself, would not exceed $27,000 for the round trip, the limit lengths of which should be not exceeding 80 days. The returns from outvoyage, therefore, would leave about $40,000 net and expenses of home-bound voyage paid for. We can obtain freight from Bremen to the United States that will at least net us $21,000 net cash. Thus, our first round trip would net us about $61,000; second trip would pay for the boat on basis of price at which I am offered the boat for for prompt purchase.

The second trip, if present condition would still prevail, would clear us about $30,000 over and above the purchase price of boat.

This boat would be a good nucleus for becoming American shipowners.

Boat No. 2: German boat, about 14 years old, but modern outfittings; always been in trans-Atlantic service; extra well suited for cotton trade; now in cotton port; about 3,500 tons gross, 2,200 tons net; has carried about 12,000 bales of compressed cotton; would need registering under American flag; is a boat that is operating very economically.

To Bremen, at 3 cents per pound—that is, $15 per bale—would have outward bound prepaid freight of $180,000. Less the expense of round voyage, including special mine risk and war risk, and allowing a maximum of 80 days, calculating expense at maximum of $50,000, would net $130,000, and having expense of home-bound trip paid for. The cargo that can be obtained at Bremen for shipment to the United States would net us exceeding $35,000. Thus we would have a net return of over $165,000 on first round trip. The second trip, if same conditions prevail, would duplicate the first trip in returns. This boat can be obtained by me on a basis so that first round-trip's returns pay total purchase price of boat within about 20 per cent.

Boat No. 3, *The T:* This boat was under offer to me on December 3, but was sold on same date. She is British, about 6,000 tons, and sold at price that would have allowed our clearing purchase price in two voyages of cotton to Bremen, or four trips, that could now be contracted for, in grain to England. I will, or rather am, promised similar option.

—

BREITUNG & Co. (LTD.),
New York, December 7, 1914.

Mr. H. O. SCHUNDLER,
24 Stone Street, New York City.

DEAR MR. SCHUNDLER: We have provided for the $50,000, of which we have been talking, to be used in the purchase of the two steam freight vessels, namely, the *Atlantic* and *Pacific*, which are under the American flag and have been recently built in America, leaving no doubt that they are American bottoms; but the whole arrangement must be subject to my approval as well as that of my firm.

Very truly, yours,

E. N. BREITUNG.

—

SAMUEL HOLMES STEAMSHIP OFFICE,
New York, January 9, 1915.

Messrs. E. N. BREITUNG & Co.,
11 Pine Street, New York City.

DEAR SIRS: The S. S. *Horatius* arrived in Boston yesterday.

After our interview with you yesterday we cabled to London that you accept this steamer at £30,000, subject to inspection when notified steamer is ready for inspection, and asked 48 hours time to make the inspection.

My judgment is that the S. S. *Horatius*, having come from Buenos Aires, will have cargo aboard, which must be discharged, and, as I stated in my cable, we required to be notified at what time the steamer would be ready for inspection, it seems common sense that the owners will cable the captain to notify me or tell them that they can notify me when the ship will be ready for inspection, which my judgment tells me should be about Tuesday the 12th instant.

Very truly, yours,

SAMUEL HOLMES.

—

SAMUEL HOLMES STEAMSHIP OFFICES,
SELLING DEPARTMENT,
New York, January 14, 1915.

Messrs. BREITUNG & Co., LTD.,
11 Pine Streete, New York City.

GENTLEMEN: Confirming interview with you this morning, I herewith give you copy of the cable I received this morning (dated last night, 6.40 p. m., arriving after the close of the office), which cable I showed you when I was in your office this morning, respecting the sale of the S. S. *Horatius.*"

LONDON, *January 13—6.40 p. m.*

HOLMES, NYK. *Horatius* withdrawn, having now loaded part outward cargo. *Andreas, Tennyson,* withdrawn. *Tunstall, Potomac,* sold. Telegraph reply, Winnfield; will buyers take delivery steamer *Kingdom? Hemisphere* obtainable, safe-arrival maintenance class only, delivery discharging port Holland or England about March, 28,000 pounds. *Rhodesian,* 21,000; delivery London, about end January; others close treaty; suggest forming limited company now in readiness for steamer purchased.

ASHDOCOMP.

On the 8th instant were received an offer of the *Horatius* for sale at £30,000, which cable I showed you, and on the same day, the 8th, you accepted the steamer and we cabled your acceptance and requested to be notified when the ship could be inspected, in accordance with your request, as she was in Boston with a cargo on board.

Every condition has been fulfilled that can be required by the owners, even down to the point that the ship need not be transferred to a foreign flag, but would be taken and kept under the British flag.

I herewith confirm conversation with you this forenoon and quite agree with you that you are fully entitled to this boat, and note that your inspector is waiting to inspect, and that you insist on the bargain being carried out, and that you are ready to furnish the money.

I am cabling to-day that I have fulfilled my duties as a broker and earned my commission on the sale of this ship to yourselves. I regard the withdrawal of the *Horatius*, as this morning's cable states, to be high handed and unbusiness like on the part of the owners.

I inclose you herewith a copy of the cable I am sending to-day.

Yours, truly,

SAMUEL HOLMES.

—

[Western Union Cablegram.]

JANUARY 14, 1915.

ASHDOCOMP, *London:*

Horatius's purchasers have fulfilled every condition promptly; insist bargain closed; establishing sale and commission on same. No outward cargo known yesterday; if any, purchasers will protect it.

HOLMES.

Above copy sent to Messrs. Breitung & Co. (Ltd.), 11 Pine Street, New York City.

—

STEAMSHIP "HORATIUS,"
January 15, 1915.

Messrs. C. C. ASHDOWN & Co.,
56 Leadenhall Street, London, England.

DEAR SIRS: We were astonished yesterday morning to receive cable announcing that the owners of the *Horatius* had withdrawn the *Horatius* from sale. Of course there will be a suit, because no business man will put up with such high-handed conduct as this. The *Horatius* was offered us at £30,000 for examination in Boston, with New York delivery, no docking, and we accepted the offer the same day as received.

We cabled you requesting to be notified when the ship was ready for inspection, and we were prepared to go on to Boston immediately we received said word, as we have no right to go on board a steamer without the captain being notified and our clients properly notified.

You never replied to this. Instead of immediately sending us authority to go to Boston to examine the ship and having the owners cable the captain to notify us to come on to inspect the ship in Boston (which is only five hours away from New York, with plenty of trains, or if a train did not suit we were prepared to go by automobile, as it is only 240 miles) you cabled us that the steamer was withdrawn.

The idea of telling us that the boat is withdrawn after our prompt reply on the same day that you offered us the steamer, and we have always replied promptly to every offer you have made, whether on this ship or any other.

You could never come in contact with any correspondents who are more active than we are, and we have always been prompt and directly to the point. Our offers have been abundant, straight, and quick, and we are not disposed to be treated like school children. To be told after accepting an offer for the boat that the ship is withdrawn is high-handed conduct. She can not be withdrawn without a great deal of trouble to those attempting to do it.

You have the purchaser's answer, and you have my answers that I require my commission, and we await your reply.

Yours, very truly,

(Signed) SAMUEL HOLMES.

P. S.—If the owners say you hadn't authority, it will be up to you.

Above copy given to Messrs. Breitung & Co.

—

PARTICULARS OF STEAMSHIP "HEMISPHERE."

SAMUEL HOLMES, CONSULTING IRON SHIPBUILDER,
New York, January 16, 1915.

Messrs. BREITUNG & Co.,
11 Pine Street, New York City.

Description: Two decks, spar deck; between decks, 8 feet; poop, 40 feet; bridge, 102 feet; forecastle, 36 feet; double bottom for water ballast; 1,039 tons; 5 hatches; 5 steam winches.

Of what material built, steel; length, 350 feet; breadth, 46 feet 5 inches; depth molded, 26 feet 9 inches; class, 100 A. L. (Lloyd's); when built, 1897; cubic capacity, 316,823; total gross tonnage, 3,486; net tonnage, 2,230; dead-weight capacity, 5,690 tons; bunker capacity, 424 tons; draft, loaded, 22 feet 2¾ inches; draft, light; speed, 9 knots rig.; passenger accommodations; engines, triple expansion; horsepower; diameter of cylinders, 24 inches, 39½ inches, 65 inches; length of stroke, 42 inches; boilers, 2 Scotch boilers; working pressure, 180 pounds; consumption of fuel per 24 hours, 22 tons; to be seen; price, £28,000, subject prior sale or other disposition.

Printed on the margin as follows: "These particulars are presumed to be correct, but are not guaranteed.

—

SAMUEL HOLMES, STEAMSHIP OFFICES,
New York, January 18, 1915.

Messrs. BREITUNG & Co.,
11 Pine Street, City.

DEAR SIRS: We confirm the offer made us by your Mr. Schundler on Saturday afternoon in your office to purchase steamship *Hemisphere* at £28,000 and steamship *Rhodesian* at £21,000.

We give you herewith a copy of cable we sent on Saturday evening on this business after leaving your office, as follows:

"JANUARY 16, 1915.

"ASHDOCOMP, *London:*

"*Hemisphere* accepted twenty-eight thousand, British Government consenting. American registry require privilege accepting without registry; delivery, Holland, England, latest March 10. Bankers guarantee payment until delivery class. Maintenance, balance year. *Rhodesian* accepted, twenty-one thousand; delivery, London, January; other conditions similar.

"HOLMES."

Yours, very truly,

SAMUEL HOLMES.

—

SAMUEL HOLMES, STEAMSHIP OFFICES,
New York, January 19, 1915.

Messrs. BREITUNG & Co.,
11 Pine Street, City.

DEAR SIRS: Respecting steamers *Hemisphere* and *Rhodesian*, we are this morning in receipt of two cable replies, of which we give you copies herewith; one is dated January 18, 1915, 7.07 p. m., and the other is dated January 19, 1915, 7.08 a. m. You have copies of the cable referred to sent January 16 (Saturday).

Yours, very truly,

SAMUEL HOLMES.

I inclose particulars of *Southfield.*

—

[Cablegram.]

LONDON, *January 19, 1915.*

HOLMES, *New York:*

Rhodesian; due London end week; owners decline pass survey; say necessary for buyers pass survey by April to maintain class, subject unsold arranging conditions contract; owners accept £21,000, buyers taking delivery when discharged; London paying cash whole purchase money.

ASHBORNE.

—

SELLING DEPARTMENT, SAMUEL HOLMES
STEAMSHIP OFFICES,
New York, January 20, 1915.

Messrs. BREITUNG & Co.,
11 Pine Street, New York City.

ATTENTION OF MR. SCHUNDLER.

DEAR SIRS: I herewith inclose you copy of cable I have to-day sent my agents in London, in reference to steamer *Horatius*, as you requested.

Yours, very truly,

SAMUEL HOLMES.

[Cablegram.]

JANUARY 20, 1915.

ASHDOCOMP, *London:*

Notify owners *Horatius* purchasers prepared pay for steamer; hold owners responsible; good management vessel.

HOLMES.

SAMUEL HOLMES STEAMSHIP OFFICES,
New York, February 9, 1915.

Messrs. BREITUNG & CO.,
11 Pine Street, New York City.

DEAR SIRS: On the 6th instant I submitted your offer for the *St. Fillans* by cable, and for your information I cabled as follows:

FEBRUARY 6, 1915.

ASHDOCOMP, *London:*

Breitung Co. will accept *St. Fillans*, £42,500, if can transfer to American register within 10 days. If impossible to do this, will endeavor to have Breitung consent to British liability company.

HOLMES.

To which I am in receipt of cable reply this morning, dated February 8, 1915, reading as follows:

LONDON, *February 8, 1915.*

HOLMES, *New York:*

St. Fillans practically ready; impossible to arrange transfer. Only chance arranging sale is to British buyers. Try authorize this basis, advising who acting here buyer's behalf.

ASHDOWN.

You will gather from the cable reply above quoted that the ship is practically ready, and that the only way to negotiate this vessel will be through organizing a limited liability company, as we have previously discussed.

Yours, very truly, SAMUEL HOLMES.

SAMUEL HOLMES STEAMSHIP OFFICES,
New York, February 19, 1915.

Messrs. BREITUNG & CO.,
11 Pine Street, New York City.

DEAR SIRS: In accordance with agreement of sale of the steamers *Ocamo* and *Oruro* at Halifax, have you sent your representative to take charge of the *Oruro*, and pay the balance of the purchase price on this steamer, and bring her to New York, and arrange the company? It will have to be somebody with authority.

You were going to write Pickford & Black giving them the details of your wishes regarding the forming of the company, which they would have their lawyer attend to at your expense. I presume you have written them to this effect, although I have not heard that you have done so positively.

Mr. Black, of Pickford & Black, was with me to-day, but is leaving for Halifax to-night.

Yours, very truly, SAMUEL HOLMES.

Address of Ex-President William H. Taft.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DAN V. STEPHENS,
OF NEBRASKA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 3 (legislative day of Tuesday, March 2), 1915.

Mr. STEPHENS of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD the splendid address delivered by ex-President William H. Taft before the Washington Association at Morristown, N. J., on February 22, on a subject bearing principally upon our international relations toward the belligerent nations of Europe. It is an able discussion of our national policy that should have the widest possible circulation at this time.

I also ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a letter written by Prof. Kuno Francke, of Howard University, discussing the subject of neutrality, which will be of great interest at the present time.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

ADDRESS OF WILLIAM H. TAFT, EX-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, BEFORE THE WASHINGTON ASSOCIATION OF NEW JERSEY, AT MORRISTOWN, N. J., FEBRUARY 22, 1915.

Gentlemen of the Washington Association of New Jersey:

Washington's life and service related to many phases and problems in our national life, and his views, set forth in his correspondence, in his message and expressed in his Executive acts, are broad and comprehensive. No issue or problem of national importance presses on a birthday of his, the solution of which may not be greatly aided by a recurrence to principles which he practiced and sought to inculcate in his fellow countrymen.

I do not intend to-day to dwell on the indispensable character of the service that he rendered to the country in winning independence and in the framing and ratification of the Constitution. Under the inspiration of these historic surroundings where Washington lived many trying days and weeks and months of the Revolutionary struggle, you have familiarized yourselves with his life. It would be a work of supererogation for anyone, though much more a student of his career than I am, to review it.

After independence was won and the Constitution was adopted, there still remained to this country a fateful period in which the ship of state was to be launched, national sovereignty was to be enforced, and that independence, which had been nominally granted and secured, was to be, in fact, established among the nations of the world.

I pass by the achievement of national organization under the guidance of Washington, assisted by the genius of Hamilton and Madison, before Jefferson entered the Cabinet. I do not discuss the birth of national credit under the financial measures pressed upon Congress by Hamilton and secured ultimately through the cooperation of Jefferson. This 183d anniversary of Washington's birth, in view of the present critical condition in our international relations, should bring to our minds the third great achievement of his presidential term, the maintenance of a policy of neutrality through a general European war. He insisted upon it as necessary before he became President; he maintained it throughout his official life as President against mighty odds and under conditions that tried his soul, and in his Farewell Address he restated it and reenforced it as a legacy to the American people.

He began his first administration at the time of the outbreak of the French Revolution. The progress of that great popular uprising, with all its excesses and the wars that grew out of it, was reflected in American politics of that day in a way that makes the currents in our popular opinion to-day, due to the existing European war, seem negligible. France had been our friend when we needed a friend—in the Revolutionary War. The French people were engaged in destroying the divine right of kings, and substituting therefor popular rule. They were encountering monarchial intervention to restore the old system. Nothing was better calculated to awaken the patriotic and friendly sympathy of this country, in whose memory the struggles of the Revolution were still fresh. The appeals which the French Republic, through the ministers which it had sent here—Genet, Fauchet, and Adet—fell upon grateful and responsive hearts and aroused an anxiety to help this struggle of our friend for liberty in Europe. Moreover, our obligations to France under the treaty of 1778 seemed to require us to favor her as a belligerent in her war with England. The intriguing and plotting of the French ministers to use the United States as a basis of operations against England greatly complicated the problem which Washington had to face in avoiding an English war. On the other hand, the utter fatuousness of much of the English policy in seizing American merchantmen without warning and in stirring up Indian outrages against our western settlers roused American feeling against that country to the highest pitch.

In the teeth of this British insolence, Washington sent Jay to England to make the treaty which bore his name. The flamboyant blundering and partisanship of Monroe as minister to France while the treaty was being negotiated in England, leading to his recall, and the apparent desertion of Washington by Federalists as well as Republicans when he signed the treaty, and the subsequent change of public opinion when the foreign French intrigue against the treaty became known, and when, in spite of its many defects, the benefits of the treaty were seen by the country, constitute a train of events in the successful maintenance of neutrality which proves it to be more completely and exclusively Washington's own, and more fully due to his personal foresight, his personal courage, and his personal influence than any other achievement of his career.

In the Revolutionary War, of course, he was the leader, but there were many others who shared with him the responsibility. In the framing of the Constitution, in the organization of our Government, and in our financial policy, Hamilton and Madison and others played a large part. Washington sat as an arbitrator in many of these issues, which were presented to him in the opposing arguments of his associates. As Jefferson said:

"During the administration of our first President, his Cabinet of four members were equally divided by as marked an opposition of principle as monarchism and republicanism could bring into conflict. Had that Cabinet been a French directory, like positive and negative quantities in algebra, the opposing wills would have balanced each other and produced a state of absolute inaction. But the President heard with calmness the opinion and reasons of each, decided the course to be pursued, and kept the Government steadily in it, unaffected by the agitation. The public knew well the dissensions of the Cabinet, but never had an uneasy thought on their account, because they knew also they had provided a regulating power which would keep the machine in steady movement."

But the policy of neutrality was Washington's alone. He initiated it. He enforced it. He bequeathed it to his countrymen. Before he had been chosen President he wrote to a friend as follows:

"I hope the United States of America will be able to keep disengaged from the labyrinth of European politics and wars; and that before long they will, by the adoption of a good National Government, have become respectable in the eyes of the world. * * * It should be the policy of the United States to administer to their wants without being engaged in their quarrels."

A year after he went into the Presidency he wrote to Lafayette that we were—

"Gradually recovering from the distresses in which the war left us, patiently advancing in our task of civil government, unentangled in the crooked politics of Europe."

In March, 1793, Washington said:

"All our late accounts from Europe hold up the expectation of a general war in that quarter. For the sake of humanity, I hope that such an event will not take place. But if it should, I trust that we shall have too just a sense of our own interest to originate any cause that may involve us in it."

Again, on March 12, 1793, he wrote to Jefferson:

"War having actually commenced between France and Great Britain, it behooves the Government of this country to use every means in its power to prevent the citizens thereof from embroiling us with either of those powers by endeavoring to maintain a strict neutrality. I therefore require that you will give the subject mature consideration, that such measures as shall be deemed most likely to effect this desirable purpose may be adopted without delay."

On the 2d of April, 1793, he issued a proclamation of neutrality. It must be realized too that this proclamation of neutrality was very difficult to reconcile with the engagements of the United States in the treaty of France made during the Revolutionary War, and it was possible only to escape them on the plea that they were not binding on the United States in the case of an offensive war such as France was waging against England. Finally, after his course of neutrality had been vindicated and he came to lay his office down, he appealed to the American people not to depart from it. He said:

"The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

"Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns.

Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

"Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course.

"Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?"

It seems to me that this is a good text from which to preach a sermon and draw a lesson on this Washington's birthday, for most of the great powers of Europe are again at war.

We have among our citizens many who look back to the country of one or the other of the belligerents as their native land. The natural result has followed that the bitterness of the contest is reflected in the conflicting sympathies of our people. The newspapers of no other country have been as full of details of the war and of the circumstances leading to it as our own press. This has stimulated public interest and created partisans who attack President Wilson because he has been faithfully following the example set, and the admonitions given, by our first President. No better evidence of this could be had than that, from time to time, first one side and then the other criticizes the administration for its partiality, its lame acquiescence, or its unfair protests. So extreme have some of these partisans become that they propose to organize a political party and take political action, to be based on issues arising out of the present war; to ignore altogether the questions germane to American domestic politics, and to visit all candidates in future elections who do not subscribe to their factional international views with political punishment. I am far from saying that an unwise or an unpatriotic course in our foreign relations may not justify criticism of an administration and may not require its condemnation at the appropriate election, but in such a case the reasons must be found in injury to the interests of the United States and not in the merits of the issues being fought out by European nations in an European arena.

I was asked in Canada whether the war would affect our politics, so as to divide parties on European lines. I answered unhesitatingly in the negative. I said that to inject European issues into American politics had uniformly meant the defeat of those who attempted it. There is no better proof of this than the revulsion of feeling against the Republican Party in the latter part of Washington's second term, when the people suspected it of making the cause of the French revolution more important than the safety and prosperity of the United States. The country rallied to Washington's support and his maintenance of American interests only a short time after he had signed the most unpopular treaty ever negotiated in our history.

Legislation is pressed to forbid the sale of arms and ammunition by our merchants in trade to belligerents. It happens that one party to the war is fully prepared with ammunition and arms. It happens that the other party is not. It happens that the party which is prepared with ammunition and arms is excluded from the seas by the navies of their opponents. It happens therefore that the only sale of ammunition and arms that can take place is to one side. Therefore it is said that, as the side to which we are selling arms and ammunition is dependent on our sales, we should place an embargo on that trade, force that side to peace, and bring the war to an end. It has always been a rule of international law that neutral countries may sell arms and ammunition to either belligerent but that they are absolute contraband and liable to confiscation on board a neutral vessel. We have proceeded on this assumption, and our manufacturers have sold arms and ammunition to those belligerents who would buy. We do not discriminate between the belligerents in the matter of furnishing war material. It is only that the fortune of war and the circumstances over which we have no control prevent one side from purchasing in our markets, which are open to all who can reach them. Nor is it possible to see why the doing of that which neutrals in all wars have been permitted to do should be made unneutral by such circumstances. The change of the well-established rule, however, where such a change would inure only to the benefit of one of the parties, might well be regarded as unneutral, as has been pointed out by the President. Neutrality leagues, therefore, that are organized to press legislation in the nature of an embargo on the sale of arms and ammunition do not seem to be rightly named.

But my chief objection to giving up the lawful and usual course of a neutral to sell arms and ammunition to belligerents is based on the highest national interest. We are a country which is never likely to be fully prepared for war. We must have the means of preparing as rapidly as possible after war is imminent and inevitable. We would be most foolish to adopt a policy of refusing to sell arms and ammunition to belligerent powers which, if it was pursued against us when we were driven into war, would leave us helpless.

In our Spanish War we were obliged to purchase ships and other equipments for war from foreign countries, and in any future war we would be in the same position.

More than this, if we were to place an embargo on the sale of arms and ammunition to belligerents, we would discourage the industry in this country and reduce substantially our possible domestic means of preparing for future wars. It has long been the policy—and the wise policy—of the War Department not to be dependent for its supplies on Government factories alone, but to encourage private enterprise in this line of manufacture, in order that, should national exigency arise, we could depend on aid from private sources. To deny to the owners of such investments the opportunities of trade with belligerents would be to discourage them and make our preparedness to resist unjust aggression even less than it now is.

Finally, the general adoption of a course by neutrals not to sell arms to the belligerents in a war would greatly stimulate the tendency to increase armaments in time of peace to be ready for war. Such a stimulus to greater armaments we shall all deplore, because of their burden upon the peoples of the countries affected, and because of the temptation to war involved in their maintenance.

Another criticism against the administration comes not only from those whose predilections are based on their European origin, but also from native Americans who are aroused by what they conceive to be the possible evil world consequences of this war and the merits of its issues. They complain of the administration because it did not protest against every violation of international law committed by one set of the belligerents against the other. This view was made to depend at first upon what was thought to be a treaty obligation on the part of the United States to protest, growing out of the provisions of The Hague treaties, to which most of the belligerents, together with the United States, have been signatories. Further examination, I think, showed that most of these treaties were by their own terms inoperative, because they had not been signed by all the belligerents. While the people of the United States might well maintain the wisdom and righteousness of such provisions, or deplore their violation, their Government was not under any treaty obligation to take part in the controversy, to express an opinion, or to register a protest.

It must be noted that in every war one side must be wrong, and frequently both sides are wrong. Frequently both sides violate international law and the laws of war against each other. It is most difficult for a neutral to learn all the facts in such a way as to reach a safe and certain judgment on the merits. Moreover, even if this is possible, it has been the policy of our Government since its establishment to decline to enter the European arena of war in any capacity, and our obligation to take sides and enter a protest must be exceedingly clear before we should permit ourselves to do so. Where an issue made is being fought by millions of men on one side and by millions of men on another, a neutral nation which fails to protest against violations of the laws of war as between belligerents can not be said to acquiesce in those violations or to recognize them in any way as a precedent which will embarrass it. We must realize that in a controversy like this, where the whole lifeblood of each contestant is being poured out, and in which its very existence as a nation is at stake, protests like those proposed in respect of issues in which a neutral is not directly interested, may well seem to the highly sensitive peoples engaged a formal declaration of sympathy in the war with one side or the other. This must inevitably and materially injure our attitude of neutrality without accomplishing any good. Therefore, while I sympathize with the Belgians in this war, whose country, without any fault of theirs, has been made its bloody center, I approve and commend to the full the attitude of President Wilson in declining to consider the evidence brought before him in respect to alleged atrocities in Belgium, and to express an opinion on the issues presented. A similar decision with respect to the application of the German Government to have him investigate the evidence of the use of dum-dum bullets was equally sound. We are not sitting as judges of issues between countries in Europe in this great war; we are seeking to maintain strict neutrality, and until our decision is invoked, with an agreement to abide by our judgment and recommendation for settlement, we need not embroil ourselves by official expressions of criticism or approval of the acts of the participants in the war. This is not only the wisest course for us to pursue in maintaining an attitude that may give us influence in promoting mediation when mediation is possible; but it will help us to avoid being drawn into the war.

It is said that we show ourselves utterly selfish and commercial when we refuse to protest against a breach of the laws of war by one belligerent against another and yet register protest against the violation of our neutral trade rights. Thus our critics say we exalt our pockets above principle. This is a confusion of ideas. When the action of a belligerent directly affects our commercial interests, then we must protest or acquiesce in the wrong. When the wrong is not committed against us but against a European nation in a European quarrel, absence of protest by us is not acquiescence by us but only consistent maintenance of our national policy to avoid European quarrels. Not only was this the rule laid down by Washington but it has found authoritative expression in the reservation made in the treaty between the United States, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Spain, France, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Russia, and Sweden, known as the treaty of Algeciras, proclaimed January 22, 1907. The reservation was as follows:

"As a part of this act of ratification, the Senate understands that the participation of the United States in the Algeciras conference, and in the formulation and adoption of the general act and protocol which resulted therefrom, was with the sole purpose of preserving and increasing its commerce in Morocco, the protection as to life, liberty, and property of its citizens residing or traveling therein, and of aiding by its friendly offices and efforts in removing friction and controversy which seemed to menace the peace between the powers signatory with the United States to the treaty of 1880, all of which are on terms of amity with this Government, and without purpose to depart from the traditional American foreign policy which forbid participation by the United States in the settlement of political questions which are entirely European in their scope."

It is noteworthy that this authoritative declaration of our traditional policy was made pending the second Hague peace conference, and was made by the same President and same Senate which ratified The Hague peace treaties, in so far as they were ratified. We may, therefore, infer that nothing in The Hague treaties was intended to involve us in purely European controversies. Protests of the kind urged would do this.

Our interest in the present war, therefore, under the conditions that exist, should be limited, as set forth in this reservation, to wit, to—

"Preserving and increasing the commerce of the United States with the belligerents, to the protection as to life, liberty, and property of our citizens residing or traveling in their countries, and to the aiding by our friendly offices and efforts in bringing those countries to peace."

Our efforts for peace have been made as complete as possible, for the President has already tendered his good offices by way of mediation between the powers, and they have not been accepted.

In preserving the commerce of the United States with the belligerents, however, we are face to face with a crisis. We are threatened with a serious invasion of our rights as neutrals in trading with the belligerent countries. What certainly is an innovation upon previous rules in respect to neutral commerce and contraband of war has been initiated by belligerents of both sides. The planting of mines in the open sea and the use of submarines to send neutral vessels to the bottom without inquiry as to their neutrality when found in a so-called war zone of the open sea are all of them a variation from the rules of international law governing the action of belligerents toward neutral trade. When their violation results in the destruction of the lives of American citizens or of American property a grave issue will arise as to what the duty of this Government is. The responsibility of the President and Congress in meeting the critical issue thus presented in maintaining our national rights, and our national honor on the one hand, with due regard to the awful consequences to our 90,000,000 of people of engaging in this horrible world war on the other, will be very great. It involves on their part a judgment so momentous in its consequences that we should earnestly pray that the necessity for it may be averted. If, however, the occasion arises, we can be confident that those in authority will be actuated by the highest patriotic motives and by the deepest concern for our national welfare. We must not allow our pride or momentary passion to influence our judgment.

We must exercise the deliberation that the fateful consequences in the loss of our best blood and enormous waste of treasure would necessarily impose upon us. We must allow no jingo spirit to prevail. We must abide the judgment of those in whom we have intrusted the authority, and when the President shall act we must stand by him to the end. In this determination we may be sure that all will join, no matter what their previous views, no matter what their European origin. All will forget their differences in self-sacrificing loyalty to our common flag and our common country.

PROF. KUNO FRANCKE TO CONGRESSMAN BARTHOLDT.

To the editor of the Transcript:

As I was one of the persons invited to take part in the conference held at Washington on January 30 for the purpose of forming a national organization to "reestablish genuine American neutrality and to uphold it free from commercial, financial, and political subservience to foreign powers," and as my staying away from this conference might be interpreted as evincing lack of sympathy with Germany's cause, I wish to make public the reasons why I declined to take part in it. My reasons are contained in the subjoined letter to Mr. BARTHOLDT, written on January 28.

KUNO FRANCKE.

Hon. RICHARD BARTHOLDT,
Committee on Foreign Affairs, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. BARTHOLDT: I am sorry that I must decline taking part in the conference on January 30 to which you were good enough to invite me. I would beg, however, that the following remarks be read at the conference, so that my position with regard to the questions raised by your circular note be clearly understood by those present. And in case there are to be newspaper reports of the transactions of the conference, I would beg that this letter of mine also be published.

I fully believe in the righteousness of the German cause in the present world conflict, and I shall avail myself of every opportunity, as I have done before, to express publicly my fervent hope that Germany and her Austro-Hungarian ally will remain victorious in a struggle forced upon them by the aggression of a most unnatural coalition of powers, held together by nothing but irrational fear of German ascendancy. I believe that the prominent part taken by England in this coalition is a crime against civilization. For, if successful, it would lead to the ruin of a country which for the last 50 years has excelled all other countries in every kind of public service, social organization, and peaceful enterprise, and which is a shining illustration of the beneficial effects of good government upon the development of civic virtue, personal worth, and popular prosperity. I deeply deplore, therefore, the gross and ignorant misrepresentations of German achievements and German aspirations of which a large part of the American press has made itself guilty. That none of these misrepresentations is more deliberately ignorant than the assertion that the present war is a war for popular freedom against German autocracy should be clear to everyone who remembers that the most formidable member of the anti-German coalition is Russia.

My sympathies, therefore, in this war are wholly and fervently on the German side. But my German sympathies can not make me forget what seem to me my duties as an American citizen.

I believe it would be against my duties as an American citizen if I were to take part in a propaganda the purpose of which will be thought to be to force our Government into a hostile attitude toward England. Your circular letter speaks of England as "America's arch-enemy." It calls for a "New Declaration of Independence" which is to "eliminate all undue English influence from our American life." And it protests "against the continued traffic in arms and ammunitions of war which practically arrays our country on the side of England." I do not wish to emphasize the fact that the proclamation of an embargo on arms and ammunitions of war would be an altogether illusory thing. Arms and other implements of war would, if our Government established an embargo on them, be shipped from this country to Habana, or to Vigo, or to some other neutral port, and would reach their destination from there without any hindrance. What I do wish to emphasize is that the establishment of such an embargo would inevitably bring our Government into conflict with England and might drive us into war with England. As a man of German blood I might welcome the help which would accrue to Germany by such a conflict between the United States and England. But as an American citizen I can not possibly support a policy which would bring the terrors of war to our own country. What I feel bound to support, as an American citizen, is a policy which holds itself strictly within the now accepted rules of neutrality, although, to my regret, this policy, through circumstances over which the United States has no control, practically turns out to the advantage of England and to the detriment of Germany.

There is another point in your circular letter in which, as an American citizen, I feel bound to disagree with you. You say that "an emphatic protest should be entered against every attempted discrimination against the many millions of our citizens who happen to bear non-English names." If by these many millions you mean citizens of German descent, I fail to see what you mean by attempted discrimination against them. That there is a strong anti-German feeling in this country at the present moment can not be denied. I believe this feeling to be rooted in a wrong and short-sighted view of the issues at stake in the European war. The necessity of combating short-sighted views of the majority makes the situation for us German-Americans for the moment far from pleasant. But of discriminations proposed or attempted against German-American citizens I am unaware. Nothing, it seems to me, is more prejudicial to our position as American citizens than the clamor for recognition which is so often heard at German mass meetings. Nothing would be more fatal to our standing in the community than the insistence on racial contrasts and demands. We have every opportunity in this country to make felt what is best in German character and life. Let us continue to do so; let us continue to have a prominent part in all endeavors for political, civic, and industrial progress; let us stand for the German ideals of honesty, loyalty, truthfulness, devotion to work; let us cultivate our language, our literature, and our art; let us fearlessly defend the cause of our mother country against prejudices and aspersions. But let us refrain from political organizations which would set Germans in this country apart as a class by themselves. Such an attempt would lead not to the raising but to the degradation of the German name in this country. It would foster hatred instead of sympathy, and only by gaining the sympathy of the majority of the American people can we German-Americans help the cause of our mother country.

Very truly, yours,

KUNO FRANCKE.

CAMBRIDGE, *January 28, 1915.*

The Late Senator Bacon.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. BELL,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, February 21, 1915,

On House resolution 740, as follows:

"*Resolved*, That as a mark of respect to the memory of the Hon. AUGUSTUS O. BACON, late a Senator from the State of Georgia, the business of the House be now suspended, to enable his associates to pay proper tribute to his high character and distinguished public services.

"*Resolved*, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the House, at the conclusion of the exercises of this day, stand adjourned.

"*Resolved*, That the Clerk of the House communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

"*Resolved*, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased."

Mr. BELL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, Senator A. O. BACON was born October 20, 1839, and was therefore nearly 75 years of age. He had served continuously in the United States Senate almost 20 years, during which time he made a national reputation. He was regarded by thousands of people as being the strongest representative Georgia has sent to the Senate, and I share with them in this opinion. I had the pleasure of knowing Senator BACON for almost 35 years, and in all my relations with him I always found him sincere and firm in his convictions. He made but few promises, but he kept them. He was absolutely reliable in word and deed. He would not compromise himself nor would he embarrass anyone, friend or foe, even though he might gain temporary advantage by it. He was a student, a lawyer, a statesman, a gentleman. Few men of his day were better posted on the great questions which confronted this Nation than he. His powerful mind was active at all times, and he was able and always ready to defend his State, his people, and the Nation. He had a clear conception of legislation which affected his own country at home and abroad. He had in fact elements of greatness, and would have made an ideal Chief Executive of this great Nation. He studied carefully the minor questions which often present themselves to a legislator, and was equal to any emergency which required brain, thought, statesmanship, and active endeavor. He never shirked responsibility, nor did he unload his burdens or cares on his neighbors or friends. He was possessed of a resolute will, a determined purpose, lofty ideals, a cherished ambition, and back of it all a giant mind. He did great good during his long service to his country, and his name will go down in history as one of the great men of to-day.

I attended his funeral at Macon, Ga., and the throng of people of all classes who paid tribute to him on the occasion bore eloquent testimony of the high esteem in which he was held by those who knew him best and loved him most. His counsel was good and his judgment was safe. As chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Senate he was consulted by the President and those who served with him on this important committee, because they knew his ability and his strength as a debater could be depended upon when the services of a great man were needed. He was a stanch believer in the principles of the Monroe doctrine, and his defense of it was masterful, and he could be relied upon to present his views upon any question which affected our country in this doctrine which he firmly believed was correct and imperative to the welfare of our country. We mourn his loss. The country mourns his loss. He has gone from our presence, but his goodness and greatness still linger with us. We will see his face and form no more on earth, but the light of his life and his influence will remain with us. The world is better because of his life, and like a rare perfume whose fragrance lingers, so his memory will be cherished by all. His work on earth is done, and he is at rest. Peace to his memory.

There is no death! The stars go down
To rise upon some fairer shore,
And bright in heaven's jeweled crown
They shine forevermore.

There is no death! The leaves may fall,
And flowers may fade and pass away.
They only wait through wintry hours
The coming of the May.

There is no death! An angel form
Walks o'er the earth with silent tread;
He bears our best-loved things away,
And then—we call them dead.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CALEB POWERS,
OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 2, 1915.

Mr. POWERS. Mr. Speaker, no opportunity has been given the House to discuss and consider this bill—only two hours of debate on what many of us believe one of the most important pieces of legislation that has come before Congress for years. Both of the great political parties in their national platforms have indorsed and demanded rural credits legislation.

The Democratic Party at Baltimore in national convention assembled said in its national platform this as to rural credits:

RURAL CREDITS.

Of equal importance with the question of currency reform is the question of rural credits or agricultural finance. * * * We favor legislation permitting national banks to loan a reasonable proportion of their funds on real estate security.

In that declaration in their national platform in the interest of the farmer the Democratic Party went before the country in 1912. The farmers realized the need of such legislation. They believed, or must have believed, that the Democratic Party, if elected, would comply with its promises to them and give them rural credits legislation. I can not refrain from quoting from a speech I made on the floor of the House on February 4 of this year, not quite one month ago. I said at that time:

"The Democratic Party promised the farmer that if elected and given power to legislate, this law should be passed. The farmer, among others, did help to put the Democratic Party in power. They thought that they were going to get some genuine rural credits legislation, but they have not gotten it. The President says he favors such legislation. He said on December 2, 1913, in his message to Congress:

"I present to you, in addition, the urgent necessity that special provision be made also for facilitating the credits needed by the farmers of the country; what they need and should obtain is legislation which will make their own abundant and substantial credit resources available as a foundation for joint, concerted local action in their own behalf in getting the capital they must use. It is to this we should now address ourselves. We must add the means by which the farmer may make his credit constantly and easily available and command when he will the capital by which to support and expand his business. We lag behind many other great countries of the modern world in attempting to do this. Systems of rural credit have been studied and developed on the other side of the water while we left our farmers to shift for themselves in the ordinary money market. You have but to look about you in any rural district to see the result—the handicap and embarrassment which have been put upon those who produce our food.

"And at the very time the Federal reserve bill was being perfected by the House Committee on Banking and Currency did not certain members of it—particularly Representatives NEELEY of Kansas, WINGO of Arkansas, and RAGSDALE of South Carolina—insist that a provision be inserted in the Federal reserve bill carrying out the pledge in the Democratic platform as to rural credits, and did not the President send the majority leader, the gentleman from Alabama, OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD, to those men to assure them that if they would not insist on incorporating rural credits legislation in the Federal reserve bill that he would help them and those interested in the question to pass it in a separate bill? So far it has not been passed, and I see no prospect of early action. Everyone here says and knows that the President is now opposed to putting the Government back of rural credits and will not approve a bill that puts the Government back of freeing and making available the farmers' credit to the same extent that the Federal reserve act puts the Government back of the business man's and banker's credit.

"The Democrats passed the currency law, and in their platform they said:

"Of equal importance with the question of currency reform is the question of rural credits or agricultural finance.

"But the farmers have to wait. They have waited for about two years, and how much longer they will have to wait no one knows."

To-day's debate, Mr. Speaker, has vindicated the truth of all I said on the floor of this House less than one month ago. I then charged that the Democrat President of these United States had changed front on rural-credits legislation. Notwithstanding the fact that the Democratic platform upon which President Wilson was elected, and notwithstanding all he said in his message to Congress on December 2, 1913, I then charged that the President was now opposed to putting the Federal Government back of rural credits. It was not the purpose of the Democratic Party to enact any rural credits legislation at this session of Congress, if at all. But thanks are due to that stalwart Republican, Senator MCCUMBER, who put one over on his Democratic colleagues in the Senate a few days ago and attached a rider to the Agricultural bill the House had passed and sent over there. The rider of Senator MCCUMBER provided for putting the Government back of rural credits in the interest of the American farmers.

The Agricultural bill is now back before the House with the McCumber rider providing for rural credits to legislation in the interest of the farmer. But how did Senator MCCUMBER ever put his rural-credits rider over a Democratic Senate? Did not Mr. WINGO, a Democratic Representative from Arkansas, a few minutes ago, in a speech here, explain all that? Did not he tell you that out of the 52 Democratic Senators in the United States Senate only 6 were on the floor of the Senate at the time, and that 5 of that number were "asleep," and that the one who happened to be awake did not know what to do? And did not another Democratic Member, Mr. NEELEY of Kansas, tell us also how those Democratic Senators were asleep and how the Democratic Party had stifled this legislation?

I will insert as part of my remarks some of the things he has said:

"Mr. NEELEY of Kansas. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I want to indorse the most of what my good friend from Arkansas [Mr. WINGO] has said, but I also desire to both congratulate and apologize, to congratulate the Republican Party that one of its Senators found six Senators so sleepy that he was able to startle the Senate and attract the attention of this House and the country to an unfulfilled Democratic promise and to felicitate that party upon the fact that it has thrown into this House six or eight undigested farm-loan bills and has forced an issue of rural credits upon the country. [Applause.] A year ago last August we held a prolonged Democratic caucus in this very room, and I then offered a motion to open the doors of that caucus so that every man or woman who wanted to hear the proceedings could do so and might know exactly what took place. [Applause.] That motion was voted down. I said then that I thought it was bad politics, that the bill should be framed in the white light of public criticism, and the situation confronting us to-night is additional proof of the fact. We made a fight in that caucus to secure the adoption of certain amendments which, if adopted, would have laid a deep foundation for rural-credit legislation, and which we believed should be incorporated in the currency bill, and finally, after we had been here three weeks, lacking one day, a compromise was effected and certain gentlemen came upon the floor of that caucus and stated that they were authorized to state that if this rural-credits proposition that was then ready to be offered was withheld that the subject would be taken up in due time and in regular order, so that it might be given the consideration which the importance of legislation of this character demanded that it should receive before being enacted into law. The advocates of rural credits legislation believed that pledge was offered in good faith, and they accepted the offer in that spirit and kept their part of the pact. The President of the United States came out in a newspaper interview, in which he stated that rural credits was the next great project to be taken up, and he stated that at the proper time he would call the attention of Congress to this most important matter and urge its enactment.

"A motion was made by the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. MURRAY] that a committee be appointed to take up this matter and to report before the end of this Congress. I offered an amendment to that motion that this committee be instructed to report before the beginning of the last session of the present Congress, and the motion as amended was adopted. A subcommittee of the Banking and Currency Committee was appointed. It began its deliberations in the fall of 1913, and finally, in May, 1914, a bill, supposed to embody the result of the deliberations of that subcommittee, was introduced in the House. There has never been any action on the part of that committee from that day to this looking to the enactment of rural credits legislation, and six weeks ago the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. WINGO], in an open session of the Banking and Currency Committee, made a motion that the committee immediately proceed to take up and consider the question of rural credits, with a view of reporting a bill to this House for passage, but that motion was voted down.

"I am glad that Senator MCCUMBER has put this amendment on this bill. [Applause.] I know that it is not perfect. It looks to me as though its author had simply called in a stenographer and dictated it in an hour or so without giving

the matter very serious consideration. But with all of its faults, with all of its failures, and with all of its shortcomings I am ready to vote for it and really start the ball of rural credits to rolling. [Applause.] And if you Democrats do not like that kind of hit-and-miss legislation, why, in the name of heaven, do you not help us to get a committee organized for business and get a bill that is decent? [Applause.]"

This is the language of a Democrat. He shows us how the Democratic Party has played football with rural-credits legislation; how they have blown hot and cold to the farmer. Mr. Speaker, it has been freely stated, both in the public press, in the corridors of these halls, and on the floor of this House, that the President would veto the Agricultural bill if it contained the McCumber amendment when it reached his desk. It has been freely stated here that he would veto this measure if it contained the so-called Bulkley bill, or any other bill that puts the Federal Government back of rural credits.

It is openly stated here that the President wants the Hollis amendment substituted for the McCumber amendment, and that he will veto this bill if it comes to him in any other way. It has been freely stated that it is the purpose of the Democratic leadership of this House to so amend, before adjournment today, the McCumber amendment that the conferees on both the part of the House and the Senate can never reach an agreement, and that in that deadlocked condition they will finally agree to leave all rural-credits legislation out of the bill. I now make that prediction. The future will determine whether I am right or wrong. And even if the Hollis bill should be agreed upon, what will it amount to? The real friends of rural-credits legislation say it is not worth the paper it is written on. I have no time in which to discuss either the McCumber rider, the Bulkley or Hollis bill, or any other bill dealing with this subject. This House has a membership of 435 Members, and yet we are given but two hours in which to discuss this important measure. It can not be done in that length of time. I do know, however, that there is no better class of securities than that on good farms, and there ought to be some way for the farmer to borrow money from the banks of the country on at least a reasonable low rate of interest and to pledge his farm and other good farm securities to the payment of same, should he desire to do so.

The Merchant Marine.

SPEECH

OF

HON. LAWRENCE Y. SHERMAN,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Thursday, January 28, 1915 (legislative day of Tuesday, January 26, 1915).

The Senate had under consideration the bill (S. 6856) to authorize the United States, acting through a shipping board, to subscribe to the capital stock of a corporation to be organized under the laws of the United States, or of a State thereof, or of the District of Columbia to purchase, construct, equip, maintain, and operate merchant vessels in the foreign trade of the United States, and for other purposes.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President, I have sat with considerable pleasure for some days under the kindly admonitions of the majority party and have enjoyed the jewels of wisdom that have adorned from time to time the earnest exhortations of the senior Senator from Missouri [Mr. STONE]. I note with considerable satisfaction that at last he and the editor of the esteemed Globe-Democrat are in accord upon one subject. I trust that upon many other subjects they may hereafter be found dwelling together in brotherly love and harmony. It has long and faithfully sought to inculcate among those of his party sound doctrines of government, and I hail this as evidence that its labors have not been in vain. The Globe-Democrat article, which has been read to the Senate, is an editorial, if I correctly understood it, which expresses the view of the editor in chief, and if not written by him, has very likely passed under his blue pencil. The editorial means nothing more and says no more than that no change shall be made at this time in the rules that have generally governed nations in their intercourse with each other during a time of war. This is a neutral Nation. The editorial treats of this Nation as a neutral. If I understand correctly, a neutral nation has the right, or rather its citizens, of whom this editorial treats, have the right, to sell any article, either contraband or otherwise, taking the chances of capture before it is delivered. That has been the rule for many years. Beginning some centuries ago, before the implements of destruction had been so highly elaborated and made so comprehensive, the rule was laid down for the government of nations not at war with each other that their subjects or citizens might, at their own risk, deal with articles of merchandise which the Government itself might not directly sell or deliver to a belligerent power.

This has been the rule for many hundreds of years, dating probably from the first collection of the rules in an early work on that subject for the guidance of those concerned. This editorial means that no change shall now be made in this rule. If by the action of the legislative department of this Government a change should be made at this time in the existing rule on that subject, it would, to a greater or less degree, dependent upon the physical power to capture on the high seas, interfere with the rights of citizens of belligerent nations as heretofore defined and observed by the various neutral nations of the world.

Any power that can control the seas will, to a very large degree, keep supplies, either warlike or neutral, contraband or otherwise, from being delivered to Germany or to any of her allies. England is recognized as the principal naval power, with the largest merchant-going ships, the most extensively distributed in the world. Because of her naval power, she has the advantage, and exercises it. She has to a very large degree deprived Germany and Austria-Hungary of their ability to receive supplies. This may not affect her so much—and probably this is what the editorial in part considers—on the subject of implements of war, what are universally recognized under the ancient as well as the modern rules of international law as contraband, but it is more particularly on articles of food, the meats, the breadstuffs, the articles that eventually are more important to one or more of the warring nations than the supplies of explosives, guns, and such articles as are universally recognized as being warlike implements. This editorial, if I heard it aright, commends the stand of the administration on that subject.

The senior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK] has pending a resolution which, if passed on favorably by this body and concurred in by the other House, would change the ancient rule. It would give to some of the warring powers, at least, advantages they do not now possess. It might, if the rule were changed, be an unneutral act, for in necessary effect, whatever the motive might be, it would interfere with some of the advantages some of the belligerent nations now have.

Some criticism has been made of the attitude of this administration toward the allies. For myself, I could cheerfully concur in the sentiments expressed by this editorial. I myself, so far as I might have opportunity to pass upon that question by vote or otherwise, would be in accord with the conduct of the administration on that subject at this time. If any change be made, it ought to come from the Congress rather than the President.

I think I am in receipt of some 5,000 or 6,000 letters from those who originally were of a certain country in Europe or were born in this country of parents who were of that country. They protest universally, and in the strongest terms, against the conduct of the citizens of this country in furnishing the allies with warlike supplies. They ask that the rule be changed so that this country shall no longer furnish those supplies. This desire, naturally, has its origin in the inability of one or more of the belligerent powers to control the sea, to open up ports that are virtually under blockade, to have access to the supplies of meats and breadstuffs of which they probably are now in sore need. These letters I have not answered, and I wish to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this time an explanation of my failure to respond to them. I have not a stenographic force adequate to meet this influx of correspondence without neglecting other urgent matters that come to my office.

These great numbers of protests that have come from my German constituents and from those of German extraction are prompted by their love for their native country. With that sentiment I have no controversy; that spirit I can understand; and if I were one of them I know how I would feel. Here, however, we are all Americans first. Our first duty, therefore, is to act for our country, whether we be of native or alien birth. I am glad to have this correspondence, and do not at this time undertake to say what would be the proper course upon the resolution of the senior Senator from Nebraska. That can be reached in due time and disposed of. I only say that the editorial referred to in substance commends the stand of the administration on this principle. It leaves the rights of the warring nations of the Old World where they now are, as fixed by the rules of international law, which have been operative

for many years. No change being made, this country does observe, both in letter and in spirit, an actual neutrality. If, however, we change the rule, it might be taken as an unkindly act, as an intimation of the sentiments of this country or of her private sympathies in the outcome of the pending struggle. In any event, however, Congress, and not the President, is the authority to change the established rule.

The printing presses seem to have their due part in molding public opinion upon the pending shipping bill. The freedom of the press is illustrated by the extreme liberality with which they criticize those who are either for or against the bill. In no other country in the world is there a press that could criticize the Chief Magistrate of the country with as little fear of unpleasant results as here. The two editorials read this morning illustrate that, especially the one read from the Philadelphia Inquirer. The criticism may or may not be just. Both of the editorials come from Republican papers. That of the Globe-Democrat is limited exclusively to approving the course of the administration in connection with the one principle I have noticed. That of the other proceeds on the general idea of the folly of the abrupt departure of this country's Government as it enters upon the territory covered by the pending bill.

I have listened with considerable pleasure to the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH] on the aspects of the governing principles that he discussed. So far as he seeks to convey to the Senate an answer to the principles that seem, so far as they have any authority, to rest upon the affirmative acts of nations, as stated by the senior Senator from New York [Mr. ROOT], I do not regard the position of the latter as seriously shaken by the argument presented this morning. We have passed the stage of philosophic theorizing; we are no longer following the abstraction of mere legal principles that are to lose us in a labyrinth where we will end in no practical results.

I have noticed, so far as the nations at war have acted on this question, that action was taken prior to engaging in hostilities, which broke out in August, 1914. Of what avail is the London declaration? How binding is the Second Hague Conference? What does the First Hague Conference mean? All the nations which to-day are grappling each other's throats signed the First Hague Convention.

In 1899 there expired a humane section in a convention signed by all of the nations now at war. It provided that explosives destructive to human kind should not be dropped from air craft. When that convention was signed that was recognized as a humane principle. It was in accord with the principle which civilized nations have by common consent observed for many years, that an unfortified town should not be bombarded without notice, to the end that noncombatants might be removed, that the aged, the sick, the women, and the children might be taken beyond the zone of fire, in order that they might be saved from the destruction that might fall upon the strong and the able-bodied. Even this humane provision has been ignored, not by one belligerent power, but by many of them. The article that bound the nations signing it from dropping explosives upon a helpless population expired in 1909, but the principle contained in that article is as humane without a convention, without a treaty between nations, without a scrap of paper to bind any nation in its warfare with others, as it was before it expired.

General Order No. 100, issued during the Civil War, was a very great advance in humanizing war. It was written by Francis Lieber under the direction of Abraham Lincoln. General Order No. 100 marked a distinct advance in civilized warfare and in preserving the rights of a conquered enemy. It prohibited the poisoning of water supplies, the poisoning of food, the use of poisoned missiles, bullets, or anything intended for the destruction of the enemy. It provided against pitfalls, arms, projectiles, or other means causing useless injury, and against cruel and unusual methods of destroying an enemy. It humanized warfare and was in line many, many years ago with the later humane provisions which have characterized the negotiations and the conventions signed between nations both in the New and the Old World.

At this time, however, it is well to remember that all the treaties in about half the world seem practically at an end. The neutrality of Belgium was invaded, and whether in earnest or in jest, the answer was made, the treaty guaranteeing that neutrality was a "scrap of paper." Every treaty that binds this country, every moral sense that has been gathered up by this Nation in treaties with foreign countries, any conventions to which she has become a signatory party, do no more than put upon paper the gathered wisdom of the international morality of that age.

So, if treaties have become mere scraps of paper, if territorial rights are forgotten, if the neutrality of a sovereign country can be invaded, how may we expect that an unsigned Declaration of London, that Hague conferences, either the first or the second, that any negotiation that has been made, will be binding upon any of the countries of the Old World now at war? How can we hope, by any illusory inferences drawn from the London declaration, to escape from the natural results of embarking, through buying ships from any nation now at war, this country into the ocean carriage business? As it is, by the settled law for many years, the subjects or citizens of this country, either individual or corporate, may at their own risk handle articles contraband or otherwise. If the latter are captured, they are condemned by the captor nation in a prize court. Both vessel and cargo are condemned as a prize of war. While it has the semblance of a judicial proceeding, it nevertheless is in effect an *ex parte* one. It is tried in the admiralty courts of the sovereignty that makes the capture. It must be, indeed, a very strong case made that would release a proposed prize of war when brought into port and subjected to the jurisdiction of that court.

So, if we depend here simply upon our rights of purchase, such as may be gathered from somewhat fleeting authority, we probably will face graver diplomatic troubles than we have had up to this time, either with Europe or with the neighboring Republic across the Rio Grande.

I do not see the difference between ships owned, under this bill, by a corporation to be created under the laws of the District of Columbia, and those owned directly by the Government. Things are measured by their results, not by mere forms; by the substance of the transaction, and not by the outward shell. It is admitted here that the Government authorizes the creation of this corporation and its control by the shipping board provided in the bill for the purpose of avoiding these complications. I wish to read into the RECORD the evidence that, in any prize court, in any admiralty court of the United States, in any admiralty court of the Kingdom of Great Britain, would be offered and admitted as to our motives.

In the condition in which about half the world now is, it is no time to contemplate mere idle forms. It is not a time when the nations at war would be bound by mere technicalities. They would be no more than cobwebs in the way in the settlement of whose ships these would be. In order to remove any possible question as to the motive of the Government, the Secretary of the Treasury, before the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries in the House on the 1st day of September, 1914, himself furnished conclusive evidence of that governmental motive. He says, in response to a question:

> The idea in having the Government take the controlling interest in the company instead of operating these ships directly as a Government operation is, of course, to avoid any possible complication resulting from the Government itself going into the shipping business. I do not think it is worth while for me to expatiate upon that phase of the question. Mr. Lansing, counselor of the State Department, was before the Naval Affairs Committee the other day, and he gave a very clear exposition of the laws of neutrality and the rights and responsibilities of a government owning and operating ships.

I shall refer to Mr. Lansing's testimony and his opinions upon the controverted questions at some later time. Here, however, is furnished the evidence for any offended nation to offer against us. The corporation created with a capital stock of $10,000,000 is to have 51 per cent of it owned by the United States. The other 49 per cent of the shares is to be offered to the investing public. If, from private sources, those shares are not subscribed, the United States, through the shipping board, shall take all the remaining unsubscribed portions of the 49 per cent. For reasons that will appear in the progress of this discussion, I believe the Government, by the end of the operation, and before a single ship shall have been either built, purchased, or launched by this corporation, will find itself the holder of 100 per cent of the shares. Even if this were not the case, it is universally recognized that a majority of the shares of capital stock controls. It is the express declaration of this bill that the Government shall at all times control through that 51 per cent. Whether the $10,000,000 worth of the original stock shall remain, whether $10,000,000 worth additional shall be had, or whether $30,000,000 worth additional shall be had, in any event, whatever it may be, whether by the approval of the President or by subsequent action of Congress, 51 per cent of the shares of this corporation shall be held by the United States.

This makes ownership. The corporation is at best but a subterfuge. What are mere articles of incorporation in facing a question of this kind? When solemn treaties signed by nations, when conventions ratified in due form by many powerful nations now at war, have been set aside and broken, of what avail will be the paltry paper of the mere articles of incorporation? What will they signify? How much of a defense is it to the United States Government to hold up the articles of incorporation under the laws of the District of Columbia, with a

seal and a ribbon or two and a few words, and invoke that as a conclusive answer in the international law of the world against this country's ownership of the ships that are proposed to be had under this bill?

The nations that are concerned in this matter will look quite through any formalities. Things will be measured by their necessary effect. The substance of things will be weighed. No mere formalities will keep from us the responsibility of our acts.

When I think of the initial $10,000,000, I involuntarily recur to the price of an average freight boat. In such meager evidence as is presented, it appears that an average boat will cost all the way from $600,000 to a million dollars. We would have from 10 to 15 boats held under this precarious title, with this uncertain ownership, held in such a way that it is hoped by the authors and friends of this bill that it would absolve the Government from any responsibility.

I wish to note here a difference between a Government boat and a boat owned and sailed by a private owner. A Government vessel carries the flag. It flies the Navy pennant. It is the property of the United States. It is a principle of our law, it is a principle of the law of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, and I believe of every one of the warring nations of the Old World, that a vessel owned by and carrying the flag of the United States is the territory of this country, wherever it is found. It is similar to a territorial boundary line. Whenever it shall have passed beyond the 3-mile limit and is on the high seas or in any of the ports of the world it is the floating territory of the United States. I assume here for these purposes that the boats owned by this corporation, so controlled and so sailed, are the boats of the United States. The mere formalities that I have briefly sketched will not operate in the prize courts of foreign nations to deprive the captor nation of its prize or to divest the United States from the ownership of a captured vessel owned under the provisions of this bill.

As it is, under the law of nations that has been in force since the time of Grotius, the citizens of this country can engage in the transportation and sale of articles not contraband. This is a neutral nation. The private ships owned and sailed by our citizens are neutral. If, however, they take on merchandise of a contraband character, they carry the risk. The shipowner takes the chances of capture and confiscation by other nations that are at war. If this is done, it does not in any way involve, under the rules stated, this Government. It is recognized that contraband or conditional contraband, when taken, has been transported and the business engaged in with a view to the profits, the margin of which would compensate for the risk incurred. So when the private citizen takes that chance for the enormous profits involved, if he loses it is his loss. The Government is not concerned in it, and by the rules that have been in force for many years it in nowise involves the neutrality of the United States. A sovereign may not, however, engage in such commerce.

So we are safe as long as we remain on our present ground. I am assuming for my purposes at present, without further analysis of this bill, that the nations concerned would regard it as a mere subterfuge, and that the United States, having 51 per cent of the shares of the capital stock, would be regarded as the real owner of the vessel.

I think it is proper to consider the effect this would have in a prize court. If I am correct in thinking that this is a vessel of the United States, if it be loaded with contraband merchandise, with a destination, say, to any one of the nations now at war, and an adverse power should seize or capture one of the boats operated under this bill, what is the status of it? I think it is well enough, before we proceed any further, to work out what the condition or status of these water craft probably would be in a prize court. As a private citizen, it is the loss of the individual or the corporation that is operating it. As a Government boat, or as a boat owned by a corporation that is in turn controlled by the Government by a 51 per cent or more ownership of the shares of stock, it seems to me the status of the vessel is entirely changed.

First, when a captor nation puts its marines on its deck, when it stops the vessel and changes its course from its destination to one of the ports of the captor nation, what is that? What is the necessary effect of it? The boat owned by the United States under this corporation proposed to be created is United States territory. It is an invasion of that territory. It is as much an invasion of the territory of the United States as if a foreign power were to land a military force upon our shores or bombard one of our coast cities.

The War of 1812 was caused by the alleged right of search and seizure asserted by Great Britain. This was universally supposed to be an invasion of the sovereign right of the United States. For that we went to war. One of these boats loaded with merchandise—suppose it to be conditional contraband—would involve us in a controversy. Conditional contraband is a continually fluctuating line. Nobody in the Senate Chamber this afternoon can define conditional contraband for to-morrow in the theater of war. Nobody can say what conditional contraband will be next week.

Let me explain that. In view of the action of the authority in Germany taken on the 26th day of January, 1915, the belligerent nations comprised as the allies in our description might properly, upon this proclamation, have advanced the definition of conditional contraband in such a way as to destroy the greater part of our export trade. Contraband now covers shrapnel, shells, guns of whatever caliber, saddles, harness, cavalry equipment, every form of saddles and saddlery; it embraces the vehicles of transportation, motor trucks, bobsleds to be used where the snow makes that the proper form of transportation; and many million dollars' worth of actual contraband of war have been manufactured by our citizens and shipped abroad subject to the risk of capture by a nation concerned. As to these admittedly contraband articles, we could have no controversy with another country at this time if they were taken from a private citizen's ship. If, however, they were taken from a boat owned under the provisions of this bill, it immediately raises another question. If the captor nation looked through the transaction and put aside the mere articles of incorporation as being of no consequence, then, instead of settling in a prize court the question of the condemnation of the vessel carrying the contraband or conditional contraband, it would be settled between the nation making the capture and this Government. That provokes an entirely different dispute.

The proclamation of the German authority goes upon the idea that the Government takes possession of all the supplies of the kind designated. This appears from the following news item:

Assumption by the German Government of control over all the food supplies of the Empire, as announced from Berlin yesterday, is expected by officials here to result in a refusal by the British to permit any vessels to carry foodstuffs to German ports. It is believed the British will take advantage of this action by the Imperial Government to claim that under the conditions all foodstuffs consigned to Germany must be regarded as destined to the Government of Germany and therefore of hostile destination.

It is thought probable this ruling will be invoked in the case of the American steamship *Wilhelmina*, now on the seas en route to Hamburg, Germany, with a cargo of American foodstuffs. The *Wilhelmina* sailed last week from New York, and it was announced by those interested in the venture that they were determined to demonstrate, if possible, the feasibility of sending foodstuffs direct to Germany.

In its note of protest to the British Government of last month regarding interference with American shipments of foodstuffs consigned to neutral countries the United States Government held that the British had no right to hold up such cargoes unless they possessed evidence that such goods were actually designed for the armed forces of an enemy country. To this view the British in their reply assented, thus placing them in the position of being compelled to produce such evidence with regard to seizure of such cargoes. The action of the German Government, however, relieves the British Government of this necessity.

In other words, before this edict of the German Government the burden of proof was upon Great Britain or on the captor nation to prove the conditions that would justify the seizure of the ship and cargo. This edict, however, has shifted the burden of proof, and has put upon us or upon the citizens of our country the burden of proof of proving the contrary, so as to release the vessel from the condemnation in a prize court.

A cablegram from Berlin, dated January 26, 1915, says:

BERLIN, *January 26, 1915.*

Regulations for the maintenance of Germany's food supply, adopted by the federal council two weeks ago, went into effect to-day. These regulations provide for the seizure of all stocks of corn, wheat, and flour by February 1. All business transacted in these commodities is forbidden. All municipalities are charged with the duty of setting aside necessary quantities of preserved meats. A price has been fixed for the corn which the Government is taking over.

Commenting upon this, a great many editors have expressed their views. It is not my purpose to unduly burden the RECORD with editorial comment nor to give any particularly significant approval to the editors who are responsible for these utterances. Some of them, however, have already been placed in the RECORD, two this morning, and I will add at least a third, from the Washington Post of January 26. Commenting on this order of the German Government, it says:

GERMANY FACING A SHORTAGE OF FOOD.

More significant than all the fighting along the battle fronts is the action of the German Government in taking over the food supplies of the empire and virtually placing all the people on war rations. Corn, wheat, and flour are to be dispensed hereafter to the people through Government stores. Communities will receive food supplies according to their population. Communies are called upon to conserve their supplies of preserved meat. Cattle and hogs are to be slaughtered for the sake of saving grain. Every effort is to be made, under the iron hand of the Government, to carry the population through to the next harvest. The crops were not up to normal last year, and the stoppage of exports

has brought the country face to face with the greatest of all problems—the warding off of famine.

Thus Great Britain tightens its deadly grip upon its enemy by preventing it from importing food. Cargoes slip through occasionally from the United States and other neutral countries, either directly or indirectly; but the supply thus received is so small as to be insignificant. Speaking largely, Germany must find means to feed itself on its present supplies. If they are inadequate, the British Navy must be beaten off or Germany must sue for peace. The people must eat, war or no war.

The taking over of foodstuffs by the Government will be effective February 1. From that date it will be unlawful for private parties to buy or sell corn, wheat, or flour. Inevitably this order will lead Great Britain to declare the articles in question to be absolute contraband of war, since they will not be destined to noncombatants, but to an enemy Government. Vessels from this country laden with foodstuffs are sure to be seized, and it is expected that the steamer *Wilhelmina*, which left New York a few days ago for Rotterdam with foodstuffs destined for Germany, will be held up and diverted to England.

The German Government has given assurances that cargoes of foodstuffs consigned to noncombatants will not be seized for military purposes, but this will have no effect upon the British policy of shutting off supplies that might be useful to the German Army or Navy.

Thus the food question assumes an importance exceeding that of the movements of armies. Germany's isolation and her inability up to this time to produce sufficient foodstuff for her own population are factors operating more powerfully for the success of her enemies than the gathering of new forces in the field.

It is apparent that the bold operations of the German Navy are not mere acts of bravado intended to frighten England. They are rather preliminary tests of a forthcoming death grapple between the fleets, which Germany must seek sooner or later, in a desperate effort to provide food for the people of the empire.

The difficulty is that the march of events is much more rapid than the pen of the bill writers of the Chief Magistrate of this Republic. While we lag on amendments, while we discuss in this Senate Chamber the question of contraband and conditional contraband and the effect on the ownership of vessels to be acquired under the corporation proposed in this bill, while we seek to shield this Government behind mere paper articles of incorporation, the warring nations in the Old World are with measured tread of their armies giving the answer to our puny and futile arguments in this Chamber. By their own operation, by the imperial edicts of Germany, by the blockade of her ports by Great Britain, and by every battle fought in the trenches between the warring nations they are marching faster than any legislation we can enact.

No definitions framed by any convention, no principle found in any treaty, nothing that we may declare by resolution will stay for a moment the iron hand of necessity. All conventions and treaties, all international law, all mere resolutions or statutes will be swept away in the whirlwind of war. We may talk here, we may pursue our alluring theories, we will talk in vain of arbitration and peace. It reminds me of the experience of my friends from Chicago last August and September. They were the most sincere of the many sincere advocates of universal peace. Pursuant to and guided by their profound convictions on that subject they attended an international peace conference in Europe. Unfortunately the date fell upon a time when hostilities had already seized the area in the grasp of military forces in the field. The last I knew of my distinguished friends they were trying to get a ship for home. They were seeking for enough gold to buy a passage ticket. Their pockets were filled with peace resolutions, but they could not get even steerage passage back to the United States. That is how much theories are worth, how much resolutions are worth, how much lawyers' opinions are worth when the sword is the only arbiter and military force the only law.

If I were to describe the Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of Commerce I would say that they were two types of the most optimistic men I ever knew in public life. One can see prosperity every place; and in the language of our Chief Magistrate we are literally bursting our jackets with plenty, and they are the advance agents of that plenty. When the Secretary of the Treasury was giving his testimony before the committee he dwelt greatly upon what diplomacy could do to adjust the character of these ships. Our diplomat, I presume, charged with this pleasant duty would arm himself for the fray something after this fashion: He would put in his pocket the articles of incorporation of this going concern organized under the laws of the District of Columbia, with divers ribbons and seals thereto attached. He would take the name of the shipyard if built here, or the ships themselves if bought already built, the bill of sale, and other evidences of the private character of the ship. He would present them to the Admiralty authority or the naval authority of Great Britain, for instance, and seek by some definite declaration procured from Great Britain's official to fix the status of these ships. It is always well to have advice before you get into trouble. So this man, taking time by the forelock, would seek to adjust our difficulties before they occurred. Taking out his evidences of the private ownership he would present them to the sturdy Briton who would pass upon this question for the Empire. I fancy I can see the somewhat cold-blooded and indifferent Englishman who refuses to be caught in the cobwebs of technicality. Looking over his eyeglasses he would peer into the articles of incorporation. They would have some kind of a name. It would not make any difference what we would call it, whether we gave it a private name or a public one, because names are of no consequence. A rose by any other name would smell just as sweet to that ambassador or naval authority. So he looks at the articles of incorporation. The first thing he would ask is who controls the boat? Who has the stock? Who has the voting power? Has not every lawyer in this country in the last 20 years been through litigation for private corporations? This is declared to be a private corporation. If it is a private corporation then let us test it by the rules which apply to private corporations.

Minority stockholders have rights. I do not to-day intend to enter upon an examination of that territory. That will properly be taken up at some later occasion; but the majority of the shares control. The majority in this instance is the shipping board. They are the visible representatives of this Government. They own the shares. They sit at every stockholders' meeting. They name the directors. The directors buy, build, lease, charter. They spend the initial $10,000,000. They are the ones who fix rates, who mark out the lines on the ocean from port to port. They are the ones who control, and they in turn are named by the visible representatives of the United States. So I think I can see when we undertake to fix the status of this boat that our friends across the sea might be somewhat skeptical about the articles of incorporation and the changing of this boat into merely private ownership by the processes proposed.

The next thing after the articles of incorporation have been examined would be the source from which these boats came. Naturally that would involve the question of whose money pays for them. It is like a bill of discovery; you will get at the truth after a while. This being a public matter the truth will be known from the beginning without any especial investigation. When it is found that the Government has at least 51 per cent of the shares, when it names the board of directors at the stockholders' meeting, when it controls the board of directors, when the money that bought a boat or built or chartered or leased a boat comes from the Government Treasury, when it is Government money, Government owned, Government controlled, then I think I can see a somewhat sarcastic smile steal over the face of my diplomatic friend abroad when we seek to convince him that a vessel so owned and operated is a mere private ownership. If it be loaded with the articles intended to relieve our supposed congested market in view of the conditions prevailing under the imperial decree of the German Government, I fail to see that any relief will be had. It is a Government ship, and if in the course of war a blockade be established and food products declared contraband, our markets are closed or we face grave troubles abroad.

The Secretary of the Treasury and the President, in his message, both say that we must reach foreign markets by increasing our transportation facilities on the ocean through the agency of this bill. The more we reach foreign markets the less breadstuffs we have here. So passing for the present from the other feature of the bill already considered I take up another one. As we send meat and breadstuffs abroad we decrease the supply here. The necessary effect of that decrease of supply is to increase the price. So the more we ship out of this country the higher the already high cost of living.

There is a peculiar condition prevailing in official circles at this time, and has been for some months. I do not know but I ought to be charitable and describe it as a state of mind. It is a state of mind, however, that is somewhat inconsistent at different intervals. It acts one way to-day and another way to-morrow.

I noticed not long ago that an order went out to the United States attorney for the district in which Chicago is situated to investigate the grain market down at the foot of La Salle Street. The Government investigators are doing so. What are they investigating for? What offense have the gentlemen who are on the market committed? Why are they to be indicted? Because the price of wheat has gone up. They seem oblivious to the fact that wheat is an article of merchandise, that its price rises and falls on the market in obedience to universal laws that are beyond the reach of any political party or any administration.

To explain why prices fluctuate and why the general tendency is upward I have been watching the market for some weeks. I take several quotations on different days. A market is a peculiar thing. A market is made up of wind and rain, and sun and frost, and soil, and sickness and health, world-

wide conditions, crops and consumption, and surplus, and exports, with a thousand things aside from peace and war. When into the multitudinous things that enter into the market price of merchandise in this country there is suddenly thrown hostility between nations that cover half the globe, that run from the Cape of Good Hope to the Baltic Sea and from Tokyo to Quebec, that carry in the grasp of the warring nations the markets that most vitally affect prices in this country, we can understand why there will be some fluctuation, why some increase.

This market report is written by as good a market reporter as there is in the western country, and it is gathered on La Salle Street from actual conditions, not only in the pit or on the board of trade but from the commission men, and from the information gathered by scores of commission men and grain handlers throughout the great northwest area. He starts out as follows:

Housewives will soon have to pay $1 a bag for flour they formerly purchased at 70 cents. The 5-cent loaf of bread may disappear from bakeshops, according to predictions of millers.

The prophecy was based on wheat and flour quotations. May wheat jumped 2⅛ cents and for a while sold on the board of trade for 1.43⅜ a bushel. The flour quotation was $7.20 a barrel. Both are record prices.

And this is on January 15, 1915, in Chicago:

CLYNE PUSHES INQUIRY.

Meanwhile United States Attorney Clyne announced that he would "invite" several of the board speculators to discuss the situation. The Government's general food inquiry now centers almost entirely on the imminent rise in the cost of bread.

It is a very grave question, Mr. President, when the price of bread goes up. If any gentleman here has attended the morning bread line on the west side or down on the south side in the city of Chicago, he can fully appreciate what a rise in the price of a bun means.

The last time I was in the city of Chicago for such purposes I went down on the south side about daylight to see just how many men were fed at a given point. Down at Thirty-third and Michigan Boulevard 1,700 men came in and got their breakfast. They were not mere idlers. They were not men who are chronically out of a job, because the job is a little ways ahead of them all the time. Some of them were freight handlers from the yards not far distant; some were lake sailors; some were trainmen whose trains had been annulled; some were shopmen, repairs in the shops having fallen off; some were on the construction pay roll, and but little construction work is done; some were from the pay rolls of the steel mills, whose only orders now beyond the ordinary are for war supplies, a most precarious source for a pay roll; and some were from woolen and cotton factories. From various enterprises in that city and others in the country this great army of unemployed came. So the price of bread means something, because every time the price of bread goes up the charity fund is depleted by that much.

I have been somewhat intimately attached for four years or more of my life to the charity service in that State. I think charity is sometimes abused, but generally it goes to the right place. It is an index of conditions. Instead of giving charity I would rather any time do something to give an able-bodied man a chance to earn his living without having recourse to charity. But that is not the question now.

To resume this quotation:

Federal officials in all parts of the country are checking closely on wheat exports. They estimate that 200,000,000 bushels have been purchased by Europe within the last six months. This is the largest movement on record.

And still because the price of wheat is going up the Government wants to indict somebody!

The United States requires for consumption 618,000,000 bushels. The supply for the season last July was 897,000,000 bushels.

The gravity of the situation was shown in reports from many markets. In Duluth, 1,750,000 bushels of spring wheat were sold for export during the last 48 hours. It was estimated that foreigners had purchased 6,000,000 bushels at all markets within the last few days.

Do you think that the Duluth grain operators and those handling the export trade for the northern spring wheat, those in Chicago handling either the grain or the flour trade, would contract for foreign delivery when there was no capacity in the boats? The best answer in the world is that on January 15, 1915, in the actual markets of the country there was carrying capacity in the over-sea trade sufficient to take the breadstuffs named in this market report.

ITALY LARGE BUYER.

A Chicago miller yesterday sold 40,000 barrels of flour, part of which was for export. And at Duluth 40,000 bushels of durum wheat were sold to Italian manufacturers of macaroni. From all markets came reports that foreign buyers of wheat and flour were purchasing all they could get, some offering advances on market quotations.

A Chicago grain dealer estimated that 25 per cent of the 1914 crop is still in the hands of the farmers. They are "hanging on" for $2 a a bushel. Another rise toward that figure and the smaller bakers assert that they will have to get more money for their bread or quit making it.

Where will our bread line go to with wheat at $2 a bushel? If anybody fancies the farmer needs a conservator or is impressed with the idea he is not looking out for himself and is not abundantly competent to do so, dismiss the thought at once. You are squandering your sympathy on the desert air. The farmer in Illinois is just about as competent to take care of himself to-day as anybody in the wide world. He stood the foot-and-mouth disease. More than a million of the two and a half million dollars of appropriation signed day before yesterday by the President will go into that State alone. Five million dollars' worth of cattle are underground and, save for the pittance paid one-half by the Government and one-half by the State, there is a total loss on all the remainder.

Still the farmer is taking care of himself. He will pay his note at the bank where he invested five or ten thousand dollars in live stock preparing them for the January or February market. He will take care of it. He complains, of course. He criticizes sometimes the action of the State and sometimes that of the Government in slaughtering his stock. It may be mistakes have been made. He sees only the result. His cattle are destroyed but his notes are on top of the ground and still at the bank and drawing interest at the usual rate.

So you can to some degree at least sympathize with the farmer in his misfortune. I might go a little further here and say that there has really been just a little offhand advice given by the Government officials to the farmer not to be in any great hurry about selling his wheat; that, to use the phrase of this market report, if he will just hang on to it, he will get a good price.

That leads me now on this subject to quote from the Chief Magistrate's address at Indianapolis on January 8, 1915. That was on a most celebrated occasion; it was on Jackson Day, a time that makes every Democratic heart glad, and it should, because Jackson was not only a great Democrat, but he was a great President. I have been so uncharitable at times as to wish that we had Jackson on earth now, for two reasons: One is, he was not afraid to fight; and the other is, he believed in a protective tariff. Either of them is a good quality in peace or in war. The President said:

Do you know, gentlemen, that the ocean freight rates have gone up in some instances to ten times their ordinary figure, and that the farmers of the United States—those who raise grain and those who raise cotton, these things that are absolutely necessary to the world as well as to ourselves—can not get any profit out of the great prices that they are willing to pay for these things on the other side of the sea because the whole profit is eaten up by the extortionate charges for ocean carriage?

That sounded kind of odd to me. I will tell you why. I have been corresponding with some of my constituents who live out on the prairie in the south end of the State of Illinois, the wheat belt, to ascertain whether the prices named in the market reports here were Chicago prices and whether they were selling wheat at 67 cents a bushel, as they did last August. That was a time that I was pestering those gentlemen a good deal, and was very solicitous about the price of wheat and of the welfare of themselves and of their families. So I have every reason to remember the conditions of the market at that time. We who have ambitions to stay in this body all get solicitous on these things every six years.

It costs from 8 to 11 cents a bushel to transport wheat from the farmers' bin and to put in on the track in Chicago. When the President said on the 8th of January that the farmer could not get any of the great prices on things because all the profits were eaten up by the extortionate carriage charges, it would have been well for him to have gone among the grain raising constitutents of some of the Senators. Wheat was quoted on the 15th of January, 1915, at $1.43 and the farmers are getting in that same country $1.33 and $1.34 a bushel for wheat. If it was $1.34, then it was double what it was last August, when the price was 67 cents. Wheat, therefore, to the farmer represents $1.34 for every bushel—a hundred per cent advance compared with the price of last August. Still the President says the farmer is getting no benefit of it. The farmer is not letting go of his wheat now to any very alarming extent, unless he must have money to pay up his bills for the slaughter of cattle. The Government has been reasonably expeditious; very possibly it will help him out; and he may not sell wheat for some time yet. A price of $2 per bushel may be coming, because I notice the rising price this morning.

Before going further, so as not to be too excursive—I want to keep these points together—I wish to say that the price of wheat in Chicago yesterday was as follows: No. 2 red, $1.46¼ to $1.48⅛; July wheat, $1.31¼. At New York No. 2 wheat was

from $1.57½ to $1.58, cost, insurance, and freight. No. 1 Duluth northern wheat, 31.51; Manitoba wheat, $1.55 c. i. f.

If the freight be subtracted between the points of production and of destination in New York City or Chicago, you will get the price to the producer. I respectfully submit that the President is in error when he insists that the grain grower of the West and the Northwest needs a Government shipping bill in order to get any of the rises of the market into his pocket.

The singular thing is that because wheat is going up the Government insists on indicting somebody. Some ferocious and predatory speculator, who is selling July futures on a margin, has been gambling, or somebody is going to run a corner and the Government is to prosecute him.

Here is another market report to explain why the farmer is getting 100 per cent advance, and why nobody has committed a crime:

May wheat went to a new high level yesterday, the day's gain being 2⅛ cents. July finished easy and the same as Wednesday. Corn acted heavy and closed unchanged to ⅛ cent higher. Oats gained ¼ to ⅜ cent.

An easy tone prevailed in provisions and the close was at net losses of 10 to 12½ cents on pork and lard and 5 to 15 cents on short ribs.

AFTER SPRING WHEAT.

Urgent buying of domestic spring wheat by the United Kingdom and large sales of Manitobas, combined with persistent buying of May by cash, export and commission houses, lifted values into new ground on the crop. At no time was there any great selling pressure. May at the high point showed 2⅝ cents over Wednesday's close at $1.43⅜ and 9⅞ cents over Monday's low and finished within ⅛ cent of the top, with a net gain of 2⅛ cents. July was sold by houses with southwestern and northwestern connections and by local bears and finished unchanged.

Export sales in all positions exceeded 1,500,000 bushels. Millers were good buyers of spring and winters, but found offerings of the latter scarce, although the prices paid were the highest on the crop.

Here is the world-wide reach of the market that I want to insert at this point, to show that it is not necessary to rob anybody or to indict anybody in order to show that justice is done, nor is it necessary to enact a shipping bill of this kind in order to give transportation to afford better prices to the producer.

HEAVY RAINS IN ARGENTINA.

Argentine news was bullish, heavy rains and a cyclone being reported, which promises to delay the movement. Buenos Aires is up 3⅝ cents in three days, while Rosario opened 1⅛ to 2 cents higher. In Liverpool spot values advanced 1 to 1⅛ pence.

Outside markets were strong, the southwest gaining 1⅛ to 2⅜ cents, new crop futures showing the least appreciation. The northwest gained 1⅛ to 1⅜ cents, and Winnipeg ⅝ cent. Movement statistics were ignored. Primary points had 1,120,000 bushels and shipped 941,000 bushels. Receipts of 609,000 bushels, compared with 371,000 bushels last year. Export clearances were 878,000 bushels, all domestic, compared with 658,000 bushels last year, which included considerable Manitobas.

I have read this to show the world-wide character of every market which is a primary market for the collection and distribution of grain for domestic and foreign purposes. Now I wish to read from an article by Henry M. Hyde on the grain conditions. He says:

If the ordinary business man was asked to quote prices on 500,000 bushels of durum wheat "c. i. f." Genoa, Italy, he might be excused for appearing somewhat puzzled. For the matter of that, when an order something like that was filled on the Chicago Board of Trade the other day it made even the experts scratch their heads.

"C. i. f.," when translated into English, means commission, insurance, and freight—

I think he is a little in error there. It does not mean "commission" alone, but it means cost, insurance, and freight—

and to quote a price "c. i. f." Genoa is to name a figure which will cover the cost, the 1 cent a bushel commission on cash wheat sales, the insurance, and the freight charges for transporting the wheat from a Chicago warehouse to the seaport and thence across the ocean to Italy. In the export trade it is used as is "f. o. b."—free on board cars—by manufacturers and jobbers in domestic trade.

HIGH PRICE IS PAID.

The fact that $2.07 a bushel was paid for this durum wheat—durum wheat being an especially hard variety, fit to be used in the manufacture of Italian spaghetti—did not make the contract any easier to fill, since the price had to cover all the risk of moving the stuff across the Atlantic, which is more or less filled with the battle cruisers of the warring powers ready to fire a shot across the bows of anything that looks suspicious.

If bread costs 6 cents a loaf in Chicago, with wheat at $1.40 a bushel, what would be the price in Italy, with wheat delivered at the docks in Genoa at $2.07 a bushel?

FEEDING EUROPE BIG PROBLEM.

Taken on the whole, this matter of feeding all Europe, which is the principal business of the Chicago Board of Trade at the present, is complicated and more or less unpleasant.

With the Governments of Great Britain, France, Italy, and other European powers bidding against each other, as they are at the present, board of trade people feel that they should not be blamed for the high price of wheat and other cereals. They point to the enormously increased exports of wheat since the war began as compared with the same period last year, and ask if that is not sufficient explanation of the increased price.

6,000,000 BUSHELS WEEKLY EXPORT GAIN.

Last week, for instance, there were exported from the seaports on both coasts of the United States a total of 8,000,000 bushels of wheat. During the same week one year ago the total exports were only 2,000,000 bushels. The demand from abroad has multiplied by four. Why should not the price be expected to jump?

Day after day the amount of wheat sold for export is more than double that of the same day last year. On Tuesday of this week the total export sales were 917,000 bushels. The same day in 1914 they were only 407,000.

So far as speculation is concerned authorities say the tremendous rise in prices and the great fluctuations have made the gamblers rather timid. Soon after the war broke out commission houses began to insist that their customers who dealt in "futures" should put up margins of from 10 to 20 cents a bushel. That was in itself enough to discourage speculation. People who have been accustomed to "scalp" a trade for a sixteenth or, at best, an eighth of a cent change over night have been afraid to take a chance. They were asked to put up 15 cents a bushel margin instead of 3 or 5 cents.

HARD ON WEAK TRADERS.

Last week, Thursday, for instance, wheat sold at $1.41⅜ a bushel. On Saturday it was down to $1.33½—drop enough to wipe out any but strongly intrenched financiers.

Tuesday wheat closed at $1.38⅛. Yesterday it touched $1.41, and yet an even 1,000,000 bushels of cash wheat was sold for export.

Board of trade people insist that such sales on a rising market are proof that nothing but the law of supply and demand is responsible for the rising prices.

And yet the board of trade is proud of the fact that in the world-wide convulsion of commerce caused by the war it is almost the only great trading exchange which has remained open for business.

HAS WORLD DISTINCTION.

Stock exchanges all over the world shut up tight with the firing of the first gun. Except to an extremely limited extent they are still closed. The English and continental cereal and produce exchanges are still closed as far as dealing in futures is concerned.

The Chicago Board of Trade has been open daily as usual. And it has been remarked that a considerable number of men formerly dealers on the New York Stock Exchange have since the war began removed to Chicago and are now regularly dealing on the board.

If they confine their attention only to cash sales of actual wheat they will find plenty to encourage them. In 1913, for instance, the actual wheat received in Chicago totaled 50,000,000 bushels.

In 1914 it was double that amount, the figure being almost 100,000,000 bushels.

I wish to comment on these quotations from the market abroad, particularly on the ability of the shipper to find abundant tonnage to land his grain in a foreign port. Not a bushel of grain is sold on the Chicago Board of Trade, either for spot cash, instant delivery, or for future delivery, if the purchaser does not know at the time the contract is closed that vessels of sufficient carrying capacity can then be had to accommodate the trade; in order words, as in the case of the 500,000 bushels of durum wheat for export to Italy, which was an actual transaction, before it was closed on the board at least the buyer knew that delivery could be made in Italy and that the ocean carriage could be covered. The markets are continually in operation. The board of trade is never closed. Prices have fluctuated since the war to a most remarkable degree, but in all that fluctuation and all the risk attached to ocean carriage as a link in transit from Chicago there has not been yet a single trade reported when there was a lack of carrying capacity on the ocean.

I now come to the delivery of another commodity. In August, when the war broke out in the Old World, the cotton exports stopped instantly; practically it amounted to an embargo. For various reasons that I need not enter into at this time, the demand for export cotton ceased. What was the natural result? The cotton grower was in distress; the cotton brokers, those who handled it in large quantities, found it accumulating in their warehouses; the cotton raiser, who had his bills to meet, needed the money; the cotton broker, who might have been carrying a considerable stock somewhat beyond his own means, had recourse to borrowed money. He, too, was in distress. What was the first thing we heard? Relief for the cotton grower. A bill was even introduced in the Senate designed to provide that relief by the Government. It proposed that the Government issue bonds in a large sum of money, $250,000,000 or $300,000,000—I have forgotten which now, but running up to a considerable sum—and that the money thereby raised should be loaned to those who were affected by the stoppage of the export trade in cotton until relief could be had, either by the cotton finding other outlets or awaiting the issue of the war, when the return of peace and normal conditions would again create a market.

I am strongly tempted, although I will not fall a victim to that temptation to any great degree, to remind my Democratic brethren that for a great many years their platforms have contained planks on the reserved rights of the States. Invariably in such planks there has been a criticism of the increasing tendency to the centralization of power in Washington. To a very considerable degree I sympathize with that plank. I came to mature years after the Civil War, and I believe I am as reasonably free from any prejudices growing out of that unhappy controversy as any member of the party with which I am identified. I believe in a stalwart exercise of the reserved rights of the States. I have given expression at many times to my view. I have been criticized by members of my own

party for doing so. I believe that the State in matters of local self-government, in the things in which it is sovereign and which have not to do with the enumerated or implied or incidental powers of the General Government, ought to exercise its powers, and that not a single one of them ought to be dormant. It ought to exercise those powers in order that the States may be a great training ground of government; not a single reserved power of a State ought to be permitted to suffer from governmental atrophy. If I had my way about it, if I were a benevolent despot, I do not think I would ever create another governmental bureau—not for a quarter of a century at least.

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for an observation?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from New Jersey?

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. I merely desire to call attention to a remarkable fact which is being demonstrated. At this moment there are but one or two Republican Senators present listening to the potent argument of the Senator from Illinois; and the remarkable thing to me is that even the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT], the chief priest and high scribe of the Republican Party, has absented himself while this proposition is being discussed and is serious and sad to-day. Pray what is to become of the Republic; pray what can be hoped for from the Republican Party when its members absent themselves when there is being discussed this great question so vital to the American Republic?

Mr. SHERMAN. I reply to the interrogatory of the Senator from New Jersey by saying that all of the Republicans are already converted and they do not need any of the gospel. [Laughter.]

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. That is very clever, but evidences, general in their light, do not bear testimony to the position the Senator takes.

Mr. SHERMAN. They may not sympathize with me, I may say to the Senator from New Jersey, in regard to the particular plank of the Democratic Party to which I have been referring, and, like wise members of a family who desire domestic peace, they waive any differences on this question and remit them to the several States, as they did the tariff in the time of Greeley.

I want to add further in response to the interrogatory of the Senator from New Jersey, Mr. President, that probably the Republicans are now refreshing themselves in anticipation of the strenuous times that are promised for the future when night sessions are likely to ensue and their physical resources will be seriously taxed. So I observe their absence with considerble composure. I feel that they will be better prepared to perform their full duty from time to time, whether it be in the saving of time by useful discussion, such as we have been having for some days, or whether it be the further task of legislation by physical exhaustion.

Mr. President, notwithstanding the planks in Democratic platforms with which, as I have said, I greatly sympathize in every reasonable way, and notwithstanding the opposition to the creation of new bureaus, I find a very great tendency in the case of the present administration to assume and exercise new powers. This is evidenced by the bills intended to provide for a bond issue to relieve the cotton situation; it is indicated in the $35,000,000 bill for the construction of a railway in Alaska; and it is further disclosed in the pending shipping bill, which contemplates an expenditure of some forty, possibly fifty, million dollars as the initial outlay in procuring a line of Government boats. Notwithstanding these views of the majority party in days past, as expressed in their platforms, they have now left that safe ground and have returned to the centralized power proposed in the shipping bill, together with other bills of like kind to which I have referred.

I want to read in connection with the market reports, before leaving entirely that feature of the question, the market in Chicago on January 27, 1915, as seen by the market reporter of the Chicago Tribune.

> The chief feature in the wheat trade yesterday was the sudden development of a big demand for July wheat. It has been a practice for some time past to sell the July whenever the market was weak and there has been a good deal of spreading, buying of May, and selling of July. Yesterday the offerings tightened up and there was a big scramble to cover on the part of the shorts. The May advanced only three-fourths cent, while the July at the close was 4 to 4⅛ cents higher than the previous day.
>
> The back spreading caused the May to lag and there was also less demand reported for the cash wheat. Prices here relatively were about one-half cent lower for the No. 2 grades, although there was no material increase in country offerings, except in the spring wheat country, where some increase was reported in the selling.
>
> INDIAN CROP MODERATE.
>
> The sharp advances in corn and oats helped encourage buying of wheat, and commission houses were good buyers on all the dips. Receipts here were fair and the primary movement continues quite liberal, so that with the slower shipping demand there was some hesitancy among buyers at times. However, the general tone of the market was strong and there was nothing in the news especially to change the bullish views of the majority of traders.
>
> Although the Indian acreage has been reported much larger than a year ago, the crop is estimated at only 343,000,000 bushels, compared to 376,000,000 bushels a year ago. The Italian Government, it is reported, has commandeered a large number of merchant vessels for the purpose of facilitating shipment of grain bought in South America.
>
> RUSSIA CAN NOT EXPORT SURPLUS.
>
> Russia, acording to latest reports, has a surplus stock of 152,000,000 bushels of wheat for export, but at the present time this does not cut much of a figure, as the country is in no position to ship it. War risks on shipments of grain to Europe and elsewhere were said to show a sharp decline, indicating safer ocean conditions.
>
> World's stock showed a decrease of 8,750,000 bushels for the day, compared to a decrease of 3,857,000 bushels a year ago. Clearances were 832,000 bushels of wheat and flour. Primary receipts were heavy at 899,000 bushels, or 282,000 bushels less than a year ago. Receipts of wheat were 195 cars here, with 104 cars inspected yesterday. Northwest receipts were 441 cars, against 257 cars a year ago, and Winnipeg had 176 cars, against 213 cars a year ago. Kansas City stocks decreased 150,000 bushels for one day. Minneapolis stocks decreased 145,000 bushels for three days.

This completes the testimony of the last few days on market conditions, and shows that the Government could have no well-grounded objections to any of the grain operations in the markets in the Northwest. I might remark here, before leaving this point, that I am utterly unable to appreciate the threatened indictment of persons when grain goes up and a proposed bond issue of $300,000,000 when cotton goes down. I am further unable to understand why such vigorous protests go up on an advance in freight rates for steam railways, why such universal objections are made to increases in any of the charges of any of the common carriers of this country. When the price goes up somebody is sought to be brought before the courts or the Interstate Commerce Commission or the various public utility commissions of the several States. When, however, the prices on money go up, there is an investigation and a control of the money supply by the Government in order to bring the prices down, or there is a proposal to seize the business, commandeer it, so to speak, by the Government, and run it as a public enterprise. So it seems that whatever the conditions may be, different remedies are applied where the result ordinarily would be expected to be the same.

A problem the answer to which I can not see in connection with this bill is where the money is to be obtained. I have looked for some time at the Government Treasury reports with a view of ascertaining whether there was any surplus on hand. I have examined with some solicitude the people's cash account to find out how our receipts compare with our expenditures. I have been unable at any time recently to find that there is any surplus remaining from month to month. Immediately after the collection of the individual and corporation taxes there was a surplus in the Treasury. I think this surplus lasted about two months. Ever since that time each succeeding monthly report from the Treasury showed an increasing deficit. Between fifteen and sixteen million dollars is the deficit now existing in the Public Treasury. I think that condition is recognized here in this bill. It is changed by that much from the original draft of the bill, in section 11:

> That for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act there is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury of the United States not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $10,000,000, or, in lieu of such appropriation, the Secretary of the Treasury may sell Panama Canal bonds to the amount of $10,000,000 in addition to those provided for in section 3, and on the same terms, and set apart and use the proceeds thereof for such purposes.

Section 3 is that providing for the $30,000,000 bond issue which is to be used for purchasing or chartering or leasing vessels to this private corporation, which shall return to the United States under section 4 a like sum of its bonds, secured by a mortgage lien on the vessels. It is hoped that this will ultimately avoid the permanent withdrawal of the $30,000,000 from the Public Treasury; but in section 11 it is contemplated that $10,000,000 of a bond issue shall be had at once to procure the money. I think I need not depart from the realms of fact and enter on the domain of prophecy to say that section 11 will require the issue of $10,000,000 in bonds under the Panama Canal act in order to procure the initial $10,000,000. In no other way can it be obtained. I can not, for my part, figure out from any surplus in the Treasury any money not otherwise appropriated.

This is especially true if I keep in mind the appropriation bills which are either pending in this body or are on their way from the House. I looked over the estimates of the various departments of the Government for the different branches, both civil and military, the judicial, legislative, and executive; and I find that those estimates will increase our appropriations over those made for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915, probably some twelve or fourteen million dollars. This does not promise any very hopeful surplus in the Treasury. I take it

that section 11 is so written for the purpose of indulging in a bond issue at once. So we are entering here upon a scheme of Government ownership, with the Treasury in its present condition, at the expense of an initial bond issue. We are starting out on a new departure, something in which the Government has not heretofore engaged.

It is sought to excuse this movement by saying that the Government already owns the Panama Railway and operates certain steamships that are a part of that ownership. We did not acquire the Panama Railway and the steamships as an original undertaking. I am led here to compare a good many things that the Government has gotten into otherwise than as matters of original undertaking.

In the Spanish-American War primarily there was in people's minds but one intent; that was to relieve the menace to our shores of conditions in Cuba that had passed beyond the limit of endurance. There was further connected with this the humanitarian instinct of bettering the conditions of a suffering people. Primarily, that was the cause. It was immediately provoked largely by the destruction of one of our warships lying in a presumably friendly harbor. There was a declaration of purpose on our part that we did not seek foreign territory. It was subsequently embodied in the Platt amendment. In substance, we went into that war with one motive—not to acquire territory, but to end the intolerable conditions named. I know if I had had a vote on it, if the question had been presented to me whether we would have taken the Philippine Islands as an original undertaking, I would have voted against it. If it had been an enterprise in view at the time the war began I would have voted against it.

It is one of the inevitable incidents of war that when engaged in by any civilized country no man is seer or prophet enough to tell what the ultimate results will be. Many may engage in that unprofitable undertaking, and yet not one has ever been able to forecast the final results. Not even in the Napoleonic wars was his overthrow fully foreseen. Not in the Civil War, at the time it began, was the ultimate result fully foreseen. In the Spanish-American War we did not fully foresee the results. The Philippine Islands came as an incident of the war. The sovereignty that then prevailed in those islands and in Porto Rico was vanquished. It withdrew, and when the treaty of peace was concluded we were left as the only sovereign power in those islands. We had our choice to abandon our duty, to let them return to the devices of the several warring tribes with a greater or less capacity for self-government or remain. We had our choice to leave every European resident in the islands, including our own citizens, their families and their property, subject to the vicissitudes of an unstable government by the people of those islands or protect them. I think it is to the credit of the country that we assumed the burden. It is a burden. As a matter of original choice few of us would have undertaken it. Yet, as a matter of duty, I think there has been no substantial discord in the various shades of political thought in this country. So that is one of the incidents of war that we did not foresee.

For many years the Panama Canal was discussed. The various routes were investigated. The Nicaragua route had a thorough examination by those charged with that responsibility. For a time it was uncertain whether it would be selected or the Panama country. At last, however, the Panama country was selected. A treaty made with England relieved us from certain limitations that theretofore had barred us from constructing the canal. Certain events happened leading up to the independence of Panama. It is said that we were a little precipitate in our action. The administration then in power has been criticized. I shall not undertake to discuss that, because it is a story for another day. It is a subject for another vote, and in due time, I presume, will be before this body for action. Still, when we started to construct the Panama Canal, after embarrassing treaties and limitations were removed, after the Republic of Colombia no longer blockaded the way, after the concession or treaty had been arranged with the new Republic of Panama, we paid the old French company the stipulated sum and took possession of the remaining assets of the bankrupt concern, with no thought of the Government ownership of railways and steamship lines. Among the different items of property we acquired was all the capital stock of the Panama Railroad Co. It had not only the railway, with all its equipment, but it had the ships that were operated by the same going concern. The acquisition of all the shares necessarily carried with it the ownership, not only of the railway, but of the ships as well. At no time when the general public were discussing the question were these two points the main issue. At no place in the public press, at no place in the platforms of any great political party, at no place in a campaign, was there any discussion about the ownership and operation of steam railroads or steamship lines by the Government.

Still, in the acquisition of the assets of the old French company we acquired both items of property on land and sea. Both of these items are now sought to be made a precedent for this bill. They were quoted as a precedent in the case of the Alaska railway, which the Government has undertaken in the sum of $35,000,000, which is a continuing liability on any cash in the Treasury. I understand—I am quoting now from memory only—that but $1,000,000 has been set aside or in any manner drawn on in the prosecution of the railway in Alaska; so that practically the entire $35,000,000 is a continuing liability charged against the Public Treasury.

These two items are now sought to be used as a precedent for Government ownership, not only of railways, but of steamships. The Government and the people, the press and those who have examined this question, have never, in months past, until this bill in some form made its appearance, either here or in the House, considered the subject of Government ownership and operation of a steamship line. It was not a material part of the acquisition of the Panama Canal. It was a mere unnoticed incident. It came with the rest of the resources we acquired on the payment of the stipulated sum. Like the unknown and unforeseen results of the Spanish-American War, we accepted the responsibilities, but we did not thereby commit ourselves on independent propositions in which these would be unanswerable precedents. If they be a precedent in the one case, they ought to be in the other. Then we ought to be committed to what has been criticized as the policy of imperialism when we took the Philippine Islands. Still, none of the political parties of this country believes in waging war for conquest, for territorial aggression. It did not make a precedent in war; why should it make a precedent in peace that we have acquired steamships as a mere incident to the construction of the Panama Canal?

So I say we are entering upon a radical departure in governmental policy. When other Senators of the minority party have described it as an unprecedented departure, it is replied, citing the illustration I have given, that we have already entered upon it, and that it is not a question of a new departure, but of continuing to travel upon the way we have already started. I answer it in this way, then, that we have not considered, as a matter of original undertaking that has been submitted to the people of this country for any sufficient time to crystallize the public opinion, the question of adopting such measures as are written in this bill.

If I were simply to look at this bill without the light of extrinsic proof, without any of the circumstances that have attended its progress up to this time, without knowing who are the responsible supporters, and that it has received the indorsement of the Chief Magistrate, for whom ordinarily I have the greatest respect, and on whose judgment I rely, and with whom I have voted on several occasions in this Chamber on matters wherein my individual judgment agreed with him, and I would do so again, except upon matters in which I am irrevocably bound by my party creed or platform—I repeat, if I did not know of these circumstances I would think that this bill might have been prepared out of the teeming and prolific mind of Eugene Debs; or if Carl Marx could be brought back from the grave, the great father and sponsor of socialism in this country, I would think that it had sprung full-born from his brain, and voiced his belief in this Government's indulging in the management of many lines of private undertaking.

I am not opposed to the Government ownership or municipal ownership of certain things that are essentially governmental in character. These things, such as the post office, that from the beginning of the Government was committed by constitutional power to it; the Army and the Navy; the public schools; those things that are essentially and inextricably interwoven with what, from immemorial times, have been Government powers—those no one would seek to put in private hands. The line between private ownership and operation and Government or municipal ownership and operation is not a fixed one. It advances or recedes. It changes from one generation to another. I do not know how long we may remain with the present line of demarcation. The tendency of this bill, the tendency of the Alaska railway bill, the tendency of the recommendation by the Postmaster General that the Government take and operate the telephone lines as a means of communication, and necessarily along with it, by parity of reasoning, the telegraph lines as an equally important instrument of communicating intelligence—to find out how long, under the guise of public necessity, we will add here to those public undertakings, or take up something else, is the reason why we are discussing this bill; to know whether we may not find some place where stakes can

be driven down and where lines can be drawn, beyond which this Government shall not in our generation pledge itself and its resources, which are nothing more at last than the taxing power exercised upon the people of this country.

The shipping bill, with its initial expenditure of $10,000,000, if stopped there, or $30,000,000, would not necessarily of itself bankrupt anything. The precedent made by an undertaking of this kind is largely what causes the protest on this side of the Chamber.

I have an idea that this is but the prelude to a number of other similar undertakings. It is sought to justify this because ocean freights are high, because capacity, it is said, is limited, and some evidence has lately been presented that shippers are unable to obtain carrying facilities. If this were the only thing it would not be a serious affair, since even a sum of money equal to that contemplated to be expended in this bill would not be a serious draft upon the Government's resources. But if we remember that this will be made simply the opening wedge for a number of other undertakings which can be as much or more abundantly justified, then it is well enough to take the time in this Senate to discuss it.

I think I ought to say here, while I am not a member of the committee having charge of such matters, I believe I am correct in saying that no hearing of any consequence at least was had upon this bill by the committee of the Senate. I do not know where the bill was written. It may have been written by a Senator. It may have been written elsewhere. I will make no charge on that because I have no proof. I have a suspicion, but that is not evidence. I have an idea, however, that some rather precipitate haste has been shown for a legislative matter of this consequence involving a departure from the established ground that we have heretofore occupied in this country.

The President said in his message last December:

> Hence the pending shipping bill, discussed at the last session but as yet passed by neither House. In my judgment such legislation is imperatively needed and can not wisely be postponed. The Government must open these gates of trade, and open them wide; open them before it is altogether profitable to open them, or altogether reasonable to ask private capital to open them at a venture. It is not a question of the Government monopolizing the field. It should take action to make it certain that transportation at reasonable rates will be promptly provided, even where the carriage is not at first profitable; and then, when the carriage has become sufficiently profitable to attract and engage private capital, and engage it in abundance, the Government ought to withdraw. I very earnestly hope that the Congress will be of this opinion, and that both Houses will adopt this exceedingly important bill.

I now turn to the committee hearings that have been had in the House. I find that on "this exceedingly important bill," to use the language of the Chief Magistrate, there was a three-day hearing given to a bill, while not similar in all respects in the text, yet in the moving purpose practically the same. Befor the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries in the House there were given three days. I turn to the special subcommittee of the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House, where practically the whole ground that is opened by the pending bill in the Senate and in this controversy was covered. Several men acquainted with marine affairs and with the United States Navy—some shipbuilders, one or more, and several who were somewhat skilled in ocean transportation as well as in the capacity of our shipyards—were heard on "this exceedingly important bill," to continue the quotation from the President. In this subcommittee there were six days of hearings, making a total altogether of nine days of time devoted to this bill in committees.

If it be said that the minority side is invoking its right under the ancient rules of this body for an open discussion, we reply that it is necessary because no open discussion has been had in either body. In addition, if we note that this matter has not been discussed by the general public, from whom at last must be drawn the taxes to pay the operation at a loss which is conceded in the beginning at least must occur, if we remember that the newspapers have just begun to devote their news columns and editorial mention to the subject, we can then still further reply that whatever time we take on this side of the Chamber is well spent.

I am somewhat skeptical on the reasons alleged for the presentation of this bill in the message, by the Secretary of the Treasury and by the Secretary of Commerce. They say the rates are high, that tonnage is limited. The President in his message at Indianapolis said that we are literally bursting our jackets, that we had no way of sending abroad a surplus that was causing this plethora, that rates had gone up many fold.

In this connection I want to read a reported interview with Secretary Redfield on rates at Galveston, Tex., where he calls attention to the excessive ocean freights and says that the owners of the steamships ought to be prosecuted, and says that if railroad men had raised rates as the steamship owners have they would be in the penitentiary. This language is somewhat severe, but I am not reading it in a critical mood, because possibly the offense in some degree may exist, I do not know; I am not now at this branch of the discussion undertaking to settle that. What I wish to illustrate is that whenever rates go up it is said the remedy is a Government steamship line owned and operated by the Government.

If this be conceded as a good reason there are a dozen which occur to me offhand that could be equally relieved by governmental action. Wheat has doubled in price. Oats are more than twice what they were. Barley has nearly doubled. Corn is maintaining a higher average. The general level has increased about one-third at least. As to bread, either the loaf must be diminished or it must be increased in price. All the cereal products from any of the great food-producing grains have shown decidedly upward movements in the last two or three months.

Why does not the Government engage in wheat raising? It might reduce the price. It might furnish an occupation for some of the idle. It might raise some millions of bushels not now produced by the farmer, who is engaged in that private enterprise. Why not engage in the milling business? Flour has gone to $7.20 a barrel. The usual 5-cent loaf will go to 7 and 8 cents in Chicago and New York. Why does not the Government start a flouring mill? Then hard on the heels of that, why does it not start a bakeshop? There is an embargo on wool. Some of my friends may be disappointed in free exports of wool from Australia. Possibly we may raise enough in time of our own, although the prospects are not very flattering. Why does not the Government start a sheep ranch, and then having taken the clip from the sheep, why does it not start a woolen mill? Clothes are high. Then start a tailoring establishment or go to manufacturing clothes ready-made. Food and clothing are of infinitely more importance to the people of this country than transportation over the seas. If we do not sell a bushel of grain to be delivered in Europe or any place in the world, all the effect of it will be to reduce the price in the hands of the holder and ultimately to the producer. It would cause no universal suffering because the price of flour would go down, and a corresponding reduction would be made in the price of bread and all the flour products. The inevitable result of this bill, if it accomplishes any relief at all, will be to increase the exports and send the surplus food, both meats and breadstuffs, out of our country to the people abroad. The greater the export the less the quantity remaining. The less the quantity remaining the more the prices of those necessary articles go up, and it will be many fold more of an injury than the increase in ocean freight rates. Even now there is talk of an embargo on grain, so the home prices may be lowered to our people.

Why does not the Government go to producing food and clothing and then enlarge municipal lodging houses and give us the other, the third necessary of life? Let the Government furnish food and clothing and shelter while it is going into the business. When you get that far along you will find a great many of my socialistic friends who will rise up and bid you Godspeed in your undertaking. I know what they think and what they want. There is not one of them who is not to-day watching the movements of the lawmaking bodies at both ends of this Capitol. No criticism comes from them for bills of this kind. They know what it means. Practically they believe the Government ought to control all these things, every undertaking; that we ought to work in common, throw what we make in a common warehouse, have a meal ticket and a place to sleep and a suit of clothes and that is the end of your possessions. Nobody will have too much and nobody too little. That will be a condition in which the rich will not grow richer nor will the poor grow any poorer. If we admit the soundness of the principle of this bill then we admit the soundness of the Government's undertaking any other enterprises in which the product or the service goes up. Whenever the service or the commodity goes to a point where the governmental authority thinks it is unreasonable, all they need to do is to start a Government undertaking of that kind in order to bring it down. The principle of competition is dead. It is forgotten by the majority party. It ceases to be operative in governmental affairs. All that is proposed to be done is simply to start the Government as an unrestricted competitor in the open field of human effort.

These undertakings heretofore have always been carried on by private means and by private undertaking. This bill in practice stifles the individual initiative that belongs to the system of regulated individualism under which we have lived with our progenitors in Europe, of the English, the Saxon, and the Germanic races, for a thousand years. All the Germanic

element that is in us, all the Anglo-Saxon that is in us, is based upon the regulated individualism of the person and at war with socialism. The collectivism of socialism has no attraction for men of this type. It is only those who have thrown to the four winds of the earth all the experience of the ages and see here upon the earth an economic heaven who are allured by these dreams and seek to put them into practice.

Now, I want to read one thing that has been commented on at some length here, that the private corporation promoted by the Government must operate its boats first at a loss. I read from Secretary McAdoo's evidence given before the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries on September 1, 1914:

It is not only a question of establishing these routes, many of which will undoubtedly have to be operated at a loss for a time in order to establish the necessary trade relationships, but the Government will also have the power to establish rates that will be advantageous to American commerce.

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And then again the fact that any private corporation which undertook to do this would want to operate those lines only which it could clearly operate at a profit from the outset affords another reason why the Government should operate the vessels.

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The idea in having the Government take the controlling interest in the company instead of operating these ships directly as a Government operation is, of course, to avoid any possible complication resulting from the Government itself going into the shipping business.

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And not only that, but the time required to organize—even if the capital could be obtained—companies to engage in these enterprises might be very long. What we need is prompt and effective action. Then, again, as I said before, private corporations might operate these ships upon routes only which were profitable from the outset. Some of these lines undoubtedly will have to be operated at a loss for a time, until trade relations can be built up and established. One of the great objects here is to open up to this country some of these new markets. Those markets are obtainable now because their relations with some of the European countries have, of course, been completely disturbed by the war, and they must look to this country or some other neutral country for commodities. We are in a better position to furnish them than any other nation, if we provide the means of transportation.

I do not mean to say that every line that the Government might operate would be an unprofitable line. I do not think that is true at all. But I say that some of the most important lines, for instance, some of those to South American ports, would have to be operated for the time being at a loss.

I read from pages 17, 18, and the last, page 24:

I was going to say as to some of the lines, undoubtedly in view of the object we have in view here, that they will be operated for a time at a loss. To attain the objects of this bill it is necessary, as quickly as possible, to put these lines in operation, in order to enlarge our commerce. Some of these lines may be, and undoubtedly will be, operated at the outset at a loss, but the operation of others may be at a profit.

By very many of the witnesses who appeared before the committee during the somewhat limited hearing the same opinion was given. They reached the same conclusion in every instance. It is evident that that can not be escaped. If the boats that are now engaged in ocean carriage are charging exorbitant rates, it is evident that we must buy our boats elsewhere. We can not buy the boats that are now earning high rates, unless at a greatly enhanced price. There will be no bargain counter for boats that are able to sail the seas. If, as Secretary Redfield says, they have multiplied their charges manyfold, why should they want to sell their boats when they are earning in a few voyages the whole cost of the boat? It is extremely unlikely. So we must either build in our own shipyards, the Government must take the labor and material into hand and itself build, or it must buy elsewhere.

If we buy boats that have been tied up because of the military operations in the Old World, we will at once raise the question of grave complications abroad that has been somewhat extensively discussed here. At this particular time I do not wish to add anything to what has been said; I reserve that for some discussion later on. There are certain phases of that subject that I believe require further elaboration.

After the money shall have been spent, lines established, certain sailings become known, acquaintance with the shipping public secured, docks, wharves, and the facilities required to receive and discharge cargoes shall have been provided for, the way blazed to a successful and profitable operation of the line, then, following the recommendation of the President, the Government ought to withdraw. The method by which the Government shall cease to own and operate the line is contemplated in the bill. It seems to be by the sale of the Government's shareholding, whether it be 51 per cent or more. The Government when it sells is required by the terms of the bill to sell all of the shares which it possesses, so that it will entirely divest itself of every vestige of interest which it has in the corporation.

The query, I think, is pertinent here, To whom would these shares go? Who would buy them? Will they be put up at auction and offered to the highest bidder or will the shipping board sell them at private sale? Will that be in the discretion of the administration? Will the President say when the Government shall withdraw, and to whom its shares shall be sold, giving the control either by a majority of the shares or by holding an entirety? There are no provisions in the bill safeguarding that; it is left to the unbridled discretion of the administration or of the shipping board, which is only an instrument in the hands of the Chief Magistrate.

It does not require any very active imagination to suppose, after a shipping line shall have been promoted by the Government and made profitable, that when it sells out a great opportunity is given for some one to acquire a going concern which is making money from the beginning. Whoever may acquire it, it is evident will have a bargain. It is not contemplated that the Government shall continue permanently in this business; and I think I know the reason why. I think even the President and the dominant party now in control of Congress would shrink from the permanent ownership and operation of steamship lines. That smacks too strongly of a socialistic undertaking to receive the serious consideration of the majority party or of its President.

When the line shall be sold, therefore, is entirely within the discretion of the persons then holding public office and charged with the duties of managing these lines. When they are bought, they will continue to be operated, as I have said, as a going concern, running at a profit.

Let me figure out the forty million dollars that is in direct contemplation of expenditure. That will all have been spent either for ships engaging in this trade or for docks, wharves, permanent facilities and the necessary employees required as freight and passenger solicitors, accounting, operating, and other employees. I do not anticipate that the Government engaging in this enterprise will be able to conduct it on any different bases than any other steamship company. It will require a corps of trained men; people will not impulsively, with one accord, flock to the offices of a Government shipping line proffering their frieght and their money for its carriage. The Government must compete; it must go out and appeal to the general shipping public for its business. To do this will require the same organization, the same equipment, the same class of men, those skilled in that line, that every undertaking of a like kind requires.

So when that is done, this enterprise, with all its equipment, with all its docks and wharves, with all the machinery that is incidental to those facilities, with all of the army of trained men that have been assembled for the prosecution of the undertaking, is turned over at last to some private concern. Will they benefit from it? It seems so. It seems there will be some actual financial gain to those who shall be so fortunate as to be able to purchase the Government owned and operated line.

Now, I wish to proceed a little further. It has been said that a subsidy has been condemned by the Democratic Party for many years. That is the traditional attitude of the party. Mr. McAdoo refers to that in his testimony. Something is said about a direct subsidy. Mr. McAdoo, when he is confronted with that question, says: "But the Democratic party platform forbids that."

I understood that the operation of the steamship line was to be justified upon a business ground. If a subsidy is a better way of reaching the result, why invoke the ban of a party platform to prevent it? The party platform has for a great many years condemned subsidies; and Mr. McAdoo says:

Secretary McADOO. This is not a question of subsidy. This is a question of the Government doing directly for the people of this country what private capital can not do, and especially to meet a sudden emergency of a most extraordinay character, and from which our commerce has undoubtedly suffered already, and will suffer still more unless we deal with it energetically and vigorously.

Then, further on, again he says:

Mr. EDMONDS. Do you not believe that if W. R. Grace & Co. were given a subsidy they could establish lines to South America in 30 days and have them running to any points you want to?

Secretary McADOO. Oh, perhaps, but the Democratic platform declares against ship subsidy.

It seems to me as if we are sticking in the bark. We want the results, but we condemn the means by which we can attain those results. We are haggling on terms or definitions; we are halting by the wayside trying to define a subsidy. I look at that as I look at the articles of incorporation of this private company, that it is a matter of form, and that nothing is either gained or lost by juggling with words or phrases. It is not doubted here in either the question or answer that a subsidy would within 30 days result in the establishment of a line running to South American ports and that such a line would be in successful operation.

It is further said in the partial hearings that a subsidy can not regulate rates; that the shipping public is suffering from exorbitant rates; and that subsidies would give no relief.

That, it seems to me, is no reply. It is the simplest operation in the world, if a subsidy be granted in express terms, to annex to it conditions that will fix the rates for freight carried by the boat that receives the benefit of the subsidy; and, if it be a mere matter of regulation, it is entirely within the power of Congress to attach such conditions to a grant of money direct to a private line as would insure a proper reduction and a permanent level of rates.

I wish to read, when we are talking about establishing steamship lines in competition with the world, from a report of the United States Bureau of Navigation of 1910:

The aggregate amount paid by foreign nations in the form of subsidies, ocean mail pay, navigation and construction bounties, Admiralty subventions, naval reserve appropriations, fisheries, bounties, refund of Suez Canal tolls, and other forms of contribution which directly or indirectly add to the volume of business under their respective national flags, is upward of $46,000,000 a year.

In the short time since the bill generally known as the Frye-Hanna-Payne bill failed to pass the House of Representatives, there has been a general revision of the subsidies of nations. During the interval of our halt Great Britain has executed a new Cunard contract and put an all-British clause into her other principal mail contracts; Germany has increased the North German Lloyd subsidy; Japan has passed the law of April, 1909; Spain the law of June, 1909; Austria the law of February, 1907; and Italy is now revising her laws and mail subsidy contracts. Holland in 1907 subsidized for 15 years a line to South America, and Norway is contemplating a subsidized line to the United States.

A line is in operation now running between the United States and the Scandinavian countries, and is furnishing adequate carriage for the food products of the Northwest. Recently some four or five ships, laden with meats from the Chicago packing houses, were taken by the British, and ultimately will be converted to Government use and paid for. No serious trouble will probably result from this. It only shows that the shipping facilities exist, and that the embarrassments that obstruct these facilities also exist. The stockholders in the private company of the Scandinavian line, some of whom are my constituents living in Chicago, appealed to me for help in the matter. The best that this Government has been able to do in the settlement of this controversy is to see that the packers receive the market price for their products, which will not reach their destination in Norway, Denmark, or Sweden. These ships were so laden that the manifests showed that they were consigned to order. This, however, when I read the proceedings of the British Government, seems to be rather an excuse than a cause. It is simply that they do not wish these meats to enter a market where by any possibility any of the nations with whom they are at war may draw from such supplies. It is a part of the allies' policy to blockade the ports at which food might be entered, and so enforce a policy of starvation rather than of destruction on the field of battle.

I continue to read from the report:

In France revision of subsidies, bounties, laws, and contracts is almost incessant.

The following table and pages of explanation, with the statements in Appendix N, are a short review of recent subsidy legislation abroad. The laws, regulations, contracts, and reports on which they are based were obtained by our embassies and legations abroad and are on file in the bureau. They comprise over 1,000 pages in various languages, and only the briefest summary is possible within the limits of this report. Generally speaking, the nations of continental Europe own their railway systems, and Governments, which fix freight and fares ashore, also fix maximum rates on their subsidized steamship lines. Military features, of course, are contained in nearly all the great foreign ocean mail contracts, as in our law of 1891. Comparison of aggregate payments by nations and aggregate tonnage is not useful, for, in the last analysis, natural conditions are, of course, more effective in securing results than is legislation. Large expenditures under unfavorable conditions produce less results than less expenditures applied to natural advantages. The essential fact remains that every nation actually expends sums in proportion to its resources much in excess of the expenditures of the United States, in order to secure under its own flag efficient means of communication by sea with other countries.

Japan carries the mails of the United States from San Francisco west over the Pacific Ocean. She carries them because, on the bids submitted, she was able to submit cheaper rates for the carriage of the United States mails than were any of the vessels flying the American flag or registered under our laws.

I wish to offer here some of the subsidies paid by the principal competitors that the corporation created under this bill will meet in the ocean carriage. The loss in operating this line will not only be an initial loss on the $10,000,000 or the $30,000,000 thereafter invested, but, if the line is to be kept in operation, it must be a continuing loss. It competes, it is admitted, with the world. It is admitted that it competes at a loss at the beginning. If it does not differ from other publicly managed enterprises that heretofore have been private undertakings, it will run either at a loss or, at most, can but hope to keep even.

The subsidies granted by the various competitive nations in the carrying trade are as follows:

Great Britain and her colonies: Not only the home country subsidizes, but Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Cape Colony, and Jamaica. She gives a total to all of her lines equivalent in our money to $9,689,384 annually.

France gives in subsidies, in fisheries bounties, in subventions, and various forms of advantages a total annually of $13,423,000.

Italy gives in subsidies and in kindred undertakings a total annually of $3,872,000.

Spain gives in subsidies and the like a total of $3,150,000 annually.

Austria-Hungary gives in subsidies, mail contracts, shipbuilding bounties, and refunds of Suez Canal tolls a total of $2,984,000 annually.

Germany in subsidies gives $2,301,000 annually.

Russia gives subsidies of $1,878,000 annually.

Norway, $1,102,000 annually.

The Netherlands, either as mail subsidies or directly as payments to naval reserves, annually $880,000.

Sweden, in subsidies and the like, $277,000.

Denmark, $145,000.

Belgium, $55,000.

Portugal, $50,000.

Making a total of nearly $46,000,000 annually in the countries enumerated.

Outside of Europe and Japan subsidies and mail payments have been reported for 1908 to the bureau as follows: Chile, $253,195; Mexico, $75,000; Egypt, $54,512; Brazil, $1,300,000; in all, $1,682,707, making, with the above, a total of $46,907,220. In 1908 the United States spent $43,588,012 for transporting mails on railroads and $34,355,209 for rural delivery.

One difficulty that we will face instantly upon the institution of this line is the question of a joint rate, of a rail rate and an ocean rate quoted to a shipper. In both England and Germany a joint rate for the export trade is allowed to be made covering a part of the rail haul at a lower schedule than for domestic transportation for a like rail distance. This is prohibited under our laws. Many rulings of the Interstate Commerce Commission have been had, several fines have been paid, for a joint rate made not only on a rate to Canada covering a part of the haul inside of the United States, but the rest of it in the Dominion of Canada. Some investigations have been had of a joint rate quoted for the rail haul inside of our country compared with the rate by a steamship to a foreign market. No power exists under the present law to make any reduced rate. Still, in reaching a foreign market it becomes indispensable that a steam-railroad carrier shall be permitted to quote a rate which, joined with the ocean rate, would be a less rate than for a like distance by rail if inside of the United States. This rate must be quoted in order to be attractive to a shipper. In order to produce any advantage of an export rate, it is necessary for some modification of that kind to be had. The Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad Co. was fined, not many years ago, for making a discrimination. It was made for the purpose of encouraging a shipper in this country to build up an export trade in Canada. Still, heavy penalties were visited upon the railway for an attempt of that kind, although the rate was made in good faith and with no thought at that time that it was a violation of law. So we face that in the first instance here as something that requires a material modification if any attractive rate shall be quoted to a shipper seeking to reach a foreign market.

The total expenditure last year for the British Navy, including £7,545,202 for new construction, was estimated in this year's Admiralty statement at £32,319,500 ($157,072,770), including $1,783,620 voted for the training and maintenance of seamen on merchant steamships as naval reserves. The total expenditure by the British Empire, so far as ascertained, for subsidies, ocean mail contracts, and Admiralty subventions (not including payments for merchant seaman as naval reserves, just referred to) was $7,905,764. The item for merchant seamen may be viewed from two points, but for the present purpose it is retained in place as a naval appropriation. The Empire accordingly devotes in fact a sum for its merchant marine equal to about 5 per cent of its naval appropriations. Here it may be noted that Japan's naval appropriations for the current year are $35,870,061, while her subsidies to the merchant marine are $4,416,000, not including shipbuilding bounties, and Italy's naval appropriations for the current year are $30,229,754 and her ocean mail contracts, navigation, and shipbuilding bounties amount to $3,872,917, or in each case equal to over 10 per cent of naval appropriations. The sums comprising the British totals above are:

1. For foreign and colonial mail service to British ships, $3,320,454, reported by the British postmaster general, excluding £4,293 paid to the American Line. (Report of British Postmaster General, 1908.)
2. Subsidies and mail payments of the Dominion of Canada, aggregating $1,581,800.
3. Subsidies and mail payments of the Commonwealth of Australia and New Zealand, $1,263,600.
4. Mail subsidy of Cape Colony, $656,910.
5. Trade subsidy of Jamaica, $194,400.
6. Cunard admiralty subvention, $729,000.
7. Canadian fisheries bounties, $160,000.

Other small mail and trade subsidies are paid by British colonies, such as the annual payment of £5,000 ($24,300) for steam communication between Australia and the Fiji Islands, but in the aggregate doubtless such items would not add more than $150,000 or $175,000 to the total.

When we enter the field in competition with the carriers of the world, we face competition of this kind—a competition backed by sums paid out of the public treasuries of several of the principal ocean carrying nations of the world. We expect to make headway with a puny $40,000,000, building an original line or buying boats and starting the line, so as to make it profitable! We hope, with that $40,000,000, to enter into successful competition with these nations! It seems to me that it is undertaking the task with impotent implements. It is undertaking a task that could be well put in the hands of a giant with a straw, with pigmy instruments that can do no more than emphasize their utter insignificance for the purpose intended.

I read from the hearings before the special subcommittee of the Committee on Naval Affairs, page 120, from some documents that are submitted:

To sum up, therefore, it may be said that every nation possessing a deep-sea merchant fleet of any real importance encourages and supports this interest to the degree and in the way which its judgment approves or its national resources make possible. The most frequent form of this national assistance is the mail subvention to regular lines. Great Britain is the pioneer and chief exemplar in the policy of mail subventions. She began this practice on a large scale with the Cunard Line in 1839–40, and since then has expended between two hundred and fifty and three hundred million dollars in creating and sustaining her mail lines to every great port and market on this planet.

It is sometimes urged by those who desire to believe that a consistent free-trade policy has been maintained by the British Government that these enormous British subventions were bestowed merely to carry the colonial mails, with no purpose whatever to encourage British ocean trade or navigation. But that this academic view is wholly superficial and untenable is demonstrated by the British Government itself. A report of the parliamentary committee on contract packets in 1853 on the Cunard and other subsidies thus speaks with authority as to the actual purpose of these generous subventions:

"The objects which appear to have led to the formation of these contracts, and to the larger expenditures involved, were to afford us rapid, frequent, and punctual communications with distant ports which feed the main arteries of British commerce, and with the most important of our foreign possessions, to foster maritime enterprise, and to encourage the production of a superior class of vessels, which would promote the convenience and wealth of the country in time of peace and assist in defending its shores against hostile aggression."

TO NON-BRITISH PORTS.

Indeed, some of the heaviest British expenditures were not in the colonial service at all, but for lines not only to the United States, but to Colon, Brazil, and Argentina—in other words, to absolutely foreign lands. At least one of the British subsidized companies—the Pacific Steam Navigation—touched at no British port, but traversed the west coast of South America. Lindsay, the historian of British shipping, says of this enterprise, that was established by an American merchant who first sought aid unsuccessfully at Washington:

"The extension of British influence and British commerce was doubtless the chief inducement for supporting this communication between the Republics of New Granada, Bolivia, Peru, and Chile, the nature and extent of that traffic rendering it necessary for the English to maintain mercantile establishments in the chief ports and towns of the western coast of the Pacific, and thus justifying the Government in incurring this expense." (W. S. Lindsay, History of Merchant Shipping, Vol. IV, p. 317.)

I read this particularly in view of the testimony of Secretary McAdoo and others on that question, who seek to establish a line, by this corporation that is to be promoted or subsidized in the manner indicated, between the United States and South America. Instantly this corporation becomes competitive, upon a return of peace in the Old World, with the shipping lines that have built up their business through many, many years.

They have in addition to that received this substantial encouragement from the Government of their country. This competition we meet in the establishment of this infant line. This certainly is an infant industry with the United States. It enters on the undertaking as a new enterprise, under very unfavorable conditions, and with competitors which undoubtedly on the return of peace will again resume the traffic in the triangle, as it is called by a good many of the witnesses. It is that which keeps the freight away from some of our own vessels, and we will meet that competition.

The ships of this line under this corporation of the District of Columbia will load and travel two ways. They leave a United States port bound for either coast of South America. I shall assume that when the Panama Canal is in operation some will reach the west coast and bid for the traffic in that quarter of the world. But they travel two ways. Assume that they are loaded both ways. It is the horror of every transportation man either on land or sea to travel with empty capacity. No road wants to haul empty cars, and no shipowner wants to sail with empty tonnage. The competition we meet when Britain resumes her traffic will be the boats that leave some English port loaded with merchandise for a South American market. She has access to the Panama Canal by paying the same tolls that any other boat does. She travels loaded. She loads with the products of South America, coffee, rubber, minerals, nitrates from the west coast. She makes the United States port and unloads, and it is natural if we meet her rates for all carriage of grain we will cut to a very much lower rate than we now anticipate, because those boats intend to carry on the return to England grain from this country or something that is partly raw material.

These contracts that are to be made for the export trade on grain or meats or breadstuffs in manufactured forms will be made with these boats that furnish an attractive rate. There is no matter of patriotism in that. While possibly for a time higher rates might be paid, yet the operation of economic laws is inevitable. The more attractive rate will get the business. The shipper will finally seek the lowest level of a freight rate, and that unerring and irrepealable law of competition will make this Government come to the level of the carrier lines of the Old World.

I am not assuming in this discussion that war in Europe will last indefinitely. It must end. All the wars that have reddened the fields of this earth have ended. It may be said that the vanquished will lose her strength, that her boats will be off the sea, that her merchantmen will be captured or destroyed, that her financial resources will be drained, that the battle field will engulf the best of her seafaring men, or that they will be lost in naval engagements. Some one evidently will be weakened. In the nature of things somebody will lose. Some nation will pay an indemnity, will lose its territory, boundary lines will advance or recede, but that there will be a vanquished nation also implies that there will be a victor nation. Some conquering hero at last will end the war and the future Waterloo will see another exiled captive of nations when peace comes. The conquering nation or nations will again enter upon a new era of shipping. They can rebuild whatever navy they have lost; their merchant shipping again will crowd the seas and visit distant ports.

Let us, for instance, suppose, not because I have any sympathy in that direction, because I will remain neutral upon the subject, that England should emerge from this struggle with her territorial integrity unimpaired, with her power on the seas still dominant. She has a world-wide commerce. It is not the first war in which she has been engaged. From the time Nelson fought in an earlier age, from the time of the battle of the Nile, from the time that her scattered navy in all the seas of the world contended with her enemies, she has at times faced annihilation. But she has emerged with her naval sovereignty unimpaired. She has still kept her power on the sea. She to-day is leading all the naval powers of the world.

What lies back of the tremendous correspondence that comes to many of us? All that is implied in the resolution of the senior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK] is that England, having the power on the sea, is interfering with the commerce of the enemies with whom she is at war. It is the grip of her navy that is producing the protest. It is the sealing of her enemy ports to food supplies that is likely to become the dominant element in ending the European war.

Suppose the allies emerge victors, suppose Germany emerges the victor, they will again start their merchant lines. They will keep their territorial strength; they will still be nations. New shipyards will supply those that have been lost. When war ends the nations always turn their energies to pursuits of peace. They will fill their shipyards with the clangor of their workmen. Their merchant shipping will again be seen as of old. Their carrying capacity will return.

Instead of having the temporary conditions that exist now for a few fateful months, when peace is resumed the same ocean carrying trade, the same subsidized lines, the same competition, the same freight level must be met by us with this corporation we propose to institute as if war had never occurred. In truth, it is admitted all the way through these fragmentary reports, through all the discussion that has been had, that the emergency of war is the sole reason for the appearance of this bill in this Chamber. So when it is over we again reach the point of competitive conditions with the world. Then we must continue to draw from the resources of the United States Treasury if we would compete with the lines which upon the return of peace will again carry freight as in the years past.

It is said that it is not a subsidy to promote a $10,000,000 corporation in its initial subscription and later to give it $30,000,000 more in a roundabout way; that is in all $40,000,000. Let us take some of the principal nations and notice a minute to see how much they give annually, by way of comparison. Great Britain paid annually in 1909 and 1910 less than $10,000,000—$9,600,000. Forty million dollars would pay a subsidy of $10,000,000 annually, with restrictive features on reason-

able freight rates attached to the grant. It would pay for each year a subsidy equal to that given by the Japanese Government annually. It would pay for a period of 13 years nearly all given annually by Italy; for nearly 13 years all given by Spain; and for nearly 20 years all given by the German Empire.

Still it is said this is not a subsidy. It is in effect. It gives the money to a private corporation in which the Government has the majority holding, possibly with a potential holding in entirety.

The $30,000,000 are to be disposed of in a somewhat devious way, evidently designed to escape the consequences if the ships were owned by the Government direct. I use the word "devious" in no evil sense but meaning in an indirect way. The $30,000,000 are to be raised in the first instance by the Government issuing bonds under a power contained in the Panama Canal act, which has been availed of several times. The $30,000,000 will constitute in that bond issue an indebtedness of the United States. The issue will be given to those who subscribe for the bonds. The bonds will continue to be an existing liability of the Government until paid. There is no provision here by which the Government will ever get its money back save by taking the $30,000,000 of the bonds of the corporation secured by a mortgage on the vessels and endeavoring to market the $30,000,000 with the general investing public.

The Government bonds, however, are an actual indebtedness. With that $30,000,000 the shipping board buys or builds or leases or charters a given number of boats, and out of it provides for such facilities, with wharves, docks, machinery, and the like, as are required at the points where cargoes are received or discharged. When this shall have been done, these vessels shall be transferred to the corporation created under the laws of the District of Columbia, receiving in exchange $30,000,000 of bonds of the private corporation in which the Government owns a majority or possibly all the stock. The Government then must either hold those bonds, which in effect only gives the Government a chattel mortgage on itself, on the ships, or dispose of them on the general market to such investors as can be induced to purchase.

It is well enough to examine at this point just what the investing public is likely to do. What view will they take of the $30,000,000 of the private corporation bonds secured by a mortgage lien upon the vessels?

First, among the investing public it is not regarded that a loan which equals the cost price of the article on which the lien exists is a very good margin for security. There is not an officer who is at the head of the investing department of any trust company in New York, Philadelphia, or Chicago who would regard such security as ample so as to justify the investment of a client's funds in that bond issue.

The vessels themselves with the equipment, with the wharves and docks, etc., that must necessarily be acquired to operate this line, will absorb the whole of the $30,000,000. Then on that property is given a mortgage for $30,000,000 to secure a like issue of bonds.

Now, what kind of security is it? It is worse than any chattel mortgage that can be conceived under the laws of any State. It is portable property, as Sam Weller says in Dickens; it is property that can be easily converted; it is portable, and the purpose of it is to sail in peace and war as merchant shipping. Now, where goes your lien? To South America; to the ports of the Old World. There is your security traveling on the high seas.

It is said you can take an ocean risk or you can take a war risk. That is true. Then the Government insures itself and who "pays the freight," or the premium? The Government. You run in a circle. You get nowhere. You begin at the Treasury and you finish at the Treasury. The Government pays the premium for a risk that it owns itself and when it loses it loses the vessel and it collects from whom? From itself, the indemnity in the contract that gives the war risk insurance. So when we figure out the character of the security it is not of a very satisfactory kind.

Now, let us apply the bond issue secured by a mortgage on the ships to existing events. There has been enough said in the discussion here in this Chamber to show that there is very grave doubt on the rights of the Government in the event one of these ships is seized by a belligerent nation. There is a difference of opinion among the lawyers, but that is not unusual. I have spent about 30 years of my life around court rooms, and I never saw two lawyers who represented different clients who could not settle their affair without the intervention of lawyers and courts, who did not differ from each other on what the law was. It is not, therefore, surprising that statesmen who have temporarily shed the character of the lawyer should still differ in this body. It would be an exception if there were not differences of opinion. Very often where there were differences of opinion in the clash of litigation and the usual destruction that results from a long drawn out litigation, I have advised my client to take to the woods and compromise, and, many times, to stay out of the courts.

The security for this bond issue is a mortgage on a lawsuit. There is not even the poor boon of an impartial tribunal with the ordinary hazards of litigation, with the ordinary rights of both parties, but it is taken into a prize court in England, an ex parte proceeding. I have an idea that this Government would not be, under the conditions, a very favored suitor. It is the history of English prize courts, as the captor nation—whether it is the rule of law or not, it is the practice in admiralty courts, and it is the history of England for 400 years of her supremacy on the high seas—to put the burden of proof on the vessel to be condemned; and you must get out from under that presumption. From the time that Francis Drake and Raleigh and the navigators who were sometimes the freebooters of that ancient time sailed the seas, England has developed the law of her prize courts. We follow it in our admiralty courts on the Great Lakes and in all the maritime States of this country with practically very little change, except here and there in matters of practice to conform in certain procedure that is incident to the jurisdiction.

So our security is on a ship that is laden with a neutral cargo. Omit contraband and conditional contraband for the present. Where does it go? Well, our jacket is bursting, for instance, with wheat, or with bread, and packing-house products. The relief, to follow the message of the President's address at Indianapolis, is through the vessels of this corporation. One vessel is laden with meat; it starts from port loaded, as these Scandinavian ships were, with Chicago packing-house products. It starts across to its destination. England, through her proper authorities, views the imperial decree of Germany appropriating all the foodstuffs that enter the Kingdom. In her policy of shutting out food supplies, whatever the declaration of London may be, whatever The Hague conferences may have done, whatever friendly understanding there is between that country and this, the first thing England will do will not to be to ask questions, but to take the ship of this private corporation and its food supplies, as they took those of the Scandinavian steamship line laden with the Chicago packing-house products, and impound them in her prize court. There they will remain. Whether or not she will, after the proclamation of Germany, consider them as prizes to be condemned and forfeited is the question. Possibly if nothing had been done to take over the food supply of Germany by that Government we could have obtained pay for the cargoes, as in the case of the Scandinavian ships; we may anyhow; but with changed conditions we have no assurance that a ship laden with breadstuffs and meat may not within 24 hours from this day be conditional contraband.

Conditional contraband assumes a great many forms and guises. Bread and meat may be contraband; clothing may be contraband; cotton was declared to be contraband by Russia in the Russo-Japanese War, though on a somewhat slender ground, it is true. They said cotton was used in making a certain high character of explosive and, therefore, was contraband. In view of the existing condition of the manufacture of explosives it might be so declared again. Water might become contraband in case of siege. If an enemy State besieged a town or a fortified post, if, instead of battering down the walls with heavy artillery or risking taking it by storm, they undertook to sit down in front of its walls and reduce it by the slower but surer processes of starvation, then water in casks or any method of introducing it into the beleaguered fortress would be contraband, and while conditional contraband for the purpose of that besieged place would be as absolutely contraband under the laws of nations in that war as would a 13-inch gun or a battleship that should be fitted out for an enemy nation.

So, in view of this imperial decree of Germany put forth by her council two days ago, that substantially makes Germany the owner of all the food products within her borders, the allies may well declare food products to be contraband or conditional contraband, and the effect on us would be the same.

Where, then, will our freight be carried? What point in the Old World will furnish an outlet for the plethora of merchandise from which we are suffering? Nowhere, unless we take the risk of capture. In that event, if a vessel is taken by any of the allies if it be destined to a German port, or vice versa by the Germans if destined to the allies' ports, it will not be with a release of the vessel and payment for the cargo, but it will be a confiscation of the vessel and its cargo. And on that vessel is the only mortgage lien on which this Government or a buyer of these bonds has any recourse for its security. Then we submit to the confiscation in an English

prize court of the only security we have, and lose our stock, lose our interest in the $30,000,000 issue so far as it is represented proportionately by the single vessel that I have in mind. We lose that or we demand reparation from the English Government; and what will that amount to? If we do not get any more reparation from the English Government than we are getting from Mexico, I would not give 30 cents for the $30,000,000 represented by the mortgage if the vessels keep going one after the other to a prize court of one of the allies or even of Germany, because we can not tell how soon the situation may change around; it depends upon the fortunes of war. Again, one or all of the ships of this corporation may be sunk by submarines in the new and destructive warfare created for the first time in this struggle.

Now, to return, not only are we to meet competition from subsidized lines, not only do we risk the security for the $30,000,000 drawn from the Treasury or procured by a bond issue, and for which we have as security a mortgage on the ships to indemnify us—we not only take all this risk, but we take the additional risk of running the business at a loss.

I do not know of any Government undertaking that is making any money. Primarily the Government ought not to engage in business for money making. It is a mistake to think that dividends ever ought to be earned on a public undertaking. It ought to be run at best at cost. If any profit accrue after the physical plant has been taken care of, after the maintenance has been provided for, it ought to be distributed in the way of a decreased cost of the commodity or for the service. I do not know, as I have said, of a Government undertaking, either in cities or elsewhere, that is making any money. I know of some that claim that they are making money, but they have a peculiar system of bookkeeping. If they would make provision for the depreciation of the physical plant, keep their property in good repair, keep it physically fit, make the usual allowances at the end of each year by writing something off and figure interest on the original cost, I do not know of a single one of them that would be making anything. It always costs more to run anything by the Government than it does by a private undertaking. I do not know of a private undertaking that can not discount everything the Government has undertaken, even in the case of the United States, and the same thing is true of every State and of every municipal undertaking of which I have any knowledge.

I think I am safe in saying that it is very difficult to get the same service out of a public employee that is rendered by an employee in private life. Some years ago, as an illustration, a man on a public pay roll came to me—I sent for him; that is the way he happened to come; I had not seen him for a good many moons—and I said, "You are on the pay roll, and it is reported to me that you have not worked any. Do you expect to work any?" He said, "No." I said. "How do you reconcile your remaining on the pay roll with your indisposition to render service?" He said, "I worked hard enough to get the job, and I ought not to be required to work any now that I have got it." There is a general feeling, manifested by a good many public employees, that they earned the job a long time before they got it, and that, after having gotten it, they can sit down and while away the hours in ignoble ease until pay day comes. There is a constant struggle of that kind. I do not know of a public undertaking of any kind that has any resemblance to a business undertaking that does not go up against this inevitable trait of human nature.

This condition is as old as the hills. I want to read an extract—I would quote it from memory, but it would sound more authentic if I read it. Many years ago—it will soon be three hundred years ago—Samuel Pepys, an old Englishman, kept a diary. It is a very entertaining diary; it has everything in it from the difficulties of wash day to the infamous taxes the English then had to pay, from plain graft in the English Navy to just ordinary everyday stealing. He was clerk of the Admiralty. This was in the time of Charles II, during the Restoration; it was during the opposite swing of the pendulum. Cromwell had just gone out and Charles II had just come in. Cromwell and the Ironsides had been somewhat abstemious in their habits; they were more given to prayer and fasting than to riotous living; and so when Cromwell died and the Presbyterians were not in power, Charles II and Nell Gwyn came back. I hope the suggestion about "coming back" will not be regarded as invidious, or as having any relation to the division of the Republican Party in years past. [Laughter.] We welcome them all. One objected during the last campaign to coming back, and he said he did not like the idea; that it seemed unprogressive. I said the most celebrated character in history was the Biblical one who came back—the Prodigal Son. He had his choice between living among the hogs on husks, or coming back to his father to live; and so he came. The only thing I do not want them to do is to run their sire out of the house. All of them are welcome, on condition that they come in on an equality.

That is the condition that Samuel Pepys found things when he was writing his diary. This is somewhat of a digression, but it is indispensable to a proper understanding of this bill. He had to spend the money and keep the accounts. He was a very great friend of the Duke of York, who afterwards became James II, and the Duke of York was continually bothering him about making up his accounts so that he might know how the Admiralty stood, whether they had enough money to victual and put crews on the ships. They were continually fighting in those days around the North Sea; when they were not fighting with Holland they were fighting the French; and when they were not fighting the French they would sail around on the other side of the globe and fight the Fiji Islanders; anyhow, there was general, all-around good fighting all the time. He was very much concerned about the financial condition. The Admiralty was building ships, and, like the Treasury in a Democratic administration, was always short. [Laughter.] Pepys was out of money; and he began to search diligently to find some reason why the pounds, shillings, and pence faded away so rapidly after they were extorted from the unwilling taxpayers. He hit upon this that is material in this debate, and it has in it such an element of government and such an undying trait of human nature that it ought to be emblazoned on the walls of this Chamber and cut down here on the post-office building in the unyielding granite of its walls, that there is not anybody who ever yet saw a Government undertaking that was conducted with the same degree of economy and efficiency as a private business. Mr. Pepys found it so, and I quote his language. This is in January, 1622:

> I observe that it cost Charles II, my King, more to get anything done than anyone in private life.

That is found in the second volume of Pepys' Diary, on page 268. I wish to leave that in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as an ancient and indubitable proof that this shipping bill, when it is full grown and in operation, will be subject to the same rule of economics and human nature that the ships of Charles II were, 300 years ago. That is what will happen.

Well, somebody says that we are going to make it so much cheaper. Now, how are we going to do it? Let me refer to the Post Office Department. We are not without information on this subject. We are making no reckless plunge into the gulf of experiment, without any knowledge to guide us.

The Government says, through a report of the Postmaster General, that the Post Office Department is not only self-sustaining but is piling up a surplus. That is most gratifying news. It is the only thing so far that has been heard from that manifests those tendencies, and so it ought to be put down as a red-letter day when that information percolated into this body. "Piling up a surplus each year!" Well, where does that surplus come from? "Oh, it comes from the earnings."

We will have up here some day a problem that will vex the understanding and try the patience of the Senate probably as much as the shipping bill. That will be the question of railway mail pay. If we get to the point where we pay the steam railroads for the service they are actually performing, we will have no surplus in the Post Office Department. In order to stop that, and to stop part of the cost of the Rural Free Delivery Service—the estimate for which was $52,000,000 in the aggregate, but the appropriation several years ago was about $40,000,000—they propose, when they come to that, to economize. How? By star-routing all of the rural free delivery, by substituting a system by which it shall be let out to a contractor.

Do you know why that is proposed? Yes; it is to effect economy. The direct employment of labor always results in a more expensive operation. The whole question of municipal ownership, of Government ownership, revolves about the one simple, pivotal point, whether labor shall be employed directly by the governmental body or whether it shall let out to a contractor the performance of that service or the furnishing of that commodity. So, when I come to that, I find in the report of the Postmaster General that he recommends that the rural free delivery be changed from the present system of the direct employment of rural free-delivery carriers to the contract system, or what is practically summed up in the words of star-routing the rural free delivery.

Why is that? He estimates that he can save about $17,000,000 a year in that way. He goes on to show that the cost of maintaining the rural free delivery has steadily increased. The compensation of a rural free-delivery carrier has run up year by year. No great comment is made, probably none, in that report upon the very great improvement of the Rural Free De-

livery Service in that time, upon the better kind of employee, who renders more efficiently and promptly the service required of him—a very great improvement all along the line, better understanding, quicker, better, more competent service. No account of that is taken in the increase in compensation.

I want to read something on that subject.

[Subsequently, Mr. SHERMAN continued his speech, as follows:]

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President——

Mr. STONE. Mr. President, I yield the floor to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois.

Mr. SHERMAN. I am very glad to be able to resume, Mr. President, the remarks that I prematurely concluded on the 28th day of January, 1915. I am more than gratified that I will be afforded some time for completing those remarks. Upon the occasion of the last remarks I made, I had approached the alleged success with which the Government had handled the Post Office Department. I was then searching for a letter which I was unable to find, and which follows, in the ordinary course, the remarks which I concluded on the date named. This letter is important in that it refers to the success of the Postmaster General in creating a surplus out of the revenues of the Post Office Department. It implies that there are economies in the management of the department; that there have been some reforms increasing the efficiency of the service, and economizing so that that surplus has been produced. I am interested in the report of the Postmaster General dated December, 1914. That report, in substance, recommends that the rural free-delivery method of taking care of that branch of the service be discontinued, and in place of the present method, there be the star route or contract method substituted. I find that in the report for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1914, it in several particulars calls attention to the success that has attended the development of the rural free-delivery system, and to several tables which give the statistics, and it indicates what might be done to economize on the service. I read as follows:

In the light of the experience gained it is easy now to see that it would have been better in 1896, when Rural Free Delivery Service was established by law, to have enlarged the function of the "star-route" service, which at that time was employed only for transporting mail between post offices, so that it might have been extended to all the territory now served by rural delivery carriers. This was recognized in 1899 by changing advertisements for "star routes" so as to provide for box-delivery and collection service. From a digest of numerous replies to inquiries made by the department in 1902 it was found that the service was generally satisfactory to the people who were availing themselves of it. This system of box-delivery and collection service in connection with "star routes" has now been extended to practically all of the 12,000 "star routes" in existence.

After continuing at considerable length on this subject he in substance recommends that the rural free system of delivery by which employees of the Government are now performing that service be discontinued, and that in place of that system there be a contract method instituted, claiming that it will economize the service. Whether it will economize the service or not is doubtful. Whether the Post Office Department has any surplus to its credit at this time, if placed on a business basis, is doubtful. Whether there would be any increase in the efficiency of the service is doubtful. I do not believe, if a system of auditing or accounting for the income of the Post Office Department were had, and a fair basis of computation for the service rendered, taking the cost of it, were found, that it would be discovered the Post Office Department was earning anything equal to or above the cost of operation.

There have been a good many suggestions made on the question of the railway mail pay. A good deal of correspondence and a good deal of a hearing has been had, for several years past, with the view of a readjustment of the railway mail pay, so that we may be able to find whether the common carriers are now receiving fair compensation for that service; whether the rural free delivery will admit of further expansion; whether the parcel post is in that condition that it is paying the expenses of the operation. We have not remained, as the chairman of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads said some months ago in this body, long enough on one basis of zones and rates and weights to find out whether that branch of the Postal Service is self-sustaining or, much less, to say whether it is earning any profits. When this is considered, altogether, it is very doubtful whether this branch of the public service is paying expenses. The Postal Department is urged by a good many gentlemen, some of the public press, as an instance of the profitable and successful operation of a Government undertaking, making it efficient and inexpensive.

Taking this as one of the methods of demonstrating whether Government management would be profitable or not, I think it would be fair to find what the suggestion made by the Postmaster General in his report is, when it is carried out, and I find it is executed by a special order issued by the Post Office Department. This post-office order was sent out in circular form to a number of post offices in order that they might avail themselves of it in the management of the rural free delivery going out of those respective offices. It shows the shrinkage of receipts and, as usual with this administration, lays it on the European war. If peace should be fortunately concluded, it would take away the Democratic Party's scapegoat. The results of every mistake it has made are promptly charged to the war. It seems to be able to survive only by the war. I wish to read from this order, being as briefly considerate in my reading as I can:

The decrease in postal revenues since August 1, 1914, caused by unsettled business conditions created by the European war, makes it imperative that expenditures be reduced as far as possible consistent with satisfactory and adequate service, as they are now in excess of receipts.

That this condition is not due to internal causes for which the service is responsible, but to external wars, is shown by the fact that the increase in revenues for the month of July, 1914, over the corresponding month of the preceding year was above normal.

It is believed that with the hearty cooperation of all postmasters and careful and thorough supervision expenditures may be adjusted on the basis of receipts. No curtailment must be made which will affect the prompt movement and delivery of mails and an efficient service to the people.

Every feature of the Postal Service must be carefully considered, and in every case where experience suggests the possibility of reducing cost, the plan by which such reduction may be effected and all that it involves will be clearly set forth by the postmaster in communicating with the department.

It provides further that hereafter no rural route less than 10 miles in length will be considered unless at least six families to the mile are served.

That people within a mile of existing routes must use the existing route rather than become patrons of a new one, except in very exceptional cases.

That a new route must not be started until the entire route, roads, bridges, etc., are in proper condition.

Next it forbids in effect "establishment of new routes with more than three services a week."

And "routes on which for six consecutive months the mail collected and delivered has averaged less than 75 pieces per month per mile shall not be continued unless they can be rearranged to come within these requirements."

Again, in circular letter No. 16 the continued decrease in postal revenues in city post offices is charged to the European war. Paragraph C suggests that unused time of carriers may be taken up by having them walk and save car fare.

It will be noted, too, that the department says in one of the concluding paragraphs that "The service is confronted with a real emergency due to the fact that expenditures are greatly in excess of receipts."

The documents are as follows:

[Confidential.]

CIRCULAR LETTER NO. 16.—REDUCING EXPENDITURES.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL,
Washington, January 30, 1915.

POSTMASTER:

You are requested to give this letter your immediate personal attention.

The continued decrease in postal revenues caused by unsettled business conditions created by the European war makes it imperative that expenditures be reduced as far as possible consistent with satisfactory and adequate service. It is believed that with the hearty cooperation of all postmasters and careful and thorough supervision expenditures may be materially reduced.

No curtailment should be made which will affect the prompt movement and delivery of the mails and an efficient service must be given.

Every feature of the Postal Service should be carefully considered, and in any case where your experience suggests the possibility of reducing its cost the plan by which such reduction may be effected and all that it involves should be clearly set forth in a communication addressed to the officer having jurisdiction over the branch of the service affected, and this bureau advised accordingly.

Until business conditions again become normal the employment of regular clerks and carriers overtime or the employment of auxiliary clerks and carriers to assist the regular forces does not appear to be justified and should be discontinued unless absolutely necessary because of the volume and importance of the mails. The spare time of clerks assigned to any part of your office should be fully used elsewhere when needed, and the number of hours substitutes are employed under auxiliary allowances should vary with the daily volume of business, as less service is required on days when the mail is light.

The department should be advised in all cases of allowances now in force which may be canceled in whole or in part. If, on account of the reduction of the work of your office, it is possible to maintain the service with fewer clerks or carriers, the force should be reduced until such time as their services are again required. When a regular clerk is absent without pay avoid employing a substitute if possible or employ him for only the number of hours he is actually needed.

No request should be made at this time for additional contract stations unless this is imperative for the proper accommodation of the patrons of your office.

The efficiency of the employees should be maintained at the highest possible standard and this can not be done by retaining inefficient employees, so those who have had a fair trial and have demonstrated their inability to perform satisfactory service should not be retained.

Reductions in the force of regular employees following readjustments of schedules so as to take up the unused time should be made by reducing to the substitute rolls the employees last appointed. Vacancies occurring in the clerical, and as far as practicable in the carrier, force should not be filled until the number of employees is reduced to the lowest number with which the work of the office may be maintained.

In the larger cities immediate consideration should be given to concentrating the deposits of collections at centrally located stations so as to consolidate clerical forces at these centralized points, thereby reducing the cost of supervision and clerical service. In some cases it will be found practicable in this manner to discontinue small classified stations and substitute therefor, if necessary, contract stations for the sale of stamps and money orders, the registration of mail, and the deposit of parcels.

In the delivery service the following features should have special attention with a view to reducing expenditures to the minimum:

(*a*) The cost of equipment employed in the delivery of heavy and bulky parcels should be reduced to the lowest possible figure, all parcels not too heavy or bulky to be handled by footmen being delivered by regular carriers.

(*b*) Where mounted collection service is employed an effort should be made to reduce the equipment used in the delivery of heavy and bulky parcels by utilizing the collection equipment. Careful study should be made of the feasibility of consolidating these two features of the service with a view to effecting not only a temporary but permanent economy.

(*c*) The unused time of carriers should be taken up and utilized to the fullest extent. If, in order to do this, a readjustment of the routes is necessary, such action should be taken and regular carriers whose services are not needed by reason of the readjustments should be assigned to substitute or auxiliary duty if they can be profitably employed 8 hours daily within a period of 10 hours. If not, the carrier last appointed should be temporarily reduced to the substitute roll. It may be possible to take up unused time on routes on which car fare is allowed by having the carriers walk and reduce the allowance for car fare.

(*d*) Unimportant delivery trips or delivery trips rendered unimportant by the falling off in the volume of first-class mail should be eliminated and the time saved taken up in a readjustment of routes. The regular carriers available as the result of such readjustment should be employed or reduced as indicated above.

(*e*) Unimportant collection trips should be eliminated and collection routes consolidated, readjusted, and arranged so as to take up the time gained.

The service is confronted with a real emergency, due to the fact that expenditures are greatly in excess of the receipts. This condition, which is critical, is not due to internal causes, for which the service is responsible, but to external wars, and the promptness and effectiveness with which postmasters respond to this letter and at the same time maintain the efficiency of the service will be accepted by the department as reflecting their administrative capacity and ability.

On February 20, in separate letters, report to this office, Division of Salaries and Allowances, on clerk hire and stations, and to Division of City Delivery on carrier service, what reductions may be made in your regular force (forwarding recommendations on proper forms) and state what allowances can be canceled.

DANIEL C. ROPER,
First Assistant.

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JANUARY 30, 1915.

The suggestions in this letter are approved. I confidently believe that postmasters will make effective responses to this appeal to meet the service emergency which confronts us.

A. S. BURLESON,
Postmaster General.

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[Personal.]

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL,
Washington, February 4, 1915.

POSTMASTER:

The work of carriers collecting mail is less exacting and important than that performed by carriers in effecting deliveries of mail. It is, therefore, desired that in the future the maximum salary of letter carriers assigned to the collection of mail be fixed at $1,000 per annum. You will proceed in accordance with this policy to make the necessary assignments of the higher salaried carriers to delivery work, and you will not in the future give to any letter carrier receiving a salary in excess of $1,000 an assignment as collector.

Carriers now acting as collectors and receiving salaries in excess of $1,000 per annum, who are incompetent to perform delivery service, should be reduced in salary. Proper notice should be given to them in conformity with the Postal Laws and Regulations unless, by explaining to them the manifest difference in importance and responsibility of the two assignments, they voluntarily submit written consent to salary reduction.

It is desired that you charge yourself with an immediate application to this matter and make the assignments as rapidly as possible from time to time so that by July 1, 1915, your collection and delivery service may be adjusted to the basis indicated. In applying this regulation a carrier who is performing both collection and delivery service should be regarded as a collector or carrier in accordance with the preponderance of work done in either line.

DANIEL C. ROPER,
First Assistant.

I wish to state here, outside of the matter from which I am quoting, that I believe the postmasters in all of the principal cities of the United States have been communicated with directly, or have been called to Washington in person to consult with the Postmaster General on the conditions existing in the several offices. I believe the city of Philadelphia has found in its postal service something that requires urgent action. I believe the city of New York finds its postal service in that condition. I believe the city of Chicago finds, too, its service in that condition.

I think, generally speaking, that this condition prevails, that the service has extended, the work of the post office has increased, the number of pieces handled out of the principal post offices of these cities has increased, the weight has increased, and the work incident to handling this increase in the volume of business has required additional service. While the work in every branch of the Post Office Department in these cities has increased, the income, or the receipts, of the several post offices have not proportionately increased. Some of them may show a proportional increase, but some of them, I can state—not from official knowledge and not from sources that I am at liberty to give—show a decrease in the receipts. All will show no increase commensurate with the increased volume of business. It indicates that the Government, in managing the Post Office Department, makes no money, that it is conducting this business for less than cost, that if the railways were paid for the service rendered there would be no surplus in the Postal Service at this time, that the parcels post is in a condition now where it is not self-sustaining. Both the in and out mail from several large western cities that are distributing points indicate that while the service has increased, the receipts have proportionately decreased, and it will show that the Government has not managed the post offices in the cities in such a way as to make them self-sustaining, that after awhile the United States Treasury must be drawn on if such conditions continue. It furnishes a parallel of a Government department now that will be duplicated when the proposed steamship line or lines contemplated in this bill shall have been put into operation.

In order to keep the post office at least partially self-sustaining, it has been necessary to send out the special orders from the Post Office Department, already referred to.

The House is the authority for money. In that body all money bills originate. After the recommendation by the Postmaster General of an appropriation of about $35,000,000 for the Rural Free Delivery Service, the House saw fit, in the exercise of its constitutional powers as the source of money bills, to provide an appropriation of over $52,000,000, an increase over the Postmaster General's recommendation of $17,000,000 for this branch of the service. In order to furnish the service in the rural free delivery with the reduced sum asked by the department, it was proposed to abolish the present system of carriers. The economies necessary to keep within the $35,000,000 made it obligatory on the Postmaster General to use some different method of accomplishing this service. So we find in his report of December, 1914, that he recommends the contract system mentioned, that the carriers are to be discharged, legislated out of existence. As one of the arguments to sustain this he quotes at some length the original salaries paid the rural free delivery carriers, the compensation as it has increased from year to year, and tracing that increase in such a way as to indicate that the service has now grown too expensive to be further maintained in that way. The suggestion is implied, if not expressed in words, that the pay of $1,200 a year for the carriers in the Rural Free Delivery Service is too much, that it is too expensive for the Government to maintain, and that the economies which can be effected by discontinuing the salary system and substituting for it in his plan of the contract system justifies the change.

I do not know whether a large department like the Post Office Department knows what its several branches are doing. If the contract system is advantageous, if it is an economical way of rendering the service, it might be a good thing, like charity and taking care of the heathen, to start at home. Washington is the home of the Post Office Department; its headquarters are here; its chief officer is found in the Capital.

In the city of Washington there is a man who had a contract, whose name is Harry Beasley. If I have his number correct, he lives at 208–210 Eleventh Street NW., in this city. The contract he had was for furnishing the horses and wagons for delivery and collection of the city mail. This was a contract system of rendering the service. The postmaster has discontinued four of Beasley's routes, substituting in place of these wagons White motor cars, which have been purchased. I understand these have been bought at a cost to the Government of $2,750 each. It is now costing approximately 15 cents a mile to operate these motors to give this service. Beasley was furnishing the horse and wagon for the same service at a cost to the Government of a trifle less than 8 cents a mile.

The Post Office appropriation bill is now in the Senate. The Postmaster General's recommendation, made last December, is in the hands of all the Senators. It recommends the contract system on the rural free delivery, but on the delivery and collection of city mail in the city of Washington the contract system has, in part, been abandoned. It has been abandoned in the interest of economy. It may be more efficient; it may be that the mail is collected in less time and more

promptly; but the fact remains that the average cost per mile of collecting with motor cars is 15 cents, against 8 cents collected under the contract system. With the motor cars the Government does the work direct; the employee, the driver of the wagon, those who collect the mail, are Government employees. They are the same as the rural free-delivery employees. It is the direct system of employment rather than the contract system.

It seems that the Postmaster General, if there was any economy in this way of transacting business, could very properly retain the contract system here, in this city, as a shining illustration of the economy, costing about double the amount per mile. If the direct employment of rural carriers is to be abandoned, why does the department here return to the system under which the rural free delivery is now operated?

The recommendations made by the Postmaster General for paring down the Rural Free Delivery Service, the cutting of salaries and other changes, indicate that the fear is growing that an enormous deficit will result from the department's invasion of the package express business on an inadequate charge for that service.

I will read now from an editorial in the Washington Post on this subject:

As the time goes on the parcel post will be found more and more expensive. The express companies had the business on a fairly remunerative basis, but the competition from the Government was so severe that it was inevitable that several of them should be forced out of business. That result has been accomplished. The public is getting a cheaper service. That, too, is clear. Parcels can be sent long distances at cheaper rates than ever before in the history of the country. The public is getting the service, but if this cheapening of the service is being accomplished by a large deficit, however, the advantage that has come to the public will be of doubtful value.

No one need search for proof that the Government usually transacts business more expensively than private corporations. Most business men who are appointed to office are amazed, but they find that politics interferes with economy. If it costs the Government more to operate the parcel post than it costs the express companies, there is not the slightest doubt that the public eventually will lose. The Government is not a philanthropic concern, but it is the trustee for the money of the people, and if the parcel post costs the Government more than the people pay for the service, the people themselves must pay the difference in the form of taxation. It would be regrettable to find a large deficit as a result of the increased activities of the Post Office Department. It would be even more deplorable if the general service had been impaired to prevent a deficit. It would be evident that a government had bitten off more than it could chew. Certainly there ought to be no talk about the Government-owned telegraph and telephone lines when the Post Office Department is facing a deficit.

I know it was suggested here last spring or summer, when we opposed increasing the weights, that every person who opposed the recommendation of the Postmaster General was in league with the express companies. It was insinuated here that they were the real persons that opposed the recommendations of the department. I voted in accordance with the report made by the Senator from Alabama, of the Post Office and Post Roads Committee. We were defeated in that committee report. The press at large, in a good many places, and with more or less vehemence, insisted that all who voted in favor of the Post Office and Post Roads Committee report were voting for the express companies. I went through a campaign on that. I think I was charged a great many times——

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. JAMES in the chair). Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from New Jersey?

Mr. SHERMAN. I decline to yield.

Mr. HUGHES. I desire to make a point of order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state his point of order.

Mr. HUGHES. The point I make is that the Senator is not discussing the subject matter of the bill before the Senate.

Mr. SMOOT. He is discussing Government operation.

Mr. GALLINGER. The Senator from Illinois is discussing the bill.

Mr. HUGHES. I have listened as carefully as I could, and I am absolutely unable to discover any connection between what the Senator is saying and the subject matter of the bill before the Senate. If the Senator says he is discussing the bill——

Mr. GALLINGER. The Senator is discussing the operations of Government ownership, as showing that under the Government operation of the Post Office Department they are running behind, and he will apply it to the operation of ships.

Mr. HUGHES. I will withdraw the point of order if the Senator himself will say he is discussing the bill before the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Illinois claim he is discussing the bill now before the Senate?

Mr. SHERMAN. I do.

Mr. GALLINGER. I would make the further suggestion that we have no rule as to relevancy except as to appropriation bills. The point would not hold on that.

Mr. SHERMAN. I would like to be heard on the point of order.

Mr. KERN. Mr. President, the absence of a rule is suggested by the Senator from New Hampshire. In the absence of a rule, general parliamentary law prevails, and under every principle of parliamentary law, a speaker must address himself to the question before the house.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, the Senator from Missouri a little while ago talked an hour, and he did not discuss the shipping bill at all.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Indiana is stating a point of order.

Mr. KERN. One breach of the rule does not excuse another breach.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. I will hear what the Senator from Illinois has to say. Is he discussing the bill?

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes, Mr. President. The question is on the Government ownership and operation of steamship lines. I wish to show by the analysis of some facts I have that the Government can not even operate the Post Office Department, which is simply a great carrier system on land of postal matter of various kinds, without running at a loss; that, in fact, there is a deficit, and that it is not successfully managed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New Jersey insist upon his point of order?

Mr. HUGHES of New Jersey. No. If the Senator says he is discussing the shipping bill I will withdraw the point of order.

Mr. GALLINGER. Go ahead.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will hear the Senator.

Mr. SHERMAN. It was suggested——

Mr. KERN. Does the Chair overrule the point of order?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. No. The Senator from New Jersey withdrew his point of order. The Chair will see, as the Senator proceeds, whether he is discussing the bill or not.

Mr. KERN. I will raise the point of order a little later if the Senator does not confine his remarks to the bill, and I shall appeal from the decision of the Chair, and take the sense of the Senate on it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Of course the Chair has made no decision. The point of order has been withdrawn.

Mr. KERN. I understand that.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If the point of order is made, however, then the Chair will decide it.

Mr. KERN. I take no appeal now because there is nothing to appeal from.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. As there is no point of order made the Chair has made no decision.

Mr. SHERMAN. I understood the Senator from Indiana was simply serving notice that he expected at some time hereafter to make another point. I will accept the notice; in fact, it would not be necessary, for I know whenever a point of order occurs to him he will make it in due season and present it in his very forceful manner. I recur to the criticisms of us who voted as indicated. We replied it was our purpose to protect the rural free-delivery system. This was the sole motive. When the truth is known of the Post Office Department we will be justified in supporting the committee report mentioned.

Some of the express companies when the parcel post was extended were unable to operate at a profit. At least one large company has liquidated. The parcel post took so much of the business that had heretofore been done by the express companies that they found it inexpedient to continue. The parcel post, if it were analyzed on the present basis of doing business, would be found to be operating at a loss. There have been some advantages, but it has been at the expense of the self-sustaining other features of the service.

Considerable profits have accrued to some of the business lines in the cities. The mail-order houses have profited greatly. Their business has increased in the larger cities. A very considerable part of this increase in the volume of the postal matter handled grows out of the mail-order houses. One of them, to illustrate, in the city of Chicago has recently shown the largest earnings in the history of its operation. I know from the method of sending out bulky matter to their customers that they have made material gains, for catalogues that used to cost 32 cents to send out can be sent out under the parcel post for 8 cents. They send out many tons of those catalogues in a year. The saving alone to the large mail-order houses in their catalogues aggregates an immense sum of money. This profit made by the larger business houses is no profit to the general public. It does not lower prices or give any benefit to the purchaser. The profit itself comes as a result of the cheaper handling of the parcel post under the new regulation

or the expansion made by recent act of Congress. I believe, if it could be found who was getting the benefit of this branch of the service, it would be indicated that the large mail-order houses are the principal beneficiaries in the cities. On all the outgoing mail that they send to their customers they get a reduction. This is one illustration of how the Government operates in handling a line of business.

It is of a public character. It is very similar, except that it is on land, to steamship carriage. There is no particular difference except that the Post Office Department does not furnish the motive power, the track and the vehicles that carry the parcels from place to place. The Government in reality, through the Post Office Department, does the least of the service. It only furnishes the men who collect and distribute the matter carried. The real part of the service is done by the common carriers of the country. The railways are the ones that furnish the most expensive part of the service; the railways are the ones that really carry the mails. The employees at the different post offices collect and distribute rural free delivery with the parcel-post collections and with the post-office distribution.

If the Government can not operate the Postal Service so as to be self-sustaining, then it seems as if a steamship line, where all the branches of the service are to be taken care of by the Government, would work under a great many more embarrassments with much less probability of being successful or self-sustaining.

The President says that the line or lines established might be expected to work at a loss for a time, but that eventually the public good would compensate for whatever shortage might occur. It contemplates that whatever the loss, it will be paid out of the Public Treasury. I think it is fair to infer that if they can make no money he thinks that the steamship lines would be operated permanently at a loss.

The postal branch of the United States Government is as old as the Government itself. It began with the first of the departments, and its head was one of the first of the members of the President's Cabinet. Having been tried for all these years, if it can not be run so as to be self-sustaining there is but little hope for Government steamship lines.

I can understand, in view of this legislation, in view of the charge that is made that eventually it would be run at a loss and that the taxpayers must make good on it, why the department is now putting forth such strenuous efforts to show that the Post Office Department is self-sustaining or is earning a surplus. I believe that that effort is made for the purpose of furnishing an argument for Government ownership such as is contemplated in this bill.

The cutting down of expenses in the Post Office Department is illustrated in the Chicago post office. I wish to read what action has been taken in this department. Under date of February 3, 1915, I have a resolution of the Chicago Federation of Labor, as follows:

HEADQUARTERS CHICAGO FEDERATION OF LABOR,
166 WEST WASHINGTON STREET,
Chicago, Ill., February 3, 1915.

HON. LAWRENCE Y. SHERMAN,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR:

Whereas it is only recently that an official in the Post Office Department, assuming authority equal to that of Congress, issued an order taking catalogues out of the classification of third-class matter and granting them the parcel-post rate, resulting in a loss to the Government of over $4,000,000, with the mail-order concerns as beneficiaries, such action, together with the fact that no attempt has been made to reduce the salaries of high-priced officials or to reduce the unnecessarily large force of post-office inspectors, leads us to believe that a congressional investigation into the administration of the Post Office Department is badly needed: Therefore be it

Whereas Postmaster D. A. Campbell, acting under orders of the Post Office Department to reduce the pay roll of the Chicago office about $176,000, has within the last few days reduced the salaries of a large number of mail clerks and letter carriers from $1,200 to $1,100 per annum, and in many cases from $1,200 to $1,000 per annum; and

Whereas such orders and action of the Post Office Department are not only unjust and unfair, resulting in hardship and suffering to the poorest paid of our Federal employees, but in direct violation of the law regulating the salaries of such employees; and

Whereas it is evident by such action that the Post Office Department has no regard for statutory law and no regard for the service that is due the public, as was evidenced particularly at the last holiday season when post cards and other mailing matter were delayed four and five days in delivery; and

Resolved, That we, the executive committee of the Chicago Federation of Labor, directly representing 300,000 organized workingmen and indirectly speaking for all workingmen and women of this great city, do most emphatically and vigorously protest against penny economy at the expense of underpaid employees and dollar extravagance, with the large mail-order houses as beneficiaries, and the disregard for statutory law by the Post Office Department, and that we therefore request the Illinois delegation in Congress and the officers of the American Federation of Labor to have introduced in the Senate and the House of Representatives a resolution providing for a congressional investigation into the administration of the Post Office Department, and that such congressional committee shall have the power to subpœna witnesses, administer oaths; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Illinois delegation in Congress and officers of the American Federation of Labor.

Respectfully submitted.

CHICAGO FEDERATION OF LABOR,
By E. N. NOCKELS, *Secretary*.

Mr. KERN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from Indiana?

Mr. KERN. Will the Senator yield for a statement?

Mr. SHERMAN. For what purpose?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Illinois yield?

Mr. SHERMAN. For what purpose?

Mr. KERN. For a statement.

Mr. SHERMAN. For a question only. I have no objection to a question. I do not yield the floor.

Mr. KERN. I will ask if the Illinois delegation in Congress paid any attention to the resolution?

Mr. SHERMAN. I am paying attention to it now as best I can.

Mr. KERN. I ask the Senator whether any affirmative action has been taken by any member of the Illinois delegation?

Mr. SHERMAN. I can not speak for the House. Their proceedings have been somewhat voluminous; I have not read them at length, and I am unable to say.

Mr. KERN. Has the Senator in any way responded until this moment to the request of the laboring men of Chicago?

Mr. SHERMAN. I have not. The resolution, as I stated, is dated February 3, and this is only the 10th.

Mr. KERN. This is the first opportunity the Senator has had?

Mr. SHERMAN. It is the first opportunity I have had.

Mr. KERN. Were not similar resolutions passed six or eight months ago?

Mr. SHERMAN. I think not. Probably there was not as much information because the post office at that time, Mr. President, had not attempted the sweeping reduction in the force or the decrease in the compensation of the employees.

Mr. KERN. Were not similar complaints made by similar resolutions six or eight months ago?

Mr. SHERMAN. The complaints were not of the kind that are embodied in this resolution, because the complaints could not have been made at that time. The present facts had not occurred. These developments that have taken place since then are in response to the strenuous effort of the department to economize. In doing so they have cut salaries as indicated here of the employees—$1,200 employee from one to two hundred dollars per annum. That has been done recently in the Chicago post office. The effort to economize in the Chicago post office has been more marked in the last 30 days than in any former time, because the Postmaster General finds a very singular condition prevailing in that city. The work of the Post Office Department has increased in Chicago. The number of pieces handled and the weight has increased; the service rendered by the employees is much more burdensome than formerly, especially in the branches of the service among the more poorly paid or the ones who are doing the labor that more nearly answers to manual service. Their number has been so reduced of late that this resolution was the result. It has been reduced for the purpose of economizing. I think they have found that in order to make the post-office expenses proportionately equal receipts it is necessary to cut, as they find here, at least $176,000 off the operating expenses of one branch of the service alone. It is a peculiar hardship on those men who are not paid a very large sum to meet this reduction in midwinter. Their families must feel it. Their life insurance, home-building payments, and other wise precautions must suffer. If there were not such a morbid desire by the Post Office Department to extend the parcel post without paying for it the shrinkage in receipts would not impose this hardship on the employees. This is the real cause, and not the European war.

Mr. KERN. Does the Senator argue from all that that the Government should not encourage a merchant marine in some other way than by a subsidy?

Mr. SHERMAN. If the Post Office Department, which has been in existence for over 100 years and which has been very often held up as a shining example of what Government operation can do, finds that in the second largest city in the United States and the second largest city in the Western Hemisphere to-day it is doing more work than ever and taking in less money than it ever did for a corresponding amount of work, then Government ownership and operation of the Post Office Department is a financial failure, and at last, as in the steamship proposition, if we operate it under this bill, it will be a charge on the taxpayers and the Public Treasury.

Mr. KERN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from Indiana?

Mr. SHERMAN. I yield for a question only.

Mr. KERN. Does the Senator argue from all that that the Post Office Department ought to be placed in private hands for operation?

Mr. SHERMAN. No, sir; I do not. The Post Office Department is like the public school; it is like the Navy; it is like the Army; it is like coast defenses; it is like fortifications—like all the branches of the military service on land or sea. These are a part of the Nation's police power, the most advanced and civilized form of the police power. It is a governmental undertaking. Nobody ever expects to earn dividends on a battleship. Nobody ever expects to earn dividends on a public-school system. Nobody ever expects to earn anything in dollars and cents on the strictly admitted province of Government undertakings.

There are things that are universally recognized to be Government undertakings. The line that divides a public undertaking from a private one as already suggested is not a fixed line. It advances or recedes with a generation, with a century, with what is public, or what in our Government the people can well do. I do not set any artificial line in my private judgment where it ought to begin or end. I can only say that from the beginning of things as we understand it, with our ideals, running back to the source from which we borrowed our law, unisersally certain things have been admitted to be governmental in their character. Others have been impressed with a public interest; others have been strictly private, in which the Government had no part and even had no right to regulate. The Government has no right to regulate my potato patch. The Government has no business regulating the method in which I serve, if I am a hired hand on a farm. All the Government can do with a strictly private business is to regulate it that it do not hurt others, that it act in such way as to not interfere with the public peace. The private undertakings are universally recognized. It is much easier to recognize them than it is to furnish an adequate definition that would be good now and 100 years from now. Private undertakings are such, ordinarily, as the Government can not regulate save as it regulates you or me, to keep us from doing damage with our persons or property to the rights of others, or creating breaches of the public peace, or something that will be injurious to the public welfare. The undertakings that are impressed with a public interest are of an entirely different character. I would not go into this of myself, but the Senator made the inquiry. I have no desire to needlessly consume time. I am economical by nature. I want, so far as possible, to get, within the time allotted here, as much as I can that belongs to the legitimate discussion of this bill; but so long as the Senator has asked the question and gotten it into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—and it is pertinent, too—I am justified in giving my views, of however little concern they may be to this Senate or to the public. We may not expect the Postoffice Department to earn a surplus or pay dividends. We may reasonably ask it to be self-supporting.

The public undertakings that are governmental in character are distinguished from those that are simply impressed with a public interest. I have been through both legislation and litigation in some of the Western States of the undertakings of the latter character with the common carriers, with the great warehouses that stand at the gateway of the northwestern market. The question arose a good many years ago. It has been worked out in great detail, with a great wealth of litigation, with many animated controversies in the legislatures of the Western States, with some constitutional provisions and with great differences of opinion. Mr. President, this legislation has only served to emphasize the necessity of regulation, not that the Government is to take over these undertakings, these pursuits that are impressed with the public interest, and administer them itself. The regulation consists in fixing the price for service or for the commodity. It is subject to the constitutional limitation that it can not be fixed so low as to destroy the compensation of the concerns engaged in that business. The result has been, when the regulation failed, a widespread clamor for Government ownership and operation. If I thought these different public utilities, like the carriers, the warehouses, the steamship lines, whether they operate inland, on lakes and rivers or by sea, on the coasts, or the deep-water shipping—if I thought there was no way to regulate these public utilities other than by taking them over by the Government and operating them, I would be in favor of it. If I thought they would burst all the restraints that could be placed on them by the hand of government, and become greater than their creators, I would not have any question in my mind about what my public duty ought to be, if I held any office where it became a part of that duty to vote on the question. But I am not satisfied of that. I think the Government can regulate—either State or National Government—according to the jurisdiction in which the attempt is being made.

I have not despaired of the Government, like some of my friends. I have not turned Populist, much less Socialist. I remember the time when the agitation began for the control of the carrier systems and the warehouses. It was said it would be a failure; that the Government could not regulate them. The Populists came. They swept over the western country. They wanted Government warehouses, Government ownership of railways. They wanted the Government to loan money on certificates showing the storage of grain and other agricultural products. They were only a little ways ahead of propositions that have been made on this floor in this Chamber. They were 25 years in advance, is all. Of course, none of those bills have ripened into legislation; none of them have reached the Treasury; none of them have yet been urged, through the authorities and those who are sponsors for them, powerfully enough to reach the form of law or appropriations. But when we speak of Government ownership and operation, it is always with the idea that those who believe that the individual ought to be left to do something, that Government ownership is the last resort, that nothing remains, that nothing more can be done, because the Government ought first to regulate. The Government regulates the railroads; it has regulated warehouses; it has regulated every form of public utility that the legislative branch of the State or National Government has undertaken. I do not think there has been a failure on the part of the Government to regulate anything it has constitutionally undertaken. It has proceeded along reasonably safe ground, and to-day it is not a question of more regulation, it is not a question of new law; it is a question of whether the enterprises are able to do business under the excessive form that that regulation has assumed.

I have heard in some places, not with any degree of satisfaction, that the railroads of the country were to be regulated to the point that their stocks would depreciate, that the service would be made so burdensome that it would be unprofitable for them to longer continue in business as privately owned instrumentalities of the carrying trade of this country. I do not think that possesses the remotest elements of governmental morality. The idea that the Government may harass, may destroy values, that it may beat down the compensation, that it may by restrictive legislation make operation so burdensome that the carrier can no longer engage in it, has in it no element of governmental honesty.

I have heard it suggested by some, even some in public office, that when railway stocks were depreciated to the point where it would be no longer profitable to hold them in private ownership then would be a good time for the Government to acquire that ownership and thereafter to operate them as publicly owned lines. That is not regulation; that is confiscation, whatever form it may assume, whatever euphonious name may be given it. Whatever may be said, it amounts in substance to the confiscation of the private rights of property.

I hold no brief for railroads nor for warehouses. I represent none of them, and have not for some years. The private steamship lines are denounced here as railways were denounced 25 years ago, as they are denounced now in certain quarters, as I heard them denounced in Western States, in my own State, Illinois, and in Iowa and Nebraska and Kansas, in the days when the Populistic excitement ran high, in the days when Peffer came to the Senate, when "sockless Simpson" lived his cycle, obtained his notoriety, represented his constituency, and passed off the stage. That excitement has subsided. It reminds me a good deal of what is now occurring. The Populist of that day has his counterpart in the Government-ownership man, in an advanced stage, and high frenzy of the present day. The only difference between the Populist of 25 years ago and the Socialist of to-day, or the advanced form of Government ownership of to-day, is in a hairdresser and a tailor. The Kansas Populists shaved less frequently and cut their hair at uncertain intervals. A great many times their whiskers were badges of honor and the precious jewels of their possession, and they kept them as the insignia of the order. These latter-day people sometimes wear silk hats and better clothes, but their creed and what they are trying to do is practically the same thing.

I have not in me an ounce of Government ownership for anything that is essentially a private undertaking, unless it has been demonstrated that the Government can not, in the public utilities of that class, longer regulate them so as to protect the public they serve. If the commodity or service can not be

made reasonable, if the regulation has been demonstrated to be a failure or to be beyond the then powers of Government, then I believe in advancing one step further the line of demarcation of which I spoke awhile ago and increasing the activity of the Government in that particular. Unless that has been demonstrated, I prefer to leave it in private hands.

I have not anything of the Socialist in me. I think a socialistic government is a failure. It is destined to be a failure. It has been tried, and the attempts are all failures. When they tell us that socialism has never had an experiment made that demonstrated whether it could succeed or fail, I reply that more than a thousand well-recognized attempts have been made, many of them in our own country, some of them in the western country.

I remember one in particular, a French community, started with as fair an opportunity for the government to do everything it assumed as could be desired. It began nearly 50 years ago with a clean slate. Everything was left to the government—the public ownership of what everybody now recognizes as a private undertaking. They labored in common, they lived in common, they worked in common, they lodged in common, they educated their children in common. A child belonged to the community, not to the parents. The family relation in substance was destroyed. You had a place to sleep, a suit of clothes, a meal ticket, a job every day, and still human nature was not satisfied with all that attainment. Mr. Cabet, who was the head of this community in Hancock County, Ill., on the banks of the Mississippi River, where the city of Nauvoo now is, found that government ownership did not satisfy the aspirations of human nature, that the government could not manage everything, that something had to be left to private initiative. In that country one time, after a hard afternoon's work with an outdoor crowd under the oak trees, I went out to another corner of the park and found there living the sole surviving member of the Icarian community, as it was called—a Frenchman up in 80 years. Here is where Government ownership and operation of steamship lines go. They undertook no more than this bill. Their experiment is the path we are traveling. It is the inevitable tendency in every bill of this kind when there is no necessity save that rates have gone up, owing to conditions over which we have no control, temporary in their character, that in the nature of things must end, to offer that as the remedy for a transient evil. It is tending in the same direction described by this survivor of a communistic society.

I asked him why it failed. He was a charter member. I had a copy of the charter, and we read it over—the articles of agreement, the civil compact that the law books talk about, the original agreement that society is supposed to make, but seldom ever does, except in these theoretical cases where they start societies of this kind. I asked him why it was that it failed, and he said, after looking at me a long time, that all these undertakings would continue to fail until the Almighty made human nature different from what it is.

These governmental undertakings, all of them of the character contemplated in this bill, are tending in the same direction, taking away from the initiative of persons in private life and absorbing it by the Government. The President sees well enough, in his message, this danger. I do not think, at heart, the President is socialistic. His motive may be far from it. It is manifest, on reading that message, what he feared. He says that after the lines shall have been put into operation, after they have been made successful, even by operating them at a loss, after the shipping public has been given the service at a reasonable price, with regular sailings and in adequate capacity, and the concern has been put on a going basis, as the phrase is, the Government shall then withdraw from the service. This admits, in substance, that as a permanent undertaking it is inadvisable. It must be for some reason; and very likely, if the President's motives could be searched, it would be found that he is opposed to the Government's taking over permanently a private enterprise of this character. So he limits it in time. Whether it is entirely satisfactory to the advanced type of Government-ownership believers remains to be seen. If the temporary provision be stricken out of the bill, or such amendments be had as to indicate that the bill is to be permanent in its character, it would be much more satisfactory to that type of believer in such Government undertakings, and the price of their support is likely to assume the elimination of that feature of the bill.

It has been suggested a good many times, to show the tendency of all bills of this character, that the Government take the telephone lines and the telegraphs of the country and administer them as an annex of the Post Office Department. I do not know that there is any more justification for this than there is for the operation of the steamship lines. The European Governments operate the telegraph as a part of the post-office department. They make the sender pay for every word in the address and pay for the signature, an average of fourteen words.

Here, under our service in private management, the companies give the signature and the address free. It makes no difference how long the name is or the address; there is no charge. In Europe, where there is a Government ownership of these lines, the service requires you to take your telegrams to the office yourself. There is no free messenger service. In our country, under private ownership, with Government regulation, either actual or regulative that can be had because their service is impressed with a public interest, as in these other utilities mentioned, the companies furnish the messenger service free. In Europe you run no account with the post-office department or the telegraph department. You pay for all your telegrams in cash. Here, especially since there is some similarity of interests between some of the telegraph companies and the telephone systems, every person who has a telephone number has credit at the telegraph station, and your account is rendered at stated intervals. In some Governments of Europe, to show the advantages and the disadvantages, you pay even for the blank telegrams you use. Here the blank telegrams are free, but the companies are managed by private owners, and are soliciting business, and two of them in the country are competitive with each other.

The Government puts no telegraph offices in hotels or other public places in Europe. This, however, is a matter of great public convenience. Here they are found at every place. Under private ownership they put them wherever there is a probability of their doing any business, in localities that will make the office self-sustaining, or sometimes it is run at a loss for the purpose of getting the business in that part of the community.

Under Government ownership there is no legal liability for negligence, either in sending the message or for personal injuries to those engaged in rendering service for the common employer. Here there is a liability, when the companies are in private hands, that is enforceable in the courts by suit. Under our system of getting anything from the Government for negligence or for any liability, it would be indispensable that we should go to the Court of Claims. The Court of Claims, after rendering judgment, has no means of enforcing its payment. That must be done by an appropriation from Congress or by the legislative branch of the State government. The Government service is inferior to that of the telegraph companies or telephone companies in private hands. The Government employees are not as attentive to the public as they are in private hands.

The British post office, for instance, recently made a report as to its operations for the year ending March 31, 1914. A telegraph service is a public undertaking, rendering service to a great number of people, and is as much a public undertaking and as much a test of what would be done under this bill as anything that has been tried.

The British post office estimates a loss on its telegraph service for the year ending March 31, 1914, of 1,230,956 pounds sterling, which is something like $6,000,000, and is a greater deficit than in the previous year. If the American Government ever acquired the American telegraph lines, what would the loss likely be? If it acquired the telephone lines of the country, local and general, those that are continental in their mileage, we can have some idea of what the loss would likely be.

A steamship line is a carrier. It can be tested in the same way that other carriers are. If others operated by the Government have not increased the value of the service, have not been self-sustaining, have called on the taxpayers and the National Treasury to make good a deficit, their experience is of some value in determining whether we ought to embark upon Government ownership and operation of steamship lines.

There is a constant tendency in all Government operations to increase the cost of operation and decrease the cost of the service. That is manifested on every hand. It is shown more particularly by the abuse of the service, by getting it too cheaply, by having the Government render its service or give a commodity at less than cost. The inevitable result of this is a raid, finally, on the Public Treasury. An illustration is seen in the abuse of the parcel post.

The Boston Advertiser cites a case:

Certain incongruities in the parcel-post regulations are brought to light by the fact that a California farmer recently succeeded in shipping a considerable amount of wheat through the parcel post at a less cost than he could have shipped it by railroad freight. He divided the entire shipment into 50-pound sacks, and delivered them at the post office. Then the force of post clerks were obliged to handle the many sacks, whereupon the parcels were delivered to the railroad company. The railroad company then carried them at a distinct loss and delivered them to another post office. Here the clerks again handled the

matter, and the proper persons were forced to deliver the sacks at the place of business of the consignee. Hence the Government and the railroad company both lost money on this transaction. In the first place it was a flagrant abuse of the system; but if the regulations are so loose one can not blame the farmer if he stands ready to ship his product at the least possible expense. The remedy should be provided by the postal officials at Washington. Judging from the Government pay roll they are there in sufficient numbers to handle such a situation intelligently.

Another item I cut from an exchange:

The extent of which the parcel post is being used in the shipment of agricultural products was shown at Gallup, N. Mex., a few days ago when a ton of oats arrived for delivery at Ganado.

These things only show that the parcel post will rapidly develop into a freight-carrying line; that its purpose as interpreted and applied by the Post Office Department evidently is to increase from time to time the weights and zones, regardless of the cost of their transportation. When it is increased, it will be like the steamship line; it will operate at a loss. The steamship line may start in even. As it grows older naturally the pressure will be to decrease the charge. After this decrease the income will naturally decrease. It will be like the other undertakings of the Government; it will be operated at a loss.

This means a further charge on the Public Treasury. There are already enough of those charges. The Public Treasury now has about all it can carry. It is contemplated here in both the original subscription to the capital stock, as well as other expenditures made in the sum of $10,000,000, or $30,000,000, that the Government will be out of money, because bond issues are provided for. There is a Government bond issue foreshadowed now by the condition of the Treasury.

The appropriations were never larger in the history of the country than now. Even with the new taxes, the deficit of revenues is around $80,000,000 annually, as compared with about $38,000,000 this time a year ago. The deficit is now growing at the rate of about $12,500,000 a month. This is so even with the income arising from the additional revenue from the special taxes. If the Treasury is in this condition now, the time is at hand for retrenchment and economy, rather than imposing additional burdens upon it.

The receipts of the Government are not in a satisfactory condition. The revenues collected by the Government in January, 1915, failed by $8,116,427 to meet the expenditures of the same month. Receipts usually are low at this time of the year. Last January the excess of expenditures was only $4,512,000. Neither the customs nor internal revenue brought in the expected revenue. The customs receipts amounted to $16,588,000, compared with $23,890,000 a year ago.

Another feature that ought to be taken into account is that ordinary internal-revenue receipts were $27,096,000 in December, 1914, or less by $5,000,000 than in December of the previous year, and only about $2,000,000 more than the receipts from the same source in January, 1914. If the average be kept up, it would indicate that for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915, there will be a deficit of nearly $90,000,000. This deficit might be increased because proposed expenditures are not taken into account by me when I figure it this way.

There are appropriations made for the Alaska Railway, referred to here several times in the course of this discussion. The appropriation bill only provides for setting apart from the Treasury $2,000,000. The remaining $33,000,000 or $32,000,000, if $1,000,000 has already before this appropriation bill been set apart—the remainder of at least $32,000,000 is a continuing charge upon the Treasury.

A very large river and harbor bill has made its appearance. Whether it will eventually pass both Houses and be signed by the President we can only conjecture. It might meet with some difficulty. It might be reduced by striking out some of its items, but it must be conceded that a considerable sum will at last be provided by that bill.

There is a tentative charge or some $25,000,000 pending in the Committee on Foreign Relations. It depends upon the ratification of the Colombian treaty. It is understood that the Department of State of the present administration is favorable to the ratification of this treaty. Outside of certain objectionable things that it commits this Government to do by way of apology and regrets that need not be discussed here now, there is the charge of $25,000,000 against the Treasury. This is at a time when the Treasury is in no condition to bear it.

Some $10,000,000 in increase of salaries I find in the estimates presented by the various departments, and in the creation of new offices provided for. The increase in salaries, while perhaps agreeable to the occupants of the offices and possibly just, comes at a time when the Government can ill afford in its financial condition to make those increases.

It is proposed to extend the deficit tax, or the more euphonious term, "the war tax," some time in the future; to increase the income tax or to reduce the exemption limit, so that those who pay will be more numerous, because of lowering the $3,000 exemption.

When our public officials are seeking to recover more money, searching out new places for taxation, devising new methods to reach the taxpayer, when our revenues are less than our expenditures, when a threatened deficit of nearly $90,000,000 at the end of the fiscal year is facing us, it is a poor time to enter upon the Government ownership and operation of a steamship line that involves an initial expenditure of at least $40,000,000.

I want to take up one other branch of the United States public service, in order to compare what it has done with what the Government ownership and operation of this line would likely do. The plan proposed in this bill is an experiment. We can profitably use whatever our experience has been in other public undertakings managed by the Government to find whether we ought to engage in this. It is one of the best ways of ascertaining the folly or the wisdom of the venture.

One of the curios of departmental work I ought to cite. Certainly this bill could not have been in contemplation when it was written, although it was written by one of the most hopeful, optimistic public officials there is in the country. He is a gentleman who can see prosperity on every hand, who never sees or hears of the bread line. He never knew of anybody being out of work unless it was wiilful idleness. I allude to Secretary Redfield, of the Department of Commerce. He certainly is the court jester of this administration. He can not at times be taken seriously. He must be trying to devote some of his efforts to enlighten the somber places of departmental service. I wish to allude briefly to his report.

It is literally true that he devotes page after page to describing the utter inefficiency and inadequacy of accommodations for a branch of the public service administered by his department. It is the Coast and Geodetic Survey. I am somewhat familiar with its operation in various parts of the central Mississippi Valley, and it is doing a very useful work. It ought not to be hampered. It ought not for a moment to be denied liberal appropriations for the purposes in view. On the coast they are doing the most useful service now known. In our insular possessions they are furnishing maps, taking soundings, charting reefs, making navigation safer, furnishing records that are indispensable to the Bureau of Navigation and to general naval operations, either in peace or war.

It was somewhat humiliating to this country during the Spanish-American War to undergo an experience this Government had. It became necessary for us to have charts for use in navigation in a certain part of the world. Some of our ships in the exigency of war found it necessary, in the execution of their orders, to pass waters that were unknown to any of our naval officers. No charts had been furnished to navigate in the place desired. So the Government was reduced to the humiliating necessity of borrowing from the English naval department their charts temporarily for use.

The Secretary, in referring to this branch, says:

No private business run under conditions that have been forced upon this service could long exist.

He shows that the offices and workrooms, even in the city of Washington, under the very eye of Congress and the department, are badly arranged, not fireproof, and are insanitary. The Public Health Service even has condemned them. From his report I quote. He gives an elaborate description and condemnation of the public service in this branch.

He speaks of the three ships used in the survey work as, which he picturesquely calls them—

"this trinity of weaklings." They are the *Endeavor*, the *Gedney*, and the *McArthur*, respectively, 52, 39, and 38 years old, and are single-screw, single-cylinder, and single-boiler coal-burning vessels, without electricity for wireless or for lighting, without refrigerating plants, and without fit quarters or any modern conveniences.

He says in the concluding paragraph of this report:

It is a shameful thing to send officers of the United States to sea in such ships. He for the second time pleads with Congress for relief. He also complains that modern apparatus for soundings has not been provided.

Yet, while this critic in this department in writing his reports furnishes ample testimony about the inability and the inadequacy and the failure of the Government to provide even the simple craft for the officers engaged in the Coast and Geodetic Survey, this same public officer and the majority side of the Senate in large part, and the administration and Cabinet, want to engage in the public ownership and operation of steamship lines, where speed, efficiency, promptness, adequacy of service are all required; and it must be not like this Government's undertakings, where there is no competition, but it must be in the face of competition with the ocean carrying commercial trade of all the world.

Right now, if there was a going concern, it would be admitted that the Government would have plenty of tonnage, shippers would come under present conditions in this country, and there would be no outward-bound vessel not loaded to the limit of its capacity. Those conditions are abnormal; they are ones that may last six months or a year or they may close in 30 days. We know but little of the actual condition in the theater of war in the Old World; we know what we read in the press; but even our Government officials have only limited information. What we read is all censored news. No news is permitted to escape the censor, except such as the military authorities see proper. They are giving us only what they think proper.

There is another Government undertaking that is of some value in considering this matter. Not long ago we heard a good deal of the cotton pool. Along through last summer, during the fall and winter, it was feared that the cotton producers would suffer, especially after the European war broke out and the foreign market had closed. It was supposed that some Government help was necessary or that great suffering would result. The cotton planters, large and small, owed more or less money in many cases. So the cotton pool was devised. It seems hardly to have been a success.

A dispatch says:

According to reports from Washington the total amount for which the $100,000,000 loan fund has been tapped by cotton borrowers is $10,000.

I correct that by a later item that has been produced in the circular of this morning, showing a total borrowing from the fund of $28,000.

The news does not surprise anyone who has been following the course of the cotton pool, but the actual failure of the pool to accomplish anything contains some valuable information on the statutory undertaking of the Government proposed in this bill for the ownership and operation of a steamship line.

The cotton-loan fund was an extraordinary undertaking involving the control of private credit. It put private credit under governmental direction. It put on the Federal Reserve Board the work which was expressly forbidden by the very law which created it. An article in the Chicago Economist properly says:

Banking support was given to the McAdoo cotton pool on account of Washington—

And the administration influence—

and not on account of the real necessities of the cotton situation. It did not express banking judgment that the pool was practical or required from a business standpoint. It represented, so far as bankers were concerned, a somewhat compulsory concession to the political considerations which were assumed to be influencing the Treasury, but it is doubtful if the subscribers believed that it would ever be a real factor in the restoration and recovery of the cotton market.

It was predicted at the time that with the reopening of the cotton exchange an ample supply of credits for cotton would be provided in the customary fashion, and the explanation of the failure of the cotton pool is that the restoration of normal market facilities has led to a movement of cotton at rising prices from the grower to the consumer. To financing this movement the inauguration of the Federal reserve banking system has contributed, but this also was foreseen when Mr. McAdoo was rounding up banking subscriptions for the pool.

It is not to the point to review all the remarkable circumstances of this episode in Treasury history. It suffices to say that it denoted yielding by the administration to just such a "pressure of what appears to be necessity" as President Wilson deprecated in his admirable little speech to the delegation of the cotton growers who called at the White House in September to urge direct Government loans on cotton.

Following all that pressure, the Senate will recall that a bill was introduced authorizing the loan of Government funds to the sum of $300,000,000, as I now recall, and a similar bill, but for a less amount, was introduced in the House of Representatives. The purposes of both the bills were the same. They undertook to lend Government credit and Government funds to finance private pursuits. The cotton pool was the administration compromise in the matter. They did not wish entirely to reject the plea of those who brought this pressure to bear. The administration did not feel justified in entering upon a scheme of Government credit that would beggar the proposal in the steamship bill even. So out of these two forces or these two extremes there came the resultant scheme of that cotton pool. It was an unwise departure from sound economic principle, and in practice is what the President had told the cotton growers should be avoided.

To-day an apparent necessity for the hasty extemporization of an American mechant marine is asserted as an argument for setting up the Government in the shipping trade. Precisely as in the case of the cotton pool, the whole administration argument is one of apparent necessity. Yet precisely as in the case of the cotton pool, the weight of economic evidence and business experience is overwhelmingly against the experiment.

The matter I have last read is taken from an editorial in the New York Sun, and correctly states the tendency not only of the cotton-pool movement, but of the bill for the Government ownership and operation of steamships.

Another thing that it is proper to consider now in connection with this bill is the present industrial condition of the country. It is not argued that the unemployed owe their idleness to the lack of ocean shipping facilities. Various persons attribute different reasons for the idleness. I suppose our economic beliefs or disbeliefs have something to do with our conclusions. The unemployed, from whatever cause, are found in every large center of population. It is difficult to see how they will be relieved in any way by the passage of the shipping bill. What will it do? Send more merchandise out of the country? Certainly it will send more meats and more breadstuffs abroad. Will it give more work to the unemployed? Hardly. Save for the longshoremen and those who are immediately connected with the handling of shipping, there will be no increase in the employment furnished. Rather it will be a detriment. This country now, with the vast quantity of meats and breadstuffs that have been exported, is suffering from a continually increasing cost of the necessities of life. So, generally, there will be no relief furnished to the unemployed by the shipping bill.

Something has been said—it has been both stated and denied—in regard to the unemployed:

In an appeal issued on Saturday by the industrial commission authorized by the city council—

That is a commission local in character created by the city council of Chicago. It held its first meeting last Friday—

it was announced that more than 100,000 persons in Chicago are out of work.

These are the investigations made by a nonpolitical, local industrial commission. They have no politics in what they find; they are interested solely in finding what the conditions of the unemployed are.

The commission pleads that all those employing labor do what they can to give at least part-time work to men seeking jobs.

The commission report that from what they have gathered from employers, trade-unions, and other well-informed sources, it is—

Indicated there must be over 100,000 persons who are unable to secure employment, whose income ceases, and many of them, because of inadequate food and shelter, are liable to sickness, weakness, and industrial shiftlessness or are obliged to resort to charity.

Records of the United Charities and other agencies of relief show an unusually large number of persons are compelled to resort to charity because they can not find work, people who are not accustomed to receive such relief.

APPALLING INCREASE IN CHARITY.

The United Charities assisted the following number of families:

December, 1912	4,200
December, 1913	5,400
December, 1914	7,500

An appalling increase.

The county agent also reports serious increase in the number of dependent families. This enforced idleness is one of the most depressing and demoralizing conditions of existence. The efficiency of labor is greatly reduced, some are driven to crime, and many are humiliated and depressed by resorting to public and private charity.

PLEA TO EMPLOYERS.

The municipal industrial commission therefore makes this appeal to employers of labor in the city to consider what they can do individually and through organizations to open at least part-time work for these tens of thousands of able-bodied and industrious men.

Many householders and employers of small numbers can help by offering jobs or having work done now which they might postpone to a later date.

Those who are thinking of building next summer might with some additional effort begin now, since many building operations can be continued even during frosty weather.

The Illinois free employment offices will act for the commission in receiving applications and in giving information to those who are willing to take on a larger force or are ready to give temporary employment of any kind. These offices are at 732 South Wabash Avenue, 826 North Clark Street, and 558 West Randolph Street.

A telegram from New York, dated in January, is along the same line. I fail to see how the unemployed in the city of New York could be helped by this bill. It is insisted that the public welfare demands its passage. That is suggested, if not in express words stated, in the President's message. By all those who favor this bill it is given as a moving cause. The telegram from New York says:

According to figures compiled for the Public Forum of the Church of the Ascension, in Fifth Avenue, of which the Rev. Percy Stickney Grant is rector, a partial list of the unemployed in Greater New York totals 562,700.

The number of homeless persons in the city who have not the price of shelter is estimated at 60,000.

The figures were obtained by Samuel A. Strodel, of 350 Broadway, who was assigned to the task of counting the unemployed in the city by a committee of the Public Forum. Arrangements were made to turn over the report to City Chamberlain Bruere, who agreed to consider it in an official capacity. He will receive the report in full in a few days.

FIGURES NOT EXAGGERATED.

Strodel began the work on December 15, and finished the compilation last Saturday. The figures include organized and unorganized labor, but do not cover all the branches of industry. This is pointed out for the benefit of those who may think them extravagant.

Many of the figures were taken from employers, and where such information was refused they were based on inquiries among the em-

ployees of various concerns as to the number of persons dependent upon the business they were engaged in.

In this way 125,000 clothing workers in all branches of the garment industry were found to be idle. The Thirteenth Census gives the total number of persons engaged in that industry in this city as 188,110.

125,000 WOMEN AMONG THEM.

One hundred thousand general unskilled laborers were reported out of work. Seventy-five thousand building mechanics in 32 trades were said to be idle, as were 75,000 store and office workers, including bookkeepers, clerical workers, and stenographers.

Strodel said he also found that about 125,000 of the total 562,700 unemployed were women, and in ascertaining conditions, which was part of his work, he found that immorality was greatly on the increase.

This was admitted by resort keepers and shown by the many new faces in the back rooms of saloons and on the streets at night.

The investigator also learned that 60,000 men, women, and boys are being kept in employment by firms reluctant to discharge them despite the fact that business would warrant their so doing.

Strodel found one woman who told him that for two months she had been getting up early and stealing a bottle of milk from her neighbors for her children. Several children in Brownsville were seen stealing plain bread from bakers' wagons.

Several bakeshop proprietors in the Bronx, Brooklyn, and the East Side said they probably would close up on account of the high price of flour rather than operate at a loss or incur the disfavor of their customers by either cutting down the size of the loaf of bread or raising the price. With these shops closed, 2,000 more persons will be thrown out of employment.

HOMELESS SLEEPING ON DOCKS.

The report states that the homeless were found in numbers in the Mott Haven and other freight yards, along the docks, around places of building operation, where there were fires, in saloons, and other public places.

Strodel was asked by the committee which engaged him for the work to make recommendations based upon conditions as he found them. In his report he states:

"I would suggest that all available buildings that could be heated and put in a sanitary condition be placed at the disposal of the homeless army; that some fund be created for furnishing nourishing food for the unfortunates; that all red tape be discarded, and that sociological experts be kept far removed from interference.

He does not seem to think that the sociological experts are of very great value when a man is hungry, and it is useless to talk about the causes of these things when they really need the remedy of some food rather than theory.

I now wish to take up more in detail the cotton pool.

One of the principal arguments for this bill is the condition of the cotton trade. This year, as I remember, approximately, there were produced about 16,000,000 bales of cotton as against something over 14,000,000 bales last year. Of our total domestic production, roughly speaking, two-thirds is export cotton, one-third of which is manufactured or used in this country. Because of inability to reach the foreign markets, incident upon the war, great distress has been occasioned among the cotton growers and those who handle cotton—brokers and shippers. Because of this condition it is urged that relief be given by Government ownership and operation of these steamship lines. It is urged because the carrying capacity of vessels is either exhausted or none has been offered. A large part of it, it is said, has either been withdrawn to be employed in the military operations of the war, or the merchant shipping has been driven from the sea, the risks in large part having made it impracticable or unprofitable to engage further in that business.

Every once in a while something of this kind happens. It is a misfortune. No one views it with anything but regret. I have seen the time when crops in many parts of the United States sold at a very low price. Some of us in the western country have seen corn at too low a price to pay for its shucking and the cost of transportation to any of the primary markets of the country. I have seen corn sell at 10, 12, and 14 cents a bushel. I have seen oats sell at 9 cents, and wheat at 38 cents. Transportation facilities were limited in those days. The export trade was small. There was a surplus in our country. There was no need for much of that surplus, and because, in many cases, the railroad transportation was lacking the farmer had but little to pay for his year's work. That never gave rise, however, to any claim on the Government. There was no corn, wheat, oats, rye, barley, or flax pool. Nobody thought for a moment that the Government ought to interfere and relieve those who were the victims of the condition at that time. Those misfortunes happen about every so often. Production and consumption do not keep pace with each other. Because cotton happened to be at this time caught with a very large production, with lack of carrying capacity and with inability to enter a part of the market on which it depended, considerable distress occurred, and it was proposed to alleviate it by this bill.

In an address made by the President, as I remember, on the 8th day of January, 1915, he uses this language:

The farmers of the United States, those who raise grain and those who raise cotton—these things that are absolutely necessary to the world as well as to ourselves—can not get any profit out of the great prices that they are willing to pay for these things on the other side of the sea, because the whole profit is eaten up by the extortionate charges for ocean carriage.

That was in his Indianapolis speech on Jackson day. I should like here to remark that the President on Jackson day was greatly exhilarated because he breathed the air of that auspicious holiday. It was a time dedicated to Democratic rejoicings, a time when every one of the faithful went out into the highways and byways and exulted in his Jacksonian Democracy. So on this occasion our beloved Chief Magistrate hied him forth to the metropolis of Indiana and there delivered himself of an address which has in it a great variety of governmental principles and some which are hardly dignified by that name.

If I were allowed to diverge somewhat from the settled line of discussion on this bill, I would suggest that the Jackson day speech on that occasion was more remarkable for believing things that Jackson did not believe in than anything else. I remember that the sturdiest protectionist of his time was Andrew Jackson. I remember when he wrote a letter to his friend Dr. Coleman, of South Carolina, as I read it, recorded by the impartial historian. Dr. Coleman was a very fast friend of Gen. Jackson. This letter was written in 1824. Possibly Jackson had some longings at that time for the presidential office. It was known to his South Carolina friend. The friend took occasion to write him a letter. The letter I will not undertake to quote in full, because I wish to be economical of time. I will give the substance of it.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I hope the Senator will read it all.

Mr. SHERMAN. I shall be glad to do so. It is as follows:

[Letter from Gen. Jackson to Dr. Coleman, dated at "Washington City, April 26th, 1824."]

Heaven smiled upon and gave us liberty and independence. That same Providence has blessed us with the means of national independence and national defense. If we omit or refuse to use the gifts which He has extended to us, we deserve not the continuation of His blessings. He has filled our mountains and our plains with minerals—with lead, iron, and copper—and given us a climate and soil for the growing of hemp and wool. These being the grand materials of our national defense, they ought to have extended to them adequate and fair protection, that our own manufactories and laborers may be placed on a fair competition with those of Europe, and that we may have within our own country a supply of those leading and important articles so essential to war. * * * In short, sir, we have been too long subject to the policy of the British merchants. It is time we should become a little more Americanized, and instead of feeding the paupers and laborers of Europe, feed our own, or else in a short time, by continuing our present policy, we shall be all paupers ourselves.

It is, therefore, my opinion that a careful tariff is much wanted to pay our national debt, and afford us the means of that defense within ourselves on which the safety and liberty of our country depend; and at last, though not least, give a proper distribution to our labor, which must prove beneficial to the happiness, independence, and wealth of the community.

This is a short outline of my opinions, generally, on the subject of your inquiry, and, believing them correct and calculated to further the prosperity and happiness of my country, I declare to you I would not barter them for any office or situation of temporal character that could be given me.

In 1828, if we keep time with the historian, Jackson was a candidate for President. There were only four short years from the time he received this letter until the time he replied. In his reply he said:

A careful tariff is much wanted to pay our national debt and afford us the means of that defense within ourselves on which the safety and liberty of our country depend.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Was that before he was nominated for the Presidency, or afterwards?

Mr. SHERMAN. Before. He continued, in closing up the letter:

I declare to you I would not barter them—

His opinions—

for any office or situation of temporal character that could be given me.

It would have been well for the Chief Magistrate, when he breathed the air of Jackson Day, and especially when he used the expression that "I, Woodrow, sat back and chuckled," if he had chuckled loud enough so that the waiting audience and those who read the widely scattered press dispatches might have heard this echo of nearly a hundred years ago from Andrew Jackson, the protectionist.

Our Chief Executive, in relation to his discussion as to benefiting the farmers, omitted to go further and show in what detailed way those benefits would result.

It is said here in an editorial from the Chicago Tribune, from which I am now quoting:

This assertion of our esteemed Chief Executive was not discussed at the time it was published, because it was so obviously a result of misinformation, combined with the mistaken zeal which has induced Mr. Wilson to make an issue of the ship-purchase project. Its chief interest was in the light it threw upon the basis of the President's determined advocacy. He is hardly less astray on other arguments for the bill than he is in this reference to the farmer. He ought, of course, to know that farmers are getting in the neighborhood of 73 cents for corn, 54 cents for oats, and $1.45 for wheat—

They are getting more than that since then—

and getting nearly these prices themselves. He ought to know this and that the middleman then takes his profit, and that it is the foreign buyer who under stress of necessity is paying the high freights and insurance rates which naturally and always go with war conditions.

An argument for the expenditure of thirty millions on ship purchase based on the theory that "those who raise grain and those who raise cotton can not get any profit" out of the present high prices because of extortionate charges is simply ridiculous, and no western Congressman will support the bill under any such delusion.

The theory is almost equally naïve as an explanation of the situation in cotton, but it may be conceded that if the purchase project were practicable at all it might be made to benefit cotton holders. This does not seem a gamble for which the country at large should be called upon to pay.

American producers virtually are making their own prices here in America, because Europe is forced to have not only our raw materials but many manufactured products. Under the same abnormal pressure the purchaser is compelled also to pay high interest and freight rates. These are not subtracted from the profits of the producer, but added to the final cost the buyer pays.

The notion that by putting thirty millions into public ships, waiving other considerations, the producer can eliminate the middle process and get the whole of the really extortionate prices sustained by war conditions is a remarkable delusion to be cherished by a statesman.

Here is another remarkable thing. Under this paragraph from the address quoted one labors under the impression that the cotton producer or the broker holding cotton and awaiting a good market is suffering great distress from unusually low prices. Out of it grew the cotton pool to which I alluded. Out of it grew the ship-purchase bill. What is the actual condition? Many an air castle has fallen in ruins about some dreamer's ears by being punctured by the facts, and it does not take many of them, because the most insubstantial thing in the world is the structures built by the economic dreamers that go to and fro upon the earth like Satan of old.

I desire now to refer to the New York cotton market on February 8, 1915. These are market reports, not essays, not the affrighted delusions of somebody who thinks he is going to lose something because war has broken out in Europe unless the Government rescues him because he can not get his cotton into the market to-morrow:

NEW YORK, *February 8.*

The cotton market was quiet to-day and prices ruled generally higher, with the close barely steady at a net gain of 3 to 4 points.

Liverpool was better than due, and the local market opened steady at a decline of 1 point to an advance of 2 points. There was very little business, and prices fluctuated within a range of 3 or 4 points until after midday, when buying became a little more active on the continued heavy exports—

"Continued heavy exports." When was that? In December? Was that long before what falls so trippingly from the tongue as to bottoms, with no loads or tonnage to carry, were accessible? Was that early in the war? No, it was only yesterday that these quotations were made—

and reports of steady southern spot markets. Active months sold about 7 to 10 points net higher on this advance, but there was enough realizing in the late trading to cause reactions of 5 to 6 points from the best.

Now, here are the quotations of cotton futures. Of course, somebody will at once stigmatize this as a gaming transaction and will say that somebody is seeking to make a wager contract, that they never intended to deliver anything, and that the whole thing is criminal; but many times a cotton spinner does not want cotton to-morrow. In his warehouse he has a number of bales that he will use up to a certain time. He wants it for the future. He is like a miller. A miller's warehouse is full of wheat to-day. The malster's house is full of barley, and he does not want grain for to-day. They are supplied; but they do want cotton and grain for the 1st day of March, or for March delivery, and so on through the months. They make their purchases for future delivery to fill the actual needs of the trade. Here are the quotations of cotton futures:

Futures.	High.	Low.	Close.
March	8.70	8.60	8.64
May	8.95	8.85	8.89
July	9.14	9.05	9.09
October	9.37	9.28	9.32
December	9.50	9.43	9.46

The following prices are quoted at primary cotton markets:

Port movement.

	Mdlg.	Receipts.	Exports.	Stock.
New Orleans	8 5/8	$10,201	$24,639	$403,178
Galveston	8½	22,675	56,807	526,067
Mobile	8	867	.....	45,266
Savannah	8⅜	12,139	41,734	314,070
Charleston	8¼	1,054	.....	137,391
Wilmington	8¼	3,059	.....	152,270
Norfolk	8¼	6,157	.....	88,022
Baltimore	8¼	.....	.....	5,234

These ports are very near the sources of production.

I have stated that the cotton production approximated for the last year, or for the picking that is now on the market, about 16,000,000 bales. It is larger than that of the preceding year. That in round numbers made about 14,000,000 bales. It fluctuates naturally like other crops. The corn crop in 1912 was 3,100,000,000 bushels. In 1913 it was 2,500,000,000. This year it advanced nearly to 3,000,000,000 bushels again; so these fluctuating quantities on the market only indicate the vicissitudes of the crop year.

And here is a significant thing. Keeping in mind these figures of cotton on the market on yesterday, in the principal cotton markets of the United States in 1893 cotton was 8.54 cents a pound; in 1894 it was 7.8 cents a pound; in 1895, 5.8 cents a pound; in 1896 it was 8.1 cents a pound.

These are signficant years. I remember those years; so do all of us. They were years of depression in prices, not because of overproduction, but because of underconsumption. They were the times when business had slackened, when imports had increased, when our exports had fallen off, when the home producer lost a part of the home market. Those were times when a Democratic administration was in power, and it is a demonstration that a Democratic administration had the same effect on cotton that the war in Europe has on it now. So that there is not much difference between the result of a war in Europe on export cotton and a free-trade tariff 20 years ago. Let me give the figures beginning with 1910. Although the price ran low between 1897 and 1899, getting as low as 5.4 cents a pound in 1899, it began to increase, reaching 7.7 in 1900, 9.4 a pound in 1901, 8.3 in 1902, and 8.9 in 1903. It went to 12 cents a pound in 1904, to 11 cents in 1906, to 10.6 in 1907, to 11.40 in 1908, to 9.40 in 1910, to 13.99 a pound or nearly 14 cents in 1911, to 14.48 a pound in 1912, and in 1913 to 11.99 cents. Then came the depression to between 8 cents and a fraction and 9 cents.

Some of the peculiar things connected with the cotton production, I think, have a relation to prices. The administration and the economic policy pursued by the Government have something to do with it, but likely the production and the quantity used at home, as well as the quantity exported, control prices. A singular thing is that in 1862 we exported 1.4 per cent of the total crop. Of course that was because of the extraordinary conditions forced upon us by the Civil War. The production of cotton necessarily fell off, and difficulty in getting it out of the port near which it was raised to the foreign market was experienced. The blockade of southern ports of course had something to do with it. But in 1862, with 1,596,000 bales of cotton, the price went to 31 cents and over per pound. In 1863, out of a total of 449,000 bales, the price went to 67 cents; in 1864, with 299,000 bales, it went to $1.01 a pound; in 1865 to 83 cents, with a production of 2,000,000 bales; in 1866 it fell to 43 cents, with 1,948,000 bales. The exports in 1865 were 62 per cent of the total production; in 1866, 71 per cent.

Here are the percentages I have worked out of the cotton produced in the United States: For instance, in 1862, during the Civil War, the United States produced 70 per cent of the entire cotton output of the world. In 1860 it produced 75 per cent; 1870, following on the close of the war, it produced 72 per cent; in 1880 it produced 88 per cent; in 1900 it produced 82 per cent; in 1910 it fell to 64 per cent, and in 1912 to 66 per cent.

These tables show that other parts of the world are becoming our competitors in cotton production, so that even with present conditions abroad we might expect some reduction in the price of cotton. Instead of producing, as we have at times, nearly 89 per cent of the total cotton production of the world, we have fallen to as low as 64 and 66 per cent, 66 being the last estimate I have been able to get from Mulhall and from the Statistical Abstract. This means that instead of the United States producing the proportion of the world's cotton we used to produce we are lagging behind somewhat, not because we are not raising in actual number of bales as much as or more than usual, but because the rest of the world is raising more. There are parts of the globe that are fitted for cotton raising, once dormant, that have been developing it in recent years. We have now reached a point where we find the foreign cotton manufacturer supplying his needs from other parts of the world. It is true in a very great degree that cotton is still king, but other parts of the world are producing enough to have an appreciable effect upon the cotton market. So in time, if nothing had happened, if no war had broken out, we would have found that the cotton market in this country would have fallen below the earlier prices of from 10 to 14 or 14½ cents a pound.

I think these figures and the conclusions that I draw from them are material in this discussion, because they show that the low price of cotton is not caused by the lack of ocean carriage. They show that, even with the European war on, the

prices now range as high as during the years from 1892 and 1893 up to 1895 or 1896.

The wheat market will serve as a better illustration. There were about 300,000,000 bushels of export wheat estimated last year before the unusual demand began abroad. Our wheat market is a well-established institution. Men know what causes the rise and fall of the market. Every time there is an increase in the price it creates suspicion. I think Government investigators are now in Chicago watching the wheat pit. Every time there is an increase of a cent or 2 cents a bushel in the pit, or a fall, something is supposed to be wrong. A conspiracy against the public welfare, cornering the market, is supposed to cause these fluctuations in the price.

Here is a trade report from the Saturday Evening Post:

For six months the situation in the wheat trade has been the most extraordinary, we believe, on record. World shipments—that is, the quantity of wheat, and of flour reckoned in its wheat equivalent, set afloat from all ports destined to a foreign country—were smaller than in the two preceding years by about one-fifth; but 80 per cent of them last year came from the United States and Canada.

Russian and Danubian ports, which sent out over 100,000,000 bushels in 1912 and 1913, shipped barely 15,000,000 bushels in 1914. Argentina, which averaged about 25,000,000 bushels in the two preceding years, supplied only 4,000,000 in 1914. Even India shipped less than half her average for the two preceding years.

From all sources other than the United States and Canada came, in fact, only 46,000,000 bushels, about 15 per cent of the quantity normally taken by importing countries in the period. Certainly one would have to go back a great many years to find a like situation. The two North American sources were left almost literally to feed the importing countries of Europe.

Naturally wheat is high; but it would have been high if there had been no war. Short crops elsewhere are a big factor in the price. Kansas, with a bumper crop worth about $1.25 a bushel, sends relief to Belgium, labeled: "From the chief gainer by the war to the chief loser by the war."

Belgium's loss is indubitable, but Kansas' gain in the long run is questionable. We suspect she would have made more money by selling her wheat at $1 a bushel to a Europe at peace and productively employed.

Another item that is of importance in finding whether there is anything unlawful in the fluctuation of prices, or whether there is anything in those prices caused by the lack of ocean shipping, is the advice given by the President and the Department of Agriculture along early in the fall of last year.

In August the President counseled American farmers, among other producers, to husband their products in anticipation of a big business arising from the European war. In September the Department of Agriculture issued a circular advising farmers to hold on to their crops for a rise in prices.

The farmers have taken this advice literally. Thanks to legislation which permits farmers to enter into combines for the restraint of trade, the horny-handed sons of toil are proving to be first-class organizers of trusts in wheat, corn, cattle, hogs, beans, honey, raisins, and other farm products. On some of these foodstuffs the prices are fixed weekly by an ironclad organization, working along exactly the same lines as those which have been made criminal conspiracies in other branches of industry and production.

The price of wheat has soared to an almost unprecedented figure. How much of the increased price is due to the demand in Europe, and how much is due to the farmers' combinations? Wheat is going to Europe in large quantities, but under careful regulation, in order that prices shall be kept up. Domestic consumers are being made to pay the increased prices, in spite of the fact that the crop of wheat last year was one of the largest in the history of the country.

The high price of wheat is ascribed to the operations of speculators in Chicago and elsewhere. Are they really responsible? Is not the farmer the real manipulator?

Has it come to the point where the United States Government makes it a crime to restrain trade in everything but farm products and favors the farmers in forming combines which are prohibited in every other avenue of business? Is this the price which the people must pay in order that politicians may curry favor with the farmers? Are farmers to be a class set apart, to receive special favors from the Government, special exemptions, and extra profits at the expense of the rest of the people?

This is an editorial in the Washington Post, dated January 27, 1915, that I have last read. I read it not because I have any sympathy with the tone of the editorial in criticism of farmers, but only to show that the farmers are not letting go of their wheat in any panic-stricken way. They know just about as much about what will help them in securing a good price as the commission man who handles the grain at the other end.

So these matters are of consequence in fixing the price of wheat. The market is a peculiar thing. The steamship carriage may affect it to some degree, but it has comparatively little to do with fixing the price on the great grain exchanges of the country.

I read from the Chicago market report of February 4 to show how a single act will affect the price of wheat:

President Wilson's speech, referring to a world's shortage of food and to his desire to promote the export trade of the United States, served as a basis to-day for renewed activity on the buying side of the wheat market. Largely as a result, there was an extreme price advance of 5¼ cents a bushel, with the close unsettled, at 3¼ to 4⅞ cents above last night. Corn gained 1¼ to 1⅝ to 1⅞ cents net, and oats, 1 to 1¼ cents. Provisions finished 2½ off to 5 cents up.

According to some leaders in the wheat trade, Mr. Wilson's address formed the strongest influence that buyers had been favored with since the recent rise in quotations began. As construed by the bulls, the speech virtually acknowledged that high prices were unavoidable because of the great European shortage of breadstuffs, and that something of a squeeze could not be escaped in supplies for home and foreign needs.

Now, right on the heels of this market report, No. 2 red spot cash wheat is quoted at $1.60¼ up to $1.66. Corn, No. 4 yellow, was quoted at 74 to 75 cents and a fraction, and oats from 59 to 59¼ cents.

This indicates what elements constitute the market. A report of an untimely frost in the Northwest in the early spring; a report of unseasonable weather in the winter-wheat belt; a report of production under the normal in Argentina; reports from the Russian wheat fields in ordinary times, or from Canada; demands abroad in the great grain exchanges of Europe; the condition of the money market; whether call money is easily obtained at reasonable rates; the demands for domestic milling—all of them enter into the market. A person who follows the wheat market from month to month and year to year knows intimately climatic conditions, the prospects for the yield, insect pests all over the world. There is not a place where wheat is grown in the civilized world that the wide-awake and successful wheat commission man does not have a line of information. Not only are the fields studied, the climate, the diseases and the insects that affect the crop, the visible supply at the central markets, but the purchases, the demand—all of them are a part of his information. He buys or sells to those who need wheat for actual conversion into flour upon his knowledge. He bids up when the circumstances justify. He includes in that governmental reports. He includes in that legislation. He includes in it everything that might affect his ability to deliver or to be delivered to if he is the purchaser.

These are some of the elements that affect the wheat market. These investigators in Chicago will find, if they pursue their investigation to the legitimate conclusion, that most of the transactions are legitimate. There are some wager contracts. It is inevitable. One would not go out and shoot every race horse in the world because there is some gambling on race horses, or burn every pack of cards or all the dice and dominoes in the country because sometimes they are made the instruments for gamesters. They are universally recognized to have a harmless and indeed a beneficial use at times. So the wheat market rises and falls in response to the immutable laws of nature and of commerce and not in response to gambling transactions.

Naturally, as the price of wheat goes up, the price of bread is likely, if the high price is sustained, to follow it; and so the complaint about the high price of bread is necessarily connected with the wheat market. In what way will the wheat market be relieved? In what way, to use the language of the Chief Magistrate, will the farmer get the benefit out of steamships owned and operated by the Government? The exports are going on now. Do we want wheat from the last crop higher than it is now? It has reached almost a prohibitive point now. Flour is up, wheat is up, everything made out of it is up. It is suggested every once in a while that the farmer does not get any benefit out of the increase in the price of wheat. I know what he is getting in the winter wheat belt, in the country where I live. Allowing, from the market in the producing areas, for red winter wheat, from 8 to 11 cents per bushel for transportation, he gets, when he sells 200 miles from Chicago or 150 miles from St. Louis, the price at the primary market less the freight and the commission, which varies not exceeding 3 cents. The farmer, instead of getting 67 cents as he did last August, as I stated here on the 28th of January last, is getting now from $1.30 to $1.45 a bushel. That price depends upon the rise and fall in the central market. He will get a better price some days than others, dependent upon conditions that those who handle the grain find in the markets abroad or in this country.

It has been suggested that the shipping bill can be justified because, quoting the language of Mr. McAdoo on the shipping bill to the Commercial Club in Chicago on January 9, 1915—

It is the duty of the Government to engage in any activities, even of a business nature, which are demanded in the interest of all the people of the country when it is impossible to engage private capital in such operations.

If this proves anything, it proves too much—"to engage in any activities, even of a business nature, which are demanded in the interest of all the people." I have some doubt about the strength of that argument, because bread is just as necessary as transportation across the sea; clothing is just as necessary; flour is just as necessary; dwelling houses are just as necessary. I do not know of anything among the necessaries of life that could not be included in this omnibus statement "any activities, even of a business nature, which are demanded in the interest of all the people."

The reason this bill is proposed is to cheapen the high cost of ocean freight, either by competition to reduce the charges of

vessels in private hands or to furnish the service direct by Government vessels. Bread has gone up—the 5-cent loaf to 6 cents a loaf and the 10-cent loaf to 12 cents. That is because, I presume, of the increased price of wheat, and which naturally has a reflex action on every wheat product.

Well, woolens have gone up, and wool. Is it not of just as much importance that the people have cheaper food and clothing as that they have cheaper ocean freights? There are more people in this country who need cheap food and clothing than need cheap ocean freights. Why does not the Government go into the wheat-raising business? Why does it not start a mill and go into the milling business? Why does it not start a bakeshop? Can you not justify its raising sheep? An embargo has been put on wool from Australia and the British colonies from which we get a large part of our supply. Why ought we not, because of the embargo—lifted, it is true, in part now, but likey to be again renewed at any time when deemed expedient in the judgment of the British Government—why ought we not have a certain supply of wool and be responsible to no country for that supply? It would be just as sensible. There is much more reason why the people ought to have clothing at moderate prices and of certain supply than that they should have cheap ocean freights; and the corollary of that is true; a tailor shop would be a very convenient annex to supply the people with one of the necessaries of life. There is no reason why the Government ought not to go into these lines of effort. Why not go into the contracting business, with a line of architects, buying the materials or producing from the public domain the building material, lumber and stone, and the structural iron and steel necessary for many business buildings? The Government might just as well do that, because I think buildings are about as necessary as ocean freights to us. The Government could just as well start a steel mill in order that structural iron and steel might be prepared and given to the people at reasonable prices.

The statement is an extraordinary one that at any time the interests of the people so demand the Government should engage in some enterprise, even if it be a private business enterprise, and that it is justified in doing so. Under this authority and based on that reason, there is no limit to what the Government might undertake.

I wish now to read from Mr. McAdoo's testimony given before the committee at a hearing in the other House. As I remember, there were no hearings in the Senate before the committee. I am not a member of the committee having jurisdiction of the matter, and I am only quoting from hearsay, but I believe there were no hearings given before the committee.

I do not find what I was looking for, but I will quote it from memory. Mr. McAdoo's testimony in substance was that the risks were so great at the beginning of the European war that a risk bureau was created which gave an insurance rate, both on ships and their cargoes, at very reasonable rates. He went on, in addition, to show that if a risk-rate bureau could be established and successfully carried on by the Government, a Government steamship line could be carried on just as well. The insurance is an indemnity against loss. It was justified at that time because few companies engaged in the business cared to write it at all, and the rates became extremely high, and because the shippers appealed to the Government the bureau was created. There is but little argument to be deduced from that, so far as I can see, to justify a steamship line. The war risk insurance bureau was intended to be purely temporary, coincident with the war, and when the war ceases the risks will again assume their normal rate, and no further occasion will exist for the Government engaging in this business. If it results as other Government schemes it will soon be drawing on the Treasury to pay losses. The hazard is not lessened merely because the Government assumes the risk.

Mr. McAdoo continues on page 13 of this address:

> Some timid people have argued that if the Government is interested as a stockholder in a shipping company, and a ship of such company should be seized by a belligerent and brought into a prize court, the sovereignty of the Government would be involved. There is no ground whatever for this view. If the Government operated ships outright, just as it operates the vessels of our Navy, an awkward situation of this character might arise; but where a nation is merely a stockholder, or the sole stockholder, in a private corporation, its sovereignty is not and can not be directly involved if the ships of such a corporation become the subjects of litigation in a prize court concerning any issue which does not involve the Government itself. The Government would stand in relation to such a corporation exactly as any individual stockholder does to a corporation in which he is interested. A suit against the corporation does not necessarily involve the shareholders.

That is a singular doctrine, that a suit against a corporation does not necessarily involve its shareholders. Suppose a corporation is worth $10,000,000 in the initial subscriptions to the shares of stock in the proposed company under this bill. Suppose that suits are pending, resulting finally in the rendition of judgments in the sum of $10,000,000. Suppose that the $10,000,000 had been invested in some kind of merchandise, or in some kind of physical property, that would be equal in value to the original stock subscribed, does anyone think for a moment that the stockholders are not concerned in the judgment rendered or in the preceding suits that result in the judgment? It can not be said that the stockholders are not interested merely because they have at some stockholders' meeting elected a board of directors and left to them the managerial part of the business. Would anyone for a moment argue in that way before any tribunal that habitually administers justice in this country?

It seems to me that the proposed corporation is a mere fiction. Its intervention changes nothing. It in no manner gives protection to this Government. If a vessel be involved in international controversy, the mere fact that a corporation is interposed does not change the real ownership. Diplomacy takes no account of such things. There is not a Government that would not look quite through the transaction as already suggested and test it by its substance, by its necessary effect. So this rather optimistic view, that is rather airily dismissed in this way, it seems to me, does not meet the question at all. It leaves open all those serious objections which have been urged by the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. McCUMBER], by the senior Senator from New York [Mr. ROOT], and by others who have considered that branch of the controversy.

I have read with considerable interest the evidence given by the Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of Commerce on the increased ocean transportation rates.

It is said here, in an article quoted as "Exhibit 11 B," on page 35 of the letter from the Secretary, Senate Document 673, part 2, quoting from page 38, the letter beginning on page 35:

> In every direction it will be seen that huge profits are to be made in the shipping industry. Nor are shipowners the only ones to feel the boom. The prosperity has created a demand for more ships. The price of steamers is rising daily, and shipbuilders are booking so many orders that their yards will be full for some years to come. Many shipowners also are selling off their old tonnage at prices which they never dreamed of before the outbreak of war.
>
> Investigation goes to show that the present boom has been of a much greater nature than during other wars. After the Franco-Prussian war, for instance, the boom did not set in until some 12 months after the declaration of peace. By this time the nations had time to turn around, and finance was readjusted. And then the rise in freights was more gradual. It was not until 1882 that the top of the rise appeared.
>
> It is interesting to note that the only rate approximating to present figures was paid to the *Ben Nevis*, a steamer with a carrying capacity of 7,500 quarters, or about 1,500 tons, which obtained 8s. 3d. per quarter from New Orleans to Rouen. So much have "tramp" steamers increased in size that anything nowadays with a capacity of under 25,000 quarters, or about 5,000 tons, is considered a small steamer, and a 1,500-tonner is thought to be far too small to cross the Atlantic.

This increase I read because it is significant in connection with the claim that we will be able to buy ships on the market just as if it were a task of going out and buying agricultural implements or any other article of merchandise. The average ship, what we call a small one nowadays, fitted principally for freight and with some accommodations for carrying passengers, would cost probably from $700,000 to $750,000. All of the ships that are now afloat coming to our ports, it is said, are charging extortionate prices. The part I have read here says that there is a great boom, that huge profits are made, that the price of steamers is rising daily, and that shipowners are selling off their old tonnage at prices never dreamed of before.

How will the Government, on a market of this kind, buy anything? How will we get value for the money drawn from the Treasury or procured by the sale of bonds? How do we expect to get any of these "bargains" on any of these ships that are now free to ply either ocean or any place? Are there any bargains to be had if the shipping trade is in the condition it is claimed it is here? Is it not true, rather, that when the Government goes on the market, instead of finding a bargain, instead of buying anything at a price that will be advantageous, it will be discovered that the prices of these vessels, earning enormous profits, are beyond the reach of the Government agents?

Something is said here, too, of grain prices in transportation. A table is given. Cotton and grain are shown to be higher now than last year, and it is natural that they would be higher—not only that they would be the figures we have already considered, but many times higher. If they would increase, not 100 per cent, but two or three hundred per cent, it would not be more than the increase in other lines outside of grain and other articles of merchandise considered.

He continues—I am reading now from page 18 of the same document:

> It is pertinent to ask which of these interests is entitled to the superior consideration of the Government, the farmers and producers

of the great grain States of the West and the farmers and producers of the great cotton and tobacco States of the South, the merchants, manufacturers, and business men throughout the entire country, whose combined activities represent our vast export trade, amounting for the last fiscal year to $2,047,755,872, or the owners of the comparatively few American steamships engaged in the foreign trade, whose aggregate investment is approximately only $69,000,000?

Then an argument is taken from that, that from the greater interests concerned competition that would injure to a considerable degree the private steamship lines ought to be engaged in because the lesser interests must yield to the greater. The same argument could be made on any of the articles of merchandise I have enumerated. There is no difference between the one and the other. It is just as important that the people have relief at the hands of the Government in the one case as in the other.

On page 98, to show the conditions when purchases are to be made, admitting now that it is of pressing importance, for argument's sake, as he said on page 18, that some relief should be had, see what field we approach in order to obtain the alleged relief needed:

The insurance on all of the above steamers is largely placed in British and German companies, and for ports between Eastport and Rio, to go abroad, requires arrangements made to cover extra risk, and in nearly every case inquired into large amounts have been canceled, calling for placing of risks canceled in new companies and extra premiums. To obtain new insurance to cover steamer has been almost impossible, while extra premium and war risk becomes almost prohibitive. This in one steamer now in Europe amounted to $25,000, and she went to a neutral port in North Sea. On seven of the steamers quoted in our list the extra premium and war risk on hull alone amounts to about $40,000 per ship if bound to a German port. One of our largest shipping concerns have had their representative in England for a month with orders to buy a steamer. He can find none ready and could contract for none earlier than 1916 delivery.

The market there evidently will give us no relief. This Government will fare no better than a private company, because the activity of those in private business will equal that of any public officer.

On page 100 is an offer by a telegram dated December 24, 1914:

Have a cable from London this morning offering 4 new steamers, immediate delivery, one 12,000, two 11,000, and one 8,000 tons, deadweight capacity, basis of $40 a ton and 4 guaranteed delivery within six months at same basis. All English or French built or building now, so there would be no difficulty in securing any amount of tonnage.

Here is the first positive offer of steamers, consisting of four, with an aggregate tonnage of 42,000. These are the only ones up to this time that have been found ready for delivery. The others, to be constructed, require at least six months as the time of delivery.

As to other offers: In an inquiry answered on December 23, 1914, the department is advised that the first steamer is just completed, and they say all five of them will be completed within six months. Here is the second offer received in this testimony. The five, however, will require six months before delivery.

On page 102, in Exhibit 76, there are a number of vessels offered by a marine agency said to be located at Boston, Mass. At some time before this discussion is closed some testimony will be given as to the probability of the ability to deliver those vessels. It is noted here in this volume that a part of these vessels are of German registry. Several of them are noted as follows:

The above steamers are under German registry.

This would instantly raise the question that has been discussed here more or less for some weeks. At this time I have no desire to go into that part of it.

I wish to recur now to the somewhat vague character of what is said to be evidence here urging the passage of this bill, letters from men who have written recommending, so it is said, its passage. On page 30 is a letter from W. B. Cooper & Co., of Wilmington, N. C., dated December 31, 1914, and addressed to the Secretary of the Treasury:

Please allow us to indorse the action of the administration in trying to secure boats for the movement of American products. We are frank to say that as a general proposition we are not anxious to see the United States Government get into too many lines of business—

He has some doubts. There is no very enthusiastic Government-ownership blood in the writer of this letter—

but when 3 cents per pound, or more, is to be paid freight on cotton across the water against 35 cents per 100 pounds six months ago, it is time something should be done, in our opinion.

He does not say what.

Something should be done.

On page 43 another gentleman, writing from New York under date of December 26, says:

Permit us, please, to lay before you our complaint against the scarcity of ships and the exorbitant rate of freight now being charged on shipments of our commodities to the various foreign ports, which seriously handicaps our business.

We therefore feel that something should be done by our Government to relieve the present situation, since it so seriously interferes with our foreign business.

He does not undertake to present a remedy. He simply says that something ought to be done. Well, every time there is a hardship of the kind we are suffering now something ought to be done, it is true; but the hardships grow out of conditions beyond our control. If this Government could instantly command peace in Europe, so that normal trade relations might be restored, then we would see some way by which something important, something vital, might be done.

On page 55 there is the following communication from New York under date of December 28, 1914:

We are manufacturers of caustic soda, with one of the largest electrolytic plants in this country, located at Niagara Falls, N. Y. We have been endeavoring for the past three years to build up an export business on caustic soda. Our main competitors are Brunner Mond & Co. and United Alkali Co., of England. Germany, also, just prior to the war, was exporting caustic soda. There is about 20 per cent overproduction of caustic soda in the United States which is seeking foreign markets. We have been gradually building up trade with Mexico, Cuba, Japan, and South America.

Within the past month we have found a growing impossibility to procure rates which will permit of our moving our product to foreign ports in competition with the English transportation rates. This applies especially to European ports, where rates have increased from 200 to 300 per cent since November 1, and even at these exorbitant rates it is impossible to get room for prompt shipment.

We can not urge too strongly the necessity of procuring proper tonnage to carry commodities seeking a foreign outlet, and this tonnage should be available at once in order to benefit the United States manufacturer. If we are to take a position which we have never heretofore occupied in the markets of the world, we should do so immediately, and this does not permit of delays necessary to build and construct vessels of considerable size to carry this tonnage.

It seems to us the only solution of the present difficulty would be for this Government to lease or purchase, if possible, sufficient tonnage to relieve the present situation, or it might be possible for the Government to use a number of its transports and colliers in handling commercial freight.

The last suggestion, that some of the United States naval vessels not now needed for the purpose for which they were designed might be used for commercial purposes, is the only practical suggestion he has. As to the rest of it, he says the Government "ought to lease or purchase, if possible, sufficient tonnage to relieve the present situation." How will the Government purchase or lease, if there is such a boom in shipping as is claimed by others of the witnesses? If the boats are all employed, if they are able to get cargoes at extraordinary prices—characterized by some of the Federal authorities as extortionate—if the exigencies of the service are so great as that, how will the Government, following the wish of John F. Bush, who writes this letter, go out and lease or purchase any of the vessels to relieve the situation? He makes no suggestion about Government ownership.

Again, Exhibit 31, on pages 55 and 56, says:

We appreciate your efforts along these lines and sincerely hope that you will be able to bring about some relief to exporters.

The writer makes no suggestion as to how it shall be done.

I now quote from Exhibit 32. This is addressed to the Secretary of the Treasury:

We submit the above to you, as we believe you are interested in knowing from actual shippers the rates now quoted and charged by the steamship companies, and hope that you will use your good offices in bringing about a fair ocean freight rate to the various ports of Europe, notably, of course, the neutral ports.

"Use your good offices in bringing about a fair ocean freight rate." There is nothing there to suggest Government ownership; there is nothing that would put the Government up to the private shipyards for building boats. The writer only expresses the hope that the Government will use its good offices, through the head of this department, in order to relieve the situation. In Exhibit 33 the writer says:

From our viewpoint it is hard to account for the exorbitant freight rates, which have proven such a handicap to exporters, especially to those in our line of business, and we are heartily in favor of Federal legislation which would encourage American capital to own vessels under the American flag and enable them to compete successfully with foreign owners.

This is dated at Pensacola, Fla., and is from the Tuemler Co. I think I know what this gentleman means. There is no Government ownership in it, although it, with the others I have quoted, are in this Senate document presented here to urge the reasons why this bill should be enacted—as a Government ownership bill. Rather this gentleman, in Exhibit 33, deprecates Government ownership and wishes only that the Government will—

Encourage American capital to own vessels under the American flag and enable them to compete successfully with foreign owners.

On page 59, Exhibit 34, the Walter A. Wood Mowing & Reaping Machine Co., after speaking of their foreign trade, which has been established for many years, their agencies having been

established as long as 40 years ago, discuss at some length the situation, reaching the point that I am keeping in mind in the following language:

It would appear to us that there never was a more opportune time for this country, either under legislative action or private capital, to create a merchant marine, for lack of which, in our judgment, this country has suffered for many years. We can only hope that some measures may be enacted or some policy created which will relieve the present situation, and in time to affect our business interests this year.

That does not indorse Government ownership. There is no testimony there; it is only a vague hope that the Government will discover some way to relieve the conditions complained of.

In Exhibit 45, on this branch of the subject, the writer continues:

We hope that our testimony herein contained, together with all the other from larger shippers, will be such that some measure can be taken that will relieve shippers of these unprecedented and impossible conditions.

"Some measure." He does not undertake to say what it should be any more than do the others.

In Exhibit 49 the writer states:

We should advise that all the freight rates from points on the eastern seaboard to other European ports have been advanced in proportion to the increase cited above. We feel that some relief should be arranged for the American exporters by your department.

In Exhibit 64 the writer states:

It is not our purpose to burden you with personal grievances, but the writer believes a transaction of this kind possesses elements which must commend itself to your consideration, and he hopes you may be able to offer some suggestions, not alone for our relief but to save other exporters from suffering by reason of such practice at the hands of these steamship people.

In Exhibit 70 it is stated:

I think it is of the utmost importance that the United States should acquire at the present time steamers for our trade with the neutral countries. While I am not on principle in favor of Government-owned steamship lines, I believe in the present crisis only the Government is able to acquire a sufficient amount of steamers without much difficulty, and I see no reason why, after reestablishment of peace, the Government should not resell these steamers to American companies.

Buy when they are excessively high priced, buy when every boat that can float a ton of freight is sought, when rates are high; when the value of all floating water craft is correspondingly high. It is proposed that the Government buy at high prices, and then, when the crisis is over, this gentleman wishes the Government to go out of the business and sell at what kind of a price? At bargain-counter prices. There will simply be a lot of marine junk exposed for sale at that time, when it comes.

In Exhibit 72 the writer says:

With the elimination of the German lines during the continuance of the war and the irregular sailings of the English steamers, the export trade is greatly hampered, and I believe that under present abnormal conditions only energetic measures can be of any assistance. Although I do not indorse a permanent policy of ownership by the Government, I do believe that during the present critical situation only the Government can assist the development of the business by purchasing steamers suitable for the trade.

Here, again, the same difficulty is presented. I am reading these extracts to show that the shippers who write and furnish the testimony printed in this document, or most of them, have no very definite idea what to do. Some express themselves against Government ownership; some wish the Government to embark in the steamship business temporarily, and, after the crisis shall have passed and the war is ended, they wish the Government to leave the business.

This policy once entered on, where would it end? Where would it land the Treasury? The Government going out and buying something when it is excessively dear, owing to unusual conditions, and, after the crisis has passed, after the article has lost its commercial value in the market, then the Government shall sell and retire from business! That is only another form of the proposed cotton-loan bill. It finally is at the expense of the United States; it is an inroad on the Treasury; it is a bond sale to raise money to loan directly to persons affected, who have cotton or other merchandise; it is not a grant directly from the Treasury, but it puts the Treasury in a condition where it must furnish the money, taking the risk and incurring the expenditure for the benefit of the shipper, who is engaged in private business, and then, at a considerable loss, when normal conditions prevail, to bear that loss and withdraw from the business!

Conditions are contrasted in Exhibit 78 so as to show the bad business enterprise the Government would be required to engage in under this bill:

Conditions in the steamship freight trade were at the two extremes during the year just ended. The year opened with freight business, both import and export, affected to a material degree by the internal depression in this country.

In this testimony offered by the Secretary of the Treasury is the statement that there was a depression. That has been most vigorously denied. It is said that there was not any trouble; that everything was going along at its normal gait; but in this testimony it takes note of a wonderful depression in this country:

During the first six months freight rates were easy and fluctuated within a narrow margin. The advent of the European war in August brought chaotic conditions, but out of the maelstrom there developed a period of high freight rates seldom, if ever, approximated in the annals of the shipping world.

During the early part of the year trade, both foreign and domestic, felt the heavy hand of depression.

Repeating, now, the statement of depression and untoward conditions here:

The pendency of the request for a 5 per cent advance in railroad freight rates, the assimilation of the new tariff, and the reorganization of the banking system of the country, combined to lessen the volume of trade. The steamship lines faced a dull year. Aside from the movement of old-crop grain, which furnished good freight, the lines lacked the stimulating effect of an active movement in general cargo. Exports of manufactured articles and imports of supplies from Europe, the Orient, and South America dropped to a low level under the repressive conditions that obtained.

In March there was quite a flurry in freight rates, but the upward movement was only spasmodic. Rates soon dropped back to the level effective at the beginning of the year.

Then came the European war, and rates shot upward to an astonishing degree. This again only emphasizes—and this evidence is all cumulative in the same way—the extreme difficulty the Government agents will experience when they go upon the market to buy these vessels.

A good deal of argument has been had here off and on along the line of the President's statement in Indianapolis. It goes on the theory that the farmer, either the cotton planter or the grain producer, is the one who suffers from the excessive rate; in other words, the higher the freight rate on the ocean the lower the price to the producer in this country. So if the prices keep going up, wheat ought to get down to 25 cents a bushel after a while; and as the freight rates go up on the ocean, instead of wheat going up, it ought to be selling back to 67 cents, as it was last August.

On page 75, Exhibit 54, there is an interesting contribution from Minot, Hooper & Co., of New York, in the latter part of which an explanation is given which illuminates this question materially, because what the writer says is in accordance with the actual conditions we find on the market:

What we want to know is whether there is any redress to be had for having to pay these exorbitant rates, or must we pacifically submit to such "extortion"? While we ourselves do not bear the cost of freight on our shipments, the customer assuming that burden, our export business is directly and materially affected, inasmuch as the uncertainty and increase of expense and hazard to our customer have a tendency to make him cautious and reduce or altogether terminate his orders.

So it is not the suffering farmer in this country that this bill will probably relieve. Meats and breadstuffs must be shipped all over the world. Where the food products of a locality are insufficient they must come from some place else, or starvation will ensue. So here is direct testimony that the purchaser abroad is the person who pays the ocean freight. If it be so high as to become prohibitive, or the purchaser abroad be without means to buy, the effect would be the same. In any event, it has not yet damaged the producer of this country in the price; it has materially affected the exports of meats and breadstuffs since they are continually going abroad. The grain exchanges of the country and the packing houses are sending every day cargoes abroad. The grain exchanges would not be selling to the foreign trade if it were impossible to secure the capacity for carriage.

This is the definite answer now, the answer of the market to that argument. Here is a very graphic description of why the freight rates are high. It is charged that it is the result of extortion on the part of the steamship companies, or the private owners, if they are individuals. There has been by the supporters of this measure but little said so far on anything that would legitimately increase the cost of freight. I quote now from page 110 of the same document:

During the month of August absolute disorder replaced the perfect running and intricate machinery of the steamship trade. The big lines withdrew all berth-rate quotations and would not make rates on any other than actual freight offers. Rates changed from day to day; in fact, rates on same conditions differed each hour of the day, but throughout the movement was upward, and when after a month of chaos the steamship lines recast their services to fit in with war conditions, thus enabling the quotations of berth rates, it was noticed that the freight rates were fully double those quotated immediately before the advent of the war.

This indicates that it is not a voluntary increase by the owners of the boats; it is an increase to keep pace with and be commensurate with the changed conditions under which they must operate. The risk is great; the cost of the service has increased; the insurance is higher; and every condition that enters into the operation of a freight rate has rapidly moved upward. I can see why a legitimate increase would be proper,

and that possibly no fortunes are reaped by those who receive those rates. There may be, it is true, individual cases where somebody, merely as extortion, and without any reasonable cause, exacts a rate simply because somebody is situated so that he must pay it. Those are abuses that occur in every line of undertaking. I do not know of anything in which a person engages where occasionally he is not caught in a corner.

In the actual administration of shipping laws an illustration of how they affect some of our own people is found in the so-called ship registry act approved August 18, 1914. It opened to American registry foreign-built ships. Under the authority of that act the Executive on the 4th day of September, 1914, suspended for a period of seven years the provisions requiring watch officers to be citizens of the United States, so that now an alien may be a watch officer on any of these boats and admitted, under the amendment, to the registry act. I read now copies of resolutions adopted by the National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association on the 18th of January, 1915:

Whereas the so-called ship-registry act, approved August 18, 1914, which act provided for the admission of foreign-built ships to American registry for the foreign trade, and the issuing by the President of the United States under the authority of said act of an Executive order on the 4th day of September, 1914, suspending for a period of seven years on such ships so admitted the provisions of the law requiring watch officers to be citizens of the United States; and

Whereas the enactment of the law and the issuing of the Executive order may have been dictated by patriotic motives, but in the putting of the law and the Executive order into practical operation by the owners of foreign ships taking advantage of the law, patriotism plays a very subordinate part to and is, in fact, completely dominated by commercialism; and

Whereas by intrusting the protection and the honor of the American flag that is permitted to float over such a ship so admitted to American registry into the custody of watch officers who are citizens of a foreign country certainly can not be called patriotic; and

Whereas the Department of Commerce had on file (prior to the issuing of the Executive order suspending the law that prescribes that all watch officers on vessels of the United States engaged in foreign trade shall be citizens of the United States) reports received from collectors of customs from the principal ports on the Atlantic and Pacific, and those reports showed that there were 2,138 idle masters, mates, and engineers that were available for service on vessels engaged in the foreign trade: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association of the United States in convention assembled this 22d day of January, 1915, in the city of Washington, D. C., by unanimous vote of all delegates representing the local associations on the Atlantic, Pacific, and Gulf coasts, and the inland waters of the United States, respectfully but most emphatically protest against intrusting the honor of the American flag flying over an American ship by the Government permitting of the employment of foreigners who are citizens of a foreign country as watch officers on vessels of American registry engaged in the foreign trade; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent under the seal of this association to the President and Vice President of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to the United States Senators and Members of the House of Representatives.

J. S. PURDIE, No. 35.
J. E. MCCAULEY, No. 35.

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WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 22, 1915.*

To the officers and members of the National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association:

We, your committee to whom was referred the above resolution referring to ship-registry law, beg leave to submit the following report:

We believe that the resolution voices the popular sentiment of the members of this organization; therefore we recommend that this convention indorse the resolution, and that the national secretary be instructed to forward to the officers of the United States named in the resolution a copy of same.

C. E. SHRODES,
J. S. WRIGHT,
THOS. J. KELLY,
ALBERT LAMOTHE,
GEO. H. WILLEY,
Committee.

In the city of Washington, D. C., on February 4, 1915, there was a meeting of the National Chamber of Commerce, representing the business interests of the country. There were very strenuous efforts by the friends of the administration, and even by some of the Cabinet officers, to obtain an indorsement of the shipping bill by this association. It represented a very large number of members from every quarter of the United States. It might be called fairly representative of the business interests concerned. In spite of the tremendous influence exerted by the administration upon the delegates, this convention of commercial organizations voted by 161 to 90 against indorsing this bill and referring to a referendum the chamber's alternative ship subsidy proposal. Under the by-laws, however, the affirmative vote was insufficient in numbers, and the convention finally decided to refer both the President's ship bill and the subsidy proposition to a referendum. On this subject the press says:

Earlier in the day the delegates evinced overwhelming opposition to the measure during the debate between Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo, who argued the emergency need of ships, and Senator BURTON, who pointed out the dangers of the proposed legislation.

Along the same line I wish to call the attention of the Senate to a resolution of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, presented and found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of a few days ago. The Illinois Manufacturers' Association is composed of the principal manufacturers of that State. They elect, at stated intervals, their board of directors, at a membership meeting. This membership meeting, after having selected the directors, has very little to do thereafter with the management of such affairs as resolutions. The board of directors has control of such matters. There are 12 members of the board of directors. I investigated, by writing to the 12, how many were present at the meeting of the board and what were the circumstances that led to the adoption of this resolution of indorsement. One of the directors is George D. Tower, of Mendota, Ill. He writes, in a letter dated January 27, 1915:

THE J. D. TOWER & SONS CO.,
SURFACE CULTIVATORS,
Mendota, Ill., January 27, 1915.

Hon. L. Y. SHERMAN,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: I have your letter of January 23, making inquiry regarding the presentation of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association urging you to support the pending shipping bill, and advising me as one of the directors of that association that you could not comply with the association's request in the support of that bill. You also make inquiry as to what the immediate causes were that led up to such an action by the board of directors.

In reply to this inquiry I beg to say that I attended the regular monthly meeting January 5, and there was nothing of this kind brought up at that meeting that I heard mention of, but the directors had a meeting on the 20th that I could not attend and it was probably at this meeting that the action was taken, but I am not in a position to say what it was that led them to take the action they did.

I may say to you in confidence that I have always been one of your warm supporters and especially in the last election. I have always been a great admirer of yourself and always had the utmost confidence in your ability and integrity, and I feel sure that you will do what you think is for the best interests of the country. I had never seen a copy of the bill in question until I received the one you sent me and, after reading it over, I do not feel that I am sufficiently posted to express any decided ideas as to what it will accomplish, but there is, I can see, some things that this proposition is bound to conflict with in international law.

I do not know how it can be overcome without the exertion of an unusual amount of diplomacy. It may be accomplished in that way and avoid drawing us into trouble, but the chances seem to be in favor of buying a great deal more than ships.

In conclusion will say that I am willing to defer to your judgment in regard to this proposition, and can appreciate your preference to being a private citizen rather than a United States Senator in the support of anything that you do not feel is for the best interests of the country.

With kindest personal regards, I am, yours, very truly,

GEORGE D. TOWER,
Vice President.

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Elonzo Tyner, of Chicago, writes a letter dated January 25, 1915, which I will read. He is another one of the board of directors:

ELONZO TYNER,
327 WEST VAN BUREN STREET,
Chicago, January 25, 1915.

Hon. LAWRENCE Y. SHERMAN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to yours of the 23d relative to the presentation made to you by the members of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association urging you to support the pending shipping bill, I was not present at the meeting of the directors when this resolution was passed. Understand every one present favored it. Had I been there I would have been opposed to it, as I agree thoroughly with the position you take in the matter with reference to same and believe that a great many of those who seem to favor the bill at the present time will, if it becomes a law, live to see the day that they will regret having indorsed it or voted for it as the case may be.

I am inclined to think the one thing that caused the Illinois Manufacturers' Association officers to favor this was due to the fact that they felt it was the shortest road toward establishing the very much needed merchant marine, which, in the writer's opinion, should be established and operated solely by private capital and encouraged by the Government to the extent of a reasonable subsidy.

Yours, very truly,

E. TYNER.

I read another letter of January 25, 1915, from H. G. Herget, of Pekin, Ill. He is another one of the directors.

PEKIN COOPERAGE CO.,
TIGHT COOPERAGE, STAVES AND HEADING,
WINE AND OIL SHOOKS FOR EXPORT,
Pekin, Ill., January 25, 1915.

DEAR MR. SHERMAN: In answer to your letter of January 23, would say I was not at the meeting of the directors of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association when they adopted the report to support the pending shipping bill.

Speaking for myself only, I am much opposed to this bill, and I think the Government goes far out of its way when it engages in shipping or transportation of any kind. In my humble opinion, the passage of this bill would be inimical to the manufacturing interests of this country. I, of course, personally appreciate and approve the stand you take in this matter, and I regret I am not able to inform you what immediate causes led to such an action on the part of the board of directors.

With kind regards, I am,
Yours, very truly,

H. G. HERGET.

Hon. L. Y. SHERMAN,
Washington, D. C.

From J. Willis Gardner, another director, I have this letter, dated January 25, 1915:

THE GARDNER GOVERNOR CO.,
Quincy, Ill., January 25, 1915.

Hon. LAWRENCE Y. SHERMAN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am pleased to acknowledge receipt of your letter of January 23 and to tell you I am not in favor of the shipping bill and was not present at any meeting where a resolution was passed authorizing the officers to urge the passage of the bill.

I am fully in accord with the idea expressed in your letter. The bill should not be passed.

Yours, very truly,

J. WILLIS GARDNER.

Here is a letter written from another one of the directors, G. L. Avery, of Peoria, dated February 4, 1915:

AVERY CO.,
Peoria, Ill., February 4, 1915.

Hon. LAWRENCE Y. SHERMAN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SHERMAN: Your letter of the 23d ult. was duly received and noted. Having been in and out so much of late, I have been unable to give my correspondence prompt attention.

While in Chicago recently I had intended to take up the matter with either Mr. Hurley or Mr. Glenn, of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, but found that I would not get through my appointments in time to do so.

The facts are, the writer was not present at the meeting of the board of directors of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association at the time action was taken with reference to the pending shipping bill.

I am heartily in accord with your action in this matter and appreciate the stand that you have taken.

Very respectfully, yours,

G. L. AVERY.

I have read a great many times the statement that politicians were often off-color; that their bargains were reprehensible. I have heard it stated by gentlemen who are learned and who carry many university degrees from divers seats of learning that politicians are persons who ought to be very sedulously watched. They are accused of deals and devious ways, so that the term "politician" has become, in the opinion of many people, a term of reproach. I do not know but that among some sensitive folks it might be regarded as an epithet if one were to be called a "politician." Among the things that invite public criticism it is said that this unsavory class frequently engage in the making of bargains that lead to combinations for nominations; that they employ influences at the primaries and at the elections, not in a corrupt way, making their perpetrators amenable to the laws of the land, but influences which, while legitimate, still are regarded as most reprehensible, to use the mildest expression possible. This has been dealt with at great length by many magazines and by their editors, who exact from those in public place a very high standard of political morality.

I do not object to the test which they set for men who aspire to or who enter public life. There is nothing evil intrinsically in their level, which is above, or supposed to be above, that of the ordinary occupant of public office, especially of those offices which are essentially political in their character. These latter necessarily require political conduct that is commensurate with the importance of the politics of the office concerned. So I have learned to look for a little higher standard frequently from gentlemen of that kind. I have taken them at their word. I believe they are sincere, and I earnestly hope that they are doing some good in the world, and especially in our immediate quarter of the globe. That is where I would like to see such results follow. I do not know whether or not any of these critics themselves ever run for office. I can recall now but few of them who ever entered upon that delectable territory where only candidates and fools rush in. We have some of them in that part of the country where I live, who at intermittent intervals have become candidates for office, and who have confined themselves during that time to an indiscriminate criticism, not to say abuse, of nearly everybody in every party who was ever elected to office or had any aspirations in that direction, unless he agreed with them.

Criticisms are useful and I believe in critics. I believe the most useful critic in the world is the constructive critic, who never in a spirit of iconoclasm undertakes to tear anything down until he has something better to put in its place. If he has, he is justified in the criticism. Often when he has some improvement, and it is necessary to destroy something that cumbers the earth to furnish room to institute his improvement and make it practically operative, he has then a right to criticize. That kind of criticism and that kind of a critic are benefits to the world. For them I have nothing but the greatest commendation to give, and with them I will cheerfully join hands at any time.

The other critics are of a different kind. Michelangelo went into a great cathedral, where Raphael was frescoing the ceiling. He took a quick glance at the work and seized a crayon and on a sheet of paper drew a large head, produced it to the proper degree of proportion and contour, and filled in such details as satisfied him. A friend came in and asked him what he was doing. He said, "Raphael's work shows that for the size of the room the figures are too small." The friend said, "Well, why do you not tell the artist?" He replied, "I am telling him in the best kind of criticism I know, by creating what I believe will be the proper size in proportion to the room." That is constructive criticism. That kind of criticism we ought to have, but the indiscriminate criticism in the spirit of the iconoclast who goes out for no purpose except to destroy, for no reason except to condemn and reject, and who throws up his hands in helplessness when he is called on to suggest something for the thing criticized, is not very useful in the world. For him I have no particular admiration; of him I am compelled to say I do not think he does good in the world, certainly not to practical men, not even to candidates for office, not even to an occupant of public office, because every conscientious public officer must be creative; he can not be merely destructive. He must have in a very marked degree the creative instinct. That instinct is embodied in the framing of statutes, in the enactment of great laws that have done good and have kept pace with the progress of the hour. Such criticisms and such virtues are always of the very highest value.

Our Chief Magistrate has criticized in years past, and not always constructively. Some times he has criticized mercilessly, as in his New Freedom, in his Congressional Government, in his book The State, and here and there in his History of the American People. In the rôle of critic in the New Freedom he essays much; he criticizes without stint; he condemns the politician, his back-room conferences, his unholy alliances, his endeavor to procure results by passing favors to others, so that others may see the light and agree with him upon some subject of political action. I suppose that the cause of the effort put forth on the part of most politicians is to have others agree with them in some given line of political action.

Let me be more specific. A trade commission has been created by Congress by an act, commonly called, when it was pending, the "Covington bill." It seeks to do for the benefit of this country, to put it in a comparative way, about what the Interstate Commerce Commission does for the railroads of the country. That bill has been enacted into law. It requires the appointment of a board of five members. While it was supposed that the board would be nonpartisan, nobody who knew the conduct of public affairs ever thought seriously that it would be so. It was known that it would be bipartisan. The only nonpartisan boards in the world are the ones the members of which are all of one political party. It is idle to talk about making a nonpartisan board with a minority on it. If the minority are stalwart, the only way they can qualify is by being stalwart while they are still on the board. If they are nondescript, spineless, and with no active principles, with their political being inert or dead, then they have no business to be there, because they are only fillers; they are ciphers, used for the mere purpose of extracting compensation from the Public Treasury. So nobody expected this to be a nonpartisan board. I expected it to be bipartisan, and I have no complaint to make. The majority ought to be of the Democratic faith. The administration and both branches of Congress are of that faith, and it is entirely proper that three at least of the members of the board should be of that complexion. As to the other two it might be reasonably expected that one of them would be a Republican, and possibly the other more or less remotely related to the lamented, the late departed, the "Bull Moose," but when the appointments begin to see the sunshine on the Potomac there are three Democrats and two "Bull Moose."

I know what that is for, and so does the occupant of the chair. So does every one of the sophisticated majority, none of whom are infants in their swaddling clothes; they all arrived at the age of political puberty long before they came to this Chamber. The purpose, of course, is to keep the party alive, because at Indianapolis the President said "the Democrats are a minority party, and if we do not get the independents we can not win." That sounds to me something like a politician. If any of my associates in a burst of confidence had let escape from them sentiments of that kind I would say it was a manifestation of the usual symptom of a politician; but, coming from the gentleman in question, it might be well enough to give him the benefit of the doubt and say that no such conclusion ought to be drawn. But, nevertheless, the purpose is to keep the party alive.

Now, let us go a little further. I may appear to be wandering from the text, and that is something that I would not do for the world. I certainly want to keep to the shipping bill, and I will get to it.

On this board is Edward M. Hurley, whom I have known for some years, a manufacturer, and, like some lawyers and occasionally a doctor of divinity, he carries politics as a side line. Mr. Hurley is somewhat informed in political affairs. He is a very excellent member of the majority party. It was natural that to him the President should turn for one of the members. He comes from the Middle West, a part of the northern Mississippi Valley in which many manufacturers are found, where large banking interests do business, and a very great volume of commercial resources changes hands every 24 hours.

So Mr. Hurley will be nominated as one member. Mr. Hurley chances to be the president of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association. That is a perfectly innocent and honorable distinction, but being president of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association is one thing and being a member of the Trade Commission is another, and thereby hangs a double-headed tale, if I may be allowed the Irish bull.

Mr. Hurley as president of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association gets together the 12 directors apparently, but from the letters received it appears there were just half of them present. Five out of the six had not indorsed the shipping bill. At this meeting of the board of directors Mr. Hurley presented and had passed the resolutions which are used to justify, so far as they are evidence in this matter, the passage of this bill. Now, is that a quid pro quo? What made Mr. Hurley active? He did nothing, so far as I am informed or have been able to ascertain, until he was assured that he would be a member of the Trade Commission. I have no objection to this; I am not saying there is anything wrong in it; I am only saying that the Chief Magistrate, when he wants to get an indorsement for a pending bill, uses exactly the same means as any other politician does, and that is all this is. It is a political movement, and had no more strength and is entitled to no more strength than any other political movement of a like kind.

I quote from an editorial of the Chicago Tribune of January 21, 1915:

The White House to-night made public this message:
"At a meeting of the directors of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association held to-day the administration ship-purchase bill was unanimously indorsed. Our Senators and Representatives will be urged to support the measure.
"EDWARD N. HURLEY."

Mr. Hurley is one of the men who have been selected by President Wilson to go on the Federal Trade Commission.

This finishes the chapter on this subject. I make these remarks only in view of the many bitter criticisms that have been made of politicians, not only of the party of which I chance to be a member, but of my Democratic friends as well. I think this chapter is due to the Democratic side of this Chamber as much as it is to anybody else. If I could imprint this story, by mere word of mouth, upon the insensate wood of the desks and chairs of this Chamber, I would leave in their unresponsive material: "Remember that the Chief Magistrate in 1915 conducts himself as any other politician when he needs help on legislation he strives to enact by Executive influence."

It is proposed to lower the rates of the present steamship companies by Government competition. This will build up a rival Government line and weaken, or possibly destroy, such private lines as are now established. After this shall have been accomplished, the Government will dispose of its interest, which thereupon becomes a private line. Does not the new private line owe its existence and its ability to successfully operate to direct Government aid? It is, to all intents and purposes, a private line established by public money. What advantage does this possess over a subsidy to a private line? The answer is it controls rates by the Government. An equally cogent answer would be, if the Government grants a subsidy to an existing line on condition that certain rates are established and maintained for the shipping public, the same end would be gained and at less cost.

The same thing could be done by vesting in the Interstate Commerce Commission power to regulate rates on every vessel registered under our laws.

When Mr. McAdoo was before the committee of the House of Representatives on this subject, one of the members of the committee asked him, on page 29, whether this was not in effect a subsidy, and whether he could support a subsidy. He said:

The Democratic platform forbids subsidies.

Let us see. The Democratic platform, it is said, forbids subsidies. In the platform of 1912, which is the last authoritative utterance of our brethern, I find the following language:

We believe in fostering, by constitutional regulation of commerce, the growth of a merchant marine which shall develop and strengthen the commercial ties which bind us to our sister Republics of the South, but without imposing additional burdens upon the people and without bounties or subsidies from the Public Treasury.

We urge upon Congress the speedy enactment of laws for the greater security of life and property at sea, and favor the repeal of all laws and the abrogation of so much of our treaties with other nations as provide for the arrest and imprisonment of seamen charged with desertion or with violation of their contract of service. Such laws and treaties are un-American, and violate the spirit, if not the letter, of the Constitution of the United States.

"The Democratic platform forbids subsidies." It does in express words in 1912; and on several prior occasions when platforms were written, not in the same language, but in effect, it went on record as against subsidies. This plank declares for developing our merchant shipping without imposing additional burdens on the people. The indebtedness created by this bill is a heavy burden on a weakened Treasury. I do not know why this especial tender solicitude should be shown for this single plank, especially in view of the character of this bill and what it necessarily does. It is more a struggle over phrases and definitions than it is over the thing itself. If, because this is a platform pledge, the party is thereby to be barred from a subsidy, I can properly inquire whether it is of any more binding force than any other plank in that platform.

Why, I read there, too, that the Baltimore platform pledges itself to the exemption from tolls of American ships engaged in coastwise trade passing through the Panama Canal. We remember the message which came to us in joint session on one occasion recommending the repeal of the act of August, 1912. I am not saying anything on this subject by way of criticism, because I voted in accordance with the President's recommendations for the repeal of that act.

I find in the platform written by our Republican brethren in 1912 no such solemn declaration as that. There is nothing in it that pledges the party or any of its members to free tolls. It was an act signed by President Taft, but that did not thereby commit the party to that legislation. It was not in pursuance of any previous Republican Party plank. President Taft signed many bills, making them laws, that were not part of any party creed in this country. He signed any number of bills that became laws of general operation, outside of those that were local or temporary in character, like appropriation bills; but that did not thereby, on these matters of general legislation, pledge the party to stand by those statutes as party decrees or party planks. So every Republican in this Chamber and in the House of Representative was at liberty to vote as his judgment influenced him.

I find in the same platform, likewise, in the tariff plank, this language:

We favor the ultimate attainment of the principles we advocate by legislation that will not injure or destroy legitimate industry.

Then, in the face of that, a bill was framed that free listed sugar in this country! As one of the Senators from Louisiana very cogently said, sugar is a legitimate industry according to the views of his constituents. I think he is correct. Sugar has been on the protected list for over a hundred years. It is natural that the sugar-cane growers of the States where that industry can be pursued, being good Democrats, would interpret that platform to mean that that was a legitimate industry, and that that particular phrase of the platform was for their benefit, and that they were thereby excepted from any reduction that might prove injurious.

But when the bill proceeded through the various stages, and reached alleged perfection, it was found to free list sugar, and in that form it remained and was signed. It was said that not only cane sugar but beet sugar was to be cheapened; that the high cost of living was very greatly affected by the prices prevailing prior to this downward revision. The price of sugar was not exorbitant before the reduction. It fell temporarily after the reduction. Probably up to May following the reduction the price of sugar slightly decreased. The retail price to the consumer, the price of crude cane sugar to the refiner, decreased somewhat. It is to be noted here, however, from looking at a schedule of prices of crude and refined, that the price of sugar refined to the consumer and sold left a much wider margin than the price between the cost of crude sugar to the refiner and the former prices; in other words, that they did not fall in proportion to each other, but they sometimes rose. Along in May, according to the tables from the market kept by those who follow the trade, sugar was reduced about 40 cents a hundred pounds; and when it reached this figure it reached the extreme limit of the reduction of the high cost of living. It never grew any lower, but it has grown somewhat higher.

I do not think it would be a fair way of discussing the subject to quote war prices. The prices before the breaking out of the war are the proper basis on which to estimate it.

Before the war broke out sugar had risen. After it saw the ultimate free listing, and after the first cut had been made, in March, 1914, it rose to prices equal to and subsequently greater

than the prices before the act of October 3, 1913, was signed. That, too, was before the war broke out and could not by any possibility have been affected by the war, because no one in this country at that time had any suspicion that there would be such a war.

This did two things. Outside of not reducing the price of this necessity, it fatally crippled the cane-sugar industry in Louisiana. It very materially depressed the beet-sugar industry of other States. The second result was the loss, ultimately, of some fifty to fifty-four million dollars of customs duties. It afforded a certain means of collecting revenue. It was a fixed quantity. About so much sugar came in every year. Those who watched the quantity coming through the customhouse were able, from year to year, to estimate with considerable accuracy how much revenue would be derived from that import. It was a much more certain source of revenue than the estimates made on the income tax by the Secretary of the Treasury and his advisers. He missed by some millions of dollars estimating that correctly.

Mr. BROUSSARD, who in a short time will become an honored Member of this body, has analyzed the situation on sugar. He says:

The resolution introduced by me contemplates the suspension of the free-sugar clause of the Underwood bill, which provides for free sugar after May 1, 1916. It is probable that, with the congested condition of the congressional calendars, it may not be possible to consider this resolution in this Congress.

It is fair to those upon whom rests the responsibility of reinstating a deficient Treasury, as well as to those who favor free sugar, that the efforts which I contemplate making in the next Congress should be made known to them; hence the introduction of the resolution at this time. It is my purpose to renew these efforts immediately upon the convening of the next Congress, whether in an extra or a regular session.

These efforts, if successful, will to a large extent obliterate the deficiency that confronts the United States Treasury.

I add here that the sugar schedule is intimately connected with the shipping bill. The shipping bill requires money, and there will be no money in the Treasury under existing customs duties. If the schedules of the existing law be not revised there will not be enough receipts to translate into reality the scheme dreamed of in this bill.

We are informed that there is practically an $80,000,000 deficit, despite the enactment of a war tax in time of profound peace.

The defenders of our present financial policy have ascribed the pending $80,000,000 deficiency to what they are pleased to term "pork-barrel" appropriations by Congress.

No one cognizant of the existing situation is at all disturbed over that statement. The uninformed alone are misled by this false cry. When called upon to explain what is meant by "pork-barrel" appropriations, one is referred to appropriations for the improvement of our rivers and harbors and the construction of post offices and other necessary buildings for the proper transaction of the public business.

DEFICIENCY NOT DUE TO THESE APPROPRIATIONS.

It is not true to say that this deficiency grows out of any such appropriations, because, during this administration, no public buildings have been provided for by Congress; and the appropriation for rivers and harbors was during the life of this Congress reduced from a normal appropriation of $50,000,000 to a $20,000,000 lump appropriation, to be used in the discretion of the United States Engineers in continuing projects already under way.

Even if this twenty million were charged to the legislative "pork barrel," it can not possibly account for a hole in the Treasury of eighty millions.

As a matter of fact, it can be demonstrated that this deficiency grows out of an entirely different situation, which situation precludes absolutely the use of the words "pork barrel" in connection with it.

It is not difficult to ascertain just how this deficiency occurred. In the first place, when the Underwood bill was under discussion in the House, Representative HULL, of Tennessee, was in charge of the income tax section of that bill. I have every reason to believe that the Ways and Means Committee, and Mr. HULL in particular, sought every avenue of information for the enactment of an equitable and just income tax.

Mr. HULL, in his opening address on the floor of the House, stated that the income tax provision as written in the Underwood bill would produce $70,000,000. Such was the estimate furnished him.

I wish to interpolate here that that was also the estimate of the report of the Committee on Finance of the Senate.

INTERNAL TAXES FALL FAR BELOW ESTIMATES.

The returns, however, of the income tax show a total receipt of $28,253,534.85, a deficiency from the estimate of Mr. HULL of nearly $42,000,000, which miscalculation accounts for more than half the pending Treasury deficit.

When the war-tax measure was reported to the House out of conference, Leader UNDERWOOD made the statement to the House that the information he had was to the effect that it would yield 105 millions. When it passed the Senate, it was estimated to yield 107 millions; when it came out of conference, he said it was presumed to yield more than 90 millions. Collections thus far made indicate this estimate far too high, in fact, the Secretary of the Treasury himself now estimates that the war tax will approximately yield 54 millions for the fiscal year 1915. From the collections already made, this estimate seems reasonably accurate. Therefore, taking the lowest figure for the war tax given by Mr. UNDERWOOD, that of 90 millions, and subtracting the estimate now being made by the Secretary of the Treasury, there results a deficiency of 36 millions in that item alone.

The revenues from these two sources are in no wise affected by the European war. If the termination of the war causes any increase in our customs receipts, this increase can not entirely make up the deficit, but Congress will have to look elsewhere for the most part to recoup the Treasury.

By adding these two deficiencies, the one resulting from the income tax and the other from the war tax, we have almost the exact amount of deficiency reported in the Treasury of the United States.

In other words, if the estimates furnished Congress as to these two revenue acts had been correct, there would now be no deficiency, as the shortage in the results from the estimates precisely equals the Treasury shortage.

Why look to extraneous things when, through erroneous calculation, these two new methods of taxation account for practically every dollar in the present deficiency?

Now, this is a statement of facts, and the war tax measure is soon to expire, so that the 54 millions yield for 1915 will shortly disappear, and the 80 millions deficit must, consequently, be increased by that sum in the near future.

On the 1st of May, 1916, unless my resolution shall become law, practically $52,000,000 more now derived from the sugar duty must be also added to the present deficiency.

To summarize, should the same deficiency occur in 1916 as is pending now, there will be added to the 80 millions deficiency the further deficiencies due to the expiration of the war tax law, yielding 54 millions and a still further deficiency after May, 1916, of 52 more millions, derived from the sugar duty.

AN APPALLING SITUATION THAT MUST BE MET.

This situation is appalling. It can not be shirked; it must be met! And the question is, How are we to meet it? There are several ways in which it can be done. The simplest, but probably the most obnoxious, would be to issue bonds; another would be to reenact the war tax act in times of profound peace, when possibly Europe itself will be at peace, and increase that tax; another still would be to readjust the income tax by decreasing the exemption and increasing the rate; or, again, to revert back to the old practice of collecting money from a duty on sugar.

And why should not the last-named course be followed? The refiners told Congress, and Congress believed the refiners, that if the duty on sugar was reduced, the consumer would receive the advantage of the reduction. On March 1, 1914, Congress reduced the then existing duty by 25 per cent; and for not a single moment from that day to this has the consumer paid as little money for his sugar as he paid before the reduction. He is now paying practically twice as much as he did before the reduction.

The American consumer and the United States Treasury both have suffered from the reduction; and the only beneficiary has been the refiner, commonly known as the Sugar Trust, which has absorbed the entire reduction and multiplied the price of sugar to the consumer.

Under the old rate, which went out on the 1st of March by virtue of the Underwood bill, the Treasury of the United States would have collected to date more than fifty-eight millions in duty instead of forty-three millions, so that the Sugar Trust has absorbed in the 10 months since the reduction was made nearly $15,000,000. At this rate, by the end of 12 months, as the result of this 25 per cent reduction, fully eighteen millions will have been absorbed by the trust and will have been lost to the Treasury.

SUGAR TRUST IS AGAIN ATTEMPTING TO DECEIVE THE PUBLIC.

All understand that the Sugar Trust is again engaged in its old practice of deceiving the public, and, in this instance, it asserts that the high price of sugar is due to the European war. That is not true. It is merely a subterfuge resorted to by the trust to deceive the American public while it is engaged in absorbing the tariff reduction, which it had promised the American consumer should receive.

I make this statement for the reason that at this very hour the refiners of the country are engaged, on the American market, in selling sugar to Europeans for consumption in Europe at a lower price than the same sugar is being sold by them, on the same market, to the American consumer.

The war could not lift the price of sugar in the United States, at peace with all the world, when sold to an American consumer, and not raise it equally to a European, engaged in this same war. Yet this war, far from our shores, is invoked as a reason to lift sugar prices to the American consumers beyond the price charged Europeans.

To put the question squarely to Congress and the American people: I ask, shall we indefinitely suspend all expenditures for the improvement of our rivers and harbors and the construction of necessary public buildings? And shall we reenact the war tax and increase its burdens? And shall we reduce the exemption clause of the income tax and increase the tax itself, to meet this deficiency? Or shall we issue bonds in preference to all this? Or shall we, as I suggest, return to the time-honored system of collecting taxes on articles that can bear the duty, particularly when the remission of the duty does not cheapen their price to the consumer, as is the case with sugar?

Congress must soon answer these questions.

I read this because it seems to me it is so intimately connected with the condition of our Treasury as to be very material in the consideration of the shipping bill. It is idle for the Government to talk about procuring ships unless we have money or unless we resort to a bond issue. I do not believe that anybody, even on the majority side of the Chamber, is very enthusiastic about a bond issue. We are very sensitive on that subject and have been so for some 20 years.

During the last preceding Democratic administration there was a bond issue, and much invidious criticism resulted. I do not know that anything else would have sufficed; it seemed like the Treasury for that administration was in its natural condition. During that administration, too, there was more paid out than came in; the Government's credit was somewhat impaired, and it seemed that a bond issue was the only way to maintain that credit; so the bond issue came. However, it begot considerable criticism with nearly all of us, regardless of party.

An administration that is driven to issue bonds is uniformly recognized as having financially gone wrong, and that same criticism of which I spoke is renewed. So the return to a duty on sugar seems to be one of the ways by which we can maintain the Treasury in a sufficiently solvent condition to build or buy

ships in the event the majority party is bent upon the passage of the bill.

I have the prices of sugar here in a table running along from time to time, and I desire to read from an article about sugar:

DECREASED ACREAGE PLANTED.

Many producers, feeling it useless to attempt to continue under the discouraging conditions facing them, or finding it impossible to finance their operations, since bankers were unwilling to advance money to an enterprise condemned to early extinction, abandoned the industry. Eleven of the 71 beet-sugar factories operating in 1913 closed their doors and made no contracts for beets to be grown in 1914. Growers made smaller plantings, and the area sown to beets was reduced by 135,000 acres. In Louisiana over 40 mills and plantations went out of business, many of the properties going into bankruptcy or being disposed of at forced sale. In Porto Rico half a dozen centrals were placed in the hands of receivers.

During the early months of the year the pressure of the heavy supplies of domestic and Cuban sugars coming upon the market forced prices to still lower levels. The reduction in the tariff rate on March 1 undoubtedly had an influence in this direction by causing producers to rush their product to market earlier than they otherwise would have done. During the period from the early part of March to the beginning of May refined sugar averaged 3¾ cents a pound in the New York market.

With the coming of May new influences began to make themselves felt. By that time practically all the domestic sugar of the 1913–14 crop had been sold, leaving the market entirely to Cuban sugar. This had to pass through the hands of the big seaboard refiners on its way to the consumer, thus giving the refiners control of the situation. By this time also the period for planting the new domestic crop had ended and it was known that the amount of home-grown sugar, both beet and cane, would be decidedly decreased during the ensuing season. Considerable amounts of Cuban sugar had been sold to England, thereby reducing somewhat the available Cuban supply for the United States.

RECOVERY OF PRICES.

By the middle of May the wholesale price of refined sugar in New York had returned to the same point it had occupied during the earlier part of the year, thus eliminating any difference represented by the reduction in tariff. A week later sugar was selling for the first time during the year at exactly the same level as on the corresponding date in 1913. In June the cash price of refined was 4.214 cents a pound, and it continued at this level to the end of July.

It is noteworthy that, following the reduction in the tariff, during the period from March to the end of July, the refiners' margin, which had been low during the first two months of the year, took a decided advance.

This refiners' margin is the difference between the price of raw and refined sugar on a given date, and therefore includes both the profit made by the refiner and the cost of refining. It is not absolutely exact, as the refined sugar may have been made from raws purchased perhaps two weeks earlier, so that on an advancing market the actual profit would be greater and on a declining market less than that shown by the figures for the day. Except in a violently fluctuating market, however, it is sufficiently exact to be used for purposes of comparison.

As against an average of 49.3 cents a hundred pounds during January and February, the refiners' margin increased to 81.1 cents during the period from March to August. In other words, the price of refined sugar did not decline to the same extent as the price of raws during the earlier part of this period, nor did raws advance equally with refined when the improvement in prices set in. Thus the refiners were able to increase their profits very materially. The price of refined sugar was the same as before the reduction in the tariff; consumers were paying the same for their sugar; the growers alone were receiving less for their product. This situation was exactly as had been predicted by the producers in the event of reduction or removal of the customs duty on imported sugar.

WAR TRANSFORMS SITUATION.

At the beginning of August the sugar situation was suddenly revolutionized. The outbreak of war in Europe, involving the principal sugar-producing territory of the globe, upset established relations in the sugar industry as completely as in the political world. Of the two great sugar-buying nations, Great Britain and the United States, which annually import some 2,000,000 tons of sugar each and are the only first-class powers that do not grow all their sugar from their own soil, Great Britain was completely cut off from her accustomed sources of supply in Germany and Austria-Hungary. As the refining capacity of Great Britain is not sufficient to supply the country's needs she was forced to turn to New York as the only available market for refined sugar. British purchases, both of raw and refined sugar in New York and of raw sugar from Cuba and elsewhere, quickly aggregated 900,000 tons. The immediate and unexpected withdrawal of a large proportion of this great quantity from the available supply resulted in an advance of approximately 3 cents a pound in prices both of raw and refined.

UNITED STATES CROP LOWERS PRICES.

The high level of prices established by the excited rush for sugar early in August continued well into the following month, until the new crop of home-grown beets, which in August began to be turned into sugar in California, came upon the market. At the end of the first week in September this beet sugar was offered freely in middle western cities at approximately a cent a pound below the refiners' New York prices. The American Beet Sugar Co. offered 100,000 bags in Chicago at 6.25 cents a pound, as against the New York spot price of 7.10 cents. Holders of sugar who before the war had contracted for a large proportion of the California beet-sugar outturn at low prices began reselling at the same price. The effect of this competition from the new-crop domestic sugar caused the refiners to cut down their purchases of raw sugar and sent the price of raws down from 6.27 cents a pound on September 10 to 5.89 on September 17 and 5.02 on September 24. The price of refined followed the same course, but declined somewhat more slowly.

This indicates the course of the sugar market following this reduction, which we heard on this side of the Chamber justified at great length on the ground that it would reduce by that much the cost of living. The approximate reduction, I remember from this and other figures, was about 40 cents per hundred pounds of refined sugar to the consumer. That lasted until May, or possibly the first days of June, 1914. Naturally, the sponsors for the Underwood bill are entitled to credit for that reduction; and when the Secretary of the Treasury is horrified at the idea of a subsidy because the Democratic Party platform forbids it, I could with equal horror say that I figure out, on this item, the reduced cost of living as follows:

I got a man in a laboratory where I was one time late last summer to take a teaspoonful of sugar and put it on his delicately adjusted scales and weigh it, and then figure out how many teaspoonfuls there were in a pound of sugar. On the theory that a man would drink one cup of coffee at breakfast before he went to his daily toil, I was able to find out how much the high cost of living had been reduced to this son of toil. At the rate of 40 cents per hundred pound reduction, this sufferer from the high cost of living would be obliged to drink 1,200 cups of coffee to get 5 cents reduction; and that, on this plank on the sugar schedule, is the first fruit of Democratic performance. That will not buy a boat. If the high cost of living had been so reduced to every one of a hundred million people, and his ability to pay taxes had been correspondingly increased, still the shipping bill would not have gotten any appreciable sum of money out of that saving in accordance with this plank. So I do not see why any considerable aversion ought to be expressed on the breach of the other plank.

This is a plank that pledged them not to destroy or injure any legitimate industry. I find another plank here which is certainly one of great pith and moment; and in this little eddying current of time in which we enter and perform on the stage here in the Senate, only a mere atom in the great whirlpool of eternity, let us remember that perhaps a Democratic platform might survive for awhile, and it is just as well to find out what there is in it, to see whether or not it has been kept. Let me read this, that would provoke shouts of tumultuous, derisive laughter in whatever quarter of the United States it might be read to-day. No literacy test will be needed to understand what that plank means when I read it. Why, even a man who, in the language of the immigration bill, was graded as of "constitutional psycopathic inferiority," could tell what this means. Let me read it, so that the wayfaring politician, even though he be defeated, will understand what it is:

We favor a single presidential term and to that end urge the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution making the President of the United States ineligible for reelection, and we pledge the candidate of this convention—

To what?

to this principle.

They pledged the candidate of that convention to this principle! Well, I wonder if there is any principle in politics, or is a platform written just to get through the campaign on? There may be some resolution for such a constitutional amendment pending here. I do not know. I will promise not to consume any great length of time if a majority Senator will introduce such a resolution, and I will promise to vote for it. If you would lengthen the term to about six years and then tell the occupant of the office that that was his last trial at the Executive office, I would gladly vote for it.

I have seen so many Presidents, and some of them Republicans, and governors until they pass out of my memory—I would not burden my memory with the number—who have spent more time trying to get a second term than they did in performing the duties of a first term, that I think it would be a useful change. Whenever a person is infected with the fatal malady of a second term there is no happiness or peace on earth for him or anybody else afterwards. I am reminded of that line from Dante describing the spirits of those who had not lived justly. They might have lived riotously and happily in this world, but they landed in the wrong place; and with the well-known illustrations by a great artist that went with the favorite copy of the poem there was this line, which well describes a candidate who wants a second term:

The stormy blast of hell, with restless fury, drives the spirits on—

To a second term. [Laughter.]

Ah, if the immortal poet had lived to this time, how much better he could have portrayed Gehenna and all of its tribulations if he had seen the man who is simply incurably afflicted with a desire for a second term of some executive office!

So that is another plank. If Secretary McAdoo is so horrified at a subsidy because "the Democratic platform prohibits subsidies," here is another one, a third one, about which nothing had been heard in this campaign, and I apprehend nothing will be heard from our majority friends. It is not the first time it has happened. I know of another great President who came in in the full flush of a first term and concluded that it was all that the public welfare would ever permit him to hold, and still he ran three times and was elected once afterwards.

After this there is another very suggestive plank in this platform. I want to read it, because it is about as near as I ever get in my beliefs at the present time to my Democratic brethren on matters of principle. They have here, in the Baltimore platform, a protest against the executive encroachment on the other branches of the General Government:

We believe in the preservation and maintenance in their full strength and integrity of the three coordinate branches of the Federal Government—the executive, the legislative, and the judicial—each keeping within its own bounds and not encroaching upon the just powers of either of the others.

The distinguished senior Senator from Missouri [Mr. STONE] this evening was pleased to criticize the language of some of his Republican brethren because they had intimated that the Executive had some influence with the Senate. Privately speaking, I think he has. I have no sympathy with it. If he were a Republican he would find some of us the same way. I never got along with even any Republican governor in my State who manifested the same tendency. I spent the years of my life when I ought to have known better, because I had arrived at years of understanding, in the State legislature, and a large part of my trouble grew out of the fact that some of the Republican governors of that State always wanted to tell the legislature what to do. I always thought if the governor wanted to do that he would first have to go up to my district and be nominated and elected to the place I held. I feel that way now. The State that I represent in part, with my Democratic colleague, in this Chamber, has more population than 14 other States of this Union, its manufactures are greater than those of nearly 23 other States of the Union, its agriculture equal to 16 other States, and its banking resources are second only to those of New York City, and the latter's are greater than anything else in the Western Hemisphere. New York State equals in population 17 other States; its manufacturing 29 other States; and its banking exceeds any other State in the Union. So why should a President who might be elected from Delaware or Nevada, with 80,000 people, or Wyoming with 125,000, or Rhode Island with a good many more—I do not remember exactly the population, but it is more—tell a Senator how to vote? It is enough for any President to discharge well his Executive duties, and leave other service to be performed by others chosen for that purpose.

It is the besetting vice, not only of kings but of Executives, to be continually thinking that they know more about legislation than the people who are elected to fulfill those duties. So the protest in the Democratic platform about Executive encroachment, read in the light of events that have occurred since March 4, 1913, seems like an idle jest, a supreme bit of humor.

If the shipping bill is enacted, and forty or fifty million dollars are expended as an entering wedge, in response to the Executive demand, it will cease to be humorous. I never saw a bureau in Washington or in a State capital grow any less after it was once started. They always grow larger. They are clamoring for more appropriations. They can always see more and more ahead to do. Let them alone, and after a while they spread out and cover the whole country. There will be nothing left but a bureaucratic government if you will let them alone. We have the shipping bill, the interstate commerce bill, the trade commission bill, the antitrust law, the disposition of the Executive powers through the Cabinet officers and the heads of departments to reach out and do all of these things, and so concentrate them in a single person.

I am reminded that for the first time, probably, in the Senate I will read an authority that is not recognized as orthodox. In the year 1835 there was a somewhat physically weak child born in the State of Missouri. As the neighbors said over in that country, they had a pretty hard time bringing him up; but he survived and finally landed in Hannibal. Afterwards he was known as a sort of a court jester to the American people. I refer to Mark Twain. I probably ought to apologize for reading Mark Twain in the Senate. He is not recognized as a legislative authority or statesman, as a rule; and still, as I watch executives, State or National, with their continual, steady advance, absorbing power after power that they can reach as it comes along in their way, I begin to think that maybe Mark Twain was a statesman instead of a humorist.

Quoting now from Roughing It:

Toward dawn we got underway again; and presently, as we sat with raised curtains enjoying our early morning smoke and contemplating the first splendor of the rising sun as it swept down the long array of mountain peaks, flushing and gilding crag after crag and summit after summit, as if the invisible Creator reviewed his gray veterans and they saluted with a smile, we hove in sight of South Pass City. The hotel keeper, the postmaster, the blacksmith, the mayor, the constable, the city marshal, and the principal citizen and property holder—all came out and greeted us cheerily, and we gave him good day. He gave us a little Indian news and a little Rocky Mountain news, and we gave him some Plains information in return. He then retired to his lonely grandeur, and we climbed on up among the bristling peaks and ragged clouds. South Pass City consisted of four log cabins, one of which was unfinished, and the gentleman with all those offices and titles was the chiefest of the 10 citizens of the place. Think of hotel keeper, postmaster, blacksmith, mayor, constable, city marshal, and principal citizen all condensed into one person and crammed into one skin! Bemis said he was "a perfect Allen's revolver of dignities." And he said that if he were to die as postmaster, or as blacksmith, or as postmaster and blacksmith both, the people might stand it; but if he were to die all over, it would be a frightful loss to the community.

Why, of course it would. Ah, Mark Twain, when he jested for the American people, lived because back of every jest there was an undying trait of human nature. The court jester of the early days was the wisest man in the kingdom. If he were not, he could not keep his head on his shoulders. Any court jester that sprang a chestnut on the monarchs of those days lost his head quicker than a Republican postmaster in Illinois. [Laughter.] The "consolidated inhabitant of the Rocky Mountains" was the executive of these later days, not by breaking the Constitution in terms, not by violating the statutes, not by proclaiming to the public that he favors a consolidation of power. Oh, no; none of that; but by silent influences and by processes that are a great deal more insidious than the lobby which the President thought he discovered here during the summer of 1913. He seeks practically to do these things, in fact, without giving them a name. I believe every member of a legislative body, and especially of the Senate, ought to give it a name. Let the Executive of this country stay in the place where the Constitution put him. I am not saying that as a member of the minority; I would say it just as soon and with more fervor—if I had started on this line earlier in the evening—if I were on the majority side and there were a Republican President.

Mr. McAdoo was horrified because when they told him this would be a subsidy and asked him why he could not stand for a subsidy he replied, "Oh, the Democratic platform of 1912 forbids a subsidy." What about these other planks? Yes; I have some more here, and I want to use them for a kind of reference book hereafter, and I might as well put them in here, and on the shipping bill it is especially important. If he could not break the platform on the subsidy plank, why does he break it on the others? The platform says:

We demand a return to that simplicity and economy which befits a democratic government and a reduction in the number of useless offices, the salaries of which drain the substance of the people.

Let us see what happened? I looked over the estimates not long ago, and in those estimates for 1916, the next fiscal year, I found that increase of salaries and the creation of new offices amounted to $10,000,000. So I do not think there has been any great effort at reducing either the salaries or to keep down the creation of new offices.

There was a publicity plank on recommendations for appointments to office. What has become of it? Nobody knows. It disappeared long ago. Nobody has heard of it recently here. It has been a year and a half or two years since it was mentioned in this Chamber. I doubt whether its familiar features will ever be visible again to its best friends. The plank favors the publicity of all recommendations for appointment to public office. I remember here only two years ago that on a bill in connection with the creation of a judicial district we tried to have an amendment so that we would know who recommended the appointment of one of the judges. Do we know? Not yet, save by conjecture. If anybody knows, he has dreamed it; it is a vision.

That is another plank that is more honored in the breach than in the observance, as usual.

Then there was a plank on the rights of labor which provides:

We repeat our declarations of the platform of 1908—

So that some workman employed in the steel mills of North Chicago or in the glucose works at Peoria or over at South Bend in the Studebaker works who was on the pay roll and wanted to find out just what his rights were under the Democratic platform and what it promised, he would read:

We repeat our declarations of the platform of 1908.

Well, all of them do not carry the platforms of 1908 and of previous years in their pockets, but when he turned to the platform of 1908 he would see a signboard that referred to a bill that was passed in the Senate several years before, and would have still to keep going. Then, when it was worked out in the legislation in the amendments to the antitrust law, what did it do? I remember that the first time here that I felt constrained to vote against an amendment in a deficiency appropriation bill relative to the Attorney General's office exempting labor unions from prosecution by express terms, I received my due share of criticism. Mr. Gompers fell upon me with great vigor, but he has fallen upon so many people that his victims now aggregate more than his followers, so that his victims were able to pull through. It is not because I am at all hostile to Mr. Gompers

or anything he represents, only I prefer to do my own voting and thinking, instead of letting Mr. Gompers do them for me, and I shall continue to do that in the years to come, if the Lord favors me with the privilege of staying on earth. I may say, however, that in such places as I have been privileged to act I have done as much for union labor as any other person in the State I have the honor to represent here.

I will help them now at any time and place; I will go out of my way to do so. Everything Mr. Gompers orders, however, is not beneficial to organized labor. He has made several mistakes in his time. He has at times loudly proclaimed the innocence of men who have been convicted of crime afterwards and properly convicted and confined in the penitentiary.

What amendment to the antitrust law was made by this bill? Simply a declaration that the right to labor or that human labor should not be considered as a property right, as a thing, but as a personal attribute; that is what it means; and that men could combine in labor unions and create them without being subjected to its restraints. That is right. But they had that privilege or right before. It needed no law, no amendment to permit a labor union to do that. There never has been a time in this country when any court, State or Federal, ever forbade labor unions to exist. They have always had the right independently of the amendment to exist for any lawful purpose. But I return to the provision of the law. What does it do? It permits them to organize and their members to do anything in furtherance of legitimate purposes. Now, that is the same amendment I offered here in April, 1913, precisely. That is all that section is, and it is all, in justice, that any party ought to do. I am not criticizing the Democratic Party for doing no more. They did enough on that. That is all that can lawfully be asked by anybody in the country. This is not a country of classes; it is a country of equality of rights under the law. But the party leaders induced the representatives of labor to expect more, possibly more than ought or could have been done. I criticize it for its extravagant promises to gain votes in a campaign.

And I turn now to yet another plank. If I took a piece of charcoal and went through the Democratic platform and marked out the planks that have not been kept, there would be few left in the entire document.

There is yet another plank, and to my mind this is one—I will not say the most important, but to the gentleman of whom I was talking awhile ago it would be the most important; to the gentlemen of high standards in politics who look with horror and detestation upon the vileness and the iniquity of the practical politician—to those gentlemen civil-service laws are of the essence of their lives. They are of the breath of their nostrils. I have always been in favor of civil service, and within whatever area I have been called on to act I have acted in favor of it. I handled 2,500 employees for four years under a rigid civil-service law, and we kept the law; we observed it in letter and spirit. They, of course, were not postmasters; they were State employees. No postmasters got in under that civil service, and they did not stay in under the Government civil service either.

Now I come to the civil-service plank, and it is a thing of beauty and a joy forever, Mr. President. There is nothing like it; "Full many a gem of purest ray serene the dark unfathom'd caves" of the Democratic platform bear. But this is one of the superlative planks. It reads:

> The law pertaining to the civil service should be honestly and rightly enforced, to the end that merit and ability should be the standard of appointment and promotion rather than service rendered to a political party.

That has always been the substance of every politician's offense, that service rendered to a political party should never have any recompense. If anyone was appointed to office because he had helped the party get into power, and labored faithfully and had been a hewer of wood and a drawer of water, and had done humble things well—if he ever got any recognition that was the sum total of political crime, and so it was forbidden by this plank. No appointments were to be made for service rendered to a political party.

> We favor a reorganization of the civil service, with adequate compensation commensurate with the class of work performed, for all officers and employees; we also favor the extension to all classes of civil-service employees of the benefits of the provisions of the employers' liability act; we also recognize the right of direct petition to Congress by employees for the redress of grievances.

It is all put in one platform. There has been nothing like unto it seen lately. Why, in the short span of time that I have been about this place just think of what has happened! Civil service, yes; revision of the tariff, yes; income tax, yes; a number of new employees, certainly; and they are pretty searching kind of fellows. They get around and over the community and they interview gentlemen and they often go after men after their incomes have been listed and put them under oath around Chicago and Peoria, cities where I roam when I am not here. They examine the needy millionaires and make them come to time.

Were they put under civil service? You would think that the income-tax work would be about as nonpolitical as any you could think of. There was a good Samaritan on our side of the Chamber who offered an amendment that all of the income-tax employees should be put under the civil-service law of the United States. What happened to it? Why, it was slain without benefit of clergy. Nobody on the other side dropped an untimely tear when it died.

Later on yet other things came; a deficiency bill went through, and in the deficiency bill there was an amendment to remove the deputy internal-revenue collectors and the deputy United States marshals from the civil service. Was that required for the good of the service? Hardly. They would be no better for being taken out of the civil service, and the chances were that you would keep experienced men on the idea that originally they were fit as to their honesty and capacity, and that their term of service would make them more competent for the performance of their duties, which are largely of a technical character. Still they were not only not permitted to stay where they were but they were removed from under the laws giving them protection. The deputy marshals were left as spoils.

Then the next thing that came along was the currency act. My colleague [Mr. LEWIS] has got into some controversy with the Federal reserve bank. I do not know what the merits or the demerits of the controversy are, but I apprehend that he will be able to take care of himself, and so will the other fellows. Therefore I will be a neutral power and let the belligerents fight it out. But the Federal reserve act, one would think, would call for a class of employees that were not necessarily politicians. Instantly there arises in a man's mind visions of cashiers and bookkeepers and those having knowledge of stocks, bonds, commercial paper, and so forth, running through the list necessary for an average-sized bank in a city of a million or two population. We proposed here to place the employees provided for and necessary to operate the Federal reserve act under the civil service. A Senator on this side of the Chamber made the motion. It suffered the same untimely fate that other motions of the kind did. My recollection now is—I think I am correct on this point—that it was tied. There were some of our Democratic friends on the other side of the Chamber who were disposed on a thing of that kind to vote with us. So there was a tie vote, and I think the RECORD shows that on the tie the Vice President was in the chair; and as he decided the tie for the Democratic majority, he voted against putting the employees of the Federal Reserve Board under the civil-service laws of this country.

The Covington bill, which created the Trade Commission, has in it no elements of politics. It seems to me that there is no more politics in that commission than there is in the Interstate Commerce Commission, and I hope it will work out in that way. Still, the Members on this side of the Chamber were unable to have the employees made necessary by that act placed under the civil-service laws of this country.

I need not say anything of assistant postmasters and fourth-class postmasters, because I do not care so much, for my part, about that. All of my life I have never had any patronage to distribute. It has always been in the hands of the other fellow in my country. In our party, in our family divisions, my lot has always been cast with the fellow who did not have the pay roll. Possibly I am unfortunate in it. I have missed a great deal of trouble, very likely, that I have seen the other fellow have; so I am not wearing any visible signs of mourning over the postmasters in this country. We expect them to go out; but I do respectfully protest against the infamous cloak of hypocracy that has mantled the shoulders of a deserving law.

In the name of civil service more political crimes have been committed under this administration than were ever perpetrated in the palmiest days of the worst spoilsmen that the field of American politics ever saw. Take a county that formerly was in my old legislative district of 25 years ago, a Democratic county. My district was Democratic. I was raised among Democrats, Mr. President. I have always been a minority man. I am used to them. I learned to like them early, personally, but I learned to distrust their politics. Down in this Democratic county three men were examined for postmaster, and just out of sheer, unadulterated, malicious curiosity, I investigated it. One was appointed. He was a Democrat. The other two were disappointed. [Laughter.] They were both Democrats, so I could assume a severely judicial aspect, as it was not my kettle of fish. I looked it up. I got

their ratings on their examination. One man made 70 and a fraction, another made 82, another made 97, and the one that got the 70 mark was appointed. Do you know why? He was a politician. The other two were just simply men that attended to their own business and voted the Democratic ticket, and did no go around and hustle for delegates and help nominate the Member of Congress. So certainly the 70 per cent man got in. They put out another man whose public service in his little post office was as efficient as that of any postmaster in the Republic, and all the years of his faithful service went for nothing. He was a fourth-class postmaster, too.

Should a wise man utter vain knowledge—

That is one of Job's neighbor's fervid utterances at a time when Job was somewhat ailing.

Should a wise man utter vain knowledge and fill his belly with the east wind?

That is the old version, and I like it. The new one is, "Fill himself with the east wind," but I like to have the anatomy specified where the wind is. That is civil service from A to Z in this administration, simply wind in that locality—an idle jest; something about which the petty gods of Egypt or of Greece, 30,000 in number, if they had time to bother about such things in their day, might have turned into an idle holiday jest—contemplate civil service under this administration!

Trust a lamb to something carnivorous with claws and expect it to get away alive! Do not trust civil service to such professions as this in a platform. The President is a good man. I respect him. I am talking about the principle, and not the man, but he has certainly got around him some people that do not tell him every day what they are doing, or else they do not let the right hand know what the left hand is doing.

These things are platform pledges; and I now quote from our President on civil service when he was a candidate in order that the record may be rounded out on this plank. I only do it to put it in the RECORD, as it is old and hackneyed by this time. He phrased it somewhat picturesquely when he said the Democratic—

Platform was not molasses to catch flies.

After the election, and in the full flush of admiration for the confidence the people seemed to have manifested in him, he gave utterance to this inspired sentiment. I do not think there is anybody but the senior Senator from Missouri who could fully appreciate the warmth, the ardor, the deep sense of devotion, that is manifested in this quotation. He says:

My warm advocacy and support both of the principle and the bona fide practice of civil-service reform is known to the whole country, and there is no danger that the spoils system will creep in with my approval or connivance.

Well, give him the benefit of the doubt. It has not crept in with his approval or his connivance; but you know what the law is the world over wherever the common law is administered, wherever that great code exists that flows from the days of the mighty Alfred, leading us to practice under the same forms here that are in use on the banks of the Thames. You know that under a principle that is as old as Anglo-Saxon liberty there is such a thing as criminal negligence, and that the person who causes loss of life or personal injury by the nonperformance of a duty is as responsible as the one guilty of an overt, intentional act. There is such a thing as official negligence, and it is manifested in this case.

Why, here is another thing, and it comes at a most inopportune time, because I have a very great admiration for the sage from Nebraska. We have been together on platforms sometimes. We have touched elbows at many banquet tables, until I have grown blasé and dyspeptic. The only difference is that I never took a dollar of gate money in my life of such mostly humble service for nearly 20 years. If anybody ever could stand staying in an audience and listening to me on a public occasion, he did not have to pay for the privilege. He could get my talk for nothing. The only difference is that the Secretary of State took the gate money, and it is all right. He started that way, and I started the other way, and we are both entitled to our liberty of opinion; but here is quite another matter. In view of this platform declaration I have a right to say something about that. The other matter I will drop.

It will be necessary, in order to observe this properly and with the especial éclat that it demands, to read this again, Mr. President:

The law pertaining to the civil service should be honestly and rightly enforced, to the end that merit and ability should be the standard of appointment and promotion rather than service rendered to a political party.

The letter addressed to Walter W. Vick, dated August 20, 1913, said:

Now that you have arrived and have acquainted yourself with the situation—

This is down in San Domingo, down in the Tropics. Now, there ought to be a little allowance made. It is universally recognized that morals are a little more lax in the Tropics than they are in the North Temperate Zone. Their raiment is not so complete. The formalities and conventions of life are not observed to the degree that they are in our latitude, and so probably some degree of liberality ought to be shown in reading this letter; that is, for the people of the majority party meditating over tropical statecraft. What about the one that lives at this end of the line of communication, the premier of this administration?

Now that you have arrived and have acquainted yourself with the situation, can you let me know what positions you have at your disposal with which to reward deserving Democrats?

To the end that merit and ability shall be the standard of appointment and promotion rather than service rendered to a political party.

Let me know what positions you have at your disposal with which to reward deserving Democrats. Whenever you desire a suggestion from me in regard to a man for any place down there call on me.

You have had enough experience in politics to know how valuable workers are when the campaign is on—

Why, certainly—

and how difficult it is to find suitable rewards for the deserving. I do not know to what extent a knowledge of the Spanish language is necessary for employees. Let me know what is requisite, together with the salary and when appointments are likely to be made. Sullivan will be down before long.

That is not Roger Sullivan. That is another fellow. [Laughter.]

And you and he together ought to be able to bring about such reforms as may be necessary there.

Well, now, that is a likely outfit for reform down at that end, the way things look to me. Reform! Ah, that is the reason reform gets a bad name in this country. There are a bevy of reformers, in the language of the poet, that you ought to look at a long way off. "Distance lends enchantment to the view"; and if you watch them right closely I am not so sure about whether you would be a reformer or not, Mr. President, or I myself.

And you and he together ought to be able to bring about such reforms as may be necessary there. You will find Sullivan a strong, courageous, reliable fellow. The more I have seen of him, the better satisfied I am that he will fit into the place there and do what is necessary to be done.

Very truly, yours, W. J. BRYAN.

Another splintered plank! Another bottom fallen out! Another great principle gone! Where? Nobody knows—to the limbo of broken promises. The letter in its entirety, unprofaned by ribald comment of mine, ought to appear. So I insert it here in its primeval chastity as a fit and enduring epitaph to another deceased plank in the remarkable document I am quoting.

The letter addressed to Walter W. Vick dated August 20, 1913, is as follows:

Now that you have arrived and have acquainted yourself with the situation, can you let me know what positions you have at your disposal with which to reward deserving Democrats? Whenever you desire a suggestion from me in regard to a man for any place down there call on me.

You have had enough experience in politics to know how valuable workers are when the campaign is on and how difficult it is to find suitable rewards for the deserving. I do not know to what extent a knowledge of the Spanish language is necessary for employees. Let me know what is requisite, together with the salary, and when appointments are likely to be made. Sullivan will be down before long and you and he together ought to be able to bring about such reforms as may be necessary there. You will find Sullivan a strong, courageous, reliable fellow. The more I have seen of him the better satisfied I am that he will fit into the place there and do what is necessary to be done.

Very truly, yours, W. J. BRYAN.

I do not know all of those people, but the National Civil Service Reform League gathered itself in solemn conclave in New York on February 7, Sunday. It is a good day, and possibly a good deed. They thought it was. Their motives were pure. After some mental labor they produced the following, to wit:

The National Civil Service Reform League profoundly regrets that the Secretary of State appears to have suggested and advocated and later publicly justified the use of the customs service of Santo Domingo, constituting a national trust for the benefit of another American Republic and its creditors, to reward partisan services in our domestic politics.

The National Civil Service Reform League, by its governing body, declares this course plainly inconsistent, not only with fidelity to the principles of the merit system, and with the purpose avowed in the Democratic national platform of 1912, to make "merit and ability the standard of appointment and promotion rather than service to a political party," but with ordinary good faith toward the Dominican Republic and its creditors.

It hereby publicly expresses its earnest hope that the President will promptly take such effective action as may prevent the practical application of a policy so generally and justly condemned.

And, Mr. President, here endeth this chapter on this plank.

I feel as to the shipping bill that, when a subsidy is condemned because a Democratic plank opposes it, these are all legitimate arguments. I think I would be derelict in the performance of my duty if I did not preserve in some permanent form these evidences of high devotion, filling us with high, exciting, and gratifying prospects, of the love of this administration for the civil service. It is without a parallel and the interpretation thereof is equal to that where they said they would destroy no legitimate industry, when their first act was to smite down one of the principal industries in this country.

Here is another thing. This is possibly a matter of opinion, and there would be a difference of opinion because it refers to the Federal reserve act. I did not vote for that act, and up to this time my conscience is reasonably clear on that subject; I have lost no sleep about it; and what is much more gratifying, I could not discover during the last election that I lost any votes because of my perversity. I refer to the central bank plank. I hate to mutilate this orphan known as "the Baltimore platform."

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. You did not strike the first blow.

Mr. SHERMAN. That is right; it was smitten in the house of its supposed friends. It might be premised here properly that the central bank which was condemned by the platform was known as the Aldrich central bank and was denounced with greater or less vehemence as a repetition of the second United States Bank that created some trouble in the earlier finances of this country as well as in its politics. So the central reserve bank appeared to be in the last campaign a charge made against Republicans.

The National Monetary Commission expressed its views in a report in substance which provided for a single bank, the functions of which would be largely the same as those performed either by the Federal reserve bank or those banks on the Federal Reserve Board. The language in which the Democratic Party opposed this measure is as follows:

> We oppose the so-called Aldrich bill or the establishment of a central bank, and we believe the people of the country will be largely freed from panics and consequent unemployment and business depression by such a systematic revision of our banking laws as will render temporary relief in localities where such relief is needed, with protection from control or domination by what is known as the Money Trust.
>
> Banks exist for the accommodation of the public and not for the control of business. All legislation on the subject of banking and currency should have for its purpose the securing of these accommodations on terms of absolute security to the public and of complete protection from the misuse of the power that wealth gives to those who possess it.
>
> We condemn the present methods of depositing Government funds in a few favored banks, largely situated in or controlled by Wall Street, in return for political favors, and we pledge our party to provide by law for their deposit by competitive bidding in the banking institutions of the country, National and State, without discrimination as to locality upon approved securities and subject to call by the Government.

I inquire if anybody has ever heard of any bids for deposits from the Federal reserve bank in any of the 12 regional districts in the United States?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. No.

Mr. SHERMAN. I think not. The bank that was created was not a central bank, as was explained here on this floor by the very able Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. OWEN], who was the chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee and whom we all greatly respect and like on this side. It broke up the power of the central bank into 12 regional banks or financial pools, all of which were so interrelated that, by simply making use of the powers given, any difference in the financial level could be readily adjusted, and if it were too low in one place, it could be turned off and the level raised from the extra funds in some other region.

There were 12 of these Federal reserve banks. Of course there was some difference of opinion about their location. Some cities were not satisfied, and it is not my purpose now to go into that matter at length. The only historical significance that it possesses now to this plank of the Democratic platform is that the reading of divers resolutions from several disappointed cities led our genial friend, JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS, to rise on the other side of the Chamber, and shake his long, bony fist at the divided Democratic party, and then and there deliver to them the justly merited lecture, which has been quoted probably more than any literary gem which the senior Senator from Mississippi ever worked out of the great intellectual laboratory he possesses.

The Federal reserve bank in a district through this law commandeered every national bank doing business, notwithstanding that the original national banking association act that was in force when this law was passed declared that the shares of stock in a national bank were personal property and notwithstanding that the charter of the member banks was to be forfeited if they refused to go into the Federal reserve bank, the bill retained those coercive features.

Instead of having one central bank, they created a Federal Reserve Board. The appointments to that board are unquestionably of a high type; I am not objecting to them; I am objecting to the power in this act given to one of the members of that board, the Secretary of the Treasury, which puts in the hands of one man the right to take or remove Government deposits from Federal reserve banks. The last report from his office, as I figured it up, showed that nearly $250,000,000 of deposits were controlled by the Secretary of the Treasury. He controlled more deposits than there were resources in all of the reserve banks in the United States. He can make or break, he can favor or punish, he can administer as he will that tremendous financial power that lies unregulated in his hands or regulated by nothing more than his unbridled discretion.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. THORNTON in the chair). Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. SHERMAN. For a question; I do not yield the floor.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I do not want to take the Senator off the floor, but I wish to ask, is it not a fact that the Secretary of the Treasury has for years possessed the same power to make deposits of all the cash in the Treasury in whatever banks he might desire under the old system of national bank deposits?

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Then, why is it so wrong to have in this bill a reiteration of the same power?

Mr. SHERMAN. I will tell you. Let me read you here what I read a little while ago from the Democratic platform:

> We condemn the present methods of depositing Government funds in a few favored banks, largely situated in or controlled by Wall Street, in return for political favors, and we pledge our party to provide by law for their deposit by competitive bidding in the banking institutions of the country, National and State, without discrimination as to locality upon approved securities and subject to call by the Government.

That is your platform, not mine. You sought in that platform to reform and correct the alleged evil, and I am frank to confess to the Senator that I think sometimes there was favoritism, or at least what appeared to be that; if I had had the power I would have hedged that about so that no Secretary of the Treasury would ever be empowered to do such a thing. I do not say this as applying to the present Secretary, because he is an upright man, but the power is there to remain for abuse possibly at some time later.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. SHERMAN. I yield for a question.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Does not the Senator recognize that it is a great reform to have the power limited to deposit all these funds in banks which, according to their nature, have a relation with the United States Government, such as the Federal reserve banks, instead of having them deposited in purely private banks, as heretofore?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Private banks have not handled these deposits.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I mean national banks; and the national banks are private banks.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, no.

Mr. SHAFROTH. They are controlled by private capital; but in the Federal reserve bank there is a controlling voice in the Federal Government, represented by the Federal Reserve Board.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President, while that act was being written it could have been so written that this power would have been safeguarded in the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury, so that if any improper occupant of that office sought to use that great power he could not do so. As it is, it is open, and the Secretary of the Treasury, if he were disposed to do so, might show very great favoritism in the deposit of the funds.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, I will state to the Senator that I was on the Committee on Banking and Currency that framed the Federal reserve act. The question arose there as to what would be the attitude of the National Government in respect to deposits that we should make of the money in the Federal Treasury. There was considerable comment over it and study as to what would be the best solution of the problem. The difficulty was that, if you compelled this money to be put in the banks, in what proportion and in what manner should it be done? Difficulties arose to such an extent that it was deemed best in the interest of good government that there should be a sufficient limited discretion left in the Secretary of the Treasury so that this money could be distributed equitably throughout the United States as the Secretary of the Treasury

thought it would be to the best interests of the people and of the Government to have them deposited.

Mr. SHERMAN. Before that time the Secretary of the Treasury had the supervision of those matters through the Comptroller of the Currency, had he not? If any national bank kept its reserve at some point disapproved for reasons that were satisfactory to the Comptroller of the Currency or the Secretary of the Treasury—and the Comptroller of the Currency is the arm, the hand, and the eye of the Secretary of the Treasury—did he not under the old law have the right to remove the deposits?

Mr. SHAFROTH. Certainly he had the right to remove them; there can be no doubt about that; but the money deposited in the Federal reserve banks serves a double purpose. It serves as a basis for the circulation of currency, and it serves to build up a system of the Government in which the Government has a great interest. It was deemed best and wise that this power should not be curbed by any hard and fast rule so that money often had to remain in places where it was not of use and was not necessary. For that reason, at last it was concluded best to vest the discretion in the Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President, the Senator is aware that the reserves, wherever they were deposited with a reserve agent, were available for current uses and that they were so used. One criticism was that sometimes they were piled up too high in the reserve or central reserve cities, but they were available. A certain per cent of them were kept in the vaults, but it was not idle money.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Yes, Mr. President, but the feature of it by which the people get an advantage is the fact that a large proportion of the amounts of money that are deposited being gold it can be used in times of emergency whenever necessary to build up a circulating medium, and, therefore, increase the quantity of circulation during crop periods; and then the funds can be withdrawn when they are no longer needed for circulation.

Mr. SHERMAN. But the Democratic Party when vested with the power to legislate did not guard against the alleged evil it denounced in the plank I have quoted. This is the point I originally made, and I restate it before passing on.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SHERMAN. I yield for a question.

Mr. SMOOT. I want to say to the Senator from Colorado [Mr. SHAFROTH] that the Vreeland-Aldrich bill provided a system of using emergency currency, and, in my opinion, it was the best system that has ever been developed. The Senator knows if it had not been for the Vreeland-Aldrich bill there would have been a panic in this country such as never before had been known in the history of the country. The Senator also knows that that emergency currency is not all in yet. There is some $150,000,000 of it out. That is the emergency currency that was used, and that was the only thing that saved our Government from the greatest panic we have ever known.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, far be it from me to condemn the Aldrich-Vreeland currency that was issued. It has served a purpose. There is no doubt about that. At the same time, it has not that stability about it that the currency that can be issued under the Federal reserve act has. There is no doubt but that there is some of it out in circulation. It is a temporary measure. The difficulty—and the reason the Aldrich-Vreeland Act did not operate for years and years was not that there was not a demand for it, but the fact that the banks and the United States Government would not guarantee each other's paper, and it was not until after considerable experiment upon it and finding that they could do it with safety that at last the currency was issued. Under this system, however, you do not have to rely upon the individual bank indorsing the paper of other banks. All you have to do is to present paper that in my judgment is the best banking paper that ever has been issued by any banking system in the history of the world; and when that is presented the currency can be issued, dependent upon the demands of the particular bank or the particular individual that wants the money, instead of relying upon the indorsement of other banks.

Mr. SMOOT. The Senator certainly must have forgotten the basis of the emergency currency. The basis of the emergency currency was exactly the same as the basis you have now as far as the security is concerned. I want to say to the Senator also that I think he was mistaken when he said there was a demand for that emergency currency. Whenever the demand was created it was issued. That is the great strength of that law—that it is not a building up of credits, pyramid upon pyramid, and it is there always as a reserve to be drawn upon when they want it. That is why I say it is very, very much better than the present system, with the amendments that have been offered; and if the Senator remembers, the reason I spoke of it particularly was that only last evening that was one of the things that were condemned—the passage of the Vreeland-Aldrich bill by a Republican administration. On the other hand, the Senator well knows—well, I do not want to take the time of the Senator.

Mr. SHERMAN. Just so I do not lose the floor, it is all right.

Mr. SMOOT. I will not proceed any further now.

Mr. SHERMAN. I am yielding only on the idea that the Senator is asking a question, and that I retain the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. As long as the Senator yields only for a question he can not lose his right to the floor.

Mr. SHAFROTH. All I want to say in answer to the question is this——

Mr. SHERMAN. I yield to the Senator for a question.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I do not want to take the Senator off the floor. It seems to me that everyone concedes—and I think it was generally conceded in the committee—that while the Aldrich-Vreeland bill had served a good purpose, though it was slow in getting into operation, the system that was devised under the Federal reserve act was much better than that, because you did not have to have the guaranty of other banks in order to issue the currency.

Mr. SMOOT. Just one other word, Mr. President, and then I am through.

Mr. SHERMAN. I yield only for a question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from Utah for a question?

Mr. SHERMAN. Only for a question, if the Senator desires to ask a question.

Mr. SMOOT. No; I do not desire to ask the Senator a question. I was going to make a statement in answer to what the Senator from Colorado has said, but I will not do so, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois will proceed.

Mr. SHERMAN. Another provision of the bill that has to do with the plank I am referring to now empowers the Federal Reserve Board to go out into its district and become a competitor in the open market with its member banks and with the State banks in the district that are not member banks. This power is contained in a provision that authorizes the Federal reserve bank to buy bills of exchange in the open market. This makes the Federal reserve bank a competitor. I am not criticizing that feature of it because of any tender solicitude for the interests of the banks. Many years ago the second United States Bank had a most unpleasant experience, and it finally, before it liquidated and went out of business, became an alleged menace in its power to the public. It was because the second United States Bank became a competitor of all the other banks in the country, and being a competitor it very naturally created opposition in such a way that political activities began to be manifested against the bank, and out of it came Jackson's enmity, which resulted in the final destruction of the bank. There is in the Federal reserve bank system now a similar principle of mischief, in that it makes the Federal reserve bank in the district a competitor in the open market with both the State and private banks and the member banks of the district.

The last of these planks to which I shall have time to refer is the conclusion. There are others here of lesser moment that under other conditions I should be very glad to take up. I refer now, however, to the last plank in the platform, which says:

> Our platform is one of principles which we believe to be essential to our national welfare. Our pledges are made to be kept when in office as well as relied upon during the campaign, and we invite the cooperation of all citizens, regardless of party, who believe in maintaining unimpaired the institutions and traditions of our country.

That is a sort of a general all-around prayer in the platform, and it only adds to the breaches of the specific ones that I have enumerated.

The President recently admitted in Indianapolis that the Democrats were a minority party and that they are still on trial. The returns of the last November election indicate that he has difficulty in distinguishing between a trial and a verdict against the defendant. The President tells every independent voter, to use his language, that it is cold and lonely where he is, and to come into the Democratic Party, where it is warm and where there are great emotions. I had not seen a great emotion in the Democratic Party until along about midnight last night, when the senior Senator from Missouri [Mr. STONE] was possessed of tremendous emotion for a while, equaled only by that the other day when they exchanged courtesies with each

other on that side of the Chamber. These are the only emotions I have witnessed either before or since the Indianapolis address. These emotions are roused by Democrats who are sitting on the breeching strap, and the warmth produced comes from factional disputes over patronage and criticisms of his legislation. If the last half of his administration matches the first half, the warmth is likely to kindle an incendiary fire in his household.

It is said that this legislation is in obedience to public opinion. What evidence is there of this public opinion? The President's election in 1912 by a minority of nearly one and one-half millions? The division of the Republicans, so that either wing fell below a united Democracy? The returns of the 1914 election, in which the Republicans warn him they are united as of old? The loss of the States and votes that writes defeat for him in 1916? The results of his legislation and what the public think of it?

If three men be in a race and two stop and quarrel, the third can walk to the goal and win. But let not the victor exult in his speed, for he won not on his own swiftness but the quarrel of his adversaries. The less shall he invoke his deceptive strength to justify legislation to which his adversaries are both opposed. For when his adversaries shall see what has been wrought by President Wilson they will rise together and overthrow him.

THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS.

The President must and does assume the responsibility for both the legislative and executive acts of his administration. Congress until recently has only registered his executive decrees. The first sign of legislative independence by a Democratic Congress evokes a threat against Congress that disobedience to his orders will bring "deep bitterness to them."

What will that "deep bitterness" be? The denial of patronage? If the shipping bill is not supported, will it be made a test of obedience? Will the "deep bitterness" consist in withholding patronage from Senators who do not take Executive orders? Will Senators be hunted down in their own States and destroyed because, forsooth, they do not take orders from the Executive? I never took an order from an Executive in my life, and I have more respect for a member of any party, my own or anybody else's, who does not, and who prefers to stand upon the dignity and power of whatever legislative office he may possess.

It is the height of Executive usurpation; and in a happier day and in a better time such interference with the legislative branch of the Government, not only by this administration but by those of the Republican Party in days past, ought to lead to the impeachment of an Executive.

If we undertook by our acts in this body to make war upon the Executive, to hamper him in the performance of his duties, to threaten reprisals upon him in this body if he did not take our orders in nominating or selecting the members of his own Cabinet and those that are immediately connected with his political household, I would think the Senate had descended from its dignified level and had played the part of a usurping branch of the Government, and none the less is that true when an Executive sees fit to go outside of his official duties and undertake to thrust legislation upon the Congress and upon the people under the pretense that it is in obedience to public opinion.

These are not the words of a constitutional President, sworn to perform his duties. They are the lawless proclamation of a man who has thrown aside the orderly procedure of government by law and substituted the unregulated will of the arbitrary and accidental man. This is too often the infirmity of occupants of high office, either elective or inherited. It was one of the reasons governmental power was divided and the Executive restrained. History and recent experience confirm the wisdom of that restraint.

The President assaults the United States Senate in language the Senators are forbidden to use toward each other, even in the acrimony of personal debate. While his attack is on the Republican minority, it reaches all Senators who do not agree with him. It includes Democrats who are "sitting on the breeching strap."

In the whole field of parliamentary government in this country the United States Senate is the only open forum remaining. The rules here are designed to protect the rights of the minority. The majority can always take care of themselves. If at any time the majority loses its power it is converted to a minority. If there be no just regulations, if there be no great barrier thrown up to protect the rights of a minority, then the former minority, converted into a majority, will persecute and oppress and deny. To-day I may be in the majority; to-morrow you may be in the majority and I may be in the minority. Parliamentary rules or statutes or laws, and especially constitutions, are not the fleeting caprice of an agitated, rapidly forming, and rapidly dissolving multitude. They are fixed rules that protect me when you are in power and protect you when I am in power.

The minority rules here, it is said, are sometimes abused, sometimes made the instrument to obstruct legislation. That may be their effect. I apprehend that both parties here ought not to go to trial on that issue. It would be one of those cases where both probably would be found guilty. The tremendous indignation of my friend the senior Senator from Missouri in regard to people who filibuster comes with but little force and less propriety from him. Not many days ago he himself saw the propriety of a filibuster, and good naturedly everybody accepted it as such. If last night's lecture to the minority side of this Chamber were designed as a bit of pleasantry, all is well. If it were intended as a sober rebuke, we say, "Surgeon, heal thyself, and after that it will be time enough to be looking after the alleged maladies of your neighbors."

Why, what a crime it is to filibuster here, because it is said we are opposing or preventing the passage of the shipping bill. I wish there were some way to ascertain public opinion on the shipping bill. I know that any one person is a very fallible judge of what public opinion is. Very often we judge of public opinion from the immediate surroundings, from the little pool where we live, from those with whom we are immediately associated, forgetting that there are fifteen or sixteen million other voters in the United States, and of all that great array we know and see and talk to but a few.

The Senate is the only body on whose floor the President's experimental dogmas may be analyzed, exposed, or defied. None can talk enough to prevent the passage of a bill unless the talk shows its weakness and folly. If he fears the talk may last until March 4, 1915, when the Sixty-third Congress adjourns automatically, I remind him that he still has two full years of the Sixty-fourth Congress in which to operate under the New Freedom on the business of the country. A Democratic Congress, acting under his orders, has been in practically continuous session ever since he was inaugurated; so he ought not hesitate to convene it after March 4 next if his edict to quit talking is defied by the Senate. In dealing with men nothing is gained by peremptory orders to shut up. Human speech, human opinion, can never be kept confined. You had as well undertake to confine the steam in the bowels of the earth. It always finds a vent; it may be a peaceful one, but if too long suppressed it becomes the source of endless destruction. This language may be used in the kindergarten. An Executive who applies it to the United States Senate betrays his inability to grasp the difference between an independent legislative power in the conduct of human affairs and the absolute dominion of his arbitrary impatience.

"Cease your talking," he says; "you are misguided, blind, and ignorant. I have settled everything. I have cleared the decks."

That is of a kind with the persistent desire to control both branches of Congress. He has said how the business of the country shall be done, how the Philippines shall be governed, how our water power shall be handled, how the resources of the public domain, imprisoned by excessive conservation, shall be unlocked; how the Government freight boats shall be run by the Government at a cost or a profit and then sold out to the minority shareholders or somebody else and not be guilty of a subsidy condemned by the Democratic Party for half a century. He can do everything except keep a deficit from stalking through the Treasury Building. That he can not do; that he has not done; and I predict he will not do it. It is seldom that I assume the rôle of prophecy, but I am almost moved to do so in this emergency.

All this explains why Secretary McAdoo last December congratulated the American people they could endure a prolonged business stagnation without a panic. We have learned to look for stagnation as a normal symptom of every Democratic administration. Disaster is discounted. Shipwreck is averted by staying in the harbor of idleness with the anchor down and the crew absent on shore leave hunting the bread line.

Still, the Republicans are ignorant and have not had a new idea in 30 years. Republican Senators were elected by a direct vote of the people in Connecticut, Vermont, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Iowa, North Dakota, Kansas, Utah, Washington, Idaho, and Illinois. Why should the Chief Magistrate stigmatize them as ignorant? They represent their constituents, and, without making any invidious comparisons, the constituents in one locality or in one State are about on an equality, so far as intelligence and public spirit go, with those in all other places or States.

Blaine knew nothing; Edmunds and Hoar were in the primary class. All the array of living Republicans are void of

understanding. Misguided Republicans follow the steady light of the imperishable beliefs of Lincoln and Grant, of Garfield, Morton, and Harrison, and McKinley; we, the living blind, following the wisdom and governmental science of the immortal dead, whose public services and memory shall endure while civil liberty and representative constitutional government of a free people abide in the New World. The only wise and good are those who derive their title to public office from the Republican Party and manifest their virtues by spurning its principles and attempting its destruction whenever they are not candidates on its ticket. President Wilson's greatest emotions are manifested in anathemas for Democrats who refuse implicit obedience to his decrees and unstinted praise for Republicans whose votes for Republican measures are the exception and not the rule.

REPUBLICAN ACHIEVEMENTS.

Call the roll of 30 years! Labor employed, punctuated only by the idleness of Democratic administrations. Manufacturers were active. Our foreign commerce rose with every year; neither was it dependent on war supplies for its volume, continuance, or trade balances. Restraints of trade and monopolies were curbed. The first great antitrust act was drawn by a Republican. It is the sane level from which the heights and depths of effective legislation have since been measured. Two hundred and fifty thousand miles of railways fulfill daily the arduous duties of the greatest carrier system in the world under laws written by a Republican. Not while the pulse of commerce beats or railways bear their burdens will the names of Cullom and John Sherman fade from the annals of legislation that light the way for succeeding generations.

Republicans created the Bureau of Labor and made its head a Cabinet member. It enacted the first contract labor law; abolished child labor in the District of Columbia; passed a liability law compensating workmen. Pure food and meat inspection acts, limited hours of labor in interstate service, rural free delivery, parcel post, postal savings banks, reclamation of arid lands, the Isthmian Canal, Hawaii and Samoa were made our outposts in the Pacific Ocean—all answer to that call. The rights of labor have been secure under just laws. Great police regulations have safeguarded the public. The history of American finances is written by the Republican Party. It fought repudiation and fiat money. It passed the resumption act against the evil prophecy of the Democratic Party. It refunded the public debt, and it is carried to-day at the lowest interest rates known to the civilized world. It sent free silver to an unlamented grave—with the help of some of our Democratic friends—and 16 to 1, once the war cry of a great party, is a jest; none know it but scorn it; none name it but to laugh. The Republican Party established the gold standard and created the Monetary Commission and the original emergency currency act. The Democratic Party, with its fatal capacity to misinterpret and miscreate from the material and experience gathered, produced the Federal reserve law. It will duplicate Frankenstein. It is not merely a central bank; it is a centralized person with greater power than ought to be vested in any man over any lawful business.

The arm of the Postal Service reached out to cheapen communication and encourage thrift. The two great oceans were joined under the American flag. Where has this Rip Van Winkle slept the last 30 years who now rubs his eyes and says the Republican Party has not had a new idea in all that time? The great national statutes of 30 years have sprung from the councils of that party. He can not distinguish between the morning light of the Republican sunrise of things, doing and done, and the dusk that is falling on the Democracy. Samuel Pepys, the Englishman who kept a diary, records that once, after a night of revelry, he woke from a deep sleep and mistook sunrise for sunset. History still repeats itself.

REPUBLICANS BRING PROSPERITY.

One great issue towers above and divides the voters of the United States. Other questions may come and go, but the protection of the American people's industrial life overshadows them all. It reaches into the depths of the permanent sources of prosperity. There is a deep-seated feeling among the people that business is more prosperous, work more abundant at fair wages, and that they are better off under a Republican than a Democratic administration. This belief, traced to its source, is founded on historical fact. The abandonment of the protective system has always been followed by disaster. A revision of the tariff by the Democratic Party has always produced adversity and business depression, as uniformly redeemed by the return to the protective schedules of the Republican Party. When revision becomes necessary, the Republicans preserve the protective features and the Democrats destroy them.

The Republican Party bases the duty on conditions and builds it high enough to keep the pay rolls in our country at American wages and standards of living. It secures the home market for our own producers. It sees no advantage in creating either idleness or an excessive surplus by flooding the country with free listed or revenue duty imports. It exalts the home market above any to be reached at the expense of freight commissions, inspection charges, and foreign tariffs. The American people instinctively know that we ought to be able to supply by our own industry all of every article we have facilities to produce equal to our wants.

The people understand that supplying our home market with the work of their own hands makes the difference between activity and idleness, between a Republican and Democratic administration. We therefore limit the imports of a competitive article the like of which we can produce in quantity adequate for our needs by a protective duty on the article. This further gives revenue, collected as toll, from the importer and tends to equalize differences in conditions of production. When we have so supplied our own wants we seek a foreign market for our surplus, so there may be no idle period. We know, however, the American market is the greatest field for the employment of our people and the sale of our products. Secretary Redfield will lecture us in vain on foreign markets. This generation has learned once more that distance lends enchantment to his view.

The Democratic tariff reform is always conceived in theory but enacted in sectional discrimination—protective in a few places and destructive in all. From the horizontal reduction of Morrison to the perpendicular ruin of President Wilson, it is the signal for everybody to hunt his storm cellar till the Democratic administration is over. It is always a good time to rest if one can keep from worrying too much.

DEMOCRATIC EXTRAVAGANCE.

From December, 1913, to November 30, 1914, disbursements of the Government exceeded its receipts by nearly $15,000,000. During this time we have had an internal-revenue tax, a corporation tax, an income tax, a war tax, and a tariff for revenue only, with promises of others as soon as the administration can take a day off from devising new bills to increase the Treasury deficit.

The Democratic Party holds the record as the spendthrift of nations for over half a century. The sum of $35,000,000 has been appropriated for a Government railway in Alaska; $25,000,000 will be asked to console Colombia for her failure to blockade the construction of the Panama Canal, unless her rapacity and insolence are satisfied; $10,000,000 increase in salaries and creation of new offices and $100,000,000 increase over the last Republican appropriation testify to faithful endeavors for economy and civil-service reform; $40,000,000 for a Government steamship line rounds out a record to which Democrats can point with pride or view with alarm, as they may chance to be frugal or liberal in their disposition.

Their tariff law opened our fields to the free-listed animals, grains, and manufacturers of the world. Its immediate result is seen in an influx of animal diseases and insect pests, in increased imports, decreased exports, diminished revenue, stagnation and distress, mitigated only by the horrors of the European war.

The Federal reserve act places the great banking and credit resources of the country in the hands of one man. The resources of the national-bank system have been commandeered for the benefit of States that represent a decided minority in agriculture, commerce, and manufactures.

A Federal Trade Commission has been created. Its purpose is not to regulate but to manage business. The commission will supplant boards of directors chosen by private stockholders.

The antitrust act amendment introduces new regulations and restrictions that will not be made plain to the average business man in 20 years. Neither individuals nor corporations can act without fear of indictment or disastrous reversal of their business policies.

Amendments of the postal laws have imposed heavy burdens on the railways without additional compensation. The Rural Free-Delivery Service is in grave danger of impairment, and it is now proposed to abolish all the employees of that branch and substitute a star route contract system.

There is a manifest hostility to the railways of the United States exhibited by this administration. It is admitted in certain quarters if they shall be driven into failure in the performance of their great carrier duties the Government will assume ownership.

SECTIONAL LEGISLATION.

The Southern States have a minority of the agriculture, manufacturing, and commerce of the United States; yet they

are legislating for the whole country. The great trade and banking centers built by the generations of more than a hundred years are sought to be despoiled. Every American hopes for and will help the South to a greater future. Because her staple is cotton, it is the peer, but not the king of the diversified fields of our country. Because she exports more than three-fifths of it, we ought not burden the Treasury with temporary steamship lines, to be abandoned when war no longer vexes the capitals of the Old World. The cotton interests behind the shipping bill propose to exploit the taxpayers of 100,000,000 people for cheap ocean freights to a foreign market. Government railways, Government steamships, Government banks advancing funds to promote private business, Government bond issues for money to loan cotton growers, a vast swarm of bureaus absorbing the departments of State government until an empty shell remains—is the goal of the way this administration is traveling.

The President says the Republican Party is a refuge for those who want to consult their grandfathers about everything. The platform on which he was elected in 1912 reaffirms its devotion to the traditions of his party enforced by a long and illustrious line of Democratic Presidents. He is following his grandfathers many generations back, for I read in Deuteronomy, "Thy sheep shall be given to thine enemies, and thou shalt have none to rescue them." With the embargo on the principal foreign source of our clothing wools we are learning anew the value of a domestic supply not subject to the fortunes of war.

PARTY PLATFORM FORGOTTEN.

If one of the plain people wants to know what President Wilson's administration has not done, read the Baltimore platform. It indorses his Democratic grandfathers. He spurns their advice. To heed them would be reactionary, and two-thirds of his party, he says, are progressive. His administration is afloat on the uncharted seas of socialism, with its hidden dangers and its destination unknown.

RIGHTS OF STATES ABSORBED.

States, once strong in their self-reliant pride, are now mere suppliants for favors their ancestors would have spurned with haughty and indignant pride. The States, once the civic training ground of men, will be but provinces waiting the edicts from a distant Capital under the sway of an encroaching Executive. Ancient Commonwealths, once instinct with local rights jealously reserved in the great charter of the Republic, now abase themselves and worship with humiliating abandonment at the shrine of centralized power. You who quote Jefferson and hail from the land of Alexander H. Stephens contemplate how are the mighty fallen from the tradition of your fathers.

The only thing in the country not bursting its jacket is the Government's cash box. The high cost of living is still bursting its victims, and there is nothing the matter with American business except a state of mind. Start buying now and there will be no end to it, for the new freedom has released credit and money is to be had for the asking.

REPUBLICANS PROPOSE REMEDIES.

What does the Republican Party offer? Why should it be returned to power? It will restore the protective tariff. Confidence will follow, and the army of the unemployed will disperse. Business will again move in its accustomed channels and enterprise no longer halt by the wayside.

Great corporations, necessary in modern affairs, will be regulated and given the equal protection of the law. Monopolies will not prey upon the public, but will be converted into beneficial enterprises, obedient to wise antitrust laws that will make certain what can rightfully be done. Certainty will be substituted for confusion, and business will not be under suspicion. Success will not be regarded as a badge of rascality and bankruptcy as the only conclusive presumption of virtue. Railways will not be condemned to perform an unrequited service, and the financial life of the great banking interests of the country shall not be subject to the arbitrary will of a single official.

Social justice will be wrought out in fairness. The workingman's rights, after a pay roll gives him a chance to earn a living, will be safeguarded by progressive laws. A return of prosperity under the Republican Party will insure employment under such terms and conditions as will secure them their share of that prosperity.

THE MEXICAN PROBLEM.

A Mexican policy will be adopted that will protect our citizens and their possessions in that country. The civil strife in that unhappy land is directly chargeable to the vacillating, nerveless, purposeless course of President Wilson's administration. He undertook to decide on the moral title of various military dictators struggling for supremacy. What choice is there between Villa and Huerta? If Jesse James were alive he could be substituted as a great moral improvement on both. The result has swept its hapless people in the flames of constant revolution. Peace is less probable now than when Huerta was condemned by the President. Nothing is so precarious there as the rights of a citizen of the United States. The oil and oil wells of a subject of Great Britain are protected by a note from this administration, while the lives of American citizens have been taken with insolent cruelty without a protest. The note evoked by a demand from Great Britain is the only decisive act that breathed the power and dignity of this Government since this administration assumed its high office. It is humiliating that this was to protect an alien's property, and it secured that protection promptly.

This administration has made us, under the Monroe doctrine, the dog in the manger of the Western Hemisphere. We have not protected the rights of aliens. The Monroe doctrine warns other nations to abstain. When will the European Governments hold us liable for the pillage and destruction suffered by their subjects while we barred them from relief? Some future Hague tribunal may ask us why we are not responsible when we assume to be our brother's keeper.

An adequate Navy and a rehabilitation of the Army along the lines recommended by the Secretary of War are imperative, and a part of the Republican future.

A GLORIOUS RECORD.

Shall we not walk steadfastly in the faith of our Republican fathers? Shall we condemn their handiwork because we will not consult anything that is past? The greatest chapters of American history were written in the years of their ascendancy in power. They hewed with sturdy stroke the corner stone of civil liberty. They were progressive without destruction and preservative without inertia. On their foundation the Republic rose to unexampled heights of prosperity. The resources of a vast continent sprang into industrial life. Our wealth outrivaled recorded history. Not an act of the Republican Party has been a headlong plunge into the gulf of experiment. It measures and weighs its advances. It has translated the popular will into the orderly processes of constitutional government. From its foundation to this day, tested by its achievements, it is the greatest political party that has ever administered American Government.

On Life and Service of Robert G. Bremner.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS

OF

HON. HENRY GEORGE, JR.,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, January 24, 1915,

On House resolution 711, as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the business of the House be now suspended that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. ROBERT G. BREMNER, late a Member of this House from the State of New Jersey.

"*Resolved*, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased and in recognition of his distinguished public career the House, at the conclusion of these exercises, shall stand adjourned.

"*Resolved*, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

"*Resolved*, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased."

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, it is with deep and solemn joy that I participate in the services in memory of my colleague and friend, ROBERT GUNN BREMNER. We were participants in certain committee work of this House of exempting buildings and all personal property from taxation that aimed to make Washington not only the most beautiful city in the world but the model of cities, showing the way American municipalities should be built. He brought to the task a well-stored and lofty mind and a great heart.

ROBERT GUNN BREMNER was born in the far north highlands of Scotland on the 17th of December, 1873, the eldest of a large family. When a youth, with his father and mother and three younger brothers, he came to Canada. His father was engaged in the fishery vocation, and had met with financial reverses mainly through the loss of a ship of which he was owner and captain.

When Canada was reached they had little money. Mr. Bremner bought a farm near Orangeville, Ontario, and, though he knew nothing of farming to begin with, he succeeded.

That country home knew little of luxury; still it was pleasant and presented no hardship which family love and energy did not easily overcome, and left no memories save those which were

recalled with delight and transmitted with profit and pride. There in that country home were developed those characteristics of good nature, sympathy, liberality, and helpfulness which so characterized his later life.

Robert attended the near-by school and went to the high school in Orangeville, of which Mr. Alexander Steele was and still is principal, where he boarded with a Mrs. McQuarrie and chummed with her son, John, who is now a prominent physician in Chicago. At school he was a good student and took great interest in athletics, but even a deeper interest in the various literary organizations of the school. When Robert graduated from the high school he taught in the primary department of the home school, where later he taught as principal. In 1893 he went to New York City.

At this period times were anything but good and opportunities for employment were not nearly so plentiful as the applicants for positions, yet the stranger, whose only letter of recommendation was a winning smile, did not find it difficult to secure the work that he needed so badly. The very day of his arrival in New York he dropped in at the rooms of the Manhattan Single Tax Club and there found that the tide in his fortunes had turned.

As those who were acquainted with ROBERT G. BREMNER know, his interest in the single-tax idea was deeper than the casual reader of his paper might suspect. Occasionally he referred to those theories, editorially or in the news columns of his New Jersey paper, and his treatment of such subjects always displayed a most friendly spirit for single-tax organization, and deep down in his heart he was persuaded that the principles advocated in "Progress and Poverty" would prove of the greatest benefit to the Nation. Even as a boy Mr. BREMNER was a prolific reader. Every book that was within his reach was eagerly devoured. It was while still at home in Canada that he became acquainted with the writings of Henry George, and he was one of the latter's most ardent disciples by the time he arrived in New York.

It was this sentimental bond that drew him to the rooms of the Manhattan Single Tax Club, and it was the same bond of sympathy, the spirit of fellowship which a person breeds in the hearts of men, that won for him so hearty a welcome.

After a few months in New York City he went to Paterson, where he worked as newspaper reporter on the Evening News, Morning Call, and Press and Chronicle, respectively, until 1902, when he purchased the Passaic Daily Herald. By strenuous work he succeeded in making the Herald a paper of influence, extending far beyond his own city.

Mr. BREMNER was active in the Democratic Party from the first time he cast his vote. He created new life in the party in Passaic, and from the first year he arrived in this city he was looked up to as a political leader who inspired. He never sought political office for himself, and frequently declined attractive political offers and ignored suggestions that he accept nominations for office.

When the time came, however, for nominating candidates for the Democratic national convention at Baltimore, in 1911, Mr. BREMNER favored the nomination of Woodrow Wilson. His great admiration for Wilson caused him to break the rule he had adhered to up to that time. Mr. BREMNER and Senator HUGHES were elected district delegates, and Mr. BREMNER, although ill, was one of the most active spirits in the interest of Woodrow Wilson in that convention. His activity is best told by State Senator Hinchliffe, who was one of the delegates at large from New Jersey in the convention:

No one at Baltimore—

Senator Hinchliffe said—

was stronger or steadier than Bob. He fought, not to offend or injure, but for the real pleasure it gave him. He had a keen sense for seeing an advantage and a keen sense for following it up. He had more underground passages, more inside information, than any man at the convention.

There was no man in Baltimore who after two days at the convention could call by their first names so many men from California to Maine—and they all called him by his.

Following that convention the question as to who would be the most available candidate for the Democratic nomination for Congress in the newly created seventh district, comprising all Passaic County excepting West Milford and Pompton, was discussed by the Democratic leaders.

The unanimous opinion was that BOB BREMNER could lead the party to victory and at the same time help swell the vote for Woodrow Wilson.

In the primaries Mr. BREMNER was practically the unanimous choice of the Democratic voters of the district, and immediately he began a campaign that aroused interest from one end of the district to the other.

But the most notable tribute paid to Mr. BREMNER was the vote in Passaic. Although the city was always strongly Republican and some of the districts had only a "corporal's guard" of Democratic votes, Mr. BREMNER carried every one of the 16 districts.

"I feel more proud of that than I do of my election," Mr. BREMNER commented when he had the complete returns.

His interest in congressional work in Washington was not lessened by his intense physical sufferings, and all who met him marveled at his cheery smile and determination to make the best possible use of what he well realized to be a brief time to remain here.

On Christmas Day, 1913, when he went to Baltimore to the hospital to take treatment, he was accompanied by his sister, Miss Helen, and Dr. Horwitz. He was bright and happy, and his hopeful nature was an inspiration. For several weeks his sister was the only one allowed to be with him, and she cared for his office affairs as well as devoting herself personally to his nursing from the time he entered Dr. Kelly's sanitarium until his death. His brother, Will, upon whose advice he had always relied, gave up his studies in Toronto University to be with him in Baltimore and assist his sister. To them the stricken man talked of his hope of recovery, his intense desire to do more efficient congressional work, which he expected to do when freed from his physical weakness and pain; but, aside from these yearnings, he cheerfully awaited the end.

When his physicians informed him that he could not live, he was still inveterate. He talked with strong faith and beautiful resignation. His thoughts returned to the dear ones at home, especially his mother and sister, Nina; but he would not call them to his bedside to harrow them with the sight of his suffering. Nothing in all that noble life was finer than its close. In the last hours he had his devoted sister read to him his many favorite passages of Scripture and he repeated hymns learned in his youth.

ROBERT GUNN BREMNER thus passed in the flesh.

His legislative work was brief, but his lofty spirit and brave example will long continue to be a cherished heritage of this House.

The Sugar Industry in the United States.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD W. AUSTIN,

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 3 (legislative day of Tuesday, March 2), 1915.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker, I desire to call the attention of the Members of the House to the views of a Member elect from Louisiana, Hon. Whit P. Martin, on the sugar industry in the United States, taken from the Times-Picayune, of New Orleans:

"Hon. Whit. P. Martin, of Thibodaux, La., who was elected as a protectionist to succeed Senator elect ROBERT F. BROUSSARD from the third Louisiana congressional district, has made public the following announcement of the main policies for which he will stand and the course he proposes to pursue in the Sixty-fourth Congress.

"While Judge Martin was elected to Congress following, what he claims, the unfair and unjust treatment which the industries of his State received at the hands of the Democratic Party in the Sixty-third Congress, he is yet a protectionist in principle, and does not propose to confine his efforts to securing protection of the sugar industry alone.

"When seen to-day by the Times-Picayune correspondent, Congressman elect Martin said:

"'I have been following with deep interest the fate of House joint resolution 284, introduced by Mr. BROUSSARD at this session of Congress. The object of this resolution is to give to the State of Louisiana the right to enter suit for the purpose of determining the legal rate of duty to be assessed on sugars imported from Cuba. On January 23 of this year I addressed a letter to the Hon. William G. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury, calling his attention to the importance of the adoption of this resolution at this session of Congress. On February 10, through the efforts of Congressmen DUPRÉ and BROUSSARD, the Judiciary Committee of the House made a favorable report upon this resolution, and it will doubtless be passed by the House before Congress adjourns on March 4. In the absence, however, of any effort to have the Senate take favorable action, it is more than likely that the resolution will fail of adoption by this Congress.

"'When it is considered that the suit for the institution of which this resolution would be authority means, if successful, the recovery of over $25,000,000 which the State of Louisiana claims will be wrongfully diverted into the treasury of the Sugar Trust, its importance to the American people in this day of a depleted Treasury can be seen at a glance. It is my intention, therefore, at the next session of Congress to reintroduce this resolution, and use my best endeavors for its final passage, to the end that the United States may recover millions of dollars that have been diverted to the coffers of the Sugar Trust by reason of the very questionable interpretation of the Cuban reciprocity treaty.

"'I purpose also to ask Congress at its next session to suspend the free-sugar clause of the Underwood bill, which provides for free sugar after May 1, 1916. The present deficiency already amounts to over $80,000,000, and before Congress again convenes in regular session this deficiency will probably be doubled. This deplorable situation must be met, and it having been demonstrated that the income and so-called war taxes are not adequate to meet the expenses of Government, it is but natural that our Democratic friends should return to the time-honored custom of raising a large part of the revenues of this Government by the imposition of a duty upon sugar. As it is imperative that an additional source of revenue be found, this administration, which seems unalterably opposed to protection, will have a splendid defense by setting up that this duty is continued as a matter of revenue only.

"'That the State of Louisiana is essentially a protective State should be apparent to anyone who will give the matter thoughtful consideration. Not only are our staple crops of sugar, rice, and corn, as well as the lumber industry, dependent upon protection, but our truck and fruit industry, in which many of our people have so recently ventured, will soon feel the ruinous effect of the free-trade policy of this administration. Encouraged by this policy, there has been recently constructed the largest ferry steamer in the world, which will ply between Cuba and the United States. This steamer is equipped with four sets of standard-gauge tracks and will accommodate 30 of the largest size refrigerator cars. Cars laden with vegetables and fruit will be transferred from Cuba to the United States and then distributed by rail to all portions of this country. Our truckers and fruit growers, therefore, like the sugar growers, must either compete with our Cuban neighbors or go out of business; and as the Cuban crop will be in the northern markets long before our crops are matured, it follows that our fruit and truck growers can not compete with these Cuban products. We can not make a success of fruit and truck growing so long as we are compelled to compete with like products grown in a warmer climate and with cheaper labor.'"

Postal Laws.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM KENNEDY,
OF CONNECTICUT.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 3 (legislative day of Tuesday, March 2), 1915.

Mr. KENNEDY of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, on Jauuary 7 a bill was presented to this House to amend the postal laws, and the number of said bill is 20644. I desire to favor said bill, believing that the subject is very important and ought to become a law. The Postmaster General should have additional powers with those already given him in relation to excluding obscene or immoral books, pamphlets, pictures, prints, engravings, lithographs, photographs, and other publishing matter and things of indecent, immoral, scurrilous, or libelous character, and to decide what is mailable matter, and he should be vested with sufficient power to make rules and regulations to exclude nonmailable matter from the mails.

There is no denying the advantages which the circulation of good literature confers on the country. Acting as a stimulus to the intellect and an inspiration to the heart, it constitutes a cultural element the value of which can not be overestimated. It tends to the peaceful and orderly progress of the community. It forms a bond of union between the different classes of society, and helps to weld the citizens into a united and homogenous body, fearing no foe and prepared to resist all forms of foreign aggression. The value of the possession of a common literary tradition in consolidating and preserving the idea and the ideals of nationality no man can measure. It is immeasurable, imponderable, but, like the air, it is all pervasive, and is never more potent than when least consciously felt.

There is another kind of reading matter which can clearly be designated as scurrilous, indecent, and mendacious, and will tend even more quickly to disintegrate society, tending to set man against man, class against class, and thus by fomenting internal dissensions to expose the body politic to outside attack. I refer, of course, to those publications whose purpose is to stir up "theological hatred." Week after week there is poured from certain publications a series of scurrilous, indecent, and mendacious attacks on the religious beliefs and practices of the most numerous Christian body in this country; when their worship is derided, their ministers defamed, and the things which they cherish as dear and sacred are subjected to obloquy and ridicule; when they are wrongfully accused of being bad citizens and of holding a foreign power in more respect and greater awe than they hold the Constitution of their own country—then, I say, it is time to call a halt. What must be the inevitable result of these attacks if persevered in long enough? The result will inevitably be that those who believe what they read will hate those who are the butt of the attacks and to cause these in return to hate those who attack them and all their aiders and abettors and those whom they influence. It is very dangerous for the welfare of any community to have a neighbor taught to distrust neighbor, to have good characters which men have spent a lifetime in building up ruined, and to cause children to be brought up to hate institutions of which they know nothing.

A distinction must be made between criticism of religious beliefs and libelous denunciation. The former is allowable, because it implies an effort to get at the truth without encroaching on the freedom of each citizen to worship God according to the dictates of conscience; the latter should be prohibited, because it is an insult and injustice to all who hold the beliefs that are thus attacked. As our Government guarantees liberty in religious matters, it should not become an abettor of schemes that aim at putting any body of citizens, because of their beliefs, in the position of criminals and traitors. If the charges are true, the Government ought to protect itself against those who are accused, or, at any rate, ought not to spread the accusation.

Freedom of speech does not mean that everyone may say or publish whatever he pleases. There are laws against profane language, against obscenity, and slander. They are based on the principle that to some extent at least morality must be safeguarded. But just as much harm, if not more, is done by publications that assail religion in the manner which is here under consideration. An obscene book or picture, though it may please many people, is excluded from the mails because by admitting it the Government would lend its sanction and practical assistance to the spread of immorality. For a parallel reason the publications in question should be excluded. The Government must have sufficient laws to prevent attacks on religion, and so undermine the chief support both of morality and of good citizenship.

The Government can not surely adopt for its policy the engendering of bitterness and strife among its citizens. Yet there is nothing better calculated to produce these results than publications which assail that which is most sacred to each man, i. e., his religion. In many parts of the country where adherents of different beliefs have until recently lived together in harmony, mutual helpfulness, and earnest cooperation for the common weal, there is now being fostered a spirit of hatred owing to the dissemination of books and papers of the type in question.

Our Postal System is supported by the taxation of citizens irrespective of their religious opinions. Why, then, should the post office be used by any person to defame any body of citizens? What is to hinder any other agency of government from following the same course? If the courts, the Army, and every other department of public service are required to treat all citizens on the same basis, there is no reason why the mails should be used to the injury of any body of citizens. If it is unlawful to bring religious discussion into the schools controlled by the State, why should the post office circulate attacks on any religion? An order has just been issued forbidding the men in the Army and Navy to express their views regarding the war in Europe. And yet we are paying a multitude of officials to distribute publications that are aimed directly at thousands of our own people, that misrepresent these people as the worst enemies of the country, simply because they exercise the fundamental American right of worshiping their Maker in the way they believe to be worthy and true.

The situation would be altogether different if it had been shown that a given form of religion, whatever name it might assume, was in reality a means of spreading corruption in private or in public life, of stirring up sedition or of setting class against class. But in that case the adherents of such a religion should be dealt with openly and squarely by the Government itself. Even then the mails should not be made the vehicle of individual condemnation by persons possessed of no authority. The Government never will become a party to such usurpation of power, any more than it will approve lynching or mob violence.

In a very prominent place in this city the following inscription is to be seen and read:

Messenger of sympathy and love.
Servant of parted friends.
Consoler of the lonely.
Bond of the scattered family.
Enlarger of the common life.

Now, considering that these lines sum up the all-important functions of the United States post office, it is pertinent to ask, What sort of sympathy and love is likely to spring up if the "messenger" is allowed to spread the germs of hatred? What service is rendered to "parted friends" by holding up their cherished beliefs as unworthy of civilized men, much less of American citizens? What consolation is it to know that the lonely is being made more lonely because his neighbor's mind is being turned against him? What strength is added to the "bond" when the national family, scattered by geographical distance, is set even further asunder by religious antagonism? How is the common life enlarged when the common right is narrowed down to this, "You shall believe as I do or forfeit all claim to respect, to citizenship, to manhood?"

The United States post office is indeed a marvel of efficiency. It can be used as a means of progress and enlightenment, of peace and good will. But it ceases to be American when it becomes the instrument whereby one individual or one group of citizens is enabled to place any stigma he or they may choose upon their fellow citizens.

The author of the bill mentioned herein stated before the committee—

That the bill is not designed to restrict the freedom of the press. It is more in accord with the desires of the decent, Christian, free minded people of this country that such publications should be excluded from the mails rather than that such vile, filthy, and dirty literature should be permitted to circulate for fear, perhaps, that the freedom of the press would in some way be impaired.

Mr. Speaker, in the closing days of this Sixty-third Congress I do not expect that the bill I have mentioned will become a law, but I trust that another Congress will take this bill up and give additional power to the Postmaster General. We are living under the same flag. While here we should strive to do that which will bring peace, prosperity, and happiness to every home in this land.

Shipping Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWIN Y. WEBB,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 3 (legislative day of Tuesday, March 2), 1915,

On the bill (S. 5259) to establish one or more United States Navy mail lines between the United States and South America and between the United States and the countries of Europe.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, in order that we may the better understand the proposition now before the House, I will take a little time to explain it.

The bill now under consideration is a combination of the so-called Weeks bill and the so-called Gore bill. The Weeks bill passed the Senate last August, practically unanimously. The Gore bill is now pending in the Senate.

The Weeks bill provides that the Secretary of the Navy may take such vessels as are not absolutely necessary in the Navy and use them in the establishment of mail steamship lines, which lines shall carry not only mail but passengers and freight as well.

The Gore bill provides for the creation of a shipping board or corporation, 51 per cent of whose stock, at least, shall be owned by the United States, and through this board, for the purchase, construction, equipment, maintenance, and operation of merchant vessels to meet the requirements of the foreign commerce of the United States, and for chartering vessels for that purpose. It also provides that this board may lease any of its vessels to other corporations for use in carrying out this purpose.

The present bill makes the Gore bill a temporary measure. By it the shipping corporation is abolished two years after hostilities in Europe cease. At that time the Weeks bill goes into effect, and the business is transferred to the Navy Department. In other words, we have given gentlemen at the other end of the Capitol what they say they want in the Gore bill and what they voted for in the Weeks bill.

The subject of legislation to increase our American merchant marine should receive hearty interest by every Member of Congress of whatever political party, for since the Civil War repeated efforts have been made through legislation to restore our merchant marine to some measure of its ante bellum greatness. There has been great difference of opinion as to the best method of accomplishing this result, but all have joined in desiring to bring it about.

As this country continues to develop her natural resources and increase in population, wealth, and manufactories, it will be necessary to extend our commercial relations with foreign nations. This question of providing or encouraging the building up of an American merchant marine, which in the past has been considered desirable, has in the course of national development now become a commercial necessity. Congress has in the past considered many propositions looking to the betterment of our facilities for foreign commerce but has brushed them aside with a hope that in the evolution of commercial events—the operation of the natural law of supply and demand—the question would solve itself, or at any rate would become simpler. But such has not been the case.

We have hoped that this crying need of our Nation would be met by private enterprises. We have done much to encourage such private investments, but the history of the last 50 years has clearly demonstrated that we have nothing to hope for in this direction. Instead of building up an American merchant marine by Government-encouraged private enterprise we have seen our country develop along every other line of industrial activity, but at the same time we have seen our American merchant marine almost disappear from the high seas. In spite of the fact that we are paying annually the princely sum of $1,212,500, largely to encourage the building of an American merchant marine by private enterprise, we have only 361 vessels, aggregating only about 1,000,000 tons gross capacity flying the American flag and representing our ocean-going American merchant marine.

In 1821 about 89 per cent of our foreign commerce was carried in American vessels; in 1831, 86 per cent; in 1841, 83 per cent; in 1851, 73 per cent; in 1861, 65 per cent; in 1871, 32 per cent; in 1881, 16 per cent; in 1891, 12 per cent; and in 1901, 8 per cent. To-day our foreign commerce represents about one-eighth of the world's total, and not more than one-tenth of that one-eighth, or 1¼ per cent, of the world's commerce is carried in American bottoms. The Bureau of Navigation of the Department of Commerce estimates that the approximate value of American ships engaged in the foreign trade, including steam and sail tonnage, is only $69,000,000.

As showing the importance of maintaining some adequate dependable agency for carrying our exports abroad, let me call your attention to the fact that we produce about 42 per cent of the world's pig iron, nearly 25 per cent of its wheat, over 40 per cent of its coal, over 70 per cent of its corn, and 60 per cent of its cotton. This is far in excess of the needs of our own people. If we are to continue to develop our fields and mines and factories, we must not only find a foreign market for all our surplus products, but we must have a dependable agency that will transport our goods. Our total exports for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914, aggregated $2,047,755,872. Our combined imports and exports for the same period were $3,785,404,525. To those who hesitate to have the Government directly provide American ships to carry our goods abroad on the ground that this interferes with private enterprise, let me call attention to the fact that it cost our farmers and manufacturers for the year ending June 30, 1914, the sum of $220,245,600 for freights on ocean transportation alone, while the total individual investment by Americans in American ships only amounts to $69,000,000. Nine-tenths of this $220,245,600 went to foreign vessel owners.

The tremendous war that is now being waged on the continent of Europe has contributed to reduce us to the pitiable condition that we find ourselves in, though we now have more merchant vessels flying the American flag than we had when the war began. The war has produced the unusual condition that has served to demonstrate how helpless we are, both on

account of our lack of vessels and a lack of any control over the few that are available.

Daily complaints are pouring in from the merchants of every section that facilities for carrying their goods are not available.

We have sent our agents abroad to advertise American goods; established foreign banks to provide mediums of exchange to facilitate our trade; negotiated commercial treaties, and in many ways expended our efforts and the people's money to find and build up foreign markets.

The European war has created an unprecedented demand for our products at advantageous prices. Our farmers and manufacturers have stored their warehouses with the products that the other nations need and are anxious to buy, but the European war has so demoralized the shipping interests of the nations at war that the vessels of these nations are not available for carrying our products. Of England's 4,000 merchant vessels, 1,200 have been withdrawn and added to her naval reserve. Of Germany's 2,300 merchant vessels, practically all have been withdrawn from service on account of the war. It is estimated that about 5,000,000 tons of German and Austrian shipping are completely out of commission, and in addition to this a large number of French and Russian merchant ships have been taken over by their respective Governments for transports and as naval auxiliaries. Even if vessels from these nations were available, such vessels would not have the immunity from attack by the enemy which American ships would have. We are, therefore, suffering from lack of sufficient ships to carry our goods to foreign ports. The evidence of this is overwhelming.

But the conclusive evidence of the shortage of tonnage is the excessive and unparalleled ocean freight rates now prevailing. Such rates could not be maintained if tonnage were abundant.

As shown by a report of the Secretary of Commerce to the Senate on January 27, 1915, from July to December, 1914, there has been an increase of 141 per cent in the freight cost charged on goods from American ports to the foreign ports. At this advanced rate, and based upon the estimated volume of business done in December last, the American farmers and business men will pay for the year 1915 the sum of $532,110,000 as freight charges on our exports and imports with foreign countries, or an increase over the cost of the same business last year of $311,864,400. This increased burden amounts to almost eight times the $40,000,000 that the Government proposes by this bill to invest in American ships for the protection of our foreign commerce, and more than five times the total capital invested now by private enterprises in what remains of our American merchant marine. As pointed out in this report, in two months and seven days, based upon the December estimate of business, the increased freight charges alone would more than equal the $40,000,000 which this shipping bill authorizes.

Since the December estimate was made freight charges have increased still more and shipping has become more difficult and uncertain. The rates being charged and the uncertainty as to when the shipment will be carried or how long the present rate will prevail has in many instances shut our merchants off from foreign business entirely.

The Republicans in Congress have had the opportunity for half a century to build up a merchant marine, and during all that period it has been growing sadly less. This effort on the part of this Democratic Congress to supply this great national necessity has met stubborn opposition from Republicans in both Houses. They have never proposed a remedy, except a subsidy to private shipowners which was repudiated years ago, and failed to get enough votes even in a Republican Congress to pass.

Instead of contenting themselves by finding fault with the efforts of the Democrats to do something for the country, why have they not embodied their wisdom in a bill and offered it to some of the Republican Congresses during the last half century? Is there any man who denies that the exports of the United States are being held up in practically every port in the United States? That at these ports the warehouses and sidetracks are overcrowded?

Only on the 6th day of February of this year the collectors of practically every port in the United States telegraphed to the Secretary of the Treasury the conditions with regard to commerce in each particular port, and without exception the collectors wired that all the ports were jammed, clogged, and crowded with wheat, cotton, corn, lumber, tobacco, and many other products ready for export with no ships to take them.

From December 26, 1914, to January 25, 1915, complaints have come to the Secretary of the Treasury from export merchants and dealers at almost every important port on the Atlantic seaboard and from those on the Gulf of Mexico, all to the same effect, telling of the exorbitant and unreasonable rates and the difficulty of booking shipments at any price.

Mr. W. B. Cooper & Co., from my own State, writing from Wilmington, N. C., to the Secretary of the Treasury on December 31, 1914, says:

> Please allow us to indorse the action of the administration in trying to secure boats for the movement of American products. We are frank to say that as a general proposition we are not anxious to see the United States Government get into too many lines of business, but when 3 cents per pound, or more, is to be paid freight on cotton across the water against 35 cents per 100 pounds 6 months ago, it is time something should be done, in our opinion.

The firm of Inman, Akers & Inman, of Atlanta, Ga., who are regarded as among the big cotton merchants of the South, write on December 28, 1914:

> We are paying ocean freight from Savannah to Rotterdam and to Bremen of $2, $2.25, to $3 per hundredweight. Formerly the rates to these places were about 35 cents per hundredweight on cotton.

Mr. Frank F. Fee, president Fee-Crayton Hardwood Lumber Co., Dermott, Ark., writes on December 28, 1914:

> * * * It is now a serious menace to our business by reason of our inability to get reasonable, and in some cases our inability to get any, ocean rates on our production of hardwood lumber. We usually ship through the port of New Orleans to British and continental ports. The writer has been to New Orleans personally and is informed by the steamship agents that they are receiving a tonnage of cotton and wheat and other commodities for the belligerents at such high rates and at such easier loading and unloading that they make tremendous profits for their vessels, and they do not want to take lumber tonnage. We can say that we have before us inquiries for many carloads of lumber which could be shipped immediately provided reasonable rates could be had. * * * Further, one of the steamship agent's commission for a single month was $25,000 for the month. We trust that there is some way in which our National Government can arrange whereby lumber traffic can be resumed at something like a reasonable rate.

Alphonse Weil & Bros., of New York, N. Y., on December 26, 1914, write:

> We intended to ship a large quantity of oats to the other side, but were prevented from doing so on account of the rate of freight advancing from 4s. per bushel to 6s. 6d. We are told that the reason of this advance is due to the fact that there are very few vessels available at the present time.

Henry Lauts & Co., Baltimore, Md., on December 29, write:

> The present rates charged by this line (Holland-American line) are almost prohibitive and are a decided menace to the tobacco export industry of this country.

These complaints do not deal solely with European countries, but with the South American countries, Panama, and the neutral governments of Europe, and are very numerous.

The following are a few of the shorter letters which will serve to show how pressing is this demand for action:

LYNCHBURG, VA., *December 28, 1914.*

THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: Having seen in the newspapers that the Department of Commerce wishes to be informed about difficulties which shippers in the export trade experience as to making satisfactory freight engagements for shipments of merchandise to foreign countries, we beg to say that the different steamship lines having steamers running between home ports and neutral countries in Europe seem to be taking advantage of the fact that the number of steamers is not near sufficient to take care of the ordinary legitimate business with foreign countries and are constantly advancing freight rates, which now have reached such high figures as to be almost prohibitive to shippers as well as to producers (farmers). Our business is the buying of leaf tobacco direct from farmers and putting it in proper shape for export. Freight rates on leaf tobacco to Rotterdam, Holland, before outbreak of the war have been 30 cents per 100 pounds, and shortly thereafter the rate was raised to 45 cents; in November the same was advanced to 82 cents, beginning of December to $1.02, and now to $1.25 per 100 pounds. Rates to Liverpool are now quoted at $1 per 100 pounds, where we have been shipping before the war at about 25 cents per 100 pounds. Freight rates to Genoa, which is the port for shipments of leaf tobacco to Switzerland, have been about $5 to $6 a hogshead before the war, and have now advanced to about $25 a hogshead. We have been shipping some tobacco to Christiania, Norway, before the war at freight rates of about 40 cents per 100 pounds; during latter part of August we made a shipment at 65 cents per 100 pounds, and the same manufacturer now wants another lot shipped and we have not been able to secure a freight engagement so far, nor even a quotation at which this tobacco will be taken. Have just received quotation of $1.50 per 100 pounds.

There is a considerable scarcity of steamers flying the American or neutral flags, and unless more ships can be put at the disposal of shippers, causing a general reduction of ocean freight rates, which are now unreasonable, excessive, and almost prohibitive, the export business in this country is bound to suffer greatly.

Respectfully,

G. STALLING & CO.

NEW YORK, *January 15, 1914.*

SECRETARY OF DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Referring further to excessive through rate on barreled apples from New York to London via Liverpool on White Star Line:

When writing you under date of January 14 we neglected to state that the through rate on apples to London direct on Atlantic Transport boats figures out 4s. 6d. per barrel; that is, the rate has been 4s. 6d. up until now. But we have just received advice that beginning February 1 Atlantic Transport Line is advancing their rates so that apples, ordinary, will pay 6s. per barrel. As a matter of fact, this line is en-

deavoring to exclude fruit shipments entirely, and it would seem that unless some efforts are made shortly we will be practically without shipping facilities for exporting fruit, except under rates that are absolutely prohibitory.

Yours, very truly,

W. T. SEIBELS & Co.,
By W. T. S.

[Extract from letter to Secretary of the Treasury from R. R. Dancy, cotton and cotton linters, Houston, Tex., dated Dec. 26, 1914.]

Last week brokers asked $17 per bale freight to Germany (Bremen), now $14. Surely the United States Government can and should control the situation and shipping and insurance to such extent that if only one steamer could be had her charter or freight charge should be in the limit of reason, controlled by the Government and not by sharks and sharps. Needs no probe, but action in distress.

HOUSTON HEIGHTS, TEX., *December 28, 1914.*

UNITED STATES COMMERCE DEPARTMENT,
Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: We respectfully call your attention to the paralysis of our business due to the exorbitant ocean freight rates now being imposed upon the manufacturers and producers of this country. For years our entire output has been disposed of abroad, but owing to the present prohibitive tariffs in ocean transportation we are unable to deliver our goods, consequently our plant will remain closed down until such rates are established as will enable us to market our goods. The majority of our shipments have heretofore gone via Liverpool and Manchester.

In our judgment a Government merchant marine will solve the problem.

Very truly,

WM. HAAS & SONS,
By WILLIAM HAAS, Sr.

[Extract from a letter to the Secretary of Commerce from David C. Reid, 18 Broadway, New York, dated January 2, 1915.]

For your information and guidance, the question of getting tonnage at the present time for trans-Atlantic business is practically impossible. I have offered by cablegram up to 10s. 3d., Government form per deadweight ton, and was refused by my London correspondents, who state that much higher offers must be made before tonnage can be procured. Under ordinary circumstances these tramp steamers I made the offers for in good faith could be secured at 3s. per deadweight ton. Conditions with us are almost impossible. Tonnage is unprocurable at almost any except the most extraordinary and prohibitive terms. I speak now of the cargo steamer for the general carrying tramp steamer trade. Anything that can be done to put tonnage in the market should be done.

BALTIMORE, MD., *December 28, 1914.*

DEPARTMENT COMMERCE, *Washington D. C.*

GENTLEMEN: In the name of the Leaf Tobacco Association of Baltimore City, of which I am president, I desire to file with your department an urgent protest against the unwarranted advance in freight rates on tobacco as recently established by the Holland-American Line. Some of our exporting members shipping to Holland points have signed contracts with this company expiring December 31, 1914, for a rate of $3.50 per hogshead of tobacco. This contract has been disregarded entirely and the rate increased first to $5.25, then to $6.85, and to-day a notice that it will be $7.50 until further notice. This, I repeat, in the face of the written contract for $3.50 per hogshead.

Their explanation is the war conditions, claiming a war clause which some of our members claim is not in their contract. In any event, there is no war between the nations whose subjects are signers of the contracts, and we wish for your department to take some action to adjust this if possible; and we shall gladly furnish you with any further information which your department might wish to have.

Very respectfully, yours,

CHAS. E. MOORE,
President of Leaf Tobacco Association, Baltimore, Md.

AZALEA, N. C., *December 29, 1914.*

Hon. WILLIAM G. MCADOO,
Secretary of the Treasury, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Referring to item in New York Herald indicating your desire for information concerning the effect of the present ocean rates upon business, would say that for our part the present rates are practically prohibitive, as they have advanced 10 and 15 cents per hundredweight, and in many cases even these rates are not protected, except for immediate acceptance and subject to confirmation by steamship lines, thus making it impossible for shipper to quote delivered prices with any certainty that the rates on which he bases his quotations would be confirmed. Further than this, it is our information that the steamship companies are giving other tonnage carrying higher freight rates preference, and in some instances are limiting their boats to a certain small amount of lumber tonnage. There is certainly a need of more boats and some method of obtaining reasonable and dependable rates which shall be protected long enough at least that we might be able to get quotations by mail to our customer on the other side and his reply.

As illustrative of the present situation, we quote you below from letters received from the Virginia Line, operating from Norfolk and Newport News, upon whom we are dependent for the larger amount of our export business:

"We further beg to advise that we will only be able to make contracts for a specific number of cars for shipment by one steamer. In other words, we will not be able to make contracts for a maximum and minimum number of cars for shipment over a period of time.

"You must not feel that this is an arbitrary position which we are taking, as such is not the case, and it is due entirely to circumstances over which we have no control. So many of our steamers have been requisitioned by the Admiralty that we have not enough steamers to go around, and if you are at all familiar with the vessel situation you will know that there is an extreme shortage in vessel tonnage, due to the fact that the British Admiralty has requisitioned about 25 per cent of the vessels under the British flag, and the further fact that all of the German and Austrian steamers are laid up. If conditions were normal, we would have plenty of vessels to take care of all tonnage offering and would be only too glad to place the room at the disposal of our friends, but as our available tonnage has been reduced more than 50 per cent it is simply a question of doing the best we can and apportioning our room as equitably as possible."

You will see from the above that we have no certain assurance of being able to forward our lumber, and all the charges, storage, trackage, etc., that might accumulate at seaport owing to the steamship lines' failure or inability to take the lumber would be at our expense.

Trusting that this letter may be of service to you, and that some relief may be obtained, we remain,

Yours, very truly,

MCEWEN LUMBER CO.,
W. B. MCEWEN, *President.*

AZALEA, N. C., *January 8, 1915.*

Mr. A. J. PETERS,
Assistant Secretary Treasury, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Acknowledging yours of the 5th instant and supplementing our letter of the 29th ultimo, we beg to quote below letter dated December 30 from Lunham & Moore, export freight brokers, Produce Exchange, New York City, written to us in response to our application for rates to Copenhagen:

"Your favor of the 28th instant to hand. Lumber rates are not very encouraging, and the best we can quote you to-day is as follows (which apply from New York only to both Copenhagen and Christiania): Oak lumber, 100s. and 5 per cent per 2,240 pounds; poplar lumber, 102s. 6d. and 5 per cent per 2,240 pounds.

"All freight to be prepaid. We quite realize that these rates are entirely too high to enable you to make shipments. No room until March-April steamship agents' option."

From the above you will note the high rates asked for movement of freight. These rates amount on oak lumber to about $45 per 1,000 feet. On poplar lumber to about $35 per 1,000 feet.

Our last quotation on lumber moving from New York City to Copenhagen and Christiania just prior to the outbreak of the war was 31 cents per 100 pounds, as against the rate named above, which is equivalent to $1.14 per 100 pounds on oak lumber. Poplar in proportion. We mention this for your information, and if there is anything further that you wish to know along this line we will be glad to communicate further with you.

Yours, very truly,

MCEWEN LUMBER CO.

NEW YORK, *December 26, 1914.*

Hon. WILLIAM G. MCADOO,
Secretary of Treasury, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE AND DEAR SIR: Permit us, please, to lay before you our complaint against the scarcity of ships and the exorbitant rate of freight now being charged on shipments of our commodities to the various foreign ports, which seriously handicaps our business.

We therefore feel that something should be done by our Government to relieve the present situation, since it so seriously interferes with our foreign business.

Trusting that you may be able to take prompt steps to remedy this condition, we beg to remain,

Very truly, yours,

A. GROSS & Co.,
J. A. BURNS, *Secretary.*

GALVESTON, TEX., *December 26, 1914.*

Secretary MCADOO, *Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: Referring to your call for information from shippers who have been affected by high ocean freights, beg to advise we are shippers of old rails and scrap iron and steel.

We have in the past paid various rates of freight, from 12s. to 18s. per ton; however, steamship companies now either quote abnormal freights or refuse to quote at all, so it is impossible to ship any material, as the freights in some cases amount to three-fourths of the delivered price of the commodity.

The Texas Transport & Terminal Co. have carried practically all of our material from New Orleans and Galveston to Genoa, Italy. This steamship company has now asked us 45s. per ton for January, February, and March, and the material itself is only worth about 60s. per ton delivered.

The above facts are given for your information and in case you can suggest some remedy, or possibly would like to see the writer regarding other details of this matter, he would take great pleasure in seeing you in Washington at any time you may state.

Yours, very truly,

PHOENIX IRON & STEEL CO.,
LEONARD JOSEPHS, *President.*

ATLANTA, GA., *December 28, 1914.*

Mr. W. G. MCADOO,
Secretary of Treasury, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Agreeable to governmental request, beg to advise that this company is experiencing considerable trouble in booking shipments of cottonseed meal, cake, and linters to foreign ports. In fact, we have been endeavoring since the 19th instant to find space for cottonseed meal and cake of approximately 3,000 tons to Liverpool and London, and the very best offer received up to the 24th instant was $8.50 per ton from Savannah to Liverpool, January-February sailing, and not exceeding 1,000 tons at that. However, in endeavoring to book this lot to-day, the Strachan Shipping Co., agents, Savannah, have just wired as follows:

"Regret can not confirm thousand meal Liverpool eight fifty. Freight market advancing one firm offer to-day $9. Feel sure can place January-February shipment."

To which the following is our reply:

"Your wire date. Best we can stand is eight fifty. Will book one thousand tons at that. Advise."

Further, it appears that the Strachan Shipping Co. are the only ones that have any space at all in sight for January-February for commodities other than cotton, they advising us on the 21st instant they are unable, at the moment, to quote a rate on meal or cake from either Charleston or Jacksonville and have but limited room from Savannah and Brunswick, going on to say that they can not assure us of January room from either of these ports at present. Also that the tonnage market is exceedingly strong and steamers scarce. Therefore, they are experiencing the greatest difficulty in securing boats to cover their actual January commitments, consequently would not care, at the moment, to quote a guaranteed shipment that month.

We are also advised by the Churchill Line, also by the J. H. W. Steele Co., of Savannah, as well as Street Bros., of Charleston, S. C., that they have no space at all, and to the further effect that just now tonnage, especially as regards neutral boats, is scarce and rates high.

In fact, the result of our inquiries along this line principally develops that shipowners have restricted their vessels almost exclusively to cotton by charter or at very high rates, one of my informants placing the charter price at $12 per bale.

The best quotation we have had from Norfolk is $8 per short ton, while the rates quoted us from Savannah, above mentioned, are for a ton of 2,240 pounds.

So far we have been unable to secure quotations to London, Rotterdam, or any ports other than Liverpool.

Yours, very truly,

E. P. McBURNEY, *Vice President.*

MEMPHIS, TENN., *December 7, 1914.*

Hon. WILLIAM G. McADOO,
Secretary of the Treasury, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The cotton pool, raising money for the farmer to carry his cotton, is a splendid idea and has everyone's indorsement; but the real thing you want to do is to make a market for the farmer's cotton, so as he can sell it if he so desires.

I have on my desk several very important inquiries for cotton for Germany and feel satisfied that at least a million bales of cotton could be sold to Germany and Austria at once if freight room at a reasonable price could be secured and, above all, that the "war risk" would cover the shipments absolutely.

Now, can not you find a way for the Government to furnish us ships and guaranteeing the delivery of the cotton either at Gottenburg, Rotterdam, or Copenhagen? The importance of this move you can realize in a moment when you think that every bale of cotton that is held over and not spun becomes a weight on the market and reduces the chances of an advance later on that much. You can not grind the mill with the water that has passed, and when a spindle stops operating and the cotton is not being used it becomes a dead weight on the market, it matters not how much you advance against it.

Now, what we want is open markets and a chance to ship our cotton. If this can be done, the cotton pool will only be used limitedly. The rate from New Orleans to-day to Gottenburg is $1.50 per hundredweight, and to Rotterdam $2 per hundredweight. This is three and four times the regular rate. Suppose a rate of $1 was effected and with a "war risk" of not over 50 cents per bale, this would enable you at once to take a million bales of cotton off the market. Can't you suggest some outlet for these conditions?

A steamship loaded with 10,000 bales of cotton at $3 per hundredweight, or $15 per bale, realizes, gross, $150,000 for the cargo, when the vessel itself is not worth exceeding $125,000. For such conditions there certainly should be some remedy.

Yours, very truly,

JOS. NEWBURGER.

KIOMATIA, RED RIVER COUNTY, TEX., *December 27, 1914.*

Hon. WILLIAM G. McADOO,
Secretary Treasury, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I notice from the press reports that you expressed a desire to learn something of the excessive ocean freight rates which are now being charged to foreign ports.

I have been requested to act as chairman of a marketing committee of the Northeast Texas District Farmers' Union, to try and market some of our cotton direct from the farmers to European spinners, and we would like to reach Germany and Austria with some cotton. The ordinary rate from Gulf ports to these points is about 50 cents per 100 pounds, but I have been informed that as much as $3 per 100 pounds has been charged on cotton.

We also find it will be difficult to secure a steamer.

I am advised that the United States Government has a number of transports which might be used as cotton carriers, and I am also advised that there are some German ships which could be purchased in some Gulf ports.

Is it possible for you to arrange so that we can secure a ship, and pay only a reasonable freight rate from here to Germany and Austria?

I would like this information as early as possible, as we will have to make arrangements to concentrate this cotton in either Galveston or New Orleans, and our ability to finance it will determine which port we will use.

I wish to state in advance this will be a transaction for and in behalf of the farmers who have been able to hold their cotton and not forced to sacrifice it at beggarly prices, which has been the fate of thousands of farmers in our State.

Awaiting your prompt advices, I am,

Yours, very respectfully,

R. D. BOWEN.

The daily newspapers carry complaints of the same nature almost daily. I clipped the following from the Evening Star of Washington, Friday, February 12.

LACK OF SHIPS KILLS TRADE, EXPORTER SAYS.

Trade which should come to this country from South America as a direct result of the European war is being strangled, and unusual measures must be taken at once to cope with it, according to a letter made public to-day by Secretary Redfield of the Department of Commerce, from William C. Wulp, secretary of a New York firm of exporters.

While figures are given to show that rates on bulk goods to South American points have increased since August 1 from 50 to 300 per cent, yet the principal complaint seems not to be the increase, but the refusal of steamship companies to guarantee the stability of their rates.

CAUSE OF LOSS.

"Quite aside from this question of rates," says the letter, in part, "the very scarcity of steamers, which prevents a constant and punctual service, interferes with our foreign trade fully as much as, and perhaps a little more, than the high rates of freight, of which it is said to be the cause. The South American business is largely made up of offers and acceptances covering transactions to take place at some specified future time. I am speaking of the business in foodstuffs and other staple lines, which run into bulk and which, therefore, are the most important part of the business from the carrier's standpoint.

HOW ORDERS ARE PLACED.

"The Brazilian merchant usually covers his requirements in flour for several months ahead, at a fixed price, which, besides the cost of the article itself, includes all incidental expenses, such as freight, insurance, commission, and interest.

"During the past few weeks we have been compelled to neglect a large number of promising inquiries from our regular Brazilian customers simply because we could not obtain definite assurance from the steamship companies as to the required shipping opportunities and as to the rates to be charged by them.

"In the case of one bulk commodity, for which we act as selling agents, we were compelled to cable our representatives in the Argentine Republic to stop selling, not because the rates of freight are too high, but because of the uncertainty of shipping facilities during the next few months, and the unwillingness or inability of the steamship companies to quote a firm rate of freight, to hold good for a sufficient period of time. Thus business is lost daily because of the scarcity of tonnage and the many perplexing questions resulting from that condition.

SCARCITY OF SHIPS.

"It seems immaterial whether this scarcity is due to congestion in European ports or whether it is due to the withdrawal of a large amount of tonnage by the British Government for war purposes. The fact remains that the scarcity exists and seriously interferes with the successful conduct of our South American trade, which in other respects is beginning to show considerable improvement over the first four or five months following the outbreak of the war. This scarcity must be remedied before this country can take advantage of the revival of trade in South American countries, and it follows that what is required is new and additional tonnage not now actually in operation.

"There is no doubt that an unusual emergency exists, and unusual measures must be taken to cope with it in order to prevent the strangulation of the South American trade, which just now is of such vast importance to this country."

The average increase in ocean freight rates from July to December on all commodities is estimated to be 141 per cent. This general average is, however, somewhat misleading. The greatest part of this burden falls upon those products of the farms in which the American farmer is most vitally interested, namely, grain and cotton. These are the two articles of commerce that constitute the great bulk of our foreign commerce. As showing the effect of high ocean freight rates on American farmers, I quote from the report of the Secretary of Commerce the following:

While the steamship companies have imposed conscienceless taxes in the form of increased rates on grain, amounting, as already shown, to as much as 900 per cent to some ports, they have placed an even heavier burden upon cotton, where the increase in rates to some ports is as high as 1,100 per cent. This increase is particularly onerous upon the cotton producers of the South, because it comes at a time when the effects of the war have greatly reduced the value of cotton and when the southern farmers are least able to bear additional burdens.

Grain, cotton, and other commodities are usually sold "delivered" at the port of destination. When steamship companies raise the cost of delivery of grain from 6 cents to 60 cents per bushel it makes a vast difference in the price the farmer receives for his product, and when ocean freight charges on cotton are raised from $1.25 to $15 per bale the price at which the farmer sells his cotton is seriously reduced.

To show what the burden imposed on the farmers by these high ocean freight rates means it is necessary only to bring out the fact that while the total freight cost on our exports by sea for the month of December, 1914, was $30,742,500, the great commodities of grain, cotton, and flour bore $11,782,250 of this charge, more than 36 per cent of the entire freight cost on all exports by sea for the month.

These exorbitant rates are not necessary in order to meet expenses and pay a reasonable profit on the investment. As pointed out in an article prepared by the Southern Commercial Congress on the proposed establishment of a merchant marine, the shipping business is one of the most profitable in the world. Special Diplomatic and Consular Reports, page 39, says:

The White Star Line in 1910 earned a net profit of £540,000 on a capital of £750,000 after writing off £370,016 for depreciation. A dividend of 30 per cent was paid in that year.

The Holland Amerika Line earned about 50 per cent net on its capital during the fiscal year 1913. The Hamburg-American Line earned about 30 per cent net during its fiscal year of 1913. These are only a few specific instances of steamship-line earnings. They are not at all unusual, but are the regular thing in the shipping business.

F. E. Dixon & Co., of London, who own and operate a large fleet of "tramp" freighters, showed earnings of about 50 per cent net last year, which proves that steamship earnings are large in irregular services as well as in the regular lines. In fact, the profits in the steamship business are so large that frequently the entire cost of a ship is earned in two years.

There are those who oppose this measure on the ground that it will not be a profitable investment for the Government and that it will entail a heavy loss on us. It is not my understanding that the advocates of this measure are urging its passage on account of the profits that they hope the Government will receive from it, but that the primary object is to furnish to our merchants, manufacturers, and farmers a necessary agency which private enterprise has failed to furnish. An agency which will connect our farms and factories with a foreign market and prevent such losses as our farmers and merchants are now experiencing. The profit to be made did not prompt the Government in adding to the Postal Service the parcel post. The Government finds itself justified by the great public service it has and is rendering to the people. It has brought the great express companies to their senses and forced them to reduce the unreasonable toll that they had been exacting from the people. This bill will have the same effect upon the shipowners of the world. It will force them to adopt a schedule of reasonable rates such as will give them a reasonable profit on their investment and no more.

If it does this it will have saved the cotton farmers of the South and the grain farmers of the West, and the mine and mill owners of this country, not only the exorbitant sums they are being charged now as I have already pointed out, but it will be the agency by which to extend our markets, and give us that commercial supremacy that we so desire.

But there is no reason why such a governmental enterprise should not be reasonably profitable. It would not be an entirely new and untried field. The Government is already in the shipping business. It owns the entire capital stock of the Panama Railroad & Steamship Co. Its reports show that for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914, there was a net revenue from the steamship line alone of $314,296.36, and in the four months ending October 31, 1914, there was a net revenue from the steamship line alone of $84,294.16. The fact that this bill seeks to extend this to much greater fields, is no reason why the Government should still not be successful.

But others object to Government ownership. That has no terrors for me. Long ago this country went into the business of Government ownership of enterprises. We find examples of this from the days of Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln on down to the time of William H. Taft and Woodrow Wilson. We have been in the Government control and ownership of interstate highways and business for 100 years, and if there was ever a time when we should engage in it, that time is now. Thomas Jefferson ordered a great highway surveyed from Baltimore to New Orleans. Has the Government a right to build highways? Yes; that was long ago decided. A little later on, the Cumberland Road, a great interstate road from Cumberland, Md., to Jefferson City, Mo., was ordered to be built, and the Government spent $710,000 to build it.

During the administration of Abraham Lincoln the Government not only built but practically controlled the great transcontinental railroads for the purpose of developing the western plains and reaching the Pacific Ocean. The Government then built a similar road from Chicago and Cairo to New Orleans.

In 1904 the Government of the United States authorized the building of the Philippine railroad and guaranteed 4 per cent interest on its bonds. That law, which is still on the statute books, was enacted by a Republican Congress. And, strange as it may sound, this Republican Congress, back in the days when the Republican Party professed to believe in the great benefits to be derived from a high protective tariff, provided for the necessary building materials to go into the Philippine Islands free of tariff duty.

There was also the parcel post. For years we heard the cry that "you are going to put the Government in the carrying business in competition with private enterprise, to wit, the express companies." But the Government did go into the business, and where is the man who now would vote to repeal the law?

The Government is carrying freight on land. Why not carry it on the sea? Since individual effort has failed to supply this great national need, and will continue to fail until conditions change, the Government should step in and provide this great need for its people. There is no paternalism in the proposition. We authorized the construction of the Alaskan railroad; we make powder and armor plate; we print envelopes and sell them to the people of the United States; we destroy the cattle tick and boll weevil and do thousands of other things that private individuals not only do but are anxious to do.

In order to meet the emergencies of the European war the Government has gone into the insurance business. Some of the Republican Congressmen who voted to allow the Government to insure the cargoes that are carried abroad in monopolistic ships are holding their hands up in holy horror against this shipping bill. I can see no difference in owning the ships that carry the cargoes and the Government insuring the cargoes which the ships carry. I have no metaphysical scissors with which I can make a distinction in principle.

But the question naturally suggests itself to our minds, Why has this rich field of profitable business not been sought by private enterprise? It has been sought by foreign ships in the past, it is not now supplied by them for the reason that some of them have been destroyed, others have been drafted into the service of their navy as auxiliaries, and others are afraid to venture upon the high seas while their nation is at war. But the reason private enterprise has not built up an American merchant marine is because of the presence of the foreign shipping trust. Few private enterprises have ever been launched with their full strength, ready to meet and compete with so strong and dangerous an adversary as the shipping trust. These private enterprises usually start with a small capital, and as they feel their way along successfully they extend their business. Picture to yourself such an enterprise standing up against this giant of the sea. During this Congress, while we had under consideration the adoption of the conference report, providing that foreign-built vessels may engage in the coastwise trade if registered pursuant to the provisions of the act, etc., a leading Republican strongly urged as a reason for his opposition that this would permit this foreign trust to gobble up our coastwise shipping just as it has our foreign commerce.

In this connection he says:

* * * it always interests me to hear the declarations against American combinations and American shipping trusts, when every sane man who has given this subject one moment's consideration knows that the greatest trust in all this world is the shipping trust of Great Britain.

Continuing his argument he says:

On the other hand, the House report brings out the fact that the most formidable, aggressive, and oppressive shipping trusts and combinations are those of foreign flags and foreign ownership in the foreign trade of the United States.

The committee says (p. 415), in summarizing its findings, that "the facts contained in the foregoing report show that it is the almost universal practice of steamship lines engaged in the American foreign trade to operate, both on the inbound and the outbound voyages, under the terms of written agreements, conference agreements, or gentlemen's understandings. * * * Eighty such agreements or understandings, involving practically all the regular steamship lines operating on nearly every American foreign trade route, are described in the foregoing report."

In an article prepared by the Southern Commercial Congress on the proposed establishment of a merchant marine, we find the following:

Objection to the shipping bill now before Congress has developed from two sources. It was to be expected that there would be objection by shipping interests which have been reaping the benefit of American inactivity in the foreign shipping trade. It was also to be expected that certain financial interests and their affiliations, especially those interested in foreign shipping, would object to a Government merchant marine.

Opponents of the bill have advanced arguments to sustain their position, but not one of them will stand analysis. Many newspapers and periodicals are opposing the bill, but the fact that they enjoy considerable advertising and other patronage from the steamship lines and the financial interests that are opposing the bill may go far toward explaining their position on this great question of an American merchant marine.

CONSTITUTIONAL POWER TO ENACT SUCH LEGISLATION.

It is now too late in the Nation's history to seriously question the right of Congress to pass such a bill.

The Constitution vests in Congress the power—

To regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes.

Chief Justice Marshall said, in 1824, in writing the opinion of the court in the case of Gibbons *v.* Ogden (22 U. S., 192), that the word used in the Constitution comprehends navigation within its meaning. Further discussing the question he said:

We are now arriving at the inquiry, What is this power? It is the power to regulate; that is, to prescribe the rule by which commerce is to be governed. This power, like all others vested in Congress, is complete in itself, may be exercised to its utmost extent, and acknowledges no limitations, other than are prescribed in the Constitution. * * * If, as has always been understood, the sovereignty of Congress, though limited to specific objects, is plenary as to those objects, the power over commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, is vested in Congress as absolutely as it would be in a single government, having in its constitution the same restrictions on the exercise of the power as are found in the Constitution of the United States.

Justice Johnson, in his concurring opinion in the case of Gibbons *v.* Ogden, on page 228–229, says.

When speaking of the power of Congress over navigation, I do not regard it as a power incident to that of regulating commerce; I consider it as the thing itself; inseparable from it as vital motion is from vital existence. Commerce, in its simplest signification, means an exchange of goods; but in the advancement of society, labor, transportation, intelligence, care, and various mediums of exchange, become commodities, and enter into commerce; the subject, the vehicle, the agent, and their various operations, become the objects of commercial regulation. Shipbuilding, the carrying trade, and propagation of seamen, are such vital agents of commercial prosperity, that the nation which could not legislate over these subjects, would not possess the power to regulate commerce.

In the case of Wilson *v.* Shaw (204 U. S., 24) the contention was made that the Government had no power to engage anywhere in the work of constructing a railroad or the Panama Canal.

Justice Brewer disposes of this contention by saying that "the decisions of the court are adverse to the contention," and by citing and quoting from a number of decisions.

He quotes from the decision in the case of California *v.* Pacific Railroad Co. (127 U. S., 39) the following:

It can not at the present day be doubted that Congress, under the power to regulate commerce among the several States, as well as to provide for postal accommodations and military exigencies, had authority to pass these laws. The power to construct, or to authorize indi-

viduals or corporations to construct, national highways and bridges from State to State is essential to the complete control and regulation of interstate commerce. Without authority in Congress to establish and maintain such highways and bridges it would be without authority to regulate one of the most important adjuncts of commerce. This power in former times was exerted to a very limited extent, the Cumberland or National road being the most notable instance. Its exertion was but little called for, as commerce was then mostly conducted by water, and many of our statesmen entertained doubts as to the existence of the power to establish ways of communication by land. But since, in consequence of the expansion of the country, the multiplication of its products, and the invention of railroads and locomotion by steam, land transportation has so vastly increased, a sounder consideration of the subject has prevailed and led to the conclusion that Congress has plenary power over the whole subject. Of course the authority of Congress over the Territories of the United States, and its power to grant franchises exercisable therein, are, and ever have been, undoubted. But the wider power was very freely exercised, and much to the general satisfaction, in the creation of the vast system of railroads connecting the East with the Pacific, traversing States as well as Territories, and employing the agency of State as well as Federal corporations.

Congress, therefore, may create corporations as appropriate means of executing the powers of government, as, for instance, a bank for the purpose of carrying on the fiscal operations of the United States, or a railroad corporation for the purpose of promoting commerce among the States. McCulloch *v.* Maryland, 4 Wheat., 316, 411, 422; Osborn *v.* Bank of United States, 9 Wheat., 738, 861, 873; Pacific Railroad Removal cases, 115 U. S., 1, 18; California *v.* Pacific Railroad, 127 U. S., 1, 39. Congress has likewise the power, exercised early in this century by successive acts in the Cumberland or National road, from the Potomac across the Alleghanies to the Ohio, to authorize the construction of a public highway connecting several States. See Indiana *v.* United States, 148 U. S., 148.

This same provision of the Constitution which has been construed to grant the power to the Federal Government to construct bridges, build railroads, turnpikes, and canals, own and maintain the Panama Steamship Line, will, if the same reasoning is applied, furnish the authority needed to carry out the purposes of this bill, because the power of Congress over foreign commerce is the same as it is over interstate commerce.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SCOTT FERRIS,
OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 2, 1915.

Mr. FERRIS. Mr. Speaker, two things are necessary before any rural-credit system will be of avail to the farmer—he must have long tenure and he must have a low rate of interest. No outside concern without the backing and the strength and the stability of the great Government behind it can command these two things. Therefore the amendment brought in on the Agricultural bill, the so-called Hollis amendment not carrying that, is not what the American farmers expect, is not what we promised to give them, is not what they are entitled to, and, in truth and in fact, is not a rural-credit bill at all.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BULKLEY] brings to us, not a hurried, jumped-up amendment, but an amendment that has received careful, painstaking attention, an amendment which is well digested, an amendment which carries a forceful, well-thought-out principle, to wit, that of Government aid. Those who really want to give the farmer a rural-credit bill ought to support the Bulkley amendment. Those who really do not care to play pranks on the American farmer ought to oppose the Hollis amendment as it now stands. I greatly hope the Committee on Agriculture will aid, and that its individual membership will join hands in maintaining and committing this Government to the principle of Federal aid which will really amount to a rural credit system.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. LEVER. I yield my one minute to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. FERRIS. I share the heavy responsibility and burden that hangs on the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture [Mr. LEVER]. I share likewise the burden that hangs upon the entire committee, which had to meet this morning and bring into the House something that the House could consider in a single day. I think they did the best they could. I think perhaps they did all they could. I can not but believe that with the Bulkley amendment added we have taken a long step toward doing in this most important matter what we ought to do. It may be imperfect; it may not be what the Senate conferees will accept; it may not be what the President will sign; but we must do our duty. We may be building up a straw man and knocking him down instead of doing anything, because it may fail. But I believe this is the best thing we can do under all the circumstances, the nearest we can come to doing our duty; and I think we ought to adopt the Federal-aid amendment now pending. [Applause.]

That a rural credit law is needed is recognized by all political parties; that a rural credit law is necessary is the belief of more than three-fourths of the membership of this House; that a rural credit law has been promised in platform and on the stump while securing our commissions here is likewise true. The Senate has passed a loose-jointed, poorly considered measure as an amendment or rider to the agricultural appropriation bill. It is admitted that it passed the Senate without any real consideration at all; it was merely added while four or five Senators were present and accepted without any careful scrutiny whatever.

There are many weird rural credit proposals now pending before Congress. There is much misinformation about this subject. Stripped of all details and stripped of all personalities, there is but one great question in this matter and that is, Shall the Federal Government lend its strength, its stability and strong arm toward making a rural credit system that will be workable, feasible, and of aid to the American farmers? It is not too much to say, and I do not believe it will be controverted by either friend or foe of this legislation, that practically every civilized country in the world is given Government aid toward a rural credit system to encourage agricultural production. I think it will not be controverted that in order to have long tenure and a low rate of interest two things are of necessity to the farmer, who from the very nature of things can earn but slowly; the Government must place its strong right arm behind the proposal and see to it that a few scheming speculators do not outstrip the farmer. The present short loans made by the farm loan companies or by the banks and the exorbitant rates of interest charged have become almost intolerable. Few, if any, well-organized business firms would be able to amortize or bring about amortization on either the land or personal security within the short periods of time allotted to farmers by the ordinary farm loan company. Therefore, if a well-regulated business organization with admitted earning capacity can not amortize and pay out on short tenure, how can the American farmer be expected to succeed and comply with short tenure and the high rates accorded him by the banks and farm loan companies?

From the very nature of things it is impossible to induce a private concern with limited credit, limited capital, and limited public confidence to make long-time loans or to permit loans to be paid off in partial payments or driblets or to let the farmer amortize or pay off his loans other than on short tenure. The farmer has no rapid earning capacity, and from the very nature of things his ability to pay his loans must naturally be limited.

Again, it is impossible for a private institution within a limited period of time to establish sufficient public confidence to make the mortgages or debenture bonds salable unless they bear an outrageously high rate of interest, but if the Government, through Federal aid and supervision, will see to it that, first, the loans are made for long periods, and, second, secure or guarantee the bonds, see that the rate of interest is reasonable, the things necessary to a successful rural credit system are accomplished.

Private concerns with limited capital do not desire their money to be contracted away for long periods of time. There is no way to compel them to do it. It is necessary that they call in their capital often, reinvest it, and keep it in motion in order that large profits will come to them. I think it will not be controverted that there is not a single example in all the world of a successful land-mortgage system on long-time amortization and low rates that has ever succeeded without Federal aid, support, and confidence. Great strength is required. Great confidence must be ever present, and only the strong hand of a great government can afford this.

The different methods of Government aid are without uniformity, but in each case of a country having a rural credits system it has been present. There is a veiled recognition of the principle of Federal aid in the reserve act. This, perhaps, would be sufficient to serve as a precedent, but insufficient to be of immediate or substantial value to the farmers. Those opposed to any aid being accorded the American producer say with great unction and enthusiasm that if we give it to the farmer we must likewise give it to all others. Such logic does not appeal to me; such logic does not rest on a firm foundation; such logic does not call to its aid parallel cases for the American producer who produces, not alone to feed himself but something to feed his neighbor, hence this proposition stands on a basis totally different from any other avocation of life. When the producer is successful we are all successful; when the producer is success-

ful we are without want, but when the producer fails, want, famine, and disaster hovers about us. It may likewise be called to your attention that in cities and towns building and loan organizations have sprung up, and while they are not meeting effectually all of the necessities of small home owners, they are taking a long step in the right direction, and it may be reasonably be said that they are fairly well handling the situation there.

COUNTRIES WHERE FEDERAL AID OBTAINS.

Direct loans are made to purchasers and tillers of the soil by England, Russia, Denmark, Sweden, New Zealand, and some of the Australian Provinces.

Land mortgages are guaranteed by the Federal Government in the following countries: Austria, Switzerland, Norway, Egypt, Australia, certain Provinces of Mexico, Argentina, and Uruguay.

The following countries have by stock subscriptions made a rural credits system successful: Hungary, Roumania, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, the Philippine Islands, and Chile.

The following Governments have loaned their funds to organized mortgage loan companies: France, Italy, Servia, Chile, and Japan.

It may be interesting to the student of rural or farm credits to know the tenure of these farm loans in foreign countries. It is interesting to observe that some of them run as long as 75 years, and in most cases amortization by partial payments is permitted. I think it is not too much to assert that in a few growing Republics, like our own, where our citizenship is alert, vigilant, and industrious, with fast earning capacity, a 75-year tenure would be more than is necessary. I do think, however, that the tenure of loan in a rural credit system should be sufficiently long to induce nonhome owners to become home owners at the earliest possible moment. I know many able statesmen, both in and out of Congress, shrink from launching their Government into paternalism, and they shrink from its constant encroachments. Nevertheless, a spirit of modern times demands that a Government do more for its citizenship than gather taxes from among them and preserve peace and order among its citizenship. This very Congress has appropriated for building railroads in Alaska; this and the preceding Congresses have appropriated money for the building of the Panama Canal, for the construction of a railroad across the zone, and the maintenance of steamship lines through the canal. This Federal Government has launched into the insurance business by setting about to insure cargoes of vessels on the high seas leaving this country for foreign ports, so our citizens might have their business and exports insured while on the ocean, and the Federal Government did this in the face of the fact that private capital shrank from the undertaking.

This Congress, or this House, has passed a bill appropriating about $35,000,000 for the purchase of ships to haul products to foreign lands. If we can do all these things, where more or less risk is attached in each case, can we in good conscience be heard to say that the land of the American farmer shall not be a basis of credit sufficient to invite cooperation, aid, and help from the Federal Government? Can the President of this 100,000,000 people, who has been constantly and without equivocation advocating this legislation we want enacted, now say that he will not give an attentive ear to the class that does not alone support himself but which feeds the world? Can this Congress by parliamentary pranks or tricks in conference fail to do the thing it has promised to do, fail to do the thing which is needed and demanded on every hand? No. I can not believe it and, if perchance such a thing does happen that our opportunity to secure rural credit legislation is lost, I anticipate that America's farmers will ask who is responsible for doing the thing that caused us to lose. They will ask, Which body did its duty, the House or the Senate? They will ask, Which conferee failed to do his full duty? They will ask if the President gave his aid or his hindrance to the accomplishment of a thing so universally desired. America's rural population does not, and I would not, ask for them Federal aid if it would launch us into difficulty; if it would endanger us or undermine the Republic we are sworn to uphold and protect, but such is not the case; we offer the Government the most staple security that can be found; we ask that the Government aid with safety, with propriety, with moderation, the same as every other civilized country in the world has aided its producing population.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Congress, I do not now try to say that all the bills offered by the several gentlemen are not well intended; I do not now nor shall I try to say that they are not hopeful of being of benefit to the citizens who sent them here; but, gentlemen of the House, we can not adopt undigested, unconsidered bills of such great importance in this hasty, haphazard fashion.

The only course open to us is to in an orderly manner perfect the amendment added by the Agriculture Committee onto the Agricultural appropriation bill, so that it will carry with it clear and well defined principles that the Federal Government shall, in one form or another, stand behind a rural credit system that will be of some real value to the American farmer.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BULKLEY], a prominent and forceful member of the Banking and Currency Committee, has a very well considered Government-aid section in his bill that we can offer as an amendment to the so-called Hollis amendment, and we can really make a good bill of the Hollis amendment. The amendment is section 30 of the Bulkley bill, and those of us who believe in rural credits and Government aid are asking that it be added to the Hollis amendment now pending before the House. We, as friends of this legislation, must not scatter and vote hither and thither for this thing and that thing without knowing well what we do. We should set up ahead of us a goal and all pull together unitedly for it. If we support this bill or that bill, if we follow off after this idea or that idea, we lose force of purpose; we dissipate and emanciate our strength; and in so doing we hand a club to our enemies to depose us and, yea, not alone to depose us but to depose the American farmers. I ask such friends as I have in this House, and I ask the friends of rural credit, to work and cooperate with me for the incorporation of section 30 of the Bulkley bill in this amendment.

By so doing you will preserve a principle sacred to any successful rural credits system. By so doing you will, at least in part, be doing what each of the great parties promised in their platforms they would do. By so doing you will commit the Federal Government to a principle that the American farmer very much desires. We must not permit ourselves to be lost or destroyed by a maze of detail and difference of opinion. We must of necessity single out a cardinal principle that towers far and above all the rest, and work for it and pull for it. That principle is Federal aid, Federal backing, Federal confidence—in a rural credits bill.

Personally I am sorry the two Banking and Currency Committees did not bring in, in an orderly manner, long before this time a bill that would bring relief to the American farmers. [Applause.]

But it is almost idle and silly to talk of the ship that passed in the night. It is always selfish and an element of weakness to grieve over things and opportunities that have passed; and our position now is to be up and doing and to this day do what we can for rural credits legislation.

The friends of rural credit must not stop with this day's work; they must follow this legislation to conference and fight for it there; they must follow it to the Senate and fight for it there; they must follow it, if necessary, to the White House and plead their cause there. It is a necessity; it is desired; it is what the American farmers are entitled to. Let us of all parties, of all creeds, and of all views, join hands in the accomplishment of a thing that is eminently necessary and vital to the producing population of our great country. [Applause.]

Deliberations and Legislative Actions of the House of Representatives.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFFERSON M. LEVY,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. LEVY. Mr. Speaker, I do not claim to be gifted with the divine power of oratory, nor to have the readiness of speech and flow of words with which many of my colleagues are favored; but I have distinct views and strong convictions arrived at from a long legal and business experience in contact with men of affairs, and I have endeavored to use this experience for the welfare of the country, and to express these convictions when matters of moment were under consideration which did not appear to me to be conducive to this welfare.

I want to make a general résumé of the part I have taken in the deliberations and legislative actions of this body, and I trust that in this endeavor I may be pardoned for the necessary reference to personal views which have guided my action. I may not have always been right, but my action and my vote has

always been guided by the belief that I was, which the record as made and the future must determine.

TRUST INVESTIGATIONS.

I was opposed to the Steel Trust and the Pujo Money Trust investigations, claiming that they would prove disastrous to the country and would bring on financial distress. So far, I regret to say, my prediction has proven true. No good whatever was derived from these investigations. Both committees spent extravagant sums of money without securing any information beyond what was already known.

When proposals for these investigating committees were under discussion I then made a statement in the following words, which time and your own action in the reserve act has demonstrated to be true:

What we need is remedial legislation, not investigation. Our credit system is based upon stocks and bonds. What we need is a system based upon the principle of commercial paper.

CURRENCY LEGISLATION.

It has been said that political economy is not an exact science. We have had a great mass of suggestions, and a great variety of ideas submitted in the formation of the Federal reserve act. The monetary commission scoured the face of the earth in looking into the varying methods adopted by various nations for conducting commercial relations by means of banking facilities, and it employed experts of national and world-wide reputation to contribute out of their reflections or experience to the bank library, which, though a wonderful compendium of investigation and knowledge, will ever stand as a monument to its extravagance.

The Banking and Currency Committee called before them for examination the leading bankers of the country, the professors of economics from our universities, experts in financial and banking questions, business men from all the walks of life, and the Senate, through its similar committee, followed the example, prolonging these examinations for days and months.

The whole field of human endeavor, in the wide range of questions asked, was touched upon, and hence in the framing of the Federal reserve act the knowledge, the wisdom, the advice, and the forethought of the best minds of the country have been brought into action.

I consider the Federal reserve act a great piece of constructive legislation, evolved out of the necessities of our own times, and in keeping with democratic ideals and American development.

I am impressed, however—eliminating the details of the provisions of the act—with the succinct manner in which the few number of principles involved in its creation may be stated.

Unless, however, those in charge of the legislation had been well grounded in these fundamental principles, tenaciously held to, with the acumen and judgment to detect and point out fallacious interpolations offered without number, but probably with the best intentions, we should never have been able to put upon our statute books a law which will mark an epoch in financial legislation as the release from the concentrating power of unbridled wealth.

At the beginning of active consideration of this proposed legislation in the Sixty-second Congress, I had the honor to introduce a bill covering the subject (H. R. 27139), following it by remarks under date of January 11, 1913, explaining its provisions. I then stated unwise legislation to have been the cause of our financial troubles in these words:

The destruction of the bank function of note issue and the false assumption that debt represented by paper money is equivalent to coin.

I reintroduced this bill at the beginning of the Sixty-third Congress (H. R. 1937) and subsequently appeared before the House Banking and Currency Committee—February 28, 1913—explaining the principles which must be followed in any sound legislation, and I reiterated these principles in my remarks before this House August 5, 1913.

That it may be seen how they are followed in the Federal reserve act, I now recapitulate what I then stated as essential requisites.

1. To restore the bank function of note issue.
2. To remove from our statutes the evidences of fruitless efforts to create values by legislation.
3. To provide some reserve source of credit.

All of these requisites are followed in the Federal reserve act, though the methods adopted in following them do not conform in details to the provisions of the Levy bill.

I pointed out in my remarks of August 5, 1913, the variations in the methods adopted, and it is not necessary to reiterate these variations here.

I trust, however, that I may be pardoned for calling attention to the fact that some of the changes made in the Senate and adopted in conference followed the lines of my bill, and that the amendment to the Federal reserve act of August 4, 1914, hurriedly rushed through as an emergency measure, would not have been needed if my suggestion for the extension of the act of May 30, 1908, had been heeded.

As a method of providing "a reserve source of credit"—one of the essentials enumerated by me—I asked that the Aldrich-Vreeland law be extended by repealing the expiration clause, and at the same time removing therefrom the prohibitive-tax provision, and also the condition precedent that every bank should have an amount equal to 40 per cent of its capital in circulating notes outstanding before availing of its note-issue benefits.

The House committee declined to adopt the suggestions, and the bill as it passed the House contained neither provision. The Senate extended the operation of the Aldrich-Vreeland law, removing the prohibitive tax, but failed to alter the condition precedent as to the issuance of notes, and the bill thus amended received the sanction of the conference committee and became a law December 23, 1913. Before, however, the law became operative by its terms the amendment which passed both Houses and was approved August 4, 1914, was, in effect, adopting the identical suggestion I had made for the repeal of the requirement of an outstanding circulation of 40 per cent of capital as a condition precedent by allowing the Secretary of the Treasury discretion as to its operation, thus incorporating into the Federal reserve act, when it became operative, the extension of the Aldrich-Vreeland law, the removal of the prohibitive tax on note issues, and the suspension of the condition precedent, as I had originally suggested to this House.

Another suggestion I then made which was not incorporated in the bill was that there should be some limitation fixed by law of the liabilities of each bank in some proportion to its capital stock and surplus. I stated "that this is sound in principle there can be no doubt, as it fixes a point beyond which extension of credit facilities or expansion may not go." I then predicted "the time will come when it will be added to the Federal reserve act," and I call your attention to the fact that the Comptroller of the Currency, in his current annual report, though he probably never heard of my prediction, has already asked you to incorporate this principle into the law.

NEW YORK CITY.

In various speeches of mine before this body I have stated that every currency bill or financial measure which comes before this House for discussion is made the pretext for unjust attacks upon New York City. New York is characterized as the abiding place of all the evils that ever afflicted or ever will afflict this Government and as the home and refuge of all the enemies who seek to destroy the welfare of our Nation. But wherein lies the reason for these charges and calumnies? New York rejoices and glories in the prosperity which has come to every State in the Union, and her own prosperity is only the reflex of the advancement of the whole Nation. She does not hoard her wealth for selfish ends, but is constantly applying it to the betterment of the various sections of the United States seeking her aid.

She builds railroads and highways; she sells your securities and finds a market for your properties; she is the clearing port of a majority of the States; she is their market for supplies to be purchased from or sent abroad; she enlarges your local markets so as to bring the markets of the world at your disposal; she moves your crops and finds investment for money from East, North, West, and South; she does everything that brains can devise and activity can formulate for the advancement of our Union.

New York has always been helpful in her supremacy. She has been instrumental in furnishing the capital for all the large enterprises of the country. She has built our railroads and our steamship lines and has gathered from the uttermost parts of the earth the necessary capital for our wonderful industrial development. And when grim-visaged disaster has come to any section of our beloved country by flood, fire, or earthquake, what heart has shown that it pulsated more in unison to humanity's cry of distress than that of this noble and princely city, where I am proud to say I was born and reared?

INCOME TAX.

I was opposed to the imposition of an income tax. I thought then, and I think now, it was a bad political move. I sought to make the collection conditional on the needs of the Treasury, and the law operative only when the surplus funds of the Treasury reached a minimum amount. Any apparent deficit in the Treasury is primarily due to building of the Panama Canal from current receipts out of the general fund instead of selling Panama Canal bonds, as the law intended.

This great project is a valuable asset and should be represented by a bonded indebtedness, on which we pay interest, and the expense charge, if any, should be the difference between the

interest we pay, plus the cost of repair and maintenance, and the tolls we receive. Except for this application of current funds to permanent improvements, we should never have had need of an income-tax law or war-revenue measure, and our party would have been free from the onus of having passed this unpopular measure.

CLAYTON ANTITRUST BILL.

I was opposed to any additional legislation in the way of antitrust laws. I maintain that the Sherman law properly interpreted is sufficient to prevent any unreasonable restraint of trade, and I tried to have followed the decision of the Supreme Court in incorporating the word "reasonable" into that law by having it inserted in the Clayton bill.

It is with no little pride that I can point to the fact that prior to this time and prior to the decision of the Supreme Court referred to, I introduced a bill amending the Sherman Act by inserting the word "unreasonable" to qualify the prohibitions of that act, thus anticipating this very decision.

I maintain that the high cost of living is due to the restraint of trade produced by uncertainty in the interpretation of our laws with reference thereto, and that now, after 20 years, when our courts begin to give a reasonable construction to these laws, we add to this uncertainty by additional ambiguous legislation.

NATIONAL DEFENSE.

I have always been a consistent and persistent advocate of a greater Navy, and have at all times endeavored to render every possible assistance toward the proper maintenance of our military service. On January 21, 1913, when the final vote was about to be taken on the Army appropriation bill, I demanded a separate vote on the amendment which had been adopted in the Committee of the Whole, as follows: "*Provided*, That no part of this or any other appropriation shall be expended in payment for heat and light for quarters of officers who receive commutation of quarters." This separate vote overwhelmingly defeated this amendment—the vote being 84 yeas to 142 nays.

RAILROAD VALUATIONS.

I endeavored to have the physical valuation of railroads made under contract with suitable experts in order to save an enormous amount of useless expenditure by the Interstate Commerce Commission. I presented the bid of a well-known expert in such matters, offering to complete the work within five years for the sum of approximately $5,000,000, in order to demonstrate that it was both feasible and economical to have the work done by contract instead of in the expensive, indefinite, and interminable manner of prolonged examination adopted by that commission. I now call your attention to the fact that $2,500,000 has already been expended in these examinations, and that $3,000,000 is now asked for, thus consuming in two years a greater sum than the amount for which I demonstrated the work could be more intelligently completed.

Under the plan adopted the work has hardly begun, and at the same rate of progress will probably consume 25 years, at an expense of perhaps $50,000,000 or more. No one will maintain that there is anyone on the commission competent to make such a valuation, and that it must be arrived at in the end by expert opinion, so that my proposition was made to procure this opinion through undoubted expert knowledge on a competitive basis to produce the minimum of expense.

COTTON FUTURES.

While I have made many unavailing efforts to have my views prevail, as, undoubtedly, has been the experience of every other Member, it is a source of great satisfaction to me to know that in the matter of defeating the obnoxious features of the so-called "cotton-futures" bill I was somewhat instrumental. There is no class of men of higher integrity in the United States than the members of the New York Cotton Exchange, and the majority are men born and bred in the South. They handle millions and millions of business without the scratch of a pen, and their word is their bond.

As part of my remarks in opposition to the "cotton-futures" bill I had the good fortune to find and include therein a great speech, delivered in 1892, by Hon. Edward Douglass White, now Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, when he was a Member of the United States Senate. This speech, delivered in opposition to a bill which sought to abolish dealings in cotton options, was upon such a high plane and so covered the ground as to constitutionality and expediency from a business standpoint, as to show that the bill before us, in the provision I opposed, which was the practical elimination of the cotton exchanges by taxation, was unconstitutional and unfair.

LOAN-SHARK BILL.

I was the author of the amendment to the so-called "District loan-shark bill," limiting the rate of interest charges to 12 per cent per annum, which rate has now become the generally recognized maximum rate throughout the country.

INCREASED PAY OF POST-OFFICE LABORERS.

It is with much satisfaction that I recall the fact of my success in securing an amendment to the Post Office appropriation bill increasing the pay of watchmen, messengers, and laborers employed in the post offices throughout the country. This was only a tardy act of justice to men in humble positions who serve the country faithfully.

SALE OF PANAMA CANAL BONDS.

I urged the Secretary of the Treasury to recommend the sale of the $240,000,000 of Panama Canal bonds, even though 3 per cent would have to be paid, instead of pressing the war-revenue measure. At the time I called the attention of the Democratic caucus to the matter, but they refused to take warning The disposition of the Panama Canal bonds in this manner was the only proper way to raise additional funds instead of levying the war tax, which latter is a political mistake. The Republican Party blundered financially in suspending the sale of 2 per cent Panama Canal bonds. The bill authorizing the construction of the waterway provided that the bonds should be sold and the Treasury reimbursed. By neglecting to do this the Government thereby lost the opportunity of thus preventing the stress in the money market. It was never intended that the present generation should pay for the construction of the Panama Canal, but that the cost of the capital invested should be paid out of the receipts after the waterway was opened and as the earnings increased in the future the principal otherwise provided for. The failure to make the sale of Panama Canal bonds as the law directed has forced the income tax and war revenue measures upon us.

REGULATION OF NIAGARA RIVER ABOVE THE FALLS.

During the Sixty-second and Sixty-third Congresses I persistently opposed the bills introduced in the House which sought to deprve the State of New York of her rights in Niagara River above the Falls, and it is largely due to my efforts that no action has been taken on the matter in the House. During both the aforementioned Congresses bills have been favorably reported from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, but in each case I disagreed with the majority of the committee and filed minority views, for, in my opinion, the title of the Niagara River to its center and to the waters that pass over that portion of the river is in the State of New York and individual riparian owners. The use by the State or by the individual riparian owners is subject, first, to international regulation; and, second, to Federal regulation. My contention is, and has been, that the Federal Government has no right over Niagara River except for the purpose of navigation and national defense, and on January 16, 1914, I introduced a bill (H. R. 11756) in the House to give effect to the fifth article of the treaty between the United States Government and Great Britain, dated January 11, 1909.

Mr. Speaker, this is, perhaps, the last time I shall be given the opportunity at this session of addressing this body in a set speech. I have tried to promote the interets of my constituents to the best of my ability. I have resented the prejudice sometimes exhibited on this floor toward the great city from which I come, from those who, regarding it as the embodiment of wealth, have imagined that wealth could be accumulated only for selfish ends. In this they forget that the power which comes with great wealth brings with it responsibilities and duties which can not be ignored. Life is not worth living unless we can have the love and respect of our fellow men. This desire is the very fiber of our being, and so implanted in our natures as to be the very essence that distinguishes the human from the brute. A membership in this body is the expression and the evidence of this desire among each of us. So with wealth and power comes the ambition to be loved and honored by others—the desire to be considered great. And what is greatness? Only the measure of the estimate in which we are held by others. Greatness does not come from the gratification of selfish ends. Men are great because they are unselfish, because they do things to benefit others, for thus only can greatness come. But, Mr. Speaker, while I have the honor to number among my constituents some great men of wealth, and great because they do not work for selfish ends, I venture to say that excepting these few, my constituents will show as low a per capita of this world's goods as that of any Representative on this floor. I have, therefore, felt justified in resenting to the best of my ability the slurs which have thus ignorantly been sometimes made upon my great city, but I have no hard feelings in the matter.

I have made some, indeed many, strong friendships here on this floor and the other side of the Capitol, which I will cherish to the end of my days, and shall always feel a pride in the fact that I have been honored by my fellow men with the opportunity to make such friends, among really great men.

Panics and Business Crises.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL J. GILL,
OF MISSOURI,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. GILL. Mr. Speaker, there is no difficulty in securing definite and adequate information and truthful knowledge concerning panics or business crises which have occurred during the last 50 years in this country. The current opinion of business men and historical writers of business cycles are numerous, but not hopelessly conflicting, especially when one has experienced these crises, met with the employer countless times in an endeavor to settle the difference between him and the employee, stood up against the furnace in highly-protective industry for 40 years, one necessarily becomes acquainted with the facts surrounding its inception, progress, and subsequent decline of business.

The great difficulty lies not in the mere determination of the facts themselves, but when once determined and singled out as significant, then comes the time for men in Congress to rise even to a greater task, not to allow their political affiliations or their own good judgment to be obscured by their passion or political hatred.

It is generally conceded that the chief economic crises or panics in American history are those of 1819, 1837, 1873, 1883, 1893, 1907, and 1913–14.

In some instances distinction is not made between panics and the general term "industrial depression." If the latter expression is included in the former term "panic," then the dates of these occurrences are numerous. At this time, however, I am desirous of enumerating and analyzing the panics, strikes, lockouts, and disturbances in the financial, industrial, and commercial world which have occurred since the Republican Party came into power in this country.

The most significant dates are 1873–1879, 1882–1885, 1891–1895, and from 1907 up to the present time. Industrial depressions are and have been contemporaneous in the manufacturing nations of the world. Many speeches have been made during the course of this Congress by Republican Members, on the Republican side of this Chamber, relative to the causes of those industrail depressions. With them I take issue, challenge their statements, and make assertion that since the Civil War there has not been a panic, financial or industrial depression but those occurring under Republican rule and under the highest protective tariff the country ever knew. I have tables to prove my statement, and place them in the RECORD at this time.

Have the Republican speeches been delivered with the purpose to end or remedy such evils of which they make complaint? Or have they yielded to political importunity to crystallize public sentiment and, by a wise direction of that force, overcome the present Democratic majority and defeat the men who have been guiding the destiny of the Nation so prudently in the past few years?

I have been a worker in this, our great country, for years, and a keen observer of the existing relations between him who employs and him who is employed. By a systematic effort I have sought the truth, and it is my desire to state a few of the conclusions resulting from this search. First, let me question you gentlemen on the Republican side of this Chamber. If, as you say, you have been levying a tax upon imports into this country in order that the manufacturer might be protected, I ask you, Why should it be wrong for the same power to legislate here in a way that the American workmen might not suffer? I, as a workingman, contend that you have not done so. On the contrary, you have legislated for the rich, legislated for the greedy, legislated for the powerful. You have sold laws to the corrupt, monopolized markets, you have monopolized opportunities, made money your god, and now you are bragging about it.

The Democrats have been successful in but three elections in the last 50 years—1884, 1892, and 1912. The Republican Party lost the political dominance because their administration effected a panic and caused much suffering in the land.

Before taking up each of the four great panics of 1873 to 1879, 1882 to 1885, 1891 to 1895, and 1907 up to the present time, I would like to make a few observations. Is it not a fact that during the past century there has been a conflict going on in all civilized nations by two opposing tendencies in human society—individualism and collectivism? Until the end of the Civil War individualism held its own while collectivism seemed to have flourished when the Republican Party came into power; in other words, from about 1870 to the present date. Now, it can be unmistakably said that we are living in the age of the "group." Individualism values highly the rights of the single person, but he in many cases when left unsupported, is not tolerated and is interfered with by the collective power of the land.

In the two years previous to 1872 trade revived, especially in the mechanical industries. The consumption of pig iron increased, railroad building reached the highest point thus far in its history, prices of construction materials advanced, and advances in the price of labor and strikes for higher wages were of frequent occurrence. The cost of finished construction likewise advanced from the spring of 1871 to the summer of 1872 from 50 to 100 per cent. This checked the volume of contracts so that they had almost ceased by the beginning of 1872. Railroad construction also dropped, and the production of rails started falling off in January, 1872, 21 months before the panic, and steadily declined from that time. (Industrial Depressions, Geo. H. Hall, pp. 149–150.)

From 12 months to 21 months before the panic of 1873 industrial depression set in. Within 12 months before the panic mechanical industries fell off, pig iron dropping $10 per ton, bar iron $39 per ton, and iron rails $10 per ton. (Industrial Depressions, Geo. H. Hall, pp. 149–150.)

THE ACT OF 1875.

Following the panic of 1873 imports greatly diminished, and during the next three years our foreign commerce showed a decided slump, failures increased, production lagged; in fact, the reaction was felt until the year 1878, when the tide turned.

THE TARIFF ACT OF 1883.

This act was the result of the work of a Republican tariff commission appointed the previous year. Mr. C. A. Arthur was President with both Houses of Congress Republican. Taussig calls this act—

a half hearted attempt on the part of those wishing to keep a system of high protection to make some concession to a public demand for a more moderate tariff system.

Previous to this period, beginning with 1878–79, the unprecedented amount of manufacturing and construction contracts placed at low prices kept the mechanical industries in a prosperous state well into the year 1882. Then depression came in that year and continued until 1885. The usual earmarks of depression were shown. Railroad building which had reached high water mark in 1882 fell off, the consumption of iron decreased, commerce lessened, bank clearings were lower, and immigration slackened.

The panic of 1882, when all the glass, steel, and iron industries were idle, was under a Republican tariff. The panic was caused by the very large crops in western Europe, decreasing the exports of American breadstuffs, large supplies from India, by way of the Suez Canal, being shipped into western European countries, and to some extent by short crops here at home and the prohibition fully or in part of American meats by some countries which resulted in a terrible injury to our exports in food products. These influences at that time crippled the sources of revenue of the railroads, from which salaries came, and in consequence the cessation of railroad building was augmented, whereby a large unproductive force had been thrown upon the country without a purchasing power to stimulate consumption, which was necessarily reduced to a minimum. Rapid immigration aggravated the many accumulated influences by a large surplus of labor, which also tended to reduce the purchasing power of the great masses of the people, and which reflected itself in the business of the small storekeeper and consequently to the injury of the manufacturer and employer. At this same time the decrease in Europe of American cotton helped to bring on stagnation in the southern section of our country. Thus the combined influences were the cause of a panic or a severe industrial depression was brought on under a protective tariff, Republican House and Senate, and nothing, in my judgment, up to this Congress has ever been instituted by the Republican Party which will prevent the recurrence, mitigate the severity, or shorten the duration of such calamities in the financial, industrial, and commercial world.

Permit me at this stage of the argument to copy from the speech delivered in this House by Hon. LAWRENCE B. STRINGER, of Illinois, on April 26, 1913, on the panic of 1893:

I appeal to history. I first assert that there has not been a protective-tariff speech made in this country since the year 1893 that has not been tuned upon what has been called the "Cleveland panic" of that year. I assert next that the so-called "Cleveland panic of 1893" was not a "Cleveland panic" at all, but was the Harrison high-protective tariff panic of 1891 and 1892, which was projected into the Cleveland administration, beginning in 1893.

Yet, despite this fact, the charges have been rung on this Cleveland panic falsehood for nearly 20 years. It has been thundered from the public rostrum, printed in the daily and weekly press, and pro-

mulgated in every section of the Nation. It has been echoed by political spellbinders, great and small, in every campaign, and there is not a hamlet in the width and breadth of the land where the street-corner protection advocate, driven to cover by his adversary in every argument presented, has not sneeringly rejoined that "you want to return to the Cleveland hard times of 1893."

Grover Cleveland was first inaugurated President in 1885, Benjamin Harrison was inaugurated President in 1889, and Grover Cleveland was inaugurated the second time in 1893. Benjamin Harrison's administration was thus sandwiched in between Cleveland's first and second terms.

It will be conceded that during Cleveland's first administration the country enjoyed prosperity to a noteworthy degree. Business conditions were good, trade was active, labor was employed, industrial troubles were substantially unknown, the public debt was reduced by nearly half a million, and when Cleveland retired, in 1889, there was turned over to Mr. Harrison, his successor, a Treasury surplus aggregating three hundred millions. This surplus furnished the political issue for the campaign of 1888, and on every stump the question of the day was, "What shall we do with the surplus now in the Treasury?" And this was the situation of things when Benjamin Harrison was inducted into office as Grover Cleveland's successor, in 1889.

EFFECT OF THE M'KINLEY LAW.

But, from the year 1889, when Mr. Harrison assumed the reins of power, business conditions took on a more somber hue. In 1890, during Harrison's second year, the McKinley tariff bill was passed, raising tariff rates all along the line. It was passed by a high-tariff Congress, signed by the President in due course of time, and enacted into a law.

On October 9, 1890, the McKinley tariff law went into effect. One month and two days after the New York Clearing House Association voted its certificates to its allied banks, admitted to be in dire distress, and six days later the Boston Clearing House did the same. On the same day the banking house of Barker Bros., of Philadelphia, failed for five millions. Two days later there was a run on the Citizens' Savings Bank of the same city, and a receiver appointed for the North River Bank. Five days later the Union Rolling Stock Co., of Chicago, assigned for seven millions. Six days later Jamison & Co., of Philadelphia, failed for two millions, and on December 6 the Oliver Iron & Steel Mills, of Pittsburgh, closed down, throwing 2,000 workmen out of employment, and Myer & Co., of New Orleans, failed with liabilities of two millions. This was the record of the first year of the McKinley high-tariff law and the second year of Mr. Harrison's administration.

The year 1891 opened up with continuing business disasters. On January 3 the Scottsdale Rolling Mills and the Charlotte Furnace Co., of Philadelphia, went to the wall, throwing out 10,000 workmen. On January 18 the American National Bank, of Kansas City, shut its doors, with liabilities of nearly three millions. On May 8 the Spring Garden National Bank and the Pennsylvania Trust Co. closed their doors. Business failures, which had increased to 10,000 in 1890, the first year of the McKinley law, increased to over 12,000 in 1891, and in the fall of 1892, just before Grover Cleveland was reelected for his second term, there occurred the bloody Homestead strike at Carnegie's Mills, which wrote the most awful chapter in our Nation's industrial history.

I pause here to advert that all this occurred under the operations of the high-tariff McKinley law and close upon the heels of its enactment, and I pause further to muse for a moment as to what a mighty volume of clamorous sound would arise from the cohorts of protection if the Underwood bill should face conditions at any time after its passage one-hundredth part as disastrous as those which faced the McKinley bill within 12 months after its enactment. It is safe to say that the sunset chorus of the wild jackasses on mid-Pacific isles would be like the murmur of gentle breezes in comparison to it.

In 1892, following the general run on the banks of the country, already described, gold began to disappear and go to Europe and the National Treasury was soon drained of its supply of gold. It was then charged, and has never been successfully denied, that this disappearance of gold was part and parcel of a general conspiracy, framed and carried into effect by sinister interests in the land, to force the hands of Congress to repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman law.

CLEVELAND'S SECOND TERM.

Such were the conditions existing when Cleveland became President a second time in 1893, and such were the conditions which really caused his election in 1892. When he retired from power in 1889 he left prosperity general and diffused; when he returned to power in 1893, after four years of Harrison's rule, he found distress and disaster. He left the times good and found them bad; he left business flourishing and found it prostrated; he left conditions satisfactory and found breaking banks, closed factories, labor out of employment, and gold disappearing as if under a magician's wand. He left a surplus of three hundred millions in the Treasury vaults, but returned to find that surplus dissipated and gone and a deficit of fifty millions, which had to be met and met without delay.

To replenish the Treasury and meet the deficit which had been willed to him by a high-tariff administration preceding, he was forced to issue bonds. And these bonds issued by him were printed on plates that had been manufactured and engraved by order of Harrison's Secretary of the Treasury before Harrison went out of office, to be used by the Harrison administration itself had it been returned to power.

And yet despite these facts, proven by reference to history, either known or accessible to all, this falsehood of a "Cleveland panic of 1893," hoary with age, is brought out in every campaign to mislead the unwary, frighten the ignorant, and perpetuate a system of high taxation which aggrandizes the very rich at the expense of the very poor.

WHY NOT BE FAIR?

Why not be fair? Has not the time for cheap demagoguery passed by? The less informed may be pardoned for their omissions to state the facts, for they but echo the utterances of those higher in the party's councils. But those higher up know that the so-called "Cleveland free-trade hard times" were not Cleveland times at all.

The "Cleveland panic of 1893" did not exist; it was the Harrison panic of 1892. It occurred under high-tariff rule, with a high-tariff President and Congress in full control in every branch of Government and with the McKinley high-tariff law upon the statute books of the Nation. The hard times of Cleveland's first year, in 1893, was a legacy bequeathed to him by a high-tariff administration just relinquishing power. It was a cancer which former modes of living had produced upon the body politic of the Nation, and which required the surgeon's knife to bring about a cure. It was a foundling left upon the doorstep of the new administration, its natural parents having refused to father their own child.

Equally absurd is the claim that the Wilson tariff bill brought about these ills. The panic began in 1890 and 1891, reached its height in 1892 and 1893, and the Wilson tariff bill did not go into effect until the fall of 1894.

"It is difficult to explain," said Senator Dolliver, Republican Senator from Iowa, in discussing the tariff in the Senate of the United States, "how a panic which came in 1893 could have been caused by a tariff law which was not enacted until the latter part of 1894."

Neither can it be well said that the fear of lower tariff duties caused these hard times, for the panic was at its height before Mr. Cleveland was elected, and his election was due to the fact that times were so hard that the people desired and welcomed a change, and they voted the Democratic ticket to bring about the change of policies on the tariff question which Mr. Cleveland had advocated at all times.

SOME PANIC HISTORY.

Going one step further in this argument, the history of tariff legislation conclusively proves that the panics of the country have not occurred in low-tariff times; but, on the contrary, every panic through which the country has passed occurred under high-tariff administrations and under the full operation of high-tariff laws.

The great panic of 1869, which gave "Black Friday" to our history, occurred under the administration of President Grant, both Houses Republican, and the war-tariff taxes in operation to their full extent.

The panic of 1873, marked by the failure of Jay Cooke & Co., likewise occurred under the administration of President Grant, a Republican Congress, and high-tariff laws.

The panic of 1893 occurred with Benjamin Harrison as President, a Republican Congress, and the McKinley bill in full force and effect.

The money panic of 1907 occurred with Theodore Roosevelt in the saddle, a Republican Senate and House, and the Dingley bill doing business every day at the same old stand.

That a panic existed in 1907, I offer in evidence the declarations published in magazines and newspapers, at advertising rates, in the campaign just past, placarded throughout the Nation on billboards and walls in letters so broad and long that all could read, and which declarations were duly signed by the chairman and secretary of the national Republican committee in their official capacity. I note a few of these choice extracts:

"Only four years ago (1907), just before President Taft was elected, there was panic and misery. Capital was tied up in safe-deposit boxes; mills and factories were closed, because manufacturers could not sell the goods they made; empty freight cars filled the railroad sidings; farms were mortgaged; labor was hungry and desperate."

And again:

"When President Taft took over the Government the country was prostrate; industry was paralyzed; business was chaotic, uncertain, suspicious; millions were out of employment; investors, wherever possible, had withdrawn their capital; enterprise was dead. All this was the result of the panic of 1907. The rich man's panic, it was called, but do you remember any poor man who was not hurt?"

TARIFF ACT OF 1894 (WILSON BILL).

This tariff act was passed during the second administration of President Cleveland, 1893–1897, but did not meet with his approval, and became a law without his signature on August 28, 1894. The measure as passed by the House contained considerable reductions. This body had a greater Democratic majority than the Senate, in which it was very narrow. Many amendments were made to the bill in the Senate moderating the reductions made by the House. When the bill finally came from the committee of both Houses, it was found that the Senate arguments had prevailed, and it was passed in that form.

In June, 1893, a financial panic occurred, and again in April, 1894, another depression. Prosperity set in once more, however, and by September, 1895, industrial activity was greater than ever in the history of the country. The industry increased rapidly until December, 1895, when iron consumption, for one example, reached a consumption of 11,200,000 tons per annum rate. Trouble with Venezuela at this time changed the tenor of business and a reaction set in.

TARIFF ACT OF 1897 (DINGLEY BILL).

This act was passed in President McKinley's administration. Both Houses of Congress were Republican by a wide majority, and in the passing of the bill the high rates enacted by the House were confirmed in the Senate. The bill became a law on July 24, 1897. Like the act of 1890, the Dingley bill represented the aggressive spirit of protection. It remained in force for 12 years.

While this law was in effect there occurred a financial panic in October, 1907. Factories, furnaces, mills, and industrial machinery all over the country received a sudden check, and a great army of breadwinners was again thrown out of employment.

TARIFF ACT OF 1909 (PAYNE-ALDRICH TARIFF).

This bill was passed during the administration of President Taft, who had a majority of both Houses of Congress at the time the bill became a law. The act was supposed to be a "revision downward," but brought no essential change and was a thoroughly protective measure. It was, however, less aggressive than previous Republican measures.

The depression which had followed the crisis of 1907 continued after the passage of the tariff act of 1909. The Republicans who had claimed the good times of the decade beginning in 1897 were held equally responsible for the depression. They were hoist by their own petard. The Democrats, therefore, in the Congress of 1911–1913 obtained a majority in the House.

In the presidential election of 1912 the defeat of the Republicans was overwhelming.

TARIFF ACT OF 1913 (UNDERWOOD TARIFF).

Almost immediately after taking office President Wilson called a special session of Congress, which was now completely controlled by the Democrats, and passed a tariff bill by October 3, 1913. This act served to lower duties which had been prohibitory or abolished duties which had been nominal. The act aimed at a general revision of the high duties under the Payne-Aldrich tariff.

THE UNDERWOOD TARIFF LAW IN OPERATION.

As a revenue measure the Underwood tariff law fully justified the claims of its framers during the first fiscal year of its operation. The law went into effect October 3, 1913. On that date $85,500,000 had been collected from customs during the fiscal year 1914. It was estimated that during the remainder of the fiscal year ended June 30, 1914, that the new law would yield $184,500,000, making a total yield from customs for the fiscal year of $270,000,000. The revenue yield from customs was $292,000,000, or $22,000,000 in excess of the estimates.

The new revenue law eliminated the inequalities and abuses of the protective tariff system of taxation, reduced the customs rates to a sound revenue basis, placed maximum rates on luxuries, and minimum rates or none at all on the necessaries of life, and levied an income tax to more equitably adjust the tax burden and to make up the deficit caused by the loss in revenue from customs.

That the new tariff law produced during its first year more revenue than the Payne law, which it superseded, is shown by the following comparison of revenue receipts:

Items.	Fiscal year ending June 30—	
	1914	1913
Customs	$292,320,014.51	$318,891,395.83
Corporation and income tax	71,381,274.74	35,006,299.84
Total	363,701,289.25	353,897,695.70

IMPORTS UNDER THE NEW TARIFF ACT.

The hidebound protectionists have endeavored to create the impression that the imports under the new law have been enormous and likely to destroy the manufacturing industries of this country. The facts show that the total imports for the calendar year 1913 amounted to $1,792,596,000, as compared with $1,789,276,000 in 1914. The imports of manufactures in 1913 were valued at $753,689,000, as compared with $682,632,000.

Practically the only increase of imports under the new tariff law has been in foodstuffs and food animals.

The imports of glass manufactures in 1914 were valued at $6,864,000, as compared with $7,172,740. The following tables show the imports and exports of glass manufactures by items during the calendar years 1912, 1913, and 1914:

Imports of merchandise, by articles, quantities, and values.

Articles.	Twelve months ending December—					
	1912		1913		1914	
	Quantity.	*Value.*	*Quantity.*	*Value.*	*Quantity.*	*Value.*
Glass and glassware:						
Bottles, vials, demijohns, carboys, and jars (except blown), empty or filled.....dut..	.....	$880,328	.....	$947,807	.....	$1,054,371
Bottles, decanters, and other glassware, cut or ornamented.....dut..	.....	946,602	.....	1,178,023	.....	708,773
Cylinder, crown, and common window glass, unpolished.....lbs..dut..	24,325,178	967,534	23,115,982	1,070,485	34,888,782	1,316,902
Lenses and all optical instruments (including spectacles).....dut..	.....	649,955	.....	770,811	.....	494,987
Plate glass, cast, polished, unsilvered.....sq. ft..dut..	1,001,332	260,508	2,197,161	511,058	2,111,096	489,359
Plates or disks, rough-cut or unwrought, for optical purposes.....free..	.....	444,995	.....	545,422	.....	575,747
All other.....dut..	.....	2,152,641	.....	2,149,129	.....	2,153,881
Total	.....	6,302,624	.....	7,172,740	.....	6,864,020

Exports of domestic merchandise, by articles, quantities, and values.

Articles.	Twelve months ending December—					
	1912		1913		1914	
	Quantity.	*Value.*	*Quantity.*	*Value.*	*Quantity.*	*Value.*
Glass and glassware:						
Bottles, vials, demijohns, carboys, and jars	.....	$374,931	.....	$821,194	.....	$651,747
Cylinder, crown, and common window glass, boxes (50 sq. ft.)	.....	274,031	.....	388,651	.....	405,196
Plate glass.....sq. ft..	289,537	71,685	77,717	35,164	562,434	193,874
All other	.....	3,186,848	.....	2,887,782	.....	2,285,894
Total	.....	3,907,495	.....	4,132,791	.....	3,536,711

Since the European war the imports into the United States from the countries at war have been $192,964,000, as compared with $300,609,000 for the same period in 1913. The following table gives a comparison of the imports into the United States from the European countries at war by months:

Comparison of the imports into the United States from the European countries at war, by months.

[Compiled from the Monthly Summary of Foreign Commerce of the United States.]

Months.	Austria-Hungary.		Belgium.	
	1913	1914	1913	1914
August	$1,485,646	$880,506	$3,450,950	$2,329,145
September	1,719,954	119,640	4,419,221	919,616
October	1,417,316	362,234	2,079,223	653,719
November	1,764,702	1,173,655	2,873,179	207,315
December	1,977,836	1,226,194	3,043,076	396,676
Total	8,325,454	3,762,229	15,865,649	4,506,471

Months.	France.		Germany.	
	1913	1914	1913	1914
August	$13,091,521	$6,902,603	$15,626,176	$9,400,043
September	15,383,924	5,817,573	18,809,555	2,732,302
October	9,503,777	7,802,719	14,815,675	6,168,058
November	12,041,006	7,259,420	14,258,993	11,920,680
December	17,553,751	6,025,647	18,272,085	8,680,428
Total	67,573,979	33,807,962	81,780,484	38,901,511

Comparison of the imports into the United States from the European countries at war, by months—Continued.

Months.	Russia in Europe.		Servia and Montenegro.	
	1913	1914	1913	1914
August	$1,492,967	$740,766	$40,494	$79,178
September	2,153,418	137,925	342,416	.....
October	1,718,259	54,532	429,391	.....
November	1,572,942	10,227	46,340	221,148
December	2,512,754	7,448	[1] 155,918	[1] 73,890
Total	9,450,340	950,898	1,014,469	374,216

Months.	United Kingdom.		Total.	
	1913	1914	1913	1914
August	$20,718,597	$17,872,270	$55,906,351	$33,204,511
September	25,388,340	32,146,275	68,216,828	41,873,331
October	20,243,649	25,057,590	50,207,200	40,098,852
November	21,610,683	20,647,033	54,165,845	41,459,478
December	28,597,188	14,937,749	72,112,603	31,348,032
Total	116,558,457	110,660,917	300,603,832	192,964,204

[1] Includes imports from Albania.

If the Payne tariff law had been in operation during this world-wide depression of 1914 it would not have aided business any more than the Dingley law in the panic of 1907. With the Payne law in operation without the income tax during the European war the receipts from customs would have correspondingly less, the Congress would have been obliged to enact an emergency revenue that would have yielded about $70,000,000 more than the present emergency revenue measure.

If it had not been for the European war the Underwood tariff law would have yielded ample revenue to meet the expenditures of the Government economically administered. Under the present conditions the new tariff law will yield a greater revenue than the Payne law had it remained in operation, because, while the imports have fallen off under the new law with its lower rates of duty, the decline would have been far greater under the high and, in many instances, prohibitive tariff rates of the Payne law.

The new law has removed most of the arbitrary restraints imposed upon legitimate trade and commerce by preceding tariff laws, and is a measure drafted by the representatives of the people in the interest of the consumer and not in the interest of special classes.

APPENDIX A.

Party division in Congress.

Tariffs.	President.	House.		Senate.		Years of Congress.
		Democrats.	Republicans.	Democrats.	Republicans.	
Act of 1872	Grant (Republican).	103	133	17	57	1871–73
Act of 1875	do	92	194	20	47	1873–75
Act of 1883	Arthur (Republican).	133	146	38	37	1881–85
Act of 1890 (McKinley).	Harrison (Republican).	159	166	37	39	1889–91
Act of 1894 (Wilson).	Cleveland (Democrat).	220	126	44	38	1893–95
Act of 1897 (Dingley).	McKinley (Republican).	134	206	34	46	1897–99
Act of 1909 (Payne).	Taft (Republican).	172	219	32	60	1909–11
Act of 1913 (Underwood).	Wilson (Democrat).	290	145	51	45	1913–15

APPENDIX B.

Important strikes in the United States 1877 to 1914.

Names of strikes.	Industry involved.	Date commenced.	Date ended.
Republican tariff act, 1875:			
General railroad strike (1877).	Transportation	June 27, 1877	Aug. 1, 1877
Leadville, Col., miners' strike (1880).	Coal mining	May 26, 1880	June 17, 1880
Republican tariff act, 1883:			
Telegraphers' strike (1883)	Telegraphy	July 19, 1883	Aug. 20, 1883
Wabash strike (1885)	Transportation		
Eight-hour day strikes (1886).	General	May 1, 1886	June 1, 1886
Burlington strike (1888)	do	Feb. 27, 1888	Mar. 15, 1888
Republican tariff act, 1890 (McKinley):			
Homestead strike (1892) [1]	Iron and steel	June 30, 1892	Nov. 30, 1892
Pullman car strike (1894)	Transportation	May —, 1894	July —, 1894
Bituminous coal strike (1894).	Coal mining	do	June —, 1894
Cripple Creek strike (1894)	Metal mining	Feb. 1, 1894	June 5, 1894
Democratic tariff act 1894 (Wilson):			
Leadville strike, 1897	do	June 19, 1896	Feb. —, 1897
Bituminous coal strike	Coal mining	June —, 1897	Aug.–Sept., 1897.
Republican tariff act 1897 (Dingley):			
Steel workers strike (1901)	Iron and steel		
Anthracite coal strike (1902)	Coal mining	May 2, 1902	Oct. 23, 1902
Colorado and Cripple Creek (1903–4).	Metal mining	Feb. 14, 1903	July —, 1904
Chicago packing-house, butchers (1904).	Meat packing		
Iron molders (1904–1907)	Molding	1904	1907
Printers 8-hour day strike (1905–6).	Printing		
Chicago teamsters strike (1905)	Teaming	1905	
Goldfield, Nev. (1907) [2]	Gold mining	Nov. 27, 1907	Feb. —, 1908
Republican tariff act 1909 (Payne-Aldrich):			
McKee's Rocks, Pa., strike (1909). [2]	Steel	July 13, 1909	Sept. —, 1909
Shirt-waist makers, New York (1909–10).	Clothing	Nov. 22, 1909	Mar. —, 1910
Bethlehem steel workers (1910–11).	Steel	Feb. 4, 1910	May —, 1910
Westmoreland coal strike (1910).	Coal mining	Mar. 4, 1910	July —, 1911
Cloak makers, New York (1910).	Clothing	July 6, 1910	Sept. 2, 1910
Shopmen's strike, Harriman Lines (1911).	Transportation	Sept. —, 1911	

[1] This was technically a lockout.
[2] Series of strikes and disturbances in which I. W. W. played a leading part.

Important strikes in the United States 1877 to 1914—Continued.

Names of strikes.	Industry involved.	Date commenced.	Date ended.
Republican tariff act 1909 (Payne-Aldrich)—Continued.			
Lawrence strike (1912) [1]	Textiles	Jan. 11, 1912	Mar. —, 1912
Paterson strike (1912) [1]	Silk	Nov. —, 1911	Dec. —, 1913
Michigan copper strike (1913–14).	Copper mining	July 23, 1913	Apr. 14, 1914
Paint Creek, W. Va., coal strike.	Coal mining	Apr. —, 1912	July 29, 1913
Colorado coal strike (1913–14).	do	Sept. 23, 1913	Dec. —, 1914
Democratic tariff act 1913 (Underwood):			
Indianapolis strike (1913)	Street cars	Oct. 31, 1913	Nov. —, 1913
Roosevelt, N. J. (1915) (fertilizer, Feb., 1915).	Fertilizer	Feb. —, 1915	

[1] Series of strikes and disturbances in which I. W. W. played a leading part.

APPENDIX C.

Strikes, establishments involved, strikers, and employees thrown out of work, by years, 1881 to 1905.

[Twenty-first Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, p. 15.]

Years.	Strikes.	Establishments.		Strikers.		Employees thrown out of work.	
		Number.	Average per strike.	Number.	Average per strike.	Number.	Average per strike.
1881	471	2,928	6.2	101,070	215	129,521	275
1882	454	2,105	4.6	120,860	266	154,671	341
1883 [1]	478	2,759	5.8	122,198	256	149,763	313
1884	443	2,367	5.3	117,313	265	147,054	332
1885	645	2,284	3.5	158,584	246	242,705	376
1886	1,432	10,053	7.0	407,152	284	508,044	355
1887	1,436	6,589	4.6	272,776	190	379,676	264
1888	906	3,506	3.9	103,218	114	147,704	163
1889	1,075	3,788	3.5	205,068	191	249,559	232
1890 [1]	1,833	9,424	5.1	285,900	156	351,944	192
1891	1,717	8,116	4.7	245,042	143	298,939	174
1892	1,298	5,540	4.3	163,499	126	206,671	159
1893	1,305	4,555	3.5	195,008	149	265,914	204
1894 [2]	1,549	8,196	6.1	505,049	374	660,425	490
1895	1,215	6,973	5.7	285,742	235	392,403	323
1896	1,026	5,462	5.3	183,813	179	241,170	235
1897 [1]	1,078	8,492	7.9	332,570	309	408,391	379
1898	1,056	3,809	3.6	182,067	172	[3] 249,002	[3] 236
1899	1,797	11,317	6.3	308,267	172	417,072	232
1900	1,779	9,248	5.2	399,656	225	505,066	284
1901	2,924	10,908	3.7	396,280	136	543,386	186
1902	3,162	14,248	4.5	553,143	175	659,792	209
1903	3,494	20,248	5.8	531,682	152	656,055	188
1904	2,307	10,202	4.4	375,754	163	517,211	224
1905	2,077	8,292	4.0	176,337	85	221,686	107
Total	37,757	181,407	4.9	6,728,048	[3] 183	703,824	[3] 237

[1] Republican tariff act.
[2] Democratic tariff act.
[3] Not including 2 strikes involving 33 establishments not reported.

APPENDIX D.

Liabilities, number, and amount by years.

[Financial Review, 1914, p. 56.]

Years.	Number.	Liabilities.
1870	3,546	$88,242,000
1871	2,915	85,252,000
1872	4,069	121,056,000
1873	5,183	228,499,900
1874	5,830	155,239,000
1875	7,740	201,060,333
1876	9,092	191,117,785
1877	8,872	190,669,936
1878	10,478	234,383,132
1879	6,658	98,149,053
1880	4,735	65,752,000
1881	5,582	81,155,932
1882	6,738	101,547,564
1883	9,184	172,874,172
1884	10,968	226,343,427
1885	10,637	124,220,321
1886	9,834	114,644,119
1887	9,634	167,560,944
1888	10,679	123,829,973
1889	10,882	148,784,357
1890	10,907	189,856,964
1891	12,273	189,868,638
1892	10,344	114,044,167
1893	15,242	[1] 346,779,939
1894	13,885	172,992,856
1895	13,197	173,196,000
1896	15,088	228,096,834
1897	13,351	154,332,071
1898	12,186	130,662,899
1899	9,337	90,879,889
1900	10,774	138,495,673
1901	11,002	113,092,379
1902	11,615	117,476,769
1903	12,069	155,444,185

[1] Under McKinley tariff.

Liabilities, number, and amount by years—Continued.

Years.	Number.	Liabilities.
1904	12,199	$144,202,311
1905	11,520	102,676,172
1906	10,682	119,201,515
1907	11,725	197,385,225
1908	15,690	222,315,684
1909	12,924	154,603,465
1910	12,652	201,757,037
1911	13,441	191,031,665
1912	15,452	203,117,391
1913	16,037	272,672,288

APPENDIX E.

[Financial Review, 1914, p. 48.]

Years.	Total clearings.	Increase or decrease.
1878	$27,813,771,307	− 6.6
1879	38,526,473,829	+38.5
1880	49,989,818,223	+29.7
1881	63,471,389,244	+27.0
1882	60,878,241,610	− 4.0
1883	51,699,823,752	−15.0
1884	44,165,126,355	−14.6
1885	41,439,303,599	− 6.1
1886	49,247,681,466	+18.9
1887	51,091,235,324	+ 3.8
1888	49,481,584,175	− 3.1
1889	56,110,250,455	+13.4
1890	60,516,563,997	+ 7.9
1891	56,651,179,617	− 6.4
1892	61,919,126,622	+ 9.5
1893	54,143,527,108	−12.5
1894	45,460,058,609	−15.9
1895	53,180,700,764	+16.6
1896	51,246,323,839	− 3.7
1897	57,229,070,956	+11.7
1898	68,826,557,324	+20.2
1899	94,047,400,783	+36.6
1900	86,070,549,683	− 8.5
1901	118,410,015,182	+37.6
1902	118,023,298,740	− .4
1903	109,209,187,764	− 7.4
1904	112,559,013,015	+ 3.0
1905	143,827,448,441	+27.7
1906	159,905,717,333	+11.0
1907	145,025,733,493	− 9.3
1908	132,408,849,136	− 8.8
1909	165,838,141,330	+25.2
1910	164,095,229,999	− 1.0
1911	160,229,773,666	− 2.4
1912	173,952,914,911	+ 8.6
1913	169,551,825,803	− 2.5

APPENDIX F.

Total immigration each year, 1870–1914.

[Annual report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, p. 105.]

Period.	Number.
1870	387,203
1871	321,350
1872	404,806
1873	459,803
1874	313,339
1875	227,498
1876	169,986
1877	141,857
1878	138,469
1879	177,826
1880	457,257
1881	669,431
1882	788,992
1883	603,322
1884	518,592
1885	395,346
1886	334,203
1887	490,109
1888	546,889
1889	444,427
1890	455,302
1891	560,319
1892	579,663
1893	439,730
1894	285,631
1895	258,536
1896	343,267
1897	230,832
1898	229,299
1899	311,715
1900	448,572
1901	487,918
1902	648,743
1903	857,046
1904	812,870
1905	1,026,499
1906	1,100,735
1907	1,285,349
1908	782,870
1909	751,786
1910	1,041,570
1911	878,587
1912	838,172
1913	1,197,892
1914	1,218,480

Woman Suffrage.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LUTHER W. MOTT.

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 3 (legislative day of Tuesday, March 2), 1915.

Mr. MOTT. Mr. Speaker, whether or not women shall vote is to be passed upon by the male voters of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts this fall. The debate in the House of Representatives in January was proof that the question can no longer be ignored. There are 91 electoral votes from the woman-suffrage States. These 91 votes would have changed the result of almost every presidential election. Last fall two Western States voted to allow their women the right to vote. This year it comes up in the Northern States for the first time. The Southern States are beginning to turn their attention to woman suffrage. Already the Legislatures of Tennessee and West Virginia have passed the suffrage bill. North Carolina and Alabama will soon consider it, while the women are campaigning in New Mexico, Texas, and Oklahoma. Two New England States—Vermont and New Hampshire—have introduced bills for presidential suffrage.

In the face of this situation the men of New York must give serious attention to the question. No longer will the legislature smother the demand for a vote. It is up to the men to decide the question this coming November.

There are a few facts which it is well to keep in mind and think about before one decides how to vote on the question of woman suffrage. In the States where only men vote, only about 65 per cent of them take advantage of their opportunity. In the equal-suffrage States, from 70 to 90 per cent of the women vote. One hundred and forty mayors of the four oldest suffrage States have signed statements saying that women voted in large numbers and that they were public-spirited. California, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Oregon, and Washington, where women vote, give pensions to widowed, destitute women, that they may care for their children at home, instead of sending them to public institutions. The Legislature of New York, elected solely by men, is just beginning to discuss this question. Norway, Finland, Iceland, Australia, and New Zealand, after first giving women the vote on municipal elections and thoroughly testing this, have now given them full suffrage. The Australian Parliament almost unanimously declared that woman suffrage was an unqualified success in that country. In Denmark, Sweden, England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and nine of the Provinces of Canada women have the municipal franchise, and the Parliaments of Denmark and Sweden are just on the point of giving them full suffrage. No country, State, or community which has granted women any measure of suffrage at all has ever permanently taken it away. On the contrary, it has extended the right.

Voting, save when we have questions like constitutional amendments to be decided, is merely the way by which we choose those who are to make and to administer the laws. A man votes and looks after his business or profession just as well for having done so. A woman is fully capable of doing the same thing. Mrs. Howard Mansfield, of New York, president of the Equal Franchise Society, recently said:

> The trouble is that so many people confuse the issue. Suffrage is not a prohibition measure—thousands upon thousands of suffragists are not prohibitionists; suffrage is not a peace movement—thousands upon thousands who are not suffragists believe in peace; suffrage is not socialism—thousands upon thousands—Democrats, Republicans, Progressives—are suffragists and not socialists; and suffrage is not a plea for easy divorce, for, as Creel says, "there is not a case on record of a divorce arising from anything connected with the vote."

Suffrage is surely coming to the women of New York and the other States. It is just a question of time. Other classes of voters have had to wait to get the ballot, but they have never had to fight for it as the women have to do now. First of all, the right to vote went to the artistocracy, then it was extended in turn to the aliens, the laboring men, the negroes, and the Indians. Now the nonvoting classes of the population are made up of the criminally defective and the women. Shall we tie together these two and deny them both the right to vote?

Representatives in Congress from all over the country and representing all parties voted for woman suffrage when the vote was taken January 11, 1915. It has seemed to me that it would be of interest to take two or three sentences each from the speeches delivered by these Members. Accordingly I have gathered together some extracts from the debates of the day of the

vote on the amendment. The first two are by the party leaders. Others are by leading Representatives from the nonsuffrage States as well as by those from the States where the women have won their fight.

Representative MANN, of Illinois, the Republican leader in the House of Representatives:

I believe the time has come in this country where we must safely say to those who are in intimate relation with us all through life that "We ask you to help us in the management of the affairs of this great Nation, in the hope that we may make progress still greater in the future than we have in the past, in the belief that granting responsibility will bring new considerations to the great problems which we have to meet." And I feel that we are warranted in trusting in the good wife's judgment of the other half of humanity in a management of the affairs of our country.

Representative MURDOCK, of Kansas, the Progressive leader:

Mr. Speaker, I have watched for years the development of woman suffrage in my own State. I have discovered this interesting feature in all suffrage discussions: The ordinary American statesman will face courageously all of American womankind and refuse her the right and privilege of suffrage, but his courage absolutely fails him when his own wife demands it of him. I have heard men in my own State for years before the adoption of suffrage say that suffrage would merely double the vote and that the women would vote with the men. I have seen the same men by hundreds after the adoption of suffrage go to the polls and vote with the women.

Representative TAYLOR, of Colorado, a Democrat:

I look upon the recognition of women as citizens as being an act of simple justice; and I can not appreciate either the logic, common sense, or honesty of refusing to grant an act of simple justice to women merely because they are women. The present civilization will not much longer permit the physically stronger half of the human race to ignore the plain rights of the physically weaker half. The reasons why women should vote are the same as why men should vote, the same as the reasons for having a Republic rather than a monarchy.

Representative LINDBERGH, of Minnesota, a Republican:

Mr. Speaker, the ladies already have a moral and legal right to vote, and the only reason that they do not vote is because the other half, or nearly half, of the population is too selfish or has been too selfish to permit them to vote. It makes no difference what public sentiment may be upon this question, there is an absolute fundamental right in the women to vote. Not only that, but I believe the politics of this country would be very much improved and purified if they were permitted to vote.

Representative HULINGS, of Pennsylvania, a Progressive:

I have honestly tried to find some convincing reason against woman suffrage. There are many given, and here are some of them.

Perhaps the reason oftenest urged is that woman is afraid of mice and would make a poor soldier, and nobody ought to vote that can not bear arms. Now, two-thirds of the male voters, as soldiers, would not be worth the powder that would blow them up; so the ability to bear arms is not a requisite to male suffrage. Why, then, impose it upon women? The soldier is not as necessary to the state as the mother. You might as well deny man the right of suffrage because he is no good as a wet nurse as to deny woman because she can not bear arms.

Representative CAMPBELL, of Kansas, a Republican:

Woman has been equal to every duty that has been imposed upon her and to every responsibility she has assumed. The franchise will give her opportunities for good in the Republic, if what we have been taught and what we teach with respect to high standards of voters and voting is true. Woman will raise the standard in politics as she has raised and maintained the standard in every relation she sustains in life.

Representative KELLY, of Pennsylvania, a Progressive:

To-day the ballot is denied but one class of American citizens, and that class America's women. The scum and riffraff of the land, the unconvicted thief and thug, the moral leper, take their places at the ballot box as American citizens, while the womanhood of the Nation is pushed aside. Such injustice can not long endure, and no power of reaction can stop the final determination of America that as the ballot is not conditioned on race nor color neither shall it be conditioned on sex.

Representative SELDOMRIDGE, of Colorado, a Democrat:

We should give the ballot to woman because it will add to rather than detract from her usefulness to society and the Nation. Neither the State nor the Nation has taken any step to relieve her from the pressure of industrial life. We not only expect her to fulfill all the obligations that rest upon her by reason of her sex, but we compel her to endure the strain and stress of mental and physical competition with the other sex in order to support herself and those who are dependent upon her. If the Nation is not willing to provide for her release from this burden, she should at least be given the franchise in order that she may use it, as far as possible, as a means to alleviate and remove oppressive conditions of toil and environment.

Representative MADDEN, of Illinois, a Republican:

The people are supposed to make the laws for the people, but half of the people are excluded from that privilege. The laws of the land are enforceable against all alike, women as well as men. The women are neither above nor below the laws, but are subject in every sense to the laws of the land. This being the case, why should they not be permitted to help make the laws?

Representative LAFFERTY, of Oregon, a Progressive Republican:

The same men who are to-day opposing the extension of the right of suffrage to our mothers, our wives, and our sisters would take that same right away from our fathers, our brothers, and ourselves if they had the chance, unless we could show such property qualification as would seem to insure that we would vote on the side of property and against humanity.

The question as to which shall be paramount, the rights of property or the rights of humanity, comes up directly upon this resolution to give the right of suffrage to one-half of our adult population. Those who place the rights of property first are opposed to woman's suffrage. Those who place the rights of humanity first are in favor of woman's suffrage.

Representative BROWNE, of New York, a Democrat:

The occupations of most women are, and are likely to remain, principally domestic; but the idea that these occupations are incompatible with taking an interest in national affairs or in any of the great concerns of humanity is absurd as the fear once sincerely manifested that if those who work for their daily bread should be taught to read there would be no more work done in the world.

Representative STEPHENS, of California, a Republican:

The women of California are as beautiful, as accomplished, as entertaining as are their sisters in every other State of this Union. They make as winsome sweethearts, as lovable and loving wives and helpmates, and as good and God-fearing, home-loving, and home-making mothers as are to be found in any section of our country or in any part if the world. They are not less attractive as sweethearts, they are not less appreciative as wives, and they have gained rather than lost as home-loving and home-making mothers because of the right and opportunity to vote.

Representative BRYAN, of Washington, a Progressive:

Why is it that the American Federation of Labor is for suffrage? Why are the workers, both North and South, in favor of letting women vote? It is simply because they are compelled by economic conditions to work side by side with the women. Every woman worker in industry takes the place of a man worker. And these men who toil know that women must be taught to appraise rightly their own individual worth and responsibility. I recently visited Jacksonville, Fla., and I found there the State Federation of Labor of Florida for equal suffrage by official resolution. The same story is told in practically every Southern State as well as Northern State.

Representative STEVENS, of New Hampshire, a Democrat:

If elections were merely a fight between certain gangs of men for office, and that seems to be the view that some of my brethren hold, it would be a dirty game, and there would be no reason why women should enter into it. Politics is a dirty game when carried on by dirty men, and not otherwise. But politics is something far different. The activities of the Government, both State and National, are largely devoted to-day to matters of social welfare and domestic questions, many that used to be settled in the home, questions in which women are interested and well informed. We pass laws concerning the raising and health of children. Are women disqualified from voting on such subjects because they are mothers of children? We vote on questions dealing with pure food and pure fabrics. Are women disqualified because their "natural sphere" is in the home, cooking and sewing?

Representative MONDELL, of Wyoming, a Republican:

If the unanimous testimony of experience and the convincing logic of successful demonstration is to be our guide, there can be but one opinion as to the benefits to government and society through the granting of the franchise to women. From every American State, from every foreign people that have invited their women to participate in government, through the medium of the ballot, the testimony is all but unanimous, emphatic, and enthusiastic of the benefits and improvements to government and society which have followed and attended this extension of the franchise.

Representative FALCONER, of Washington, a Progressive:

The desired vote will come to the American women, and for the sufficient and persistent reasons that there are 9,000,000 wage-earning women in the United States; there are 1,750,000 children working in the mines, factories, and mills in the United States; there are 30,000 women over 65 years of age earning their own livelihood in the United States; there are women working in all trades and professions in our industrial United States; there are 390,000 women out of 490,000 teachers in the schools and colleges of the United States; there are over 1,000 suffrage associations in the United States; there are millions of people outside of these associations who have indorsed the movement; in practically one-half of the territory of the United States suffrage now exists. One-fourth of the States, including Washington, Oregon, California, Idaho, Nevada, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Arizona, Kansas, Montana, Illinois (partially), and Alaska have granted suffrage.

Representative HOBSON, of Alabama, a Democrat:

There is but one real question to ask: Would the giving of the ballot to woman tend to lower her average standard of character? Would it tend to take her from the home and have her no longer the differentiated repository of the spiritual life of the race? The testimony from all Members from suffrage States is directly to the contrary. I have not yet found anyone who has seen the franchise exercised in any equal-suffrage State—I have yet to find one man from a suffrage State, in politics or out, who said it tended to lower the character of woman to have her exercise the ballot.

Representative FESS, of Ohio, a Republican:

Her participation will be an advantage to the public. The numerous questions with which we have battled unsuccessfully will appeal to womanhood in a deeper sense than to manhood. Were she a power in lawmaking and enforcing there would be less irresponsible utterances about the futility of the Nation doing this or doing that. I need not enumerate. Men say the people do not want to extend the electorate. It is too much extended now. They cite the votes of several States against suffrage. I care not how many men have voted against extending this power to woman. Why should I say that any woman should not have that power? The women have not been heard on it. If only one woman claims the right to vote, upon what grounds do I justify myself standing up declaring she shall not have the right? Who gave it to me? Who denied it to her? Why to me? Why not to her?

Representative EVANS, of Montana, a Democrat:

It has been suggested that equal suffrage would increase the number of electors who are poorly qualified mentally to exercise this right. In answer I wish to say that more girls than boys attend the public schools and, in my judgment, are as well educated as men, and the statistics show that of the criminals of the country only one of every twenty is a woman. And I think that everyone will admit that if the women of the country had a voice in the making of the laws they would take as much interest and exercise as wholesome an interest in the enforcement of the law as does the man. To those who believe that the woman's social sphere is in her home I am in perfect accord, and yet I indulge the be-

lief that the few hours devoted to the casting of the ballot would not deprive the home of the presence of the woman to any material extent. And with the influence and exercise of that ballot the home would be very much better protected.

Representative FARR, of Pennsylvania, a Republican:

We say that good citizenship is based on intelligence and morality. The women have both those qualities, and we need to give them the opportunity to use them in the affairs of government. We may rest assured that they will not vote against their home or their children, and, as a rule, for right and justice, to make conditions better and to help those who need help. As for the sturdy oak and clinging vine theory voiced to-day by those opposed to women voting, we know that in times of trouble, adversity, and distress, when real courage and faith and wisdom are necessary, very frequently the sturdy oak is the woman and the clinging vine the man.

Representative REILLY of Connecticut, a Democrat:

The priceless jewel of motherhood is her manly son. Can not you trust a mother to make laws to best govern that son?

In times of trial and tribulation the comfort and advice of woman is sought and given to man; as she helps and sustains him, so can she help and sustain the Government by her vote.

There would be no dirty politics were pure, clean women the politicians. The law-abiding, decent man engaged in any business has no need to fear the power of suffrage in the hand of woman.

The rights of the States will never suffer by reason of voting women, but the wrongs of many will be righted.

Representative BAKER, of New Jersey, a Democrat:

If it is true that half of the adult people of the United States have no voice in making the laws under which they live nor adjusting the revenues to which they must contribute, how do we account for our slogan of "Equal rights to all, special privilege to none"?

We have always declared in words that glitter and gleam, "Taxation without representation is usurpation," and yet we deny to women a single word in making the rates and levies through which we compel them to pay hundreds of millions in taxes annually.

Our duplicity outshines our consistency, overmasters our delicacy, and obliterates the last vestige of justice.

Representative KEATING, of Colorado, a Democrat:

We were told that if we gave the women the ballot our homes would be destroyed. And yet, my friends, the homes of Colorado are intact to-day. Our women have not become truculent amazons; our churches are still maintained and are full of worshipers; our schools are in operation and are overflowing with rosy-cheeked youngsters. In fact, my friends, none of the dire predictions made by the opponents of woman suffrage has come to pass.

Pneumatic Tubes in the Postal Service.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VICTOR MURDOCK,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. MURDOCK. Mr. Speaker, inasmuch as the contracts for pneumatic tube postal service, maintained in six cities of the country, expire June 30, 1913, and the question of their purchase by the Government is likely to be at issue soon, I desire to put before Congress my views upon that proposition as embodied in a report recently made by me as a member of the Pneumatic Tube Commission. The report is as follows:

PNEUMATIC TUBE POSTAL COMMISSION.

I submit the following report as a member of the joint commission of the Senate and the House of Representatives appointed under an act of Congress approved August 24, 1912, to investigate the feasibility and desirability of the Government purchasing and operating the equipment for pneumatic-tube service in the cities in which such service is now installed.

The commission held extensive hearings, employed engineers to determine the physical condition of the properties and accountants to ascertain their value. On October 24, 1914, Senator SMITH of Georgia and Second Assistant Postmaster General Stewart made a report recommending that the Postmaster General be authorized to negotiate for the purchase of the tubes, the purchase to be approved by the two Committees on Post Offices and Post Roads of the Senate and the House of Representatives. Mr. FRED L. BLACKMON, a Representative from the State of Alabama, the only other member of the commission besides myself, made a report at the same time declining to join in a recommendation for the purchase of the tubes.

I do not believe that a purchase of these tubes by the Government would be warranted by the facts.

I am not only opposed to such purchase, but I also believe that certain parts of the present tube service should be discontinued.

HISTORY OF MOVEMENT FOR GOVERNMENT SERVICE.

The pneumatic-tube service made its first appearance in the postal service in 1893 in Philadelphia. It started with a congressional appropriation of $10,000 for experimental purposes, after the construction of the tube had begun in Philadelphia. The promoters of the tube, under the easy optimism of that period, had entered the field apparently in the belief that it would develop rapidly into a profitable proposition. The United States Government, the tube's only customer, was accounted in those days a most liberal patron. Tube construction in Boston and New York followed, and by 1898 the system had reached in those cities and in Philadelphia a total length of 8 miles. The annual rate of pay had mounted to an average of $28,830 per mile. In the same year the Congress ushered in a new era in pneumatic-tube history by absolutely prohibiting any new contracts for this service.

From the day of this prohibition, which continued until June 30, 1901, there has been a growing desire among the owners of these tubes to sell them to the Government. In later years it has waxed to an anxious desire to have the Government take them over. With considerable regularity commissions have been appointed to inquire into the desirability of Government purchase. The congressional commission which investigated the question of railway mail pay in 1900 had recommended the discontinuance of the tube service. The commissions which followed, however, never reported this decision, but recommended not only operation but extensions. A commission in 1901 introduced for the first time the idea of desirability of Government ownership. Its qualification was that the Government should purchase the tubes whenever the system had passed the experimental stage. In 1905 a commission reported in favor of the extension of the system. In 1908 another commission investigated the desirability of Government purchase, and withheld a favorable recommendation because mechanically the tube service appeared to be still in an experimental condition.

In the meanwhile the question of the tube service had been a matter of yearly controversy in Congress. The rate of pay was of a magnitude to challenge easy attack, and the benefits of certain portions of the service, undeniably actual, were difficult of effectual presentation in debate. In 1902 Congress, in terms of prohibition upon the Post Office Department, forbade a payment in excess of $17,000 a mile per annum and fixed an arbitrary limit of the total amount which could be expended. Contracts were made for tube service in Chicago and St. Louis, the total mileage contracted for in these two cities and New York, Boston, and Philadelphia reaching 49. In 1905 Congress permitted the extension of tube service to the cities of Baltimore, Cincinnati, Kansas City, Pittsburgh, and San Francisco. Contracts for these extensions were not secured.

In 1912 the present commission was authorized by Congress to investigate the desirability of Government purchase of the tubes, the total mileage of which is now 55.49, which calls for an annual expenditure of $943,408. The present contracts expire June 30, 1916.

THE UTILITY OF THE TUBES AND THEIR LACK OF IT.

Any considerable survey of this service as it stands to-day brings out strongly two features—

First. The difference of degree of utility of the tubes in sections where the mail is heavy and where, comparatively, it is not heavy.

Second. The undeniable advantage of larger tubes where the mail is heavy.

To take up the first feature and explain it: The carriers can be dispatched through the tubes at the rate of four a minute—that is, the maximum efficiency of the tube is a dispatch of a carrier every 15 seconds in each direction for 20 hours a day. For the most part, because of the size of the carriers, mostly 8 inches in diameter, only first-class mail, letters, is forwarded in them. The table given below will show the percentage of the tube capacity utilized in 1913:

	4.5 to 10 per cent.	10 to 20 per cent.	20 to 30 per cent.	30 to 40 per cent.	40 to 50 per cent.	50 to 60 per cent.	60 to 70 per cent.	Length of tube.
	Miles.	*Miles.*	*Miles.*	*Miles.*	*Miles.*	*Miles.*	*Miles.*	*Miles.*
Boston	1.43	2.03	1.24	0.47	0.87	0.73	.....	6.7740
New York	.....	6.11	4.12	6.80	4.78	2.58	1.39	25.7810
Brooklyn	1.35	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1.3500
Philadelphia	3.39	5.88	.....	.....	.....	.72	.....	9.9999
Chicago	4.54	2.04	.....	.....	1.67	.82	.55	9.6017
St. Louis	.55	.....	1.43	.....	.....	.....	.....	1.9880
Total	11.26	16.06	6.79	7.27	7.32	4.85	1.94	55.4945

It will be observed that on 11 miles of the total of 55 miles operated a minimum of mail is forwarded—that is, under 10 per cent of the capacity of the tube is utilized—while on 1.94 miles only, 3½ per cent of the total mileage, is the tube used from 60 to 70 per cent of its capacity. Of this latter 60 to 70 per cent of capacity utilized, 1.39 miles is New York City. In

the instance of the lesser utilization the first-class mail offering for transmission is not sufficiently heavy to keep the tubes busy during the period of time they can be operated, and to accomplish the expedition of a mass of mail which an expenditure of so large a rate as $17,000 a mile must contemplate. For the warrant for the postal use of the tube is necessarily the quick dispatch of an amount of mail so great that the tubes, service in which is not paid for by the amount of mail transmitted but for their use, shall not be idle. This is the more clearly seen when the tubes in the busy section of New York are examined. For here the use of the tubes offers the best defense of the Government's present expenditure and opens the way for a valid demand for their retention in the postal service. For in the 8-inch tube between the busier stations in New York City, at certain hours, the utilization of the tubes is complete, and some first-class mail must be dispatched by other means. In Boston, Brooklyn, and St. Louis the tubes apparently are capable at all times of accommodating all first-class mail between tube stations. In New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago the amount of first-class mail which is transported by other means is shown in this table:

Place.	From—	To—	From (hours)—	To (hours)—	Pieces of first-class mail dispatched by other means.	
					Number.	Per cent of number dispatched by tube.
			P. m.	P. m.		
New York	General post office.	Madison Square	6.30	7.30	97,880	1.33
			[1] 4.38	8.58		
			[2] 12.48	4.00	270,625	17.50
Do	Madison Square	Grand Central.	[1] 6.00	7.30		
Do	Station F	Madison Square	4.00	8.00		
			[1] 1.00	4.00	85,833	11.66
Do	Hudson Terminal.	General post office.	[1] 4.30	9.18		
			[1] 1.40	9.18	1,173,807	34.50
Philadelphia.	Bourse	Central post office.	6.00	7.00	26,575	3.80
Chicago	General post office.	Illinois Central.	[2] 7.00	[3] 8.00	21,600	12.84
Do	do	La Salle	[2] 7.00	[2] 9.30	129,600	19.50
			6.00	9.30	172,800	30.00
Do	La Salle	Union	[3] 7.00	[3] 10.00	206,900	28.59
			6.00	10.00	245,700	36.36
Do	Union	Canal	6.00	10.00	175,500	31.01

[1] Daily except Saturday and Sunday. [2] Saturday. [3] A. m.

The figures in this table in revealing the inadequacy of the tubes at certain hours in areas of congested mail leads directly to a consideration of the second feature which a study of this subject evokes—the advantages of larger tubes where the mail is heavy.

THE ADVANTAGES OF LARGER TUBES.

At least two former commissions, in reviewing the question of Government purchase, referred to tube service, mechanically, as in an experimental stage. There has been for years a quite general belief among students of this question that eventually the mechanical practicability of larger tubes would be demonstrated to a point where they would supersede the smaller tubes. It would seem that this development is virtually certain to come. An 18-inch tube which runs between the Capitol and the House Office Building in Washington adds to this probability in the minds of those who have seen it in operation. If the Government is to embark in the ownership of the tubes, and the larger tubes are to be available, the Government should have the larger tubes in the areas of greater mail congestion. The larger tubes would move all the first-class mail, and when it was accommodated could take care of the other classes of mail not now accommodated by the smaller tubes. Emphasis is given to this consideration by the fact that the units of mail carriage are the sack and the bag. The bulk of mail is now broken in the dispatch through tubes. The larger tubes would carry the mail in bulk and to a degree the element of expedition by that means increased.

I am therefore convinced that if the Government proposed to construct its own tubes, based on the needs of the service, it would adopt larger tubes than it now uses in congested areas; that it would reproduce 8-inch tubes, if at all, only when the volume of mail offered made possible the utilization of a higher percentage of capacity combined with the necessities of rapid dispatch than we now find in many of the tubes.

TUBES IN SERVICE WHICH SHOULD BE DISCONTINUED.

This brings me to a consideration of those tubes which are utilized to a minimum of their capacity. The Government certainly would not build tubes when the percentage of utilization promised to be so low that the acceleration of a comparatively small amount of mail would be the sole consideration. The Government should not purchase, under any consideration, lines of this character now in existence. And it would be commendable administrative action to discontinue the present use of them.

I will illustrate by the citation of two lines of tubes, one between Southwark and Station D, Philadelphia, and another between Roxbury and Uphams Corners, Boston.

The line between Southwark and Station D, Philadelphia, is 0.872 mile in length. This tube is used to 4.5 per cent of its capacity—that is, 4,800 dispatches could be made in 20 hours on 15 seconds headway. In March, 1913, the carriers sent in one day were 216. The postal revenue at Station D June 30, 1912, was $32,796.74. Station D is also served with mail by trolley and wagon.

The line between Roxbury and Uphams Corner, Boston, is 1.43 miles in length. The tube is used 5⅛ per cent of its capacity—that is, out of the 4,800 dispatches that could be made in 20 hours on 15 seconds headway from Roxbury to Uphams Corner 248 carriers were sent in one day in March, 1913. The postal revenue at Uphams Corner station June 30, 1912, was $38,193.39. This revenue seems pitiably small when it is remembered that tube service is at the rate of $17,000 a year.

Other instances could be cited. I consider it a rank injustice to the Government to expend this amount of money annually upon an expedition of so small quantity of mail, and in these and in similar cases the department should discontinue the service, and if the department does not Congress should expressly prohibit payment for it. Certainly the Government should not purchase tubes of this nature.

The defense of the use of these tubes—that they are feeders—is based on a specious argument. It could be argued with equal grace that tubes could be extended into rural districts because they would add to the volume of the mail. The essential element for the warrant for the use of pneumatic tubes in the Postal Service is found in the magnitude of the volume of mail to be expedited. If there is to be a warrantable use of pneumatic tubes, at a rate of $17,000 per mile per year, then the Government must have a sufficient quantity of mail offered at a station to make its expedition by tube economical service.

METHODS OF MEASURING TUBES.

In this connection I gathered during the investigation that in measuring the tubes to arrive at the mileage for which annual payment is made that the lateral tubes through which power is furnished is included in the length. While this addition may not be great, the annual rate of pay is high, and the Government should not be charged for this tubing, which is merely a part of the operating plant. In one station in New York—Madison Square—it seemed considerable.

FORMULA FOR VALUATION.

If any of the tubes are to be purchased, the greatest care should be exercised in fixing a basis of valuation. The following table will show the cost of construction claimed and reported by the tube companies and the engineering experts and accountants employed by the commission:

Cost of production to Dec. 31, 1912, and of duplication.

	Length.	Total cost claimed by companies.	Cash cost of construction, etc., as claimed by companies.	Cost of construction as reported by American Audit Co.	Estimated cost of duplication.	Estimated cost per mile of duplication.
	Miles.					
Boston	6.77	[1] $422,408.06	[1] $384,418.12	$380,238.12	$426,762.00	$62,704
New York and Brooklyn	26.52	[1] 6,527,046.45	[1] 5,511,645.38	3,244,648.30	2,363,439.00	87,151
Chicago	9.60	[1] 1,002,960.39	[1] 614,482.19	905,188.76	653,318.87	68,042
St. Louis	1.94	[1] 275,121.99	[1] 108,856.95	149,489.11	123,000.00	62,000
Total	44.83	8,227,536.89	6,619,402.64	4,679,564.29	3,566,519.87	.....
Philadelphia	10.00	[2] 2,006,575.14	[2] 643,000.00	1,123,000.00	724,000.00	72,400
Total	54.83	10,234,112.03	7,262,402.64	5,802,564.29	4,290,519.87	.....

[1] Reported by Mr. Fry. [2] Reported by American Audit Co.

One of the plans proposed for arriving at the value of this system was to take the cost of construction, the cost of reproduction, and the going value and to take an average of the three. Before this formula for valuation is used as a basis of purchase recourse should be had to the later studies in the elements of valuation of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

TUBE ADVANTAGES, FANCIFUL, AND ACTUAL.

Frequently argument is made by the champions of the pneumatic-tube postal service that it has certain advantages which investigation proves do not exist in fact. An early contention of the enthusiasts, for instance, was that the tube service would supersede mail carriage by wagon to such a material degree that the tube service could be accounted a measure of transportation economy. The cost of the tube service is so large that this element of economy can not be seriously considered. Mail between tube stations is still carried by wagons. And while the prime advantage of the tube is expedition, in certain instances the slower wagon has its advantages over the tube in dispatch because of the limited capacity of the latter. That is, if two quantities of mail are dispatched between given points, one by wagon and one by tube, if the volume of the two bulks is large, all the mail dispatched by wagon will reach its destination before the last of the mail sent by tube reaches the same destination.

Another claim made for the tube service which can be accounted hardly of moment when an expenditure of $17,000 a year is considered is that greater security is afforded the mail in transit from place to place by the tube than by means of surface transportation. The loss in the transportation of the mails is not considerable in any event, but the tube mail is as much exposed to loss at dispatching and receiving stations as is the mail transported by wagon or trolley.

Still another contention by the advocates of the Government purchase of tubes is that Government operation would be more economical than is operation under the present contract system. This is an altogether ambitious hope which no facts or figures can be adduced to sustain. The Government owns one tube in New York City now, a tube running to the appraisers' stores. Its construction was not warranted by the needs of the service and its operation is not economical.

The actual advantage of the tubes is the acceleration of dispatch of a certain portion of the mails. There can be added to this advantage, warrantably, the fact that the tubes are available at all times and are not subject to the delays from weather conditions which occasionally block surface transportation.

The pneumatic-tube service therefore, in my view, is a defensible auxiliary for the rapid transportation of mails in those areas of mail receipt and dispatch where the volume of mail utilizes a considerable capacity of the tubes, and it is not defensible as an auxiliary for that purpose in areas of mail where the volume of mail utilizes an inconsiderable capacity of the tubes.

In those areas of heavy mails where it is defensible the tube service is still in an experimental condition and is, in my opinion, only in the earlier stages of capacity development.

CONCLUSIONS.

In view of these facts I have reached the following conclusions:

It is not desirable that the Government purchase and operate the equipment for pneumatic-tube postal service which is now installed in various cities.

It is desirable, as it would be just and economical administration, to refuse to renew all contracts for service where less than 10 per cent of the capacity of the tube is utilized.

VICTOR MURDOCK.

The North Pole Aftermath.

SPEECH

OF

HON. SIMEON D. FESS,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, I would not take notice of the pretensions of Dr. Cook were they limited to a mere newspaper publicity campaign, but in view of the fact that some material in the interests of his North Pole contentions has been incorporated in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD during the present session, much of which is misleading and some with no basis of fact, and which he appears to be using as an advertisement in furtherance of his activities upon the vaudeville stage by attempting to give the impression to those unfamiliar with our procedure here that his polar claims are under investigation by Congress and receiving its serious consideration, I as a member of the Education Committee before which his representative appeared, propose, as a guide to the unwary and in the interests of historical accuracy, briefly to outline what has occurred that there may hereafter be no warrant, without gross perversions of fact, to continue to use Congress as an accessory to his advertising propaganda, and as a result of which he has already succeeded in misleading some most excellent people, who, without themselves investigating the facts have been impressed by his plausibility. And I shall also at the same time—as we are all so prone to forget—incorporate a few of the salient facts with which we were once all familiar, but which may have escaped the memory of some.

AMERICAN HISTORY MUST NOT BE PERVERTED.

And in what I am about to say I shall voice my sentiments not only as a Member of Congress, but in the spirit of an educator—a college president, a teacher of history, and as a citizen jealous that there should be no perversions of our American history. I may add that while Dr. Cook has called upon me, and both he and his representative have pressed his claims upon my attention, it has never been my privilege to meet Admiral Peary. Therefore I do not speak from the standpoint of personal friendship for the discoverer of the North Pole, but I honor him for the luster he has shed upon the American Nation by his achievements, and trust that a clear statement of the case will aid in preventing further misrepresentations (such as the latest, to the effect that the Congress is investigating Dr. Cook's claims) and may lead those who are not experts in Arctic matters and not familiar with the facts to remember that it is well to be upon their guard lest, as has recently been said, "the skill and acumen of a practiced faker" be at work—qualities that are subtle and not always readily discernible.

PEARY'S POSITION UNQUESTIONED AND UNASSAILABLE.

The public mind should be refreshed at this juncture. Peary's journey in quest of the North Pole and to make polar soundings and tidal observations was undertaken with the sanction and full approval of the President of the United States and of the Navy Department; indeed, he went to the Arctic under the direct orders of the President as Commander in Chief of the Navy. The Congress more than four years ago thoroughly investigated his journey and records and by formal act extended to him the thanks of Congress for reaching the North Pole, and by authority of the same act he was raised to the rank of rear admiral. Peary appeared before the congressional committee which took the testimony and was examined at great length concerning his trip, observations, records, etc.

The report of the committee presented January 21, 1911, was unanimous that Peary had reached the pole. It is, however, particularly deplorable that through false and misleading newspaper reports resulting from Dr. Cook's press propoganda he should from time to time succeed in linking his name with Peary's and thereby in the minds of a part of the unthinking and uninformed public create the impression that there was a possible question about Peary's attainment of the pole.

THE REPORT OF THE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE.

For the report in full of the congressional committee investigating the matter of Peary's successful trip to the North Pole see House of Representatives Report No. 1961, third session Sixty-first Congress, from which I shall excerpt a few salient paragraphs.

PEARY REACHED THE NORTH POLE APRIL 6, 1909.

The committee after reporting that "Robert E. Peary reached the North Pole on April 6, 1909," declared:

> Your committee have come to the above conclusion after a careful examination and hearing by the subcommittee extending over several days at which Capt. Peary appeared in person and gave important testimony submitting all his papers, original data, daily journal kept by him during the journey and notes of astronomical observations and soundings, etc.

Continuing, the report set forth:

> Your committee also heard—
> The report of the National Geographic Society of Washington;
> The report of the president and one of the board of governors of the Royal Geographical Society of London, which society, through its official computer, had made an independent examination of the data and proofs;
> And also a report from Hugh C. Mitchell and C. R. Duvall, expert computers of astronomical observations, from the Coast and Geodetic Survey of the United States.

As to the ability of Messrs Mitchell and Duvall, Mr. O. H. Titmann, Superintendent of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, testified that they were professional computers employed by his bureau, and that, speaking as the head of the bureau, he was of opinion that they were "unsurpassed anywhere in ability or experience"; that he considered them "unsurpassed" not only in that bureau, but "in that line of work anywhere." See pages 134 and 135 of the testimony reported by the committee.

The committee in their report declared:

These reports of the American and British societies and of Messrs. Mitchell and Duvall of our own Coast and Geodetic Survey are submitted in full in the printed report of the hearings had before your committee.

These hearings established the fact that Peary reached the North Pole on the above-named date in pursuance of a well-defined and carefully laid plan which he had been able to formulate as the result of more than 20 years' Arctic experience and which he was able to carry out because of an indefatigable earnestness and singleness of purpose.

As a result of this plan, when he reached out over the Arctic Sea, as had been done by other explorers—Nansen, Cagni, Greely, Lockwood, Markham, and others—and came to a point beyond where they had turned back, and beyond where he himself in former excursions had been obliged to retreat, he was able, by reason of his supporting parties, to go forward with sledges filled with provisions and fresh dogs for locomotion, these very essentials of success having been conserved for his final dash.

PEARY ALSO WON FARTHEST NORTH RECORD IN 1906.

The report of the congressional committee of investigation asserted:

Three years before, in 1906, Peary had reached 87° 6′, the farthest north ever attained up to that time.

He then learned the necessity of more careful preparation, and, returning to the United States, planned a campaign by ship, men, Eskimos, dogs, canned provisions, lighter equipment, to the very last detail, which resulted in success.

Thus Peary, as the result of each of two independent trips to the Arctic regions, established records farther north than has any other explorer in the history of the world, his successful trip to the North Pole having broken the previous record which he held.

PEARY WENT TO THE ARCTIC UNDER OFFICIAL ORDERS.

The committee reported:

Peary was an officer of the United States Navy and charged with the specific duty in which he was engaged. President Roosevelt, July 3, 1908, detailed Peary to report to the Superintendent of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey and instructed that Peary be ordered to make tidal observations along the Grant Land and Greenland shore of the Polar Sea.

Mr. Peary entered the Navy in 1881 and has served almost 30 years. He is at present a civil engineer with the rank of captain. When leaving for his polar trip, the Acting Secretary of the Navy wrote him that he was granted this leave of absence for Arctic explorations because he is believed to be better equipped than any other person in the country to undertake such work.

"You have," said the letter from the Navy Department, "the requisite courage, fortitude, and physique; you have had a longer term of service within the Arctic Circle than any other explorer; and you have had large experience in sledge journeying on the land and upon the polar pack; you have demonstrated your ability to maintain yourself in that latitude for a longer period in health and safety than any other explorer; you have reduced the inconveniences and hardships of the Arctic service to the minimum. The attainment of the pole should be your main object. Nothing short will suffice. Our national pride is involved in the undertaking. This department expects that you will accomplish your purpose and bring further distinction to a service of illustrious traditions."

The President of the United States gave Peary this parting injunction:

"I believe in you, Peary, and I believe in your success if it is in the possibility of man."

BRIEF OUTLINE OF PEARY'S CAMPAIGN TO REACH THE POLE.

Our congressional committee of investigation outlined Peary's successful campaign to reach the North Pole as follows:

Going into winter quarters at Cape Sheridan, tidal observations were commenced, and the members of the expedition began the transportation of supplies westward to Cape Columbia. This became a camp and depot of supplies, from which the journey over the Arctic Ocean to the pole was to begin.

The winter months of 1909 were occupied in preparing Eskimos, dogs, and other equipments. After careful training the Eskimos and dogs were in the best condition, hard and fit for the work that was before them.

The men, Eskimos, and dogs were divided into supporting parties. Each supporting party was independent in the matter of supplies and equipment; they were sent north over the ice at intervals of a day or more each.

In this way the first supporting party sought and found the easiest trail, which could readily be found by the succeeding parties coming on.

Capt. Bartlett accompanied Peary to latitude 87° 47′, or within 133 miles of the pole. At this point they exchanged signed statements as result of observations, and Bartlett turned back with his supporting party, leaving Peary with picked dogs, good sledges, and plenty of provisions, and in fact the very best equipment and supplies for the final journey.

In five marches from where Peary and Bartlett parted, Peary reached the long sought for goal.

PEARY'S OBSERVATIONS AND INSTRUMENTS.

The report declared:

Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Duvall figured the position of Peary at the pole independently, but based on the same observations and by independent methods. Their calculations agree within a second of latitude.

Mitchell states that from his professional experience it would have been impossible for the data of these observations to have been obtained other than under the circumstances claimed. The observations at the pole were made at different times. He states that in using these observations in connection with each other they, in a measure, prove each other, and that error could be detected had the observations not been made at the points set forth in the data. In other words, the two independent observations taken on the 6th and 7th, with the sun in the same direction, practically agree upon comparison.

On the return of the Peary party to the United States the standard chronometer used by Peary was sent to its makers for rating and comparison.

PEARY'S RETURN FROM THE NORTH POLE.

The committee's report sets forth the speed of Peary and his various supporting parties comparatively and with considerable detail, as follows:

The return journey was made more quickly than the outward journey. There was a trail easily distinguishable, and both men and dogs realized that they were returning to land.

Peary covered 27 outward marches (413 miles) in 16 return marches with the pick of Eskimos and dogs all in good condition, 25¾ miles per march.

MacMillan, of the first supporting party, covered 7 outward marches (82 miles) in 4 return marches, 20½ miles per march.

Borup, of the second supporting party, covered 12 outward marches (136 miles) in 7 return marches with partially crippled men and poor dogs, 19½ miles per march.

Bartlett, of the fourth supporting party, covered 22 outward marches (280 miles) in 13 return marches, 21½ miles per march.

Bartlett returned from his farthest, 87° 47′, in the same number of marches (13) as Peary did from that same point.

Later in the season MacMillan and Borup, returning from Cape Jesup with the same dogs used on the northern trip, covered 235 to 300 miles in 8 marches, and on more than one occasion covered over 50 miles in a march.

Shackleton, on his outward journey, made marches of 18 and 20 miles. He returned without dogs, and he and his men, dragging their own sledges, made marches of 20, 26, and 29 miles.

The report then declares—and I desire particularly to emphasize the next paragraph, showing that Peary had at last attained the goal of centuries of effort:

Your committee recognize that the attainment of the North Pole has been the object of the world's famous explorers for centuries past; that Peary, overcoming almost insurmountable obstacles reached the goal of a life's work, that he was specifically commissioned to do so by his commanders in chief, the President and the Secretary of the Navy.

The committee then reported that if Peary had not gone to the Arctic he would already have been a rear admiral, and that the advancement in rank which they recommended would really have the effect of decreasing the remuneration he was then receiving from the Government. Upon these points the committee declared:

Peary has at present the rank of captain. Had he remained at home and served as a chief of one of the bureaus at the Navy Department he would to-day have the rank of rear admiral. It is proposed in this bill to bestow upon him this rank with the retired pay of that grade; such retired pay, the committee learns from the Navy Department, will be $300 per year less than the pay he is now receiving from salary and allowances under his present rank.

HONORS AWARDED PEARY.

The committee further reported that up to the date of its report (Jan. 21, 1911) Peary had already received the following recognition for his discoveries:

The special great gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society of London.

The special great gold medal of the National Geographic Society of Washington.

The special great gold medal of the Philadelphia Geographical Society.

The Helen Culver medal of the Chicago Geographical Society.

The honorary degree of doctor of laws from Bowdoin College.

Honorary member of the New York Chamber of Commerce.

Honorary member of the Pennsylvania Society.

The Nachtigall gold medal of the Imperial German Geographical Society.

The King Humbert gold medal of the Royal Italian Geographical Society.

The Hauer medal of the Imperial Austrian Geographical Society.

The gold medal of the Hungarian Geographical Society.

The gold medal of the Royal Belgian Geographical Society.

The gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society of Antwerp.

A special trophy from the Royal Scottish Geographical Society—a replica in silver of the ships used by Hudson, Baffin, and Davis.

The honorary degree of doctor of laws from the Edinburgh University.

Honorary membership in the Manchester Geographical Society.

Honorary membership in the Royal Netherlands Geographical Society of Amsterdam.

THE NORTH POLE THE GREATEST GEOGRAPHICAL PRIZE OF THREE CENTURIES.

Upon this point the committee said:

The President of the United States and the Secretary of the Navy have recommended that fitting recognition by Congress be accorded Peary for this great achievement. The scientific societies of the world accord in pronouncing this the greatest geographical prize of the last three centuries. It is a matter of just pride that this honor has come to the United States.

THE COMMITTEE'S TRIBUTE TO PEARY AND ITS RECOMMENDATIONS.

The committee reported:

Your committee believe that in view of his long distinguished service in the Arctic regions in ascertaining the northern boundaries of Greenland; his soundings and tidal observations; his ascertainment of facts concerning the northern Arctic Ocean; the general information he has obtained by living over 12 years within the Arctic circle; and finally having successfully followed a carefully laid plan resulting in his reaching on April 6, 1909, and bringing back to civilization the conditions existing at the North Pole, that Robert Edwin Peary has performed a most remarkable and wonderful service; that he has attracted the favorable attention of the civilized world; and that therefore the American people, through its Congress, shall render him thanks, and bestow upon him the highest rank of the service which he adorns.

These, Mr. Speaker, are the important paragraphs in the official report of the committee of investigation and upon which the Congress of the United States acted when they extended to him the thanks of Congress, and authorized that he be raised to the rank of rear admiral. And in submitting the report to the Congress they transmitted the testimony before them, covering 142 printed pages.

The act of Congress adopted upon report of the committee became effective March 4, 1911. So much for official American recognition of the services of the explorer.

ACTION OF THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Although our own National Geographic Society had acted with more rapidity than did Congress and had more than a year prior to the act of Congress acclaimed Peary the discoverer of the North Pole, it is of interest to note that the Royal Geographical Society of Great Britain accorded Peary the highest honor within their power nearly a year before Congress acted, to wit, on May 4, 1910, at a meeting of the society in Albert Hall, London. In conferring upon Peary at that time the special gold medal of the society, President Darwin, son of the great scientist, Charles Darwin, extended to him, in the presence of its members, the fullest assurance of their conviction that he was *"the first and only human being who has ever led a party of his fellow creatures to a pole of the earth,"* for it will be remembered that at that time the South Pole had not as yet been reached. He said:

I stand here to-night as the representative of the Royal Geographical Society, and, armed with the full authority of its council to welcome you, Commander Peary, as the first and only human being who has ever led a party of his fellow creatures to a pole of the earth.

At the same time the vote of thanks to Peary was moved and seconded by two of Great Britain's most distinguished Arctic explorers, Admiral Sir George Nares and Admiral Sir Lewis Beaumont. The motion was also supported in a feeling speech by Capt. R. F. Scott, who so soon was to lose his life returning from the South Pole. The proceedings may be found set out in full in the Geographical Journal of London for August, 1910, pages 129 to 148.

Subsequently Admiral Peary laid before the Royal Geographical Society additional proofs of his attainment of the pole and supplemental to those previously submitted. This was not done at their request, but voluntarily, that there might be no question hereafter as to the action of that world-famous organization being based upon adequate examination of Admiral Peary's proofs. President Darwin wrote Peary on December 5, 1910, in his official capacity as president of the society, acknowledging the receipt of the documents and advising him of the results of the examination of same. He said:

They have been thoroughly examined by us. In the opinion of my council there is nothing in this or any other new matter which has come to their notice that in any way affects the position indicated by me when I, on behalf of the society, presented you with a special gold medal at the Albert Hall for your explorations, during which you were the first to reach a pole of the earth.

And about the same time another member of the council of the Royal Geographical Society wrote Admiral Peary advising him that the documents he sent had been "most thoroughly and critically examined." Both these letters are set out in full in the record of the proceedings before our congressional investigating committee. So much for the recognition of the services of the explorer by distinguished men and bodies in foreign countries, and more particularly mentioned in the report of the committee as quoted supra.

SOME OF DR. COOK'S RECENT ACTIVITIES WITH RESPECT TO CONGRESS.

As to Dr. Cook's repeated efforts to get more notoriety by keeping a North Pole lobby at work in Washington, it will be recalled he procured a joint resolution in his behalf, to be introduced in the Senate last spring (April, 1914). It was referred to the Library Committee, and a subcommittee, which was named to look into the matter, flatly refused to give aid or encouragement to the investigation of any such subject, and there the matter ended in the Senate.

THE AMERICAN PRESS SAW THE HUMOR OF THE SITUATION.

While editorial discussion is usually timed in seriousness, in this case there were numerous humorous newspaper comments upon the subject when the resolution was introduced, as Members of Congress may remember, such as—

Now introduce a resolution that Perkin Warbeck was really King of England and that Madero died of indigestion. Go as far as you like. (Dallas Herald.)

—

Maybe he also believes there is a pot of gold at the end of a rainbow. (Birmingham Age-Herald.)

—

But why insist upon the rest of us limiting our intelligence? (Reading Telegram.)

—

Let us not be wastefully, ridiculously excessive. Why spend $300 for a medal for Dr. Cook when he'd feel just as happy and look a lot more natural with a 50-cent wreath of flowers around his neck? (New York American.)

—

If Dr. Cook gets that medal from Congress he may decide to send it to Copenhagen as a mark of gratitude for the free dinners he received there. (Cleveland Plain Dealer.)

—

Gold or leather? (Des Moines Capital.)

—

If "Doc" Cook gets from Congress that medal for discovering the North Pole, he may come back and want one for scaling Mount McKinley. (Detroit Free Press.)

—

Why not strike off 98,781,323 duplicates and give everybody else in the country one, too? (Boston Transcript.)

—

Why not vote Jack Johnson a subsidy as balm for abuse heaped upon him prior to his going abroad? (Los Angeles Express.)

—

Vaudeville having received the doctor cordially, why not Congress? (Tacoma Ledger.)

—

As some seem to think that the Ananias Club is a committee of that body, a motion to so refer it might be in order. (Tampa Daily Times.)

—

"Doc." always has some new scheme for getting before the public just about the time people have forgotten him. (Johnstown Leader.)

—

Surely some recognition should be given the most stupendous fraud of the age. (Portland Oregonian.)

—

Dr. Cook might accept a medal, but the chances are that he would shy if anybody were to offer another wreath of roses. (Washington Star.)

I would not repeat these quotations were they not called out by the character of the vaudeville performances of the subject of their comment.

Not satisfied with the Senate's ignoring of his resolution, Dr. Cook had another one introduced in the House shortly after the Senate Library Committee had dropped consideration of the one before it, and the House resolution provided for action by Congress with respect to the discovery of the North Pole. It was referred to the Naval Committee in course of regular routine, and in accordance with the usual procedure it was sent to the Secretary of the Navy to report upon. Secretary Daniels recommended that the resolution be not favorably considered. In his report to the committee, dated July 30, 1914, he set forth the facts in possession of the Navy Department in reference to the discovery of the North Pole, Peary's promotion to rank of rear admiral, and so forth, and closed the report as follows:

Believing that no useful purpose could be accomplished by such an investigation, the department recommends that the resolution (H. J. Res. 282) be not favorably considered. Should, however, it be the desire of Congress to institute such investigation, it is recommended that the same be conducted by some form of commission independent of any governmental department.

Thereupon the Naval Committee of the House of Representatives dropped consideration of the matter. Dr. Cook, however, had still another resolution upon the subject presented and drawn in such a way that it was referred to the Education Committee, of which I am a member. This committee at the time knew nothing about the matter having been before the Naval Committee or of the report of the Secretary of the Navy, and one evening at one of the meetings informally heard ex parte some statements by three or four persons whom Dr. Cook desired to have heard. I had no intimation of the purpose of any member of the Committee on Education to give a hearing to anyone. *The meeting was not of the committee*, as there was not a quorum present, and the minutes show there was not.

AN ILLUSTRATION OF DR. COOK'S EVIDENCE.

There was an attempt to lead the committee to believe that in an article appearing over the signature of Dr. Cook in the January, 1911, number of Hampton's Magazine, a confession by him that he did not know whether or not he had reached the pole was inserted in the article without his knowledge and approval. It is sufficient to say that this was an attempt to impose upon the credulity of the committee, for it was a simple matter for any of its members to examine the newspaper files of that period—as I did—and to see that Dr. Cook, in interviews, fathered the very statement which he was attempting to repudiate; indeed, that he not only did not repudiate it, but that he expressed himself as in accord therewith. It is needless to go into the subject of this resolution further. Suffice it to say that the committee adopted a resolution dropping consideration of the matter and by common con-

sent declined to publish the proceedings of the informal meeting before mentioned.

Then, a few days thereafter, the same method of procedure was again followed by Dr. Cook, and still a further resolution upon the subject was introduced, and this time it was referred to the Library Committee of the House of Representatives. That those not familiar with the procedure in Congress may not misunderstand how simple a matter it is to introduce a resolution, I need only say that all that need be done is for a Member of Congress to file the resolution and it goes automatically to one of the numerous committees. The Library Committee gave no consideration to this new resolution. Notwithstanding this record, Dr. Cook, through advertisements and announcements in various parts of the country, has succeeded in some quarters in giving the impression that Congress was much interested in his claims and was giving them consideration. Comments upon this phase is unnecessary in the light of the record here, and it is not worth while to incorporate them here.

THE CHARACTER OF EVIDENCE DR. COOK SUBMITTED AT COPENHAGEN.

It is well for us to remember that the forum selected by Dr. Cook for the determination of his claims was the University of Copenhagen. He sent it what he declared were his proofs of his alleged discovery of the North Pole; but he failed to appear in person before the commission of experts the university appointed to pass upon the question. It found that Dr. Cook had utterly failed to establish his claim.

REPUDIATION OF DR. COOK BY THE UNIVERSITY OF COPENHAGEN.

The verdict of the University of Copenhagen of December 21, 1909, is fully set forth in the papers of the world of December 22, 1909. I quote, however, from an editorial in The Outlook which succinctly covered the important facts. This editorial said:

It was by the University of Copenhagen that Dr. Cook himself elected to be judged; the verdict of that court of decision, thus selected by himself, must be accepted by the world as final and conclusive. The wonderful tales now put forth as to the cause of the disappearance of the original documents in the case will have no effect on the mind of the public, because that public had already become wearied with a long series of inconclusive and improbable statements heretofore made. Dr. Cook had several months in which to prepare his case and submit it in proper form to that tribunal to which he thought fit to have it referred. The result has been a total collapse of his claim, always based chiefly on his bare assertion that he had been the first to reach the North Pole.

WHAT DR. COOK SUBMITTED AT COPENHAGEN.

The Outlook editorial, continuing, said:

The committee of scientists to whom the University of Copenhagen submitted the claim report that what they received was, first, a narrative of the expedition, essentially the same as that printed two months ago in the New York Herald and prepared for the present purpose by Dr. Cook's secretary; and, secondly, what purported to be a typewritten copy of part of Dr. Cook's original notebook.

This alleged copy, they say, "does not contain any original astronomical observations whatever, but only results," and the committee declare further that "*the documents presented are inexcusably lacking in information which would prove that the astronomical observations therein referred to were really made;* and also contain no details regarding the practical work of the expedition and the sledge journey which would enable the committee to determine their reliability.

THE COPENHAGEN VERDICT REJECTING DR. COOK'S CLAIMS.

The Outlook quoted the same as follows:

The committee's final verdict and the verdict of the university consistory is expressed formally in the finding of the latter:

"The documents handed the university for examination do not contain observations and information which can be regarded as proof that Dr. Cook reached the North Pole on his recent expedition."

The editorial mentioned also quoted individual expressions of opinion thus:

Officers of the university in their individual expressions of feeling go even further. Thus, Dr. Stromgren, director of the Astronomical Observatory, at Copenhagen, and chairman of the committee on the Cook claims, is quoted as calling Cook's actions shameless, as admitting with sorrow and indignation that the university had been hoaxed, and as saying that "it was an offense to submit such papers to scientific men."

Rasmussen, a noted Arctic explorer who has favored Dr. Cook's claim, was called in as an expert by the university's committee; he is reported as saying:

"When I saw the observations, I realized that it was a scandal. The documents which Dr. Cook sent to the university are most impudent. It is the most childish sort of attempt at cheating."

It will be remembered that Rasmussen was the Danish explorer whom Cook declared, when he believed Rasmussen was in favor of his claims, was better qualified than any other explorer to pass upon the question then at issue.

The Outlook summed the matter up as follows:

The fundamental justification of the distrust which has been felt all along in this country by many scientific observers and students of the laws of evidence has been that, to put it squarely, Dr. Cook has not acted as would have acted a man of honor whose claims had been disputed and who knew that they were just. * * * Dr. Cook, on the contrary, has carried on a long series of evasions and delays, and has apparently put his main efforts into making money by lectures and through publication. In this way he gained, some say $30,000, some say $100,000. Finally, when patience was all but exhausted, he presented to a foreign court of inquiry a lame and even ridiculous case. The mere fact that he did not offer to appear in person before the court he had himself selected, in order that he might answer inquiries, is most significant.

DR. COOK'S FALSE CLAIMS OF SUPPORT BY POLAR EXPERTS.

On the cover of Dr. Cook's book as now being sold in New York are printed the names of a number of Arctic explorers and of others whom it is alleged support him. Among them are Roald Amundsen, the discoverer of the South Pole; our own Gen. Greely, who in one of his Arctic expeditions broke the record then existing of the farthest north, taking it away from England after it had been held by that country for nearly 300 years; and Capt. E. B. Baldwin, of the Baldwin-Ziegler polar expedition of 1901. While it is true that these men, as well as many others, before Dr. Cook's methods were understood, credited him with veracity, it is the height of charlatanary now to name them as supporters, and the same remark, no doubt, applies to every other Arctic explorer familiar with the facts of the case whom Cook claims as a supporter.

AMUNDSEN REPUDIATES DR. COOK.

As to the position of Amundsen, the discoverer of the South Pole, I quote as follows from the report of an interview with him in the Detroit News:

Capt. Amundsen, himself unsuccessful in a search for the North Pole, generously joined in the acclaim that at first hailed Dr. Cook as the discoverer, and remained firmly convinced that Cook was telling the truth until he (Amundsen) was given an opportunity to examine the data and observations that Dr. Cook laid before the University of Copenhagen.

"There was absolutely nothing in these alleged observations of Dr. Cook," said Capt. Amundsen. "It was all fake and could have deceived nobody. Thus, in sorrow, was I forced to the conclusion that my old comrade was lying."

GEN. GREELEY REPUDIATES DR. COOK.

General Greely, on October 14, 1913, sent out the following letter for publication:

To the editor of the New York Times:

Returning from Europe after 10 months' absence, my attention has been drawn to a recent editorial article in the Times stating that I am quoted by Dr. Cook as indorsing his claim to have reached the Pole. When the North Polar discussion was at its height I published in the fifth edition of my Handbook of Polar Discoveries, under date of Florence, Italy, January, 1910, the following opinion:

"The claims of Dr. Cook of reaching the North Pole have been thoroughly discredited by his failure to furnish to the University of Copenhagen his promised proofs of such journey."

That opinion has never been modified.

A. W. GREELY.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

And Gen. Greely, at page 269 of his book, "Handbook of Polar Discoveries," asserts:

The marvelous and detailed claims of Dr. F. A. Cook, regarding his alleged attainment of the North Pole in 1908, are now generally and thoroughly discredited.

And at page 265 of the same work Gen. Greely declares:

R. E. Peary, the discoverer of the deep sea at the pole, who has won deserved fame by his attainment of the North Geographic Pole prior to its being reached by any other explorer—to the ability, endurance, and persistency of R. E. Peary the world owes the discovery of the pole.

CAPT. BALDWIN REPUDIATES DR. COOK.

Capt. Baldwin publicly repudiated Dr. Cook in December, 1913, as was extensively reported in the papers of that period. I quote from a clipping upon the point as follows:

Baldwin had refused to desert Cook in the early stages of the controversy, which followed the return of Peary from the pole, and was widely advertised by Dr. Cook as an indorser of his claims. In a letter printed in the "Cook book" Capt. Baldwin sought to defend the pretender from the charge of falsifying documents, refusing to accept the declarations of others to that effect. Now he is convinced to the contrary, since his own statements have been so amplified and altered by Cook that he has felt impelled to make public refutation of them. Even his letter that appeared in the "Cook book" was "cooked," and for two years Baldwin has been protesting against the further use of his name. * * *

When Baldwin was asked how he had come to stay so long in the Cook camp he said it was hard to believe the claimant had deliberately deceived, but after a careful study of documentary evidence he had become convinced that Dr. Cook "never was anywhere near the top of Mount McKinley and never got within hundreds of miles of the North Pole." Baldwin states that he has reached the end of his years of defense of Cook, which continued "until I learned for myself the manner in which he plays the charlatan with documents and letters."

It is needless to pursue this phase further. The matter was well but briefly summed up by the Washington Star some years ago in these words:

Dr. Cook has deliberately entered upon a campaign of justification, not for the sake of making the world believe him regardless of reward, but for the sake of dollars and cents to be won. He has organized his fraud and capitalized his deceit.

* * * The most deplorable feature of the matter at the present time is that it is possible for a self-convicted claimant to the highest honors in the scientific world to continue to reap a profit from the credulity and the partisanship of those who refuse to accept official verdicts.

The Chicago Inter-Ocean, at the time of the Copenhagen verdict, touched upon the situation as follows:

It is now possible to discuss Dr. Cook in plain language. The rejection of his "records" as worthless by the University of Copenhagen ends forever his claim to having discovered the North Pole. He stands to-day exposed as the chief imposter of the age. * * *

The single-handed achievement of which Dr. Cook pretended to be the hero had about it a glamor that won him friends by the thousand. Peary's forthright utterance when, fresh from the north, he declared Dr. Cook had not been out of sight of land and had given the world "a gold brick," won Dr. Cook more friends. These friends have remained loyal through thick and thin. But it would now seem impossible for any but the most stubborn sentimentalist to preserve faith.

Many, no doubt, will cling to the belief that Dr. Cook at least was honest and believed, he had discovered the pole. It seems almost heartless to shatter this last forlorn hope of loyalty. It will be remembered that Dr. Cook's two Eskimo companions asserted to Peary that Dr. Cook had turned south from Cape Thomas Hubbard. If Dr. Cook traveled south it is impossible he thought he was going north.

Nothing is left but to believe that Dr. Cook attempted to deceive the world with malice aforethought and in cold blood that he might win fame and fortune. There are no extenuating circumstances. Even common honesty must be denied him.

As a last resort, Dr. Cook, through his secretary, sent a letter to the university committee saying judgment should be suspended until his instruments and original data could be brought from Etah. * * *

Good men everywhere must regret there is no law among the nations to punish this atrocious crime. For such an act of infamy the thumbs of the world turn down.

The New York Nation at the same time strongly brought out a point which every true-hearted American should take to heart:

In foisting this fraud upon the world Cook was guilty of much more than an injury to the man whose laurels he was falsely claiming. It has been a great loss to all the world that one of those rare events in which mankind spontaneously finds occasion for triumph and rejoicing was converted into a time of noxious wrangling.

As for Peary himself, he has been defrauded of something which can never be restored to him. The enthusiasm which in the first instance would have hailed the accomplishment of a feat that heroic venturers for three generations had strenuously sought to compass can never be resuscitated out of the possibilities of the past. Such is the temper of man.

False as it has been proved, the claim of the cheap swindler has dimmed the luster of the true discoverer's achievement. He will receive the full acknowledgment that his work merits, in the form of recognition from scientific and other bodies and of a sure place in history, but the joy of the acclaim that should have greeted him at the triumphant close of his 23 years' quest can never be his.

And one more word of regret is in order. The denunciations of Cook's story telegraphed by Peary from the far North were made the occasion of criticisms which are now shown to have been unjust. That Cook was an outright imposter, without the slightest title to consideration, was doubtless as well known to Peary from the beginning as it is to us all now.

REPUDIATION OF DR. COOK BY AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS OF EXPERTS.

Although the University of Copenhagen found that Dr. Cook had utterly failed to establish his claim, it will be remembered that he was discredited by and expelled from membership in America's leading organizations made up of explorers, those most familiar with the problems involved in his claims. Among those whose action was published to the world may be mentioned:

The Explorers' Club.

The Alpine Club.

The Arctic Club of America, and so forth.

The latter organization, *composed of American Arctic explorers, who had crossed the Arctic Circle*, expelled him while Admiral Schley was its president.

Would not a man of a keen sense of honor, if he had a righteous claim and really believed it should be investigated, instead of maintaining a lobby in Washington and besieging Congress, present his facts to the organizations of experts in exploration, which had expelled him, and ask them to reinstate him?

Until he has at least submitted his case to them, it is suggested that he has not purged himself or even attempted to purge himself of the odium which attaches to his name, fame, and cause, which fact alone ought to be conclusive that he has no proper standing upon which to appeal to the Congress of the United States to take time and money to investigate his claims.

DR. COOK'S EXPULSION FROM MEMBERSHIP IN THE ARCTIC CLUB OF AMERICA.

The printed bulletin issued by the Arctic Club of America, which is a different organization than the Peary Arctic Club and composed of explorers who have crossed the Arctic Circle, shows that at the annual meeting of the club, held December 22, 1909, officers were elected, including Admiral Schley as president, 75 members voting. This bulletin also says:

After the election of officers the following resolution was adopted after rather a lengthy discussion:

"*Resolved*, That the further membership of Dr. Frederick A. Cook in the Arctic Club of America be referred to the board of directors just elected, with full power to act."

The same bulletin further shows:

The first meeting of the board of directors for 1910 was held on the evening of January 5, 1910. The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"Whereas the claims of Dr. Frederick A. Cook of having discovered the North Pole have been rejected by the University of Copenhagen and other scientific bodies; and

"Whereas Dr. Frederick A. Cook keeps in hiding instead of facing his accusers; and

"Whereas Dr. Frederick A. Cook has failed to communicate with the Arctic Club of America, whose members have so steadily proved his friends in the past: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That we consider the further membership of Dr. Frederick A. Cook in the Arctic Club of America as not to its interests, and that the name of Dr. Frederick A. Cook be dropped from the roll of members forthwith."

DR. COOK ALSO DISMISSED FROM THE COUNCIL OF THE BROOKLYN INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.

The Washington Evening Star for January 6, 1910, contains the following report of Dr. Cook's expulsion from the Arctic Club of America and from the council of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, the scientific organization of Dr. Cook's home city:

COOK BARREN OF HONOR—ALMOST LAST VESTIGE OF SCIENTIFIC SUPPORT GONE—ARCTIC CLUB OF AMERICA, WHICH HE FOUNDED, DROPS HIS NAME FROM ITS ROLL.

NEW YORK, *January 6.*

The Arctic Club of America, founded by Dr. Frederick A. Cook and his supporters in the North Pole controversy, through its board of directors, has dropped the name of the explorer from the roll of membership.

The action of the Arctic Club directors last night was unanimous, and follows hard on the heels of the explorer's summary dismissal from the council of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences two days ago, and strips from the explorer almost the last vestige of scientific honors, only the degree of doctor of philosophy conferred by the University of Copenhagen remaining.

The Arctic Club of America led in the welcoming festivities to Dr. Cook on his return from Greenland and Copenhagen. Later the club tendered Dr. Cook, a former president of the organization, a banquet at the Waldorf-Astoria, while many of its individual members, including Admiral Schley and Capt. Osbon, warmly championed the cause of Cook when his now discredited polar claim was challenged.

DR. COOK'S CLAIM TO HAVING ASCENDED TO THE SUMMIT OF MOUNT M'KINLEY, IN ALASKA.

Dr. Cook's contention that he ascended to the summit of Mount McKinley two or three years prior to his claim with respect to the North Pole is a matter with which the public generally is so thoroughly familiar that it is hardly worth while to comment thereon extensively. The Delegate in Congress from Alaska, who himself attempted the first ascent to the summit of the mountain in the year 1903, does not hesitate to say with respect to Dr. Cook:

All of us who know anything about Mount McKinley know that Cook's story of his successful ascent of that mountain is a deliberate falsehood. * * * His story was so fraudulent that one does not have time to talk about it.

EXPLORERS' CLUB INVESTIGATE AND REJECT DR. COOK'S CLAIM TO HAVE CLIMBED MOUNT M'KINLEY AND THEN EXPEL HIM FROM MEMBERSHIP.

The Explorers' Club, after investigating Dr. Cook's claim to have climbed Mount McKinley, rejected it and expelled him from membership. The following account of their action I take from report in the Washington Post of December 25, 1909:

CLUB EXPELS COOK—EXPLORERS DECLARE MOUNT M'KINLEY "ASCENT" A FRAUD—EXPOSED IN LONG REPORT—NEEDING MONEY, FORMER FRIENDS SAY, HE PUT UP THE JOB—ASSOCIATES ON THE TRIP TO ALASKA ASSERT THAT PICTURES, HIS CLAIMS, AND HIS BOOK ARE ALL A SERIES OF PALPABLE FAKES—PHOTOGRAPHED ONE SIDE OF THE MOUNTAIN AND MADE IT APPEAR TO BE ANOTHER—HAD NO INSTRUMENTS.

NEW YORK, *December 24, 1909.*

The board of governors of the Explorers' Club met to-day in executive session and, standing in silence, voted with bowed heads that Dr. Frederick A. Cook be dropped from the rolls of the club for frauds practiced on its members and on the public. Preliminary to its vote of expulsion the board met to pass upon the report of its committee, which has been investigating the validity of Dr. Cook's assertion that he reached the summit of Mount McKinley. This committee, in concluding an exhaustive report, recommended that—

"Dr. Cook's claim that he ascended the summit of Mount McKinley in 1906 be rejected by the Explorers' Club as unworthy of credence."

The committee's recommendation was based on its finding that—

"Dr. Cook had repeatedly made statements that have not been in accord with the facts, and that he had entered into agreements which he has failed to keep, and that the misstatements and broken agreements deal not only with matters appertaining to discovery, but to ordinary financial transactions, so that no credence can be given to statements made by him."

FRIENDS AMONG SIGNERS.

Among the signatures appended were those of Whitney and Anthony Fiala, both personal friends of Dr. Cook. The committee is further explicit in its statement that it undertook its investigation only after first apprising Dr. Cook of its purpose, which he approved in person; and that it has disregarded entirely the testimony of Edward Barrill, Dr. Cook's guide, and of Frederick Printz, his packer, although such testimony was before them—because it wished no cloud of partisan contention or question of financial interest to dim the integrity of its verdict.

In addition to Whitney and Fiala, the report is signed by Frederick S. Dallenbaugh, of the American Geographical Society; Prof. Marshall H. Saville, of the chair of archæology in Columbia University; Walter G. Clark, Charles H. Townsend, director of the New York aquarium, and Henry G. Walsh, secretary of the Explorers' Club, and individual

signed reports are submitted by Herschel C. Parker, professor of physics at Columbia, and Belmore Brown, both of whom are members of the Cook-McKinley expedition, and by Charles Sheldon, who has recently returned from a year's residence on the slope of Mount McKinley, where he went for the purpose of studying the configuration of the mountain, with a view to the possibility of its ascent.

HIS PLANS NOT FEASIBLE.

Prof. Parker reports that he was a partner with Dr. Cook in the McKinley expedition, both physically and financially. Dr. Cook assumed the lead with a plan which proved unfeasible, and the party escaped with their lives, thanks to the local knowledge of Belmore Brown, one of its members. "It was perfectly understood," says Prof. Parker, "that after the misadventure all further attempts were abandoned for the season." Otherwise Prof. Parker would not have left the expedition.

Instead of this, Dr. Cook, it is charged, sidetracked all members of the expedition until there remained only himself, his guide, Barrill, and one packer, who was subsequently got rid of also. These defections left Dr. Cook, says Prof. Parker, no instruments capable of measuring the altitudes he says he attained. Moreover, he adds, the summer's experience had shown that of all the party Dr. Cook and Barrill were the least fitted physically for arduous mountain climbing.

Belmore Brown, in the main, confirms Prof. Parker, and says also that in Dr. Cook's book there is not one date given from the time he left the Chulitna River. This makes intelligent criticism impossible, he declares. Brown asserts further that he never saw Dr. Cook make a single aneroid barometer reading during the whole trip. Confirming a charge that has previously been made, he says that Dr. Cook was known to be in serious financial straits, and would have had great difficulty in getting out of Alaska if he had not reported that he attained the summit of Mount McKinley.

DECLARES PICTURES FAKES.

Brown fortifies his charges with the declaration that Cook and Barrill had no ice creepers, and that, though Dr. Cook afterwards told Prof. Parker that he and Barrill were roped together every foot of the last stages, Prof. Parker and Brown both remembered that they destroyed the climbing rope as defective before they quit the expedition. Furthermore, in none of the pictures published in Dr. Cook's book does a climbing rope appear.

Brown and Sheldon also report that various photographs in Dr. Cook's book do not represent the peaks they are said to picture; while Sheldon denies that he is the author of the appendix C in the book which Dr. Cook credits to him.

The committee as a whole, therefore, concludes in part that—

"Dr. Cook's account of the ascent is not only such as to be unconvincing to the experienced mountaineer, but that *under analysis it becomes incredible.*

"That he entered into a secret financial agreement with a publisher which resulted in embarrassment to his associates.

"That he broke his agreement with his fellow club members to supply his original photographs and data upon which his book was based.

DESCRIBES ANOTHER RIDGE.

"That the evidence before the committee is to the effect that it would be utterly impossible to ascend the glaciers and frozen snow slopes wearing the rubber shoepacks which Dr. Cook states in his book he wore while making the ascent.

"That Dr. Cook's description of the ascent of Mount McKinley on the northeast ridge, which is the ridge by which he claimed to have reached the peak, is, in reality, a description of the southeast ridge. The former ridge was explored by him on a previous expedition, and in his book he declares it impossible as a route to the peak."

PROF. PARKER, OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, PHOTOGRAPHS DR. COOK'S PEAK MANY MILES FROM MOUNT M'KINLEY.

It will be remembered that upon Dr. Cook's return from the Arctic regions in 1909 the guide whom he alleged went to the top of Mount McKinley with him announced that they never had been to the summit and that the picture Dr. Cook took with this guide holding a flag on the top was miles from the peak. Dr. Cook, with respect to this, asserted that this was merely a plot of Admiral Peary to ruin him. Anyone, however, who takes the trouble to examine the newspaper files of that period can readily ascertain for himself that this guide repudiated Cook's claim before it was even known that Peary had reached the North Pole, for at the time he had not yet been even heard from. This guide subsequently drew a map upon which he located the peak which was photographed as the summit of Mount McKinley.

Prof. Parker, of Columbia University, subsequently took this map to Alaska in an effort to locate this fake peak.

The following newspaper clipping sets forth his report upon the subject:

PROF. PARKER LAYS BARE MOUNT M'KINLEY FAKE OF DR. COOK—MAKES A DUPLICATE PHOTOGRAPH OF HIS FAMOUS "TOP OF THE CONTINENT" AT AN ELEVATION OF ONLY 5,000 FEET AND 20 MILES AWAY FROM THE BASE OF THE GIANT ALASKAN PEAK—EXPOSURE BY EDWARD BARRILL IS COMPLETELY CORROBORATED—WITH MAP MADE BY FORMER GUIDE AND DR. COOK'S OWN PHOTOGRAPH NOTED EXPLORER AND MOUNTAIN CLIMBER HAS NO TROUBLE IN LOCATING THE SPOT.

Indisputable evidence of the falsity of Dr. Frederick A. Cook's claim to having ascended to the top of Mount McKinley, the highest peak in North America, is furnished by Prof. Herschal C. Parker, of Columbia University, who has just returned to New York City from his latest trip to Alaska. Prof. Parker undertook the journey during the past summer to settle once and for all time the question of Dr. Cook's veracity as to the Mount McKinley episode, and the proofs he has brought back with him show beyond a shadow of a doubt that the man who failed miserably in his attempt to rob Capt. Robert E. Peary of the credit of having discovered the North Pole was 20 miles away in an air line from the "Top of the Continent" at the time he claims to have stood on the utmost height of the snow-capped peak.

The most important piece of evidence obtained by Prof. Parker, and which not even the most ardent supporter of Dr. Cook can question, if there be any left who still believe in him, is a duplicate photograph of Dr. Cook's Top of the Continent, or, as he was pleased to also term it, the ultima thule of his ambition. * * *

The most cursory examination of the two pictures will show that they are photographs of the same rock, while a tracing of the outlines of each leaves no doubt of it.

ARCHDEACON STUCK, OF ALASKA, EXPOSES DR. COOK.

The Rev. Dr. Hudson Stuck, archdeacon of the Yukon, in 1913 made the first accepted ascent of the summit. In his book upon the subject, published by Scribners in 1914, after tracing Dr. Cook's account of his alleged trip with the packer Barrille to a point on a glacier several miles from Mount McKinley, then asserted:

From this point "up and up to the heaven-scraped granite of the top" Dr. Cook grows grandiloquent and vague, for at this point his true narrative ends.

The claims that Dr. Cook made on his return are well known, but it is quite impossible to follow his course from the description given in his book, *To the Top of the Continent.*

Dr. Cook talks "about the heaven-scraped granite of the top" and "the dazzling whiteness of the frosted granite blocks," and prints a photograph of the top showing granite slabs. There is no rock of any kind on the south (the higher) peak above 19,000 feet. The last 1,500 feet of the mountain is all permanent snow and ice; nor is the conformation of the summit in the least like the photograph printed as "the top of Mount McKinley."

But it is not worth while to pursue the subject further. The present writer feels confident that any man who climbs to the top of Denali (Mount McKinley) and then reads Dr. Cook's account of his ascent will not need Edward Barrille's affidavit to convince him that Cook's narrative is untrue. Indignation is, however, swallowed up in pity when one thinks upon the really excellent pioneering and exploring work done by this man and realizes that the immediate success of the imposition about the ascent of Denali (Mount McKinley) doubtless led to the more audacious imposition about the discovery of the North Pole and that to his discredit and downfall.

DR. COOK'S PRESENT METHODS.

It is said in a recent St. Louis newspaper, reporting an interview with Dr. Cook, that he says he has "made about $10,000 a year out of his lectures and his writings."

This same newspaper gives us the interesting information that during his campaign he has obtained "90,000 signatures, which, attached to a petition, have been forwarded to Washington," and we may assume that as long as Dr. Cook can find a market for his wares by his present methods he will continue them, and I presume Congress can stand being deluged with these petitions from people who do not have the facts except as presented to them by Dr. Cook and his coadjutors, and who have no knowledge of Arctic conditions, but who seem to think that Members of Congress are more competent to deal with them than the scientific experts who have already passed upon them.

THE STAND OF ADMIRAL PEARY.

Admiral Peary's stand, persisted in through many years, not to demean himself by any controversy with Dr. Cook, is one which must receive the hearty approval of all right-thinking Americans. A few, perhaps, not knowing the character of Dr. Cook's propaganda, do not understand that no self-respecting man could stoop to engage in such a controversy. This phase is well summed up in an editorial in the Omaha World-Herald which I will quote:

"They must either admit the charges or put me in jail," says Cook and in the saying discloses his motive. It is not only the besoiling of his successful rival that he seeks; it is continued publicity—publicity no matter how unenviable, so it may prolong his earning capacity on the vaudeville stage.

As a matter of fact, of course, "they" need do neither the one nor the other. For the sake of the national sense of self-respect it is to be hoped that "they" will leave the worm-eaten Cook severely alone, and that decent newspapers will soon come to the stage where they will refuse to print his villainous slanders, which are an affront not only to Peary but to the United States.

The Buffalo Evening News also expresses much the same thought in the following editorial—and I lay particular emphasis upon the paragraph which I have italicized:

One would think that when a man has been, by his own acts of folly and deception, utterly discredited and held in disgrace by his own countrymen, who are, frankly, ashamed of him, he would shut up, keep out of the way, nor dare to appear in any public capacity. Yet Dr. Frederick Cook, the archfaker among Arctic explorers and climbers of Mount McKinley, has nerve enough to erupt again. * * *

Such charges, emanating from such a source, can do no harm to the distinguished explorer whose claims as the discoverer of the North Pole have been passed upon and verified by the leading scientific societies of the world, and who, for the glory he won for the American flag by his courage and perseverance, has been fittingly rewarded by Congress. * * *

It is a shameful and disgusting exhibition, and Dr. Cook's appearance on the Chautauqua platform is likely to cast discredit on the whole Chautauqua idea.

THE LOWERING OF THE STANDARD OF THE CHAUTAUQUA PLATFORM.

As the president of a Chautauqua I must severely condemn the perversion of the Chautauqua idea and commend the expression of opinion in the last paragraph above quoted.

The Philadelphia Public Ledger has recently expressed a somewhat similar thought in an editorial which I quote:

Throughout certain western Chautauqua circles, wherein the name but not the nobility of the parent institution is used as a cloak for circus methods in education, Dr. Cook has been eminently successful; but this will not change the universal verdict of America and of the whole world. Let us have an end of any further Cook Polar claims.

It also says:

Back of the recent action of the Committee on Education of the House of Representatives, in dropping further consideration of what is known as the "Cook-Peary controversy," lies a long and sordid story, discreditable in all its aspects. A group of people, some of them innocent and misled and others not classifiable in polite terms, have been busily engaged in trying to filch from Peary the credit due him as discoverer of the North Pole in the interests of Dr. Cook.

Most Americans supposed that the Cook issue died a natural death years ago.

The time will undoubtedly come when Chautauqua managers will be thoroughly conversant with the activities of this man and the press of the country will ultimately do its part against the circulation of perversions of history with respect to *the great feat that Admiral Peary achieved, an honor of which through all future ages no nation can rob us.*

The glory that is ours as a nation has been feelingly portrayed in the following lines from the pen of Leigh Mitchell Hodges, entitled "The Flag that Tops the World":

You may sing a song of banners that are brave against the breeze,
Of flags that ne'er in time of need are furl'd;
You may boast the battle ensigns that have swept the seven seas,
But I toast the starry flag that tops the world!

Where the purple cold eternal
Seals the doom of all things vernal,
It is blooming with the beauty of a cause that can not die;
Where the wind is Death in motion
Flying o'er a frozen ocean,
It is smiling at the outer worlds against the frozen sky.

And the pole that bears the blossom of the old Red, White, and Blue,
Is the axis of the ball on which we're whirl'd;
O, it's fine to see her floating from the rod that holds us true!
So uncover to the flag that tops the world!

'Round its base the hosts of nations
Through all coming generations
Will be circling in the life march till the spear of Time is hurl'd,
And by land or water faring
Not a man can get his bearing
Till his compass needle points him to the flag that tops the world!

THE LAST PHASE.

Every true American educator must resent the recent efforts to poison the minds of the children of this country with respect to the discovery of the North Pole. Many newspapers seem to have been misled and have fallen into the trap of offering Dr. Cook's book as prizes for essays from the children upon the subject of the priority of the discovery of the North Pole, and then, while the children were in the act of writing such essays, printing a mass of material furnished by Dr. Cook and giving a wholly distorted idea of the facts, yet in such a subtle way as to give the impression of fairness.

To the honor of the editor of the Quincy (Ill.) Whig let it be said that he exposed a similar plot in his issue of February 4, 1915. I quote from his editorial upon the subject as follows, which is entitled "Press Agenting":

A day or two ago a smooth-talking stranger stepped into the office of Superintendent of Schools Bauman, and after remarking about the weather, the beauty of Quincy, and the high standard maintained by the Gem City's school system declared that he was much interested in polar explorations and would like very much if it might be arranged to give a series of talks on geographical conditions in the far north in the local schools. He carried some testimonials and got by with his request.

Scene No. 2 reveals the Orpheum Theater announcing that Dr. Cook, the discovered discoverer of the North Pole, would appear at the Orpheum some time soon.

Scene No. 3 discloses an afternoon newspaper announcing that it will give away free Orpheum tickets and a batch of Doc Cook's books to the school child who writes the best essay on "Who discovered the North Pole?"

Scene No. 4 takes Mr. Baker into a number of grades and the high-school assembly not as a lecturer on geographical conditions in the far North, but as the advertising agent of the afternoon paper and the Orpheum Theater.

Mr. Baker made no "bones" in local newspaper offices as to who he was. The editor of the Whig has plenty of his literature, signed "Personal representative of Dr. Cook," but the Whig refuses to fall for the press-agent stunt which Mr. Baker sought to pull.

In justice to Mr. Bauman it should be said that Mr. Baker kept him in absolute ignorance of his real mission here, never mentioning his real mission nor his connection with Dr. Cook. And should Mr. Baker hereafter attempt to set foot inside a schoolhouse where the superintendent chanced to be it is more than an even bet that he would never make a talk. * * *

The Whig believes that the people of Quincy and school patrons should know just what manner of press agenting has been "pulled" on them.

The fact is that Doc Cook is just a plain notoriety seeker, now making his living on the vaudeville circuits. * * *

His press-agenting stunt, however, is a good one and indicates the cleverness of the chap who once was hailed as the greatest man of his time and not the greatest faker. That the public generally and reputable newspapers will fall for "Mr. Baker" is just another evidence, however, that the American public likes to be gulled.

Further comment upon such activities is unnecessary. I would not close the door of investigation even to Dr. Cook, but he is not entitled to one in any direction until he acts in a manner that accords with his pretensions. If he has any bona fide claims there is but one honest course for him to pursue. Let him in a straightforward manner submit them to the forum he himself selected, the University of Copenhagen, or lay them before the American organizations of scientific experts which have expelled him from membership and secure reinstatement. Until he has done so and removed the stigma which rests upon him as a result of his expulsion from the organizations of American explorers and experts upon Arctic conditions he should not, through a lobby, press his claims upon the attention of Congressmen, who know little if anything of polar research and less of the scientific observations necessary to prove them.

That a group of Congressmen, such as the Committee on Education upon which I serve, are more capable of determining the contentions of this man than the distinguished scientists who have already passed upon them is both amusing and ridiculous. All will admit that such a committee could further the advertising scheme of the lecturer, but no one will contend that any committee of Congress should be a party to such an enterprise. Neither should this body be a party in furthering this latest propaganda among the school children of the country.

NOTE.—The New York World, Philadelphia Public Ledger, and other newspapers of March 7 in dispatches from Palm Beach, Fla., announce that at a raid upon the Beach Club there, made by directions of the governor of Florida in efforts to break up gambling, its alleged proprietors, John R. Bradley and his brother, were arrested and held in $5,000 bail. John R. Bradley, it will be remembered, was the financial backer of Dr. Cook on his alleged North Pole quest, and it was with him on his yacht, the *John R. Bradley,* that Dr. Cook went north.

The Late Representative Martin, of New Jersey.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS
OF
HON. W. E. TUTTLE, JR.,
OF NEW JERSEY,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Sunday, February 14, 1915,

On House resolution 735, as follows:

"*Resolved,* That the business of the House be now suspended that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. LEWIS J. MARTIN, late a Member of this House from the State of New Jersey.

"*Resolved,* That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased and in recognition of his distinguished public career the House at the conclusion of these exercises shall stand adjourned.

Mr. TUTTLE. Mr. Speaker, what my colleagues from New Jersey have said in tribute to the life and character of our late associate, Hon. LEWIS J. MARTIN, I might better perhaps accept as my own tribute. They have told the story of a busy and useful life, and the record is complete concerning those historical things we would know of men.

Judge MARTIN came to Congress from a part of the old district which I represented for two years, and I was thus admitted into an intimacy which was of a public rather than a personal character. Out of the shock of his sudden death to me came the regret that the Members of this Congress could not come to know this man better; know his capacity for public service, his qualities for social enjoyment, the delights of personal intimacy. There was undoubted quality and capacity in a man who held to himself the personal and political loyalty that was his. I would not dare to heap upon his bier the unfragrant flowers of lip service, because he can not protest, but I can enter into that sympathy that moistens every mention of his name back in the district that gave him birth, gave him honor, and will always treasure his memory. He occupies no lofty pedestal back in Sussex County, but he fills the hearts of men who loved him, trusted him, and set the seal of their approval upon his accomplishment. He was just a normal, natural man, reaching up in his strength, bowing down in his weakness, expanding to opportunity, possessed of a sympathy and charity as wide as friendship. No life is wasted that accomplished so much within the narrow environment of the average individual whose memory is the treasure of personal friendship in so many hearts.

It seems to me very fitting on these quiet Sabbath mornings that the American Congress, free from the turmoil and the strife of the week, should meet in solemn testimony to those who have fallen in the trenches as Judge MARTIN has fallen and send back to those who know the keener sorrow the message of our sympathy.

Wording of the National Constitutional Prohibition Amendment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHMOND P. HOBSON,
OF ALABAMA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. HOBSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to print, I will insert a letter on the wording of the national constitutional prohibition amendment resolution.

The letter is as follows:

Mrs. MARGARET DYE ELLIS,
Legislative Secretary National W. C. T. U.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MRS. ELLIS: In reply to your request on behalf of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, I am glad to prepare a brief statement of the principal reasons for inserting and repeating the words "for sale" in the resolution submitting to the States for ratification an amendment to the Constitution for national prohibition.

I hope the brief may be of some use in answering such inquiries as the one you inclose.

The reasons for the words are both scientific and strategic.

The object of the amendment, the aim of national prohibition, is to produce a sober Nation.

THE PROBLEM.

The attainment of this great object by process of law presents a problem of great difficulty and complexity twofold in its nature. The first problem is to devise a resolution which in actual operation would attain the object. The other problem is to so draw the resolution that in the face of all opposition we can actually pass it by a two-thirds majority through both Houses of Congress, and can secure its ratification by three-fourths of all the States.

THE NATURE OF THE DISEASE.

To solve the twofold problem we must understand the very nature of the drink evil. We must diagnose and understand the disease before we can intelligently prescribe a remedy.

The use by man of alcoholic beverages is well-nigh universal, and has come down the centuries. The liquor traffic built upon this use is an inherited, a vested institution, that permeates the business life, the political life, the social life of the Nation, constituting a disease that is deep and organic. To eradicate such an institution we must find out the sources and roots from which it propagates and perpetuates its power from generation to generation.

THE LIQUOR INTERESTS FEED UPON THE YOUNG.

Investigation indicates that more than two-thirds of the drunkards in the land had already contracted their habits before they were 21 years old, that 30 per cent had begun their habits before they were 16, and 7 per cent before they were 12. The perpetuation and expansion of the liquor traffic is founded upon teaching boys to drink; upon debauching the youth.

DRINKERS ARE NOT THE CAUSE.

Through what agencies and instrumentalities are the boys systematically taught to drink? I have been abstemious myself, but as a man in the world of affairs I have been thrown with drinking men in many lands, but I have never yet found a drinking man who made a habit of teaching boys to drink. This fact simplifies our problem. It is not drinkers who propagate drinking from generation to generation.

RESCUE WORK IS NOT THE REMEDY.

Rescue work can therefore never solve our problem. In drawing the resolution we need not concern ourselves, except incidentally, with trying to stop old drinkers from drinking, for even if we succeeded, the tide of young drinkers would continue to rise.

THE FIRST PROBLEM—EFFECTIVENESS.

Our first problem, therefore, is fundamentally to stop the recruiting of young drinkers.

NATIONAL LIQUOR TRUST IS THE ROOT OF THE ILL.

Who are the recruiting agents? The hundreds of thousands of saloon keepers and bartenders and the scores of thousands of bootleggers, blind-tiger operators, blind-pig operators, who are in reality but agents of the great national liquor interests, the great distilling and brewing trusts that control, in partnership with the Government, a monopoly of the supply of alcoholic beverages.

THE NATIONAL ORGANIZED LIQUOR TRUST IS THE TAPROOT OF THE DISEASE.

If we can draw and enact a resolution to destroy the national liquor interests and cut out this taproot, all the other problems will be simplified; the tree itself must wither and fall.

THE MOTIVE.

What is the motive of the liquor trusts in sustaining its vast recruiting system? When a boy grows up with the drink appetite he becomes a customer for life of the liquor trust that controls a monopoly of the supply of drink. It is hard to teach men to drink. It is estimated that hardly 2 per cent of men begin to drink after they are grown. It is easy to teach boys to drink. The liquor interests have simply adopted the easiest way to develop their customers. The vast profits in the sale of their goods is the motive of the liquor trusts in carrying on all their business, the motive in debauching the boys and the youth of the land.

THE REMEDY.

If we stop nationally the sale and everything that relates to the sale of their goods, we remove the motive of their actions, the object of their existence. The adoption of a national resolution to this effect would cause the great national liquor interests of brewers and distillers and dealers to disintegrate, and the sustaining source of liquor's strength would dry up. The systemmatic debauching of the youth would end. Many old drinkers might continue to drink until they die, but no new drinkers would take their place. The rising generation would grow up sober.

NATURE'S WAY.

This is nature's way of curing an organic disease, not so much by curing old diseased tissue, but by producing young tissue free from the disease, thus growing a cure. The nature of any true remedy or treatment for an organic disease is to stop the young tissue from contracting the disease. In case of cancer, for instance, the operation in removing the diseased tissue is designed to stop the disease extending to the young tissue.

Thus we see that the scientific way to effect the cure is to prohibit the sale and everything that pertains to the sale. If this is done there can be no question about the result. An effective cure would necessarily result.

THE SECOND PROBLEM—HOW TO WIN.

The second problem is a question of strategy. Whether we can enact a resolution simply prohibiting the sale and everything that relates to the sale of beverage alcohol, whether it is necessary to do more than prohibit the sale in order to enact the resolution, whether in the national struggle it would strengthen or weaken our fight to extend the prohibition in an absolute form or a regulatory form to the question of the use, and matters relating to the use, whether in our stupendous struggle we should attack the vast armies of drinkers as well as the intrenched institution of dealers that produces the drinkers.

THE QUESTION OF OUR SIDE.

What is the effect upon the organized temperance and prohibition forces of confining the resolution simply to the sale and matters relating to sale? As a rule, members of the organized temperance forces, imbued with a realization of the terrible effects of drink, naturally prefer drastic measures of repression and a comprehensive scope to include use as well as sale, and to prohibit for all purposes as well as beverage purposes.

It can be assumed, however, that none of these members would actually oppose a measure that would clearly destroy the national liquor interests, the main central sustaining force not only in recruiting drinkers but in dominating politics, corrupting officials, violating the law, lowering the moral tone, the whole plane of living. Furthermore, with the resolution so drawn as to leave Congress the full right that it has now under the taxing power to tax and consequently destroy the production even when manufactured for private use, with the resolution so drawn as to leave to all the States their full rights to prohibit for all purposes, for use as well as for sale, so that no great abuses could grow up unchecked on account of the limitations of the resolution to questions of sale, under these conditions it can be safely assumed that when the resolution is fully understood, being finally settled on, all members of temperance oragnizations will not only acquiesce in but will cooperate heartily in the fight for enactment. In fact, the great strategic advantages gained by the words "for sale" will inspire more and more enthusiasm as the war advances. Already practically all organizations are ranged solidly behind the reso-

lution, and even notes of individual dissension have about died out.

Thus we do not stand to lose any appreciable part of the organized strength of our side, either as to numbers or as to enthusiasm, but, on the contrary, with the sequence of victories showing the wisdom of the strategy, we can see added enthusiasm and inspiration.

THE QUESTION OF LIQUOR'S SIDE.

The effect of the wording on the organized liquor forces is to paralyze their whole line of defense. Twelve decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States have declared that no citizen has an inherent right to sell intoxicating liquor. The liquor forces are left to defend the position, the naked position, of asking society to allow them for gain to continue systematically to debauch the youth, a position that is manifestly indefensible. Liquor men used to laugh at drastic measures for coercing drinkers. Now the national amendment resolution with the words "for sale" used throughout has spread despair over liquor's ranks. We now hear repeatedly of their leaders saying among themselves, "The handwriting is on the wall." We hear of brewery and distillery stocks going down and down on the stock market.

THE QUESTION OF THE PUBLIC.

While the effect of the wording on the organized temperance forces and on the organized liquor forces is important, the effect on the great body of the public that belong to neither side is absolutely vital.

It is estimated that between 70 and 80 per cent of the voters in this country are occasional drinkers, men who are gradually coming to recognize that drinking on the whole is harmful, but who still have the impression that the chief harm is in the abuse, men who do not know the full truth about alcohol and who have as yet no deep, impelling conviction on the subject.

LIQUOR'S FIGHT.

Liquor has always commanded and can be counted on in the future to command always a huge corruption fund with which to buy up without scruple the degenerate vote it has created, and practically all other purchasable votes. This factor is important and should not be underestimated. But liquor's victories in the past have depended on and liquor's victories in the future will depend on its success in reaching and binding the average honest voter whose convictions on liquor have not yet crystallized.

In seeking to bind this average voter liquor's adroit strategy in all referendum struggles is to avoid the subject of the merits and demerits of liquor and to link its cause up to great vested institutions and deep universal principles in the hearts of all good men, like individual liberty, the sanctity of the home, local self-government, home rule, States rights. With its inexhaustible war chest, with its compact, thoroughly organized and drilled forces, liquor can be counted on to control the press in large measure, to flood the mails, to put in the field an army of unscrupulous "workers." Liquor can be counted on to "beat us to" the average voter, particularly the voters in the back country districts and the congested portions of big cities, where the unsuspecting citizen is easily misled, prejudiced, and crytallized. If there is any opening in the wording of a measure where even by inference, whether real or imaginary, liquor can say that the enactment would bring sumptuary law, would menace individual liberty, the sanctity of the home, the rights of local self-government, liquor will reach these voters and have them set and prejudiced long before the prohibition side arrives. Then it is too late.

THE AMENDMENT FIGHT IN ALABAMA.

As an illustration, the proposed amendment to the constitution of Alabama, submitted to the voters in 1909, contained a second section which provided that the legislature should have power to prescribe where liquor for specified purposes might be kept. Liquor seized upon this opening instantly and went forth to the liberty-loving farmers in the back country districts and alarmed them by saying that if the amendment carried the legislature would pass a law forbidding them to have even blackberry cordial in the cupboard, and would provide for special agents who would descend upon them in the dead of night and search their homes and drag the women off to jail. The country districts were flooded with "workers" and speakers depicting the overthrow of their ancient liberties, and about once a week, sometimes oftener, the individual voter would get a letter or other literature depicting the horrors of violating the sanctity of the home if the amendment carried.

The papers day after day would tell about Runnymede and the sacrifices of our fathers and forefathers in establishing Anglo-Saxon liberty, which "fanatics" were conspiring to overthrow. By the time the slow, hard-up temperance forces reached the field it was too late. The farmers would not come out to their meetings, the speakers were looked upon with suspicion as public enemies. In some places it is reported they were met with shotguns and warned to leave. The country vote in Alabama is really a strong prohibition vote. With the second section of the proposed amendment liquor was able to take this vote away from us and with our own strongest forces to pound us to jelly. To this day in Alabama the very word "amendment" will raise a ghost and cause the Alabama farmer to reach for his rifle. Those who were not in that fight can never know how our forces were slaughtered, all because of the superfluous wording of the amendment. From that fight I went to the convention of the Antisaloon League in Chicago and laid before them the vital importance not only of confining future amendments, State and National, to prohibiting only "the sale," but also of repeating the words "for sale" to stop up every loophole. Then I laid the same matter before the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and before the Prohibition Party. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union was the first organization to accept the proposition, and with the indorsement of their national president, the sainted Mrs. L. M. N. Stevens, I introduced my joint resolution in its simplest form to comply with the demand of grand strategy. The Antisaloon League was next in giving its adherence. The Prohibition Party, with its martyr-like idealism, was last.

It is true that in order to save the words "for sale" in the first section I was compelled for the time to accept in House joint resolution 168 a compromise on section 2, wherein analogy to section 2 of the Alabama amendment Congress was given regulatory power over liquor for various purposes other than for beverages. The dangers of this section were immediately brought out in the hearings before the Judiciary Committee of the House and the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, and those who had insisted on the compromise were prompt to sanction a return practically to the simplest form, in which, as amended on the floor of the House on December 22 and contained in House joint resolution 394, now stands unassailable.

THE LAST ELECTION IN TEXAS.

Another illustration of liquor's alertness to seize upon any opening in this line of strategy is seen in the recent election in Texas.

Although I officially informed the Judiciary Committee of the House of the desire of our side to amend House joint resolution 168, that committee, in reporting the resolution to the House without recommendation, naturally left the resolution in its first form, and in this first compromise form it was carried on the House Calendar for many months. A great election in Texas was scheduled. Liquor promptly took the compromise form of the resolution unamended and went to the farmers of Texas on the plea of "State rights," and beat our forces, as they had beat us in Alabama. When the farmers of Texas learn how they were misled a day of reckoning will come for the Texas delegation that voted almost solidly against the resolution.

FEDERAL USURPATION AND CENTRALIZATION.

One of liquor's cries in the Texas campaign, so effective with the farmers, was against the usurpation of power by the Federal Government against the tendency toward centralization. The words "for sale" and the simplified form of the resolution remove all grounds upon which such a cry could be based.

THE ORGANIC LAW.

The people, especially those who live in the country, are very careful about changing the organic or constitutional law. Their suspicions of hidden dangers are easily aroused. Liquor tries to capitalize this. What might be accepted in a statute is often looked upon with alarm in a proposed amendment to the Constitution. Again, a control of the question of use, a regulation of domestic affairs that might be accepted from the State would often be resented and resisted if proposed for the distant Federal Government. Liquor is quick to capitalize this feeling. Confining the resolution to "the sale," and keeping it in its simple form, completely neutralizes this danger.

LIQUOR COMPLETELY DISARMED.

It is thus seen that the final wording of the resolution containing the operation of the Federal amendment to the question of sale for beverage purposes takes from the hands of liquor every weapon with which it has heretofore fought us in the struggle for the votes of the great body of the public, the average good citizen. On the crucial battle ground where the final result is always settled, liquor now stands completely disarmed. Stripped of its cloak of pretended morality, unable to invoke any principle of right, it is an easy task for us to show the average patriotic citizen how hideous is the naked form of the liquor traffic, feeding upon the youth, tainting the blood before the children are born, disrupting the home and its parental love, driving the boys upon the streets and into the mines and

factories, cheating them of their right to an education, menacing the productive power of labor, robbing the Nation of its wealth, and levying heavy burdens of taxation for the support of its finished products of crime, pauperism, and insanity, undermining the public health and the public morals, blighting politics, and menacing the very foundations of free institutions, dragging men, nations, and civilizations to their downfall and destruction. And what is it all for?

That a few thousand brewers and distillers might continue their monopoly and their vassals continue to dispense to the unsuspecting public a degenerating, poisonous, and habit-forming drug, to fill their coffers with blood money.

What is proposed?

Not to change any institutions, not to curtail any rights, but simply for the National Government to reach this national ill with a simple, universally recognized national remedy, continually applied by all civilized governments, simply to prohibit barter and sale and those things pertaining to sale. With liquor completely disarmed, our forces, with reasonable cooperation and with that devotion and inspiration that come from such a glorious cause, can move forward on an irresistible march.

This "for sale" wording of the resolution has enabled us to choose the battle line. Our strategy has isolated liquor. The battle line steadiiy forming ranges liquor with its blood money, its degenerate purchasable vote, in front of the determined manhood and patriotism of the Nation.

LIQUOR LEADERS SOUGHT TO STRIKE OUT "FOR SALE."

In the debate in the House on December 22 last the full force of liquor's fight was directed along the very lines that the final wording neutralized. Liquor leaders who organized and directed the fight against us, led by Mr. MANN, of Illinois, the Republican leader, aided by Mr. UNDERWOOD, the majority leader, brought all their united strength to bear upon an amendment offered by Mr. MANN to strike out the words "for sale" and thus take from us our vital strategic advantage. But our forces stood as solid as Gibraltar and voted down the amendment.

OBJECTIONS ADVANCED.

Having pointed out the real effectiveness of the amendment, based upon scientific analysis and its stupendous strategic advantages, it is not necessary to dwell at any length upon the objections that have been advanced by a few individuals, like the one you cite in your letter. Most of these individual objectors are devoted prohibitionists who fear that the amendment would be evaded by the general use of "kitchen distilleries" and "cooperative breweries." This fear is based on the incorrect assumption that there would be no recourse to meet such conditions if they arose. As a matter of fact, while the constitutional amendment is limited in its prohibition to the question of sale for beverage purposes, it does not abridge the power of Congress to tax when liquor is produced for other purposes. It is evident that Congress, assured of being overwhelmingly "dry" before the resolution could even be submitted, would promptly tax kitchen distilleries and cooperative breweries out of existence. This action would be exceedingly easy to secure since the chief opposition, that of the great national liquor interests, would be ended.

These objectors seem also to assume that the States, counties, and cities would have no additional authority. On the contrary, the constitutional amendment would not curtail the reserved power residing in the States to prohibit liquor even in its use.

With the national liquor interests—the chief sustaining source of evasion and violation—gone, States, counties, cities, and towns would have little difficulty in enforcing with the Federal Government the Federal prohibition and in adopting and enforcing any additional laws found necessary to prevent evasion in their own jurisdictions.

SINGULAR COINCIDENCE.

It is interesting to see how the liquor men in Congress made the same objection that these few extreme prohibitionists have made. Many of those who voted wet and fought hardest for the enemy are apologizing to their constituents by saying the proposed amendment was not a "real" prohibition measure; that they would have voted for it but for the words "for sale."

SATISFACTORY TO THE MILLIONS.

More than 6,000,000 of petitioners have petitioned Congress for the resolution with the words "for sale." Practically all the Protestant churches of the Nation have indorsed the resolution with these words. The great national battle lines are now forming. Let no real friend of temperance or prohibition imagine that at this time any good purpose could be served by internal discord and contention.

Let us all, to the last man, including even those who themselves would have preferred a different wording, now join hands and stand shoulder to shoulder.

Our amendment will destroy the national organized liquor interests. All the rest will follow, as effect follows cause. Our amendment gives us an overwhelming strategic advantage. Fall in line, all those who love their country and their fellow man. The stars in their courses are fighting against liquor. Close up the ranks, form companies and regiments, brigades, divisions, and army corps. Soldiers, God bids us forget self.

Keep step with the martial music of the spheres to which our armies are marching. If you fall, go down with a smile on your lips and a prayer of gratitude and rejoicing in your heart, for as surely as the laws of nature hold, as surely as God reigns in the universe, our armies are marching to victory, the result of which in a comparatively short time will be a sober Nation and a sober world.

Faithfully, yours, R. P. HOBSON.

"To Do or to Die."

This Congress, be it said to its credit, has given us a fairly good income-tax law, a fairly good banking law, a law creating a much-needed Federal Trade Commission, a law exempting labor and farmers' organizations from the rules of the antitrust statutes, and a law abolishing interlocking directorates in big business. This Congress has brought the Agricultural Department in direct contact with and assistance to the men and women on the farm. It has provided for the building of a Government railroad in Alaska to open up that wonderful Territory to civilization and development. It has broken up the traffic in the habit-forming drug, and it has lent itself to improve our Consular Service.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL E. BURKE,

OF WISCONSIN.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. BURKE of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith incorporate in the RECORD an editorial published March 1, 1915, in the Wisconsin State Journal, of Madison, Wis., and entitled "To do or to die."

The purpose of inserting this article is to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the public opinion and judgment of an influential and progressive newspaper upon the work of this the Sixty-third Congress.

Since the publication of this article the so-called child-labor bill was passed in the House of Representatives by a large majority. A rural credits system was also passed by Congress; but the conferees of the Senate and House being unable to agree in conference upon its terms, reported a provision for the appointment of a rural credits commission to investigate this important subject and to report to Congress not later than the commencement of the next regular session, when it is confidently believed that a wise and workable rural credits system will be prepared and passed by both Houses.

TO DO OR TO DIE.

This week will see Congress adjourn without an extra session to immediately follow. As always, Congress adjourns leaving many things undone which should have been done. Again it has failed to meet the great economic and moral issue of child labor by failing to pass the bill which would have prevented the interstate transportation of the products of child labor.

Congress failed to put through a group of important conservation measures, which would not only have preserved great water-power rights but would also have obtained the best results from the grazing and mineral lands and conserved our national radium supply.

Congress failed to provide an adequate rural credits system; to establish the presidential primaries, advocated by President Wilson; to revise the civil-service laws so as to advance a real merit system. It is planned that the House shall immediately approve the ship-purchase bill and that the Senate shall be its tomb, which act alone lends no added honor to the Senate.

But withal it may well be recorded that the Congress which now comes to a close has given us the most honest tariff law we have yet had; it is far from perfect, but it goes a long way in the right direction; it has lowered the tariff on articles of food, clothing, and shelter, and has raised the tariff on luxuries.

This Congress, be it said to its credit, has given us a fairly good income-tax law, a fairly good banking law, a law creating a much-needed Federal Trade Commission, a law exempting labor and farmers' organizations from the rules of the antitrust statutes, and a law abolishing interlocking directorates in big business. This Congress has brought the Agricultural Department in direct contact with and assistance to the men and women on the farm. It has provided for the building of a Government railroad in Alaska to open up that wonderful Territory to civilization and development. It has broken up the traffic in the habit-forming drug. And it has lent itself to improve our Consular Service.

Congress could have done more; it should have done better, but we doubt if, on the whole, any Congress since the Civil War, has, all things considered, done so well. For the first time it has attempted to calk up the leaks in the pork barrel. That is something a Republican Congress has never seriously attempted to do, though, be it said, this particular piece of work was fathered and urged by Republican Members of Congress.

But looking to 1916, the Republicans seem to be disposed to accept the position of an opposing party. It was that position which so long weakened the Democratic Party. That party is weak which, instead of setting up a positive constructive program of its own, seeks public favor by merely pointing to the mistakes of the party in power. President Wilson will advance in the favor of the American people by his hard fight for an honest attempt to meet a grave defect in our national commercial equipment, and the Republican Party will be held directly responsible for the defeat of that important measure.

"The Grand Old Party" but invites an early death; it will fail to get even Utah and Vermont in 1916 unless it plays a nobler and bolder rôle than that of a negative alternative to the Democrats. It can not win by default. However conservative may be the tendencies of the times, no party is going to win which merely marks time and sneeringly points to the fellows who are out of step in the column that is actually marching.

The election last November showed the Republican and Democratic parties to be of substantially the same voting strength. The balance is held by the Progressives, who number approximately 1,750,000 voters. These voters are going somewhere; they are not going to stand still; they are earnest, thinking voters, and they are going to vote for the party that will attempt to do something. They are not going to vote with any party that merely opposes and offers no positive, constructive program.

The Democratic Congress, which this week comes to a close, has at least given the Republican Party this alternative—to do or to die.

Our Coast Defenses.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER.

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 1, 1915.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Speaker, as the Sixty-third Congress is just coming to a close, I take this opportunity to print some remarks on our coast defenses. Part of these remarks have been delivered in this House. Part of them I intended to deliver, but forgot to do so when the fortifications bill was up. I also print certain exhibits.

YANKEE DOODLE, GUARD YOUR COAST.

As old as the Declaration of Independence, and more important than the Constitution of the United States, is the solemn injunction handed down by the fathers in our national anthem, "Yankee Doodle, Guard Your Coast." Now, that is exactly what we do not do, and on the Pacific coast we do not even pretend to do it, for we have no navy in the Pacific. In the Atlantic we have, to be sure, a navy; but, as everyone knows who does not willfully blind himself to the facts, it is inadequate and undermanned. Except for the Navy, we have no coast defenses for some 1,800 out of the 2,000 miles of which our Atlantic coast consists. Of course, it is true that we have harbor fortifications and that they probably cover not more than 200 miles altogether. Elsewhere the enemy can land troops at his own sweet will if once our fleet is disposed of or bottled up. These coast fortifications of ours are designed to accomplish three purposes, or so the experts tell us. I do not think that anyone will dispute the assertion that the object of our coast fortifications is, first, to compel an attacking enemy to land its troops elsewhere than under the guns of our forts; second, to protect against naval attack or bombardment the populous communities near which the defenses are erected; and, third, to enable our harbors to furnish bases for our own fleets instead of the enemy's fleets.

To quote the words of the Secretary of War:

They—

The coast defenses—

are not designed to be self-defensive against operations undertaken on the land side; neither are they expected to prevent the landing of hostile forces at other places than those controlled by their guns, from which to conduct a land campaign. It would not only be impracticable to defend with seacoast fortifications all of the possible landing places upon the coast of the United States—

And so forth.

THE BACK DOOR WIDE OPEN.

I am inclined to think that our seacoast fortifications, even in their incomplete and unsatisfactory condition, are under present circumstances sufficient to accomplish the first purpose. I do not suppose that any foreign fleet would be so crazy as to try to effect a landing under the guns of our forts when it could accomplish precisely the same object by effecting a landing a few miles away. Of course a very proud nation might insist on walking its troops in at the front door; but if the back door were wide open, as our back door is, even the proudest nation might probably be satisfied to avail itself of the open door rather than the door which is partially closed. And that reminds me: Do you realize that we have not even a strand of barbed wire to impede an attack on our forts in the rear? Not even a rat trap to catch an unguarded soldier's toe. Our forts are open on the land side, every one of them. As for our seacoast guns, they can not help us to repel a land attack, for we have ingeniously so arranged it that only 3 out of the entire 1,100 are mounted so as to shoot in every direction. There can be no doubt that troops convoyed and landed by a successful foreign nation could readily take our coast fortifications in the rear. Obviously enough that is so, unless Mr. Bryan's million patriots should suddenly spring to arms, if perchance they could discover the arms to spring to.

HOW ABOUT BOMBARDMENT?

With regard to the second purpose of our seacoast fortifications, I am absolutely unconvinced by the statement that our principal seacoast cities are safe from bombardment by the new British and German superdreadnaughts with their long-range guns. I have been told—and I believe it to be true—that the hearings do not contain all that transpired in the committee room between the officers present and the members of the committee when the safety of our seacoast cities was discussed. I believe it to be true that the officers pointed out certain very grave deficiencies in the fortifications which are supposed to protect some of our very largest cities. I know it to be true that both Gen. Crozier and Gen. Weaver averred that additional fortifications are now necessary on account of the increased range of naval guns and on account of the territorial growth of certain of our fortified cities. I am told that the whole matter has been referred to a board which will report next winter. Judging by the rapidity with which we have secured and acted upon the reports of boards in the past, it will be a good many years before much is accomplished.

CHESAPEAKE BAY.

For instance, take the report made in 1906 by the National Coast Defense Board. Here is what was said about the defenses of Chesapeake Bay:

Commercially and strategically, Chesapeake Bay is to-day, as it always has been, of the very first importance. With the entrance, as it is now, unfortified, a hostile fleet, should it gain control of the sea, can establish, without coming under the fire of a single gun, a base on its shores, pass in and out at pleasure, have access to large quantities of valuable supplies of all kinds, and paralyze the great trunk railway lines crossing the head of the bay.

That report was made nine years ago, but not one spadeful of earth has yet been turned in fulfillment of any fortification project for the defense of Chesapeake bay. To be sure, we have bought land on Cape Henry, at the entrance, and the Ordnance Department has prepared plans and has submitted to the Secretary of War a supplemental estimate of $1,750,000 to be appropriated this year. I regret very much that the Secretary has refused to recommend this appropriation to the committee, and, of course, the committee has not done anything about it. The Secretary points out that the conditions of the Public Treasury are not such as to justify this expenditure; a singular attitude to take, all this considered. The Secretary's view of the matter reminds me of the farmer with the valuable live stock, who refused to repair his fences because "it cost too much." I suppose that the fact is that Uncle Sam has got so much in the habit of talking about his poverty he is beginning to believe the yarn himself. Considering the fact that the United States is the only Nation on earth which can afford a strong armament without feeling the expense, it seems a little fantastic for us to plead poverty as an excuse for inadequate protection.

WHY SECRETARY GARRISON PARED THE CHEESE.

I notice that the defenders of the Committee on Fortifications, like the defenders of the Committee on Military Affairs, take refuge this year behind the plea, "We have given the War Department everything it asks for." That statement is true enough so far as the appropriation bills are concerned, but it needs a little explanation just the same. The estimates of each of the bureaus of the War Department as to its needs for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1915, were submitted to the Secretary of War in March, April, and May of last year. The Secretary proceeded to whittle down the proposed expenditures, and his job was nearly completed in June, long before the war broke out. It was the result of his remorseless whittling labors which the Subcommittee on Fortifications had before it when this bill was prepared. As the Secretary frankly admits, the state of the national finances and the lack of public interest in military matters at the time he blue-penciled the estimates impelled him to pare the cheese until there was not enough of it left for the mites to lodge in; all of which seems a pity, but

does not account for the fact that the Secretary did not raise the estimates when the situation changed. Just why his conclusions of June, 1914, should be binding in February, 1915, can probably be explained by the Fortifications Committee, but by nobody else.

The explanation which the Secretary gives is that he thought other things in the military line much more important. Consequently he caused bills to be introduced in the Senate calling for an increase in the field army and an increased force of officers and men for our coast defense. These bills were not appropriation bills. They appropriated no money, but they were designed to pave the way for appropriations in the future. Inasmuch as Secretary Garrison is not going to get any of those bills passed this year, it would have been just as well for him to ask for everything which he thought necessary and "damn the expense."

The fact is that this bill which we are considering marks no advance at all. It carries less than half a million dollars more money than the corresponding bill which we passed last year.

THE NATIONAL COAST DEFENSE BOARD.

Let us take stock of our goods and see what we have on hand in the fortification line. When I was a red-headed lad of 19 the Endicott Board was created, and under the plans of the Endicott Board we have been engaged in fortifying the United States ever since. To be sure the Endicott Board's plans have been modified from time to time, but the original scheme is the basis for the whole system of our coast fortifications.

I am now a white-haired man who has rounded out about one-half century of existence, and still the plans of the Endicott Board are a long, long way from completion. Secretary Garrison says that it will take $40,000,000 to complete this work in the continental United States alone. For the last 10 years we have been appropriating on an average $1,150,000 a year to carry on the good work. At that rate of progress I shall be a Rip Van Winkle of 80 by the time that the job which was begun in my boyhood has reached completion.

AMMUNITION FOR THREE-QUARTERS OF AN HOUR.

The National Coast Defense Board some nine years ago, when battleships were smaller and naval guns less formidable, decided that it would be safe to fix the amount of our seacoast ammunition at the modest measure of an hour's battle supply for each gun. The theory was that both coasts would not be attacked at the same time, and the view of the board presupposed the possibility of the shipment of all the Pacific coast ammunition to reenforce the Atlantic coast supply in case the attack came from the direction of Europe. Modest as this estimate seems to be, Congress has disregarded it in the pleasant way in which we treat all such estimates. Instead of giving our coast defenses the ammunition which the board recommended as a minimum, we have given them a little less than three-quarters of an hour's ammunition on which to depend in case of war. In other words, we have given them 73 per cent of the minimum amount decreed to be essential. If this bill becomes a law in its present shape that 73 per cent will be increased to 74½ per cent and no more.

Gen. Crozier's testimony generally shows the caution of the veteran bureau chief. Yet even Gen. Crozier testified that we imperatively need the full 100 per cent. As for Gen. Weaver, the Chief of Artillery, in his uncompromising way, he blurted out his real opinion and he let the cat out of the meal. He absolutely scouted the idea that it would be possible to defend one coast with ammunition drawn from the other coast. One of the general's sentences is worth quoting:

Gen. WEAVER. * * * Having in mind past experiences during the Civil War and the Spanish War and the excitable nature of our people who live on the coast, a couple of (hostile) cruisers on one coast would be sufficient to hold intact both the personnel and the matériel on the least-threatened coast, and the people would protest so effectively as to prevent any withdrawal of ammunition or Coast Artillery troops.

The general emphatically says that the proper allowance is two hours' ammunition for each of our coast defense guns instead of one hour's ammunition. At the present rate of appropriations it will be 18 years before we have ammunition for our coast defense guns sufficient to last one hour. Perhaps by that time we may get around to considering the declaration of the Chief of the Coast Artillery to the effct that we need twice that amount.

EXHIBIT A.

GEN. SCRIVEN TO SECRETARY OF WAR.

JANUARY 5, 1915.

From: Office Chief Signal Officer.
To: Secretary of War.
Subject: Appropriation for aviation section.

1. I have the honor to bring to your attention the item in the Army bill appropriating $600,000 for the use of the Signal Corps of the Army, of which $300,000 (items—aeroplanes, $220,000; captive balloon plant for Hawaii, $35,000; dirigible balloon, hangar, and gas plant, $450,000; maintenance, etc., $301,300. Total, $1,006,300) only is made available for the purpose of aviation. If you will recall the care taken by the Secretary of War to examine the estimate for aviation submitted in the original estimates of the Chief Signal Officer for the year 1916, and that the amount thus submitted, $1,006,300, was reduced by the Secretary of War to $400,000 by omitting estimates for balloons and otherwise in the interests of economy, it should seem that a further reduction by Congress will decrease the amount for this important service to so small a figure that little real progress can be made during the coming year, and the small amount provided will necessarily be frittered away in details, since not enough money is allowed to create a well-planned and efficient establishment. No great aviation corps is asked for, no expensive dirigible balloons desired, but it is requested that a reasonable number of aeroplanes and their accessories be provided, and the necessary funds allotted to keep them in commission during the year and in fit condition for the training of military aviators.

2. It is therefore most earnestly recommended not only that the amount authorized by the Secretary of War be restored, but that for reasons hereinafter given this amount be increased by $100,000, and that the Signal Corps be allotted for the year 1916 for its aviation service $500,000.

3. It will be recalled that the bill providing for the present organization of an aviation branch of the Signal Corps became law on the 18th of July last. An excellent training school is established at San Diego, Cal., and now the aviation section consists of 29 officers and 155 enlisted men. Since the law passed most earnest efforts have been made by those in charge to carry out the wishes of Congress regarding this now vitally important service, and these efforts have been most faithfully and manfully supported by the splendid body of men at the aviation school. Here in their constant flights (summary from Jan. 1, 1914, to Dec. 19, 1914: Flights, 2,598; time in the air, 785 hours 26 minutes; passengers carried, 1,333) many young officers and enlisted men are risking their lives to train themselves for the service so much needed by the Army, and it is submitted that no consideration of economy should hold as regards these men or their equipment.

4. The officers provided under the law are all volunteers; the enlisted men and men from civil life are also in the service on their own application, or with their consent, and many more have applied than accepted. Great interest and pride are taken in the work.

5. Such is the present status, but without money this condition can not be maintained; old worn-out and defective machines must result, endangering the men and disgusting them with the service. For the aviators and for the important work they are doing there are now on hand 10 aeroplanes, some damaged (at the time of the hearing before the Military Committee there were 11), with 8 others under orders for construction, and with a balance to the credit of this year's fund of about $30,000, when all obligations have been paid. It is submitted that this is a ridiculously small establishment for the country's military aviation service seriously undertaken, and may result in unnecessary loss of life should the school be found to use obsolete, old, or patched-up aeroplanes—comparable, some of them, to the deacon's one-horse shay. This lamentable condition should not be allowed to arise, but it is difficult to see how it can fail to do so, as matters stand, if the full measure of the law is undertaken and unless the whole plan be reduced to the vanishing point, with an appropriation of $300,000 authorized for the coming year and $30,000 on hand for the remainder of this year.

6. It is pertinent here to invite your attention to the plan of the Chief Signal Officer of the Army and of the head of the aviation section for a proper and immediate organization of an aviation service proportionate to the size and immediate needs of the Army. In doing this no consideration is given to such important matters as the establishment and equipment of training schools, buildings, and many other matters which are left for future consideration, nor is it considered necessary to emphasize the vital necessity of an aeroplane service in modern armies. In regard to this suffice it to say that the present war seems to show that to the mobile artillery the aeroplane is a vital necessity; to guns of position, a powerful auxiliary; and to the commanding general, the very apple of the eye. Therefore it is believed that for the Army of the United States there should no longer be delay in putting into commission a first line of aeroplanes adequate to the needs of defense.

7. Considering the size of the Army and our conditions for service, an adequate air force, it is believed, besides dirigibles, which for the present are dropped from consideration, to be 50 aeroplanes divided into 4 squadrons of 8 aeroplanes and 50 per cent reserve for the replacement of damaged or worn-out machines. Three of the squadrons organized will be available for service either as a whole or in groups of companies or sections for use within the United States, and one squadron, at least, will be for use in the Philippine Islands, in Hawaii, and in the Panama Zone.

8. Presumably in the island possessions and in Panama hydro-aeroplanes would be preferable to the ordinary aeroplanes. It is difficult to see how any proper defense of these outlying positions, and especially Panama, can be maintained without aviation service. Obviously, also, both the Field Artillery and the coast defenses must use and become familiar with the aviation service, to say nothing of the Cavalry and of commanding generals. It follows that a considerable number of aeroplanes should be kept in commission, and it is difficult to see how any serious aeroplane service can be organized with a less number of machines than the 32, which for convenience may be considered as making up 4 squadrons of 8 machines as a first line of air craft. But experience proves that the loss by breakage, wear, and accident quickly reduces the number of machines in use, and a substitution of spare parts and engines must be kept always on hand to replace those destroyed. A moderate estimate places this replacement at 50 per cent of the first line, making 48 aeroplanes in all. To this may be added 2 training machines, giving a total of 50 aeroplanes which should be on hand ready for service at all times with the Army and maintained at a reasonable degree of activity in flying. The replacement of 50 per cent should be composed of engines and other parts unassembled, but capable of being asembled into complete machines, and stored where they may be needed. Besides the aeroplanes there should be provided for each squadron, when complete and ready for service, 18 automobiles and tractors for the transportation of spare parts, fuel, and men, and for other obvious purposes. In addition, there should, of course, be provided stores of oil, gasoline, tools, and material for repairs, and many other necessities of service.

9. A complete and theoretically perfect personnel requires for 1 squadron 8 pilots, 8 observers, and 4 administrative officers, and an enlisted strength of 90 men. The organization of 4 squadrons complete will therefore require 80 officers and 300 men, and the cost is estimated at $250,000 per squadron, roughly speaking. Part of this

establishment is on hand. The foregoing is an outline of a measurably satisfactory peace organization for the aviation service proportioned to our present needs, but it must be noted that:

10. Under the law of July, 1914, but 60 officers and 260 men are provided. Should four squadrons be organized, therefore, it follows either that the full number of 20 officers per squadron must be diminished by cutting off two or three of the four administrative officers, and, in addition, a number of the officer observers, or that only a part of the machines be put in commission at one time—a faulty organization. It is evident, therefore, that the number of machines to be placed in commission under the law this year must be reduced, say, to 25.

11. At present, therefore, the provision of 25 machines as a first aviation line appears to be the logical complement under the existing law and economical limitations. This much can be organized under the law and with the means now developing, provided the money necessary for the purpose is given. I have, therefore, to ask as urgently as I may that provision be made in the appropriation bill for the purchase and maintenance of 24 aeroplanes as a first line, with a 50 per cent replacement, a total of 36 aeroplanes and their necessary accessories reduced to the lowest useful limit. The cost of this provision for the year, subtracting the number of machines on hand, will be approximately:

Aeroplanes: Eighteen to be purchased (plus 18 on hand July 1, a liberal estimate). Total aeroplanes, estimating the cost of each at $10,000 (a liberal price and covering the cost of armor and accessories, barographs, etc.).

Total cost of aeroplanes	$180,000
Automobiles and tractors, 30 at, say, $4,000 each.	
Total land transportation	120,000
Maintenance, oil, fuel, and running expenses for year	100,000
Tools	50,000
Salaries and contingencies	50,000
Total	500,000

12. The conclusion, therefore, is obvious. If 24 aeroplanes are provided for a first line, with a replacement of 50 per cent, there will be created the very modest provision of 36 aeroplanes for the United States Army; no dirigibles nor other lighter-than-air machines; and this when the countries of Europe are counting their aeroplanes by the hundreds and losing them by the score. Our own Navy is recommending 200 dirigibles for the sea service. Some two millions is suggested for the sea service, whereas to carry out the recommendations here made the amount of money asked for is $500,000. In other words, it is most urgently requested that the amount of money for aviation purposes given in the estimates of the Military Committee of the House be increased by $200,000, and a total sum of $500,000 be granted for this purpose.

13. In brief, the whole matter comes down to a request for the means to provide 18 additional aeroplanes, the necessary transportation, and to supply the necessary fuel and accessories. The establishment suggested, viz, 24 aeroplanes and 12 replacements, and their transportation, will carry out to a reasonable extent the provisions of the existing law and will create an aviation corps reasonable in size and organization, and one that will not be merely contemptible in the way of material and dangerously inadequate to those who are sacrificing themselves to the aviation service of the country. Without the money asked for it is feared that the aviation service of the Army will become a mere reproach to the country and a danger to its own people.

GEORGE P. SCRIVEN,
Brigadier General, Chief Signal Officer.

EXHIBIT B.

GENERAL ORDERS, No. 10.
WAR DEPARTMENT, *Washington, February 23, 1915.*

Officers of the Army will refrain, until further orders, from giving out for publication any interview, statement, discussion, or article on the military situation in the United States or abroad, as any expression of their views on this subject at present is prejudicial to the best interests of the service.

[2260070, A. G. O.]

By order of the Secretary of War:

H. L. SCOTT,
Brigadier General, Chief of Staff.

Official:
H. P. MCCAIN,
The Adjutant General.

EXHIBIT C.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS PROPOUNDED IN HOUSE RESOLUTION NO. 698.

Letter from the Secretary of War, submitting answers to questions propounded in House resolution No. 698, adopted by the House of Representatives on January 14, 1915.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, January 15, 1915.

SIR: I beg leave to hand you herewith my report upon resolution 698, passed by the House of Representatives on January 14, 1915.

The questions in the resolution are herewith repeated and answered:

First:

QUESTION. Is there any gun mounted in the fortifications of the United States proper larger than 12 inches in diameter? If so, where?

ANSWER. No.

Second:

QUESTION. Is the range of those 12-inch guns, as at present mounted, more than 13,000 yards?

ANSWER. (a) For 12-inch guns mounted on disappearing carriages, the standard carriage for the coast defenses, no. (b) For barbette carriages, yes. There are 29 of these guns mounted in the United States, and their range is approximately 18,000 yards.

Third:

QUESTION. Are the British dreadnaughts of the *Queen Elizabeth* type being equipped with 15-inch 45-caliber guns?

ANSWER. Yes.

Fourth:

QUESTION (question is divided so as to permit of more explicit answer). Is the range of those 15-inch guns 21,000 yards?

ANSWER. Approximately, yes.

(Continuation of question.) And is it not true that that range exceeds by over 4 miles the range of the best guns mounted in the defense of the United States proper, either on the Atlantic or Pacific coast, not including the Panama Canal?

ANSWER. It is true that the range of the guns just mentioned exceeds by over 4 miles the range of the guns as mounted in the defense of the United States proper, either on the Atlantic or Pacific coast; but it is not true that the range of those guns need remain thus restricted, since by a slight change in the mounting their range will be practically equal to that of the 15-inch 45-caliber guns above referred to.

Very respectfully,

LINDLEY M. GARRISON,
Secretary of War.

The SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The Attack on Dr. Frederick A. Cook.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS H. CARAWAY,

OF ARKANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. CARAWAY. Mr. Speaker, I desire to say I wish to have inserted in the RECORD the hearings before the Committee on Education, of which the gentleman from Georgia, Hon. DUDLEY M. HUGHES, is chairman. These hearings were held on the 26th day of January, this year, and contained statements, if true, that disclose a most heinous attack upon the reputation of a gentleman who I have been convinced has been much maligned, Dr. Frederick A. Cook.

It further discloses, if true, a bit of inside magazine making the public should know. In view of statements made in behalf of each claimant to the honor of having discovered the North Pole and the lack of opportunity to present his proof upon the part of Dr. Frederick A. Cook, and a total lack of evidence offered in behalf of Admiral Peary, and in the interest of history this question should be reopened and thoroughly investigated, and with that desire I place in the RECORD the hearings before the above committee.

The matter referred to is as follows:

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Thursday, January 28, 1915.

The committee met at 8 o'clock p. m., Hon. DUDLEY M. HUGHES (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. It appears as though it will be impossible for us to get a quorum of the committee present. I wish to say that on Tuesday last, at the request of Mr. SMITH, the introducer of this resolution, this hearing was granted him for this evening. We have a good deal of business before this committee, and this request was granted Mr. SMITH because of the fact, as I understand it, that two or three of the gentlemen who are to appear before the committee this evening are in this country only for a short while, and while they were here they were very anxious to present their views. I suppose we ought to have a little agreement as to how much time each one of these gentlemen will occupy.

STATEMENT OF HON. CHARLES B. SMITH, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I judge that when the matter is opened it will be largely discretionary with the committee as to how long they will want to hear any particular witness. It is a kind of case where one witness might require an hour to give his testimony, while another might want to take several hours, and you might not care to have more than 10 minutes of his testimony. So it is rather difficult for that reason to make any definite statement as to how long the hearings will take. My suggestion is that the committee hear a certain number of witnesses and then come to its own conclusion as to how it wishes to proceed. Personally, I am not an expert on this polar question, and some one else would have a much better knowledge of the trend the investigation should take than I would. I believe that the committee could better decide that for itself after the hearing was begun. We have here to-night three or four witnesses, any one of whom can be called. It was my intention to ask Mr. Balch, of Philadelphia, to appear first. There is another witness now in Washington who is going to Bermuda, and that testimony ought to be taken soon if the hearings can continue. Those who are here have come from out of Washington, and therefore it is important, if they can be heard, that they be given an opportunity now. As I have said, the committee can judge as to whether the testimony is interesting or should be continued.

The CHAIRMAN. We can do that when a majority of the committee is present.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Mr. Smith, is it your desire to have this hearing continue after to-night?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir; it was my intention.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Do you have any hope that we might finish these hearings in time to report any bill at this session?

Mr. SMITH. That would depend on how frequently the hearings were held and how long they were held. The one chief purpose for bringing the matter to an issue now is the fact that there are two men in this country who can give important testimony, and who will go away soon. One of these is Capt. Holm, of Denmark, and I am anxious to get that testimony into the record.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Why would it not be a good idea to hear those men first?

The CHAIRMAN. This was the idea, and that is the reason this meeting was called for this evening. I wish to say this: This committee has quite a lot of business before it. We have had hearings on various matters, and we are very anxious to take action on them. I do not know when it will be possible to extend any further hearings because we have before the committee all that we can possibly do from now to the end of the session, and the hearing was extended this evening so as to give an opportunity to the gentlemen who are here in this country only for a short time to be heard. I suggest, therefore, if it meets the approval of the committee, that we will hear from those two gentlemen who are only temporarily here.

Mr. SMITH. Capt. Holm, of Denmark, was to be here to-night, but, apparently, he has not yet come to the committee room. My understanding was that it would not take very long to hear the testimony of those two men, and it was my purpose to have Mr. Balch, of Philadelphia, go on first and outline a general view of this case, which would, I believe, open the way for the committee to decide what it desires to do further.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Balch, are you ready to proceed?

STATEMENT OF MR. EDWIN SWIFT BALCH, OF PHILADELPHIA, PA.

The CHAIRMAN. You can state your occupation to the stenographer, Mr. Balch.

Mr. BALCH. I am a lawyer and a member of the bar of Philadelphia.

The CHAIRMAN. You can proceed with your statement.

Mr. BALCH. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I can only speak of this matter of the North Pole, and I suppose also, as it seems to be connected with it, Mount McKinley, from a geographical standpoint. I suppose I might be called a geographer, and I have devoted a good deal of time and hard study to Arctic subjects and mountain subjects. Now, in regard to the question of the discovery of the North Pole by Dr. Cook and Admiral Peary, to my mind it seems to raise but one point, and that is the question of priority.

The CHAIRMAN. Pardon my interruption, Mr. Balch, but would it not be better to read this resolution into the record?

Mr. SMITH. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it would be well to read it into the record, and if you will excuse me, Mr. Balch, I will do so.

The resolution is as follows.

House joint resolution 408.

[Sixty-third Congress, third session.]

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

January 21, 1915.

Mr. SMITH of New York introduced the following joint resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Education and ordered to be printed:

"House joint resolution (H. J. Res. 408) to establish the priority of discovery of the North Pole and the regions contiguous thereto.

"Whereas the discovery of the North Pole and the region contiguous thereto involves questions of historic, scientific, geographic, economic, educational, and commercial importance: Therefore be it

"*Resolved, etc.*, That the priority of discovery of the North Pole and the region contiguous thereto be established and declared by Congress, in order that lands discovered by American explorers in the far North may be described and designated as territory of the United States and so set forth in the maps prepared and distributed by the United States Government."

Mr. BALCH. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I have not made the slightest preparation for this occasion and I am speaking entirely impromptu, so I hope you will excuse me if my statement is not altogether connected. As I said, the whole point of this matter as to who discovered the North Pole is simply a question of priority. Dr. Cook went there in 1908. He came back in the fall of 1909, and he sent a cablegram to the New York Herald, which was published on the 2d of September. In that cablegram he gave an outline of his story. That statement occupied about half a page of the New York Herald, and it gave an outline of the story that he told afterwards more at length in the New York Herald in the same month, and which he afterwards told in whole in his book. You will find the gist of it there in the paper. Admiral Peary came back a week later, and when he told his story it was practically the same story that Dr. Cook had told. That Dr. Cook's story has priority is evident from the fact that it was given quite independently of any information that he could have gotten through Peary or anyone else. That is true, because his story was cabled from the Shetland Islands, and, as we all know, the Shetland Islands are North of England. He came from there in a little steamer from Denmark that goes up to Greenland every summer for the service of the missionaries and some Danish settlements. It is perfectly evident therefore that he left Greenland sometime near the middle of August. Peary says that he left north Greenland on the 26th of August, and therefore it is evident that Dr. Cook could not have gotten any information from Peary. Cook's story, whatever it is, stands on its own merits, and whether you accept it or not, he got it from nobody else. His story begins when he gets into the unknown, and there is no use talking about anything until you get into the unknown, because, after a man has once been to a place, he can make up another tale or a description of something like it. Cook's story is of what he saw and of what he knows. He discovered Bradley Land. He discovered some kind of land ice, and we do not know yet just what it is. He thought that possibly it was a submerged island, but it was land ice, far away from any known land. Then, when he got to the North Pole, he found a field of ice that was perfectly smooth, where the general color effect was purple. When Admiral Peary was in the same latitude as Bradley Land, and a little farther to the east, he struck soundings of about three hundred and some odd fathoms. That was in the same latitude with Bradley Land, which makes it appear that Bradley Land, that Dr. Cook discovered, might well be a shelf of land extending not far from the edge of the continent. At the place where Cook says he found land ice, Peary found a broken pack. The fact that he found a broken pack, which he did not find anywhere else, must be accounted for by the presence of an obstruction or something. That broken pack is right next to this land ice that Dr. Cook speaks of, and there must be some connection between the two discoveries. Dr. Cook tells the same story as Admiral Peary about the ice at the pole. In other words, they came up that way [indicating] very close together, and their stories concerning the pole are almost identical. Dr. Cook is a very good observer, and I think his story gives every evidence of that. Now, Admiral Peary thought he saw land off Grant Land in 1906, and he called it Crocker Land, but the information comes now that Crocker Land does not exist. MacMillan went to about the reported position of Crocker Land.

Dr. Cook went within 25 miles of the supposed position of Crocker Land, and he did not see it and did not report it. That indicates that in certain ways you might say that Dr. Cook is perhaps more accurate than Peary. I have seen certain statements about Admiral Peary recently to the effect that he fabricated this thing. But that is a great mistake, because Admiral Peary undoubtedly thought he saw Crocker Land. There have been all sorts of mistakes made in the Arctic regions. He says on two occasions he saw the snow-clad peaks of Crocker Land. I have noticed several articles in the papers running down and criticizing Admiral Peary for saying that this thing was there when it was not there. You must explain his statement, because there is not a particle of doubt in my own mind that what Peary tells is true, and that he tells it just as accurately as he possibly can. Now, the explanation probably is that when he spied the tops of those peaks he really saw icebergs some 60 miles off. It was the tops of icebergs that he possibly mistook for peaks, and it is easily possible to do that. If so, it is a very interesting matter from the geographer's point of view, because it would show that there is land in that section of the unknown Arctic which Dr. R. A. Harris, of Washington, thinks has land in it, because these icebergs would indicate it. Now, another point: You might say that questions relating to the ascent of Mount McKinley have nothing to do with questions relating to the attainment of the North Pole. It has nothing to do with it. This mountain in Alaska, or its ascent, has nothing to do with the question of reaching the North Pole, and you have got to use entirely different facts and different witnesses when you come to inquire into it. Everything connected with the two propositions is different, but at the same time the method of solving the problem of whether McKinley was ascended or not, just the same as the method of solving the question of whether the North Pole was reached or not, will be by comparing the stories of men who say that they have been up the peak. Now, if their subsequent stories corroborate the man who told the story first, we have every reason to believe that the man who told the story first got there. You can not manufacture your facts about a great mountain peak, especially one in the wilderness. You have got to go on the mountain to find out what is there and where it is. The story that Dr. Cook tells us about Mount McKinley is practically corroborated by the other three men who followed him, namely, Mr. Lloyd, Mr. Browne, and Archdeacon Stuck. They say they went up the northeast ridge, and Dr. Cook climbed the northeast ridge. They found that the northeast ridge, as Cook had said, was very narrow, with slopes of 60 degrees. Now, nothing whatever was known about the northeast ridge before Cook's ascent, for no one had been within many miles of it. You could not fake that fact, because it would be impossible. Cook could not have ascertained that from a distance. There is an illustration of this in the story of the Aiguille d'Argentiere, in Switzerland. In that case two peaks were surveyed by the Sardinian Government about 50 years ago, The Sardinian ordnance survey prepared a map of the Mont Blanc Range, and marked on it two peaks, the Aiguille d'Argentiere and the Pointe des Plines, with a difference of 672 feet in altitude, at a distance of 1⅛ miles from each other. And it was not until many years later that it was discovered that these two supposed peaks were one and the same peak, missurveyed from different sides. Therefore it is perfectly impossible that anybody could tell anything about a great peak like Mount McKinley off in the wilderness, miles away.

Now, everything Cook says in regard to the northeast ridge, with its slopes of 60 degrees, is backed up by Mr. Browne, and it is also backed up by the statements of Archdeacon Stuck. Then, it appears that they all spoke of the same great rocks, and the last two parties say there was a natural camping place, just as it was described by Dr. Cook, at an altitude of 18,000 feet. Dr. Cook, who had been in the Arctic and in the Antarctic, also noticed the ice blink 200 miles away. Being an experienced Arctic explorer it is the most natural thing in the world that he would look for that. People who have not been in the Arctic regions do not look for it. When he got to the top, he speaks of the dark sky that you will find in the photograph. That dark sky at an altitude of 20,000 feet is a thing noticed very seldom, and it has been spoken of very seldom; indeed, it is hardly ever known to be found. Dr. Cook speaks of it as a dark sky, or blue-black sky; and Archdeacon Stuck speaks of it as a dark blue sky. In other words, the best proof that Archdeacon Struck could offer of his own ascent is really to be found in Dr. Cook's book.

Now, I think that I have covered the main points that I wished to cover, but if there are any questions that I can answer for you I shall be glad to do so. To speak offhand on a subject like this is very difficult.

The CHAIRMAN. Do any gentlemen of the committee wish to propound any questions?

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. I would like to ask you, Mr. Balch, why, in your opinion, the Congress ought to take up this question? Is it not a question for scientists rather than for lawmakers?

Mr. BALCH. I am afraid I am not informed as to that. That is not a geographical question. Of course, I think that scientists ought to take it up, but I think they are very much afraid of it.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Have not scientists, in fact, taken it up, and reached a decision on it?

Mr. BALCH. No, sir; they will not thrash it out.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Have not the geographical societies of the world passed upon it?

Mr. BALCH. I do not think so. One or two of them have in a sort of way. I think one in Scotland thinks that it has, but they have never examined the evidence. Certainly, none of the societies here have done so. I am on the board of the American Geographical Society of New York, but I can not get the American Geographical Society to take it up.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Has the American Geographical Society expressed any opinion upon it?

Mr. BALCH. No, sir. I think the National Geographic Society here gave an opinion on it, but I do not know, really——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Have they given any reason why they hesitate to take up the question?

Mr. BALCH. I am afraid they have not studied it, and that they will not take the facts on it.

The CHAIRMAN. It would take Congress quite a while to decide such a question.

Mr. RUPLEY. Was Dr. Cook's case submitted to the Geographic Society of Sweden?

Mr. BALCH. Of Denmark?

Mr. RUPLEY. Yes, sir; of Denmark.

Mr. BALCH. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUPLEY. They decided against him and rejected his reckonings?

Mr. BALCH. No, sir; their verdict was something like this, that there was nothing to prove that he got there, and nothing to prove that he did not get there.

Mr. RUPLEY. That he had no proof that he reached the North Pole?

Mr. BALCH. That it was not proven; but they did not throw it out.

Mr. RUPLEY. He submitted his case to this geographical society in Denmark?

Mr. BALCH. Yes, sir; I think he did.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. His first report was made to that society, was it not?

Mr. BALCH. I am not sure about that.

Mr. RUPLEY. Was he under their auspices on this trip?

Mr. BALCH. No, sir; he came back on a Danish boat. He came back on a little Danish steamer going to Denmark from Greenland.

Mr. RUPLEY. He was under some obligations, as I gathered, to Denmark.

Mr. BALCH. There I think you are wrong. It was simply accidental that he went there. He was in Greenland, which was a Danish possession.

Mr. RUPLEY. His brief was submitted after he went to Denmark?

Mr. BALCH. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUPLEY. Then they questioned his brief, and some evidence was introduced afterwards that he employed some men familiar with those northern regions to prepare the brief he submitted to the Geographical Society of Denmark? I am simply searching my recollection of it, that is all. Then, as I recall, some question was raised relative to the brief that Dr. Cook submitted to the Geographical Society of Denmark; that is, that some old sailors familiar with the Arctic regions because of their whaling trips and other trips, and who had spent many years in the Arctic regions, were employed by Dr. Cook to prepare the brief submitted to the Geographical Society of Denmark?

Mr. BALCH. Not that I know of.

Mr. RUPLEY. I am simply searching my recollection. That is my recollection, simply from reading magazine articles and other literature——

Mr. BALCH (interposing). Not that I know of——

Mr. RUPLEY (interposing). Will some one help me out with his recollection of it?

Mr. SMITH. I think Mr. Clark Brown can explain that feature of it.

STATEMENT OF MR. CLARK BROWN, OF ALBANY, N. Y.

Mr. BROWN. Dr. Cook felt obligated from the fact that he was dined by the King and spent an afternoon with the family of the King, and was treated very nicely, and when he was invited by the head of the University of Copenhagen to submit his first notes to that institution he made the promise that he would. Then he was invited by the chairman of the committee on research of the National Georgaphic Society of Washington, in this way—I saved the clipping of that:

"We have invited Dr. Cook to send us his data, but we do not expect anything from him."

I think it was a single sentence—

"We have invited Dr. Cook to send us his data, but we do not expect anything from him."

It was a single sentence; and I might say that we could hardly speak of that as an invitation. It was rather an uninviting suggestion—

"We do not expect anything from him."

Then Dr. Cook did send to Copenhagen certain matter which had already been printed. He wrote to his secretary and asked him to request of the committee of the University of Copenhagen that they come to no decision and to make no report until he was able to get his data which he had left in Greenland with Whitney, but which, as the world has learned, Admiral Peary caused Whitney to leave at Etah, in Greenland. Now, as to the sailors: Two men that Dr. Cook employed to work over certain calculations. They were not men, as you suppose, of great Arctic experience. One of them was not a sailor at all, or I think one of them was not a sailor. I think one was an insurance agent in New York and the other one was a sailor. He prepared certain calculations, according to the report which was published in the New York Times. Dr. James H. Gore, of Washington, went to New York and examined that material. I saved the clippings on that. He was impressed with the idea that Dr. Cook had employed this Capt. A. W. Loose to fabricate the computations, but in the calculations published in the New York Times there are several things which convince me that that calculation was not made to aid Dr. Cook in deceiving the committee in Denmark, but was made as a trap for Dr. Cook. I think I can remember those things. He placed in there two words which I believe to be Danish words: "opp.," abbreviation for the English "apparent"; and "prix.," the abbreviation for the English "parallax"; but Dr. Cook speaks no Danish, and if Dr. Cook should present calculations in Denmark as his work which contained some words in a language he couldn't speak, it would be an immediate giveaway. There are two Danish words in that calculation. Then, again, he makes the calculation upon the basis that Dr. Cook was approaching the North Pole along the meridian of Greenwich, whereas his narrative throughout claims that he was approaching the pole from along the meridian of 97° west of Greenwich. There is another giveaway; another bait for the trap. The fourth point is that Capt. A. W. Loose has a note in connection with that observation of temperature 38° Fahrenheit, which would be 6° above freezing, whereas Cook had complained of the great cold. There are four points that would have exposed any man presenting that as a bona fide calculation to ridicule; he would have been exposed instantly. I claim, it is perfectly clear to my mind, that that was prepared as a trap for Dr. Cook and not as an aid for Dr. Cook to use in deceiving the Copenhagen committee.

Mr. RUPLEY. These calculations were used?

Mr. BROWN. Oh, yes; in the New York Times; in the paper from which Admiral Peary had borrowed $4,000.

Mr. RUPLEY. Used by Dr. Cook?

Mr. BROWN. No, sir; they were not.

Mr. SMITH. With the permission of the committee I should like to have Mr. Brown answer the question as to why the investigation should be conducted by Congress instead of by scientists. I have here two Navy maps which show the Arctic regions. Both maps show Crocker Land. The recent explorers in the north say there is no such land, and yet these official maps of the Navy show Crocker Land is a part of the section of the Arctic Circle. I understand that the Navy Department already is preparing to obliterate that land from official maps. The Federal Government, therefore, has a direct and vital interest in that subject; but there is further interest from an educational, geographical, and scientific standpoint for this investigation. With your permission I should like to have Mr. Brown go into that phase of it for the purpose of showing the committee that this is not merely an academic investigation, but that there is a purpose in it for the good of the country, and that there is no tribunal other than Congress to make the inquiry, and that this is the only place we can come to settle it. Admiral Peary was given a vote of thanks by Congress for reaching the North Pole, but the Congress carefully avoided saying that he was the discoverer of the North Pole, and thus we are in the position of having two men claiming to have discovered the North Pole, whereas our Government has not officially recognized either of them for the discovery. I want to get it into the minds of the committee that this is more than a theoretical matter and more than a mere matter of satisfying any one's curiosity.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed, Mr. Brown.

Mr. TOWNER. Please tell us who you are.

Mr. BROWN. My name is Clark Brown. I reside in Albany, N. Y., and I am employed in the department of the State engineer and surveyor.

Mr. TOWNER. Have you had any special interest in Arctic exploration?

Mr. BROWN. I have had a very great interest in this case.

Mr. TOWNER. In this case?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir; as a student and as a man whose bent of mind prompts him to exercise great care to avoid error, especially where the reputations and characters of eminent men are concerned.

Mr. TOWNER. Aside from this case, have you made any independent study or special investigation of Arctic subjects?

Mr. BROWN. I have read a very great number of Arctic books and acquainted myself with the experiences and trials of a very great number of travelers in the Arctic regions. I have never been north of Plattsburgh, N. Y.

Mr. TOWNER. Did you make any independent investigation, or commence any special study of the subject prior to the Cook case coming up?

Mr. BROWN. Only a little, 30 or 40 years ago, in Gen. Greely's time.

Mr. TOWNER. Just as any one else would; you made no special study?

Mr. BROWN. No, sir.

Mr. TOWNER. Your interest in Arctic exploration has been largely developed because of Dr. Cook's controversy?

Mr. BROWN. Well, almost everybody developed a great interest about that time.

Mr. TOWNER. I have no intention to criticise. I simply want to get at the situation.

Mr. BROWN. That was a subject for a long time that most everybody was reading and talking about, and I soon reached the opinion that the matter was not receiving that careful and thoughtful consideration that it deserved, and I saw that eminent men were making reckless statements that were not thoughtful, and I thought that there was a chance for a little amateur work, I should not like to say detective work, that would be worth while in order to clear up a subject of very great popular and historic interest. There are few of us, who, as we go through life, can see an opportunity to do something really worth while, and I thought that there was an opportunity, perhaps, for me to develop something which would be worth while, and perhaps cause my name to be remembered after my death. I considered it a laudable ambition, and I devoted considerable time to it. I believe that it is well nigh impossible for a man, a scientist, to work out this matter, and to bring it to the attention of the world unless he is willing to put quite a lot of money in it. There are some people who have worked for years at their own expense. A few have published books and pamphlets which they have given away, and have paid their own postage on their own publications. When Admiral Peary returned from his trip to the west of Grant Land, up there [indicating on map] it was of such interest that the Government got out this beautiful map at once. His addition to our knowledge of the Arctic regions by that particular trip was not very great, but this beautiful map was gotten up, from which I read:

"North American polar regions, Baffin Bay to Lincoln Sea, showing the recent discoveries of Civil Engineer R. E. Peary, United States Navy, incorporated with the earlier surveys and examinations made by the U. S. S. *Polaris* Expedition in 1871–72 under Capt. C. F. Hall; British Arctic Expedition in 1875–76 under Capt. G. S. Nares, Royal Navy; Lady Franklin Bay Expedition in 1881–1884 under Lieut. A. W. Greely, United States Army."

This beautiful map was gotten up to perpetuate and bring out his contribution to our knowledge at that time. Admiral Peary got a hearing before Congress in 1911 and received a very good acknowledgment of his work. Now, since this map has been published, within the last year or two, facts have shown the nonexistence of Peary Channel. It appears upon this map, which was evidently published in 1903.

The CHAIRMAN. By what authority was that map printed?

Mr. BROWN. It was published—I read from the map:

"By the United States Department of the Navy, Bureau of Navigation, published at Washington, D. C., October, 1903, at the Hydrographic Office. W. H. H. Southerland, commander United States Navy, Hydrographer."

Mr. TOWNER. Upon what data was that made?

Mr. BROWN. It says:

"Showing the recent discoveries by Civil Engineer R. E. Peary, United States Navy, incorporated with the earlier surveys and examinations made by the U. S. S. *Polaris* Expedition in 1891–92 under Capt. C. F. Hall; British Arctic Expedition in 1875–76 under Capt. G. S. Nares, Royal Navy; Lady Franklin Bay Expedition in 1881–1884 under Lieut. A. W. Greely, United States Army."

The Greely Expedition was a United States enterprise and the expenses were paid by the United States Government. The expenses of the British Arctic Expedition were paid by the Government of Great Britain. The expenses of the Hall Expedition I am not sure about. I do not know whether the expenses were paid by the Government or by some private collections. I do not like to say. I can not tell. I do not know.

Mr. TOWNER. Upon what data was that map drawn? Who gave the facts to the department upon which the map was based?

Mr. BROWN. The data is recited in this statement, and I suppose they got it there. It says:

"Showing the recent discoveries by Civil Engineer R. E. Peary, United States Navy, incorporated with the earlier surveys and examinations made by the U. S. S. *Polaris* Expedition in 1891–92 under Capt. C. F. Hall; British Arctic Expedition in 1875–76 under Capt. G. S. Nares, Royal Navy; Lady Franklin Bay Expedition in 1881–1884 under Lieut. A. W. Greely, United States Army."

The reports of those four expeditions. Now, this feature here that has recently been completed—

Mr. TOWNER (interposing). I do not quite understand what you mean when you say upon the report of those four expeditions. Was there an official report made to the Government upon which this map was drawn, by Capt. Peary?

Mr. BROWN. His addition was geographical only. His expedition was a private enterprise.

Mr. TOWNER. Did he make any official report to the Government?

Mr. BROWN. His expedition was a private enterprise. The United States Navy published this map and they used his material.

Mr. TOWNER. Do you mean to say that Capt. Peary made no official report to the Government?

Mr. BROWN. At this time, 1903, his expedition was a private enterprise.

Mr. TOWNER. Do you know whether or not he made any report to the Government on which that map was based?

Mr. BROWN. He made a report to the world at large.

Mr. TOWNER. Everybody knows that.

Mr. RUPLEY. You will find in the report of the committee on the confirmation of Capt. Peary that they required him, by holding up his confirmation for some considerable time, to make a full report of his expedition.

Mr. BROWN. In what year?

Mr. RUPLEY. I do not know.

Senator POINDEXTER. In 1910.

Mr. TOWNER. He did make an official report to the Government?

Mr. BROWN. This map was printed in 1903.

Mr. RUPLEY. The committee on confirmation required him to make a report before confirmation.

Mr. BROWN. My belief is that they never asked him for an official report, but I would not like to say about that.

Mr. RUPLEY. But upon what data or facts was this map made?

Mr. BROWN. His additions to it were copied from something he had published previously, as a private speculation. It is my belief that the Government never did ask for an official report, until this last expedition. That is my belief.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything further which you desire to say?

Mr. BROWN. I think I have covered the question which Mr. Smith asked me to answer.

Mr. RUPLEY. You were speaking of some land?

Mr. BROWN. I was speaking of Peary Channel up here [indicating].

Mr. TOWNER. You said there were two explorers who doubted the existence of the channel?

Mr. BROWN. The Dane, Rasmussen; and Mikkelsen, I think a Swede or a Norwegian.

(Some newspaper clippings are inserted here, as follows):

[Special to the New York Times.]

BRASHEAR DESERTS COOK—INTRODUCED HIM ONCE AT PITTSBURGH—HAS LOST ALL FAITH.

PITTSBURGH, *Dec. 10.*

"I have lost all faith in Dr. Cook." This statement was made to-day by Dr. John A. Brashear, the Pittsburgh astronomer and scientist, who is a member of the National Geographic Society; when Dr. Cook was in Pittsburgh and lectured, Dr. Brashear introduced him to the audience in Duquesne Garden, and indorsed his claims.

"In the statements made by Capt. Loose and George Dunkle, those two men not only make themselves out falsifiers, but cast doubts on Dr. Cook's veracity. If the midnight-sun observations made by Dr. Cook were made at all, they were made at 81 degrees and some minutes of latitude and not at the place he said they were made."

[From the New York Press, May 7, 1913.]

RASMUSSEN SUCCEEDS—EXPLORER AFTER THREE YEARS RETURNS FROM GREENLAND—FOUND LAND FREE FROM ICE.

COPENHAGEN, *May 6.*

A message from Thorshavn, Faroe Islands, announces the success of Knud Rasmussen's Greenland expedition, which returned there yesterday after a three years' absence. In Peary Land the Danish explorer found large numbers of seal and musk oxen, which provided ample supplies; where the Peary Channel was supposed to be he found a large tract of land free from ice. Game was abundant and the party halted for a month before starting on the return journey, over 600 miles covered at an average rate of 31 miles a day. Rasmussen depended entirely on his Eskimo outfit, and took with him no tinned provisions.

[From the Knickerbocker Press, May 7, 1913.]

PEARY "CHANNEL" DRY LAND, RASMUSSEN SAYS—DANISH EXPLORER CAMPS FOR A MONTH WHERE MAPS SHOW ARM OF ARCTIC SEA.

(By special cable.)

COPENHAGEN, *May 6.*

Capt. Rasmussen, a Danish explorer, who has just reached the Faroe Islands, after a trip through Greenland, reports that he has discovered that the supposed Peary Channel is actually land. He followed the coast line to Independence Bay, which narrows to the form of the so-called Peary Channel, but on arriving at the latter point he found a large ice-free tract of land with plenty of game. The party halted there for a month. They experienced continuous storms, but the excellent hunting compensated for this discomfort. Afterwards they continued their journey westward at the rate of 31 miles a day until they reached the destination of the expedition. They did not carry any provisions but depended entirely on the outfit of the Eskimos.

Mr. TOWNER. They are Arctic explorers?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir; the MacMillan expedition is up in the Arctic now, and a report has come back from his expedition that Crocker Land does not exist.

Mr. TOWNER. That is a contradiction of Admiral Peary's statement regarding it?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir; it is a contradiction.

Mr. SMITH. As to the existence of Peary's Channel, and also the existence of Crocker Land?

Mr. BROWN. The nonexistence of Peary's Channel has been determined by the Swede, Mikkelsen, and the Dane, Rasmussen; and the nonexistence of Crocker Land has been reported—of course, the men are not yet back—reported through a member of the MacMillan expedition, sent out by the McGill University of Canada, I think it is, and the American Museum of Natural History in New York City.

Mr. TOWNER. Are there any Arctic explorers interested in the establishment of Dr. Cook's case?

Mr. BROWN. They are interested as students and as scientists.

Mr. TOWNER. No; I mean interested in proving the truth of his claim?

Mr. BROWN. My acquaintance with explorers is only in the matter of reading. My information and belief is that practically all of the explorers have at one time or another been warm in their support and praise of Dr. Cook. A few of them, notably Mr. Baldwin, of New York City, changed their opinion. My information and belief is that Baldwin's change of mind was based upon pictures of Mt. McKinley, published by Prof. Parker and Belmore Browne. The principal picture of Mount McKinley is a picture of a rock of the general formation found in Dr. Cook's book about the ascent of Mount McKinley, but, sad to relate, in the foreground there is a field of snow in which there are no footprints, and there is an abundance of evidence scattered through Browne's book and Browne's magazine articles that they encountered no hard snow in the Mount McKinley region. The pictures showed that the sun was shining, so that the footprints would really be the most conspicuous thing, because they would be right where the men were. One of the pictures shows a man standing in soft snow up to about this depth [indicating], but another picture, which is reputed to be a simultaneous picture, shows no footprints. For instance, the man standing in the snow is in this position [indicating], evidently snapping a camera; and the story is that when this gentleman was snapping this camera and secured the picture upon which they convicted Dr. Cook of fraud about the McKinley matter the other gentleman stood a little further back of him in the snow. Another one of the pictures shows no footprints, although the sun was shining. There are men, who are competent to speak of these things, who say that independently of the absence of footprints in the pictures they are able to say that the picture is a laboratory production and not a photograph of the landscape. Some of the explorers who once believed in Dr. Cook, but who changed their minds afterwards, were convinced by these pictures. Some who at one time believed in Dr. Cook and were warm in his praise changed their minds and were deceived by Capt. A. W. Loose's computations, which I am convinced were made as a trap for Dr. Cook, rather than as an aid to help him in deceiving the people at Copenhagen. As one of the conspicuous instances, showing where men of reputation made reckless statements, the first opportunity that Admiral Melville got he said that Dr. Cook was a faker, and that he could not have traveled so fast. I think that within 48 hours after that statement was published in the New York Times he is reported to have telegraphed Mr. Peary, congratulating him upon his success, and saying that he had confidence in his report. In a few weeks we knew that Mr. Peary claimed to have made speed much greater than Dr. Cook claimed to have made. That shows that Admiral Melville's statement was not a thoughtful one. Those statements encouraged me to continue and to follow the thing up thoughtfully. Then Mr. Stockton, I think that name is correct, made a statement that was published also in the New York Times, that he arrived at the conclusion that Dr. Cook had turned back, I think, 481 miles from the Pole. He figured it out that Cook's diary footed up a journey of 900 miles, and he calculated the position of Cook's winter camp upon the basis that it was at 76.30, which would be here [indicating] instead of up here [indicating]. That is about 150 miles further away from the pole than Cook said he was at his winter camp. There were maps in existence showing where Cook's winter quarters were, and there were also two maps that had been published in the daily papers, showing that Cook claimed to have gone off this way [indicating] and out there [indicating]. Stockton figured the distance from Cook's winter camp, and that would have been 150 miles farther south, and that he went this way [indicating]. That he started here [indicating] and went off here [indicating] and then went this way [indicating]. By that reckless procedure he calculated the distance at 1,381 miles, and subtracted the 900 miles, which the dairy gave, and that left 481 miles. On that argument was based the idea that Cook turned back on the 21st of April.

Admiral Chester some weeks earlier had published an argument that Cook had turned back on the 7th of April, from a report that coincided very closely with the spot later fixed upon, of Stockton's, based on the argument that Cook was at some particular place when he first saw the midnight sun, and assuming that any man on a journey of that kind would surely see the midnight sun the first night it was possible to do so. He could not very well say that, because nobody had previously been on a foot journey like that on the Arctic ice upon the date of the return of the midnight sun. Dr. Cook was the first man to make a trip of that kind at that early date. No one could reasonably say that every man sees the midnight sun as early as possible. What Dr. Cook did say was that "The sun for a number of nights made strange faces at us at his setting," and that the midnight sun was not clearly defined, and that the night of April 7 was made notable by the shining of the sun at midnight over the northern ice. So that it is a matter of weather, rather than of geographical position, as to when he was able first to see the midnight sun. Admiral Chester, disregarding the weather and simply considering the above statement, assumed that it was unwarranted, that a man would not fail to see the midnight sun as soon as it was in a position, had the weather been favorable, and so he arrives at the conclusion that Dr. Cook turned back upon the 7th of April.

Mr. TOWNER. Upon what evidence and testimony do you think Congress would be warranted in taking action regarding the matter?

Mr. BROWN. On the same sort of general argument that Congress and the Government promote education, guarantee free press, and free speech.

Mr. TOWNER. But how are we to determine the facts upon which to act?

Mr. BROWN. Whether you shall act or how to act?

Mr. TOWNER. How to act if we do act?

Mr. BROWN. If you do act, I think the way to act is to call men who are competent, skilled in these arts, and who are competent to verify the statements of the gentlemen, and make a sort of scientific study of the human testimony.

Mr. TOWNER. Then we should call Dr. Cook, should we not?

Mr. BROWN. Certainly.

Mr. TOWNER. And Lieut. Peary?

Mr. BROWN. Certainly; and men who are able to cross-question both of them.

Mr. TOWNER. We will take care of that.

Mr. BROWN. I thought you asked for my judgment.

Mr. TOWNER. Who else should be called?

Mr. BROWN. I would not like to say; there are many gentlemen who are here to-night.

Mr. TOWNER. Please tell us about that; I should like to know.

Mr. BROWN. Dr. Balch, I think, is one of the most competent men who speaks the English language to form a wise opinion on this matter; and, with all modesty, I believe that I am competent to show a lack of weight in the criticisms that have been advanced against Dr. Cook.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe Mr. Balch stated that the scientists up to date had failed to decide as to the priority of discovery.

Mr. BROWN. The scientific societies——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). If that is the case, how much more impossible will it be for Congress to decide it?

Mr. BROWN. Congress can get the services of a reasonable number of scientific men, and they——

Mr. TOWNER (interposing). Who are they?

Mr. BROWN. Dr. Balch is one.

Mr. TOWNER. What can Dr. Balch tell us?

Mr. BROWN. Dr. Balch can give you an analysis of the two stories.

Mr. TOWNER. We do not care anything about that; we will make the analysis. We want information; we want facts; and who can give them to us?

Mr. BROWN. Dr. Balch can set the facts in juxtaposition.

Mr. TOWNER. We do not need that; we will juxtapose the facts, and we will have to do it. Let me say this to you: I do not think that what you have stated to us to-night is of any particular value to us. We will have to determine all these things ourselves, and we will be compelled to determine them. What we must act upon, if we act upon anything at all, must be the evidence of men who are competent to give us the facts. Now, these men—Admiral Peary and Dr. Cook—will tell us their stories; we will say that they are equally credible; and they are directly opposed to each other. Now, let us have concretely from you a statement as to what we should depend upon outside of what they tell us, so that we can tell whether or not they are telling the truth about these matters.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Have they not put in book form what they have to say about it?

Mr. BROWN. Unfortunately Admiral Peary has. In the hearings of the Naval Committee of Congress, about four years ago, something was put in which he did not put in book form. He said that he went to the North Pole and back, from Cape Columbia up, and that he made no observations of compass variations. That I consider to be equivalent to a confession that he never made the journey. You could get men to pass an opinion upon the possibility or probability of a representative of the Coast and Geodetic Survey of the United States Navy taking men and provisions off on a journey of approximately 500 miles across an unknown region, where there were no prominent landmarks, without making the observations that navigators have found necessary and proper in order to make a journey in the direction they propose to go, and in order to find their way back. I have compiled a chart, a little smaller than this [indicating], which shows what has been determined heretofore about the magnetic variations in various parts of the Arctic regions. That is a blue print.

Mr. TOWNER. Has not most of the time of Dr. Cook's advocates and of Admiral Peary's advocates been spent in criticism and vituperation of the other?

Mr. BROWN. Admiral Peary's friends——

Mr. TOWNER (interposing). Would it be of any advantage for this committee to listen to the advocates of these respective parties casting discredit upon their statements——

Mr. BROWN (interposing). If they did in any way add to the knowledge of the world——

Mr. TOWNER (interposing). It seems to me that there has been so much of it given to the world already that the world is pretty sick of it. Can you name a single man, outside of these two explorers, that this committee could call before it who would be competent to give evidence in regard to that contest?

Mr. SMITH. I think Mr. Rost might answer that question.

STATEMENT OF MR. E. C. ROST, OF NEW YORK.

Mr. TOWNER. What is your calling?

Mr. ROST. I am a friend of Dr. Cook.

Mr. TOWNER. Have you had any Arctic experience?

Mr. ROST. None at all.

Mr. SMITH. He has letters on this subject from men who have had Arctic experience.

Mr. ROST. I have in my possession original letters that 32 men of Arctic experience have signed.

Mr. TOWNER. Were they Arctic explorers themselves?

Mr. ROST. Yes, sir; Arctic explorers.

Mr. TOWNER. Can the testimony of these men be procured?

Mr. ROST. Yes, sir; they are in this country.

Mr. TOWNER. Is that what you expect to introduce in support of Dr. Cook's claim, if hearings should be granted?

Mr. ROST. Yes, sir. They are such men as Capt. O. C. Hamlet, senior captain of the United States Revenue-Cutter Service, for 30 years in the Arctic regions on Government vessels. I do not know whether I should read this.

Mr. TOWNER. No; just state who they are.

Mr. ROST. Prof. L. L. Dyche, State Game and Fish Warden of the State of Kansas, who has been in the Arctic region for a great many years.

Mr. TOWNER. He has been in the Arctic regions himself?

Mr. ROST. Yes, sir.

Mr. TOWNER. He has been in those countries?

Mr. ROST. He has been in Greenland and through those lands that they call the northernmost lands on the way to the pole. The next is Capt. John E. Newsome, for 10 years in the Arctic. Then, of course, Admiral Schley, who indorsed this proposition——

Mr. TOWNER (interposing). What do you mean by the statement that he indorsed this proposition?

Mr. ROST. Admiral Schley said that after due investigation of both Admiral Peary's case and Dr. Cook's case he was absolutely convinced that both of them reached the pole. This letter is signed by Admiral Schley.

The CHAIRMAN. You have that letter?

Mr. ROST. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Give the names you have there.

Mr. ROST. Capt. J. E. Bernier, a Canadian explorer; Prof. Samuel P. Orth, professor of law of Cornell University, and also an Arctic explorer; Edwin S. Brooke, jr., who was with the Crocker Land Expedition that reported that Crocker Land does not exist; Capt. E. Bergendahl, a Scandinavian; then Brig. Gen. P. J. E. Cleary, of the United States Army. I do not know whether he was in the Arctic regions or not, but this is an indorsement from him. Then there is Rudolph Franke, who was with Dr. Cook as far as Flagler Bay, and he made another trip into that region.

The CHAIRMAN. Since then?

Mr. ROST. Yes, sir.

Mr. BROWN. He is up there now.

Mr. ROST. Yes, sir. Then I mention Capt. John Marshall, of Gloucester, Mass., Dr. Middleton Smith, who was with the Point Barrow Expedition to the northernmost point of the American continent. That was an international expedition sent up at the same time the Greely Expedition was sent. In fact, it was a part of that expedition.

Mr. SMITH. Dr. Middleton Smith is now in the room.

Mr. ROST. The next is Samuel J. Entrikin, who was second in command in the Peary Expedition of 1894. His indorsement is on that letter [indicating]: "This is the way I have always looked at it." I personally have a map on which he states that after due investigation he is satisfied that both men reached the pole. The next is Capt. E. A. Haven, of the Ziegler Expedition. He is of the Revenue-Cutter Service, and has been some 17 or 18 years in the Arctic. Commodore John Byers Wirt, commander in chief of the United States Naval Veterans, said this, after a careful consideration of Admiral Schley's letter on the subject: "I do not hesitate to indorse every word the admiral said of the doctor."

Mr. TOWNER. That to be of any benefit to us——

Mr. ROST (interposing). He is ready to testify.

Mr. TOWNER. Those who are Arctic explorers and who know about the facts and circumstances of the case might help us, but such statements as that could not help the committee. How could that help the committee?

Mr. ROST. I am not sure of that. I am simply making the statement that 32 of the best-known Arctic men are willing to testify.

Mr. TOWNER. We would want to have evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. He was not an Arctic explorer.

Mr. TOWNER. That is a very important consideration for the committee. The committee would want to know if they are able to give testimony, and that is what I am trying to find out.

Senator POINDEXTER. I know that Mr. Rost has the original letters of these 32 men signed in their own handwriting, and I urged him to bring the original letters with him.

Mr. ROST. I have those letters.

Mr. TOWNER. Gentlemen, so far as I am concerned, those letters would be of very little importance to me. We want men here who know what they are testifying about, and evidence simply to establish the fact that a letter was written is of very little value here?

Mr. ROST. I thought it was in answer to your question as to whom we could produce——

Mr. TOWNER (interposing). It is, and that is what I said. It is of great value to us in that way, to know who can testify as to the facts.

Mr. ROST. And the next is Dr. J. G. Knowlton, of the Scott expedition. He is an Arctic man of many years' experience. Now, we have 32 men who are ready to appear, and there are about 18 others who have written books on the subject, going into this very minutely.

Mr. TOWNER. In other words, the friends of Dr. Cook ask the committee to give them a hearing. They ask the committee to allow Dr. Cook to testify, and they ask the committee to hear the testimony of at least 32 competent men, who have had Arctic experience, to assist in substantiating his claims. That is what I understand the friends of Dr. Cook desire the committee to do.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. On what ground do the friends of Dr. Cook think that Congress ought to take up this matter?

Mr. ROST. My answer to that is this: That Congress did take up the matter in the case of Admiral Peary, and it struck out the word "discoverer"; therefore, the American Government has never said that an American discovered the North Pole. Now, I personally have correspondence from the boards of education and departments of public instruction, and none of them have any authority to offer or that they can use in order to teach the children of this country that an American discovered the North Pole. These letters cover the 48 States of the Union. The lands discovered by Americans should be placed on our maps; the lands and waterways that do not exist should be taken off from our Government maps.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you believe that after this testimony, and taking it from as expert sources as possible, we could reach a satisfactory conclusion and establish the question of priority involved?

Mr. ROST. I do, most decidedly. I think, if I may put it this way, that the gentlemen of the committee are sitting here as a jury; there is expert evidence presented by Dr. Cook and expert evidence presented by Mr. Peary, and the jury, composed of this committee, if you call it that, decides on that expert testimony. It is a provable matter. Civil engineers have worked this out, to prove the truth of Dr. Cook's data, and the falsity of Mr. Peary's.

Mr. TOWNER. Do you believe that Dr. Cook and Admiral Peary both really went to the pole?

Mr. ROST. I believe that Dr. Cook did. I say that after five years of hard study of the subject; and I believe just as certainly that Mr. Peary did not.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. Chairman, the proposition, as I take it from the bill, is to settle a mooted question not as to whether Peary or Cook reached the pole, as between them, but as to who did reach the pole and when he reached the pole, with all of the collateral effect that we would have in relation to the protection of American rights, dominion, possession, and property, together with the illumination of the question on the educational side. It seems to me that this is a very important thing, without reference to the personality of the actors or leaders. It is a matter of importance to the American people, to civilization, and to the Government of the United States. Therefore I say that this bill is a proposition devoid of all relation to individual interests or preferences, and it makes a suggestion that ought to be followed up without reference to our prejudices or preferences or misunderstandings or jealousies, or the like of that. It seems to me that this is a matter that ought to be presented fully.

The CHAIRMAN. There are only two contestants for priority; one is Dr. Cook and the other is Capt. Peary.

Mr. BAKER. We want to find out whether the pole has been reached, and if so, who reached it and when.

The CHAIRMAN. How are we to determine that?

Mr. TOWNER. Let me make this suggestion rather in line with what Mr. Baker has said. It occurs to me that this is what we ought to do; at least, that is now my impression: These gentlemen here and this lady, as I understand it, appear as advocates of Dr. Cook. They are presenting now to the committee what facts and data they can with regard to the question of whether or not it is of sufficient importance for us to consider this proposition and give hearings upon it. Now, it occurs to me that we ought to hear these people and everything that they have to say, and then we ought to consider in executive session among ourselves what action we ought to take after they have made their presentation of the subject. That is my idea of it.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. I indorse the suggestion of Judge Towner, and I suggest, too, that they confine themselves to the question of whether Congress ought to act in the matter at all.

Mr. RUPLEY. I want to ask our friend from Philadelphia, Dr. Balch, whether in his judgment, after hearing this testimony, we could establish the priority of discovery of the North Pole?

Mr. BALCH. It is a pretty hard thing to do.

Mr. RUPLEY. Could we establish the question of priority?
Mr. BALCH. Certainly you could establish the priority; yes, sir.
Mr. RUPLEY. Incontestably and uncontrovertibly?
Mr. BALCH. Undoubtedly. You could undoubtedly prove that Cook was there ahead of Peary.
Mr. RUPLEY. I do not care whether Cook or Peary had priority of discovery——
Mr. BALCH (interposing). If you could establish anything at all you could establish the priority of discovery.
Mr. RUPLEY. Incontestably and uncontrovertibly after hearing all of this testimony?
Mr. BALCH. I do not know that I exactly understand your question.
Mr. RUPLEY. Take the language of the resolution. After hearing this testimony, could we establish the priority of discovery of the North Pole and the regions contiguous thereto?
Mr. BALCH. I think you could do that.
Mr. TOWNER. It seems to me that this lady ought to have been heard first.
The CHAIRMAN. I was not informed that the lady intended to make a statement this evening. If I had been, she would certainly have been called upon to speak first. I wish to ask you, Mr. Rost, whether you have submitted the names of the 32 witnesses?
Mr. ROST. I have not given the names of the 32, but I will do so. The names I have not already given are as follows: Maurice Connell, of the Greely Expedition and the United States Weather Bureau; Prof. W. H. Brewer, for 16 years president of the Arctic Club of America. He was a member of the Miranda Expedition and of the Harriman Expedition. Andrew J. Stone, has traveled and sledged the extreme Arctic coast; Dilion Wallace, Labrador explorer; Capt. Johan Menander, Capt. Thomas F. Hall, Henry Biederbeck, of Greely Expedition; M. Van Rysselburgh, L. C. Bement, of the Miranda Expedition to Greenland; Ralph Shainwald, Harry Johnson; John R. Bradley, Greenland Expedition; Harry Whitney, of Greenland Expedition; Anthony Fiala, of the Ziegler polar expedition; Dr. T. F. Dedrick, with one of Peary's expeditions; Dr. Seitz, Dr. W. H. Axtell, Hugh J. Lee, of Peary's Expedition (1892–93–94–95) to North Greenland, and in 1897 again accompanied Mr. Peary to the far North; Dr. Tarleton H. Bean, collector and observer in the Arctic in 1880, and again in 1889; Frank Wilbert Stokes, with one of Mr. Peary's expeditions to the far North; Father William F. Rigge, astronomer.
The CHAIRMAN. We will now be pleased to hear Miss Kiel.

STATEMENT OF MISS LILIAN ELEANOR KIEL.

Miss KIEL. I was formerly employed by Hampton's Magazine as editorial stenographer. Now, gentlemen, I am not here for the purpose of upholding Dr. Cook and neither am I here with the intention of denouncing Mr. Peary, but I am here merely to tell my story, simply and briefly. Everything I shall say I can prove, and I do not need any scientific data. In August, 1909, I was called by Hampton's Magazine, through the Underwood Typewriter Co., after I had passed the test as to my ability as a stenographer. I was sent up to Hampton's Magazine for special work—for editorial work—and later I was recalled to do some advertising work. They were pleased with my work, and finally I was recalled to take the Peary story, but not from Mr. Peary, because Mr. Peary did not write his story. Now, gentlemen, if you are to take the word of both explorers, then both explorers should give their word. Mr. Peary was given an opportunity to give his word to the world through Hampton's Magazine, but Mr. Peary did not write that story. Later, I was again recalled by Hampton's Magazine and took a letter to Dr. Frederick A. Cook, offering him the same medium through which Mr. Peary had given his story to the world. In that letter they made a distinct statement (and requested Dr. Cook to sign it), they making "no editorial guaranty whatsoever." Hampton's knew what they were going to do with Dr. Cook's story, just as they knew what they intended to do with Peary's story. Dr. Cook did not know, and here is where my story comes in. Dr. Cook was sent for and brought back to America and was kept in hiding at the Palatine Hotel, in Newburgh. Dr. Cook had every reason in the world to believe that he was going to have a square deal. He wrote his story—I did not write that story. Dr. Cook wrote his own story, and after he had O. K.'d the galley proofs (it was necessary that he should O. K. the galley proofs at the foot of each page) we of the editorial staff were set to work cutting through the galley proofs. I suppose you know what galley proofs are? They are long strips of paper upon which the magazine first goes to press for corrections. We cut through the galley proofs and inserted what has been known to the world as Dr. Cook's confession of "mental unbalancement."
Senator POINDEXTER. Who did that?
Miss KIEL. We did that in the editorial rooms of Hampton's Magazine. Dr. Cook had gone back to Europe to get his wife and children, believing that he would return to America a free man. He knew nothing about this. Now, the first issue of Hampton's Magazine was to appear in January, 1911, and simultaneously with that issue we issued a "statement for the press." That was done in order to make the magazine story appear authentic and also—and really ahead of any other motive—to boost the news-stand circulation of the magazine, or just to make a few men more wealthy than they previously were. Now, that statement for the press has been exhibited throughout the entire world as "Dr. Cook's confession of mental unbalancement." That statement was dictated to me by a subeditor of Hampton's Magazine; I was commanded to sign the name of Frederick A. Cook by typewriter, and Dr. Cook knew absolutely nothing about it. He was not in this country at the time; he was on the ocean. I then thoroughly believed that the "confession" was authorized by Dr. Cook, and I was horrified later to find that he knew absolutely nothing about it. If you would like to know the name of the man who dictated that "confession" I can give it to you. It was dictated by Mr. T. Everett Harre, subeditor of Hampton's Magazine. This [exhibiting] is a picture of the noble gentleman. You can see the intelligence in his face. Remember, gentlemen, Dr. Cook knew nothing about it. If he did, would you suppose that a man would dictate a thing of this kind? [Reads from "faked" confession:]
"Whatever the results may be, whether I shall be believed or not, howsoever my people will receive me, my whole aim in coming back is to prove, if possible, that I did not premeditate a lie for money, and that willingly or consciously I did not do anything to disgrace America. I have come back with the intention of telling the truth as far as is humanly possible for anyone. I shall bare my soul to friends and foes. With all the fervor of yearning in me, I want to be able to live again among my people, to be able to walk on the streets of my city, and to find Americans willing to shake my hand, and to have them say, 'Cook may have unconsciously lied, and may have deceived himself, but he did not deliberately try to deceive others.' I have not come back for money. My chief reason for giving my story to the world through Hampton's Magazine was to insure its being read in its full context."
That was not done because we had made insertions and eliminations, which distorted Dr. Cook's story in a vile manner. It was not Dr. Cook's story.
"Hampton's was willing, having printed Capt. Peary's story, to let me state my case through its columns, making no editorial guaranty whatever. My story must stand on its own merits; for it I alone am responsible. Until it has appeared in its full context it will be unfair to myself, to my friends, and to those I trust will believe in me to give out fragmentary answers to charges or explanations of my conduct in interviews. There is nothing of importance, so far as I know, which bears upon my case which I have omitted in my story."
Mr. TOWNER. Everything you have read there is a sheer fabrication?
Miss KIEL. Yes, sir.
Mr. TOWNER. Would it inconvenience you if I were to ask you one or two questions?
Miss KIEL. Not at all; but may I finish this paragraph?
Mr. TOWNER. Certainly.
Miss KIEL (reading):
"Only by reading the full, frank confession of my life, my life's work and my life's tragedy, can anyone understand me, understand my motives and my present convictions."
There is just one other line which I should like to read:
"For the position of suspicion and disgrace in which I find myself, I blame no one excepting myself. I want it to be understood now that I do not intend to enter into any controversy with Commander Peary, and that my feeling is that Commander Peary deserves the honor of a notable achievement, which was the result of sacrificing life work. I have never questioned Commander Peary's claim to the discovery of the North Pole. I do not now. I did not consciously try to filch an honor which belongs alone to Commander Peary."
I leave it to you, gentlemen, would any sane man make such a statement as this to the press?
Mr. TOWNER. I did not understand your first statement. You said that Lieut. Peary did not make his own statement.
Miss KIEL. No, sir. I said: "He did not write his own story."
Mr. TOWNER. Will you be kind enough to explain that?
Miss KIEL. When the story was first concocted Mr. Peary had no story, he had no data, he had nothing to present to Hampton's Magazine, but he was under contract of Hampton's Magazine to produce something. When he appeared before the committee of Congress they asked him for his proofs, and he made the statement that he was "under contract" with Hampton's Magazine to have his proofs appear first in Hampton's Magazine. They engaged a public stenographer to do the work, and Mr. Peary merely answered questions. From those notes Mrs. Elsa Barker made up the story. She had had trouble with the stenographers, and when they got to a certain point, which was the point where Mr. Peary was supposed to have left his ship for his final dash to the pole, Mrs. Barker could not go on with the story on account of incompetent stenographers. I was merely a humble little stenographer with the Hampton's Magazine. I always tried to do satisfactory work. Finally they sent me up to see what I could do. We got along beautifully from the time Mr. Peary left the ship up to the time that Mr. Peary was supposed to have reached the pole.
Mr. TOWNER. You were trying to interpret the manuscript of these other stenographers?
Miss KIEL. No. Mrs. Barker dictated to me her story. It was her own composition, and she occasionally referred to the manuscript of questions and answers.
Mr. TOWNER. Taken by other stenographers?
Miss KIEL. Yes, sir. I do not know who they were.
Mr. TOWNER. You yourself did not look at the stenographer's notes?
Miss KIEL. I have seen the manuscript.
Mr. TOWNER. You did not try to interpret the notes?
Miss KIEL. No; not the notes.
Mr. TOWNER. This lady was the head of the stenographic corps?
Miss KIEL. No. She was merely employed by Mr. Peary and Hampton's Magazine to get out the story. She was a personal friend of Mr. Peary's, and Hampton's were at a loss to know who to get. This very man who dictated the "faked confession" was also a personal friend of Mrs. Barker's. She knew Mr. Harre, and, in that way, Hampton's got hold of Mrs. Barker.
Mr. TOWNER. After you had finished it, was it submitted to Lieut. Peary?
Miss KIEL. No. I took the story from the time he left the ship up to the point where he was supposed to reach the pole. There were no proofs, and consequently, Hampton's Magazine was all in a furor. My services were discontinued for about two weeks. Then I received a letter from Mrs. Barker telling me that she had just finished the "observations"; that they were too technical to dictate to me, and she recalled me to finish the story. That was a very brief matter, because, after Mr. Peary reached the pole, it was merely a matter of getting him back from the pole in the magazine (laughter), and I can assure you that we did that very quickly. After that I broke down. I had been doing so much polar work that I could fairly see the polar ice, and I remained home for about a month. Then, as I told you, I was recalled once more and took a letter to Dr. Frederick A. Cock.
Mr. TOWNER. A letter to whom?
Miss KIEL. A letter to Dr. Frederick A. Cook asking for a story.
Mr. TOWNER. In response to that letter they did receive from Dr. Cook a manuscript statement?
Miss KIEL. In response to that we received word from Dr. Cook that he would give us a story, and we sent one of our subeditors over to London to get Dr. Cook's story. It was all done very quietly, and before anyone knew it, Dr. Cook was writing in America. It was not printed as Dr. Cook wrote it.
Mr. TOWNER. When you got Dr. Cook's story was it in his own handwriting, or in what condition?
Miss KIEL. I never saw the manuscript. I think Dr. Cook wrote the story and the stenographer transcribed the notes. It was all done very quickly.
Mr. TOWNER. Your first knowledge was when you saw the galley proofs?
Miss KIEL. Yes, sir. I was commanded to cut through the paragraphs and insert little scraps of paper, typewritten slips, which, I think, anyone can tell Dr. Cook did not write.
Mr. TOWNER. In other words, this printed statement called Dr. Cook's story is partly his story and partly a manufactured story that was inserted?
Miss KIEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. TOWNER. The magazine did not find Dr. Cook's story sufficiently exciting and sensational to suit them?

Miss KIEL. It was a magazine "stunt," and they were under contract with Mr. Peary not to print anything that would be detrimental to Mr. Peary.

Mr. TOWNER. How do you know that?

Miss KIEL. One day I was standing in the hall—I had been called over to one of the editor's offices—and when we knew that we were going to get Dr. Cook's story Mr. Long came along and grabbed Mr. Hampton by the arm and said, "We can't do it; we are under contract to Bob." Mr. Hampton said, "Never mind; we will fix it up with Bob." When I upheld Mr. Peary in office "confabs" the head stenographer told me that I did not know "everything."

Mr. TOWNER. This is the contention: Dr. Cook's story as originally given to Hampton's Magazine would have defended Dr. Cook?

Miss KIEL. It would have.

Mr. TOWNER. And in order that it should not do so these insertions were made?

Miss KIEL. Exactly.

Mr. TOWNER. As I understand you, some of Dr. Cook's statement that was given was eliminated entirely?

Miss KIEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. TOWNER. And a substitution made for it?

Miss KIEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. BAKER. Forgery?

Miss KIEL. You may call it what you like.

Mr. BAKER. That is the name.

Mr. TOWNER. Every insertion which was made, of course, was not made by Dr. Cook, but was made over his signature?

Miss KIEL. Because he had O. K'd the galley proofs.

Mr. TOWNER. Were they made over his signature?

Miss KIEL. The insertions?

Mr. TOWNER. Yes.

Miss KIEL. Naturally; they were slipped in after Dr. Cook had O. K'd the galley proofs.

Mr. TOWNER. Did Hampton's issue Dr. Cook's story as an authoritative statement? Did they advertise it as such?

Miss KIEL. This note did as much [exhibiting editorial note in Hampton's Magazine].

Mr. TOWNER. Will you just please give us the statement that was made at the commencement of Dr. Cook's story?

Miss KIEL. The editorial note?

Mr. TOWNER. Yes.

Miss KIEL. This is the editorial note given by Hampton's Magazine.

Mr. TOWNER. Please give us the title.

Miss KIEL. This is the first issue of Dr. Cook's story, January, 1911 [exhibiting]. The title is "Dr. Cook's Own Story, by Dr. Frederick A. Cook. Illustrations from photographs and diagrams." This is the editorial note:

"Since the sudden and mysterious disappearance of Dr. Frederick A. Cook in November, 1909, until the publication of this series no word has been received from this man, who stood so conspicuously for a brief while before the world, the recipient of unprecedented honors. Why did Dr. Cook disappear? Was not this a tacit admission that he had presented a fraudulent claim to the discovery of the North Pole? Or did he ever, possibly, believe in himself? Where, during his absence, has he been, and what has he done?

"During the past year Dr. Cook has been reported in many places. Various interviews have been attributed to him. One has announced his going secretly north; another told a tale of his attending the Peary lecture in London. Dr. Cook brands these fabrications. Here for the first time he makes an authoritative statement to the world and answers the questions asked about him.

"Hampton's presents the following statement on its own merits. It is a human document, of extraordinary interest and importance."

Mr. TOWNER. Is the statement which follows given in the first person, as if it were a recitation of facts by Dr. Cook himself?

Miss KIEL. The first word is "I."

Mr. TOWNER. That is what I wanted to know.

Mr. BAKER. The statements which you make go to the middle of things.

Mr. TOWNER. The bottom.

Mr. BAKER. They go to the middle. You stated that Dr. Cook, having written or dictated the story of his adventures, that Hampton's Magazine knowingly, willfully, and deliberately cut out parts of it and made insertions that were not given at all by Dr. Cook?

Miss KIEL. I do.

Mr. BAKER. What is the definition of a forgery? The changing of an instrument in writing to the detriment of another man's rights, is it not?

Mr. TOWNER. Yes.

Mr. RUPLEY. Ask the lady who perpetrated all this.

The CHAIRMAN. Who authorized the insertions?

Miss KIEL. Mr. Benjamin B. Hampton.

Mr. TOWNER. The editor and owner of the magazine at that time?

Miss KIEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. TOWNER. You have also given the name of the person who prepared the insertions, have you not?

Miss KIEL. Prepared this story?

Mr. TOWNER. These insertions.

Miss KIEL. I will leave it to you who prepared this statement and who prepared these insertions. They tally almost in words.

Mr. BAKER. Are we to understand——

Miss KIEL (interposing). Those insertions were not dictated to me; they were merely handed to us on typewritten slips to put in.

Senator POINDEXTER. What paper do you refer to?

Miss KIEL. This faked "confession for the press."

Senator POINDEXTER. The one from which you read just now?

Miss KIEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. BAKER. Are we to understand that Hampton's was under contract with Commander or Commodore or Admiral Peary to take care of Peary's reputation?

Miss KIEL. He was under contract to Mr. Peary to print nothing that would incriminate Mr. Peary. Mr. Peary had received $50,000 for his story, and naturally they had made Mr. Peary's reputation.

Mr. BAKER. You are saying some wonderful things.

Miss KIEL. I am telling the truth as I know it to be.

Mr. RUPLEY. What happened to these owners of this magazine?

Miss KIEL. Some of them went to jail.

Mr. RUPLEY. For what?

Miss KIEL. For selling bogus stock.

Mr. RUPLEY. In what enterprise?

Miss KIEL. After Hampton's virtually failed they combined with the Sterling Magazine—the Columbian-Sterling Co. They had to raise the finances, and they did so by selling stock, and the Government came down upon them and pressed them to the wall, and they were forced out of existence.

Mr. TOWNER. There are some indictments now pending against some of them for these fraudulent practices?

Miss KIEL. Not in connection with Dr. Cook's story; no. I am not speaking for Dr. Cook, but as human to human. I will tell you that Dr. Cook never read this magazine article. When the magazine appeared like this [exhibiting], with "Dr. Cook's confession" on the outside, it was a thing, if he had not been a strong character, which might have turned his brain; but he was heartbroken, and he refused to look at the magazine. Between ourselves, he did not read a portion of it until last October, when I forced him to read the insertions. He knew that they had lied and misrepresented his story, or they could never have printed "Dr. Cook's confession" on the cover. He did not know what they had done, but he did know that they had faked his story.

Mr. TOWNER. You spoke about the newspaper interview that you read from separately.

Miss KIEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. TOWNER. Tell us about that, please.

Miss KIEL. Do you mean this [indicating] "Statement for the press"?

Mr. TOWNER. Yes.

Miss KIEL. That is very simple. When they were ready to go to press with this first issue they had to do something to stir up excitement in order to increase the news-stand circulation; and they prepared this statement for the press, which was to appear simultaneously, with the first issue of the magazine, in every paper in the world.

Mr. TOWNER. It was practically an advertisement of the magazine?

Miss KIEL. Yes, sir; an advertisement.

Mr. TOWNER. Does that statement refer to the magazine itself?

Miss KIEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. TOWNER. In other words, it is supposed to be a résumé of the article that was to appear in Hampton's Magazine?

Miss KIEL. Yes, sir. As I read it says:

"My chief reason for giving my story to the world through Hampton's Magazine was to insure its being read in its full context. Hampton's was willing, having printed Capt. Peary's story, to let me state my case through its columns, making no editorial guaranty whatever."

Mr. RUPLEY. I think the world is entitled to know that. Hampton's Magazine succeeded the Sterling-Columbian Co.?

Miss KIEL. No; the Columbian-Sterling Corporation succeeded Hampton's, but Hampton was still in it.

Mr. RUPLEY. What was the name of the magazine before it bore the name of Hampton's?

Miss KIEL. I think it was the Hampton's Broadway Magazine. I was not with them at that time.

Mr. RUPLEY. It was first called the Hampton's Broadway Magazine and then Hampton's Magazine?

Miss KIEL. Yes, sir; and then the Columbian-Sterling, and later they resumed the name—which I can prove to you—of Hampton's Magazine, the New Hampton's Publishing Co. [exhibiting letter]. That was what they recalled me for the fourth time—my fifth experience with Hampton's—when I had a letter from the treasurer, in which he said:

"I have a position in the editorial department and would like very much to talk with you about it. Would you be interested? As we must have some one at once, I will appreciate it if you will advise me Monday morning."

That is signed by the secretary, Albert J. Gibney, for the New Hampton's Magazine. That was written on March 23, 1912, and on May 10, 1912, Hampton's Magazine went down to an ignominious grave and I received this notice:

"Miss L. Kiel, editorial department: It will be necessary to dispense with your services on Saturday, May 11, until further notice."

That is signed by A. Gordan Murray, president. At that time I took a pen and wrote across the memo: "Busted!"

Mr. RUPLEY. You said that some of them went to jail. I wish you would tell us who went to jail.

Mr. TOWNER. As I recollect it, in reorganizing the magazine, these people made certain representations through the mails regarding it, which were false, or claimed to be false as I understand, and they were prosecuted for putting this stock on the market, obtaining money through false pretenses.

Miss KIEL. Yes, sir. They were forced to close.

Mr. TOWNER. That is what I had in mind, and that there were some indictments found against some of them.

Miss KIEL. I was an editorial stenographer, and I was not very familiar with the commercial end of the magazine. These people failed absolutely, and we were all handed our "walking papers." The office was filled at the time with representatives from our own Government investigating our files, and I was told that they were representatives of the Post Office Department. They immediately took possession of all the files.

Mr. RUPLEY. You said that some of them went to jail?

Miss KIEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUPLEY. And the inference is that it might have been Hampton or Smith or Jones—who was it?

Miss KIEL. Mr. Hampton steered clear. Mr. Frank Orth, the president of the Columbian-Sterling Publishing Co., was put in jail, and with him—I have forgotten his name, I may recall it later—the treasurer went to jail, the president and treasurer.

Mr. RUPLEY. Of Hampton's Magazine?

Miss KIEL. Of the Columbian-Sterling corporation which included Hampton's Magazine.

Mr. SMITH. I would like to have Miss Kiel state why she came before the committee to give her testimony; what induced her to come here, and what her purpose is.

Miss KIEL. I am here merely in the interest of justice. I have no personal interest, but if you people are going to take the word of both explorers, then I think, in the name of justice, it must be determined what is the word of either explorer. Hitherto the words of both explorers were not the words of either explorer in Hampton's Magazine. Hampton's Magazine printed the exclusive stories of both explorers. Is that definite?

The CHAIRMAN. I think it is.

Mr. BAKER. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Kiel, on behalf of the committee, I want to thank you. We certainly have been very much entertained by your interesting story.

Miss KIEL. I did not come here, gentlemen, to entertain you. I merely came to show you one of the many wicked methods which were employed to denounce Dr. Frederick A. Cook, who, in my opinion, is the discoverer of the North Pole. However, I am not a scientist. To me it is immaterial whether Robert E. Peary is the discoverer of the North Pole, or whether Dr. Cook is the discoverer. As I have repeated several times, I am here simply in the interest of justice.

The CHAIRMAN. You have given us some very interesting information. Mr. Smith, is there any other gentleman you wish us to hear to-night?

Mr. SMITH. I do not believe there is anyone else I would care to call. I agree entirely with Judge TOWNER'S statement that what the committee should have is evidence or facts, and as the Arctic explorers are not here I do not believe there is anyone else to be heard.

The CHAIRMAN. This will form the basis for our future action.

(Thereupon, at 10.25 o'clock p. m., the committee adjourned.)

Publicity in a Democracy.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. M. CLYDE KELLY,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I desire to place in the RECORD an address on the Campaign Bulletin as a Tool of Democracy, delivered by James Mackaye at the second annual convention of the National Popular Government League, in Washington, D. C., January 5, 1915. The address follows:

SUCCESSFUL DEMOCRACY.

Democracy requires that the people rule their own affairs. Successful democracy requires that they rule their affairs intelligently. The ballot properly extended to measures as well as men is the great instrument of democracy. Successful democracy requires another instrument not now to be found in our election machinery, except in a rudimentary form.

The modern Australian ballot provides a fair, free, and adequate means of registering the decision of the electorate. In order to perfect the machinery of democracy there is required an equally fair, free, and adequate means of informing the electorate on the issues they are to decide, to the end that the decision may be an intelligent one. A properly designed campaign bulletin fulfills such a requirement, giving the electorate the information they need in order to use the ballot effectively in their own interest, and incidentally nullifying in large degree the influence of money in elections.

It is the purpose of the present paper briefly to describe and discuss a form of bulletin which has been worked out to fit the form of ballot used in Massachusetts, a bill for the issue of such a bulletin being at present (1915) before the legislature of that Commonwealth.

DESCRIPTION OF PROPOSED BULLETIN.

The bulletin is to be published by and at the expense of the Commonwealth, preceding each regular State election, in four numbers, the first number to be issued a week before the primaries, and the last three numbers at intervals of one week on the three successive Fridays preceding the election. There is a form of bulletin corresponding to each form of primary and election ballot, the bulletin varying as the ballot varies from district to district. All candidates whose names appear on the ballot, except for such minor offices as members of party committees, or presidential electors, are entitled to insert a statement in each number of the bulletin which corresponds to the ballot on which their names appear.

Moreover, the names of candidates appear in the same order in the bulletin as they do on the ballot, so that each form of bulletin resembles in a general way the corresponding form of ballot, except that each candidate is given a certain space beneath his name in which to present his views and qualifications to the voters entitled to vote for him. This space is the same for all candidates for the same office, but varies with the importance of the office, candidates for governor, United States Senator, and Congressman, for instance, being limited to 500 words in each number of the bulletin, those for lieutenant governor, State senator and representative to 250 words, while candidates for less important offices, such as State secretary and treasurer are limited to 125 words. In presidential years a supplement to each number of the bulletin relating to the election is issued in which each candidate for President is entitled to present a statement of 800 words, and each candidate for Vice President one of 400 words.

Measures referred to the voters are printed separately—any measure of more than 750 words in length being abridged to a length not greater than 750 words—and issued with the second number of the campaign bulletin. Arguments, affirmative and negative, on each referred measure appear in each of the last three numbers of the bulletin—these numbers relating to the election. The affirmative and negative arguments are limited to the same number of words—500 in the case of State-wide referenda, and 250 in the case of local referenda.

On the date of issue of each number of the bulletin a copy is sent to each registered voter in the State, each voter receiving a form of bulletin corresponding to the form of ballot which he is to vote at the ensuing primary or election, so that only statements of the candidates for whom and arguments relating to the measures for which he is entitled to vote are presented to him.

The persons who are to prepare the affirmative and negative arguments relating to referred measures are selected at a meeting of the proponents and opponents of the measure, called and presided over by the secretary of state, at which the proponents by majority vote select an avowed advocate to prepare the affirmative, and the opponents an avowed opponent to prepare the negative arguments. If there is no opposition, or practically none, negative arguments do not appear in the bulletin.

In the bill providing for the bulletin provision is made for a variety of matters too detailed for discussion here, such as the time limit on presentations of statements and arguments to the secretary of state for insertion in the several numbers of the bulletin; the treatment of possible libelous or other unmailable matter submitted by candidates; the size of sheet, type, and so forth, to be used in the bulletin; the method of dealing with variations in the number of candidates in different districts; the method of securing mailing lists of registered voters, and so forth.

A single number of a typical bulletin is simply a single sheet of newspaper size, printed on both sides with regulation newspaper type and columns. The bulletin follows the ballot and is well adapted to allow the average busy voter to inform himself of what the various candidates whose names he is later to encounter on the ballot have to say for themselves and how they stand on the issues of the election. He can similarly inform himself concerning the merits of the referred measures, the titles of which appear on the ballot, the affirmative and negative sides having equal opportunity to present their claims, the simplicity of the method of presentation throughout, and the parallel-column effect, rendering the reading and comparison of statements and arguments as easy as possible to the reader.

THE PRESENT CAMPAIGN PAMPHLET.

In Oregon, Oklahoma, Wisconsin, and a number of other Western States a crude and rudimentary form of campaign bulletin has been established, and, though very imperfect, has accomplished results highly suggestive of the benefits which would accrue from the adoption of an efficient form of bulletin.

The present campaign pamphlets are issued by the States in single numbers prior to elections, and sometimes to primaries. They include the texts of referred measures, and sell space to candidates and parties desiring to present arguments on measures much as newspapers do, though, of course, no profit is sought. In at least one State some restriction on the space which can be secured is made, but, in general, the space is proportional to the payment therefor—some candidates buying much, some little, some none at all; the importance of the office sought is not a factor, and there is no division into districts, the statements of candidates in one district going to all districts indiscriminately, and the whole affair has the characteristics common to a first attempt. The pamphlets are neither fair, free, nor adequate, and yet are so much better than nothing that it would be folly for the States using them to discard them for the old system. They might, however, discard them for a better system, the characteristics of which may best be suggested by instituting a comparison between the common form of campaign pamphlet and the proposed form of bulletin.

ADVANTAGES OF THE CAMPAIGN BULLETIN.

The advantages of the campaign bulletin over the typical campaign pamphlet are at least a dozen in number, as follows:

(1) It has the newspaper form adapted to the newspaper reading habits of the general public, the normal bulletin consisting of the two sides of a single sheet of paper, so that the complete text is accessible with the minimum expenditure of time or effort.

(2) All statements and arguments are short. This requires candidates to be brief and to the point. The average reader will read short statements, where he will skip long ones. By giving the voter the required information in a series of short snappy statements distributed through several bulletins he

can be induced to absorb much more than if everything is administered in one dose in a single dry looking pamphlet.

The total amount of reading matter in four typical bulletins like that figured is about 60,000 words—a fair-sized book—yet the form in which it is presented, subdivided, as it is, into four issues containing 50 or 60 short statements and arguments each, is such that it does not appear at all formidable, and the average voter will read it easily, when a single volume of 60,000 words would appall him. Should anyone think the space accorded each candidate is too short for adequate presentation of all that a candidate would like to present, let him reflect that we must reckon as much on what the average voter will take as on what the average candidate would like to give him. It is better both for candidate and voter to give the electorate a little that it will read than much that it will not. At any rate, the best way to increase the amount of space accorded candidates is probably not to increase the bulk of the bulletins, but to increase their number. Even as it is, the bulletin gives much more space to the average candidate than any reasonable sized pamphlet could, because the bulletin differs in different districts, while the pamphlet includes candidates in all districts. Hence to make it cover the ground covered by the pamphlet, in a State like Massachusetts, it would have to contain about 1,200,000 words, a book nearly twice the size of the Bible, very little of which would be applicable in any one district.

(3) All candidates and referenda are given a hearing in the bulletin. There is no discrimination. The bulletin is as complete and as fair as the ballot, the names of candidates and titles of referenda appearing in the same order in each, so that when the voter encounters his ballot in the booth on election day it will have a familiar look, each name and title will mean something to him, and he will vote with his eyes open.

(4) The length of statements is proportional only to the importance of the office sought. There is no question of one candidate buying more space or using louder headlines than another. The rich candidate and the poor stand on the same level in the bulletin as they do on the ballot.

(5) Moreover the form of bulletin used enables the parallel column expedient to be used with telling effect. The views of opposing candidates, the affirmative and negative arguments on referenda, can be compared with the least possible exertion, and led on by this arrangement the reader will be tempted to see how the different candidates for a given office stand on the issues of the campaign. In this way voters will read and compare the views of candidates of all parties and of no party, which is just the thing desired, since men are more likely to learn something from those with whom they disagree than from those with whom they agree. Each candidate striving to present the strength of his own position and the weakness of his opponents will enable the voter to estimate the strength and weakness of both—the same principle used in presenting a case to the jury.

(6) Another very marked advantage of the serial form of bulletin is that it enables candidates, and those presenting arguments to answer one another—to make rejoinders, not once, but at least twice. Thus a joint debate is carried on before all the voters; not between two candidates only, but between all the candidates, each one naturally giving his main attention to his particular opponents. The limits of space, however, are such that the reader can cover the whole debate because each candidate must boil his argument down and present his points with the greatest possible conciseness. This not only makes the bulletin highly interesting, but highly instructive as well, for the condensed debates in the bulletin will serve as the texts and germs of more protracted debates between the voters on street corners, in street cars, at the restaurant, and in the country store, and thus will start an intellectual ferment which will be the beginning of a really successful democracy.

(7) By the issue of the bulletin in serial forms it covers the period of the campaign when interest in practical discussion is greatest and when therefore it will be most effective educationally. The pamphlet issuing but once, and then long before the election—in some States it may be two months before—is not a live part of the campaign. By the end of the campaign it is in danger of being forgotten; it is a sort of back number.

(8) Another advantage of a live campaign bulletin is that it is likely by increasing the interest of the electorate in political affairs to make them more regular at the polls. At present large numbers of voters do not take the trouble to vote. A great many intelligent men can not help perceiving the futility of the "go it blind" method of voting now so much in vogue. Hence they lose faith in the ballot and neglect it as a matter of no importance. There are good reasons for believing that a really adequate campaign bulletin will increase the proportion of voters who go to the polls, and will tend to restore faith in the soundness of democracy on the part of those who mistake a defect in the instrument for a defect in the principle.

(9) The greatest advantage of the serial bulletin method is its elasticity—its possibility of expansion and extension. If 4 numbers during a campaign are found to be inadequate, if the voters show an appetite for more, the number can be increased to 6, 8, 10, or even more. Indeed, the bulletin might be extended beyond the election and be issued at intervals throughout the year as an agency for keeping the people in close touch with their Government, and giving them first-hand information through reports of the proper officials of the progress of the public business. In this way those charged with executing the public will could discuss their activities directly with the public, could make recommendations for improvements and extensions in the public service, and explain why they demand them in the public interest. Many other extensions are suggestable, but it is too long a story to go into them. It is only possible here to hint at the great and beneficent instrument of public education and intelligent democracy of which a practical campaign bulletin might become the germ.

(10) The bulletin, in contrast to the present pamphlet system, is entirely free—as free as the ballot. The rich candidate has no advantage over the poor one. Each candidate has the same space as his opponent and money can not buy any more. Thus money can no more be used as a makeweight in the bulletin than on the ballot itself.

(11) The fact that each candidate for a given office has the same space for his statement as each other candidate, and that no charge is made for the insertion of statements, enables each candidate to conduct his campaign and present his case to the voters on an even footing with his opponents, the rich man having no advantage over the poor man. This affords a basis for the enactment of a really effective corrupt-practices act—something at present unknown—for by the establishment of a campaign bulletin, affording a fair, free, and adequate channel of communication between candidate and voter, the State for the first time possesses proper ground for prohibiting the expenditure of money in private advertising. Having established a more efficient substitute for the present private methods of communication, where each candidate, having the means, tries to publish and distribute a little campaign bulletin of his own, the State is entitled, if it so elects, to prohibit the use of these private methods open to the rich but closed to the poor.

It is somewhat doubtful, however, whether such prohibition will be necessary, since private advertising by a candidate entitled to use the public channel of communication provided by the State is likely to act as a boomerang because of the obviousness of the effort to make money the controlling factor. Under present conditions where in most States candidates must use private means of communication or nothing, the fact that money is the controlling influence is not so obvious, and the State can not avert such subtle influence without shutting off communication altogether. If properly designed, the campaign bulletin can be made a substitute for present campaign methods, instead of a slight appendage to them, like the campaign pamphlet.

Unless the people are satisfied to vote blindly at the ballot box or to accept such guidance as comes to them through private and interested sources, usually controlled by those who are well content with things as they are, they must attend sufficiently to their own affairs to provide themselves with a free and impartial means of information in the form of some sort of adequate campaign bulletin.

(12) Last, but not least, in considering the practicability of a campaign bulletin is the cheapness of the form proposed. Having the newspaper dimensions and character, it can be printed with the newspaper presses and equipment now to be found in all our large cities. The presses of a daily newspaper printing only a morning edition are usually idle three-quarters of every day, and hence should be available for printing the campaign bulletin. Estimates made by one of the great Boston newspapers indicate that the total cost of printing the proposed Massachusetts campaign bulletin, consisting of four numbers of 600,000 copies and 300 changes in form each, and with a total composition of 1,200,000 words, would be about $6,000, or, including a liberal margin of profit, say, $8,000. The cost of printing one 600,000-copy edition of a pamphlet of 48 pages, containing 24,000 words (comparable to an average campaign pamphlet), is about $8,000, so that the cost of a campaign bulletin having the advantages enumerated herewith is no greater than that of a pamphlet containing only 2 per cent of the reading matter contained in the bulletin.

DISADVANTAGES OF THE CAMPAIGN-BULLETIN METHOD.

Turning now to the disadvantages of the proposed method, we find the principal, if not the only one, in the expense of distribution. Second-class postal facilities, which were estab-

lished to promote the dissemination of information among the people, and by means of which the newspapers and most of the other periodical publications of the country are distributed at the rate of 1 cent per pound, can not under the present postal law be applied to the campaign bulletin. The technicalities which cause this anomalous situation can not be discussed here. The result is that the distribution of the four copies of a campaign bulletin such as is proposed in Massachusetts would cost about $24,000, as compared with a cost of $6,000 or $12,000 for a single campaign pamphlet, according as it weighed less or more than 2 ounces. A large pamphlet might cost even more for distribution than this, the third-class rate requiring 1 cent for each 2 ounces or fraction thereof. With second-class rates available, the cost would be about $750 for the bulletin, and, say, half that for the pamphlet.

Another disadvantage is the addressing required under the present postal law. Addressing each copy of each number of the bulletin separately would probably cost nearly $6,000 for the 1,200,000 copies mailed, as compared with $1,500 for the pamphlet. Under the system practiced in Germany, where publications uniform in text are delivered in bundles addressed to post offices accompanied by a mailing list of the persons who are to receive copies, a great saving in time and trouble is effected, both to the sender and to the postal authorities. With such a system in force in our post office the cost of addressing the bulletins would probably be reduced to $500.

METHOD OF AVOIDING THE DISADVANTAGES.

Bills to permit of both these changes have been presented to Congress. They are eminently reasonable and no sane objection can be urged against their passage. Should they pass, the cost of printing and distributing a campaign bulletin to 600,000 voters would be reduced from $35,000 or $40,000 to $9,000 or $10,000, which is no more than a single pamphlet with all its inadequacies would cost.

In round numbers 600,000 registered voters means a population of 3,500,000, and a simple division will show that, assuming the proposed changes in the postal laws are secured, a campaign bulletin of the character described can be provided such a population at a cost of about 3 mills per capita.

But suppose, we assume, in order to be on the safe side, that the cost of such a bulletin is 10 mills or 1 cent per capita. Is this an exorbitant price to pay for an instrument of democracy having the present advantages and the future possibilities indicated in the foregoing pages? Is this too much for the public to expend in order to secure information so vital to intelligent use of the ballot, so essential to the success of democracy? In a democracy the solution of all other public issues rests upon the solution of the issue of providing the jury of the people, charged with the final decision on all such issues, with adequate and impartial information. Is there any other method of spending 1 cent per capita per annum which is likely to give the public a larger return for its money?

Opinion of the Hon. Joseph Buffington in the Wage Dispute Between the Pittsburgh Railway Co. and its Motormen and Conductors.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STEPHEN G. PORTER,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, on May 1, 1914, the wage agreement between the Pittsburgh Railway Co., of Pittsburgh, Pa., and its motormen and conductors expired. After prolonged negotiations the company and the employees were unable to agree upon a scale of wages and agreed to submit the matters in dispute to a board of three arbitrators. The company designated James C. Gray, Esq., and I was selected by the employees, the two of us to agree upon a third man as umpire. We selected the Hon. Joseph Buffington, present judge of the United States circuit court of appeals. After lengthy hearings and arguments an award was agreed upon, to which I filed a dissenting opinion, which was made a part of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on December 16, 1914. I feel it but fair, so that both sides of the controversy may be fully understood, that the opinion of the umpire, the Hon. Joseph Buffington, should likewise be made a matter of record. His opinion follows:

ARBITRATORS' REPORT IN THE MATTER OF THE ARBITRATION BETWEEN THE PITTSBURGH RAILWAYS CO. AND THE MOTORMEN AND CONDUCTORS OF THAT COMPANY.

On the 5th of May, 1914, the Pittsburgh Railways Co., of the one part, and the motormen and conductors, of the other part, entered into a written agreement, a copy of which is marked "Exhibit A." By reference to such agreement it will be seen the parties provided for the selection by each of an arbitrator, who should together act to settle the questions at issue between said company and its employees. In pursuance of such agreement the men selected the Hon. STEPHEN G. PORTER, a Member of Congress from this city, and the company selected James C. Gray, Esq., also of this city, both of whom are members of the Allegheny County bar. After repeated efforts the said arbitrators were unable to settle the questions at issue between the parties, and thereupon they proceeded under the terms of said agreement to select a third arbitrator. This duty they fulfilled by choosing the Hon. S. Leslie Mestrezat, an associate justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. To the regret of all parties, Judge Mestrezat was unable to serve. Thereupon the two arbitrators, on June 22, 1914, selected as the third arbitrator Joseph Buffington, presiding judge of the United States circuit court of appeals for the third circuit, who on June 24 accepted. Thereafter, and as soon as both parties announced themselves ready to proceed, the said three arbitrators organized and began hearings on July 8, at the United States court room in the city of Pittsburgh, both parties being represented by counsel. On said day and continuously thereafter to and including July 20 the said board heard the testimony of some 100 witnesses produced by both sides and received large numbers of exhibits in the shape of charts, arbitration reports, public documents, surveys, essays, and reports. The oral testimony thus given exceeded 1,400 pages. During the hearings the utmost fairness and frankness was observed by both parties, no technical rules of evidence were followed, and whatever seemed to throw any light on the questions involved was frankly and freely produced by both sides and was received by the arbitrators. At the conclusion of the testimony the counsel were given until July 28 to brief the testimony, and on that day the board reassembled and heard the full arguments of counsel, supplemented by carefully prepared briefs on both sides. Thereafter the arbitrators proceeded to study the same and to confer, and it is but justice to themselves to say that all other matters were put aside and their whole and continuous work given to the fulfillment of their duty as arbitrators, which they have all accepted and attempted to fill as not only their duty to the two parties interested, but also to the public, whom both these parties are seeking to serve, and to the general cause of the arbitration of industrial differences. We have recited these proceedings at length as evidencing the fact that the case has had at the hands of all parties concerned, namely, the counsel of both parties, the arbitrators chosen by each side, and the arbitrator chosen by both sides, the most patient and laborious consideration possible.

While, as will be seen by reference to the agreement for arbitration, a considerable number of questions are involved, it became evident as the arbitration increased that the main and important question was that of an increase or decrease of wages, and without that question no arbitration would probably have been necessary. In first taking up and determining this one question, viz, whether there shall be an increase or decrease of the wages paid under the last agreement between the parties, we have then before us the important question involved in this arbitration. The others, as we have said, are of minor importance, were capable of adjustment between the parties, and, had they alone existed, they would possibly have been settled between the parties themselves or have been adjusted by the two arbitrators acting as mediators. But on this broad question of an increase or decrease of wages from the scale of the last agreement there was such a radical difference between the men and the company and between the two arbitrators chosen by them that the duty and the responsibility of deciding that question has fallen upon the third arbitrator. The sense of such a grave responsibility must be his warrant for here discussing at possibly undue length matters which, on the surface, may seem not to be here involved, but which, to his mind, are necessary to an intelligent and just settlement of this wage dispute. With this in view, let us first turn to the exact question involved in this wage dispute.

The scale of wages at present being paid under the existing agreement is as follows:

	Cents per hour.
First six months	23½
Second six months	25
Second year	26½
Third year	28
Fourth year	29
Fifth year and thereafter	30

The contention of the men is that a flat rate of 35 cents per hour should be paid to all employees, or, as stated by counsel for the men in their brief: "We say, in concluding, that we have submitted a case to you for your consideration in which, as we see it, there can be no question of our right for a substantial increase in wages, a wage of not less than 35 cents per hour. * * * We are now contending for a flat rate of 35 cents per hour."

Now, to support this contention for a flat rate of 35 cents per hour, it is manifest that we are required to do two things: First, to do away with any fixation of wages based on length of service; and, secondly, to raise the wages of inexperienced men 11½ cents per hour and of experienced men 5 cents per hour, with corresponding wages for all men of intermediate length of service. Such is the contention of the men.

On the other hand, the contention of the company, as stated in its brief, is: "The company's position is that the wages paid the men, considering all questions now existing in the Pittsburgh district, should be reduced proportionately."

Where a third person is called by two parties to fix the wages that shall be paid by one and received by the other, the difficulty in the question is lessened by considering what the parties have themselves done in the past in fixing such wages. When therefore he finds, as here, an existing working agreement, it is natural and proper to place on the party asking another wage scale, the burden of showing due cause for such change. In this case the company seeks to lower the scale, and we think it right that unless it can show us some substantial reason for lowering such scale, we are justified in regarding its agreement of a year ago to pay the wages it has been paying as substantial evidence that such wages are not too high. On the other hand, where the men

seek to increase such wages, we are likewise justified in regarding the same agreement as substantial evidence that such wages are not too low. In other words, both parties have evidenced what they regard as fair and right by their last fixation of wages, and it is common sense for an arbitrator, who is asked by either or both parties to fix a different wage rate, to call on him who seeks to change to show substantial reason for so seeking to change a standard which both parties have themselves set. It does not follow from such reasoning that where wages are once set there can be no rise or no fall; it only applies that common-sense principle that when a change is to be made, either up or down, there must be substantial reason to warrant such change. Ordinarily the universal law of supply and demand establishes wage rates, for whatever our theory of what wages are or ought to be, the scarcity or overplus of either work or workers controls the fixation of such wages. But where, as here, the men and the company have gone on with the public transportation duty and left to an arbitration the fixation of all wages since the date of this agreement, we think the determination of this question should be on broader lines than the mere question of supply and demand.

The ultimate fixation of the wages of street car men is, in our judgment, to-day in a somewhat uncertain condition. This is because the electric development of city transit has and is undergoing rapid changes. The change from a horse car to a present-day interurban type of car has been so rapid and the prospective changes are so many that the final fixation of a general standard of wages for street car men has not been made. We therefore find that not only is there no general standard, but we find that each of our large cities has made such fixations on the basis of local conditions. In this arbitration we have been impressed by the fact that what wages are paid in one city afforded little real light on what should be done in detail in another.

Turning, then, to the problem before us, we find that owing to its topography Pittsburgh presents a street car problem that is wholly different from that of any other city, and is one of the most acute problems of city transportation that street car operators and street car managers anywhere are called upon to justly solve. In Pittsburgh there are in the neighborhood of 3,000 motormen and conductors, operating approximately 580 miles of tracks—a trackage which if extended would span the distance between Pittsburgh and Milwaukee. In this territory there are 87 routes, and some 1,000 cars start from and return to 20 different car barns. In many cities there are main arteries where cars run north and south with intersecting cross-town cars, with a consequent distribution of directions of travel, but such is not the case in Pittsburgh. The high hills and deep valleys, coupled with the fact that the real center toward which all Pittsburgh and its tributary population converges is the small triangle at the forks of the rivers, excludes cross-town cars. The whole street car problem centers in the triangle between the rivers and from the point to the courthouse. It follows, therefore, that there is a congestion of travel to reach this central triangle in the morning and to get away from it in the evening that creates a street car problem such as confronts no other American city. And as this travel rush centers into two hours in the morning and two hours at night, and the road must, at those widely spread apart hours, have every available man and car at work, it will be seen what a difficult problem it is to handle. These concentrations of travel at the morning and evening hours are called peaks, and a moment's reflection will show that the travel-peak incident to most cities is accentuated in Pittsburgh by the fact that practically all lines of travel run to a common center. It is as though a liquid was able to pass through the nozzle of a funnel as fast as you could pour it into the body of the funnel. The extent of these peaks is shown in the proofs in this case. Thus in the three morning hours between 6 and 9 o'clock the company must bring 90,000 passengers into the city in 4,600 car lots, 53,000 of whom must be carried from half after 7 to 9 o'clock and in 2,000 car lots. In the three hours between 4 and 7 it must take out 102,000 people in 4,300 car trips, 69,000 of whom must be taken from half after 4 to 6, and in 2,300 trips. When it is realized that the summit of these two peaks, viz, 8.30 a. m. and 5.30 p. m., are eight hours apart, and that during all the other hours, both of night and day, between these two peaks, the dispatcher must have his cars in operation for the travel which spreads itself over the remaining hours of the day, we begin to realize the difficulties of the situation. These unchangeable public requirements of travel, namely, two widely separated 2-hour peaks, and 20 hours of night and day service, make the dispatcher's problem of workably and fairly and profitably doing justice alike to all three parties concerned, namely, the carmen, the company, and the public, a problem so complicated as to challenge the ability of the ablest, coolest, and fairest men who would attempt it. In trying to solve this problem the dispatcher who lays out the runs and the carmen who make them are confronted by unchangeable fixed public habits and demands which neither the dispatcher, motorman, or traction company can change. One of these is the hour of public travel, concentrating the bulk of its travel into two peaks and spreading the remainder over all hours of the day and night. In other activities employers and workmen can measurably control the hours when work is done, and thus not only make it a night or day work, or they can concentrate it all within certain hours. For example, in factory work, in the building trades and in trades and occupations generally, the work can be evenly distributed over the working hours of daylight, and if for any reason it is desired to have any particular work done at a desired time, either day or night, the employer and workman can so arrange it. But in street railway work the public decrees otherwise, and dispatcher, carman, and traction company have to accept this unyielding and unchanging public habit of two daily peaks and continuous night-and-day travel between such peaks as one of the incidents of street car operation and service. This makes street car work a night-and-day occupation.

In regard to the spread of his possible work being all over the 24 hours, and of possibly being on Sundays as well as on holidays, the street car man is like the seaman. It will thus be seen that any man who chooses street car service as his work must face the fact that he is choosing a work of which widespread hours and night and Sunday work are uncontrollable incidents. Generally speaking, most other occupations are controllable in the time and the concentration of work, and when one in such occupations is called upon, for instance, to do night or Sunday work he is called on to do that which is not an incident to that occupation and is not a necessity. In controllable work both night and Sunday work and spread of work over long hours can be avoided, but when one's work relates to public travel, that work must adjust itself to a public demand which does not subject itself either to hours or control. It is a mere truism to say that if a dispatcher could spread the work of his cars over the whole working day he could arrange without trouble the time when every man's work could be done and there would be no difficulty in adjusting his pay by relation to other occupations. We have dwelt on this at length, for we think a recognition of the uncontrollable nature of this public work of street car service is necessary to a reasonable and just fixation of wages. In weighing, therefore, the character of such work it is clear that street car service in the uncontrollable spread of its hours, caused by the peaks, the necessity of continuous service through every 24 hours of day and night and by its being required on Sundays and holidays is a work which in these particulars is less desirable than that of most other occupations.

On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that coupled with these unfavorable facts thus created by the nature of this public service there is coupled to it as public labor a valuable and oftentimes overlooked incident, and this is the certainty of the work. In the final analysis possibly the most favorable factor in work is the certainty of its continuance. Work will not keep, and a day out of work is a day lost. Steady work, a work that from its public character goes on without stop, a work that panics, shut-downs, lack of orders, overstocking of the market, and many other of the accidents and misfortunes of business does not affect in stopping men's work, is a factor that reason and common sense require should be regarded in a just estimate. We think that, other things being equal, the man who was offered guaranteed work that would pay him $1,000 a year as long as he chose to continue it would have a much more valuable work than one who received much higher pay but had no assurance it would last. In that regard street car service possesses an advantage over and above others. If a street car company fails, its work does not stop or its employees go idle. Whether the company fails or prospers, whether times are good or bad, the street car must run. This often overlooked fact of the certainty and stability of street car service is shown by the evidence in this case, for while the proofs show that 75,000 men are out of work in the Pittsburgh district and the wage pay roll of the district has fallen off $350,000 a day, or nearly $10,000,000 a month, no one of the 3,000 motormen and conductors of this company have been laid off. We allude to these facts of men in other branches of work being idle, not as factors of any oversupply of men to work and therefore as a reason why street car men who have work should be reduced in pay because other men are idle, but simply to strikingly emphasize what we have to say of the overlooked fact that street car service is virtually a guaranteed service. As contrasted with the certainty of street car service we have uncontradicted proof of the uncertainty of other employment in this district. Thus, speaking of the work situation here, an experienced statistical witness whose business it is to gather together information for "large mercantile houses, wholesale jobbing houses, houses that want to know conditions on stock purchasing and credits," and who frankly states he has no politics, speaking of the eight Carnegie mills in this district, says:

"The reports of that company officially show their normal employment last year was about 23,300; in June, this year, it was 18,600. Last year these men were employed six days a week, and this year, with the exception of two mills, Edgar Thompson and Homestead, they are employed four days a week. * * * The Pressed Steel Car Co. in June, 1913, and previous to that time were employing at McKees Rocks 4,000 men, and in their Woods Run Plant 2,000 men. * * * The number out of employment at McKees Rocks now is 1,500, and Woods Run 200, as against last year. * * * The Manufactuers' Association of Pittsburgh is an organization of metal trades, the machinery builders, and toolmakers of the district. The men employed by the Manufacturers' Association this year, as compared with last, is about 40 per cent less than last year. Most of these are steel workers. * * * The coal companies in the Pittsburgh district employ about 50,000 miners and mine workers. At the present time they are employing 30,000 or a little less. There are about 21,000 workers idle in this district to-day. * * * There are 37,000 coke ovens in this district and 17,000 of them are idle. * * * The Carnegie Steel Co. has 59 furnaces, and there are 31 operating out of the 59 furnaces at the present time. * * * The 1st day of July there were 40,000 railroad men out in the Pittsburgh district inclosed within a 60-mile radius; that is, shop men, freight and passenger crews, and track repairers."

Confirming this general estimate, the general manager of the Pittsburgh Coal Co. says:

"Compared with number of men a year ago, we employ at the present time about 5,000 men less than a year ago. The men are anxious to work, and it is distressing and disturbing to see the men around the works that we can't give work to. I believe this is true of all coal companies. There are some worse than the Pittsburgh Coal Co., if that is possible."

With such facts as above, and covering so many branches of industry, the stability and certainty of work in the case of motormen and conductors is an advantage in favor of that employment that more than offsets the advantages of other occupations, but which, with such advantages, have no guaranteed certainty of work.

Another feature of street car men's work that is overlooked, and which is not possessed by many other occupations, is that it combines out-of-door work with sheltered work. While the evidence is—and it is no doubt true—that the vibration of the car is conducive to kidney trouble, the standing on the feet to varicose veins, that stomach trouble is common and the hours are hard, yet no one could critically look at the large number of carmen who attended these hearings and not be impressed with the general robustness of their appearance. This was especially so among the motormen. Reflection will show that such work is conducive to health. He has the great advantage of open air, but modern improvements have given him an inclosed shelter in which to work, and, if he desires, his stool at times relieves him from standing on his feet. Like changes in car service and the general and growing adoption of the pay-as-you-enter car allows the conductors also to stay at the rear of the car, instead of requiring them to breathe the oftentimes close and confined air of a crowded car. These three features of certainty of work, open air, and yet sheltered work are matters which go to the very root of things—are factors in favor of this occupation which tend to offset the disadvantages which it certainly has. There is another feature which should be considered in making a just estimate, and that is that street car service, whether from its activity, its mingling with the public, or from the fact that men like to conrol, as the motorman and conductor do the car, seems to attract men. In that regard we have in the proofs where different witnesses who had been engaged in many other occupations have either from the element of health, from irregularity or uncertanty of work in other occupations, or from various causes, left them to take up street car work. So also there is proof of a considerable number of other men who after giving up street car work have come back to it. Another feature must not be overlooked, and this especially refers to conductors. While in other occupations a long period of apprenticeship is necessary to fit one for such work, the proof in this case is that two weeks' trial will fit a man for intelligently undertaking conductor's work.

In considering this subject we have not overlooked the fact that cars have increased in size and carry more passengers, that there are

more stops to make and more street traffic to be contended with, but coupled with all these facts there are many other things to be considered. While there are more people carried on a large car than in the old type of car, yet the pay-as-you-enter system has made a conductor's work easier than when he had to push through a crowded car. So also the electrical equipment and brake facilities in a car have tended to give the motorman more effective means of operating and controlling it.

Having thus considered the general features of street car work we turn to the contention of the street car company that the wages of the men should be reduced. In considering that subject, as also the position of the men, we start, as we have said, with the agreement of last year as a working basis, and we place upon the party seeking to change that basis the burden of showing such substantial ground for departing from it. In that regard, both parties base their contention on the relation of wages to the cost of living. The contention of the company is that, taking a range of several years, they say that while under the proofs in this case and as testified to by an expert statistician called by the men, there has been an increase in the price of food products, there has been a larger increase in the wages paid by the Pittsburgh Railways Co. to its men. Turning first to the increase of the cost of food products, it seems in a general way to be conceded by all parties that food products consist substantially of two-fifths of the expense of living, and on that basis it would seem to be further assumed that there has been as applied to food products an added expense of somewhat less than 8 per cent of the entire sum covered by the whole cost of living. Going back over the years during which this increase has been going on, the company says they have increased the wages of motormen and conductors over 12 per cent. For example, this increase may be illustrated by citing the increase of wages of the five-year men for the years—

Wages per hour of five-year men.	Cents.
1907	27
1908	26½
1909	26½
1910	28½
1911	29½
1912	30
1913	30

Finding, as I think we must, that during these years the increase of wages paid by this company has more than kept pace with the cost of food products, is this difference such as to warrant this board of arbitrators in lowering the wages of the men? Theoretically it might be, but practically it is not. Take, for instance, what these figures mean when applied to a single man. Take, for instance, a man receiving $900 or over, which the proofs show is the case with over a thousand men. During those years the yearly gain to him in the increase in wages over the increase in food products has been about $40, or somewhat over $3 per month. Now, while this difference in the aggregate, when applied to 3,000 men, is large, to wit, $120,000; yet when it comes to be applied to the individual man, we are satisfied that this figure difference of $40 to each man, which at best is based on statistics and is more or less theoretical, affords no such broad and substantial ground as would warrant us in reducing the wages as contended for by the company. In the nature of things, there can be no fixed standard for determining wages; the best that can be done can not be exact. We therefore are of opinion that the company has not, even by showing, as we think it has, that the increase in wages in these years has been greater than the increase in food products, met the burden resting upon it of showing any substantial ground for changing the scale of wages under which the men and company worked during the past year and which is now being paid.

We next turn to the contention of the men. This, as we have seen, is of a twofold nature, and, as above noted, is, first, to do away with any fixation of wages based on length of service, and, secondly, to raise the wages of all motormen and conductors to 35 cents per hour.

Taking up the first question, it calls for the doing away with all grades of service, and places, so far as wages are concerned, all motormen and conductors on the same basis. This contention, be it observed, not only changes the plan under which this company and its men have been working for many years, but would start a system that, so far as we have discovered from the evidence, is not followed by the street car system of any large city in the country. We think it a safe rule to follow that, when objection is made to any plan or system under which men or States or nations have been working, the burden rests upon him who seeks change to show convincing reasons for the change. To give up any tried and tested plan for an untried and untested one is a step that ought to be based on sure and sound reasons. Without entering on a discussion of the question of the general merits of the present plan of this and other street railways, whereby a gradual raise of wages is provided for with each year of service for several years, and without discussing the merit of a plan which in time creates a reserve force of seasoned and experienced employees, thus affording a company and its men an opportunity to know and understand each other, it must be apparent that from the standpoint of the public the application of such a rule would be highly injurious to the public.

The proofs in the case strikingly evidence the unwisdom of placing new and untried men on the same wage scale as old and proved men. In Exhibit 31 we have a chart showing the contrasted result of the work of new and old men. Take, for example, the six months' men as compared with five year and over men. The chart charges up to each class, in addition to the wages paid such class, the sums they have cost the company in accidents. These figures are striking when they are understood. Take, for example, the five-year men as a class; while he was doing $300 worth of wage work for the company the company paid $29 as the expense of accidents he caused while earning such $300. Taking, however, the average work of the six months' man while he was doing $235 worth of wage work for the company, the company paid $178 as the expense of accidents he caused while earning the $235 wages. In other words, taking the work of that class of new men as a whole, the accidents resulting from it actually cost the company about seven times as much as the accidents of the five-year men. When the further fact is borne in mind that very many men in this five-year class never have any accident, the unfairness of establishing any system of street railroad operation and wages where no distinction is made between length of service and freedom from accidents, the unwisdom of such a plan is apparent. At the argument it was in effect said that a six-months motorman might be put on the same car as a five-year conductor, or a six-months conductor with a five-year motorman, and that so long as the company had the six-months man doing the work of a five-year man the former should receive the same pay. But however this might be in the case of some individual men, reflection shows the argument is not sound. It assumes that six-months men as a class are doing the work in the same way the five-year men are, when in point of fact we have seen by the cost of accidents the new men as a class are doing the work far more expensively and not so well as the experienced men. For every $500 of work the new men as a whole are doing, the company is paying $350 extra for the accidents the new men's work has resulted in. Such actual results show how unsound and unfounded the argument is. Without entering into further detail in this particular we limit ourselves to saying that neither the evidence or the reasons advanced show any ground on which we could base an award that all motormen and conductors be placed on an equal footing without reference to their length of service.

Turning next to the claim that the wages be increased to 35 cents per hour, we inquire what grounds have been shown for this increase? In that regard the counsel for the men in their brief contend that the "wages ought to be higher than those which have prevailed in the past if the work is now harder or more responsible or if it requires more skill, or if it be shown that the wages in the past have been too low or beneath a living wage," and, further, "that the wages paid must be increased side by side with the cost of living in order to secure the welfare of the workers."

As we have said before, each large city has a street car problem peculiar to itself and the system of hours, classification, runs, and general arrangement of the work is so peculiar to each that arguments based on other cities is, when the service as a whole is being considered, unreliable. In spite of this we may safely affirm that no city in the United States pays as much as the flat rate of 35 cents here contended for, and, secondly, that while there are some few large cities that pay somewhat more than Pittsburgh, there are far more cities that pay less. We are justified in saying that, taking the street car system as a whole in the large cities of the United States, the wages paid street car men in Pittsburgh is above the average paid in other cities. We think this fact tends to show the present scale should not be changed in Pittsburgh unless there is something of a local nature that necessitates a different wage scale in Pittsburgh from other large cities. We have carefully weighed the testimony on the question of rents, and while there are proofs of some individual men whose rents have been increased, and while there is the evidence of those owning real estate that they have raised their rents, yet taking the testimony as a whole we are satisfied that during the last few years house rents, as distinguished from business rents, have not increased in Pittsburgh. As to the increased cost of food, we have elsewhere shown that such increase during those years has been more than offset by the increased scale of wages this company has paid to each service grade of its men. As to the work now being harder than in former years, we are unable from the evidence to find any such increased hardship as warrants a change from existing rates. It is true the cars are larger, but with such cars has developed effective mechanism for operating and controlling them.

The work of motormen is under all circumstances responsible, and their vigilance when the car is in motion is constant and unchanging, but it has always been so. While the motorman is constantly apprehensive of accidents, and where sections of his run permit high speed, he is liable to have some unexpected person, animal, or object confront him, yet it must be borne in mind that on streets where traffic is congested and progress necessarily slow he has the elements in his favor of improved regulations and enforcement of traffic rules, of helpful cooperation by cornermen, and, above all, an increased and enlightened observance by the general public of safety requirements. The traction car has in itself been a great teacher to the public of greater care for its own safety. So also with the conductor. While the enlarged car calls upon him to handle more people and collect more fares, yet by the pay-as-you-enter system, as we have carefully watched the work of conductors, has greatly simplified his work of collecting fares and has given him fuller and freer opportunity than under the old system to receive and discharge passengers. Under the old system he had often to remember and stop his car while he was in the midst of a crowded car and busy in the collection of fares. Under ordinary circumstances, he now collects all his fares as passengers are getting on a stopped car, and when he is required to stop the car no fares are then being collected. In that respect the introduction of larger cars has not tended to make his work more difficult.

In considering this whole subject, we have not overlooked the unfavorable factors, the wide spread of hours, the physical and mental strain and anxiety on the part of the motorman and the foot and kidney strain incident to his and the conductor's being constantly on their feet; the necessity at times of the latter entering crowded cars and being subjected to abuse and public remarks at the hands of selfish and unreasonable passengers; and the fact that the hours of labor are spread and separated, but in spite of it all, the fact has been borne in upon us during these hearings that, whatever the cause, the car men presented an appearance of healthy vigor and strength that is more marked than in most other sets of men. In that connection it is to be borne in mind that while there are times when they are exposed to the elements and when the conductor is subjected to the close atmosphere of crowded cars in the brief peaks or rush periods, yet the facts must not be overlooked that, owing to shelter in the front of the car, which the motorman has, and that the pay-as-you-enter car keeps the conductor in the back of the car, there exists in the case of car men the opportunity to do their work practically in the open air while at the same time they are sheltered from the weather. In measuring the hardship of their work, it should not be overlooked that there are but few branches of human labor, whether it be the laborer in the ditch, the farmer in the field, the man at the lathe or roll, the clerk in the store, all of whom are on their feet all day long, the teacher in the school, or, indeed, any kind of human labor where such an opportunity of sheltered and at the same time open-air work exists. We refer to these factors at length as showing that while we have heard with sympathy the proofs in this case of the hardships incident to car men's work, we have also observed that when compared with other branches of employment there are favorable factors in car men's work which must not be overlooked—factors which many other occupations do not have. And in that connection it should not be overlooked that where his residence requires it the street car man has a free daily transfer to and from his work, an extra which in other occupations would amount to at least $30 a year, in addition to such free transportation as he uses at other times.

There is also another factor which must be borne in mind by anyone called upon to adjust the wages of street car men, which must not be overlooked. No business can continue to exist which does not keep a proper relation between the cost of its labor and the price of its product. If the maker of any product is paying his men a certain price to make it and he raises the wages of him who makes it, he must correspondingly increase his price to the man to whom he sells it. If he does not, bankruptcy is ahead of him. This was illustrated by two instances in the anthracite coal industry.

The Anthracite Arbitration Board raised the price of miner's wages, and to meet this advance the operators raised the price of anthracite

coal. In the same way the State of Pennsylvania lately imposed an additional tax on anthracite coal. Thereupon the producer collected that tax in an additional price put on the coal to the consumer. We may object to this, but after all, as there was nothing but the coal to pay the increased wages to the miner or the tax to the State, to make the coal pay it is to make the consumer pay it. And so it has come about that where wages are raised by arbitration boards or State legislatures the consumer, in the end, pays them and can be fairly called upon to pay them, for there is no one but the consumer of any article to pay the cost of producing that article. But in the case of street railways we have a different situation. We have all grown used to paying a 5-cent fare. The habit of our people and the coinage of our country have fixed the nickel as the unit of street car fare. The result is that the traction company can not raise fares and thus charge the passenger the fair and equitable share he should pay in the cost of hauling him which has arisen by reason of higher wages. In that connection it will be observed that while the wages paid by this and other street car companies have from time to time been increased, no corresponding increase has been made over the nickel fare, and in some cases it has been reduced. We do not overlook the fact that electricity, larger cars, a larger volume of business, faster schedules, and other factors have enabled these companies to economize in other directions, but nevertheless the one unchangeable fact of an unraisable nickel fare is such a barrier to increased revenue to a street railway as calls for wise caution on the part of an arbitrator striving to do justice to both car company and men.

After full consideration of this entire subject, and including the matters involved in questions 12, 13, and 14 of the submission, we have reached the conclusion that the contention of the men for an increase over the present scale, or a change therefrom, should not be granted for Pittsburgh or for Washington, Pa.

Having disposed of these questions which, as we have said, constitute the substantial ones which necessitated this arbitration, we turn to the minor ones which, no doubt, would have been adjusted by the parties themselves.

These questions group themselves under certain heads which we will consider collectively. Under the first head we will consider certain claims for extra compensation not allowed by the present or former scales. At present no extra pay is allowed for night or holiday runs, for snow-plow work, or for the five minutes a man is required to report before his platform work starts. Taking these up in order, it is contended by the men that men operating night cars should be paid paid 10 hours' pay for 8 hours' work. This means one-fourth additional pay. In support of this claim the men contend that virtually all branches of industry pay extra for night work; that when a man is required to do night work he should be paid extra; that the night operation of a car is harder than day. On the other hand, the company contend that the night work is easier than day—for the motorman, because of the decrease of street traffic; for the conductor, because of the absence of passengers, and that street car service is a night and day operation of which night work is a regular part. As we have shown before, night work is a necessary incident to street car service. It is an uncontrollable requirement of the public. No extra fare is paid for it, and the proof in this case is that it is done at a loss to the company. It is evident, therefore, that street car night work is an uncontrollable incident to such work; that therein it differs from most occupations where night work can be avoided. In that respect it is like the work of newspaper men, policemen, sailors, and railroad men generally, in that it can not be postponed until day. It is therefore clear that, as a general principle, the same reason which justifies extra pay for night work in time-controllable day occupations does not apply to street car work. The absence of extra pay for night service, with the exception of one city, is the invariable practice of street car companies. As to the work being harder or more objectionable than day work, the proofs show that these night runs are largely chosen by men whose seniority give them a preference of runs; the records show that while the average age in service of the regular men who operates early, late, and swing runs is 8½ years, the average age in service of those who operate night runs is over 9½ years. These facts show that under present conditions night runs are largely chosen in preference to day runs by those whose seniority gives them the right of choice.

What has been said of night work applies to Sunday and holiday work. Both are incident to street car service, and are as unchangeable incidents of it as a public-service occupation. In both Sunday and holiday runs there is less street traffic, fewer pedestrians on the street, and more even distribution of passengers over the entire day. Under ordinary circumstances a street car man can, if he desires, be excused from Sunday work, as there are fewer runs on that day than on week days. The proofs in the case, however, show that the men entitled to preference choose the Sunday runs, and that in many instances where they take a rest day they take a week day in preference to Sunday. The proofs that the general practice of American street railways, including such cities as Buffalo, Boston, St. Louis, New York, Chicago, Cleveland, and several others, is to allow no extra pay for Sunday work. In Pittsburgh the practice has been to pay in some instances for such work by allowing 10 hours' pay for 8 hours' work. The contention of the company is that this extra Sunday pay should be abolished; the contention of the men is that it should be further increased. For example, if a man has a 10-hour run during the week and an 8-hour run on Sunday, he should hereafter be paid 15-hours' pay for his 8-hour run instead of for 10 hours, as is now the case. In our view the contentions of both parties must be refused; in other words, we hold the present schedules should stand. Our reasons for so holding are, as we have said, that Sunday work is an incident to street car service, and stands on the same general footing as the work of sailors, policemen, and like occupations. The almost general street car practice has so regarded it and has allowed no extra pay for it. In that regard we think the present contention of the company is founded on good reason supported by the general street car practice. But as the question comes before us, the Pittsburgh Railways Co. has in the last schedule and for some years made some extra allowance for some Sunday runs. This established practice the company now seeks to change. Its only ground for doing so we have fairly stated above. But these reasons have always existed, and with them before it the company has chosen for some years to make this extra allowance for some Sunday runs. We are now asked to change it, not for any cause that has arisen since it began so paying. As we have said before, where any change in an existing scale is sought the burden rests on him who asks it to show grounds for such change. We therefore adhere to the present scale, and, for reasons stated, we refuse the contention of the company that no extra pay be allowed for Sunday runs and the contention of the men that they be allowed additional pay for such runs.

What we have said as to Sunday runs applies in large part to holiday runs. Holiday work is an incident, a necessary part, of street car service. In that respect it differs from ordinary occupations in which holiday work is not an incident, but an exception, and where if it is done is generally paid for extra. For these reasons the present contention for 15 hours' pay for 8 hours' night and holiday work is denied.

It remains to consider the claim of pay for the five minutes' reporting time. According to present practice, the names of all men who are required to report for duty the following day are posted in the barns. This report must be made to the dispatcher five minutes before the man's run begins, to enable the dispatcher to assign the run to another man in case the posted man fails to report. It is clear that this five minutes' leeway is absolutely necessary to the starting of cars on schedule time. It is of mutual benefit to both parties. The dispatcher has given notice the day before that such a run will be made by a certain man. If that man fails to report, the dispatcher has the five minutes' time to fill his place. If the man reports, the run is his. It will thus be seen that it is of mutual advantage—of advantage to the dispatcher in preventing delays, of advantage to the man in securing the run by his timely report. Such timely advance reports for duty are common in all occupations where a particular person is assigned to a particular work and where such work can not be postponed. Railroad engineers, firemen, and conductors so report. In the city schools the principals must be in their places a half hour and teachers 20 minutes ahead of the opening of the schools, and in large stores clerks are required to report enough ahead of the opening time so that they are in their places at the counters before the scheduled opening time. This five minutes' reporting time is not paid for, and the contention of the men is that it should be paid for as regular platform time. The contention of the men is that during this preliminary time the man examines his car, and of this the company gets the benefit. The proofs show that advance-reporting time is not paid for in the following cities: Buffalo, Cleveland, Indianapolis, Brooklyn, Kansas City, St. Louis, Baltimore, and New York; and to these may be added Toronto, where the inquiry showed there was a 10-minute advance report, for which no pay was allowed. Payment of this five minutes as platform time would require $35,000 a year, and the proofs show that the company already pays as actual platform time nearly $90,000 for other items of dead time. In view of all the facts and the practice in other cities, we are of opinion no change should be made from the present scale.

We next consider the snowplow work. This work is exceptional, not in the ordinary routine, at times calls for unusually long hours, and the successful operation of the sweepers calls for qualifications that are not required in ordinary motormen or conductors' work. In that regard the testimony is, "running the car forward is about the same as other cars; but running the broom ought to be taken care of by a shopman rather than by a conductor. The broom should be operated by a man who is familiar with machinery and mechanical devices. The brooms are operated by a separate motor. When the car is running in one direction the controller operating that motor is right beside the motorman and he operates it, but when it is running in the opposite direction the controller is at the other end of the car and the conductor operates it. The difficulty comes in operating the brooms; if the brooms are a little too low they hammer themselves out on the pavement; or if they are set too high sometimes the chains come off. The heavier the snow the further up the brooms should be; they should not be down hammering the ground. If the snow is too deep and you get them down too low it will tear them out." It is clear to us that this work requires men of special aptitude, and in view of that fact, the irregular and nonroutine character of the work and its liability to long and arduous stretches, an extra compensation of 10 cents per hour for platform time so occupied should be paid.

We next turn to the question concerning the Perrysville Avenue, the Greenfield Avenue, the Verona cars and the manning of mail, money, work, and ash cars. Under the present system the car men themselves, under the seniority rule, select the runs for the Verona and Greenfield Avenue routes and the superintendent can not veto or control the manning of the cars. On the Perrysville Avenue, while the men can select, under the seniority rule, such selection is subject to approval by the superintendent. The men contend the superintendent's power of veto over the Perrysville line should be done away with and that that line should be put on the same footing as the Verona and Greenfield. On the other hand, the company contend the superintendent's approval should be extended to the Verona and Greenfield lines, the same as on the Perrysville Avenue line. The proofs show that the three routes are substantially the same, in that the grades are long and steep, and the operating of the car should be done by men whose coolness, judgment, promptness, and other qualities fit them to meet the emergencies which are more likely to arise on these routes. It is therefore clear that if these facts justify the placing of a superintendent's approval is proper on the Perrysville route, the Verona and Greenfield routes should be put on the same basis.

It is a matter of common experience that among a number of men equally qualified for the ordinary routine work of any occupation there are certain men who are specially fitted to meet unforeseen contingencies. When the particular work to be done may meet such dangers, it is the duty of a superintendent to use corresponding care in selecting men fitted for that work. Indeed, the law would hold a superintendent guilty of negligence in failing to carefully select for such work a man specially fitted therefor. Such being the case, for this board to deprive the superintendent of the power of in any way controlling the selection of the men, while at the same time holding him responsible for not making a proper selection, would not be right. The proofs in this case show a practical illustration. They are:

"There is a long hill from Hazelwood Avenue down to Second Avenue. In the history of the road we have had several very serious accidents on Greenfield Avenue. Greenfield Avenue used to be a preference route—that is, one where the men chose, subject to approval by superintendent—none but old men ran it; but two years ago it was conceded; but we want to make it a preference route again. We had an accident that cost us over $100,000 since the last agreement. It was on account of a car getting away on that street grade. * * * For a number of years the Perrysville Avenue line has been considered a preference line. That is, a man is not permitted to operate on that unless where he chooses his run the superintendent says, 'O. K. You are all right for that line.' This is something we have asked from the men this time. We wanted Verona and Greenfield also included. They are not included, and we wanted that. The reason is we had a very serious accident on Greenfield Avenue some time ago, and we also had an accident that killed a motorman on the Verona line, and we felt the men should be carefully selected."

The same general reasoning applies to the mail, work freight, money and work cars. The manning of these cars require men of special aptitude of whom the management should have the selection with a view to getting men specially fitted for such work. The men handling the mail cars are in effect bonded employees of the company. The

freight men are acquainted with patrons and requirements along the route. The work crew have to handle trains, must be fitted for line work, and must have the ability to direct laboring crews. It is clear that to have all such men assigned to such duties by virtue of a general seniority rule, and with an absence of that discretion of choice which must be exercised to secure men fitted for particular tasks would result in confusion and general dissatisfaction. Summing up, therefore, the different subjects of this group, and in view of the workings under former agreements, we are satisfied that no sufficient cause has been shown to warrant making Greenfield Avenue a preference route and for making Verona one also. We think Verona, Greenfield, and Perrysville should all be subject to veto. We think no sufficient ground has been shown for changing the present arrangement as to the mail, freight, money, work, and ash cars.

We next turn to the extra allowance to trippers. Under the present schedule, as we understand it, late straight men who work morning trippers receive 25 cents extra. It is now contended by the men that this sum should be raised to 35 cents, and the same pay should be extended to a late-early or a late swing man, provided the dead time between the completion of his run and the beginning of the extra work is more than 50 minutes. On the hearing the proofs satisfy us of the reasonableness of extending the practice now applying to late straight men so that it should apply to late early and late swing men, and it is so awarded. We find in the evidence, or in the general situation, no sufficient ground shown for increasing the 25 cents compensation now paid to 35 cents compensation as contended for by the men, or reducing it to 15 cents as contended by the company. The arbitrator adheres to the amount now provided by the scale.

The next contention refers to the mode of counting the money collected by the men. Where the money is not handled by the conductor, but is placed by the passenger in a pay-as-you-enter box no complaint is made, but where the money is personally collected by the conductor, complaint is made. The present practice is at the end of his run the money collected is placed by the conductor in an envelope and handed in at the barn. It is there placed in a safe which is taken to the general office. It is there counted by a force of some 20 women clerks, and if any mistake is discovered the overplus or shortage from the report is at once posted and the man receives his overplus or is compelled to pay the shortage, without his having any opportunity of checking up the mistake. It is evident the fairness of the system rests wholly on the accuracy and honesty of the women who do the counting. This system is in general use in street car companies, and no better method has been devised. At the hearing the board invited suggestions which would enable it to outline some other and better method of counting the money. About one-third of the cars are now equipped with pay-as-you-enter boxes, and it is in evidence that within two years substantially all cars will be so equipped. This will remove all grounds of complaint. The present method, we are free to say, is open to grave objections, for no man is willing to have his count questioned without his being present, and if the practice were to so continue we would feel constrained to find some way to change it, although no practical working method was shown by the evidence or in response to the board's suggestion. In view, however, of the fact that pay-as-you-enter boxes are now being installed, that the company is itself desirous of changing the practice and is now taking steps to supersede it, our now ordering the company to receive such funds at the barn would make a change to a system which experience has shown is also not satisfactory, and that it would require all conductors to remain at the barn until their funds were counted, we feel that no change should now be ordered.

It remains to consider the question of free transportation. The present status is that all motormen and conductors are now furnished free transportation to and from their work and also at all other times when they are in uniform. The contention of the men is that the restriction as to requiring them to be in uniform should be removed. This is opposed by the company on the ground that while it is willing and does extend free transportation to the men, that the requirement of their being in uniform when they travel affords a sure means of identification and prevents the privilege being abused. After full consideration, we are of opinion that no sufficient reason has been shown to warrant any change from existing conditions. It may be possible that in places where the men are few in number and know each other that a free transportation system might safely dispense with the requirement of a uniform, but in such large cities as Buffalo, Chicago, Boston, Brooklyn, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Kansas City, St. Louis, Baltimore, and New York the wearing of a uniform is necessary if a man desires to avail himself of free transportation. The pass system was subject to so many abuses that in the present state of public opinion on that subject any extension of it beyong the immediate necessities of the business would seem questionable. As we read the award in the Boston arbitration, even the giving by the Pittsburgh Railways Co. of free transportation to its employees when not traveling on the business of the company is condemned. In that regard the arbitrators said:

"Should the employees when not engaged in the business of the company be furnished with unlimited free transportation? It is hard to distinguish in principle unlimited free transportation of employees of a street railway company from free use of the telegraph by the employees of a telegraph company, or unlimited free use of the telephone by the employees of a telephone company, free use of the express facilities of an express company by its employees and free use of electricity by the employees of a lighting company.

"Public opinion to-day, enforced by the legislature and the courts, demands that all elements of discrimination be eliminated by the public-service corporations. The public has a right to know that a public service company serves all persons alike, that its officers, directors, and employees obtain no special privileges by reason of their office or employment, and that, when off duty, they stand as a private citizen."

The grant of such free transportation has always been given in Pittsburgh to carmen whether on business of the company or not, provided they were in uniform, and the uniform, as a means of identification has been the usage in the company giving like free transportation to firemen and policemen when in uniform. We find in the evidence and the general subject no sufficient grounds to lead to a change from existing and long-observed requirements in that respect.

By the submission we are required to write into the agreement the time during which the same shall run. In that regard the arbitrator has suggestions from his fellow arbitrators on the one hand of five years and on the other hand of one year. After careful consideration he has reached the conclusion that the agreement shall stand for two years from the date of this report and that the time blank in the agreement should be filled so as to read "until September 30, 1916," and all other blanks shall be filled in in accordance with the conclusions heretofore stated.

The testimony in this arbitration took a somewhat wider range than the questions involved. In view of that fact, we are moved to bring to the attention of the employees of this company and to the officials of the company certain suggestions, feeling that, coming as they do from outside and disinterested persons, they may possibly be of some service to both the employees in their relation to the company and to the company in its relation to its employees.

These suggestions, for they are mere suggestions, and, of course, have no binding effect on anyone, accompany this report.

JOS. BUFFINGTON, *Arbitrator.*

I concur in the above.

JAMES C. GRAY, *Arbitrator.*

I dissent from the above as per opinion filed herewith.

STEPHEN G. PORTER, *Arbitrator.*

SUGGESTIONS MADE.

Traction transportation is a public service and not a private enterprise, and all who are engaged in it, whether they are owners or operators of its cars and lines, are alike public servants. It is true a shareholder of a traction company who furnishes the money to build, equip, and operate its lines and cars invests his money therein, and he or she is entitled to just regard for his personal property thus invested, and it is also true that the operative who furnishes his labor in operating the road is entitled to just regard for his labor. But over and beyond this it must not be overlooked that the stockholder who furnishes the car and the man who operates it have both undertaken a public duty, and that their respective private rights are subject to the public duty which they have undertaken. The State, in its sovereign power, has created the traction company and has imposed the obligation of public service on the car owner and the car operative alike. To enable these two to carry out this public service of transportation, it pays through its individual citizens the fund in the shape of fares to carry on this public service. Such being the case, it follows that the rights of the car owner and the car operative can never rise higher than the public right of effective public service, and that whenever and wherever operative or owner asserts any claim against the other which affects the efficiency of due public service, such person, whether operative, owner, organization, or corporation, is losing sight of the fact that traction transportation is a public service and not a private right. Such being the case, cars being necessary to transport the public, and men being required to run these cars, it goes without saying that only when there is the fullest and heartiest cooperation between the man who furnishes the car and the man who operates the car will the public be properly served. Where the spirit of cooperation, good will, what we term in common talk "team work," is lacking, where the car owner and the car worker do not understand and help each other the public is bound to suffer. The road is not owned by the company to be operated for its benefit, nor is it to be controlled by the operatives for their benefit; it is only when due public service is the aim of both parties and when each shall so control himself that the public service shall be the aim of both that the purpose for which the law grants the franchise of running the car and creates the work for men to operate it that the true purpose of the great public service of traction transportation is met. It follows from this that the key to the doing of this great public service lies in the proper spirit of cooperation on the part of each and every one engaged in such service. What is cooperation? Its best definition is team work. It means shoulder-to-shoulder work. It means the company, by its officials, knowing the men, appreciating their work, seeking in every possible way their welfare, and the men seeking in every way to aid, better, and improve the company's service. We hear much in these days about the division between capital and labor. We are told the division will be wider. That capital will combine and form its unions against labor, and labor will combine and form its unions against capital. But every man must see that the man who puts the money in the pay envelope and the man who takes it out can not, when they come to understand each other aright, prosper when fighting each other. The true union of the future is the union across the pay envelope by the man who puts the pay into it and the man who takes it out. Now, how can this problem of cooperation be practically worked out? Simply and only in this way—by acquaintance, by financial cooperation, and by a sensible adjustment of differences.

Let us take up these subjects one by one, for they are all bound together, and give our ideas on the subject. First, by acquaintance. Under old labor conditions labor disputes settled themselves, because the man who had a man working for him was generally working with him.

The old-time employer and the old-time employees knew each other, were interested in each other, knew each other's business, each other's needs, and they were enabled to continue a lifetime together with no unsettled disputes. If to-day the old conditions of small operations could be brought back, the large part of our labor and capital troubles would end by the small employer knowing his men and his men knowing him. But changed conditions are upon us and we have for example instead of employee and employer being face to face, 3,000 motormen and conductors in this company, by far the larger part of whom in all probability do not personally know the general superintendent and other officers of this company. This condition can not be changed, but to our minds it could be bettered. That any such condition could be brought about that all of the officials of this company and all of the men should know each other personally is, of course, idle; but we do think that they could be brought much closer together by such a plan as the board of cooperation we have suggested in general outline in our first suggestion. Long experience in court and in the adjustment of those differences and misunderstandings that will always arise between men has convinced us that a great many such differences die a natural death when the parties to a suit get together and find out that every question, like a line fence, has two sides. As the hearings of this arbitration went on, the growth of the spirit of fairness, of cooperation, of respect for each other's rights was manifest in the attitude of both sides. We are, therefore, clear that the organization of a board of cooperation, composed of men selected by the men from the different barns and by officials designated by the company, could and would bring the officials and the operatives of this company closer together, would enable them to understand the mutual difficulties and hardships of the men and of the company, would enable the company to take a broader and fuller view of the rights of the men, the men to take a broader and fairer view of the difficulties of the company, that both would have a better and face-to-face view of each other than before, and that both men and company would have a broader and juster view of their respective duties to the public service than in the past. We can not help but feel that the service rendered by the men in the way of betterments, improvements, avoidance of accidents, better operative methods would largely contribute to the welfare of the company and the betterment of the service to the public, and that regular and full meetings

of such board and the payment of the men for their day's attendance and help would be a wise use of the company's funds. This mere outline will give, in some measure, the reasons why we suggest the formation of a board as outlined in our first suggestion.

Our second point is financial cooperation. The practical basis of cooperation between a traction company and its employees is wages. The one pays wages for work done, and the other works because wages are paid. While there is cooperation in this arrangement, it is often but skin deep, for if the cooperation in a traction company goes no further than mere wages, especially when employer and employee do not really know or appreciate each other, the relation is an at-arms-length one and there is no real cooperation, and the public service suffers accordingly. True cooperation consists in the man who works and the man who furnishes the work being interested, not in wages alone but in the outcome of the public service rendered. And this desirable end, a real deep interest and pride in the work done, will only, in our judgment, be brought about by the workers' financial interest in the work done. To our mind, the final solution of the capital-and-labor problem will only be brought about by profit-sharing labor. As we have said, the true union of the future is the mutual union—interest and sharing of labor in the financial result of capital's work. If such be the case—and far-seeing and thoughtful men are now realizing this fact and trying to work it out—why should not the Pittsburgh Railways Co. and its 3,000 motormen and conductors begin working it out now, for that it will be worked out eventually by other companies and other sets of traction employees is certain? The common sense of men will never be content until capital and labor are enabled to work hand in hand for their common good. This problem would seem more easily solved in traction companies than in any other. The experience of such companies show that under ordinary conditions a certain share of the gross income of such companies is required to pay wages. Such being the case, if, for example, in the operation of the Pittsburgh Traction Co. by the joint efforts of the company, coupled with the more interested work of its motormen and conductors, its gross income can be increased, then the increase in the proportionate share should be devoted to a corresponding increase in wages. In other words, if through the increased and better service of its men the company had less accidents, better service, and increased gross income, if it is able to carry more people and at less cost, the men will receive their proportionate share of such benefit. In other words, as the company benefits the men benefit.

An effort is now being made in the traction lines in one of our large cities to work out this plan and to bring about a condition where the men are financially interested in the outcome of the company's business, and where such welfare brings to them a proportionate increase in wages. In that system, as we understand it, 22 per cent of the gross income of the company is set apart as a fund from which wages are paid, and as the gross receipts of the company increase 22 per cent of this increase goes to the increase of wages of the men. This plan was said by the counsel of the Congressional Commission on Industrial Relations to be "unique in the treatment of employees by a street railway company." To us it is clear that an earnest, broad-minded, and patient effort on the part of the Pittsburgh Railways Co. and of its motormen and conductors to work out some such financial cooperative plan would not only, with the growth and prosperity of Pittsburgh, be of benefit to the company in increased interest and efficiency of their employees, in increased wages to the men, but the company and men would thereby make a great contribution and advance toward the all-important problem of bringing about a true and well-based relation between capital and labor. A study of this problem of profit-sharing cooperation is one of the subjects that could be taken up and patiently worked out by the board of cooperation which we have recommended should be formed.

Attention was called to a plan of proposed insurance to cover the lives of the motormen of this company. Frankly speaking, the whole subject was unfortunate in its handling. The offer of the insurance was made by the company about the time of this wage adjustment. As a result it was looked upon by the men as a sop to affect the wage question. The result was mutual misunderstanding. The testimony in this case shows that the men never considered the offer of an insurance that cost them nothing, and the company felt that a plan that had been worked out only after two years' study by the ablest insurance men had been rejected by the men without any examination. Such mutual misunderstanding affords evidence of the need of the creation of a board such as suggested. Had such a board been in existence, this insurance question would have been talked over and considered, and it would have disclosed these facts. Some two years ago the railways company took up with the Equitable Assurance Co. the project of insuring for a year the wages of persons connected with the company for a year after their death. After negotiations which covered two years a plan of pay-roll group insurance was worked out, and of this two years' work the insurance here offered was the result. Without going into details of the whole plan, it is enough to say that the entire force of the company, covering every officer, clerk, superintendents, motormen, conductors—covering everyone from the president to the track laborers—were placed in groups, and the wages of such groups were insured by the Equitable Co. Without entering into details, it suffices to say that the motormen and conductors formed one group of 3,000 men; each man in the group was to be insured according to his standing on the pay roll. In case of his death, while in the service of the company, his wages were insured to continue for one year after his death at the rate he was then being paid. In the case of men in the employ of the company less than one year only six months' wages were paid, but in all other cases an entire year's wages. The premiums were all paid by the company. No medical examinations were required. The only condition of wage insurance was that the man should be on the pay roll of the company. In case of a man's death the insurance company at once paid the man's family his regular month's wages and gave its bond to continue paying such wages for the 11 months following in case he had worked for the company more than a year or for the following 5 months in case he had worked less. In this way the company was able, by this system of group or collective or union insurance, to procure for every man in its employ an insurance which many of its men could not have gotten if they had been required to pass a medical examination. And in this way the company was enabled, at comparatively light expense to itself—for the proofs showed the yearly premium paid by the company for the insurance of all its employees was about $20,000 per year—to carry out in a systematic way that humane provision that is so often carried out by firms and individuals of continuing for some time after the death of a valued employee his regular wages to his family. Had there been any such board of cooperation in existence such as we have suggested, it is evident that such a plan would have received the thoughtful and businesslike consideration of its members and to-day the family of every motorman and conductor would have the satisfaction of feeling that the husband or father's wages could be continued for one year after his death. To say that such insurance stops when a man leaves the employment of the company proves nothing, for so does his wages stop. This insurance is not and does not purport to be ordinary life insurance. It is wage insurance on the basis of the pay roll. If the company were to-day to issue a general order providing that in case of the death of any man on its pay roll his name would remain on the pay roll and his wages paid to his family for 12 months, this would be highly commendable. And this is precisely what the company, instead of doing itself, proposed to pay the insurance company for doing it. We express no opinion on the subject whether this offer of the company should or should not have been accepted. Our only point is that it was worth consideration. The evidence shows it was not considered. With a board of cooperation, it would have been considered and disposed of. This board would not feel it had done its duty had it not referred to this wage insurance at length, and thus sought to bring it home in simple terms to the thoughtful consideration of the men and their families, as in itself suggesting the need of some such board as we suggest.

In accordance with these views the board recommends to the motormen, conductors, and company:

First. That a board of cooperation be formed, for the forming of which this general plan is suggested, viz: One man will be selected at each barn by secret ballot by the motormen and conductors at said barn in service more than six months. These 20 men, together with the general manager, superintendent of transportation, or such other representatives as the company shall select, not to exceed five persons, shall constitute a board of cooperation. This board shall meet at least once every month. The board will suggest and discuss methods of improving the service, of rendering it safer to the company, and, in general, ways and means of avoiding misunderstandings between the men and the company, promoting good feeling on both parts, and in hearing and suggesting methods of reasonably meeting grievances or complaints that may be made by either the men or the company. The election for the following period will be held at each barn once each year under the direction of the local committee of motormen and conductors and the local superintendent. The trainmen will be paid by the company at their regular rates of wages for all time employed by the men in attending the meeting.

Second. That the subject of profit sharing by men in a certain proportion of the gross earnings of the company be earnestly and jointly taken up by the motormen and conductors and the company, with a view to working out such plan.

Third. This report, together with the dissenting opinion of Mr. Porter, shall be printed in full and a copy thereof furnished to each motorman and conductor in the service.

River and Harbor Improvements.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. T. H. CARAWAY,

OF ARKANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 3 (legislative day of Tuesday, March 2), 1915.

On Senate substitute to H. R. 20189, making appropriations for river and harbor improvements for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916.

Mr. CARAWAY. Mr. Speaker, I shall discuss briefly House bill 20189, making appropriations for river and harbor improvement.

In the second session of this Congress a rivers and harbors bill appropriating approximately $43,000,000 passed this House. It remained in the Senate without action until a few hours before the close of the session, when an amendment, in the nature of a substitute, making a lump appropriation of $20,000,000 was transmitted from the Senate to the House. The hour of adjournment was so near that no opportunity was afforded to examine the provisions of the substitute, much less to discuss them. It vested in the Secretary of War the power to allot this sum so appropriated to such projects as he might deem most meritorious. This was an unwise abrogation by Congress of its right to control the expenditures of public moneys and vesting that right in the head of one of the departments of this Government. No one at that time presumed such action was to be construed as a precedent. It was urged purely as an emergency act thrust upon us. The friends of the river and harbor improvement were constrained to agree to it, because to refuse to do so at that time meant no appropriation for river improvement at that session of Congress.

The present rivers and harbors bill, H. R. 20189, was reported to this House in January of this year and promptly passed, carrying substantially $34,000,000, and transmitted to the other legislative body. It has remained there without action, other than to be reported from the Committee on Commerce, until within less than 24 hours of the time for final adjournment of this Congress. Once more an amendment in the nature of a substitute, making a lump appropriation this time of $25,000,000, vesting again in the Secretary of War the power to allot this sum, subject to certain restrictions, is returned to this body, and again we must accept it or receive nothing. When this bill was first reported to this House, all the Representatives in this body from Arkansas protested against the unfair

treatment contained therein for our rivers. This condition was, in a measure, remedied in the House. The bill as amended was transmitted to the Senate and has remained there for months without action, and is now, at this last minute, sent back to us with provisions more unjust as to our rivers than those contained in the original bill. Again we must accept this or we can receive nothing. No State in this Union is more vitally interested in river improvement than is Arkansas. We have more miles of navigable streams and have suffered greater disasters from floods than have the people of any other of these United States, and in compelling us, for this reason, to accept this substitute for the bill as it passed the House is to imperil the future improvement of Ouachita, Red, and Arkansas, three of our most important rivers. This peril exists in a provision in this substitute that requires a resurvey of these rivers to determine whether the existing projects shall be modified or the improvement heretofore commenced be altogether abandoned. Not a cent is herein appropriated to continue their improvement, nor to care for existing projects. And I take it from the provisions of the substitute that the Secretary of War would not feel authorized to allot any sum toward the continuation of improvements on these rivers. The Senate substitute leaves him no discretion. The only provision in the substitute is to resurvey these rivers, to determine whether the existing projects shall be modified or abandoned.

Our people should know where the responsibility for this condition rests, for no one questions that this is the end of river improvement if practices such as this are to be indulged in. If a bill is to be passed by the House and returned only when no time for amendment or discussion remains, this body will refuse longer to be a party to that procedure. Moved solely by the tremendous interests affected and the necessity of doing whatever was within my power to protect the lives and property of the people residing along the Mississippi River from devastation by floods, I voted to concur in this Senate amendment. I hope I shall be compelled to do so no more. If river and harbor improvements are to be dealt a deathblow in the other legislative body by methods such as this, and if we are to be compelled to agree to amendments that virtually mean the abandonment of all river improvements in Arkansas, let the reason therefor be known. This complaint of mine arises from no unfair treatment of the rivers in the first congressional district. They have been more liberally dealt with than formerly. Therefore, in protesting against the provisions of this bill, I can not be suspected of being moved by a sense of local wrongs. My complaint is against the treatment meted out to the State as a whole and this travesty on legislation.

Obligations of Neutrals Under International Law.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. IGOE,

OF MISSOURI,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. IGOE. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted by the House to Members to extend their remarks in the RECORD, I wish to print the address delivered by Mr. Harry B. Hawes, a member of the St. Louis bar, on March 6, 1915, before the Bar Association of Kansas City. The address is as follows:

OBLIGATIONS OF NEUTRALS UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW.

On June 28, 1914, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir apparent to the Austrian throne, was assassinated. Thirty days later the Austrian Government sent a peremptory note to Servia making 10 demands and calling for a reply within 48 hours. It was immediately predicted that if Austria engaged in war with Servia all Europe would be involved in the conflict. Servia's reply granted practically all of the demands of Austria; various proposals to preserve peace through conferences and good offices were made by some of the greater nations; but, despite these efforts, the greatest war in the history of the world began within one week after the receipt of Servia's reply. This precipitation is conclusive evidence that the Servian incident was not the cause but the excuse for hostilities.

At the present time all of the great nations of Europe, excepting Italy, are involved. Italy, Roumania, Greece, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, and Bulgaria have mobilized their troops and are prepared to enter the conflict. Part of North America and South America alone are free from entangling alliances and political causes of friction, although Canada (our northern neighbor) is sending money and troops and the Latin races of South America feel the strain.

Shipping has left the sea, the mechanic his workshop, the farmer his plow, the fisherman his net. From high in the air like evil birds of prey, from the bowels of the ocean, from the mountain and the plain, engines of war and men are hurrying to participate in the slaughter of human beings.

UNITED STATES AT PEACE.

We alone are at peace, a neutral Nation. This fortunate position we owe to Washington and Jefferson, who warned the generations succeeding them of the danger of interweaving our destiny with any part of Europe. Avoiding entangling our peace and prosperity in the rivalries, ambitions, and caprices of foreign States, we have only twice departed from our established rule, and, thanks to the sagacity of later statesmen, we were able to retrace our steps without loss of honor.

On November 6, 1914, President Wilson declared the neutrality of the United States. This proclamation follows the usual prohibitions and warnings and contains these words:

"And I do further declare and proclaim that the statutes and treaties of the United States and the law of nations alike require that no person within the territory and jurisdiction of the United States shall take part, directly or indirectly, in the said wars, but shall remain at peace with all of the said belligerents and shall maintain a strict and impartial neutrality."

We are therefore by this proclamation declared to be a neutral Nation.

President Jefferson said:

"No citizen has a right to go to war of his own authority; and for what he does without right he ought to be punished. Indeed, nothing can be more obviously absurd than to say that all the citizens may be at war and yet the Nation at peace. It has been pretended, indeed, that the engagement of a citizen in an enterprise of this nature was a divestment of the character of citizen and a transfer of jurisdiction over him to another sovereign. Our citizens are certainly free to divest themselves of that character by emigration and other acts manifesting their intention and may then become the subjects of another power and free to do whatever the subjects of that power may do."

OBVIOUS REASONS WHY WE SHOULD BE NEUTRAL.

Before discussing the legal phase of our neutrality it may be advisable, briefly, to advert to some of the obvious reasons why, on the ground of morality and enlightened self-interest, this neutrality should be strictly observed.

1. This is not our quarrel; we are not involved in the slightest degree; there is no reason why we should become involved; and we will not be unless the duty of American citizenship rests so lightly upon some of our people that they by agitation force the National Government to take some inexpedient and unnecessary action so manifestly to the disadvantage of one of the disputants as to amount to an act of unfriendliness. Friendship for a foreign nation unfortunately in some seems to blind them to their obvious duty as Americans until we are regretfully forced to believe that they would welcome the entrance of the United States into this world-wide tragedy if by so doing the European nation or nations whose cause they may espouse would be benefited.

2. The United States has led the world in its efforts for disarmament, for peace, for arbitration, and other means of amicable adjustment of international disputes as opposed to settlement by war. To enter the war would be to abandon the enlightened and moral position we now hold and take on military attributes which have made possible the great European conflict.

3. Without ambition to acquire new territory by conquest we are ready to release some which we now hold. We have constituted ourselves under the Monroe doctrine the big brother of South American States, but have never undertaken the advising of European nations. The Monroe doctrine has preserved peace in North and South America, and our long-established policy of refusing to form entangling alliances abroad has minimized conflict with Europe.

4. We are without cause justifying war. On the contrary it is estimated that over 1,000,000 men have been killed and twice that number wounded and maimed. It is estimated that the cost of the great war amounts to over $50,000,000 a day, and has already cost the nations of Europe over $6,000,000,000. Add to this the destruction of property, the loss of productive power, the disarrangement of finance, the inability to man the ship, the farm, and the shop and we can add to this millions of dollars that can not be computed.

Estimating the value of a man's life at $5,000 we can add 1,000,000 dead men, at $5,000 each, the sum of $5,000,000,000; then the care of the wounded, the blind, the armless, the legless, the incapacitated, and allow for each of these the small sum of $200 we find 2,000,000 men, at $200 each, adds $200,000,000 more.

Suffering and misery we can not estimate in dollars. It is conservatively estimated that the first six months of war have occasioned a total loss of at least $15,000,000,000.

With our population of 100,000,000 and estimating that it would involve approximately the same number of men to the population we would arm and equip many million men which, with the attendant cost of equipment and war materials, would cost, exclusive of naval equipment, from ten to fifteen million dollars a day, and would entail, at the European ratio of loss, the slaughter of perhaps 1,000,000 American citizens and the maiming of perhaps 2,000,000 more.

These estimates should cause some of our belligerent Americans to cease their unneutral activities. Interest in foreign nations can not be sufficient to ask such sacrifice of our country, unless fealty to foreign nations is greater than loyalty to their own.

OUR DIFFICULT RACE PROBLEMS.

The United States is confronted with a race problem entirely different from that of any other nation in the world. It is said that Europe, divided into population according to race, is: Anglo-Saxon, 45,000,000; Latin, 100,000,000 to 110,000,000; Teuton (including Scandinavian), 100,000,000; Slav, 140,000,000. These races in Europe are divided into many nations and different tongues. Our people are either immigrants or descendants of immigrants who came from the nations now at war.

Slowly but surely we are raising a new assimilated type of men and women who will ultimately become the real American type. This amalgamation has not been completely accomplished at the present time, so we find sympathy naturally reverting to the mother country in the respective groups, intensified by the recentness of their arrival.

According to the best estimates obtainable, there are in the United States to-day of foreign born, the children of foreign-born parents, and the children of one foreign-born parent, approximately 35,000,000 citizens of all nationalities; and of these Germany has 8,605,000, Austria-Hungary 3,777,000, or a total of 12,382,000 susceptible of friendly sentiments for the Dual Alliance. There are English, Irish, and Scotch, 7,812,000; Russian, 3,926,000; French, 317,500, or a total of 12,055,500 naturally inclined to favor the triple entente; showing a disparity of less than 350,000 between the sympathizers of the alliance and the entente.

These figures, of course, do not include the emigration of Belgium, Servia, Portugal, Montenegro, Japan, and Turkey, all actually engaged in the war. The other foreign born, children of foreign-born parents, and children of one foreign-born parent, amount to approximately 11,000,000, making a total of 35,000,000; leaving what might be termed an assimilated or American type of 65,000,000 who have been citizens of the country for 75 years.

THE MELTING POT.

Immigration began to what is now the United States over 250 years ago. The melting pot has had a longer time in which to weld the descendants of our early settlers into what may be called "the American type" with its Anglo-Saxon strain and traditions. Our English law and traditions came logically from our condition as English colonies. Under early colonial policy only the mother country might trade with her colonies, and her relations, commercial and political, were exclusive.

The loyalty and patriotism of our newer citizens is as great as those who are desconded from our earliest settlers. Human nature, however, is the great controlling force in the world and must be given consideration. Those of our citizens who have fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, now residing in the war zone naturally and must of necessity have a keener interest, a deeper sympathy, and a more active zeal in their behalf than those whose ancestry is now a mere matter of remote family trees, pedigrees, and ancient parchments.

It follows that, because of this fact, we should adopt an attitude of great tolerance toward their expressions of sympathy. But where this sympathy for the mother country jeopardizes the neutrality of the United States, or has a tendency to draw our Nation into the European war, it should be firmly repressed.

The blending of races into a nation has been only fairly successful in Europe; so when we find the parent race stock so diversified in our own country, and when we consider its youth, we must demand for public safety and public honor that all classes of our citizens shall strictly respect that neutrality which the law and public welfare demand.

INTERNATIONAL LAW NEGLECTED.

Separated by broad oceans, the United States has not had many of the difficult and perplexing questions of international law which propinquity forces upon the nations of Europe. The study of international law, therefore, has been largely neglected in our schools. It is not included, as a rule, in State bar examinations, and the average student gives to this study about the same thoroughness that is given to Roman Law or Code Napoleon.

The American Society of International Law, embracing the entire United States, has a limited membership of about 900. In St. Louis, the fourth city in the United States, it is represented by only 4 or 5 members. This society has from time to time urged that the study of international law should be made part of the examination for admission to the bar, and the wisdom of this proposal is now disclosed by the vast ignorance of this subject exhibited by some of our distinguished lawyers. The present war will undoubtedly tend to make of international law a serious and necessary study.

DANGER OF IGNORANCE.

A present danger that confronts our Nation arises from two sources. One is genuine ignorance of this subject and the other is the ease with which crafty and unscrupulous men impose upon the credulity of large numbers of our citizens, arouse their passions, create prejudice, engender race feeling, promote strife, and endanger our neutrality in the excess of their partisan zeal for some foreign nation.

In the discussion of the causes of the war, the relative strength of armies, and the probability of victory we yield to all the right of free expression and contention. The people's column essayist and the corner war debater unfortunately have moved from these general subjects into the more exact and scientific questions raised by our duty as a neutral Nation.

Inspired by absurd statements of partisans, they endanger our neutrality and make it difficult for our national officers to discharge the duties of their offices with that fairness, equanimity, and poise so essential at this critical time.

LAWYER'S DUTY.

As in time of epidemic, when disease is threatening the life of the nation, the physician freely tenders his services to the public; when cholera, smallpox, and yellow fever appear he, without compensation, goes into the warfare for health and upholds the noblest traditions of his profession, so it is equally the duty of the lawyer to qualify as an authority on what constitutes neutrality and in his own community combat the impressions created by ignorance.

"Error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it," said Jefferson. But the limited knowledge of our position as neutrals affords little opportunity to combat unneutral statements.

Where a lawyer finds a man of intelligence teaching things which are not true and advocating changes which he knows can not be made, he is under an obligation to his profession as well as to his country to expose him to ridicule and reproach for doing not only a dishonorable but a dangerous thing.

SOURCE AND GROWTH OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

The limited time at my disposal permits but the briefest discussion. My observations will be confined to the sources of international law, the law of neutrality, and some collateral matters connected with it.

While the armies and navies of the warring nations are engaged in work of destruction, diplomats and writers are equally active in discussing the rights and duties of nations under international law. Modern methods of warfare raise new questions almost daily, and some understanding of the source and growth of international law is necessary.

In municipal law the subject is the individual; the sovereignty, the State. In international law the subject is the State; the sovereign power, the agreement or consent of States. The citizen has his conduct regulated by the State, which has power to enforce its decrees by fixed penalties. His conduct is also controlled by the moral law, while the conduct of the State is not necessarily controlled by moral law, but by national interest which can not always be well defended as good morals.

In the former we find coercive, enforcing authority, with courts and police, while in the latter there is no enforcing authority, except the force of enlightened national opinion and protest followed by the doubtful settlement of war.

Hugo Grotius, called the father of international law, in 1625, conceiving that all law consisted of rules prescribed by some high authority, and finding none with reference to sovereign States, attributed its source to nature. In the seventeenth century Pufendorf and Hobbes, not satisfied with the sovereignty of nature assigned by Grotius, and finding no high enforcing power, contended that the rules of international law are not legally binding. In the eighteenth century Bynkershoek, another Dutch jurist, advanced the modern view that sovereignty resided in the common consent of a community, and it logically follows that sovereignty in international law came from the common consent of nations.

Thus we find the gradual evolution of the theory of State and international sovereignty changing, from power coming from divine or inherited sovereignty to one based wholly upon sanction in common consent or acceptance.

ATTEMPTS TO CODIFY THE LAW.

The sources from which this consent arises are diversified, but closely follow the same causes that make our domestic law. Custom, codes, treaties, precedents, and written agreements, supplemented by the opinions of writers, State papers, decisions of prize courts, and arbitral awards all are used as the authority of this collective consent.

Inequalities and lack of precision in the body of rules governing international disputes, have moved statesmen during the last century to bring about a codification of the law.

Many tentative codes have been offered, but so far the only accomplishment has been in the Paris, Geneva, Hague, and London conventions, which have met with indifferent acceptance. A plan which would provide some central enforcing authority has always been lacking.

Certain rules have developed which have been generally accepted and have for their enforcing power the strength of the enlightened approval of civilized nations. These rules refer not only to the conduct of belligerents, but also relate to duties which belligerents owe to neutrals and the conduct of neutral nations during war.

They are broadly divided into those dealing with conditions of war and those with respect to peace. Those relating to war are again divided into operations on land and on sea, the laws of naval war being the least progressive. As an example, largely through the influence of the United States, private enemy property in land warfare is exempt fom seizure; in naval warfare it is lawful prize.

CONTRIBUTION OF UNITED STATES TO INTERNATIONAL LAW.

A review of the contribution to the formation of international law by the United States reveals a record in which every American is entitled to take deep pride.

In order to appreciate the weight of our influence, it must be borne in mind that the United States presented a positive reaction against the Old World oppression of men.

We inverted the divine-right principle, denying the prerogatives of kings, and declared the just powers of government came only from the governed. We made the people sovereign.

We early declared expatriation an inherent right, and our persistent advocacy of the principle has all but battered down the last of the walls which hemmed in the peoples of the various foreign States.

We were pioneers in the principle of naturalization as an incident to that free movement of man upon the earth's surface which our forcing of the right of expatriation permitted.

We settled the further rule of law that belligerent rights do not extend to the invasion of neutral vessels for the purpose of removing persons who are not in the armed forces of the opposing belligerent.

We invented the principle which recognizes a condition of belligerency in those people struggling for the political aims we ourselves have attained, which give particular aid to the South American colonies of Spain, so that it is now a universal principle of international law that a revolutionary body which occupies and administers definite territory and is challenging the right of the erstwhile sovereign authority, may be accorded the belligerent rights of search, blockades, and the like, by neutral States, without giving offense to the parent State.

We are the author of the first comprehensive code defining obligations as a neutral in Jefferson's neutrality act of 1794, which was amplified in 1818 and became the basis of the British foreign enlistment act of 1819.

We amplified and gave clearness by court decision to the doctrine of "continuous voyage" enunciated by Lord Stowell.

We were first to advocate the equality of States without which international law would become an hypocritical blind to shield the avarice of the more powerful States.

We enunciated the Monroe doctrine, that American States shall be permitted to pursue the arts of civilization and peace free from the influence and oppression of European States.

We prevented the European powers from dismembering China. More than a quarter of a century ago the United States alone protested and saved the Celestial Empire and forced the doctrine of the "open door" and "equal opportunity."

We sent delegates to the Hague and London conventions, who, expressing the concrete desires and aims of the United States, placed many American ideals in their expressions and made proposals for an advanced position which will ultimately be approved.

We have advocated a frank and public diplomacy and information about our public business which prevents dangerous situations from arising through secrecy and trickery. The diplomacy of Europe, which wholly ignored the people who were to make the war sacrifices, would not be tolerated by us.

We have stood for the rights of man, under the benign principles of self-government, in their larger application to the rights of States.

NEUTRALITY.

John Bassett Moore, an accepted authority in the United States on the subject of international law, gives this definition of neutrality:

"By the usual principles of international law the state of neutrality recognizes the cause of both parties to the contest as just; that is, it avoids all consideration of the merits of the contest."

And again:

"The idea of a neutral nation implies two nations at war and a third in friendship with both."

It will be difficult to preserve this attitude because the nations at war, pressed by their own necessities, will demand exceptions created by their immediate difficulties.

Until the United States assumed its position as a member of the society of States, there were various degrees of neutrality, based upon the conception that the neutral could permit and undertake on its own account acts of assistance to belligerents provided the acts were of impartial effect upon both. There was what was denominated strict neutrality, imperfect neutrality, impartial neutrality, and qualified neutrality.

Formerly it was not considered inconsistent with these various forms of neutrality to permit belligerents to transport supplies or march troops across neutral territory or to fit out expeditions in neutral territories and harbors so long as the same privilege was accorded to each.

Impartiality in assistance seemed to be the old test. To-day acts of accommodation to belligerents, even if impartial, are the exception rather than the rule, and the underlying principle of neutrality is abstention.

Neutrality in a technical sense is divided into two general classes, the first embracing those obligations coming into operation as between States and those owing to a State by its own citizens. The latter is largely the result of domestic legislation fulfilling the duty of the former.

Authorities on international law confirm President Grant's proclamation of neutrality on August 22, 1870, during the Franco-German War, in which he expressly declared that "all persons" might "lawfully and without restriction by reason of the aforesaid state of war manufacture and sell within the United States arms and munitions of war and other articles ordinarily known as 'contraband of war,' subject to the risk of hostile capture on the high seas." While the United States Government could not sell arms or ammunition, this proclamation made it proper for citizens to do so.

NEUTRAL DUTIES BETWEEN STATES.

Discussing, first, duties between States, we may say that a neutral State as such is under obligation to refrain from all active assistance, either in the lending of money, in the selling of military supplies or warships, or in permitting the use of its territory or marginal waters for the benefit of either or both of the belligerents as a base of operation for the commission of hostile acts.

The belligerent State is under duty to respect the inviolability of neutral territory and marginal waters. This inviolability protects the German merchant ships in our neutral ports.

The territorial waters of a State extend outwardly from low tide to a distance of 3 miles. Practically the only instance of mutuality of assistance allowed to a neutral State are to be found in the rules of international law conceding belligerent war vessels the right to enter a neutral port for a stay of 24 hours, in which time it may coal or provision up to peace standard. It may not put in again at a port in the same neutral State within three months. If vessels of opposing belligerents are in the same neutral port, they may not put out nearer than 24 hours apart. A stay of longer than 24 hours may be permitted in case of the necessity for ordinary repairs, but war damage may not be so repaired. And if such vessels refuse to put out upon order, it is the duty of the neutral to intern the vessel and crew till the close of the war. Since neutral waters are inviolable, it follows that captures made within them are void, besides amounting to an offense against the sovereignty of the neutral State.

As with war vessels overstaying their time in neutral ports, so with armed belligerents getting upon neutral soil. The neutral is under the duty to intern them, as Holland has done in the case of a large number of British and Belgians at the evacuation of Antwerp.

The law of the rights and duties of neutrals and belligerents is one largely of compromise, which was the only way of reconciling conditions of conflict. This conflict is to be seen in the basic propositions that a neutral shall not suffer in its trade owing to a war in which it is not concerned, and that a belligerent, on the other hand, as a matter of self-preservation, should be conceded the right to prevent such trade with his enemy as is increasing its military power.

Hence both neutral and belligerents are confirmed in these rights, and the practical result is that in articles of commerce, such as warlike supplies, the neutral may trade, subject, however, to the belligerent's right of capture. Neutral merchants, therefore, usually escape the liability to loss by requiring previous payment, thus shifting the risk to the purchasing belligerent.

Up to the close of the Crimean War and the treaty of Paris, in 1856, neutral commerce was at the mercy of belligerent anarchy. Starting in the French and English wars and lasting up to the final fall of Napoleon, neutral goods and shipping suffered grievously from the arbitrary exertion of power by belligerents.

For example, during the Napoleonic wars England and France each forbade to neutrals any and all trade with the other in their respective order in council and Milan decrees. These decrees were issued under a supposed right of blockade by which it was intended to bind neutrals with a mere paper fulmination that all the coasts of the respective States were in a state of blockade. Any neutral vessel making for ports of either France or England, or entering them, was made the prey of the other by illegal capture on a charge of breach of blockade. American commerce suffered so heavily that some action was necessary, yet we could not effectively fight both Great Britain and France.

Ultimately Congress passed the nonintercourse acts, forbidding all commerce with France and England, intending thereby to pinch them with regard to certain necessary imports from America, but only done after the United States had sacrificed 1,500 American merchantmen to their lawlessness.

Until this time, also, the status of neutral goods in enemy merchant vessels and enemy goods in neutral merchant vessels was wholly left to the caprice of the belligerents. Russia, enlisting other European neutrals, at one time laid down to the belligerents certain rules which she considered vital to neutrals and notified the belligerents that any departure from them would be met with force. This is known as the armed neutrality.

Finally, out of this chaos, at the peace of Paris in 1856 came the four famous declarations that constitute the first important conventional measure of international law. These conventions are:

First. Privateering is and remains abolished.

Second. Enemy goods, except contraband, are not capturable in neutral vessels.

Third. Neutral goods, except contraband, are not capturable in enemy vessels.

Fourth. A blockade, to bind neutrals, must be effectively maintained with warships.

The United States was invited to subscribe to the declaration, but declined unless it was further stipulated that all unoffending private property be exempt from capture in maritime warfare, as it had become in land warfare. This was not assented to, and while the United States has never expressly agreed to the declaration of Paris, it has conformed to it and acted upon it as public law.

NEUTRALITY AS IT AFFECTS THE RIGHTS OF CITIZENS.

So far we have been discussing neutral duties as between States. We shall now discuss the duties with respect to States and their citizens.

Citizens may do a great many things without compromising the neutrality of a State that a State itself may not do. Citizens may sell arms and ammunition to belligerents, though a State may not.

The tremendous importance of commerce to neutrals has led to a recognition of their right to continue the same in war as in peace, but in recognition of the belligerent's war rights certain classes of goods known as contraband are under the liability of capture and condemnation by the belligerent to whose disadvantage the sales are made.

There is but one article of commerce the trading in which involves a breach of neutrality, and that article is a warship. Neither a neutral citizen nor his Government may sell a war vessel to a belligerent without bringing upon the neutral Government the probability of claims for all the damage the vessel inflicts and the further probability of involving that neutral State in war as the result of active and unneutral assistance. Great Britain paid the United States $15,500,000 in acknowledgment of her liability for the destruction of United States commerce during the Civil War by the Confederate warships, principally the *Alabama*, which was built in England and permitted by the English Government to leave her neutral waters.

The United States had no domestic neutrality statutes until 1794, when Jefferson framed them as the result of the Genet affair. Citizen Genet was the French minister during the French and English War, and upon his arrival proceeded to equip and commission privateers in our ports to cruise against British commerce. He further enlisted men in the United States and set up French prize courts in the French consulates. Jefferson protested vigorously that the minister was violating our sovereignty as well as compromising our neutrality in making our territory a base of operations, and after a bitter dispute Genet was recalled.

Then the United States courts indicted a number of citizens on charges of accepting the commissions on United States soil to cruise against a State with which we were at peace. The first trial disclosed the fact that we had no neutrality statutes and no prosecution was possible.

Jefferson's statutes, intended to remedy these defects, are practically the law to-day. They provide, in substance, that it shall be unlawful for a citizen to accept on United States territory a commission to serve a foreign prince or State; to enlist or hire another to do so; to fit out or arm or augment a vessel intended to be used in war against a State with which we are at peace; to set on foot or be concerned in any expedition to be carried on against such State. There was a revision of these statutes in 1818 and supplementary legislation in 1838.

The Fenian invasion of Canada at Fort Erie in 1866 precipitated an attempt at revision of our neutrality laws which would have enacted much that was sentimental at the expense of sound principle if it had not been killed in the Senate. As it is, the laws of April 20, 1818, stand practically as the domestic neutrality laws of the United States, to be found in sections 5281 to 5291 of the Revised Statutes. There was an amendment March 14, 1912, relating to conditions of domestic violence in American States and authorizing the President to prohibit the shipment of arms thereto.

The United States neutrality statutes are old and necessarily in need of revision, though this need has been supplied to some extent in joint resolution from time to time as occasions arose with no appropriate power applicable. The British foreign enlistment act of 1870, as its neutrality laws are termed, makes it a crime, for example, for a British subject to leave the dominions with the aim of entering the service of a State at war with another with which the British Empire is at peace. The United States concedes to citizens the right to depart and enlist outside its jurisdiction. The adoption of the British view would seem calculated to preserve more completely a neutral attitude.

The duty of citizens of a neutral country are well described in a letter written by Secretary of State Olney on July 18, 1895, to an inquiring banker:

"I have to acknowledge receipt of your favor of the 13th instant and to note the inquiries therein contained.

"Whether the bank or its officers could be criminally prosecuted under the neutrality laws of the United States because the bank had knowingly made itself a depository of funds contributed by sympathizers in the United States in support of the present Cuban insurrection is a question as to which opinions may differ, and which can be satisfactorily settled only by the adjudication of the proper court. Should a bank engage in such a transaction and, as you suggest, publish its acceptance of such a trust to the world it would be my duty to call upon the Department of Justice to test the question whether or not the proceeding was a crime against the United States.

"It might also be my duty to suggest whether a bank holding a United States charter does not abuse its franchise and furnish ground for their forfeiture by acts in aid of hostilities against a nation with which the United States is at peace.

"I do not anticipate, however, that anything done by your bank or its officers is likely to promote the solution of the interesting legal questions your letter presents. You ask me not merely as to your technical legal liability, but also as to your moral obligations, adding, 'for we are all too loyal to our own country to seek to overthrow in any sense her laws.' I heartily commend the sentiment of the question, and am in a position to say that your moral duty in the premises does not admit of the least question. It has been expounded by no less an authority than the Supreme Court of the United States in the following language:

"'The intercourse of this country with foreign nations, and its policy in regard to them, are placed by the Constitution of the United States in the hands of the Government, and its decisions upon these subjects are obligatory upon every citizen of the Union. He is bound to be at war with the nation against which the war-making power has declared war, and equally bound to commit no act of hostility against a nation with which the Government is in amity and friendship.

"'This principle is universally acknowledged by the laws of the nations. It lies at the foundation of all government, as there could be no social order or peaceful relations between the citizens of different countries without it. It is, however, more emphatically true in relation to citizens of the United States. For as the sovereignty resides in the people, every citizen is a portion of it, and is himself personally bound by the laws which the representatives of the sovereignty may pass, or the treaties into which they may enter, within the scope of their delegated authority. And when that authority has plighted its faith to another nation that there shall be peace and friendship between the citizens of the two countries, every citizen of the United States is equally and personally pledged. The compact is made by the department of the Government upon which he himself has agreed to confer the power. It is his own personal compact as a portion of the sovereignty in whose behalf it is made. And he can do no act, nor enter into any agreement to promote or encourage revolt or hostilities against the territories of a country with which our Government is pledged by treaty to be at peace, without a breach of his duty as a citizen, and the breach of the faith pledged to the foreign nation.'"

CONTRIBUTIONS OF MONEY.

It is not a violation of neutrality for a private citizen or coporation to lend money to a belligerent if made as a commercial transaction,

but it would be an infringement if the loan was in fact a gratuitous contribution. So delicate is our position among so many friends that the President has advised against even commercial loans. During the Franco-German War large sums of money were sent by German sympathizers to Germany for hospital purposes, and large sums were sent by sympathizers with France for the relief of persons in French hospitals, and such assistance was not considered a violation of neutrality.

Since that time the organization of the American Red Cross Society provides a means of contribution for hospital assistance, which completely eliminates any question of the violation of neutrality.

This organization will help the wounded and destitute of all the warring nations equally and prevent offense being given to any friendly nation on the ground of neutrality.

CONTRABAND.

Our courts have held, "Neutrals in their own country may sell to belligerents whatever belligerents choose to buy." The principal exception to this rule is that "neutrals must not sell to one belligerent what they refuse to sell to the other."

Our Secretary of State has asserted:

"There is no Hague convention which deals with absolute or conditional contraband, and, as the declaration of London is not in force, the rules of international law only apply. As to the articles to be regarded as contraband, there is no general agreement between nations. It is the practice for a country, either in time of peace or after the outbreak of war, to declare the articles which it will consider as absolute or conditional contraband. It is true that a neutral Government is seriously affected by this declaration, as the rights of its subjects or citizens may be impaired. But the rights and interests of belligerents and neutrals are opposed in respect to contraband articles and trade, and there is no tribunal to which questions of difference may be readily submitted.

"The record of the United States in the past is not free from criticism. When neutral this Government has stood for a restricted list of absolute and conditional contraband. As a belligerent, we have contended for a liberal list, according to our conception of the necessities of the case.

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"As the Government of the United States has in the past placed 'all articles from which ammunition is manufactured' in its contraband list, and has declared copper to be among such materials, it necessarily finds some embarrassment in dealing with the subject.

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"Petrol and other petroleum products have been proclaimed by Great Britain as contraband of war. In view of the absolute necessity of such products to the use of submarines, aeroplanes, and motors, the United States Government has not yet reached the conclusion that they are improperly included in a list of contraband. Military operations to-day are largely a question of motive power through mechanical devices. It is therefore difficult to argue successfully against the inclusion of petroleum among the articles of contraband.

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"Great Britain and France have placed rubber on the absolute contraband list and leather on the conditional contraband list. Rubber is extensively used in the manufacture and operation of motors and, like petrol, is regarded by some authorities as essential to motive power to-day. Leather is even more widely used in cavalry and infantry equipment. It is understood that both rubber and leather, together with wool, have been embargoed by most of the belligerent countries. It will be recalled that the United States has in the past exercised the right of embargo upon exports of any commodity which might aid the enemy's cause.

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"The duty of a neutral to restrict trade in munitions of war has never been imposed by international or municipal statute. It has never been the policy of this Government to prevent the shipment of arms or ammunition into belligerent territory, except in the case of neighboring American Republics, and then only when civil strife prevailed. Even to this extent the belligerents in the present conflict, when they were neutrals, have never, so far as the records disclose, limited the sales of munitions of war. It is only necessary to point to the enormous quantities of arms and ammunition furnished by manufacturers in Germany to the belligerents in the Russo-Japanese War and in the recent Balkan wars to establish the general recognition of the propriety of the trade by a neutral nation."

Contraband is of two kinds—absolute and conditional. Absolute contraband comprises articles in themselves distinctly military, such as arms and the like; conditional contraband comprises articles susceptible of warlike and peaceful use, such as fuel oil, coal, horses, and the like.

Conditional contraband can not be set out in articles, as it is created only by special conditions arising out of each war.

In the case of articles of a warlike nature solely they become contraband only by hostile destination; their mere consignment to an enemy port or to the enemy country gives rise to liability to capture. If, for instance, merchants in the United States to-day should ship arms and ammunition to Brazil, their destination is so obviously not belligerent territory that they would not be contraband and not subject to capture.

With reference to conditional contraband, the test is destination to the belligerent forces or government, as distinguished from mere belligerent territory. This rule of belligerent destination, as necessary to give rise to the right of capture, has been evaded to a greater or less extent from the time of its appearance by the consignment of contraband goods to neutral ports with the secret object of transshipment by another vessel or by rail.

CONTINUOUS VOYAGE.

This ruse, resulting in defeating the belligerent right of capture, has been met by a rule known as the doctrine of continuous voyage.

Our Secretary of State said:

"The rule of 'continuous voyage' has been not only asserted by American tribunals but extended by them. They have exercised the right to determine from the circumstances whether the ostensible was the real destination. They have held that the shipment of articles of contraband to a neutral port 'to order,' from which, as a matter of fact, cargoes had been transshipped to the enemy, is corroborative evidence that the cargo is really destined to the enemy instead of to the neutral port of delivery. It is thus seen that some of the doctrines which appear to bear harshly upon neutrals at the present time are analogous to or outgrowths from policies adopted by the United States when it was a belligerent. The Government, therefore, can not consistently protest against the application of rules which it has followed in the past unless they have not been practiced as heretofore."

Under this doctrine, even if the trade in contraband is between two neutral ports, the goods are capturable if the ultimate destination is proved to be belligerent.

In the Peterhof case (5 Wall., 49) our Supreme Court, on appeal from the prize court, condemned a cargo of blankets, shoes, horseshoes, and the like, in a British vessel, bound from Liverpool to Matamoras, Mexico, on the ground that it was not shown that the articles were not intended for transshipment to the Confederate forces at Brownsville, Tex.

The United States condemned many British-owned vessels and cargo documented for the British port of Nassau.

This same question of the liability of goods documented to neutral ports has been raised with England by the United States in the case of detained American cargoes documented to ports in the neutral countries of Holland, Denmark, and Italy, which border the Empires of Germany and Austria as Mexico borders the United States.

RIGHT OF PREEMPTION.

In case of doubt as to the belligerent destination of contraband cargo, the captor has a recognized right of purchase at a fair price, under what is known as the right of preemption, and Great Britain seems to be availing herself of this right.

It is not a wholly satisfactory course to our merchants, owing to the greatly increased prices that could be realized in Germany and Austria. It would seem desirable, at the close of the war, that the leading States attempt to reduce to conventional law the American doctrine that all private property—except contraband—be freed in naval warfare. This, of course, can be done only by the common consent of nations.

CABLE AND WIRELESS.

Under the use of neutral soil comes the question of wireless, and the rule is that belligerents may not use the same on neutral soil for the purpose of communication with their troops or war vessels. The use of wireless and cable is open impartially for ordinary governmental business, but to insure the character of information being sent and delivered the United States has restricted the use of code messages, particularly in wireless.

Mr. Bryan, on January 20, explains the freedom of communication by submarine cables and the necessity for censorship of communication by wireless:

"The reason that wireless messages and cable messages require different treatment by a neutral Government is as follows:

"Communication by wireless can not be interrupted by a belligerent. With a submarine cable it is otherwise. The possibility of cutting the cable exists, and if a belligerent possesses naval superiority the cable is cut, as was the German cable near Azores by one of Germany's enemies, and as was the British cable near Fanning Island by a German naval force. Since a cable is subject to hostile attack, the responsibility falls upon the belligerent and not upon the neutral to prevent cable communication.

"A more important reason, however, at least from the point of view of a neutral Government, is that messages sent out from a wireless station in neutral territory may be received by belligerent warships on the high seas. If these messages, whether plain or in cipher, direct the movements of warships or convey to them information as to the location of an enemy's public or private vessels, the neutral territory becomes a base of naval operations, to permit which would be essentially unneutral.

"As a wireless message can be received by all stations and vessels within a given radius, every message in cipher, whatever its intended destination, must be censored; otherwise military information may be sent to warships off the coast of a neutral. It is manifest that a submarine cable is incapable of becoming a means of direct communication with a warship on the high seas. Hence its use can not, as a rule, make neutral territory a base for the direction of naval operations."

SALE OF ENEMY VESSELS TO NEUTRALS.

Neutral States undoubtedly appear to have a normal right to purchase ships from whom they please; that is a normal right of commerce.

On the other hand, belligerent States for centuries have been recognized as having the right to capture each the merchant ships of the other.

If an enemy shipowner is permitted to make a purely colorable transfer of his vessel to a neutral, the belligerent's right of capture is defeated by a fraud. And in any event, even a bona fide transfer, if held valid against the opposing belligerent, defeats his war right of capture.

The practice is not settled. Russia and France maintain no transfers are valid as against them in time of war. The United States and Great Britain, by practice, have taken the view that a transfer that will relieve an enemy vessel of enemy character is possible, but it must not be made in a blockaded port or during transit, that it must be according to the laws of the neutral State where the transaction is consummated, and must be in good faith, with all interest passing irrevocably, and that it must not have as its object the evasion of the consequences to which the enemy character, as such, exposes it.

THE "DACIA."

What applies to the purchase of belligerent vessels by a neutral State applies as well to the citizens of neutral States.

The one conspicuous example that has come to our notice is that of the *Dacia*, a Hamburg-American vessel held in an American port by fear of capture, which was sold to an American citizen. The British authorities not unreasonably wish to try this vessel in view of the extensive sale of German ships that might be involved in a previous recognition of its validity. There have been some recognized transfers to American registry since the outbreak of the war, but these were at a time when ships of the German fleet were still on the oceans and the condition of compulsory stay in neutral ports did not exist in its present effectiveness. They were vessels of corporations of belligerent States, whose shareholders were citizens of neutral States.

BLOCKADE.

A blockade to which neutrals must submit must also be previously notified and the area of effectiveness must be delimited definitely by latitude and longitude. As the high seas are considered the common property of States, blockades extending far beyond marginal waters are of doubtful validity, being, in effect, the unwarranted exclusion of those with joint and common title for the enjoyment of their rights.

Mr. Moore describes a blockade as follows:

"The object of a blockade is to cut off all intercourse with the enemy so far as the blockade extends. It will be recalled that during our Civil War all the ports of the Confederacy were blockaded with results that became more and more appreciable as time wore on. Blockade respects neither the nationality of the ship nor the nationality

or character of the cargo. The penalty of an attempt to break a blockade is confiscation both of ship and cargo, no matter what the character of the goods may be. In former times attempts were often made to forbid access to belligerent ports by proclamation of blockade which were not actually enforced. These were known as 'paper' blockades. But this practice was eventually done away with, and the principle as announced in the declaration of Paris of 1856 came to be universally accepted, that a blockade, in order to be binding upon neutrals, must be effectively maintained; that is to say, maintained by a force reasonably sufficient to prevent entrance to the blockaded port."

CONDUCT CONFORMABLE TO LAW.

The United States is committed by tradition and choice to conduct conformable to law in its international relations. If the law works apparent hardships upon us at times, it is none the less our duty to accept them, while striving to obtain common consent to modification.

The progress of the last hundred years justifies the hope that States are more and more recognizing justice and fair dealing as synonyms with enlightened self-interest. The railroad, the steamship, the cable, and the wireless have afforded such wonderful facilities for traveling and the interchange of intelligence that a world opinion of tremendous potency is in progress of formation.

This world opinion is finally the great molding factor in international law. Self-interest undoubtedly plays its part in the policies of States, but we are daily coming to understand that an injury to one State is felt by all, and that the welfare of the peoples of the earth is bound up in their interdependence upon commerce and finance, which war destroys and peace alone promotes.

PRESIDENTIAL ADVICE.

President Cleveland declared even when our feelings were outraged by the cruelties committed in Cuba:

"Whatever may be the traditional sympathy of our countrymen as individuals with a people who seem to be struggling for a larger autonomy and greater freedom, deepened as such sympathy naturally must be in behalf of our neighbors, yet the plain duty of their Government is to observe in good faith the recognized obligations of international relationship. The performance of this duty should not be made more difficult by a disregard on the part of our citizens of the obligations growing out of their allegiance to their country, which should restrain them from violating as individuals the neutrality which the Nation of which they are members is bound to observe in its relations to friendly sovereign States."

President Roosevelt stated during the Japanese-Russian War:

"The Government of the United States represents the people of the United States not only in the sincerity with which it is endeavoring to keep the scales of neutrality exact and even but in the sincerity with which it deplores the breaking out of the present war, and hopes that it will end at the earliest possible moment, and with the smallest possible loss to those engaged. Such a war inevitably increases and inflames the susceptibilities of the combatants to anything in the nature of an injury or slight by outsiders. Too often combatants make conflicting claims as to the duties and obligations of neutrals, so that even when discharging these duties and obligations with scrupulous care it is difficult to avoid giving offense to one or the other party. To such unavoidable causes of offense, due to the performance of national duty, there must not be added any avoidable causes. It is always unfortunate to bring Old World antipathies and jealousies into our life or by speech or conduct to excite anger or resentment toward our Nation in friendly foreign lands * * *."

If admonition to our citizens were justified then, how much more important, how much more vital, is such admonition now. In the last case only two friendly nations were at war. At the present time six great and four small nations, all friendly to us, are at war.

AVOID THE RACE ISSUE.

Experts say the war will be long; we know it will be deadly. It grips the imagination in a hold too strong to resist; we can not fail to think of it; we must talk of it.

This can be done without making race the vital issue and stirring animosities of nationality that bring bitter personal enmities.

One ever-present danger to our Nation comes from the professional race leader who appoints himself spokesman for a nationality that he may gain political office or personal profit. This professional agitator does more harm than war or disaster, as he spreads enmities and bitterness in a Nation where all should be at peace.

GOD WITH PEACE.

When exhaustion brings prospects of peace, a neutral nation will be asked to conciliate. Our President is available for this delicate task. Each leader of the nations at war claims God's approval of his armies and engines of destruction. We prefer to believe that God is with our President when he counsels neutrality and advocates peace. This is his advice:

"The United States must be neutral in fact as well as in name during these days that are to try men's souls. We must be impartial in thought as well as in action, must put a curb upon our sentiments as well as upon every transaction that might be construed as a preference of one party to the struggle before the other. My thought is of America. I am speaking, I feel sure, the earnest wish and purpose of every thoughtful American that this great country of ours, which is, of course, the first in our thoughts and in our hearts, should show herself in this time of peculiar trial a nation fit beyond others to exhibit the fine poise of undisturbed judgment, the dignity of self-control, the efficiency of dispassionate action, a Nation that neither sits in judgment upon others nor is disturbed in her own counsels, and which keeps herself fit and free to do what is honest and disinterested and truly serviceable for the peace of this world."

CONCLUSION.

Let us preserve the best traditions of our country, hold the scales level, demand fair play; explain that one nation can not make international law nor depart from its recognized international obligations during war. A departure from the accepted law, which would be to the disadvantage of one of the belligerents, would not be the preservation of neutrality, but an act of hostility.

The contents of the national melting pot require your assistance. There is educational work to do; the facts will adjust themselves, but the law must be explained. This is the lawyer's part: He must bring to the work the same courage, determination, and persistence that has marked his course in other critical periods.

Without party feeling or political bias, his work should be done for his country, as an American, for America.

Woman Suffrage.

SPEECH

OF

HON. RUFUS HARDY,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 12, 1915.

The House had under consideration the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 1) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, I shall leave out all question of the doctrine of State rights. My respect for the phrase and for logic has in the last few weeks largely diminished. I have found that every man on either side of any question can use, or professes to, the doctrine of State rights to favor his contention. Therefore I shall simply discuss this question on the broadest basis of reason.

I would like to know, as a matter of common sense, why Texas should have the right to dictate to Massachusetts what the qualifications of her electors should be; why Illinois should have the right to dictate to Texas what the qualifications of her electors should be.

Then I want to present another thought: The prohibition amendment that was passed upon the other day had the excuse that the State laws of one State could not be enforced, and were ineffective unless the national law made all get behind it. But there is no excuse in this case, because every State can enforce its own laws as to the qualification of the elector.

Now, I want to ask another question. If the National Legislature can prohibit the States from making any discrimination on the sex question, can they not also go into my State, where we had adopted not long ago a poll-tax requirement as a qualification for the right to vote—can they not say that there shall be in no State of the Union any law that requires a poll tax as a prerequisite to a vote? Any State in this Union might adopt a broader property qualification to the franchise than a poll tax. I want you to understand I opposed the adoption of the poll-tax amendment in my State, but my State adopted it, and had the right to adopt it, and your State has the right to adopt it. Your State has the right to say that no man shall vote unless he has some property interests in the country. The qualifications of a voter in every country are fixed by law, and in our country by the State law under the reservation of our Constitution, once deemed a wise reservation by all men of all parties.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HARDY. I have not the time. Whenever you start in with a national law binding and controlling the States in reference to administration of its local affairs there is no measuring the lengths you may go, no field you may not enter, no smallest local right you may not invade. The broad sea that you sail upon is without shore line. State government and local government are wiped out forever and all is centered in the Government at Washington. I have not even made up my mind fully what my view would be on the question of woman suffrage when submitted, as it will some day be submitted, in my own State. I only know that if I shall reach the conclusion that it is better for womanhood that she be given the right to vote, I shall know or believe it is also better for manhood and for my country. First in my conception, first in my devotion, is the welfare of the womanhood of my State and of my country. I differ with some as to whether voting is a right inherent or a privilege granted by the State. As it exists I know it is a political privilege; but as to the right of woman, she has as much inherent right to that privilege as the man. There is no question about that. But I look back to the days of old and I find that in Rome when woman flaunted herself in the public gaze Rome became degraded and decayed. I look back to the days of Louis XIV, when women were constantly in the public gaze, and I find that then woman fell from her high estate.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. FLOYD of Arkansas). The time of the gentleman from Texas has expired.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman three minutes more.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, it has been said here that in pain woman brings us forth into this world and in sorrow she nurtures us and trains us for this world, and I remember full well, because for 50 years I have carried that memory with me, the lessons that were taught me at my mother's knee, and

every temptation that comes brings back the picture of that sainted mother to my eyes. God knows I would not for the world cast a vote that would be to her injury if her life were to live over. Far otherwise. Because in pain she brought me forth and in sorrow she nurtured me, I would shelter every being that bears a woman's form from the cold storms of the world and the deep damnation of its polluted waters. Point to me anything in which the chivalry of Texas or of those that I know North or South has deliberately or purposely wronged woman and I will change all my views. Because we love her and love to shelter her we guard her in my State in her home. We say that neither creditor nor any other man shall take it away from her, and we say that even a husband shall not overpower or overpersuade her. The law gives her the opportunity before she conveys away that home, and will make her take the opportunity, of going before a notary separately and apart from her husband and stating whether or not she desires to do so. In my State coverture is a condition that protects a woman against the statute of limitations running against her. In my State we have sheltered her by all of the laws we knows how to frame, and if you will tell me another law that we can frame that will shelter her more we will be very glad to adopt it. In my heart of hearts I want to cherish the memory of the mother gone, and in conclusion let me say I cast this vote, as I believe, for country, for home, and for mother, when I vote now against the adoption of this amendment. [Applause.] If the time ever comes when I can see womanhood's better interest in a different vote, I will cast that vote in accordance with that change of conviction.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EZEKIEL S. CANDLER, JR.,

OF MISSISSIPPI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, on February 5, 1915, I introduced House joint resolution 416, to authorize the Committees on Agriculture of the Senate and House to investigate the system of rural personal credit, which resolution is as follows:

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 416) to authorize the Committees on Agriculture of the Senate and House to investigate a system of rural personal credit.

Whereas none of the several rural credit investigating bodies appointed by Congress within the past few years has drafted a personal rural credit bill; and

Whereas personal rural credit is more necessary than a land-mortgage system, although such system is good so far as it goes; and

Whereas nearly every highly civilized country has in successful operation a personal rural credit system through which the farmers of those countries obtain credit for productive purposes at low rates of interest and in sufficient amounts to enable them to produce agricultural products more economically than is done in this country, even though our farmers possess many natural advantages not enjoyed by them; and

Whereas the great European war now being waged is wasting capital at a rate never before approached, which condition is bound to result in materially affecting the world's capital and credit markets; and the American farmers having no organized credit machinery, it naturally follows that their interests will suffer more than any other interests in the country and make it more difficult for them to obtain credit in the future than it has been in the past: Therefore be it

Resolved, etc., That the Committees on Agriculture of the Senate and House of Representatives are hereby authorized, through a subcommittee, to investigate and hold hearings on such personal rural credit bills as may be presented to them, in the manner hereinafter more specifically set forth, and make a report thereof not later than the 10th day of December next.

SEC. 2. That such subcommittee or investigating body, which is hereinafter referred to as the commission, shall hold its hearings and investigations in such manner that will permit persons who, in the commission's opinion, have sufficient authoritative backing to present bills for a personal rural credit system in the United States to the commission and appear before them by experts of their own selection to establish the merits of their respective bills and to disprove any provisions contained in bills not presented by themselves. The commission shall notify at least one leading representative of every interest affected by such bills, including the president of the American Bankers' Association, of his privilege to appear before the commission by an expert of his own selection and to advocate or oppose any bill presented, who shall enjoy the same rights and privileges before the commission as the experts of the proponents.

SEC. 3. That it shall be the further duty of the commission to send for persons and papers; to administer oaths; to summon and compel the attendance of witnesses and have the same examined by themselves or by the representatives of the parties at interest appearing before them, or both; to adopt rules of procedure and the same to amend; and to employ such secretaries, experts, stenographers, and other assistants as shall be necessary to carry out the purposes for which the commission was created.

SEC. 4. That the members of the commission shall receive no compensation for their services on the commission, except traveling expenses incurred outside of the District of Columbia while attending to the duties imposed under this act.

SEC. 5. That the sum of $9,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this act and to defray the expense of the commission, is hereby appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated. Such appropriation shall be immediately available and shall be paid out on the audit and order of the chairman or acting chairman of said commission, which audit and order shall be conclusive and binding upon all departments as to the correctness of the accounts of said commission.

In the Aberdeen Weekly, published at Aberdeen, Miss., in the issue of February 26, 1915, there appeared an editorial strongly favoring this resolution. The editorial is as follows:

RURAL PERSONAL CREDITS.

Secretary of Agriculture Houston has declared that agricultural pursuits pay only a net profit of 5 per cent. Upon this premise it is evident that farmers can not operate their lands and pay interest in excess of that rate without loss. It is also a known fact that they can not borrow money in many places upon the security they have to offer at 4 per cent. This leads to the conclusion that some system ought to be provided by the Government which would enable them to procure money at a rate that would leave a part, at least, of their net profits to lay by for themselves for a rainy day. In several European countries such a system prevails, in which the Government is a factor in loaning to producers money at a low interest, predicated on a rating of rural personal credits. Hon. MORRIS SHEPPARD has introduced a joint resolution into the United States Senate to authorize the Committees on Agriculture of the Senate and the House, through a subcommittee, to investigate a system of rural personal credits and report their findings to the next Congress, looking to the enactment of a law which shall have for its purpose the determining of correct rural personal credits as bases of Government loans to producers at a low rate of interest.

The resolution ought to pass both Houses before adjournment of the present session, so that the relief proposed by the measure could become operative at the earliest possible time. The Government aids almost every industry in a way similar to that which is sought for the farmer in the proposed resolution, and it would constitute a crime of indifference or negligence for the Congress to ignore its passage or delay it beyond the present session. The resolution was introduced in the lower House by Congressman E. S. CANDLER, Jr., from Mississippi.

I have received strong approval of my resolution from other sources, and among the number was a letter from Mr. H. S. Gilleylen, of Aberdeen, Miss., under date of February 27, 1915, which is as follows:

ABERDEEN, MISS., *February 27, 1915.*

Hon. E. S. CANDLER, Jr.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: It is a sore disappointment to learn the improbability of passage at this session of your resolution to properly investigate personal rural credit during the coming recess of Congress. If we could have gotten that, we could have had a bill ready to be introduced at the beginning of next session, and in all likelihood could have secured its enactment at an early date of next session.

If that resolution fails of passage, then we must go to the country on it. We must appeal to the rural press to secure this plan of investigating that important subject. I am frank to say that I do not believe we can secure anything worth having under the ordinary method of investigating this and kindred subjects. We should profit by our experience on land-mortgage efforts at legislation.

If no other farmer takes it up, then I purpose to do so as soon as Congress adjourns, and organize a movement to get the cooperation of the rural press. Both our local papers promise to aid in the movement, and through them I hope to get the officers of the Mississippi Press Association to take it up with the officers of the press associations of the various States.

If the officers of the press association of each farming State could be induced to select an intelligent and successful farmer from each of the rural congressional districts, the farmers so selected to form an association to work with the press in securing this investigation, they could so arouse public sentiment in its favor that Congress could not deny it to us.

With such a commission created, that association of farmers could employ an expert or experts to prepare a bill and go before the commission and prove it up to the satisfaction of all. The rural press could not engage in a movement which would mean more to the country than that. What a lasting monument it would be to them! I have not the least doubt but that if this proposition is properly brought to their attention enough of them will take it up to make it a success.

Let every paper which acts on this suggestion by editorially advocating it send a copy to the Rural Credit Press Association, Washington, D. C., and I shall see to it that all such papers are presented to Congress and afterwards preserved and made to form a memorial to them for giving this legislation to the American farmer.

Very truly, yours,

H. S. GILLEYLEN.

There is no better citizen in Mississippi, or in any other State, than Mr. Gilleylen. He is a farmer, and a man of the highest character, progressive in his views, and everything he says is entitled to be given the highest consideration. I have known him for 25 years, and during all this time he has deservedly received the confidence and the esteem of the people among whom he lives and his acquaintances everywhere. He has large farming interests and pursues the modern methods of agriculture, and hence is successful.

I strongly favor the establishment in this country of a rural credit system which will not only give the farmers who own land relief, but I also go further, and favor giving to those farmers who are not so fortunate as to own land a system of credits by which they can also secure relief. This class of farmers deserve our consideration, just as much as the farmers

who are landowners. We must help, if we can, all classes of our farmers if we would bring about the greatest degree of prosperity.

Since I have been in Congress I have labored at all times to help in every way I could all of my constituents, but everybody who is familiar with my record knows that I have been especially active in doing everything I could for the farmers of my district, realizing that whenever I helped them in any way I helped every other trade, calling, avocation, and interest of the people I have the honor to represent; and so long as I continue in Congress, I expect to faithfully, promptly, and energetically continue to pursue this course. While I regret very much the failure of the passage of my resolution at this session, and regret from the bottom of my heart the failure to secure effective rural credit legislation at this session, still I have done all I could, and I feel confident that at the coming session of Congress we will pass legislation which will meet the approval of the people and greatly benefit the farmers throughout this great Republic. I shall certainly do everything in the world I can to bring about this much-desired legislation. Everybody realizes that upon the prosperity of our agricultural interest depends the prosperity of the whole country. Without it, all business of every kind will be paralyzed, but with our agricultural interest prosperous at all times, every other business interest throughout the country will enjoy a proportionate prosperity, and the people will be happy and our great country continue to press forward to grander achievement and more glorious development.

Two Years of Democratic Rule.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LUTHER W. MOTT,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. MOTT. Mr. Speaker, the record of the Sixty-third Congress and that of the Democratic Party in control of the Government for the last two years ending March 4 is not one that the people of the United States can regard with satisfaction. When the control of the Government changed, as a result of the division in the Republican ranks, the Nation was in a very prosperous condition. All that has been changed. The florid promises of the Democratic platform of 1912 and the specious words of the President about removing the shackles on trade and vastly increasing our foreign and domestic commerce read today like mockery. The principal measures that have been carried through Congress at the instigation of the President, and which have gone into effect, have done harm rather than good.

The tariff law, which was the leading feature of the Democratic program, and for which the President predicted such a vast increase in prosperity, has had the very opposite result, just as was predicted by the Republicans, based on the experience of similar legislation in the past. In seven months prior to the European war we lost $248,000,000 of our foreign trade, or $1,000,000 a day. That was wholly the result of the tariff, and this loss extended to our trade with every nation on earth.

Then great things were promised from the new currency law. That has been on the statute books for a year and more without any noticeable result, and whatever good has been accomplished in the way of currency reform came through a measure framed by the Republicans when they were in power, and known as the Aldrich-Vreeland Act. Although the Democrats bitterly denounced that legislation, they have saved the country from a panic by the use of the powers given them under that law.

THE ATTACKS ON BIG BUSINESS—TRADE COMMISSION.

Another one of the conspicuous features of the Democratic program has been its attacks on the so-called trusts and big business. Congress has been kept in almost continuous session, engaged in this kind of work. Business men have been in constant trepidation, not knowing what might be the outcome of such legislation; but the result has been a great deal of talk and very little accomplishment, except in the way of injury. The Sherman antitrust law, enacted by the Republicans, was a wise measure, and all that was needed was its enforcement. The decisions of the Supreme Court opened the way to accomplish everything necessary in that direction. All of this supplementary legislation has done nothing except to injure the business of the country.

The Trade Commission is designed to regulate the business of the country, outside of the railroads, which are controlled by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Then we have an Industrial Commission, which is authorized to travel over the country and investigate business of all kinds, at large expense to the Government. That Industrial Commission has been at work for months, under large expense, without accomplishing a single thing and with no prospect that it ever will accomplish anything. It is under the direction of a politician who gives out interviews occasionally to the newspapers, and that, with the testimony taken by the commission, provides matter for publication, but serves no other purpose. There is no probability that that commission will ever accomplish anything beyond adding to the turmoil of business.

The Trade Commission, for which so much was promised, has not at this moment been organized. The President took several months to select the men for that place, and the universal criticism of his selections is ample proof of his failure in that line. In fact, the President has shown from the beginning a great weakness in selecting proper men to fill the great offices that have been created for his assistance. The salary of the members of the Trade Commission was fixed at $10,000 each, in order that men of the highest character and ability could be obtained for those places. It was also provided by law that not more than three of the places should be filled by members of the same political party, the purpose being to allow representation to both parties. But after months of delay the President chose a lot of politicians, largely of a local character, and does not give the Republican Party a single member of the board. The object in selecting two representatives from the Progressive Party is evidently with a view of strengthening the Republican division. It is a political move, unworthy of the President of the United States. The Trade Commission has vast powers to investigate business corporations, and the President has stated that it would undertake the work of a tariff commission. But not a single person chosen as a member of that commission has any special qualifications to perform the work nor has any particular knowledge of the tariff. The result will be that this commission will add another disturbing influence to the business of the country without accomplishing any good whatever.

The same narrow partisan spirit was shown when the President selected the members of the National Reserve Board. That was an institution that should, of all others, be free from political ends, but the President chose a purely partisan board, and though he afterwards made some changes, his first action disclosed his purpose.

CONGRESS NOT ABLE TO DO ALL THE PRESIDENT WANTED DONE.

Although Congress has been in continuous session, almost, yet it did not do all that the President required of it. It is generally believed that he proposed another extra session, as his talk indicated such a purpose, but the Speaker of this House and other leading members of his party declared that an extra session would mean the doom of their party. The country was tired of the continuous attacks on business by the party in control of the Government. The trouble is too much legislation instead of too little, particularly when that legislation is of the character that has marked the work of the Sixty-third Congress. In the House of Representatives alone 21,613 bills were introduced, to say nothing of resolutions. In the Senate 7,751 bills were offered, making a total of about 30,000 bills and resolutions in this one Congress. Of course a large number of those make their appearance at every session, and probably will continue to do so. Fortunately a very large number were defeated because of the vigorous Republican opposition and the lack of time for the party in power to carry them through.

Notwithstanding this continuous work, two of the great appropriation bills failed of passage. This is the first time in over 35 years that such a thing has happened. Fortunately the Philippines bill, designed to make the people of those islands independent, also failed. It was a measure that accomplished only evil since it was first brought before Congress. Former President Taft and all of the men with experience in the Philippine Islands have condemned such legislation as having only the effect of arousing false hopes in the islands, which are wholly unfit for self-control. Because of this unfortunate course on the part of the administration, business in the Philippine Islands has greatly suffered. New enterprises have been checked, and the splendid progress that took place previous to the advent of the Democrats to power has ceased. But that does not check the short-sighted course of the Democratic Party in regard to the Philippine Islands.

MONEY SAVED BY DEFEATING UNWISE MEASURES.

Two other measures, the Colombian and Nicaraguan treaties, also failed. It is amazing that the President should have insisted so strenuously on the ratification of those treaties. The Colombian treaty proposes to pay to that country $25,000,000 as a gift because that country was not able to prevent us from constructing the Panama Canal. No more shameless expenditure was ever proposed in the history of our Government. The Nicaraguan treaty proposed to pay $3,000,000 to that country for something of no value to us. All of this expenditure was urged by the President and the Secretary of State, although the finances of the Government are in such a condition that a further issue of bonds seems inevitable. Another measure that would have taken $40,000,000 out of the Treasury was the ship-purchase bill, which the President undertook in every way possible to force through. Those three bills would have called for an expenditure of $68,000,000, notwithstanding the fact that there is a deficiency now in the Treasury of about $90,000,000. It was only because of the determined and persistent opposition of the Republicans in the Senate that those bills were defeated.

The Democratic Party has merely registered the decrees of the President. Whatever he has asked for has been granted, so far as the Democrats could accomplish that end. It was some relief to see that seven of the Democratic Members of the Senate refused to continue in the effort to pass the ship-purchase bill. It was kept before Congress to the exclusion of other business, so that the defeat of the two appropriation bills and some other measures was caused wholly by the waste of time on the ship-purchase bill. That measure was pushed through the House in a few hours' time, without allowing any amendment or any fair discussion of it.

GAG LAW AND CAUCUS RULE.

The Democrats were very fierce in their denunciation of the Republicans for the manner in which they controlled the business of this House preceding Democratic control, but there has never been before in the history of the Government any such exhibition of gag law as has ruled in this House under the present Democratic control. All important measures have been considered in Democratic secret caucuses, and then brought before the House to be passed in a limited time, frequently without allowing any amendments and no possibility of fair discussion. Although we have regular rules to control the House, this special-rule method of passing measures has been invoked 60 times. This has been done, too, with the President's approval, although before his election as President he condemned the caucus method of government and expanded in strenuous language in behalf of publicity. No President has ever reversed himself so frequently as has President Wilson. Nearly every plank in the Democratic platform has been violated to such an extent that it has become the laughingstock of the public.

INCREASE IN EXPENDITURES—A BOND ISSUE NECESSARY.

One of the planks of that platform was a very severe denunciation of the Republicans for extravagance, and calling on Congress to cut down the appropriations. What has been the result? This Congress, with a Treasury deficit that promises to force a large issue of bonds, has nevertheless appropriated at this session about $120,000,000 more than was ever appropriated at a preceding session under Republican control, and at the previous session more money was appropriated than at any other session in the history of the Government. The Republicans left about $150,000,000 in the general fund, which the Democrats have depleted, so that there now remains only about $42,000,000. While they have used up that much of that fund, they have increased the taxes by adding an income-tax law and by the so-called war-revenue act, and still there is a large and growing deficit. This result was foreseen by the Republicans when the tariff law was under discussion in this House. Everything said of that law, as to the evil results that would follow its passage, have come true. When the income-tax provision was under discussion its author declared that it would produce $70,000,000, and that prediction was sustained by the House and Senate committees which reported the bill, but the returns show a total receipt of $28,253,534 only, a deficiency of nearly $42,000,000, which miscalculation accounts for more than half the pending Treasury deficit.

When the so-called war-tax measure was under discussion the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee asserted that it would yield $105,000,000, and when it passed the Senate it was estimated to yield $107,000,000. But the Secretary of the Treasury now estimates that the yield will be about $54,000,000 for the present fiscal year, and it will be less next year. Thus the deficit in those two measures, which are in nowise affected by the European war, makes up the deficiency now existing in the Treasury. The deficit is the result of miscalculation. But that is not the worst of the situation. The war-tax measure is soon to expire, so that there will be no yield next year from that source. There will thus be $54,000,000 additional on that account to be added to the deficit. On May 1, 1916, practically $52,000,000 more, now derived from the sugar duty, which then expires, must be added to the deficiency. This is an appalling situation for which no provision has been made, and which would have been vastly worse if it had not been for the strenuous Republican opposition to the shipping bill, the Colombian treaty, and other such reckless measures.

THE TRUE WAY TO MEET THE DEFICIENCY—COST OF LIVING GREATER.

The proper method of meeting this situation would be to restore the tax on sugar and on wool and on other things which could pay duties without inflicting the slightest burden on the American people. The Democrats promised loudly to reduce the cost of living. They put many farm products on the free list and reduced the duties on manufactured articles, a considerable number of which they also placed on the free list. The cost of living has been increased instead of being reduced. Millions of workmen have been thrown out of employment; 4,000,000, according to a recent letter of Mr. Gompers, head of the American Federation of Labor. Charitable societies are more active now than ever before in the history of the United States. Soup houses and all manner of ways of helping the workmen and their families who are denied employment prevail all over the United States. A recent canvass in New York City by a church organization developed the fact that 562,000 persons were out of employment in that city, 125,000 of whom were women. Some sixty thousand of these unemployed were without any place to lay their heads. In Chicago over 100,000 men are in a similar fix. Everywhere comes this cry of distress and call for help.

The frightful war in Europe, the most appalling in the history of the world, has created a demand for war materials and for food. This has helped to increase our exports and has provided work in a few industries. But with the great mass of unemployed the situation grows worse instead of better. The Michigan Republican State Convention, held last month, summed up the situation in these words:

> For the second time since the Civil War the American people have witnessed the calamitous consequences of Democratic inefficiency that has closed factories, increased bankruptcies, reduced bank deposits, lowered wages, crippled production, destroyed confidence, decreased the revenue, increased deficits, and increased appropriations, a record of unparalleled incapacity and violated pledges; and that party has pursued disastrous policies which make it the plain duty of all right-thinking Americans to rescue the administration of national affairs from that party which is incapable of progressive legislation and is content with psychological depression, watchful waiting, and masterful inactivity. * * * Instead of lowering the cost of living, it has been increased. The Democratic Party favored one term for President, but now explains that this does not apply to Wilson. It charged the Republican Party with extravagance, but has greatly increased appropriations. It condemned the Aldrich currency plan, but adopted its essential features. It repudiated its own promises in the matter of the Panama Canal tolls. It has repealed essential features of the civil-service law and filled the Government offices with inexperienced and inefficient party followers. It now proposes to sell the rural delivery of mail to the lowest bidder, while Secretary Bryan frantically demands, even of the Diplomatic Service, more jobs for his political henchmen.

VIOLATING THE CIVIL-SERVICE LAW.

Secretary Bryan wrote to the American minister in Santo Domingo, of which country the United States has the supervision of the customs, asking him to look out for places for deserving Democrats, and to let Mr. Bryan know what places there were, the salaries paid, and so forth, which could be filled with such persons. Think of disgracing the Diplomatic Service of the United States by asking its members to secure places in a foreign country for partisans in such a manner. But that illustrates how far the civil service has been degraded under this administration.

This Congress has created more new places or offices than any other in many years, notwithstanding the denunciation of Republicans for having more offices than the Democrats deemed necessary. In nearly every case the Democrats exempted these new places from the civil-service laws and regulations and put them under the spoils system. The rural credits bill, which did not become a law, although the President and his party were pledged to it, provided that all attorneys, experts, and clerks and other employees should be appointed free from the civil-service law and requirements. The Democratic platform of 1912 says:

> We demand a return to that simplicity and economy which befit a democratic government and a reduction in the number of useless offices the salaries of which drain the substance of the people.

The estimates submitted for 1916 provide for an increase of salaries and the creation of new offices to the extent of

$10,000,000. That is the way the Democrats return "to that simplicity and economy which befits a democratic government." They had a publicity plank on recommendations for appointments to office. But that plank, like so many others, was repudiated, and an attempt to carry out such legislation was defeated.

VIOLATING THEIR BANKING PLANK—POST OFFICE DEFICIT.

The Democrats "condemned the methods of depositing the Government funds in a few favorite banks" and pledged themselves to provide by law for their deposit by competitive bidding in the banking institutions of the country, national and State, without discrimination as to locality. But instead of doing that they have passed a law which gives the Secretary of the Treasury practical control of the matter. The United States bank in Jackson's day incurred his enmity by becoming a competitor of all the other banks. But there is in the Federal reserve-bank system now a similar principle of mischief in that it makes the Federal reserve bank in the district a competitor in the open market with other banks.

The Post Office Department had a surplus when the Republicans went out two years ago, but now a large deficit has to be provided for. That is the result of Democratic rule. We all know how much more it costs the Government to have its printing done at the Government Printing Office than it would cost by contract with private concerns. That is the result of Government ownership in all cases. But it is advisable in some cases that the Government should do its own work, though it is never advisable for it to undertake work that can as well be done by private ownership. Still we have an administration agitation now for Government ownership of railroads, telegraph, telephones, electric lights, and other public utilities, including steamboat lines, and so forth. The result would be to employ 10,000,000 people to operate them. The Postmaster General has advocated the ownership of telephone and telegraph lines and some other things, and he would not do this in a public way without the approval of the President. It requires no great reflection to appreciate the dangers which would beset us if such a course were followed.

THE FORTUNATE DEFEAT OF THE SHIP PURCHASE BILL.

The attempt of the President to force through the ship purchase bill illustrates what he would do in the direction of Government ownership if he could carry out his socialistic principles. Ship crews under the American flag require from 40 to 90 per cent higher pay than under foreign flags. Legislation by this Congress provides that foreign vessels may, with their crews, become registered under our flag. To avoid war risks a number of vessels have pursued that course. But immediately that is done the crews demand higher pay. Then, under our laws it costs more because of the requirements for victualizing such crews. Interest and insurance are higher in this country than in Europe. The result is that vessels can not be run under our flag and compete with those under foreign flags. Nearly every foreign Government pays subsidies. The Japanese Government pays heavy subsidies and the crews of its vessels work for less than one-quarter the sum paid a similar American crew. That explains why our merchant marine in the foreign trade has declined to such an enormous extent while that in our coastwise trade, protected from foreign competition, has increased to a much greater extent. There is no advantage to a vessel in the foreign trade under the American flag, and as soon as the war is over those that have come under our flag will probably return to the Government to which they formerly belonged. We can not build up a merchant marine without we place our vessels on an equality with those of other nations. Hence the President's shipping bill would not only have wasted $40,000,000 but would have been an injury instead of a benefit to our merchant marine in that trade.

Great Britain has 4,235 vessels in its mercantile trade. The most that the President could have secured under his shipping bill would have been about 30 vessels, which could have had no influence on our trade excepting one detrimental to the increase of vessels under private ownership. Still, that measure was kept before this Congress to the detriment of other legislation of great importance. That was done at the instigation of the President, who, in his Indianapolis speech, declared that its opponents were in some cases "ignorant" and in other cases "misguided and blind." It is difficult to realize a President speaking of Members of Congress in such terms. He even went further and threatened those Democrats who "should dare to break the solidarity of the Democratic team for any purpose or from any motive," declaring that theirs would be an "unenviable notoriety which would bring down upon them deep bitterness." Congress has not been accustomed to such methods of forcing through legislation, and, fortunately, there were seven Democratic Senators who resented it.

Congress has not enacted legislation to secure the safety of life at sea, such as was found necessary after the *Titanic* disaster. Fire is not protected against, nor collision with icebergs. Reports from one vessel to another on the great ocean lines in regard to obstacles to be met has not been provided for. Something has been accomplished, but comparatively little as to what is necessary to protect life at sea. The great necessity in the way of legislation of that kind is pushed aside in order to make way for partisan legislation.

NATIONAL DEFENSE NEGLECTED.

In the same way our national defense has been neglected. One of the first things the Democrats did when they got possession of the House was to cut down the appropriations for both the Army and the Navy. Our seacoast defenses are now only provided with 73 per cent of the amount of ammunition required for the guns and mortars now in place. That is only sufficient for a two-hour engagement of one-half the total number of guns manned. Gens. Crozier and Weaver say that that is not sufficient ammunition, but their warnings have not been heeded. There are yet to be appropriated for 117 guns and mortars to complete the seacoast-defense project. And it will require about $40,000,000 to do that work. The range of some of the guns is not great enough to meet the 15-inch guns in foreign navies—about 21,000 yards.

In the bombardment of the Turkish forts in the Dardanelles recently, because of the longer range of the British ships they could strike the forts without the guns of the forts being able to reach the ships. Of course the forts crumbled under such a bombardment. We would be in a similar position in case of a foreign war. New York could be shelled from the ocean; but this Democratic Congress can appropriate money to buy merchant vessels with but it fails to provide for the necessary defense of the country. There is a shortage of coast artillery. Some 25 companies have been taken from the coast for service in the Philippines, Hawaii, and Panama, and 49 more companies are to be taken for the same purpose, leaving 121 instead of 170, as fixed by the law of 1907. According to the British Chancellor the European war is costing England, France, and Russia $10,000,000,000 a year. The cost of our national defenses for this year is only 2½ per cent of that amount. It is a case where an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure, but the Democratic Party fails to realize that fact.

IMPORTANT MATTERS NEGLECTED—RURAL CREDITS.

Congress has done nothing for national highways nor for rural credits, although the Democratic platform was pledged in favor of such legislation. The Democratic caucus a year ago, according to Mr. WINGO, of Arkansas, promised early action on rural credits, but nothing was done until the subject was forced on an appropriation bill by a Republican Senator. Other nations have been greatly benefited by such legislation. The landschaften of Germany, the Bavarian Agricultural Bank, the Hungarian Land Mortgage Institute, the Canton banks of Switzerland, and the land credit banks of France are efficient and helpful, but the United States has done nothing in that direction. It is a subject that should have been dealt with, as promised by both parties. A commission went to Europe to study farm credits, and reported in favor of such legislation. It is not an easy subject to solve. Crops vary, and prices also. Farmers are not entitled to more than workmen, but we can do as much for our people in that direction as has been done in foreign countries. The farm-mortgage indebtedness of the United States in 1910 aggregated $3,460,172,851. The farmers and landowners pay an annual interest toll of about $7 per capita for every man, woman, and child in the United States. Farm property is said to be worth $40,000,000,000, in round numbers. Ex-Ambassador Herrick, in his recent book on this subject, says that the average interest rate on farm credits is 8½ per cent. The total paid is over $500,000,000 a year. That is altogether too much, and there should be legislation to stop it. We are spending millions for irrigation and other such purposes, and should pursue a liberal course toward the farmers to enable them to reduce that excessive interest charge.

REPUBLICANS PREVENT GREAT INCREASE IN THE DEFICIT.

The growing deficit in the Treasury has been retarded by Republican opposition to unwise legislation, but the Democrats now are at work to provide cloture in the Senate, whereby they could force through any measure in a manner similar to that followed in the House at this session. The Democrats have always fought any proposition of that kind even to revolutionary lengths. If they had had the advantage of such methods at this session, the deficit in the Treasury would have been

enlarged some $90,000,000 for the purpose of buying ships, paying $25,000,000 to Colombia, and for other purposes, all of which would have been absolute waste.

It is admitted by the Democrats, as has developed in the debate on the shipping bill, that we have been paying from $250,000,000 to $300,000,000 annually to foreign shipowners for carrying our foreign commerce. That money could be largely saved by wise legislation, but no effort is made in that direction. To purchase a few foreign vessels would not help. We need greater transportation facilities, as we provide one-eighth of the total commerce of the world, yet we carry in American ships only 1¼ per cent. But there is no party advantage in the way of patronage in legislation that will promote American shipbuilding, hence it receives no consideration at the hands of the Democratic Party. Provision was made for the expenditure of $35,000,000 for a railroad in Alaska, an expenditure, under the circumstances, not justified. But there is patronage in that matter.

In our foreign relations the course of the Government in regard to Mexico has been almost brutal. Americans have had no protection in that country. We expended some $15,000,000 and more in taking and holding Vera Cruz, to say nothing of the loss of life, without accomplishing a single thing. The President said, in his remarkable partisan speech at Indianapolis, that the Mexicans had as much right to spill blood as the Europeans. That is the cold-blooded way in which he looks at the extraordinary situation in that country.

DEMOCRATS BRING DISTRESS IN PLACE OF PROSPERITY.

The Democratic Party since it came into power has transformed a people enjoying great prosperity to a state of distress almost unparalleled. The Nation was warned of the result of free-trade legislation, but the Democrats paid no heed to the warning, and we all know the result. Last year was remarkable for its farm production, yet to-day all available agencies are at work to relieve the distress that prevails, while soup houses, bread lines, and lodging houses exist in every great city. We have an arrogant partisan at the head of the Government. Congress obeys his orders, and we know the result. The President said in his Indianapolis speech:

I have never been in business, and therefore have no business prejudices.

His course since he has been President is ample proof of the lack of business experience, but his control of Congress exceeds that of any former President because of the methods which he has pursued to attain dominance. An immigration bill, passed by a two-thirds majority in both Houses, was vetoed by him, and, under the influence of his methods, enough Democratic votes were changed to prevent the veto from being overridden in this House. The shipping bill was brought to the House from the Executive and passed under a gag rule. The President went to see the Speaker to get that bill passed, and it was only by the Speaker's aid that that was accomplished. Stephen A. Douglas, in 1858, said that an attempt to control Congress by the Executive was subversive of the Constitution. That is as much true to-day as it was then.

Col. George Harvey, who claims originally to have discovered Mr. Wilson for presidential purposes, has written an article analyzing the last election, showing that the Republicans would have had a majority of the electoral vote on national issues of 49; but in that count Colorado, California, Indiana, Maine, Montana, Nebraska, Wisconsin, Oregon, and South Dakota were counted for Wilson. There is hardly a probability that he could carry a single one of those States in the next national election for President. Mr. Wilson stated in Indianapolis that on the face of the returns of the last election the Democrats would have had a majority of about 80 in the electoral college. But to get that result he took the votes for Senators in some States, governors in others, and for legislators and Congressmen in still other States, a most ridiculous proceeding. There is hardly room for doubt of a large Republican majority in the next national election. The discrimination against the colored vote, by segregation in this city and other such methods, will tell heavily against the Democratic Party. The business of the country does not improve. The Baldwin Locomotive Works, the greatest organization of the kind in the world, has recently issued a statement showing that its output last year fell $24,000,000 below that of 1913, in which year, the greater part of the time, the Republican tariff was in operation. That is the story that comes from all parts of the country, and betokens what will follow when the people have an opportunity to pass upon the record of the Democratic Party under this administration.

On the Provisions of the General Deficiency Bill Affording Relief to Desert-Land Entrymen.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. H. SELDOMRIDGE,
OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. SELDOMRIDGE. Mr. Speaker, under the privilege granted to extend remarks in the RECORD, I desire to express my satisfaction in the enactment into law of a certain amendment inserted by the Senate to the general deficiency bill affording relief to desert-land entrymen. The amendment was prepared by the Interior Department and will afford great relief to many deserving settlers in our Western States who have made entries under the desert-land act. The records of the Interior Department show that prior to the adoption of regulations now controlling the operation of the desert-land act a great many entries were filed that should not have been received, as investigation of said entries would have disclosed the fact that the necessary water to reclaim the land filed upon through irrigation could not be secured.

Many parties in good faith, relying upon statements and assurances of there being sufficient water for irrigation, took out filings under the desert-land act, and later found themselves unable to complete their entries and gain title on account of an insufficient water supply. Other entryman found their water rights attacked by contesting claimants, and still others found themselves deprived of water through the failure of certain ditch companies to secure sufficient means to complete the necessary construction of canals and reservoirs. It will thus be seen that many causes have contributed to defeat the purpose for which the desert-land act was chiefly designed. Hundreds of settlers have complied with the spirit of the law through residence and the erection of improvements upon their holdings. Others have expended labor and money in cultivation under a partial water supply or through dry-farming methods.

In common with other Representatives from Western States, I have been endeavoring to secure legislation granting relief to these settlers and affording them some means by which to secure title to their lands. I realized that no legislation could be passed through Congress that did not have behind it the support and approval of the Interior Department. Secretary Lane and Assistant Secretary A. A. Jones have been deeply interested in the welfare of these settlers, but it was difficult to arrive at some conclusion that would be fair to the Government and to the settlers. I have introduced several bills on this subject, copies of which are herewith appended:

A bill (H. R. 14152) authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to issue patent on desert-land entries upon cash payment for the land.

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior may, in his discretion, issue patent on desert-land entries upon the cash payment of $1 per acre, in cases where entrymen have purchased stock in an irrigating company proposing to furnish water for the reclamation of such lands and paid therefore in cash, or its equivalent, $10 or more per acre, and have fulfilled all requirements except that of the application of water to the land, and where such company has so far completed its system of irrigation that water could have been delivered upon the lands, but through unavoidable circumstances has been unable to conserve sufficient water to irrigate such lands: *Provided*, That the irrigation company has expended on its system not less than $10 per acre for all lands proposed to be irrigated from such system.

A bill (H. R. 19097) granting a further extension of time to entrymen in which to make final proof under the desert-land laws.

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior may, in his discretion, in addition to the extension authorized by existing law, grant to any entryman under the desert-land laws a further extension of the time within which he is required to make final proof: *Provided*, That such entryman shall, by his corroborated affidavit filed in the land office of the district where such land is located, show to the satisfaction of the Secretary that because of unavoidable delay in the construction of irrigation works intended to convey water to the land embraced in his entry he is, without fault on his part, unable to make proof of the reclamation and cultivation of said lands as required by law within the time limited therefor; but such extension shall not be granted for a period of more than three years, and this act shall not affect contests initiated for a valid existing reason: *Provided*, That the total extension of the statutory period for making final proof that may be allowed in any one case under this act, and any other existing statutes of either general or local application, shall be limited to nine years in the aggregate.

A bill (H. R. 19250) relating to desert-land entries.

Be it enacted, etc., That a patent for the lands covered by his desert-land entry may issue to any entryman who has heretofore made entry under the desert-land laws and has in good faith expended not less than

$6 per acre upon the land covered by said entry in his efforts to reclaim the same: *Provided*, That such expenditure shall have been reasonably made in his efforts for reclamation and improvement of said lands.

I was not able to secure from the department favorable action on any of these bills, as their provisions were not satisfactory. Realizing the necessity of some action I urged consideration of H. R. 19097, which was purely an extension measure and would have granted no permanent relief. I felt, however, that the passage of this bill would relieve the concern of these entrymen that their holdings might be canceled or forfeited, and that during the period of extension provided for some effective relief legislation might be passed by Congress. In submitting this bill to the department for its consideration a report was made thereon to the Hon. SCOTT FERRIS, chairman of the Committee on the Public Lands, which was signed by the Hon. A. A. Jones, Acting Secretary of the Interior. The report was dated February 24, 1915, and accompanying it was a draft of a bill of general character, which not only provides for the necessary extension of time to entrymen who may be able to comply with the terms of the present law in the matter of water supply, but it also provides relief for other entrymen who can not under any circumstances meet the requirements of the law as it now stands, and yet who are justly entitled to some measure of relief. The report is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, February 24, 1915.

Hon. SCOTT FERRIS,
Chairman Committee on the Public Lands,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. FERRIS: In response to your request of February 3, 1915, I have the honor to submit the following report on H. R. 19097, introduced by Mr. SELDOMRIDGE, of Colorado:

It is proposed in this bill to confer upon the Secretary of the Interior the discretion to grant to any desert-land entryman a further extension of time within which to make final proof, provided that such entryman shall, by his corroborated affidavit, show to the satisfaction of the Secretary that because of unavoidable delay in the construction of irrigation works intended to convey water to the land embraced in his entry he is, without fault on his part, unable to make the proof of reclamation and cultivation required by law within the time limited therefor. It is further provided in the bill that the extension shall not be granted for a period of more than three years; that the total extension of the statutory period allowable, including that permitted by existing statutes of general or local application, shall be limited to nine years in the aggregate; and that contests initiated for a valid existing reason shall not be affected by the proposed act.

There are in force three general statutes authorizing this department to extend the statutory period on desert-land entries, namely, the act of June 27, 1906 (34 Stat., 519, sec. 5), providing for such extension where the land is within the exterior limits of a withdrawal or project under the act of June 17, 1902 (32 Stat., 388), and the entryman is hindered, delayed, or prevented from reclaiming the tract by the operations of the Government; the act of March 28, 1908 (35 Stat., 52, sec. 3), providing for an extension of time not to exceed three years where, because of unavoidable delay in the construction of irrigation works intended to convey water to the entered lands, the claimant is, without fault on his part, unable to make proof of reclamation within the usual period; and the act of April 30, 1912 (37 Stat., 106), providing for a further extension of time, not to exceed three years, upon the conditions and limitations set forth in the bill under consideration, except that the aggregate extension that may be granted is six instead of nine years.

Statutes of special or local application authorizing extension of time for the submission of final proof in desert-land cases have been enacted, namely, the acts of February 28, 1911 (36 Stat., 960), January 26, 1912 (37 Stat., 56), and October 30, 1913 (38 Stat., 234), all predicated upon unavoidable delay in the construction or operation of the irrigation works intended to convey water upon the lands entered.

There has been introduced in the present Congress a bill (S. 3053), which, in effect, proposes to make the act of October 30, 1913, supra, of general application. There has also been introduced a bill (H. R. 20035), applicable only to parts of Fresno and Kings Counties, Cal., providing for extensions of time for three years upon desert-land entries where the claimant has expended $3 per acre in the reclamation of the land, but has been unable to obtain sufficient water for irrigation.

The effect of the bill now under consideration, if enacted into law, would be merely to authorize extensions of time aggregating 9 instead of 6 years upon the conditions prescribed by existing law. This, added to the statutory period of 4 years, would allow a desert-land entryman 13 years within which to reclaim the land and submit final proof. In my judgment, the bill in its present form is too narrow in its scope, and would afford relief to but a small class of those who are entitled to equitable consideration at the hands of Congress.

In the administration of the desert-land law and of the several statutes above named providing for extensions of time within which to submit final proof, the department has found that the difficulties and hardships confronting entrymen are often due to other causes than delay in the construction or operation of irrigation works. In a very large proportion of desert-land entries, the claimant is confronted by the fact, after having expended large sums upon the land, that a supply of water adequate to the irrigation of the land can not be obtained. Sometimes this is due to prior appropriations of the water; in other cases it is shown that the tract was never irrigable from any known source of water supply. In the class of cases last named entries were of course improvidently allowed under showings deemed acceptable under the regulations then in force. It is obvious that it was never the purpose of the desert-land law to permit the making of entries for lands incapable of reclamation.

In order to remedy the condition that has created the demand for this relief legislation, the department, by the circular of March 23, 1914 (43 L. D., 203), directed the registers and receivers of the various land offices to require, before allowing any desert-land entry of record, a convincing showing of a practicable and feasible scheme of reclamation and of a supply of water adequate for that purpose. Entries allowed prior to the adoption of this rule remain, however, to be disposed of, and it is to this class especially that I would invite consideration of Congress at this time.

I have prepared, and submit herewith, a general bill for the relief of desert-land entrymen, which will, it is believed, provide for every case entitled to equitable consideration.

It will be observed that in the first section of the bill herewith submitted the Secretary of the Interior is given authority to extend the time of final proof for three years in all cases where the entryman or his duly qualified assignee has, in good faith, complied with the requirements of law as to yearly expenditures and proof thereon, and shall show that there is a reasonable prospect, if the extension is granted, that he will be able to make the final proof of reclamation, irrigation, and cultivation required by law. Relief under this section is extended to lawful pending desert-land entries made prior to July 1, 1914, and only to those cases wherein an extension or further extension of time may not properly be allowed under existing law. The date, July 1, 1914, is adopted because at that time the regulations upon which the department is proceeding had been put in operation and were generally understood, and more especially because it is believed that the proposed bill should extend relief to meritorious cases that have arisen, and should not invite future laxity in the administration of the desert-land law.

Sections 2 and 3 of the bill herewith submitted propose to allow desert-land entrymen, in cases where water sufficient for the reclamation of the irrigable land in the entry or any legal subdivision thereof can not be obtained, to perfect the entry in the manner required of a homestead entryman, namely, residence, cultivation, and improvement, or improvement and cultivation, as the case may be, or at the entryman's election, to pay 50 cents per acre for each acre embraced in the entry and thereafter to perfect such entry upon proof that he has upon the tract permanent improvements conducive to the agricultural development thereof of the value of not less than $1.25 per acre, and that he has in good faith used the land for agricultural purposes for three years and the payment to the receiver at the time of final proof of 75 cents for each acre of the land. Relief under these sections is limited also to pending desert-land entries made prior to July 1, 1914, and is further restricted to an entryman or his duly qualified assignee under an assignment made prior to the date of the act. In my judgment, the latter limitation is wise, not only because it will prevent speculation in the equities of desert-land claimants, but will bring the entry within the terms of the homestead law as to the provisions against alienation prior to final proof.

It is believed that the relief proposed in sections 2 and 3 of this bill is in substantial harmony with the purposes of the homestead and desert-land laws. These are laws enacted to facilitate and promote the settlement and development of the public domain. One who has in good faith gone upon a tract in the mistaken belief that it was subject to entry and capable of reclamation under the desert-land law, and has expended time and money in a fruitless effort, has, in my judgment, an equitable claim to the consideration of the Government and should be permitted, if he desires to do so, to acquire title by compliance with the homestead law; or if this be impracticable, by developing the land for agricultural use and paying the price usually exacted of those who avail themselves of the commutation provisions of the homestead law.

If possible, this department would be glad to see the bill herewith submitted enacted at the present session of Congress.

Cordially, yours,

A. A. JONES, *Acting Secretary.*

The bill recommended by the Interior Department is as follows:

That the Secretary of the Interior may, in his discretion, extend the time within which final proof is required to be submitted upon any lawful pending desert-land entry made prior to July 1, 1914, such extension not to exceed three years from the date of allowance thereof: *Provided*, That the entryman or his duly qualified assignee has, in good faith, complied with the requirements of law as to yearly expenditures and proof thereof, and shall show, under rules and regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior, that there is a reasonable prospect that, if the extension is granted, he will be able to make the final proof of reclamation, irrigation, and cultivation required by law: *Provided further*, That the foregoing shall apply only to cases wherein an extension or further extension of time may not properly be allowed under existing law.

That where it shall be made to appear to the satisfaction of the Secretary of the Interior, under rules and regulations to be prescribed by him, with reference to any lawful pending desert-land entry made prior to July 1, 1914, under which the entryman or his duly qualified assignee under an assignment made prior to the date of this act, has, in good faith, expended the sum of $3 per acre in the attempt to effect reclamation of the land, that there is no reasonable prospect that, if the extension allowed by this act or any existing law were granted, he would be able to secure water sufficient to effect reclamation of the irrigable land in his entry or any legal subdivision thereof, the Secretary of the Interior may, in his discretion, allow such entryman or assignee five years from notice within which to perfect the entry in the manner required of a homestead entryman.

That any desert-land entryman or his assignee entitled to the benefit of the last preceding paragraph may, if he shall so elect within 60 days from the notice therein provided, pay to the receiver of the local land office the sum of 50 cents per acre for each acre embraced in the entry, and thereafter perfect such entry upon proof that he has upon the tract permanent improvements conducive to the agricultural development thereof of the value of not less than $1.25 per acre, and that he has, in good faith, used the land for agricultural purposes for three years, and the payment to the receiver, at the time of final proof, of the sum of 75 cents per acre: *Provided*, That in such case final proof may be submitted at any time within five years from the date of the entryman's election to proceed as provided in this section, and in the event of failure to perfect the entry as herein provided, all moneys theretofore paid shall be forfeited and the entry canceled.

My colleague, the Hon. E. T. TAYLOR, has been interested in this legislation and has been actively interested in securing its enactment. He was selected by the Hon. SCOTT FERRIS, chairman of the Public Lands Committee of the House, to file the report on H. R. 19097, which was amended by the committee to include the first two provisions of the bill recommended by the Interior Department. The report of the committee as prepared

by Mr. TAYLOR contains the following statement with reference to the necessity for this legislation:

Your committee carefully considered the recommendation of the Department of the Interior and decided to adopt the first two sections of the recommended substitute, but under the showing made deemed it unnecessary at this time to adopt section 3, and for that reason the Secretary's recommendation as to that section was not adopted; but the other two sections were adopted in the identical language recommended by the department.

The hearings before your committee showed that throughout the Western States there are many large irrigation enterprises that have been undertaken by desert-land entrymen as cooperative associations, and that the difficulties and expense of completing their reservoirs and canals have been very greatly in excess of what was originally contemplated; and that their means have been very limited; that many other obstacles not originally foreseen have occurred; many drawbacks and accidents and unavoidable casualties have occurred, delaying the construction. In some cases the dams of the reservoirs have washed out several times; in other cases long, protracted, harassing, and expensive and unavoidable litigation has occurred, and in innumerable ways conditions entirely beyond the control or possible foresight of the desert-land entrymen have arisen that have absolutely prevented them from completing their projects within the time of the utmost limit by extension or otherwise allowed under the present desert-land law. There is now no law that under any condition allows a desert-land entryman more than 10 years' time from the original filling within which to acquire and perfect his water right and reclaim his land and demonstrate his capacity to irrigate the same. In thousands of instances it is absolutely a physical impossibility to comply with the law and get the water within this limit of time.

It was shown to your committee that hundreds and hundreds of desert-land entrymen have expended 10 years' time and all the way from one or two to ten or fifteen thousand dollars apiece in money and labor endeavoring with the utmost diligence and good faith to reclaim their desert-land entries and comply with the law. Neither the desert-land law nor any other law was ever intended to require the performance of utter human impossibilities; and where these conditions are shown, and there is absolutely no question about the entire good faith of all the entrymen to whom this act would apply, your committee feels that in good faith and good conscience, and as a matter of common fairness and justice to these entrymen so situated, they should be given a further extension of time and given a reasonable opportunity to reclaim their lands and comply with the law and perfect title to their entries. If this relief is denied, their claims will become not only subject to cancellation, but they become jumpable, and any adventurer or person who is willing to obtain the fruits of others' labor for nothing may take the property rights of the bona fide entrymen and their many years of toil and expenditure of practically all they have. In many cases the homes of the entrymen may thus be wrongfully and outrageously taken from them by others who have no claim or right thereto. Your committee believes that in the interest of the honest administration of the public-land laws these entrymen should be relieved from the unfortunate position in which they are placed without fault of their own. The equities and hardships of entrymen unfortunately placed in this situation appeal very strongly to your committee, and it is earnestly hoped that this legislation will meet with the approval of the House and that this bill may be speedily enacted into law to prevent the forfeiture and loss of the homes and property rights of a very large number of worthy citizens who are eminently entitled to this relief at the hands of the Government. Your committee, therefore, unanimously recommends the passage of this bill at this session as an emergency measure.

In order that the importance of this legislation may be more fully understood I insert communications which I have received from various persons with reference to the necessity for legislation. The first letter is from the Hon. Charles F. Tew, of Greeley, Colo., who has been actively interested in the development of what is known as the Greeley-Poudre irrigation enterprise. Mr. Tew writes me as follows:

GREELEY, COLO., *September 28, 1914.*

Hon. H. H. SELDOMRIDGE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Herewith I inclose you draft of two bills, one or other or both of which should, in my judgment, be adopted at once for the well-being and protection of a large number of our most important irrigation enterprises in Colorado, as well as throughout the arid West. Knowing of your interest and ability, after consultation with a number of the many interested persons, I am sending you these drafts, and with them some of the reasons impelling to the conclusion of the vital importance of the enactments.

While we hope that the enactment of both bills may be secured, either will suffice to assist in extricating from the surrounding difficulties, and we defer to your good judgment as to the introduction of both or either, or a modification of either, so that the necessary end of serving the enterprise dependent upon such an enactment may be attained.

The purport of the bills inclosed are:

First. An act allowing three years' extension of time by the Secretary of the Interior to desert entrymen to make final proof.

Second. An act to allow final proof by a desert entryman who, in good faith, has expended as much as $6 per acre on his entry. (The water not applied.)

Personally I favor the latter enactment. Judge Gunter, for good reasons, expressed to me, is inclined for the former. After all, I think it safe to say that either will do, and we shall be more than pleased if, as the result of your good offices, either enactment shall be secured.

Perhaps better than a choice of either would be the enactment of both.

All these questions we defer to your good judgment, which, in contact with the situation at Washington, is, of course, the better advised as to difficulties and possibilities before the committees in the House and in the Senate.

As you know, for a number of years I have been closely connected with practically all of the larger irrigation projects of northern Colorado, and therefore have reason to believe myself one of those most familiar with the irrigation development and possibilities from the South Platte River and its affluents, as well as the administrative policies best calculated to work success in the completion of the giant systems we have laid out and in course of completion.

Not alone because it is affected by this proposed legislation, but because its situation is like many another in our irrigation development of the arid West, I am going to explain to you the conditions surrounding the Greeley-Poudre project.

The Greeley-Poudre Irrigation District is a municipal corporation, comprising an aggregate of 125,000 acres of fertile, irrigable land of the same character and lying immediately contiguous to and on the north side of the irrigated territory of the Cache la Poudre Valley.

	Acres.
Of the area there is held in freehold about	80,000
Of the area included in and made part of the district under the laws of the State there are lands held under the desert-land act an aggregate of about	40,000
And lands held under homestead, about	5,000
Total (but these figures are approximates)	125,000

The lands are practically identical in character, elevation, and productivity with those now in irrigation tillage under the ditches of the Cache la Poudre Valley, and when the works not constructed shall be completed and the available supply therefore shall be diverted, stored, and distributed, the area served will almost double the irrigated territory of the north side of the Cache la Poudre Valley.

The enterprise, in my judgment, is the greatest irrigation enterprise now contemplated or in course of construction in our State, and to it, therefore, there is due every support and assistance which can be given by our citizens and representatives, to the end that the enterprise may be completed and its great benefits secured.

The district is bonded for $5,100,000 of 6 per cent irrigation district bonds, of which, in the construction of works here described, there has been expended, approximately, $2,600,000.

And there remains in the Treasury for completion, approximately, $2,500,000.

A total of $5,100,000.

The district works consist of an extensive system of mountain collection ditches, tunnels, and reservoirs, as well as an extensive system of distributing mains, reservoirs, and laterals upon the plains for diversion and storage and distribution of water from the Laramie River and the Cache la Poudre River in Colorado.

Both the entire system of works and the entire area of lands lie within our State and employ only Colorado water flows diverted within the State and carried within our border for the development of Colorado lands and no other. The district was formed April 14, 1909, and by the 9th of September in that year had proceeded with such diligence that, by its directors and engineers, it had devised the comprehensive system of mountain collection ditches, reservoirs, tunnels, plains, mains, reservoirs, and distributing system ample and sufficient to take care of the water flows when obtainable and to distribute in sufficient quantities when needed to answer the irrigation necessities of serving the entire area; and in order to make possible the financing of the district and the completion of the system by bonds, to be a lien upon all the area served, had included, in accordance with Colorado law, under contracts with every homestead and desert entryman, the 45,000 acres of homestead and desert lands.

The district then deposited its bonds in escrow, to be paid in stages to the contracting company as the construction should progress, and thereafter with a diligence equal to that put forth on Government enterprises of like character and size, rapidly pressed this construction work, which was to have been completed within two years from the contract date, until interference with financing, through no fault of landholders or desert entrymen, arose in the way of interstate litigation, which alone has stilled the progress and prevented the completion.

CHARACTER OF WORK DONE.

Before litigation interfered with the enterprise there was completed of the mountain collection ditches upon the Laramie River, including the tunnels and reservoirs, work costing more than $300,000; the Laramie River tunnel was built over two miles and a quarter in length, 7½ by 9½ feet in the clear, and more than half of the distributing main in the Cache la Poudre Valley, almost 120 miles in length, was completed, as well as many of the distributing laterals and many of the reservoirs of the system.

In addition to the work done under the contract of September 9, 1908, the district itself has spent many thousands of dollars in lining the Laramie River tunnel, building the Dover Reservoir, in engineering and like expenses, which it has paid by means of annual levy of tax, which has been each year since 1909 collected from the deeded lands and from the homestead and desert entrymen who have annually paid their annual district charge in conformity with their contracts of inclusion granting them their water right in the district.

Litigation prevented completion.

In 1910, while the construction progress was in full blast at a rapidity sufficient to assure completion within a time limit so that every desert entryman could make his proof conformable to his contractural promise to the Government, threats of litigation over the water flows of Laramie River greatly embarrassed the district and its contractors in disposal of the district bonds; and though the work continued for many months thereafter with extended forces of men, teams, and machinery, a suit was later in 1910 commenced in the Supreme Court of the United States by the State of Wyoming against the State of Colorado and the district, attempting to restrain the use of any of the Colorado water flow of Laramie River upon these Colorado lands of the district, and though, in the opinion of the best legal minds of our State, this action is without merit and will ultimately be defeated, its pendency did interfere with and prevent the sale of the district securities dependent for their worth upon the full water supply by the suit threatened, and the construction work was of necessity discontinued and must remain quiescent until the termination of the case, which it is hoped will be early in 1915.

BONA FIDES OF ENTRYMEN.

The desert entrymen of the Greeley-Poudre district have acted in the utmost good faith, and, but for circumstances entirely beyond the control of the Government and entrymen, would have in every instance been able to apply water and reclaim their lands within the time limit prescribed by the acts under which their entries were made, and the designed object and beneficent purpose of the desert-land act would have been an accomplishment but for these intervening circumstances, for which no party concerned with the statutory contract was in any manner responsible.

The entrymen have each year paid to the district an annual tax upon their lands equal to the taxes levied upon the patented lands for district purposes, and thereby have become and still are an active part of

this body politic, which, through the agency of its board of directors, still in active control, has managed and still is managing the district affairs, expending the district money for such constructions as have been above named for engineering, and many thousands of dollars for the defense of this interstate litigation so vital in importance to the existence of the district and the enjoyment of the water rights necessary for the irrigation of its lands.

In many instances the expenditures of these entrymen in their honest effort to comply with the law is as high as $8 and $10 per acre for water rights in addition to the water rights to be afforded by the district and for district taxes and for improvements and in preparation of the land for tillage by irrigation.

The whole area without water is desert and of the character contemplated by law to be raised to high value by the application of the water supply. The obtainable water supply by means of the contemplated works is adequate, and the whole plan is feasible and practicable. The interruption of the progress is absolutely without fault on the part of entrymen, and wholly beyond their control, so that to subject them to forfeiture of their entry and the loss of their initiated rights is an injustice which the Government should and if possible will prevent.

The success of the enterprise is in a way first dependent upon the determination favorable to the district of the Laramie River litigation, in regard to which, upon precedent and reason, it is safe to say there is no doubt but that it will be terminated within the coming year favorable to the State of Colorado and to the district. And, secondly, upon the protection of the integrity and safety of tenure of the desert entries, so vital to the district, its securities, and its security holders.

This question concerns many hundreds of desert entrymen, as well as creditors of the district, as bondholders and otherwise, and more than all, the success or failure of Colorado's greatest irrigation enterprise now in course of construction, as well as many others of like character, not only in this, but others of the arid States.

It is because of the transcendent importance of the subject here considered that I write you thus at length, and solicit for us your good offices and service in the passage of these bills.

I feel confident that on request you will have the active aid and assistance of Congressmen TAYLOR and KEATING, as well as the assistance of Senators THOMAS and SHAFROTH.

I am sending a copy of this letter to THOMAS and SHAFROTH, and ask that you lay this communication before Messrs. KEATING and TAYLOR, and am going to thank you in advance on behalf of all so materially interested in this important subject for the services you may bestow, and to ask you for report of any progress you may make and any suggestions you may have as to where we may aid you in furtherance of the desired end.

Judge Gunter, who is thoroughly familiar with the situation here in part described, expects in a few days to write you his views.

With kindest regards and good wishes, I am

Yours, truly,

CHARLES F. TEW.

I also insert a letter which I received from the Hon. J. C. Gunter, a prominent attorney of Colorado, who has been interested in the development of irrigation enterprises:

DENVER, *October 14, 1914.*

Hon. H. H. SELDOMRIDGE,
Member of Congress, Washington D. C.

DEAR SIR: Mr. Charles F. Tew has sent me a copy of his letter to you of September the 28th and I have conferred with him as to copies of the two bills submitted.

Mr. Tew has gone into the situation in considerable detail, so I will be brief. The pith of the situation in northern Colorado, to which the legislation requested would be applicable, it this: A stupendous irrigation system—The Laramie-Poudre Reservoirs & Irrigation Co.—was projected and its construction in good faith vigorously and substantially entered upon. A large sum of money was expended in the purchase of reservoir sites, partially constructed reservoirs, irrigation ditches constructed and partially constructed, water rights, lands, and other holdings essential to the success of the projected system. Later an irrigation district was formed embracing 125,000 acres of the fairest lands in one of the best counties of the State—Weld County. Bonds amounting to $5,100,000 were issued and a contract entered into between the irrigation district so formed and the above company for the purchase and construction of the system, and work after the execution of this contract was further vigorously pushed under the terms thereof.

A substantial part of the water supply for the system was to be taken from an interstate stream, the Laramie River. After the contract a suit was instituted by Wyoming against Colorado to prevent the diversion of the waters, or any part of the waters, of this interstate stream. This litigation, at the first, interfered with the sale of irrigation-district bonds, and later entirely prevented any further sale of the bonds. The questions involved in this suit are similar to those decided in the Kansas-Colorado case. I have been of counsel in this case from its inception. The evidence is now all in and extended. I am strongly of the opinion that Colorado ought to and will prevail in this litigation and in this particular suit. I do not believe the irrigation system will be completed or very much progress made in its construction until this case is decided and confidence thereby imparted as to the value of these bonds. I believe it will be decided within 12 to 14 months.

About 40,000 acres in the above irrigation district have been filed upon under the desert-land laws. The filings have been made in good faith, and the entrymen have done all in their power to comply with the desert-land act in the reclamation of their lands. All of them have put substantial sums into these filings and many of them practically all they have. Through no fault of theirs they have been unable to comply with the desert-land laws. Many of their filings will expire by limitation of law during the coming year. If they are allowed three years longer to furnish satisfactory proofs of the reclamation of their lands, I believe that they will be able to satisfy the requirements of the desert-land act. If the system ever is built, and I believe it will be, it will be built within the next three years.

I have said to Mr. Tew that I think the bill allowing these entrymen three years longer in which to furnish satisfactory proof of reclamation is a reasonable one on the part of the Government and a just one on the part of the entrymen. Such a bill will stimulate efforts for the completion of the system, will require reclamation on the part of the entryman, and yet will prevent misfortune being visited upon him—the entryman—through no fault on his part.

I again call attention to the clear and forcible presentation of the facts pertinent to the above in the letter of Mr. Tew.

I respectfully urge interest and action on your part in behalf of such legislation and on the part of the other members of our delegation.

I am, sir,

Respectfully, yours,

JULIUS C. GUNTER.

I also insert two letters from the Willow Creek Irrigation Co., together with a statement of conditions affecting desert-land entries under this project:

THE WILLOW CREEK IRRIGATION CO.,
Greeley, Colo., February 2, 1914.

Hon. H. H. SELDOMRIDGE,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your kind favor of the 26th ultimo, in the matter of the stockholders of the Willow Creek Irrigation Co.:

We have nearly all taken advantage of the acts relating to the extension of time for making final proof. Many of us made our filings nine years ago this coming spring. I am now pretty well satisfied that an extension of time will do us no good.

As to changing our filings to homestead entries, some of our stockholders have already used their homestead rights. Nearly all of the others are so circumstanced that they can not leave their business and make residence on the prairie. It would cost them more than the land is worth, to say nothing of the damage which a prolonged absence from their business would occasion.

I came to Colorado in 1877; and, having followed the business of surveying and irrigation engineering for a good many years, I am quite familiar with the possibilities of dry-land farming. I am fully convinced that it is more than a waste of time for a man to undertake to farm 160 or even 320 acres of dry land. A man engaged in stock raising who has control of several hundred acres which will furnish a sizable range for stock can generally raise some feed to supplement the winter pasture. Under the Campbell system the tillage of large areas is recommended, at least one-half lying fallow every other year.

Very few of our stockholders have filed on over 160 acres, some not more than 80, and none over 320 acres.

Now, if we did not wish to make homes on this land, why did we take it, and if it is not tillable why should we want patents for it? you may ask. We took the land because Willow Creek, which was to furnish our water supply, was known to be visited by large floods, and we hoped for sufficient water to enable us to farm these lands. The land was in every way attractive, but the region was somewhat remote and it was not easy to determine the extent of the water supply. The floods, though high, proved to be of short duration, and are wholly inadequate for the purpose of reservoir filling.

We wish patents so that we may be secure in our titles and thus be enabled to associate ourselves together to engage in farming under the Campbell system or to engage in stock raising or to make such other disposition of the land as we may see fit and by so doing be recompensed in some measure for the large expenditure we have made in testing out the water supply.

Thanking you for the interest you have shown in our behalf and assuring you of our appreciation of your efforts to help us out of our difficulties, I remain,

Yours, very truly,

C. D. PAGE.

THE WILLOW CREEK IRRIGATION CO.,
Denver, Colo., January 17, 1914.

Hon. H. H. SELDOMRIDGE,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I will inclose herewith a copy of a letter to Congressman TAYLOR, which will partly explain to you what has gone before in our efforts to obtain relief from the undesirable position in which we find ourselves. We solicit your aid in our cause, as you represent the district in which our project is located.

The Willow Creek Irrigation Co. was incorporated in 1905; filings were made on water from Willow Creek, in Weld County, Colo., and construction work was begun in April of that year. We have built a diversion dam across the creek bed, a large intake ditch, a reservoir for storing the water, and an outlet ditch through which to deliver water to the land. By means of this system we intended to reclaim about 3,000 acres of desert land, and, although the system is not complete, we have spent more than $10 per acre for all the land that could be watered. The stockholders of the company have filed desert-land entries and have made improvements on this land in the way of fences, buildings, cultivating the soil, etc., and in every way have shown good faith in our project, but we have been unable to furnish any water for irrigation, and all of our interests are jeopardized. We can not prove up under existing laws, but we feel that there should be some means provided for acquiring title to lands in a case like ours, and if you think it is possible to pass a bill that would give us the desired relief, I urgently request that you make the effort.

No doubt you will require full details regarding our project, its present physical condition, what we have done, the causes that have prevented us from accomplishing what we have undertaken, our financial condition, etc., and I will undertake to furnish you with such information, either by mail or by personal interview, as you may suggest. Please see Congressman TAYLOR in regard to what he has done in this matter.

We realize that the time is short in which to accomplish our purpose during the balance of the present session of Congress, and that if we hope to do anything it should be done promptly.

Hoping for an early and favorable reply, I remain,

Yours, truly,

F. W. REYNOLDS,
Secretary-Treasurer.

A BRIEF OF THE CASE—THE WILLOW CREEK IRRIGATION CO., FOR CONSIDERATION IN CONNECTION WITH BILL (H. R. 14152) FOR THE RELIEF OF DESERT-LAND ENTRYMEN UNDER THIS AND OTHER PROJECTS.

This company was incorporated in 1905; filings were made on water from Willow Creek in Weld County, Colo.; construction of work was begun in April of that year; a diversion dam across the creek bed, a large intake ditch, a reservoir for storing the water, and an outlet ditch through which to deliver the water to the land has been built; by means of this system it was intended to reclaim about 3,000 acres of desert land; the system is not complete, but more than $10 per acre for all the land that could be watered has been spent; the stockholders of the company have filed desert-land entries and have made improvements on this land in the way of fences, buildings, cultivation of the soil, etc., and in every way have shown good faith in the project, but have been unable to secure water for irrigation, and all

interests are jeopardized. They can not prove up under existing laws, as nearly all have taken advantage of the acts relating to the extension of time for making final proof, and many of them made filings nine years ago. It seems certain that an extension of time will do no good.

Some of these stockholders have already used their homestead rights and would be entirely eliminated if their filings were changed to homestead entries; nearly all of the others are so circumstanced that they can not leave their business and make residence on the prairie, as it would cost more than the land is worth, to say nothing of the damage which a prolonged absence from their business would occasion.

Very few of the stockholders have filed on over 160 acres, some not more than 80 acres, and none over 320 acres.

The land was taken up under this project because Willow Creek, which was to furnish the water supply, was known to be visited by large floods, and it was hoped that sufficient water could be conserved to irrigate these lands. The floods, though high, proved to be of short duration and are wholly inadequate for the purpose or reservoir filling.

Patents are desired by these people so that they may be secure in their titles and enable them to associate together to engage in farming under the "Campbell system" of dry-land farming, or to engage in stock raising, or to make such other disposition of the land as they may see fit, and by so doing be recompensed in some measure for the large expenditure of money made in testing out the water supply.

I also have a large number of communications from various parties interested in other projects in the State of Colorado, and am satisfied that the need for general relief is most imperative.

The action of the Senate in adopting the amendment offered by Senator SHAFROTH, of Colorado, inserting the provisions of the proposed law in the general deficiency bill, and the concurrent action of the House conferees, Messrs. FITZGERALD, of New York; BARTLETT, of Georgia; and GILLETT, of Massachusetts, and the adoption of the report by both Houses of Congress, will, in my opinion, afford the relief which has been so much desired. No law passed by this Congress relating to public lands will be so gladly received in all the Western States as this law to which I have just referred. It will relieve the Department of the Interior of a vast amount of work arising from complications in desert-land entries; it will confirm title to those who have complied with the spirit and intent of the law and yet, through no fault of their own, have not been able to perfect title, and it will result in added development upon entries the holders of which can now feel assured that permanent title will ultimately be given to them. The law will only affect entries made prior to July 1, 1914. The regulations now in force which control desert-land entries provide that the entryman must establish to the satisfaction of the department that he has available a good and sufficient supply of water with which to reclaim the land filed upon. This law will stimulate agricutural development in Colorado and other Western States and will be received as a most beneficent piece of legislation.

Alaska Fisheries.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES WICKERSHAM,

OF ALASKA,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. WICKERSHAM. Mr. Speaker, under the unanimous-consent permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD on Alaska fisheries, given by the House on March 2, I wish to place in the RECORD a copy of House bill 21607, introduced in the last hours of this session by the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. CARLIN]. This bill is a modification of the tentative bill mentioned in the letter addressed by me to the President, which follows immediately after it, with some additional amendments which make it a little more illiberal than the original.

For two or three days the Deputy Commissioner of Fisheries, from Virginia, carried this bill around the Capitol attempting to secure its introduction by Members of Congress from the Pacific coast, who, to their credit, invariably refused to introduce it for him. It is as follows:

A bill (H. R. 21607) to amend the laws for the protection and regulation of the fisheries of Alaska.

Be it enacted, etc., That every person carrying on the business of catching, canning, curing, or preserving fish, or manufacturing fish or fishery products within the Territory of Alaska, or in any of the waters of Alaska over which the United States has jurisdiction, shall, in lieu of all other Federal or Territorial license fees and taxes therefor and thereon, secure licenses and pay license fees or taxes on said business and output as follows:

For each fish-trap site, except in the Yukon River, $100 per annum; for each fish wheel, except in the Yukon River, $100 per annum; for each purse seine in use, $60 per annum; for each haul or beach seine in use, $30 per annum; for each gill-net boat and equipment, $2 per annum; canned salmon, per case, according to the species, king or spring and sockeye or red, 6 cents per case; coho or medium red, 5 cents per case; humpback or pink, 4 cents per case; chum or keta, 3 cents per case; mild-cured salmon, $1 per tierce; pickled salmon, 20 cents per barrel; salt salmon in bulk, 10 cents per 100 pounds; pickled salmon bellies, $1 per barrel; whale oil, 10 cents per barrel; meal made from the bones of whales, whale fertilizer, and whale meal, 50 cents per ton.

No fish cannery, saitery, mild-cure plant, or other establishment for the preservation of fishery products shall hereafter be built, converted, or adapted in Alaska on any salmon stream above its mouth without first obtaining the approval of the Secretary of Commerce. No whaling station, whether on shore or afloat, shall hereafter be built, converted, or adapted in Alaska without first obtaining the approval of the Secretary of Commerce.

All licenses and renewals thereof for fishing appliances shall be issued by the Secretary of Commerce, to whom or to whose local authorized representatives all fees therefor as herein provided shall be paid in advance. All such licenses shall be designated by consecutive numbers and shall indicate the kind of the particular appliance for which the license is issued and the name of the person owning the same. The owner of each fishing appliance shall have conspicuously affixed thereto a tag, brand, or lettered notice bearing the license number. In the case of movable apparatus the number of this tag, brand, or notice shall also be placed in figures at least 6 inches in height on both sides of the bow of each fishing boat used. In the case of renewals of licenses the same serial numbers shall continue year after year.

The specific taxes on the finished products shall be collected by the clerks of the United States district courts of Alaska for the respective judicial divisions of such courts wherein the tax has been created, and all such taxes shall be due and payable on or before December 31 of each calendar year, and if not so paid shall become delinquent and a penalty of 15 per cent shall be forthwith added to the original amount, and the whole amount, including the penalty, shall draw interest at the rate of 1 per cent per month until paid. And it shall be the duty of all United States district attorneys to proceed by civil suit in the name of the United States to collect all delinquent taxes in their respective districts, and neither the product upon which the tax was created nor any property belonging to delinquents shall be exempt from attachment or execution therefor.

All of the license fees and taxes derived from the Alaska fisheries shall be covered into the "Alaska fund" of the Treasury of the United States created by the act of January 27, 1905, to be expended as now provided by law, except that of said license fees and taxes at least 50 per cent, or as much thereof as in the judgment of the Secretary of Commerce may be necessary, may be expended by the said Secretary of Commerce for the construction, purchase, maintenance, and operation of fish hatcheries in Alaska and for other purposes relating to the investigation, development, and preservation of the Alaska fisheries, and such moneys are hereby appropriated for such purposes. The Secretary of the Treasury shall send to the Secretary of Commerce at the end of each quarter a statement of the amount in the "Alaska fund" remaining available for the purposes specified for fisheries work in this act.

SEC. 2. That each fish-trap site shall consist of a reserved area in the water, rectangular in form; the size—to be determined by the locator—shall not be more than 1,000 feet one way nor more than 3,000 feet the other way; a trap may be built anywhere within the limits of such reserved area; the general course of the trap shall be lengthwise of the trap site; not more than one trap or other fishing appliance may be constructed or operated at the same time within the limits of any such reserved area; there shall be clear side spaces or passageways of not less than 2,500 feet laterally between trap sites, and clear end spaces or passageways of not less than 800 feet endwise between all fish-trap sites and between all constructed traps.

Fish-trap sites shall be located by placing two substantial piles, posts, or monuments on the proximate shore at or near the line of high tide, in such position as to indicate the lateral extremities or boundaries running offshore of the trap site to be occupied, one of said piles or markers to be placed on each of said lateral boundary lines produced inshore, the two piles or markers forming a base line from which the trap site may be located: *Provided*, That if it is not feasible on account of local conditions or for any other cause to place markers at or near the line of high tide so as to mark the location in the manner above indicated, such markers may be placed within reasonable proximity to the trap site, so as to form a base line from which the trap site may be located.

There shall be placed on such piles or markers a location notice containing the name of the locator, the date of location, and a reasonable description of the trap site claimed, showing the approximate distances and directions of the lines bounding the same; said notice shall be not less than 12 by 18 inches in size, in black letters not less than one-half inch in height on a white background. But the location piles or markers, or notice, shall not be effective to hold any trap site beyond the 31st day of December of the next succeeding calendar year of the date of location unless a survey shall be made and a map thereof be filed with the Secretary of Commerce as herein directed, and unless a fish trap is built upon the site within such period of time.

Every person who, at the time this act takes effect, shall be occupying or claiming one or more fish-trap sites in the waters of Alaska, or who has occupied and used any fish-trap location or locations during the preceding fishing season, or who may thereafter desire to occupy any unoccupied fish-trap site or sites, wherever it may be lawful to operate fish traps in such waters, shall, before the 31st day of December of the next succeeding calendar year following the date of the passage of this act, in the case of existing locations, and before the 31st day of December of the calendar year in which they are sought to be located, in the case of new locations, cause each trap site to be surveyed by a competent surveyor, unless a satisfactory survey of any such trap site shall have been previously made, in which case such existing survey may be used; the occupant or claimant shall cause to be made from the actual survey of each trap site a location map, drawn to a scale of 1 inch to 400 feet, containing a plat and description of said trap site sufficient for its ascertainment and identification on the premises; and shall also cause to be prepared a vicinity map, drawn to an approximate scale sketched upon or copied from a United States Coast and Geodetic Survey chart—giving the number thereof—showing the approximate location of the proposed trap site with relation to the general locality, showing the location of all adjacent fish-trap sites and location monuments or markers. Such vicinity map may be shown upon the same sheet as the location map, or upon a separate sheet to accompany same. Such maps must be certified by the surveyor who made the survey to be true and correct maps of the trap sites and premises as shown. The location map shall also contain a certificate of the claimant of the said trap site, stating that he claims the trap site shown on the map and specifying the date under which the trap site was located under this act; the last-mentioned certificate may be signed by the occupant or claimant, or by his agent or attorney in his behalf, and shall contain the post-office

address of the claimant. Such maps, with the certificates thereon, shall be filed with the Secretary of Commerce, and shall, from the date of filing, constitute full and complete notice that the trap site shown upon the location map has been appropriated and is held, occupied, and claimed by the person designated thereon as claimant. A duplicate copy of each of such maps shall also be filed in the nearest district office of the Department of Commerce in Alaska; another duplicate of such maps shall be filed at the Seattle office of the Bureau of Fisheries; and—for information only—in the office of the clerk of the United States district court for the the judicial division in which such trap is situate. And it shall be the duty of the public officials in whose office any such maps may be offered for filing to receive and safely keep the same on file in their respective offices.

From and after the location of any such trap site and after the approval thereof by the Secretary of Commerce the claimant thereof and his heirs, executors, administrators, successors, and assigns shall have the exclusive right to occupy, maintain, and fish the same; to renew the license therefor year by year until abandoned, forfeited, or terminated through operation of law; to mortgage, sell, and transfer such rights during such time as he or they shall comply with the laws of the United States pertaining thereto.

Every person being the prior occupant or in lawful possession of one or more fish-trap sites when this act takes effect shall have the preference right until the 31st day of December of the next succeeding calendar year following the date of the passage of this act within which to perfect his possessory rights to such site or sites under the provisions of this act by making, surveying, and filing the maps with the Secretary of Commerce as herein provided. When surveys show adjacent fish traps which have been operated within the preceding calendar year to have been within the prohibited distances of 2,500 feet laterally and 800 feet endwise from each other, as prescribed by this act, that location which has had the longest continuous period of occupation for fishing from season to season shall have precedence and the junior location must give way. No trap site shall be so located as to encroach upon the prohibited distances from any existing trap or occupied trap site then lawfully held by another. Locations for trap sites hitherto unclaimed or abandoned or forfeited shall prevail in the order of location.

If any claimant of a fish-trap site desires to construct and operate a fish trap upon such site during the same season it is claimed, he shall file, in triplicate, with the authorized representative of the Department of Commerce for the district in which the trap site is claimed, an appropriate section of a Coast and Geodetic Survey chart showing the location of the site, the nearest adjacent claimed or occupied trap sites, and the nearest mouths of salmon streams. Such a trap-site claim shall be accompanied by the license fee of $100. It shall be the duty of said representative to telegraph to the Secretary of Commerce recommendations regarding such trap site, and, if approved by the Secretary of Commerce, he shall, with the least possible delay, so advise the claimant by telegraph of such approval, so that the trap site may be used during the current fishing season. This temporary approval shall be operative only during the calendar year in which granted, and shall be granted only upon payment to the Secretary of Commerce of a license fee of $100.

All conflicting claims to trap sites shall be determined by the Secretary of Commerce. Also full power is hereby vested in the Secretary of Commerce to withhold the issuance of licenses for any fish-trap sites or renewals of such licenses, when in his judgment the results of fishing operations in any region indicate that the number of salmon taken is excessive and detrimental to the future of the industry: *Provided*, That such power shall be exercised only after a hearing shall be granted to interested persons in the manner provided for in section 10 of this act. When any waters so closed shall be reopened, the preference to reoccupy fish-trap sites shall be given to previous holders of any such sites therein situated.

Failure for a continuous period of two consecutive calendar years to construct and operate a bona fide fish trap upon any located trap site, or failure to apply for a renewal of the license therefor, at least 60 days after the expiration of any existing license therefor, shall work an abandonment and forfeiture of such trap site and shall preclude the defaulting claimant from relocating the same within a period of two years.

It shall be unlawful to locate any trap site except for the bona fide purpose of constructing an effective fish trap thereon.

No false or fictitious fish trap or other fishing appliance not intended as an effective device for catching fish shall be maintained in any of the waters of Alaska.

No fish trap or other fishing appliance shall be operated or placed where it will impair the efficiency of any fish hatchery. The Secretary of Commerce is authorized to cause the removal of any such fish trap or other fishing appliance: *Provided*, That such authority shall be exercised only after the interested parties shall have been given a hearing.

No bent or recurved end, commonly called a "jigger," directed or turned toward the opening of the trap, of more than 50 yards in length, shall be attached to or operated in connection with any fish trap in Alaska. There shall be no more than one jigger attached to each of the two sides of a fish trap, and such jiggers may be attached only to the heart.

During the entire season each fish trap shall have affixed thereto a conspicuous notice at the outer end of the pot, in black letters not less than 6 inches in height upon a white background, bearing the license number and the name of the licensee.

Nothing herein contained shall be deemed or construed to give to the locator or holder of any fish-trap site any title other than a possessory right of occupation, or easement, for fishing purposes, subject to termination by forfeiture, abandonment, or operation of law.

SEC. 3. That it shall be unlawful to erect or maintain any fish trap, stake net, or other fixed or stationary apparatus, except for the purposes of fish culture or scientific investigation under the direction or with the approval of the Secretary of Commerce, in any of the waters of Alaska, at any point where the distance from shore to shore is less than 500 feet, or within any salmon stream at or above any point where the stream is less than 500 feet in width, or within one-half mile of the mouth of any salmon stream where the same is less than 500 feet in width: *Provided*, That the use of stake nets shall not be prohibited in the delta of the Copper River. The Secretary of Commerce is hereby authorized and directed to have any and all unlawful obstructions removed or destroyed.

SEC. 4. That it shall be unlawful to cast, lay, set, place, drive, construct, or maintain any drift net, gill net, set net, stake net, trap, or any other fishing appliance for any purpose, except for authorized purposes of fish culture or authorized scientific investigation, across or above the tidewaters of any creek, stream, river, lagoon, estuary, channel, or other waters, for a distance greater than one-third the width thereof.

It shall be unlawful to lay or cast any seine or net of any kind within 2,000 feet of the mouth of any salmon stream when the same is less than 500 feet in width: *Provided*, That this shall not apply to the delta of the Copper River, or to the delta of the Yukon River. It shall be unlawful to use or have in possession any seine less than 100 fathoms in length.

It shall be unlawful to lay or cast any seine or gill net or other movable fishing apparatus within 200 yards of any other seine, gill net, or other movable fishing apparatus which is being or which has been cast, laid, set, or placed in any of the waters of Alaska.

It shall be unlawful to lay, cast, or operate any movable fishing apparatus within any fish-trap site upon which a trap is located or within 1,000 feet of any fixed fishing apparatus.

It shall be unlawful to place, anchor, drive, or construct any fish trap, stake net, or other fixed fishing appliance within 3,000 feet laterally or 800 feet endwise of any other fish trap or other fixed fishing appliance: *Provided*, That in the operation of stake nets the distance interval between such stake nets need not be greater than 1,000 feet.

It shall be unlawful to erect or maintain any stake net of greater length than 1,000 feet, or constructed in any other manner than by stakes driven in substantially a straight line: *Provided*, That the restriction as to distance intervals between stake nets shall not be construed to apply to the use by the native Indians of stake nets not over 50 yards in length to take salmon for their own domestic consumption and not for sale.

It shall be unlawful to take any salmon by means of a spear or gaff, except for personal, domestic, or family consumption; and it shall be unlawful to purchase any salmon taken by means of a spear or gaff for use in canning, salting, or otherwise preserving for sale.

SEC. 5. That for the purposes of this act, the width of a creek, stream, river, lagoon, estuary, or other waters shall be determined by measurements at right angles to the thread of the stream of said waters at mean high water; and where waters are divided by islands, each channel shall be measured independently and not as a part of the greater body of water.

All measurements of waters referred to herein shall be made at mean high water, and the Secretary of Commerce is authorized to determine and indicate by suitable markers, monuments, or notices the mouth of any stream, river, or other waters referred to herein. It shall be unlawful to efface, destroy, or remove, or in any manner interfere with any marker, monument, or notice provided for in this act.

SEC. 6. That it shall be unlawful to put or place in any of the waters of Alaska any explosive or poisonous substance whatsoever for the purpose of catching, taking, killing, or injuring fish; or to place or deposit in, or discharge or pass into, or cause or suffer to be placed or deposited in, or to place or cause to be placed where it may pass into any stream, creek, river, lake, lagoon, estuary, or the approaches thereto, any lime or other caustics, tar, petroleum, asphalt, bitumen, or other carbonaceous material, oils, acids, or sulphates, or compounds thereof, sawdust, shavings, tanbark, slabs, edgings, mill or factory refuse, slag, sluicings, tailings, smelter or mine refuse, or any other substance destructive to fish, fish fry, or the food of fish, or which is or may be injurious to the spawn or spawning beds of fishes; and in the case of substances known to be deleterious to fishes or fish foods or spawn, it shall not be necessary to prove that the pollution of the waters by these substances in the particular case in question has actually caused the death of any particular fish, fish fry, or spawn: *Provided*, That nothing in this section shall be construed to prohibit the proper use of explosives in connection with the construction of buildings or improvements.

SEC. 7. That it shall be unlawful for any person to waste or destroy salmon, cod, halibut, herring, and trout taken or caught in any of the waters of Alaska: *Provided*, That waste or destruction of such fish shall not be deemed in violation of this section when resulting directly from storms or other unavoidable conditions. The utilization of any part of food fishes, other than the offal and waste thereof from establishments preparing fish food products, shall, after this act becomes effective, be regarded as such waste if utilized in the manufacture of fertilizer, fish meal, fish oil, or by-products thereof.

It shall be unlawful in handling salmon or other fishes to be utilized commercially for human consumption to insert any fish pew, gaff, or hook in that part of the flesh so utilized: *Provided*, That this shall not apply to any fish that are canned.

It shall be unlawful to can or salt for sale for food any salmon more than 60 hours after it has been killed: *Provided*, That no salmon shall be so utilized if unfit for food regardless of how much less than 60 hours it has been out of the water.

SEC. 8. That it shall be unlawful to fish for, take, or kill any fish of any species in any manner or by any means, except by hook and line, solely for purposes of angling for sport and not for commercial uses in any of the waters of Alaska, except in the Arctic Ocean and Bering Sea and the waters tributary thereto, Cook Inlet, and the Copper River Delta, from 12 o'clock noon of Saturday of each week until 6 o'clock a. m. of the Monday following; or to fish for or catch or kill in any manner by any appliance, except by hook and line, solely for angling or sport fishing, any salmon in any stream of less than 100 yards in width between the hours of 6 o'clock in the evening and 6 o'clock in the morning of the following day of each and every day in the week: *Provided*, That the weekly close season shall not be construed to extend to the cod and halibut fisheries.

Throughout the weekly close season herein prescribed the gate, mouth, or tunnel of all fish traps shall be closed by hauling the tunnel to one side against the entrance or tunnel wall of the pot, and the heart shall be closed by an apron placed across its entrance, which apron shall extend from above the surface of the water to the bottom of the water at the place where the trap is maintained, and be connected securely to the piles on either side of the entrance to the heart of such trap, fastened by rings not more than 2 feet apart on a taut wire stretched from top to bottom of piles, so as to effectually prevent any salmon from entering the heart of such trap. There shall also be an opening of at least 10 feet in the hook of all jiggers, and there shall also be an opening in the lead of such traps next to the apron of at least 10 feet wide and extending below the surface at least 4 feet at mean low water, so as to permit free passage of all fishes at all stages of the tide.

SEC. 9. That it shall be unlawful for any person canning, salting, or curing fish of any species in Alaska to use any label, brand, or trademark thereon which shall tend to misrepresent the contents of any package of fish offered for sale: *Provided*, That the use of the terms "red," "medium red," "pink," "chum," and similar well-established terms as applied to the various species of Pacific salmon under trade

usages shall not be deemed in conflict with the provisions of this act when used to designate salmon of these known species.

There shall be embossed on one end of every can used for packing salmon or other food fishes distinctive marks or emblems by which the packer of the can may be identified. Each packer shall file with the Secretary of Commerce samples in triplicate so embossed of each can end used by him.

SEC. 10. That the Secretary of Commerce may, in his discretion, set aside any streams or lakes, or parts thereof, including the waters of the approaches thereto, as preserves for spawning grounds in which fishing may be limited or entirely prohibited, but such power shall be exercised only after all persons interested shall be given a hearing, of which due notice must be given by publication; and when the interested parties are known to the department they shall be personally notified by notice mailed not less than 60 days previous to such hearing. No order made under this section shall be effective before the next calendar year after the same is made.

SEC. 11. That the Secretary of Commerce is hereby authorized in his discretion to purchase any or all of the private salmon hatcheries in Alaska which have heretofore been approved under the act of Congress of June 26, 1906, the same to be paid for so far as possible out of the fund to be created under the provisions of section 1 of this act: *Provided*, That if said fund be insufficient to cover the purchase price of such hatcheries so purchased and also to meet the other current expenses to be met therefrom, the Secretary of Commerce shall issue to the former owners of such hatcheries so purchased certificates of purchase for any unpaid balances due them in such denominations as may be desired by the sellers, and such certificates may be used at any time for the payment pro tanto of any license fees or taxes upon or against or on account of the catch or pack of any salmon in Alaska.

Before any hatcheries shall be purchased as herein provided, they shall be inspected and appraised by three persons, two of whom shall be designated by the Secretary of Commerce and the third by the owners of said hatcheries, and in the event of failure of prompt designation of such third person by the hatchery owners, such third person may be named by the Secretary of Commerce. The report of the three persons herein provided for shall be submitted to the Secretary of Commerce.

The exemption from license fees and taxation in favor of the owners of private salmon hatcheries in Alaska, as provided by section 2 of the act of Congress entitled "An act for the protection and regulation of the fisheries of Alaska," approved June 26, 1906, for the release of red and king salmon fry shall apply to existing hatcheries until the date of their purchase or rejection by the Secretary of Commerce.

SEC. 12. That every person engaged in curing or in any manner utilizing fishery products shall within one month of the beginning of operations each season notify in writing the nearest representative of the Bureau of Fisheries in Alaska of the character of such operations and shall make detailed annual reports thereof to the Secretary of Commerce, on blanks furnished by him, covering all such facts as may be required with respect thereto for the information and use of the Department of Commerce and Congress. Such reports shall be sworn to by the superintendent, manager, or other person having knowledge of the facts, a separate blank being used for each establishment, and the same shall be forwarded to the department at the close of the fishing season, and not later than December 15 of each year.

SEC. 13. That any person violating any provision of this Act, or any regulation established in pursuance thereof, as herein provided, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and, upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by a fine of not less than $100 nor more than $1,000 or by imprisonment for a term of not more than six months, or by both such fine and imprisonment, at the discretion of the court; and in case of the violation of any provisions of section 3 of this act, and conviction thereof, a further fine of not more than $250 per diem may, at the discretion of the court, be imposed for each day such obstruction referred to in the said section 3 is maintained. And every vessel or other apparatus or equipment used or employed in violation of any provision of this act, or of any regulation made thereunder, may be seized by order of the Secretary of Commerce and turned over to the United States marshal and by him held subject to the payment of such fine or fines as may be imposed.

SEC. 14. That the violation of any provision of this act may be prosecuted in any district court of Alaska or in any district court of the United States in the States of California, Oregon, or Washington. And it shall be the duty of the Secretary of Commerce to enforce the provisions of this act and rules and regulations made thereunder. And it shall be the duty of the district attorney, to whom any violation is reported by any agent or representative of the Department of Commerce, or by any other competent person, to institute proceedings necessary to carry out the provisions of this act.

SEC. 15. That to enforce the provisions of this act the Secretary of Commerce is hereby authorized and directed to make and establish such rules and regulations not inconsistent with law as may be necessary for the proper investigation, inspection, and regulation of the Alaska fisheries and the investigation and protection of marine algæ, shellfish, and all other aquatic animals not otherwise provided for by law, and to depute, in addition to the employees of the Alaska fisheries service, from the officers and employees of the Department of Commerce a force adequate for the performance of the duties required by this act, and he shall annually submit to Congress estimates to cover the cost of the establishment of and maintenance of fish hatcheries in Alaska, the salaries and actual traveling expenses for such officials, and for such other expenditures as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this act.

SEC. 16. That the catching or killing of any fish or other aquatic animal of any kind or species whatsoever in any of the waters of Alaska, unless otherwise provided by law, shall be subject to the provisions of this act, except when used for domestic food purposes and not for sale or for barter.

SEC. 17. That for the purposes of this act the following definitions are adopted to apply to the words in question whenever the same shall be used:

"Person," any person, persons, firm, partnership, corporation, association, or society.

"Fish trap," any pound net, fish wheel, or fixed or floating trap, whether constructed of piles and webbing and driven or constructed in the place operated, or whether constructed elsewhere and held in place by anchors or moorings, but excluding small native traps which may be transported in toto by one man.

"Stake net," a net, as a gill net, attached or fixed to stakes or piles.

"Case," forty-eight 1-pound cans, or the equivalent weight in cans of other sizes.

"Barrel," 200 pounds of fish, or 50 gallons of oil.

"Tierce," 800 pounds of fish.

"Ton," 2,000 pounds.

SEC. 18. That all acts or parts of acts inconsistent with the provisions of this act are, so far as inconsistent, hereby repealed, said repeal to be effective when this act takes effect.

SEC. 19. That this act shall take effect from and after the date of its passage.

Mr. Speaker, the foregoing bill is put in the RECORD so that I may have it sent to the fishermen on the Pacific coast for their information and criticism. In my judgment, it is the culmination of the efforts of the Fish Trust to secure a complete monopoly of the Alaska fisheries, and unless Congress shall stop, look, and listen and know something about the fisheries situation in Alaska, the Swift Meat Trust, the Booth Fisheries Co., and the Alaska Packers' Association will own, as well as control, the immense food supply of Alaska under their trust arrangement and this bill.

This is a matter of such serious importance to the people of the United States and especially to those in Alaska and on the Pacific coast that the widest publicity ought to be given concerning it.

The following letter was written on its date to the President in the hope that its perusal might in some manner curb the enthusiastic lobbying proclivities of Dr. Jones, of Virginia, the Deputy Commissioner of Fisheries, who is responsible for the introduction of the foregoing bill. The introduction of this bill at the personal solicitation of the Deputy Commissioner of Fisheries makes it an administration measure, and, I think, it is fair to presume that it will now be supported by the adminstration. It is rather remarkable that it should be sent to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Many objections which I think can be urged to this bill have been stated fully by me in my letter to the President. In the preparation of this statement to the President I have attempted to state facts which could not be controverted, since reference is made directly to the record which contains the proof of their existence, and without repeating any part or portion of them I have concluded to put the letter itself in the RECORD for the information of the public.

The letter is as follows:

FEBRUARY 25, 1915.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House.

SIR: The very near social and official intimacy which has so long existed and which now exists between the Seattle-Portland-San Francisco Fish Trust and the Alaska division of the United States Bureau of Fisheries is becoming a public scandal, and well deserves your attention and condemnation.

The total production of the Alaska salmon fisheries from 1868 to 1914, both inclusive, amounts to $201,067,046. This great sum of wealth has been extracted from the natural fisheries of Alaska by the corporate interests almost without law and quite without aid to the development of Alaska. Naturally, where there is no law of restraint the spirit of monopoly has expanded, and the fishery of Alaska has offered an open field. The Morgan-Guggenheim Northwest Fisheries Co. is now the Booth Fisheries Co., and is under indictment before the United States court in Seattle for violation of the United States statutes against conspiracy in restraint of trade and the Sherman anti-trust law. The Alaska Packers' Association is the greatest salmon monopoly on the Pacific coast; it owns and suppresses more canneries in Alaska than any other concern, and grows fat on the peonage of imported fishermen. Libby, McNeill & Libby, Alaska salmon canners, are an offshoot of the Swift Meat Trust. All these are in such close and intimate relation with the Bureau of Fisheries that only the power of the President can break the hold of the Fish Trust over fisheries officials, fisheries legislation, and the fisheries of Alaska.

Herewith you will find a year's monthly issues of the Pacific Fisherman, a paper issued at Seattle, Wash., by one Miller Freeman, a special representative and Washington lobbyist for the Fish Trust. Also herewith is a copy of an indictment returned by the United States grand jury at Seattle, May term, 1914, No. 2791, signed by Clay Allen, United States district attorney. The indictment is against the Booth Fisheries Co., of Delaware and Washington, with whom other corporations and individuals are jointly indicted for violation of the antitrust law, for conspiracy in restrain of trade, and an alleged monopoly of the Alaska fisheries.

THE PACIFIC FISHERIES SOCIETY.

Your attention is specially called to the April number, 1914, of the Pacific Fisherman, at pages 18 and 19, where you will find the details of the organization of the Pacific Fisheries Society, with many very respectable gentlemen as a front, and with John N. Cobb, secretary, and Russell Palmer treasurer.

On page 18 of the Pacific Fisherman, April, 1914, is the following letter:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, March 26, 1914.

SECRETARY PACIFIC FISHERIES SOCIETY,
Seattle, Wash.

MY DEAR SIR: The President directs me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of March 18 and to thank you for having written him. He appreciates the compliment your organization pays him in the tender of honorary membership, and has pleasure in accepting.

Sincerely, yours,

J. P. TUMULTY,
Secretary to the President.

Similar letters follow from the governors of Alaska, Washington, Oregon, California, and Nevada. Following the letter which the governor of Alaska wrote is a statement that Dr. Jones, Deputy Commissioner of Fisheries, actively participated in the formation of the society. The statement on page 18 is that Russell Palmer, Seattle agent of the United States Bureau of Fisheries, was also actively engaged in its organization, and became its treasurer.

THE CONNECTING LINK.

Now turn to page 22, the editorial page of the Pacific Fisherman for April, 1914, and you discover who the officers of the Pacific Fisherman are:

Miller Freeman, publisher; John N. Cobb, editor; Russell Palmer, manager.

On pages 11 and 21 of the February, 1914, issue of the Pacific Fisherman it is stated that Mr. Freeman, in addition to being the publisher of that paper, is also secretary of the Puget Sound Salmon Canners' Association and the Association of Alaska Salmon Packers, while on page 21 full credit is given to Mr. Freeman for his energetic and successful effort in Washington as the Fish Trust lobbyist in persuading the Secretary of Commerce to establish a Pacific coast branch of the Bureau of Fisheries for Alaska and the Pribilof Islands fur-seal work in Seattle. Mr. Freeman's success as a lobbyist for the fisheries interests is more formally stated in a resolution of thanks tendered by the exploitation and industrial bureau of the New Chamber of Commerce of Seattle, dated April 13, 1914, to be found on page 31 of the June, 1914, Pacific Fisherman, where it is surrounded by biographies and beautiful cuts of the United States Commissioner of Fisheries, the Deputy United States Commissioner of Fisheries, the Pacific coast agent of the Bureau of Fisheries, and the Pacific coast field superintendent of hatcheries.

Mr. John N. Cobb, the editor of the Pacific Fisherman and the secretary of the Pacific Fisheries Society, was for many years the assistant agent of the Alaska division of the Bureau of Fisheries, and, until his resignation on March 31, 1912. At that time he graduated into the service of the Seattle Alaska fisheries employment, as many Government employees do. Mr. Russell Palmer did not have to resign to hold office under both the Fish Trust and the United States; he was the treasurer of the Pacific Fisheries Society, the manager of the Pacific Fisherman, and the Seattle agent of the United States Bureau of Fisheries, holding these three employments until he resigned the latter on December 21, 1914.

And your attention is further specially called to page 9 of the November, 1914, Pacific Fisherman and to the intimate letter of Rex Beach's to "My dear Freeman" and to Mr. Freeman's "Alphonse and Gaston" appreciation beneath the picture of the "Representative at Large for Alaska." When Rex Beach wrote The Silver Horde in 1909 he was truly an Alaskan, and his delineation of the greed and power of the Alaska Fish Trust therein was a truthful picture; but that was the old Alaska Rex Beach. The present New York Rex Beach is seen in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 25, 1911, page 3386, where Senator Guggenheim arose from his seat and said:

"AFFAIRS IN ALASKA.

"Mr. GUGGENHEIM. I present an article by Rex Beach, taken from the Saturday Evening Post, on 'What is the matter with Alaska?' I ask that the article be printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on Territories."

His request was granted, and the Beach article follows the Guggenheim preface. It was a cuckoo's egg laid in the Post's nest, and gathered in the Senate by the interests which procured Rex Beach to sign it in aid of their efforts to defeat Progressive and Democratic legislation to prevent the Alaska Syndicate from monopolizing the undeveloped wealth of Alaska. From that day to this, Beach and Freeman have been the east and west coast representatives of the Alaska Syndicate and their allied trust builders.

FREEMAN'S BACKERS AND SUPPORTERS.

Even if it is assumed that Freeman is the owner and publisher of the Pacific Fisherman, it is easy to go through its pages and discover who supports it.

The Booth Fisheries Co., of Delaware and Washington, the San Juan Fishing & Packing Co., the International Fisheries Co., and every interest mentioned in the indictment, No. 2791, herewith, will be found to be among its heaviest advertisers, as they are all supporters of the Pacific Fisheries Society.

The Alaska Packers' Association has long been the dominating Fish Trust in Alaska. It is the old Alaska Commercial Co. crowd which held the fur-seal lease on the Pribilof Islands fur-seal herd from 1870 to 1890 and then switched to the unprotected salmon horde. Notice its contribution to the support of the Pacific Fisherman in the publication of its annual statement for 1913, at page 15 of the issue of February, 1914. You will also find the Booth Fisheries published a similar statement at page 19 of the March, 1914, number. A thorough acquaintance with the interests of which the Pacific Fisherman crowd is the center will cause you to know what everyone familiar with them knows—that here is the social and business center of the Fish Trust that has so long controlled not only the Alaska fisheries but Alaska fish legislation as well.

THE BOOTH FISHERIES CO.

Was originally the Northwestern Fisheries Co. and belonged to the Morgan-Guggenheim Alaska Syndicate. About four years ago—in April, 1911—it was reorganized by them as the Booth Co., and its eastern connections and malicious activities toward the monopolization of Alaska fisheries is disclosed in the indictment pending against them—copy attached. The Booth Co. amalgamated with the Northwestern Fisheries Co.—the Alaska Syndicate Co.—on April 1, 1911, and the International Fisheries Co., in 1912 (Poor's Manual of Industrials, 1914, pp. 169 and 2429), and until the indictment last year was reaching out for all the canneries in Alaska. Libby, McNeill & Libby is the title of another big salmon concern in Alaska; its officers are identical with those of Swift & Co. and the Swift Refrigerator Co., of Chicago—the Meat Trust (Poor's Manual of Industrials, 1914, pp. 612 and 955–957). These are the dominating people, Mr. President, who are controlling the fisheries of Alaska, the Pacific Fisheries Society of Seattle and the Seattle activities of the United States Bureau of Fisheries.

PACIFIC COAST FISHERIES ASSOCIATION.

Turn again to the April, 1914, number of the Pacific Fisherman, at page 16, and you will discover that while the Seattle-Alaska Fish Trust was engaged in organizing the Pacific Fisheries Society, on page 18, it was at the same time and place organizing the Pacific Coast Fisheries Association, on page 16—only the thickness of a sheet of paper away. The association is the grim business side, the society the social side, of the same Fish Trust. The society and the Pacific Fisherman are the social parlors where the officials of the United States Bureau of Fisheries for Alaska are entertained and honored by calls for the expression of their opinions—where their vanity is tickled by solemnly listening to and printing their speeches and pictures, by entertaining and giving them the proper surroundings and advice and correcting any wrong impression they may have; while the association is the darkened back room where the hard-headed old trust sits, with a peephole on the front room, and from which emanate the plans for monopolizing the great fisheries of the Pacific coast and managing the sale of the product to the people for all the traffic will bear.

TRAINING UNITED STATES OFFICIALS FOR THE FISH TRUST.

Lieut. Commander J. F. Moser, United States Navy, was in command of the United States Fish Commission steamer *Albatross* in Alaskan waters for some years, the official head of research work on the salmon of Alaska for the United States. In 1904 he was retired on half pay. To use his own language in his testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Fisheries, on May 13, 1913, page 133, "I retired in 1904 to take a position with the Alaska Packers' Association." Capt. Moser's official position in the Navy and intimate acquaintance with Alaska fisheries gained in his official work makes him an invaluable lobbyist for the Pacific coast Salmon Trust, as I have learned by the skillful work he has done to prevent me from securing needed legislation for the Alaska fisheries. He is now the manager of the Alaska Packers' Association, the largest trust engaged in cannery and other fishery work in Alaska. See its annual report for 1913 and list of officers at page 15 of the February, 1914, Pacific Fisherman. He gets half pay as a retired officer of the Navy, plus $10,000 a year as the manager of the Alaska Packers' Association, and is the shrewdest and most capable lobbyist the Fish Trust has ever sent to Washington.

John H. Cobb and Russell Palmer, the first the editor and the second the manager of the Pacific Fisherman, were both employed in the Alaska Bureau of Fisheries until they graduated into the service of the fish interests, until they could command higher salaries from the trust than the United States would pay. These three men—Moser, Cobb, and Palmer—show how shrewdly the Fish Trust engages the attention of the bureau's officers and transplants them to its own work when they are more useful there, though not more friendly, than in their official positions.

And the trust is still engaged in the work. On page 51 of the January, 1914, issue of the Pacific Fisherman is an interesting article on "The fishery industry of Alaska in 1913, by Ward T. Bower and Harry Clifford Fassett, assistant agents, United States Bureau of Fisheries," preceded by an editorial note which informs the reader that "for permission to utilize this report, which has not yet been published, we are indebted to the kindness of Dr. H. M. Smith, United States Commissioner of Fisheries." There is journalistic enterprise for you! Publishing an official report in the trust paper before it is given official publicity. And for another example, see "Dr. Jones's report of Alaska investigation in 1914," in the January, 1915, issue of the Pacific Fisherman, under date of January 5, 26 days before any Member of Congress could obtain a copy in Washington, D. C. And then look at the beautifully illustrated copy of the November, 1914, Pacific Fisherman, with "The fisheries of Alaska, by Ward T. Bower, Pacific coast agent, United States Bureau of Fisheries."

But what is the use to point out—you can hardly pick up a copy of the Pacific Fisherman for years past that pages are not filled with the speeches, writings, or doings of the officials of the United States Bureau of Fisheries. Their pictures in various sizes and styles and official puffs and palavers fill this Fish Trust paper until the people of the Pacific coast, and especially the fishermen of Alaska, have lost all confidence in the United States Bureau of Fisheries. When Secretary Redfield removed the former head of the Alaska fisheries, and promised us a new and square deal, we expected to be rid of the domination of the Seattle-Alaska Trust influence—but it is distinctly worse now than ever, since Mr. Freeman, for the trust, secured a local office for the Bureau of Fisheries in Seattle, under their eye, manned by their friends. Thus the combination through the Pacific Fisheries Society and otherwise with the present officials of the bureau is more brazen than ever before.

A ROTTEN AND UNSEAWORTHY BOAT PURCHASED FROM THE TRUST.

In Dr. Jones's report of Alaska investigations in 1914, page 70, he refers to the United States Bureau of Fisheries boat, the *Osprey*, as unseaworthy, top-heavy, and dangerous, and relates how in a blow last fall—1913—she all but turned turtle. "The decks, pilot house, and many of the beams are rotten, and the boat must be handled with unusual care. The boiler is also defective, having been installed 19 years ago, when the boat was built." He declares that the boat can be used only part of the time for—"First, lack of appropriation; and, second, because she is unseaworthy and many days unable to leave her dock." He recommends an appropriation of $12,000 for removing her machinery, replacing it with new, and remodeling the craft so that life may be reasonably safe with her.

In "The fishery industries of Alaska in 1913," by Ward T. Bower and Harry Clifford Fassett, assistant agents, United States Bureau of Fisheries, published in the January, 1914, Pacific Fisherman Yearbook, we find this statement: "Steamer *Osprey*. In the fall of 1912 the bureau purchased the steamer *Wigwam* from the Alaska Packers' Association, and the vessel was given the new name *Osprey*. The vessel was built in 1895 at San Francisco, and is of 40 tons gross measurement; 72 feet in length, 17 feet beam, and 6 feet in depth," etc. Upon inquiry at the Department of Commerce I was informed that the department paid the Alaska packers' Fish Trust $13,000 for this derelict. If now the sum of $12,000 additional is spent on remodeling her the bureau will then have only an old rotten hull—a worthless craft—and will have expended the sum of $25,000—twice her value. This is merely another example of how the Fish Trust puts it over the Bureau of Fisheries through its control of its officials. Conceding that no official can be proven to have received money or other value for buying this old, rotten, and utterly worthless wreck out of the Alaska packers' bone yard, yet it shows such gross incompetency in the official who purchased her that he can not escape just criticism. If that was the end and we could be assured of a new beginning it would not be so bad, but the situation is growing worse—not better.

MINOR ALASKAN OFFICIALS CRITICIZED BY DR. JONES.

In the Jones report, at page 92, the deputy commissioner severely arraigns certain minor officials in Alaska for failure to enforce the fishery laws. He cites a single instance where a commissioner (ex-officio justice of the peace), a deputy marshal, and a deputy clerk were actually interested in a cannery in Alaska and adds that "It is hard to realize the antagonism and influences brought to bear by these men on other officials of the United States Government who are trying to live up to their oaths and enforce the fisheries laws."

Yes; it would be hard for one who is acquainted in Alaska to realize the infinitesimal influence of a single justice of the peace, a single deputy marshal, and a single deputy clerk under such circumstances. As a matter of fact, there are no laws of a substantial nature on the

statute which they could violate if they wished. The first law for the protection of the salmon in Alaska was the act of March 2, 1889, forbidding the erection of barriers in Alaskan streams, under penalty of a fine of not less than $250 for each day the barrier is maintained; the section then provides that "the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to establish such regulations and surveillance as may be necessary to insure that this prohibition is strictly enforced and to otherwise protect the salmon fisheries of Alaska" (25 Stat. L., 1009). In 1896 (29 Stat. L., 316) Congress amended and extended the above act, but still left the whole matter of control by rules and regulations with the Secretary of the Treasury. By section 460 of the Criminal Code of Alaska, passed by Congress in 1889 (30 Stat. L., 1336), a tax was first levied on the output of the fisheries of Alaska, to be covered into the United States Treasury; by the act of January 27, 1905 (33 Stat. L., 616), the "Alaska fund" was created in the Treasury Department of the United States, and all these Alaska taxes on fisheries and their expenditure were thus kept and are now under the control of Congress. In 1906 (34 Stat. L., 263; compiled laws of Alaska, 1913, p. 196) Congress passed an act to prohibit aliens from fishing in the waters of Alaska, but it was drawn by the Alaska Fish Trust, and is therefore as full of holes as a seive. However, the act provides (sec. 5) "that the Secretary of Commerce and Labor shall have power to make rules and regulations not inconsistent with law to carry into effect the provisions of this act. And it shall be the duty of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor to enforce the provisions of this act and the rules and regulations," etc.

On June 26, 1906, Congress passed "An act for the protection and regulation of the fisheries of Alaska" (34 Stat. L., 478), giving wide powers to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor over them, and providing in section 14: "And it shall be the duty of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor to enforce the provisions of this act and the rules and regulations made thereunder. And it shall be the duty of the district attorney to whom any violation is reported by any agent or representative of the Department of Commerce and Labor to institute proceedings necessary to carry out the provisions of this act."

And finally, in the act of Congress approved August 24, 1912, "An act to create a legislative assembly in the Territory of Alaska, to confer legislative power thereon, and for other purposes" (37 Stat. L., 512), it is provided in section 4 "That the authority herein granted to the legislature to alter, amend, modify, and repeal laws in force in Alaska shall not extend to the customs, internal revenue, postal, or other general laws of the United States, or to the game, fish, and fur-seal laws," etc.

It follows from this statement of the law (1) that the sole defender of Alaska fisheries under the United States statutes now in force in Alaska is the Secretary of Commerce, and (2) that neither the above-mentioned commissioner (justice of the peace), deputy marshal, nor deputy clerk had any duty to perform in respect to it which they neglected. The acts of 1906 were specially prepared in collaboration between the Seattle-Alaska Fish Trust and the officers of the Bureau of Fisheries, and passed by Congress as submitted by the collaborators.

From what is shown in this, it is not unfair to assume that Dr. Jones did not know the law himself when he thus criticized local officials for not performing his duties for him. But why should these minor officials in Alaska, who have so little duty to perform and so little power to exert, jeopardize their jobs by fighting the Fish Trust, when the head officials of the United States Bureau of Fisheries—the Smiths and the Jones, the Cobbs and the Palmers, the Mosers and the Jarvis, the Bowers, and the Fassetts—all the "higher ups" are being entertained, toasted, applauded, and socially controlled as guests at Fish-Trust banquets and wind-jamming functions in Seattle, Portland, and San Francisco—employed as editors, managers, and assistants in the publication of the Pacific Fisherman, always with an oportunity, if they conduct their official work properly and discreetly, of sometime being employed in the service of the Fish Trust at a big salary? And notice that on page 92 of the Jones report a cannery superintendent threatened one fishery official that he would "get him" and "would see that he did not long remain in the service." Fortunately, that official "got" to the record first, and is probably safe; but how many others the superintendents and trust officials "got," before this one escaped, would be a much more interesting part of the history of trust control where superintendents have not feared to make such threats openly because the trust had the power to separate honest officials from their jobs.

A COLLABORATING BUREAU—TRUST LOBBY.

The story of the passage of the Alaska fishery bills of 1906 is told by Senator NELSON in his testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Fisheries in its hearings on June 28, 1912, pages 522–524. It is the old, old story.

"Lieut. Jarvis, who had been in the Government service in Alaska, resigned, and was employed by some of the corporations engaged in the fishing industry. He came to Washington and lobbied a bill through Congress by which the packers got rid of all that cannery tax, and that practically depleted the fund about one-third. The Alaska road fund lost about one-third by that unfortunate legislation. * * * I knew that Jarvis was here lobbying for the passage of the measure, but I was very busy with other things. I tried to keep track of the matter, and a Senator who was on the committee promised me to look after it and to see that the bill did not go through. I relied on him, but I was disappointed. My interest was wholly in behalf of the people of Alaska. I became interested in their welfare, and I wanted them to get the full benefit of that fund, and I looked upon the scheme as robbing them of that fund. In this bill the same vicious system is continued, and the vice of the whole thing is that there is no Government supervision."

The "Jarvis bill," as Senator NELSON calls it, was prepared by Jarvis and the Bureau of Fisheries in 1906, and by them lobbied through Congress. Jarvis had been for years in the United States Revenue-Cutter Service in Alaska, with his winter headquarters in the clubs of Seattle. He resigned from the Revenue-Cutter Service and was immediately made the Pacific coast treasurer and manager of the Morgan-Guggenheims in their efforts to control Alaska. His long, intimate relationship with Alaska fisheries made him specially valuable, and he became the manager of the Northwestern Fisheries Co., belonging to the Alaska Syndicate, and which was later reorganized as the Booth Fisheries Co. (See indictment No. 2791, filed herewith.) Jarvis also controlled the coal deals for the syndicate with the Army posts in Alaska, and committed suicide just as the movement was made public which brought about the indictment of Jarvis, Bullock, and Houston, and the trial and conviction of the latter.

In the passage of the Alaska fishery acts of 1906 the Bureau of Fisheries yielded to the more powerful influences of the Seattle-Alaska Fish Trust centered in and around the Alaska Syndicate, and the laws now on the statute books for the control of the Alaska fisheries are those prepared in collaboration between the lobbyists of the Alaska Syndicate and the Bureau of Fisheries.

NEW FISHERIES LAWS NEEDED FOR ALASKA.

For nearly 10 years the people of Alaska have been attempting to secure the enactment by Congress of adequate and honest laws for the administration of Alaska fisheries, and during that period the Bureau of Fisheries and the representatives of the Fish Trust have been and are now united in opposition thereto. We sought to get Congress to lodge power with the Legislature of Alaska to enact the needed legislation, but were defeated by the limitations placed in the organic act by those friendly to the fishing interests forbidding it. The Delegate from Alaska has introduced bills to secure the needed legislation, only to have them opposed and defeated by the Bureau of Fisheries. The Delegate also has made successful efforts so far to prevent the passage of S. 5856, introduced in the Sixty-second Congress by Senator JONES, of Washington, on March 15, 1912, and in the House (H. R. 153) in the Sixty-third Congress, on April 7, 1914, by Mr. FLOOD, of Virginia.

Herewith is a copy of the Jones bill, S. 5856, and the Flood bill, H. R. 153, and you will see they are substantially if not quite identical in phraseology. Also herewith is a copy of the hearings before the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Fisheries on S. 5856, Sixty-second Congress. Senator JONES was chairman of the subcommittee, and if you will glance over the hearings you will find that the lobbyists for the Fish Trust and the officials of the Bureau of Fisheries generally agreed in its support, while the Delegate from Alaska did what he could to defeat it.

THE SIAMESE TWINS—THE FISH TRUST AND THE BUREAU.

That a combination between the Fish Trust lobby and the officials of the Bureau of Fisheries existed is, of course, ordinarily hard to prove; but in this instance we have a written confession of both parties. Herewith is a copy of the confession. It is marked on the back as follows:

"[Confidential committee print.]

"Tentative draft of bill suggested by the United States Bureau of Fisheries and the representatives of the various Alaskan fisheries, which has been agreed upon and prepared by them jointly after numerous conferences."

This copy was given to me, at my request, by Senator JONES on June 12, 1913. It embodies all the bad features of both the Jones and Flood bills—and then some others. The "joker" in the Jones and Flood bills is in section 4; it is section 2 of the "tentative draft." Those sections are intended to establish a basis of private ownership in choice fishery sites, whereby the Fish Trust by reason of their preference rights can secure title to the fisheries of Alaska. I called attention of the Senate Committee on Fisheries to that evident design in the hearings on the Jones bill (pages 470–472); but notwithstanding the objection, the agreed "tentative draft" contains still more vicious clauses, whose only effect can be to divest the United States not only of the control but of the very title to the Alaskan fisheries.

"TENTATIVE BILL" DENOUNCED BY ALASKA LEGISLATURE.

In the senate joint memorial No. 26, adopted by the Alaska Legislature on April 26–30, 1913 (session laws of Alaska, 1913, pp. 413–415), the legislature says:

"We object generally to the whole bill prepared by and entitled 'Tentative draft' of bill suggested by the United States Bureau of Fisheries and the representatives of the various Alaskan fisheries, which has been agreed upon and prepared by them jointly after numerous conferences, and especially to section 1 thereof, reading, etc.

* * * * * * *

"And we further recommend that no law be enacted by Congress whereby any right or title to the tidelands or waters now occupied by fishing appliances in Alaska can be acquired for fish-traps sites, or any area of tideland or waters be in any way reserved for the operation of any certain kind of fishing contrivances to the exclusion of other fishing gear."

Under the well-settled law, one who is in peaceable possession of a tract of public land, even tideland, can not be dispossessed by another who shows no better legal right than that claimed by the occupant. The courts in the western countries have had to deal with that question frequently from the beginning of western occupancy, and the rule of law is as fixed and certain as any rule of property in the United States. A canneryman in possession of a cannery or trap site, can not be ousted by any but the United States, without the claimant has a title from the United States, or a prior and better title by occupancy than his opponent. There is no reason for the provisions in section 4 of the Jones or Flood bill, or section 2 of the "tentative draft," except to provide for acquiring a title against the United States. It is the first step in taking over the ownership of the fisheries of Alaska by the great cannery interests which now possess from 10 to 50 sites each, in the most favored localities, and who seek this method of acquiring title against the United States and excluding their less favored rivals from any participation in the fisheries. It is the longed-for legal basis for the monopoly of the Alaska fisheries.

DR. JONES FOLLOWS SUIT.

Notice that the first paragraph of section 2 of the tentative draft of bill, approved by the trust and the United States Bureau of Fisheries, provides:

"SEC. 2. That each fish-trap site shall consist of a reserved area in the water, rectangular in form; the size (to be determined by the locator) shall not be more than 1,200 feet one way nor more than 4,000 feet the other way. A trap may be built anywhere within the limits of such reserved area; the general course of the trap shall be lengthwise of the trap site; no more than one trap or other fishing appliance may be constructed or operated at the same time within the limits of any such reserved area; there shall be clear side spaces or passageways of not less than 1,800 feet laterally, and clear end spaces or passageways of not less than 300 feet endwise, between all fish-trap sites and between all constructed traps; and it shall be unlawful for any person to fish by any means whatsoever in any of such passageways between constructed traps."

Including one end and one side passageway, which are reserved just as effectually by the bill as if included in the trap site, each trap site includes an area of 3,000 by 4,000 feet square, or 275 acres. Nor, does the tentative draft limit the number of trap sites which any one person or corporation may locate and own, but it does exclude all other persons from fishing within the limits of the trap sites or passageways, and thus gives the trap-site owner what the trust wants—an exclusive right without limit as to number or area. That is monopoly—backed by the Government—the worst form of monopoly.

Now, read this extract from section 2, page 8, of the "tentative bill":

"From and after the location of any such trap site the claimant thereof and his heirs, executors, administrators, successors, and assigns shall have the exclusive right to occupy, maintain, and fish the same, to renew the license therefor year by year until abandoned or forfeited, to mortgage, sell, and transfer such rights during such time as he or they shall comply with the laws of the United States pertaining thereto."

Here, then, is a deliberate and premeditated plan suggested by the Bureau of Fisheries and the representatives of the Meat and Fish Trusts "which has been agreed upon and prepared by them jointly after numerous conferences" for the entire monopolization of the salmon fisheries of Alaska, one of the greatest of all the natural food supplies belonging to this Nation! Nothing prevented this bill from becoming a law in 1912, but the persistent fight which the Delegate from Alaska made against it, and the substance of it is now placed before the Congress in pending bills.

In the meantime, the salmon fisheries in Alaska are being monopolized in accordance with that scheme by the trust by gathering unto itself the present locations of traps and preparing for the day when they can get the tentative bill "job" over, and get the titles agreed on in the tentative bill. And what is your adviser doing? What information of this attempt to get a title to these fisheries by the trust has reached the President?

In his report, on page 12, Dr. Jones falls into the view which the Jones and Flood and tentative bills all put forward. He says:

"Trap sites. There has been much controversy regarding trap locations and the plan that they should be sold outright to their present holders and other sites sold to those who make application. The proposal to sell sites does not meet with the approval of all concerned. I do not think it wise myself, but I do believe that where the traps on the present sites meet the requirements of the law and as long as they continue to do so it is proper and right for the United States Government to protect their holders."

And in his "recommendations," on page 154, he says:

"20. The holders of fish-trap sites be protected in their rights, but that no permanent title to such sites be allowed."

If the fisheries of Alaska can not have more intelligent understanding than that, or more courageous protection from monopoly than they have so far received from the Bureau of Fisheries, it will be just as well to turn them over to their natural protectors, the people of Alaska. Any official having the duty of the protection of this great natural public food supply who would suggest or agree to the plan proposed in the above-quoted extracts from the tentative draft, is either highly dishonest or lowly dull; and any adviser to the President who hides the true facts and approves the plan half way, is not a dependable adviser.

Now, why should any affirmative legislation be passed to survey and locate trap sites "to protect their holders"? Why should the holders of fish-trap sites be protected in their rights "by act of Congress"? Neither Dr. Jones nor anyone else can show a single instance in Alaska where the holder of such a site has been ousted therefrom by the United States or by any citizen. They are now "protected in their rights" by the laws of the land, well settled and backed by a century of precedents. Then, why are these shrewd efforts for additional affirmative legislation being urged? The answer is simple: It is an effort to establish the basis for a title as against the United States.

The Deputy Fish Commissioner, even, has discovered that the Fish Trust trap-site men "plan that they should be sold outright to their present holders and other sites sold to those who make application," and in his innocence of the law, he recommends that the United States shall take the first step demanded by the trap-site occupants in the Jones, the Flood, and the agreed "tentative bills."

That my view is not a strained one, or without justification, is shown by a resolution adopted by the Seattle Commercial Club at its meeting on February 22, 1913, proceedings hereto attached, wherein the Jones bill is denounced in this language:

"We find that section 2 (4) of the proposed law is especially objectionable, because if enacted into law it would grant to those now in possession of fishing locations the exclusive privilege and monopoly of such locations in perpetuity, which is contrary to the principles of free government; that the national fishing grounds should be conserved and maintained for the free use of the people engaged in the fishing occupation as a livelihood, and that the national fishing grounds should not be maintained by the Government for the benefit of a few, as this bill, in effect, proposed."

> "Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
> As to be hated needs but to be seen;
> Yet, seen too oft, familiar with her face,
> We first endure, then pity, then embrace."

The Bureau of Fisheries has long "endured," it is now filled with "pity"; if the President shall refuse to interfere, the "embrace" will soon put the Seattle-Alaska Fish Trust in the ownership of the Alaska fisheries. They now own fee simple title to all the choice shore cannery locations and have control by law of prior occupancy of all choice trap sites: and, but for the recent indictment of the trust by the Seattle grand jury, would be in the way to the full monopoly of Alaskan fisheries. We need your help, Mr. President, right now.

THE LAW OF CONTROL AND CONSERVATION.

On July 30, 1914, the Delegate from Alaska introduced a bill (H. R. 18144) for the control and conservation of the fisheries of Alaska, and for other purposes. Your special attention is called to section 1 of that bill, for it states a national policy in relation to the food fish supply of Alaska, which must be adopted or the supply will first be monopolized and then destroyed, even if destruction shall await on monopoly. Filed herewith is a copy of that bill, and the following is a copy of section 1 thereof:

"SECTION 1. That all those waters, streams, rivers, and lakes in Alaska which empty into Bering Sea or Bristol Bay south of and easterly from Cape Newenham and into the Pacific Ocean, or any of its bays, channels, straits, or waters from the outer Aleutian Islands easterly and southerly to 54° 40', the south line of Alaska, which are frequented by salmon or other food fish for spawning, or in which fish or other marine food animals appear in such numbers as to be valuable for fishery, be, and the same are hereby, forever reserved from sale or other disposition to any person, association, or corporation; and the title to all said waters, and all waters along said coasts out to the limit of the territorial jurisdiction of the United States, and in all tide and shore lands on said waters, streams, rivers, lakes, bays, channels, and straits up to the line of ordinary high-water mark, is hereby reserved by the United States for fishery purposes; and the President of the United States is hereby authorized, empowered, and directed to mark and reserve for such fishery purposes so much of the uplands upon and adjacent to the shores of said waters as may be necessary to the conservation, preservation, and propagation of the fish or other marine food animals which may resort thereto or which may be propagated or transplanted therein. Nothing in this act shall be held to prevent the use of the tidelands or navigable waters in Alaska by wharves or other approaches from the land to the navigable waters, nor to prevent ingress or egress between the shore lands and the navigable waters as that right has long existed: *Provided*, That nothing in this act shall interfere with the free navigation of any navigable waters, nor be construed as impairing in any degree the title of the Territory of Alaska or of any State or States which may hereafter be erected out of said Territory to the tidelands and the beds of any of its streams or its fisheries, nor the right of the United States to control commerce and navigation therein, it being hereby declared that the rights of fishery and to the tidelands herein mentioned shall continue to be held by the United States in trust for the people of the Territory of Alaska, and of any State or States which may hereafter be erected out of said Territory. The term 'navigable waters,' as used herein, shall be held to include all tidal waters up to the line of ordinary high tide, and all nontidal waters navigable, in fact, up to the line of ordinary high-water mark."

The Delegate from Alaska is aware, of course, that the foregoing section is a mere restatement of the common law which now governs both tidelands and fisheries in Alaska, but if it is declared by Congress to be a settled policy by statutory enactment for the conservation of the great food supply in Alaska fisheries, it will probably, put a visible barrier in the way of private ownership and monopoly which will not be easily put aside. The difference between that rule of protection and conservation and that proposed by the Jones, the Flood, the tentative bill, and the recommendations of Dr. Jones, is the difference between north and south. The first means a step along the road to monopoly; the latter means a settled national policy of protection and the conservation of the Nation's great natural food supply in the fisheries of Alaska. Which way shall we travel, which policy shall be adopted—monopoly or conservation?

THE PRINCE RUPERT QUESTION.

At page 146 of his report, Dr. Jones propounds the inquiry: "Are the fishing interests to leave the United States?" And he then points out the danger which Seattle faces in regard to losing the fish and fishing trade and its transfer to Prince Rupert, British Columbia. The fish from Alaskan waters can be transported to Chicago, or to any point east, two days quicker via Prince Rupert than via Seattle; hence the perspiring gentleman from Seattle (who so recently visited Washington) crying for help!

Prince Rupert opens a second and much better market for local fishermen from Alaska, who have long paid double rates to Seattle, only to find the market overstocked and their fish worthless. Prince Rupert is two days closer to the place of catch—that is a great advantage with fresh fish—and if the market there is overstocked, then the fisherman has another chance at Seattle.

Of course, Prince Rupert contains a threat against local Alaska fishermen, too; for, having the support of the Canadian Government, the fisheries there are a practical monopoly, controlled by the Grand Trunk Railroad—the transportation company. The fishing boats will almost necessarily be Canadian boats. The Canadian fishermen at Prince Rupert, will have local advantages, and the situation promises to gather Alaskan fishermen at Prince Rupert, and with free fish, Alaska will lose not only her fish and fish trade but her local fishermen as well!

Section 8 of House bill 18144, introduced by me on July 30, 1914, is a copy of the law which is in force in British Columbia. To be effective in Alaska it must be amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 8. That it shall be unlawful to export from Alaska, or the Territorial waters thereof to any foreign country, any salmon or other food fish except in a frozen, canned, salted, smoked, dried, or other prepared condition."

The act must be further amended by penalizing violations thereof. Alaska would then be protected just as British Columbia is now, for fish from British Columbia waters can only be exported to the United States under the conditions mentioned in section 8 of the bill H. R. 18144. There is no use to discuss the general question of tariff or restriction of trade. The situation in Alaska is an exceptional one, and if some barrier is not put up by congressional enactment, the fish and fishermen of Alaska are going to Prince Rupert, British Columbia.

Section 8 of House bill 18144, even with the suggested amendment, will only affect the fish taken from the Territorial waters of Alaska, and since the greater part of them may and will be caught outside the 3-mile limit, that question is an interesting one.

My view is that the only way to hold the fish trade of Alaska is, first, to exclude foreign fishermen from the local fisheries in Alaskan waters; and, second, to encourage the local trade, as Canada does, that it may not only put the fish out of the Territorial waters, but those from beyond the 3-mile limit into the trade as quickly and cheaply as the Canadians can. That means that we must build up a local fishing population and local manufacturing plants in Alaska—again, as Canada is doing. The Bureau of Fisheries is incompetent to do that. It must be done with the assistance of Congress by the people of Alaska through their own lawmaking body, and with the skill of local manufacturing and fishing plants, and by our own traders and merchants.

ALASKA FUR-SEAL FISHERIES A FAILURE.

When the United States purchased Alaska in 1867, there were approximately 5,000,000 fur seals on the Pribilof Islands—the herd was at its maximum. Congress passed the act of July 1, 1870, for the lease of the fur-seal monopoly, and it was taken over for 20 years at its maximum by the Alaska Commercial Co. During that maximum period, 1870–1890, the United States made a profit of $5,738,724 on the face of the books from its lease. In 1890 a new lease for 20 years was entered into with the North American Commercial Co., and in that period, 1890–1910, the United States lost, on the face of its ledger, the sum of $2,247,544! Herewith, is a copy of Senate Document No. 605, Sixty-first Congress, second session, and you will find the statement of profits and losses on the seal herd following page 14, in a chart. But what is worse, it was then discovered that it had also lost the fur-seal herd! Instead of a herd of 5,000,000 fur seals that it started with, in 1870, it had remaining only about 150,000. In 1870, the herd of 5,000,000 seals was worth $50,000,000, and its value has been capitalized at not less than $100,000,000 for the 40-year period; but it was lost also. Of course pelagic sealing had something to do with it, but the inefficiency and incompetency of the United States agents in charge were the greater causes. The fact is, the United States kindly furnished the appropriations and dreamy-minded "scientists," while the Fish Trust supplied

the business sense and trade tricks. The result naturally followed—the trust soon had the money, and the United States, the experience and a library of drivel about "science" in its application to Alaskan fisheries.

HISTORY REPEATING ITSELF.

The experience of the United States with the fur-seal fishery, is now being repeated with the salmon fisheries before your eyes. The difference is this: That the fur-seal fishery was a Government monopoly for the purpose of furnishing a vain and foolish woman, whose husband had more money than sense, a more expensive coat than her more modestly dressed neighbor possessed: but the destruction of the salmon fishery will be the loss of one of the most valuable natural food supplies under the control of our Government, a supply that a wise business man would conserve in perpetuity. The Bureau of Fisheries never has exhibited and will not now, or in the future, exhibit any business ability in its management.

The Karluk salmon stream was the most productive salmon stream in the world. The first Russian vessel to reach Kodiak Island found the natives in possession of it—with a food supply for all who wished to eat. Under both native and Russian rule it continued to furnish a food supply greater than any salmon stream in the world. At once the Alaska Packers' Association (the salmon fishery side of the Alaska Commercial Co., which had the first 20-year lease, and helped destroy the fur-seal herd) established canneries at Karluk. Other canneries crowded in, and Karluk, to-day, is substantially deserted! Like the fur-seal herd, it is destroyed. And so it is going with the whole fishery of Alaska. Years ago the United States was warned by even its so-called "scientists," that the limit of safety in fishing had been reached; but the uncontrolled Fish Trust, with its stationary and floating traps, its gill nets and power boats, its steamers and sailing vessels is covering the territorial waters of Alaska, and even the extra territorial waters thereof, in its eagerness to pay huge dividends, well knowing that the fate of Karluk awaits all the Alaska fisheries.

In the hearings, of course, the representatives of the fishing corporation deny this decrease; but it is everywhere known on the Pacific coast that the fishermen are, while actually canning more fish, *doing it out of the mass* and *not from the yearly increase*. Even the Jones report (in his address to the Juneau grand jury), on page 98, says: "At all events it is obvious that the great industry is on the wane, and radical steps should be taken to protect it before it is too late."

The Congress sleeps; the "scientists" make beautifully illustrated reports and silly speeches at the Pacific Fisheries Society, and contemplate their handsome faces in the Pacific Fisherman, while the Nation's salmon supply is being destroyed, and the cost of eating increases.

Mr. President, you can yet save the Alaska fisheries if you will—but not by piddling along with a few mollycoddle "scientists," while the trust does to the salmon what it has already done to the fur seals!

BUREAU "SCIENTIFIC," BUT WITHOUT BUSINESS SENSE.

The Bureau of Fisheries has never pretended to have, or to exercise any business sense in the management of the fisheries of Alaska—the trust does that. In his testimony before the Senate subcommittee on July 10, 1912, at page 492 of the printed hearings, Dr. Evermann, then, and for years prior thereto, the chief of the Alaska fisheries service, said:

"Dr. EVERMANN. I do not quite understand just what Judge Wickersham's criticisms of the Bureau of Fisheries are. So far as I have thought of the matter, all that the Bureau of Fisheries has tried to do and feels that it is called upon to do is to enforce the laws and regulations regarding the fisheries of Alaska and to make investigations in Alaska which will be for the benefit of those fisheries. Now, as a matter of fact, if there is a tax of 2 cents or 4 cents, or any other number of cents upon any fishery product, that is not a matter in which the bureau is primarily concerned.

"Mr. WICKERSHAM. Now, that is the exact criticism, Dr. Evermann, which I make against the Bureau of Fisheries. You make no effort to care for the interests of the Territory of Alaska in your legislation.

"Dr. EVERMANN. Well, I do not believe that is a proper thing for the Bureau of Fisheries to consider as one of its primary duties. I do not believe the Bureau of Fisheries should consider the disposition of the revenue derived from a tax. It seems to me that that is a matter of secondary consideration for the bureau, and it does seem to me exceedingly proper that the bureau should hope that funds adequate for the support of a sufficient number of hatcheries to keep up the supply in Alaska should be provided from some source or other."

Dr. Evermann's idea is much more clearly expressed by Mr. Dorr, one of the attorneys for the Fish Trust, at page 402, where he said:

"Mr. DORR. I believe that the true function of the Bureau of Fisheries—and it is certainly a most important one to the Government—is in the line of fish culture—the scientific and biological end of the work. I do not believe that the Bureau of Fisheries should be burdened with or charged with the duty of acting as a police force. I think that belongs to another branch of the Government. I believe that the best results would be attained by the bureau if it and its efficient corps of employees is encouraged, as they should be, in the line of scientific work—the cultivation of the fish—not only in Alaska but elsewhere in the United States. Alaska covers a very small part of their field for activity. Their jurisdiction extends throughout the entire United States."

That clearly expresses the view upon which this bureau has always acted, and must always act so long as it is managed and controlled as it now is. It is a so-called scientific body, largely engaged in writing discreet reports, while the great trusts gather the crop, conduct the markets, and control the legislation that governs even the bureau itself. The larger elements in the Fish Trust are not able to agree among themselves as to either the form of a law, or a business arrangement which will create a single monopoly; so their only plan of operation in the absence of strong Government control, is to keep the fisheries open, and going as long as possible, while each grabs all he can while the grabbing is good. So far as the United States is concerned, it has neither business control nor laws for the conservation of these great fisheries; it looks on helplessly while they die. In his beautifully illustrated "Report on Alaska Investigation," at page 146, Dr. Jones says of the problem presented at Prince Rupert: "The present situation and what it is leading to is deplorable and should be dealt with promptly and with the seriousness it deserves." He suggests a tentative remedy and its obvious defect, and then helplessly asks "What Canada would do?"

Canada would not "do"—it did. Long ago, Canada adopted the provision contained in section 8 of H. R. 18144, and thereby controls not only the fisheries in its own British Columbia waters, but threatens to control those in American waters as well.

DR. JONES A BARRIER TO PROGRESS.

The Delegate from Alaska had fought the adoption of the Senate bill 5856, denounced the tentative bill, and waited for the change of administration for progressive legislation in aid of conservation instead of monopoly. He hoped for support in aid of proper legislation until Dr. Jones's report was published in the Pacific Fisherman, on January 5, 1914.

When the Sixty-third Congress met, with the Democrats in power in each branch, it seemed a day of hope for Alaska fisheries. The Flood bill was introduced promptly, and all the provisions of H. R. 18144 were set out in the Senate hearings of 1912, ready to be submitted to the House Committee on the Territories as amendments to the Flood bill. Other bills were introduced to cure other defects in the Alaska fisheries legislation; the cannerymen from Seattle were before the committee—under duress they claimed; and the Delegate from Alaska was pressing the hearings earnestly, while the representatives of the canneries were begging, as usual, for a continuance for the season. Herewith is a printed copy of the hearings before the Committee on the Territories for March 13, 20, 31, and April 3 and 7, 1914, and you will discover on pages 36 to 41 how earnestly the fishmen were pressing for a continuance and how with equal earnestness the Delegate was pressing for action. Notice that on March 31, pages 35 to 38, the attorneys for the Fish Trust were saying everything they could to get a continuance. When the committee again met on April 2 a letter was presented from Dr. Jones urging the continuance. Dr. Jones's letter is as follows, pages 39 to 40, hearings:

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE,
BUREAU OF FISHERIES,
Washington, April 1, 1914.

Hon. WILLIAM C. HOUSTON,
Chairman Committee on Territories,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: Acting on your suggestion, I am herewith outlining briefly the purpose of my trip to Alaska this summer. As United States Deputy Commissioner of Fisheries, Secretary Redfield has placed under me the direct supervision of the fisheries of Alaska. He has further authorized me to go this summer with a view to making a complete survey of all the hatcheries, both Government and private, canneries, salteries, fertilizer factories, cold-storage plants, herring stations, and, in fact, all parts of the work that come under this bureau's jurisdiction in that Territory, and upon my investigation to make a clear and comprehensive report that will be backed up by facts, which will enable the Secretary to clearly place before Congress and its various committees the present conditions of the fisheries in Alaska, with suggestions as to what is necessary to protect, build up, and perpetuate the fishing industry.

The Secretary's ideas in this matter have been indorsed by a great many Members of Congress, and he is making preparations that will enable me to carry out the object of my trip with perfect satisfaction. This great work before me is well appreciated. I do not even in the smallest degree underestimate the seriousness of this great problem and undertaking. I expect to leave some time in May, to be gone four or five months, and you can rest assured that I will do everything within my power to deliver a comprehensive report that will be of real benefit and help in enacting future legislation for the welfare of the Alaska fisheries. I am taking with me a photographer. The results of his work will enable me further to substantiate my report as to certain existing conditions that will be well illustrated by photographs.

I earnestly hope that any pending legislation pertaining to this subject, if proper and consistent with the views of yourself and your committee, may be withdrawn temporarily until after my return.

Realizing fully the importance of this mission, I will go on it with the single purpose of learning all conditions exactly as they are. I am,

Respectfully, yours,

E. LESTER JONES,
Deputy Commissioner.

Immediately upon the presentation of this letter the Delegate from Alaska protested, as follows:

"Mr. WICKERSHAM. The result of these delays will be, Mr. Chairman, that Congress will not do anything with the fisheries in Alaska. The Fish Commissioner can not make a report until after he returns in July. That delay will adjourn the whole matter over for this session. The next session of this Congress, beginning in December, is the short session, and it will be so arranged that nothing will be done then. It will go over until the next Congress, and the same delays will occur again. That has been the result of these efforts for continuance and delay year after year. All Alaska gets is a volume of hearings and never any laws for protection. In the meantime, the Alaska fisheries are being destroyed, and I earnestly protest against further unusual delay in this matter. I think Congress ought to take hold of this question and protect this great food supply from destruction."

Also, on page 41, the delegate made this additional protest:

"Mr. WICKERSHAM. Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen of the committee, I have been trying for five or six years to get some legislation from Congress for the protection of the fisheries in Alaska, but always in vain. We have had numerous hearings from time to time, but no results have come from them. Invariably efforts to continue the matter somewhat indefinitely, have been made, and invariably the matter has been continued without passing any laws for the protection of the Alaskan fisheries."

And on April 3, Dr. Jones came before the committee and personally urged continuance (p. 60), whereupon the Delegate from Alaska again protested against delay. The continuance was granted, and thereupon the Delegate gave the representatives of the fishing corporation present notice that the matter would be called up in December, but when December came, neither the representatives, nor Dr. Jones, nor his report were present. The fish trust had gained another victory.

Dr. Jones's report came to the chairman of the Committee on Territories, to the Delegate from Alaska, and to other Members of Congress on February 1, 1915—10 months after the date of his letter—too late, of course, for any consideration in the Sixty-third Congress, and when the legislation for the conservation and protection of Alaska fisheries will be considered is now a problem for the Sixty-fourth, or some later Congress.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE—"FULL TERRITORIAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT."

In the President's message of December 2, 1913, he used this phrase: "The people of Alaska should be given the full Territorial form of government." I never did know just what he had in mind when he said that, for Alaska then had a full Territorial form of government: viz, a governor appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, just as every other Territory before us had; a system of district courts, whose judges, marshals, district attorneys, clerks, and other officials

were appointed just as in other Territories, while the courts have even wider jurisdiction; a legislature, whose members are elected by the people of the Territory, with wide powers of legislation, though rather more restricted in some lines than in most Territories. The form is the same as that in all other Territories, and is full in the same sense as in other Territories, except in the matter, probably, of limitations upon legislation. We have assumed that the President meant by that phrase that he favored extending the powers of our legislature by removing some of those burdensome restrictions, thereby giving the people, through the legislature, as full powers of legislation as other Territorial legislatures had.

All other Territorial legislatures before Alaska, have had a much wider range of power over fisheries and fur-bearing animals than the Alaska Legislature was given; in fact, they all had legislative power over fisheries and fur-bearing animals, subject only to the paramount power of Congress to disapprove such laws, as it might do, of course, in Alaska. But in the organic act of August 24, 1912, creating the Alaska Legislature, Congress provided a special limitation upon the Alaska Legislature as follows:

"That the authority herein granted to the legislature to alter, amend, modify, and repeal laws in force in Alaska shall not extend to the * * * game, fish, and fur-seal laws and laws relating to fur-bearing animals," etc. (Sec. 2, act Aug. 24, 1912, 37 Stat. L., 512.)

This was the character of the limitations that we assumed the President had in mind when he declared in his message that he favored giving Alaska a "full Territorial form of government."

But now comes Dr. Jones, in his report, and strongly urges withdrawing from the people of the Territory, and from the power of our legislature, any and all power over the salmon fisheries and fur-bearing animals! On page 6 he makes the argument, and on page 153, his first recommendation is:

"1. That full control of the fisheries and fur-bearing animals be vested in the Department of Commerce. There should be no division of this authority with other Federal departments or with the Territorial government."

Your attention has been called to the fact that during the 20 years 1890–1910 the United States Treasury lost $2,247,544, and the United States $100,000,000 in addition, by the loss of the fur-seal herd, which suffices to show that the Treasury Department and its successor, the Bureau of Fisheries, have been unable to manage even the simplest fishery problem without enormous losses. The evidence is not to be doubted that the Alaska salmon fishery is halfway from the maximum to extinction also, and now comes a new demand to take away from the Territory of Alaska its jurisdiction over the minor fur-bearing animals—fox, martens, mink, rabbits, etc.—and give control thereof to the Bureau of Fisheries.

Dr. Jones spent 10 months laboring—and brought forth this mouse. He has made no effort to get legislation for the protection of the salmon fishery, which yielded $19,565,648 worth of food supply for the Nation in 1914, and is rapidly declining toward destruction; but, leaving that great food supply to monopoly and loss, he appeared before the Ways and Means Committee of the House, with his subordinate officials, to lobby for a bill to take away from the Territory of Alaska, its legislature and its people, all control over minor fur-bearing animals, and to give his bureau such control, with full power of legislation, over the same.

BUREAU FOR THE CONSERVATION OF JACK RABBITS.

I file herewith a copy of the bill (H. R. 21159) introduced by Mr. PALMER on January 25, and favorably reported the same day by the great Committee on Ways and Means, and now on the House Calendar for passage.

"No person shall kill" any fur-bearing animal, "except under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of Commerce may from time to time prescribe."

"No person shall have in his possession" any fur-bearing animal, "except under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of Commerce may from time to time prescribe."

"No person shall ship out of Alaska" any furs, "except under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of Commerce may from time to time prescribe."

Nothing shall be done "except under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of Commerce may from time to time prescribe." If the Secretary fails to make the rules and regulations, the wheels do not move. He can abridge, he can enlarge, he can suspend the law, or add to it any limitation he pleases. He can permit Indians to kill or capture, and refuse permission to whites. Nothing can be done without his rules and regulations, and there is no limit on the grant of legislative power to this executive officer. In the case of United States *v.* United Verde Copper Co., 196 U. S., 207 (215), the court says of a rule of a department: "If rule 7 is valid, the Secretary of the Interior has power to abridge or enlarge the statute at will. If he can define one term, he can another. If he can abridge, he can enlarge. Such power is not regulation; it is legislation." If it be assumed that H. R. 21159 is constitutional, it certainly gives the Secretary of Commerce (the Bureau of Fisheries) the power to legislate, by making rules and regulations for the control of minor fur-bearing animals in Alaska without restriction. This power is taken away from the legislative assembly of Alaska, which now possesses it, and given to an executive officer. No such action has ever been before taken, purposely and designedly, by Congress since the formation of our Government!

Herewith is the Report of the Governor of Alaska to the Secretary of the Interior, 1914, and on page 37 he says, "I am firmly convinced that the protection of game in Alaska should be directly under the control of the Territorial Legislature." The people of Alaska would be unduly hampered and restricted in their efforts to domesticate foxes and other fur-bearing animals by the enactment of such a law administered from Washington. I strongly urge the President to order the Deputy Commissioner of Fisheries to limit his lobbying to efforts to save the great salmon fisheries in Alaska from destruction, and I specially beg you to remember your message promise that "the people of Alaska should be given the full Territorial form of government."

THE VANITY OF IGNORANCE.

In his argument in support of the demand for Federal control of the fisheries, on page 6 of his report, the Deputy Commissioner of Fisheries declares that "the contention of some in Alaska that the Territory can better administer its own fishery affairs is susceptible of adverse criticism, because of the strife and friction between the diverse local interests that would almost inevitably follow such efforts to handle the situation." He thinks for that reason the Bureau of Fisheries control is preferable. I think not. That "strife," contention, and publicity which comes of preventing abuses—not that secrecy, peace, and death therefrom, which comes otherwise—is what the fisheries of Alaska need! The mild, modest, and gentle officials of the Bureau of Fisheries have acted too long behind closed doors in secret conference with the representatives of the Fish Trust. Such efforts to monopolize these fisheries and transfer them to private ownership, as is made in the tentative bill, could not succeed in the strife and friction which would arise in the broad daylight over them in the halls of a Territorial legislature. It is my judgment that the Alaska Legislature could not do worse than Congress and the Bureau of Fisheries have done with this great food supply; and it would do a great deal better if it had the opportunity.

In the same paragraph on page 6, the Deputy Commissioner gives another reason why he thinks the bureau ought to control these Alaska fisheries:

"And, furthermore, owing to the vast amount of practical and scientific knowledge and information acquired and developed during an extended period by men of unusual training and experience in the Bureau of Fisheries, any idea or thought of transferring jurisdiction over this highly important industry to another institution or board of the National Government should be dismissed at once, as such action would be a serious mistake and would prove a handicap to the greatest development of Alaska's rich fishery resources."

Notwithstanding "this vast amount of scientific knowledge" possessed by the Bureau of Fisheries, on page 24 of his report, Dr. Jones advises the President of the United States that the canneries operate too late in the season, "and the result was that in an effort to make a full pack, many of the salmon they used were spent. Although these fish were fresh from the traps and had been out of the water only a few hours, they were quite inferior for food purposes on account of having spawned."

Now, what do you think of that? What do you think of the "vast amount of scientific knowledge" possessed by the leader of "men of unusual training and experience in the Bureau of Fisheries" who talks of "spent" salmon in the traps "quite inferior for food purposes on account of having spawned"? Why, every child on the Pacific coast knows that when any of the five varieties of Pacific coast salmon once leaves the sea, and go up the rivers to spawn, they never return to the salt water, where the traps are located, but instinctively fight blindly upstream until they die.

In his testimony before the Senate subcommittee on fisheries, on May 16, 1912, Capt. Jefferson F. Moser, long the commander of the United States Bureau of Fisheries steamer the *Albatross*, and since 1902 the manager of the Alaska Packers' Association, at page 136, hearings, said: "We have on the Pacific coast five species of salmon proper. There is the sixth, called the steelhead, which is now classed under the trout species and whose habits differ from the Pacific coast salmon in this, that the Atlantic coast salmon and the steelhead, when they enter the river to spawn, return to the sea after spawning, whereas the Pacific coast salmon—the five species—after they have spawned and performed that function in life, all die."

On page 139:

"The CHAIRMAN. They go back to the spawning grounds and die?

"Mr. MOSER. Yes, sir; they go back to the spawning grounds and die."

And again, in the Senate Committee on Fisheries, Monday, May 20, 1912, during the progress of a hearing on the subject of better legislation to protect and conserve the Alaska salmon runs, the following frank admission of total ignorance by the chosen Alaska fishery experts, was made, to wit:

"Mr. MOSER. For instance, it has been said here this evening and it has been said generally that the young sockeye remained a year over. In fact, I have stated that here myself; but I can get evidence, or I am quite sure that I could get evidence, to the effect that many go to sea as soon as they are free swimmers.

"The CHAIRMAN. I have no doubt but that you can get expert evidence on both sides of the question.

"Mr. MOSER. You can. You know, Senator, there is very little known about the movements of the fish in the water.

"Mr. DORR. May I ask Mr. Bower a question?

"The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

"Mr. DORR. I think what these gentlemen want and what we all want to hear, if you can state from any information you have, is what becomes of the fry after they are liberated? I think that is the real point of efficiency that is involved.

"The CHAIRMAN. That is it.

"Mr. DORR. Do they live or are they lost?

"Mr. WICKERSHAM. At Karluk?

"Mr. DORR. At Karluk.

"Mr. BOWER. I do not think that any observations have been made to prove this point conclusively one way or the other."

Here is the awful admission by Bower, speaking for the whole aggregation of science and scientific knowledge gained during 30 years' study by the Bureau of Fisheries of the life and habits of salmon fry hatched under the eyes of, and released by these scientists, that they actually do not know whether any of these millions upon millions of fry so hatched "live or are lost"!

It is admitted in the hearings, that these scientists have no knowledge or information about salmon life from the moment the minnow leaves the parent stream, until it, or its kind, returns to the stream to spawn in the last year of its life. The average Alaska coast Indian knows all the Bureau of Fisheries scientists know about salmon, except their Latin names, and probably much more.

THE NATURAL ENEMIES OF THE SALMON.

The people of the Pacific coast who have necessarily been so familiar with every phase of Alaska salmon life for so many decades, are yet always more or less mildly surprised at the amazement exhibited by a tenderfoot who sees this wonderfully instructive reproductive movement for the first time. They have seen the finny hordes struggle unceasingly upstream to the spawning grounds; have noted the activity and numbers of their natural enemies; and, for so many years, have seen the millions of "spent" and dead salmon on the bars and along the banks of the headwaters, that they look on without emotion. Dr. Jones, having now witnessed this wonderful fish movement for the first time, returns to Washington with the feeling of a Columbus—he has discovered a new world. No man can absorb the great scene at one glance—he will get one detail here, another there, but will too often miss others of the greatest value. Some men of peculiar vision can see a hair on a cow's back at a great distance without the ability to see the cow herself!

Of course, bears, gulls, ducks, and Dolly Varden trout, hair seals, and sculpin are the natural enemies of the salmon; now are and always were. But altogether, they do little damage. When the myriads of fish are crowding the streams they begin to die almost from the moment of leaving the salt water. The bears drag a few out for food, and the gulls peck at a few, but among the millions this loss is infinitesimal. The seals catch a few near the mouths of the fresh-water streams. The

deputy commissioner, however, seems entirely to have missed the *suidæ cannerii*, the most recklessly destructive of all the animal enemies of the salmon. More fish are destroyed in one trap, in one season, than all the bears, seals, and gulls in Alaska will kill! The trap works day and night. It is set across the salmon's "Pennsylvania Avenue" and catches every fish, salmon or any other, which moves along the highway. As the tide recedes, the mass of fish settles in the trap; the air is exhausted; thousands die; and if not bailed out promptly, a trap full may be destroyed. This happens far too often, and the number of fish thus destroyed is vastly greater than all the seals, bears, gulls, and other natural enemies destroy. Yet, the "vast amount of practical and scientific knowledge and information" obtained by those modest men "of unusual training and experience in the Bureau of Fisheries" does not permit them to see the cow, while the single hair which they can see on her back, looks to them like a telegraph pole on a hilltop.

The fact is, the salmon are being depleted and destroyed by the corporate fish trust cannery hogs. A scow load of "humps" comes to the cannery just as another of "reds" arrive; the "humps" are thrown overboard. Multiply this common occurrence by the number of different ways they have of recklessly wasting the fish, and you have the cause of the rapid disappearance of the Alaska salmon fisheries.

The trap is not wholly to blame, either; for there are many other ways of catching fish and some waste in all; the prodigal waste goes on, after the capture of the fish, in almost equal proportions. But the cannery men give the preference to the trap, which is probably the most convenient and the cheapest method of catching fish, as well as the most wasteful. It does not demand wages or food, works night and day, and catches everything that travels the fish highway. But the real criminal in the useless waste of Alaska fish is the "foreman" for the fish trust, who knows that his salary and employment depend upon his ability to get the "pack" demanded by the home office. Karluk was destroyed by the seine rather than the trap; but it was the foreman who used the seine, and not the local fisherman. It is the manager of the cannery in Alaska, who wastes the fish, and not the bears, gulls, or other natural enemies of the salmon.

RESIDENT ALASKA FISHERMEN V. PEONAGE.

Alaska is, and the President and Congress ought to be, deeply interested not only in conserving the fisheries of the Territorial waters, but in settling in Alaska a permanent population of fishermen. The "strife and friction" which the Jones report condemns in the Alaskans, and in which the fish trust joins, is a struggle between the small but growing permanent population of American fishermen in Alaska, and the fish trust system of peonage.

The Jones report, under the head "Labor question," page 98, notices the "strife and friction" without apparently giving any importance to the cause. The report says:

"Resident Fishermen: In southeast Alaska this element composes a considerable proportion of those engaged in taking salmon for the various canneries. The past season there were many idle men in southeast Alaska, and upon inquiry I learned that most of them were fishermen. Their idleness was attributable to two causes—first, they were refused employment by certain canneries which preferred imported and alien labor; and second, because of the fact that they had listened to agitators and trouble makers who did not have their interest at heart, but who simply desired to create trouble for the canneries. Instead of accepting regular employment and making use of the opportunity to earn good wages during the fishing season, they spent their time in saloons and around the town creating dissension and bad feeling against the fishing interests in general."

Here Dr. Jones recognizes that the fishermen "were refused employment by certain canneries, which preferred imported and alien labor," and then excuses the Fish Trust, by damning the local fishermen with such words and phrases as "idle men," "idleness," "agitators and trouble makers," "to create trouble for the canneries," "spent their time in the saloons," "creating dissension and bad feeling against the fishing interests in general." A very good defense of the Fish Trust, and its usual condemnation of the permanent residents of Alaska. It sounds like an editorial from the Pacific Fisherman.

But his first statement must not be allowed to escape, for there lies the truth and the crime of the Fish Trust—which did not seem worthy of condemnation by the Bureau of Fisheries—"they were refused employment by certain canneries, which preferred imported and alien labor."

The Fish Trust, the Alaska Packers' Association; Libby, McNell & Libby; the Booth Fisheries Co., and others of that type, hire their laborers, especially their inside help—Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, Mexicans, etc.—either in San Francisco, Portland, Astoria, or Seattle for the fishing season, about the 1st of May each year. Their great canneries in Alaska have only a watchman between seasons: but, about the 1st of May, a fleet of vessels, ships, steamers, and tugs leave the southern ports for those in Alaska. They are loaded with supplies for the canneries and with imported and foreign fishermen. When they reach their canneries in Alaska, the supplies and imported fishermen are put ashore, and the slaughter begins. For the next four or five months, all is life and bustle about the canneries. The business never stops. Fish, fish, fish everywhere. Boats, scows, wharves, and canneries are filled with fish; the machinery grinds, men work with nervous haste, and the finest crop of salmon ever seen in the waters of the world is caught and canned. Day and night the harvest goes on, for the northern bays are then sunlit 20 out of the 24 hours: and, it is never dark. Crews are changed with military precision—while part sleep, the others work—and the movement of the fish from the sea into the cans never ceases. In a few weeks the season is ended; every can is filled!

And now the vessels are loaded with Alaska's fish crop. This year it amounted to $19,565,648. Then, the Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, Mexicans, and other peons are loaded, and they sail away. Alaska has lost another crop, and not a home, church, or schoolhouse has been built; not a child educated in Alaska out of the great fishery. Suppose Georgia should send such a fleet loaded with such imported laborers, and take such a crop from the oyster beds of Maryland, what would happen?

But we were talking about peonage in relation to those very imported Chinese, Japanese, Mexicans, and Filipinos who were on the vessels north to Alaska and back.

Hereto attached is a copy of a letter dated September 11, 1914, addressed to the Attorney General, Washington, D. C., and signed by Clay Allen, Esq., United States attorney at Seattle, Wash., written after an interview with the Delegate from Alaska in his office. In that letter he reported to his superior officer in the Department of Justice the facts in regard to the special cases of peonage mentioned, supported with affidavits of some of the peons and an affidavit of good faith made by the Mexican consul at Seattle. The facts stated in this letter are so typical and common, and throw such a light upon the peonage system as practiced by the Fish Trust in Alaska, and are so fully attested by the accompanying affidavits and common knowledge, that it is copied in full, as follows:

SEPTEMBER 11, 1914.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: The attention of the Attorney General is called to the following matter of public interest:

Inclosed herewith you will find affidavits of some men who were employed in Alaska canneries at Nushagak and Bristol Bays. I deem it necessary to call this situation to your attention, for the reason that the penal statutes of the United States are entirely inadequtae to cover a situation of this character.

Shortly after taking office last fall some 20 or more Filipinos came to us complaining that a Chinese contracting firm in Portland, Oreg., had employed them to work in an Alaskan cannery at a stipulated sum for the season; that they had performed a season's work under conditions of indescribable hardship and misery, and, when the time came to receive their pay at the office of the Portland contractor, found that the concern had been adjudicated a bankrupt, and that they were without any relief whatsoever in the matter of collecting their season's wages. Their story of employment in Alaska and the treatment they received at the hands of the cannery bosses and Chinese contractors was one of amazing cruelty and such as to be almost unbelieveable in the present day and age. These men claim that they had been advised that the peonage statutes applied to their case. Upon examining the Federal statutes covering peonage I came to the conclusion that anything short of an involuntary servitude imposed upon the men did not come within the statutes. Nature, herself, however, served to impose an effectual restraint upon the men. The canneries on Bristol Bay and Bering Sea are several hundred miles from any habitation or other settlement. The Alaska tundra, namely, a soft, marshy, mosquito-infested area back of the beaches, is well nigh impassable at this season of the year, and for a person not used to the hardships of the Alaska trail it would not be possible to leave Bristol Bay to go overland to any of the trade centers, towns, or cities in Alaska. The several canneries appear to have a mutual understanding to the effect that an employee discharged from one cannery can not obtain employment at another. I believe they have a United States commissioner at Dillingham, a little town on Bristol Bay, but he appears to be completely under the control of the canneries, and will not use what little authority he may have in the premises to correct this situation. The cannery bosses threaten the men with violence, make false charges against them before the commissioner, in some instances cause arrest, and thus have these laborers under their control.

The Japanese contractors, at the time of employment in Portland or Seattle, furnish the men liquor, make false representations to them, get them drunk, if possible, and, in short, resort to almost any subterfuge to get the men under their control and ship them to the canneries. Once loaded upon an old sailing ship bound to Alaska they have no recourse or redress whatsoever. An instance of this is furnished in the pending case of the United States *v.* Henry Bune et al., on a charge of kidnaping, which case will be tried in October of this year.

Another vicious feature about the whole business is that the great cannery corporations will not deal directly with the men, and thus avoid legal responsibility for the acts of the Japanese labor contractors. The whole system seems to be devised to secure the services of cannery hands at a minimum expense to the company and a maximum of work and labor on the part of the men. The instance cited by Joseph Howard in his affidavit of a liquor and drug commissary appears to be a petty side graft of some of the Japanese bosses or of the subcontractors.

We have had a number of complaints in addition to those of the 20 Filipinos. The inclosed affidavits are made by members of the 1914 crew, and I have every reason to believe that the same conditions have existed for several years, as evidenced by the complaints last fall and the evidence furnished in the kidnaping case now pending on the trial docket.

I call your attention also to that portion of Joseph Howard's affidavit regarding the unnecessary waste of salmon in Alaska waters. I am told that 16 different canneries are operating at the mouth of the Nushagak River and Bristol Bay. I believe the other canneries are guilty of the same waste as in the case of the particular cannery mentioned. After a careful search of the criminal laws of the United States I have been unable to find any statute which furnishes an adequate remedy in the premises.

As I understand the present laws of the United States and Alaska, Congress, in granting to the Territory the right to make its own laws, has not divested itself of its Territorial control and still retains the right to regulate Alaska by direct congressional enactment. If I am right in this assumption, Congress could very effectively control labor conditions in Alaskan canneries if it should pass a law prohibiting the farming out of labor contracts. This is another phase of the old padrone system, which has flourished so long and powerfully in Mexico and other Latin countries. Such a system of vicarious employment and responsibility should have no place among our American institutions. The great cannery corporations should not be permitted to lease out the right to employ hundreds or thousands, as the case may be, to irresponsible Japanese or Chinese padrones or contractors, and thus escape a personal or corporate liability to pay the men their wages and to treat them fairly and decently during their term of employment. A statute such as I suggest could in a few words prohibit such employment and attach a severe penalty for its violation. Again, it occurs to me that the fisheries of Alaska could well be placed under the control of the Department of Agriculture, under an inspection system similar to that which obtains in the regulations and control of the packing-house industries of the United States. I have mentioned the presence of a United States commissioner at some point on Bristol Bay, but I am not advised just where he maintains his office nor how near he may be to the canneries in question. If there is no United States commissioner at this point, Congress could easily provide for one who would have jurisdiction of complaints for violation of the inspection law, if such a law were passed, and for a violation of the contract-labor law suggested. I would also urge that the district courts of the United States for the districts of California, Oregon, and Washington, as well as the Territorial courts in all of the districts of Alaska, be given jurisdiction over any violation of the proposed laws. There is authority for this in the present laws regulating the seal fisheries of Alaska and the importation of fur seals from Alaska to the United States. Under these laws the United States district courts of California, Washington, and Oregon have concurrent jurisdiction with the courts of Alaska to punish all offenses under these laws. This I deem necessary for the reason that

under the present system the men are gathered up in San Francisco, Portland, and Seattle and shipped to Alaska by the outside passage in the cannery sailing ships, and after completing the season's work the men are returned by the same route directly to these cities and paid off. They do not go within a thousand miles of Valdez or the seats of the district courts of Alaska. The several United States attorneys in Alaska are therefore unable to prosecute for any violations of present laws, and it would present much the same condition with reference to proposed laws unless the jurisdiction be extended to the States mentioned. The men, in most instances, have but a few dollars upon their arrival in Seattle, and are not able to pay their expenses to Valdez or other Alaska points to make a complaint. It would seem that a statute might be enacted requiring that the men be paid off in cash monthly or semi-monthly, so that it would not be possible for these men to be dropped in Seattle late in the season, there to be the victims of unscrupulous and irresponsible contractors in the settlement of an entire season's wages and accounts.

This letter is written after an interview with Judge JAMES WICKERSHAM, Delegate from Alaska, and I have transmitted a copy to Judge WICKERSHAM and to Senator POINDEXTER, who are both well advised of general conditions in Alaska.

Respectfully,

CLAY ALLEN,
United States Attorney.

Again, referring to the Pacific Fisherman for April, 1914, you will find the general peonage contract, which all these miserable creatures are forced to sign before they are shanghaied from San Francisco, Astoria, or Seattle, on pages 13–14, while the Pacific Fisheries Society record, with the acceptance of the President and the governors of Alaska, Washington, Oregon, California, and Nevada, and a report of the activities of Dr. Jones, is on pages 17–19.

The Delegate from Alaska has time and again called these criminal peonage practices of the Alaska Fish Trust to the attention of the Bureau of Fisheries, but without effect. On May 27, 1912, before the subcommittee of the Committee on Fisheries, this matter was fully presented. There were present at that examination Senator JONES, chairman, the Delegate from Alaska, Mr. Ward T. Bower, then and now assistant agent of the Bureau of Fisheries, and the agents and attorneys for the Fish Trust. Capt. Moser, the manager of the Alaska Packers' Association, was being examined, and he testified as follows:

"Mr. WICKERSHAM. Capt. Moser, you have a Chinese boss there by the name of Chew Mock?

"Mr. MOSER. Yes.

"Mr. WICKERSHAM. How long has he been with you?

"Mr. MOSER. He is a labor contractor for several different locations. He furnishes the orientals for that location.

"Mr. WICKERSHAM. Does he not furnish other than orientals?

"Mr. MOSER. No; he furnishes what we call the oriental crew—the cannery crew. Of course they are Porto Ricans and Mexicans and all mixed in together.

"Mr. WICKERSHAM. Portuguese and all classes of people?

"Mr. MOSER. No; there are not any Portuguese. There are Filipinos and people of that race.

"Mr. WICKERSHAM. What wages do you pay there at that cannery?

"Mr. MOSER. You mean per case?

"Mr. WICKERSHAM. No; per season. For instance, take 1911; what did you pay the cannery men there?

"Mr. MOSER. The cannery men—Chew Mock and his people?

"Mr. WICKERSHAM. Yes.

"Mr. MOSER. I do not know what the contract was."

The trust always pretended ignorance of these peonage contracts, though they are in writing and are used to secure their cannery men; but, as the district attorney points out, the Fish Trust puts the peonage contracts on the head of Chew Mock, as Capt. Moser calls him, on page 346:

"Mr. MOSER. Our labor contractor, Chew Mock."

At this point I introduced one of these peonage contracts in evidence, and Mr. Ward T. Bower, of the Bureau of Fisheries, saw and heard, and the Bureau of Fisheries officials have all read and have knowledge. It is on page 359–360 of the hearings, and it reads as follows:

SAN FRANCISCO, *April 15, 1911.*

It is hereby stipulated that a roustabout (a man of all work) in whatever line of work that has to be done in the Wrangell, Alaska, cannery must comply with the orders of the American and the Chinese foremen. He must willingly go to work whether work starts early or late. He must not refuse or oppose, in any manner whatsoever, any kind of work assigned to him. It is understood and agreed that he shall work on Sundays and all holidays. The work must be completed before he or any one of them can leave. An excuse can not be made because those assigned to another line of work should quit earlier or later. Should anyone be cantakerous and quit work contrary to this stipulation, a deduction of 50 cents is to be made for each hour until he returns to work. Food is to be provided for in sufficient quantities by the foreman. The bill of fare is to be Chinese. No unreasonable demand for food is to be made. There shall be no discussion whatever should there be only two meals per day, 9 a. m. and 4 p. m. Each person is to be paid $40 wages in advance, which amount is to be handed over in full upon the laborers going aboard. The balance, * * * dollars, is to be paid as per account five days after the return of the laborers to the city. Gambling is to be strictly prohibited.

No one shall be permitted to carry firearms or liquor of any kind along; those guilty shall be fined according to the rule of American company; $50 shall be fined for fighting.

All unforeseen cases of fatality shall be adjusted according to the rules of the American company pertaining to such cases.

The wages are to be $165 per man for the season of 1911.

All money due to the foreman and money advanced for poll tax shall be deducted from wages, and after all deductions balance of wages will be paid in full.

In case the cannery is destroyed by fire from any cause, and also in case ordered to work in other cannery by the foreman, no increase of pay shall be demanded, but the order of the American foreman shall be obeyed.

This instrument is drawn up to be proof, and no departure from these stipulations is to be allowed.

CHEW MOCK.
ZACHARIAS FERNANDES.

This contract is signed, so I am informed, in addition to that form found beginning on page 351 (which is a copy of the above referred to) in the April, 1914, Pacific Fisherman. The long form is used on shipboard; the short one on shore, when the peon is disconnected from the vessel.

Now, Mr. President, there is the official proof of a system of peonage which has long been practiced in the Alaska fisheries by the Alaska Packers' Association and other fishery trusts: it is slavery in its severest and most unjust form; for, while it robs the peon and degrades him with abuse and misery, it also takes away the fair living wages which these enormously wealthy criminals could and fairly ought to pay the resident fishermen of Alaska.

Referring again to Dr. Jones' "Labor Question" (remarks, p. 98, report), it is not hard to understand why there are idle men among the resident fishermen in Alaska, nor why there are even "agitators and trouble makers." But Dr. Jones convicts himself of criminal indifference to the truth of the situation, when he fails, and refuses to report to the President the facts that create the idle men there; and he adds insult to his injury when he abuses the resident fishermen, and defends these Fish Trust officials, who grow rich and destroy the salmon food supply by a criminal system of peonage in violation of the United States statutes.

Dr. Jones and the Bureau of Fisheries can not plead ignorance; they well knew the facts. But they did not disclose them to the President or to Congress in the Jones report, or at all. One who is so stupid as not to appreciate the facts of peonage and monopoly when they are so publicly exposed, is a poor adviser to the President, to say the least of him.

THE JONES RECOMMENDATIONS.

Compare the Jones "recommendations" with the statements and conclusions of Moser, Dorr, Evermann, Gorman, Bower, and the whole array of witnesses and bureau experts who drew the "tentative bill" and you will find that he condemns what they do, and recommends what they do. He denounces any control of the fisheries by the people of the Territory; so does the trust. He condemns any control by the legislature; so does the trust. He strongly demands supreme control by the Bureau of Fisheries; so does the trust. He modestly informs the President that the Bureau of Fisheries has a vast amount of scientific knowledge; and the trust admits it, with a wink. He is positively shocked that anyone should consider the idea or thought of transferring jurisdiction to any other institution or board; and so is the trust. He condemns the local resident fishermen; so does the trust. He calls them idlers and worse names; and so does the trust. He condemns them as agitators and trouble makers; and so does the trust. He declares they are saloon bums; and so does the trust. He says they desire to create trouble for the canneries; and so does the trust; and bad feeling against the fishing interests generally—meaning the trust—and the trust agrees with him. He says the resident fishermen make unjust demands; and so does the trust. He thinks the fishermen guilty of a general lack of reliability; and so does the trust.

RECOMMENDATIONS (P. 153).

1. He urges full control of fisheries in the Department of Commerce—no division with other departments or the Territory—so does the trust.

4. A just and fair revision of fish-trap tax; so does the trust—downward.

5. A license tax on the resident fishing gear; so does the trust.

6. Thirty per cent of tax revert to fisheries fund; so does the trust.

8. That all local-owned power-boat trolling be prohibited; so does the trust.

9. That customs officers refuse shipment of fish without the prepayment of tax; so does the trust. It would put the little man out of business.

11. Five new Government hatcheries; so does the trust.

12. All hatcheries to be operated by Government; so does the trust. It will sell its hatcheries like it did the *Wigwam-Osprey* tug.

13. Specified closed seasons; so does the trust.

15. Prohibit aliens from fishing; so does the trust. It works its peons in the canneries.

20. That the holders of fish-trap sites be protected: so does the trust.

22. That seines less than 100 fathoms long be prohibited; so does the trust. It would put every local fisherman out of business.

20. That the holders of fish-trap sites be protected; so does the trust. It has some old derelicts left in the bone yard.

25. That $12,000 be appropriated to remodel the trust *Wigwam-Osprey;* so does the trust, with a smile.

27. That the fish law be amended to allow packing 60-hour fish; so does the trust.

Every statement of fact or argument which might hurt the great corporate trust engaged in monopolizing the fish of Alaska, and peonizing imported fishermen is carefully censored out of the Jones report. Not a single suggestion is offered tending to encourage the settlement of a permanent fishing population there. The principle of free and popular government "of the people, by the people, for the people" is denounced in the usual language of the trust. No remedy is suggested whereby the fisheries of Alaska may be conserved and saved to the Nation for the use of the people. No recommendation is made whereby the fisheries of Alaska may be made useful and beneficial in building up an American Commonwealth in the far Northwest. Not a criticism of the peonage and slavery of imported fishermen is offered; and the trust corporations are shielded from even a suggestion that such crimes exist there. Whatever the Seattle-San Francisco-Chicago Fish and Meat Trust have asked for in the "tentative bill," is approved and fortified by argument to the President.

THE REMEDY.

1. Pass an act of Congress declaring a national public policy of reserving to the people of the Nation, the fisheries of Alaska, and trap sites, fishing grounds, streams, lakes, and waters frequented by food fish for spawning and feeding.

2. Amend the organic act of August 24, 1912, creating a legislature in Alaska, by giving it the power to conserve and protect the fisheries and fur-bearing animals of Alaska.

3. Pass an act of Congress to forbid, under penalty, fishing or working in the fisheries of Alaska by any person or persons except natives of Alaska, or citizens of the United States.

4. Enforce the provisions of the United States criminal laws against the Alaska Packers' Association and other Fish Trust corporations, and all other persons engaged in the peonage of imported fishermen to Alaska.

5. Enforce the criminal laws of the United States for the punishment of persons and corporations guilty of acts of conspiracy in restraint of trade or violations of the Sherman antitrust act.

6. Pass section 8 of H. R. 18144, amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 8. That it shall be unlawful to export from Alaska or the Territorial waters thereof, to any foreign country, any salmon or other

food fish except in a frozen, canned, salted, smoked, dried, or other prepared condition."

7. Discharge from the public service every official who suggested, agreed to, or in anywise approved the "tentative draft of bill suggested by the United States Bureau of Fisheries and the representatives of the various Alaskan fisheries, which has been agreed upon and prepared by them jointly after numerous conferences."

8. If it must continue its unnecessary existence, remove the branch office of the Bureau of Fisheries now located in Seattle, Wash., to Ketchikan, Alaska.

9. Make an Executive order forbidding the officials of the Bureau of Fisheries from appearing around the Capitol or in committee rooms as enthusiastic lobbyists for the passage of legislation for the Fish Trust, or at all.

10. And, finally, if the President needs official, full, and fair information about the fisheries of Alaska, I recommend that Congress send the chairmen of the Senate Committees on Canadian Relations, Commerce, Conservation of National Resources, Fisheries, and Territories, and the chairmen of the House Committees on Merchant Marine and Fisheries and the Territories, with the ranking Republican member on each of the said Senate and House committees, as a special committee to Alaska to report both the facts and a remedy for the control and conservation of the Alaska food fisheries, with recommendation. A report, with recommendations, from such a committee would be accepted by the country as worthy of confidence, and would result in saving the Alaskan fisheries to the Nation and in preventing their monopoly or destruction by the Fish Trust.

Respectfully,

JAMES WICKERSHAM,
Delegate from Alaska.

Agricultural Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ISAAC R. SHERWOOD,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. SHERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, the ponderous and unusually expensive Agricultural bill carries a liberal appropriation for horse breeding and experiments in live-stock production. It is the universal opinion among expert horsemen that there are sufficient ways to spend the tax money of the people without going into competition with private enterprise in scientific horse breeding. Every intelligent horseman knows that the United States standard-bred trotting horse, bred for over three-quarters of a century by private enterprise and private capital, is the superior of any horse in either Europe or Asia. He is in stamina, quality, speed, and style the superior of the Orloff trotter bred under Government auspices in Russia for a quarter of a century longer than the American trotter.

The following resolution, unanimously adopted, expresses the prevailing views on this subject of not only saddle-horse devotees, but of all other classes of horsemen in the United States, especially the breeder of standard trotters and thoroughbreds:

Resolved by the American Saddle Horse Breeders' Association, in annual meeting, this April 11, 1914, That it be, and is, the sense of this meeting that the breeding of horses is not properly within the function of the Government, and the undertaking on the part of the War Department and Department of Agriculture of the United States Government to breed horses for Cavalry service is an unwarranted and unjustifiable interference with private enterprises; and, further, that each member of this association be, and is hereby, requested to communicate with his Member of Congress and the two Senators from his State, protesting against this Government's interference with private affairs.

HOSTILE LEGISLATION HAS RUINED HARNESS RACING.

How is it possible to promote scientific horse breeding by the United States Government in the presence of so much hostile legislation by the States to wipe out horse racing or horse culture? Speed horses of high quality commanded very remunerative prices when breeders were allowed to race their products in the grand circuit. There were plenty of ready home buyers at the end of the grand circuit for tried and educated horses of speed, manners, and quality, and buyers from Russia, Austria, London, Paris, and nearly all the leading capitals of Europe. Millions of good gold dollars were brought into the United States by foreign buyers, prices ranging for stallions of fashionable breeding and extreme speed from $25,000 to $75,000. All the stock farms were prosperous, and there was neither a demand nor an excuse for Government patronage or Government aid until the hypocritical blatherers, masquerading as reformers, started on their destructive work.

I am not here to criticize the efforts of the Government to promote scientific horse breeding, but to call attention to the notoriously unfortunate fact that nearly all the States north of the Ohio River have enacted hostile legislation to discredit and practically ruin scientific horse breeding. This has been done largely by legislation against pool selling on race tracks. This legislation has practically ruined the splendid series of harness racing known as the grand circuit, which a decade ago furnished to millions of horse-loving enthusiasts the most wholesome and recreative and alluring of all the outdoor sports and pastimes of the American people. This legislation has also ruined the county fairs, which for half a century have afforded so much wholesome enjoyment to the boys and girls of the farms.

HAS ONLY INCREASED GAMBLING.

And what has been the result of this legislation upon the speculative element of modern society? Has it stopped gambling? No; it has increased it. Has it elevated the moral tone of society? No; it has degraded it. All peoples—Christian, pagan, and Mohammedan—have their recreations and pastimes. If they are not allowed the best they are liable to go to the worst. In the United States we have practically killed high-class horse racing and inaugurated prize fighting, baseball, and football. And we are now gambling three times as much on these games as we ever did in the very heyday of horse racing. And a game that is outlawed in every civilized country around the world—prize fighting—is now the most popular pastime of the sporting element of the American people. The brutal bouts of the nose smashers and rib crackers of the prize ring are the leading features of all our leading daily newspapers. They are even betting disgracefully on the polo game. And the select ladylike are gambling on it far more than was ever known on race horses.

Here is a reliable telegram showing the big hit made by Mrs. Hitt:

LOS ANGELES, CAL., *March 4.*

Perry Beadleston won the laurels in to-day's polo round robin, his individual score of 6 being the best. Mrs. William Hitt, formerly Katherine Elkins, bid in Beadleston at the auction pool last night for $35 and won the $700 pot. Some one estimated that at least $12,000 a game has changed hands during the season.

And no protests anywhere.

As I never bet a dollar in my life on a horse race and never bought a pool ticket on a horse and never bet on any other sport, not even a twilight tango, I am giving an entirely disinterested opinion on this vital question, based on over 60 years of personal observation.

When the football team of the University of Pennsylvania met in combat the football team of the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, Mich., this team of high-class university students carried with them $4,000 to bet on the game, and the game was played and the money was bet within the sacred precincts of that great university. Not a sound was heard against it. Had a horse race transpired on that highly cultivated ethical soil, with $4,000 bet on the result, all the gamblers in the game would have been arrested and penalized. As an ethical question, is it more of a crime, either morally or by statute, to bet on a four-legged animal than on a two-legged human being?

In England, when Edward VII was Prince of Wales, only a few royal degenerates of his fast set patronized the prize ring; but in all the larger cities of the United States the "four hundred" are in the craze to witness the nose smashing and human blood letting of the prize ring. In view of this deplorable degeneracy, the harness horse offers to-day the most recreative and morally wholesome entertainment of all the outdoor sports and pastimes—a sport free from both brutality and blood, a sport free from smut and all immoral trend, a sport full of good health and good cheer. The actor and the showman are always the best types of the moral and social elevation of any people. The actor acts to please only. If the people demand smut, the actor is always a smut machine. If the people demand brutality and blood, the prize fighter and the bully become the stars. How far are we away from that condition now? The grand plays of Shakespeare and all dramas of moral import are everywhere being supplanted by the frivolous, vulgar, and smutty vaudeville.

WHY GOD CREATED THE HORSE.

The monkey and the magpie, on their respective perches, are always interesting. The former with his grimaces and antics and face, reminding us of the primeval man; and the latter, with his song and chatter, seems the incarnation of the music of the woods. But it is not given to man to know why an All-Wise Creator made them companions in the forests. But every intelligent human being knows why God created the horse. In the domain of the utilities of life, in the more esthetic field of the recreations, in poetry and song and sculpture, and on the red fields of war, the horse, since creation's dawn, has been the omnipresent companion and helpmate of his master—man. Let us now scan the law of the inevitable—the natural loves and instincts of man as illustrated by all history. From the ancient Pharaoh of the Exodus to Gen. Phil Sheridan, the horse has shared the honors of war, the glamours of love, the wild witchery of chivalric tournament, and the gloom and glory of all

the crusades, Christian or Mohammedan. By a law of Moses the Jews were forbidden to ride horses. The horse at that period, before the invention of gunpowder, was regarded solely as an engine of war, and Moses desired to make his people a pastoral people, devoted to the arts of peace. This is why Christ rode into Jerusalem on the more docile and peace-loving ass—to symbolize more fully his mission of peace and good will to all mankind. And right here let me turn aside to point a moral. To-day we have too much of the machine in our social and political life. The almost universal pursuit of money is trampling in the mire all poetic and patriotic feeling and wearing all the verdue out of men's hearts—and women's hearts, too.

THE HORSE IN THE HEROICS.

From time immemorial the horse has been immortalized with his immortal master. He has been perpetuated in stone and iron and bronze with the poets, philosophers, and soldiers of the world.

In Berlin it is Frederick the Great and his horse.

In Trafalgar Square, London, it is Lord Wellington and his horse.

In Paris it is Napoleon and his horse.

In our National Capital it is Grant and his horse, Jackson and his horse, Sherman and his horse, Gen. Logan and his horse, and glorious old "Pop" Thomas and his horse. In Richmond it is Washington and his horse, Robert E. Lee and his horse, and Stonewall Jackson and his horse.

On the obelisks of dead old Egypt, on the Arch of Trajan at Rome, and the Arch of Triumph that Napoleon built in Paris to celebrate his victories, the horse and his hero rider are multiplied on every ascending circle.

The Old Testament prophetess Miriam, taking her timbrels to swell the song of triumph which Moses gave to the poetry of the ages, in celebrating the drowning of Pharaoh and his cavalry in the Red Sea, says:

Sing ye to the Lord, for He hath triumphed gloriously. The horse and his rider He hath thrown into the sea.

You will notice that the inspired prophetess gives the horse first mention over the soldier, doubtless on his merits, as the more humane of the two.

Prof. Darwin does not tell us in his great work on the evolution of man the number of years that elapsed between the development of the manlike ape to the apelike man; but, since history began, with its dim and uncertain light, I believe the horse with hoofs to have been coexistent with the devil with hoofs and coexistent with the apelike man, if not coequal.

Prof. Leidy, very high authority, says the prehistoric man had a prehistoric horse for his companion. The same high authority says that while it is true that Columbus discovered no horses with the native Indians when he discovered America, there is no longer room for doubt that the horse lived on the American Continent before the race of Adam.

I believe that he lived alongside of the mastodon as the companion of the prehistoric man.

Dr. Allen, in his great work entitled "Civilization," gives a vivid picture of the first arrival of the barbaric Huns in Europe in the fourth century. The chiefs are all mounted on magnificent horses, richly caparisoned, that, as Lord Byron says in immortal Mazeppa, "look as if the speed of thought were in their limbs."

In Bulfinch's fascinating book entitled "King Arthur and His Knights," which includes the heroic age of chivalry, we find the horse the conspicuous figure in every joust and tournament, escapade and romance. He is prominent in all the songs of the troubadours, many of which were written by women. Indeed, the word chivalry is from the French word cheval, a horse.

The history of all civilizations, Christian, pagan, and Mohammedan, prove that God made the horse for man's utility, comfort, and pleasure. Those who think that any man-made machine, however artistic, can ever take his place know little and think less. Of course we shall have machine motors, as we have wax flowers and paste diamonds and crockery dolls. But wax flowers will never shed fragrance on the bosom of a divine woman, like the God-grown blossoms; and crockery dolls will never take the place of real babies; neither will the counterfeit blaze of paste diamonds ever mock successfully the rainbow tints of the real gems. And the live horse, the horse immortalized in song and story and sculpture and romance and war, will ever be animate and imperishable; man's best and most wholesome friend among the animals.

THE HORSE IN HEROIC LITERATURE.

It is a historical fact, with 2,000 years of civilization to verify it, that the introduction of the horse in public amusements has always marked the improved moral tone of every people, either Christian or pagan. In that period of brutal rule so vividly depicted in that great historical novel Quo Vadis, when Nero sat above Rome, wild beasts from the forests of Germany were brought to fight gladiators and devour Christian martyrs in the Roman amphitheater, amid the wild applause of the Roman populace. Later, when Rome was touched with a gentler and more benign civilization, under the Emperor Augustus, the bloody bouts between men and wild beasts were supplanted by the chariot races, where the horse was the main factor of the entertainment.

All the poets of modern times put horses under their heroes. King Richard III, according to Shakespeare, offered his whole kingdom for a horse, after his game steed fell dead on the bloody battlefield of Bosworth. He could not get another horse on his offer, and thereby lost the battle and the crown, and the blood of Plantagenet was dried up forever, and the blood of Tudor came in to rule England, all for lack of a horse.

All the standard English poets were horse fanciers. Lord Byron's Mazeppa, a poem of horse and romance and escapade, is one of the grandest in the language. Sir Walter Scott in immortal Marmion puts into Lady Herron's sweet mouth the story of Young Lochinvar, one of the most thrilling musical gems in the English language. And young Lochinvar's horse is the supreme factor of the escapade. You remember when young Lochinvar stole away the bride, who was about to wed "a laggard in love and a dastard in war," he caught her on the home stretch, and throwing her willing form behind his own, astride his prancing steed, while two pairs of chivalric legs were thrilling the throbbing ribs of his game flier, the lads and lassies of the laggard bridegroom had no steeds fleet enough to follow and young Lochinvar got away with everything.

Even Tennyson, late poet laureate of England, with all his finical, fine ladyisms of versification, occasionally braces up into the robust heroic when he mounts the English thoroughbred. He does this in Locksley Hall, but his best effort by far is The Charge of the Light Brigade. But Tennyson is hardly in the same class with Sir Walter Scott. In all the minstrelsy of Scott the horse always comes in to gild the heroics, whether he sings of love or war.

And the finest dramatic poem of our great Civil War is Sheridan's Ride, written by our Ohio poet, T. Buchanan Read, in which the horse is the hero, because, without that game flier Sheridan could never have turned defeat into victory in that immortal 20-mile ride from Winchester to Cedar Creek. It was the fleet black stallion that carried Sheridan that gray October morning in 1864 that made victory possible. And the poet tells it well:

With foam and with dust the black charger was gray;
By the flash of his eye and his red nostrils play,
He seemed to the whole great army to say:
I have brought you Sheridan to save the day,
From Winchester, twenty miles away.

* * * * *

And when their statues are placed on high,
Under the dome of the Union sky,
Be it said in letters both bold and bright,
Here is the steed that saved the day,
By carrying Sheridan into the fight
From Winchester, twenty miles away.

In the language of Lord Byron, in his immortal Mazeppa, "Bring forth the horse"—the harness horse—man's best, most useful, and most wholesome animal friend. Let us see him, often and again—in the swift-footed flights of the charmed circle, in the bright aurora of the twentieth century, under our benign skies and suns, under our flag with the gleaming stars of States.

Have you ever stopped to think what would have become of Gen. Sheridan and our Army that desperate day had Gen. Sheridan made the ride in an automobile? Could he have made it with a "busted" tire? Could he have inspired the boys with courage anew with a machine instead of the black charger that, with foam on his flanks and nostrils red as blood, carried the courage of his great master into the hearts of the musketeers? An immortal poem was born that day that will go singing down the ages; not inspired by Gen. Sheridan, but by Gen. Sheridan and his horse.

It is not the war horse that Christian civilization of the twentieth century, now in its dawn, should care to exploit. It is the domestic horse. The horse of peace, the horse that carries his master, in the exhilaration of the wind, along pleasant valleys, by running brooks, and meadows green with verdure, by woods vocal with the song of birds, to make him forget his nervous worry over business cares and catch an appetite and the serene joy that awaits good digestion.

THE HORSE IN MYTHOLOGY.

Is it possible that a mere animal like the horse should have been a vital part of the creed that linked men and gods in the

religion of the most poetic and accomplished of all the ancient peoples? The religions of ancient Greece and Rome have long since become extinct, but the poetry and literature of the age of mythology have enriched the literature and poetry of all living languages. The religion of these two, now dead, civilizations is the most poetic and irresistible of all the high-wrought witcheries of men or gods in the mystic domain of the supernatural. And if the horse is a vital element in the ministering power of the gods of mythology, it indicates that of all the animals in the animal kingdom the horse, in the conception of the pagan world, was endowed with a creative potency ranking with the superior gods.

We learn that the god Neptune controlled all the waters of the great ocean—the Mediterranean Sea being the only ocean the Greeks knew—and that he created the horse. Homer, in his Iliad, sings of Neptune thus: "He yokes to the chariot his swift steeds, with feet of brass and manes of gold, and himself (Neptune) clad in gold, drives over the waves."

Prof. Murray's Manual of Mythology, speaking of Neptune and his sea horses, says: "The sea rejoices and makes way for him. His horses speed lightly over the waves and never a drop of water touches the brazen axle."

In Greek statuary Aurora is represented as a spirited maiden with expansive wings, clad in flowing robes of white and purple, riding Pegasus, and distilling through clouds of amber the morning dew. For the benefit of all horsemen who dote on pedigrees, I submit herewith the high-wrought pedigree of Pagasus:

When the cruel god Perseus cut off Medusa's head, as the mythical story runs, the blood sinking into the earth produced the winged horse Pegasus. Minerva, the Goddess of Wisdom, caught him wild and tamed him, and presented him to the Muses. And the fountain of Hippocrene, on the Muses' Mountain, Helicon, was opened by a kick of Pegasus's hoof. This seems like a large horse story, but it is as reliable as some of our modern tales. Minerva gave Pegasus a bridle of gold lace, and with his wings he soared the sky like a bird. In fact, he is the original first-class flier in the grand circuit of the skies. An agile youth, who came to the Court of the Gods, named Bellerophen, rode Pegasus into the upper air and with his spear killed the fiery dragon, Chimaera, as he was cavorting about the sky.

Not only is the horse a foremost factor in the religions of ancient Greece and Rome, but he figures still more conspicuously in the religions and mythologies of ancient Persia and India. In the Vedic hymns of Persia, the most interesting and instructive of all the weird and mystic literature of that country, we gather a true idea of the religion of the ancient Persians and learn therefrom the most sublime conceptions of the Supreme Being. These hymns were written a thousand years before Christ. The Vedic theory of the creation is far more poetic than the Mosaic account. It attributes all created things to a single being—the Golden Child, "who established the earth and this heaven, who built the firmament of ether, measured the air, and set the sun on high, and who begot the bright and mighty waters." In the Vedic hymns, running through 50 pages of Prof. Timothy Dwight's great book, The Ancient Classics, I find the horse is mentioned no less than 60 times, always as a potent factor in the supernatural control of earth, air, and the heavens. Here is a specimen quotation:

Oh Rudras, friends of the golden chariot, come hither for our welfare, possessed of good horses and chariots, penetrating the clouds, shaking down the rain from the sky; red horses and faultless, noble by birth, golden breasted. Oh, oh, Maruts, you have given us wealth of horses, chariots, and heroes; golden wealth.

In the wonderful religion of Buddha, the first great teacher and prophet of the Golden Rule, the horse has a conspicuous and ever-abiding place. According to Prof. Ephephanius Wilson, in his fascinating book, the Life of Buddha, the great Buddhist prophet taught the perfect life of virtue, temperance, morality, peace, and brotherly love at least 800 years before Christ. In fact Buddha is the first great philosopher of human destiny—immortality—as we now understand soul life. And after the lapse of over 25 centuries Buddhism still stands first among the four great religions in the number of its devotees. In the life of Buddha as translated from the Chinese into English by Prof. Samuel Beal, Buddha was the world's first great teacher of the true life. Like the only Christ, Buddha was sorely tempted to abandon the path of virtue and sobriety, but he was not tempted by a personal devil, but by the spirits of evil in the guise of bewitching nymphs, and, according to all the books on Buddhism, it was the horse that carried Buddha away from temptation to a rarer air and the calm delights of flower-embowered gardens. The temptation of Buddha forms a most delicious chapter; first translated from the ancient Sanskrit language into Chinese by the great Chinese scholar Dhar Maraksha, and from Chinese into English by Prof. Samuel Beal:

Dancing women gathered about the Buddha; around his straight and handsome form. Their half-clad forms bent in ungainly attitudes; their garments in confusion or like the broken Kani flower; others pillowed on their neighbor's lap, their hands and feet entwined together, their bodies lying in wild disorder; their hearts so light and gay, their forms so plump, their looks so bright. But the prince (Buddha) stood unmoved by his horse; his milk-white horse—unmoved. And now he said, "I leave this false society. I will mount my horse and ride swiftly to the deathless city. My heart is fixed beyond all change." The Devas then gave spiritual strength, and the prince (Buddha) mounted the gallant steed, fitted with all his jeweled trappings for a rider.

All the above is supposed to have happened over 2,500 years ago. And yet what turf writer of to-day can give a more dramatic sketch of the high-mettled horse than this? Here let me point a potent moral to adorn this dizzy, divinized history of the escape from temptation of the world's first great prophet.

THE HORSE SAVED BUDDHA.

Was it not the horse that saved Buddha, and carried him away from the environment of evil? Have we not quoted enough of the history of the pagan classics to prove that for a thousand years of the brightest and best civilization known to the pagan world the horse was the divinely equipped motor of supernatural power. And have we not shown that in the most witching civilization of the ancient Orient the horse was the chosen instrument of the first great prophet of moral ethics to escape from evil thoughts and evil ways into the rarer region of a divinely appointed life? And in view of all this, have we not the basis of true moral judgment in the claim that the horse, in the evolution of all civilizations, has been always regarded as more than an animal? And is he not indissolubly linked in mythology, poetry, and sculpture with the great prophets, heroes, and the divine idols of the world?

A PARTING WORD.

As a parting word, let me voice the universal opinion of the horsemen and breeders of the United States. They are not asking any advice or aid from the Federal Government. All they ask is to be allowed to do business free from the cruel handicap of restrictive and unjust legislation. Let us aim all present and future legislation against the reign of prize fighting and all other brutal and degrading games, and give to the horse and his master, man, a chance to elevate the spirit and wholesome moral tone of the outdoor sports and pastimes of the American people.

The Late Hon. Lewis J. Martin.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS
OF
HON. DOW H. DRUKKER,
OF NEW JERSEY,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, February 14, 1915,

On House resolution 735, as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the business of the House be now suspended that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. LEWIS J. MARTIN, late a Member of this House from the State of New Jersey.

"*Resolved*, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased and in recognition of his distinguished public career the House at the conclusion of these exercises shall stand adjourned.

Mr. DRUKKER. Mr. Speaker, death prevented Congressman LEWIS J. MARTIN from rounding out a career which had been devoted for many years to public service. Until near the end of his life, when he consented to enlarge the scope of his activities, he had been content to confine his labors to Sussex County, where he toiled faithfully and added dignity to the positions of trust he occupied. His career was ended shortly after he had started to fulfill the duties in this Chamber as Representative from the sixth district of New Jersey.

Judge MARTIN was a man of eminence in his home county and State, displaying such qualities as must have won for him the same regard and esteem in this body. As State senator, prosecutor, and judge of the court of common pleas he gained for himself the general respect of the community. More intimately, perhaps, can I speak of his work as judge, for he occupied the bench in Passaic County on a number of occasions. He tempered justice with mercy; he showed a kindliness of feeling toward the unfortunate; his judgment was not questioned.

Of a genial, lovable nature, Judge MARTIN made many lasting friendships. Sussex, indeed, will not soon forget the fine qualities of her son nor the high place he holds in her annals.

War Risk Insurance.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSHUA W. ALEXANDER,
OF MISSOURI,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to print a letter from Hon. W. G. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury, of date March 3, referring to certain statements made on the floor of the House recently relative to certain policies which have been written by the War Risk Bureau in the Treasury Department.

The letter follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, March 3, 1915.

DEAR MR. ALEXANDER: My attention has been called to certain statements recently made on the floor of Congress relative to certain policies which have been written by the Bureau of War Risk Insurance of this department, and which do not correctly state the policy of this department in accepting its risk.

The conduct of all matters connected with the Bureau of War Risk Insurance has been under advice of an advisory board composed of three men versed in the practices of war-risk insurance and of recognized positions in that class of business.

The valuations accepted on vessels have been based upon the market value of the property insured at the time the insurance was taken out. It has been the invariable practice of marine underwriters throughout the world to endeavor to base the valuations on which they insure vessels upon a close approximation of the value of the vessel in the market at the time the insurance is taken.

Taking specifically the cases of the two vessels that are lost, the steamer *Carib* was insured by the bureau for $22,253 and valued at $75,000, the balance of the insurance on war risks being assumed by companies; that is to say, on a total valuation of $75,000 the War Risk Bureau assumed the risk of $22,253. This valuation is the valuation accepted by a number of the most representative and best-known marine insurance companies doing business in the United States.

The valuation on the steamer *Evelyn* of $100,000 was accepted by the bureau as representing a fair market value for this boat at the time insurance was taken out, their judgment in this matter being substantiated by the fact that the cost price to the owner insuring was in excess of $92,000, of which fact they have conclusive evidence. In addition to this they have had evidence of considerable amounts spent on repairs.

It is well recognized that the value of all steamers under the American flag has greatly enhanced since the 1st of August.

Both these vessels were under the American flag for years prior to the war, and both have been engaged in the coastwise trade by permission of Congress.

The statement that the bureau is issuing contraband and conditional contraband is not in accordance with the facts, as the policy contains a clause providing that such classes of merchandise are not insured.

Respectfully, W. J. MCADOO, *Secretary.*

Hon. JOSHUA W. ALEXANDER,
Chairman Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, House of Representatives.

Also a letter from Hon. William C. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce, of date February 20, addressed to me, and copies of accompanying letters addressed to Secretary Redfield by L. P. Tolman, of L. P. Tolman & Co., general contractors, Central Building, Seattle, Wash., and a letter addressed by Mr. Tolman to the Seattle Port Commission, Central Building, Seattle, Wash., of date January 18, 1915, and referring to the unsatisfactory conditions existing with reference to water transportation between Atlantic and Pacific coast ports:

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, February 20, 1915.

Hon. J. W. ALEXANDER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR JUDGE ALEXANDER: I inclose an interesting letter received from Mr. L. P. Tolman, of Seattle, under date of February 15, together with copy of letter sent by him on January 18 to the Seattle Port Commission. It is commended to your thoughtful reading.

Yours, very truly,
WILLIAM C. REDFIELD, *Secretary.*

(Two inclosures.)

L. P. TOLMAN & CO.,
GENERAL CONTRACTORS,
Seattle, February 15, 1915.

Hon. WILLIAM C. REDFIELD,
Secretary of Commerce, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: As emphasizing our present lack of shipping facilities between Atlantic and Pacific coast ports, I attach copy of my letter to the Seattle Port Commission under date of January 18.

During the discussion which this letter brought about the fact was emphasized that navigation laws are not favorable to American shippers and should be revised. However, you are doubtless familiar with the situation in this respect.

Matter of regulation was also discussed, although this is apparently a disputed question on which there is a difference of opinion.

Am referring this letter to you, as it serves to emphasize the need of better shipping facilities between the Atlantic coast and the Northwest.

Respectfully, yours,
L. P. TOLMAN.

JANUARY 18, 1915.

SEATTLE PORT COMMISSION,
Central Building, Seattle, Wash.

GENTLEMEN: At the request of one of your members, I wish to call your attention to the unsatisfactory condition existing with reference to water transportation between Atlantic and Pacific coast ports.

Briefly, the most serious objection is the uncertainty as to how long a given rate will remain in effect and the refusal of protection over a specified rate for a definite and reasonable time, particularly with material such as structural steel, which has to be fabricated after order is received.

Further, the apparent lack of space in proportion to actual requirements and the difficulty of arranging to make prompt shipments by water present another serious difficulty which deserves your earnest consideration.

It is also a fact, doubtless well known to you, that water rates have been given decisive advances during the last 60 days. I mention this as it has a direct relation to the lack of shipping accommodations. However, matter of rates in themselves is not the main question at issue.

So far as the port of Seattle is concerned, and as regards water traffic between the two coasts, the American-Hawaiian Steamship Co. may be said to dominate the situation, being the largest of the steamship companies regularly handling freight between the east and west coasts. This company is able in a large measure to control rates and to stipulate terms to shippers.

In order to emphasize the unsatisfactory workings under the present system, I have been asked to bring to your attention recent transaction which I handled for the Phoenix Iron Co., of Phoenixville, Pa. One of the representative Seattle concerns placed an order with me on January 6 for about 350 tons of structural steel based on proposal submitted to them under date of December 21. The next day I called on the acting agent here of the American-Hawaiian Steamship Co. in order to reserve space, the desire being to begin shipping in three or four weeks. The gentleman representing the American-Hawaiian Steamship Co. treated my request with consideration and wrote their New York office in order to arrange for shipment of this material. In the meantime, it developed that the freight rate had just been increased, the advanced rate to go into effect January 9. I promptly asked the American-Hawaiian Steamship Co. to protect us by allowing us rate originally quoted and used as a basis in this transaction. We had made a delivered price, as is customary in quoting on structural steel. Not being able to secure promise of protection at this end, I immediately wired the Phoenix Iron Co. to take the matter up with the traffic manager of the American-Hawaiian Steamship Co. at New York. However, it was found to be impossible to secure this protection or any promise that the rate would not be still further advanced before shipment of this order could be completed; moreover, the steamship company stated that they would be unable to handle shipment of this material before the latter part of February and there was considerable uncertainty in regard to any definite time of shipment.

When I received wire from the Phoenix Iron Co. apprising me of the situation I immediately took the matter up with other steamship lines and shipping brokers, searching the transportation field thoroughly both here and at San Francisco, with the result that no relief was to be had, most of the other lines declining to make any rate on account of having all the freight they could take care of for a reasonable time. As illustration of this, Sudden & Christenson Steamship Line, San Francisco, wired me as follows:

"Replying to your night letter eighth, we can not give you rate and shipping dates asked for at present, as we have nothing now scheduled to leave New York on which space has not already been taken. Will be glad to advise you later if we can care for this business."

On account of all of this uncertainty the Phoenix Iron Co. finally withdrew their proposition, and we therefore lost the business entirely on account of transportation difficulties.

The purpose of submitting this report to you is twofold:

First. To emphasize that, while we now have well-equipped harbor facilities, yet comparatively few steamship lines running between Atlantic and Pacific coasts avail themselves of this port, with the result that traffic with the few lines which do make Seattle is badly congested. This would seem to urge the need of making further traffic arrangements.

Second. Present steamship lines make any rates they see fit and lay down their own terms to shippers. Present conditions seem to warrant the conviction that steamship lines should be brought under some form of regulation in a similar manner as the railroads, so that the shippers will not be subjected to the uncertainty over rates as at present. In this connection would call your attention to a bill entitled "Proposed regulation of carriers by water," which has been drawn up by one of the committees of the House of Representatives. I believe Mr. W. A. Mears, of the transportation bureau of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce, is familiar with this proposed legislation.

I have submitted the general lines of this report to a number of practical transportation men, and I believe in the main they agree with me that the time is ripe for action of some kind. If the various commercial bodies, such as the chamber of commerce, commercial club, transportation club, and the Seattle Port Commission, could get together and agree on a plan of action, much good could doubtless be accomplished.

Respectfully submitted.

L. P. TOLMAN.

Also the following copy of a letter addressed to me by Hon. William C. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce, and a copy of a letter addressed by him to Hon. JAMES R. MANN and referring to the wire drag used by the Coast and Geodetic Survey to discover obstructions to navigation:

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, February 17, 1915.

MY DEAR JUDGE ALEXANDER: I inclose copy of letter sent Hon. JAMES R. MANN to-day, which speaks for itself. There will be no objection on my part to your putting this letter in the RECORD should you think it worth while. A copy has been sent to Judge ADAMSON and Hon. JOHN J. FITZGERALD.

Yours, very truly,
WILLIAM C. REDFIELD, *Secretary.*

Hon. JOSHUA W. ALEXANDER,
House of Representatives, Washington.

(Inclosure.)

FEBRUARY 17, 1915.

MY DEAR MR. MANN: I notice in your remarks printed on page 3940 of the RECORD for February 11 the following words:

"* * * Here is a wire drag pictured as stretching across a considerable expanse of water, supported by buoys, the drag being attached to a boat at either end and to one in the middle. One can see that the boat at one end is moving away from the center at an angle of more than 45° from a forward course, while the boat attached at the other end is moving away in the opposite direction from the center at an angle also of more than 45°. It would be impossible, therefore, Mr. Chairman, for those boats to proceed for 20 feet without breaking the wire drag."

Thereafter you proceed to comment, assuming the accuracy of the quoted statement.

Permit me to advise you as follows:

"The angle at which the boats are represented as pulling in the painting of the wire drag is not exaggerated. It is necessary that the boats pull out at an angle from the line of progress of the drag, so that the drag will be stretched out and cover as much area as possible.

"If the boats were headed along the line of progress, the resultant of the inward pull of the drag and the forward pull of the boats would tend to force the boats in, and the area covered would grow smaller and smaller until the boats met.

"The work is usually planned so that the progress of the drag is with the tidal current. Often, in actual practice, the boats are heading directly away from each other and at right angles to the progress of the drag. In this manner the drag is stretched to its greatest extent and the tidal current carries boats and drag in the desired direction.

"No. 7 telephone wire is the smallest wire used in wire-drag work. This will stand a tension of over 1,700 pounds. The engine in each boat is run at a speed that produces a tension of about 350 pounds (shown by scales) on the towlines and wire. This leaves a fairly safe margin of over 1,350 pounds.

"No boat ever used by the Coast and Geodetic Survey in wire-drag work has had sufficient power to break No. 7 wire with a steady pull, even when running at full speed."

The above statement has been carefully verified by an officer who has had continued experience in wire-drag work upon our Atlantic coast. He will, at your request, be invited to call upon you, should you desire it, to give any information you desire on this subject. I know you so well as to be sure you would not willingly make inaccurate or haphazard statements in your responsible capacity as leader of the minority in the House of Representatives. Therefore, I venture to assume that you will consult the officer who has done this work, and either point out to him the error he has so long been making or will yourself state in the RECORD that you were mistaken in your criticism.

You will remember saying that the accuracy of the picture was "probably equal to the accuracy of the work that is done by the department."

You also say respecting the painting that "it is a useless expenditure of money to have had it painted." If this is so, charge it to the administration of President Taft, under whose administration it was prepared when Mr. Nagel was Secretary of Commerce and Labor, as a part of the exhibit of the Department of Commerce and Labor at the Seattle Exposition.

I beg to remain, with sincere respect and with kind regards,

Yours, very truly,

——— ———, *Secretary.*

Hon. JAMES R. MANN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

I also wish to incorporate in my remarks a letter addressed to me by the Secretary of Commerce, of date February 17, with the accompanying copy of letter received by him from the Syracuse Smelting Works, of New York:

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, February 17, 1915.

Hon. J. W. ALEXANDER,
House of Representatives.

DEAR JUDGE ALEXANDER: By direction of the Secretary of Commerce I am pleased to send you the inclosed copy of letter received by him from the Syracuse Smelting Works, of New York.

Yours, very truly,

U. GRANT SMITH,
Private Secretary.

—

NEW YORK, *February 15, 1915.*

Hon. W. C. REDFIELD,
Secretary of Commerce,
Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your name was given to us by Mr. E. C. Porter, of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, and we take the liberty of addressing you in reference to the ship-purchase bill. As shippers of our manufactured products all over the world we feel that this country certainly requires a bill of that kind, as, in the first place, the shipping is in the hands of such a lot of financiers, who handle these matters just as they please; in fact, at the present time shipments that have to be made to the Continent, when you inquire from any of the steamship companies they simply name you a high figure and request you to engage space promptly. Otherwise they simply tell you that the rate will be higher; and, sure enough, when you find in a few days that you can make the shipments and you inquire from them for space, up goes the price. So the more times you inquire the higher rates you have to pay.

This is now getting to be unbearable, and we believe that if the ship-purchase bill was passed that in due time the manufacturers and shippers of this country would at least be relieved from being held up to such an extent, and trust that you will make a special effort to see that this bill is passed.

Yours, truly,

SYRACUSE SMELTING WORKS,
Per L. SAPERY.

The following joint resolution and bills reported from the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries during the Sixty-third Congress have become laws:

H. J. Res. 217. Joint resolution to convey the thanks of Congress to the captain of the American steamer *Kroonland*, of the Red Star Line, and through him to the officers and crew of said steamer, for the prompt and heroic service rendered by them in rescuing 89 lives from the burning steamer *Volturno*, in the north Atlantic Ocean.

H. R. 14377. An act to amend section 4472 of the Revised Statutes. (In reference to carrying explosives on vessels.)

H. R. 14950. An act to authorize the city of Louisville, Ky., to open a parkway through the United States fish station and hatchery in Jefferson County, Ky. (Added on sundry civil bill and passed.)

H. R. 15605. An act to amend an act entitled "An act to adopt regulations for preventing collisions upon certain harbors, rivers, and inland waters of the United States," approved June 7, 1897.

H. R. 16055. An act to amend section 4474 of the Revised Statutes of the United States. (Regulating the carrying of petroleum.)

H. R. 16269. An act to regulate the taking or catching of sponges in the waters of the Gulf of Mexico and the Straits of Florida outside of State jurisdiction; the landing, delivering, curing, selling, or possession of the same; providing means of enforcement of the same, and for other purposes. (Senate bill 5313, which was identical with the above, was reported from the committee and has become a law.)

H. R. 16346. An act to amend section 4131 of the Revised Statutes of the United States of America as amended by the act of Congress approved May 28, 1896, relating to the renewal of licenses.

H. R. 16392. An act to better regulate the serving of licensed officers in the merchant marine of the United States and to promote safety at sea.

H. R. 18202. An act to provide for the admission of foreign-built ships to American registry for the foreign trade, and for other purposes.

H. R. 18685. An act to repeal penalties on foreign-built vessels owned by Americans.

H. R. 18686. An act to provide for provisional certificates of registry of vessels abroad, and for other purposes.

H. R. 10084. An act to authorize the changing of the names of the steamships *Buckman* and *Watson*.

H. R. 20107. An act to amend sections 4421, 4422, 4423, 4424, and 4498 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, and section 12 of the act of May 28, 1908, relating to certificates of inspection of steam vessels.

H. J. Res. 391. Joint resolution authorizing the Secretary of Commerce to postpone the sale of fur-seal skins now in the possession of the Government until such time as in his discretion he may deem such sale advisable.

S. 136. An act to promote the welfare of American seamen in the merchant marine of the United States; to abolish arrest and imprisonment as a penalty for desertion, and to secure the abrogation of treaty provisions in relation thereto; and to promote safety at sea.

S. 3362. An act to authorize the Secretary of Commerce, through the Coast and Geodetic Survey and the Bureau of Fisheries, to make a survey of natural oyster beds, bars, and rocks, and barren bottoms contiguous thereto, in waters along the coasts of and within the State of Texas.

S. 5289. An act to provide for warning signals for vessels working on wrecks or engaged in dredging or other submarine work.

S. 2335. An act to provide for the register and enrollment of vessels built in foreign countries when such vessels have been wrecked on the coasts of the United States or her possessions or adjacent waters and salved by American citizens and repaired in American shipyards.

Six Years in Congress.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. MAGUIRE,
OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. MAGUIRE of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, at the close of this Congress I will return to the great constituency who commissioned me here as a Representative. I have been elected three times, and as the period of six years is drawing to a close I wish to make a few brief observations. During that period I have been the recipient of many courtesies from the membership of this and preceding Congresses of which I have been a Member. The associations here formed and the part I have had in the parliamentary and political history of my country give me every reason to feel deeply grateful, for it is an opportunity afforded to but few men in this Republic. I was selected by the people of the first congressional district of Nebraska as their Representative in this the greatest parliamentary body in the world, and my gratitude is due them in the fullest measure.

To be clothed with such constitutional power is an honor which I not alone appreciate, but which carries with it a responsibility which I have constantly and prayerfully tried to measure up to. The wishes of my district and the welfare of a great country, I hope, have never failed to receive my best efforts. While representing a district, still I am legislating for the whole country with 100,000,000 souls. Though the public interests of a district may receive the special solicitude of a Representative, still the broader interests and larger welfare of all can not help but merge and be much the same. When I go back to the people I represent I hope I may return the commission they gave me as clean and unsullied as when it came into my hands.

While the acts of representatives and public servants may not always reflect the highest wisdom, still, as long as the motives governing their conduct are of the purest and loftiest

the country is not in great danger. Industry, experience, wisdom, and patriotism are much to be desired; still it is not common that all the necessary elements are found together in proper combination. In a representative government the regular and frequent reflections of the will of the people through the ballot box serves always as a potential regulator of representative conduct and a wholesome instrument of protection to the people's welfare.

This is the popular branch of a coordinate legislative department of the Government. That it is quite truly representative can not be better proven than by observation of the manner and growth of legislation through the body itself. Every angle and point of view—political, social, economic, and industrial—is manifested in the deliberation and votes, not alone in the local application, but in the great national policies considered. Men of every temperament and educational training and environment, the millionaire and the man without property, are all found here mingling in a democratic way, each clothed with the same authority and exercising his influence without reference to his wealth or social standing.

The period over which my service extends has been one in which Congress has dealt with many problems, not alone momentous to the people of to-day, but of commanding importance to the country's permanent welfare. To have lived in such a period is fortunate, but to have had the further good fortune of having had a part as a Representative in formulating enactments is indeed an honor and a valued privilege.

Problems of internal improvements, conservation and development of our national resources, social and industrial improvement, the conservation in many lines of the energy and power of the individual citizen, the correlating and assembling of the Nation's forces have all received legislative attention during my service. The problems of production, distribution, and consumption in all their related applications have been problems for our legislative consideration. It is only necessary to hint at these larger problems in order to suggest the numerous enactments more in detail.

Labor Provisions of the Clayton Act.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTIN B. MADDEN,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 3 (legislative day of Tuesday, March 2), 1915.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, my present effort is one neither of advocacy or defense of a proposed or pending measure, but of review and criticism of parts of an act already passed.

It is now more than four months since the Clayton Act received final approval by the President and was enrolled among the laws of the Nation. Since that time important events have occurred having a direct bearing upon the particular fact that such legislation was enacted. One important fact is that the courts have, in all the cases where the so-called labor provisions of the act were invoked in labor's behalf, shown their wholly innocuous character as relating to injunctions, and the inapplicability or irrevelancy of the so-called exemption clause in cases arising under the antitrust act was clearly pointed out. Another important event was the election of last November, proving conclusively that the labor leaders, working in the interest of the Democratic Party, were not able to "deliver the goods" as per contract. Notwithstanding wholesale issues of exaggerated nonsense industriously uttered on the floors of the Congress, promulgated from the White House and elsewhere, printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in the Commoner, and in the labor organs issued at Washington, and other publications, labor in all the centers of industry—east and west, north and south—somehow learned or divined the truth. The election returns from all the debatable States were so overwhelmingly Republican as to not only paralyze the Democrats but even to astound the Republicans. I do not, of course, assume that the complete failure of the Democratic Party to redeem its definite labor pledges fully accounts for the result, but it is safe to say that the grist and flood tide of exhortations sent forth were as chaff before the whirlwind, and totally abortive as affecting the vote of those whom they were intended to influence.

So much of the stuff has come to my notice that I have neither the time nor patience to enter upon its full recital, much less its categorical refutation. I will merely call attention to a few items. In a letter of congratulation or adulation from President Wilson to Secretary McAdoo during the campaign anent the setting of the reserve bank act in operation, and totally unconnected with that subject matter, he claimed the liberation of labor and the safeguarding of the workingman from all forms of injustice as one of the things accomplished in the enactment of the Clayton law. In the December issue of the Commoner, Mr. Bryan, in a signed editorial, made the fantastically absurd statement that the Clayton Act had been passed during the administration of President Taft and had been vetoed by him. In the monthly magazine published by a national labor organization at Washington, have been various articles disclosing the entire innocence of knowledge concerning the Clayton Act on the part of its editor. When the recent decision of the Supreme Court in the hatters' case came down and the defendants implored the American Federation of Labor to come to their relief, Mr. Gompers said in his personally conducted organ, in effect, "See what great service I have already performed; behold, I got for you the Clayton Act." And he gave them fulsome assurances that, because of the Clayton Act, no such case as that could ever again arise.

Before closing I shall show how utterly destitute of reason is such a representation. At this point I must admit that much has been done by the present administration to increase the difficulties encountered by the jefe politicos stationed, camped, rendezvoused or maintained at the National Capital, when asked to tell the truth concerning the treatment accorded by it to the common great cause which they profess to espouse. Federal berths have been provided for many of them; in some instances luxurious, in others merely comfortable. Not many, it is true, have been very highly honored or oppulently served, but certain members of the executive council have certainly been well provided for. Knowing as we do the frailties of humanity, we have not the heart to harshly censure them for their conduct. We can not, however, avoid having our faith in humanity shocked at the hardihood of the performances. It would be difficult to believe, did we not see it progressively developing before our eyes from day to day and from month to month that any political reward would be, by leaders of labor, rated of sufficient value to justify complete self-stultification, where the interests are so great and the trust so sacred. And I for one hope that the ruinous campaign of error will be in great measure abandoned, now that all the indispensable States in a presidential election have gone so emphatically Republican that only the most optimistic Democrat can see any other result in 1916 than defeat for the Democratic Party.

Great scientists, after centuries of study and investigation, have continued to speak of the "unsolvable riddle of the universe." But there is another riddle which perplexes me even more than that, all inclusive as it is. I refer to the ingrained, intractable perversity of some of my fellow men. What I shall say to-day analytically and historically about the Clayton Act will impart no new truth nor add to any intelligent man's stock of real wisdom on the subject. All I expect to do is to restate in new, and I trust better, forms of speech, what was not much less clearly and conclusively set forth by me on former occasions. And yet, what I then said was rejected summarily by all those for whose use and benefit principally it was said. And they, the representatives of labor in this body, without analysis or the slightest attention to the bill, as it was spread out before them, proceeded in various speeches to pronounce the legislation to be labor's "bill of rights," the Magna Charta of the human race and the greatest piece of constructive legislation in all history. But since those halcyon days when the measure was pending they have had a season of thought and introspection; they have had, also, some sad experiences, and they will never again dare, in the face of judicial results and election returns, to repeat the vocal performances of the last session.

I do not, of course, intend entering upon the general subject of labor legislation, much less do I intend committing myself to any measure or legislative programme. But in all discussions of the labor provisions of the Clayton bill, and more recently of the Clayton Act, the Peare bill of former Congresses has been the admitted measure of Democratic obligation and the standard of labor's demands. That Democrats are estopped from denying that it is the standard is proved by the fact that in numerous speeches and pronouncements they have claimed that the labor provisions of the Clayton Act contain substantially the provisions of that bill. It provided, among other things, in the first section, that neither the right to seek or create the relation of employer and employee, nor to carry on or continue to do business of any kind, or at any particular place, or at all, should constitute property or a property right. And

the second section incorporated by reference the definite limitations of the first, and also prohibiting any prosecution or injunction against men for agreeing or combining to do any act or thing which would be lawful when done by a single individual. Without specifically mentioning the antitrust act, we see that the provisions sought out and reached the foundations of the general law of conspiracy, of which the antitrust act is only a part, and rendered it impossible to ever maintain a charge of conspiracy against anyone acting in these specified relations under that law or under any other law, no matter what the form of procedure, whether by injunction, civil action for damages, indictment, or information. All forms of striking, boycotting, and picketing were rendered immune from judicial interference. To see how wide the departure of Democratic promise from Democratic performance, we have only to keep the standard thus erected in mind and in view of it state what the Clayton Act accomplishes. It will be seen that it not only fails to give any aid or relief to laborers but that it deprives them of important rights and safeguards which they previously possessed. And back of all that was openly done is the fact that the ignorance of the labor leaders was taken advantage of and their credulity played to the limit.

I shall begin with a section which does not specifically relate to labor conditions or interests, though it becomes relevant and intensely important because of its sinister effect and bearing on other provisions. The cunning and overreaching design of those who formulated section 17 has eluded the attention of all the labor representatives and most others. All of it that I need quote reads as follows:

That no preliminary injunction shall be issued without notice to the opposite party.

No temporary restraining order shall be granted without notice to the opposite party, unless it shall clearly appear from specific facts shown by affidavit or by the verified bill that immediate and irreparable injury, loss, or damage will result to the applicant before notice can be served and a hearing had thereon.

The bearing of this section upon the questions before us can not be understood without recurrence to the fact that it was the alleged pervertion of a general principle of jurisdiction which gave rise to all labor's grievances founded on the action of the courts. The exact complaint was that, disregardful of the ancient limitation of injunctive relief to the protection of property rights, the courts had adopted the practice, in labor cases and in these only, of employing the remedy to protect the mere right to do business—a mere personal right. Keeping that in mind, and carefully examining section 17, no person of even mediocre discernment can fail to see that the section wipes out the distinction between property rights and personal rights with respect to injunctions. Also that it embodies and puts in force the exact reverse of what labor leaders contended for during all the years that they were before Congress urging legislative protection against judicial abuses.

The first sentence of section 17 was inserted either because the draftsman knew little of the subject or because he intended to deceive. I prefer the latter construction, because of the high degree of cunning evident in the whole performance. None except those well trained in the technicalities of legal phraseology and rules of interpretation could have framed an instrument calculated to, and which actually did, so completely fool the labor leaders, to their thorough discomfiture, as did the Clayton bill. I think the men who controlled the situation here in Congress knew exactly the legal effect which they and the administration desired to produce; that they set themselves industriously at work to produce it; and that they have produced it exactly according to their program.

This first sentence, "that no preliminary injunction shall be issued without notice to the opposite party," is completely nullified by what follows it. Its meaning is as completely eradicated as if the space it fills were left blank. While there may be a faint distinction between a preliminary injunction and a restraining order, yet there is no difference in true legal effect. In fact, as the hearings before committees of Congress abundantly show, most of the so-called judicial abuses consisted in the issuance not of preliminary injunctions but of restraining orders which were kept hanging over the defendants indefinitely.

As this section passed the House it contained, between the words "to" and "the," in the fourth line, the words "property or a property right of." The presence of these words did not, however, redeem the provision from its vicious meaning, as was fully explained by me on a former occasion. Either before the words were pruned out in the Senate Judiciary Committee or as the provision now stands, a new jurisdiction, not heretofore sought by anyone to be conferred upon the courts, is conferred by essential implication. I mean the jurisdiction to grant injunction in any case which appeals to the discretion of a Federal judge, whether pertaining to rights of property or not. If the case involves a property right, that being heretofore a prerequisite to the issuance of an injunction in any case, as had been well understood, the process can issue without notice, as heretofore, but by merely going through the form of giving notice under the provision it is now immaterial how the complaining party would be affected by the impending act, whether with respect to his property right or personally. Now, by such legislation the whole propaganda of Mr. Gompers and his attorneys during several years of past agitation is made farcical. They must feel that they have been misled. It is just as if one had started a crusade for the provision of better fire protection for a city and had been answered by the enactment of a statute or ordinance requiring all hydrants to be removed and the fire department to be abolished.

I will next notice section 20, which, in so far as it is of consequence at all, directly affects labor. It was important to first discuss section 17, because of its close relation to and bearing upon section 20. The latter section reads as follows:

SEC. 20. That no restraining order or injunction shall be granted by any court of the United States, or a judge or the judges thereof, in any case between an employer and employees, or between employers and employees, or between employees, or between persons employed and persons seeking employment, involving or growing out of a dispute concerning terms or conditions of employment, unless necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property, or to a property right, of the party making the application, for which injury there is no adequate remedy at law, and such property or property right must be described with particularity in the application, which must be in writing and sworn to by the applicant or by his agent or attorney.

And no such restraining order or injunction shall prohibit any person or persons, whether singly or in concert, from terminating any relation of employment, or from ceasing to perform any work or labor, or from recommending, advising, or persuading others by peaceful means so to do; or from attending at any place where any such person or persons may lawfully be, for the purpose of peacefully obtaining or communicating information, or from peacefully persuading any person to work or to abstain from working; or from ceasing to patronize or to employ any party to such dispute, or from recommending, advising, or persuading others by peaceful and lawful means so to do; or from paying or giving to, or withholding from, any person engaged in such dispute any strike benefits or other moneys or things of value; or from peaceably assembling in a lawful manner and for lawful purposes; or from doing any act or thing which might lawfully be done in the absence of such dispute by any party thereto; nor shall any of the acts specified in this paragraph be considered or held to be violations of any law of the United States.

Of course any conduct of laborers or of labor organizations which might be taken from within the jurisdiction to enjoin and restrain by section 20 would escape amenability to the enlarged jurisdiction confirmed to the courts by the provisions of section 17 wiping out all distinction between property and personal rights, because the jurisdiction to issue injunctions in the cases specified in section 20 is limited to those cases which involve rights of property. But the point I make is that the exception, if indeed any case can ever by any possibility arise to which section 20 can apply, is so narrowed by limitations and conditions that the section is utterly worthless as a protection against injunctions and restraining orders. From the very fact that section 20 does purport to create exceptions, however infinitesimal, any conduct not therein expressly excepted falls clearly within the new jurisdiction created by section 17. And whatever prohibition upon the courts, if any, section 20 contains must be considered and treated as carved out of the scope of new jurisdiction created in section 17.

Taking up the first paragraph of section 20 we find that standing alone it would make complete sense; and now, glancing at the second paragraph, we see that even though the first covers so small a margin that it could probably never be invoked in a labor case, yet the second has a still further narrowing or limiting effect.

The ultimate effect of all the provisions in sections 17 and 20 is as if one person said to another, "If you own an automobile and you ever have any business to transact 40 miles from Washington at 3 o'clock in the morning, and if you can travel that distance by starting at 2 o'clock a. m., and if the business can not be just as well done at some other hour, and if the business should involve your property interests, and if several other unique and unusual conditions exist, correlating and corresponding in time and place—stating them—then you may make that trip, otherwise whether you will be permitted to make it rests in the discretion of a third party not of your selection."

According to this paragraph, as between persons holding certain relations, if the case involves a dispute concerning terms, and so forth, no restraining order or injunction may issue "unless necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property or to a property right." It will be noted that there is not here, as in the Pearre bill, a definition of property. That is left with the courts, as before. Can there be a doubt that the right to do or continue business or to seek employment will be deemed so far a property right as to be entitled to protection as hereto-

fore? But, not satisfied with these precautions, the word "or," where in the Pearre bill it appeared before the word "involving," was also cut out. The far-reaching effect of that mutilation was clearly and emphatically pointed out on the floor of the House by myself and others, and an attempt was made to restore it by amendment. The amendment was so obviously just and reasonable that those in charge of the bill were about to accept it, when orders came from somewhere outside Congress forbidding the change. So instead of a comprehensive class being added to the other narrow and restricted, or, for this purpose impossible, classes, the phrase "or involving or growing out of a dispute," and so forth, was converted into a further limitation of the specified classes.

I pass now to the second paragraph. We observe that it is tied by apt words to the first. And the reason for not giving the second the absolute form of the first is obvious. Why were the words "and" and "such" tagged on in the first line? Why does it not begin with honest and direct language and say, "No restraining order or injunction," and so forth? Simply because the pretense of exemption had been limited in the first section to certain relations and cases that might arise while such relations existed, and it was well known that no limitation leading to an application for an injunction or a restraining order was possible until the severance of such relations, whereupon the whole plan of exemption would be foreign to the case and totally inapplicable.

I beg leave to take up the second paragraph of section 20, clause by clause, attaching to each the opening words of the paragraph as context.

"And no such restraining order or injunction shall prohibit any person or persons, whether singly or in concert, from terminating any relation or employment, or from ceasing to perform any work or labor, or from recommending, advising, or persuading others by peaceful means so to do; * * *." This would be amply sufficient to satisfy all reasonable demands of labor with respect to striking, were it not that, back of it untouched, is the law of conspiracy as applied in the Oakes case, the Phelan case, the Debs case, and other cases. It will soon dawn on the learned as well as the ignorant and benighted among labor leaders that acting in concert, as by spontaneous common impulse, means one thing, while acting in combination or pursuant to an agreement or mutual understanding may mean something very different. It is upon the latter that the law of conspiracy was founded centuries ago. And during the intervening period it has had a very comprehensive and healthy development, evidenced by numerous decisions and precedents, all standing today in full force unaffected by any section, line, or word of the Clayton Act. Within that judge-made law strikes may and frequently have been enjoined and otherwise sternly dealt with where back of the naked act of striking the courts could discover an ulterior purpose such, for instance, as boycotting or otherwise injuring a business collaterally, as in the Payne lumber case, or to cause indirect losses to a railroad company by stopping its trains, as in the Oakes case, or to endanger the lives of or to greatly inconvenience the public, as in the Debs case. And even since the Clayton Act went into effect this same general law of conspiracy was applied in the Missouri Cotton Belt Railroad case, in the Indianapolis street railway case, and in a case involving public corporations in Oklahoma. So that taken by and large and accepting decisions prior to and after the Clayton Act only such strikes find protection in its terms as are of strictly limited scope and are conducted "peacefully," as the courts may define the word. The very best that can be said is that labor is exactly where it started in the matter of strikes. And I would have you distinctly understand that I am now merely stating the record. I would not consider my own views on a great legal subject as of peculiar value. The Democratic Judiciary Committee is in part my authority. In reporting the bill to the House the committee distinctly stated so much. Here are its words: "The bill does not interfere with the Sherman Antitrust Act at all; it leaves the law of conspiracy untouched and is not open to effective criticism on any constitutional grounds." And the Senate Judiciary Committee in reporting the bill back to the Senate after it had passed the House used identical words, and others even stronger and of the same import.

"And no such restraining order or injunction shall prohibit any person or persons, whether singly or in concert, from * * * attending at any place where any such person or persons may lawfully be, for the purpose of peacefully obtaining or communicating information, or from peacefully persuading any person to work or to abstain from working * * *." This has been properly designated as the picketing provision. The idea that any legislative authority for, or protection in the exercise of, the rights and privileges thus described was ever necessary is utterly preposterous. The words "peacefully" and "lawfully," with which the clause is thickly studded, appear to be superfluous. They were perhaps used through excessive caution. I do not care to do more on this clause than to call attention to what was said under the preceding. In a general way, all that I said is equally applicable here.

"And no such restraining order or injunction shall prohibit any person or persons, whether singly or in concert, from * * * ceasing to patronize or to employ any party to such dispute, or from recommending, advising, or persuading others, by peaceful and lawful means, so to do; * * *." The words "or to employ" seem unimportant here, even if not fully covered in a preceding clause, so that we need only deal with the question of ceasing to patronize. The first thing to notice is that this clause differs from the other in the respect that the right here exempted is expressly limited by the provisions of the first paragraph of the section, because the party against whom the effort to deprive of patronage is directed must be a "party to such dispute," and the term "dispute" is not used in any preceding part of the second paragraph. So the entire limitation of the first paragraph is here introduced and incorporated. Hence, this exemption, so far from being general, is available only where a dispute has already arisen in a case where the specified relations are found to exist, which case must have been brought into a Federal court. It must also call for injunctive relief against threatened injury to property. And the dispute between the parties must not only involve rights of property, but the terms and conditions of employment as well. If it be possible that all these circumstances shall concur and corelate in time and place in any one case, then the courts may not prohibit "advising or persuading others, by peaceful and lawful means," to abstain from patronizing.

The area of this so-called exemption scarcely has the dimensions of a minute speck on the page of the statute books, discernible with the aid of a magnifying glass. But conceding that there may be some small margin of exemption, then what becomes of all the boycotts not so privileged? Much more can be said about this clause, but I reserve it for the discussion until I take up the much-advertised exemption of labor organizations from the antitrust act, claimed to find consummation in section 6.

I shall here pass over two or three clauses without other than a general remark. An insidious and cunning result is achieved by the injection into all these clauses of the words "lawful," "peaceful," "lawfully," "peacefully," and "peaceably." In order to exemplify, let us suppose that a private corporation applied to Congress for a franchise to lay gas mains in one of the streets of Washington, and stated that it had already a perfect legal right to lay them, the exercise of which the courts had refused to recognize. Would it not be a cruel mockery and the sheerest nonsense if Congress, instead of conferring any right or confirming any existing right, took away part of the latter and passed an act which merely, in expressed terms, authorized the corporation to exercise such legal rights as it already possessed in laying its pipes in that street "lawfully" and "peaceably," or by "lawful" and "peaceful" means? Necessarily and obviously that would leave open the whole question of whether to dig up the street and occupy it was legal or illegal. Such an enactment would have only one effect, and that to refer the controversy back into the courts and to leave the corporation exactly where it started, except that it would have been shorn of some of its substantial rights. So the labor people came to this Congress claiming certain rights denied them by the courts, and Congress not only placed drastic limitations upon the rights so claimed and as heretofore exercised, but enlarged the powers of the courts and sent them back into the courts to obtain a readjudication, according to preexisting decisions, of the rights thus newly circumscribed and limited.

I come now to a general provision consented to after prolonged negotiations between labor leaders and Democratic members of the Judiciary Committee, involving frequent trips to the White House. "And no such restraining order or injunction shall prohibit any person or persons, whether singly or in concert, from * * * doing any act or thing which might lawfully be done in the absence of such dispute, by any party thereto; * * *." The most general statement that I can make about this clause is that it is wholly abortive. I have given it considerable thought, turning it this way and that in the light of other provisions, and it still appears to me wholly innocuous and devoid of legal effect. Perhaps I could not truly so state were it not for the presence here of that constantly recurring word "lawfully." Its presence completely thwarts any such construction as would relieve labor from the menace of injunctions and restraining orders against them otherwise refer-

able to that clause. The use of the term "lawfully" throws every question that could possibly arise under this clause back into the domain of judicial decisions heretofore rendered, and it still remains for the courts to determine what any person or persons may lawfully do "in the absence of such dispute by any party thereto."

I have likewise carefully studied the clause with which the section ends, "nor shall any of the acts specified in this paragraph be considered or held to be violations of any law of the United States." This has been broadly claimed to contain preservative values, but no one has been able; or if able, has thought it worth while to specify what such values are. Even if it made any change in existing laws, the courts would, to say the least, be very reluctant to give effect to amendments attempted in a form so slovenly and inept. Under the Constitution Congress can not, of course, dictate to the courts how they shall construe and apply existing laws to a given fact. But I may pass that by without stopping to argue it in the presence of a more obvious and tenable objection. What act specified in this paragraph is now, or ever was, violative of any law of the United States? You could search in vain for any. There is not a line of Federal statutory law applicable to one of them per se. What law, then, that bears on them at all consists of precedents founded on general principles of jurisprudence analogous to the common law of England? Not one of these subjects is mentioned in any law of the United States. I may, however, end the discussion of this clause by a reductio ad absurdum in the form of a question. How can any act which must be lawful and peaceful violate any law of the United States?

I shall dismiss the subject of jury trials in contempt cases, as provided for in the act, with only a few words. The exceptions contained in section 24 are exactly coextensive with the privilege granted in other sections. After taking out all cases in which the Federal Government is a party, all disobediences, "in the immediate presence of the court, or so near thereto as to obstruct the administration of justice," are also denied the privilege of jury trial. Whether or not knowledge that the courts had held that the administration of justice is obstructed by disobedience anywhere within reach of its process—meaning anywhere in the United States—was possessed by the framers and supporters of the bill is perhaps immaterial. At any rate, parties are, by the terms of the act, debarred the benefits of jury trials for all disobediences occurring anywhere in this country unless a court, in the exercise of its discretionary powers possessed prior to as well as since the act took effect, sees fit to call a jury.

I have reserved discussion of section 6 to the last, because of the blind and unreasoning faith in its efficacy which has, in certain quarters, found expression. Upon no subject within my recollection has there been such a waste of words. Fortunately for the peace and the welfare of the country, even if discreditable to the Congress which passed and the Executive which approved the act, section 6 is a mere meaningless string of words. It reads as follows:

SEC. 6. That the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce. Nothing contained in the antitrust laws shall be construed to forbid the existence and operation of labor, agricultural, or horticultural organizations, instituted for the purposes of mutual help, and not having capital stock or conducted for profit, or to forbid or restrain individual members of such organizations from lawfully carrying out the legitimate objects thereof; nor shall such organizations, or the members thereof, be held or construed to be illegal combinations or conspiracies in restraint of trade under the antitrust laws.

I shall dispose of the first sentence of the section very briefly. It has not the slightest relevancy to the balance of the section or to any other part of the act, or, in fact, to any conceivable idea which should be made the subject of legislation. What would be the sense of declaring in an act of legislation that honesty is the best policy or that a perfect square is equal to four right angles? Although contracts of employment have often been spoken of as sales of labor and mention has been often made of the labor market, the fact that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce in the same sense as tangible property has always been too well known to be made the subject of controversy. But if the idea were carried far enough to include the rewards of labor or contracts to serve, the expression would be very prejudicial to labor, in so far as Congress assumes to legislate in labor's interest at all, under the commerce clause. I failed to see in this utterance of mere abstract truth any justification for any of the threadbare "flubdubbery" and self-glorification uttered and sent out in the last campaign and subsequently. The whole performance was the setting up of a stuffed figure. The relation which I hold here to the Government is much the same as that of any wage earner to his employer; and yet, while it might ruffle my sensibilities a little if anyone mentioned it as a sale of my labor to the United States, it would so nearly describe the thing meant that I would render myself ridiculous if I resented it.

I have already fittingly characterized the main body of this section. I will omit agricultural and horticultural associations from the discussion as not being a subject of any interest whatever. Such associations never asked for exemption or for any such legislation, and it was the taking of coarse liberties to include them. That was done merely to sweeten the dose and to give a plausible appearance to legislation which was otherwise silly and absurd and which could not be justified.

How did the heresy of exemption of labor organizations originate? Certainly not from any intelligent or logical analysis or construction of the antitrust act. Not until within a few years has any one seriously insisted that the courts had applied the act to the labor organizations, as such, and in fact no court has ever done any such thing. The antitrust act embodies the wisdom of great minds, and, notwithstanding all the nonsense, the vague and senseless imputations to statesmen and judges, it is to-day, as at first, a regulation of men and other units solely with respect to such of their conduct as comes within its provisions. If the members of an orthodox church should assemble, even in the church house, and resolve to commit arson by burning down all the saloons in the neighborhood and took any definite step to carry out that design, they would be, each individually and all collectively, chargeable with the crime of conspiracy. But that would not involve the church as an organized body or institution in the slightest degree. So when a labor union, or an aggregation of such, acting through officers and members, resolves to enter upon a course of conduct constituting a violation of a Federal statute—for instance, the antitrust act—they and they alone are, in like sense, conspirators and are justly chargeable with conspiracy. The union to which they belong, having other and legitimate objects, can not be in any legal sense implicated or affected by their conduct, notwithstanding their use of its name as a handle or shield. In cases brought into the courts unions and national organizations of labor have been without legal warrant impleaded as defendants along with the individuals who were the only culpable parties. And counsel for such individual defendants have, at the instigation of the latter, who usually were found in control of their organizations, allowed the cases to run their full course without taking advantage of the irregularity, as they might easily have done by demurring or pleading in abatement, because there never was any law or rule of Federal practice to justify making a mere voluntary association, not organized for profit, a party to any action, civil or criminal. There were two reasons for allowing their organizations to stand as defendants without taking advantage of their clear legal rights: First, it gave them a color of authority for laying assessments upon the memberships to reimburse themselves for outlays in making their defense and paying lawyers their fees. It is easy now to see why their "eminent counsel," living on dues and assessments, have shown a willingness to sit into such a "skin game." The second reason was that the fact that the organizations were actually sued and impleaded by name—for instance, in suits brought under the antitrust act—enabled the headmen of such organizations to pull the wool over the eyes of Congressmen and Senators who gave the subject no serious or analytical study.

If the sound and otherwise unanswerable argument was made that the antitrust act was never in fact applied by the courts to labor unions or to their members pursuing legitimate objects, their "eminent counsel" came back with citations of these same cases in which unions and national federations had been actually sued by name. They would say, "There you are; you say it can not be done, but here it was done." So, in the case of the United States against Amalgamated Labor Association, and in Bucks Stove & Range Co. against American Federation of Labor et al., a mere motion or demurrer would have led to expurgation of those organizations from the record and have left the culpable individuals to fight their own legal battles, and incidentally pay their own "eminent counsel." But in the latter case, at any rate, no such motion was made or action taken, because the very pendency of an action of such magnitude, with the organization standing by name in the record as a defendant, lent color of authority and regularity to the assessment upon the entire membership and the collection from them of a large sum.

The persistency of error, the longevity of a social mania or delerium, are sources of human woe and wonderment the world over. Who could believe, were it not a cold, indelible fact that an eminent lawyer, a former candidate of his party for the Presidency, had appeared before a committee of Congress, and after falsely but solemnly asserting that the Sherman Act

had been so construed as to embrace labor organizations, followed such assertion with friendly partisan advice to the effect that this fraudulent, colorless, impotent section 6 had accomplished their emancipation? In stating that he did so, I merely am giving you a rescript of the RECORD, which anyone caring to do so can see for himself.

I do not care to read from the decisions, or even to cite them by volume and page. Not to advertise my own moderate achievements, but in order that the record may be completed and kept straight I will mention that at the last preceding session of this Congress, and near its close, I called attention to the makeshift character and utter futility of all the so-called labor sections of this act, giving ample reasons. The interval has been brief; but within the short period of four months the courts have "driven coaches and fours" through it all and especially through the section which I am now discussing. I have already mentioned some of the decisions, but I have said little about the Hatters' case (Loewe *v.* Lawler), wherein a judgment in favor of the plaintiffs for nearly $300,000 was recently affirmed in the Supreme Court. Among the solemn assertions of Mr. Gompers and his aforesaid "eminent counsel" is this—that now that section 6 has been enacted no such decisions as that in the Hatters' case can ever be given again. They may intend to discredit the courts in advance, or they may be trying to accomplish some temporary political end. However that may be, let's examine for a moment the foundation of their seemingly abundant faith. The section, like several other provisions of the act, attempts to construe a prior act of Congress, and would probably be for that reason alone wholly abortive. Waiving for the moment that obvious defect, let us look at the actual meaning and net result. I deem it sufficient to merely call attention to a few words. The language is that the anti-trust act shall not be construed "to forbid" the existence and operation of certain organizations, instituted so and so, or to forbid or restrain individual members of such organizations from "lawfully" carrying out the "legitimate" objects thereof. According to all the lexicographers, the term "legitimate," as here used, is the exact exponent and equivalent of "lawful." The concluding clause "nor shall such organizations, or the members thereof, be held or construed to be illegal combinations or conspiracies in restrain of trade under the anti-trust laws," is mere surplusage. It adds nothing to what precedes.

Now, it ought to seem too plain for argument that an act of legislation which merely authorizes a man or a body of men to "lawfully" carry out their "legitimate" purposes is mere drivel. Our friends, the labor leaders, and if not they, at any rate their thousands of intelligent adherents throughout the country will soon realize that in the Clayton Act they have not received a new freedom, nor even a sound lemon, but about the worst double-crossing to be found anywhere in legislative annals.

Unallotted Lands of the Creek Nation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES H. BURKE,
OF SOUTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 3 (legislative day of Tuesday, March 2,) 1915,

On joint resolution (H. J. Res. 380) withholding from allotment the unallotted lands or public domain of the Creek Nation or Tribe of Indians, and providing for the sale thereof, and for other purposes.

Mr. BURKE of South Dakota. Mr. Speaker, my only interest in the pending resolution is, first, the interests of the Indians of the Creek Nation as a whole, and secondly, the interests of the Federal Government. I am not concerned about the Black Panther Oil Co., referred to by the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL], nor am I concerned about the other oil operators, speculators, and promoters in Oklahoma and elsewhere that are striving to prevent the passage of this resolution to enable them to acquire for a nominal consideration lands of great value belonging to the Creek Nation.

Mr. Speaker, one would get the impression in listening to the debate on the part of those who have opposed this resolution that it is a proposition intended to deprive five persons, members of the Creek Nation, of the right to allotments, and that its passage will thereby do a great injustice to such persons. The resolution does not refer to any individual, neither will its enactment affect the vested right of any member of the Creek Nation. The resolution simply provides that the unallotted lands on the public domain of the Creek Nation or Tribe of Indians, including any lands the title to which has been or may be recovered by the nation in any pending suit or otherwise, shall be withheld from allotment. In other words, its enactment will simply withhold such lands to be disposed of by the Secretary of the Interior for the benefit of the Creek Nation as a whole, and if any person entitled to an allotment is deprived from taking one, he shall be compensated therefor by being paid from the tribal funds a certain sum in lieu of an allotment, the same as was done in the last session of Congress when certain persons entitled to enrollment in the Creek Nation were put upon the rolls by a provision in the Indian appropriation act.

Mr. Speaker, if this resolution is adopted and becomes a law it will not affect the individual interests of any member of the Creek Nation so far as any vested right in an allotment is concerned. If there are persons duly enrolled that have not been allotted and have made an application for an allotment, and if a mere application is all that is required to acquire a vested right in the land applied for, the passage of this resolution will not and can not affect them any more than it will affect the 18,712 members of the tribe who were allotted several years ago and who have their trust patents.

In order that there may be no misunderstanding as to what this resolution provides, I wish to read it. It will be noted that the only change proposed in the resolution by the motion of the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. MURRAY] to suspend the rules, amend, and pass it is that the amount as compensation for and in lieu of an allotment is increased from $800 to $1,040. This is the resolution:

That the unallotted land or public domain of the Creek Nation or Tribe of Indians, including any land the title to which has been or may be recovered for the Creek Nation in any pending or other suit or otherwise, be, and the same is hereby, withheld from allotment to members of said nation or tribe, and that the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized, in his discretion, to cause such land to be sold or leased for the benefit of the Creek Nation or Tribe of Indians under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe, the proceeds of such sale or lease to be paid into the Treasury of the United States to the credit of said Creek Nation: *Provided*, That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay any citizen of the Creek Nation of Indians of Oklahoma who was duly and legally enrolled on the final citizenship rolls of said nation on or prior to March 4, 1907, who has not received an allotment of land or who may have been allotted and deprived of the land by reason of contest or otherwise, the sum of $800, as compensation for and in lieu of an allotment of land, out of any moneys in the Treasury of the United States to the credit of said Creek Nation.

Mr. Speaker, the original Creek agreement of March 8, 1900, provided for the allotment of the lands belonging to said nation, section 3 of said agreement being as follows:

SEC. 3. All lands of said tribe, except as herein provided, shall be allotted among the citizens of said tribe by said commission so as to give each an equal share of the whole in value, as nearly as may be, in manner following: There shall be allotted to each citizen 160 acres of land—boundaries to conform to the Government survey—which may be selected by him so as to include improvements which belong to him. One hundred and sixty acres of land, valued at $6.50 per acre, shall constitute the standard value of an allotment, and shall be the measure for the equalization of values; and any allottee receiving lands of less than such standard value may, at any time, select other lands which at their appraised value are sufficient to make his allotment equal in value to the standard so fixed.

It will be observed that the law contemplated that allotments should be made with a view to equalization of values, and I may say that this is the only instance where the law with relation to allotting lands to Indians contemplated that they should be made on such a basis. The theory upon which allotments of land have universally been made to Indians has been equality as to area, and an Indian was permitted to take land of his selection regardless as to whether it was equal in value to the land selected by some other member of the tribe. The lands of the Creek Nation were appraised by the Dawes Commission for the purposes of distribution, and $6.50 per acre constituted the standard value. The supplemental agreement made with the Creek Nation and ratified by the act of June 30, 1902, retained the maximum value at $6.50 per acre for allotting purposes. It was the intention of the law that after all the Indians had been allotted, and the law so provided, the surplus lands should be disposed of and the proceeds used first to equalize allotments by paying to those who had received less than $1,040 in value of land the difference between that amount and the value of the land that they had received; then any balance remaining would be distributed equally among all the members of the nation.

By subsequent acts of Congress, and at the instance of the Creek Nation, acting through its tribal council, children born after the original allotment act was passed were added to the rolls and were allotted as new borns, and several thousand were allotted. This resulted in appropriating so much land that the proceeds from the sale of the surplus was not sufficient to pro-

duce enough money to equalize the allotments on a $1,040 basis, and as a result there has been presented a claim on the part of the Creek Nation against the United States of an amount of three or four million dollars, and it was proposed to appropriate from the Treasury of the United States and pay to said nation that amount. This claim, known as the Creek equalization claim, has passed the Senate on more than one occasion, and had it not been strenuously resisted in the House it would have become a law before this time, providing for taking the amount I have named from the Treasury of the United States, and incidentally certain attorneys would have received fees aggregating three or four hundred thousand dollars. If the pending resolution becomes a law, and the lands of the Creek Nation undisposed of and those that may be recovered in pending suits are withheld from allotment and sold, they will produce enough money to equalize allotments and thereby relieve the Federal Government from any possible liability or claim such as is being urged, and therefore it will be seen that the Government of the United States has a direct and a substantial interest in the passage of this resolution. All persons entitled to receive allotments were supposed to have been allotted several years ago, and, in fact, were allotted; but it seems that there are five members of the nation that had sought allotments that were contested, and they were defeated, and therefore are without allotments. Their status is practically the same as those that were added to the rolls by the provision in the Indian appropriation bill approved August 1, 1914, and Congress, in authorizing their enrollment, instead of directing that they be allotted, provided that they be paid $800 each as compensation for and in lieu of an allotment of land, and that is what this resolution proposes as to the five persons before referred to, except it is proposed in the amendment offered by the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. MURRAY] to increase the amount to $1,040.

In order that the House may understand the importance of this proposition and what is involved, I will briefly state the conditions that suggest the necessity for the passage of the pending resolution. There have been valuable oil discoveries in the Creek Nation, and the Cushing field is said to be one of the most valuable oil discoveries anywhere in the country, and therefore the land in that field has suddenly become very valuable, and naturally there has been a clamor on the part of speculators and others to obtain oil leases or the title of allotments, and it is not surprising under the circumstances that such a condition should arise, in view of the great possibilities that exist there for making money. I have no disposition or desire to discredit anyone who may be seeking an opportunity to get a foothold in that Cushing field. Before oil was discovered the land where the Cushing field is located had but a nominal value, and originally many of the allotments were arbitrarily made in that section by the commission to such Indians as had refused to select or accept allotments for themselves, and as such persons were the last to be allotted, they very naturally were given lands of the least value. In the making of this class of allotments, due to duplications and mistakes in names and from other causes, it is alleged that five tracts were erroneously and illegally allotted, and suits have been brought in the United States Court for the Eastern District of Oklahoma on behalf of and by the Creek Nation to have such allotments canceled and the lands restored to the nation. Suits are also pending in said court involving the title of the Creek Nation to the beds of the Arkansas and Cimarron Rivers, and it is estimated that the property involved in these suits is worth approximately $22,000,000. The value of the lands that are sought to be recovered because of the five erroneous, fictitious, or illegal allotments is estimated at from five to seven million dollars, so there is involved property of a value of about $30,000,000, and this resolution proposes to withhold all of the lands from allotment in order that they may be sold for the benefit of the Creek Nation. The five persons that we have heard so much about in this debate and who it is said will be done an injustice if this resolution passes are, as I have already stated, persons who originally took allotments but elected to select lands over which there was a contest, and for that reason they failed to get allotments. There was, however, ample opportunity for them to have taken other lands had they so desired, as there were undisposed of lands belonging to the nation that were subject to allotment, but apparently they did not care to exercise their rights, as such lands were not considered of much value.

Now, when the Creek Nation have instituted a suit to recover some land alleged to have been illegally allotted, the lands said to be worth not less than $1,000,000 for each tract, it is proposed that these five persons shall have the right to take them after the nation bears the expenses of prosecuting the pending suits to a successful and final determination. There would be more merit in the proposition if there was any chance or likelihood of these five persons being the chief beneficiaries if they were to be given the lands, but it so happens that such is not the case, and that the real parties in interest are oil speculators who are seeking to acquire the lands by using these persons as stool pigeons or instruments to accomplish their purpose.

Mr. Speaker, the representative of these tentative allottees, so far as I know, is a gentleman of high character. He now resides in Oklahoma and formerly resided in the State of Virginia in the congressional district of the gentleman from that State [Mr. WATSON] who so earnestly advocated that this resolution ought not to pass, assuming to speak for the five members of the Creek Nation. The gentleman I refer to as the representative of these tentative allottees is Mr. M. V. Thraves, of Tulsa, Okla. Mr. Thraves appeared before the committee, threw his cards on the table, made a frank statement of his interest in the matter, and apparently did not attempt to deceive the committee. In his opening statement to the committee, as it appears on page 116 of the hearings, he said:

I represent the interests of Lulu Butler, Jack Eldon Wilson, Millard Sanders, and my own as lessee under them.

He went on and said:

In the case of Lulu Butler, who had been allotted in 1899 by the department, and who had fought her case for 14 years before the department, before the referee, and to the United States District Court of Oklahoma, to the Supreme Court of Oklahoma, where she lost it, and had started it the second time and lost it in the lower court of Oklahoma, I desire to say that her attorneys, after she lost her case the second time and after 13 years of litigation—expensive litigation—began to look around to see if there was not some disposition that could be made of the Lula Butler matter. She was Lula Walcott when she started, when she was allotted. They communicated to me, in talking it over, that there was some land in the Creek Nation, and perhaps in the vicinity of producing oil wells, that was open for allotment—in other words, had been allotted to citizens not in being, and was void for the reason there was no party to whom title could pass; therefore, title never having left the Creek Nation, this would be public domain. I knew that, and the attorneys for Lula Butler made an engagement to have her and her husband meet me in an interview in Muskogee. Lula Butler has been a school-teacher all her life, nearly. She married Dr. Butler, who is a very intelligent physician and a good business man in many ways. He is a man highly educated, although a negro, a graduate from a negro university in Missouri and others. They met me and we had an interview, and after considering the matter for two or three weeks they decided that they would accept a proposition from me of $10,000 for an allotment of 140 acres.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that the amount they were entitled to?

Mr. THRAVES. Yes. Lula Butler had already received 20 acres. They gave her a 160-acre allotment, but she had lost the 140 in a contest with one Garrett. I made them an offer. They filed upon the land and took some time to consider and look around to see if they could do better. My offer was $10,000. They finally told me—they called me up, I think, and wrote me also and asked me to come over and consummate the deal. I went over. We entered into an agreement, approved by their attorney, to the effect that I should pay them $10,000 and undertake to clear the title to this land, bearing all of the expenses, attorney fees, and all other expenses pertaining to the litigation, and give them $10,000.

Mr. NORTON. Did you pay them $10,000 outright?

Mr. THRAVES. I had to pay them $2,500 cash and the balance in 30 days after the certificate of allotment was issued; in other words, after the title was quieted in them, and bear all expenses, which I did. But in order to encourage the colored woman and her husband and show them that I wanted to be fair with them, I told them that this land might eventually have oil upon it, although at that time there was no oil there. It was in the oil field, however, and I told them I would give them one-eighth royalty on 20 acres and $10,000 for the 120. Now, that was my own proposition, which they accepted. They later on made a lease with me, perhaps a month after they had made the contract on the 120.

After entering into a tentative arrangement with Lula Butler Mr. Thraves stated, and I quote from the hearings, page 118:

I went down into the jungles of McIntosh County, Okla., and found a woman who had filed originally as Hettie Lena on a tract of land and had been arbitrarily filed by the department as Emma Coker on another tract of land, that being located in the oil fields. I found that she had sold her 120 acres surplus of the original allotment as Hettie Lena and had leased her 40-acre homestead. So I went down there and induced her to quitclaim the Emma Coker land back to the Creek Nation.

Further on in the hearings, on the same page, he said:

I afterwards filed Lula Butler on the land. Then she made a contract and I proceeded at once to try to get it allotted to Lula Butler, and I came here to Washington before the department to do it.

In view of these statements, it will appear beyond any question that Lula Butler has a very small interest in the land that she is seeking, and that the principal party in interest is Mr. Thraves, formerly from Virginia.

Mr. Thraves, before the committee, explained his arrangements with Jack Eldon Wilson, another of the tentative allottees, and also Millard Sanders, and anyone who wishes to know exactly what he stated can ascertain by referring to the hearings.

His relation to the matter is summed up in his reply to a question submitted by Mr. NORTON, of the Indian Committee, which is found on page 121 of the hearings, as follows:

Mr. NORTON. Without questioning the good faith and propriety, isn't it a fact that you or the interests that you represent in this matter discovered that in this Cushing field there are some allotments that were not legally taken; that you made this discovery after investigation and

then you proceeded to discover some parties whom you might get to make entries on these allotments? Isn't that the whole gist of it?

Mr. THRAVES. That is the beginning of it.

I think I have shown beyond the question of a doubt that instead of this being a proposition to deprive five helpless Indians in the Creek Nation of the right to take an allotment, it is a proposition, if the resolution is not passed, to allow certain individuals not members of the nation to obtain very valuable property for their own benefit, whereas if the resolution is passed the lands that may be recovered by the suits now pending instituted by the Creek Nation may be disposed of and sold and the proceeds distributed among the members of said nation, and, incidentally, the United States will be relieved of the possibility of having to appropriate three or four million dollars in order to equalize the allotments of the Creek Indians.

In conclusion, I want to say just a word with reference to the effect of this resolution, if it is passed, as to the five tentative allottees. They have each filed an application for the lands involved in the suits that are pending to cancel the fictitious and illegal allotments, and if their filings give them a vested right, then the passage of this resolution will affect them in no manner, as it is beyond the power of Congress to legislate to divest an Indian of a vested right that he may have by reason of an allotment. My own opinion is that no vested rights have accrued, first, because pending the existence of the allotments that are being attacked, no right can attach until after they are canceled; and, furthermore, before a right of allotment can vest in a member of the Creek Nation something more than a mere application on the part of an Indian is necessary. Under the law a certificate of allotment must be issued. No certificates of allotment have been issued in any of these cases, and the Interior Department has refused to issue a certificate, and therefore no vested rights have attached; therefore, the passage of this resolution will simply have the effect of withholding from allotment all of the lands belonging to the Creek Nation that have not been allotted or that may be recovered in the pending suits. The courts have uniformly held that it is within the plenary power of Congress to change a law with reference to the disposition of tribal property, and that is all that is proposed by the pending resolution. No one can say that where the law contemplated that the maximum value of an allotment should be $1,040 it would be fair to allot to one member of the nation lands known to be worth $1,000,000; and considering that in fact it is a matter in which private individuals are mostly concerned, and that the rights of the Creek Nation should be conserved and the interests of the Government of the United States protected, I submit that this resolution ought to pass.

Sugar Refining Trust Duplicity.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT F. BROUSSARD,
OF LOUISIANA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. BROUSSARD. Mr. Speaker, the Members of this House on yesterday received a circular letter sent out by the Federal Sugar Refining Co. and signed by F. C. Lowry, its sales manager, in which the following appeared:

For political purposes Congressman BROUSSARD recently stated:

"Refiners told Congress, and Congress believed the refiners, that if the sugar duties were reduced consumers would receive the advantage of the reduction. On March 1 Congress reduced the then existing duties 25 per cent, and for not a single moment from that day to this has the consumer paid as little money for his sugar as he did before the reduction."

Curiously enough, next day Gov. Carter, of Hawaii, Congressman BROUSSARD's ally in the effort to retain the high duties on sugar, more correctly stated the situation as follows:

"In fact, the war in Europe has made the last year the most phenomenal year in the history of sugar growers. In April, 1914, we got the lowest price for sugar in 20 years."

I will not dignify this miserable scribbler by directing the attention of the House to him further than to recall that when he began to circularize Congress as the mouthpiece of the refiners, some years ago, he posed and signed himself "Secretary" of the "Committee of wholesale grocers, formed to assist in obtaining cheaper sugar for consumers through reduction of duties on raw and refined sugars."

He was afterwards compelled to admit, under oath before an investigating committee of this House, that this committee had never held a meeting, even of two members; that not even a penny of dues had ever been paid into it by the alleged members; that he had elected himself secretary and treasurer; and that his employer (Spreckels) had financed it by contributing approximately $30,000 to circulate the fraudulent and untruthful literature with which he deluged Congress and the country. That piece of deception was in keeping with the dishonest practices that have always been pursued by the Sugar Refining Combine.

Mr. Speaker, I resent this effort by the Sugar Refining Trust to impugn my motives on the eve of my departure from this House.

At noon to-day I leave this body to take my place at the other end of the Capitol, after 18 years of service spent within these walls.

But a handful of the present membership, yourself included, Mr. Speaker, has seen similar length of service, but I believe those of you with whom I have dedicated the best part of my life here in the interest of my State will bear witness that throughout these years I have been making this same fight for a principle.

In it has been bound up the very existence of my people. Two years ago upon this very issue the people of my State in a Democratic primary selected me for Senator as a Democrat. A solid Democratic legislature unanimously confirmed that decision and elected me to the Senate upon this issue, which is so vital to Louisiana.

In that contest I was opposed by two of the ablest and most influential men in my State.

One of them had been for 10 years a Member of this body and had justly attained a national reputation for his service as chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency.

The other had filled almost every office in the gift of the people. He had been elected successively as member of the legislature, speaker of the house, lieutenant governor, governor, and United States Senator for the term which expires to-day.

It has been a matter of pride to me, Mr. Speaker, that in the 18 years I have been here fighting for the principle which the Sugar Trust now seeks to impugn, I have never had an opponent within my own party save in the first election and in the last one after I had been elected to the United States Senate to take my seat at the end of the present Congress.

The attempt of this great cuttlefish to muddy the waters and hide its own villainy will not succeed. The fight that I have been carrying on against it here will be, I assume, carried on by others; but in the Senate I propose to dedicate what energy and ability I may possess to seeing that it is brought to book for its many offenses against the American farmer, the American consumer, and the Federal Treasury.

When they began to poison the public mind a few years ago they caused millions of circulars to be sent not only to the business men, but to the housewives of the country, in which it was stated:

There is probably no article handled by the wholesale and retail grocers on such a small margin of profit as sugar, so that any reduction in the tariff would immediately result in a corresponding reduction in the price of sugar to the consumer, who would thus receive all the benefit from the reduced rate. No objection can therefore be made against a reduction in the tariff on the ground that the difference in the tax on sugar would go to the refiners or the dealers handling it.

The public benefits from cheaper sugar would not end with reducing the cost of that article to the consumer. Under the present tariff the relatively high cost of sugar seriously burdens our great fruit canning and preserving industries, and by increasing the cost of these products limits their consumption in this country and practically prohibits exportations on a large scale.

They pasted their fraudulent statements, intended solely to deceive, upon the head of every barrel that left the refinery and inserted in every pound package of sugar a circular saying that if the duty was removed the housewife could secure that same sugar at a saving of 2 cents a pound.

Millions of people were deceived. A great clamor arose throughout the country for cheaper sugar, and while the work of revising the tariff was in progress these refiners sold their output at a loss in order to further the deception. They knew they could make up their losses later after Congress had been trapped.

This is proven by the course of this identical Federal Sugar Refining Co. It lost so much money during its campaign for "cheap sugar" that it was compelled to skip the usual dividend on its common stock; and on January 7, 1914, its president, Claus A. Spreckels, Lowry's employer, issued a statement in which he explained the suspension of the dividend by saying:

This is due to the fact that during the past few months the margin between the cost of raw sugar and the price at which refined sugar has sold has been too small to justify a dividend on the entire capital stock.

The company will resume the payment of dividends on its common stock as soon as the normal difference between the price of raw and refined sugars is restored, and the directors believe that such a resumption will occur very soon.

They knew precisely when this resumption would occur, since that event depended solely upon the determination of this same refining combine. Yet in the tissue of falsehood issued yesterday this statement was made:

During the first six months of 1914 consumers in the United States bought their sugar lower than ever before, the average price of refined sugar being 3.91 cents per pound. * * * This was a matter of general comment, and was equally gratifying to manufacturers and consumers.

The duplicity practiced by the Sugar Refining Trust as soon as the European war broke out was explained to this House by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORDNEY] a few days ago.

They seized upon it as the opportunity not only to recoup all the losses that had been incurred while campaigning for "cheaper sugar" but to add millions to their already swollen and tainted fortunes.

They doled out a barrel of sugar to each retailer in August on the pretext that their supplies were limited, but in October, when they attempted to dragoon the Louisiana farmers into accepting less for their crop than it was worth, they brazenly exhibited warehouses in all the distributing centers which were glutted with sugar.

One of the most infamous features of the unwarranted rise they forced in the price of sugar last summer was the loss they occasioned the housewives and farmers of this country. They began forcing up sugar early in August, when the good women of America were on the eve of canning and preserving fruits and vegetables for the coming year. As a result of this chicanery thousands of tons of fruit were allowed to spoil, millions of dollars were wasted, and the very people whom they had deceived into believing that they would furnish cheaper sugar were made the victims of their greed.

But such practices on the part of the Sugar Refining Trust which is now seeking to cast a doubt upon my motives are not to be wondered at, when it is remembered that the United States Attorney General in a recent report charged them with having practiced "a long-continued system of defrauding the Government of unparalleled depravity."

In this attack upon me the refining interests say:

Curiously enough, the next day, Gov. Carter, of Hawaii, Congressman BROUSSARD'S ally in the effort to retain the high duties on sugar, more correctly stated the situation. * * *

I am proud to number such a splendid specimen of sturdy American manhood as Gov. George R. Carter, of Hawaii, among my personal friends, but I never discussed the sugar situation with Gov. Carter, save once in my life, and that only subsequent to the issuance of the governor's and my statements quoted by Lowry.

The people of Hawaii have not been cooperating with the cane-sugar growers of Louisiana, Texas, and Porto Rico in the death struggle they are now engaged in with the Sugar Refining Trust, and while I believe that all the sugar-producing interests under the American flag will eventually realize the wisdom of standing together and presenting a united front to their common enemy, yet there is no more truth in designating Gov. Carter as my ally in the sense intended by the refiners' circular than there is in many of the other false statements with which they have persistently sought to deceive Congress and the consuming public.

Proper Investigation of Personal Rural Credit Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIS J. HULINGS,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. HULINGS. Mr. Speaker, the experience of those in control of this Congress in the matter of land-mortgage credit should be a lesson to those who advocate personal or short-time loans to farmers. It is my candid opinion that the subject will never be properly handled except after full and scientific study. The reports of a junketing committee sent abroad to study foreign methods utterly incompatible with American needs is useless.

I am glad to know that there have been several resolutions pending in this House, and one in the Senate, providing for a fair and scientific investigation of personal rural credit. Those resolutions, which are known as the Sheppard and Candler-Doolittle-Helgesen resolutions, provide for the creation of a committee before which farmers or organizations of farmers may appear by experts with bills for the establishment of a personal credit system for our farming classes and not only establish the merits of their own bills but show or point out the defects of other bills. It also provides that every interest affected by such bills may appear and oppose or advocate any bill presented to the commission. The farmer has to meet the banker, but it is far better that he meet the banker in open court with his own expert than to meet him in the secret lobby or caucus. Publicity is the only way in which the farmers will ever get their deserts in this important matter. I therefore unhesitatingly say that it is a great mistake that this Congress does not give the farmers the benefit of this investigation as proposed by those resolutions, and if we could get a vote on them they would certainly have mine.

I believe that one of the most important rights granted under the Constitution is the right of petition. The representatives of some of the leading farm papers of the country, the largest in the world, have petitioned the chairmen of the Banking and Currency Committees indorsing this method of investigation. Several thousand farmers of Virginia did so last fall. The legislative committee of the National Grange has indorsed it, besides leading representatives of the Farmers' Union. Even if this method of investigation did not appeal to my judgment, the fact that it has been asked for by such leading representatives of the farm press and farmers' organizations is enough for me to say that it should be granted, because the appropriation asked to put it in force is only $9,000. An excellent plan, I think, is that proposed by Mr. HELGESEN in House joint resolution 430, a copy of which follows:

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 430) to authorize the Committees on Agriculture of the Senate and House to investigate a system of rural personal credit.

Whereas none of the several rural-credit investigating bodies appointed by Congress within the past few years has drafted a personal rural-credit bill; and

Whereas personal rural credit is more necessary than a land-mortgage system, although such system is good so far as it goes; and

Whereas nearly every highly civilized country has in successful operation a personal rural-credit system through which the farmers of those countries obtain credit for productive purposes at low rates of interest and in sufficient amounts to enable them to produce agricultural products more economically than is done in this country, even though our farmers possess many natural advantages not enjoyed by them; and

Whereas the great European war now being waged is wasting capital at a rate never before approached, which condition is bound to result in materially affecting the world's capital and credit markets; and the American farmers having no organized credit machinery, it naturally follows that their interests will suffer more than any other interests in the country and make it more difficult for them to obtain credit in the future than it has been in the past; and

Whereas the function of a body to investigate a scientific question like credit is judicial in character and not legislative in any sense, because its chief mission is to ascertain the truth to form the basis of sound legislation, just as it is the mission of the court to ascertain the truth to form the basis of its judgment, and the function of an investigating body being judicial in character, it follows that its machinery should conform to that of other judicial bodies, which provides that the interested parties may appear in open court and establish the merits of their respective contentions; and if the selfishly interested parties are brought into court to fight out their own battles, in an orderly manner and on fair terms prescribed by the commission, then the Members of Congress would not be charged with representing any special interest: Therefore be it

Resolved, etc., That the Committees on Agriculture of the Senate and House of Representatives are hereby authorized, through a subcommittee, to investigate and hold hearings on such personal rural-credit bills as may be presented to them, in the manner hereinafter more specifically set forth, and make a report thereof not later than the 10th day of December next.

SEC. 2. That such subcommittee or investigating body, which is hereinafter referred to as the commission, shall hold its hearings and investigations in such manner that will permit persons who, in the commission's opinion, have sufficient authoritative backing to present bills for a personal rural-credit system in the United States to the commission and appear before them by experts of their own selection to establish the merits of their respective bills and to disprove any provisions contained in bills not presented by themselves. The commission shall notify at least one leading representative of every interest affected by such bills, including the president of the American Bankers' Association, of his privilege to appear before the commission by an expert of his own selection and to advocate or oppose any bill presented, who shall enjoy the same rights and privileges before the commission as the experts of the proponents.

SEC. 3. That it shall be the further duty of the commission to send for persons and papers; to administer oaths; to summon and compel the attendance of witnesses and have the same examined by themselves or by the representatives of the parties at interest appearing before them, or both; to adopt rules of procedure and the same to amend; and to employ such secretaries, experts, stenographers, and other assistants as shall be necessary to carry out the purposes for which the commission was created.

SEC. 4. That the members of the commission shall receive no compensation for their services on the commission except traveling expenses incurred while attending to the duties imposed under this act.

SEC. 5. That the sum of $9,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this act and to defray the expenses of the commission, is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated. Such appropriation shall be immediately available and shall be paid out on the audit and order of the chairman or acting chairman of said commission, which audit and order shall be conclusive and binding upon all departments as to the correctness of the accounts of said commission.

Agricultural Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WYATT AIKEN,
OF SOUTH CAROLINA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 3 (legislative day of Tuesday, March 2), 1915.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. Speaker, I want to turn for a little while from the more or less disagreeable discussion of how to tax our people, to the more profitable discussion of how to feed and clothe them, how to feed and clothe other nations at a profit, and how to meet some of the taxes we are levying.

The European war has furnished a golden opportunity to many industries in the United States. It has increased the price of farm products in all sections of the United States, save one, and of that section I have the honor of being one of the Representatives here in Congress.

By reason of the fact that cotton constitutes practically the entire money crop of the South and cotton manufacturing has been paralyzed outside the United States as a result of the war, our people have suffered financial embarrassment that is little short of calamity. While I know this embarassment is only temporary, and when it is overcome, will effect a new era of prosperity such as the South has never before enjoyed, the immediate result has been the loss of millions of dollars to southern people.

Our people made appeal to Congress, but they found little sympathy except from the Representatives from the section where the blow had fallen; and some were even disposed to chide them for sticking to the one-crop idea. Nothing more than aid to bridge their troubles temporarily was asked and this was denied.

The southern people are wedded to cotton. They have clung to it through all of its vicissitudes when it varied in price from 4 cents per pound to 40. They have covered their homes with mortgages trying to raise it at half the cost of production, and they have as readily lifted those mortgages with the improved price of the staple during the last 10 years. And I do not hesitate to say now that cotton will continue to be the leading farm product in the South. There is no crop that pays better there, and there is none that pays as well in any other section of the United States. That the southern farmer is to-day laboring under the weight of debts incurred in producing a cotton crop for which he might reasonably have expected 12½ cents per pound is no fault of his. There is in it no error of calculation, no serious error of method of farming, but only an unforeseen calamity against which he could not have guarded and of which he could not possibly have been warned. However, the southern farmer has been taught a wholesome lesson, and the combination of mills and money sharks that has seized upon the war as a pretext to try to force his cotton out of his hands at starvation prices will rue the day that they forced the farmer to curtail his production abnormally. The present supply, under normal conditions, is not equal to the demand, and as sure as fate it will be much less for all time to come, when the Southern farmer has found out to his satisfaction that diversification means less expense, more independence, and more clear money than the old one-crop idea.

While the greatest falling off of crop production will be this year, when the advantages of diversification and stock raising have been fully demonstrated, cotton will be reduced to smaller acreage for all time.

If American manufacturers, who have been holding out of the cotton market except at starvation prices fixed by themselves, remain much longer out of the present market, they may be forced to pay dearly even for the remainder of the present despised crop. There are some facts that every farmer knows, and if the manufacturer turns a deaf ear to them now the time is not far distant when they will be brought home to him in such a way that he can not ignore them. Succinctly stated, these facts are:

First. That 35 per cent of last year's cotton acreage is already planted or will be planted to grain.

Second. That merchants and bankers are not going to furnish supplies, except to the very best of their customers, to grow the present year's crop. They could not if they would.

Third. Hundreds of thousands of mules are being shipped out of the South and none are being brought in.

Fourth. Guano companies are not going to manufacture even 50 per cent of their normal output of fertilizers this year, and, if they do, farmers will not use 40 per cent of the fertilizer they used last year.

Knowing these conditions as I do, and I am not exaggerating them in the slightest, I confidently expect less than half a normal cotton crop to be raised during the year 1915. I know that cotton prices will go up again, and go perhaps much higher than they have gone in the last half century. And there is the very danger that I would have our people warned against. High-priced cotton is a seductive proposition, and I would not have the southern farmer for any reason, seen or unseen, fall again into a snare and become the prey of the very interests that should be most interested in saving the farm from ruin.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I would not presume to advise southern farmers of the best methods of diversification, nor do I blame them for sticking to cotton in the past. It is easy enough for any of us to see what is best to do; but I want the lesson brought home so clearly, brought home by disseminating knowledge obtained through expert agricultural tests, so forcibly that the farmer's intelligence will tie him to diversification for all time. When he is fully convinced of this, and when a thorough test has shown him increased yield per acre of all crops, cash from his cotton equal perhaps even to his largest crop and home-raised food for man and beast besides, he will then be in position to have something to say about what price shall be paid for his products.

The Agricultural Department of the United States is maintained at great expense to give the farmer just exactly that aid that I am not competent to give him and that advice that I would not presume to give him. I have selected certain data from agricultural bulletins as bear directly on the question of diversified crops. I think so well of the selections that I am going to ask permission to reprint them as a part of my remarks in order to bring them directly to the attention of farmers of South Carolina.

These side crops are treated under separate heads, and the first to which I would direct attention is alfalfa.

Alfalfa is being grown in the county in which I live as successfully as it can be grown anywhere in the world. Its use and its value as a stock food are so fully shown in the excerpts given below that I will not undertake to comment on it or any of the subsequent subjects treated. They speak best for themselves.

ALFALFA.

So far as climate is concerned, alfalfa can be grown in every State in the Union.

A deep, permeable soil should be chosen if possible, as alfalfa is naturally a deep-feeding plant that usually sends its roots down many feet to obtain the plant food materials and moisture which are out of reach of shallow-rooted crops.

No other foliage crop requires less lime in the soil than does alfalfa.

Young alfalfa plants are very tender and are apt to be killed by weeds during their early stages of growth.

The time of seeding alfalfa varies in the different sections of the country, but late summer seeding is best in the East and South.

Dairy cows require high protein feeds in order to produce profitable flows of milk. The tests showed that with alfalfa hay at $10 a ton and wheat bran at $20 the saving effected by substituting alfalfa for wheat bran is $2.80 for every 100 pounds of butter and nearly 20 cents for every 100 pounds of milk.

Alfalfa forms probably the best roughage for fattening cattle, as its lack of bulkiness enables the animal to consume sufficient quantities for rapid gains.

Alfalfa is an ideal hay for sheep, but is apt to cause bloat if used for pasturage.

Alfalfa is fed to hogs for the most part in the green state, either as a soiling crop or as a pasture.

Alfalfa may be fed to horses both in the green state and as hay. Instances are on record where horses have performed heavy work during the summer season on nothing but green alfalfa.

Alfalfa makes an excellent feed for all kinds of poultry. They can be allowed the range of an alfalfa field during the summer or it can be cut green and fed to them.

Kentucky blue grass is apt to run out the alfalfa if this grass is used in the mixture in the blue-grass sections.

The following tabulation indicates the approximate cost and returns per acre:

Plowing	$2.00
Harrowing	1.00
Seed, 2½ pounds at $2	4.50
Seeding	.50
Harvesting, 3 tons at $2	6.00
Total	14.00
Three tons of alfalfa, at $15	45.00
Cost to be deducted	14.00
Profit	31.00

SOME ALFALFA DON'TS.

Don't fail to provide for ample inoculation; soil from an old alfalfa field is best.

Don't sow poor or weedy seed.

Don't sow on a weedy soil.

Don't sow on any but a sweet, well-limed soil.

Don't sow on poorly drained soil.

Don't sow on any but a finely prepared, well-settled seed bed.

Don't pasture the first or second year.

Don't lose the leaves; they constitute the best part of the hay.

Don't seed a large acreage to begin with. Experiment on a small area first.

Don't give up. Many prominent alfalfa growers finally succeeded only after many failures.

Alfalfa acts in a manner similar to red clover and other leguminous crops in increasing the yields of the succeeding crops.

SOY BEANS.

As a forage crop, however, soy beans have become of increasing importance in parts of the United States, especially southward. Their culture has greatly increased in recent years, especially in Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, and the southern part of Illinois and Indiana.

The soil requirements of soy beans are much the same as those of corn.

Throughout the South the proper bacteria for soy beans seem to be widely distributed, so that natural inoculation now occurs generally.

Soy bean hay when cut at the proper stage of growth and carefully cured is excellent, and for dairy cattle at least yields results equal to alfalfa hay.

The planting should be timed so that the crop can be cut for hay in September, as this month is usually the most satisfactory for haymaking. The cutting may begin as soon as the dew is off the plants and continue for the rest of the day.

While the hay is dry it should be put in good-sized stacks or under a shed. If it is stacked in the open field it is very essential that some other material, either grass or a canvas cover, be put over the stack, as soy bean hay does not shed rain well. Yields of from 1 to 3 and occasionally 4 tons of cured hay to the acre are secured. The average yield is about 2 tons per acre.

Soy beans and cowpeas make a very satisfactory mixture for hay purposes.

In sowing soy beans and cowpeas in mixture about 1 bushel of the former to a half bushel of the latter per acre should be used.

Soy beans are more commonly grown with corn than with any other crop.

The growing of soy beans for ensilage has not been practiced very extensively. In a number of instances ensilage has been made of the crop, usually in combination with corn, and it is invariably reported as making an excellent succulent feed.

Growing soy beans for the grain for use as feed is distinctly profitable if the yield is 16 bushels or more per acre. The feeding value of the grain is very high, being slightly superior to cottonseed meal. The grain is rich in protein, while nearly all the other grains produced on the farm are poor in protein but rich in carbohydrates.

Throughout much of the region well adapted to soy beans dairy farmers purchase cottonseed meal for a high protein feed. Numerous experiments have shown that soy-bean meal is equal or slightly superior as a feed to cottonseed meal both for cows and for hogs.

Yields of 20 bushels per acre of soy beans on lands of moderate fertility may confidently be expected in the region where the best medium or late varieties will mature.

The cowpea is used more than any other crop as a soil renovator in the South. Its use is rapidly increasing, but is yet far from general. During the past few years the high prices of the seed has tended to discourage more extensive growing. Recent progress in the harvesting of cowpea seed by machinery will doubtless materially reduce its cost. The seed is at present almost entirely picked by hand. The cowpea is characterized by remarkable ability to grow in poor soils and to cover the ground so densely as to choke out most weeds. It usually bears an abundance of tubercles on its roots, whether the soil has been inoculated or not, although in new localities where the cowpea has not been previously grown the tubercles may be absent. In such cases inoculation is necessary, for it must always be remembered that it is through the tubercles on the roots that the beneficial effects of the cowpea or other legume largely depend.

Cowpeas are very commonly planted between rows of corn at the time of the last cultivation or they are broadcasted upon the stubble of small grains. Cowpeas, however, like other crops, respond remarkably to cultivation, and there is a growing tendency to plant them upon well prepared soil. This practice results in a great increase of the crop, whether grown for hay or for seed.

SILAGE.

Within the last 30 years silage has come into general use throughout the United States, especially in those regions where the dairy industry has reached its greatest development. Silage is universally recognized as a good and cheap feed for farm stock, and particularly so for cattle and sheep. There are several reasons for the popularity of silage.

1. More food can be stored in a given space in the form of silage than in the form of fodder or hay.

2. There is a smaller loss of food material when a crop is made into silage than when cured as fodder or hay.

3. Corn silage is a more efficient feed than corn fodder.

4. An acre of corn can be placed into the silo at less cost than the same area can be husked and shredded.

5. Crops can be put in the silo during weather that could not be utilized in making hay or curing fodder.

6. More stock can be kept on a given area of land when silage is the basis of the ration.

7. There is less waste in feeding silage than in feeding fodder. Good silage, properly fed, is all consumed.

8. Silage is very profitable.

9. Silage, like other succulent feeds, has a beneficial effect upon the digestive organs.

10. Silage is the cheapest and best form in which a succulent feed can be provided for winter use.

11. Silage can be used for supplementing pastures more economically than can soiling crops, because it requires less labor, and silage is more palatable.

12. Converting the corn crop into silage clears the land and leaves it ready for another crop.

In all parts of the United States where the silo has come into general use the principal silage crop is corn.

Some persons have advised mixing clover, cowpeas, or alfalfa with the corn when it is being put into the silo in order to correct this deficiency of protein. Such a procedure is not to be advised, however, if it is at all possible to cure the clover or other crop into hay, and it usually is possible if hay caps are used. Since some dry forage should always be fed along with the silage, the leguminous hay would better be used in this way rather than by converting the crop into silage.

Corn should be harvested for the silo at about the same time that it is harvested for fodder; that is, when the grain has become glazed and the lower leaves of the stock have turned brown.

Sorghum is readily made into silage. The only advantage which sorghum has over corn is that it will sometimes yield heavier on poor ground and that the operation of harvesting may extend over a greater period; that is, it stays in the right stage for harvesting longer than corn. Sorghum, however, makes a poorer quality of silage, being more acid, not so palatable, and less nutritious. Where corn yields well there is no advantage in growing sorghum.

Clover is a successful silage crop, yielding a palatable product high in protein. It does not pack so well as corn, so great care should be exercised in the tramping of the silage at the time of filling, and the depth of the silo should also receive particular attention. A shallow silo will not prove satisfactory.

COWPEAS, ALFALFA, AND SOY BEANS.

These crops can all be successfully made into silage by exercising the same precaution as with clover. They should be cut at the same time as for haymaking. However, it is ordinarily, preferable, as with clover, to make them into hay rather than silage.

POTATOES.

Trusting that some one will read and profit thereby, I insert an excerpt on this food plant printed in a bulletin published by the Department of Agriculture, as I have and will from other bulletins on different agricultural products:

The ever-increasing importance of the potato crop makes it highly desirable that more attention should be given to the subject of seed improvement. As yet comparatively little thought has been given to this phase of the potato industry by the American grower. The European grower, on the other hand, recognizes the futility of attempting to grow profitable crops of potatoes without giving the most careful attention to the source of his seed supply. To this end he either buys his seed from specialists in seed-potato production or becomes a specialist himself. The result of this attention to the use of good seed is well attested by the average yields secured. For the years of 1901 to 1910, inclusive, the average per-acre yield in bushels was as follows: Germany, 200; Great Britain, 200; and the United States, 92. It would be absurd, of course, to claim that all of this increase was attributable to good seed, but it is safe to assume that good seed does play a very important rôle and should not be overlooked by the American grower.

In some sections the same land can be made to produce two crops of potatoes in a single season, thus rendering it a very important and profitable industry.

Within recent years there has been a marked increase in the use of second-crop potatoes for seed throughout the southern potato-growing sections. This crop is frequently grown on the same land from which the first crop of potatoes was harvested.

A conservative estimate of the increase that might be expected from the use of high-grade seed is certainly not less than 10 per cent. Such an increase, based on the average of the past five years, would not amount to over 34,250,000 bushels, having an approximate valuation of $21,000,000.

The value of the method is well attested by the crops produced. The average production on an 18-acre basis for the past nine years—1901 to 1909—has been 282 bushels per acre. The highest seasonal yield during this period was 417 bushels and the lowest 233 bushels. These yields are being secured in a locality where the general average is approximately 150 bushels per acre.

SEED CORN.

Here is what the Agricultural Department has to say about seed corn:

At corn-ripening time drop all other business and select an abundance of seed corn—the process is too important to be conducted incidentally while husking. When selecting seed corn give the process your entire attention. Get the very best that is to be had and preserve it well, and your increased yields will return you more profit than any other work you can do on your farm.

The only proper way to select seed corn is from the stalks standing where they grew as soon as ripe and before the first hard freeze.

The average production of corn to the acre for the entire United States is but 26 bushels, yet in practically every section four times that quantity is frequently produced. Improvement of the quality of seed is the least expensive method of increasing the yield per acre. A full stand of plants may be obtained from inferior seed, but the yield will not be the best possible. The loss is due to delay or negligence. It can be prevented by the selection of seed corn in the autumn. Autumn is the time to prepare for a profitable corn crop the following season.

By far too many consider seed corn simply because it will grow. To be first class seed must be—

(1) Well adapted to the seasonal and soil conditions where it is to be planted.

(2) Grown on productive plants of a productive variety.

(3) Well matured and preserved from ripening time till planting time in a manner that will retain its full vigor.

The importance of the three requirements just enumerated has been demonstrated experimentally by the Office of Corn Investigations of the Bureau of Plant Industry.

TOMATOES.

Commercial tomato growing in the Southern States is almost exclusively confined to the production of tomatoes at a season when they can not be grown at the North except in greenhouses. On this account the commercial production of this crop is restricted to areas where there is very little, if any, freezing during the winter months. Florida and Texas lead in the production of this crop.

The yield of fruit in the South, under the conditions mentioned, is much less than it is in regions having the long growing periods characteristic of higher latitudes. Yields vary from 75 to 250 bushels to the acre, but the high price obtained for the fruits which are thus produced at a season when the sole competition comes from the products of northern greenhouses renders the crop when well handled very remunerative.

The tomato as a field crop is adapted to a wide variety of soils, though a medium clay loam is probably the best. In fact, any soil well adapted to potatoes will grow the tomato to good advantage.

The cost of production per acre is much less for fruit for canning than in the case of early tomatoes, the chief difference being in the production of the plants. The several items may be classified as follows:

Cost of growing an acre of tomatoes for canning:	
Plants	$2
Manuring and fertilizers	8
Preparation of land, setting plants, and cultivation	8
Packing and carting	10
Total	28

The yield, as in the case of the early tomato, varies widely, ranging from 5 to as high as 20 tons per acre, even 30 tons per acre having been reported in exceptional cases, although the average for a series of years on average land will probably be under 8 tons. Where all conditions are carefully observed, 20-ton yields are frequently obtained, and at the prices received at the cannery, ranging from $5 to $7.50 per ton, according to the locality, the crop is a fairly good one, and the net profits are quite as large as for other field crops.

ASPARAGUS.

The popularity which asparagus has achieved during recent years is remarkable. Formerly a luxury on the tables of the rich, it is now, during the reason, a vegetable seen daily upon the tables of people of moderate or even of small incomes. It is also frequently recommended as an article of diet for the sick and convalescent.

The fact that asparagus appears in the market at a time of the year in which few or no other fresh vegetables are available has had much to do with its increased consumption in our cities. It can also be easily preserved by canning, the product in this form being almost equal to the fresh article, and this has increased its use, being, as it were, a lengthening of the season.

Brinckmeier, in his "Braunschweiger Spargelbuch," gives the following three rules for guidance in selecting a location for asparagus beds:

(1) One should choose, in reference to the ground characteristics, open, free-lying ground, protected to the north and east, of gradual slope, free from trees or shrubbery.

(2) The field should be exposed to the rays of the sun all day long; therefore a southern exposure is desirable; or, if that is not obtainable, a southwesterly or southeasterly slope, because either east, west, or north exposure will cause shadows during a greater or less portion of the day.

(3) Standing, stagnant ground water, which can not be drawn off by drainage, is to be avoided, the requirements of the plants indicating a somewhat damp subsoil, but not too high ground water.

From the above it is deduced, and experience corroborates the theory, that a not too porous, but a well-drained, light, deep, sandy loam, with a clay subsoil, is to be preferred to all others.

A prominent and successful New Jersey grower says:

I can not give the cost in detail of establishing asparagus beds, as so much would depend upon whether one had roots to buy, and upon other matters. Where growers usually grow roots for their own planting the cost is principally the labor, manure, and loss of use of land for two years, upon which, however, a half crop can be had.

The cost of maintaining a bed I can only estimate, as at times all the men on the farm may be at work at the asparagus and at other times none at all, and I do not keep an account of the time put in at the asparagus. I should estimate the cost per acre as follows:

Manure (applied in the spring)	$25
Fertilizer (applied after cutting)	15
Labor, plowing, cultivating, hoeing, etc	20
Cutting and bunching	40
Total	100

A bed well established, say 5 years after planting, when cared for should for the next 10 or 15 years yield from 1,800 to 2,000 bunches per annum, or at 10 cents per bunch (factory price), $180 or $200.

This agrees very closely with the actual figures of the yield and receipts of another New Jersey grower, who in 1896 cut 22,584 bunches from 12 acres, all of which were not in full bearing, or 1,882 bunches per acre, and received $2,611 net returns from commission houses, or a fraction over 11 cents per bunch. Of course those getting higher prices or larger yields will exceed this, but it is a fair average for those who sell on commission or to canneries.

The cost of good 1-year-old plants ought not to be over $4 per thousand, and it requires from 1,800 to 3,600 to fill an acre, depending upon the distance between plants; perhaps 2,500 would be a fair number, allowing surplus plants to fill missing hills, or $10 per acre. The plants can be grown from the seed for half that sum, if that plan be preferred.

The cost of establishing a bed can be somewhat reduced by planting for the first two or three years some early garden crop between the rows, such as potatoes, peas, beans, onions, strawberries, and so forth, for as the roots are as yet not occupying all the ground there will be no injury to the plants, and the manure and cultivation necessary for the young asparagus will be sufficient for the other crop, hence the receipts for it will be almost entirely net and yield at least the returns of "a half crop."

The estimate above calls for an annual expenditure of $40 per acre for fertilizer and manure, which is a liberal allowance; another estimate requires 2,000 pounds per acre of a mixture containing 400 pounds of muriate of potash, 1,100 pounds acid phosphate, and 500 pounds of nitrite of soda, which at market prices can be secured for less than the above sum. Asparagus is one of the earliest vegetables, especially if the roots are near to the surface or the soil above them has been temporarily removed so that the rays of the sun can easily penetrate to them.

It is not in the province of this discourse to attempt a description of asparagus canning as practiced in a factory, for such at best would be the detailing of the method practiced at one and might differ widely from the practice of every other, and, besides, it is a business requiring expert knowledge and considerable capital, while domestic canning of asparagus is as simple as for any fruit or other vegetable.

A lady of experience as a housekeeper gives the following receipt:

Cut the asparagus the length of a fruit jar, pack the jar closely, fill with cold water, add a little salt, and put the lid on loosely. Place these jars in hot water reaching to the brim and boil for three hours, adding enough hot water to that in the jars to keep them full. Close lids tightly and set jars away to cool.

CABBAGE.

In some sections of the United States cabbage is extensively grown as a farm crop.

According to the last census New York State grew more than 25,000 acres of cabbage, Pennsylvania nearly 11,000, while Virginia grew about 10,000 acres. The three States mentioned outrank all others by at least 2,000 acres. No adequate estimate can be placed on the value of this crop, as it fluctuates very decidedly, both in acreage and in price, from year to year.

While cabbage will thrive upon a wide diversity of soil types, the soil which is usually selected for truck-farm operations is what gardeners call a "quick soil," one composed of sand with a small percentage of clay.

Cabbages from the trucking region are chiefly marketed in carload lots. Long-distance shipments of truck crops of all classes are most economically handled in this manner; in fact, it would be impossible to carry on the trucking enterprises of the country on their present scale unless it were possible to ship such commodities in carload lots.

The truck-crop cabbage business is at present chiefly conducted on a commission basis, although in a few sections crops are grown under contract. Owing to the perishable nature of early cabbage, it is probable that the crop will always be extensively handled on commission.

An item that should be considered by the grower of early cabbage for the northern markets is the quantity of cabbage placed in storage from the northern fields. A short crop of late cabbage at the North means good prices for early southern-grown cabbages. Low prices and heavy storage of the northern-grown fall cabbage usually mean low returns for early southern-grown cabbage. The importance to the southern truck farmer of keeping close tab on the hold-over crop of the North in order that he may not be the loser is obvious.

Cabbage is frequently made the basis of such a combination. Sometimes lettuce and radishes are grown between the rows of cabbage. Sometimes cabbage is planted between the rows of early beets, while late potatoes are frequently planted between the rows of early cabbage. The various combinations of such crops are too numerous to be catalogued.

CUCUMBERS.

The soil best adapted to the cultivation of cucumbers in the open is a light sandy loam, one which responds quickly to the temperature and fertilizer.

As soon as the cucumbers reach marketable size—i. e., from 6 to 10 inches in length—they are picked from two to three times a week and sorted and graded, so as to place all those which are perfect in shape and uniform in size in one grade, which are usually packed in baskets of the Delaware type holding a bushel or a half barrel.

The yield of cucumbers to the acre depends on the season, the variety grown, and the skill of the planter. A normal crop, however, may be placed at about 200 half-barrel baskets per acre, the price varying from 50 cents to as much as $2 per basket.

After the fruit has been harvested and the marketing season has been closed, the vines should be destroyed by gathering and burning or plowing them under, so as not to harbor or breed disease.

The cultivation of cucumbers to supply the demands of the pickle trade has assumed important commercial proportions in certain sections of the United States. As a rule, this industry is not of long duration in any locality. The salting stations, as they are called, which are the gathering points used by the pickle factories, are in the main of inexpensive construction, and those parts which are most durable can be moved as necessity requires. The history of the pickle industry in any particular locality does not cover a period of more than 6 to 10 years.

In general the price paid for cucumbers is remunerative, and the industry, if it could be carried on on an extensive scale, would be a very profitable one. The fact that only a small acreage of cucumbers can be handled by any single grower renders it a less attractive and less profitable crop in the aggregate than it would be if large acreages could be handled. The reason that only a small area can be grown by individual farmers is the great amount of hand labor required to gather the fruits. During the bearing season it is necessary to go over the patch at least three times each week in order to secure the fruits within the range of the sizes which will be accepted by the pickle factories—that is, from 2½ to 4 or 5 inches in length. Few farmers have sufficient assistance to allow them to grow more than 1 or 2 acres. If the pickling of the cucumbers were work which could be carried on by children, it would not present so many difficulties. The fruits are heavy, and the fact that it requires experience to find them under the leaves makes it men's labor rather than that of children.

One of the best paying, easiest managed, requiring less outlay, is the strawberry crop. Always a market for them.

There is a farmer in the southern portion of Lincoln County making a good living raising and selling strawberries. He is buying all the land that joins him, wearing a smile, and it is wrong to give his scheme away.

If you could run upon something equally as profitable, let him alone and try raising beans or onions, or both. Do not be afraid of the smell; it always has worn off. There is always a demand for both vegetables. Armies and navies have subsisted on beans; hence the name "navy bean." Remember there are now 20,000,000 men under arms. Every cornstalk should make a bean pole this year. It will make you some good pin money.

FIELD BEANS.

The census for 1900 gives the area of the bean crop, including both field and garden beans, as 453,867 acres, and the total product is placed at 5,064,844 bushels, an average of 11⅛ bushels per acre. The total amount received by the producers for the crop was $7,634,262, or an average of $1.51 per bushel. In considering this average it must be remembered that the total includes the products of good as well as of poor cultivators and embraces regions in which the crop was a practical failure, as well as those in which it was a success. For those States which make bean growing an important industry the average yield to the acre is somewhat higher than is recorded in this general average.

GARDEN BEANS—KIDNEY, LIMA, STRING, AND SNAP.

Under favorable circumstances the best varieties of beans yield very large quantities of pods. It is not unusual to gather 200 bushels of string beans from an acre, the price ranging from $2.50 to 50 cents per half-bushel basket from early in the season until its close for any particular locality.

ONION CULTURE.

The onion holds third place among the truck crops grown in the United States. In 1908 about 14,000,000 bushels, valued at $10,000,000, were produced, practically all of which were consumed in this country. In addition we annually import about 1,400,000 bushels from Spain, Egypt, Bermuda, and the South Sea islands. The onion is one of the more common crops of our home vegetable gardens, and it is well adapted to growing commercially on a small scale, very little capital being required for a beginning. The market for onions includes practically the entire commercial world, and the demand for a good article continues throughout the entire year.

As a general average, onions will cost in the neighborhood of $80 when ready to market. This does not include the crates or bags in which to market them.

An acre of onions will produce on an average 300 bushels, although large tracts are made to yield an average of 500 bushels an acre, at a cost for growing not exceeding $75. The price paid the grower in the field is sometimes as low as 35 cents a bushel, although 45 cents is about the ruling price, taking one year with another. A yield of 300 bushels, at 45 cents a bushel, gives a gross return of $135 an acre, or about $55 with the cost of growing deducted. The more successful onion growers, and they are many, count upon a net profit equal to the cost of growing the crop.

In districts where the ordinary varieties of onions are planted in rows 3 feet apart and cultivated with horse tools the yield is generally about 150 bushels an acre and the cost of production is frequently not more than $10 or $12 an acre.

The quantity of onion seed that can be grown to an acre depends on several conditions. The yield of seed, as a rule, will be about 400 pounds to the acre, although as high as 800 or even 1,000 pounds have been secured.

The price per pound paid for the seed varies according to the quality, variety, and market demands. For first-class, high-grade seed from specially selected bulbs of desirable types the growers frequently receive as much as $1.25 a pound, but for the general crop produced from bulbs not specially selected, which must be sold in competition with the great mass of seed produced by large growers, the price is generally not more than 40 or 50 cents a pound.

SWEET POTATOES.

With the passing of each year the sweet potato is becoming of greater importance as a commercial crop in the United States.

Sweet potatoes thrive on a moderately fertile sandy loam which does not contain an excess of organic matter. They are frequently grown upon almost pure sand, especially where the subsoil is a yellow clay.

To keep sweet potatoes in good condition they must be (1) well matured before digging, (2) carefully handled, (3) well

dried or cured after being put in the house, and (4) kept at a uniform temperature after they are cured.

Wooden houses are preferable, because they are cheaper and easier to keep dry.

The value of this crop in the United States in 1909 was $34,429,000, 90 per cent of which was produced in the Southern States. The total area devoted to sweet potatoes in the United States increased from 537,000 acres in 1899 to 641,000 in 1909, and the yield increased from 42,500,000 to 52,200,000 bushels. The total value of the crop increased at a much more rapid rate than either the acreage or yield, showing an increase of 78.3 per cent in 10 years.

One reason why southern farmers have not received good prices for their sweet potatoes is that they have not used proper methods of handling and marketing. In many cases the potatoes are badly bruised and cut in digging, are put in bags or rough barrels without grading, and are rushed on the market when there is an oversupply. The secrets of success in getting high prices are (1) to carefully grade, clean, and pack the product, and (2) to put it upon the market when there is a good demand. The greatest demand for sweet potatoes is, as a rule, from the middle of December to the middle of March.

The market demands a medium-sized, uniform type of sweet potato, free from bruises or decayed spots.

The varieties of sweet potatoes that the markets demand should be grown. The potato should be carefully graded, cleaned, and packed in neat and attractive packages.

Sweet potatoes should never be marketed in bags or in bulk.

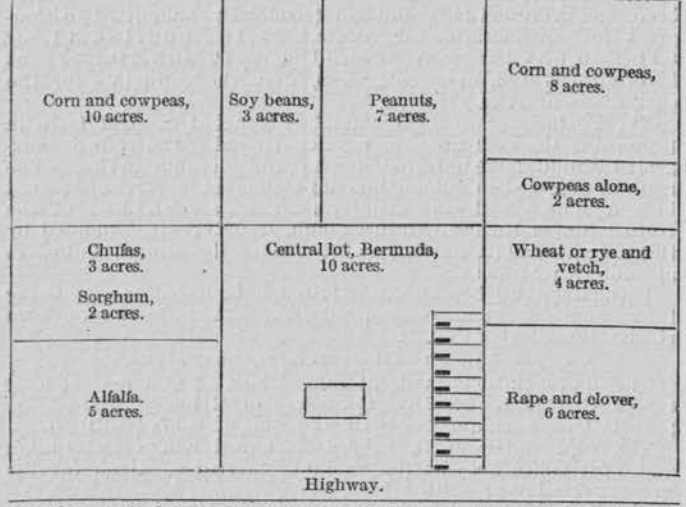
HOG RAISING.

Cholera hogs should be kept away from running streams of every size, because the stream carries the disease down with the current, thereby spreading the contagion.

Hog raising is one of the most profitable lines of animal husbandry in the South if wisely managed, and one of the most unprofitable if conducted in the ordinary way; that is, if the hogs are raised without care and fed without knowledge or judgment.

The best way to make hog raising profitable in the South is to graze the hogs upon pastures prepared especially for them, supplementing the green food by the addition of a small grain ration. Upon this plan hogs can be raised at an average cost of 1½ to 3 cents a pound, depending mainly upon the management of the sows and pigs and upon an economic plan of fattening.

Prepare a central pasture of Bermuda grass. Adjoining the central pasture should be several small pasture fields, or they may all be in one field, with movable fences for partition as required. The pastures required in addition to the Bermuda are, for winter and spring grazing, wheat and hairy vetch, chufas, early Essex rape, and red clover, where red clover will grow, or crimson clover may be used; for summer and fall grazing, sorghum, cowpeas, soy beans, peanuts, and alfalfa. Adjacent to the central pasture should be a field of corn in which cowpeas are planted at the time of last cultivation. The following plan shows the general field arrangement for a hog-breeding establishment where the hogs are mainly fed on green crops.



Showing central lot with necessary buildings. Convenient outlets to all adjoining lots from central lot.

Details of cropping system for a herd of 10 sows, dropping two litters a year:

The central field containing the buildings, breeding pens, and water should be quite rolling, so as to thoroughly drain at all times; sandy loam land preferred, well set in Bermuda grass, with some trees for shade.

Sow a mixture of burr and white clover on the Bermuda sod in the fall. This will greatly improve it for winter grazing. This lot should contain 10 acres.

On one side of the central field lay off another 10-acre lot, 6 acres of which should be planted in Early Essex rape and red clover; if too far south for red clover, use crimson clover or Japan clover (lespedeza). The remaining 4 acres should be in wheat or rye and hairy vetch.

On another side of the central field lay off a 10-acre lot, 7 acres for Spanish peanuts and 3 acres for soy beans (large yellow).

On a third side should be another 10-acre field, allotting 5 acres to alfalfa, 3 acres to chufas, and 2 acres to sorghum. This will leave two 10-acre fields, one at each corner, for corn and cowpeas. This plan can be enlarged without material modification by including the peanut and soy bean field in the central pasture and adding other fields for forage crops. There should be some movable fences so as to divide the pastures for the most judicious grazing.

Never throw corn for hogs on the ground. It forces them to eat too much dirt.

It is emphatically necessary to avoid all wallowing holes if the herd is to be kept healthy.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, we must look conditions fairly in the face. The war in Europe is likely to continue for another year, perhaps for three, and if it were to stop within 12 months the belligerents will have to be fed at least for two years by the United States. These people can not eat cotton, and they will need only a limited supply of it. The South can produce foodstuffs as cheaply and in as great abundance as any section of the United States, and if she will hold to her present resolution this she will do.

Thanks to the Democratic administration and to the wisdom of that superb man who is at the head of the Nation, we have kept out of war with our neighbor, Mexico, so that there is no impediment in the way of this country reaping the full benefits from European belligerency.

Our southern farmers are intelligent men. They do not need my advice; but if I can bring to the attention of some who might not otherwise see it the well-digested information furnished by the Department of Agriculture, I will feel that my effort has not been in vain.

A great opportunity is immediately before our people, if we will proceed intelligently. The next 10 years should show greater agricultural prosperity, not only in the South but throughout this broad land, than has ever been witnessed, and I for one believe that southern farmers will avail themselves of it.

The Finances of the Federal Government Must Be Readjusted—Direct Representatives of the People Can and Must Curtail Federal Expenditures.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN J. FITZGERALD,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915,

On the subject of appropriations.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, the finances of the Federal Government must be readjusted. No more important problem will confront the Congress when it reassembles. The paramount consideration should be to establish our finances upon a permanently sound basis. Makeshift legislation will not be helpful. Temporary expedients will only add to the difficulties and complicate the problems that must be faced. With the organization of the Federal reserve system many uncertainties of our financial system have been removed and the Treasury has been relieved of certain recurring embarrassments. Revenues and expenditures should now be carefully calculated, a definite fiscal policy established, and ample provision made for present and future necessities.

THE NATION'S WORKING CAPITAL.

The working capital, or the available cash, for the transaction of the public business is the money in the "general fund" of the Treasury. When that fund is exhausted or is so depleted that the ordinary daily obligations of the Government can not be promptly met, the fund must be replenished. If revenues are insufficient to permit a sufficient working balance to be maintained, the fund must be supplemented either by reimbursement from the sale of Panama Canal bonds or by the proceeds of 3 per cent certificates of indebtedness authorized for one year by section 40 of the Payne-Aldrich Act, approved August 5, 1909 (Stat. L., vol. 36, p. 117).

The Secretary of the Treasury issues daily a statement of the condition of the United States Treasury. It appears that the net balance in the "general fund" on July 2, 1914, was **$139,652,960.51**; on December 2, 1914, **$74,858,305.46**; on January 2, 1915, **$64,002,737.68**; on February 2, 1915, **$55,522,509.56**; on March 2, 1915, **$42,759,689.10.**

On December 2, 1914, the excess of ordinary disbursements over ordinary receipts was **$55,740,410.52**; on January 2, 1915, **$65,358,773.62**; on February 2, 1915, **$72,353,349.86**; and on March 2, 1915, **$83,229,541.60.**

On March 2, 1915, however, the expenditures during the present fiscal year on account of the Panama Canal were **$21,096,139.11**, so that the expenditures of the Government exceeded its revenues during the current fiscal year to March 2 by **$103,431,443.71.**

EXCESS OF EXPENSES OVER REVENUES.

Should the excess of ordinary disbursements over ordinary receipts continue at the rate of only **$5,000,000** a month for the remaining four months of the present fiscal year, exclusive of the Panama Canal expenditures, the deficit will be **$103,229,541.60**, and including such expenditures, about **$133,000,000.** These figures do not include any expenditures from the "general fund" of the Treasury on account of the Postal Service. Should the postal revenues be insufficient to meet the authorized obligations of the Postal Service, the deficit will be increased to the extent that the postal receipts must be supplemented from the other revenues of the Government.

The failure of the Post Office appropriation bill will probably cause deficiencies in some services of the Post Office Department which are required by law to be performed. The estimates of appropriations for any such deficiencies will be submitted to Congress at the first session of the Sixty-fourth Congress, which meets in December of this year. Any amounts then appropriated will be available immediately and will be a charge upon the revenues for the fiscal year 1916. While it is true that the deficiencies carried in deficiency acts at this session will be a charge upon the revenues of this fiscal year (1915), the failure of the Post Office bill and the appropriation, in a joint resolution, of **$313,364,667** instead of **$325,511,794**, which the bill would have carried if it had been enacted, presents a very unusual condition that must be taken into account when reckoning the charges to be made upon the revenues of the ensuing fiscal year (1916).

In the month of June, however, the bulk of the income tax from individuals and corporations is received.

SUCCESS OF UNDERWOOD TARIFF.

When the Underwood Act was prepared its authors estimated that the receipts from the income-tax provisions would reach annually **$95,000,000.** The receipts for the fiscal year 1914 were **$71,381,275.** The difference between the estimated and the actual receipts has been attributed to the fact that incomes prior to March, 1914, were not subject to the tax, and thus a very considerable sum that otherwise would have been realized from dividends payable in January was not obtained.

The estimated receipts from the income-tax law for the current fiscal year have been placed at **$80,000,000.** If the expectations of the Treasury officials are realized, the great bulk of that sum will be paid during the present fiscal year to offset the deficit.

The Underwood Tariff Act is in no way responsible for the Treasury deficit.

It was estimated that for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914, that the customs receipts would be **$270,000,000**, and the income-tax receipts **$95,000,000**; the total estimated revenues under the act, **$365,000,000.**

The actual receipts were: From customs, **$292,320,014.51**; from the income-tax provisions, **$71,381,275**; the total, **$363,701,289.51**, a difference between the estimated and actual receipts of only **$1,298,710.49.**

A most casual examination of the Treasury Department statistics discloses that prior to the outbreak of the present almost universal war the Underwood Tariff Act was proving as effective a revenue producer as had been anticipated. The effect of the war has been world-wide. Importations to this country from the European nations have been strikingly affected. As the war continues importations will rapidly diminish and customs receipts will necessarily be less. Apart from the situation of the over-sea carrying trade, it must be that, with the continued drain upon the great producing and exporting nations of Europe for the necessities of the war, their productive activities will be curtailed or diverted to products required at home and not available for export.

WAR TAXES.

To meet the extraordinary situation resulting from the greatly demoralized international trade the Congress enacted the emergency revenue act in October, 1914. It is estimated that during the present fiscal year that law will yield **$54,000,000**, and during the first half of the fiscal year 1916 (July 1, 1915, to December 31, 1915) **$44,000,000.**

The law has been in operation since October 23, 1914, and the figures heretofore given include the revenues thus far obtained under it.

The act expires on December 31, 1915, and thus it is not effective for the last half of the fiscal year 1916; while on May 1, 1916, sugar will be admitted free of duty. Importations of sugar will undoubtedly be limited to the actual requirements for some time prior to May 1, 1916, so that in the last half of the fiscal year 1916, which is the next fiscal year commencing July 1, 1915, the emergency tax act will no longer be in force, and there must be considerable diminution of revenue from sugar importations in addition to the falling off in customs receipts as a result of the present war.

EXCESSIVE ESTIMATES OF APPROPRIATIONS.

For the current fiscal year (1915) the total estimates submitted to Congress aggregated **$1,152,681,777.02.** The appropriations for the current fiscal year, based upon those estimates, amounted to **$1,116,118,138.55.**

The total estimates submitted to Congress, in the regular Book of Estimates at the beginning of, and supplemental estimates during, the session, amounted to **$1,135,187,984.31.**

On the face of the figures the estimates were **$17,493,792.71** less than for the current fiscal year.

The estimates for the Post Office Department for 1915 were **$306,953,117**; for 1916, **$297,355,164**, ostensibly **$9,597,953** less than for the current year.

The postal estimates for 1916, however, were based upon the assumption that certain legislation recommended by the Post Office Department would be enacted by Congress. Had the recommendations been adopted, very substantial economies would undoubtedly have been effected. Among other requests was one that the Rural Free Delivery Service be cared for by contracts made after competition with the lowest bidder. The Congress was overwhelmingly opposed to the change of policy involved. The Post Office bill was prepared upon the requirements of the Postal Service under the existing laws, and the sums required were informally furnished by the Post Office Department. The difference between the formal legal estimates and the sums actually required and informally stated is **$27,774,450.** If this sum be added to the formal estimates submitted in compliance with law, the estimates that should have been, and were actually, but not technically, submitted to Congress for consideration aggregated **$1,162,962,434.31**, or **$10,280,657.29** more, instead of **$17,493,792.71**, as heretofore stated, apparently less, than the estimates for the current fiscal year.

The Postmaster General undoubtedly acted in good faith in presenting the estimates for his department. The reforms suggested would have effected a very considerable saving. The method followed in submitting the estimates, however, was not in compliance with the requirements of section 3662 of the United States Revised Statutes, and, if universally adopted by the executive departments, would render the annual estimates absolutely worthless.

Estimates must be and are required to be based upon existing laws, and not upon recommendations which have not been ripened into legislation.

APPROPRIATIONS THIS SESSION.

The appropriations made at this session of Congress amount to **$1,115,121,408.68.** Contracts involving additional appropriations were authorized in the sum of **$37,400,000.**

The sum stated of the appropriations includes the Indian and Post Office acts at the amounts carried by them for the current fiscal year—1915.

The Post Office and Indian appropriation bills failed of enactment. During the closing hours of the session joint resolutions were adopted by both Houses of Congress and approved by the President to continue during the fiscal year 1916 the appropria-

tions made for those services for the fiscal year 1915. The resolutions expressly limit the expenditures thereunder to the sums carried in the respective acts for the fiscal year 1915.

FAILURE OF INDIAN AND POST OFFICE BILLS.

While the Indian and Post Office appropriation bills failed of enactment, yet all differences had been adjusted in conference. Failure of the two Houses to adopt the conference reports prevented the presentation of the bills to the President for approval. As agreed to by the managers on the part of the two Houses the Indian bill would have appropriated **$443,241.08** and the Post Office bill **$12,147,127**, in all **$12,590,368.08**, more than the sums made available for the respective services by the resolutions to continue the current appropriations. Had the conference reports on these two appropriation bills been adopted, the total appropriations of the session would have been **$1,127,711,776.76**, an increase over the appropriations for the current year of **$11,593,638.21**, a reduction under the strictly technical estimates of **$7,476,207.55**, and a reduction under the estimates properly considered of **$35,250,657.55**.

If the comparison be made between the estimates submitted in strict compliance with the law, the appropriations actually made are **$20,066,575.63** less than the estimates; if comparison be made with the estimates formally and informally submitted, but which should have been submitted under the law, the appropriations actually made are **$47,841,025.63** less than the estimates.

COMPARISON OF APPROPRIATIONS.

The increases in the appropriation acts for the ensuing fiscal year over those for the current year 1915 are:

The Agricultural act, **$3,105,950**, as well as **$2,265,769** over the estimates formally submitted.

The Army act, **$954,983**, and a reduction under the estimates of **$3,150,316.12**.

The fortifications act, **$432,516.90**, and an increase of **$196,575.58** over the regular estimates. The latter, however, had been supplemented by a further estimate of **$330,000** formally submitted to Congress, so that the act is **$133,424.42** less than the estimates.

The Military Academy act, **$71,913.83**, and a reduction of **$672,524.50** under the estimates.

The naval act, **$4,808,148.27**, an increase of **$4,280,045** over the estimates submitted.

The river and harbor act, **$10,000,000**, and a reduction under the estimates of **$19,033,018**. The bill as finally enacted appropriates **$30,000,000**, including **$5,000,000** reappropriated from unexpended balances to the credit of projects provided for in past years and diverted to other and entirely different purposes. If the reappropriation were not made, the possible expenditures under this act would have been limited to a sum not exceeding **$25,000,000**, or **$5,000,000** less than the amount actually appropriated.

Under permanent appropriations there appears, after deducting and transferring to the total of the sundry civil act for 1915, for purposes of comparison, **$16,309,500**, now estimated, that will be expended in 1915 for the Reclamation Service, an apparent estimated increase of **$6,680,300**, including **$1,200,000** out of contributions paid into the Treasury for river and harbor improvements, **$600,000** for cooperative agricultural extension work, and **$200,000** for refunding taxes illegally collected.

The appropriation acts that show reductions under those for the previous year are:

The District of Columbia act **$312,955.04** and a reduction under the estimates of **$3,822,718.52**.

The Diplomatic and Consular act **$248,576.65** and a reduction under the estimates of **$545,902.65**.

The pension act **$5,050,000** and a reduction, at the suggestion of the Secretary of the Interior, after the regular estimates were submitted to Congress, of **$2,000,000**.

The sundry civil act **$3,523,986.60** and a reduction under the estimates of **$11,098,922.10**.

The deficiency acts carry **$12,316,343.90**, as against **$20,296,576.61** appropriated to meet deficiencies at the previous session, a reduction of **$7,980,232.71** in favor of the session just closed and a reduction of **$2,683,656.10** under the estimates considered by the committee.

For miscellaneous purposes covered by special acts the whole sum will not exceed **$2,500,000**, or a reduction under amounts similarly appropriated at the previous session of **$9,209,361.29**.

LEGISLATION ON APPROPRIATION BILLS AN EVIL.

The failure of the Indian and Post Office appropriation bills was due to legislative provisions in the bills to which it was impossible to obtain the approval of the two Houses. The evil of the practice of such method of legislation was further emphasized by the inclusion in the Agricultural bill of legislation to establish a system of rural credits, which threatened to prevent the passage of that appropriation bill.

Under the rules of the House of Representatives legislation can not be incorporated in an appropriation bill unless it "shall retrench expenditures by the reduction of the number and salary of the officers of the United States, by the reduction of the compensation of any person paid out of the Treasury of the United States, or by the reduction of amounts of money covered by the bill."

As early as 1835 an extended discussion was had in the House regarding the delays in the enactment of the appropriation bills. Mr. John Quincy Adams urged the desirability of stripping the bills of everything other than appropriations. On January 5, 1836, the Committee on Rules reported a rule to effect such a result. The rule was not adopted at the time, but the following year the failure of the fortifications bill because of extraneous legislative provisions resulted in the adoption of the rule. It was slightly modified in 1838, and remained in force for 38 years, when Mr. William S. Holman, of Indiana, had it modified so as to permit legislative provisions which would permit the reduction of expenditures.

If such restriction upon the contents of appropriation bills was found essential to the proper conduct of the public business as early as 1838, it must be apparent that such limitations are now imperative. The cost of the Federal Government has increased to a sum never contemplated in those early days, and the appropriation bills demand the utmost care in their preparation. When general legislation is incorporated in such bills it is usually poorly prepared, ill digested, and never properly considered by either House of Congress.

The failure of the two appropriation bills at this session must inevitably result in embarrassment in the administration of the two services affected, with resulting inconvenience to the public.

INTEREST AROUSED IN PUBLIC EXPENSES.

Public interest is keenly aroused to governmental expenditures. The chief topic in many State capitals and in most of the large municipalities is the constantly increasing cost of government with corresponding increase in burdens of taxation. The knowledge that the cost of government increases out of all proportion to the increase of population is attracting universal attention. The taxpayers are giving much closer attention to the tax eaters, who are not the employees of the Government, but are those employees or policy-framing officials who expend with a most lavish hand the moneys obtained by taxation. The question is more frequently asked whether proposed expenditures are properly within the true functions of the Government, and closer attention is given as to whether certain expenditures are not urged or made chiefly to relieve communities or individuals of burdens which belong to them.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES PEOPLE'S ONLY SAFEGUARD.

Under our system of government the chief hope of the people in the prevention of extravagant and unjustifiable expenditures is in the House of Representatives. The executive department of the Government may cooperate, but as the success of an administration is frequently believed to be measured by the expenditures to carry out predetermined policies, the volume of expenditure must necessarily be of secondary importance. The temptation is ever present to mollify some class or to attach another, or to attract those indifferent or in opposition by some policy not within the true functions of the Government, and which involves expenditures that add greatly to the burdens of the people.

The direct representatives of the people, clothed, under the Constitution, with control of the public purse, if properly organized, can and must curtail Federal expenditures.

This contention is substantiated by some recent events. Mr. Taft, within the past two months, has written several interesting articles relative to public expenditures. He has stated that during his administration he gave considerable attention to the important question of effecting economies in the public service. To accomplish the result desired, appropriations were not requested for certain important and, from his standpoint, essential matters. Failure to request the moneys necessary, he admitted, was not an actual saving, but merely deferred till some future time projects or extensions of services which he believed proper and desirable.

EXTRAVAGANCE OF TAFT ADMINISTRATION.

The appropriations for the fiscal years 1913 and 1914 were made while Mr. Taft was President and the House of Representatives was in control of the Democrats.

The estimates submitted by his administration for the conduct of the public service were:

For 1913	$1,040,648,026.55
For 1914	1,150,206,963.14
Total	2,190,854,989.69

The appropriations for those fiscal years, based upon the estimates of the administration, were:

For 1913	$1,019,412,710.91
For 1914	1,098,678,788.40
Total	2,118,091,499.31

In other words, an administration which boasted of its efforts to effect economies, despite the fact that appropriations were not requested for many things deemed desirable, the sum requested by the administration for the public service for two years was **$72,763,490.38** more than the Congress, in the exercise of its judgment, appropriated.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR APPROPRIATIONS SHOULD BE CENTRALIZED.

To make the work of the House of Representatives really effective there must be a radical change in its methods of handling appropriations. Many times the present system has been condemned as illogical and unscientific. Real reform is impossible with eight committees of the House framing appropriation bills, while seven of the committees have legislative jurisdiction of the matters for which they recommend appropriations. Further consideration deepens my convictions that one committee should be given control of all appropriations and that no legislation should be contained in the appropriation bills. I discussed this matter comprehensively on June 24, 1913, and the views then expressed have been more firmly fixed as the result of further observation and study.

INTERESTING CONTRASTS.

The following figures supplement some furnished on other occasions and may prove of interest and of value:

The total appropriations made in the seven annual appropriation acts (excluding the river and harbor) providing in part for the support of the Government, and prepared by the Committees on Agriculture, Military Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Naval Affairs, Indian Affairs, and Post Office and Post Roads, respectively, for the four-year period 1913 to 1916, amounted to **$2,265,723,864.71**; for the corresponding four-year period 1909 to 1912 they amounted to **$1,979,452,398.68**, an increase for the former period over the latter of **$286,271,466**, or more than 12½ per cent.

The total estimates regularly submitted to Congress during the period 1913 to 1916, and on which the foregoing acts for those years are based, amounted to **$2,254,208,423.08**, or **$11,515,441.63** *less* than was actually appropriated by Congress.

The appropriations made in the four regular annual appropriation acts (excluding the pension act) and in all deficiency acts providing for the support of the Government and prepared by the Committee on Appropriations for the four-year period 1913 to 1916 amounted to **$718,539,187.25**; for the corresponding four-year period 1909 to 1912 they amounted to **$799,290,112.75**, a reduction actually made during the later period (1913 to 1916) under the earlier period (1909 to 1912) of **$80,750,925.50**, or more than 10 per cent.

The estimates regularly submitted to Congress during the first period (1913 to 1916), on which all of those acts were based, amounted to **$819,489,223.26**, or **$100,950,036.01** *more* than Congress appropriated in all of the bills controlled by the Committee on Appropriations.

RIVER AND HARBOR AND PENSION APPROPRIATIONS EXCEPTIONAL.

For reasons manifestly fair, the river and harbor acts have been omitted from the appropriation acts in the foregoing comparison of supply measures prepared by committees solely concerned with appropriations for some one branch of the public service over which it also exercised legislative control. Such committees that are not required, and do not, give heed to the sum total of the national expenditures in the performance of their labors, and no one expects them to do so.

The river and harbor acts make provision for no function of the Government, and if another one were never enacted the country would survive and the Government would endure.

From the appropriation acts controlled by the Committee on Appropriations, a committee without power to initiate legislation but whose duty it is to provide in some degree necessary funds for substantially every activity of the Government, there is omitted the pension appropriation act, which simply makes proper response to the generous impulse of the Nation, as expressed in legislation duly enacted by Congress, and is not to maintain some service of the Government.

The sums appropriated for pensions must, and always do, meet the full measure provided by law, and there is no discretion to be exercised in the recommendation of the sum required.

INADEQUATE ESTIMATES OR EXCESSIVE APPROPRIATIONS.

The estimates submitted to Congress for the Agricultural Department for the four fiscal years, 1913 to 1916, amounted to **$75,288,027.** The appropriations actually made by Congress for the department for those years amount to **$77,476,055**, or an excess of **$2,188,028** over the demands actually made by the department.

The Post Office Department asked of Congress, in its estimates submitted pursuant to law for the fiscal years 1913 to 1916, **$1,147,038,252.** The appropriations for that period actually amount to **$1,183,535,204**, an excess of **$36,496,952.**

The Committee on Agriculture and the Committee on Post Office and Post Roads have jurisdiction of legislative matters affecting the Agricultural and Post Office Departments.

It is inevitable that those who administer a service and those who formulate the legislation that determines the activity of a service will be keen to be overgenerous rather than critically scrutinizing in providing means to conduct the service. If retrenchment is imperative, they believe it should be elsewhere, and nothing is done to curtail the service with which they are intimately identified.

It is different when many services are handled and the total expenditures must be considered.

REDUCTION IN SUNDRY CIVIL EXPENSES.

The sundry civil appropriation bill is one of the bills prepared by the Committee on Appropriations. For the fiscal years 1913, 1914, 1915, and 1916 the estimates submitted for the consideration of the committee aggregated **$553,879,863.79.** The bills as reported to the House carried **$456,473,806.63**, or **$97,406,057.16** less than the estimates submitted for the consideration of the committee. In other words, during the past four years the Committee on Appropriations have made recommendations in accord with the estimates submitted for consideration in connection with the sundry civil bill of **$97,406,057.16** less than was recommended by the executive.

The following table gives the details for each year:

Sundry civil appropriation bills for the fiscal years 1913, 1914, 1915, and 1916.

[Comparison of the amounts of each as reported to the House, with the total estimates and with the law for the preceding fiscal year.]

Years.	Estimates.	Preceding law.	Reported to House.	Reduction under estimates.	Reduction under law.
1913.....	$151,991,106.87	$142,638,044.14	$109,577,414.40	$42,413,692.47	$33,060,629.74
1914.....	138,790,634.98	118,126,982.96	113,271,614.66	25,519,020.32	4,855,368.30
1915.....	125,481,649.05	124,689,948.87	107,696,759.28	17,784,889.77	16,993,189.59
1916.....	137,616,472.89	130,728,037.39	125,928,018.29	11,688,454.60	4,800,019.10
Total..	553,879,863.79	516,183,013.36	456,473,806.63	97,406,057.16	59,709,206.73

The bills as finally enacted into law, after consideration in the Senate and the final adjustment of differences, were **$59,709,000** less than the estimates submitted to Congress. So that if the appropriations had been based upon the recommendations of the executive departments, as expressed in their estimates in the sundry civil appropriation bill, the bills would have carried, on an average, **$15,000,000** additional during each of the four years to which I have referred.

READJUSTMENT OF FEDERAL FINANCES.

In the readjustment of the finances of the Federal Government heed should be given to expenditures. The country should be awakened to the fact that burdens are not evaded by shifting them from State or municipal treasuries to the Federal Treasury, and that the Government should not assume every service, however desirable, at the behest of enthusiastic persons merely because it is difficult to obtain from private sources the means to accomplish good.

The activities of the Government should be restrained to fields which are distinctively governmental. If such a policy is not to be advocated and adopted, it is idle to attempt to prevent a continuing disproportionate increase in the cost of government. The resulting burdens will be such as will arouse the most bitter, unfortunate, and most disastrous controversies to which a people are subject.

The questions involved demand the attention of able and patriotic men, regardless of party, in order that the welfare of the country be advanced and the happiness and prosperity of the people be secured.

The following table shows statistically and chronologically the history of the appropriation bills for the session, beginning with the estimates as submitted and concluding with the approved acts, with a column showing the laws of the previous session:

Chronological history of appropriation bills, third session Sixty-third Congress, estimates and appropriations for fiscal year 1915–16, and appropriations for fiscal year 1914–15.

[Prepared by the clerks to the Committees on Appropriations of the Senate and House.]

Title.	Estimates, 1916.	Reported to the House.		Passed the House.		Reported to the Senate.		Passed the Senate.		Law, 1915–16.		Law, 1914–15.
		Date.	Amount.	Date.	Amount.	Date.	Amount.	Date.	Amount.	Date.	Amount.	Amount.
Agriculture	$20,706,013.00	1914. Dec. 30	$22,629,712.00	1915. Jan. 28	$22,562,542.00	1915. Feb. 16	$23,193,817.00	1915. Feb. 25	$36,981,357.00	1915. Mar. 4	$22,971,782.00	$19,865,832.00
Army	104,124,511.99	Dec. 29	101,124,428.23	Jan. 22	101,055,788.23	Feb. 11	102,929,387.87	Feb. 23	103,362,587.87	...do..	101,974,195.87	101,019,212.50
Diplomatic and Consular	4,607,182.66	1915. Jan. 26	4,445,370.01	Feb. 20	3,929,370.01	Feb. 24	4,143,130.01	Feb. 26	4,152,930.01	...do..	4,061,280.01	4,309,856.66
District of Columbia [1]	12,909,434.23	1914. Dec. 7	11,303,048.23	1914. Dec. 14	11,313,048.45	Jan. 5	12,341,624.45	Jan. 18	12,342,324.45	Mar. 3	11,859,584.45	12,172,539.49
Fortification	5,863,641.32	1915. Feb. 18	6,060,216.90	1915. Feb. 23	6,060,216.90	Feb. 24	6,060,216.90	Feb. 26	6,060,216.90	...do..	6,060,216.90	5,627,700.00
Indian	9,533 463.20	1914. Dec. 18	8 135 624.25	Jan. 9	7,720,124.25	Feb. 22	11,256,865.65	Mar. 2	11,374,865.65	Mar. 4	9,771,902.76	9,771,902.76
Legislative, etc.	40,727,518.27	Dec. 14	38,740,733.50	1914. Dec. 18	36,454,633.50	Feb. 10	39,535,303.50	Feb. 20	37,211,503.50	...do..	36,904,799.75	37,630,229.70
Military Academy	1,742,337.87	1915. Feb. 5	1,038,963.37	1915. Feb. 20	1,038,963.37	Feb. 24	1,118,840.37	Feb. 26	1,118,840.37	...do..	1,069,813.37	997,899.54
Navy	145,396,819.88	Jan. 16	150,712,669.88	Feb. 5	145,871,784.88	Feb. 22	155,099,864.88	...do..	155,099,864.88	Mar. 3	149,676,864.88	[2] 144,868,716.61
Pension	166,100,000.00	Jan. 25	165,100,000.00	Feb. 18	164,100,000.00	...do..	164,100,000.00	Feb. 22	164,100,000.00	Mar. 1	164,100,000.00	169,150,000.00
Post Office [3]	297,355,164.00	1914. Dec. 14	324,841,614.00	1914. Dec. 31	324,860,074.00	Feb. 8	319,770,969.00	Feb. 24	324,936,794.00	Mar. 4	313,364,667.00	313,364,667.00
River and harbor	[4] 49,033,018.00	Dec. 19	31,643,780.00	1915. Jan. 19	31,643,780.00	Feb. 4	37,433,080.00	Mar. 2	30,000,000.00	...do..	[5] 30,000,000.00	[6] 20,000,000.00
Sundry civil	[7] 111,108,822.96	1915. Feb. 4	125,927,538.29	Feb. 13	125,790,047.79	Feb. 18	126,237,619.79	Feb. 20	127,080,419.79	Mar. 3	[8] 126,922,750.79	[9] 110,070,227.39
Supplemental	[10] 26,912,849.93											[11] 20,376,510.00
Total	996,120,777.31		991,701,698.66		982,400,373.38		1,003,220,719.42		1,013,821,704.42		978,737,857.78	969,225,293.65
Urgent deficiency, Department of Agriculture, etc	[12] 15,000,000.00	1914. Dec. 21	4,372,658.09	1914. Dec. 21	4,372,658.09	1914. Dec. 31	4,477,658.09	Jan. 6	4,478,858.09	Jan. 25	4,398,858.09	[12] 20,296,576.61
Deficiency, 1915, and prior years		1915. Feb. 24	7,162,616.31	1915. Feb. 27	7,206,599.31	1915. Mar. 2	8,092,872.22	Mar. 2	8,404,422.08	Mar. 4	7,917,485.81	
Total	1,011,120,777.31		1,003,236,973.06		993,979,630.78		1,015,791,249.73		1,026,704,984.59		991,054,201.68	989,521,870.26
Miscellaneous	[12] 2,500,000.00										[12] 2,500,000.00	[14] 11,709,361.29
Total, regular annual appropriations	1,013,620,777.31										993,554,201.68	1,001,231,231.55
Permanent annual appropriations	[15] 121,567,207.00										[15] 121,567,207.00	[16] 114,886,907.00
Grand total, regular and permanent annual appropriations	1,135,187,984.31										[17] 1,115,121,408.68	[18] 1,116,118,138.55

Amount of estimated revenues for fiscal year 1916	$735,000,000.00
Amount of estimated postal revenues for fiscal year 1916	320,470,000.00
Total of estimated revenues for fiscal year 1916	1,055,470,000.00

[1] One-half of the amounts for the District of Columbia payable by the United States, except amounts for the water department (estimated for 1916 at $138,380) which are payable from the revenues of the water department.

[2] Includes $4,635,000 out of proceeds of sale of battleships Idaho and Mississippi.

[3] Includes all expenses of the Postal Service payable from postal revenues and out of the Treasury.

[4] In addition to this amount the sum of $4,344,800 to meet contracts authorized by law for river and harbor improvements is included in the sundry civil estimates for 1916.

[5] In addition to this amount the sum of $3,982,000 is appropriated in the sundry civil act to carry out contracts authorized by law for river and harbor improvements for 1916.

[6] In addition to this amount the sum of $6,988,500 was appropriated in the sundry civil act to carry out contracts authorized by law for river and harbor improvements for 1915.

[7] Includes $4,344,800 to carry out contracts authorized by law for river and harbor improvements, and $18,931,865.58 for the Panama Canal for 1916; for continuing construction of public buildings that have been authorized.

[8] Includes $3,982,000 to carry out contracts authorized by law for river and harbor improvements; $19,579,048.30 for the Panama Canal; and $13,530.000 for the Reclamation Service previously provided for under permanent appropriations.

[9] Includes $6,988,500 to carry out contracts authorized by law for river and harbor improvements, and $21,842,525 for the Panama Canal.

[10] This is the sum of supplemental estimates for the sundry civil bill and includes $12,208,420 for construction of authorized public buildings; $4,876,000 for Reclamation Service submitted in regular annual estimates, but not included in total therefor; $2,175,000 for additional reclamation work; $3,000,000 for valuation of common carriers; and $2,000,000 for railroads in Alaska.

[11] Includes $16,309,500, transferred from permanent appropriations now estimated as amount that will be expended under latter for Reclamation Service during 1915; $1,000,000 appropriated in special act for railroads in Alaska; and $3,067,010 for 1915 for objects in deficiency acts, all of which sums cover branches of the public service provided for in the sundry civil act for 1916.

[12] Approximated.

[13] Exclusive of $3,067,010 transferred to additional sum under sundry civil act for 1915.

[14] Includes $5,100,000 for War Risk Insurance Bureau, $2,750,000 for relief of American citizens in Europe, $1,000,000 for expenses of representation of foreign Governments incident to European war, and is exclusive of $1,000,000 for railroads in Alaska, transferred to additional sum under sundry civil act for 1915.

[15] This is the amount submitted by the Secretary of the Treasury in the annual estimates for the fiscal year 1916, the exact amount appropriated not being ascertainable until two years after the close of the fiscal year. This amount includes estimated amount of $60,723,000 to meet sinking-fund obligations for 1916.

[16] Exclusive of $16,309,500 transferred to additional sum under sundry civil act for 1915.

[17] In addition to this amount contracts are authorized to be entered into, subject to future appropriations by Congress as follows: By the District of Columbia act, $100,000; by the fortification act, $300,000; by the naval act, $37,000,000; in all, $37,400,000.

[18] In addition to this amount contracts are authorized to be entered into, subject to future appropriations by Congress, as follows: By the fortification act, $600,000; by the naval act, $38,350,000; by the sundry civil act, $819,000; by various acts to increase the limit of cost of certain public buildings, $573,000; in all, $40,333,000.

Democratic Appropriations Empty Treasury—Government Faces Bankruptcy—President's New Doctrine in Public Expenditures—Failure of Post Office Bill Emphasizes Democratic Incompetency—Much Flaunted "Economy" Now a Tradition.

SPEECH

OF

HON. FREDERICK H. GILLETT,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915,

On the subject of appropriations.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, this Congress was pledged to economy by the Democratic platform and by 16 years of unceasing criticism of Republican extravagance. Yet the recommendation of appropriations made by the administration at the last session and the appropriations actually made by the Congress in response to those recommendations were the largest ever known, exceeding the largest of those which they had so unsparingly condemned by about **$100,000,000.** But during the last session they could at least plead inexperience. It was their first taste of power and responsibility for many years. They could claim that their new tariff law and their new income-tax law had not yet been tested and there was a chance that they might produce ample revenue, even for those enormous and inordinate appropriations.

At this session they had no such excuse. Their revenue laws had been tested. They had experience by which they could forecast the income of next year. And in the light of this knowledge, in the midst of a great European war disturbing all commercial and financial activities, with every indication that expenditure must be radically curtailed if it was not to exceed the income, despite all this the administration requested larger appropriations than had ever been requested of any other Congress, and Congress has granted larger appropriations than had ever been granted until last year. Apparently both the administration, which first suggested the expenditures, and the Congress, which finally authorized them, were reckless of how the money was to be provided—they thought only of how the money could be spent. Their appetites must be gratified, regardless of cost. And so I believe by their self-indulgence they have passed the way for an enormous deficit next year, which must be met either by borrowing money or by new and vexatious taxes.

ESTIMATES MISLEADING AND ENORMOUS.

On December 7 the Secretary of the Treasury, as required by law, sent to Congress the estimate of the appropriations which the administration deemed necessary for the fiscal year commencing the 1st of next July. The regular estimates submitted on that day called for **$1,090,775,134.38,** and on the same day came supplemental estimates for **$4,000,000** more. But that estimate was misleading and unfair, for it diminished the expense of the Post Office Department by **$27,774,450,** on the theory that Congress would make a suggested change in the law—a theory that was only based on a dreamy hope and not on a reasonable expectation, and that was proved almost immediately to be unjustified. The report of the Post Office Committee, made on December 14, only a week later, stated that the Post Office Department had already submitted revised estimates **$27,774,450** larger than the original estimates. Restorng that **$27,774,450,** the estimates of expenditure submitted by the Secretary of the Treasury on December 7 amounted to **$1,122,549,584.38.** Last year the original estimates submitted were **$1,108,681,777.02,** and that was larger than had ever been submitted by any Republican administration. And yet in this year of depression and uncertainty and shrinking income this party of economy submits estimates **$13,867,807.36** larger than the record figures of last year.

This huge estimate was not because of sudden and extraordinary need in some one department of the Government. It was distributed over all branches. The estimate for every single appropriation bill, except the Indian bill and the pension bill, was larger than the bill of the preceding year. The administration, in sending to Congress its requests for appropriations, assumed that the country was in a condition to make larger expenditures than ever before for all branches of the Government, except for its wards, the Indians, and the old soldiers. They were the sole victims of Democratic economy.

TREASURY BALANCE SHRINKING RAPIDLY.

What was the condition of the country and its revenues on December 7 when these huge estimates were submitted? What was there to justify housekeeping on this magnificent scale? The cash in the Treasury general fund, using round figures, had shrunk from **$141,000,000** on the 1st of July, the beginning of the fiscal year, to **$75,000,000** on December 7. That means that during the five preceding months the expenses of the Government had exceeded its income by **$66,000,000.** We had been running behind at the rate of **$13,000,000** a month. How much of the insufficiency of income was due to the Democratic revenue laws and how much to the European war I will not here discuss, for both conditions seemed likely to endure through the next fiscal year, and in forecasting probable revenue it would be only prudent to assume their continuance. Indeed, indications point to an even greater falling off of revenues from customs, from the Post Office, and from the income tax. Under these circumstances, in submitting recommendations for the next fiscal year ordinary prudence would have dictated that some program should be formulated to either reduce expenditures or increase the revenues. A monthly deficit of **$13,000,000** leads straight to bankruptcy. The income tax accruing in June would only replenish the Treasury for a short time and could not long support such a drain. The Secretary of the Treasury was not unconscious of the danger. In his annual report he said:

> As long as the expenditures of the Government exceed its income there is always danger. To maintain such a condition is both unsound and imprudent. The corollary of a weak Treasury is impaired confidence.

APPROPRIATIONS LARGEST EVER MADE.

Yet the administration took no steps to avert or remedy that "unsound and imprudent condition," and recommended expenditures on an enlarged scale. Congress proceeded to frame the appropriation bills in accordance with the Executive recommendations. After a month of work, apparently realizing at last the impending disaster, there was a consultation between representatives of the administration and of Congress. Of the details of that conference I know nothing, but apparently no plan could be agreed upon, and the Secretary of the Treasury announced that the appropriation bills ought not to be substantially cut, and Congress proceeded to pass them. The result has been an aggregate of appropriations of more than **$1,115,000,000,** which is about **$1,000,000** less than the appropriations of last year. In addition, contract obligations have been authorized to the amount of **$37,400,000.**

POST OFFICE AND INDIAN BILLS FAIL.

The appropriations would have been **$11,593,638.21** more than last year except that owing to the Democratic inefficiency, which we have so often had occasion to criticize, the Post Office bill and the Indian bill failed to pass at all. They were so loaded with legislation by the committees framing them that the two Houses could reach no final agreement on them, and so, to take their place, the appropriations of last year had to be continued by resolutions.

Those two bills, as agreed upon in conference, were **$12,590,368.08** larger than last year, so that their failure and the continuance of last year's law made an apparent saving of **$12,500,000** and prevented this year's appropriations surpassing those of last year by more than **$11,000,000.** That saving is only nominal, and the full amount will probably be allowed by deficiency bills next winter, and in the meantime the Postal Service will suffer in many of its activities.

FIFTEEN APPROPRIATION BILLS FAIL TO PASS ON TIME.

Extending the laws of the previous year by resolution is an unscientific and an expensive method of legislation; it is an admission of incompetency, but it is a regular concomitant of Democratic administrations. It is a mark of dilatoriness and incapacity, and its extravagance is aptly testified to in the following extract from the last annual report of the Democratic Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Redfield:

> Finally, money loss arises from failure to make appropriations in time to keep the work of the Government moving. The serious results of these latter losses are probably not appreciated. They undoubtedly amount to more than some of the economies thought to be effected by clipping estimates.

During the 16 years of Republican control the appropriation bills were prepared promptly and were invariably passed before they were needed, and an extension resolution was never resorted to. But in the past four years, when the Democrats have controlled the House of Representatives, where appropriation bills originate, 15 regular appropriation bills have failed to pass before the necessary date, so that 15 times a resolution of extension has been required. Inefficiency is always the cause. But, although the first and obvious deduction from these facts is that the incompetent party should be driven from power, yet a secondary lesson can be drawn that there is a crying necessity for a reform in our system of making appropriations and for some concentration of authority which shall

unite power with responsibility. That would put some curb on inefficiency and extravagance.

PRESIDENT DISREGARDS LAW—HIS NEW DOCTRINE IN PUBLIC EXPENDITURES.

But the estimates submitted by this administration prove that the fault is not primarily with Congress. The Executive has been more reckless and improvident than Congress, and with less excuse. In this session the appropriations have been **$47,841,025.63** less than asked by the administration. In the last session they were **$36,563,638.47** less. If Congress at both sessions had appropriated all that the administration recommended, the huge total of appropriations would be **$84,404,664.10** greater still. So the prevalent opinion that Congress is mainly to blame is incorrect. It is the Executive which is primarily at fault. It ought to be vastly easier for the President and Cabinet, a small executive body exempt from the dangers of logrolling, to survey the whole field, calculate the revenues, and cut the estimates to correspond. But they have been wholly recreant to that duty. With the evidence of falling revenues painly before them they have not hesitated to demand increased expenditures, and instead of obeying the law and guiding Congress to obvious and imperative economies, Congress has been obliged to restrain and prune their reckless estimates. As long as the Executive shows no appreciation of his responsibility in advising how to make the two ends meet, Congress, with its large membership and diversity of interests, can hardly be expected to assume the entire responsibility and practice self-denial. To accomplish wise results there must be a sympathy of purpose and a unity of effort and a recognition of mutual responsibility. That has all been lacking in this Congress.

The estimates submitted to Congress at the beginning of the session in December last, including those submitted by supplemental communications, were palpably far in excess of any estimate of the possible revenues for the year. The President, instead of advising Congress as he was commanded to by the law: "How in his judgment the estimated appropriations could with least injury to the public service be reduced so as to bring the appropriations within the estimated revenues," said in his annual message:

> I assert with the greatest confidence that the people of the United States are not jealous of the amount their Government costs if they are sure that they get what they need and desire for the outlay.

This new doctrine of Democratic economy seems to have been impressed well upon the advisers and subordinates of the President, for in the annual report of the Secretary of Commerce I find the precept reiterated:

> No sane business man would ever judge of economy or extravagance in expenditure merely by the total. He would ask, "Was the expenditure needed?" "Was the money well spent?" And he would not regard with tolerance or consider economical the mere absence of expenditure, especially when it involved him either in larger future outlay or in greater cost of production.

No matter what we spend, so long as we get what we need and desire! An entirely new doctrine in public expenditures and one seized upon by the party in control of the taxing and spending power of our Government to bring it to the verge of, if not actually thrust it into, bankruptcy by the appropriations made at this session. In their mad rush "to get what they need and desire for the outlay" they did not hesitate, in the closing hours of the session, to vote a rider on one of the great appropriation bills providing for a financial scheme of so-called rural credits that proposed to take out of the Federal Treasury **$50,000,000** that was not there, and to take and appropriate, besides, **$240,000,000** of Panama Canal bonds that had been authorized to be used solely for the building of the Panama Canal. Fortunately this rider, voted on by the House, was not concurred in by the Senate.

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS.

But I do not contend that the Democratic claim to be the party of economy is entirely a fiction. I have no doubt the title was once deserved. My only regret is that it no longer applies. Like many of the virtues and principles claimed by the present Democratic Party, it lives only in tradition. And it is provoking to see it still flaunted as an existing virtue when it is contradicted and belied by their every action. And yet it is no more than fair to admit that there still exists in this House a little band of Democrats, headed by the chairman of the Appropriations Committee, who have made an honest and sturdy fight to revive and uphold the obsolete Democratic traditions. They have had no encouragement from the administration, they have had little support in the House, but I have seen at close range their efforts and their discouragements, and as they have had no reward except their own self-approval, I am glad to give my acknowledgment that their attempts at economy have been earnest, disinterested, public-spirited, and sagacious.

What Bagehot said of the English Parliament has been peculiarly true of this Congress:

> If you want to raise a certain cheer in the House of Commons, make a general panegyric on economy. If you want to invite a sure defeat, propose a particular saving.

FOUR RECKLESS DEMOCRATIC YEARS.

The appropriations of this session have shamefully disregarded the principles of sound business and true economy. With revenues falling and precarious, with business and commercial conditions feverish and uncertain, with a steady monthly deficit and no assured prospect of its relief, and with a cash fund reduced to a point that has generally been deemed unsafe, the administration has recommended and the Congress has authorized expenditures on a larger scale than ever before, and no step has been taken to meet the prospective deficit. I can see in such conduct no sign of judgment or foresight or prudence. It seems to me a reckless gamble, a blind trust that some happy chance will effect a deliverance which no sound reason can anticipate.

That is not the way the finances of a Government should be administered. There ought to be some proportion between income and outgo, and their relations ought not to be ignored and their accommodation left to chance. That seems to have been the only fiscal policy of this session, and it is but another reason why the administration has lost the confidence of the people.

The total appropriations of this first Democratic Congress have been, in round figures, **$2,231,000,000**, which is **$113,000,000** larger than its predecessor and **$177,000,000** larger than the last Republican Congress. Moreover, in the four years before the Democrats secured control of the House the Republican Congresses paid out of the current revenues nearly **$70,000,000** more for the Panama Canal construction than has been paid in the last four years. These figures are so vast that it is difficult to appreciate their significance, but we can estimate it better by thinking how comforting it would be if there were now in our lean and depleted Treasury those **$177,000,000** which would have been saved if the Democrats had even been as economical as those prodigal Republicans, whose extravagance they so unsparingly condemned.

LUCRATIVE OFFICES FILLED GREEDILY.

The Democratic platform not only denounced the "lavish appropriations of Republican Congresses," but called for "a reduction in the number of useless offices, the salaries of which drain the substance of the people." I have seen no sign that any of those offices which could be filled by "deserving Democrats" have been considered "useless." On the contrary, no Congress of which we have a record has created so many new offices with high salaries. And in filling these offices there has been exhibited a narrow and avaricious partisanship which has not been surpassed since the halcyon days of the spoils system under Andrew Jackson. In the 10 appointments to the Federal Reserve Board and the Trade Commission, with salaries of $12,000 and $10,000 per annum, not a Republican was included. This Congress is the first since 1894 when the Democratic Party has had full control of all branches of the Government, and so it has given them for the first time an opportunity to prove the sincerity of their platform pledges and of the criticisms which they had persistently directed at the extravagance of the Republican administrations. The figures are illuminating and conclusive.

The description of the Government of France by an eminent author is very appropriate to the work of this Congress. Bodley wrote:

> Millions of the national wealth are squandered by each Parliament on the creation of superfluous posts in a land already overburdened with functionaries and on public works designed only to advance the local popularity of their promoters. The majority offers no opposition, as deputies vote with reciprocal comity for one another's prodigalities.

I recognize that the mere size of the appropriations does not prove extravagance. True economy does not consist simply in making small appropriations, but in a wise and careful adjustment of expenditures to income. Conduct which is extravagant in a poor man might be parsimony in a millionaire. What is a proper and reasonable outlay for the Government in Republican times might be extravagance in pinching Democratic times. When the income is large the expenditure can correspond, but this administration and Congress seems unable to comprehend that a reduction of expenditure ought to accompany a severe reduction of income, and is spending more in these

straitened Democratic times than the Republicans ever risked in their most prosperous days.

REPUBLICAN PARTY COUNTRY'S ONLY HOPE.

The Treasury balance is to-day only **$45,000,000**, instead of the **$166,000,000** which was left them by the Republican policies at the beginning of the fiscal year 1914, although for months we have been paying vexatious "war taxes." A balance of only **$50,000,000** has for years been considered the danger point. The Treasury has not been so empty since the Cleveland administration. I am afraid it can only be replenished, as it was then, by an issue of bonds, and that it can only be made permanently safe, as it was then, by a change of administration.

Immigration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. GRIFFIN,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Thursday, February 4, 1915,

On the veto message of the President on the act (H. R. 6060) to regulate the immigration of aliens to and the residence of aliens in the United States.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, I will vote to sustain the President's veto, because I am opposed to this bill, which is unfair, unjust, un-American, and entirely antagonistic to the traditional policy of our country.

The pathway of duty was blazed for President Wilson by two distinguished Presidents, Grover Cleveland and William Howard Taft, who in no uncertain terms condemned legislation of this character. On March 2, 1897, Grover Cleveland, in his memorable message vetoing the literacy test, said:

A radical departure from our national policy relating to immigration is here presented. Heretofore we have welcomed all who came to us from other lands except those whose moral or physical condition or history threatened danger to our national welfare and safety. Relying upon the zealous watchfulness of our people to prevent injury to our political and social fabric, we have encouraged those coming from foreign countries to cast their lot with us and join in the development of our vast domain, securing in return a share in the blessings of American citizenship.

A century's stupendous growth, largely due to the assimilation and thrift of millions of sturdy and patriotic adopted citizens, attests the success of this generous and free-handed policy, which, while guarding the people's interests, exacts from our immigrants only physical and moral soundness and a willingness and ability to work.

A contemplation of the grand results of this policy can not fail to arouse a sentiment in its defense, for, however it might have been regarded as an original proposition and viewed as an experiment, its accomplishments are such that if it is to be uprooted at this late day its disadvantages should be plainly apparent and the substitute adopted should be just and adequate, free from uncertainties and guarded against difficult or oppressive administration.

Ex-President Taft, vetoing the literacy test on February 14, 1913, wrote:

I can not make up my mind to sign a bill which in its chief provision violates a principle that ought, in my opinion, to be upheld in dealing with our immigration. I refer to the literacy test. For the reasons stated in Secretary Nagel's letter to me, I can not approve that test.

Ex-Secretary of Commerce and Labor Charles Nagel, in his letter of February 12, 1913, upon which President Taft based his literacy-test veto, wrote the following:

I am of the opinion that this provision can not be defended upon its merits. It was originally urged as a selective test. For some time recommendations in its support upon that ground have been brought to our attention. The matter has been considered from that point of view, and I became completely satisfied that upon that ground the test could not be sustained. The older argument is now abandoned, and in the later conferences, at least, the ground is taken that the provision is to be defended as a practical measure to exclude a large proportion of undesirable immigrants from certain countries. The measure proposes to reach its result by indirection, and is defended purely upon the ground of practical policy, the final purpose being to reduce the quantity of cheap labor in this country. I can not accept this argument. No doubt the law would exclude a considerable percentage of immigration from southern Italy, among the Poles, the Mexicans, and the Greeks. This exclusion would embrace probably in large part undesirable but also a great many desirable people, and the embarrassment, expense, and distress to those who seek to enter would be out of all proportion to any good that can possibly be promised for this measure.

My observation leads me to the conclusion that, so far as the merits of the individual immigrant are concerned, the test is altogether overestimated. The people who come from the countries named are frequently illiterate because opportunities have been denied them. The oppression with which these people have to contend in modern times is not religious, but it consists of a denial of the opportunity to acquire reading and writing. Frequently the attempt to learn to read and write the language of the particular people is discouraged by the Government, and these immigrants in coming to our shores are really striving to free themselves from the conditions under which they have been compelled to live.

So far as the industrial conditions are concerned, I think, the question has been superficially considered. We need labor in this country, and the natives are unwilling to do the work which the aliens come over to do. It is perfectly true that in a few cities and localities there are congested conditions. It is equally true that in very much larger areas we are practically without help. In my judgment no sufficiently earnest and intelligent effort has been made to bring our wants and our supply togther, and so far the same forces that give the chief support to this provision of the new bill have stubbornly resisted any effort looking to an intelligent distribution of new immigration to meet the needs of our vast country. In my judgment no such drastic measure based upon a ground which is untrue and urged for a reason which we are unwilling to assert should be adopted until we have at least exhausted the possibilities of a rational distribution of these new forces.

President Woodrow Wilson in a most forceful, truly partiotic message vetoing the pending legislation, which contains the narrow, un-American literacy test, said:

In two particulars of vital consequence this bill embodies a radical departure from the traditional and long-established policy of this country—a policy in which our people have conceived the very character of their Government to be expressed, the very mission and spirit of the Nation in respect of its relations to the peoples of the world outside their borders. It seeks to all but close entirely the gates of asylum which have always been open to those who could find nowhere else the right and opportunity of constitutional agitation for what they conceived to be the natural and inalienable rights of men, and it excludes those to whom the opportunities of elementary education have been denied without regard to their character, their purposes, or their natural capacity.

Restrictions like these adopted earlier in our history as a Nation would very materially have altered the course and cooled the humane ardors of our politics. The right of political asylum has brought to this country many a man of noble character and elevated purpose who was marked as an outlaw in his own less fortunate land and who has yet become an ornament to our citizenship and to our public councils.

The children and the compatriots of these illustrious Americans must stand amazed to see the representatives of their Nation now resolved, in the fullness of our national strength, at the maturity of our great institutions, to risk turning such men back from our shores without test of quality or of purpose. It is difficult for me to believe that the full effect of this feature of the bill was realized when it was framed and adopted, and it is impossible for me to assent to it in the form in which it is here cast.

The literacy test and the tests and restrictions which accompany it constitute an even more radical change in the policy of the Nation. Hitherto we have generously kept our doors open to all who were not unfitted by reason of disease or incapacity for self-support or such personal records and antecedents as were likely to make them a menace to our peace and order or to the wholesome and essential relationships of life. In this bill it is proposed to turn away from tests of character and of quality and to impose tests which exclude and restrict, for the new tests here embodied are not tests of quality or of character or of personal fitness, but tests of opportunity. Those who come seeking opportunity are not admitted unless they have already had one of the chief of the opportunities they seek—the opportunity of education. The object of such provision is restriction, not selection.

This legislation is an echo of "know-nothingism," which found its expression in the misnamed American Party of unsavory memory. Two of its party declarations might well be stated in these less troublous times.

1. That Europe is industriously ridding herself of an excess population now becoming burdensome to her, and whom does she send? Her paupers, her convicts, the outpouring of her almshouses and jails. Even lately has a would-be regicide been landed upon our shores by a national vessel. * * * These immigrants from Europe leave there filled with all the requisite materials to spread among our citizens immigrant radicalism and liberalism.

2. That the foreigner had become the tool of the political wirepuller; that the naturalization laws had become a dead letter; that the foreign vote had become a decisive factor at election; that the foreigner, especially the Irish, was willing to obtain office and power by any means.

The attacks of to-day against immigration are less bitter in character but very similar to the broadsides aimed against the early immigrants from Ireland, Germany, Sweden, and Scotland.

The Irish, the German, the Swede, and the Scotch have passed through the crucible of opportunity and have added to the strength and stability of our free institutions.

Tear away the mask of hypocrisy, "call a pick a pick and a spade a spade."

The literacy test is not a selective test. It is a provision placed in the bill to exclude from our shores the Russian Jew, the Polander, the Greek, the Bohemian, and the Italian from southern Italy. The Jew, a member of a persecuted and oppressed race in Russia, coming to our shores seeks an asylum of hope and happiness. His energy, his thrift, his thirst for knowledge, his devotion to his parents are elements that contribute prodigally to America's highest type of citizen.

In the Empire State one of the most learned judges of the court of appeals, the court of last resort in our State, Benjamin H. Cardoza, a member of a family of great lawyers, appointed by a broad-minded patriotic governor, Martin H. Glynn, is proud of his Jewish ancestry. In medicine, law, the arts and sciences, and the business world the Jew holds a position of preeminence. In this very Sixty-third Congress there are four distinguished members of Hebraic origin.

In the sacred Revolution War for Independence; in the War of 1812; in the Mexican War of territorial aggrandizement and in the internecine strife to preserve the integrity of the Union; in the Spanish-American War, and at Vera Cruz the Jew con-

tributed his life and his blood to American ideals and American patriotism.

The door of opportunity should be thrown wide open to a race that can produce a Disraeli, a Benjamin, and in our own times a Straus and a Schiff.

The Italian, who proudly points to his Columbus, the discoverer of the Western Hemisphere, the Polander, the Greek, and the Bohemian need no public apologists. They are passing through the crucible of antagonisms that have become a memory to the Irish and German immigrants of the early forties. They will emerge just as triumphantly as have the Irish and the Germans. The "hewer of wood and the drawer of water" of to-day will become the captain of industry of to-morrow. Such potentialities are possible and are not far-fetched in a land where our free educational system is creating an educational level between the rich and the poor. The brawn and sinew of the Italian and Polander, the spirit of liberty of the Greek, and the stolidity of the Bohemian will prove precious elements for deposit in the national melting pot.

The Middle West, the undeveloped South, and far-off Alaska need a great influx of the laboring immigrant. Hundreds of thousands of acres of virginal forest and agricultural land need the magic of American enterprise and the labor of European immigrants.

The American citizen through education has reached a stage where he will not do the work aliens will do.

In the West and Middle West the majority of farms are owned by foreign-born people or their immediate descendants. Among these foreign agriculturists who help supply our foodstuffs are Germans, Scandinavians, Italians, Polanders, and Bohemians. The greater the production of foodstuffs the lower the cost of living.

When we consider our ancestors, even if we can point with pride to Plymouth Rock, we must be convinced in our heart of hearts of the narrowness, the bigotry, and the shallowness of the literacy test. To my colleagues on the other side of this question, some of whom have honestly fought with fanatical fervor for years to place this literacy test on the statute books, I commend a real solution of the problem, and to it I intend devoting much of my time while in Congress.

What is needed in this country is a proper distribution of immigration. Men of character should always be welcome to our shores.

The sacrifices of Jones, Lafayette, Kosciusko, Kossuth, Steuben, De Kalb, and Pulaski in our Nation's building should not be forgotten. The Irish brigade at Fredericksburg fought the battles of their adopted country. Let us not forget, my colleagues, the spirit of our forefathers, who proclaimed to the world that this Nation is the land of liberty and equality, a land where man worships his Creator as his conscience dictates, a land that is an asylum for the oppressed of all nations, a land that stretches out its hands across the sea to the persecuted people of the world, bidding them a hearty welcome to this haven of love and happiness, to this blessed land of promise and opportunity.

Advocating the Appointment of Postmasters of All Classes by the Postmaster General Instead of by the President.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THETUS W. SIMS.

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, on yesterday, the 3d of this month, I introduced the following bill, which was referred to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads:

A bill (H. R. 21606) to provide for the appointment of postmasters of all classes by the Postmaster General, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That postmasters of the first, second, third, and fourth classes shall be appointed and may be removed by the Postmaster General, by whom all appointments and removals shall be notified to the Auditor for the Post Office Department.

SEC. 2. That all laws and parts of laws in conflict with this act are hereby repealed.

In his annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914, the Postmaster General recommends that the appointment of postmasters of the third class be made by the Postmaster General and not by the President, as required by existing law.

In his report the Postmaster General calls attention to the report of the First Assistant Postmaster General for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914, recommending a change of existing law so as to permit the Postmaster General to appoint postmasters of the third class. I now read from said report of the First Assistant Postmaster General, page 16, as follows:

Under existing law, appointments of third-class postmasters must be made by the President and confirmed by the Senate. This elaborate and costly procedure is not warranted by the relative importance of the positions. Moreover, there is every service reason for classifying these positions and the time now seems opportune for taking this step, following in the wake of the successful administration of the Executive order of May 7, 1913, classifying fourth-class postmasterships. The number of third-class postmasters exceeds 6,000, and the salaries range from $1,000 to $1,900 per annum. There seems to be no good reason why these appointments should not be made by the Postmaster General, by whom the successful applicants are now nominated to the President for appointment. This would expedite the appointments and give the Post Office Department immediate control over the incumbents, and hence tend to increase efficiency.

What I have just read, giving the reasons for authorizing the Postmaster General to appoint postmasters of the third class, applies with equal force to the appointment of postmasters of the first and second class, as provided for in my bill. The duties and functions of postmasters of all classes are in all respects similar. The classes into which postmasters have been divided are not determined by the character of the services to be performed, but is determined altogether by the salaries paid.

All postmasters whose salaries are as much as $3,000 and over are of the first class. All postmasters whose salaries are $1,900 and less than $3,000 are of the second class, and all postmasters whose salaries are $1,000 and less than $1,900 are of the third class, and all postmasters whose salaries are less than $1,000 are of the fourth class.

The law now provides that all postmasters except those of the fourth class must be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. There is absolutely not one good sound argument that can be urged in favor of having postmasters of any class appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

There are now about 8,650 postmasters of the first, second, and third classes, all of whom must be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914, there were appointed 3,720 presidential postmasters. The applications and indorsements of all this vast number of presidential postmasters had to be first thoroughly considered and passed on by the Postmaster General before the names of those recommended by him were sent to the President for his consideration and approval. The President, being charged with the responsibility of the successful administration of all departments of Government, must necessarily give a great deal of his time to the consideration of the applicants for these positions before he sends his nominations to the Senate. When finally sent to the Senate all nominations are referred to the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, where they are again considered before they are acted on finally by the Senate in executive session. If a vast majority of the nominations for postmasters thus sent to the Senate are not passed on by it in a mere perfunctory way, a great deal of time must be consumed by the Senate and its Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads that is not at all necessary to secure efficiency in the service. If these confirmations as a general rule are made by the Senate with little or no consideration, and thus resulting in no public good, it is in the interest of good legislation to pass the bill I have introduced and save the President and the Senate the time and trouble entailed upon them by the present method of appointing and confirming postmasters of the first, second, and third classes.

While the appointments of postmasters of all classes is an exercise of executive power and a performance of an executive duty for which the President and those acting under him are wholly responsible, a practice or usage has grown up by which the Members of the House of Representatives of the same political party of the administration are requested by the Postmaster General to suggest to him persons to be appointed postmasters in their respective congressional districts, and as a rule the person so suggested is recommended by the Postmaster General to the President, and as a general rule the President nominates the person thus selected to the Senate for confirmation or rejection.

To this general practice there is one exception, and that is that the Senator is asked to recommend a person for postmaster in the city in which he resides instead of the Representative of the district in which the town or city is located. This practice has been followed by all political parties, as far as I am advised.

A Representative in this House has a much better opportunity to know the character and qualifications of applicants for office in his district than is possible for a Senator to know, unless he resides in the same district. As a general rule Senators readily

acquiesce in this practice, and make no effort, either directly or indirectly, to interfere with the exercise of this courtesy extended to Members of this body by the President.

As a general rule Senators confirm the nominations of postmasters made in this way, with one exception, and that is where the person thus selected is personally offensive to a Senator from the State in which the appointee resides. While there is no formal rule of the Senate of this kind, there seems to be an "unwritten rule" by way of courtesy extended to a Senator who alleges that a person thus selected for office is personally offensive to him. In the consideration of nominations by the Senate, it acts in executive session, behind closed doors, with no report or record of what any Senator may say regarding his objection to the confirmation of nominations sent to it by the President. On this account I am unable to find precedents of what has been urged by Senators in the way of "personal offensiveness" that has been thought by the Senate to be of sufficient gravity to warrant the rejection of a person nominated for office by the President. But taking the words "personally offensive" in the ordinary sense in which they are commonly used, I would suppose it means that, apart from all political considerations, that there is a state of personal ill feeling existing between the Senator and the person named for office that would make it embarrassing for the Senator to have to transact official business with the person objected to by him, or something of that kind or along that line.

Mr. Speaker, I must suppose that in order to justify a man big enough and broad enough to be a United States Senator in depriving the President and the country of the services of a man in public office, simply because the man was personally offensive to him, that the grounds or cause for the existence of such a state of mind must be of an extremely offensive character, and that any Senator who would take advantage of such a practice would not hesitate to make public the nature and details of the "personally offensive" matter of so grave a character as to warrant such action on his part.

No doubt this custom or practice that has grown up in the Senate of objecting to the confirmation of applicants for office on grounds of "personal offensiveness" has sometimes, to say the least of it, been abused, and no doubt it has sometimes been resorted to by Senators, as a means of indirect selection of a postmaster at a particular city more desirable to a Senator, for personal and political reasons than the man whose name has been sent to the Senate upon the recommendation of a Member of this House. Suppose there is a city where there are six applicants for postmaster, all of the same political party, all qualified, and all men of good character, and none of them objectionable to the Member of this body in whose district the appointment is to be made. But, while none are objectionable to the Member, one of the six is decidedly preferable, and this man so preferred is recommended by the Member and his name is sent to the Senate by the President. Then, suppose that the man recommended by the Member is less desirable to a Senator from the State of the applicant than any of the other five. Suppose the Senator and the man whose name has been sent to the Senate are of the same political party, but have been of different factions in the party, and the Senator may think that it is not to his personal or political interest for this particular man to be honored with public office, but instead of disclosing his real grounds of objection, he reports to the Senate in executive session, behind closed doors, that this man is "personally offensive" to him, and in this way gets rid of him and secures the appointment of one of the other applicants, to whom the Senator can say: "You owe your appointment to me. If I had not blocked the confirmation of the man recommended by your Member of the House, you would not have been appointed. I, in this way, forced your Member to come to you, and you therefore owe your success to me and not to your Member. I therefore expect your friendly aid and support in my next contest for the nomination for the Senate."

Then, to make the case all the more odious, suppose this objecting Senator had used all the power and influence he had with the Member of the House to get him to recommend one of the other applicants, and in failing to do so resorts to the "personally offensive" submarine objection in order to get rid of the man preferred by the Member, with the purpose of ultimately bringing him around to the support of the man the Senator wants appointed. Of course it is not to be presumed that many such men would ever be elected to that great body at the other end of this Capitol, but it is best to make such possibilities impossible by passing my bill.

Mr. Speaker, under the rules of this House we are not permitted to call the names of Senators in discussing their actions and votes in the Senate. Therefore I can not call names in a case illustrating how the use of a single objection of this kind has prevented the confirmation of a good man, who was recommended for appointment as postmaster in a city in his district by a Member of this body, and whose name was sent to the Senate by the President after fully considering the objections of a Senator from the same State.

In the case I am referring to, when objection to confirmation was made by the Senator, the nomination was referred to a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, which subcommittee gave a hearing to the objecting Senator and the Member of this House upon whose recommendation the name of the man objected to was sent to the Senate for confirmation. The subcommittee fixed a day for the hearing, and at the hearing the Senator filed a letter addressed to the Senators composing the subcommittee making his objection to confirmation in the following language, leaving out the names of the Senator and the man whose confirmation was opposed:

I therefore object to Mr. ——— 's confirmation on the grounds that he is personally and politically obnoxious and offensive to me.
(Signed) ——— ———.

At the hearing this letter was read first, before any other proceedings were had, whereupon one of the Senators on the subcommittee, addressing the Member of this House who had recommended the appointment of the man whose confirmation was under consideration, said:

Then, Mr. ———, there isn't any need of your making a statement.

But upon the earnest insistence of the Member to be heard in his own behalf, in order to give the reasons for having recommended the man thus objected to, one of the other Senators, who was chairman of the subcommittee, then said:

Then state your case as briefly as you can. You understand that it is already settled against you.

The Member, after being requested to be as brief as possible, was permitted in a most hurried manner to make a statement, which was printed afterwards by order of the committee. Subsequently the Senator, who could not be present at the first hearing, was afterwards heard and the Member again heard in reply, In the hearing the Senator reiterated what he had said in his letter in substance, but gave no specific or detailed information as to the "personal and politically offensive" matter, and gave no names of persons who had furnished him with the information, although requested to do so by the Member who was present.

The subcommittee, as I am informed, after the hearing was closed decided to recommend the rejection of the nomination. But in the meantime the Member requested the President to withdraw the name of the applicant, which was immediately done, so that neither the nomination or recommendation was actually acted on by the Senate.

Mr. Speaker, as far as my knowledge goes, this is the first time that a Senator, in objecting to the confirmation of a postmaster in his own State, has ever assigned as part of his grounds for opposing confirmation "political offensiveness." I must confess that I am at a loss for a definition of "political offensiveness," but I suppose that the Senator who urged it has his own standards as to when an applicant for office from his State is "personally and politically obnoxious and offensive" to him. To what extent this applicant was "personally offensive," and to what extent he was "politically offensive" to the Senator I am unable to state. The personal element may have been but 1 per cent of the whole, while the political element may have been 99 per cent. But, to say the least of it, the Senator asked that he be rejected on both grounds. Now, it is just possible that a Senator who is so "sensitive" on "political grounds" might magnify this feeling toward an applicant for office so as to be looking through colored glasses as to the element of personal "offensiveness."

The case I refer to arose in a State where the Democratic Party had been so badly split up into factions that the Republicans had carried the State for Governor in two elections, although the State is normally Democratic by a good safe majority. In that factional struggle the Senator had been active as a member of one faction and the "politically offensive" applicant for the postmastership had acted with the other and larger faction. We all know that factional party strife often develops into contests of great bitterness, in which for the time being members of both factions become politically very offensive to each other. But, Mr. Speaker, are we in this "land of the free and home of the brave" to tolerate proscriptive punishments for opinion's sake? Shall men be punished simply because they have honestly differed with other men on political questions and policies? There is no knowing to what lengths such an abuse of power may go. Suppose it should happen that when a new President is inaugurated and sends the

names of his Cabinet to the Senate for confirmation that a Senator from each of the States from which the several Cabinet members come arises in the executive session of the Senate and urges "personal and political offensiveness" to each member of the new Cabinet. Is it possible that the whole list would uncermoniously be rejected, with nothing more than the bare statements of Senators in the recesses of an executive session that the men, however great, however well qualified for their respective duties, and however patriotic, were "personally offensive" to one Senator from each of the States from which these men may come? Of course such a thing is so unlikely and improbable as to hardly deserve serious notice. But a practice that permits such a course of action to be pursued toward a postmaster is just as bad in principle and just as reprehensible in application as when applied to a Cabinet officer.

Under the possibilities of such an "unwritten rule" a general of the Army or an admiral of the Navy can be rejected for promotion because for some fancied personal grievance of a Senator he may have made himself "personally offensive" to him. But when it gets to be a common practice to refuse confirmation simply because the man named by the President for public office is "politically offensive" to a Senator it is certainly high time that at least one "unwritten rule" of the Senate be abolished; and if this can not be done, the people should take the matter into their own hands and see that no man who is so small and so wrapped up in himself as to have a good man rejected for official place simply because the man is "personally and politically offensive" to him, whatever that may mean. No citizen of this country should be forced to pass over the political "bridge of sighs" to appease the pevish wrath of so small a man, although for the time being he may happen to be a United States Senator.

Mr. Speaker, for these and many other good and sufficient reasons I shall press my bill for passage by the House at the first session of the Sixty-fourth Congress next December.

Export of Arms and Ammunition.

Let us stand on our rights and let us do the right. While just and generous to the smallest, let us fearlessly insist that the greatest powers shall respect our flag and the legitimate commerce carried under its beautiful folds. And let the free winds of heaven no longer be offended by that flag hoisted above a trade that has upon it the curse of Cain. Let us be neutral. Let us be honestly neutral.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY VOLLMER.
OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. VOLLMER. Mr. Speaker, on the first day of the present session of Congress I introduced the resolution known as H. J. Res. 377, to prohibit the export of arms and ammunition. Since that time some 3,000,000 American citizens have petitioned Congress to enact such legislation.

I introduced that resolution as an American citizen and an American representative, knowing my duty as such to prefer the interests of no country to those of the United States, and not to permit inherited racial antipathies, if any, to swerve me from the faithful performance of that duty. I introduced that resolution because as an American I did not want my country, in the eyes of all contemporaries and of all posterity, to stand there as the archhypocrite of the world, that goes into the Lord's holy sanctuary in response to a presidential proclamation and prays for peace, while her pockets are filled with blood money as wicked as the thirty pieces for which Judas sold his Master.

Into what sort of spiritual communion on that Sunday of October 4 did you get, O my American brother, with "the Lord, thy God, who knoweth all things," when you gave Him lip service in the cause of peace and humanity and then on Monday resumed your interrupted occupation of shipping the instruments of murder to one side only of an unequal contest, in which we pretend that all the contestants are our friends. Thus we help part of our dear friends to kill or maim others of our dear friends! Thus we are helping seven who have jumped on two, while a couple of other thugs are waiting around the corner ready to jump on, too, when the right moment comes; but they do not dare just yet, because the minority is putting up too stiff a fight, a fight against which Marathon and Thermopylae and Salamis and Platea were tame exhibitions! How many German and Austrian widows and orphans and cripples will be made with our arms and our munitions? I do not know, but I fear the account will be kept somewhere by the Nemesis that comes to nations as to individuals, who have crimes of blood on their souls! Let us not deceive ourselves. We are particeps criminis to the greatest crime against humanity and civilization in all the annals of time, for so I regard the present world-wide war.

In the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House, we have had several hearings on my resolution. We have defended it—and some of the most distinguished citizens of this country have assisted us—on moral, economic and sentimental grounds and on grounds of the highest national policy. Against the resolution no argument has been made and I predict that none will be made. The ammunition ring does not do business that way. And in the pro-British press of this country, I have seen but two suggestions that could be dignified with the name of arguments in opposition:

First. That the adoption of the resolution would in itself be an unneutral act against the allies.

Second. That it might be a bad precedent for us to establish, if we should ever get into war and, being in a state of unpreparedness, would ourselves desire to import arms and ammunition.

Now, as to the first argument, my answer is that not only would it not be an unneutral act of which the allies could justly complain, to adopt the resolution, but that we can not be genuinely neutral without it; that the maintaining of our neutrality in spirit as well as in the letter, as George Washington put it, to be friendly and impartial to all—requires such legislation, since the control of the seas is at present absolutely with Great Britain, and our supplies can only reach one side. Ethical obligations always depend on the concrete facts of the particular case. This is not an abstract question. The actual existing conditions determine our duty. As the old law writers put it, when the reason of the rule fails, the rule fails. Trying to be honestly neutral, we do not ask you to help Germany and Austria; but we do ask you to stop helping the other side.

The precedents of 100 years, as such, without considering the reason on which they are based—an implied equality of opportunity for both sides to get these things from us—establish our right to export them, if we choose, but no obligation to do so. We are under no obligation, express or implied, by treaty, international law or law of neutrality, to continue this infamous trade. We are under no obligation to export anything that belongs to us.

I can not understand how our great President, for whom I have always entertained the very highest respect, can possibly reconcile his present declaration that this legislation would be unneutral in view of the following language taken verbatim from his first message to Congress on Mexican affairs, in August, 1913:

For the rest, I deem it my duty to exercise the authority conferred upon me by the law of March 14, 1912, to see to it that neither side to the struggle now going on in Mexico receive any assistance from this side the border. I shall follow the best practice of nations in the matter of neutrality by forbidding the exportation of arms or munitions of war of any kind from the United States to any part of the Republic of Mexico a policy suggested by several interesting precedents and certainly dictated by many manifest considerations of practical expediency. We can not in the circumstances be the partisans of either party to the contest that now distracts Mexico, or constitute ourselves the virtual umpire between them.

Again I find in our highest authority on international law, being John Bassett Moore's Digest of International Law, volume 7, page 748, the following language on the subject:

Much misapprehension as to the quality of the act to supply contraband articles, such as arms and munitions of war, to the parties to an armed conflict has arisen from the statement so often made that the trade in contraband is lawful and not prohibited. This statement, when made with reference to the preventive duties of neutral governments is quite correct, but if applied to the duties of individuals it is quite incorrect. The acts which individuals are forbidden to commit and the acts which neutral governments are obliged to prevent are by no means the same, precisely as the acts which the neutral government is obliged to prevent and the acts which it is forbidden to commit are by no means the same. The supply of materials of war such as arms and ammunition to either party in an armed conflict, although neutral governments are not obliged to prevent it, constitutes on the part of the individuals who engage in it a participation in hostilities, and as such is confessedly an unneutral act. Should the government of the individual itself supply such articles it would clearly depart from its position of neutrality.

That this is a correct statement of international law was recognized by Great Britain when, on April 23, 1898, it issued a proclamation warning British subjects against doing any act "in derogation of their duty as subjects of a neutral power

or any violation or contravention of the law of nations" among which was enumerated the "export of arms, ammunition, military stores, or materials."

From the foregoing it appears that under general international law as recognized by Great Britain itself, the act of our citizens in exporting arms and ammunition, is an unneutral act. If our Government decides to forbid the commission of such unneutral acts by its own citizens, can such action on the part of our Government be declared to be unneutral, since its object is to establish neutrality? It seems to me that with this falls the last argument of the opponents of the various measures pending before Congress designed to stop the export of arms and ammunition.

In this connection I desire to call attention to the further fact that there is now on the statute books of Great Britain an act very similar in its wording to H. J. Res. 377, conferring the discretionary power on the King of England to forbid the export of arms and ammunition. Also that nearly all the neutral countries of Europe have since this war began enacted such legislation; also that the German Government during the Spanish-American War stopped the export of such materials on receiving a protest from our minister, Andrew D. White.

Suppose two men are fighting here on this floor and I have knives and pistols and other arms and only one can get near me and I keep handing out these weapons to him, is that impartial neutrality?

Take for instance another illustration, which I received in a letter from an old apple grower in Oregon. I have an orchard and a neighbor on my right wants to steal my apples and a neighbor on my left hands him a ladder so that he can get at the apples and then gets down on his knees and prays to God to stop all stealing of apples, is that honest neutrality?

Because England may be disappointed in her hope to have this country and her inexhaustible resources as allies, does not establish her right to complain if we say that by reason of existing, unprecedented conditions, for our own moral and material welfare, we do not choose longer to be her accomplice.

Now, as to the second argument: If we fear that we are going to be involved in war, and that we will be short of arms and ammunition, then, for goodness sake, stop exporting them, and conserve these resources, instead of depleting our private arsenals for England's benefit and sending out our cannons and guns and powder and shot and shell and armored automobiles and steel arrows, and so forth, to be used against our traditional friends; yea, possibly some of them sometime to be used against ourselves, since they are going out to the only countries with whom we are liable to have trouble and are having trouble now.

To adopt this resolution would not only shorten this war, which is our overwhelming economic interest, but the incorporation of the principle lying at the base of the resolution into general international law, which I confidently expect sometime to come, will be one of the most efficient deterrents of war and would mark the greatest practical progress ever made by the peace propaganda.

Great Britain's claim that we must continue to export contraband to her, that we are in duty bound to do so, takes on an almost comical aspect, when you observe that she has herself forbidden the neutral countries of Europe to make such exports to Germany and Austria; that we have repeatedly placed embargoes on arms and ammunition beginning as early as 1794 and down to the resolution of 1898, as amended on motion of Senator Root in 1912 and applied by Presidents Taft and Wilson, the latter insisting on genuine neutrality as against a mere paper neutrality, and that for the benefit of a lot of Mexican greasers, saying that Huerta had ports and Carranza had none, and that it was our duty to treat them alike, in fact, and not merely to live up to the dead letter of statutes not equally and impartially applicable under the concrete circumstances of the case. Are Mexican greasers nearer to the heart of our Chief Executive and the Secretary of State than Germans and Austrians, who have from thirty to forty millions of blood relations in this country? England insists that we must not cease exporting contraband to her, a trade frowned upon by international law, but at the same time, having the control of the sea, she arrogates to herself the right to interfere with and stop our trade in noncontraband with neutral countries. She is doing this to-day. She stops our ships, flouts our registry, insults Old Glory, and blockades our ports. Within sight of New York's stupendous skyscrapers, English men-of-war are lying in wait to stop and search every outgoing vessel. They have dragged American ships to their harbors, and have detained them for months. They have trampled on American passports, taken American citizens from American ships and incarcerated them in British prisons. They have violated our mails. They have crippled our foreign trade, and I charge that they are doing all these things, not solely on account of the effect on their belligerents, but with the purpose of thwarting our legitimate hope to build up a merchant marine and get new markets out of the commercial situation produced by the war. They started this war—that is, they created the diplomatic situation which made war not only possible but probable—so that they could steal German trade and German colonies, as well as destroy the German fleet. The Germans were too smart and too enterprising for them. They could not compete with them. They were losing their own markets to them, and the German fleet was growing at such a rate that they could not sustain the two-power standard. All these things were admitted to me personally by people close to the ruling powers in England years ago.

So, some 10 years ago, Edward VII began to travel about Europe weaving the mesh of encircling alliances, all aiming to isolate Germany and leave her unsupported, confronting a great numerical superiority, when the inevitable fatal day should arrive to try out this issue of the ages.

If you want to know the real cause of this war do not read the blue, white, orange, and so forth, books compiled by the trained liars of European diplomacy, but just recall in your memories the explosion that took place when England was flooded with goods bearing the formula "Made in Germany." No; this war was not made in Germany, but "made in Germany" caused this war! At that time a British statesman said:

The moment the German fleet lies at the bottom of the sea, every Englishman will be richer personally in pounds sterling.

Without English encouragement the Russian grand duke would not have dared to attack the educated, trained, and disciplined fighting forces of Germany (not one in a thousand of whom is illiterate) with their ignorant Russian hordes, of whom not two in a thousand are able to read and write. And yet Europe from the North Cape to the Golden Horn is to be placed helpless at their feet.

Failing miserably in their attempt to argue this question, our pro-British press dares to question the loyalty of German-Americans in general and of Members of Congress of that blood in particular, because we favor this legislation. The German-Americans need no defense at my hands. In every war in which this country has been involved, they have furnished more than their numerical proportion of men for the armies of the Union. And in the walks of peace, have they not been good citizens in the main, sober, industrious, thrifty, paying their debts, and contributing their share to the astonishing development of our common country?

As for my colleagues in Congress and myself, who have been threatened by this reptile press with prosecution for treason, deportation, loss of citizenship, and what not, all I have to say to them is: "Do your dirtiest. We defy you." We remember what you said to the revered Carl Schurz in 1870 when under similar circumstances he took a similar position for genuine neutrality. On the floor of Congress he was threatened with a dungeon. But he did not go there, and we will not. We know our duty as American citizens and American officials, and we will continue to perform it, no matter how many fits you throw, and though your spleen should choke you.

If the position of this press is correct, that we are under obligations to Great Britain to continue this trade in contraband, while she has the right to interfere with and stop our trade in noncontraband with neutrals, then what is the use of talking about our neutrality? That presupposes that we are a sovereign, free, and independent Nation; but if the argument of our opponents is valid, then we are not that, but a British dependency; then you are not self-governing, but blooming colonials, territorials, "don't ye know;" you should take down the American flag and hoist the Union Jack. You should tear up that great muniment of freedom promulgated 138 years ago, the Declaration of Independence.

In the name of America's martyr dead, from Lexington to Yorktown and from Lake Erie to New Orleans; remembering Britain's perfidious attitude toward us from 1861 to 1865, and in every crisis of our history; in the name of Ireland's 700 years of tragic story, with its pitiful procession from the prison to the gallows of Irish orators, statesmen, and poets, and its countless thousands of Irish men, women, and children sacrificed to the Moloch of British tyranny by the sword, by fire, and famine; in the name of India, where hunger and pestilence walk hand in hand with British civilization; in the name of the little South African Republics whom she murdered in cold blood because she wanted their gold; in the name of China upon whom

she waged the infamous opium war; in the name of Denmark, of Holland, and even of France, whose fleets she destroyed when her policy so decreed; in the name of every people on earth that desires free and independent development without being constantly under the blighting shadow of English navalism, I appeal to you, my fellow countrymen, without regard to race descent or other discrimination. Let us stand on our rights and let us do the right. While just and generous to the smallest, let us fearlessly insist that the greatest powers shall respect our flag and the legitimate commerce carried under its beautiful folds; and let the free winds of heaven no longer be offended by that flag hoisted above a trade that has upon it the curse of Cain. Let us be neutral! Let us be honestly neutral!

Repeal of Tax on Mixed Flour.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY T. RAINEY,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, several bills were introduced at the present session of Congress to repeal the tax on mixed flour. These bills will be reintroduced and pressed for consideration at the first session of the Sixty-fourth Congress.

I herewith submit for printing in the RECORD, under the general leave to print, an article sent to me by Dr. Carl L. Alsberg, Chief Bureau of Chemistry, Department of Agriculture, as to the effect of an exclusive diet of wheat flour in the form of ordinary bread on fowls.

I also present for printing in the RECORD an article written by William Jago in the London Lancet on the subject of bread made from a mixture of wheat flour and corn flour, and so forth:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
BUREAU OF CHEMISTRY,
Washington, D. C., February 25, 1915.

Hon. HENRY T. RAINEY,
House of Representativcs, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. RAINEY: In confirmation of our telephone conversation, I beg to say that a copy of the press notice I mentioned has been sent you under separate cover. The title of the article concerning the effects of an exclusive diet of wheat flour which I mentioned is as follows: "Experimental polyneuritis: Effects of exclusive diet of wheat flour, in the form of ordinary bread, on fowls." Inasmuch as this article appeared in a technical journal which is probably not easily accessible to you, I take the liberty of inclosing a photographic copy of it.

Very truly, yours,

CARL L. ALSBERG, *Chief.*

(Inclosure.)

EXPERIMENTAL POLYNEURITIS.

[Received for publication July 27, 1914.]

EFFECTS OF EXCLUSIVE DIET OF WHEAT FLOUR, IN THE FORM OF ORDINARY BREAD, ON FOWLS.

[W. Richard Ohler, M. D.]

In the Journal of the American Medical Association (Journal of the American Medical Association, lviii, 2059, 1912, and lxiii, 1287, 1914) Dr. John M. Little, of St. Anthony Hospital, St. Anthony, Newfoundland, describes a form of neuritis which is fairly prevalent in Newfoundland and on the coast of Labrador. Dr. Little concludes that the disease is true beriberi, and that its cause is to be found in the fact that so many of the natives live on a restricted diet, consisting largely of highly milled white flour. The following experiments were undertaken at the suggestion of Dr. Little in order to study the effects of an exclusive diet of white flour in the form of ordinary white bread. Chickens were selected for the experiments because of the ease in securing them, and because of the general uniform results obtained with chickens in various dietary experiments.

The birds were kept indoors in plain wire cages, each cage built to accommodate two fowls. The floors of the cages were covered with sawdust and were cleaned daily. The fowls were kept supplied with fresh water and from time to time were given cracked oyster shells. No attempts were made to isolate the cages. Control birds were used, and remained perfectly well throughout the whole time of the experiments.

The experiments were conducted as follows:

Group I. 10 fowls. Diet—White bread made with yeast.
Group II. 4 fowls. Diet—White bread made without yeast.
Group III. 5 fowls. Diet—Whole wheat bread made without yeast.
Group IV. 2 fowls. Diet—White bread made with yeast plus 75 grams cracked corn and wheat once every week.
Group V. 2 fowls. Diet—Hominy.
Group VI. 2 fowls. Diet—Whole corn.
Group VII. 2 fowls. Diet—Wheat grain in kernel.
Group VIII. 2 fowls. Diet—White rice. Market variety.
Group IX. 2 fowls. Diet—Starvation diet. Began with normal diet, but gradually cut down the amount until the birds were getting nothing but water.

In the following paragraphs no attempt will be made to relate the full course of the experiment in each fowl. Enough detail is in the table to give a good idea of how the fowls react to each particular kind of diet. It only remains, then, to summarize results in each group and to draw what general conclusions seem justified.

Taking Group I, for an example: Here there were 10 fowls on a diet of white bread made with yeast. The table shows that the disease made its onset in from 22 to 82 days, with an average for the 10 of about 40 days. In 6 birds, however, a meal of corn was given on the nineteenth day, and this, no doubt, influenced the onset of the disease, since in the 4 remaining birds the average was about 28 days. The average duration of the disease for the 10 birds was about 6 days, and the average loss of weight about 30 per cent. In 2 of the birds, No. 46 and No. 30, about 10 cubic centimeters of alcoholic extract of whole wheat bread was fed each day, beginning with the onset of the disease. In no case was there any marked improvement, though the treatment undoubtedly did prolong life to some extent.

In order to give a clear conception of the disease as produced in these fowls it may be well to discuss, first, in general, the symptoms exhibited by the paralyzed fowls, and then to give in detail the clinical record of one fowl.

In the large majority of fowls the first symptoms of paralysis were a slight unsteadiness, together with evidences of an involvement of the nerves supplying the extensor muscles of the legs, manifested by a high step and a tendency to bring the foot down with a very noticeable flop. In many fowls there seemed to be difficulty in coordination early in the disease. In such cases the fowls would stand teetering slightly forward as if trying to balance on their toes and in walking would do so with a decidedly ataxic gait. As the disease progressed in all cases walking became more and more difficult, until the birds could only squat in the cages, and this condition was soon followed by one of complete paralysis. Not very much can be said about the condition of the reflexes owing to the difficulty of interpreting results. In most cases, early in the disease, the achilles reflexes seemed to be exaggerated, and as the disease progressed this was followed by a condition of flaccidity. Toward the end, in practically all cases, retraction of the head and apparent convulsions were prominent symptoms. During these convulsions the leg and wing muscles were in a state of rigid contraction, the extensors overpowering the flexors, the head was sharply retracted, and the neck stiff. After a minute or so this condition was followed by a period during which the fowl kicked out wildly and flopped its wings. From the above description it may be said that while the disease began with symptoms of a peripheral paralysis the progress showed involvement of the higher nerve centers.

The following case is presented to give a typical clinical record:

"Fowl No. 1: During first 10 days fowl ate heartily of diet and appeared at all times active and well, except for more or less diarrhea. On the eleventh day fowl began to refuse food, and on the fifteenth day forced feeding commenced. First symptoms of paralysis noted on the twenty-second day. On this day the fowl was slightly unsteady and stood teetering forward and backward on its toes; when forced to walk, did so with a high step, pushing the feet well forward, as if trying to brush something from in front of him. Three days later a slight head tremor was noted, and the bird walked with a decided stagger, but did not fall. Next day both wings drooped; walked with great difficulty, and every now and then the joint formed by the tibio tarsus and tarso metatarsus seemed to give way and the fowl suddenly assumed a squatting position. In the cage squatted most of the time on the flexed tarso metatarsus, with the feet clawed. On the following day could not stand. Comb very cyanotic; convulsive movements now and then, with retraction of the head. Next day prostrated; chloroformed. Duration of the disease, six days."

This record may be taken as a good example of the disease as seen in all the different groups. In some cases no head tremor was noted, in some retraction of the head was more marked, in others inability to retain food of any kind, even water, was a marked symptom, and in a few the disease ran a very rapid course, lasting only two or three days. These are about the only variations, however, from the description of the disease as given above.

When fed on an exclusive diet of white bread made with yeast, therefore, chickens come down in from four to five weeks with a disease almost exactly similar to polyneuritis gallinarum as produced in fowls with a diet of polished rice. Furthermore, the examination of pathological sections proves conclusively the presence of a definite neuritis, since the leg muscles, especially the extensor group, show marked diffuse fatty degeneration and the sciatic nerves, when stained by the Marchi method, show marked fatty degeneration of the myelin sheath. The condition is not due to inanition, since in all cases at autopsy there was found an abundance of fat.

In Group II four fowls were fed on an exclusive diet of white bread made without yeast. Averaging the results, we find that symptoms of paralysis appeared in 26 days, the disease lasted about 6 days, and the fowls lost 28 per cent of their original weight. The clinical picture was practically the same as that described for fowl No. 1. On the other hand, the pathological findings are not as convincing. In two cases the sciatic nerves showed evidences of a mild degeneration, but the other two cases were negative. No explanation of this discrepancy can be given unless it be due to some error in the preparation of the tissues for sections. From the results in this group it is apparent, then, when fed on white bread made without yeast, fowls come down with a polyneuritis somewhat sooner than when fed with bread containing yeast. This is in accordance with the findings of Holst (Holst, Journal of Hygiene, vii, 1907, 619) upon feeding pigeons with different forms of ship biscuit.

It has been definitely shown that fowls fed on an exclusive diet of white bread, either with or without yeast, come down with the disease similar in practically all respects to polyneuritis gallinarum as produced by polished rice. In view of this fact, it is of interest to note that when fed on a diet of whole wheat bread, even when made without yeast, fowls remain perfectly well for as long as 75 days. As the results under Group III in the table will show, two of the fowls gained in weight, while the others lost only slightly. Further, all the fowls took their food fairly well throughout the whole time—a decided contrast to the behavior of the birds fed on white bread. It is apparent, therefore, that whole wheat bread contains some element (or elements) lacking in white bread, which are necessary for the maintenance of proper body metabolism. This assumption receives added strength when attention is called to the fact that those cases in Groups I and II, where feedings were forced, came down with the disease even sooner than when the fowls were left to take food as they wished. In other words, it is not so much a question of the amount of food given as it is a question of the kind of food; that is to say, whether or not the food contains the required elements or "vitamines."

The two fowls in Group IV were fed on the same white bread as the fowls in Group I, but, in addition, 75 grams of scratch food were given

once a week. Apparently this amount of normal food was sufficient to satisfy the demands of the organism, since the fowls remained perfectly well for 78 days. Sections of the sciatic nerves were normal. During the time of the experiment the fowls took the white bread very well, and in reality ate much more of this food than did the birds in Group I. The scratch food seems to have supplied the elements necessary for proper metabolism. The experiment was hardly conducted long enough to be able to draw further conclusion.

In Groups V and VI we have a condition very much like that in Groups I and III. Fowls fed on whole corn remain perfectly well for a period of 63 days, but when they are fed on hominy, the inside of the corn kernel, they come down with the same disease as when fed white bread. The clinical picture is exactly the same in both cases.

Just as fowls fed on whole corn remain perfectly well, showing no signs of paralysis, so fowls fed on wheat grain for the same length of time remain well. In both groups (VI and VII) one of the fowls showed a gain in weight and the other a loss.

Group IX represents an attempt to ascertain the effect of a starvation diet. Both fowls were started on normal diet, then the amount was gradually cut down, until after about 21 days the birds were receiving nothing but water. One fowl went for 38 days without food and the other for 56 days. In neither fowl was there a typical picture of paralysis, the picture seemed rather to be due to muscular weakness. In No. 23 there was no progress in the disease at all; the fowl remained slightly unsteady for a period of 10 days and was then found dead. In No. 22 the fowl was noticed to be rather unsteady for 4 days, and was then chloroformed. The sciatic nerves in both cases show no clear-cut evidence of fatty degeneration. In No. 23 sections of the liver show many areas of necrosis. The liver cells contain no fat vacuoles and there is no apparent cause of the necrosis.

Before concluding this report it may be of interest to state that in all the groups blood smears were made from living birds and cultures of heart's blood were made at autopsy. The smears were negative and the cultures remained sterile in all cases. Furthermore, examination of stools showed nothing remarkable.

The results are in general accord with the results in fowls fed on various other foodstuffs, including polished rice. In August, 1913, Wellman and Bass (Wellman and Bass. Am. Journal Trop. Dis. and Preven. Med., Aug., 1913), of New Orleans, report a number of experiments with fowls, in which they produced symptoms of polyneuritis with various foodstuffs, including sago, boiled white potato, corn starch, wheat flour, corn grits, boiled sweet potato, cream of wheat, puffed rice, and macaroni. Wheat flour in the form of ordinary bread apparently was not used. Holst (Holst. Journal of Hygiene, vii, 1907, 619) has shown that pigeons fed on biscuits baked with rye flour, either with or without yeast, do not develop polyneuritis, while pigeons fed on wheat bread or on bread made with a mixture of rye flour and wheat flour do. The disease appears sooner if the bread is made without yeast than if yeast is present. The many experiments with fowls on various kinds of rice diets are well known.

CONCLUSIONS.

From the results of these experiments it can be stated with certainty that when fed on an exclusive diet of white bread, whether with or without yeast, fowls develop a definite polyneuritis. This condition has been demonstrated by histological studies of both nerve and muscle tissue.

Furthermore, it can be stated with equal certainty that when fed on an exclusive diet of whole-wheat bread fowls remain perfectly well. To say, then, that any exclusive diet may cause symptoms of polyneuritis is not true to fact. Apparently, there is some substance or substances present in whole-wheat bread not present in white bread which are essential to the health of the organism. In other words, it would seem that in the relation between whole-wheat flour and highly milled white flour we are dealing with the same problem as in the relation between unpolished and polished rice. This problem arises, however, only where the diet is restricted and consists almost exclusively of white flour or polished rice, as the case may be.

Whether or not polyneuritis gallinarum and beriberi are the same disease is still an open question. This much we know, that the results of dietary experiments in both fowls and mammals are generally uniform. In view of these uniform results it is perhaps not too much to assume that the experiments here reported (including the experiments with whole corn, wheat, grain, hominy, and rice, as well as those with different kinds of wheat bread) have added another link in the chain of evidence that beriberi is a "Deficiency disease." Finally, these experiments go a long way toward proving the contention of Dr. Little that a restricted diet, consisting largely of white bread, is a large factor, if not the single factor, in the cause of beriberi in North Newfoundland and Labrador.

[The experiments were conducted in two sections—the first in the Department of Hygiene and Preventive Medicine during the summer of 1913, and the second in the Department of Bacteriology during the spring of 1914—both at the Harvard Medical School. I wish to thank both Dr. Rosenau and Dr. Wolbach for their great kindness and many helpful suggestions.]

Recipes for different breads used:

White bread with yeast:
- 1 quart flour (King Arthur)
- ¼ of an yeast cake (Fleischmann's)
- 1 teaspoonful salt
- 1 teaspoonful sugar
- 1 teaspoonful lard

} 1 loaf.

White bread without yeast (yeast powder):
- ¾ quart flour (King Arthur)
- 2 heaping teaspoonsful baking powder (Royal)
- 1 teaspoonful salt
- 1 teaspoonful sugar
- 1 teaspoonful lard

} 1 loaf.

Whole wheat without yeast:
- ¾ quart whole-wheat flour (Franklin Mills)
- 2 heaping teaspoonsful baking powder (Royal)
- 1 teaspoonful salt
- 1 teaspoonful sugar
- 1 teaspoonful lard

} 1 loaf.

Ingredients in each case mixed with enough water and milk (half and half) to make a dough.

[Copy of an article in the Lancet, London, February 13, 1915.]

THE DEARER LOAF.

To the EDITOR OF THE LANCET.

SIR: As a result of the appearance of your leading article, with this title, of January 30, I have been asked by the Corn Products Co. (Ltd.), to forward you some loaves made from a mixture of wheaten flour and corn flour. My son, Mr. William C. Jago, who now controls the Jago Laboratories, has had some loaves baked for me in a test bakery. Samples of these, numbered 1, 2, 3, and 4, were forwarded to you yesterday.

The following are particulars of the mixture from which the respective loaves were made: 1. London Town household flour only, with salt, yeast, and water. 2. Mixture of 90 parts same flour with 10 parts corn flour; in addition, gelatinized corn flour at the rate of 4 pounds to the sack of 280 pounds, and dry cornstarch sugar at the rate of 2 pounds to the sack were used. Other ingredients as before. 3. Mixture of 80 parts same flour with 20 parts corn flour; additions, etc., as in No. 2. 4. Mixture of 66 parts same flour with 20 parts corn flour and 14 parts pea flour; additions, etc., as in No. 2. The volumes of the resultant loaves, each made from 560 grammes of the flour or flour mixture were as follows: (1) 2,389 c. c., (2) 2,676 c. c., (3) 2,593 c. c., (4) 2,022 c. c. The mixed flour loaves were all smaller than that from unmixed flour, but in every case they were of fair volume and good open texture. The loaves themselves will, however, best show you the general character of the resultant bread. I think you will agree that in color and general appearance Nos. 2 and 3 are fairly equal to No. 1, and would prove quite as digestible.

The employment of No. 2 mixture would increase the available supply of breadstuffs from 100 parts to 111 parts, while in the case of No. 3 the increase would be from 100 parts to 125 parts.

In the case of No. 4 the object of the experiment was somewhat different, viz, to prepare bread that should have about the same protein value as the white flour used in the preceding mixtures. A sample of the flour yielded 10 per cent of protein on analysis. Taking the protein content of pea flour at 25 per cent, a mixture of two parts of pea flour to three parts of corn flour would also contain 10 per cent of protein, and might therefore be used in any desired proportion with the wheaten flour without altering its protein content. In the case of No. 4 two parts of wheaten flour were taken to one part of the pea and corn flour mixture. This represents a somewhat large addition to a flour which to start with was somewhat on the weak side. The dough was naturally very friable in the handling, but nevertheless made a fair loaf. Again, the sample itself will best show you the nature of the bread. (In all cases please make allowance for the staleness and effects of packing on the loaves when they reach you.) I think you will agree that this bread is not at all unpleasant in either appearance or flavor. Judging from its physical character, I should say such bread would be very digestible and its proteins capable of very good absorption. In all probability the ratio of absorption would be slightly higher than is the case of the white bread. The use of such a mixture, if necessity arose, would raise the amount of available breadstuffs from 100 to 150 parts and with no loss to nutritive value.

At present market prices the No. 4 mixture works out slightly lower in price than the flour. There is not likely to be any shortage in the world's supply of corn flour, and in addition to peas there are lentils and soya beans to draw on as auxiliary sources of protein. The latter especially is exceedingly rich in flesh formers, and yields a flour which is light in color and of pleasant flavor.

I am, sir, yours, faithfully,

WILLIAM JAGO.

HOVE, SUSSEX, *February 6, 1915.*

The results are quite interesting. The loaves received appeared to us to be quite acceptable in regard to texture, flavor, and appearance.—Ed. L.

Rural Post Roads.

SPEECH

OF

HON. HUNTER H. MOSS, JR.,

OF WEST VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 9, 1914.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 11686) to provide that the United States shall, in certain cases, aid the States and the civil subdivisions thereof in the construction and maintenance of rural post roads.

Mr. MOSS of West Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I wish to say that when I moved a little while ago to strike out all after the enacting clause, it was for the purpose of substituting some provisions which I believed would improve the bill. I wish to say I expect to vote for this bill in the event the committee does not change it. But I do think that there are some few changes which would add greatly to the efficiency of the bill. In the first place, I believe that the greatest need that we have is not to construct new roads, not to construct fine roads, but to put the roads we now have in good workable condition and make them roads along which the public can travel during the entire year. So in the bill which I introduced at this session I provided that the improvements to be made should be made with reference to making the roads in the different States uniform, rather than with reference to the population and the mileage of the different roads. It seems to me that the true scheme of road improvement now, if we want road improvement in this generation, if we want to see it, is to put the roads we now have in decent condition rather than to construct——

Mr. SAUNDERS. May I interrupt my friend?

Mr. MOSS of West Virginia. Yes, sir.

Mr. SAUNDERS. The very idea which you have in mind is also in the mind of the committee, and section 3 provides that

that very thing may be done. Every dollar of the sum that goes to any particular State as its quota may be expended by that State in the upkeep and improvement of existing roads.

Mr. MOSS of West Virginia. But it also provides for the construction of new roads, as I understand it.

Mr. SAUNDERS. It is possible, if in its judgment it is thought best and it desires to do it. But it may utilize the new roads, and provide for the reconstruction and maintenance of existing roads.

Mr. MOSS of West Virginia. The provision in this bill which requires the State to cooperate with the Government to construct all these different roads will prevent the very uniformity about which I have been speaking.

Mr. BARNHART. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MOSS of West Virginia. I would rather not do so now. There are many States which from the fact that they are prohibited by their constitutions from contracting indebtedness or the fact that they are financially unable to do so can not enter into the construction of roads. And therefore the result will be that in certain sections of the country we will have vast road improvement and in other sections, where the States or subdivisions can not contribute, we will have none.

Gentlemen of the House, while the bill that the committee has indorsed does not meet with my entire approval, while the amount of money appropriated is too small and the plan is imperfect, yet realizing that it is a step in the right direction, an opening wedge, and that it is as much as can be obtained from this Congress, I shall vote for it, because I sincerely believe in national aid to road improvement and because I promised my constituents to do all I could here to further that great enterprise, so vital to the prosperity, happiness, and general welfare of our people.

Two Years' Record in Congress.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK O. SMITH,

OF MARYLAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Wednesday, March 3 (legislative day of Tuesday, March 2), 1915.

Mr. SMITH of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, with the permission of the House, I want to say a few words and then ask to be allowed to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The time for which I was elected as a Member from the fifth congressional district of Maryland expires on March 4. During the campaign of 1912, in which I was elected as the first Democrat from the fifth district for 20 years, I promised my people if they would elect me I would work and not talk. I have kept my promise. This is the first time I have imposed on the good nature of this splendid body of men, with whom I have been associated for two years, and I would not do so now but for the fact that I can not see this Congress adjourn without expressing to the Members as a body my thanks for the generous as well as courteous consideration I have received from both sides of the aisle. I came among you a stranger, being acquainted personally with only three Members from my own State. I have formed many pleasant acquaintances which will be remembered through the rest of my life; some of them among our Republican friends and one who is now governor of the great State of Ohio. So pleasant have my associations here been that I am reminded of a joke told by my friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. DERSHEM], which runs thus: One of the largest business houses in Philadelphia, which prided itself on the golden rule, required all clerks to tell customers the plain truth and to give some Biblical quotation for each transaction. One day a lady came and asked a clerk for a certain kind of dress goods, which when shown was priced at $2 per yard. This proved unsatisfactory, and he was asked for a better quality. He took down some of the same kind and quoted $4 per yard. This not being good enough he was again asked for a better quality. He again took down some of the same and priced it at $10 per yard. The lady said, "Give me 4 yards." The proprietor, who was standing near and heard the transaction, when the customer had gone called on the clerk for his quotation from the Bible to justify his conduct. His reply was, "She was a stranger, and I took her in." I have listened to many speeches on both sides, to which I have given careful attention, and have learned to discriminate, as I am sure the customer has also. I have also learned that while Members have at times talked for publication and to the galleries, as a whole the Representatives from the North, South, East, and West are actuated by much the same motives—the welfare of our common country.

During my short stay with you I have endeavored to perform my committee duties to the best of my ability. As a member of the Committee on Pensions I want to say I came to Congress much opposed to the system of pensions. During the first meetings of the committee I listened and learned there are two sides to this as there are to every question. I have changed my position, and I am ready to vote a just pension to every deserving case. The records of the War Department show it cost about $20,000 for every soldier killed by bullets during our Civil War, while no mention is made of those killed by disease, of the many invalids who have died after the wars, especially the Spanish-American War, leaving widows and orphans dependent on charity and the community in which they live. Justice to all demands that the Government for whom these men willingly sacrificed health, and many died, should provide, in a measure at least, for those left to the mercy of the cold world.

I was glad to be one of a committee to favorably report the bill for widows of Spanish War veterans. I am glad to say I have been broadened on this subject, as my highest aim has been to do justice to everyone.

I have secured the passage of bills giving pensions and increase of pensions to eight persons, each one a worthy case. I have secured increased mail facilities for my district in 18 cases; have established 13 new post offices, 2 rural routes, with favorable reports for 2 more routes. I have secured promotions and temporary and permanent positions for 125 persons, all employed under civil service. I introduced the bill increasing the capacity of the powder plant at Indianhead, in my district, carrying an appropriation of $500,000, which was incorporated in the naval appropriation bill. When this is completed it will mean a saving of $587,000 per year on the same amount of powder as used in 1913, thus returning the initial cost of the enlargement in one year. I secured the committee's favorable report on a bill introduced to construct a fish experimental station for treatment of diseases of fish and propagating new species. I am sorry to say that this will be left on the calendar for want of time to pass it. This is sorely needed by the Bureau of Fisheries, who are making every effort to increase the supply of food fish, which is decreasing rapidly. The most important bill I have introduced is for a sewage-disposal plant for the District of Columbia. This would have received a favorable report from the committee but for want of time. I deeply regret this, as it vitally affects the health of the people of the District as well as visitors. The sewage of the entire city of Washington is being pumped into the Potomac River, causing pollution of the waters, which in turn poisons the sea food with which the river abounds. Congress owes it as a duty to the entire country to pass a bill prohibiting the emptying of sewage from any city or town in the waters of rivers or lakes. Several millions of dollars are annually appropriated to enforce the pure-food laws, and cities are allowed to cause pollution of waters abounding in fish, oysters, and all kinds of sea food by emptying the wastes of all kinds in the rivers. Chemists assert that 90 per cent of all cases of typhoid fever can be traced directly to such causes. I secured $14,800 for dredging Rockhole Creek, in Anne Arundel County; Bretons Bay, in St. Marys County, in 1914, but the Senate cut out all sums in the rivers and harbors bill except for the completion of work already begun. I have succeeded in having Piscataway, Nanjemoy, and Smiths Creeks, located in Prince Georges, Charles, and St. Marys Counties, respectively, included in the present bill for surveys, which I trust the Senate will not strike out. These creeks are sadly in need of dredging, which will aid the navigation of those waters and give better shipping facilities to a splendid section of the District.

I also introduced House resolution 709, relating to the exemption of the so-called National Geographic Society from the payment of postage on its magazine.

On January 30, 1915, in an oratorical flight by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE] he puts down modern tendencies as an "age of bunk"; but this choice terminology is given to those who oppose his views on the honor and credit of polar attainment. He says:

> We are largely in the hands of fakers, principally on the outside of Congress.

I take exception to this statement. It is an insult upon the intelligence of this august body of statesmen. If we are "principally in the hands of fakers outside," who are those inside of Congress? If we have fakers in Congress, their constituents

ought to know it; if we are swayed by "outside" fakers, at the taxpayers' expense, the public ought to know it. I insist that the gentleman from Pennsylvania make his "bunk" and "faker" message clear on the floor of Congress.

In the same "bunk" and "faker" message the gentleman from Pennsylvania points with the white finger of pride to the doings of the National Geographic Society. I ask attention to the following resolution, which is pending in Congress:

House resolution 709.

Whereas the National Geographic Society, of Washington, D. C., a private enterprise, enjoys privileges granted by the Post Office Department which are not granted to other magazines, but which the Third Assistant Postmaster General, in a letter dated January 26, 1914, says he has conceded and is conceding to the National Geographic Society; and

Whereas this discrimination by the Post Office Department in favor of the National Geographic Society means a loss of over $300,000 annually to the Post Office Department; and

Whereas since the National Geographic Society is not national (in the sense that it is not a bureau of nor connected with the National Government in any capacity whatsoever), is not geographic, is not scientific, and is not a society, but is simply and solely a private publishing house, no special privileges should be granted to it: Therefore be it.

Resolved, That the Postmaster General explain to Congress why privileges amounting to discrimination are granted to the private enterprise known as the National Geographic Society.

With the hypocrisy of the Federally suppressed mine-promoting swindlers, this so-called National Geographic Society misuses the mails and deceives 300,000 innocent victims to part with $2 each in exchange for a diploma pretending to make them national geographers. They admit a street sweeper or a diplomat's wife on the same plane, for the sum of $2, to full membership. Three hundred thousand people are thus made a party to an international humbug. Let the gentleman from Pennsylvania, the vender of "bunk" charges, explain his national dough-getting biscuit company, which by a false use of the mails pretends geography and lifts $300,000 annually from the postal revenues.

This same national dough-getting biscuit company, pretending geography, issues a picture book which it has the effrontery to call the National Geographic Magazine. As a pictorial review it has a legitimate place among fourth-class publications, but it is no more scientific, and less national, in its pretensions than Collier's Weekly or the Saturday Evening Post; and other standard weeklies and monthlies must obey the postal regulations. Why is this fake organization, the National Geographic Society, allowed to violate the postal regulations to the extent of $300,000 annually?

In these times of financial depression we are forced to issue a "war tax" to pay legitimate Federal expenses; and yet, under the false pretense of being a scientific publication of a scientific society, this National Geographic Magazine graft gets in on the ground floor of the Post Office authorities by getting its carloads of advertising matter delivered at Government expense. This injustice to the taxpayers calls for an investigation.

Just how this National Geographic pie was cut to suit the North Pole trust of Peary; how, as boasted by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, resolutions now known to carry false statements reached the floor of Congress to boost the claims of Engineer Peary and to deny the claims of Dr. Cook, is another phase of national injustice that calls for investigation.

The postal privileges now granted to the National Geographic clique of political favorites can be claimed by hundreds of private organizations, who, with honest intentions, issue publications, such as labor unions and woman suffrage, and so forth. By what rule of justice are these denied the postal privileges of the geographic picture-book concern?

The $300,000 thus annually wasted would go far to help the problem of woman suffrage, wherein the mother of future generations seeks a hearing at the bar of public opinion.

To refer again to the vital question of sewerage, I may add that the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, Md., empties the sewage in the harbor within 200 yards of an oyster bed. Cities in Pennsylvania empty all sewage in the Susquehanna River and tributaries, which eventually flow to Chesapeake Bay, thereby aiding in pollution of waters where sea food abounds, and to prevent which the city of Baltimore has spent $23,000,000 and has completed the best sewage-disposal plant in the world, which should be done by the Federal Government.

The public health is of such vital importance that I insert here some information furnished me by Gen. John Floyd King, former Member of Congress from Louisiana, whose life effort has been the health of the public and preservation of the white race, a part of which bears strongly on the pollution of waters, which my bill to construct a sewage-disposal plant for Washington was designed to prevent:

THE HEALTH MENACE OF ALIEN RACES—HOW THE NEGROES AFFLICTED US WITH HOOKWORM AND MALARIA—WHAT DISEASES THE CHINESE AND JAPANESE HAVE—THE LESSONS OF HISTORY.

[By Dr. Charles T. Nesbitt, health director, Wilmington, N. C.]

The most serious problem that Americans face when any large numbers of an alien race enter this country is the menace to the health of the people of the entire Nation.

We are just learning how terribly the negro has been revenged upon us for his enslavement. He brought malaria and the hookworm from his native jungle, and though he showed little effects of them himself, he has spread them among us with fearful results.

When the negroes were brought from Africa they came practically immune to the effects of malaria. They unconsciously carried the organisms of this disease and furnished a never-failing source of infection for the nonimmune whites. For centuries the negroes' ancestors had carried infection, until their red blood cells had accepted the masses of malarial protoplasm as permanent guests and had provided for their occupancy. The southern whites had chills and fever annually, and blamed the mists from the swamps until the discoveries of Lavaran and Ross disclosed the true source of infection and mode of transmission, and Miller's studies in the Delta of the Mississippi River proved that the immune negro could carry virulent malarial organisms in his blood stream without discomfort to himself. In the same way negroes carry various intestinal parasites. The poorer white children of the South became pot-bellied, anemic, and dull witted by thousands. They were in many cases even pitifully inferior, physically and mentally, to the little negroes of the same region. Many did not improve as they grew older, but continued in much the same condition. The medical men treated them for every ailment that could possibly produce the presenting symptoms without improving their condition in the least. They settled into the hopeless state of apathy that has checked progress in every line, individual and otherwise.

In 1902 Dr. Stiles discovered that the hookworms, so common in Africa, which were carried in the American negroes' intestines with relatively slight discomfort, were almost entirely responsible for the terrible plight of the southern whites. It is impossible to estimate the damage that has been done to the white people of the South by the diseases brought by this alien race. Physical inefficiency and mental inertia are its results. Every enterprise that locates in the South to-day, if it uses the available white labor of the South, must reckon on not more than 40 to 60 per cent of normal efficiency. As this phase of the race problem continues to be studied it is inevitable that further investigation will produce still stronger evidence that the races can not live together without a great damage to both; so great that even now the ultimate extinction of the negro in the United States is looked upon by many as assured. We also know that as his extinction progresses it is carrying tremendous damage to the white race.

The Chinese, Japanese, and East Indians are racially alien to us. The question of the protection of the health of the white race makes a study of the diseases of these people of more importance to us than even their economic or social characteristics. If eastern immigrants are likely to deplete the vitality of our people as the negro has done, it is a far more serious question than if they merely force an unwelcome economic competition upon us. Let us examine for a moment the destructive potentialities of the Mongolian race.

History proclaims Asia as the fountain from which has flowed the most destructive pestilences that are recorded. Asiatic cholera, bubonic plague, typhus, smallpox, and malaria are reported weekly as being present in the ports of China, India, and Japan. The United States Public Health Service reports that 2,721 cases of cholera occurred in Japan during 1912. For many generations the Mongols have been afflicted with these diseases. May not they have acquired such a high state of immunity to their effects that they could be the unconscious carriers of virulent infective organisms, and as unconsciously transmit these diseases to the whites of America, just as the negroes have transmitted hookworm and malaria to the whites of the South?

One of the most serious problems in preventive medicine is the typhoid carrier. It is estimated that 3 out of every 100 people who recovered from typhoid continue to carry in their intestines and elsewhere in their bodies active and virulent typhoid germs for months, and even for years. Many serious epidemics of typhoid have been traced to this source. These carriers have been rendered immune, and unconsciously tolerate the germs. Carriers of diphtheria and pneumonia are common among us, and it is now claimed by responsible authorities that the infection of scarlet fever, measles, and whooping cough is perpetuated by the continued presence of virulent organisms in the noses and throats of persons who have acquired immunity. The longer the race carries an infection the greater the possible number of immune carriers. Is it, in the light of these facts, unreasonable to assume that the Mongolian race, by reason of many generations of infection with cholera and plague, has developed within itself a number of immune carriers of these diseases who may, if they are allowed to come among us, become centers of infection wherever they may go?

Is it possible for the Mongols to introduce among the whites of the Pacific slope an insidious chronic disease which will subject them to the same sort of physical deterioration as that which the hookworm has produced in the South?

In Japan the Japanese liver fluke (opisthorchis) is as common in some parts as the hookworm is in Africa. Katasurada, a Japanese investigator, reported 654 infected persons in 1,075 persons examined, or 60.8 per cent. The disease which is produced by this infection is serious, chronic, and devitalizing, and among the Japanese has a death rate of 16 per thousand. This is even more serious than the hookworm, for, despite the immense damage hookworm does, it rarely appears as a cause of death in the South. The result of the infection of the white race which has no hereditary immunity to liver fluke would be almost sure to be very serious. And about 20 cases of the disease have already been recognized in the United States.

Japan and China appear to be the especial homes of the lung fluke (Paragonimous Westermanii). The parasite in this disease invades and destroys the lungs. The disease produced is extremely chronic, is accompanied by more or less serious hemorrhages, and is often mistaken for consumption. Various Japanese physicians report that from 2 to 4 per cent of all their patients with diseases of the lungs are infected with lung fluke. It is stated that in certain parts of Formosa 15 per cent of the inhabitants have this disease.

There are still two other insidious and destructive parasitic diseases which are extremely common in Japan and China: Blood fluke disease, called "wading fever" in the Orient, which is extremely hard to recognize by the ordinary methods of examination; and amœbic dysentery, already known to be widely distributed in the United States.

Every one of the parasitic diseases mentioned above is quite as capable of destroying the efficiency and lives of the white race as is the hookworm disease. To be able to recognize these parasites the physician must have especial training in the microscopic study of parasites. There is no known treatment for any of them that is positively curative. For the first three there is no treatment whatever known.

According to the public-health reports, "During the months of November and December, 1912, among the intending emigrants from Japan to the United States about 70 out of every 100 were found to have hookworm disease." Although there are no statistics on hookworm in Japan, it is probable that the infection is generally disseminated by the use of human excrement in fertilization.

The citizens of the Pacific slope are not only in danger of being exposed to the effects of hookworm infection, which has already damaged so seriously nearly a fourth of our white population, but in addition they are being exposed to not less than four other dangerous parasites which produce diseases difficult to recognize, which slowly and surely destroy human efficiency and life, and for which there is no known positive cure.

The last paragraph of the quotation from the public-health reports contains the key to the method of transmission of the parasite. All are conveyed from one person to another through excreted matter. It is possible to control excrement infection of this kind only in thoroughly sewered cities where there is complete sanitary disposal of sewage. Wherever human excreta is disposed of otherwise these parasites must be spread, for the life cycle of every one of them is nicely adjusted so that they may exist both inside and outside of the body in one or more of their transitional stages.

It is obvious that in the country microscopic disease carriers may reach new human victims in several roundabout ways, as the hookworm is distributed in the South. When, as is the habit among oriental gardners everywhere, the infected excreta are mixed with water and actually applied to growing edible plants which are being prepared for the public market, it requires no imagination whatever to understand how tremendously the chances of general infection are multiplied. At least two of these parasites enter the body through the skin, one from the earth and the other from water. The pollution of the soil with which we must come in constant contact and the pollution of streams and water supplies generally with infected excreta is made doubly certain when the deliberate distribution of excrement is made an important element of agriculture.

There is but one way to deal with the untreatable parasitic disease. It must be prevented, and it is only through the most unremitting and conscientious public-health regulations that this can be done.

With one experience with the subtle death-dealing proclivities of an alien race, it is certainly the part of wisdom to run no further risks. And even the suffering which the negro has inflicted upon the South is light compared with what history shows other people have suffered when exposed to the diseases of alien races.

The revelations of modern scientific research indicate that the true history of the decline and fall of the great ancient civilization will be written by the students of contagious and infectious diseases.

The importation of epidemic and parasitic diseases from Africa is now urged as an important cause of the downfall of the Roman Empire. It would tax the imagination but little to apply the same reasoning to the fall of Greece. The terrible plague which broke out in Rome, B. C. 463–466, is recorded as having begun in Ethiopia, south of Egypt. It was carried into Italy by the invading Peloponnesian army, the gift of an alien race. Thirty years later the Peloponnesians carried the same plague to Athens—the sickness so carefully described by Thucydides.

During the 30 years, B. C. 405–375, in which Sicily was invaded by the Carthaginians, four distinct epidemic distempers, all of frightful severity, which afflicted Carthage and its armies without touching either Syracuse or the Sicilian Greeks, became the most destructive enemies of the Carthaginians.

"The plague of Antonius" (A. D. 164–180) swept the whole Roman Empire from its eastern to its western boundaries. It was brought from Syria by troops returning from that region. In the year 166 this plague appeared in Rome itself, and again in 168. "Entire cities and districts were depopulated, forests springing up where had been populous places. In its last year it became terribly destructive, often killing as many as 2,000 a day."

In 1333 the "black death" appeared in the interior of China. It reappeared in the island of Cyprus in 1347, and from there spread throughout Europe—even to Iceland and Greenland. It reached Russia in 1351, and it was then a marvel that it was checked by the Caucasus Mountains, which separate Europe from Asia. We can understand now that, having arrived at the point of its departure, Asia, this infection found a people who had an acquired immunity and its course was checked. Hecker estimates the loss of life in Europe from this plague at 25,000,000.

Beginning in 1703, bubonic plague appeared in Europe from Asia: In 1709 300,000 persons died from this disease in East Prussia alone. Thirty thousand died in the city of Danzig. It disappeared in 1714 and again reappeared in 1720 in southern France. This disease is still endemic in Asia and has been prevented from spreading over the earth only by the utmost vigilance.

The historian and the economist are concerned only with the facts and effects of these plagues. The student of these diseases, in the light of recent discoveries, knows that every pestilence was the result of the introduction of a disease, common to one race, into the midst of a different race which had never known it.

And all these facts are but a warning to the people of the United States. All these visitations, from the plagues that attacked Rome to the spread of the hookworm in the South, are a warning of the dangers of the diseases of an alien race.

With these imperfect remarks I leave you, taking with me the kindest remembrances of the membership of this distinguished body for their uniform patience and consideration, as well as the officers and employees who have assisted in every possible way a new Member in the discharge of his duties to the most complex and exacting district in Congress.

My Platform.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. W. LAFFERTY,

OF OREGON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. LAFFERTY. Mr. Speaker, if I were asked to state my deepest political principles in one sentence, I would say that I favor a liberal protective tariff, genuine farm credits, and more and more Government-owned utilities until all natural monopolies shall be owned and operated by the people.

The fight is on between the people and the 200,000 men who now own 70 per cent of the wealth of the United States, and it is on in earnest. I agree with that group of 200,000 men upon but one thing, to wit, that we should at all times maintain a liberal protective tariff upon American manufactures and the products of American farms. We desire to pay higher wages than are paid in other countries. We desire to have a shorter workday than other countries have. We desire to prohibit child labor, while other countries do not. Therefore we must have a tariff that will protect us from free competition with such other countries. I voted against the Underwood tariff bill when it was passed.

But while tariff protection will help to bring prosperity to the American people, it will not bring to them all the prosperity to which they are entitled.

For illustration, during the past 50 years, while the country has grown in wealth from $25,000,000,000 to $120,000,000,000, that wealth has gone into the hands of a very few men, and at no time has the average citizen had more than a meager living.

I say that this glaring inequality in the distribution of the Nation's earnings is not due to the fact that a few men have all the brains and all the initiative, as some claim, but it is due to conditions which are inherently wrong and which would be remedied if the common people could but once get a majority in the American Congress.

The two things absolutely necessary to be done, in my opinion, in order to start the flow of future wealth toward the people are these:

First. The Government must own and operate those utilities which are monopolies, and through the private ownership of which the people are now being milked drier and drier each year.

Second. The Government must provide for a genuine system of rural credits. By this I mean a system of direct loans of gold Treasury notes to the farmers upon their lands upon first mortgage, thereby turning into the common Treasury hundreds of millions of dollars each year now going to the money power for the loan of "credit" to the farmers.

That both of these reforms mean a fight to the death with the money power goes without saying. But this is just the fight the American people must make if they are ever to achieve a victory that will be worth a row of pins.

As a last stand against public ownership of national monopolies the money power is advancing the argument that "the 1,700,000 men employed constitute a political machine."

Now, if it be true that the 1,700,000 railway employees, if working for Uncle Sam, would "run the country for their own benefit," as some claim, what may we reasonably suppose the same 1,700,000 men will do as servants of the private railroad corporations?

It must be admitted that the 1,700,000 employees are just as powerful a force when working for the money power as they would be working for Uncle Sam. But the argument seems to be that the votes of this great army of men will be exerted for good while under the benign influence of private railroad corporations, while they would vote to destroy the Republic should they once be transferred to the service of all the people of the United States. It is said that these men would be so greedy for larger wages that they would "control elections."

Everyone who knows anything knows that the taxpayers, who would not be on the Government railroad pay roll, would constitute 98.3 per cent of the population, and therefore any Congressman or Senator who might vote to unduly increase the wages of the railway employees would be beaten to death at the next election.

But these same 1,700,000 railway employees do at the present time constitute a dangerous political machine because they are

subject to the secret coercion of the railroads, and they are deceived, defrauded, and coerced by their corporation employers into voting for stand-pat Democrats and Republicans for the United States Senate and the House of Representatives.

Only last night I saw a folder which the railroads are circulating very generally right now among their employees and the general public. It is a lie—every word of it. It is as follows:

DESPERATE CONDITION OF OUR RAILROADS.

The railroads of the United States are now literally on their knees praying for relief. Unless they get that relief they will soon be on their backs, and when they are on their backs we will have such trouble in this country as you and I do not care to contemplate.

The folder goes on to say that the railroads must be relieved from the interference of commissions and prosecuting attorneys, and from the agitation of "the politicians." It also claimed that the railroads took in gross in 1914 $70,000,000 less than in 1914, and that an increase of $36,000,000 in taxes made their "net loss" $106,000,000. A baser lie was never handed out to a free people in order to get sympathy for a thieving business.

The truth is that the railroads for 1914 did not sustain a loss at all, but their net income, over and above all operating expenses and taxes, depreciation, and so forth, was over $800,000,000. The same was true in 1913, and in 1913 the railroads made, net, $100,000,000 more than in 1912. (See actual figures, page 46, 1913, Interstate Commerce Commission Report.) The gross income of the railroads for 1913 was $3,057,000,000, which is thirty hundred million dollars.

In the folder referred to the railroads try to convince their employees and the public that a falling off of less than $1 in $30 in 1914 from 1913 puts them on the verge of bankruptcy. In this way the railroads now intimidate their 1,700,000 employees and their families to vote for reactionary candidates. Under public ownership these men would vote for the benefit of Uncle Sam, for the benefit of all the people, and not merely for the benefit of the private railroad corporations.

I observe with much regret that former Senator Bourne, now of Washington, D. C., has come out squarely for private ownership of the railroads. Mr. Bourne made a vigorous speech against public ownership before the American Civic Federation in New York recently, and Senator GALLINGER, of New Hampshire, read the same into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD during the filibuster against the ship-purchase bill.

Senator Bourne sees in Government ownership a dangerous "political machine which would destroy the Republic." I see in private ownership of the railroads the same machine.

Excepted Positions Under the Civil Service.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. NICHOLAS J. SINNOTT,

OF OREGON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 29, 1915.

Mr. SINNOTT. Mr. Speaker, on June 28, 1913, W. F. Arant, superintendent of Crater Lake National Park, in Oregon, was summarily removed after he had refused the request of the Secretary of the Interior for his resignation.

Mr. Arant had held this position for some 11 years. The position was known under the civil service as an "excepted position," the appointment not having been made through a competitive examination. Mr. Arant contended that this position was one under the classified civil service and that he was entitled to the protection of section 6 of the act approved August 24, 1912, against summary removal. In this contention he was upheld by the Civil Service Commission. However, on June 23, 1913, the Attorney General held that section 6 of the act approved August 24, 1912, did not apply to "excepted positions," and the summary removal of Mr. Arant followed.

Mr. Arant submitted the question of his removal to the National Civil Service Reform League, which rendered an opinion on September 4, 1914, that his removal was illegal.

Mr. Arant has furnished me with a copy of the opinions and correspondence in this case, which I desire to have printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on account of the many thousands of Federal employees affected by the decision of the Attorney General as well as on account of the widespread interest taken in this case in my district:

KLAMATH FALLS, OREG., *January 5, 1915.*

Hon. N. J. SINNOTT,
United States Congressman, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SINNOTT: I am mailing you to-day under separate cover a number of the papers relating to the unlawful removal of myself as superintendent of the Crater Lake National Park on the 20th of July, 1913.

These papers consist of letters, telegrams, orders, and decisions and other papers which I deem most pertinent to and having the most direct bearing upon the case.

This résumé of the case is given by these papers as nearly as is practicable in the order of developments and the correspondence as it occurred, and are marked as Exhibits 1, 2, 3, etc., from the beginning of the matter to the present time:

Exhibit 1. Section 6 of the Post Office appropriation act approved August 24, 1912, and which was forwarded to me by the Secretary of the Interior, just seven days after its approval, with the warning to be "governed accordingly."

Exhibit 2. The letter of the Secretary requesting my resignation as superintendent of Crater Lake National Park, which, in view of the preceding exhibit as well as other evidences that the position which I hold was clearly and unquestionably in the classified service, I declined to comply with.

Exhibit 3. My answer to the Secretary's letter of June 7, protesting against the arbitrary removal, when under the civil-service laws and rules I was entitled to be furnished with the reasons in writing for my desired removal, and citing numerous and ample reasons why I refused to comply with the Secretary's request to resign.

Exhibit 4. The Secretary's arbitrary order of removal from the office, and for the same reasons as given for declining to resign as requested by the Secretary I still declined to surrender the office.

Exhibit 5. My letter to the United States Civil Service Commission, transmitting copy of my protest against being arbitrarily removed from my civil-service position without being apprized of any fault that had been found with my administration or management of the affairs or business of the park.

Exhibit 6. Letter of the United States Civil Service Commission to the Secretary, informing him that I had written the commission relative to the removal matter, together with notice to the Secretary that positions under Schedule A, one of which this is, were in the classified service, and that section 6 of the act of August 24, 1912, relating to removals, which applies in direct terms to all classified employees, applies also to persons occupying positions excepted from examination under Schedule A.

Exhibit 7. Letter from the United States Civil Service Commission to you, transmitting a copy of the commission's letter of June 7, 1913, to the Secretary of the Interior above mentioned, with his reply to same, and mentioning opinion of the Attorney General.

Exhibit 8. Letter from Mr. J. H. Carnahan, attorney of Klamath Falls, informing you that I had been removed by the Secretary of the Interior and requesting you to have removal order stayed until acted upon by the Civil Service Commission.

Exhibit 9. Telegram from you to Mr. Carnahan, communicating to him Secretary Lane's views relative to the applicability of the civil-service rules to the case and stating that the Secretary refused to stay the order of removal.

Exhibit 10. Telegram from you to Carnahan that Civil Service Commission had notified Secretary Lane that I was subject to civil-service rule, but that commission has no power to enforce opinion or stay order.

Exhibit 11. Telegram of Secretary Lane commanding me to transfer all property to Supt. Steel.

Exhibit 12. Telegram from me to the Secretary, informing him that the United States Civil Service Commission had decided that I was de jure superintendent and declining to surrender the office, believing the removal order unlawful.

Exhibit 13. Telegram from me to the Secretary, expressing willingness to make complete accounting, but refusing to relinquish the office, being convinced that the removal order was without the authority of law.

Exhibit 14. Night letter informing the Secretary that I was at the superintendent's headquarters in the park, ready, willing, and able to perform all duties and work of the office of superintendent, and soliciting his authorization and instructions.

Exhibit 15. Telegram, July 8, 1913, to the Secretary of the Interior, requesting that I be retained in the office of superintendent of the park, and signed by 13 of the leading business men and officers of the county and State, both Democrats and Republicans and nonpartisans.

Exhibit 16. My letter of November 5, 1913, to you, outlining in detail the various matters relative to and moves that were made from the inception of the removal matter, with reference to correspondence, both by mail and by wire, the acts of the United States marshal of throwing me out of my office by force, the driving of my family out of the house, and taking from my rightful possession the office and fixtures, the records of the Government business, the money in my possession belonging to the Government, besides my own private property and money, and putting Will G. Steel in possession and in authority in the park.

Exhibit 17. Opinion rendered June 23, 1913, by the United States Attorney General that the term "classified civil service," in section 6 of the act of August 24, 1912, should not be held to include excepted positions, unless such positions have been filled as competitive positions are filled.

Exhibit 18A. Letter of Clement S. Ucker, chief clerk to the Secretary, informing me that an agreement had been made between the Department of the Interior and the Civil Service Commission placing the position of superintendent of the Crater Lake National Park for the time being outside the operation of the civil-service rules.

Exhibit 18. Your letter of June 23, 1913, to me, stating that the secretary of the Civil Service Commission had informed you that Mr. Ucker was in error in stating to me that there was such agreement, and that he, the secretary of the commission, had said to you that in his opinion I could not be removed except for reasons stated in section 6, referred to in my letter to the Secretary of the Interior.

Exhibit 19. Telegram from the Secretary of the Interior stating that the opinion of the Attorney General overruled the Civil Service Commission and holds section 6 of the postal act of August 24, 1912, does not include excepted positions.

Demands that I make accounting and transfer property to Supt. Steel, Also says, "Failing which, matter will be taken by Department of Justice and your successor put in possession."

Exhibit 20. Letter from the secretary of the National Civil Service Reform League, transmitting to Hon. Binger Hermann, of Roseburg, Oreg., opinion of the law committee of the said league upon the construction of section 6 of the Post Office appropriation act of August 24, 1912.

Exhibit 21. Letter from Mr. Hermann transmitting to me the opinion of the league and expressing his belief that the said section 6 of the act of 1912 does include excepted positions.

Exhibit 22. The opinion of the law committee of the National Civil Service Reform League upon the construction of section 6 of the Post Office appropriation act of 1912.

This opinion of the law committee of the league, composed as it is of some of the most eminent and able lawyers of the United States, among whom is the Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte, who was Attorney General under President Roosevelt's administration, dissents from the opinion of Assistant Attorney General Harr, and which was approved by Attorney General McReynolds, that such officers have "an arbitrary right of selection" to excepted positions, and further says: "The law committee therefore concludes that unless the procedure prescribed by section 6 of the Post Office Department appropriation act was followed the removal of the superintendent of the Crater Lake National Park was illegal."

Exhibit 23. Decision of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia overrules Justice Barnard and holds that Samuel T. Kalbfus, a civil-service appointee, having been arbitrarily removed from his position without notice and opportunity for hearing, the procedure prescribed by section 6 of the postal act of 1912, that he had never been out of the office, although illegally excluded from it; and holds the office has never been vacant, but that Mr. Kalbfus has been both in law and in fact the lawful officer.

Exhibit 24. Decision of the United States Supreme Court that Wickersham, a civil-service employee in the office of the surveyor general of Idaho, being suspended without the authority of law, was entitled to compensation during the period of such unlawful suspension.

Exhibit 25. Letter of transmittal with my vouchers for compensation as superintendent of the park for the month of October, 1914. Such vouchers have been transmitted by me regularly each month since and including July, 1913. This is the mode authorized by department letter of June 1, 1903.

Exhibit 26. Department letter acknowledging receipt of letter and vouchers for compensation as superintendent but refusing payment of my claim. Each month from July, 1913, to December, 1913, I received a similar letter from the department, but during each month of 1914 my letters and claims have been entirely ignored.

Exhibit 27. Letter from the Secretary of the Interior to the United States Civil Service Commission acknowledging receipt of its decision that I could not be removed except for cause and reasons given in writing with notice and opportunity to be heard, and informing the commission of the opinion of the Attorney General.

Exhibit 28. Letter from the United States Civil Service Commission of July 16, 1913 (just 23 days after it had emphatically and unconditionally decided the case in my favor), informing me that in view of the opinion of the Attorney General that my protest afforded no basis for action by the commission.

Exhibit 29. Letter of the Civil Service Commission to Mr. J. H. Carnahan, of Klamath Falls, among other things, citing the opinion of the Attorney General as the reason why the commission does not assume jurisdiction to investigate removals from excepted positions.

Exhibit 30. Letter of J. H. Carnahan to Civil Service Commission, arguing that the commission having on the 27th of June, 1913, plainly and unequivocally decided that I was subject to civil-service rules and that the Secretary could not remove me except for cause and in compliance with section 6 of the Post Office appropriation act of August 24, 1912, that it should stand by its decision, and citing many opinions of Attorney General that "it would not be proper for the Attorney General to attempt the construction of regulations of the Civil Service Commission; that is a matter entirely within the province of the commission," and holding that the Attorney General has not the jurisdiction to overrule the Civil Service Commission.

Exhibit 31. Letter from the Civil Service Commission to J. H. Carnahan, admitting that it had decided that section 6 of the postal act of 1912 included excepted positions as well as competitive positions, but claims that the opinion of the Attorney General to the contrary "leaves such positions in exactly the same status with regard to removals that they always previously occupied," notwithstanding the commission in its letter of June 27, 1913, to the Secretary of the Interior said: "In the view of the commission positions excepted from examination under Schedule A of the rules are within the classified service, and section 6 of the act of August 24, 1912, relating to removals which applies in direct terms to all classified employees applies also to persons occupying positions excepted from examination under Schedule A."

Most sincerely and respectfully,

W. F. ARANT.

EXHIBIT 1.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, August 31, 1912.

CIRCULAR.

The following excerpt from the act making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1913, and for other purposes, approved August 24, 1912, is published for the information of the officers and employees of this department:

"SEC. 6. That no person in the classified civil service of the United States shall be removed therefrom except for such cause as will promote the efficiency of said service and for reasons given in writing, and the person whose removal is sought shall have notice of the same and of any charges preferred against him, and be furnished with a copy thereof, and also be allowed a reasonable time for personally answering the same in writing, and affidavits in support thereof; but no examination of witnesses nor any trial or hearing shall be required except in the discretion of the officer making the removal; and copies of charges, notice of hearing, answer, reasons for removal, and of the order of removal shall be made a part of the records of the proper department or office, as shall also the reasons for reduction in rank or compensation; and copies of the same shall be furnished to the person affected upon request, and the Civil Service Commission also shall, upon request, be furnished copies of the same: *Provided, however*, That membership in any society, association, club, or other form of organization of postal employees not affiliated with any outside organization imposing an obligation or duty upon them to engage in any strike, or proposing to assist them in any strike, against the United States, having for its objects, among other things, improvements in the condition of labor of its members, including hours of labor and compensation therefor and leave of absence, by any person or groups of persons in said Postal Service, or the presenting by any such person or groups of persons of any grievance or grievances to the Congress or any Member thereof shall not constitute or be cause for reduction in rank or compensation or removal of such person or groups of persons from said service. The right of persons employed in the civil service of the United States, either individually or collectively, to petition Congress, or any Member thereof, or to furnish information to either House of Congress, or to any committee or Member thereof, shall not be denied or interfered with."

Please note and be governed accordingly.

CLEMENT S. UCKER,
Acting Assistant Secretary.

EXHIBIT 2.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 7, 1913.*

Mr. WILLIAM F. ARANT,
Superintendent of Crater Lake National Park,
Crater Lake, Oreg.

SIR: I have to request that you forward to this office your resignation as superintendent of Crater Lake National Park.

FRANKLIN K. LANE,
Secretary of the Interior.

EXHIBIT 3.

KLAMATH FALLS, OREG., *June 17, 1913.*

Honorable SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: I am in receipt of your letter, dated the 7th instant, in which you call for my resignation, same to take effect upon the appointment of my successor. In reply thereto I have to state that I had always understood that my position was one embraced in the classified civil service of the United States, and this being so I was not subject to removal without cause, but only for good reasons other than religious or political reasons, and for the good of the Government service. I believe that the following, taken from section 6 of the act of Congress of August 24, 1912, covers my case fully, and I have to request that this law of Congress be followed in making a change in my position:

"SEC. 6. That no person in the classified civil service of the United States shall be removed therefrom except for such cause as will promote the efficiency of said service and for reasons given in writing, and the person whose removal is sought shall have notice of the same and of any charge preferred against him, and be furnished with a copy thereof, and also be allowed a reasonable time for personally answering the same in writing * * * and copies of the same shall be furnished to the person affected upon request, and the Civil Service Commission also shall, upon request, be furnished copies of the same."

Again, by rule 2, section 1, of the civil-service act, rules and Executive orders, edition of February, 1912, it is provided as follows:

"The classified service shall include all officers and employees in the executive civil service of the United States, heretofore or hereafter appointed or employed, in positions now existing or hereafter to be created, of whatever function or designation, whether compensated by a fixed salary or otherwise, except persons employed merely as laborers and persons whose appointments are subject to confirmation by the Senate."

Again:

"* * * No discrimination shall be exercised, threatened, or promised by any person in the executive civil service against or in favor of an applicant, eligible, or employee in the classified service because of his political or religious affiliations." (Part of sec. 2, rule 2, same.)

The foregoing rules, as well as those hereinafter cited, were promulgated by the Civil Service Commission in pursuance of the following provision from the act of Congress of January 16, 1885 (22 Stat., 403):

"That it shall be the duty of said commissioners (civil service)—

"First. To aid the President, as he may request, in preparing suitable rules for carrying this act into effect, and when said rules shall have been promulgated it shall be the duty of all officers of the United States in the departments and offices to which any such rules may relate to aid, in all proper ways, in carrying said rules, and any modifications thereof, into effect." (Sec. 2 of said act of Congress.)

Prior to the act of Congress of August 24, 1912, heretofore referred to, there seemed to be some doubt as to the right of an employee in the classified civil service, who was not appointed as the result of a competitive examination, to be served with notice and charges before removal or reduction or other form of punishment, under the express provisions of rule 2, section 3, of said Civil Service Rules and Regulations of 1912, and the decisions thereunder, it being the ruling of the Civil Service Commission, apparently, that only those should enjoy all the rights of a competitive employee who was appointed to one of the "excepted" positions as the result of a competitive examination.

This ambiguity and doubt, however, are forever set at rest by the act of Congress of August 24, 1912, heretofore referred to, for it is therein expressly provided that "* * * no person in the classified civil service of the United States shall be removed therefrom except for such cause as will promote the efficiency of said service (civil service), and for reasons given in writing; and the person whose removal is sought shall have notice of the same and of any charges preferred against him, and be furnished with a copy thereof * * *."

It is not only provided that every person in the classified service shall be secured against removal without other than political or religious cause, but it is further provided that he must be actually served with notice in writing "and be furnished with a copy thereof," it being the plain intent of Congress when it passed this act to prevent removals of all persons in the classified service except for valid cause, and not then except upon notice and service of the charges upon the delinquent employee. It contemplated that removals should not be made except for misconduct, inefficiency, etc., and for the best interests of the service. I have not been apprised of any shortcoming in the manner in which I have filled the position of superintendent of the Crater Lake National Park in Oregon, although I was its first superintendent, and during the 11 years of my incumbency have brought it from an absolutely new and undeveloped proposition to the high state of development and improvement of which the park now boasts. And during this long period of my incumbency, which has endured the vicissitudes of many political changes, there has never been a single

charge made against me of which I was served with notice by the Interior Department. In fact, everything during all these years has seemed to go along entirely to the satisfaction of everybody. The public has been entirely satisfied with my management of the business of the park, and the present state of road and other development will demonstrate the fact that the small annual appropriations which have been made for the park have been utilized economically and to the very best advantage. Latterly I may have unwittingly, but certainly never intentionally, displeased certain persons who were operating franchises in the park, but I have had an eye single to the very best interests of the Government and the convenience of the general public in my dealings with this concern, and I have endeavored to be entirely fair with them, and do not have the slightest doubt but what I have been eminently fair and just with them.

I have never heard one word of complaint against the manner in which I have run and conducted the business of the park and it does seem to me to be an injustice to call for my resignation, even though in the easiest and most diplomatic way possible, when no complaint is made against me for the way I have done the business connected with the park and accommodated the public travel in the same. If there were charges of delinquency, incompetency, or inefficiency pending against me I could understand why I, an employee in the classified civil service under the protection of the civil-service rules (which surely have in the past meant a very great deal), should be requested to resign, but in view of the fact my record is clear I am at a loss to understand why I should be removed from my classified civil-service position. Surely the civil-service rules should protect me, and I purpose invoking them in my behalf in this emergency, and I do not say this in any ill spirit or by way of threat.

It may be that the following, from the letter of Mr. Clement S. Ucker, of the Interior Department, dated January 15, 1913, is being followed in this case, but if such is the fact, I wish to protest most vigorously against any such action because I believe it to be arbitrary and unauthorized:

"* * * As I advised you in letter of January 7, 1913, you have no civil-service status, the position which you occupy is 'excepted'; that is, it would be under civil service if it were not for the fact that by agreement between this department and the Civil Service Commission it has been, for the time being, placed outside the operation of the civil-service rules; consequently, while you are holding a position in the classified service, by reason of such position being 'excepted' you are subject to removal at any time at the pleasure of the Secretary of the Interior."

Surely Mr. Ucker was in grave error when he made the above statements. How could it be possible, having in view the spirit of the civil-service laws and the regulations promulgated thereunder by the Civil Service Commission and which have been lived up to by said commission, that such an arrangement could be entered into between one of the great departments of the Government and the commission to thwart the very purpose which it was intended by Congress should be accomplished by the civil-service law, and especially by the law of August 24, 1912, heretofore quoted? If special agreements like the one supposed by Mr. Ucker could be entered into at will and without assignment of reason—in other words arbitrarily—the civil-service law would become a fugitive thing to be used only where it did not come counter to political consideration. I do not believe that any power exists for the action taken in said letter of January 15, 1913, and I beg leave to enter my protest against my removal from my position without cause.

Very respectfully,

W. F. ARANT.

EXHIBIT 4.

[Telegram.]

WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 28, 1913.*

Supt. ARANT, *Crater Lake, Oreg.:*

Answering letter 17th, you are hereby removed from position superintendent Crater Lake Park, effective close June 30. Transfer property new Supt. Steel July 1.

LANE, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT 5.

KLAMATH FALLS, OREG., *June 18, 1913.*

The CHAIRMAN UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: On June 7, 1913, the honorable Secretary of the Interior called for my resignation as superintendent of Crater Lake National Park in Oregon, to take effect upon the appointment and qualification of my successor.

On the 11th June, 1913, I was advised by the Secretary of the Interior that Will G. Steel, of Portland, Oreg., had been appointed my successor, and I was directed to confer with Mr. Steel and make arrangements for turning over to him the property, records, etc., of said park.

I am this day mailing to the honorable Secretary of the Interior my protest against my removal from my position, which is in the classified civil service of the United States, without cause and without apprising me of any fault that has been found with my management of the park business. I do not believe that the so-called agreement between the Civil Service Commission and the Secretary of the Interior can lawfully be entered into, for, should such be the case, the rules can be arbitrarily set aside at the will of the department and the commission and the provisions of the civil-service laws, rules, and regulations hold for naught.

I have to request that the case, as presented by the attached copy of letter to the honorable Secretary of the Interior, be passed upon by the Civil Service Commission of the United States in a judicial way and my rights determined.

Will you kindly advise me of the action taken in this matter and greatly oblige?

Very respectfully,

W. F. ARANT,
Superintendent Crater Lake National Park in Oregon.

EXHIBIT 6.

JUNE 27, 1913.

The honorable the SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

SIR: In a letter of June 18, 1913, Mr. W. F. Arant, superintendent of Crater Lake National Park, in Oregon, writing from Klamath Falls, Oreg., states that he has addressed a protest against his removal to the Secretary of the Interior. The service records of the commission do not show the appointment of Mr. Arant, but it is presumed that he holds a position excepted under Schedule A of the civil-service rules, section 8, paragraph 20, which excepts from examination superintendents or officers in charge of national parks or reservations.

In the view of the commission, positions excepted from examination under Schedule A of the rules are within the classified service, and section 6 of the act of August 24, 1912, relating to removals, which applies in direct terms to all classified employees, applies also to persons occupying positions excepted from examination under Schedule A. This question, it is understood, is now before the Attorney General for an opinion.

The commission will be pleased to receive the remarks of the department to enable a proper response to be made to Mr. Arant.

By direction of the commission.

Very respectfully,

JOHN A. MCILHENNY,
President.

EXHIBIT 7.

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C., July 19, 1913.

Hon. NICHOLAS J. SINNOTT,
House of Representatives.

SIR: In compliance with your request there is transmitted herewith a copy of the commission's letter of June 27, 1913, to the Secretary of the Interior, and a copy of the Secretary's reply, dated July 8, 1913, concerning the separation of W. F. Arant from the excepted position of superintendent of the Crater Lake National Park, Oreg., without compliance with section 6 of the act of August 24, 1912, relative to the procedure in removals from positions in the classified service. It appears that in an opinion of the Attorney General rendered June 23, 1913, it was held that the term "classified service" as used in the statute was used in the more popular sense of the competitive service, and that the procedure required by the statute is not necessary in removals from positions not in the competitive classified service.

By direction of the commission.

Very respectfully,

JOHN A. MCILHENNY,
President.

EXHIBIT 8.

[Telegram.]

JUNE 29, 1913.

To Hon. N. J. SINNOTT, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

On 28th instant Secretary Lane wired Arant, removing him from superintendency of park. Please have this order stayed until judicial determination of issues by Civil Service Commission.

CARNAHAN.

EXHIBIT 9.

[Telegram.]

WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 30, 1913.*

J. H. CARNAHAN,
Attorney at Law, Klamath Falls, Oreg.:

Have interviewed Secretary Lane and Civil Service Commission. Secretary Lane refuses to stay order. He says no doubt that Arant not subject to civil service; that on receipt of letter, dated June 18, from William Wagner, secretary Democratic central committee, showing people of Klamath behind Arant in his resistance, he determined bring matters to a head by removing him. Civil Service Commission has notified Secretary Lane that Arant is subject to classified civil service, but claim commission has no power to enforce its opinion or stay order.

N. J. SINNOTT.

EXHIBIT 10.

[Klamath Telephone and Telegraph Co.]

WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 30, 1913.*

[Carnahan delivered to J. H. Hessig for Arant.]

Civil Service Commission has notified Secretary Lane that Arant is subject to classified civil service, but claim commission has no power to enforce its opinion or stay order.

SINNOTT.

EXHIBIT 11.

KLAMATH TELEPHONE & TELEGRAPH CO.,
Washington, D. C., July 2, 1913.

W. F. ARANT, *Crater Lake, Oreg.:*

As directed, letter June 11 and telegram June 28, transfer all property to Supt. Steel.

LANE, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT 12.

[Telegram.]

JULY 2, 1913.

To honorable SECRETARY INTERIOR,
Washington, D. C.:

Replying your telegram 2d instant, Civil Service Commission has declared I am de jure superintendent subject to civil-service law and rules. Am constrained to oppose your will, being convinced your action unlawful.

W. F. ARANT, *Superintendent.*

EXHIBIT 13.

[Telegram.]

KLAMATH FALLS, OREG., *July 8, 1913.*

To honorable SECRETARY INTERIOR,
Washington, D. C.:

Answering your telegram 7th, am ready to make complete accounting, but am compelled to refuse to relinquish my position or transfer property, being convinced removal order unlawful.

ARANT, *Superintendent.*

EXHIBIT 14.

[Night letter.]

CRATER LAKE OREG., *July 1, 1913.*

To SECRETARY INTERIOR,
Washington, D. C.:

I am at the superintendent's headquarters in the Crater Lake National Park, ready, willing, and able to perform all duties and work of the office of superintendent.

I solicit your authorization and instructions along that line.

W. F. ARANT, *Superintendent.*

EXHIBIT 15.

[Telegram.]

KLAMATH FALLS, OREG., *July 8, 1913.*

To honorable SECRETARY INTERIOR,
Washington, D. C.:

We have known Arant number of years. He is honest, upright, and able. Traveling public and park visitors uniformly satisfied with his treatment. Park development and improvement best possible under meager appropriations. We request that he be retained.

Alex. Martin, president First National Bank, neutral politics; Wm. Myer, Ashland, Oreg.; Chas. S. Moore, ex-State treasurer, Republican; Geo. T. Baldwin, ex-county judge, Klamath County, Oreg., Democrat; C. R. De Lap, county clerk, Republican; Wm. Wagner, secretary Democratic Central Committee; J. W. Siemens, president First Trust & Savings Bank; A. L. Leavitt, police judge city Klamath Falls, Republican; T. F. Nicholas, Democrat, mayor Klamath Falls, Oreg.; J. C. Smith, chief police, Klamath Falls; Henry L. Benson, Republican, circuit judge; Geo. Chastain, circuit court clerk, Democrat; Albert E. Elder, secretary Klamath Water Users' Association.

EXHIBIT 16.

KLAMATH FALLS, OREG., *November 5, 1913.*

Hon. N. J. SINNOTT,
Member of Congress, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SINNOTT: As I wrote you four or five days ago, Mr. Carnahan, my attorney in the Crater Lake National Park superintendency matter, and I have prepared a general and tolerably complete synopsis of the case, with proceedings to date, but in addition to that we have deemed it not inexpedient that I further write you regarding some of the occurrences after the inception of the removal proceedings: As to the exact dates relative to some of the correspondence with the department, I may not exactly remember, as those letters and telegrams were in the files of the office and were taken from my possession by force, as were all other things belonging to the park, but for all practical purposes are mainly correct. On June 7, 1913, I received a letter from the honorable Secretary of the Interior, of which the following is substantially a copy:

Mr. WILLIAM F. ARANT,
Superintendent of Crater Lake National Park,
Crater Lake, Oreg.

SIR: I have to request that you forward to this office your resignation as superintendent of Crater Lake National Park.

FRANKLIN K. LANE,
Secretary of the Interior.

This I declined to do, giving as my reasons that under section 6 of the act of August 24, 1912, I was entitled to be furnished with the reasons for my desired removal in writing and be given an opportunity to be heard in my own defense; to this, on the 27th day of June, 1913, I received a telegram from the honorable Secretary in which were these words:

"You are hereby removed from the office of superintendent of Crater Lake National Park; make accounting and turn the property of the park over to the new superintendent, Will G. Steel."

In answer to this I made formal protest, copy of which was forwarded to you and copy to the Civil Service Commission, as no doubt you well remember. On the 27th day of June the Civil Service Commission rendered its decision in the case sustaining my contention that I was subject to civil-service rules, and I was so notified by the commission. Early in July, 1913, I received another telegram from the Secretary, stating that the Attorney General had overruled the decision of the Civil Service Commission, to make accounting, and turn the property of the park over to Steel. Failing this the Department of Justice will take matter up and your successor put in possession. Answering this communication, I made an accounting, but again declined to turn the property over. In the meantime I had made at least two accountings of the business and property of the park. Following this, namely, on the 18th day of July, Mr. Leslie M. Scott, United States marshal for Oregon, with deputy United States marshal, Mr. Fuller, arrived in the park, and on the morning of the 19th they came to my office and informed me that they, or, rather, Mr. Scott, informed me that he had come there to turn the office and park over to Mr. Steel. I said to him, "You have papers to serve upon me in this matter?" He said, "No; I have no papers; I don't need any." To which I at once informed him that I took the position that he was without competent authority and that I would not recognize him, nor would I obey any order of his, nor turn over the office to Mr. Steel nor to him. By this time Mr. Steel had arrived. The marshal went through the formality of turning the office over to Mr. Steel by so announcing to Mr. Steel, but I forbade Steel to attempt to exercise any authority over anything in the park without my permission, which order for the time being was not disobeyed. Following this and after a somewhat stormy session of a half hour or more, they withdrew.

The next morning, Sunday morning, the 20th of July, at 8 o'clock, the marshal; his deputy; Mr. Steel; A. L. Parkhurst, the president and manager of the Crater Lake Co., with some 10 or 12 of the company's employees, came to my office, the marshal stating that he would take possession of the office and turn it over to Mr. Steel. I still maintained my position of the previous day, that he was acting without competent authority and that I would surrender nothing. After some parlying he produced a letter from the United States district attorney at Portland, informing him that he had received instructions by wire from the United States Attorney General to have him, the marshal, go up to the park and remove me and put Steel in possession. I believe he also produced a telegram to Reames, the United States district attorney.

Upon my refusing to vacate the office or turn it over to Steel, the marshal, with the assistance of Fuller, his deputy, and with the support of the Crater Lake Co.'s employees, seized upon me and by force threw me out of my office and into the yard and returned into the house and also drove my family out of the house and took possession of the house, the office, and, besides the records and fixtures and property of the office, took my own private property which was in the office desk, consisting of my checkbook and check for $114, some cash, my stationery and postage stamps, some papers relative to a land sale representing a value of more than $5,000. Within a week these things, except some postage stamps, were returned to me. Some of the stamps I never recovered. I am writing these details of this matter that you may know exactly what was done and all that was done. I hope it may assist you in having a perfect understanding of the matter as it progressed and the final result since of the forcible ejection. I have maintained with the Secretary of the Interior that I have never been lawfully removed from the office and am at this time the lawful superintendent of the park; which, of course, is never admitted by the department.

Very respectfully, W. F. ARANT.

EXHIBIT 17.

CIVIL SERVICE EXCEPTED POSITIONS.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, *June 23, 1913.*

SIR: I beg to refer to your letter of April 25 last, requesting an opinion whether section 6 of the Post Office Department appropriation act, approved August 24, 1912 (37 Stat., 555), which prescribes regulations in respect to the removal of persons from the "classified civil service," applies to those occupying what are known as "excepted" positions.

The provision referred to reads:

"SEC. 6. That no person in the classified civil service of the United States shall be removed therefrom except for such cause as will promote the efficiency of said service and for reasons given in writing, and the person whose removal is sought shall have notice of the same and of any charges preferred against him, and be furnished with a copy thereof, and also be allowed a reasonable time for personally answering the same in writing, and affidavits in support thereof; but no examination of witnesses nor any trial or hearing shall be required, except in the discretion of the officer making the removal; and copies of charges, notice of hearing, answer, reasons for removal, and of the order of removal shall be made a part of the records of the proper department or office, as shall also the reasons for reduction in rank or compensation; and copies of the same shall be furnished to the person affected upon request, and the Civil Service Commission also shall, upon request, be furnished copies of the same * * *."

It appears that the Civil Service Commission has advised you in this matter as follows:

"The classified service comprises all those positions which on the one hand are not subject to confirmation by the Senate and on the other hand are not those of mere laborer or workmen. Positions excepted from examination under Schedule A of the rules are, therefore, within the classified service, and section 6 of the act of August 24, 1912, as it applies in direct terms to all classified employees applies to persons occupying positions excepted from examination under Schedule A."

The definition given by the Civil Service Commission of the classified service in the above statement is substantially that made by section 1 of rule 11 of the Civil Service Rules, first promulgated, I am advised, in March, 1903.

Some of the positions declared by the civil-service rules to be within the classified service, but excepted in Schedule A thereof from examination, are as follows:

"Two private secretaries or confidential clerks to the head of each of the executive departments and one to each assistant head.

"One private secretary or confidential clerk to each of the heads of bureaus, appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, in the executive departments, if authorized by law.

"All persons appointed by the President without confirmation by the Senate.

"Attorneys, assistant attorneys, and special assistant attorneys."

Special exceptions are made in the schedule for each department.

The result of the interpretation placed by the Civil Service Commission upon section 6 of the act of August 24, 1912, is that persons occupying the most confidential relations with the heads of departments, or for other reasons deemed advisable to be excepted from the general rule as to examination for competitive positions in the public service, can not be removed at the discretion of such heads, but only for such cause as will promote the efficiency of said service and for reasons given in writing, with notice and opportunity to be heard.

The reasons for requiring this procedure for the removal of persons occupying competitive positions are apparent. Such persons are appointed as the result of examination in accordance with the civil-service rules, by which their qualifications for the positions they hold are determined, and they are not merely the personal selection of the head of the department in which they serve. Having no arbitrary right of selection, it may well be said that the head of a department should have no arbitrary right of removal. But these considerations do not apply to persons occupying excepted positions. Since their appointment rests on personal selection, they can logically claim no better tenure. But the right of personal selection would be defeated if a person so selected could not be removed at the pleasure of the appointing power.

If, therefore, the restrictions in the act in question are applied to persons occupying excepted positions, one of the chief purposes of such exceptions—which are expressly authorized by the civil-service act (sec. 7) and rules (Rule II, sec. 3)—will be defeated. But there is nothing in the history of the act which suggests that Congress had any intention to limit the right of the appointing power to select persons for the excepted positions.

The specific cause for this legislation was a controversy about the Railway Mail Service (48 Cong. Rec., 4653–4657, 4988–5009, 5197–5241, 5625–5638, 9952–9953, 10670–10676), the positions in which are competitive, and no question of excepted positions was involved or mentioned in the debates on the matter.

The situation here appears to be analogous to that presented in the Holy Trinity Church case (143 U. S., 457), where it was held that a thing within the language of the statute was not within the statute, because not within its spirit and purpose, as shown by its history and the evil intended to be remedied.

For the reasons stated I am of the opinion that the term "classified civil service," in section 6 of the act of August 24, 1912, was used in the more popular sense of the competitive service, and therefore should not be held to include excepted positions unless such positions have been filled as competitive positions are filled, in which event, under rule 2, paragraph 3, of the civil-service rules, the person appointed is entitled to all the rights of a competitive employee.

Respectfully,

WILLIAM R. HARR,
Assistant Attorney General.

Approved.

J. C. MCREYNOLDS.

To the SECRETARY OF COMMERCE.

EXHIBIT 18 A.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, January 15, 1913.

Mr. WILLIAM F. ARANT,
Superintendent of Crater Lake National Park,
Klamath Falls, Oreg.

MY DEAR MR. ARANT: On December 24, 1912, you addressed a letter to the Secretary of the Interior, asking if the position of superintendent of the Crater Lake National Park is under civil-service rules, and on the same day a similar letter to the President, which was referred to this department, making the same inquiry.

Both letters were answered in the ordinary course of business. I presume that the writing of these letters by you was prompted by a desire to ascertain your exact civil-service status, possibly with a view to predicating your future course with respect to your present office. As I advised you in letter of January 7, 1913, you have no civil-service status; the position which you occupy is "excepted"; that is, it would be under the civil service if it were not for the fact that by agreement between this department and the Civil Service Commission it has been, for the time being, placed outside the operation of the civil-service rules; consequently, while you are holding a position in the classified service, by reason of such position being "excepted" you are subject to removal at any time at the pleasure of the Secretary of the Interior.

Mr. Will G. Steel has sent to the department (generally addressed to me) a number of indorsements for his appointment to the position you now hold. It further appears from the correspondence sent by him that he has been in touch with you over the question of your vacating voluntarily your office and creating a vacancy to which he might be appointed. I have not, however, been furnished with a copy of your conclusions in answer to the inquiry which he propounded. I am about to refer this entire matter to the Secretary for his final consideration.

In view of these letters which you have written concerning your civil-service status, the indorsements, bipartisan in character, submitted by Mr. Steel, the advent of the new administration—in short, that the matter may receive careful consideration, will you not please advise me upon the receipt of this letter what your attitude and intention may be with respect to your present office prior to March 4?

Very truly, yours,

CLEMENT S. UCKER.

EXHIBIT 18.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C., June 23, 1913.

W. F. ARANT, Esq.,
Klamath Falls, Oreg.

DEAR SIR: On receipt of your letter to-day I immediately called on the Civil Service Commission. They had not yet received a copy of your letter to the Secretary of the Interior, but they will notify me as soon as they receive it. I asked for an opportunity to be heard in your behalf.

The secretary of the commission informed me that Mr. Ucker was in error as to the agreement between the department and the commission. The only agreement that was made was that the superintendency of parks should not be subject to an examination, but this, in the opinion of the commission, in no way changed the classified civil-service status of such positions.

He, however, informed me that some were contending that it does and that this matter at the present time has been referred to the Attorney General for his opinion. The secretary further informed me that in his opinion you could not be removed except for reasons stated in section 6, referred to in your letter to the Secretary of the Interior.

I shall do all in my power to see that the law is followed in your case. However, under the law I can not act as your attorney in this matter, nor for any compensation, but I shall certainly take pleasure in acting for you as Representative from the second Oregon congressional district.

With kind regards, I remain,

Very truly, yours,

N. J. SINNOTT.

EXHIBIT 19.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *July 7, 1913.*

Opinion Attorney General June 23 overrules Civil Service Commission and holds section 6, postal act, does not include excepted positions.

I demand that you account and transfer property to Supt. Steel.

Failing which, matter will be taken up with Department of Justice and your successor put in possession.

Your pay stopped June 30.

LANE, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT 20.

NEW YORK, *September 4, 1914.*

Hon. BINGER HERMANN
(Care of H. P. Gatley),
340 Indiana Avenue, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I take pleasure in sending you herewith a copy of the opinion of the law committee of the National Civil Service Reform League on the construction of section 6 of the Post Office appropriation act of 1912.

Very truly, yours,

HARRY W. MARSH,
Assistant Secretary.

(Inclosure.)

EXHIBIT 21.

LAW OFFICE OF BINGER HERMANN,
Rosebud, Oreg., September 19, 1914.

W. F. ARANT, Esq.,
Klamath Falls, Oreg.

DEAR MR. ARANT: After a long fight, we now win out in having declared the action of the department in your case illegal, as I wire you to-day, and now inclose herein the decision of the National Civil Service Reform League and its letter to me, saying they "take pleasure in sending a copy of the opinion of the law committee," which, as you will observe, denies the right of selection to excepted positions. They have not the right to abuse this power. "They can not remove for political partisanship, personal favoritism, or a regard for mere individual interests of anyone." A removal that does not promote the efficiency of the service can not be made, and even then not until charges are preferred, with an opportunity to file an answer.

Sincerely, yours,

BINGER HERMANN.

EXHIBIT 22.

OPINION OF THE LAW COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE REFORM LEAGUE IN RE THE CONSTRUCTION OF SECTION 6 OF THE POST OFFICE APPROPRIATION BILL OF 1912.

In the Post Office appropriation bill approved August 24, 1912, provision was made for procedure to be followed in the removal of employees in the classified service. The provisions of the statute are substantially the same as those in the removal rule established by President Taft by Executive order. In June, 1913, the superintendent of Crater Lake National Park, in Oregon, a position in Schedule A of the civil-service rules, was removed without any presentation of charges and an opportunity to file an answer. Upon appeal to the Civil Service Commission he received an opinion that the position of superintendent of Crater Lake National Park was covered by the provisions of the act of August 24, 1912, since positions in Schedule A are in the classified service, although they are excepted from examination. Later an opinion was given by the Attorney General of the United States in which he arrived at the conclusion that the act referred to did not apply to any positions in Schedule A.

After careful consideration of the question involved the law committee of the National Civil Service Reform League can see no reason whatsoever for restricting the term "classified civil service" as used in section 6 of the act approved August 24, 1912 (19 Stat., 555), to positions filled by competitive examinations. This term has been in official use as designating inter alia places exempted from examination under Schedule A for more than nine years, being embodied in section 1 of rule 2 of the civil-service rules approved by President Roosevelt and promulgated about March, 1903. In an opinion of the Department of Justice as to certain temporary appointments furnished to President Roosevelt on February 12, 1908, Attorney General Bonaparte said (vol. 26, p. 507):

"Where Congress in an appropriation act makes use of the very term employed in the civil-service act in describing appointments to be made in accordance with its provisions, it is manifest that there was no intention to waive the requirements of the latter statute."

Here Congress has used the very term employed in a definition embodied in the civil-service law for nearly a decade. In the opinion of the law committee the presumption is that the term was used in the act in the same sense as in the rule. It can see nothing to rebut this presumption. Heads of departments and other officers possessing the right of removal with respect to classified employees are authorized to exercise that right for any cause which will, in the judgment of the removing officer, promote the efficiency of the service. The law committee does not believe that it ought to assume that Congress intended to authorize such officers to remove their subordinates for causes which would not promote the efficiency of the service; such, for example, as political partisanship, personal favoritism, or a regard for the mere individual interests of anyone. The law committee does not agree with Assistant Attorney General Harr that such officers have "an arbitrary right of selection" to excepted positions. They are bound by their oaths of office to fill these positions no less than all others so as most effectively to promote the efficiency of the service or otherwise advance the public interest. They have indeed the power to abuse this trust to other ends, but this is not their right.

The law committee, therefore, concludes that unless the procedure prescribed by section 6 of the Post Office Department appropriation act was followed the removal of the superintendent of Crater Lake National Park was illegal.

EXHIBIT 23.

ATTEMPTED APPOINTMENT OF SUCCESSOR TO ASSISTANT ASSESSOR HELD TO BE MERE NULLITY.

The removal of Samuel T. Kalbfus as an assistant assessor of the District of Columbia was illegal and void and the attempted appointment of his successor a mere nullity, according to the decision of the District Court of Appeals rendered to-day. Justice Robb, speaking for the court, declared the office had never been vacant, and in contemplation of the law "the relator has never been out of his office, but, in fact, he has been and now is being illegally excluded from it."

Declaring mandamus to be the most adequate remedy to restore Mr. Kalbfus to his rights, the court directs that the judgment of Justice Barnard of the District Supreme Court be reversed and the cause remanded for further proceedings.

JUSTICE BARNARD'S RULING.

Justice Barnard held that the commissioners had discretion as to the removal of a member of the board, and, having acted within that discretion, the court would not review the action.

Justice Robb sustains the contention of Attorney Frank J. Hogan, for the assistant assessor, that the oath of office taken before the assessor by one of his assistants is valid. Even if invalid, the court suggests, the commissioners having allowed Mr. Kalbfus to serve under it for many years may not be heard to attack it.

The right of the commissioners to remove a member of the board of assistant assessors was curtailed, the court finds, by the act of 1902, prohibiting removal except for causes mentioned. By this act notice and hearing before the tribunal charged with the duty of according it and of determining the issues became requisite, the court holds, to the exercise of jurisdiction.

"The fact that the conduct of an official may have been the subject of inquiry," says Justice Robb, "before another tribunal does not relieve

of its duty the tribunal charged by law with according a hearing before removing him."

COMMISSIONERS' CLAIM.

The commissioners claimed it was unnecessary to try Kalbfus, since a committee of Congress had found that he had engaged in real estate speculation while a member of the board of assessors.

Without passing on the right of the present board of commissioners to review the finding of their predecessors, the court declares it is certain they had no power to review that finding without notice to Mr. Kalbfus. This could no more be done, the court suggests, than could the former board, after two years had elapsed, have reopened the case and reversed their finding without notice to him.

"When the defendants passed their order of removal," continues Justice Robb, "the relator was in the actual and legal possession of his office, Congress having explicitly withdrawn from the commissioners the power of removal except for specified causes, notice and hearing were essential requisites to remove at all. Since their order of removal was passed without notice and hearing, it necessarily follows that their action constituted an arbitrary exercise of power and was void."

REFUSED TO RESIGN.

August 18 last Mr. Kalbfus received a letter from the commission offering him an opportunity to resign from the service of the District. He declined, and on the next day the commissioners passed an order removing him, and naming Edward W. Oyster as his successor. Mr. Kalbfus acknowledged the receipt of the dismissal order, but notified the authorities that he claimed the office and stood ready to perform the functions of the office, if not prevented. The proffer to return to work was ignored and Mr. Kalbfus had recourse to the courts.

It is considered probable, in view of to-day's decision, that Mr. Kalbfus will be entitled to pay for the time he has been excluded from the office. The court holds the office has never been vacant and that Mr. Kalbfus has been both in law and fact a member of the board of assistant assessors.

NEWMAN DECLINES TO COMMENT.

Commissioner Newman was informed of the Kalbfus decision by a reporter of the Star. He declined to comment on it until he had seen a copy of Justice Robb's ruling. The commissioner said that he would probably call a meeting of the full board of District heads late this afternoon or early to-morrow for the purpose of considering what action will be taken in the matter. The office of the assessor of the District is under Commissioner Newman's personal supervision.

EXHIBIT 24.

United States *v.* Wickersham. (201 U. S., 340.)

The United States Supreme Court decided April 2, 1906, that Mr. Wickersham was entitled to compensation from November 1, 1897, the date on which he was illegally suspended, in violation of the civil-service rules, from a classified position by the surveyor general of Idaho, until May 10, 1898, the date on which the department offered him another position in Washington, which he declined.

The court said in part:

"The case comes to this: The appellee, by his appointment, practically made by the Secretary of the Interior in entering his name in the classified list, and designating him for the service required, was entitled to the privileges and emoluments of his position until he was disqualified by his own action or that of some duly authorized public authority.

"The attempted suspension, without the authority of law, he remaining ready and willing to discharge the duties of the place, could not, during the period of such wrongful suspension, have the effect to deprive him of the compensation legally belonging to one entitled to hold the position." (201 U. S., 390.)

EXHIBIT 25.

KLAMATH FALLS, OREG., *October 31, 1914.*

Honorable SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: Inclosed herewith you will find vouchers for $83.33 and $31, respectively, for the salary and allowance of the superintendent of the Crater Lake National Park for the month of October, 1914.

A reply to my letter of September 30, 1914, is solicited.

Very sincerely,

W. F. ARANT, *Superintendent.*

EXHIBIT 26.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, November 8, 1913.

Mr. W. F. ARANT,
Klamath Falls, Oreg.

SIR: Acknowledging receipt of your letter of October 31, 1913, forwarding claim for salary and horse keep as superintendent of the Crater Lake National Park during October, I have to state that, as you were advised in department letters of September 10 and October 7, in relation to similar claims for the months of August and September, inasmuch as you were removed from the superintendency of said park effective June 30, 1913, you are not entitled to compensation and allowance for horse keep claimed by you, and payment is accordingly refused.

Respectfully,

ADOLPH C. MILLER,
Assistant to the Secretary.

EXHIBIT 27.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, July 8, 1913.

GENTLEMEN: I am in receipt of the commission's letter of the 27th ultimo with reference to the case of W. F. Arant, whose resignation as superintendent of the Crater Lake (Oreg.) National Park was requested under date of June 7, 1913.

It appears that Mr. Arant was appointed without examination and entered on duty as superintendent of the national park at Crater Lake on September 26, 1902, and that a report of his appointment was not made to the commission for the reason that at the time the status of superintendents or officers in charge of national parks was not definitely fixed and it was not known whether the commission would be interested in their selection or appointment. The final and definite determination of their status as regards appointment under civil-service rules appears to have been based upon the Executive order of October 9, 1908. (See commission's letter of Oct. 13, 1908.)

As stated by the commission, Mr. Arant has protested against his removal from the service in the manner proposed, claiming that under section 6 of the act of August 24, 1912, he could not be removed except for cause and for reasons given in writing, with notice and opportunity to be heard. In this view he was sustained by the commission. The Attorney General, however, under date of June 23, 1913, held:

"* * * I am of the opinion that the term 'classified civil service,' in section 6 of the act of August 24, 1912, was used in the more popular sense of the competitive service, and therefore should not be held to include excepted positions, unless such positions have been filled as competitive positions are filled, in which event, under Rule II, paragraph 3, of the Civil Service Rules, the person appointed is entitled to all the rights of a competitive employee."

In accordance with the opinion expressed by the Attorney General, Mr. Arant was, on June 28, 1913, removed from the position of superintendent, effective at the close of June 30, 1913.

Respectfully,

FRANKLIN K. LANE, *Secretary.*

The CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION.

EXHIBIT 28.

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C., July 16, 1913.

Mr. W. F. ARANT,
Klamath Falls, Oreg.

SIR: With reference to your letter of June 18, protesting against your proposed removal from the position of superintendent of Crater Lake National Park, without compliance with the provisions of section 6 of the act of August 24, 1912, regulating the procedure in removals from positions in the classified service, you are advised that this commission is in receipt of a letter from the Secretary of the Interior, stating that on June 23, 1913, the Attorney General rendered an opinion holding that the statute cited does not apply to removals from excepted positions in the classified service, but only to competitive positions therein and to occupants of excepted positions which have been filled in the same manner as competitive positions are filled.

In view of this opinion it appears that your protest affords no basis for any action by this commission.

By direction of the commission.

Very respectfully,

JOHN A. MCILHENNY, *President.*

EXHIBIT 29.

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C., July 19, 1913.

Mr. J. H. CARNAHAN,
Rooms 7 and 8, White-Maddox Building,
Klamath Falls, Oreg.

SIR: The commission is in receipt of your communication of July 1 stating that you have been unable to determine why the Civil Service Commission does not assume jurisdiction to investigate removals from excepted positions, and asking to be furnished with a statement of reasons why the commission does not do so.

In reply your attention is invited to the following extract from an opinion of the Attorney General under date of June 23, 1913:

"I am of the opinion that the term 'classified civil service' in section 6 of the act of August 24, 1912, was used in the more popular sense of the competitive service and therefore should not be held to include excepted positions, unless such positions have been filled as competitive positions are filled, in which event under rule 2, paragraph 3, of the civil-service rules the person appointed is entitled to all the rights of a competitive employee."

Until the Post Office appropriation act to which the Attorney General's opinion refers was passed the commission held that it did not have jurisdiction to investigate removals from excepted positions; but after the passage of that act it held that the provisions of section 6 applied to excepted positions because they were in the classified service, although it still held that the commission did not have jurisdiction to investigate such removals. The opinion of the Attorney General indicates that the recent law does not apply to excepted positions, and thus substantiates the opinion which the commission has held for years regarding these positions.

The very reasons which constitute the basis for the exception of these positions are equally valid as indicating that it should not be necessary for appointing officers to formulate written charges before making removals from these positions. Many of the positions are primarily of a confidential character, and it is recognized as fitting that the occupant should not only be worthy of confidence, but should have the confidence of the officer with whom he is to have close relations. It is eminently fitting that the heads or assistant heads of the executive departments should have the privilege of intimate acquaintance with their private secretaries and confidential clerks, and to require a new head of an office to submit a written statement of charges before dismissing a confidential clerk of his predecessor who may be utterly unknown to him would be absurd.

It also seems proper that persons appointed without complying with the civil-service rules and the requirements of competition under the merit system should not be entitled to the protection of the rules and the merit system in the matter of retention in the service. A man who owes his appointment to the acquaintance of the appointing officer should not expect to retain his position after that appointing officer leaves the service. A man who owes his appointment to political or personal influence should not expect to retain his position after that personal or political influence ceases to be potent, nor is there any principle of law or justice which would seem to render it expedient to grant the protection of the civil-service rules to those persons appointed without reference to the principles enunciated in those rules.

The rules in no case test the fitness or qualifications of the excepted appointee. They do not guarantee that he is a suitable person for the position, and there is no reason why they should attempt to hold him in the position after the appointing power desires to make a change.

By direction of the commission.

Very respectfully, JOHN A. MCILHENNY, *President.*

EXHIBIT 30.

JULY 25, 1913.

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: I am in receipt of a letter of date July 19, 1913, unsigned, purporting to come from the United States Civil Service Commission, in reply to my letter of July 7, 1913, in which an excerpt from the opinion of the United States Attorney General, dated June 23, 1913, is set out, and in which the Attorney General gives it as his opinion that the act of August 24, 1912, section 6, does not embrace persons in the classified civil service of the United States who received their appointments without competitive examinations or by noncompetitive examinations, the Attorney General holding that "classified civil service" as used in the act referred to, contemplates those only who entered the classified service as a result of competitive examinations.

This opinion of the Attorney General is, in effect, a complete reversal of the opinion of the United States Civil Service Commission dated June 27, 1913, relating to the positions of W. F. Arant, superintendent of Crater Lake National Park, in Oregon. In that opinion, copy of which I now have in my possession (original having been seen by Congressman N. J. SINNOTT, of Oregon), you clearly expressed it as your belief that Mr. Arant was in the classified civil service, and that he would be subject to the provisions of section 6 of the postal appropriation act of August 24, 1912.

Prior to the controversy over Arant's position this must necessarily have been your opinion, since in the various pamphlets containing the civil-service rules and Executive orders coming under your jurisdiction for execution you clearly and unmistakeably listed Arant's position as being in the classified civil service and subject to the civil-service rules. (See par. 20, p. 69, Civil Service Rules, etc., issued June 2, 1913; also par. 20, Civil Service Rules, issued in 1912, and emanating from your office.)

Not only this, but your latest circular, issued with a view to placing a construction, inter alia, upon the very question involved in Arant's case, on page 3 thereof you say this:

"The classified service comprises all those positions which, on the one hand, are not subject to confirmation by the Senate, and, on the other hand, are not those of mere laborer or workman. Positions excepted from examination under Schedule A of the rules are therefore within the classified service, and section 6 of the act of August 24, 1912, as it applies in direct terms to all classified employees applies to persons occupying positions excepted from examination under Schedule A."

In the above-quoted excerpt from the circular of the Civil Service Commission issued in April, 1913, you very distinctly say that persons excepted from examination under Schedule A are in the classified service, and the act of August 24, 1912, section 6, applies to them. You have always listed Arant's position—namely, that of national park superintendent—under Schedule A.

I desire to be entirely fair and, above all, respectful to the United States Civil Commission, but it does seem to me that the conclusion is unavoidable that the commission has changed its front in this matter from purely political reasons and for reasons of expediency. Else why should it completely reverse itself the first time an important question is put squarely up to it, as was done in the Arant matter?

It is a fact that the United States Civil Service Commission is not under the jurisdiction of the Attorney General, and it is not bound, as are the executive departments, to follow his opinions when he attempts to construe the civil-service laws, rules, and regulations which the Civil Service Commission was specially created to put into operation.

Indeed, in Twentieth Opinions of the United States Attorney General, page 649, it is said:

"It would not be proper for the Attorney General to attempt the construction of regulations of the Civil Service Commission. That is a matter entirely within the province of the commission."

If it be said that the Attorney General is, in his purported opinion of June 23, 1913, construing a law, and not a mere regulation, then I would reply that your regulations are practically held for naught as a result of this opinion, since your regulations placed the position of Arant in the classified service and this opinion attempts to overrule your classification and places the same position outside the pale of the classified civil service.

I should like to ask the honorable commission if it is fair, in their opinion, that Mr. Arant, whom they have for years listed as being in the classified civil service, and whom they have expressly stated, in the circulars issued to the whole civil service of the United States, is subject to the provisions of section 6 of the act of Congress of August 24, 1912, should be arbitrarily and in utter disregard of the civil-service law and the civil-service rules removed from office without the assignment of any reason? Surely if your rules and regulations and the act of August 24, 1912, mean anything they mean that this citizen should be removed, if removed at all, by due process of law and not ruthlessly and arbitrarily and without assignment of reason or cause.

His record has not been impeached during his 11 years in the office of superintendent of the Crater Lake National Park. Indeed, the Secretary of the Interior has not even pretended to find fault with his incumbency of the office, but he has attempted to remove him as though he were a mere laborer, or as though he filled a position which required confirmation by the Senate. Surely this is not right, and I appeal to you, on his behalf, to proceed under the law.

In so far as the opinion of the Attorney General is concerned, I would say that, in the first place, he has no jurisdiction to impose his fiat upon your commission, and, in the second place, it is governed, in my opinion, purely by questions of expediency—political expediency, which should find no place in the classified civil service. This should be administered according to the law of the land, and not by reverting to the so-called "spoils system," which was supposed to have gone out of existence in 1883, when the civil service was first established.

I have to again respectfully request that Mr. Arant be declared superintendent of Crater Lake National Park, in Oregon, and that he continue to draw the compensation attached to that position until such time as he is lawfully removed.

Very respectfully,

J. H. CARNAHAN.

EXHIBIT 31.

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C., August 4, 1913.

Mr. J. H. CARNAHAN,
Attorney at law, Klamath Falls, Oreg.

SIR: The commission is in receipt of your letter of July 25, 1913, in further reference to the case of Mr. W. F. Arant, superintendent of Crater Lake National Park, Oreg.

In reply you are informed that the opinion of the Attorney General to the effect that the term "classified civil service" in section 6 of the act of August 24, 1912, should not be held to include excepted positions is conclusive so far as this commission is concerned. Prior to August 24, 1912, this commission never held that persons appointed to positions excepted from the requirement of examination under the civil-service rules were entitled to be furnished with a written statement of reasons and to be afforded an opportunity to make a written reply before being removed from the service.

Section 6 of the Post Office appropriation act approved August 24, 1912, provided that no person in the classified civil service should be removed except for reasons given in writing. The classified service is made up of competitive positions and excepted positions, and the commission expressed the opinion that inasmuch as excepted positions were also classified the provision of the appropriation act just mentioned applied to them. In connection with this opinion of the commission, however, it also made the following statement:

"The commission's power to investigate cases where it is alleged that the required procedure has not been followed does not extend to excepted positions."

The opinion of the Attorney General that the provision of section 6 of the Post Office appropriation act of August 24, 1912, does not apply to excepted positions leaves those positions in exactly the same status with relation to removals that they always previously occupied. The opinion of the Attorney General, already referred to several times, was rendered in response to a request from the Department of Commerce and was in no way occasioned by the case of Mr. Arant, under the Department of the Interior, in whom you are interested.

By direction of the commission.

Very respectfully,

JOHN A. MCILHENNY, *President.*

Farewell to the House of Representatives.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. THOMPSON BAKER,

OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. Speaker, in leaving the House I wish to express my gratitude to the colleagues whose friendship has made my term of office here delightful.

And I can not say farewell without a word of thanks to the leader whose great ability, unfailing courtesy, and absolute fairness to friend and foe alike must win him the regard of every man who serves his country on this floor.

I offer in extension of my remarks the following eulogy pronounced upon the Speaker of the House of Representatives on the recent occasion of his birthday by Col. John Temple Graves:

"This happy evening marks the sixty-fifth birthday of CHAMP CLARK, an incorruptible statesman and a stainless gentleman.

"It is celebrated in love and loyalty by a little company of those who know best and love best one of the great souls that have moved in majesty and will abide among the master spirits of his time.

"CHAMP CLARK's life, from militant youth to vigorous manhood, has been given and consecrated to the service of his country. For 20 dauntless and strenuous years he has been a Democratic Congressman from the State of old Missouri, for 4 years the leader of his party on the floor, and for 4 years its Speaker in the chair as the second officer of the Federal Government.

"As leader of his party in minority and in majority he won laurels and love by masterly eloquence and unfailing devotion that inspired Democracy's struggling lines in failure and swept them by high example into the splendid and unbroken unity that made their passport to enduring victory.

"It was no partial friendship, but a unanimous conclusion of his contemporaries that has written him among the greatest House leaders Democracy ever developed. OSCAR UNDERWOOD, greatest and serenest of his party colleagues, who succeeded him on the floor, said but yesterday in the sincerity of farewell: 'CHAMP CLARK is the greatest Speaker the American Congress ever knew.'

"JAMES R. MANN, the Republican leader, who has fought the Speaker for a grappling decade of debate, said in 1912 from his front place in the ranks of the opposition: 'CHAMP CLARK is worthy in character, in ability, and in lofty soul, to fill with honor any position in this or any other Government on earth.'

"I have known and loved CHAMP CLARK in every relation that makes up human life. I pay tribute here to a personal grandeur in his mind and spirit that has bettered all my traditions of human friendship and enriched my conceptions of the highest civic character. He is one of the few men I have ever known capable of a friendship that, in its lofty qualities, deserves to rank with Damon's for Pythias or Jonathan's for David, in the old heroic time. Under the massive magnificence of his physical frame there beats a heart as tender and true as it is always brave, and that man who has won and deserved the

friendship of CHAMP CLARK may rest upon a possession as priceless as it is imperishable.

"I have seen the great Missourian make good in all the searching competitions of political and intellectual life. I have seen him rise unspotted above the temptations of a selfish, ambitious, and grasping era. I have seen him ready to break with the most powerful political ally he ever had if unity required the slightest surrender of his integrity of conviction or a moment's forgetfulness of his country's welfare.

"The patriotism of this man subordinates his interest everywhere. His fidelity outweighs his ambitions. His magnanimity to men and his perfect loyalty to party have been proved greater than any sense of personal injury or of private hurt.

"Whatever the future may bring to our great friend, his noble, manly past at least is all secure, and history will write him high and clear upon his country's annals.

"May God bless CHAMP CLARK, of old Missouri, upon his sixty-fifth and all succeeding birthdays. May God keep in health, in prosperity, and in honor this stainless publicist, this flawless friend, this noble gentleman.

"Statesman and friend to truth, of soul sincere,
In honor flawless and of courage clear;
Patient in trial, serene amidst alarms,
Inflexible in faith, invincible in arms."

Mining Safety and Experiment Stations.

SPEECH

OF

HON. MARTIN D. FOSTER,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 1, 1915.

The House had under consideration the bill (H. R. 15869) to provide for the establishment and maintenance of mining experiment and mine safety stations; for making investigations and disseminating information among employees in mining, quarrying, metallurgical, and other mining industries, and for other purposes.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, we now have some eight mining rescue stations in the United States, located where they are most convenient for the coal-mining industry.

These mine rescue stations are maintained out of the fund appropriated for the investigation in reference to safety appliances. This bill seeks by act of Congress to authorize seven additional mining stations. Investigation has shown that up to this time there are not a sufficient number of these stations to take care of the whole country, and that they are not sufficiently equipped under the present arrangement. Some additions ought to be made in reference to the employees in this work so that better work may be done in the future. The Bureau of Mines has some Pullman cars which they purchased from the railroad companies, but which are so old now that they can not be taken on a passenger train with safety, so that they are compelled to haul them on freight trains when they go to the scene of an explosion or accident which requires their presence.

As you probably know, there has been a great demand throughout the country for the establishment of these stations where the miners may be instructed in the proper care of lamps and other safety appliances and all that go to make their work safer.

Coal mining is a hazardous occupation for those who work under the ground and are engaged in the actual work of digging coal. Men going down under the ground for a mile or two are at the mercy of an accident, such as an explosion, and we feel that we can well afford to give more attention than is now being given to the safety of the men employed in the mining and quarrying industries, which employ nearly 2,000,000 men throughout the United States.

Mr. COX. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. COX. What is the difference between a mine experiment station and a safety station?

Mr. FOSTER. The mine safety stations are those which have to do with the safety of the miners in the coal-mining industry and the metal-mining industry—looking out for the safety of those who work in the mines. The mine experiment stations are established for the purpose of dealing with a lot of problems in reference to metal mining, such as the problems of how to extract the metal from the ores in such a way as to be economical.

Mr. COX. Can the same set of men operate an experiment station as are required to operate a safety station?

Mr. FOSTER. No; they can not be the same.

Mr. COX. Is not this a duplication of work?

Mr. FOSTER. No; it is not a duplication.

Mr. COX. Does it require experts in both these lines of work?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. COX. Why not have them both in one?

Mr. FOSTER. Because the metal-mining experiment stations are established in places which are convenient to metal mines and are engaged in solving other problems than the safety of the workers. The mine safety stations are more largely for the benefit of the coal-mining industry, having reference to safety.

Mr. COX. The gentleman says "largely." Does the gentleman mean exclusively?

Mr. FOSTER. No, sir; I do not; because safety mining stations might be established in the metal-mining industry, to look after the safety of the men who are engaged in metal mining. For instance, in certain mining districts in the United States, 10 men out of every 100 who work in the metal mines die from tuberculosis. That is due to the breathing of the dust that comes in certain kinds of metal mining. In coal mining it is a different proposition. The men are afflicted with miners' asthma, which is likely to affect those working in coal mines. What we hope to do in order to save the men employed in metal mining is to solve the problem of getting rid of the dust, so that men will not have to incur that great risk to their health.

Mr. COX. How much will it cost for a mine-experiment station?

Mr. FOSTER. In the neighborhood of $25,000.

Mr. COX. For each one? How much does it cost to establish a mine-safety station?

Mr. FOSTER. That depends upon what is done. If it is a movable station, it would cost in the neighborhood, to operate it as it ought to be, $20,000 a year, although it might be run for a less price. That would keep it going 11 months.

Mr. COX. One $25,000 and the other $20,000?

Mr. FOSTER. We are now spending for this work about $200,000 a year.

Mr. COX. What is the use of starting one up in Alaska?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know when that would be established, but we thought it better to have it authorized and provided for here.

Mr. LENROOT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. LENROOT. Can the gentleman give an idea of the total cost in the immediate future of these stations?

Mr. FOSTER. No; there would be no great cost in the near future. This bill provides that not more than three shall be established in any one year, and three would not cost more than $60,000 or $75,000. We already have eight mine rescue stations, and we are spending for them now about $100,000, possibly a little less.

The second section permits the Bureau of Mines, of the Secretary of the Interior, to accept ground and buildings or contributions from States or individuals. For instance, in the State of Illinois there is a mine rescue station, and the Federal Government is expending about $7,000 on it, while the State of Illinois is paying for the support of the station something like $10,000. So that in any of these stations the expense will be taken care of in this way.

Mr. Speaker, this bill carries no appropriation, as the committee thought that, owing to the financial condition of the Treasury at this time, it was best for the House to decide the matter of appropriation at a later date, and it is expected, in view of these facts, the appropriation the first year would be small.

There is an urgent need for this legislation on account of the great loss of life taking place every year in the mining industry. The industry is growing very rapidly from year to year. At the same time our mines are growing more dangerous to life on account of their increasing depth each year. Since the Bureau of Mines was established much education has taken place among the miners. Many new appliances have been put in operation for the safety of the miner, and a more economical way of mining has been established. There are employed in all branches of the mining industry more than 2,000,000 men, and of this number about 4,000 are killed and 75,000 injured each year.

In order to cope with the work of such magnitude and importance the funds and employees of the bureau are inadequate. From every part of the country where mining is carried on there comes the appeal to Congress to enlarge the investigation and educational work of the bureau so that this work for the safety of these men may be carried on more rapidly.

This educational work for the mines is carried on largely through the use of the eight rescue cars which the Government now owns; but on account of the limited amount of money they can only be operated about half the time, and the number of employees with each car is not sufficient to properly perform the work. With the present facilities it will take approximately 12 years to make the circuit of the mining camps of the country. If this additional number provided for are put in operation, the work could be done in three or four years. Many of the miners are unable to read the English language, and the character of work being done on the rescue cars has proved to be the most efficient way of reaching them and educating them in the safety work.

The work of preventing waste of our resources is closely associated with the loss of life. Each day and year this great waste goes on, amounting to millions every year. This, no doubt, can be prevented in a marked degree if the problem is studied from a scientific standpoint. We can point to one great problem of the preventing of waste in natural gas that now amounts to millions of dollars. This has been given consideration to a limited extent, and through the investigations made by the Bureau of Mines a method has been found to greatly prevent this loss. It is not intended that the National Government should do the work that the States should do, and the money appropriated will only be used for investigation and education in the work along national phases of the industry, so as to benefit the industry in every part of the country.

The States are expected to do the purely local work and solve the problems that are local to them. Our party is pledged to this legislation, and in its last platform had this to say in reference to this work and its importance to the country:

MINES AND MINERS.

We rejoice in the inheritance of mineral resources unequaled in extent, variety, or value, and in the development of a mining industry unequaled in its magnitude and importance. We have the men who, in their hazardous toil underground, daily risk their lives in extracting and preparing for our use the products of the mine, so essential to the industries, the commerce, and the comfort of the people of this country. And we pledge ourselves to the extension of the work of the Bureau of Mines in every way appropriate for national legislation, with a view of safeguarding the lives of the miners, lessening the waste of essential resources, and promoting the economic development of mining, which, along with agriculture, must in the future, even more than in the past, serve as the very foundation of our national prosperity and welfare and our international commerce.

The President has repeated this pledge, and every candidate for Congress in a mining region has stood for this legislation. We should redeem our pledge. Let us now stand for this bill and do our part in helping along in this important work.

The two great basic sources of wealth are agriculture and mining. Congress has been liberal with appropriations for the benefit of agriculture, and we have seen the great advantage gained by increased production on the farm by so doing. But mining has been neglected. Many men may think of the great fortunes that have been made by a few men out of mining, and they immediately get the idea that this work is being done for their benefit. Such is not the case. The bureau has never been called to aid in the development and operation of these great mines.

The first consideration in this work is to safeguard the lives of more than 2,000,000 men engaged in this industry. The amount is here given of the appropriation for agriculture and mining.

This is taken from the report of the Committee on Mines and Mining on this bill:

THE COUNTRY'S RELATION TO ITS TWO GREAT FOUNDATION INDUSTRIES.

A brief statement of facts will indicate in a general way what the National Government is doing to aid development of each of its two great basic industries, and what in turn these two industries are contributing yearly to our national wealth and progress. While the figures are not fully comparable in all respects, they will be found to be essentially correct.

AGRICULTURE AND MINING, THE NATION'S TWO GREAT FOUNDATION INDUSTRIES—WHAT THEY ARE DOING FOR THE NATION AND WHAT THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IS DOING FOR EACH OF THESE INDUSTRIES.

What these industries do for the Nation.

	Agriculture, including forestry.	Mining and mineral industries.
Number of employees	13,000,000	2,300,000
Yearly value of products	$10,500,000,000	$4,600,000,000
What each worker in these industries contributes to the national wealth yearly	$800	$2,000
What each industry contributes to the freight tonnage of the country yearly.....per cent..	22	60

What the National Government is doing for each of these industries.

Yearly appropriations.	Agriculture.	Mining.
For education:		
From direct appropriation	$2,500,000	Nothing.
From land grants	1,030,000	.....
From Smith-Lever Act for demonstration educational work	480,000	.....
For 52 experiment stations, one in each State and Territory	1,550,000	Nothing.
For general researches and other work to aid agriculture and mining	22,410,000	$1,967,000
Total	27,970,000	1,967,000
Per capita contribution from the people of the United States for the advancement of these industries	.28	.02

Of this contribution the per capita expended for safeguarding the lives of 2,300,000 employees in the mining industry is about one-half of 1 per cent per annum.

1. The scope here includes mining, metallurgical, and other mineral industries, as does the work of the Bureau of Mines.

2. Four hundred and eighty thousand dollars for 1915, increasing to $4,580,000 for 1925 and each year thereafter.

3. Of this amount less than $500,000 is expended under the Bureau of Mines in behalf of improvement of safety and health conditions among the 2,300,000 employees in the mining industry. The remainder (about $1,300,000) is expended for geology, topography, water powers, and other problems having to do with the commercial side of mining and other industries under the Geological Survey, and $135,000 is expended under the Bureau of Mines for the commercial testing of the coal and oil used by the Government.

Nothing can show the national neglect of the mining industry more clearly than does the above tabular statement in spite of the hazards of that industry and the other conditions which should appeal to the humanitarian as well as to the commercial instincts of the people. But another fact that tells the story with equal emphasis is that during the past 10 years, in addition to the large sums paid out of the National Treasury for the benefit of agriculture and the payment toward the reclamation of agricultural lands in the Western States of all funds arising from the sale of public lands in those States, even the proceeds of the sale of the Nation's mineral resources in like manner have gone, not to aid mining, but to the reclamation of additional agricultural lands.

The great industry of mining has been too long englected and too many lives have been sacrificed. We should make ample provision to prevent, if possible, this human sacrifice. We do not ask that this industry should be cared for to the neglect of necessary appropriations for other worthy objects, but we do submit that where so many lives are lost and such waste of our resources are lost we should give more attention than is now being done. Let us not neglect to care for the life and health of our people. More than 2,000,000 men are concerned in this great work, and our duty should be to assist in every way possible. I feel sure this House will agree to this bill and do its part in conserving the life and resources of our Nation.

Second Inaugural Address of Abraham Lincoln.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FREDERICK H. GILLETT,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, 50 years ago to-day there was delivered here one of the most impressive and patriotic messages ever given to the American people—the second inaugural address of Abraham Lincoln. My home city of Springfield, Mass., through its city government and its patriotic societies, started some time ago a movement for a fitting celebration of this anniversary, and, acting at their request, I introduced a resolution several weeks ago that Congress should commemorate the occasion; but the Rules Committee was, I suppose, too pressed by more practical matters to take action on it. I wish, however, that our RECORD shall show that the historic event was not forgotten on the spot where it occurred.

Fifty years ago this country was divided and devastated by the horrors of civil war. Now those divisions and animosities have healed, we are at peace with all the world, and have acquired a unity, a power, and a splendor of material development beyond all anticipation. But war has not passed away. Europe is suffering to-day as we suffered 50 years ago. And so to-day the spirit of Lincoln's inspiring address is still appropriate, and as we adjourn we may well bear in mind his noble appeal "to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Indian Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN H. STEPHENS,
OF TEXAS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I regret exceedingly that the Indian appropriation bill, H. R. 20150, entitled "A bill making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes, and for other purposes, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916," failed to pass Congress before the adjournment of the present session. Our committee—the House Committee on Indian Affairs—spent much valuable time in the preparation of and hearings on this bill.

Its failure to become a law by the inaction of another body is very disheartening to our committee as well as the Members of the House who so nobly aided the committee in perfecting and passing the bill through the House. This bill was reported to this House on January 28 last and passed the House soon after that date, but the bill was not reported to the Senate until February 22, 1915, only a few days before adjournment. The bill as it passed this House carried $7,720,124.25; when reported to the Senate it carried $11,255,865.65, or a net increase amounting to $3,535,741.40.

In my opinion, this vast increase was and is wholly indefensible from every viewpoint. The estimates of the department were only $9,533,463.20, and the Senate reported a bill giving the Indian Department $1,722,402.45 in excess of its estimates, or, in other words, that much more than it asked for or desired.

The above figures are taken from the report made on the bill to the Senate by Senator ASHURST, its chairman. These figures vary somewhat from the figures in the House report on the bill. I have not attempted to reconcile these differences, as it would be a fruitless undertaking, the bill having failed to become a law. My report on the bill is as follows:

INDIAN APPROPRIATION BILL.

The Committee on Indian Affairs presents the accompanying bill (H. R. 12579) making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes, and for other purposes, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915, and submits in explanation thereof the following:

The estimates on which this bill is based are found on pages 333 to 353, inclusive, of the Book of Estimates, and aggregate the sum of $11,784,865.06, of which sum your committee has recommended in the accompanying bill the appropriation of sums amounting to $9,619,737.82, thus reducing the estimates submitted by the department $2,165,127.24.

The bill carries gratuity appropriations, payable from—

Federal Treasury, aggregating	$6,874,437.82
Reimbursable from Indian funds	932,740.00
Treaty items	850,560.00
Indian trust funds in Treasury to credit of Indians	962,000.00

The estimates on which the bill was based carried appropriations as follows:

Gratuity appropriations	$7,858,305.06
Reimbursable appropriations	1,495,000.00
Treaty items	855,560.00
Trust funds	1,576,000.00

The amount carried by the last Indian appropriation bill (for the present fiscal year) for all the above stated purposes aggregated $10,049,394.74. The amount recommended by the committee herein is $9,619,737.82, which sum is $429,656.92 less than the amount carried in the last Indian appropriation bill, and is also $2,165,127.24 less than the department's estimate for the next fiscal year.

The committee, however, have endeavored in this bill to provide all the funds necessary for the economical administration of the affairs of the Indian Bureau. In some cases we have found unexpended balances, and we have reduced these items to correspond with the amount actually expended by the department during the last fiscal year.

We found several claims estimated for payment and carried in the estimates. We have eliminated all such claims and reduced correspondingly the amount carried by the bill. The committee will later present to the House an omnibus Indian claims bill, which will provide for the payment of the claims estimated for by the department and eliminated from this bill, as well as for the payment of claims asked for in various bills now pending before the committee, if, in the judgment of the committee, said claims are just and should be paid.

The committee has reduced many items estimated for by the department when the estimate materially increased the number of students, buildings, and permanent improvements on nonreservation schools. It is the policy of the committee, and also of the present administration of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, to build up and expend more funds on reservation day and industrial boarding schools and less funds on nonreservation schools. The committee finds that last year's reports show that there is 3,040 more pupils in the nonreservation Indian schools than there were four years ago, hence we believe that we are justified in calling a halt in building up schools that are off of a reservation, as we believe the money can be spent to a much better advantage on the reservations. In other words, we believe that the schools should be taken to the Indians and not the Indians to the schools.

We have endeavored to provide all the funds necessary for building hospitals on the Indian reservations for the treatment of tuberculosis, trachoma, and other diseases among Indians. A joint investigating commission of the Senate and House have recently visited many Indian tribes and reported to Congress that the erection of one large hospital for the treatment of these diseases was not feasible for the reason that they found that the Indians would not consent to leave their homes and reservations and go to distant hospitals for treatment, and this committee approves the policy outlined by the joint investigating commission and have, as above stated, provided in this bill funds for the erection, equipment, and maintenance of hospitals on Indian reservations.

The committee in the matter of irrigation of Indian lands have followed the recommendation of the Indian Bureau and allowed the full amounts asked for. Mr. Cato Sells, the present Commissioner of Indian Affairs, appeared before the subcommittee of this committee having hearings on this bill, and on page 4 of the hearings, in giving his reasons for not asking for more money for irrigation purposes, made this statement:

"The CHAIRMAN. I see many items in the bill which are asked for which are under irrigation districts in various parts of the country, and that is along the line of the argument that you are making now.

"Mr. SELLS. The reason for this is that we believe that perhaps it might be better, generally speaking, not to ask for an enlargement of irrigation until we have measurably caught up with the other end and harmonized the situation.

"The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you desire the land cultivated that we now have under these irrigation districts and plants?

"Mr. SELLS. That is the thought, Mr. Chairman, that while these plants should be sustained, and certainly in some instances developed, there are some conditions where it is not now justifiable to make additional appropriations for irrigation plants. But in the instances you speak of, and as a general thought, the answer to your suggestion is that we ought to exert ourselves to harmonize things and without delay give the Indians an opportunity, by way of equipment, to take advantage of the conditions that are now upon them.

"Mr. CARTER. What do you mean by equipment?

"Mr. SELLS. I mean by equipment either a gratuity fund or reimbursable fund that will permit them to have suitable and proper sanitary homes, horses, cattle, farming implements, and those things which make it possible for Indians to do what we are hoping to accomplish for them.

"Mr. CARTER. In other words, you think he can not make bricks without straw, any more than the white man can?

"Mr. SELLS. That is exceedingly apparent, and I think it is our first duty along industrial lines to see that he has this equipment, and that we do things along the lines of industrial development as suggested in this bill. Now, I do not know that I want to take any more of your time along this particular line.

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"I have requested Mr. Meritt, my assistant, and Mr. Davis, the supervisor of farming, to come here, and they will explain the details of the industrial items in the bill. Mr. Von Bayer, acting forester, is also here, and he will give you information in matters along that line."

Mr. Meritt, on page 451 of the hearings, relative to the appropriation for the irrigation work on the Flathead Reservation, Mont., states:

"Amount of appropriation requested by the United States Reclamation Service for irrigation work on the Flathead Reservation during the fiscal year 1915, $500,000.

"Amount of appropriation requested by the United States Indian Service for field work on the Flathead Reservation during said period, $100,000.

"Referring to the above reduction in the requested appropriation for irrigation work on the Flathead Reservation in Montana, it should be stated that as it was expressly understood that the estimates for irrigation appropriations for the United States Indian Service during the fiscal year 1915 must be materially reduced, it was considered best, as far as the interests of the Indians are concerned, to make this reduction apply principally to the estimates for work upon the reservations where the Indians are less benefited than the white settlers by the system or project now under construction, where the largest reimbursable amounts have already been expended by the Indians for irrigation purposes, and where there is no immediate necessity of expediting the work for the purpose of protecting the Indian water rights thereunder.

"It will be noted that we are asking for only $100,000 for this project this year as compared with an appropriation of $325,000 last year.

"The CHAIRMAN. You will find that it will not be necessary to ask for more than $100,000 for the purpose of carrying on this work next year.

"Mr. MERITT. I will state, Mr. Chairman, that I am not prepared, personally, to justify the manner in which this project has been financed heretofore. This project, as now estimated by the Reclamation Service, will cost about $6,000,000. It will irrigate about 150,000 acres of land and only about 75,000 acres of that land belongs to the Indians. The funds of the Indians are being used to construct a great irrigation project, and in my judgment the method of financing this project is wrong. It should be conducted as a reclamation project, and the Indians should pay their proportionate cost for this project rather than pay all the cost and have the white people gradually reimburse them.

"And on page 463 of the hearing justifying the Fort Peck irrigation item, Mr. Meritt further states:

"Irrigation system, Fort Peck Reservation, Mont. (reimbursable).

"Amount of appropriation requested by United States Reclamation Service for irrigation work on the Fort Peck Reservation during the fiscal year 1915, $375,000.

"Amount of appropriation requested by the United States Indian Service for said work on the Fort Peck Reservation during said period, $50,000.

"Referring to the above reduction in the requested appropriation for irrigation work on the Fort Peck Reservation, in Montana, it should be stated that as it was expressly understood that the estimates for irrigation appropriations for the United States Indian Service during the fiscal year 1915 must be materially reduced, it was considered best, as

far as the interests of the Indians are concerned, to make this reduction apply principally to the estimates for work upon the reservations where the Indians are less benefited than the white settlers by the system or project now under construction, where the largest reimbursable amounts have already been expended by the Indians for irrigation purposes and where there is no immediate necessity of expediting the work for the purpose of protecting the Indian water rights thereunder.

"We are asking for $50,000 for this project. Last year there was appropriated $150,000.

"Mr. CARTER. Mr. Meritt, I wish you would make some statement as to why you reduce this appropriation.

"Mr. MERITT. Mr. Chairman, this is another irrigation project that is being constructed by the Reclamation Service and is being paid for out of Indian funds The Indian Office is not disposed, in view of the method of financing this project, to ask for a large appropriation. We believe that the Flathead, Blackfeet, and Fort Peck irrigation projects should be investigated very carefully by this committee of Congress, and probably by the commission appointed to investigate Indian affairs, with a view to reaching a conclusion as to how these projects should be financed and completed.

"The CHAIRMAN. Do the irrigation engineers under the Reclamation Service or your irrigation engineers prepare the figures and provide for the building of any one of these projects?

"Mr. REED. Those of the Reclamation Service.

"The CHAIRMAN. The figures and plans and specifications were made by the Reclamation Service?

"Mr. CARTER. Yes, sir; the figures, plans, specifications, and estimates.

"Mr. MERITT. Mr. Chairman, I would like to have Mr. Reed make a statement for the record as to his views regarding these three projects.

"The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Reed, we will be glad to have your statement at this point.

"Mr. REED. In view of the fact that only about 50 per cent of the entire land is Indian land, it does not seem right and just that Indian resources should be hypothecated for the repayment of the charges. Had these three projects been entirely Indian projects, they would not have been undertaken on the scale that they have, and the cost undoubtedly would have been less. The Indians would not have had so much of their resources hypothecated in order to build them, and it seems nothing more than fair that the Indian, as long as he has given up his land by the opening process of the reservation, should stand in the same light on these large projects as the white man. His funds should not be drawn upon for the purpose of financing, but should be drawn upon for the purpose of making repayments, the same as the white man would make repayments. We can not understand why—at least I can not—he should be called upon to make all the payments in advance, while the white man is given 15 years after the completion of the job to make his payments, and we believe that since these projects have been advanced so far, since they have been laid out on such a large scheme, it would be impossible to curtail them without a great loss. We believe that they should become irrigation projects, built in conformity with the laws under which they act and under which they are built, and that the Indians' interests should be represented as that of any other member of the water-users association.

"The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you take the position that the Indian is putting up all the security for all the money that goes into the whole project and only gets half of the benefit; is that correct?

"Mr. REED. Yes, sir; and puts it up in advance, while in the case of the white men they do not put it up until 15 years after completion.

"Mr. CARTER. These projects are being carried out under your supervision, Mr. Reed?

"Mr. REED. No, sir; they are not. The present agreement or regulation under which the two departments are supposed to cooperate eliminates the engineering force of the Indian Office; and if I am right in my understanding, very nearly eliminates the Indian Office entirely, not only the irrigation officers but the commissioner and the executive officers as well.

"Mr. CARTER. Then we are appropriating money here to be used by the Reclamation Service.

"Mr. REED. Yes, sir.

"Mr. CARTER. And that is the way this money is being used?

"Mr. REED. Yes, sir.

"Mr. CARTER. When were these three projects put in the bill? They were not all put in the same year, I assume.

"Mr. REED. I do not know that we have the historical part of this matter with us.

"Mr. CARTER. I wish you would put in the record the history of these transactions, because I want to understand them.

"Mr. REED. In order to get the historical part of the transactions, we should have to go to the Reclamation Service, because we have been nothing more than onlookers, or part of the audience, so to speak.

"Mr. CARTER. I do not see why we should appropriate anything for it. They could go ahead with their reclamation project and then when they complete it let the Indians pay for their part of it. It seems to me that would be the sensible thing to do.

"Mr. MERITT. Mr. CARTER, I made that recommendation two years ago in connection with the Flathead project. As an administrative officer of the Indian Bureau, I thought I would be unfair to this committee and to the Indians of those three reservations not to call this condition to your attention, and I think the matter should be investigated and the whole situation straightened out. In order to be perfectly fair to the Reclamation Service, I would suggest the advisability of that service being given an opportunity to make any remarks they may wish to make on these three items."

This bill appropriates $400,000 in an item known as industrial work and care of timber, when the department estimated for $500,000. The committee finds of the last appropriation for this work there was an unexpended balance of a little over $40,000; and we did not feel justified, in view of the unexpended balance, in allowing the full amount of the estimate.

The committee also found that the estimates called for an appropriation of $825,000 for the purpose of encouraging industry among Indians and teaching them to be self-supporting. This is an entirely new policy, and it is the opinion of the committee that, while such work is very much desired and the committee is in full accord with the purposes to be attained, we have felt that this matter is in but an experimental stage, and that we were not justified or warranted in allowing the full amount asked for. The amounts appropriated for the purpose of encouraging industry are reimbursable appropriations and are to be repaid into the Treasury from funds belonging to the Indians.

The committee submits as a part of this report the following analysis and comparative statement showing the various items carried in this bill in detail, viz:

Estimated by department.

	Gratuity.	Reimbursable.	Treaty.	Indian funds.
Surveying and allotting Indian reservations		$225,000.00		
Irrigation, Indian reservations	$345,700.00			
Suppressing liquor traffic among Indians	100,000.00			
Relieving distress and prevention of diseases among Indians	200,000.00			
Indian schools, support	1,500,000.00			
Indian school and agency buildings	480,000.00			
Indian school transportation	82,000.00			
Industrial work and care of timber	500,000.00			
Purchase and transportation of Indian supplies	325,000.00			
Telegraphing and telephoning, Indian Service	10,000.00			
Court costs, etc., suits involving Indian land	2,000.00			
Expenses of Indian commissioners	5,000.00			
Pay of Indian police	200,000.00			
Pay of judges, Indian courts	8,000.00			
General Expenses, Indian Service	125,000.00			
Determination of heirs of deceased Indian allottees	100,000.00			
Encouraging industry among Indians		100,000.00		
Relief:				
Mrs. Robert Leo Bowman	5,000.00			
May Stanley	6,000.00			
Chas. E. McChesney	315.81			
Estate of George A. Miller	200.00			
Omer D. Lewis	2,573.25			
ARIZONA AND NEW MEXICO.				
Support of Indians in Arizona and New Mexico	330,000.00			
Indian school:				
Fort Mojave, Ariz	38,900.00			
Phoeniz, Ariz	146,400.00			
Truxton Canyon, Ariz	21,200.00			
Irrigation, Pima Indian lands	10,000.00			
Water supply, nomadic Papagoes	5,000.00			
Bridge, Moencopi, Wash	6,000.00			
Bridge across Gila River	1,000.00			
Colorado pumping plant		17,000.00		
Irrigation system, Papago Reservation	50,000.00			
Dike, Fort Mojave	5,000.00			
Water supply, Papago Indian villages	36,000.00			
Navajo school facilities			$100,000.00	
Schools for Papago Indians	50,000.00			
Water supply, Navajo Indians	50,000.00			
Hospital for Pima Indians	25,000.00			
Camp Verde school lands	20,000.00			
Implements, Colorado River and Yuma		50,000.00		
CALIFORNIA.				
Support of Indians in California	50,000.00			
Purchase of land, etc., for Indians, California	20,000.00			
Indian school, Riverside, Cal.	149,400.00			
Reclamation and maintenance charge, Yuma allotments		40,000.00		
Indian school:				
Fort Bidwell, Cal	30 000.00			
Greenville, Cal	25,000.00			
FLORIDA.				
Support of Seminoles (unexpended balance), appropriated Mar. 3, 1911				
IDAHO.				
Support of Indians of Fort Hall Reservation, Idaho	30,000.00			
Irrigation, Fort Hall Reservation, Idaho	40,000.00			
Support of Bannocks, employees, Idaho			5,000.00	
Support of Coeur d'Alenes, Idaho			3,000.00	
Pay of employees, Nez Perce Agency, Idaho	5,500.00			
Equipment and maintenance sanitarium, Fort Lapwai	55,000.00			
Purchase of implements, etc., Fort Hall		50,000.00		
Reimbursing M. D. Colgrove	6.00			

Estimated by department—Continued.

	Gratuity.	Reimbursable.	Treaty.	Indian funds.
IOWA.				
Pay of employees, Sac and Fox Agency	$1,000.00			
KANSAS.				
Indian school:				
Lawrence, Kans.	171,250.00			
Kickapoo Reservation, Kans.	17,860.00			
Support of Sacs and Foxes of the Missouri, Kansas			$200.00	
MICHIGAN.				
Indian School, Mount Pleasant, Mich.	91,450.00			
Pay of employees, Mackinac Agency, Mich.	3,600.00			
MINNESOTA.				
Indian school, Pipestone, Minn.	49,175.00			
Fulfilling treaties with Chippewas of the Mississippi, Minnesota			4,000.00	
Tribal funds:				
Chippewa Indians of Minnesota (civilization and support)				$185,000.00
Chippewa Indians of Minnesota (annual celebration)				1,000.00
Chippewa Indians of Minnesota (hospitals)				25,000.00
Bridge across Mississippi River near Cass Lake, Minn.	1,000.00			
MONTANA.				
Support of Indians:				
Fort Belknap Agency	25,000.00			
Flathead Agency	15,000.00			
Fort Peck Agency	35,000.00			
Blackfeet Agency	20,000.00			
Milk River irrigation system		$25,000.00		
Irrigation systems:				
Flathead Reservation		100,000.00		
Blackfeet Reservation		50,000.00		
Fort Peck Reservation		50,000.00		
Fulfilling treaties with Crows, Montana			6,000.00	
Support of Northern Cheyennes and Arapahoes			85,000.00	
Line riders, Northern Cheyenne Reservation	1,500.00			
Purchase stock cattle, Northern Cheyenne Indians		50,000.00		
Purchase of implements, etc., for—				
Indians of Fort Peck Reservation		100,000.00		
Indians of Blackfeet Reservation		100,000.00		
Indians of Flathead Reservation		100,000.00		
Support of Rocky Boy's Band, Montana	10,000.00			
Hospital for Blackfeet Indians	25,000.00			
NEBRASKA.				
Indian School, Genoa, Nebr.	88,300.00			
Pay of employees, Winnebago Agency	6,040.00			
NEVADA.				
Support of Indians in Nevada	25,000.00			
Indian School, Carson City, Nev.	60,100.00			
NEW MEXICO.				
Indian School:				
Albuquerque, N. Mex.	106,600.00			
Santa Fe	72,850.00			
Counsel for Pueblo Indians of New Mexico	2,000.00			
Purchase implements, etc., Indians Mescalero Reservation		200,000.00		
NEW YORK.				
Fulfilling treaties with—				
Senecas of New York			6,000.00	
Six Nations of New York			4,500.00	
Pay of employees, New York Agency	2,500.00			
NORTH CAROLINA.				
Indian school, Cherokee, N. C.	38,000.00			

Estimated by department—Continued.

	Gratuity.	Reimbursable.	Treaty.	Indian funds.
NORTH DAKOTA.				
Support of—				
Sioux, Devils Lake, N. Dak.	$5,000.00			
Indians of Fort Berthold Agency	15,000.00			
Chippewas, Turtle Mountain Band	15,000.00			
Settlement Turtle Mountain Indians	25,000.00			
Indian school:				
Bismarck, N. Dak.	22,200.00			
Fort Totten, N. Dak.	76,500.00			
Wahpeton, N. Dak.	40,200.00			
OKLAHOMA.				
Support of Wichitas and affiliated bands	5,000.00			
Withdrawal, Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache funds:				
Agency and employees				$25,000.00
Improvement of homesteads				250,000.00
Support of—				
Cheyennes and Arapahoes, Oklahoma	35,000.00			
Kansas Indians, Oklahoma	1,500.00			
Kickapoo Indians, Oklahoma	3,000.00			
Ponca Indians, Oklahoma	8,000.00			
Indian school, Chilocco, Okla.	111,250.00			
Fulfilling treaties with Pawnees, Oklahoma			$47,100.00	
Support of Quapaws, Oklahoma			1,500.00	
Pay of employees:				
Sac and Fox Agency	3,000.00			
Seneca Agency	2,500.00			
Per capita payments to Mexican Kickapoos (no amount)				
Fort Sill prisoners of war (unexpended balance)				
Administration of affairs of Five Civilized Tribes	225,000.00			
Probate attorneys, Five Civilized Tribes	50,000.00			
Cherokee Orphan Training School	50,000.00			
Common schools, Five Civilized Tribes	250,000.00			
Expenses, collection of rents (no amount)				
Sale of unallotted lands (Five Tribes)				40,000.00
Fulfilling treaties with Choctaws			10,520.00	
Tribal funds, Choctaw Hospital				50,000.00
OREGON.				
Support of Indians o—				
Klamath Agency	6,000.00			
Warm Springs Agency	4,000.00			
Umatilla Agency	4,000.00			
Indian school, Salem, Oreg.	129,000.00			
Support of Indians of Grande Ronde and Siletz Agencies	4,000.00			
Modoc Point irrigation project	4,740.00			
Purchase of implements, etc., Warm Springs Agency		$100,000.00		
PENNSYLVANIA.				
Indian school, Carlisle, Pa.	157,000.00			
SOUTH DAKOTA.				
Indian school:				
Flandreau, S. Dak.	69,500.00			
Pierre, S. Dak.	86,750.00			
Rapid City, S. Dak.	53,500.00			
Support of Sioux of different tribes			307,000.00	
Education, Sioux Nation			200,000.00	
Support of Sioux, Yankton Tribe	14,000.00			
Asylum for insane Indians, Canton, S. Dak.	40,000.00			
Hospital, Pine Ridge Indians	25,000.00			
Per capita payments from surplus funds (18 Stat. L., 110)				
UTAH.				
Support of—				
Confederated bands of Utes			53,740.00	
Detached bands in Utah	15,000.00			
Pay of physician at Shivwits School	500.00			

Estimated by department—Continued.

	Gratuity.	Reimbursable.	Treaty.	Indian funds.
UTAH—continued.				
Tribal funds (confederated bands of Utes)				$1,000,000.00
Fulfilling treaties with Ute Indians			$15,000.00	
Irrigation systems, Uintah Reservation		$40,000.00		
WASHINGTON.				
Support of—				
D'Wamish and other allied tribes	$8,000.00			
Makahs, Washington	2,000.00			
Quinaielts and Quillehutes, Washington	1,000.00			
Yakimas and other Indians, Washington	3,000.00			
Indians of Colville and Puyallup Agency	13,000.00			
Spokane Indians, Washington			1,000.00	
Irrigation system, Yakima Reservation		15,000.00		
Indian school, Tacoma, Wash.	50,000.00			
WISCONSIN.				
Indian school:				
Hayward, Wis	42,670.00			
Tomah, Wis	49,450.00			
Support of—				
Chippewas of Lake Superior	10,000.00			
Potawatomies	7,000.00			
Sanitary conditions, Bad River Indians		8,000.00		
Purchase of allotments, Wisconsin Potawatomies (making available amount appropriated act June 30, 1913, Public No. 4)				
WYOMING.				
Support of Shoshones in Wyoming	15,000.00			
Indian school, Shoshone Reservation	37,025.00			
Support of Shoshones, Wyoming, employees			6,000.00	
Purchase of implements, etc., Shoshone Reservation		50,000.00		
Irrigation, Wind River Reservation		25,000.00		
Repeal of sec. 26, Indian appropriation act June 30, 1913 (no amount).				
Total	7,858,305.06	1,495,000.00	855,660.00	1,576,000.00

Gratuity	$7,858,305.06
Reimbursable	1,495,000.00
Treaty	855,560.00
Total	10,208,865.06
Indian funds	1,576,000.00
Total	11,784,865.06

Allowed by committee.

	Gratuity.	Reimbursable.	Treaty.	Tribal.
For surveying and alloting		$150,000.00		
For irrigation (general fund)	$345,700.00			
Suppression liquor traffic	100,000.00			
Relief of distress	200,000.00			
Indian school support (general fund)	1,440,000.00			
Repair Indian school and agency buildings	400,000.00			
Indian school transportation	72,000.00			
Industrial work and care of timber	400,000.00			
Purchase supplies for Indians	300,000.00			
Telegraph and telephone expenses	10,000.00			
Witness fees and legal expenses	2,000.00			
Board Indian commissioners	4,000.00			
Indian police, pay of	150,000.00			
Indian judges, pay of	8,000.00			
Special agents and other employees not specifically provided for	116,450.00			
Determination heirs deceased Indian allottees	100,000.00			
Encouraging industry among Indians		400,000.00		
Support Indians, Arizona and New Mexico	330,000.00			

Allowed by committee—Continued.

	Gratuity.	Reimbursable.	Treaty.	Tribal.
Fort Mojave Indian School	$38,900.00			
Phoenix Indian School	158,900.00			
Truxton Canyon Indian School	21,200.00			
Irrigation, Pima Indian lands	10,000.00			
Water supply, nomadic Papago Indians	5,000.00			
Bridge across Moencopi Wash	6,000.00			
Colorado River pumping plant		$15,000.00		
Fort Mojave Indian Reservation	1,000.00			
Dike, Fort Mojave	5,000.00			
Water supply, Papago Indian villages	20,000.00			
Public schools for Navajo Indians			$100,000.00	
Water supply, Navajo Indians	15,000.00			
Support Indians in California	42,000.00			
Purchase lands for homeless Indians in California	10,000.00			
Sherman Institute	114,000.00			
Reclamation and maintenance charge, Yuma allotments		40,000.00		
Fort Bidwell Indian School	20,000.00			
Greenville Indian School	25,000.00			
Support Indians in Idaho	30,000.00			
Maintenance Fort Hall irrigation system		20,000.00		
Treaty stipulation, Bannocks in Idaho			5,000.00	
Couer d'Alenes, Idaho			3,000.00	
Haskell Indian School, Kansas	138,750.00			
Support and education, Kickapoo School, Kansas	17,360.00			
Treaty item, Sacs and Fox of Missouri			200.00	
Mount Pleasant Indian School	61,275.00			
Pipestone Indian School	48,675.00			
School for Chippewas, Minnesota			4,000.00	
Civilization and support, Chippewa Indians, Minnesota				$215,000.00
Celebration, White Earth Band, Chippewa, Minnesota				$1,000.00
Hospitals for Chippewas, Minnesota				50,000.00
Council Hall, Chippewa Indians				1,000.00
Support Indians:				
Fort Belknap Agency, Mont	20,000.00			
Flathead Agency, Mont	12,000.00			
Fort Peck, Mont	30,000.00			
Blackfeet Agency, Mont	15,000.00			
Maintenance Milk River irrigation system		$20,000.00		
Irrigation system:				
Flathead Reservation		100,000.00		
Blackfeet Reservation		50,000.00		
Fort Peck Reservation		50,000.00		
Fulfilling treaties with Crows, Montana			$6,000.00	
Support Northern Cheyennes and Arapahoes			85,000.00	
Line riders, Montana	1,500.00			
Support Rocky Boy's Band	10,000.00			
Genoa Indian School, Nebraska	78,500.00			
Support Indians in Nevada	18,500.00			
Indian school:				
Carson City, Nev	47,700.00			
Albuquerque, N. Mex	73,600.00			
Santa Fe, N. Mex	67,150.00			
Attorney for Pueblo Indians, New Mexico	2,000.00			
Treaty with Senecas of New York			6,000.00	
Treaty with Six Nations, New York			4,500.00	
Indian school at Cherokee, N. C	36,000.00			
Support Sioux Indians, Devils Lake, N. Dak	5,000.00			
Support Indians, Fort Berthold Agency, N. Dak	15,000.00			
Support Turtle Mountain Band, N. Dak	11,000.00			
Indian school:				
Bismarck, N. Dak	20,200.00			
Fort Totten, N. Dak	74,500.00			
Wahpeton, N. Dak	38,200.00			
Purchase cattle and encouraging industry on Standing Rock Agency, N. Dak				100,000.00
Support Wichita Indians in Oklahoma	5,000.00			
Withdrawal Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache funds:				
Agency and employees				25,000.00
Improvement of homesteads				250,000.00

Allowed by committee—Continued.

	Gratuity.	Reimbursable.	Treaty.	Tribal.
Support Cheyennes and Arapahoes	$35,000.00			
Support Kansas Indians in Oklahoma	1,500.00			
Support Kickapoo Indians in Oklahoma	2,000.00			
Support Ponca Indians in Oklahoma and Nebraska	8,000.00			
Indian school, Chilocco, Okla.	93,250.00			
Fulfilling treaties with Pawnees, Oklahoma			$47,100.00	
Fulfilling treaties with Quapaws, Oklahoma			1,500.00	
Administration affairs of Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma	150,000.00			
Probate attorneys and other employees	85,000.00			
Cherokee Orphan Training School, support of	42,000.00			
Common schools in Oklahoma, support of	275,000.00			
Sale unallotted lands, Five Tribes				$40,000.00
Fulfilling treaties with Choctaws, Oklahoma			10,520.00	
Hospital, Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians				30,000.00
Support Indians, Klamath Agency, Oreg.	6,000.00			
Support Warm Springs Agency, Oreg.	4,000.00			
Support, Umatilla Agency, Oreg.	3,000.00			
Indian school, Salem, Oreg.	114,000.00			
Support Indians, Grande Ronde and Siletz Agency	4,000.00			
Maintenance, Modoc Point irrigation system		$4,740.00		
Indian school:				
Carlisle, Pa.	152,000.00			
Flandreau, S. Dak.	67,500.00			
Pierre, S. Dak.	78,750.00			
Rapid City, S. Dak.	53,500.00			
Fulfilling treaties with Sioux of different tribes			307,000.00	
Support day and industrial schools, Sioux Indians			200,000.00	
Support, Yankton Sioux Indians, South Dakota	14,000.00			
Asylum for insane Indians, Canton, S. Dak.	35,000.00			
Fulfilling treaties, Confederated Bands of Utes, in Utah			53,740.00	
Support detached Indians in Utah	10,000.00			
Encouraging self-support among Ute Indians in Utah				250,000.00
Fulfilling treaty item with Confederated Band of Utes			10,000.00	
Irrigation system, Uintah Reservation, Utah		10,000.00		
Support:				
D'Wamish and other allied tribes, Washington	7,000.00			
Makahs, Washington	2,000.00			
Quinaielts and Quillehutes, Washington	1,000.00			
Indians, Yakima Agency, Wash.	3,000.00			
Indians, Colville and Puyallup Agency	13,000.00			
Fulfilling treaty with Spokanes			1,000.00	
Yakima irrigation system		15,000.00		
Indian school:				
Tomah, Wash. (Cushman School)	50,000.00			
Hayward, Wis.	40,670.00			
Tomah, Wis.	49,450.00			
Support:				
Chippewas of Lake Superior	7,000.00			
Potawatomies, Wisconsin	7,000.00			
Sanitary conditions, Bad River Indians		8,000.00		
Support Shoshones, Wyoming	15,000.00			
Indian school, Shoshone, Wyoming	37,025.00			
Fulfilling treaties with Shoshone Indians			6,000.00	
Irrigation, Wind River Reservation		25,000.00		
Repairs Fort Washika, Wyo.	1,732.82			
Construction roads and bridges, Wind River Reservation, Wyo.		25,000.00		
Total	6,874,437.82	932,740.00	850,560.00	962,000.00

Gratuity	$6,874,437.82
Reimbursable	932,740.00
Treaty	850,560.00
Trust funds	962,000.00
Total	9,619,737.82

The bill as it passed the House contained only 37 pages, and was strictly an appropriation bill and contained no new legislation. When it was reported to the Senate it contained 99 pages, and was loaded down with all kinds of legislative provisions. It is not at all strange that this kind of an overloaded appropriation bill should be killed in the House of its friends. "So mote it be," is the only further remark that I will make on the subject.

The House and Senate passed the following resolution to take the place of the bill, viz:

Mr. OVERMAN. As stated by the chairman of the committee, and as is generally admitted on the floor of the Senate, it is impossible to pass this appropriation bill for the Indians. I therefore ask the Chair to lay before the Senate a joint resolution from the House, and I am directed by the Committee on Appropriations to report it favorably.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a joint resolution from the House of Representatives, which will be read at length.

The joint resolution (H. J. Res. 441) making appropriations for current and contingent expenses of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes, and for other purposes, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, was read the first time by its title and the second time at length, as follows:

"Resolved, etc., That all appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes, which shall remain unprovided for on June 30, 1915, are continued and made available for and during the fiscal year 1916 to the same extent, in detail, and under the same conditions, restrictions, and limitations for the fiscal year 1916 as the same were provided for on account of the fiscal year 1915 in the Indian appropriation act for that fiscal year. For all of such purposes a sufficient sum is appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, or out of funds to the credit of Indians as the same were respectively provided in the Indian appropriation act for the fiscal year 1915: *Provided*, That the appropriations from the Treasury of the United States or from Indian funds shall not exceed in the aggregate the amounts of such appropriations for the fiscal year 1915: *Provided further*, That this joint resolution shall not be construed as providing for or authorizing the duplication of any special payment or for the execution of any purpose provided for in said appropriation act that was intended to be paid only once or done solely on account of the fiscal year 1915: *Provided further*, That appropriations continued hereunder shall be available for the maintenance, repair, and operation of motor-propelled and horse-drawn passenger-carrying vehicles in the same manner as appropriations were available for those purposes during the fiscal year 1915."

Mr. SUTHERLAND. In the Indian appropriation act of last year several appropriations were made for irrigation projects. Is it the understanding of the Senator from North Carolina that those appropriations would be carried forward, the same amount, for the coming fiscal year?

Mr. OVERMAN. I think the appropriation is just like in the last bill. That is my understanding.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Would that be so irrespective of the question whether or not the amounts were necessary?

Mr. OVERMAN. The exception is stated in the joint resolution. If he desires to have it read he can see.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Very well.

Mr. OVERMAN. I ask that the joint resolution be put on its passage.

The joint resolution was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. Speaker, I was appointed by you, together with Mr. CARTER, of Oklahoma, and Mr. BURKE, of South Dakota, to represent this House on a joint commission to investigate Indian affairs, and on March 2, 1915, I filed their joint report in this House. And I feel that its insertion in the RECORD as part of my remarks would not be out of place and would make available for public use much valuable information in regard to the matters investigated and reported upon by it.

This joint investigation has already borne much fruit, and caused the removal from the Indian Service of several men who were recreant to the trust reposed in them, and others are under investigation by the department for similar reasons.

I now will personally urge on our able and efficient Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Hon. Cato Sells, and his alert and active assistants two things in the reorganization of this service, as recommended by our joint commission, but not specifically stated by it: First, that any agent or employee of the service found unfit, delinquent, or unworthy of employment should be dismissed entirely from the service, instead of being sent to some other agency or put into some other position in the service. In my judgment this is a very serious defect and should be remedied by the dismissal of the unfaithful servant.

The second thing I would point out which would, in my judgment, greatly benefit the service is from time to time to change the field traversed by the inspectors of the service, so that they will at least each year have to inspect different agencies; if this is not done and the same inspectors visit the same agencies year after year, there will be great danger that the inspectors will fail to properly inspect and duly report the shortcomings of their friends on the agencies inspected by them, for the reason that—

> Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
> As to be hated needs but to be seen;
> Yet, seen too oft, familiar with her face,
> We first endure, then pity, then embrace.

The report of this joint commission is as follows:

[For report see pages 5502–5504, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 4, 1915.]

Mr. Speaker, Mr. S. M. Brosius, agent for the Indian Rights Association, has called my attention, in a letter printed herewith, to the many protests of the Sioux Indians in South Dakota against the use of the money of the tribe—the common funds of the tribe as a whole—for the support of sectarian schools, and requesting Congress to prohibit such unwarranted use of their common funds. They further request the division of their funds so that the pro rata share of such funds shall be hereafter credited to each individual Indian. I am in full sympathy with these just demands; but I submit that if the last request was granted each Indian could use his own money in the education of his children in any school he desired, just as white parents can do.

But if, on the other hand, as pointed out by Mr. Brosius in his letter to me, the money paid out to educate Indian children in sectarian schools is gratuity funds, coming from the Treasury of the United States, then such payment is clearly prohibited by law; and, in my judgment, the failure of the Indian appropriation bill to pass ends the old Sioux treaty, because the passage of the resolution does not and can not extend that treaty by implication for one year; hence these sectarian schools under the resolution can not receive any aid from the Treasury of the United States during the next fiscal year.

Mr. Brosius's letter to me on the subject is as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 10, 1915.*

Hon. JOHN H. STEPHENS,
Chairman Committee on Indian Affairs,
House of Representatives.

SIR: We respectfully call your attention to the matter of disposition of funds held to be available by the Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs for education of Sioux Indians, South Dakota, in a letter dated January 28, 1915, which is embodied in a brief (copy inclosed herewith) submitted to the honorable chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs of the Senate by the undersigned, dated February 1, 1915. (See Senate hearings on H. R. 20150, 63d Cong., 3d sess., p. 603.)

In addition to the pro rata shares of petitioning Indians in and to the fund arising from the $3,000,000 created by section 17 of the act approved March 2, 1889, amounting to $31,315.49, the assistant commissioner states that the $200,000 appropriated for "Subsistence and civilization," under the act approved February 28, 1877, and $200,000 appropriated under "Education, Sioux Nation," by act of March 2, 1889, are included in the total amount of $431,315.49, which by the assistant commissioner's letter is held to be "available for education" of the Sioux Indians.

It should be noted in this connection that while the three funds mentioned are stated by the assistant commissioner to be available for education of Sioux Indians, Pine Ridge, for the fiscal years 1914 and 1915, and are included in determining the pro rata shares of the petitioners seeking to divert their shares for support of sectarian schools, which amounts to $33.53 per capita, the total amount of these per capita shares for 1914 was paid, and is contracted to be paid for the year 1915, from the fund denominated "Interest on Sioux fund," which are trust moneys due the Indians in fulfilling the agreement of March 2, 1889. No part of the per capita shares seems to have been paid or charged to either of the appropriations of $200,000 each created under acts of 1877 and 1889, as shown by the letter from the assistant commissioner dated January 18, 1915 (copy inclosed; see pp. 513–514 of Senate hearings, supra).

As shown in the brief submitted to the chairman of the Senate committee, the obligation of the Government to provide schools under the agreement of March 2, 1889, expired February 10, 1910, and there is now no unfulfilled obligation to these Indians for educational purposes under act of February 28, 1877, since the provisions for schools under the latter act were perpetuated by the special clause in the act of March 2, 1889, already expired by limitation of 20 years, as shown. Hence it is clear that the "trust fund" of $31,315.49, being money belonging to the Sioux Tribe, is the only amount available from which the pro rata shares can be derived of those Sioux petitioning to have their shares diverted for support of sectarian schools. The appropriations of $200,000 under head of "Subsistence and civilization" and $200,000 "Education, Sioux Nation," as shown, are now gratuities from the public moneys of the United States and not applicable for expenditure for sectarian schools under existing law, as shown by the brief filed with the Senate committee (supra).

Very respectfully,

S. M. BROSIUS,
Agent Indian Rights Association.

(Inclosures.)

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Washington, January 18, 1915.

TUITION OF PUPILS IN CONTRACT SCHOOLS.

Mr. S. M. BROSIUS,
Agent Indian Rights Association, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BROSIUS: In response to your letter of the 16th instant I have to advise you that payments were made for tuition, etc., of Indian pupils in sectarian schools during the fiscal year 1914 as follows:

Agency, etc.	Fund used.	Source of fund, act of—	Amount.
Osage, Okla.....	Indian moneys, proceeds labor, Osage school.	June 28, 1906 (34 Stats., 539).	$5,839.25
Choctaw Nation, Okla.	Indian moneys, proceeds labor, Choctaw royalties, grazing, etc.	June 28, 1898 (30 Stats., 495); July 1, 1902 (32 Stats., 641); Apr. 26, 1906 (34 Stats., 137).	18,019.83
Chickasaw Nation, Okla.	Indian moneys, proceeds labor, Chickasaw royalties, grazing, etc.	Same as Choctaw.....	8,575.32
Tongue River, Mont.	Support Northern Cheyennes and Arapahoes, Montana, 1914.	June 30, 1913 (38 Stats., 90).	$4,135.99
Shoshone, Wyo.	.....do.....	.....do.....	10,199.68
Quapaw, Okla..	Support of Quapaws, education, Oklahoma, 1914.	June 30, 1914 (38 Stats., 94).	972.00
Keshena, Wis.	Interest on Menominee log fund.	June 12, 1890 (26 Stats., 146).	15,521.63
Lower Brule, S. Dak.	Interest on Sioux fund, Lower Brule, education.	Mar. 2, 1889 (25 Stats., 895).	242.92
Pine Ridge, S. Dak.	Interest on Sioux fund, Pine Ridge, education.	.....do.....	22,612.65
Rosebud, S. Dak.	Proceeds Rosebud Reservation, S. Dak.	Mar. 2, 1907 (34 Stats., 1230).	24,354.22
Crow Creek.....	Crow Creek 4 per cent fund.	Mar. 2, 1895 (28 Stats., 888).	4,271.42

Very truly yours,

E. B. MERITT,
Assistant Commissioner.

Statement showing mission schools, tribes, per capita cost, etc., 1915.

	Tribe.	Number of petitioners.	Total shares.	Withdrawn shares.	Number of shares contract based on—	Value of share.
St. Joseph's Industrial, Keshena, Wis.	Menominee....	297	407	.....	407	$50.00
Holy Rosary, Pine Ridge, S. Dak.	Pine Ridge....	475	1,202	194	1,008	33.53
St. Francis, Rosebud Reservation, S. Dak.	Rosebud Sioux.	789	1,310	16	1,294	33.25
Do.....	Pine Ridge Sioux (20).	475	1,202	194	1,008	33.53
Immaculate Conception, Crow Creek Reservation, S. Dak.	Crow Creek...	56	111	15	96	34.19
Do.....	Lower Brule..	5	23	12	11	34.33
St. Labre's, Ashland, Mont., Tongue River Reservation.	Northern Cheyenne.	39	98	.....	98	37.03
St. Stephen's, Shoshone Reservation, Wyo.	Arapahoe.....	296	394	.....	394	37.03
St. Louis, Osage Reservation, Okla.[3]	Osage.....	None.	.....	.....	.....	.....
St. Mary's, Quapaw Reservation, Okla.[3]	Quapaw.....	None.	.....	.....	.....	.....

	Tribe.	Total amount contracted for, 1915.	Fund.	Total amount available.
St. Joseph's Industrial, Keshena, Wis.	Menominee...	$16,200	Interest on Menominee log fund (statute).	$20,350.00
Holy Rosary, Pine Ridge, S. Dak.	Pine Ridge....	24,300	Interest on Sioux fund, Pine Ridge (education) (agreement).	40,303.06
St. Francis, Rosebud Reservation, S. Dak.	Rosebud Sioux	29,160	Proceeds of Rosebud Reservation, S. Dak., act Mar. 2, 1907 (statute).	432,582.50
Do.....	Pine Ridge Sioux (20).	2,160	Interest on Sioux fund, Pine Ridge (education) (agreement).	[1]40,303.06
Immaculate Conception, Crow Creek Reservation, S. Dak.	Crow Creek...	3,672	Crow Creek 4 per cent fund (agreement).	3,795.09
Do.....	Lower Brule..	648	Interest on Sioux fund, Lower Brule (education) (agreement).	789.59
St. Labre's, Ashland, Mont., Tongue River Reservation.	Northern Cheyenne.	3,564	Support of Northern Cheyenne and Arapahos, Montana, 1915 (treaty).	3,628.94
St. Stephen's, Shoshone Reservation, Wyo.	Arapaho.....	10,800	.....do.....	14,589.82
St. Louis, Osage Reservation, Okla.[2]	Osage.....	9,375	Indian money, proceeds of labor, Osage school, 1915 (statute).	9,375.00
St. Mary's, Quapaw Reservation, Okla.[3]	Quapaw.....	972	Support of Quapaws, education, 1915 (treaty).	1,000.00
Total.....	.....	100,851	.....	526,414.00

[1] The contract for St. Francis School for 20 Pine Ridge Sioux pupils was made under the same petition and from the same fund as that for the Holy Rosary Mission School, Pine Ridge, S. Dak.
[2] Resolution Osage national council (75 pupils).
[3] Resolution Quapaw council (9 pupils).

WASHINGTON, D. C., *February 1, 1915.*

Hon. HENRY F. ASHURST,
Chairman Committee on Indian Affairs,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In the matter of the use of Indian funds for private schools: We agree that funds held by the Government as guardian for

individual Indians may be expended upon request of such individual Indians for educational or other purposes in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior.

It is submitted that in view of the wise public policy of maintaining a complete separation of church and state the tribal Indian funds provided for the maintenance of schools among the Indians should be expended for schools conducted by the Government.

It seems most desirable, therefore, from every viewpoint that the funds held in trust by the Government for the benefit of Indian tribes should be divided pro rata and the per capita shares credited to the individual members and paid to them in cash or expended for their benefit in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior.

After careful consideration by Congress, on June 10, 1896 (29 Stat., 345), an act was approved which provides:

"* * * and it is hereby declared to be the settled policy of the Government to hereafter make no appropriation whatever for education in any sectarian school."

The United States Supreme Court in 1908, in the case of Quick Bear *v.* Leupp (210 U. S., 79), held that money belonging to individual Indians might be expended by the Government for the beneficiaries in schools of their choice.

In referring to the limitation of Congress above cited the court says:

"This limitation, if it can be given effect as such, manifestly applies to the use of public moneys gratuitously appropriated for such purpose, and not to moneys belonging to the Indians themselves. * * * The declaration of the settled policy of the Government is found only in the act of 1896 and 1897, and was entirely carried out by the deductions provided for. Since 1899 public moneys are appropriated under the heading "Support of schools," "For the support of Indian and industrial schools, and for other educational purposes," without saying anything about sectarian schools. This was not needed, as the effect of the legislation was to make subsequent appropriations for education mean that sectarian schools were excluded in sharing in them, unless otherwise provided."

In view of the prohibition of Congress and the decree of the court above cited against the use of public funds for sectarian schools, it is pertinent and important to determine if the funds which are sought to be appropriated by the pending Indian appropriation act (H. R. 20150) are public funds of the United States, available for education, and what portion of them, if any, are bona fide, due the Indians.

We insert in the record at this point a letter from the Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated January 28, 1915, giving in some detail the sources of the funds heretofore expended and now proposed to be expended for support of sectarian schools among the Pine Ridge Band of Sioux Indians, South Dakota.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Washington, January 28, 1915.

Mr. S. M. BROSIUS,
Agent Indian Rights Association, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BROSIUS: In response to your letter of January 26, 1915, regarding the funds set aside for the Holy Rosary School, Pine Ridge Reservation, S. Dak., for the current fiscal year, you are informed that the share individually of the Pine Ridge Sioux in the interest on the $3,000,000 Sioux fund created by the act approved March 2, 1899 (25 Stat. L., 895), available for education during the current year, in addition to the balance remaining from former years, is approximately $5.55. The interest on the share of the Pine Ridge Sioux fund July 1, 1914, and January 1, 1915, available for education, amounted to $17,884.64; which amount, based on the number of Indians entitled to share in the principal fund July 1, 1914, would give to each Indian $3.17 per capita. The accumulation of interest in Sioux fund, Pine Ridge education, July 1, 1914, in addition to the above, also available for education, amounted to $13,430.85, or $2.38 per capita. It will therefore be seen that, based on 1,008 petitioners, the total amount of interest available for the contract aggregated $5,594.40. In arriving at the value of each share, in ascertaining the total amount that would be available for the above school during the current year, all the Pine Ridge Sioux funds available for education were taken into consideration, as follows:

Interest on Sioux fund, Pine Ridge (education)---------- Section 17, act March 2, 1889 (25 Stat. L., 895).	$31,315.49
Support of Sioux of different tribes, subsistence and civilization---------- Article 5, act February 28, 1877 (19 Stat. L., 254), and Indian act August 1. 1914 (Public, No. 160).	200,000.00
Education Sioux Nation---------- Section 17, act March 2, 1899 (25 Stat. L., 894), and Indian act August 1, 1914 (Public, No. 160).	200,000.00

It was determined that the value of each share in all these funds amounted to $33.53, and there being 1,008 petitioners the value of the shares of the petitioners aggregated $33,798.24. However, the whole amount of the contract, namely, $24,300 was, for convenience in bookkeeping, set aside from "Interest on Sioux fund, Pine Ridge education," it being immaterial whether the full amount was charged to this fund or whether a portion of the amount was charged to each of the funds involved, all of which have been regarded as available, as will be seen by reference to a letter dated March 19, 1913, from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior to the president of the Indian Rights Association.

Hoping the foregoing information will serve your purpose,

Very truly, yours,

E. B. MERITT,
Assistant Commissioner.

It is disclosed by the assistant commissioner's letter that the 1,008 Indians, members of the Pine Ridge Band of Sioux, are entitled to a per capita share of $3.17 annually from the amount due the tribe from the interest available for education on the $3,000,000 "Sioux fund" created by the act approved March 2, 1889 (25 Stat., 895), and that, including balances on the fund, a total of $5.55 per capita is available from money belonging to the Indians. Hence the 1,008 petitioners will be entitled to $5,594.40, and this sum may be diverted for the Holy Rosary or other school, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior, upon the request of the Indian beneficiaries.

We further submit that the $200,000 reported by the assistant commissioner's letter as available for diversion for sectarian schools under title of "Subsistence and civilization," stated to be derived through article 5 of the act approved February 28, 1877 (19 Stat., 254), is no longer an obligation of the Government to these Indians for educational purposes, and we believe this fund has not been expended for education in other instances. The article reads as follows:

"ART. 5. In consideration of the foregoing cession of territory and rights, and upon full compliance with each and every obligation assumed by the said Indians, the United States does agree to provide all necessary aid to assist the said Indians in the work of civilization; to furnish to them schools and instruction in mechanical and agricultural arts, as provided for by the treaty of 1868." * * *

The treaty concluded with the Sioux Indians April 29, 1868 (15 Stat., 636), proclaimed February 24, 1869, provides in article 7 as follows:

"ART. 7. In order to insure the civilization of the Indians entering into this treaty, the necessity of education is admitted, especially of such of them as are or may settle on said agricultural reservations; and they therefore pledge themselves to compel their children, male and female, between the ages of 6 and 16 years, to attend school; and it is hereby made the duty of the agent for said Indians to see that this stipulation is strictly complied with; and the United States agrees that for every 30 children between said ages who can be induced or compelled to attend school a house shall be provided and a teacher competent to teach the elementary branches of an English education shall be furnished, who will reside among said Indians and faithfully discharge his or her duties as a teacher. The provisions of this article to continue for not less than 20 years."

Section 17 of the act approved March 2, 1889 (supra), fulfills the obligation of the Government to furnish facilities for education under article 7 of the treaty of 1868 above cited. It provides:

"SEC. 17. That it is hereby enacted that the seventh article of the said treaty of April 29, 1868, securing to said Indians the benefits of education, subject to such modifications as Congress shall deem most effective to secure to said Indians equivalent benefits of such education, shall continue in force for 20 years from and after the time this act shall take effect." * * *

(This section also provides a fund of $3,000,000 as a permanent fund due the Sioux Indians parties to the agreement, to bear interest at 5 per cent, one-half of the interest to be expended for "industrial and other suitable education among the Indians").

Section 28 of the act approved March 2, 1889, above quoted, was declared by proclamation of the President of the United States, February 10, 1890, "to be in full force and effect." (26 Stat., 1554, preamble.)

Hence, it will be seen that the obligation of the Government to provide educational advantages for these Indians under the treaty of April 29, 1868, together with the agreements of February 28, 1877, and March 2, 1889, above mentioned, expired on February 10, 1910, the latter date being the termination of the provision in section 17 of the act of March 2, 1889, during which schools were agreed to be continued. It can not, therefore, with good reason, be claimed that since February 10, 1910, there is any treaty or agreement on the part of the Government to provide the funds for schools, which were expended as shown by the foregoing letter from the assistant commissioner, under supposed authority of article 5, act of February 28, 1877, $200,000, and under section 17 of the act of March 2, 1889, $200,000. From this it appears that the total fund available for support of sectarian schools under consideration in the assistant commissioner's letter is the $31,315.49, derived from "Interest on Sioux fund" of $3,000,000, belonging to the Indians, as per the agreement of 1889.

From the showing made it is conclusive that since February 10, 1910, all appropriations for education of the Sioux Indians under consideration, excepting the item of $31,315.49, have been taken from the public funds of the United States and are not available under the act of June 10, 1896 (supra), for support of sectarian schools.

Therefore we submit the only money available under the law for diversion for sectarian schools for the current fiscal year is a total of $31,315.49, of which $5,594.40 is the total of the per capita shares due the 1,008 petitioners supporting sectarian schools, in contrast with the sum of $24,300 contracted to be expended for such schools during the current fiscal year.

Justice and equity demand that only the pro rata shares of funds available may be contracted for, if at all, by petitioning members of any tribe in a given instance, and this rule was promulgated by President Roosevelt, in a similar instance governing the question, in a letter dated February 9, 1905, in which he said:

"Care must be taken, of course, to see that any petition by the Indian is genuine, and that the money appropriated for any given school represents only the pro rata proportion to which the Indians making the petition are entitled."

The Sioux Indians have frequently protested against the diversion of any of their funds for sectarian purposes, and various organizations interested in the welfare of the Indians have urged that so long as the funds due the Indians are held in the tribal form the sectarian use of such funds should not be permitted, since such use creates ill feeling and discord among the Indians in addition to being in violation of the well-settled principle of complete separation of church and state.

We file herewith (Exhibit A) petitions from Dana Long Wolf and several hundred additional members of the Pine Ridge and Crow Creek Bands of Sioux Indians protesting against the further use of any portion of their tribal or treaty funds for sectarian schools.

The petition of the Crow Creek Band is in form as follows:

"CROW CREEK INDIAN RESERVATION, S. DAK.,
"August 19, 1913.

"CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS,
"United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

"The undersigned members of the Sioux Nation or Tribe of Indians belonging to the Crow Creek Reservation, S. Dak., respectfully protest against the use of any money belonging to our tribe of Indians for the support of sectarian schools, and request that the Congress of the United States enact laws to prohibit such use of our tribal moneys. We further request that all our tribal funds shall be divided and the pro rata share due to each member of our tribe shall be credited to him, and paid to such member or expended for his benefit upon his written request, in the discretion of the Government."

The Choctaw Indians of Oklahoma, by resolutions of the general council of the tribe, have protested against the diversion of their tribal funds for support of schools.

These and other Indians, of course, would have no objection whatever to any individual member of their tribes contributing to any extent from his pro rata share of funds derived from a division of the tribal moneys.

The funds appropriated for the Quapaws from year to year, from which $972 are withdrawn for sectarian schools for the fiscal year 1915, are no doubt public funds of the Government and fall within the inhibition of the act approved June 10, 1896 (supra).

The primary consideration in the education of the Indian youth by Government schools, according to the policy of our Government expressed by Congress, whereby the Indians of different tribes in different parts of the country have the benefit of a uniform system of education under the direction and inspection of agents of the Government.

Everything should be done to strengthen and extend this system of education. Nothing should be done to weaken or curtail it. No exceptional provision should be made for Indian education in private schools unless the Government school at a particular point is admittedly inferior or inadequate, and in such a case the defect in the Government system should be corrected as speedily as possible.

Under the declarations of policy made by Congress and amplified by the Supreme Court, there should be a gradual curtailment of the practice of using the tribal funds of Indians for support of private schools. As wards of the Government they are entitled to the benefit of the governmental system of education, even though their parents or other relatives or representatives may prefer private-school instruction for them. Equity to all concerned requires a uniform, broad, just policy not marred by exception to the rule.

In the instant case, as in any similar case, the deduction of the pro rata shares of the petitioning Indians reduces to that extent the income from the tribal funds available for all the members of the tribe. Each Indian is entitled to his own share, neither more nor less. It is inevitable that either the petitioning Indians or the other members of the tribe will suffer by receiving less than their pro rata share of the income of the tribal funds. Apparently it would be the Indians other than those petitioning for the diversion of a portion of the income who would thereby be deprived of part of their share of the income of the funds.

Hon. Francis E. Leupp, formerly Commissioner of Indian Affairs, under whose administration an arrangement was made for permitting the Indians to divert a portion of the income of tribal funds to private schools, furnished an interesting illustration of the effect of such diversion in a letter to the Churchman, dated April 13, 1906, published April 21, 1906, in which he said:

"Suppose that we have a reservation containing 5,000 Indians, to whom there is to be paid in any fiscal year a tribal income of $50,000. This would entitle each individual Indian to $10 as his pro rata share. Suppose that 500 of these Indians petition to have their shares drawn upon for the support of, say, 40 children at $100 apiece at a certain religious mission school. That costs $4,000 which, deducted from the $5,000 due to the 500 petitioners, leaves a balance of $1,000, or $2 apiece, to be paid to the petitioners at the final payment period of the year.

"The 4,500 Indians who do not petition for the diversion of their money to a mission school are assumed, under the President's plan, to be in favor of Government schools, as the Government treaties with these Indians constitute a written demand of the tribe for the maintenance of such schools on the reservation. Now, suppose the Government schools to cost $25,000 for the year's maintenance. Deduct this sum from the $45,000 due to the 4,500 nonpetitioners, and we have a balance of $20,000 to be distributed among the 4,500 at the rate of $4.44 apiece.

"Of course, the difference between the $4.44 and the $2 ultimate dividends is largely in favor of the nonpetitioners as contrasted with the petitioners. From this fact a casual observer might jump to the conclusion that the shares of the 4,500 nonpetitioners are not at all affected by the diversion of the $4,000 to the mission school. I insist that this diversion does affect their share; for, if there had been no diversion of $4,000 there would have been $25,000 to distribute among the whole 5,000 Indians, and each Indian would have received $5. Although the shares of the nonpetitioners suffer to the extent of only 54 cents, they do suffer by this sum. The insignificance of the amount involved does not change the basic fact."

It is clear from the letter of the assistant commissioner of January 28, 1915, heretofore cited, that the amount available per capita in the case now under consideration, would be only $5.55 or for 1,008 petitioners an aggregate amount of $5,594.40, if it were not for the two appropriations of $200,000, which were mixed up with the interest on Sioux fund, Pine Ridge education, so as to raise the value of each share from $5.55 to $33.55, and the total from $5,594.40 to $33,798.24. If only the first amount should be used, it is manifest that the contract which calls for $24,300 could not be met. It is material that the per capita share should be determined by the actual fund available. It is evident that if the $200,000 appropriated under the head education Sioux Nation and that clause undertaking to extend the treaty which expired February 10, 1910, was out of the calculation the amount required for the contract school could not be given. It is especially evident that the appropriations are not interchangeable, so that one for subsistence and civilization can be used for education, or vice versa, and that such use by interpretation nullifies the effort of Congress to preserve the distinction between them.

It must be patent to all that the objections growing out of the continued use of tribal funds for support of private schools would be silenced and altogether eliminated from public discussion by the division of tribal funds into individual holdings, a plan which has been recommended by practically all the philanthropic Indian organizations. If the tribal funds were absolutely segregated to individuals of the particular tribe, there would be no objection to the use which they might make of their share. Such disposition of the tribal funds has been recommended by the annual conference of the Friends of the Indians at Mohonk Lake, N. Y. In 1905 (indorsing the recommendations of President Roosevelt in his first annual message) and in 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, and 1913 the board of Indian commissioners urged the pro rata division of tribal funds in its annual reports of 1907, page 16; 1908, page 21; 1909, page 19; 1910–11, page 6. The forty-first annual report of the board (1909) seems especially applicable in support of our view of the case. The report is in part as follows:

"The United States Government holds, in trust funds, about $62,000,000, belonging to tribes of Indians in their tribal capacity, and about $13,000,000 which belongs to individual Indians. Everyone who is familiar with legislation and administration for Indians knows that attempts are frequently made to chisel out from these tribal funds large sums of money. Such attempts often seem to be made in the selfish interest of lawyers and claim agents, who concern themselves with the matter because they hope to get a large percentage of the money in commissions and fees if they succeed in securing the legislation desired. Even where large sums from the tribal funds are used for good purposes (as for the schooling of children), we believe that the education of Indians for citizenship would proceed more wisely if these funds were broken up into individual holdings, and Indians who wished their share of the tribal money used for the education of their children were, as individuals, to authorize the use, each of his own money, for that purpose, instead of giving by a majority vote in a 'council' a gross sum from the fund which the Government holds in trust for the entire tribe. The sense of individual responsibility, the experience which comes from husbanding and managing one's own money, Indians can not acquire while their tribal funds are managed for them in bulk.

"We believe that civilization has upon the whole gained by the breaking up of the great tribal reservations into individual holdings of land, where the Indian has been properly protected in his rights and is made secure in the possession of a homestead. We believe that the breaking up of tribal funds into individual shares, to be allotted to each Indian by name, upon the books of the Indian Bureau, is the next important economic step which should be taken in the management of Indian affairs. For the last eight years we have steadily advocated legislation to bring this about. Objection to this plan has sometimes been made on the plea that the separation of tribal funds into individual accounts (an account to be kept under the name of every man, woman, and child entitled to share in the fund) would be a very expensive matter in its demand for clerical assistance and additional bookkeeping. This objection has never seemed to us a weighty one."

The Society of American Indians in 1913 urged that tribal funds be apportioned to each individual's particular account. The allotment of tribal funds is urged by the General Council of the Chippewa Tribes of Minnesota. It is stated for them in a recent report that the legislative committee of the Chippewa General Council proposes to urge upon Congress the desirability and need for:

"The segregation of tribal funds so that an equal division shall be made of these per capita, and placed to the credit of the individual members of the tribe in the Treasury of the United States."

The Indian Rights Association for many years has urged the breaking up of the communal interest in funds of the various Indian tribes, and that the pro rata shares should be credited to individual members of the tribes by the Government and expended upon the beneficiary's request in the wise discretion of the Secretary of the Interior.

Most, if not all, the associations interested in the uplift of the Indians have urged the breaking up of the tribal funds, believing that no great advance in the life of the Indian can be hoped for until he is clothed with individual responsibility.

We, therefore, submit and recommend:

First. That the Senate will not adopt the clause stricken out of the pending Indian appropriation act (H. R. 20150) proposing to extend for another year the agreement approved March 2, 1889, directing and governing the expenditure of the $200,000 for "support and maintenance of day and industrial schools among the Sioux Indians." The item stricken out by the House of Representatives reads as follows:

"* * * to be expended under the agreement with said Indians in section 17 of the act of March 2, 1889, which agreement is hereby extended to and including June 30, 1916."

As has herein been shown, there is no obligation of the Government to continue this appropriation under the agreement sought to be extended; the proposed extension is unilateral, is without consideration, and is clearly a gratuity from the public funds of the United States. The expenditure of this class of funds for sectarian education since February 10, 1910, is clearly prohibited by law and public policy.

Second. That further use of funds due to the Indian tribes held by the Government in tribal or communal form should be prohibited.

Third. That provision of law shall be secured authorizing the division and allotment of the tribal funds held in trust for Indians by the Government, with the provision that the individual shares may be paid to the beneficiaries or expended for their benefit, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior.

Very respectfully,

S. M. BROSIUS,
Agent Indian Rights Association.

EXHIBIT A.

(No. 2, of two petitions.)

CROW CREEK INDIAN RESERVATION, S. DAK.,
August 19, 1913.

CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The undersigned members of the Sioux Nation or Tribe of Indians belonging to the Crow Creek Reservation, S. Dak., respectfully protest against the use of any money belonging to our tribe of Indians for the support of sectarian schools, and request that the Congress of the United States enact laws to prohibit such use of our tribal moneys. We further request that all our tribal funds shall be divided and the pro rata share due to each member of our tribe shall be credited to him and paid to such member or expended for his benefit upon his written request, in the discretion of the Government.

THOMAS W. TUTTLE
(And 83 others).

The foregoing protest was explained to the signers hereof by me, and I afterwards witnessed their signatures hereto.

H. BURT.

EXHIBIT A.

(No. 1, two petitions.)

PINE RIDGE, S. DAK., *June 4, 1913.*

The honorable SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: We, the undersigned members of the Sioux Tribe of Indians, having rights on the Pine Ridge Reservation, S. Dak., respectfully petition the honorable Secretary of the Interior to secure the final cessation of all contracts for the support of sectarian schools or institutions involving the use of any portion of our tribal or treaty funds.

Tona lel ihukuya cajeunyankapi kin, lena Lakota oyate kin heuncapi, na Oglala Oyanke, Pine Ridge Reservation, S. Dak., kin el woiyowaja ounpapi kin lecel honorable Secretary of the Interior wowapi on yuonihanyan iceunkiyapi uncinpi:

Wocekiye Woonspe tipi tona (contract schools) eya cajeyatapi kin hena oyasin letanhan tokatakiya, Lakota Tawomnaye, nains Wolakota on womnaye kiciyankapi kin etanhan inonpani awicayusotapi kte sni.

Hecel iceunkiyapi,

DANA LONG WOLF
(And 151 others).

PINE RIDGE AGENCY, S. DAK., *June 4, 1913.*

The honorable SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: We, the undersigned members of the Sioux Tribe of Indians, having rights on the Pine Ridge Reservation, S. Dak., respectfully petition the honorable Secretary of the Interior to secure the final

cession of all contracts for support of sectarian schools or institutions involving the use of any portion of our tribal or treaty funds.

Tona lel ihukuya cajeunyankapi kin, lena Lakota oyate kin heuncapi, na Oglala Oyanke, Pine Ridge Reservation, S. Dak., kin el wolyowaja ounpapi kin lecel honorable Secretary of the Interior wowapi on yuonihanyan iceunkiyapi uncinpi:

Wocekiye Woonspe tipi tona (contract schools) eya cajeyatapi kin hena oyasin letanhan tokatakiya, Lakota Tawomnaye, nains Wolakota on womnaye kiciyankapi kin etanhan inonpani awicayusotapi kte sni.

Hecel iceunkiyapi,

ABRAHAM CALICO
(And 36 others).

PINE RIDGE, S. DAK., *June 4, 1913.*

The honorable SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: We, the undersigned members of the Sioux Tribe of Indians, having rights on the Pine Ridge Reservation, S. Dak., respectfully petition the honorable Secretary of the Interior to secure the final cessation of all contracts for the support of sectarian schools or institutions involving the use of any portion of our tribal or treaty funds.

Tona lel ihukuya cajeunyankapi kin, lena Lakota oyate kin heuncapi, na Oglala Oyanke, Pine Ridge Reservation, S. Dak., kin el wolyowaja ounpapi kin lecel honorable Secretary of the Interior wowapi on yuonihanyan iceunkiyapi uncinpi:

Wocekiye Woonspe tipi tona (contract schools) eya cajeyatapi kin hena oyasin letanhan tokatakiya, Lakota Tawomnaye, nains Wolakota on womnaye kiciyankapi kin etanhan inonpani awicayusotapi kte sni.

Hecel iceunkiyapi,

CHIEF KNIFE
(And 52 others).

WOUNDED KNEE DISTRICT.

PINE RIDGE, S. DAK., *June 4, 1913.*

The honorable SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: We, the undersigned members of the Sioux Tribe of Indians, having rights on the Pine Ridge Reservation, S. Dak., respectfully petition the honorable Secretary of the Interior to secure the final cessation of all contracts for the support of sectarian schools or institutions involving the use of any portion of our treaty or tribal funds.

Tona lel ihukuya cajeunyankapi kin lena, Lakota oyate kin heuncapi, na Oglala Oyanke, Pine Ridge Reservation, S. Dak., kin el wolyowaja ounpapi kin lecel honorable Secretary of the Interior wowapi on yuonihanyan iceunkiyapi uncinpi:

Wocekiye Woonspe tipi tona (Contract School) eya cajeyatani kin hena oyasin letanhan tokatakiya, Lakota tawomnaye, nains Wolakota on womnaye kiciyankapi kin etanhan inonpani awicayusotapi kte sni.

Hecel iceunkiyapi.

ROBERT AMERICAN HORSE
(And 66 others).

"The CHAIRMAN. If you admit and agree that funds that are owned by the Indians may be spent to maintain such schools as the Indians wish, does not that remove all objections?

"Mr. BROSIUS. I think it does not remove it, because we claim that the Government is spending money for those schools that do not belong to the Indians.

"The CHAIRMAN. That is the question, is it?"

I present the following protests from 470 adult members of the Rosebud Band of Sioux Indians, objecting to the expenditure of their funds for support of sectarian schools and requesting that their tribal moneys be segregated into individual shares and paid to them or expended for their benefit upon their written request, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior.

ROSEBUD INDIAN RESERVATION, S. DAK., *August, 1913.*

Honorable CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS:

The undersigned members of the Sioux Nation or Tribe of Indians belonging to the Rosebud Reservation, S. Dak., respectfully protest against the use of any money belonging to our tribe of Indians for the support of sectarian schools and request that the Congress of the United States enact laws to prohibit such use of our tribal moneys. We further request that all our tribal funds shall be divided and the pro rata share due to each member of our tribe shall be credited to him and paid to such member or expended for his benefit upon his written request, in the discretion of the Government.

SHOOTING CAT
(And 469 others).

SECTARIAN INDIAN SCHOOLS.

INDIAN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION,
Philadelphia, January 19, 1915.

DEAR SIR: We request your serious consideration of proposed legislation affecting the management of school funds. The Committee on Indian Affairs of the House of Representatives reported the pending Indian appropriation act to the House containing the following item:

"For support and maintenance of day and industrial schools among the Sioux Indians, including the erection and repairs of school buildings, $200,000, to be expended under the agreement with said Indians in section 17 of the act of March 2, 1889, which agreement is hereby extended to and including June 30, 1916."

That portion of the item quoted directing that the expenditure should be made under agreement to the act of March 2, 1889, was finally stricken out by the House on January 9, 1915 (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Jan. 9, p. 1349). The words referred to as having been stricken out have heretofore been incorporated in the Indian appropriation acts each year since 1909, in an effort to extend for a year at a time the clause in the agreement with the Sioux Indians of March 2, 1889, the provisions of which expired on February 10, 1910. This pretended extension or renewal of the agreement was without any action by the Indians; no obligation of the Government was present; the attempted renewal was unilateral and without consideration. The Interior Department, however, considered that the words eliminated from the pending act by the House which were contained in the previous acts gave that department a semblance of authority to continue the practice of permitting Indians to divert, by petition, their pro rata shares of funds available for education from the support of the regular Government schools to the aid of private or sectarian schools of their choice.

In determining the pro rata shares which might be due petitioning Indians, it is understood that the annual appropriation of $200,000 in the item referred to has been included with the tribal money available for schools, by which process the pro rata shares have been immensely augmented. The diversion of Sioux funds by this process in arriving at the pro rata share has been followed, we are informed, since 1909, and we are further advised that almost the entire amount of the pro rata shares of petitioning Indians of the Pine Ridge Band of Sioux has been charged to the fund belonging to the Sioux which was created by the act of March 2, 1889 (25 Stat., 888).

The pro rata share of the school fund due the Pine Ridge Band of Sioux is derived from the interest on the permanent fund created by the act of March 2, 1889 (sec. 17), and amounts approximately to $3.25, while the allowance diverted for education of each child in private schools is understood to be $108.

In a letter to the Secretary of the Interior, dated February 9, 1905, President Roosevelt, in a similar instance in which individual members of a Sioux band had been permitted to divert many times their share of Indian funds for sectarian schools, promulgated the rule that "care must be taken, of course, to see that any petition by the Indians is genuine and that the money appropriated for any given school represents only the pro rata proportion to which the Indians making the petition are entitled."

In the past a large majority of the Sioux Indians in South Dakota who have petitioned have objected to the use of any portion of their funds for sectarian education, and philanthropic and other organizations have filed various protests against such use of Indian moneys.

The funds appropriated for the Quapaws and diverted for sectarian education are believed to be gratuities from the public funds of the United States and fall within the inhibition of law.

The securing of contracts by religious orders stirs up animosities among Indians and should no longer be permitted.

Prior to February 10, 1910, when the obligation of the agreement of March 2, 1889, expired, the appropriation of $200,000 annually was styled a "treaty" fund, and one which the United States Supreme Court held, in the case of Quick Bear *v.* Leupp, in 1908 (210 U. S., 79), to be money belonging to the Indians under the agreement as heretofore stated, which expired on February 10, 1910. It is therefore evident that since 1910 the $200,000 annually granted by Congress is a gratuity from public money of the United States.

After a careful consideration of the question of continuing the practice of appropriating public money for the support of sectarian schools for the education of Indian children, Congress, by the act approved June 10, 1896 (29 Stat., 345) adopted the following as the future policy of the Government in relation thereto:

"* * * And it is hereby declared to be the settled policy of the Government to hereafter make no appropriation whatever for education in any sectarian school."

In the case of Quick Bear *v.* Leupp (supra) the United States Supreme Court, after referring to the limitations upon the use of public money by the act of Congress in 1896, above cited, held that "* * * the effect of this legislation was to make subsequent appropriations for education mean that sectarian schools were excluded in sharing in them, unless otherwise provided."

The primary consideration is the education of the Indian youth by Government schools, according to the policy of the Government expressed by Congress, whereby the Indians of different tribes have the benefit of a uniform system of education under the direction and inspection of the Government. Everything should be done to extend this system of education. Nothing should be done to weaken or curtail it. The Government is fully able and has, in fact, provided facilities for education of Indian children; if, perchance, some particular location has not proper or sufficient facilities for schooling, the need can and should be promptly corrected.

We urge that you will prohibit the further expenditure of funds available for Indian education for support of private or sectarian schools wherever located, and offer the form of an item of amendment of the pending Indian appropriation act, as follows:

"That hereafter no tribal Indian funds shall be expended for the support of any sectarian or private school without the previous consent of Congress."

Respectfully, yours,

CARL E. GRAMMER,
President Indian Rights Association.

Mr. Speaker, these protests of the Sioux Indians heretofore referred to in my remarks—and also in the above letter to me from Mr. Brosius—show conclusively that our red brethren are on the highway that leads to a complete separation of church and state, a principle fought for and maintained so nobly and at great sacrifice by our ancestors when they founded this Government. I would as an American citizen feel myself disgraced if I did not also do all in my power for these helpless but protesting Indians to aid them in removing the shackles of sectarian schools from their midst. Any church should be and will be condemned by the American people that seeks to run their church schools at the expense of the United States Treasury, and in violation of law.

These protests are as follows:

ROSEBUD INDIAN RESERVATION, S. DAK., *August —, 1913.*

Honorable CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS:

The undersigned members of the Sioux Nation or Tribe of Indians belonging to the Rosebud Reservation, S. Dak., respectfully protest against the use of any money belonging to our tribe of Indians for the support of sectarian schools, and request that the Congress of the United States enact laws to prohibit such use of our tribal moneys. We further request that all our tribal funds shall be divided and the pro rata share due to each member of our tribe shall be credited to him and paid to such member or expended for his benefit upon his written request, in the discretion of the Government.

Shooting (his x mark) Cat, Joseph Frightened, George (his x mark) Beads, Joseph (his x mark) Thunder Horse, Samuel (his x mark) Swift Hawk, Moses (his x mark) Hollow Hawk, Moses White Shield, Chas. W. Eagle, Paul (his x mark) Grease, Martin Little Eagle, Beaver (his x mark) Boy, Joseph Swift Hawk, Running Enemy, Paul Cloud Man, Jacob Points at Him, Thomas Little Bull, John Metcalf, Walter Metcalf, William Walking Eagle, William Spotted Tail, Levi (his x mark) Cloud Man, Lazy Yellow Water, Jake Grabbling Bear, Thomas Walking Eagle, Peter (his x mark) Little Bull, Philip Jumping Thunder, Prairie Dog, David Suixne, Famous Thunder, Alex. (his x mark) Stamped, Daniel (his x mark) Roan Horse, Jumping (his x mark) Thunder,

Millie Genesee, Mrs. (her x mark) Boat Nail, Mary Beads, Julia (her x mark) Cordies, Holy (his x mark) Buffalo, Mrs. Mary (her x mark) Apple, Maggie (her x mark) Two Strike, Good Road Women (her x mark) Metcalf, Annie Little Bull, Thomas White Hat, James Small Bear, Isaac (his x mark) Points at Him, Clara Points at Him, Levi Eagle Dog, Louis Metcalf, Alex. Long Pumpkin, Jesse Eagle Elk, Chas. P. Loades, Charles White Hat, Sam David, Flour (his x mark), Henry Hollow Horn Bear, Young Iron (his x mark) Shell, Louis Young Iron Shell, George Medicine Whirlwind, Marshall Bad Milk, David Bone Shirt, John Little Stallion, Walter Bull, Poor Dog, John Good Boy, Joe Running With, Fast Dog, Amos Fast Dog, Daniel Pretty Bird, Leo Spotted Calf, Francis Roast.

The foregoing protest was explained to the signers hereof by me, and I afterwards witnessed their signatures hereto.

(Signed) OLIVER EAGLE FEATHER.

ROSEBUD INDIAN RESERVATION, S. DAK., *August —, 1913.*

Honorable CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS:

The undersigned members of the Sioux Nation or Tribe of Indians belonging to the Rosebud Reservation, S. Dak., respectfully protest against the use of any money belonging to our tribe of Indians for the support of sectarian schools, and request that the Congress of the United States enact laws to prohibit such use of our tribal moneys. We further request that all our tribal funds shall be divided and the pro rata share due to each member of our tribe shall be credited to him and paid to such member or expended for his benefit upon his written request, in the discretion of the Government.

H. B. Decory, Paul Presho, S. H. Kimmell, Walter S. Kimmel, Jesse La Point, Fred F. Kimmel, J. K. Presho, Robert D. Hawk, Janos Clairmont, Robt. S. Huggins, Geo. Little Eagle, Morris Jannis, Samuel J. Bordeaux, John Raymond, James G. Raymond, George Rainwater, Van Dorlan.

The foregoing protest was explained to the signers hereof by me, and I afterwards witnessed their signatures hereto.

(Signed) J. B. DE CORY.

ROSEBUD INDIAN RESERVATION, S. DAK., *August —, 1913.*

Honorable CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS:

The undersigned members of the Sioux Nation or Tribe of Indians belonging to the Rosebud Reservation, S. Dak., respectfully protest against the use of any money belonging to our tribe of Indians for the support of sectarian schools, and request that the Congress of the United States enact laws to prohibit such use of our tribal moneys. We further request that all our tribal funds shall be divided and the pro rata share due to each member of our tribe shall be credited to him and paid to such member or expended for his benefit upon his written request, in the discretion of the Government.

James Wright, Samuel High Bear, Thos. Wright, James (his x mark) Arrow Side, Frank (his x mark) Orange, Stephen (his x mark) Brave Bird, Frank McClosky, William Dillon, Charles Moore, John Prue, Harrington Brings the Pipe, Foster Walker, Jene Ross, Big (his x mark) Tail, Oliver Prue, George Nichols, Louis Dorian, Chauncy Eagle Horn, Ernest McClosky, Philip Dorian, Elmer Huston, Levi Prue, Alfred Night Pipe, John Colombe, Andrew Night Pipe, Chris Colombe, Chas. Standing Cloud, Edward Yellow Hawk, Noble Head, Little Money, Oliver Prue, jr., John Black Bull, Charles Plenty Horse, John Orange, William Flord, Mrs. Alex. Boyer, Chas. (his x mark) Wright, Wm. (his x mark) Running Bear, Luther Wright, Badman, George Corier, Charles Denoyer, Louis Dog Soldier, Robt. (his x mark) Muggins, Thomas Yellow Fox, Herbert (his x mark) Medicine Eagle, Little (his x mark) Crow, Yellow Eyes, One (his x mark) Feather, James (his x mark) Dog Soldier, Afraid of (his x mark) Bear, James Takes Him Off, John (his x mark) Thorn, Rufus Eastman, Daniel Flood, William Medicine Eagle, Stephen Black Bonnet, Charles P. Pea, George Dilon, Daniel (his x mark) Good Voice, James Black Bonnet, Joe Muggins, White (his x mark) Bank, F. William Little Elk, Wm. (his x mark) Utes, Levi F. Trundell, Harry Packard.

The foregoing protest was explained to the signers hereof by me, and I afterwards witnessed their signatures hereto.

(Signed) DAVID DORIAN.

ROSEBUD INDIAN RESERVATION, S. DAK., *August —, 1913.*

Honorable CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS:

The undersigned members of the Sioux Nation or Tribe of Indians belonging to the Rosebud Reservation, S. Dak., respectfully protest against the use of any money belonging to our tribe of Indians for the support of sectarian schools, and request that the Congress of the United States enact laws to prohibit such use of our tribal moneys. We further request that all our tribal funds shall be divided and the pro rata share due to each member of our tribe shall be credited to him and paid to such member or expended for his benefit upon his written request, in the discretion of the Government.

Porcupine, Dallas Lone Elk, Charley Stead, Kill the Enemy, Lays on His Billy, Chas. (his x mark) Crazy Cat, Owen Standing Bull, Roy Lone Dog, Lone Dog, Red Thunder, Wounded (his x mark) Shield, Hit (his x mark) Him, James Running Horse, Sees the Fire, Burt Road Dog, Joseph Plenty Horse, Paul Eagle Deer, Sweat (his x mark) House, Oscar Warden, Clark Little Thunder, Little (his x mark) Thunder, Robert Little Thunder, Plum Man, Brave (his x mark) Hawk, Case (his x mark) Knife, James White Face, Charles White Thunder, Edward Leading Fighter, Abel Porcupine, Mary Leading Fighter, High (his x mark) Bald Eagle, Red Around (his x mark) the Face, Wm. Eagle Thunder, Kills in Sight, Pup (his x mark), Hugh Bad Hand, Bad (his x mark) Hand, High (his x mark) Hawk, Goad Bird No 1, Clarence White Thunder.

The foregoing protest was explained to the signers hereof by me and I afterwards witnessed their signatures hereto.

CLARENCE WHITE THUNDER.

ROSEBUD INDIAN RESERVATION, S. DAK., *August —, 1913.*

Honorable CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS:

The undersigned, members of the Sioux Nation or Tribe of Indians belonging to the Rosebud Reservation, S. Dak., respectfully protest against the use of any money belonging to our tribe of Indians for the support of sectarian schools, and request that the Congress of the United States enact laws to prohibit such use of our tribal moneys. We further request that all our tribal funds shall be divided and the pro rata share due to each member of our tribe shall be credited to him and paid to such member or expended for his benefit, upon his written request, in the discretion of the Government.

Broncho Bill, Big Corn, High Pipe, Good Elk, Charles Cloud Man, Paul Leader Charge, Two Eagle, Mark Turkey Henry, Afraid of Eagle, Broncho Bill Harry, Mark Kills Enemy, Kills The Enemy, Edward Sunday, Andrew Red Blanket, Hawk Ghost, Willie Picket Pin, Henry High Pipe, Ernest Pony, Cecil Two Teeth, Edward Two Eagle, Charles Picket Pin, Jack Good Bird, Arm, Hand, Clinton Black Crow, Paul High Horse, Black Bear, Two Leader Charge, George Iron Deer, No. 2 Good Bird, Eagle Man, Barney Two Eagle, Two Bird, Leo Sharp Fish, Hugh Bear in Wood, Martin Sharp Fish.

The foregoing protest was explained to the signers hereof by me and I afterwards witnessed their signatures.

(Signed) LEADER CHARGE.

ROSEBUD INDIAN RESERVATION, S. DAK., *August —, 1913.*

Honorable CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS:

The undersigned, members of the Sioux Nation or Tribe of Indians belonging to the Rosebud Reservation, S. Dak., respectfully protest against the use of any money belonging to our tribe of Indians for the support of sectarian schools, and request that the Congress of the United States enact laws to prohibit such use of our tribal moneys. We further request that all our tribal funds shall be divided and the pro rata share due to each member of our tribe shall be credited to him and paid to such member or expended for his benefit, upon his written request, in the discretion of the Government.

Wm. White Blanket, Joseph Iott, James Yellow Eagle, Scott Charging Alone, J. D. Lyott, Moses Stranger Horse, Turning Bear, Slow Eagle, Alex. Turning Hawk, Mark Poor Man, Leading White Cow, Justice White Feathers Tail, Harry Two Hawk, Fred Fast Horse, Fast Horse, John White Blanket, Joe White Buffalo, Ring, Joseph Turning Bear, Paul Tall Mandan, Charles Walking Bull, Lawrence Black Wolf.

The foregoing protest was explained to the signers hereof by me and I afterwards witnessed their signatures hereto.

(Signed) CLAY YELLOW EAGLE.

ROSEBUD INDIAN RESERVATION, S. DAK., *August —, 1913.*

Honorable CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS:

The undersigned, members of the Sioux Nation or Tribe of Indians belonging to the Rosebud Reservation, S. Dak., respectfully protest against the use of any money belonging to our tribe of Indians for the support of sectarian schools, and request that the Congress of the United States enact laws to prohibit such use of our tribal moneys. We further request that all our tribal funds shall be divided and the pro rata share due to each member of our tribe shall be credited to him and paid to such member or expended for his benefit, upon his written request, in the discretion of the Government.

Chester Broken Leg, Kills Plenty, Joseph Broken Leg, Thomas Dillon, Yellow Cane Fast Bull, Under the Water, Otter (his x mark) Man, Silas Kills Plenty, White (his x mark) Hawk, Lucy Kills Plenty, L. Earlooks Back, John Elk Look Back, William Black Thunder, David Ella Looks Back, Jesse Foot, Edward Foot, Allen Otterman, Charley Broken Leg, Allen Broken Leg, Joseph Little Sack, Samuel Broken Leg, Box Side, Tom Otterman, Amos Moccasin, Pulls the Arrowwort, Elmer Fast Dog, Good Kill, George Kills Plenty, Doctor (his x mark), Wm. P. May E. T., Gray (his x mark) Eagle Tail, Foot (his x mark), Joseph Otterman, Jesse Charging Timber, Howard Little Tail, Harry Little Tail, Louis Little Tail, Brava (his x mark), Grover C. Brava, Horn (his x mark), Star Red Horse, Thomas Snow Fly, William Grayhound, Elk Teeth, Poor (his x mark), Fred Sitting Bear, Little (his x mark) Woman, Plenty (his x mark) Nest, Lee Flying Horse, Elk, Charles Moore, jr., Elk (his x mark) Look Back, Stirs (his x mark) King Eyes, Ellis B. Leg, Claudie J. Blue Horse, Paul Sitting Bear, Hair (his x mark), Snow Fly, Ned Elk Teeth, Emma Brave, Yellow (his x mark) Cloud, Estes Yellow Cloud, Missouri.

The foregoing protest was explained to the signers hereof by me and I afterwards witnessed their signatures hereto.

(Signed) JAMES KILLS PLENTY.

ROSEBUD INDIAN RESERVATION, S. DAK., *August —, 1913.*

Honorable CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS:

The undersigned, members of the Sioux Nation or Tribe of Indians belonging to the Rosebud Reservation, S. Dak., respectfully protest against the use of any money belonging to our tribe of Indians for the support of sectarian schools, and request that the Congress of the United States enact laws to prohibit such use of our tribal moneys. We further request that all our tribal funds shall be divided and the pro rata share due to each member of our tribe shall be credited to him and paid to such member or expended for his benefit, upon his written request, in the discretion of the Government.

Charles Bear Heels, Joseph Six Toes, Walter Red Elk, First in Trouble, Joseph Henry, Joseph Spotted Elk, jr., John T. Henry, Henry White Wing, Pure Elk, Frank (his x mark) Red Shirt, Arthur White Horse, Grover White Weasel, Brave Bear, Louis White Horse, Jack Reddest, George Poney, Harris Lodge Skin, Isaac Bear Looks Behind, Felix Eagle Feather, John Burnett, Levi White Horse, John Frost, White Mouse, Felix Bear Looks Behind, Lodge Skin, Winters, White Bear, Arrow Spear, Thomas Black Bull, Arthur Running Bird, Charley

Charging Cloud, Rattling Leaf, Silas Runs Forward, Runs Forward, Hanging Crow, Allen Yellow Bear, Benjamin Isaac Knife, William Sharp Butte, Nelson Caught the Eagle, William Lance, Prairie Chicken, Dick Mouse, Daniel Charging Elk, Joe Spotted Elk, Knife, Joseph Running Bear, Ring, Cloud Boy.

The foregoing protest was explained to the signers hereof by me and I afterwards witnessed their signatures hereto.

(Signed) HENRY WHITE WING.

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ROSEBUD INDIAN RESERVATION, S. DAK., *August —, 1913.*

Honorable CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS:

The undersigned members of the Sioux Nation or Tribe of Indians belonging to the Rosebud Reservation, S. Dak., respectfully protest against the use of any money belonging to our tribe of Indians for the support of sectarian schools, and request that the Congress of the United States enact laws to prohibit such use of our tribal moneys. We further request that all our tribal funds shall be divided and the pro rata share due to each member of our tribe shall be credited to him, and paid to such member or expended for his benefit upon his written request, in the discretion of the Government.

Edward Dark Face, Janus White Turtle, Plenty (his x mark) Bull, James Tools, Eagle Horse, Good (his x mark) Boy, Chas. Dog Eyes, Jonah Runs Close, William Black Bull, Leslie Wooden Knife, David Jumping Elk, Andrew Long Warrior, Louis Eagle Hawk, Sleeping (his x mark) Bear, Horse (his x mark) Shield, Frank Sleeping Bear, John Wins the Battle, Harris Yellow Cloud, John (his x mark) Eagle Hawk, Wooden (his x mark) Ring, Wooden (his x mark) Knife, Stand (his x mark) for Them, Little (his x mark) Knife, Spotted (his x mark) Owl, Leads (his x mark) His Horse, Bull (his x mark) Tail.

The foregoing protest was explained to the signers hereof by me, and I afterwards witnessed their signatures hereto.

(Signed) EDWARD DARKFACE.
LEAD HIS HORSE.

—

ROSEBUD INDIAN RESERVATION, S. DAK., *August —, 1913.*

Honorable CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS:

The undersigned members of the Sioux Nation or Tribe of Indians belonging to the Rosebud Reservation, S. Dak., respectfully protest against the use of any money belonging to our tribe of Indians for the support of sectarian schools, and request that the Congress of the United States enact laws to prohibit such use of our tribal moneys. We further request that all our tribal funds shall be divided and the pro rata share due to each member of our tribe shall be credited to him, and paid to such member or expended for his benefit upon his written request, in the discretion of the Government.

Stephen K. Murry, Fred Big Horse, David High Pipe, Dan Hollow Horn Bear, jr., Robert the Dog, Makes Good, Ralph Eagle Feather, George Kills, Wallace Medicine, William Neck, White Face Woman, Sam S. Warbounett, War Bannet, Amos Walker, White Around the Head, George (his x mark) Lone Elk, Chas. Iron Shell, Chas. S. War Bonnett, Felix Eagle Feather, Shennan Charging Hawk, Clinton Black Crow, Lew Elk Looks Back, Richard Scarlet, John Runs Near.

The foregoing protest was explained to the signers hereof by me, and I afterwards witnessed their signatures hereto.

(Signed) GEORGE KILLS.

—

ROSEBUD INDIAN RESERVATION, S. DAK., *August —, 1913.*

Honorable CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS:

The undersigned members of the Sioux Nation or Tribe of Indians belonging to the Rosebud Reservation, S. Dak., respectfully protest against the use of any money belonging to our tribe of Indians for the support of sectarian schools, and request that the Congress of the United States enact laws to prohibit such use of our tribal moneys. We further request that all our tribal funds shall be divided and the pro rata share due to each member of our tribe shall be credited to him, and paid to such member or expended for his benefit upon his written request, in the discretion of the Government.

George Red Hawk, Ed. F. L. B. Eagle, William Flying, David Gallinearse, Henry (his x mark) Garry, Collins C. Jordan, John Atkinson, E. Jordan, James Andrews, James Black Horse, Joe Our Father, Wm. Stranger Horse, James Whirlwind, Joseph Red Hawk, Jacob (his x mark) Eagle Hawk, Peter Eagle Dog, Moses Stranger Horse, Ellir Swalley, Alex Wright, Stands (his x mark) and Looks Back, William Swallow, George Schmidt, Robert McLean, Jesse Jan, Jesse J. Shaw, Thomas White Hawk, A. Eastman, John (his x mark) Shooter, Tom Shooter, Paul (his x mark) Doiran, Big (his x mark) Tail, Plenty (his x mark) Horse, Runs Four Times, Jeletakakte, White (his x mark) Prairie Dog, Bad (his x mark) Whirlwind, Rattling (his x mark) Shield, Two (his x mark) Nation, Bear (his x mark) Horse, Charles M. Hart, Harry Peneaux, Isaac Little Crow, Paul Yellow Hawk, Oliver Bonser, J. H. Bonser, George Peno, Edward Jackson, E. Garneaux, Benj. Beauvais, jr., Peter Shield Him, Moses Bear Doctor, Paul (his x mark) One Feather, Luke Hawk, Silas (his x mark) Thick Bread, sr., John Fasthorse, Ballas Shaw.

The foregoing protest was explained to the signers hereof by me, and I afterwards witnessed their signatures hereto.

(Signed) ED. F. L. B. EAGLE.

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The bill as finally agreed upon by the conferees is as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the following sums be, and they are hereby, appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the purpose of paying the current and contingent expenses of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes, and in full compensation for all offices the salaries for which are provided for herein for the service of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, namely:

For the survey, resurvey, classification, and allotment of lands in severalty under the provisions of the act of February 8, 1887 (24 Stat. L., p. 388), entitled "An act to provide for the allotment of lands in severalty to Indians," and under any other act or acts providing for the survey or allotment of Indian lands, $125,000, to be repaid proportionately out of any Indian moneys held in trust or otherwise by the United States and available by law for such reimbursable purposes and to remain available until expended: *Provided,* That no part of said sum shall be used for the survey, resurvey, classification, or allotment of any land in severalty on the public domain to any Indian, whether of the Navajo or other tribes, within the State of New Mexico and the State of Arizona, who was not residing upon the public domain prior to June 30, 1914.

For the construction, repair, and maintenance of ditches, reservoirs, and dams, purchase and use of irrigation tools and appliances, water rights, ditches, lands necessary for canals, pipe lines, and reservoirs for Indian reservations and allotments, and for drainage and protection of irrigable lands from damage by floods, or loss of water rights, including expenses of necessary surveys and investigations to determine the feasibility and estimated cost of new projects and power and reservoir sites on Indian reservations in accordance with the provisions of section 13 of the act of June 25, 1910, $250,000, reimbursable as provided in the act of August 1, 1914, and to remain available until expended: *Provided,* That no part of this appropriation shall be expended on any irrigation system or reclamation project for which specific appropriation is made in this act or for which public funds are or may be available under any other act of Congress; for pay of one chief inspector of irrigation, who shall be a skilled irrigation engineer, $4,000; one assistant inspector of irrigation, who shall be a skilled irrigation engineer, $2,500; for traveling and incidental expenses of two inspectors of irrigation, including sleeping-car fare and a per diem of $3 in lieu of subsistence when actually employed on duty in the field and away from designated headquarters, $3,200; in all, $259,700: *Provided also,* That not to exceed seven superintendents of irrigation, six of whom shall be skilled irrigation engineers and one competent to pass upon water rights, and one field-cost accountant, may be employed.

For the suppression of the traffic in intoxicating liquors among Indians, $135,000, of which sum $10,000 shall be immediately available, and section 8 of the act of March 1, 1895, is hereby reenacted as to that part of Oklahoma known as Indian Territory immediately prior to statehood, and section 2140 of the United States Revised Statutes are made applicable to that part of Oklahoma.

To relieve distress among Indians and to provide for their care and for the prevention and treatment of tuberculosis, trachoma, smallpox, and other contagious and infectious diseases, including the purchase of vaccine and expense of vaccination, maintenance of hospitals and sanatoriums, for incidental and all other expenses for their proper conduct and management, including pay of employees, repairs, improvements, and for necessary expenses of transporting Indian patients to and from such hospitals and sanatoriums, and for the correction of sanitary defects in Indian homes, $350,000: *Provided,* That not to exceed $90,000 of the amount herein appropriated may be expended in the erection and equipment of new hospitals for the use of Indians; and no hospital shall be constructed at a cost to exceed $15,000, including equipment: *Provided further,* That hereafter the Secretary of the Interior shall submit to Congress annually a detailed report as to all moneys expended in the erection and maintenance of hospitals and sanatoriums as provided for herein.

For support of Indian day and industrial schools not otherwise provided for and for other educational and industrial purposes in connection therewith, including not to exceed $40,000 for the support and education of deaf and dumb and blind Indian children, $1,500,000: *Provided,* That no part of this appropriation, or any other appropriation provided for herein, except appropriations made pursuant to treaties, shall be used to educate children of less than one-fourth Indian blood whose parents are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they live and where there are adequate free school facilities provided and the facilities of the Indian schools are needed for pupils of more than one-fourth Indian blood: *Provided further,* That no part of this appropriation shall be used for the support of Indian day and industrial schools where specific appropriation is made: *Provided further,* That not more than $50,000 of the amount herein appropriated may be expended for the tuition of Indian children enrolled in the public schools: *And provided further,* That $75,000 of the amount herein appropriated shall be expended for tuition of children of Indian blood enrolled in the public schools of New Mexico.

For construction, lease, purchase, repair, and improvement of school and agency buildings, including sewer, water, and lighting systems in connection therewith, $420,000: *Provided,* That the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to allow employees in the Indian Service, who are furnished quarters, necessary heat and light for such quarters without charge, such heat and light to be paid for out of the fund chargeable with the cost of heating and lighting other buildings at the same place: *Provided further,* That the amount so expended for agency purposes shall not be included in the maximum amounts for compensation of employees prescribed by section 1, act of August 24, 1912.

For collection and transportation of pupils to and from Indian and public schools, and for placing school pupils, with the consent of their parents, under the care and control of white families qualified to give them moral, industrial, and educational training, $72,000: *Provided,* That not exceeding $5,000 of this sum may be used for obtaining remunerative employment for Indian youths and, when necessary, for payment of transportation and other expenses to their places of employment. The provisions of this section shall also apply to native pupils of school age under 21 years of age brought from Alaska.

All moneys appropriated herein for school purposes among the Indians may be expended, without restriction as to per capita expenditure, for the annual support and education of any one pupil in any school.

For the purposes of preserving living and growing timber on Indian reservations and allotments, and to educate Indians in the proper care of forests; for the employment of suitable persons as matrons to teach Indian women and girls housekeeping and other household duties, for necessary traveling expenses of such matrons; and for furnishing necessary equipments and supplies and renting quarters for them when necessary; for the conducting of experiments on Indian school or agency farms designed to test the possibilities of soil and climate in the cultivation of trees, grains, vegetables, cotton, and fruits, and for the employment of practical farmers and stockmen, in addition to the agency and school farmers now employed; for necessary traveling expenses of such farmers and stockmen and for furnishing necessary equipment and supplies for them; and for superintending and directing farming

and stock raising among Indians, $425,000: *Provided*, That the foregoing shall not, as to timber, apply to the Menominee Indian Reservation in Wisconsin: *Provided further*, That not to exceed $25,000 of the amount herein appropriated may be used to conduct experiments on Indian school or agency farms to test the possibilities of soil and climate in the cultivation of trees, cotton, grains, vegetables, and fruits: *Provided also*, That the amounts paid to matrons, foresters, farmers, and stockmen herein provided for shall not be included within the limitation on salaries and compensation of employees contained in the act of August 24, 1912.

For the purchase of goods and supplies for the Indian Service, including inspection, pay of necessary employees, and all other expenses connected therewith, including advertising, storage, and transportation of Indian goods and supplies, $300,000: *Provided*, That no part of the sum hereby appropriated shall be used for the maintenance of to exceed three warehouses in the Indian Service.

For telegraph and telephone toll messages on business pertaining to the Indian Service sent and received by the Bureau of Indian Affairs at Washington, $10,000.

For witness fees and other legal expenses incurred in suits instituted in behalf of or against Indians involving the question of title to lands allotted to them, or the right of possession of personal property held by them, and in hearings set by the United States local land officers to determine the rights of Indians to public lands, $2,000: *Provided*, That no part of this appropriation shall be used in the payment of attorneys' fees.

For expenses of the Board of Indian Commissioners, $10,000.

For pay of Indian police, including chiefs of police at not to exceed $50 per month each and privates at not to exceed $30 per month each, to be employed in maintaining order, for purchase of equipments and supplies and for rations for policemen at nonration agencies, $200,000.

For pay of judges of Indian courts where tribal relations now exist, $8,000.

For pay of special agents at $2,000 per annum; for traveling and incidental expenses of such special agents, including sleeping-car fare, and a per diem of not to exceed $3 in lieu of subsistence in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior when actually employed on duty in the field or ordered to the seat of government; for transportation and incidental expenses of officers and clerks of the Office of Indian Affairs when traveling on official duty; for pay of employees not otherwise provided for; and for other necessary expenses of the Indian Service for which no other appropriation is available, $115,000.

For pay of six Indian Service inspectors, exclusive of one chief inspector, at salaries not to exceed $2,500 per annum and actual traveling expenses, and $3 per diem in lieu of subsistence when actually employed on duty in the field, $30,000.

For the purpose of determining the heirs of deceased Indian allottees having any right, title, or interest in any trust or restricted property, under regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior, $100,000: *Provided*, That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to use not to exceed $25,000 for the employment of additional clerks in the Indian Office in connection with the work of determining the heirs of deceased Indians, and considering their wills, out of the $100,000 appropriated herein: *Provided further*, That the provisions of this paragraph shall not apply to the Osage Indians, nor to the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians in Oklahoma: *And provided further*, That hereafter upon a determination of the heirs to any trust or restricted Indian property or after approval by the Secretary of any will covering such trust or restricted property, there shall be paid by such heirs, or by the beneficiaries under such will, or from the estate of the decedent, or from the proceeds of sale of the allotment, or from any trust funds belonging to the estate of the decedent, the sum of $15, which amount shall be accounted for and paid into the Treasury of the United States and a report shall be made annually to Congress by the Secretary of the Interior, on or before the first Monday in December, of all moneys collected and deposited, as herein provided: *Provided further*, That if the Secretary of the Interior shall find that any inherited trust allotment or allotments are capable of partition to the advantage of the heirs, he may cause such lands to be partitioned among them, patents in fee to be issued to the competent heirs for their shares and trust patents to be issued to the incompetent heirs for the lands respectively or jointly set apart to them, the trust period to terminate in accordance with the terms of the original patent.

For the purpose of encouraging industry and self-support among the Indians and to aid them in the culture of fruits, grains, and other crops, $300,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to be immediately available, which sum may be used for the purchase of seed, animals, machinery, tools, implements, and other equipment necessary, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior, to enable Indians to become self-supporting: *Provided*, That said sum shall be expended under conditions to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior for its repayment to the United States on or before June 30, 1925: *Provided further*, That not to exceed $75,000 of the amount herein appropriated shall be expended on any one reservation or for the benefit of any one tribe of Indians.

There is hereby authorized to be continued during the Sixty-fourth Congress the Joint Commission to Investigate Indian Affairs, with powers and duties as provided in the Indian appropriation act of June 30, 1913 (38 Stat. L., p. 81), and the unexpended amount therein appropriated for the expense of said commission is hereby reappropriated and made available for the purposes therein authorized. Said commission shall make their findings, conclusions, and recommendations to the Sixty-fourth Congress: *Provided*, That when any vacancy shall occur upon said joint commission by reason of the expiration of the term of office of any Member of the House of Representatives upon said joint commission, or of any Senator upon said joint commission, or from any other cause, Hon. CHAMP CLARK, Member of Congress-elect from the State of Missouri, if the vacancy occurs with reference to a member of the House of Representatives, and by the President of the Senate if the vacancy occurs with reference to a Senator.

That not to exceed $200,000 of the appropriations made herein for the Bureau of Indian Affairs shall be available for the maintenance, repair, and operation of motor-propelled and horse-drawn passenger-carrying vehicles for the use of superintendents, farmers, physicians, field matrons, allotting, irrigation, and other employees in the Indian field service: *Provided*, That not to exceed $13,000 shall be used in the purchase of not to exceed 40 horse-drawn passenger-carrying vehicles, and not to exceed $15,000 for the purchase of motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicles, and that such vehicles shall be used only for official service.

To reimburse A. G. Pollock, former disbursing agent of the Santee Competency Commission, for moneys expended for printing and stationery used by the Santee Competency Commission, $49.25.

For payment to the heirs of Farmer John, an Indian, for land purchased by the Government for a boathouse site on Pelican Lake, Minn., $20.

For the payment to Charles Kappler for the work of compiling the third volume of Indian laws and treaties, the sum of $2,000.

ARIZONA AND NEW MEXICO.

SEC. 2. For support and civilization of Indians in Arizona and New Mexico, including pay of employees, $330,000.

For support and education of 200 Indian pupils at the Indian school at Fort Mojave, Ariz., and for pay of superintendent, $35,100; for general repairs and improvements, $3,800; in all, $38,900.

For support and education of 700 Indian pupils at the Indian school at Phoenix, Ariz., and for pay of superintendent, $119,500; for general repairs and improvements, $7,500; in all, $127,000.

For support and education of 100 pupils at the Indian school at Truxton Canyon, Ariz., and for pay of superintendent, $18,200; for general repairs and improvements, $3,000; in all, $21,200.

To enable the Secretary of the Interior to carry into effect the provisions of the sixth article of the treaty of June 8, 1868, between the United States and the Navajo Nation or Tribe of Indians, proclaimed August 12, 1868, whereby the United States agrees to provide school facilities for the children of the Navajo Tribe of Indians, $100,000: *Provided*, That the said Secretary may expend said funds, in his discretion, in establishing or enlarging day or industrial schools.

For continuing the work of constructing the irrigation system for the irrigation of the lands of the Pima Indians in the vicinity of Sacaton, in the Gila River Indian Reservation, within the limit of cost fixed by the act of March 3, 1905, $10,000; and for maintenance and operation of the pumping plants and canal systems, $10,000; in all, $20,000, reimbursable as provided in section 2 of the act of August 24, 1912 (37 Stat. L., p. 522), and to remain available until expended.

For the construction and repair of necessary channels and laterals for the utilization of water in connection with the pumping plant for irrigation purposes on the Colorado River Indian Reservation, Ariz., as provided in the act of April 4, 1910 (36 Stat. L., p. 273), for the purpose of securing an appropriation of water for the irrigation of approximately 150,000 acres of land and for maintaining and operating the pumping plant, $15,000, reimbursable as provided in said act, and to remain available until expended.

For improvement and sinking of wells, installation of pumping machinery, construction of tanks for domestic and stock water, and for the necessary structures for the development and distribution of a supply of water for Papago Indian villages in southern Arizona, $15,000.

For enlarging the irrigation system for the irrigation of Indian lands, for protective works to prevent damage to irrigable lands by floods, and for development of domestic water supply on the Papago Indian Reservation in Arizona, in accordance with the plans and specifications submitted by the chief engineer in the Indian Service and approved by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior, $20,000, to remain available until expended.

For the examination and final location surveys of a dam site on the Colorado River, and the investigation and survey of an irrigation system to supply the land of the Colorado River Reservation from said dam, and for the design, preparation of maps, plans, and detailed specifications for said works, and estimate of cost thereof, for the utilization of the reserved rights to water from the Colorado River in the State of Arizona for the irrigation of approximately 150,000 acres of land on said reservation, $10,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary.

For continuing the development of a water supply for the Navajo Indians on the Navajo Reservation, $10,000, to remain available until expended, reimbursable out of any funds of said Indians now or hereafter available.

For beginning the construction of a dam and necessary controlling works for diverting water from the Gila River for the irrigation of Indian land and allotments on the Gila River Indian Reservation, Ariz., as recommended by the Board of Engineers of the United States Army in paragraph 217 of its report to the Secretary of War of February 14, 1914 (H. Doc. No. 791), $50,000, to remain available until expended, reimbursable as Congress may hereafter provide, the total cost not to exceed $160,000.

For beginning the construction of a dam and necessary controlling works for diverting water from the Gila River at a site above Florence, Ariz., for the irrigation of Indian land and allotments on the Gila River Indian Reservation and private lands in Pinal County, Ariz., as estimated by the Board of Engineer Officers of the United States Army in paragraph 138 of its report to the Secretary of War of February 14, 1914 (H. Doc. No. 791), $75,000, to remain available until expended, reimbursable as Congress may hereafter provide, the total cost not to exceed $175,000: *Provided*, That before beginning construction the Secretary of the Interior shall prescribe such rules and regulations and take such other action as in his opinion may be proper and necessary for the purpose of securing for the Indians of the Gila River Reservation the benefits from such work to which they are legally and equitably entitled, and to enable the United States to control the diversion and distribution of water by said works and canals receiving water diverted thereby; and he may require of the owners of other lands to be benefited thereby agreements for the payment of the charges which he is hereby authorized to fix for diversion of water by said dam.

CALIFORNIA.

SEC. 3. For support and civilization of Indians in California, including pay of employees, $45,000.

For the purchase of lands for the homeless Indians in California, including improvements thereon, for the use and occupancy of said Indians, $20,000, said funds to be expended under such regulations and conditions as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe.

For support and education of 650 Indian pupils at the Sherman Institute, Riverside, Cal., including pay of superintendent, $108,125; for general repairs and improvements, $8,000; in all, $116,125.

For support and education of 125 Indian pupils at the Fort Bidwell Indian School, Cal., including pay of superintendent, $20,500; for general repairs and improvements, $2,000; in all, $22,500.

For support and education of 100 Indian pupils at the Greenville Indian School, Cal., including pay of superintendent, $18,400; for general repairs and improvements, $2,000; in all, $20,400.

For reclamation and maintenance charge on Yuma allotments, $40,000, to be reimbursed from the sale of surplus lands or from other funds that may be available, in accordance with the provisions of the act of March 3, 1911.

FLORIDA.

SEC. 4. For support and civilization of Seminole Indians in Florida, including the purchase of such lands as the Secretary of the Interior may deem proper, $10,000, of which $3,000 shall be immediately available.

IDAHO.

SEC. 5. For support and civilization of Indians on the Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho, including pay of employees, $30,000.

For improvement and maintenance and operation of the Fort Hall irrigation system, $25,000, reimbursable to the United States out of any funds of the Indians occupying the Fort Hall Reservation now or hereafter available.

For fulfilling treaty stipulations with the Bannocks in Idaho: For pay of physician, teacher, carpenter, miller, engineer, farmer, and blacksmith (art 10, treaty of July 3, 1868), $5,000.

For the Coeur d'Alenes, in Idaho: For pay of blacksmith, carpenter, and physician and purchase of medicines (art. 11, agreement ratified Mar. 3, 1891), $3,000.

KANSAS.

SEC. 6. For support and education of 750 Indian pupils at the Indian school, Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kans., and for pay of superintendent, $127,750; for general repairs and improvements, $10,000; in all, $137,750.

For support and education of 80 Indian pupils at the Indian school, Kickapoo Reservation, Kans., including pay of superintendent, $14,860; for general repairs and improvements, $2,000; in all, $16,860.

MICHIGAN.

SEC. 7. For support and education of 350 Indian pupils at the Indian school, Mount Pleasant, Mich., and for pay of superintendent, $60,450; for general repairs and improvements, $5,000; for dairy barns, $5,000; in all, $70,450.

MINNESOTA.

SEC. 8. For support and education of 225 Indian pupils at the Indian school, Pipestone, Minn., including pay of superintendent, $39,175; for general repairs and improvements, $6,500; for septic tank, $5,500; in all, $51,175.

For support of a school or schools for the Chippewas of the Mississippi in Minnesota (art. 3, treaty of Mar. 19, 1867), $4,000.

The Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to withdraw from the Treasury of the United States, at his discretion, the sum of $185,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, of the principal sum on deposit to the credit of the Chippewa Indians in the State of Minnesota, arising under section 7 of the act of January 14, 1889, entitled "An act for the relief and civilization of the Chippewa Indians in the State of Minnesota," and to use the same for the purpose of promoting civilization and self-support among the said Indians in manner and for purposes provided for in said act.

The Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to advance to the executive committee of the White Earth Band of Chippewa Indians in Minnesota the sum of $1,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to be expended in the annual celebration of said band to be held June 14, 1915, out of the funds belonging to said band.

That the unexpended balance of the appropriation for "Enrollment of Chippewa allottees, White Earth Reservation, Minn.," contained in the act approved June 30, 1913 (38 Stat. L., p. 89), making appropriations for current and contingent expenses of the Indian Service for the fiscal year 1914, is hereby reappropriated and made immediately available.

That the seventh paragraph of section 9 of the act approved June 30, 1913 (38 Stat. L., p. 88), be, and the same is hereby, amended to read as follows:

"That the roll herein provided for shall be made in triplicate and shall show the allotment number or numbers, together with the description of the property allotted, and the name, age, sex, and whether the allottee is of full Indian blood or a mixed blood. The roll shall also state whether the person named is living or dead, and if dead, the approximate date of death shall be stated, when it can be ascertained, together with the age of such person at death as near as practicable. No allotment nor the allottee thereof shall be enrolled where there is a suit now pending, or hereafter commence prior to the completion of such roll, to cancel any conveyance of such allotment until such suit has been finally determined."

That the sum of $4,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, of the tribal funds of the Chippewa Indians of the State of Minnesota, is hereby appropriated to pay the expenses of the general council of said tribe to be held at Bemidji, Minn., beginning July 13, 1915, pursuant to the constitution of the general council of said Chippewa Indians of Minnesota, organized in May, 1913, and to pay the actual and necessary expenses of the members of the executive committee of said council when attending to the business of the tribe, and to pay the expenses to Washington, in January and February, 1915, of the delegation of Chippewa Indians of the State of Minnesota, appointed by the president of said general council pursuant to the resolution of said general council of date August 14, 1914, to present the affairs of said Chippewa Indians of the State of Minnesota to the officials of the United States, said $4,000 to be immediately available, and the expenses of said delegation to be paid by the Secretary of the Interior upon itemized accounts approved by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the expenses of said general council to be paid by the Secretary of the Interior upon itemized accounts approved by the president of the executive committee of said council and certified to by its secretary. The Secretary of the Interior may authorize an inspector or special agent to attend future sessions of said general council and conventions to which delegates therefor are elected.

That the Secretary of the Interior, under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe, is hereby authorized to use for or advance to any individual Chippewa Indian in the State of Minnesota entitled to participate in the permanent fund of the Chippewa Indians of Minnesota who is blind, crippled, decrepit, or helpless from old age, disease, or accident, and such other Indians as the Secretary of the Interior may deem proper, in the aggregate not to exceed one-fourth of the amount which would now be coming to said Indian under a pro rata distribution of said permanent fund: *Provided*, That any money received hereunder by any member of said tribe or used for his or her benefit shall be deducted from the share of said member in the permanent fund of the said Chippewa Indians in Minnesota to which he or she would be entitled. Hereafter on ceded lands in the State of Minnesota embraced within the provisions of the law entitled "An act for the relief and civilization of the Chippewa Indians in the State of Minnesota," approved January 14, 1889, the minerals in and mineral rights pertaining to any of the lands the cession of which was provided for in said act and for which the United States has not conveyed title shall be and remain in and are reserved for the use and benefit of the Chippewa Indians in the State of Minnesota.

That the following-described lands within the Red Lake Indian Reservation, Minn., be, and the same hereby are, reserved from sale and allotment, and shall be known as the Red Lake Indian Forest: Townships 150 and 151 north, ranges 32, 33, 34, 35, and 36 west, and townships 152 and 153 north, ranges 32, 33, and 34 west of the fifth principal meridian, except the lands in townships 151 north, range 36 west, which lie north of the north line of sections 26 to 30, inclusive, and except all lands within sections 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 18, in township 153 north, range 34 west. The provisions of this section shall not apply to any lands which have heretofore been reserved for school, agency, church, or town-site purposes, or granted to private parties or corporations, within the area described: *Provided*, That when any of said lands are no longer needed for the purpose for which they were reserved, the Secretary of the Interior may declare such lands to be a part of the Red Lake Indian Forest.

That the forest shall be administered, by the Secretary of the Interior, in accordance with the principles of scientific forestry, with a view to the production of successive timber crops thereon. The said Sercetary is hereby authorized to sell dead, down, and matured pine timber and other marketable products, under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe, and to establish such sawmills and accessories as may be necessary to manufacture the dead, down, and matured timber into various products, and he may purchase such equipment and employ such persons as shall be necessary to carry out the purposes of this act. Before any expenditures are made or contracts entered into hereunder, the Secretary of the Interior shall submit an estimate, and annually thereafter, of such proposed expenditures, to be approved by Congress. The Indians, without charge, shall be allowed for fuel, under rules and regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior, dead timber, standing or fallen, which is not of a merchantable grade or suited for timber.

That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Interior to maintain at all times a forest cover on all parts of the forest which are not better adapted to agricultural uses than to the production of forest crops, and he may establish nurseries or purchase seedlings or transplants when needed for reforestation purposes.

That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to issue a permit to any head of a family or adult unmarried member of the Red Lake Band of Indians entitling him or her to the exclusive use for a term of 10 years of any tract of land, not exceeding 20 acres in area, fronting on either Upper Red Lake or Lower Red Lake, having a shore line of not more than 50 rods. Similar permits may be issued by the said Secretary for legal subdivisions which do not border upon either of the said lakes with the same restrictions as to area. In the granting of these permits preference shall be given to Red Lake Indians who have occupied such land for a period of not less than three years prior to the passage of this act, and each permit shall be renewed so long as the person or any member of his or her immediate family shall continue to reside thereon, unless in the opinion of the said Secretary the best interests of the Red Lake Band of Indians demand that such permit be not renewed; and when a renewal is refused the said Secretary shall cause an appraisal to be made of any permanent improvements placed upon such land by the permittee, or his immediate family, and shall pay to him, from the proceeds of the Red Lake Indian Forest, the amount of such appraisement. If any Indian permittee or his immediate family shall fail to reside upon the shore line or interior tract covered by his permit for a period of at least three months in any year, the permit shall be subject to cancellation by the Secretary of the Interior, and when a permit is thus canceled the said Secretary may pay the permittee the value of his permanent improvements from the proceeds of the Indian forest, if in his judgment the improvements are of any value to the Red Lake Indians. If lands covered by a lapsed or a canceled permit are assigned to another applicant, such new permittee shall be required to pay into the Red Lake Indian Forest fund the value which the improvements thereon have at the time of the issuance of such permit.

That every permit or lease issued under authority of this act to Indians or to other persons or corporations shall reserve to the Secretary of the Interior the right to cross the land covered thereby with logging roads or railroads, to use the shore line, or to erect thereon and use such structures as shall be necessary to the proper and economical management of the Indian forest created by this act.

For the payment of high-school teachers of the White Earth Indian School, Minnesota, for instruction of children of the Chippewa Indians in the State of Minnesota, $4,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to be used under rules to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior: *Provided*, That not to exceed $1,000 of this sum may be used to continue the education of boys appointed under the provisions of the act of Congress entitled "An act making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes, and for other purposes, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914," approved June 30, 1913.

MONTANA.

SEC. 9. For support and civilization of the Indians at Fort Belknap Agency, Mont., including pay of employees, $20,000.

For support and civilization of Indians at Flathead Agency, Mont., including pay of employees, $20,000, to be immediately available: *Provided*, That not to exceed $4,500 of the above amount may be expended for salaries.

For support and civilization of Indians at Fort Peck Agency, Mont., including pay of employees, $30,000.

For support and civilization of Indians at Blackfeet Agency, Mont., including pay of employees, $20,000, to be immediately available: *Provided*, That not to exceed $8,000 of the above amount may be expended for salaries.

For maintenance and operation, including repairs of the Milk River irrigation system on the Fort Belknap Reservation, in Montana, $20,000, reimbursable in accordance with the provisions of the act of April 4, 1910.

For fulfilling treaties with Crows, Montana: For pay of physician, $1,200; and for pay of carpenter, miller, engineer, farmer, and blacksmith (art. 10, treaty of May 7, 1868), $3,600; for pay of second blacksmith (art. 8, same treaty), $1,200; in all, $6,000: *Provided*, That during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, no tribal grazing lease or permit on the Crow Reservation shall be approved by the Secretary of the Interior without first procuring the consent of a majority of the members of a council regularly called by said Indians: *Provided further*, That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed, upon the application of any Indian allottee or allottees on said Crow Reservation, to build a fence in full compliance with the

laws of Montana, sufficient to hold or turn all stock, inclosing the allotment or allotments of Indian allottee or allottees, the same to be reimbursed out of any distributive tribal funds to which said Indian may be entitled; and such Indian allottee shall be permitted to lease his allotted lands other than his homestead when so fenced for a term not exceeding five years beyond the date of the execution of the lease to any person or persons desiring to lease the same without interference on the part of any Government official: *And be it further provided*, That any lessee of allotted Indian lands on said Indian reservation shall be required to maintain said fence in good repair on the allotted lands so leased; and the Secretary of the Interior shall have the power, in case of inadequate compensation provided in said lease or of unfair terms or conditions contained therein or of any unfair treatment of the lessor by the lessee as a tenant, to cancel or revise said lease such lease shall be made upon forms furnished by the Interior Department. Natural guardians having the care and custody of minors or incompetent persons may make application, execute the lease above provided for, collect the rents, and do and perform all acts on behalf of such minors or incompetent persons which are herein provided to be done or performed by said Indian allottee, and there is hereby appropriated sufficient money, out of any tribal funds which are now or may hereafter be available, to carry out the provisions herein, said tribal funds to be reimbursed under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe.

For subsistence and civilization of the Northern Cheyennes and Arapahoes (agreement with the Sioux Indians, approved Feb. 28, 1877), including Northern Cheyennes removed from Pine Ridge Agency to Tongue River, Mont., and for pay of physician, 2 teachers, 2 carpenters, 1 miller, 2 farmers, a blacksmith, and engineer (art. 7, treaty of May 10, 1868), $85,000.

For the employment of "line riders" along the southern and eastern boundaries of the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation in the State of Montana, $1,500.

For the support and civilization of Rocky Boy's Band of Chippewas, and other indigent and homeless Indians in the State of Montana, including pay of employees, $10,000, to be immediately available.

That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized to withdraw from the Treasury of the United States not to exceed the sum of $100,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, of the principal sum on deposit to the credit of the Indians on the Blackfeet Reservation in Montana, for the purpose of purchasing and caring for cattle for the use of said Indians, seeds, and necessary farming equipment, to enable them to become self-supporting, under such rules, regulations, and conditions as said Secretary of the Interior may prescribe.

That any moneys which may be due from the Indians of the Fort Belknap Reservation, State of Montana, and unpaid on June 1, 1915, for property purchased under the provisions of the sections of the Indian appropriation acts approved April 30, 1908 (35 Stat. L., pp. 70–83), appropriating the sum of $25,000 for the purchase of implements and other equipment for said Indians, under such conditions as the Secretary of the Interior might prescribe for the repayment by the Indians to the United States of the sum so expended, and March 3, 1909 (35 Stat. L., pp. 781–795), authorizing the use of the repayments made by the Indians until June 1, 1915, shall be collected as soon thereafter as is practicable.

That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to announce, at such time as in his opinion seems proper, the charge for construction of irrigation systems on the Blackfeet, Flathead, and Fort Peck Indian Reservations in Montana, which shall be made against each acre of land irrigable by the systems on each of said reservations. Such charges shall be assessed against the land irrigable by the systems on each said reservation in the proportion of the total construction cost which each acre of such land bears to the whole area of irrigable land thereunder.

On the 1st day of December after the announcement by the Secretary of the Interior of the construction charge, the allottee, entryman, purchaser, or owner of such irrigable land which might have been furnished water for irrigation during the whole of the preceding irrigation season, from ditches actually constructed, shall pay to the superintendent of the reservation where the land is located, for deposit to the credit of the United States as a reimbursement of the appropriations made or to be made for construction of said irrigation systems, 5 per cent of the construction charge fixed for his land, as an initial installment, and shall pay the balance of the charge in 15 annual installments, the first 5 of which shall each be 5 per cent of the construction charge and the remainder shall each be 7 per cent of the construction charge. The first of the annual installments shall become due and payable on December 1 of the fifth calendar year after the initial installment: *Provided*, That any allottee, entryman, purchaser, or owner may, if he so elects, pay the whole or any part of the construction charges within any shorter period: *Provided further*, That the Secretary of the Interior may, in his discretion, grant such extension of the time for payments herein required from Indian allottees or their heirs as he may determine proper and necessary, so long as such land remains in Indian title.

That the tribal funds heretofore covered into the Treasury of the United States in partial reimbursement of appropriations made for constructing irrigation systems on said reservations shall be placed to the credit of the tribe and be available for such expenditure for the benefit of the tribe as may be made under existing law.

The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to credit on the books of the Treasury to the Indians of the Blackfeet Reservation, $4,544.40; to the Indians of the Flathead Reservation, $440,217.78; and to the Indians of the Fort Peck Reservation, $80,425.75, the same being the amounts heretofore covered into the Treasury on account of moneys expended upon irrigation projects upon said reservations.

The cost of constructing irrigation systems to irrigate the allotted lands of the Indians on these reservations shall be reimbursed to the United States as hereinbefore provided, and no further reimbursements from the tribal funds shall be made on account of said irrigation works, except that all charges against Indian allottees or their heirs herein authorized, unless otherwise paid, may be paid from the individual shares in the tribal funds, when the same is available for distribution, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior.

For continuing construction of the irrigation systems on the Blackfeet Indian Reservation in Montana, $50,000, which shall be immediately available and remain available until expended: *Provided*, That the entryman upon the surplus unallotted lands to be irrigated by such systems shall, in addition to compliance with the homestead laws, before receiving patent for the lands covered by his entry, pay the charges apportioned against such tract as herein authorized, and a failure to make any two payments when due shall render the entry subject to cancellation, with the forfeiture to the United States of all rights acquired under the provisions of this act, as well as of any moneys paid on account thereof. The purchaser of any Indian allotment to be irrigated by such systems, purchased upon approval of the Secretary of the Interior, before the charges against said allotment herein authorized shall have been paid, shall pay all charges remaining unpaid at the time of such purchase, and in all patents or deeds for such purchased allotments, and also in all patents in fee to allottees or their heirs issued before payment of all such charges herein authorized to be made against their allotments, there shall be expressed that there is reserved upon the lands therein described a lien for such charges, and such lien may be enforced, or, upon payment of the delinquent charges, may be released by the Secretary of the Interior (acts Mar. 1, 1907, vol. 34, p. 1035; Apr. 4, 1910, vol. 36, p. 277; Mar. 3, 1911, vol. 36, p. 1066; Aug. 24, 1912, vol. 37, p. 526; June 30, 1913, vol. 38, p. 90; Aug. 1, 1914, vol. 38, p. 593).

For continuing the construction of the irrigation systems on the Flathead Indian Reservation in Montana, $400,000, to remain available until expended, and the unexpended balance amounting to $186,996.81 appropriated in the Indian appropriation act approved June 30, 1913, for continuing the construction of said irrigation systems on said reservations, be and the same is hereby reappropriated and made immediately available to be expended for continuing the construction of said irrigation systems: *Provided*, That the payments for the proportionate cost of the construction of said systems required of settlers on the surplus unallotted land by section 9, chapter 1495, Statutes of the United States of America, entitled "An act for the survey and allotment of lands now embraced within the limits of the Flathead Indian Reservation in the State of Montana, and the sale and disposal of all surplus lands after allotment," as amended by section 15 of the act of May 29, 1908 (35 Stat. L., p. 448), shall be made as herein provided: *Provided further*, That nothing contained in the act of May 29, 1908 (35 Stat. L., p. 444), shall be construed to exempt the purchaser of any Indian allotment purchased prior to the expiration of the trust period thereon from any charge for construction of the irrigation system incurred up to the time of such purchase, except such charges as shall have accrued and become due in accordance with the public notices herein provided for, or to relieve the owners of all land allotted to Indians in severalty from payment of the charges herein required to be made against said land on account of construction of the irrigation systems; and in carrying out the provisions of said section the exemption therein authorized from charges incurred against allotments purchased prior to the expiration of the trust period thereon shall be the amount of the charges or installments thereof due under public notice herein provided for up to the time of such purchase.

For continuing construction of the irrigation systems on the Fort Peck Indian Reservation in Montana, $50,000, which shall be immediately available and remain available until expended: *Provided*, That the proportionate cost of the construction of said systems required of settlers and entrymen on the surplus unallotted irrigable land by section 2 of the act of May 30, 1908 (35 Stat. L., p. 558), shall be paid as herein provided: *Provided further*, That nothing contained in said act of May 30, 1908, shall be construed to exempt the purchaser of any Indian allotment purchased prior to the expiration of the trust period thereon from any charge for construction of the irrigation system incurred up to the time of such purchase, except such charges as shall have accrued and become due in accordance with the public notices herein provided for, and the purchaser of any Indian allotment to be irrigated by said systems purchased upon approval of the Secretary of the Interior before the charges against said allotment herein authorized shall have been paid shall pay all charges remaining unpaid at the time of such purchase, and in all patents or deeds for such purchased allotments, and also in all patents in fee to allottees or their heirs issued before payment shall have been made of all such charges herein authorized to be made against their allotments, there shall be expressed that there is reserved upon the lands therein described a lien for such charges, and such lien may be enforced, or upon payment of the delinquent charges may be released by the Secretary of the Interior.

That in addition to the construction charges every allottee, entryman, purchaser, or owner shall pay to the superintendent of the reservation a maintenance and operation charge based upon the total cost of maintenance and operation of the systems on the several reservations, and the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to fix such maintenance and operation charge upon such basis as shall be equitable to the owners of the irrigable land. Such charges when collected shall be available for expenditure in the maintenance and operation of the systems on the reservation where collected: *Provided*, That delivery of water to any tract of land may be refused on account of nonpayment of any charges herein authorized, and the same may, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior, be collected by a suit for money owed: *Provided further*, That the rights of the United States, heretofore acquired, to water for Indian lands referred to in this amendment, namely, the Blackfeet, Fort Peck, and Flathead Reservation land, shall be continued in full force and effect until the Indian title to such land is extinguished.

That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized to prescribe such rules and regulations and issue such notices as may be necessary to carry into effect the provisions of this act, and he is hereby authorized and directed to determine the area of land on each reservation which may be irrigated from constructed ditches and to determine what allowance, if any, shall be made for ditches constructed by individuals for the diversion and distribution of a partial or total water supply for allotted or surplus unallotted land: *Provided*, That if water be available prior to the announcement of the charge herein authorized, the Secretary of the Interior may furnish water to land under the systems on the said reservations, making a reasonable charge therefor, and such charges when collected may be used for construction or maintenance of the systems through which such water shall have been furnished.

The work to be done with the amounts herein appropriated for the completion of these projects may be done by the Reclamation Service, on plans and estimates furnished by that service and approved by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

NEBRASKA.

SEC. 10. For support and education of 375 Indian pupils at the Indian school at Genoa, Nebr., including pay of superintendent, $64,500; for general repairs and improvements, $5,000; in all, $69,500.

NEVADA.

SEC. 11. For support and civilization of Indians in Nevada, including pay of employees, $18,500.

For support and education of 250 Indian pupils at the Indian school at Carson City, Nev., including pay of superintendent, $41,700; for general repairs and improvements, $5,950; in all, $47,650.

For the support and civilization of the Washoe Tribe of Indians in Nevada, including the purchase of land and water rights for said tribe, the title to which is to be held in the United States for the benefit of said Indians, $12,500.

NEW MEXICO.

SEC. 12. For support and education of 400 Indian pupils at the Indian school at Albuquerque, N. Mex., and for pay of superintendent, $68,600; for general repairs and improvements, $8,000; for the purchase of additional acreage adjoining the school farm, $12,000; in all, $88,600.

For support and education of 350 Indian pupils at the Indian school at Santa Fe, N. Mex., and for pay of superintendent, $59,550; for general repairs and improvements, $8,000; for water supply, $1,600; in all, $69,150.

For the pay of one special attorney for the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, to be designated by the Secretary of the Interior, and for necessary traveling expenses of said attorney, $2,000, or so much thereof as the Secretary of the Interior may deem necessary.

NEW YORK.

SEC. 13. For fulfilling treaties with Senecas of New York: For permanent annuity in lieu of interest on stock (act of February 19, 1831), $6,000.

For fulfilling treaties with Six Nations of New York: For permanent annuity, in clothing and other useful articles (article 6, treaty of November 11, 1794), $4,500.

NORTH CAROLINA.

SEC. 14. For support and education of 180 Indian pupils at the Indian school at Cherokee, N. C., including pay of superintendent, $30,000; for general repairs and improvements, $4,000; in all, $34,000.

NORTH DAKOTA.

SEC. 15. For support and civilization of the Sioux, of Devils Lake, N. Dak., including pay of employees, $5,000.

For support and civilization of Indians at Fort Berthold Agency, in North Dakota, including pay of employees, $15,000.

For support and civilization of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewas, North Dakota, including pay of employees, $11,000.

For support and education of 100 Indian pupils at the Indian school, Bismarck, N. Dak., including pay of superintendent, $18,200; for general repairs and improvements, $2,000; in all, $20,200.

For support and education of 400 Indian pupils at Fort Totten Indian School, Fort Totten, N. Dak., and for pay of superintendent, $68,500; sinking wells and making improvements of the water system, $5,000; for general repairs and improvements, $5,000; in all, $78,500.

For support and education of 200 Indian pupils at the Indian school, Wahpeton, N. Dak., and pay of superintendent, $35,800; for general repairs and improvements, $3,200; in all, $39,000.

For the erection of a headstone to mark the grave of Scarlet Crow, a Sioux Indian chief of the Wahpeton Tribe, who was buried March 13, 1867, in the Congressional Cemetery, Washington, D. C., in a grave marked "76–R. A. 22," $100.

OKLAHOMA.

SEC. 16. For support and civilization of the Wichitas and affiliated bands who have been collected on the reservations set apart for their use and occupation in Oklahoma, including pay of employees, $5,000.

The Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to withdraw from the Treasury of the United States, at his discretion, the sum of $25,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, of the funds on deposit to the credit of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Tribes of Indians in Oklahoma, for the support of the agency and pay of employees maintained for their benefit.

That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized to withdraw from the Treasury of the United States, at his discretion, the sum of $250,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, of the funds on deposit to the credit of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Tribes of Indians in Oklahoma, and pay out the same for the benefit of the members of said tribes for their maintenance and support, and improvement of their homesteads, in such manner and under such regulations as he may prescribe: *Provided*, That the Secretary of the Interior shall report to Congress on the first Monday in December, 1916, a detailed statement as to all moneys expended as provided for herein.

For support and civilization of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes who have been collected on the reservations set apart for their use and occupation in Oklahoma, including pay of employees, $35,000.

For support and civilization of the Kansas Indians, Oklahoma, including pay of employees, $1,500.

For support and civilization of the Ponca Indians in Oklahoma and Nebraska, including pay of employees, $8,000.

For support and civilization of the Kickapoo Indians in Oklahoma, including pay of employees, $2,000.

For support and education of 500 Indian pupils at the Indian school at Chilocco, Okla., including pay of superintendent, $86,250; for general repairs and improvements, $6,000; in all, $92,250.

For fulfilling treaties with Pawnees, Oklahoma: For perpetual annuity, to be paid in cash to the Pawnees (art. 3, agreement of Nov. 23, 1892), $30,000; for support of two manual-labor schools (art. 3, treaty of Sept. 24, 1857), $10,000; for pay of one farmer, two blacksmiths, one miller, one engineer and apprentices, and two teachers (art. 4, same treaty), $5,400; for purchase of iron and steel and other necessaries for the shops (art. 4, same treaty), $500; for pay of physician and purchase of medicines, $1,200; in all, $47,100.

For support of Quapaws, Oklahoma: For education (art. 3, treaty of May 13, 1833), $1,000; for blacksmith and assistants, and tools, iron, and steel for blacksmith shop (same article and treaty), $500; in all, $1,500.

So much as may be required of the funds authorized by section 17 of the act of June 30, 1913 (38 Stat. L., pp. 77 to 92), for maintenance of a hospital for the Kiowa, Comanche, Apache, and Wichita Tribes, Oklahoma, may be used for the purchase of equipment and in making necessary repairs and improvements to said hospital, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior.

That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized and directed to vacate the north half of section 3, township 4 south, range 14 west, in Oklahoma, reserved for a town site in accordance with the provisions of an act of Congress approved March 20, 1906, entitled "An act for the establishment of town sites and for the sale of town lots within the common lands of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indians in Oklahoma."

And the Secretary of the Interior is hereby further authorized to allot said lands of said town site in equal amounts to San-a-was and Pessa, enrolled Comanche Indian women who have not heretofore received allotments.

That the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co. be, and is hereby, authorized to reconstruct its line of railroad through the Chilocco Indian Reservation in the State of Oklahoma, to eliminate, where necessary, existing heavy grades and curves, and for such purpose to acquire the necessary right of way, not exceeding 200 feet in width, subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior and to the payment for the land so taken and occupied by such new right of way of such an amount as may be determined by the Secretary of the Interior to be fair and adequate compensation therefor, including all damage which may be caused by the reconstruction of said line of railroad to adjoining lands, crops, and other improvements, said amount to be paid to the Secretary of the Interior for the use and benefit of the Chilocco Indian School.

That payments of interest, royalties, or other trust funds becoming due from time to time to any incompetent individual member of the Osage Tribe of Indians under any law may be withheld, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior, and the funds may be used for the benefit of such Indian, or his heirs, under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe: *Provided*, That no part of said funds shall be paid out on account of any usurious obligation or contract.

FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES.

SEC. 17. For expenses of administration of the affairs of the Five Civilized Tribes, Oklahoma, and the compensation of employees, $150,000.

For salaries and expenses of such attorneys and other employees as the Secretary of the Interior may, in his discretion, deem necessary in connection with probate matters affecting individual allottees in the Five Civilized Tribes, $85,000.

For the support, continuance, and maintenance of the Cherokee Orphan Training School, near Tahlequah, Okla., for the orphan Indian children of the Five Civilized Tribes belonging to the restricted class, to be conducted as an industrial school under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, $35,000; for repairs and improvements, $5,000; in all, $40,000.

The sum of $275,000, to be expended in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior under rules and regulations to be prescribed by him, in aid of the common schools in the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Seminole, and Osage Nations and the Quapaw Agency in Oklahoma, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916: *Provided*, That this appropriation shall not be subject to the limitation in section 1 of this act limiting the expenditure of money to educate children of less than one-fourth Indian blood.

That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized to use not exceeding $40,000 of the proceeds of sales of unallotted lands and other tribal property belonging to any of the Five Civilized Tribes for payment of salaries of employees and other expenses of advertising and sale in connection with the further sales of such tribal lands and property, including the advertising and sale of the land within the segregated coal and asphalt area of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, or of the surface thereof as provided for in the act of Congress approved February 19, 1912 (37 U. S. Stat. L., p. 67), and of the improvements thereon, all of which is hereby expressly authorized and for other work necessary to a final settlement of the affairs of the Five Civilized Tribes: *Provided*, That not to exceed $10,000 of such amount may be used in connection with the collection of rents of unallotted lands and tribal buildings: *Provided further*, That during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, no moneys shall be expended from tribal funds belonging to the Five Civilized Tribes without specific appropriation by Congress, except as follows: Equalization of allotments, per capita and other payments authorized by law to individual members of the respective tribes, tribal and other Indian schools for the current fiscal year under existing law, salaries and contingent expenses of governors, chiefs, assistant chiefs, secretaries, interpreters, and mining trustees of the tribes for the current fiscal year at salaries not exceeding those for the last fiscal year, and attorneys for said tribes employed under contract approved by the President, under existing law, for the current fiscal year: *Provided further*, That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to continue and maintain schools during the ensuing fiscal year among the Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole Tribes, payable from the tribal funds of these nations, pursuant to the act of April 26, 1906 (34 Stat. L., pp. 137 and 140).

For fulfilling treaties with Choctaws, Oklahoma: For permanent annuity (art. 2, treaty of Nov. 16, 1805, and art. 13, treaty of June 22, 1855), $3,000; for permanent annuity for support of lighthorsemen (art. 13, treaty of Oct. 18, 1820, and art. 13, treaty of June 22, 1855), $600; for permanent annuity for support of blacksmith (art. 6, treaty of Oct. 18, 1820, and art. 9, treaty of Jan. 20, 1825, and art 13, treaty of June 22, 1855), $600; for permanent annuity for education (art. 2, treaty of Jan. 20, 1825, and art. 13, treaty of June 22, 1855), $6,000; for permanent annuity for iron and steel (art. 9, treaty of Jan. 20, 1825, and art. 13, treaty of June 22, 1855), $320; in all, $10,520.

The act of Congress approved June 28, 1906 (34 Stat. L., p. 539), and the act of Congress approved April 18, 1912 (37 Stat. L., p. 88), authorizing expenditures from Osage tribal funds of not exceeding $50,000 for schools and $40,000 for agency and emergency purposes, or an aggregate of $90,000, is hereby amended to provide that not exceeding such aggregate amount may be used for such purposes when authorized by the Secretary of the Interior, in such manner as he deems for the best interests of the Osages, not exceeding, however, in the aggregate the amount so authorized.

That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized to pay to the enrolled members of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Tribes of Indians of Oklahoma entitled under existing law to share in the funds of said tribes, or to their lawful heirs, out of any moneys belonging to said tribes in the United States Treasury or deposited in any bank or held by any official under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior, not to exceed $200 per capita, in the case of the Choctaws, and $100 per capita in the case of the Chickasaws, said payment to be made under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe: *Provided*, That in cases where such enrolled members, or their heirs, are Indians who by reason of their degree of Indian blood belong to the restricted class, the Secretary of the Interior may, in his discretion, withhold such payments and use the same for the benefit of such restricted Indians: *Provided further*, That the money paid to the enrolled members as provided herein shall be exempt from any lien for attorneys' fees or other debt contracted prior to the passage of this act. In case any Choctaw names are added to the rolls

prior to the final distribution such Choctaws and Chickasaws shall have a special payment of $200 per capita in addition to a ratable share of other property.

For salaries and expenses of six oil and gas inspectors, authorized in the Indian appropriation act approved August 1, 1914, to be under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, to supervise oil and gas mining operations on allotted lands leased by members of the Five Civilized Tribes from which restrictions have not been removed, and to conduct investigations with a view to the prevention of waste, $25,000.

No future allotment shall be made in the Creek Nation except as may be hereafter authorized by Congress.

That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to acquire on behalf of the Choctaw Nation, Oklahoma, by purchase or otherwise, such lands or easements as shall be necessary for the purpose of a roadway leading from Wheelock Academy, Choctaw Nation, Oklahoma, to the public highway, and to expend therefore not to exceed $150 from Choctaw tribal funds.

That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to pay, out of any money in the Treasury of the United States belonging to the Creek Nation, to M. L. Mott the sum of $472.22 for services rendered the Creek Nation from January 15 to February 18, 1914, inclusive, and $210.20 as reimbursement for actual expenses incurred in connection therewith.

That section 1 of an act approved March 3, 1909, entitled "An act for the removal of restrictions on alienation of lands of allottees of the Quapaw Agency, Okla., and the sale of all tribal lands, school, agency, or other lands on any of the reservations within the jurisdiction of such agency, and for other purposes," be amended to read as follows:

"That the Secretary of the Interior may, in his discretion, and he is hereby, authorized to remove the restrictions as to sale, encumbrance, or taxation from all of the allotted lands of any adult allottee of any of the tribes of Indians, including the Modocs, belonging to the Quapaw Indian Agency, in the State of Oklahoma, whenever he shall be satisfied that any Indian allottee is competent to manage his or her affairs, but said lands from which the restrictions have been removed shall not be liable for the satisfaction of any debt contracted prior to the removal of said restrictions by the Secretary."

OREGON.

SEC. 18. For support and civilization of Indians of the Klamath Agency, Oreg., including pay of employees, $6,000.

For support and civilization of the confederated tribes and bands under Warm Springs Agency, Oreg., including pay of employees, $4,000.

For support and civilization of the Indians of the Umatilla Agency, Oreg., including pay of employees, $3,000.

For support and education of 600 Indian pupils, including native pupils brought from Alaska, at the Indian school, Salem, Oreg., including pay of superintendent, $102,000; for general repairs and improvements, $12,500; for remodeling sewer system, $3,000; in all, $117,500.

For support and civilization of Indians at Grande Ronde and Siletz Agencies, Oreg., including pay of employees, $4,000: *Provided*, That section 3 of an act entitled "An act to authorize the sale of certain lands belonging to the Indians of the Siletz Indian Reservation, in the State of Oregon," approved May 13, 1910, be, and the same is hereby, amended by striking out all of said section and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

SEC. 3. That when such lands are surveyed and platted, they shall be appraised and sold, except land reserved for water-power sites as provided in section 2 of this act, under the provisions of the Revised Statutes covering the sale of town sites located on the public domain. That the proceeds derived from the sale of any lands hereunder, after reimbursing the United States for the expense incurred in carrying out the provisions of this act, shall be paid, share and share alike, to the enrolled members of the tribe.

For maintenance and operation of the Modoc Point irrigation system within the Klamath Indian Reservation, in the State of Oregon, $4,740, reimbursable in accordance with the provisions of the act of March 3, 1911.

PENNSYLVANIA.

SEC. 19. For support and education of Indian pupils at the Indian school at Carlisle, Pa., including pay of superintendent, $132,000; for general repairs and improvements, $20,000; in all, $152,000.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

SEC. 20. For support and education of 365 Indian pupils at the Indian school at Flandreau, S. Dak., and for pay of superintendent, $61,500; for general repairs and improvements, $5,000; in all, $66,500: *Provided*, That the unexpended balance of the $10,000 appropriated by the Indian appropriation act approved August 1, 1914, for the repair of buildings and to replace equipment destroyed or damaged by the tornado of June 10, 1914, at the Flandreau Indian School, S. Dak., is hereby made immediately available for expenses incurred for the purpose stated after the tornado and before August 1, 1914, and for a water tank and the purchase of dairy cattle to be used in connection with said school.

For support and education of 250 Indian pupils at the Indian school at Pierre, S. Dak., including pay of superintendent, $43,750; for general repairs and improvements, $5,000; for steel water tank, $2,000; for addition to shop building, $1,000; in all, $51,750.

For support and education of 250 Indian pupils at the Indian school, Rapid City, S. Dak., including pay of superintendent, $48,500; for general repairs and improvements, $5,000; in all, $53,500.

For support of Sioux of different tribes, including Santee Sioux of Nebraska, North Dakota, and South Dakota: For pay of 5 teachers, 1 physician, 1 carpenter, 1 miller, 1 engineer, 2 farmers, and 1 blacksmith (art. 13, treaty of Apr. 29, 1868), $10,400; for pay of second blacksmith, and furnishing iron, steel, and other material (art. 8 of same treaty), $1,600; for pay of additional employees at the several agencies for the Sioux in Nebraska, North Dakota, and South Dakota, $95,000; for subsistence of the Sioux, other than the Rosebud, Cheyenne River, and Standing Rock Tribes, and for purposes of their civilization (act of Feb. 28, 1877), $200,000; in all, $307,000.

For support and maintenance of day and industrial schools among the Sioux Indians, including the erection and repairs of school buildings, $260,000.

For subsistence and civilization of the Yankton Sioux, South Dakota, including pay of employees, $14,000.

For the equipment and maintenance of the asylum for insane Indians at Canton, S. Dak., for incidental and all other expenses necessary for its proper conduct and management, including pay of employees, repairs, improvements, and for necessary expense of transporting insane Indians to and from said asylum, $45,000.

For a proportionate share of the amount required to construct a wagon road or highway through the Standing Rock Indian Reservation in Corson County, S. Dak., from a point on the Missouri River north of Pontis, S. Dak., thence in a northwesterly direction to the town of Tatanka, the sum of $5,000, in accordance with the report of the Secretary of the Interior of December 7, 1914, made in pursuance of the provisions of section 20 of the act entitled "An act making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes, and for other purposes, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915," approved August 1, 1914: *Provided*, That such sum shall be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior in such manner and at such times as he may deem proper, in the employment of Indian labor for the construction of said road or highway, and that the same shall be reimbursable from the Standing Rock Reservation 3 per cent fund under the act of February 14, 1913 (37 Stat. L., p. 675).

UTAH.

SEC. 21. For support and civilization of Confederated Bands of Utes: For pay of 2 carpenters, 2 millers, 2 farmers, and 2 blacksmiths (art. 15, treaty of Mar. 2, 1868), $6,720; for pay of 2 teachers (same article and treaty), $1,800; for purchase of iron and steel and the necessary tools for blacksmith shop (art. 9, same treaty), $220; for annual amount for the purchase of beef, mutton, wheat, flour, beans, and potatoes, or other necessary articles of food and clothing and farming equipment (art. 12, same treaty), $30,000; for pay of employees at the several Ute agencies, $15,000; in all, $53,740.

For the support and civilization of detached Indians in Utah, including pay of employees, $10,000.

The Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to withdraw from the Treasury of the United States, within his discretion, the sum of $150,000 of the principal funds to the credit of the Confederated Bands of Ute Indians and to expend the sum of $50,000 of said amount for the benefit of the Navajo Springs Band of said Indians in Colorado, not to exceed $25,000 of which amount may be used in providing school and hospital facilities among said Indians, and the sum of $100,000 of said amount for the Uintah, White River, and Uncompahgre Bands of Ute Indians in Utah, and the sum of $50,000 of said amount for the Southern Ute Indians in Colorado, which sums shall be charged to said bands, and the Secretary of the Interior is also authorized to withdraw from the Treasury the accrued interest to and including June 30, 1915, on the funds of the said Confederated Bands of Ute Indians appropriated under the act of March 4, 1913 (37 Stat. L., p. 934), and to expend or distribute the same for the purpose of promoting civilization and self-support among the said Indians, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe: *Provided*, That the said Secretary of the Interior shall report to Congress on the first Monday in December, 1916, a detailed statement as to all moneys expended as provided for herein.

To carry into effect the provision of article 9 of the treaty of March 2, 1868 (15 Stat. L., p. 619), with the Confederated Bands of Ute Indians, for furnishing seeds and agricultural implements, the sum of $10,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary.

For continuing the construction of lateral distributing systems to irrigate the allotted lands of the Uncompahgre, Uintah, and White River Utes, in Utah, and to maintain existing irrigation systems, authorized under the act of June 21, 1906, reimbursable as therein provided, $10,000, to remain available until expended.

For a proportionate share of the amount required to construct an interstate wagon road or highway through the Kaibab Indian Reservation, Utah, the sum of $9,000: *Provided*, That such sum shall be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior in such manner and at such times as he may deem proper in the employment of Indian labor for the construction of said road or highway.

WASHINGTON.

SEC. 22. For expenses incident to carrying out provisions of laws of United States applicable to the D'Wamish and allied tribes in Washington, including pay of employees, $7,000.

For support and civilization of the Makahs, including pay of employees, $2,000.

For expenses incident to carrying out the provisions of law of the United States applicable to the Qui-nai-elts and Quil-leh-utes, including pay of employees necessary to such work, $1,000.

For support and civilization of Indians at Colville, Taholah, Puyallup, and Spokane Agencies, including pay of employees, and for purchase of agricultural implements, and support and civilization of Joseph's Band of Nez Perce Indians in Washington, $15,000.

For expenses incident to carrying out the provisions of the laws of the United States applicable to the Indians at Yakima Agency, including pay of employees necessary to such work, $3,000.

For support of Spokanes in Washington (article 6 of agreement with said Indians, dated March 18, 1887, ratified by act of July 13, 1892), $1,000.

For operation and maintenance of the irrigation system on lands allotted to Yakima Indians in Washington, $15,000, reimbursable in accordance with the provisions of the act of March 1, 1907.

For support and education of 350 Indian pupils at the Cushman Indian School, Tacoma, Wash., including repairs and improvements, and for pay of superintendent, $50,000, said appropriation being made to supplement the Puyallup school funds used for said school.

For the second installment of $635,000 to pay for water supply for irrigation of 40 acres of each Indian allotment on the Yakima Indian Reservation irrigation system, in the State of Washington, provided by the act of August 1, 1914 (Public, No. 160), $100,000, to be covered into the reclamation fund (act of August 1, 1914, vol. 38, p. 605, sec. 1).

For construction of a dam across the Yakima River for the diversion and utilization of water provided for 40 acres of each Indian allotment on the Yakima Reservation, Wash., and such other water supply as may be available or acquired for the irrigation of a total of 120,000 acres of allotted Indian land on said reservation, and for beginning the enlargement and extension of the distribution and drainage system on said reservation, $100,000, to be immediately available and to remain available until expended: *Provided*, That the cost of the entire diversion works and distribution and drainage system shall be reimbursable by the owners of the lands irrigable thereunder in not to exceed 20 annual payments, and the Secretary of the Interior may fix operation and maintenance charges which shall be paid as he may direct.

That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized to make an allotment of not more than eight acres of land within the diminished Colville Indian Reservation, in the State of Washington, to Se-cum-ka-nullax in lieu of a portion of the Moses agreement allotment numbered 36 embraced within the homestead entry of Charles M. Hickerson.

That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to accept the homestead proof submitted by Charles M. Hickerson for that part of his homestead embraced within allotment numbered 36 to Se-cum-ka-nullax of Chief Moses's band of Indians if the same is shown to be in compliance with the homestead laws, and the title of said Indian to that part of said allotment embraced within said entry is hereby extinguished.

WISCONSIN.

SEC. 23. For the support and education of 210 Indian pupils at the Indian school at Hayward, Wis., including pay of superintendent, $36,670; for general repairs and improvements, $5,000; in all, $41,670.

For support and education of 250 Indian pupils at the Indian school, Tomah, Wis., including pay of superintendent, $43,450; for general repairs and improvements, $7,500; in all, $50,950.

For support and civilization of the Chippewas of Lake Superior, Wis., including pay of employees, $7,000.

For expenses incident to carrying out provisions of laws of the United States applicable to the Pottawatomie Indians who reside in the State of Wisconsin, including pay of employees, $7,000.

For the support and civilization of that portion of the Wisconsin Band of Pottawatomie Indians residing in the States of Wisconsin and Michigan, and to aid said Indians in establishing homes on the lands purchased for them under the provisions of the act of Congress approved June 30, 1913, $100,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, said sum to be reimbursed to the United States out of the appropriation when made of the principal due as the proportionate share of said Indians in annuities and moneys of the Pottawatomie Tribe in which they have not shared, as set forth in House Document No. 830, Sixtieth Congress, first session, and the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to expend the said sum of $100,000 in the purchase of houses, building material, seed, animals, machinery, tools, implements, and other equipment necessary to enable said Indians to become self-supporting.

Section 3 of the act of March 28, 1908 (35 Stat. L., p. 51), is hereby amended to read:

"That the lumber, lath, shingles, crating, ties, piles, poles, posts, bolts, logs, bark, pulp wood, and other marketable materials obtained from the forests on the Menominee Reservation shall be sold under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe. The net proceeds of the sale of all forest products shall be deposited in the Treasury of the United States to the credit of the Menominee Tribe of Indians. Such proceeds shall bear interest at the rate of 4 per cent per annum, and the interest shall be used for the benefit of such Indians in such manner as the Secretary of the Interior shall prescribe."

For the repair and construction of sidewalks in the village of Odanah within the Bad River Reservation, $1,000, said sum to be reimbursed to the United States from any moneys which are now or which may hereafter be placed to the credit of the Bad River Band of Wisconsin Chippewa Indians.

That there is hereby appropriated the sum of $90,000 for the payment of the members of the Stockbridge and Munsee Tribes of Indians who were enrolled under the act of Congress of March 3, 1893, equal amounts to the amounts paid to the other members of said tribe prior to the enrollment under said act, and such payments be made upon the order of the Secretary of the Interior upon claims being filed with him, showing to his satisfaction that such claimants, or the ancestors of such claimants, were enrolled under the act of March 3, 1893, entitled "An act for the relief of the Stockbridge and Munsee Tribes of Indians of the State of Wisconsin."

That without bias or prejudice to the rights or interest of any party to the litigation hereinafter mentioned, the Secretary of the Interior be, and he hereby is, authorized to sell the timber on the so-called "school lands" and "swamp lands" within the boundaries of the Bad River and Lac du Flambeau Indian Reservations in Wisconsin, and to which the State of Wisconsin has asserted a claim; to keep a separate account of the proceeds of such sale with each legal subdivision of such land, and to deposit the said proceeds at interest in a national bank, bonded for the safe-keeping of individual Indian moneys, to be paid over, together with the interest thereon, to the party who shall finally be adjudged to be the owner of such land: *Provided*, That the consent of the State or parties claiming title therefrom be obtained before any such sale shall be made.

WYOMING.

SEC. 24. For support and civilization of Shoshone Indians in Wyoming, including pay of employees, $15,000.

For support and education of 175 Indian pupils at the Indian school, Shoshone Reservation, Wyo., including pay of superintendent, $31,025; for general repairs and improvements, $5,000; in all, $36,025.

For support of Shoshones in Wyoming: For pay of physician, teacher, carpenter, miller, engineer, farmer, and blacksmith (art. 10, treaty of July 3, 1868), $5,000; for pay of second blacksmith, and such iron and steel and other materials as may be required, as per article 8, same treaty, $1,000; in all, $6,000.

For continuing the work of constructing an irrigation system within the diminished Shoshone or Wind River Reservation, in Wyoming, including the maintenance and operation of completed canals, $25,000, reimbursable in accordance with the provisions of the act of March 3, 1905, and to remain available until expended.

For continuing the work of constructing roads and bridges within the diminished Shoshone or Wind River Reservation, in Wyoming, $15,000, said sum to be reimbursed from any funds which are now or may hereafter be placed in the Treasury to the credit of said Indians.

For repairs at the old abandoned military post of Fort Washakie, on the Wind River Reservation, Wyo., $881.66 from the amount heretofore collected as rentals of buildings at said post.

For extension, enlargement, and construction of the Le Clair and Riverton ditches for the irrigation of Indian allotments and land in private ownership on the north side of the Big Wind River, Wind River Reservation, Wyo., reimbursable as provided by section 1 of the act of August 1, 1914, $45,000, to be immediately available and to remain available until expended.

SEC. 25. Section 26 of the Indian appropriation act of June 30, 1913 (38 Stat. L., p. 103), is hereby repealed.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD W. SAUNDERS,

OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. SAUNDERS. Mr. Speaker, I am profoundly convinced that the greatest blunder of the Sixty-third Congress has been its failure to deal effectively with the great subject of rural credit—and give the farmers both farm mortgage, as well as personal credit legislation. In part this failure is due to the fact that we have occupied too much time in the discussion of measures of doubtful value. One further explanation of this failure may be traced to the method of investigation pursued by the numerous investigating bodies created by this Congress.

Under the head of the proper method of investigating this intricate subject I desire to direct attention to four resolutions which have recently been introduced. One is Senate joint resolution 232 introduced in the Senate by the junior Senator from Texas [Mr. SHEPPARD], and House joint resolutions 416, 417 and 430 introduced in this House, respectively, by the gentlemen from Mississippi [Mr. CANDLER], from Kansas [Mr. DOOLITTLE], and from North Dakota [Mr. HELGESEN]. Each provides for the creation of a commission to conduct hearings during vacation on such personal rural credit bills as may be presented by experts selected by the farmers themselves. Each of these experts will be given the right to present the merits of the bill preferred by him, and point out the defects of the bills which he opposes.

Assuredly we can not take the position that all wisdom on this subject, rests with the Members of this House. Nor do I believe that the Members of any rural credit investigating body in Congress can feel the same interest in this subject, as do the farmers themselves, otherwise some form of personal rural credit bill would have been presented long ago.

The time will never come when clerks will take the same interest in any business, as do the proprietors. Nor do I hesitate to say that my constituents could select an expert to represent them before such a commission who would be much preferred by them to any selection that I could make. Hence I am not only willing, but anxious, to meet their wishes in this respect by creating a tribunal before which they may appear with their own experts, and establish the justice of their own claims in this respect.

The four resolutions referred to have only recently been introduced, but the judicial investigation of this subject for which they provide is not new. During the previous session of this Congress several hundred of my constituents have forwarded to me petitions which have been presented to Congress praying for such an investigation. In this connection I present a copy of the petition of the farm press, which was signed by the editors of many of the most prominent agricultural journals of the country:

DEAR SIR: We, the undersigned representatives of the rural press, would respectfully call your attention to the necessity for rural personal credit legislation. We are earnestly of the opinion that farm mortgages alone will not meet the needs of rural finance, no matter how good the land-mortgage system may be. Of the two, personal credit is needed the more.

No personal credit bill is even pending, so far as we know, to say nothing of being pressed for passage. None of the commissions or committees has drafted a bill on this subject, and the only one to which our attention has been directed is the one drafted by Mr. R. C. Milliken, which has been printed for the use of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee.

We feel that the country needs more light on this subject, and we believe that if a committee of your body, or perhaps a joint committee of both bodies, were appointed to conduct hearings on the bill drawn by Mr. Milliken and a monetary expert who is thoroughly familiar with its provisions, and the objects to be obtained through it were employed to aid the committee in proving it up, it would be conducive of good results, especially so if all the interests affected by it were also permitted to appear before the committee by experts and oppose it. This would be in the nature of a trial by court, where the parties at interest are presented by counsel of their own selection; and experience has never shown a better method of establishing the truth.

We would respectfully ask, therefore, that you use your good offices for the appointment of such committee and employment of Mr. Milliken to aid it in establishing the merits of that bill. We might suggest that it might be well for the chairman of the committee to notify the presidents of the American Bankers' Association, the State Banking Commissioners' Association, the State Insurance Commissioners' Association, and the Association of Life Insurance Presidents of their privilege to appear before the committee, either in person or by such monetary expert, actuary, or other representative as they may select, who would be accorded the same rights and privileges as accorded by the committee to the monetary expert for the proponent.

Respectfully, yours,

——— ———.

The petitions of my constituents commenting on the petition of the editors of the agricultural journals will also be appropriate for insertion at this point, and are in the following form:

To the Congress of the United States:

We, the undersigned farmer citizens of the United States, pray that the requests contained in the farm press petition asking for a special committee to investigate the personal rural credit bill drafted by Mr. R. C. Milliken be appointed and employment of its author to appear and prove up its merits. The system of personal rural credit is not an untried experiment, for nearly every country in Europe has enjoyed the benefits of the same for years. So the only thing for us to do is to adapt the principles underlying the success of those systems to meet the conditions in this country.

There has been four rural credit investigating bodies established by Congress during the past two years, and, as not one of them has reported a bill for personal farm credit, are we not justified in concluding that the fault may lie in the investigating machinery? We believe the function of a congressional committee to investigate a purely scientific question, like credit, is judicial rather than legislative; and, being judicial, its machinery should comport with that of other judicial bodies which provide that the interested parties may appear by expert representatives and establish the justice of their contentions.

Therefore we earnestly pray that Congress at the present session grant the requests of that farm press petition, so that the investigation may be held during vacation and a report made at the next session, and thus enable the country to have this legislation from the Sixty-third Congress.

The requests contained in these petitions are so fair and so just that I do not see how this body can afford to ignore them. They offer an appropriate solution for this vexed problem. I am in hearty accord with the principle therein announced, that the function of a congressional committee to investigate a purely scientific question like this is judicial, and not legislative, and being judicial in character its machinery should conform to that of other judicial bodies by providing that the interested parties may appear by expert representatives of their own selection before a tribunal of impartial Government officials, and establish the justice of their own contentions.

This method of investigation not only appeals to my judgment as being fair and sound, but I believe in it from a moral standpoint. I have bankers as well as farmers among my constituents, as have many other gentlemen on this floor. These bankers are now engaged in the sale of credit for a profit, they have considerable capital invested in that business; and the farmers claim that in most European countries, productive credit is sold by farmers on the cooperative basis,—not for a profit, but as an aid to agriculture,—and where this credit is so sold, interest rates are lower than among the farmers of this country, and agriculture is on a more profitable basis than with us. Hence if we create a tribunal before which these two selfish interests may appear, and present their respective contentions, we will not be charged with representing any special interest. I maintain therefore that every Member of this body should support these resolutions from a moral standpoint alone.

Section 2 of the Sheppard and Candler-Doolittle-Helgesen resolutions reads as follows:

SEC. 2. That such subcommittee or investigating body, which is hereinafter referred to as the commission, shall hold its hearings and investigations in such manner that will permit persons who, in the commission's opinion, have sufficient authoritative backing to present bills for a personal rural-credit system in the United States to the commission and appear before them by experts of their own selection to establish the merits of their respective bills and to disprove any provisions contained in bills not presented by themselves. The commission shall notify at least one leading representative of every interest affected by such bills, including the president of the American Bankers' Association, of his privilege to appear before the commission by an expert of his own selection and to advocate or oppose any bill presented, who shall enjoy the same rights and privileges before the commission as the experts of the proponents.

Under that section one group of farmers may appear before that commission by an expert with a personal rural-credit bill embodying the German system; another group with a bill embodying the Belgian system; another the French system, and still another group may appear with a bill embodying a blend of all those systems. Each expert would be specially interested in establishing the merits of his particular proposition, and pointing out the defects of the other bills, while the members of the commission would sit as a court to confine the experts to the issues, and not permit them to ramble. Each expert would see to it that the evidence introduced by the other experts was authentic, and relevant to the issues, and would seek to test the credibility of the witnesses introduced by the opposition. In addition to the farmers' experts, there would be the experts of the bankers and investing classes in the event they sought to avail themselves of the privilege extended by the resolutions. Should the experts of the latter class fail to come before the commission, this would in no wise reduce its power or hinder a full disposition of the subject matter.

In order to fully appreciate the force and effect of this method of investigating a scientific subject, it is well to consider the present prevailing practice in making such investigations. As a rule the chairman selects the witnesses to testify, and becomes their principal interrogator. He is allowed an appropriation so as to enable him to secure the aid and services of an expert, but no opposing view may be presented by an expert, with the right to cross-examine the witnesses introduced by the committee. This system does not admit of the fullest and most dispassionate investigation of a subject matter. Hence the request for such an investigating body as is provided for in the Sheppard resolution.

One of the first acts of this Congress two years ago was to create a United States commission to study rural credits abroad. A Member of this House [Mr. Moss] and two Members of the Senate [Senators FLETCHER and GORE] were on that commission. They reported a land-mortgage bill, and said that they believed that personal rural credit could "best be enacted by the various State legislatures." Their land-mortgage bill was referred to subcommittees composed of members of the Banking and Currency Committees of the two bodies. After a long investigation they respectively reported bills. These two bills are as wide apart as the poles, and the members of the commission, and the two subcommittees are at such loggerheads that it has been impossible for us to secure any legislation on land mortgages from this Congress. I believe the best solution of the land-mortgage subject would be to extend the scope of the Sheppard and Candler-Doolittle-Helgesen resolutions so as to embrace land-mortgage bills and require the authors of the above bills to appear before the proposed commission, and submit their bills to the test provided under these resolutions. Another thing which may be said in favor of these resolutions is the small appropriation asked for, only $9,000.

When my constituents began to send me petitions praying Congress to create a special committee to hold hearings on this subject of rural credits, I saw at once from the number and character of the writers that they were much interested along this line. The farmers are not asking anything unreasonable in this matter. They are not asking anything that will be to the prejudice of business, or of the common weal. They are asking for an opportunity for the full development of a system of vital interest to them, and therefore of vital interest to the whole country. They propose to play their hands upon the table, and submit the personal rural credit plan to the most searching investigation and the most remorseless inquiry. If the plan is unworkable, and indefensible it will break down when subjected to such an inquiry and investigation. But by all means afford the opportunity at least for inquiry into the merits of this plan by the establishment of the commission proposed in the resolution of the Senator from Texas.

Fortifications Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM KETTNER,
OF CALIFORNIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. KETTNER. Mr. Speaker, shortly after my election to the Congress of the United States my attention was called to numerous Government projects along the Pacific coast that seemed to require special attention.

Among these was the question of the coast defense at San Diego. Through the courtesy of the commanding officer at Fort Rosecrans I was permitted to go through the fortifications.

Fort Rosecrans is a part of Point Loma, a promontory extending some miles into the ocean and forming the entrance to San Diego Bay. The fortifications already there are located on the southeastern slope, and the four 10-inch disappearing guns which form the principal item of the defense are arranged so that they command the entrance to the channel and all approaches from the south; but on the west and north a gunboat could stand off the coast and shell the city of San Diego. At the same time troops could be landed anywhere along the coast from the Point to Pacific Beach, a distance of perhaps 9 miles.

I took this matter up with the department, and Gen. Weaver in his report two years ago mentioned the fact that San Diego should be better protected. However, there was no provision made in the department budget for that year. Subsequently I again went over this matter in the department, calling attention to the growing importance of San Diego and its important position from an Army and Navy standpoint. A further investiga-

tion was made, with the result that the present fortifications bill carries $335,000 to provide for mortar batteries at San Diego.

As far back as 1896 preliminary steps were taken to fortify this point. Surveys were ordered, but no work of importance was undertaken. Some 10 years later the Endicott Board included San Diego in a list of some 25 forts for which extensive fortifications were recommended. Now San Diego is a city of some 100,000, is the first port of call in the United States north of the Panama Canal, and would naturally be a point of attack, as it would be an excellent base of supplies, and the harbor is extensive—sufficiently large to accommodate any battleship fleet that might be operating on the Pacific coast.

The people of San Diego have tried for years to cooperate in every way possible in order to bring about the extension of fortifications, and it is a pleasure to be able to assure them that the department and the Congress have recognized the justice of their representations and requests.

In reading the report of the hearings before the subcommittee I was impressed with the fact that even now the department is not unanimous as to the importance of these much-needed improvements. However, the exposition in San Diego will surely attract a great number of our Senators and Representatives, and we hope to be able to impress upon them our strategic importance and our defenseless condition, and I am sure a few years will see the necessary work accomplished to fully protect this city and harbor.

The Ship Purchase Bill.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM ALDEN SMITH,

OF MICHIGAN.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Saturday, January 30, and Monday, February 1 (legislative day of Tuesday, January 26), 1915.

The Senate had under consideration the bill (S. 6856) to authorize the United States, acting through a shipping board, to subscribe to the capital stock of a corporation to be organized under the laws of the United States or of a State thereof or of the District of Columbia to purchase, construct, equip, maintain, and operate merchant vessels in the foreign trade of the United States, and for other purposes.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, we have listened for the last hour to an address prepared by my honored friend, the senior Senator from California. When I first knew him here he was a man of heroic mold, magnificent physique, clear-headed, big hearted, an earnest, honest, manly man. His form has been somewhat tempered by time, but this address this afternoon gives evidence that his brain has not been in any degree affected by the storms of physical adversity which he has encountered.

Mr. President, I want to say here, in the evening of his long and useful career which is about to close, that there has been no more faithful, painstaking, patriotic public servant in the councils of this Nation than Hon. GEORGE C. PERKINS, of California, who will soon retire to private life with his well-won laurels thick upon him. It is not age alone that has left its indelible imprint upon him, but his feeble step and bent form may be attributed to his consistent earnestness and fidelity in the performance of his public duty. During 22 years of public service here the senior Senator from California has not missed 22 days. Whenever Congress was in session Senator PERKINS's presence could be confidently counted upon by his colleagues.

I know that I express the feeling of admiration of all Senators on both sides of the Chamber who are present this afternoon upon this final—no; I hope not final, but this last utterance of this sagacious, manly, and noble man, and that in the retirement which he has voluntarily chosen he may take with him to his home in California the good wishes and the deep affection of every Senator in this body, whether upon the other side of the Chamber or upon this.

Do not feel, dear Senator, that your days of usefulness have passed.

Chaucer, at Woodstock with the nightingales, at 70 wrote the Canterbury Tales. Goethe, at Weimar, toiling to the last, completed Faust when 80 years were passed.

These are indeed exceptions, but they go to show how far the gulf stream of our youth may flow into the arctic river of our lives.

Where nothing else than life itself survives—

> But as the evening twilight fades away
> The sky is filled with stars invisible by day.

So, my honored friend, in the very evening of your life, in the plenitude of your mental strength, I hope that your sky may be filled with brilliant stars, radiant with your happy and cheerful spirit, and that the twilight of your life may long linger as the sweetest and the most delightful period in your long years of public and private usefulness.

Mr. President, I have been moved to say this because I have sat beside this kindly man ever since I have been a Member of this body. During the long vigils of the night, when earnest work crowds thick upon us, I do not recall an hour when he has not been at his post of duty.

I know something about the people of California. My father and my brother and my sister sleep the long sleep in its soil, and my noble mother and loved sister still breathe its clear, pure air.

I know how the people in your State feel toward you, sir, and I candidly believe that had it not been your own desire, even in your weakened physical state, they would have attested their affection again by a renewal of your commission and sent you back to a seat which, even to the minutest detail, you have never dishonored.

Mr. President, I have just been reading the veto message of the President of the United States on the immigration bill. There are two or three sentences in it which seem to me especially appropriate in the consideration of the bill now before the Senate. On page 4 of that message the President says:

> If the people of this country have made up their minds to limit the number of immigrants by arbitrary tests and so reverse the policy of all the generations of Americans that have gone before them, it is their right to do so. I am their servant and have no license to stand in their way. But I do not believe that they have. I respectfully submit that no one can quote their mandate to that effect. Has any political party ever avowed a policy of restriction in this fundamental matter, gone to the country on it, and been commissioned to control its legislation? Does this bill rest upon the conscious and universal assent and desire of the American people? I doubt it. It is because I doubt it that I make bold to dissent from it. I am willing to abide by the verdict, but not until it has been rendered. Let the platforms of parties speak out upon this policy and the people pronounce their wish. The matter is too fundamental to be settled otherwise.

If a Senator rises in his place on this side of the Chamber and gives expression to exactly that view concerning a bill now pending before the Senate, he is accused of filibustering. If a Senator has the audacity to say that no political party has ever declared itself upon the question of the proposed ship-purchase bill, some one on the other side of the Chamber will say that they represent the latest expression of public opinion of the country. Well, Mr. President, let us see about that. President Wilson, for whom I had great admiration as a private citizen, says in his book, The New Freedom:

> No group of men less than the majority has a right to tell me how I have got to live in America. I submit to the majority because I have been trained to do it. The singular thing about the people of the United States is their almost infinite patience, their willingness to stand quietly by and see things done which they have voted against and do not want done, and yet never lay the hand of disorder upon any arrangement of government.

He says that he believes in majority government. I do not question his veracity; but does he believe in majority government, with all due respect to his utterances while an author and before he became a public official. I will tell you why he does not believe in majority rule. In 1912, 6,293,019 votes were cast for President Wilson and a "tariff for revenue only." The same year 7,604,463 votes were cast for "protection to American industry and labor." If he believes in majority rule, with what audacity did he convene Congress for the purpose of setting aside a law for which the people of this country had in the last election by a preponderance of the votes declared?

Now, to be a little more specific—

> The minority is telling us what we shall do—

Said Mr. Wilson, the author. We are standing patiently by and seeing things done that the majority voted down and do not want. In 1912, 14 States, by a majority vote, chose Wilson and Marshall and a tariff for revenue only. Please remember the figures, because it has an important bearing upon some figures which I shall quote in a moment. In the election in 1912, 14 States, only by a majority vote, chose Wilson and Marshall for President and Vice President of the United States and pronounced in favor of a "tariff for revenue only." In the same year 34 States cast a majority vote against Wilson and Marshall and declared full protection for American industry and labor.

Does the President believe in majority rule? Why did he not respect it? In 1912, 14 States only declared for revenue reform and the Democratic ticket by a majority vote, while 34

States branded the fallacy of free trade with the branding iron or repudiation, and proclaimed themselves in favor of protection to American industry and labor.

Lest there be some confusion about these figures, which I hope may be remembered, I desire to enumerate the States. The States standing for protection to American industry and labor by a majority vote in 1912 were California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Vermont, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming—34 States without the least particle of sympathy with the revenue-tariff policy of the Democratic Party.

Now, let us see what States favored free trade and gave a majority vote for Wilson and Marshall. According to the census of 1910, the States in which a majority vote was cast for protection had a population of 64,993,653. One vote was cast for every 5½ persons. The population of the States declaring for free trade or tariff for revenue only and for President Wilson by a majority vote was 20,542,348, and one vote was cast for every 12½ persons.

Was the President sincere when he made his statement as a private citizen and an author that nothing less than a majority of the people could control him? If so, why did he convene Congress in extraordinary session to take advantage of the mere accident of this election as President of the Republic?

Mr. President, it is historical—and he, being a historian, will probably enjoy the comparison—that when he convened Congress in extraordinary session to revise the tariff in accordance with the will of a minority of the States of the Union and a minority of the popular vote of the country, he did violence to the settled industrial policy of this Government. When he signed the law, which he drove through Congress at the point of the bayonet, he signed it, he says, upon the advice of the Attorney General of the United States at 9 o'clock and 25 minutes in the evening, in order that the business of the country might not be disturbed thereby. Think of passing a law the effect of which was to be so detrimental to the country that the President was obliged to withhold his signature to the bill until all places of business had closed from New York to San Francisco!

I wish he could have known the history of previous tariff bills. I had the pleasure of having a small part in the House of Representatives of assisting in the burial of the last Wilson free-trade law nearly 18 years ago, and that law was as disappointing and unsuccessful as the present tariff. When President McKinley signed the Dingley tariff bill, he did not wait until all the business houses in the country were closed from ocean to ocean in order not to disturb commerce and industry; he signed it in the morning so that languishing industry and unemployed labor might take new hope for the day, and how it responded to his magnetic touch history amply reveals, while the great McKinley was reelected as a just tribute to his patriotism and wisdom. But the present President of the United States, who does not come within a million and a half votes of representing a majority of the American people and who only carried a minority of the States, waited until the darkness of night hovered over every industry of the country, until the lamps were out and labor off its guard, when, under the advice of his Attorney General, he took his pen and made valid this demoralizing law.

I do not think we have had a President—I know we have not since I have been in public life, and I have been here 20 years—I do not think we have ever had a President who was so hopeful with so little cause as our present honored Chief Executive. From the day he signed that bill he has hourly proclaimed himself the advance agent of prosperity, and yet, notwithstanding his delusion, prosperity is not here, and it will not return until protection is restored as a settled national policy.

When President Wilson came into office our factories were humming with the rattle of busy looms; our forges glowed with furnace fires; the ports of our commerce stirred with the pulses of enlarged trade; and improvements in city, town, and hamlet were adding to the beauty and utility of the land. To-day, after a year and a half of theoretical experimentation by our Democratic friends, the factories are idle, men are unemployed, the Treasury is fast becoming bankrupt, capital is discouraged, Castle Garden, formerly the throne room of our alien citizenship, has been turned from an immigrant station into a soup house; there are no immigrants coming for they can not get any work to do, and there are millions of our own citizens in idleness.

I could, if I were so disposed, read a story of want and misery and woe from every part of our country. I have just returned from California, which prospered so greatly under protection and whose people were happy and contented; now they are discouraged and demoralized in nearly every department of industrial enterprise, while Congress spends the larger proportion of its time in building strait-jackets for business men and fastening new burdens upon them.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield for a question, of course.

Mr. WALSH. Is the Senator able to state any evidence of such a condition in my State?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I think, if the Senator will honor me by his presence for a while, I will give him some figures that may interest him. I dislike to anticipate his desire too promptly.

Mr. WALSH. I will be glad to have the Senator answer the question in his own time.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Let me see what I have here. Here is a review, written on the 16th day of January, 1915, by George C. Potter, a prominent business man of Jamestown, N. Y., of R. G. Dun & Co.'s reports:

JANUARY 16, 1915.

DUN'S REVIEW,
R. G. DUN & CO.,
New York City.

GENTLEMEN: Our firm has been a subscriber to R. G. Dun & Co. for over a quarter of a century and to the Review since its first issue. We are always much interested in the annual number.

In the issue just received, dated January 9, you show that the expansion in business during 1913 and 1914 has been one of record-breaking mortality, with more failures in both years than ever occurred before in our history. You also say:

"This in a measure was traceable to the effects of the European war, which accentuated the depression in trade and exerted a particularly unfavorable influence on conditions in the South."

You refer, of course, to the cotton States and the collapse of cotton prices; but upon analyzing the figures, it appears that the increase of failures in all these States combined—North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Louisiana, and Texas—is only about 500, while in the three Middle Atlantic States—New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania—the increase was about 700.

Of the Southern States, Florida shows the largest increase—404 failures in 1914, against 183 in 1913—but Florida can hardly be classed as a cotton State; and if the balance of the country was prosperous the luxuries grown in Florida, such as fruits and early vegetables, would find ready sale at good prices. Oranges and grapefruit have not been bringing enough on the New York market to pay for the boxes and transportation, and this, no doubt, accounts for much of Florida's business mortality.

That is the home of our honored friend from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER], who is the sponsor for this bill.

Does anybody deny that on the other side of the Chamber? Come on, you champions of free trade and low tariff, you happy-hearted, cheerful Democrats, who in a measure are responsible for the present condition of the country. Let some of you rise and deny these figures. Gloom, nothing but gloom, pervades the Chamber—gloom on that side that they should have committed such a folly, and gloom upon this side that we have got to "watchfully wait" for two years longer.

My friend from Florida did not hear these figures. I am going to give him one or two, just for his own information. I will press on, however, at this point, as I do not want to delay the consummation of this fifth folly of the administration, and this is pressed in the face of a deficit of one hundred millions per year.

Oh, how beautiful your theory of free trade and foreign trade, which you have brilliantly painted from political platforms for generations, yet which for a half century you have had but two opportunities to exemplify, and both have signally failed! Ever since you passed that law, and changed our trade balance, and discharged men from their employments, and caused panics and failures, you have been trying to find some diagnosis sufficiently scientific to distract the country's attention from the real cause.

My, what a record!

In some way that name seems to be attached to our most supreme follies.

Nobody here can deny these figures.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, may I interrupt the Senator for a question?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. To be sure.

Mr. FLETCHER. He seems to be inviting some sort of response on this side; but I can not see what the tariff has to do with this shipping bill.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. It has everything to do with it. Money raised from customs is to be used to buy ships. You just sweep from one folly to another without continuity of thought.

Mr. FLETCHER. If the Senator will allow me to finish my question, I will proceed.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, certainly. I respect my honored friend from Florida very highly.

Mr. FLETCHER. As I have understood, the Senator's view all along has been that what the American manufacturer wanted was the home market, and that what he complained about was the introduction into this country of goods to compete with his; and that if those goods were not permitted to come in as liberally as it is claimed they would come in under a Democratic tariff bill, labor would be better off, and our industries would prosper. How is it, now, that when the effect of this world-wide war is practically to build a wall around the United States, there happens to be so much gloom, when the very highest type of protection is afforded by conditions over which we have no control?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. If anybody on that side of the Chamber had asked that question but the Senator from Florida, I do not think I would stop to answer it; but the Senator from Florida is a business man, and he has business sense. When I tell him that the failures in his own State have been greater, the mortality of business life has been greater, than in any of the preceding years—and I have demonstrated it here by figures which can not be denied—and the Senator rises to say that a temporary restraint in importations, due to a condition of affairs in which we have not had the slightest influence, should be a sufficient stimulus for the American business man to engage in new enterprise, it is the height of folly.

I will say to the Senator from Florida that I have had the pleasure of visiting the little Kingdom of Holland, which is below the sea; but those sturdy Dutchmen pushed back the sea and planted a garden where old Neptune was formerly monarch, and they built the dikes around that Kingdom to keep out the sea. There has not been a year since the dikes were first built that the Government of Holland has not made an appropriation to build them higher, and yet for more than a quarter of a century water has not imperiled the Kingdom. You ask the Queen of the Netherlands why she is so solicitous about the dikes, and she will tell you that her people realize the constant danger they are in from inundation, and while the dikes stand the menace is minimized. It is a crime to bore through the dikes of Holland. They keep them up because they want to give permanent assurance to their labor and their capital that their business and their employment and their home life will not be disturbed by the rising tide. I suppose if the honorable Senator from Florida were the head of the Netherlands Kingdom and no tide happened to sweep over its banks, he would stop the appropriations and refuse to keep the dikes intact. We can not tell how long this war may last. We had no part in starting it, but months before it started the business men of this country were upon the rocks. You have used the war as a subterfuge to blind the people against the real causes of our business depression, and now you talk about the war being a protective wall!

Will the Senator from Florida put a dollar in the sugar business of this country to-day? The war protects it, and your party has struck it down. Sugar is bringing a good price. Will the Senator from Florida invest in stock in any sugar company? I know where he can get it at less than 50 cents on the dollar, because there is no permanence in the protection which the war affords and your party has exposed the industry to absolute free trade.

I said a few moments ago, and I am going to repeat it for his benefit, that R. G. Dun & Co. report that of the Southern States Florida shows the largest increase in failures last year—404 failures in 1914 against 183 failures in 1913:

> Florida can hardly be classed as a cotton State; yet, if the balance of the country was prosperous, the luxuries grown in Florida, such as fruits and early vegetables, would find ready sale at good prices. Oranges and grapefruit have not been bringing enough in the New York market to pay for the boxes and transportation. This no doubt accounts for Florida's awful business mortality.

Does the Senator from Florida deny that such a condition of affairs is entirely unsatisfactory to the people of Florida? I have heard the honored Senator plead in this Chamber for protection for his industries, Democrat though he is. He is a very good protectionist for the industries of Florida, but he is a better party man than he is a protectionist, and to present a solid party front in favor of this demoralizing low-tariff policy he abandoned the industries of his own State, and the record of R. G. Dun & Co. shows the result more strikingly than I could do—a rate of mortality in the business of Florida that is positively appalling.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, may I interrupt the Senator for just a moment?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Certainly; I yield to the Senator from Florida.

Mr. FLETCHER. It is true perhaps—I have not had occasion to inquire into the matter—that the increase in the failures in Florida has been considerable in the past year. That does not necessarily mean that the failures have been very numerous. It may mean that in previous years they were very rare. The increase may be great, and still not show a very depressing condition. It is true, on the other hand, that Florida has suffered severely on account of the war. It is true that Florida produces one-third of the long-staple or sea-island cotton of the country. She also produces quite a considerable amount of the short-staple cotton; and cotton, as we know, has suffered on account of its depending largely on the foreign markets for realizing a profit. It is true that one of her chief industries, also, is naval stores, producing something like $20,000,000 per annum, and the naval-stores market is——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, in yielding for a question I do not yield the floor. The President will, of course, protect my right to proceed, after the Senator from Florida finishes his question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Nothing has occurred to deprive the Senator from Michigan of the right to the floor, and nothing will occur as long as he yields for a question.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield for a question only; although it is rather elaborate, I want to answer it.

Mr. FLETCHER. I understood the Senator to put the matter in such a shape that an answer was really called for, and I am attempting to answer by way of an inquiry, and, of course, without depriving him of any of his rights to the floor.

I was proceeding to respond to the Senator's suggestion in regard to the depressed conditions in my own State. I had gone so far as naval stores, which also depend upon a foreign market and which in Florida amount to something like $20,000,000 per annum ordinarily. The largest naval stores producing State in the country is Florida.

Another great industry in Florida is the phosphate industry. It produces some 78 per cent of all the phosphate produced in this country and over half of all produced in the world. The rates of freight from the ports of Florida to Rotterdam, a neutral port, have gone from $2.80 per ton this time last year to $10.80 per ton, practically prohibitive, so they can not move the phosphate at all at present.

These three great industries are crippled under these circumstances, temporarily only, because Florida has passed through some disasters in the past and she has never yet been discouraged. She lost in one awful night, like the going out of an electric light, over a hundred million dollars in orange groves; but she recovered from all that, and she will recover from this condition. However, I mention these facts by way of responding to the Senator's suggestion as to the conditions in a business way in that State, and I think the Senator will admit that those circumstances form some just explanation of the conditions.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, I appreciate the rejoinder of the Senator from Florida; he has come to the defense of his State as I expected him to do. I do not want the people of Florida to be discouraged. How long they will continue to support Democratic policies I do not know. The rate of mortality business runs pretty high in Florida, much higher than in the cotton States, who are also discouraged. In fact, I think I can see signs of encouragement. Utopian dreams of two years ago will soon wear off, and political changes now foreshadowed will bring about more favorable business conditions.

I was quoting, however, from this R. G. Dun report before the European war began. It staggered me when I saw that Florida was in that situation, although I know that other States that raise luxuries are suffering the same way. California, most unprosperous and unhappy condition. I actually know of my own accord that the laboring men of California are driven to desperation owing to lack of employment; that serious plans have been contemplated for great public work that labor may be relieved of its embarrassment.

Mr. President, if we will be honest with ourselves we will all admit that these conditions are not overdrawn. This is not an imaginary painting. It is the plain, blunt truth. You can not save people with daily proclamations of prosperity, whether they come from the White House or from any other source. You have got to give them employment, and that has been denied them under this new tariff law.

The Democratic Party are responsible for a good many vagaries and impracticable plans; but they were most unfortunate in imagining that they had received a commission from the majority of the American people to overturn our fiscal affairs and then proceed to put a majority of the American people out of employment.

When President Wilson took the oath of office in the portico of this Capitol every fourth person in the Republic had a bank

account to his credit. More than 25,000,000 people had money in the banks. Does anybody deny that? I am afraid you did not quite catch it on the other side. I say, when President Wilson took the oath of office in the east portico of this Capitol every fourth man in the Republic had a bank account—money to his credit. You scattered labor to the four winds of heaven. You have driven them from their habitations and their employments into strange parts of the country seeking work. How proud you must be over your achievements.

Proclamations from the White House do not buy meat, potatoes, butter, and eggs. The country can not feed itself very long on figures of speech, no matter how refined it may be.

And I repeat that your party imagined it held a roving commission from the electorate to destroy at will the safeguards of American industry, and you are now trying to enact this bill by force of numbers, not reason, although you have no mandate from a majority of the people of the United States to thus change the course of the ship of state.

Oh, how I wish the President would take some of his own advice. Listen to what he says in his last veto message:

> Let the platforms of parties speak out upon this policy and the people pronounce their wish. The matter is too fundamental to be settled otherwise.

Let the platforms of parties speak out upon the question of our abandonment of a policy of government which for more than a century has lain upon the very heart of the Republic. Let party platforms speak out. Then it will be time enough to determine whether we are all socialists and in favor of Government ownership of merchant ships.

But 6,000,000 people declared for free trade at the last presidential election; 1 for every 12½ persons voted in the South. Sixty-four million people declared for protection and against free trade, while on the popular vote for President in 1912 the Democrats lacked a million and a half votes of having a majority mandate from the American people for free trade. Wreck, ruin, disaster, disappointment, and failures have testified to the unwisdom of their policy from the very hour the bill was signed by President Wilson up to this minute. If you think the American people do not understand that it was your folly and not the European war that created this havoc in the country, you are mistaken.

Mr. BRISTOW. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WALSH in the chair). Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Kansas?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield for a question.

Mr. BRISTOW. Referring to the late veto message wherein the President assumes that the immigration bill has not been passed upon by the American people, and therefore he did not permit it to become a law, does not the Senator from Michigan think it would be a good thing to have this pending measure submitted to the American people for them to pass on?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes, Mr. President; that is a fair question. The architects of our Government were very wise men, sagacious and farsighted; they planned our Government in such a manner that its destinies would be controlled by party organizations; but there were some things they lodged so securely in its foundation that even parties could not profane them.

Most of the follies that have been suggested in government for a hundred years have been broken at the doorway of party organizations. The Democratic Party was convinced in a moment of moral lapsus that free silver was a good thing. They regretted it later, and willingly let our party extricate them from danger; and I do not care how persistent or able that old element of the Democratic Party may be in the future, they will never again commit that party to such a folly. Republican courage and the temperate wisdom of the voter saved the Government from repudiation in 1896, but the unwise leadership of Mr. Bryan still hangs like a loadstone about the neck of Democracy, and new ills are borne through his tutelage every minute. This is one of his fancy figures; and if defeated now, will be promptly interred beside his free-silver baby.

So, in answering the honored Senator from Kansas, I am not quite sure that even this is ripe enough to submit; caucuses have been hopelessly divided on it; it is an entering wedge. If the folly were temporary and would stop with the purchase of a few vessels for ocean commerce, we upon this side of the Chamber might not feel so bad about it; but it is the forerunner of errors so numerous and far-reaching that we ought to pause and seriously consider it before even taking it to the voters of the Nation on a referendum. But if my honored friend from Kansas, whose sense and sagacity all his colleagues appreciate, would propose a referendum of this bill, we could at least have the consolation of knowing that the American people have been taken into the confidence of the administration before pledging itself to a doctrine so radical and ill considered.

Mr. BRISTOW. Will the Senator yield further for an interrogatory?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Certainly.

Mr. BRISTOW. I appreciate the difficulties in a direct referendum, but does not the Senator think that it is always advisable to test public opinion to a greater or less degree in regard to given legislation by giving the American people an opportunity to study and reflect upon things that are new and unusual and of vast moment? If this bill could go over for two or three months, in the course of time vacancies occur in congressional districts, and would not the Senator be willing to test the merits of this legislation in almost any congressional district in the United States where public opinion prevails?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, unhesitatingly; yes.

What they are trying to do, if I may say it to my honored friend, is not to accomplish things of permanent value to our country—they are flitting around, trying to distract public attention from the vital weakness of their political principles. They try first one thing and then another—remedies, remedies, unexhausted remedies—they are not good diagnosticians. First, the people were to get a living at a lower cost by this new tariff law. Lo and behold, they have not got money enough under it to get a living at any cost! Then the President and his followers thought that there was not money enough in the country, though there was more currency in the country than there had ever been before in the history of our Government. Over three billions of money was circulating freely and interchangeably throughout the country at par; yet he thought that the necessity existed for more money, and every effort has been made to expand the currency and stimulate enterprises by flushing the channels of commerce with easy money. Our opponents overlook the fact that it is not currency, but confidence, that is lacking. It has always been so when Democracy is in power. Menacing meddlers destroy business initiative and arrest development. From the day they took the reigns of Government in their hands doubt and hesitation hung like a pall over our industries, while fruitless investigations have terrorized business men.

How well I remember eight years ago standing in my place near where the Senator from Kansas [Mr. BRISTOW] is now sitting. I heard the Aldrich-Vreeland bill advocated, and I saw it generally antagonized from the other side of the Chamber. I do not recall anybody over there who favored it. They denounced it as a measure giving favors to the bankers. I gave some attention to that bill when it was before the Senate. It contained a provision under which emergency currency could be issued on railroad bonds of a certain class. I struck the first blow at that provision, not because I did not think the railroad bonds would be good security, but I knew that, if one class of those securities were made available for emergency funds out of the Treasury and another not, such discrimination would affect vitally the value of American railroad securities. Every Senator on the other side of the Chamber, I think, opposed the Aldrich-Vreeland bill; but we passed it and provided for the printing of $500,000,000 in notes. We set the Engraving and Printing Bureau at work printing them. They finished the printing of $500,000,000 in notes, sealed them up, tied them strongly together in sealed packages, laid them away in the vaults of the Treasury, and, during the six succeeding years of Republican administration we never so much as broke a seal on a single package of that money. There were no hasty conferences at the White House to know what to do with the deficit then. The seal was not broken on a single package of that $500,000,000 of emergency currency until Woodrow Wilson took his knife and slit them all, passing out $348,000,000 of them to help weather the Democratic gale.

Mr. WEEKS. And provided for $500,000,000 more.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes; as the Senator from Massachusetts says, and provided for an issue of $500,000,000 more. No wonder Senators upon the other side flee from the Chamber in great haste in the face of these facts. [Laughter.]

Mr. BRISTOW. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Kansas?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Certainly.

Mr. BRISTOW. Let me inquire of the Senator if this $348,000,000 was not issued under the Aldrich-Vreeland Act months and months after the present currency law had been passed and was available for use? The administration, apparently being afraid to use it, availed itself of the old Republican law in order to tide the country over a panic.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, yes. The Senator from Kansas is absolutely right about it. They were afraid of their own

creation; they did not have any confidence in it. I do not now recall whether the President signed that bill at night or at noonday, but most of the bills that have been enacted by our Democratic friends could be fittingly signed in the nighttime.

What did you take that $348,000,000 out of the Treasury for? Stand up and answer. The other side of the Chamber is crowded with Democratic Senators; they are standing motionless in the face of this charge. The Senator from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER] is hastily looking over his data. [Laughter.] Can I not get an answer to my question in this Chamber, electric with Democratic wisdom? [Laughter.] Such silence is not characteristic of Democracy. Last night they were full of dash and spirit. Why did President Wilson cut the seals and the tape which bound the $500,000,000 which he found locked in the Treasury when he went to the White House? We had more money then in circulation than ever before—over $3,000,000,000 of currency. There was no contraction of the circulating medium. Why, they put that money out to artificially stimulate industry that was shipwrecked and calling for help, and even that was not enough, for in some Southern States, notwithstanding the inhibition against it, they issued State money to relieve their embarrassment. Referendum, indeed! There will be a referendum which the Constitution requires every four years, and the fitness or the unfitness of the Democrats to run this Government will have to be met in the forum of the Nation.

Oh, how the unemployed cry out! I was in London when the unemployed of London made a demonstration one night from Trafalgar Square to London Bridge. The good Queen went out and collected alms for the people; and while they appreciated the motive that prompted her, they said, "We do not want alms; we want work." To-day municipalities have ordered public work throughout our country for the unemployed. Mayor Mitchel, of New York, has given almost all of his time since he was elected to that high office in trying to find employment for the unemployed. Castle Garden has become a soup house. My God, Senators upon the other side of the Chamber, think of it, right under the statue of Columbia Enlightening the World, Castle Garden now a public soup house! The first thing the traveler sees after crossing the billows of the mighty deep is the reflected light of Columbia Enlightening the World. Suppose in letters of living light there could be flashed upon the incoming visitors the truth about our industrial conditions, emigrants would avoid us as they would a pestilence.

"The Republican Party has not had a new idea for 30 years." says President Wilson. I hope not, if they are the new ideas which the author of that sentence, in a moment of desperate partisan wit, undertook to perpetrate. It is a well-known fact among students of contemporaneous history that the limitless and inexhaustible new ideas of the present administration have utterly clogged its mental digestion. "Not had a new idea for 30 years!" Well, as with a party, so with a man, so with a country. If it has a good reputation, it can run a while on that; and our country has had a good reputation among the nations and at home. It has had a good reputation for paying its debts; it has had a good reputation for wisdom in foreign affairs and in the solution of domestic problems.

Let us see whether we have had any ideas for 30 years. We were in power, were we not, from 1900 to 1910? I will take the census as our basis; I do not care to appeal to any other figures; the census is the only thing that our friends upon the other side do not dispute. We are not at all agreed upon the Constitution, and they put their own interpretation upon Holy Writ; but the census they can not deny; that is incontrovertible. They may not like it in all respects, but they do not deny it, for the Census Bureau is the one branch of our Government in which they as well as we have had a part. Down to the humblest enumerator, Democrats have had their share of the appointments. They named all the enumerators in the South, where their party is dominant. "Not a new idea for 30 years," says the President over at Indianapolis. How disappointing such a reckless utterance. If he could be coaxed to make another speech of that kind, the verdict in 1916 against him would be practically unanimous. But I must not be diverted. Let us examine the fruits of Republicanism.

During the years 1900 to 1910 the population of our country increased from 76,000,000 to 90,000,000; the national wealth increased from $88,000,000,000 to $137,000,000,000; yet the President says all we could do was to "sit on the lid." What a dignified expression—"sit on the lid"! Yet our national wealth increased from 1900 to 1910 from $88,000,000,000 to $137,000,000,000. The Republican Party was in power, and our friends on the other side were so hopelessly in the minority that they could not even make a loud noise. Talk it over, Senators; weigh these problems; but do not deny the census. The savings deposits increased from 1900 to 1910 from $2,389,000,000 to $4,070,000,000—almost double—and yet the President of the United States has the audacity to say that we can do nothing but sit on the lid! [Laughter.]

Why, labor had more money to its credit when President Wilson took the oath of office on the east portico of this Capitol than would be required to pay for more than a third of the combined national debts of the 50 leading countries of the earth; and yet the President has the audacity to say that we have not had a new idea for 30 years. Our old ideas must have been very good and well suited to the country with such results as these to our credit.

The postal receipts increased from $102,000,000 in 1900 to $224,000,000 in 1910. Somebody must have been doing something besides "sitting on the lid" to have written so many letters to employ this great agency of the country to get in touch with their fellow men throughout the land.

Mr. BRISTOW. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Kansas?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Certainly.

Mr. BRISTOW. May I ask the Senator to again state the facts as to the postal increase?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. According to the census, the postal receipts increased from $102,000,000 in 1900 to $224,000,000 in 1910.

Mr. BRISTOW. Let me inquire if that increase was not a gradual annual increase?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes; it was gradual.

Mr. BRISTOW. There being a decided increase every year?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes, Mr. President.

Mr. BRISTOW. Is the Senator from Michigan aware that at present the postal receipts are diminishing about 5 per cent?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Well, I know that people have ceased to send letters home. Business men are curtailing their mailing accounts. Postal receipts are the very best index to business conditions throughout the country.

Mr. BRISTOW. Is the Senator not aware that for the first time for almost a generation we find our postal receipts diminishing instead of increasing?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Until now I do not think our postal receipts have diminished since the last Wilson tariff bill, about twenty-odd years ago, but not during the intervening years. This table shows a gradual increase each year under McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft.

If we can only "sit on the lid," how can the President account for the fact that the expenditures for public schools increased from $200,000,000 in 1900 to $401,000,000 in 1910? What astounding figures those are! Yet they cover a decade of Republican rule, when the Democracy had no heart and no faith in their own strength. The country spent the money lavishly, and there were no hasty meetings at the White House between the Secretary of the Treasury and the President to determine how they should meet a deficit. Sit on the lid! I do not know how he said it, but I think my friend the Senator from Indiana was with him.

Mr. SHIVELY. No; I was not.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. If I misquote him, I rely upon the Senator to correct me.

Mr. SHIVELY. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Indiana?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield for a question.

Mr. SHIVELY. Since the Senator has seen fit to refer to the Senator from Indiana, who is in his seat, and has called his name, I will say that I was not present on that occasion.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I think the Senator's colleague was. I beg the Senator's pardon.

Mr. SHIVELY. I regret very much that I was not there, but I could not be present.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Well, I am glad the Senator was not there, because I know his keen sense of fairness and justice, as shown in all his political life, and I know he would not have uttered a sentence so undeserved as the one the President applied on that occasion.

Mr. SHIVELY. The Senator must not think that I regard his remarks as at all complimentary.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, Mr. President, I did not intend them so. The Senator can take them any way he pleases. I have great respect for the Senator, however, and I do not want to kindle any thought in his heart that the friendship which I have for him should be wiped out by a passing remark. I am glad, however, he was not there at that speech, which was disappointing to the country and to his own party and not creditable to the presidential office. I could not believe my

eyes when I read in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD that "Woodrow," laughed when talking about "watchful waiting."

Mr. CUMMINS. "Chuckled."

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes; "chuckled" when talking about "watchful waiting." I could not believe he could talk about the "watchful waiting" Mexican policy, and "chuckle" when 17 of our boys had been shot down to their death on Mexican soil. He actually "chuckled"! Did he not go over to New York to bury them with national honors? My God! Why did he chuckle at Indianapolis? Such levity in the presidential office is new to the Republic. I knew a President, whose birthday was celebrated yesterday, who went among the sick and the dying; but I did not hear him chuckle. We wear carnations on our breasts in his honor and recall his virtues with honest pride. Chuckle, indeed!

"We have done nothing but sit on the lid," says the President. The number of depositors in the savings banks increased from 3,107,000 in 1900 to 9,142,000 in 1910. Is that any indication of prosperity? Every fourth man in the Republic had a bank account. There was more money to the credit of labor than had been mined on our soil from the time Columbus discovered America until the present hour. Yet we are told our party has not had a new idea for 30 years. Providence deliver us from some of the new ideas of the present administration.

The capital invested in manufactures increased from $8,078,000,000 in 1900 to $18,237,000,000 in 1910 under protection to American industry and labor and the beneficent administration of the Republican Party. Does anybody deny that? These are the figures from the census, not a Republican census but a bipartisan census. Ten billions; a billion a year! Yet, forsooth, we are to be told from high places that all we have done is to "sit on the lid."

I think the country chuckled a little at the President's expense when that speech was made. It was a purely partisan harangue from the first word to the last.

Let us go a little further.

The capital invested in manufactures increased from $8,078,000,000 in 1900 to $18,237,000,000 in 1910. The wages and salaries paid in manufactures increased from $2,390,000,000 in 1900 to $4,353,000,000 in 1910. There is where labor was happy. There is where the home was glad. There is where the spindles sang their noonday song. We were then in power in all branches of the Government. Prosperity was on every hand.

The products of manufactures increased from $11,411,000,000 in 1900 to $20,092,000,000 in 1910.

What a marvelous increase! Your State, I will say to the Senator from Texas [Mr. SHEPPARD], shared in that delightful period of American prosperity. Your population multiplied, your fertile fields showed the results of prosperity, your happy people went about their employment with renewed hope and energy. Your cities grew as they had never grown before. Your vast territory, I say to the Senator from Texas, blossomed and bloomed during this period of Republican rule. Yet the President of the United States says that during the last 30 years we have done nothing but "sit on the lid"!

I am sorry my argument has such a magic effect upon the Senators on the other side. I wanted to say more about the imperial State of Texas. I wanted to go more minutely into its prosperity. But the Senator from Texas stayed only long enough to listen to the first period of my remarks. Now he is gone. Well, I console myself with the thought that his neighbor from Louisiana [Mr. THORNTON] has come into the Chamber. God knows he could give testimony as to the blighting effects of Democracy upon the industries of his State. He could give eloquent testimony against the experiments of the President. If there is any question about it, I have the testimony of his successor before me. Oh, what a story it is! The Democratic administration sacrificed Louisiana to the foreign wolves and the bears. Her proud and prosperous industry was stricken as with a blight at nighttime, stricken at the very height of its prosperity and development, stricken notwithstanding Louisiana aided in strengthening his grasp. He struck her down. Louisiana, in sackcloth and ashes, is a striking testimonial to the blighting effect of free trade. I say that in the hearing of the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. RANSDELL], and if I have overstated it I pause to be corrected; and yet this period is the era of the new freedom.

"Sit on the lid," said the President in his Indianapolis speech. "Sit on the lid," indeed! Listen. The materials consumed in manufactures increase from $6,577,000,000 in 1900 to $11,675,000,000 in 1910, under protection. The number of employees increased from 5,079,000 in 1900 to 7,399,000 in 1910.

The primary horsepower used increased from 10,000,000 horsepower in 1900 to 19,000,000 horsepower in 1910. And yet the President of the United States says that all we could do was to "sit on the lid"!

Oh, how hastily my friends from Louisiana have fled the Chamber! They know where the weak spot in their political armor lies. They know that the Democratic Party struck a savage blow at Louisiana. I do not want to become involved in any controversy with the Senators from Louisiana, both of whom I respect very highly; but why they should have left the Chamber in such haste when I was merely complimenting the State and chastising its foe I do not understand.

Mr. President, here is an item which I thought would interest my friend from Oklahoma:

The value of the farm lands increased from $13,000,000,000 in 1900 to $28,000,000,000 in 1910. Somebody must have been doing something besides sitting on the lid. Somebody must have been cultivating these lands to have raised them from $13,000,000,000 to $28,000,000,000. What political party was then in power?

The value of the farm buildings in 1900 was $3,556,000,000. Ten years thereafter the farm buildings had increased in value to $6,294,000,000—more than double. Somebody was doing something besides sitting on the lid. They were building houses, cultivating their soil, and increasing its value by leaps and bounds, and the Republican Party was still in power.

Look at the demoralized condition of this country to-day—tax ridden, debt burdened—and the responsibility for it is not difficult to locate. The country will make note of it and will not be diverted by hectic proclamations about the effect of a European war upon our business life, for months before the European war business men were in the very slough of despondency. It got so that a business man did not dare to come here in answer to a presidential summons lest he should be held up and have his pockets picked by an emergency tax.

Mr. BRISTOW. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey in the chair). Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Kansas?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. For a question.

Mr. BRISTOW. The Senator, I understand, is a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations. I was told to-day by a gentleman who has just returned from Europe that there is growing in every European country a feeling of unfriendliness toward the United States; that the German people are hostile to us; that the English people are becoming more so every day; and that there is a sentiment of hostility growing up in France. He attributed it to the present unwise policy of the present administration in dealing with great problems that come before the State Department.

I wanted to ask the Senator to give us his views. Does he recognize the statement of this gentleman, who is a very reliable gentleman, as true, and if so, what is the cause of this unfriendly development in all those great European nations and among their people?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The Senator does me too much honor. However, I know he has asked this question because he desires an answer, and because he thinks that my long service upon the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate and in the House of Representatives as well may, perhaps, make me more or less familiar with the European attitude toward our Government. I do not think, however, that it takes a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations to see the consequences of our diplomatic folly. I may be wrong about it, but for a long time I have felt that whenever our Government announced a policy there was no sincerity in it, our representatives abroad promptly apologizing for our show of vigor. We recall what was said by our ambassador to Great Britain in London a few months before the repeal of the Panama tolls law. There has been a truckling spirit throughout our entire foreign intercourse for several years.

While we have offended to the quick almost every country in this hemisphere—however, I must not be diverted at this point; I will answer the Senator after I have concluded my remarks regarding industrial independence.

The last figures I gave were on the increase in the value of farm buildings, during the decade from 1900 to 1910, which was remarkable. The value of farm implements and machinery increased from $749,000,000 to $1,261,000,000 in those 10 years. Who made that farm machinery? American labor was employed. Who built all these houses and barns and improved these farms? American labor. Who tills these fields? American labor. Is there any wonder that the people were prosperous then? You can easily account for it. It could not be otherwise, because we were patronizing our own people; we were doing business at home.

The farm value of oats produced in 1900 was $208,000,000; in 1910 it was $384,000,000. Somebody raised those oats. Somebody was doing something besides "sitting on the lid."

The farm value of cotton produced in 1900 was $438,000,000. In 1910 it was $820,000,000; quite a jump in 10 years; and all under Republican administration.

This farm value of cotton seed increased from $77,000,000 during those 10 years to $142,000,000.

The value of horses in 1900 was $603,000,000; in 1910, $2,276,000,000. Notwithstanding the automobile was performing a part of the labor, yet horses were used in the multiplied employment for which they were suited during those 10 years of Republican prosperity.

The value of milch cows in 1900 was $514,000,000; in 1910, $780,000,000.

The value of sheep in 1900 was $122,000,000; in 1910, $233,000,000.

The value of hogs in 1900 was $185,000,000; in 1910, $436,000,000.

The total value of farm animals in 1900 was $2,228,000,000; in 1910 it was $5,138,000,000.

The total value on the farm of farm productions in 1900 was $5,017,000,000; in 1910 it was $8,926,000,000.

I could continue to enumerate the multiplied blessings under the beneficent rule of the Republican Party until I exhausted my strength, but I hasten on. Our policy has strengthened the Government at every point. The President's policy has plunged our country into debt. We issued some bonds to help pay for the Panama Canal, but we paid so much of the expense out of our current income that $30,000,000 in bonds was left by us in the Treasury; and the honored Senator from Florida and his associates upon the other side of the Chamber now propose to reach into the Treasury by this bill and take those bonds out and spend the avails on an experiment; an experiment pure and simple, a doubtful experiment.

Oh, Mr. President, why not be candid and honest with one another? We ought not to be obliged to go to the census to find an indorsement for our acts. In the last presidential election over 7,135,000 people proclaimed themselves for protection to American industry and less than 6,200,000 proclaimed themselves in favor of a revision of the tariff.

Mr. BRISTOW. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Kansas?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. For a question.

Mr. BRISTOW. I have been very much interested in the Senator's discussion of the financial situation of the Government. He refers to the tariff. Was it not alleged by the promoters of the tariff bill that there would be a decline of about $70,000,000 from that bill in the revenues, and that that would be made up by an income tax? Now, has not the decline of $70,000,000 practically come about as was predicted, but while the estimated revenues from the tariff were what we expected and counted upon, we find ourselves now in a condition of having to levy $100,000,000 of unusual and special taxes upon the people to make up the additional deficit over and above what was estimated; and now it appears from the papers that notwithstanding this additional $100,000,000 of taxation that has been levied upon the people of the United States, after that is collected and put in the Treasury there is still, so the papers state, about $80,000,000 additional deficit which is not yet accounted for. I wanted the Senator, if he can explain to the Senate, how it is that the revenue estimated by the promoters of the tariff being approximately what they said it should be, we find ourselves in the condition of having to levy $100,000,000 additional taxes and still make up the deficit of about $80,000,000?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The question of the Senator from Kansas does him great credit. It is true that Mr. HULL, the author of the income-tax law, stated to the House that $42,000,000 would be raised under it. But $28,000,000 was raised under it. It is true that of the $58,000,000 in duty collected under the old law on sugar $43,000,000 will now be absorbed by the Sugar Trust. Under the old rate which went out on the 1st of March by virtue of the Underwood Act the Treasury of the United States has suffered, while the Sugar Trust has absorbed in the 10 months since the reduction was made nearly $15,000,000 which the Treasury needs and should have had. At this rate, by the end of 12 months, as the result of its 25 per cent reduction, fully $18,000,000 will have been absorbed by the trust and lost to the Treasury.

The income-tax law has not been a success. It was never intended to be applied except in great governmental stress. The power to pass it was lodged in the Constitution in order that if an emergency arose the Congress could enact a law by which private incomes could be drawn upon to assist the Government. It was never contemplated that this power should be lodged in the Constitution for the sole purpose of helping the Democratic Party to set its house in order.

Mr. BRISTOW. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield further to the Senator from Kansas?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield for a question.

Mr. BRISTOW. My inquiry is, Have not the revenues collected from the tariff law been about what was estimated there would be collected?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, yes; and importations have come in abundance, destroying, in a measure, the labor market here.

Mr. BRISTOW. Will not the decrease in the amount of money collected from tariff duties be at the end of the year about what the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives indicated that it would be?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Substantially.

Mr. BRISTOW. That being the case, the Senator has just pointed out that there has been a loss of about $14,000,000 in the estimated amount of income tax that would be collected.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. In the 10 months.

Mr. BRISTOW. Making $15,000,000 or $16,000,000 during the year. My inquiry is, What is the cause of this deficit of $80,000,000? Deducting the $16,000,000, we will say, that has been found, it leaves $66,000,000 of a deficit yet to be accounted for.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I think it is due to several causes. I think one of them is the profligacy with which appropriations have been made. Even Mr. FITZGERALD, the chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, was obliged to warn his own party that they were dangerously near the rapids, that they must stop or they would go over the falls. Again and again Mr. FITZGERALD, the Democratic leader from New York, spoke out against it. Mr. SISSON, another Democrat, a Member from Mississippi, warned his colleagues in the House of Representatives over and over again that they were near the danger point; and yet they have gone on until on yesterday the President hastily calls the House chiefs in council to check the deficit.

The revenue from imports has approximated the estimate made by the chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means, whom I regard very highly. I served on the Committee on Ways and Means with him. I think a great deal of him; he is a very honorable and upright man. His figures on the probable revenue from customs were not very far astray.

But during the first seven months of the Underwood-Simmons bill our free list showed an increase in importations of $140,000,000. If those articles had been caught up at the customhouse and assessed as they should have been assessed, we would not have a deficit in the revenues.

Mr. McLEAN. We have spent $100,000,000 more.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes, Mr. President; the Senator from Connecticut is right. We have spent $100,000,000 more, but our free importations increased in less than nine months $140,000,000 under the new law.

Mr. BRISTOW. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield further to the Senator from Kansas?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I do.

Mr. BRISTOW. The Senator from Michigan has just stated that we have spent $100,000,000 more than we did the previous year. I want to inquire of the Senator if the American people have gotten any service of any value for this additional hundred million dollars of burden which has been placed upon their backs?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. No; and if you add the $40,000,000 to it for this experimental test of socialism, which radiates from every line and syllable of the bill now before us, you will have $40,000,000 more from which the people will derive no benefit at all. I do not consider that the people have derived great benefit from many of these laws. They have multiplied the number of employees tremendously; they have also sent them scurrying throughout the country—special agents of the Department of Commerce and of the Treasury Department, turning over every toadstool they come across to see if it is not a mushroom. [Laughter.] They have detectives and special agents running up and down this country at Government expense who never should have been commissioned.

When the first blighting effects of this tariff law began to be manifest—and they were manifest early—the Secretary of Commerce said that if anybody should curtail wages or discharge anybody, he would use a searchlight to ascertain the cause. I think he is still investigating, but we have had no reports. One day last spring before the offices of one of the automobile com-

panies in Detroit more than 6,000 people stood begging for work. Why did not the Secretary of Commerce investigate that? It was a most fruitful field for introspection.

Mr. BRISTOW. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield further?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I do; I yield for a question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan yields for a question.

Mr. BRISTOW. Let me inquire of the Senator if there has not only been added $100,000,000 of additional burden by public taxation and public expenditure, but has there not also been added a vast burden in increased expense to the banking business of the country?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, Mr. President——

Mr. BRISTOW. Is not the great expense of maintaining that cumbersome, impracticable, unnecessary, and unsuccessful bank law, which has been foisted upon the country, a burden upon the borrowers of the country? Has it not added increased interest which they have to pay for the money they borrow?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I am not sure about it; but I think the first year of the existence of the new reserve banking act will show that it has failed to earn its overhead and fixed charges by several million dollars. I do not know; I should have to look it up and see; but one of my honored friends had considerable to do with this business. I do not like to be impatient about the results that the country is to get from that law, but coming across the country from ocean to ocean a little while ago I did not find that any great number of people were availing themselves of the law.

I stepped into a bank in Boston but a few weeks ago and was shown the available loanable balance in the hands of that bank and of the reserve bank; and the bank that was running on its own merits outside of the reserve system had eight times the loanable funds that the reserve bank had, and was loaning its money at a less rate of interest.

Mr. BRISTOW. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Kansas?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Certainly; I yield for a question.

Mr. BRISTOW. I want to make an inquiry, but I wish first to make a preliminary statement. I will say that I think the Senator is right when he says that the great banking system which has been recently organized will not by any means pay its expense during this year. Will not the expense of maintaining the system have to be met by taxing the banks? The Federal reserve bank will levy assessments on the member banks. When those banks pay for this cumbersome system, which they do not use and which is absolutely of no benefit to them, they have not got to take the money out of their earnings, but do not the earnings of the banks come from interest paid by borrowers who get money from those banks?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Undoubtedly.

Mr. BRISTOW. Is not this system resting with great weight and burden upon the borrowing public of the United States?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Undoubtedly. The banks of the country are not happy over it and the borrower, who is obliged to make an affidavit that he had never looked cross at his wife before he can get a loan from one of these reserve banks, is not getting very much benefit out of the system. I know that in the State of Michigan, with which I am somewhat familiar, the people have not availed themselves of this banking system to any great extent; in fact, most of our people regard it as a partisan institution from top to bottom. They think it was framed along partisan lines; they think that the committee, consisting of two partisan members of the Cabinet, went out and located the reserve banks in sections that were calculated to do their party the most good.

I have looked in vain at the Federal Reserve Board to find a Republican on it. The Democrats could not possibly have passed the law in the Senate if there had been any idea that the board was to be a partisan board, and yet it is rankly partisan. I think it is a bad thing to permit any political officer of this Government to have such power over the private banking of the country, representing, as it does, the savings of labor. I was told by a very prominent banker in a New England State that the Secretary of the Treasury read the riot act to him because he would not subscribe to the cotton loan. He talked to him for 30 minutes, trying to coax him to take some of the cotton loan, and when he could not coax him he threatened him, then the president of that bank said, "We will take none of the loan."

I do not want to be hasty in my judgment of that law. I heard the other side condemn our relief measures without warrant and I lived to see the scoffers praise; I think, however, it was conceived in spite. I do not believe the banks of this country would have gone into the system if they had not been threatened with a repeal of their charters. If those who have talked so boldly about the referendum had had a referendum among the bankers of the country to see whether or not they wanted to join the Federal reserve system, I think they would have gotten an overwhelming verdict against it. Many of those that are now in it would like to get out of it, but I understand that there has been a ruling that, once in, there is no escape. They can not repeal the charters of State banks, however, and it remains to be seen whether they will enter the system.

Oh, the trouble with this administration from the day that they took the oath of office to this minute has been that they are not good diagnosticians; they can not locate the disease; remedies, new remedies, is their hobby, while the patient is bewildered by their audacity. [Laughter.] They have issued more money because they thought that would inspire confidence. Oh, yes; how well I remember the battle here between the then Senator from Rhode Island, Mr. Aldrich, and the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. OWEN], then new in this Chamber, but vigorous, keen, and alert, over the Aldrich-Vreeland bill.

We ordered $500,000,000 of that money printed in the similitude of the national currency, folded it up, sealed it, put it away in the Treasury, and locked the vault; and for eight years the doors of that vault were not opened nor a seal broken on a single package of emergency currency, until the present administration ran the country upon the rocks and then sought to revive it by spreading this $500,000,000 over the land, and raised the limit from $500,000,000 to $1,000,000,000 in order that they might stimulate lagging, faltering industry. No Republican ever cut those seals; not a dollar went out under our administration. There is a case where we possibly "sat on the lid," but it was to our credit. We had ample money in circulation, more than ever before in the history of the Republic. Improvements in city, town, and hamlet were adding to the beauty and utility of the land, spindles sang from daybreak to sunset, and there was work for everyone to do until Democracy came.

Oh, what a record of failure and bankruptcy and idleness every month of your administration has seen! The European war, indeed! How fortunate you were to have a European war to which you might attribute the ills of our body politic when we are at peace with all mankind! The Russo-Japanese War did not affect us; our prosperity continued right along—even increased through forced purchases—and even our war with Spain did not arrest our prosperity under McKinley and the Dingley laws. War, indeed! If you think the country is ever going to believe that that is the cause of our domestic trouble, you mistake the intelligence of your countrymen. You were not commissioned by a majority of the American people. Thirty-four States repudiated your tariff doctrine. You are in by accident, and you hope to stay in by the accident of war. If our people can live upon figures of speech, upon well-rounded sentences, upon epigrammatic utterances, they may try you further; but I do not believe it. The last election did not look like it. I have not been able to get a Senator upon the other side of the Chamber to deny these figures; not one. Even the Senator from Florida, in whose State there were 404 failures last year, more than in any other year in the history of his State, acknowledged that his State was in a deplorable condition. He acknowledged it. It is in the record. I have the figures.

Mr. BRYAN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Florida?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes; certainly. I yield for a question.

Mr. BRYAN. Yes; for a question.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I referred, however, to the senior Senator from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER].

Mr. BRYAN. We are both from the same State. Does the Senator from Michigan deny the fact that our shipments of phosphates—and Florida exports 80 per cent of the phosphates produced in this country—that our shipments of lumber, that our shipments of naval stores—of which the State of Florida produces 56 per cent of the production of the country, worth $40,000,000—have been influenced by the European war?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I wish the junior Senator from Florida had been in the Chamber when the senior Senator from Florida pleaded guilty to this indictment of R. G. Dun & Co. Your State began to feel the blighting effect of this tariff policy months before the European war began.

Mr. BRYAN. Years before.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Months.

Mr. BRYAN. Years.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. No; I have the record. I will read the record to the Senator.

Mr. BRYAN. Was the Senator, when he was describing all this Republican prosperity, referring to the years 1907 and 1908?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Nineteen hundred and seven and nineteen hundred and eight? Yes; I have covered those years.

Mr. BRYAN. Those were very prosperous Republican years.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes; I have covered that period, and I am sorry the Senator was not here——

Mr. BRYAN. I am sorry, too.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Because I have taken the figures from the census, which is nonpartisan.

Mr. BRYAN. It would have been interesting to hear the Senator from Michigan explain how it was that we had such great prosperity in 1907 and 1908.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes; I explained it.

Mr. BRYAN. If that is so, I should like to know why it was that the Republican Party, which produced all this prosperity, while the Democratic Party was carrying some 22 States, only carried 2.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. That was a mere accident. I have just said, a moment ago, that you got in by accident. You did not have a majority vote, and you will never get a majority again.

Mr. BRYAN. We got in by unanimous consent.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. No; you are going out by unanimous consent. [Laughter.]

Mr. BRYAN. If we do, we will only do as the Republicans did two years ago.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. No; I can not admit that. We tried to elect two Republicans at one time to the same office. The Senator from Florida is drawing on his imagination somewhat.

Mr. BRYAN. No; there is no imagination about that. That is a fact.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I am going to repeat one or two things here for the benefit of the Senator from Florida, because I like him and I do not want him to go far in darkness and doubt.

Mr. BRYAN. I shall be glad to hear the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I know the Senator will.

Mr. BRYAN. I am especially interested in anything the Senator from Michigan says, because it is possible he will have much to do with the return of prosperity if unfortunately the Republican Party should ever again be intrusted with power in this country.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. That is a very high compliment, but I am not eligible for higher honors. Men have to be defeated before they are eligible for a higher place, and I have never been defeated yet. I am well satisfied with my present honors. Now, do not go too far away, because I want to get these figures into your mind.

Mr. BRYAN. I shall be within range of the Senator. The Senator takes a wide range when he gets started.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Almost all the Senators on that side get out of range promptly.

I want to call the attention of the Senator first to the statement of the R. G. Dun Co. regarding Florida, and then I am going to turn to something else. I read a letter from Mr. Potter to Dun's Review and R. G. Dun & Co., under date of January 16, in which he said:

> Our firm has been a subscriber to R. G. Dun & Co. for over a quarter of a century and to the Review since its first issue. We are always much interested in the annual number. In the issue just received, dated January 9, you show that the expansion in business during 1913–14 has been one of record-breaking mortality, with more failures in both years than ever occurred before in our history.

Mr. BRYAN rose.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Now, wait until I get through. Just restrain your impatience.

Mr. BRYAN. I simply wish to ask whom that is from.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. It is from one of the leading business men of the country to R. G. Dun & Co., quoting from Dun's Review:

> You also say this, in a measure, was traceable to the effect of the European war, which accentuated the depression in trade and exerted a particularly unfavorable influence on the conditions in the South. You refer, of course, to the cotton States, to the collapse of cotton prices; but upon analyzing the figures it appears that the increase of failures in all these Southern States combined—North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Louisiana, and Texas—is only about 500, while in the three Middle Atlantic States—New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania—the increase was 700. Of the Southern States, Florida shows the largest increase in failures—404 failures in 1914, against 183 failures in 1913—but Florida can hardly be classed as a cotton State; and if the balance of the country was prosperous the luxuries grown in Florida, such as fruits and early vegetables, would find a ready sale at good prices. Oranges and grapefruit have not been bringing enough on the New York market to pay for the boxes and transportation, and this no doubt accounts for much of Florida's business mortality.

Now, I did not say that all business in Florida had gone Democratic. I simply say that they have had a larger percentage of failures since Woodrow Wilson became President than ever before.

Mr. BRYAN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan further yield to the Senator from Florida?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I do.

Mr. BRYAN. I do not deny that, Mr. President.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I knew the Senator would not. He is an honest man and a faithful public servant, and I respect him very highly.

Mr. BRYAN. It is undoubtedly true that it has been the hardest year in Florida since 1907. It may even exceed that year. What I was objecting to, however, was the Senator's attributing that to the tariff or to the Democratic policy in regard to the tariff. Florida has never received any benefit from the tariff. None of our products were on the protected list, save and alone oranges; and Florida oranges are so superior to any other oranges that they could go into the markets of the world and take the markets of the world.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes; but nobody wants them now, because no one is at work on more than half time. Millions of people are out of employment, and they can not buy oranges, and they are not buying them in Florida, and they are not buying them in California, and they are rotting on the ground.

Mr. BRYAN. That is largely true, I will say to the Senator.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes; that is true.

Mr. BRYAN. Oranges are selling at a very low price; but the sale of oranges does not take place in large quantities until nearly the close of the year. The great trouble with us has been in the lumber business, in the phosphate business, in the naval-stores business, and in addition to those things, we have cotton, and then the fact that there has not been the market for the citrus fruits.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes; I think the Senator is correct about that.

Mr. BRYAN. But certainly, so far as we are concerned, the tariff has not had anything to do with it, because those money crops have all been exported.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I will tell you why the tariff has had something to do with it. Every man who works in a cotton mill, every man who works in a shoe factory, every man who works in a furniture industry is the patron of every other man. The man who makes desks does not make chairs, nor baskets, nor shoes, nor clothes, and he does not raise oranges, or lemons, or grapefruit. He just makes desks; and if he can not get a market for his desks he can not buy the grapefruit, nor the clothes, nor the shoes. That is the truth about it.

A man who makes glass—and there are many thousand of them—only makes glass. He buys everything else that he needs. He hires the carpenter to build his home, the bricklayer to lay his brick, the carpet man to weave his carpet, the desk man to build his desk, the shoe man to make his shoes, and in the prosperity which he, as a glassmaker, enjoys, he assists in the prosperity of every other man's vocation. When you strike down the glass industry you strike at the customers of Florida and Mississippi and Michigan.

I stepped into a bank in Detroit not long ago, and I said to the cashier: "How is business?" He said: "First rate; but something occurred here to-day that you will be interested in knowing about." I said: "What was it?" He said: "One of our customers came in here to-day and bought a draft on London for $50,000 to pay for glass which he had formerly bought at Toledo, Ohio." Do not tell me that that $50,000, which was paid for glass in Europe, employs anyone to make shoes or nails or carpets over here. When you make it easy to buy the products of the European labor you make it harder for our people to sell their diversified productions among themselves. That is the truth about it. You have lost your customers in protected industrial centers, I say to the Senator from Florida—he who is now sitting next to the Senator from Louisiana. I should like to know whether the people of Louisiana are at present buying any of the products of Florida under free trade in sugar? Of course not. I will tell you what they are doing. The people who work in sugar factories are buying very little, for they are doomed to destruction, and you know it. Your party chiefs admit it. When we pleaded with them for that infant domestic industry that made us partially independent of the world in the matter of a sugar supply, and would have soon rendered us completely independent of the world. Senators

on that side of the Chamber said to us, "There are more sugar users than there are sugar producers, therefore we must pass this free-trade bill in the interest of the greatest good to the greatest number." That is what they said; and the people who are working in sugar factories to-day are working on borrowed time, and they have all got tickets of leave, and they are going out of that business. They are not eating the fruits of Florida, nor buying the furniture of Michigan, nor wearing the shoes of Massachusetts. They are economizing, and yet we are paying as much for sugar to-day as we did before the Democratic Party struck this foul blow at the sugar industry of Louisiana and California and Colorado and Utah and Michigan and New York. The difference is that the American Sugar Refining Co. are carefully tucking away the duties that we formerly collected at our customhouses and putting them in their pockets.

Not long before the Underwood-Simmons tariff bill went into effect a letter was shown to me by a glass manufacturer in my State. It was from Germany, and it said:

DEAR SIR: Of course you can not live under the new Democratic tariff regulations in your glass business. You will not pretend to—

I know they could not live. I knew that in the glass factory at Saginaw, Mich., where there is a million dollars invested, they were making glass for 16 cents a square foot and selling it for 15 cents a square foot when the Democratic Party reduced the duty and exposed that industry to ruin. I know that. I know that they were selling glass made in America for 1 cent a square foot less than it cost them to make it. But, returning to the letter, it said:

DEAR SIR: You can not possibly live under the new tariff law; but I like you, and I want to be of help to you, and if you will take the agency for our glass we will agree to hold the price just where it was before the new tariff went into effect and both prosper.

What do you think about that? Fifty thousand dollars spent in one order for foreign glass which, if bought at home, would afford just $50,000 more to the laborers of Toledo. This is only one small illustration of many thousands that could be given. Of all the people in this world the laboring man should have stood solidly for protection to American industry. It was for his benefit. If the manufacturer is dissatisfied with the price of his wares, he can store them for another month or year; the merchant who is not getting a satisfactory price for his staples may keep them upon his shelves; but the laborer can not store his wares. His wares are the muscles of his strong right arm. He can not store time; not used upon the instant it is lost forever.

It is because labor is thus helpless that it is the first to feel the effect of the reduction of values and the last to get the benefit of an inflation. Low tariffs have flooded this market with imported goods. On our borders customhouses have been partially closed and American labor unnecessarily exposed to unfair competition. Yet labor is expected to stand by and uphold the hands of a party which has deprived it of its ability to earn a living. That is the unblushing truth. There is not a Senator on the other side of the Chamber who can deny it.

Mr. CHILTON. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from West Virginia?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield, of course, to my friend from West Virginia.

Mr. CHILTON. Of course I can not deny what the Senator says by a question. I just want to state to the Senator——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Anything else would take me from my feet. I do not want to subject myself to the new discipline imposed upon Senators by the other side of the Chamber.

Mr. CHILTON. I do not want to take the Senator from his feet. I just want to say the Senator has made a statement that is not in accordance with the facts as to the result of the election in West Virginia. The newspaper reports absolutely contradict his position as to the condition of the glass industry and every other industry in the Ohio Valley and the Kanawha Valley. What he says is contradicted by Dun's report of last week as to practically every industry in my State. There is not one word the Senator said about my part of the country that is corroborated by the facts, nor is his statement true as to the glass industry, to which he has addressed himself. But I can not answer the Senator without taking him off his feet.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The Senator can not answer me at all; the facts must confound him and all other apologists for the present Democratic tariff law.

Mr. CHILTON. I will at the proper time answer it from the record and give some of the facts.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. A few months ago the Senator from West Virginia and the present Presiding Officer of the Senate [Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey] were called to that State to investigate the deplorable conditions in one of the great industries of the State. Do not tell me that your State is prosperous. There is no State in the Union that is prosperous to-day. Even the old immigrant station at Castle Garden is a public soup house, and it can not be denied.

Mr. CHILTON. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator from Michigan yield?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I can not yield for a speech without losing my right to the floor, but I will yield for a question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan will yield.

Mr. CHILTON. The Senator has made a statement which shows how reckless he is.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Recklessness is common under Democracy when you are hastily summoning your Cabinet to the White House to consider how to meet a constantly growing deficit.

Mr. CHILTON. That only shows how reckless the statement is when the Senator is indulging in eloquence rather than in trying to find facts.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The Senator could not have heard what I said.

Mr. CHILTON. No; possibly not. I can say that without being reckless, either. The Senator was talking about an investigation that was made two months ago. No such thing occurred.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I said a few months ago. There is a difference between "few" and "two."

Mr. CHILTON. Well, to say a few months ago is reckless.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. There are just the same number of letters in "few" as in "two," but they do not mean the same.

Mr. CHILTON. It was not a few months ago; it was a long time ago, and it was about conditions which occurred under a Republican administration.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, let us see about that.

Mr. CHILTON. The answer is that the coal business under the Underwood tariff revived and the prices rose in that part of the country for many months.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes; coal is high enough always.

Mr. CHILTON. If the Senator does not want me to answer him, he should not invite me to do so. In my own time I will answer him, for I have the data here.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I love to have the Senator answer me. I always enjoy conversation with the Senator. But he is the one Senator on the Senate floor who has the temerity in the face of a nation-wide industrial depression to claim for his State prosperity.

Mr. CHILTON. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator yield further to the Senator from West Virginia?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Certainly, for a question.

Mr. CHILTON. I will take but a minute.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I will yield for a question. Do not take me off my feet, for I am at a disadvantage. We are temporarily in the minority here.

Mr. CHILTON. The Senator will be in the minority for a long time. There is no doubt about that.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I will tell you how long.

Mr. CHILTON. That would be a hard thing to do.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Just long enough to get the Democratic Party out of power, which will be at the next election.

Mr. CHILTON. But you have gone out of power, and you are not coming in.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. We are on the way back now. We crossed the first bridge last November, gaining over a hundred Republican Members in the House of Representatives.

Mr. CHILTON. Now, will the Senator allow me to ask him this question: Does the Senator know that in my State there is the biggest ax factory in the world?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes; axes are in demand everywhere. Everybody is using his own wood now.

Mr. CHILTON. And it is run and owned by a high protective tariff Republican who never voted the Democratic ticket. I want to say that he told me within the last 30 days that the idea of the tariff affecting his ax business was ridiculous; that he had been making axes in the city of Charleston and selling them in Sweden, after paying the ocean price and the freight to seaboard in competition with Swedish labor, which is conceded to be much less than the labor in this country. The reason he does it is that he comes to West Virginia, where there is cheap fuel. You can not manufacture some things in your State and pay three and four dollars a ton for coal and compete with us, when we have natural gas at five and six cents a thousand, and coal to ship to you at a dollar and a dollar and a quarter a ton. The trouble is that you do not know about the

prosperity of West Virginia. There is not a single thing in West Virginia that is shut down to-day except a few glass works that make whisky bottles and whisky glasses. That is about the only thing that is shut down.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I am glad the ax industry has survived.

Mr. CHILTON. Will the Senator now listen to the facts? I want to state to him that there are to-day glass factories in West Virginia declaring a dividend of 100 per cent upon their capital. Every one of them is running, and they are making window glass, too. I know that to be a fact. Some of the owners are friends of mine; some of them are former clients and people whom I know. There is not a single window-glass factory in the State of West Virginia that is closed down to-day. They are all making money.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Glass manufacturers are discouraged.

Mr. CHILTON. But the Senator said a minute ago——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Ax makers may be happy, but I do not believe it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. One at a time.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I was talking about the glass industry generally and called attention to my State.

Mr. CHILTON. Up in Michigan, of course, you can not make much money, but if you come down to West Virginia you can.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. We can not make much money in Democratic times; no one does.

Mr. CHILTON. You can not make much money, because you can not compete with much more favorable conditions in the State of West Virginia, which you tried to slander a minute ago.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I would not slander West Virginia; her people are wonderfully patient and long-suffering.

Mr. CHILTON. I did not catch that remark.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I would not slander West Virginia. She is coming back to protection. I know something about the State.

Mr. CHILTON. Mighty little.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I have been through the State, and I say without hesitancy that her industries are not prosperous.

Mr. CHILTON. Yes; the whisky business is in very bad shape down there.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The Senator from West Virginia is more familiar with that than I am. If the Senator will go over to New York and look at the desperate effort being made by Mayor Mitchel to get work for the unemployed where they can earn their daily bread, he will be greatly surprised. The same situation exists in all American cities. I have here a Chicago paper saying that Chicago must look after her thousands of unemployed. There is not a great city in this country where public work is not being urged in order to provide work for the unemployed. Senators know that. Nearly 6,000 stood in front of an automobile factory in my State begging for work on a single day. Do not tell me that this country is prosperous or the people satisfied.

Mr. CHILTON. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield further?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. No; I can not yield further.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan declines to yield.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I decline for the simple reason that I have been on my feet for nearly four and a half hours, and if I yield as a matter of courtesy the Senator does not seem to appreciate it. If I yield for a speech, then I lose the floor; and I do not want to take any chances on either.

Mr. CHILTON. I would not take the floor from the Senator.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Now, Mr. President, I want to ask what has become of the revenues of this Government. We never had a shortage of revenue until the Democratic Party came in. Are the revenues short? Be frank with us. The Senator from West Virginia does not deny that the revenues are short.

Mr. CHILTON. Of course, I can not when you will not let me.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. We are $100,000,000 below our necessities, and neither the Senator from West Virginia nor any other Senator on the other side can deny it. We are $100,000,000 short in our revenues, with $146,000,000 worth of European products coming in here free of duty in less than a year under low tariff. That is the reason why the people are out of employment. That is the reason why our revenues are low. That is the reason why the President hastily called his Cabinet together yesterday to stay the ruin of American credit. You know that. You know that you may pick out here and there a coal mine that is doing business. But both the Senators from Florida admitted that the record I read about the failures in Florida last year is unhappily true. The same applies in every other State in the Union, except, possibly, West Virginia. If the Senator from West Virginia would speak a little louder the idle cars that are now resting upon the sidetracks of the great railways of the country would be full to overflowing with men who would be willing to live in West Virginia if they were sure they could find something to do when they reached there.

The country has been struck by a Democratic cyclone. Prosperity has been arrested; devastation is upon every hand. The emergency currency was not used until Woodrow Wilson became President of the United States and our industries were demoralized by free trade.

Mr. SWANSON. Will the Senator permit me?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Virginia?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I can only yield for a question, but I do that with great pleasure.

Mr. SWANSON. The Senator knows full well those notes were never available and never would have been available if the law appertaining to their issue had not been changed. The currency law was changed and the interest reduced. When the original law was passed the rate of interest was made so high that it was never expected that the American people would get any relief under that currency law, and no relief could come until the Democratic administration changed the law and made the notes available to the people.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Let us analyze that for a moment. The rate of interest imposed by the Aldrich-Vreeland bill was 4 per cent for the first month, 5 per cent for the second month, 6 per cent for the third month, and 7 per cent for the fourth month. The Senator says the $500,000,000 of emergency currency notes were not available, because the interest rate was so high. The Republicans passed the emergency currency law and fixed the rate below clearing-house certificate rates for emergency purposes only. When the Senator's party came into power they were so anxious to get those notes out of the Treasury that they promptly changed the law so that they could get $1,000,000,000 to meet a demoralized industrial condition throughout the country.

Mr. SWANSON. Does the Senator give credit to his party for passing a law after the panic of 1907, pretending to give relief but the interest was so high that no relief could be granted until the law was changed?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, Mr. President, we placed the interest high to insure the automatic return of this money to the Treasury as quickly as possible after the exigency had passed. The Senator must admit that was wise. The only way we got rid of your old State bank issues throughout the South was by imposing a tax which forced that State money out of circulation.

Mr. SWANSON. If the Senator will permit me——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Certainly, for a question.

Mr. SWANSON. The present law provides that there shall be an increase in the rate of interest the longer the notes stay out, which will ultimately return them, but the Senator put the food so high——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Food?

Mr. SWANSON. It was in the shape of food and it was put so high nobody could reach it.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, money is not food.

Mr. SWANSON. They could not reach it until a Democratic administration changed the law.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Money is not food. If money was food one-half the people of this country would be dying of starvation to-day, because it is in hiding and has been since your party has had control of the Government for the last two years. Oh, no. Money is not food. Money is the fruit of labor.

The Senator knows that we have more money in the country to-day than we have ever had since the American Republic was born. We have more than three and a half billion dollars of good money among the people. There is no scarcity of money; it is as plentiful as it was under Taft. There is a scarcity of work and there is a lack of confidence among the people who have money. They have no faith in your party or its management.

Mr. SWANSON. Now, if the Senator will permit me——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Virginia?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I desire to know the circumstances under which I yield to the Senator from Virginia. I would do almost anything for the Senator from Virginia, and I especially desire to treat him courteously.

Mr. SWANSON. As the Senator's time is limited, I will not interrupt him further.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I do not say that. If I am yielding just for a question and not yielding the floor, I will gladly yield to the Senator from Virginia.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. This interruption comes from an unexpected quarter.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Certainly; but it comes from a source which gives me some worry. I will yield to the distinguished Senator from Montana.

Mr. WALSH. I would not take the Senator from Michigan off the floor, because I propose to ask him a question simply for information.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield to the Senator from Montana.

Mr. WALSH. I desire to inquire of the Senator if he will give us the date when this $300,000,000 of emergency currency went out?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Let me see; they were authorized eight years ago. I know the seals were not broken——

Mr. WALSH. Yes; that is what I mean—when the seals were broken.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The seals were not broken until after Mr. Wilson became President.

Mr. WALSH. Oh, yes; we all know that.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Well, that is admitted. The exact date, I think, preceded the European war.

Mr. WALSH. Is the Senator from Michigan quite certain about that?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes; I think I am right. If the Senator has the amended act before him, when did the law go into effect?

Mr. WALSH. That was in January, 1914.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. That was seven months before the European war commenced.

Mr. WALSH. Yes.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. While you were getting your national reserve bank act into working order; while the President was trying to pick out competent Democrats to run the board—"deserving Democrats" to run the board—you used the emergency currency act to strengthen business confidence.

Mr. WALSH. It seems that the Senator can not give us the exact date. Will he not frankly admit that not a dollar went out until after the 31st day of July, 1914, when the European war broke out?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. No; I will not admit that unless the Senator states it as a fact.

Mr. WALSH. Then I will supply the information to the Senator.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Very well.

Mr. WALSH. Will not the Senator from Michigan frankly admit that the currency did not go out until we amended the Vreeland-Aldrich Act after the European war broke out?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Well, I know you amended that act to make it easier to get this money out of the Treasury.

Mr. WALSH. Exactly; after the European war broke out and to meet contingencies arising in consequence of it.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. In other words, you thought there was a scarcity of money.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Massachusetts?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield with great pleasure for a question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan yields to the Senator from Massachusetts for a question.

Mr. WEEKS. I want to ask the Senator from Michigan if he does not recall that the reason for passing the Aldrich-Vreeland bill, which was filibustered against and voted against by every Democrat in the Chamber, was to provide in case of emergency for sufficient currency to take care of the needs of the country?

Does the Senator not recall also the rate of interest which was imposed on clearing-house certificates in case of an emergency arising was not less than 6 per cent and in many cases 7.3 per cent? Therefore the rate of interest in the Aldrich-Vreeland Act was placed at 4 per cent for the first month, 5 per cent for the second month, 6 per cent for the third month, and 7 per cent for the fourth month, the reason being that the experience of this country had been that clearing-house certificates were invariably retired at the end of the fourth month or about that time; so that the banks could not take out this emergency currency and loan it at the higher rates carried by clearing-house certificates if the rate were made an increasing one, and thereby making a large profit out of it. It was simply intended temporarily to take care of an emergency. There never has been an emergency under the Republican Party, therefore there has been no necessity of taking out any of this circulation. It was only when the Democratic Party was in control that an emergency did arise—not entirely the fault of the Democratic Party, to be sure—that it became necessary to take up some of that circulation.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. It was largely the fault of the Democratic Party.

Mr. WEEKS. The change in the law reducing the rate to 3 per cent had nothing whatever to do with the taking out of this $348,000,000, to which the Senator from Michigan has referred.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, what I said, and I reiterate it, was this: That we put that emergency act upon the statute books against the opposition of the Democratic Party, and owing to misjudgment upon their part they relied upon our legislation to prevent a panic last year.

Mr. SWANSON. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Virginia?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Does the Senator from Virginia deny that?

Mr. SWANSON. I was not in the Senate when the Vreeland-Aldrich bill was passed; I was governor of the State of Virginia; but if I had been here and a condition had existed which made it impossible for people to get money, I would have voted against such a fraud to deceive people—a thing that had to be changed before they could possibly get any relief.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. You used this money. The rate was only 4 per cent on short-time paper.

Mr. SWANSON. It is money; is it stolen?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, no, Mr. President.

Mr. SWANSON. I am not a partisan so narrow as is the Senator from Michigan, to say that I would not vote to amend a Republican law or a Democratic law or any other law if it would be beneficial to the people to do so. When a law pretends to bring relief, and brings no relief because the rate of interest is so high that nobody can use it, it is simply a pretense; and you admit the money was all locked up and sealed. We prophesied that it would be locked up; we prophesied that it would be sealed; we prophesied that there would be no relief in it; we prophesied that nobody would get a cent of it until it was changed. If I had been here, I would have voted against a law that pretended to carry relief, but brought none.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. We did not need that money at all under a Republican administration. Trade and industry rose to its highest point under our laws; American credit was never higher than it was before Woodrow Wilson became President. Emergency currency was not needed. Bankruptcy was a stranger, and labor was in constant demand in all parts of the country.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Massachusetts?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield if the Chair will protect me in my right to the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will certainly see that the Senator is not taken off the floor.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Michigan if he will not in his own time ask the Senator from Virginia if he thinks it is a fraud to impose a rate of interest on emergency currency of 4 per cent for one month and 5 per cent for the next month, when the current rate charged by the banks is 6 and 7 per cent? Is that a fraud upon anybody when it merely reduces the profit made by the banks?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I do not want to embarrass the Senator from Virginia by asking him that question.

Mr. SWANSON. I will be very glad to answer it.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I do not want to embarrass the Senator from Virginia by asking that question when we all know that the rate of discount under his pet plan of a Federal reserve system was 6 per cent——

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. And the Secretary of the Treasury and the reserve board made it 6 per cent, while under the emergency currency law the rate was 4 per cent on short-time paper. Why is the interest so high on reserve-bank money that nobody can borrow it?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Of course I yield to him; we only desire the truth about this matter.

Mr. WALSH. I simply want to put the Senator in possession of exact information upon the subject to which I adverted a while ago. I advise him that the Aldrich-Vreeland Act was amended first by an act approved the 4th day of August, 1914, and that was again amended by an act approved August 15, 1914; and not a dollar of emergency currency went out until the passage of that act.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I recollect those two dates very well; the Senator is right. I remember, however, that in quite a number of cities of the country they were then using clearing-house certificates.

Mr. WALSH. I venture to assert that the cutting of the seals, to which the Senator has referred, was some time subsequent to the passage of these two acts.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I think the Senator is right. We never had occasion to use that money under Republican administrations.

Mr. WALSH. Will the Senator also add that there was not a European war?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, the European war is a godsend to the Democratic Party. [Laughter.] The world may suffer untold damage, but the Democratic Party ought to get down on its bended knees and thank the Lord that something came between the awfully demoralized industrial condition of our country and their certain retirement last fall. I inquired a little while ago from the Senator from Florida how many factories would be built, how much money would be invested in any industry because of the protection afforded by the European war. No one would go into business on the strength of the demands created by the European war. Take the poor people in the sugar district of Louisiana. Are they happy because they have, as the result of the European war, temporary protection in their sugar industry, which has been marked for final and effectual slaughter in 1916? No; everybody knows they are not. Stock in sugar factories of Michigan is a drug on the market; the industry is destroyed.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, will the Senator permit me another interruption?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Certainly.

Mr. WALSH. The Senator can not go to Montana and buy sugar stock in that State at 200 per cent of its face value.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Well, the people of Montana still have the spirit of the frontiersmen in their nature. They are going to go down with the ship. They would not take a boat if they had an opportunity to escape from the sea. [Laughter.] Montana is especially fortunate in the character of her citizens. They do not make very much fuss over their troubles and do not gloat much over their successes.

Mr. CHILTON. Mr. President, will the Senator allow me to ask him a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from West Virginia?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Is my friend from West Virginia going to annihilate me?

Mr. CHILTON. Do not the facts presented by the Senator from West Virginia, which the Senator from Michigan does deny, and the facts presented by the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH], which he can not deny, demonstrate to the Senator that all that is the matter with him is that he does not come from the right State?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. No, Mr. President. It simply demonstrates that you are whistling to keep up your courage.

Mr. CHILTON. I am telling the Senator the facts to show that he is wrong.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The crockery industry of West Virginia is not prosperous. The Senator knows that, as does everybody else.

Mr. CHILTON. No; I do not.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I know it.

Mr. CHILTON. I do not think the Senator knows it, either.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I do know it; and everyone knows it who is at all familiar with the industrial conditions on the Ohio River.

Mr. SWANSON. Will the Senator permit me to interrupt him?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Virginia?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The "Senator from Michigan" will permit the Senator from Virginia to interrupt him for a question.

Mr. SWANSON. I understand the Senator's contention is that the lack of prosperity in the industries of this country today is due to too many foreign goods coming in, and that the Senator's idea of great prosperity is a small importation of foreign goods. If that is true, we are having less foreign goods coming into this country now than we have had for years, and the customs duties have been greatly reduced. If the Senator's contention is correct, that prosperity is measured by the importation of foreign goods, we ought to have great prosperity now; greater, in fact, than we have ever had.

Mr. ROOT. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from New York?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I certainly will yield to the Senator, although I do not desire to lose the floor.

Mr. ROOT. Let me ask the Senator from Michigan if his view is not rather that the arresting of enterprise in the United States now is due to the widespread apprehension of the hostility to American enterprise that dominates the party of the Senator from Virginia and of his colleagues?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. There is no doubt about that.

Mr. ROOT. Is it not due——

Mr. SWANSON. Is the Senator addressing his remarks to me?

Mr. ROOT. I am putting a question to a most competent person to answer it, the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. SWANSON. I thought the remark was addressed to me.

Mr. ROOT. No; I am putting the question to the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. SWANSON. But I insist that the witness is not impartial.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. But competent.

Mr. ROOT. Witnesses are not expected to be impartial. They are expected to be what the Senator from Michigan always is—truthful. I am putting the question because I know that as a truthful, experienced, and well-informed American citizen, there can be but one answer to the question as to whether the arresting of enterprise, the failure of Americans to put their money into new enterprises, the failure of Americans to enlarge their enterprises, is not due to the fact that they are afraid of what the Democratic Party will do to them and to their undertakings, and whether they do not feel that, after all, the long period of war upon the tariff, war upon the trusts, war upon business enterprises, in its various phases, there is left a residuum of hostility to American enterprise in the Democratic Party, which makes it unsafe for Americans to put their money into new enterprises or the enlargement of old enterprises?

Mr. SWANSON. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Virginia?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. In just a moment. I want to commend the logic of my honored friend from New York to the Senator from Virginia. You can not bring about prosperity by proclamations. If you could, we would have had prosperity long ago. The first proclamation failed; the second was issued. The moment he got the reserve-bank law into effect, President Wilson dictated the following:

NEW ERA OF PROSPERITY DAWNS.

First of a series of laws by which the Democratic Party will serve the country—

Proclaims the Nation's titular head.

If it was true then, why did it have to be repeated yesterday?

Prosperity will come—

Says the President. It must have been a year late. Why did it not come under the first proclamation? Proclamation after proclamation and still prosperity does not come. The Senator from Virginia is right. The customs receipts have fallen off, but importations have increased under the free list.

I heard the Secretary of the Treasury ask a great audience in San Diego, Cal., the other day, what was the matter with the country, and they were struck dumb. No one could answer. Finally, when he said, in the vernacular of the street, "Not a damn thing," everybody wondered whether it was true.

Mr. CHILTON. Mr. President, do I understand the Senator to say that he was present?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes; I was there.

Mr. CHILTON. And he was struck dumb? [Laughter.]

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Not permanently, Mr. President; but I am glad to score one for West Virginia.

Mr. OWEN rose.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Why does the Senator from Oklahoma threaten me? [Laughter.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Oklahoma?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Certainly, for a question.

Mr. OWEN. I wish to be permitted to make an inquiry, as it seems to be in order to make inquiries of the Senator. I do not wish to take him from the floor.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Plainly, the Senators on the other side are carrying on a most interesting filibuster here. They do not permit me to finish my sentence. Indeed, I have been disposed to conclude my remarks for some time, but for the last few hours I have been engaged in yielding to questions of one kind and another from the other side of the Chamber. I am not going to single out the Senator from Oklahoma for discourtesy. I yield for a question, of course.

Mr. OWEN. The inquiry of the Senator from New York suggested one to me. I wish to ask the Senator if he does not know it to be a fact that the Pujo investigation of the House of Representatives developed the fact, from competent testimony, that half a dozen of the great banking houses, with 125 individual members connected with those houses holding 326 directorates, controlled by the interlocking directorship system every one of the great railways of the country; controlled the great insurance companies, with hundreds of millions of assets; controlled the great express companies; controlled the telephone and telegraph business; controlled the great industrials, such as the American Tobacco Co., Amalgamated Copper, and so forth; controlled the great banks and trust companies of New York Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, and so forth; and altogether were shown to control twenty-two thousand millions of stocks and bonds, and that they followed the policy, when the Democratic Party came in, of deliberately cutting off the purchasing of supplies by the railways, cutting down the activities of these industrial companies, and themselves were responsible for bringing about in this country the hard times which they falsely charged to the Democratic Party?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Well, Mr. President, that is a very severe indictment, although it has nothing to do with the deficit in American revenues.

Mr. OWEN. The Senator does not answer the question.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. What has your question to do with a deficit of a hundred million dollars in the revenues?

Mr. OWEN. Will the Senator answer the question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. One at a time.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. These men whom the Senator has indicted may be responsible for many crimes. I do not know. I doubt it, however; but the Democratic administration which plunged the country into bankruptcy is responsible to the people.

Mr. OWEN. The Senator does not answer the question. Will the Senator answer the question, if he can?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I say to the Senator that what he has said is a serious indictment against business men.

Mr. OWEN. It is.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I do not think it is strictly true, but I have no doubt the Senator from Oklahoma believes it to be true.

Mr. OWEN. It is; and they are the allies of the Republican Party.

Mr. BRISTOW. Mr. President——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Several of the men who now sit on the Federal Reserve Bank Board, by the favor of the President, were on those interlocking directorates, and yet the President called them to positions of great responsibility. It seems to me there is a great deal of false pretense and sham about Democratic ethics. President Wilson nominated the International Harvester monopolist, Thomas H. Jones, to have charge of our new Federal banking system. Be consistent, gentlemen! If these interlocking directors are criminals, why do you take them to your bosom? Why do you call them into your party councils? Why do you advise with them and give them greater power than they had in their private employments?

Oh, Mr. President, the Senator from Oklahoma knows that is the merest folly. You can deceive no one by such arguments.

I hold in my hand the Chicago Tribune, which says that there are 150,000 men out of employment in the city of Chicago. My God! If they could have heard the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. CHILTON] a few moments ago, they would have taken the train forthwith for his Commonwealth, where work is so plentiful. Chicago city officials have decided to classify all jobless men by putting a blue tag on those living in Chicago, because those who come from Iowa and from Indiana and from Michigan and Wisconsin and from Oklahoma and Ohio to Chicago are to have a different colored tag. They will wait until the Chicago jobless have been provided for.

Now, Senators, you know this condition exists. You know that right under the glaring light of the Goddess of Liberty in New York Harbor Castle Garden is a public soup house to-day.

Mr. BRISTOW. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Kansas?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I certainly will, for a question.

Mr. BRISTOW. I wanted to inquire of the Senator from Michigan if the President of the United States did not take one of the chief conspirators to whom the Senator from Michigan has referred, who himself was on various boards of directors, who himself—he and his firm—engineered these combinations, who himself controlled these railroads, who himself practiced all the iniquities of high finance, and put him on the Federal Reserve Board to run the affairs of the banks of this country under the law, and plunder the country to his heart's content?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. That is a straightforward question, and it has the double advantage of being both a question and an indictment. Everybody knows how Senators squirmed in their places upon the other side of the Chamber when those nominations fell upon them for confirmation. Why, when the President called to Washington his friend, Thomas H. Jones, of the International Harvester Trust, who only contributed about $25,000 to the Democratic campaign two years ago—and I guess he raised $25,000 more, according to the evidence, making $50,000 altogether for one campaign—and tendered him a place at the Federal reserve bank table he found two or three heroic Democrats who had the courage to deny him that place. The President thereupon wrote a letter to my honored friend from Oklahoma, I think—and if I am in error I will stand corrected—saying that Mr. Jones, while technically connected with the International Harvester Trust, a corporation that had been ejected from a number of States by acts of legislatures, he was in it only a little bit; that he had only one or two shares; that he did not go in to make any profit, but to reform the trust. But when Mr. Jones, a man of sturdy, bluff, western independence and honor, saw that statement from the President of the United States to the Senator from Oklahoma he repudiated it, saying, "I did not go in for any such purpose. I did not go in to reform it. I approve what they did."

Senators, what hypocrisy! What hypocrisy to denounce interlocking directors, to denounce combinations of wealth, to denounce the unsympathetic millionaire, then give them the best positions in the service of the Government, greatly increasing their potentiality!

Paul Warburg is another interlocking director against whom the Senator from Oklahoma has so pitilessly arrayed himself.

Mr. Delano, I understand, was the president of one of the great railroads owned by the Gould system, who own the Western Union Telegraph Co. and are allied with the telephone monopoly; and yet they called Mr. Delano to the Federal Reserve Board and gave him larger powers over the money of the people—undoubtedly a good man—but the sniveling hypocrisy evidenced by the defenders of the administration appals me. It is rank hypocrisy. If the Senator from Oklahoma can palliate or excuse it, I should like him to do so now. I will gladly yield.

Mr. OWEN rose.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Oklahoma?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I do.

Mr. OWEN. I say to the Senator from Michigan that he has not answered my first question.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, what a brilliant and resourceful reply. It does no credit to the Senator from Oklahoma, who voluntarily injected himself into the controversy. I have not replied to his question! No other reply is necessary. The President of the United States decided the case against the Senator from Oklahoma when he put Paul Warburg and Mr. Delano on the Federal Reserve Board.

I know it was a bitter pill for you to swallow. I know how long you tried to avoid it. I know that you imperiled the country's prosperity by delaying the organization of the board, while the Chief of State was trying to reconcile the differences in his own party over those appointments. All the Senators here know it. I can not disclose any of the secrets of the executive session, but I do know that rebellion among Democrats was upon every hand. But the same high-handed, autocratic, relentless, and uncompromising authority which forced you to repeal the protective tariff law against the wishes of your countrymen; which has dawdled and delayed the solution of Mexican affairs; the same authority which bowed the knee to England

and gave her joint supervision in the Panama Canal, for which the American people alone had paid; the same authority that sent Secretary Bryan to California, post haste, on a de luxe train, at extra expense, in order that he might confer with Senator Caminetti at Sacramento concerning a settlement of the Japanese controversy—Senator Caminetti, the only person in California who showed any interest in Mr. Bryan's visit, and who received a most adequate reward from the administration—the same authority that is trying to force this Government from its path of duty, breaking down the traditions of Washington and Jefferson and Madison and Lincoln and Grant and McKinley, breaking down the consistent policy of this Government for more than a hundred years, is leading us into socialism and danger. And if this fallacy ever ripens it will be a disappointment to the country, as was the tariff law that he framed, as were the appointments that he has made, as was the Panama surrender, as is the Mexican policy, which has resulted in anarchy and bloodshed, which could have been easily avoided. And yet the President says "the Republican Party has not had a new idea in 30 years."

If these are new ideas, I thank God that the Republican Party has had the wisdom to avoid such unnecessary pitfalls in its matchless career of half a century.

I said the President did not represent a majority of his countrymen. The majority of the American people never told him to do these things. Woodrow Wilson said, with great solemnity, in one of his books, "No number less than a majority has a right to tell me how I have got to live in America." Yet he received 6,293,419 votes when he ran for President of the United States in 1912 and there were 7,604,463 votes cast against him. Majority rule, indeed.

He says he believes in majority rule. In 1912 Wilson and Marshall carried a majority vote in 14 States only. A majority of votes in 1912 in 34 States proclaimed themselves in favor of the American policy of protection. Yet he asserts that nothing less than a majority can control him. Thirty-four States of this Union voted against his low-tariff and free-trade policy, and yet he believes in majority rule. Fourteen States were in favor of free trade, and yet we are to suffer for two years more until another general election remedies the wrong unconsciously and unintentionally inflicted by the electorate of our country in 1912. Thirty-four States passed a majority vote for protection. These States are the most diversified, intelligent, enterprising, populous in the Union, and I do not mean to be invidious by that statement. I only mean to say that 1 in 4 persons in those 34 States voted in 1912 and 1 in 12½ persons voted in the 14 States that gave the President a majority.

What are the States which gave a pronounced majority in favor of protection to American industrial labor in 1912?

Mr. THOMPSON. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Kansas?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield for a question to my honored friend. I do not want to be taken off the floor, however.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair understands that.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I have been interrupted so much that I am a little weary.

Mr. THOMPSON. Will the Senator tell us how many States and what States there were that the candidate of his party for the Presidency carried in 1912?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I do not remember, but I do remember the popular vote for protection.

Mr. THOMPSON. There were two States.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Indeed, I am gratified to have this information. It was purely accidental, however, that we got any votes. I will tell you the States that gave a majority for protection.

Mr. REED rose.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I hope my adroit and able friend from Missouri is not menacing me.

Mr. REED. I want to make an announcement, if I may.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I am a little suspicious of the look in the Senator's eye. [Laughter.]

Mr. REED. I can not keep it out of my eye when I am looking over to the Senator continuing his filibuster, but I did want to ask the courtesy of the Senator to make an announcement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator from Michigan yield?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield, if I am not yielding the floor.

Mr. REED. Oh, no.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair understands that.

Mr. REED. If the Senator's speech is as humorous as this introduction it will be worth listening to, but I wish to say that on Monday, probably in the evening, if I can then obtain the floor, I desire to submit some remarks in support of the veto by the President of the immigration bill.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, that is marvelously interesting, because it will be almost the first time in his career here when the Senator from Missouri has been in close accord with the President on any public question. I shall hear that speech.

But resuming, among the States in the Union which gave a pronounced and overwhelming majority in favor of protection to American industry and labor in 1912 were California. Does anybody deny that? Colorado; I see the Senator from Colorado here. Connecticut, Delaware. How is it, I ask the Senator from Delaware? Am I right?

Mr. DU PONT. Yes.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa. There is no doubt about that. Kansas. Now, how is my friend over there, the Senator from Kansas? Kansas gave a majority for protection to American industry and labor.

Mr. THOMPSON. Will the Senator answer as to what two States his candidate for the Presidency carried in 1912?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Why should the Senator embarrass me? He knows we ran two candidates. Why not answer this question?

Mr. THOMPSON. And how many electoral votes did that candidate receive in the Electoral College?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I can not recall. Did the State of Kansas cast a majority of its vote for protection to American industry and labor in 1912 and again this year, I ask my honorable friend? Here is the senior Senator from Kansas [Mr. BRISTOW]. I ask him. Perhaps the junior Senator does not recall that event.

Mr. THOMPSON. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Kansas?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield for a question.

Mr. THOMPSON. On account of the fight between the two candidates, ex-President Roosevelt and President Taft, the tariff question was lost sight of in Kansas.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, Mr. President, that will not do; Kansas people rarely act thoughtlessly. I think the Senator from Kansas is a plurality Senator.

Mr. CHILTON. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from West Virginia?

Mr. CHILTON. I merely wish to call the attention of the Senator to a fact, if that is material. Senator PENROSE himself will be in the same position when he comes into this body on the 4th of March next under his new election.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The Senator from West Virginia is progressing. He is now willing to represent Senator PENROSE here as well as himself. I am quite content to await Senator PENROSE's arrival with 250,000 plurality to his credit. I guess no one questions his title, or, indeed, the title of the junior Senator from Kansas.

Mr. President, Maine cast its vote for protection to American labor in 1912. Does anyone deny that?

Maryland cast her vote for protection to American industry. I am not unmindful of the rapt attention of the Senators upon the other side of the Chamber to this recital. I am glad so many of them have returned to their seats and honor me by their presence.

Massachusetts cast its vote for protection. I ask the junior Senator from Massachusetts if that is not true? Of course I am right.

Mr. TOWNSEND. I will ask the Senator whether Michigan did not record its vote by approximately 110,000 majority for protection?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes; and yet we have not had any influence in restraining the rapacious appetite of our friends on the other side of the Chamber, notwithstanding my honored colleague and myself bear a commission from that great State to this body. Only yesterday the greatest Progressive club in the State of Michigan, and I think the father of all the other Progressive clubs in Michigan, met at Bay City and decided unanimously to abandon their separate organization and return in a body to the Republican Party.

Minnesota cast its vote in favor of protection to American industry and labor and against the vicious propaganda of free trade, which the President of the United States learned to love in his youth, 40 years ago.

Missouri cast its vote in favor of protection, and but a minority in favor of the doctrine of Wilson and Marshall.

Montana. At last I have reached the frontier post of Republicanism, and I think I am right when I say that both the Progressive Party and the Republican Party in Montana favored protection to American labor and that their vote was considerably greater than the vote of the Democratic Party for free trade, Wilson and Marshall.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I do.

Mr. WALSH. I suppose that is a challenge to the Senator from Montana. I desire to say to the Senator from Michigan that the State of Montana did cast its vote in 1912, as it always does, in favor of the protection of American industry and American labor from the oppression of the trusts and the protective tariff, the mother of trusts, and they reaffirmed that in the last election when they gave a majority of over 5,000 votes over both the combined Republican and Progressive votes.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I think the people gave their vote for protection, of course; they usually do; and I am glad that I have not misstated the condition in Montana. There was a moment or two when I began to wonder whether I was wrong or somebody else was wrong on the other side; but I am gradually regaining my confidence and feel quite sure the statement I made about Montana is not only true, but will bear repetition.

Nebraska. Nebraska, the home of the three-time candidate of the Democracy, the uncrowned king; Nebraska, where free silver was born and nurtured for a few short weeks, and in whose virgin soil it gently reposes forever [laughter]; Nebraska, from which sprang the doctrine of "a guaranty of bank deposits," which lasted but a few short months in a campaign until the nettles grew upon it and it was quietly interred in its native soil alongside the free-silver baby; Nebraska, the home of Democratic plant life and other spurious nostrums.

Nebraska, the residential home of the Secretary of State, now divided, however, with North Carolina. One State will not hold him and now he lives in two. He always did believe in the double standard [laughter], and if he keeps on he will reestablish the old ratio of 16 to 1. [Laughter.]

I admire the Secretary of State, however, but I can not forgive him for the part he played in carrying Prof. Wilson out of the House of Representatives on his shoulders after the West Virginia doctrinaire had struck the blow at our domestic prosperity in 1892. He was one of four men who carried Prof. Wilson out of the House of Representatives on his shoulders after they passed the Wilson free-trade law, which brought on the panic of 1893.

I do not know what part of the physical anatomy of Prof. Wilson Mr. Bryan carried out [laughter]; I never made particular inquiry as to that; but I do not think he was very particular; any part was satisfying; under the circumstances every one was delirious with expectation. [Laughter.] How well I recall the results of that folly.

Nevada cast a majority of its vote for protection of American industry and labor; and this year it would have elected a Republican Senator in place of the senior Senator from Nevada [Mr. NEWLANDS] if there had been just 17 votes more. It cast its vote in 1912 in favor of protection to American industry and labor; yet the Senator from Nevada joined his colleagues on the other side in their raid upon prosperity, having more solicitude for party solidarity than the wishes of the electorate of Nevada as expressed in the presidential election of 1912.

New Hampshire cast its vote for protection. They had good reason to cast their vote for protection; their factories prosper under it. This year they reelected their distinguished Senator to come back to this Chamber, where he reflects so much honor upon his Commonwealth; they elected a Republican for governor of that State; and, for the first time in 14 years, they have elected a Republican mayor of the city of Manchester, with all its multiplied industries. The citadel of Democracy has fallen in New Hampshire; Manchester is no longer a Democratic city.

New Jersey. Can it be possible that is the home of the President, who says that nothing less than a majority should control him; the man who says there should be no inside but all outside in government? Shades of the Democratic caucus; all outside and no inside. You could not break into a Democratic caucus with a jimmy. [Laughter.] Yet in his New Freedom he says that the Government should be all outside and no inside.

I hesitate very much to comment on New Jersey, the home of the President, and facing as I do the present Presiding Officer of the Senate [Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey in the chair], and yet I think he will bear with me while I state the truth.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair trusts the Senator from Michigan will pardon him for observing that the Senator from Michigan need have no fear or hesitancy for the reason he has stated. The Commonwealth of New Jersey is quite able to take care of itself.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I never had any fear of the Senator from New Jersey; it is a pleasure to come within the range of his influence.

But New Jersey cast a majority of its vote in favor of protection in 1912, notwithstanding the President lives in New Jersey. You would hardly believe it, from the returns of the election last fall, when his candidate for Congress was defeated, but it is true. The majority of the voters of New Jersey cast their votes in favor of protection to American industry and labor in 1912, and yet the President leads his party against this overwhelming expression of public opinion.

New Mexico, the latest star in our constellation of States, which I had some part in bringing into the Union, of which I am very proud, and which is ably represented here by my friends, cast a majority of its votes in favor of protection in 1912 and again last fall. I ask the Senator from New Mexico if I am not right about that?

Mr. CATRON. The Senator from Michigan is right.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The truth is mighty. I have called witnesses ever since my statement was questioned on the other side of the Chamber. [Laughter.]

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I do, for a question.

Mr. WALSH. I trust the Senator from Michigan did not include me in his last remark?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, Mr. President, certainly not. If I was courting trouble with anyone on that side of the Chamber, I should avoid the Senator from Montana with all the adroitness that I could command. No; I did not include the Senator.

Arizona got away from us; Arizona does not seem to have quite come up to our expectations in 1912; but we will pass that by. The people of that State will have an opportunity to correct their folly next year. Most of the mines out there are shut down now, and I think they will not want another object lesson.

New York cast a majority of its votes in 1912 for protection to American industry and labor; and yet the President of the United States says that a majority should control here. The Senator from New York [Mr. ROOT], who does me the honor of listening, nods his assent to my suggestion, for which I am especially grateful. Last fall how nobly New York again did its work. With what consternation did she rout the Democracy, electing a governor of magnificent proportions, a Senator of great promise, both of them protectionists; and even when the State fell, and went into the hands of the opposition in some offices, the people by a majority vote declared in favor of protection to American industry and labor; and yet the President, whose book is literally running over with his respect for majority control, employed every means in his control to get the tariff law repealed, and to put in its place something which the people had declared they did not want.

South Dakota, North Dakota, Ohio—yes, Ohio—pronounced itself in favor of protection to American industry and labor. Why should it not?

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. It was the home of Garfield; and also of McKinley, whose name is still sacred not only in the Commonwealth in which he lived and is buried, but throughout the country and, indeed, throughout the civilized world. On yesterday the people by thousands decorated their bosoms with red carnations, emblematic of their affection for the loved McKinley.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield to the Senator from Ohio for a question.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, as the Senator from Michigan has referred to Ohio and to her vote in 1912, may I have the permission of the Senator to ask him a question?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Certainly.

Mr. POMERENE. I noticed the other day that when our distinguished friend, whom we all delight to see honored, was present, some of his very good friends nominated him for the Presidency.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I am sorry the Senator mentioned that; that was confidential.

Mr. POMERENE. I want to ask whether the speech of the Senator this evening is in the nature of a speech of acceptance of the nomination?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. No; it is intended as a valedictory. I am not a candidate.

Mr. POMERENE. I thought I could, with propriety, ask that question, in view of the fact that my own distinguished colleague [Mr. BURTON] and the distinguished Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH] are not present in the Chamber, and therefore the Senator would not necessarily be embarrassed by an answer to the question.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Well, remembering the number of candidates Ohio has, I am not surprised that the Senator from Ohio is looking abroad.

Mr. POMERENE. Yes; we have a multitude of them; and I would be very glad to have any one of them or the distinguished Senator from Michigan receive the nomination——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The Senator is very kind.

Mr. POMERENE. Because we realize——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. That is as far as the Senator desires to go.

Mr. POMERENE. Because we realize that none of them could be elected. [Laughter.]

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. We will try that out later in another forum.

Mr. POMERENE. In view of the manner in which the Senator has spoken of the doctrine of protection, I notice that he did not make any reference to the State of Michigan, which at the last election, I believe, elected a Democratic governor.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, I will refer to that.

Mr. POMERENE. How did that effect the tariff question in that State?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. It is all right; it was done deliberately; it was not accidental. The people of our State did it from choice. He has made a good governor, and is a very honorable man.

Mr. POMERENE. I am very glad to hear a tribute to at least one Democrat.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, I have always praised Democrats where I could, but I do not have many opportunities to do so. [Laughter.]

Mr. POMERENE. I have observed that for some time the Senator from Michigan sees through a glass darkly. In view of what the Senator has said with reference to protection in the State of Ohio, what kind of protection does the Senator have in mind as being indorsed there—protection of the Taft brand or protection of the Roosevelt brand?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Both.

Mr. POMERENE. And in view of the Senator's possible nomination for the Presidency, does he expect to follow the Roosevelt branch of the party or the Taft branch of the party?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Both.

Mr. POMERENE. The Senator, it seems to me, ought to take a lesson from those who try to ride two horses going in opposite directions at the same time.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The Senator from Ohio is confused. He has not read the platforms of the two parties. I have them here; they are perfectly harmonious on the question of protection. I will tell you what kind of protection we are going to have. If I have anything to say about it, or if I am to be satisfied with it—which, perhaps, is of very little consequence—we will have the Ohio brand; we will have the same kind of protection that we had under McKinley. I was here when McKinley was President and helped to enact the tariff law which he signed, and I like that brand of protection myself.

Mr. POMERENE. The Democrats of Ohio will be very glad to meet you on that issue.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. What there is left of them; they got pretty badly licked at the last election. [Laughter.]

Mr. POMERENE. Not so very badly licked. In a State which ordinarily is a hundred thousand Republican, the Republican governor was only elected by about 28,000.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. How much did the Republican candidate for Senator get?

Mr. POMERENE. There were different issues involved in that case; it was not a straightout contest between Republicans and Democrats.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. My friend from Ohio is an innocent-looking man [laughter] and his beautiful brown eyes have an enchanting effect upon me; but he is trying to conceal something from view. [Laughter.]

Mr. POMERENE. I was not aware of the fact that I so closely resembled the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The Senator resembles me in many respects, especially in his modesty; but the Senator is trying to conceal something. He knows that if he had stated the majority his colleague to be received at the last election in the State of Ohio it would have measured up with the highest ever cast by the Republican Party in past years. He knows that, and yet he did not say it—and I am going to say for him—Mr. Harding, his colleague to be, received substantially a hundred thousand majority for Senator. Furthermore, as I recollect, both branches of the legislature are Republican. Congressman Frank Willis, a young man of splendid proportions, was pitted against Gov. Cox, and won a most notable victory for our party. Yes; the Ohio brand of protection is good enough for me. It was good enough for Garfield. It was good enough for Rutherford B. Hayes. It was good enough for William McKinley. That kind of protection is good enough for me. President McKinley did not wait until 9.30 o'clock in the evening to sign the Dingley bill; he did not withhold his signature until all places of business from New York to San Francisco had closed, lest he might disturb the business equilibrium of the country. President Wilson withheld his signature to the Underwood law until 9 o'clock and 5 minutes, on the advice of his Attorney General, lest the new law disturb the business of the country. He sprung it on them in the night; and, oh, the morning after. [Laughter.] But William McKinley, of blessed memory, signed the Dingley law in the morning, that his countrymen might take new hope for the day. The wonderful effects of that law kept him in the Presidency until the assassin cut him off; and the day he was buried there was little said about his wanting to be a king and wear a crown; there was little said about Emperor McKinley, who was taking over-sea possessions that he might wear a crown upon his brow. The day he was buried every train of cars in this Republic stopped at the hour of his burial, on bridge or mountain or valley or hill, and paused for full five minutes in compliment to his memory. The multiplied enterprises of our country paused and labor rested for full five minutes at the moment of his burial; and, praise God, there was no idleness until his example and his teachings were forgotten.

Mr. BRISTOW. Abandoned, not forgotten.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. No; as our honored friend from Kansas says, not forgotten—abandoned. What a tribute to a real party leader with real political principles! He was a far-sighted, sagacious President of the Republic. What a tribute! Not a vocation unrepresented in this tribute; men of strange tongues; workers in mines, forges, and factories; men of foreign birth; men unfamiliar with our institutions; men in every part of the world paid their tribute of affection to this mighty Ohioan; and it is his principles which attract me to the Ohio brand of protection.

But his political course was not unruffled. After the McKinley law passed Congress, in 1890, he was retired from the House of Representatives under a mistaken judgment of the electorate; but it did not take the American people long to rectify that error. How the Democracy plumed itself on the retirement from Congress of McKinley! To what lengths they went in running a shoe-string district through the State of Ohio in order to accomplish that purpose! Yet, when he died, the industries that had sprung into being by the magic of his genius paid reverent tribute to his memory.

He was a well-poised man. He did not want the War with Spain. He did nothing from pique; he was always animated by a lofty purpose and the purest patriotism. He tried his best to check the growing sentiment in favor of war for Cuban freedom. He knew what war was. He was a soldier when he was 16 years of age. He was one of the 800,000 soldiers who, at 16 years of age, fought the battles of this Republic. I heard him often protest against it; he knew its full consequences must be borne by this Republic.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I certainly do.

Mr. WALSH. As the Senator from Michigan said to the Senator from Ohio that he would run upon both the Progressive and the Republican platforms, so far as the tariff is concerned, I want to read to him from the Progressive platform as follows——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Of course, it is wholly unnecessary to thus nip my boom in the bud, because I will not run at all. I have no thought that I shall ever be deemed worthy of such confidence.

Mr. WALSH (reading)—

> We demand tariff revision because the present tariff is unjust to the people of the United States. Likewise, we condemn the Payne-Aldrich bill as unjust to the people.

Waiving the question of the candidacy of the Senator, I would like to inquire of him whether he proposes to go on the stump and indorse those sentiments?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, Mr. President, that was in anger. Yes; I am going to indorse the principle of protection of American industry and labor, and I am going to attack the Democratic position as un-American and undesirable. Your frequent platform declarations that we have no constitutional right to impose protective duties makes the issue square and insures a finish fight from which no Republican will shrink. But let me finish what I began some moments ago. Oregon gave a majority vote in favor of protection in 1912. Is there any doubt about that? When the President of the United States says that he is in favor of majority rule, he is ignoring the majority for protection in Oregon.

Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont, Washington, and West Virginia cast a majority of its votes in favor of protection to American industry and labor.

Thirty-four States pronounced themselves by a majority vote against the President's policy, including the President's own State, and yet he ignored that "mandate from the people."

Mr. CHILTON. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield further to the Senator from West Virginia?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes.

Mr. CHILTON. I want to say to the Senator, in addition to what the Senator from Montana has said, that in a brief speech which I made in the Senate shortly after the election of 1912 I read four declarations of the Progressive platform which denounced in terms the Republican Party. It denounced that party because, as the platform said, it had lost its usefulness. It denounced the Payne-Aldrich bill. It denounced the management of the Republican Party. It denounced the leadership of the Republican Party. The party that did that got 85,000 votes in the State of West Virginia, and the old standpat Republican Party, to which the Senator still attaches himself and tries to make it appear is still in accord with the Progressive Party and its declarations, in 1912 got fifty-odd thousand votes, and the Democratic Party got 117,000 votes.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Put them together, where they are to-day, and I say that there was a majority for protection.

Mr. CHILTON. If the Senator wants to persist in saying that those two things I have named—to wit, the Progressive platform and the Republican platform—mean the same thing, why, I can not help it, and he can add the two together.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I know they do not mean the same thing to the Senator from West Virginia, because he is concerned in keeping up the quarrel between these two wings of the Republican Party; but they do mean the same thing to me, and in my State they have already come together with practical unanimity, and if they come together in the Senator's State with the same unanimity the same desirable result will be accomplished in the Nation.

Mr. CHILTON. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan further yield to the Senator from West Virginia?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I do.

Mr. CHILTON. I want to say to the Senator that in the election of 1914 West Virginia was one of the few States that increased its Democratic delegation in the Congress of the United States.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Well, that is not to your credit nor to the credit of West Virginia.

Mr. STONE. You elected a Democratic governor in Michigan.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, well, that does not make any difference.

Mr. STONE. Of course not.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. We carried the State by 75,000 majority for everyone else on the ticket and gained two Representatives in Congress.

Mr. CHILTON. Is the Senator talking about West Virginia?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, no; everything that is said here does not necessarily concern West Virginia. I am talking about another State. Answering the question of my honored friend from Missouri, Congressman WOODRUFF, of Michigan, elected as a Progressive, told me yesterday that his party had met formally at Bay City two or three days ago and dissolved the Progressive Party and had come over in a body to the Republican Party. I hope our friend from West Virginia can get some comfort out of that situation. I know I do.

Mr. WALSH. Possibly the Senator from West Virginia will retort that that is no particular credit to the people of Michigan.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, well, he did not say that. It required the acumen of the Senator from Montana to concoct such a retort [laughter], and it was not original with him. I do not mean that, however, as a criticism of my friend. You have gotten into the habit of quarreling among yourselves.

Now, I have enumerated the States that pronounced in favor of protection two years ago. It is a striking summary. They declared in favor of the American policy—not the British policy, the American policy; not the policy that has demoralized and driven to desperation the workmen of England and the workmen of America.

Said the President:

I, for my part, believe that there ought to be no place where anything can be done that everybody does not know about.

Oh, what sadness must have crept over his heart when he ascertained that our Democratic friends had locked themselves in the Committee on Finance and pulled down the curtains and shut the blinds, and were as impervious to counsel as though they had been in a tomb in the catacombs!

That is good doctrine when one is not moved by passion or cheered on by ambition. In his book on the New Freedom, at page 223, the President says that the Government should be "all outside and no inside." How can he approve the methods by which most of the legislation of his party in Congress has been accomplished this year? You would naturally suppose he would be saddened by the spectacle of his party locking themselves behind closed doors to perfect legislation which he, as President of the United States, must approve.

I, for one, have the conviction that Government ought to be all outside and no inside.

Said President Wilson before he came to the White House:

I, for my part, believe that there ought to be no place—

That includes the Senate, it includes the House of Representatives—

that there ought to be no place where anything can be done that everybody does not know about.

At page 129 the President said in his New Freedom:

There is not any legitimate privacy about Government. Government must, if it be pure and correct in its processes, it must be absolutely public in everything that affects it. I can not imagine a public man with a conscience having a secret that he would keep from the people about their own affairs.

Yet the Senators in this body have witnessed more secrecy in the last two years in the perfection of legislation and in their party plans than has ever been seen here before. The President ought either to disapprove it or he ought to take in that highly ethical sign.

He calls the House chiefs in council to check the deficit. Why not proclaim it to the world? Why not have it all outside and no inside? Why not let the people know what this deficit is? Why call the party chieftains in council behind closed doors?

I do not think he intended to do harm. I do him the credit to say that, because in his first message he said he would not do the country any harm. He wrote a great deal on building up trade, and especially our foreign trade. It is marvelous how these Democrats like foreign trade. They would rather see one shipload go abroad with a few products for sale than to see 100,000 trainloads go up and down the highways of our country. If all our population were to rely for employment on the amount of goods we sell abroad, idleness would prevail throughout our land; we could not keep the people in New York City thus employed, let alone the balance of the country.

I understand the domestic commerce of this country amounts to upward of $45,000,000,000 annually. The figures are simply appalling. That is the commerce which we should encourage. Our domestic commerce—that may be seen on the highways, in wagons, in cars, going at all hours of the day to the American market place.

I never knew a good loyal Democrat in my life who did not take a great deal more satisfaction in a shipload of products sent abroad than in a thousand loads sold upon our streets. That is the fundamental mistake the Democratic Party labors under. I would not buy a dollar's worth of goods in Europe that could be made at home by our own people.

Look at Canada. There are 7,000,000 people across our northern border. Her citizens may come here at daybreak under this Democratic law, drive into one of our chief cities, occupy our market place, sell the production of their fields and their factories and their looms, take our money, and return at nightfall, without being burdened at all with the expense of maintaining the American Government. They not only have the blessed privilege of enjoying the American market place without cost, but they enjoy their own markets exclusively at the same time.

If I had my way about it, I would not buy European goods that could be made at home. Then we would not have complaints of 150,000 jobless men in Chicago and 500,000 in New York. We would not have complaints of idleness from every city in the Union. The people would have work to do, and then Dun's Review would not record the failures of 1914 as the

greatest in number and volume that ever occurred in the history of our Government.

I do not wonder the President feels called upon to make weekly proclamations of coming prosperity; and yet it does not come, and never will under Democratic management.

Ours is an ideal Government, and we should have more solicitude for our own people than we have for the people of other lands. Our charity ought to begin at home. We should be appreciative of the people who fight our battles. There is not a citizen of Canada who could be drafted to fight under our banner. Why should we give them our market place in competition with those who win our victories on land and sea. They do not pay any of our taxes. Our so-called war tax, which is a deficiency tax pure and simple, does not touch our neighbors on the north. Our own people sustain our Government, and aliens should not be accorded equal privileges with our own.

What a matchless array of figures I cited to you from the census of the United States. No one man can disprove them. Millions upon millions in that one decade of Republicanism were added to the national wealth. We must constantly increase our independence of the world and not place too much reliance on foreign favor. The time may come, and it may result from this European war, when Great Britain will encircle all her dominions with a protective-tariff wall that will exclude us from the best foreign market place in all the world. She may put a tariff wall around her possessions, buying from Canada the products of her mines and forests and her cereals, using for her own benefit her matchless productions in Australia and New Zealand. She may out of Egypt furnish herself with cotton and with wheat. There may grow out of this war a confederated England, just as a confederated Germany grew out of the Franco-Prussian War. When that time comes and the spirit which is now prevalent throughout the Empire is given practical effect, America will have lost her best customer in all the world.

We sell to England about $600,000,000 worth of the products of our fields and our factories every year. When she ceases to buy from us, to whom will we sell? Tell me, my Democratic friends. You have been so generous to our rivals; when we are driven out of the British market by British protection, tell me to what country will we sell the $600,000,000 worth of American products, the fruits of our genius? Oh, how silent sit the Senators upon the other side. [Laughter.] You can not find a customer in all the world to take the place of Britain if you lose her. I want to tell you that there is a sentiment throughout the British Empire growing stronger every year in favor of following the American example and the French example and the German example by giving protection to her own people and preventing the poaching of her neighbors. And if, as a result of this war, her colonies should be more closely united in a general commercial policy as a result of the fighting going on to-night upon a hundred battle fields, and a confederation should result, we will have lost the best customer we have in the entire world.

Then the wisdom of the fathers who advocated American industrial independence and diversification of productions, so that the chair maker may buy shoes of the shoemaker, clothes from the tailor, carpets from the carpet weaver, glass from the glassmaker, each patronizing the toil of other men, thus contributing to a prosperous whole. How great the wisdom of the fathers when they proclaimed that we could not buy in a cheap market and retain a dear market in which to sell. Our market is the best in all the world; as the world progresses, and it is progressing onward, I would not be at all surprised if out of this war the most autocratic government in Europe should become the greatest republic. The cheers of the people of Russia are as sweet music to the Czar. He has never before heard them since he ascended the throne of Russia. For the first time in his experience, at the head of the Russian State, he walks among his people unarmed and unafraid. If when this war is over the people ask for a democracy it would not surprise me at all to see it granted. Common suffering creates a wonderful bond of sympathy between men.

I wish I could detail to this Senate the personal conversation I had a few years ago with the Emperor of Germany, in which he expressed some interesting views on the American and the German tariffs, but I forbear. I believe that all Europe is destined to be protective in its fiscal policy. Sentiment in the House of Commons to-day can not be overlooked, and when they become more strongly confederated we will lose our best customer abroad.

We protectionists believed that we were producing too much wheat and cereals. So we got the Department of Agriculture to make some experiments with our soil and determine whether or not we could raise sugar from the beet. I remember with what misgivings the Secretary of Agriculture conducted his experiments in different States. We felt that we ought to produce sugar here. We were paying hundreds of millions for our sugar abroad. We felt that if we could take the burden off of wheat and the cereals and plant in the same fields a product which we badly needed we could thus retain the money which would otherwise be expended abroad.

Do you know that the island of Cuba has a productive sugar capacity of more than 5,000,000 tons a year? They can supply nearly double the American demand. But there is no reason in the world why we should permit them to do it, thus exhausting our gold supply.

Oh, no; we must diversify our productions, and by so doing retain our gold supply. Every dollar's worth of goods we buy abroad we must pay for in yellow gold, and it is an axiom of good government that you can not buy your products abroad and hold your gold supply at home.

Under the Republican administrations gold has been running into our Treasury like a maddening river from every part of the world. That is the reason why our credit is unexcelled. Is it any wonder that every fourth citizen of the Republic had a bank account to his credit when President Wilson stood on the front steps of this Capitol and took the oath of office as President of the United States? Is it any wonder that from a policy so wise we have been able to gather in money enough to pay all the expenses of our Government and greatly reduce the national debt?

From Lincoln to Taft no hasty Cabinet council has ever been held to take care of an increasing national deficit in the revenues of this country.

We partially built the Panama Canal out of our current income. We left $30,000,000 of Panama Canal bonds in the Treasury. The Democrats propose to take them out and put the money into this ship-purchase plan—a purely socialistic doctrine. If the President had gone to the country on that issue, he would have felt very much as he is feeling now regarding the immigration question. If he had ever had that put in his party platform, I think he would have been a private citizen to-day. It will be a bad law; it commits this Government to a folly—Heaven only knows what fruit it may bear.

Up in the blue mountains of California, in a little room without a roof over it, the silent student of the stars is studying the course of the planets. He is ascertaining their distance from the earth and fixing charts by which ships on the sea will be navigated for years to come. The maps that he is making there in the blue mountains of California will guide our vessels for a quarter of a century. How silently he works, this student of the stars, smoothing out the way of the mariner by night or by day! What we are doing, however, here to-day makes confusion worse confounded. We are not fixing safe charts for the ship of state; we are making no plans by which shoals may be avoided. We are by this bill rushing headlong onto the rocks of socialism.

What the next move will be only the "Doctor" knows. He is not a good diagnostician. He may say, "We have not gone quite far enough; we must take over the railroads and operate them; we must take the mines." Already there is a widespread propaganda in favor of the Government taking over the mines.

How the Government will prosper when it has blunted the initiative of the individual and discouraged him in his struggles of life! Oh, but the President says we must cultivate our neighbors to the south. You can not get any trade from South America or Central America under any circumstances until you treat South America and Central America justly. You can not put your soldiers into any country of Central or South America to subjugate the people and foist upon them a government which they do not want and get any trade or any good will out of such country. We have not a friend to the south of us.

Mexico—think of it. I guess I will not talk about Mexico.

Mr. BRISTOW. Why not?

Mr. TOWNSEND. Go ahead.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I have neither the time nor the disposition to do it. I have been brought close enough to that controversy to know something about it. I know where the Mexican revolution was born. I know the character of the men behind it. Down here in the Hibbs Building sits a lawyer who got the first $50,000 in gold that was ever paid out of the Mexican treasury for throwing dust in the eyes of President Diaz and his administration.

I know it, because under oath he told me so. That has been the headquarters of this revolutionary propaganda. Yet this

man is permitted to freely pass from his office in Washington to Carranza or to Villa, and he seems to be marvelously successful in his business of revolutions in Central and South America.

He prophesied the downfall of Zelaya in Nicaragua. He had a hand in the revolution of Guatemala. He spent most of his time one summer between Guatemala City and the City of Mexico. Many people thought he was trying to form a combination to get control of the Mexican Central Railroad from the Mexican Government, then throw it into combination with the railroad of Guatemala, and then tie it up with the Keith system in Central America. A conference in a New York hotel held up the battle of Juarez for two days, while an attempt was made to adjust the railroad and the oil differences of five men, who held in the hollow of their hand the destiny of 17,000,000 Mexican people.

I charge here that all the lives that have been lost, all the blood that has been shed, all the treasure that has been sacrificed, all the feelings that have been wounded, all the hearts that have been broken, all the widows that have been made, all the children that have been made orphans has been caused by the rapacious appetite of a few men to control the railroad and the oil interest of Mexico, and our Government, consciously or unconsciously, has loaned itself to those men.

There is a man here now in this Capitol named Llorente—I do not know whether he is in the galleries or not; if he is, he will hear my opinion of him—who spent his time on the Mexican border in an American hotel in El Paso, where he had millions of dollars to his credit, hiring men to blow up bridges and destroy railroad tracks. I talked to a man in the prison at El Paso, who told that this man told him the arrangement that had been made with him by Llorente in the consular office rendered him immune from prosecution. Llorente used the officers of this Government, of the Department of Justice, to further his diabolical purposes. After the death of Madero, Llorente was taken to Mexico City and incarcerated in a Mexican prison because he failed to account for hundreds of thousands of dollars which had been placed at his disposal and which he used with such a lavish hand in American cities in defiance of our laws of neutrality to further the ends of a few very ambitious, very adroit, and very selfish men in Mexico.

It is said that the President at Indianapolis the other day actually "chuckled," as the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD puts it, when somebody referred to his watchful waiting policy in Mexico. Chuckled! Oh, Mr. President, chuckled at what? At the discomfiture of 17,000,000 people? At a devastated Republic? At the loss of American prestige with our immediate neighbor on the south? Chuckled! Surely it could not have been because 17 marines lost their lives under our flag at Vera Cruz.

Mr. BRISTOW. Why did he go to Vera Cruz?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. We went to Vera Cruz because he was angry at Gen. Huerta. He ordered Huerta to get off the throne, which Huerta did not do; so, then, the President blocked his loans in Europe and hung a sign on him that he was an undesirable citizen, and the whole world was asked to outlaw him. Some of us did not want the Huerta government destroyed unless there was some other government acceptable to the people of Mexico to put in its place.

Mr. BRISTOW. After Huerta, then what?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, how often I have heard the question asked, "After Huerta, what?" Then one day a few of our marines landed and went up the street, not knowing that martial law had been proclaimed, and were apprehended by a subordinate and told that they must consider themselves prisoners. The marines walked along with the officer until one of his superior officers came along, and they told him that they were bluejackets from an American vessel and had no thought of violating the law, and he let them go, returned them to their ship, and made an apology for their apprehension; and yet, before a joint session of the two Houses of Congress, we were asked to give authority to the President to require Gen. Huerta to salute the American flag with 21 guns, when he did not have powder enough to fire 2 guns, let alone 21 guns. [Laughter.] And the 21 guns have not been fired yet, although 21 lives and more were lost because of our ill-advised act.

The whole thing is a pitiful travesty.

Oh, such devastation, such ruin, such disaster, and all for nothing! And we gave arms and ammunition to those bandits. I have often wondered whether the 17 soldiers who sleep under our flag were really sent to their final rest by the powder and the guns that were placed in their hands through the kindness of the American Executive.

If that is a chapter in the history of this Government which our friends on the other side like, all right. In the eyes of the civilized world we have proven ourselves utterly and entirely incompetent to deal with a delicate situation at our very doors involving a doctrine of the American Government recognized for more than 75 years.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SWANSON in the chair). Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield for a question.

Mr. KENYON. The Senator's remarks on this subject are very interesting. I should like to ask him what he thinks about the shipping of cartridges and rifles and ammunition across the water to be used in helping to kill people over there for the sake of profit to manufacturers in this country?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. It has long been the doctrine of nations that it was legitimate. I do not know that it is highly moral, but it is legitimate to deal with belligerents. We have done it. We did it during the Cuban insurrection, during her trouble with Spain. I remember to have called one night at the palace of the governor general in Habana with Gen. Fitzhugh Lee when that controversy came up with the governor general of Cuba. I have never known it to be otherwise than legal, at least to engage in such an enterprise.

Mr. KENYON. Is it not just as reprehensible to do that as it is to permit shipments into Mexico?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The situation in Mexico represents our modern idea of neutrality. The President has made it easy to send arms across the border into Mexico. I know that hundreds of millions of cartridges have been shipped into Mexico during the last two years; Capt. Hopkins, who has an office in the Hibbs building, had a hand in those shipments. Flint & Co., of New York, had a hand in those shipments. Llorente, whom I spoke of a moment ago, shipped munitions of war into Mexico as nails, and under various misleading names. The neutrality law was changed by Executive order. I did not favor the neutrality law passed three years ago at the instance of President Taft. I felt we were going to get into trouble by that law, and said so in conference with our committee at the White House; but it was passed, and the President was vested with a broad discretion, and has made common cause with bandits. He hurled his anathemas to set aside Huerta and followed the fortunes of Carranza and Villa, sending emissaries to both camps, and making it easy for them to get guns. If a state of war existed in Mexico, why were they not accorded belligerent rights? I recognize the humane spirit which has prompted the question of the Senator from Iowa. I wish they might not come here for arms. But, above all things, we should not place guns in the hands of aliens to be used against our own countrymen on the slightest provocation.

We went to Mexico with our fleet to prevent the landing of munitions of war for Gen. Huerta. We sent our entire battleship fleet down there with very slight provocation and then backed off while a shipload of ammunition for Huerta was landed down near the terminus of the Tehuantepec Railroad, below Tampico, and our hasty flight of battleships from Newport News to Vera Cruz cost the lives of 17 of our boys. One of my dearest friends was in command of the dreadnaught *Utah*, and with 3,000 men marched through the streets of Vera Cruz in the face of desultory firing from the tops of dwellings. He took his ship and crew safely back to New York Harbor, only to be forcefully retired by the plucking board while in the very prime of his useful life.

But I am diverted. [Laughter.] I thought I was going to have time to analyze fully the speech of the President at Indianapolis.

Mr. CATRON. We are here.

Mr. KENYON. The Senator has plenty of time.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I am glad to see these encouraging signs. [Laughter.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will be in order.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. This is indeed a tumultuous assemblage. [Laughter.]

I intended to go through that speech line for line. I wanted to call your attention to the fact—and it is a fact, and I say it very respectfully, because no one has a higher respect for the presidential office than myself—that from the hour President Wilson entered the White House he has never discussed in detail any question with Congress or with the country.

Now, think that over. He did not discuss the tariff question; he simply laid down his ultimatum. He never discussed the intricacies of the banking system. He has not discussed in detail the immigration bill. He did not discuss the Mexican problem

when he called us together with so much solemnity. He just told us that Huerta could not be tolerated and wanted our authority to get rid of him. He wrote the resolution in his own way and delivered it to his friends on the committee. The House of Representatives passed it under orders, but when it came to the Senate committee they promptly drove a 16-inch shell through it and eliminated all personal reference to Gen. Huerta, against whom the President directed his spleen.

He has never discussed the Mexican question at all. He has never discussed any public question in detail since he became President, until his speech at Indianapolis the other day, and if he ever repeats that performance his political doom is sealed. [Laughter.]

I do not know of a Democrat in the country who approves it. Of course, I am not in the confidence of them all. How could they approve it?

Mr. CUMMINS. There are comparatively few of them left.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I join with the distinguished Senator from Iowa in the hope that they will all see the error of their ways. The President says that the independents are the only real people in the country; that they can dictate who shall and who shall not win; and while patting them on their backs for their independence he says that teamwork is essential in political affairs and anyone who will not play at his proper place on the team ought to get out of the game. Well, I can not harmonize; if the independent deserves this approval, the fellow that does the teamwork is an outlaw. These two horses are going in opposite directions.

Mr. President, our Democratic friends have established employment bureaus now in all the post offices. [Laughter.] We never thought of such a thing under a Republican administration, when there were more jobs than there were men to fill them; but, lo and behold, every post office is now a public employment agency! Think of it—idleness everywhere and postmasters out trying to find work for the unemployed! Why, President McKinley never thought of doing that. No Republican President ever thought of turning post offices into employment bureaus; but if the postal receipts fall off as rapidly for the balance of the President's term as they have been falling off up to this time, and general business continues to dwindle, they will not have any postal business to do and postmasters can devote their entire time to the employment agency. [Laughter.]

What a Utopian dream! I suppose they want the unemployed to apply by mail for a job, and thus increase the postal receipts.

Mr. KENYON. Where would he go?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. God only knows.

Mr. CUMMINS. To West Virginia.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I must say to my honored friend from Iowa that I have lost faith in West Virginia since the Senator from West Virginia said:

> The Republican Party has not had a new idea in 30 years!

[Laughter on the floor and in the galleries.]

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair regrets to call the attention of the galleries again to the fact that it is a rule of the Senate that there shall be no confusion in the galleries. The Chair will be compelled to enforce the rules and clear the galleries if disturbance arises again.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, I hope the Republican Party will be spared the ideas that are so common in the official life of our country to-day. Not a new thought in 30 years!

I have given figures to show that during 50 years of continuous Republican rule there was prosperity everywhere.

The abandonment of our tariff law was brought about by the agitation of importers and doctrinaires. The professional importers kept up the agitation, since which time these pelican patriots are the only people who prosper. They have done most of the business of the country and have pocketed most of the profit.

The public has had no benefit from the change. Everyone pays as much for everything as he did before. The high cost of living has not been lowered. The only difference is it is more difficult to find employment under the new law. I saw in a paper the other day that there were 500,000 idle people in New York. A paper before me shows that there are 250,000 idle men in Chicago. I saw 6,000 idle men before an automobile factory in my own State one day last year. If the present administration is responsible for this condition, God pity it.

Mr. President, I have spoken much longer than I had expected to do, and while I appreciate the continued interest in my remarks, I think I will suspend for the day.

Monday, February 1, 1915.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, at the time the Senate took its recess on Saturday evening I was discussing the question of national revenues and the ability of the Government to meet its necessary expenses. All Senators, I think, without regard to party, agree that the revenues of the Government are not in satisfactory condition. The expenditures of the Government are vastly in excess of our income and unnecessary appropriations may plunge the country into a huge national debt.

Mr. STONE. Mr. President, will the Senator permit me to interrupt him?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Certainly, for a question, so long as I am permitted to retain the floor.

Mr. STONE. I wish merely to make an announcement. I want to say to the Senator, and particularly to my friends on the other side, that, if I can find a chance to-morrow, wedging in between two of the speakers on the other side, I wish to submit some observations on this bill. I wish especially to invite my Republican colleagues to honor me with their presence.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, that is a very welcome announcement. Anything that the distinguished Senator from Missouri may say upon this bill will be regarded with very great interest, because we all know that he speaks independently, that he uses his own judgment, and that he reaches his own conclusions without reference to the desires or ambitions of others connected with the Government.

I was speaking, Mr. President, of the excess of expenditures over income, and this question goes vitally to the wisdom of embarking upon an experiment, to say the least, which the Government has never in any emergency in its history felt called upon to undertake in the past. Am I wrong in saying that the expenditures are vastly in excess of the revenues? Certainly no Senator upon the other side of this Chamber will deny that statement. The hasty council of Cabinet ministers called at the White House yesterday indicates a very acute condition in the affairs of our Treasury, and an order seems to have gone out—I do not know how authentic it is, but the public press has carried it—that all appropriations are to be scaled down and that we are to have no river and harbor bill; that the harbor work now partially done is to be neglected. I certainly deplore that situation. I feel that our river and harbor work should be done. It is all right for those who believe that, in the interest of economy, more rigid management is required. I have no criticism to make upon those who opposed the last ball. Their work seems to have borne fruit, as both the Senate and House Committees of Commerce have taken from the proposed river and harbor bill millions of dollars that were carried in the last bill.

Mr. KENYON. Has the Senator's State suffered?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes; my State has suffered; but my State always suffers when the Democracy is in power. But I was speaking of the necessity for economy, and I do not like to quote the junior Senator from Iowa or other Republican Senators upon that question when we can have first-hand information from our opponents.

During my service in Congress I have learned to admire many Democrats, and to love some of them. I have in my heart only the kindliest feelings toward them all, politically misguided though they may be; but my admiration has been especially strong for the Representative from New York, Mr. FITZGERALD, who upon many occasions has demonstrated his independence of his party. What does he say about the necessity for economy? Quoting from Mr. FITZGERALD in the House of Representatives at the last session, I find the following:

> It may seem somewhat strange—
>
> Said that distinguished New York Democrat—
>
> but I hope it is not out of place, to remind Members on this side of the House that the Democratic platform pledged us in favor of economy and to the abolishment of useless offices; but it did not declare, Mr. Chairman, that the party favored economy at the expense of Republicans and the abolition of useless offices in territory represented in this House by Republicans while favoring a different doctrine wherever a Democratic Representative would be affected. In a few months I shall be called upon in the discharge of my official duties to review the record that this Democratic House shall have made in its authorization of the expenditure of the public moneys. Whenever I think of the horrible mess that I shall be called upon to present to the country on behalf of the Democratic Party I am tempted to quit my place.

This is a Democrat talking, a distinguished Democrat from New York, the acknowledged leader of the House Committee on Appropriations at the present time; and yet this man solemnly says to his colleagues in the House of Representatives:

> Whenever I think of the horrible mess that I shall be called upon to present to the country on behalf of the Democratic Party I am tempted to quit my place.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Oklahoma?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. For a question, certainly.

Mr. OWEN. Will the Senator permit me to ask him what the quotation is that is being read? I did not understand what it was from.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. It is from Representative JOHN J. FITZGERALD'S admonition to his Democratic colleagues in the House of Representatives, and of course it is excellent authority. No one could speak with greater authority upon the question of the "horrible mess" than Representative FITZGERALD, of New York.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. For a question, certainly.

Mr. WALSH. Since the Senator is referring to the city of New York, I did not catch the number of unemployed men the Senator told us the other day were in the city of New York. Can he recall?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I am not surprised at that. Nobody has been able to catch them accurately, and I do not know that I could state the number accurately, but I think it is around four or five hundred thousand.

Mr. WALSH. Yes; my recollection is that the Senator stated it was 500,000.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I think so.

Mr. WALSH. The statement seemed so startling that I looked up the total vote in the city of New York in the recent election, and I find that it was 481,444 votes for governor in the city of New York.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. That does not indicate very much on this point.

Mr. WALSH. So the Senator thinks there are more than 100,000 more men out of employment in the city of New York than there were votes cast?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, Mr. President, I did not say that out of the voters of New York there were four or five hundred thousand unemployed men. I am talking about the unemployed in the city of New York. I am talking about unnaturalized citizens and young men under voting age—people who live in New York. Those are the figures. If these figures are offensive, I withdraw them.

Mr. WALSH. No.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I do not take any pleasure in a recital of that kind, but I think the reports of the committees appointed by the mayor verify my statement.

Mr. WALSH. I appreciate that the Senator is giving us the total number of unemployed, without reference to whether they were voters or not. I simply put these figures in for the sake of comparison. I understand now the Senator's contention is that there are 100,000 more men unemployed in the city of New York than the total number of voters.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I am speaking accurately, if the reports of employment committees and labor unions can be believed. No census has been taken. Take Chicago: Of the citizens of Chicago—now, mark you, citizens of Chicago—the Chicago Tribune says there are 150,000 unemployed. The Senator knows there is always, during periods of distress, a large drift of unemployed people to the cities. That is always true, and it was so true in Chicago that they were obliged to tag those who lived in the city and were entitled to its natural protection. I am inclined to think, from what I have seen in the newspapers and from the statement of prominent officials in Chicago, that it is not at all an extravagant statement to say that there are 250,000 people out of employment in Chicago to-day.

Mr. WALSH. I understood the figures given were 150,000.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. One hundred and fifty thousand Chicago people. That does not include the people who live in the surrounding country and who have come into the city; but idle men came in so rapidly that they were obliged to tag those who belong there with a blue tag in order that they might be cared for first.

I do not want to make an extravagant statement about that. I have seen the figures. It is not at all out of proportion. If Chicago has from 200,000 to 250,000 unemployed, it is not at all extravagant to say that New York has 500,000 unemployed; Mayor Mitchel says there are 200,000 more men out of employment in New York this winter than last. A few days ago, when I was in California, I heard the statement that there were 50,000 unemployed people in Los Angeles. I do know that the most common thing in southern California to-day is the tramp. Doorbells are rung and people apply for food throughout southern California every day, and neither of these States are exceptional.

Mr. President, I have in my hand now—I did not intend to read it—a statement by Supt. Sears, of the Bureau of State Employment of Massachusetts. I am inclined to think that Supt. Sears was appointed to his place by Gov. Walsh. I am not sure. Perhaps the Massachusetts Senators can set me right upon that point. Anyway, Supt. Sears, of the Bureau of State Employment of Massachusetts, says in his last report—and this is not music to my ears; it is very regrettable. It is a drama.

Mr. SAULSBURY. A tragedy.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes; "tragedy" is a better word. Supt. Sears refrains from attributing this condition of affairs to either the European war or the low tariff.

I am simply interpreting the cold facts and figures—

Said Mr. Sears—

that the work of this bureau records when I say that the labor situation, as reflected by our contact with it, is discouraging.

I should like to know if the junior Senator from New Hampshire knows this official?

Mr. HOLLIS. No; I have never heard of him. I thought Mr. Gettyman was the Democratic appointee; but I am not sure.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Sears may be the commissioner of labor. But he says:

I am simply interpreting the cold facts and figures that the work of this bureau records when I say that the labor situation, as reflected by our contact with it, is discouraging. Yesterday, as a typical day, we had what we term an attendance of 3,000 persons looking for work. To these 3,000 we had a grand total of 82 jobs to offer.

That is deplorable, is it not?

It is a tragedy, as the Senator from Delaware [Mr. SAULSBURY] says—82 jobs to 3,000 men in one day.

Did the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH] catch those figures? I should like to have him understand them. I am reading from the report of the superintendent of the bureau of employment in Massachusetts, Mr. Sears. I do not know his politics; his statement is official.

The average daily demand by employers for help of all classes for the month of August was 52. For the same month last year we were receiving calls for help from employers at the rate of 82 a day.

These are not pleasant things, but they are official, and we should have the courage to look them in the face.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I am greatly interested in the figures the Senator gives, and I am equally interested in the conclusions he draws from them. I take it that his conclusions are that this is all due to the change in the tariff?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. The war in Europe is not a factor to be considered at all?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. No; it was not when these figures were made. These are not war figures.

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for just a moment?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Certainly; I yield to my honored friend for a question.

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. I want to state that I have too much faith in the candor of the Senator from Michigan to believes that he seriously believes the statement he made that this is entirely owing to the tariff situation.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. If the Senator will pardon me, I said that the figures I have read from the Massachusetts commissioner were figures which antedated the European war.

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. I want to ask whether the Senator can not recall, in his memory as a representative Republican, the conditions when idle men clogged the streets of Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and New York? I can recall very, very well many times when labor was stalking the streets asking for bread or employment under the Republican régime. I can recall that the first time I ever heard of a soup house or a bread line standing at Fleischman's, on the corner of Broadway and Tenth Street, until midnight, was under the régime and domination of a Republican President and a Republican Congress.

The Senator can not palm off this nonsense on an intelligent public, that this is entirely the result of the Democratic administration. On Saturday night last he went on to tell of the magnificent results that had been accomplished during the régime of the Republican Party, criticizing the President.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Of course it was a period of great prosperity.

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. Now, he might just as well have gone on and——

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair understands the Senator from Michigan is not intending to yield the floor.

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. I do not want him to yield the floor.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I am perfectly willing to yield to the Senator, but I do not want to yield the floor.

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. I know it is rather——

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair has ruled a dozen times that a Senator on the floor can only be interrupted for the purpose of a question, and if he yields to anything further than that he does yield the floor.

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. I do not want to do that.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator has been notified of that fact three times.

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. Then I will stop.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Undoubtedly the Senator from Michigan is refusing to be interrupted except for a question.

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. He did not refuse, as I understood him.

The VICE PRESIDENT. That is what the Chair understood.

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. I failed to hear him. I ask the Senator's pardon.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. If the Senator will give me his attention, I desire to say that under every rule that I have known in this body since I have been familiar with its procedure I could have yielded to the Senator from New Jersey and allowed him to say what I think he could say so well, but under this new rule which the other side of the Chamber has attempted to establish a Senator yields to an interruption at the peril of losing the floor, and I am thus deprived of the pleasure of listening to my honored friend. I did not like to do it, and I apologize to the Senator from New Jersey for it.

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. Oh, no apology. I accept the ruling of the Chair, but I do hope to round up the Senator on some of these interrogatories he is making at some time.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I have been rounded up so many times by my amiable friend that I am disappointed when he overlooks me.

I was talking about the report of the labor commissioner of Massachusetts, much to the discomfiture of some Senators on the other side of the Chamber. When 3,000 persons in one day present themselves to one bureau and ask for labor and can obtain only 52 positions, that is serious. That is official; the country has gone Democratic.

When I said there were between four and five hundred thousand persons out of employment in New York I was met by the skillful challenge of my friend from Montana [Mr. WALSH], for a charge like that gets right to the marrow. There is something the matter with this country. There is something the matter with it, and that something was not the matter with it when this Democratic administration was ushered into power. There is no doubt about that. Our revenues were ample; our expenditures were generous. We were building the Panama Canal practically out of current revenues of the Government which we did not need. There were more jobs than there were persons to fill them. The credit of the Nation was at its highest point. The bonds of the Government were floated at 2 per cent. Something has happened to the country. I know what it is, I think. It is the same thing that happened to it 20 years ago—a Democratic blight. That is what has happened to the country.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Massachusetts?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes; I yield for a question.

Mr. WEEKS. I should like to ask the Senator from Michigan if he has considered, in discussing the question of the unemployed, the number of people who are on short time. For example, I note in a Boston paper that the Waltham Watch Co., which employs 3,000 people ordinarily at full time and frequently at overtime, has been employing them five days a week, and last week it reduced the time to four days a week. None of those people are out of employment, but they are working two-thirds of the ordinary time. Has the Senator taken into consideration the hundreds of thousands of people in the United States who are employed but are employed on shorter time than under normal conditions?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I thank the Senator from Massachusetts, who is always enlightening and accurate. What I was talking about was the unemployed. When you get to the next question of partial employment I assert without the slightest fear of contradiction that over 4,000,000 people are thus employed and unemployed. There is not a city in this country where people are not working on half time. My honest friend from Oregon [Mr. LANE], who always has the courage to acknowledge facts, says under his breath that that must be so.

Mr. LANE. Not entirely.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I know in one of the great stores in Chicago, Marshall Field, they have cut down their force very perceptibly because of lack of trade. I know in my own city skilled workmen who have formerly gone to labor in the early morning and enjoyed it through the entire day are working on half time. Throughout the country this condition exists and proclamations and rostrums do not seem to cure it. But proclamations made by the President a year ago have failed. The reserve bank act is here, but prosperity is still a stranger.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield for a question to my friend from Illinois.

Mr. SHERMAN. If it has arrived, I have also arrived from a trip in the western country. I found in one State where more than 90,000 soft-coal miners are registered, 40,000 of them are idle this winter. I want to know how much longer it would take for it to arrive in that State.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I can not tell. I think I could prescribe a remedy for that condition. I think the first thing I would do would be to repeal the nonsensical low tariff law that was passed under presidential whip and spur by Congress immediately after the Democratic Party came into power.

As I said Saturday night, the President waited until 9 o'clock and 5 minutes in the evening to sign that law. He waited until every place of business from ocean to ocean had been closed to forestall the ill consequences certain to flow from it. McKinley signed the Dingley law in the morning, giving hope and cheer and comfort to the unemployed. Why should the President wait until evening, when darkness hung thick upon us, when men pillage and rob and murder, why wait until then to sign a bill which he said would "not injure any legitimate industry"? Is it possible that most of the industries of the country were illigitimate? It hit them all.

Mr. SHERMAN rose.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield for a question.

Mr. SHERMAN. Keeping in line with the requirement, I ask the Senator whether he considers sugar from cane or beets a legitimate industry?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes; I belong to a political party that has fostered the sugar industry. I was one of the men who helped President McKinley develop that industry. Some of the States paid a bounty on sugar because we were sending vast sums of gold out of the country to pay for that necessary article of use. In Michigan we put a bounty on to encourage the farmers to produce sugar. The former Mr. Wilson, the former Prof. Wilson, the former doctrinaire, the former economist, the former educator, the former teacher of youth, the former college president—Dr. Wilson, of West Virginia, said in the House of Representatives, in the presence of my honored friend from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS], that of all the articles of production in our country sugar is the most deserving of a tariff. Why? Because it will produce the most revenue. Next, because it is such a necessary article of consumption that we can not afford to depend upon foreigners for it. Prof. Wilson, whose name was attached to the last futile attempt of Democracy to establish free trade in America, wanted to put a duty on sugar, while President Wilson treats it as an illegitimate industry, although he acknowledges he has never had any business experience.

Mr. SHERMAN. He is not prejudiced against it?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. No; I do not believe he has any prejudice against business. He simply does not understand it.

Mr. PAGE. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Vermont?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. For a question.

Mr. PAGE. The Senator, I believe, comes from a State which makes some maple sugar.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Not quite as much as is made in Vermont.

Mr. GALLINGER. Or New Hampshire.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes; or New Hampshire.

Mr. PAGE. Is it not a fact that for the amount of product the hard labor entering into the making of a pound of sugar is perhaps greater than any other commodity? Is not that the Senator's experience?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I never made any sugar, but I have eaten my share of it, especially that sent to me by the Senator from Vermont; although I have not eaten any this year, but I am looking for some. [Laughter.]

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. The tariff was the cause of the failure.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. You mean the sap stopped with the advent of Democracy.

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. No; but——

Mr. PAGE. But is it not true that this administration has cut down the little bounty that we have heretofore received, the little protection that has prevented the incoming of the sugar from the country north—from Quebec?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes; we have favored Canada all we could under this administration.

Mr. PAGE. Is it not true that every State that makes sugar even though they make small quantities feel that in cutting down the little protective duty that a great wrong has been done to that industry?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I think I may truthfully say that that is so. The other side are flattering themselves that the sugar industry this year is doing a very good business. It is doing a good business but it is on borrowed time. They have been sentenced for execution in 1916, and they have been simply living on fruits and flowers and delicacies that are usually sent in by sympathetic friends to the culprit the night before his sentence is to be effective; that is all.

The American sugar industry is living on borrowed time. There is scarcely a sugar factory in Michigan whose stock you can not buy for 50 cents on the dollar. There was a time just before this war began and after the free trade of the Democracy became a certainty—there was time when we could buy it for 18 cents on the dollar. Who is going to gain by ruining the domestic industry? Who is going to gain by it I ask Senators upon the other side? All the foreign sugar that we get comes through the American Sugar Refining Co., which handles the raw sugar from Cuba. I would not want to assert that they did, but I know when I was a member of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives we had a Mr. Atkins, of Boston, before us, and Mr. Atkins said under oath that he and Sir William Van Horn and other gentlemen had acquired vast tracts of sugar land in Cuba. Much of the propaganda that has been circulated throughout the country in favor of free sugar comes from that source. I dare say that the peon who works in the sugar-cane fields of Cuba has never got any increase out of this rebate to the foreign sugar monopoly. The people of this country have had no benefit out of it. Sugar is high to-day because of decrease in foreign supply. The high priest of sugardom, the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. JAMES], admitted that as there were more people using sugar than there are people producing it, the greatest good to the greatest number called for this sacrifice.

Now we will go down through our tariff laws just a moment and see where we come out on that theory, the greatest good to the greatest number. There are more people using glass in this country than there are people making it. Therefore the greatest good to the greatest number would indicate that it was wise to buy our glass where we could buy it the cheapest and close our domestic factories. There are more people using furniture in this country than there are furniture factories making it. Therefore the theory of the greatest good to the greatest number calls for a sacrifice that we shall allow people to buy their furniture wherever they will in the world—no matter how cheap the labor that makes it—and close our domestic factories if the theory of my honored friend from Kentucky is to be put into effect. There are more people wearing clothes than there are people making clothes, therefore, to be consistent, we should allow the people in this country to buy clothes wherever they can buy them the cheapest and the American manufacturers must be put out of business.

Mr. BRISTOW. That would be true also as to feldspar and many other products.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes. Now, let me ask, when we have entirely reformed our American principles so completely that these theories are given effect, what will the American citizen do for his daily wage? Where will he work? If the bars are to be taken down, if importations are to be made easy, and if there is to be no customs supervision at our doorway, who, in the name of all that is good, will furnish employment to the American citizen?

I reassert the plain, straight, philosophic truth, that you can not buy what you need in a cheap market and retain a dear market in which to sell your products. If you buy in a cheap market, you will have no dear market in which to sell; and our civilization does not justify such a sacrifice.

I do not want to take up the question of European wages; everybody knows that they do not pay as much over there as we pay here. I heard my honored friend, the senior Senator from Missouri [Mr. STONE], work himself into a high state of excitement against the former Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. Aldrich] because he had not brought in a report that had been published of certain boards of trade and chambers of commerce throughout the world on the question of wages. Well, I was somewhat touched by the solicitude of my honorable friend from Missouri. I remember it distinctly. His anxiety made quite an impression on me, and I felt uncomfortable in the thought that we had suppressed something perhaps that ought to have been given to the public. So I went over to the Senator from Rhode Island, and I said to him, "Where are those reports?" He said: "They are being translated at the State Department." "It seems to me," I said, "it is taking a long time to get those translations. Have you got any of them?" He said: "Yes; we have got some of them." I said: "Bring them in; I should like to see them." So he brought in a few sheets from those reports. I recall that one of them was a report from the Board of Trade of Nuremberg. I read it. The Nuremberg Board of Trade reported to this Government that the wages paid in Nuremberg were only about one-half what they were in this country in the same lines of employment. I recall reports made from other communities. I was in Germany shortly after that, and visited some of these cities, and I know from my own knowledge that the wages over there are not over half what they are here, and that the manner of living is far below the standard of the American workman.

I did not intend to get into this question, except to again repeat a maxim which is sound, that we can not buy our necessities in a cheap market and maintain a dear market in which to sell. That is the fallacy of this whole free-trade proposition from the other side of the Chamber.

Cheapness has been the aim of the Democratic Party from the hour of its birth. They always want something cheap. They wanted free silver—16 to 1. Everything they want is cheap. It is free trade and free silver, and Heaven only knows what other free things will constitute their political faith as the years go by.

But I am getting away from the question asked by the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PAGE]. I said that the sugar industry of the country was under sentence of death. Of course they smile from their imprisoned walls when they see the flowers; they welcome the consommé and the light refreshments; they are consoling themselves somewhat upon the intervening period between their sentence and their execution; they are still hopeful that, in a country that is intelligent and just, something may occur to turn aside the solemn judgment that has been entered for 1916. If the administration had had courage enough, it might have avoided the agony of the intervening years. Beet culture will be cut off before 1916. There are a few instances in the country—I know of one in southern California—where the sugar company owns its beet land, but I know of another factory within a half mile of that one entirely dependent upon the farmers who had formerly supplied them with beets, but who have refused to cultivate beets under present conditions.

It is outrageous and uncalled for. Most of the employees of those sugar factories are now idle. Yet this wonderful protective war wall, to which the senior Senator from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER] alluded the other evening, still exists, and yet, according to the honorable Senator, war is the very acme of protection.

Mr. BRISTOW. Mr. President——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield for a question.

Mr. BRISTOW. Let me inquire of the Senator from Michigan if he does not think that it will be impossible for the Democratic Party to permit this free-sugar clause to stand in the tariff law? Will it not have to be repealed? In view of the declining revenues, which have already been supplemented by an income tax and by a special tax, which, to cover up its real purpose, has been designated "a war tax"—and yet, according to representations from the State Department, there is a deficit now approaching of something like $80,000,000 for the year in the face of these special taxes—does the Senator from Michigan not believe that it will be impossible for the present administration to permit the free-sugar clause to stand, which, if it stands, will reduce our revenues thirty or forty million dollars more, without imposing some other extraordinary methods of taxation in order to make up the deficit which is rapidly growing?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I do not think it will be possible to allow this gift to be made to the American Sugar Refining Co.; for that is substantially what it amounts to; nobody else is getting any benefit from it. Thousands of men are to be retired from the sugar industry. The people are getting no benefit from free trade in sugar, while the duty, which formerly went to the Treasury, is now absorbed by the Sugar Trust.

The tremendous deficit is growing from day to day. It must be cared for in one of two ways, either by increasing the revenue or by curtailing expenses. Yet they propose to take $10,000,000 out of the current revenues, notwithstanding the warning of Mr.

FITZGERALD, a powerful Democratic chieftain. It is almost impossible to imagine that a Democrat could say what Mr. FITZGERALD has said. This is his statement:

Whenever I think of the horrible mess that I shall be called upon to present to the country on behalf of the Democratic Party I am tempted to quit my place.

Think of the chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations saying a thing like that to his colleagues in the House of Representatives!

Mr. BRISTOW. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Kansas?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield for a question.

Mr. BRISTOW. Let me inquire what response was made to the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations by the House of Representatives when he made the appeal?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Thus far there have been no economies effected. The very bill that we are now considering calls for an expenditure of $40,000,000 on an experiment. The river and harbor bill, which is now being perfected in the Committee on Commerce, will call for an expenditure of about $35,000,000, and they are creating offices of all kinds that are needless and unnecessary.

Mr. BRISTOW. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Kansas?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield for a question.

Mr. BRISTOW. Again, does not this very bill create additional offices?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, yes, and no one can tell how many; there is no limit to the number.

Mr. BRISTOW. And were not the expenditures which the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations was denouncing passed by the House in the face of his protest?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, yes; and I think he is very greatly discouraged over the present outlook. I am not strictly in his confidence, but I have admired Mr. FITZGERALD for many years. I know how independent he was when the Republican Party were in control of the House, and I know how thoroughly honest and independent he is now. This is a terrible indictment of his party. The Representative from Mississippi, Mr. SISSON, also held his party up to scorn for their profligacy in expenditures.

This is pretty strong language on the part of Mr. FITZGERALD:

I am looking now—

Says he—

I am looking now at Democrats who seem to take amusement in soliciting votes on the floor of this House to overturn the Committee on Appropriations in its efforts to carry out the pledges of the Democratic platform. They seem to take it to be a huge joke not to obey their platform [laughter and applause on the Republican side] and to make ridiculous the efforts of the Members of our party who do try to live up to the promises they made to the people. I know that some Members on this side are voting continually for appropriations because they fear the wrath of the public if they do not vote out of the Public Treasury assistance for everything anyone suggests. I have in my hand a letter which is somewhat characteristic of the correspondence which I receive daily.

If I place my political fortunes above my sworn duty under the law, I would not attempt to carry out the promises of the Democratic platform, but I should place myself at the head of this band of Treasury looters upon every occasion.

* * * * * * *

We charged the Republicans for 12 years of my service in the House under Republican administrations with being grossly extravagant and reckless in the expenditure of the public money.

If I were to say on my responsibility as a Senator that the present administration of this country should be characterized as "Treasury looters," I would be taken off the floor for disrespect to the coordinate branches of the Government, and, indeed, I would not say it. I might reprimand, criticize, and condemn them, but to call them "Treasury looters" can only be done by one on the inside.

This New York Representative has turned State's evidence against his party, and you can not dismiss it with a wave of your hand. Representative FITZGERALD has turned State's evidence against his party and brands them as "Treasury looters." It has not been customary to put statues of Members of the House of Representatives in the corridors of this Capitol; but if there is a Democrat who deserves a statue in this Capitol it is JOHN J. FITZGERALD, of New York, who has had the courage to turn State's evidence against his party and expose the crime of profligacy for which it is responsible. We borrowed no money under our administration. We had money enough to improve our harbors and our rivers and to build public buildings. Why, there is not to be a public-buildings bill this year. The work that is now being done is to be arrested, and a building with a foundation all in and the plans all made and a contract let is not to be erected, and where an appropriation of $50,000 or $100.000 was made for a public building, the Secretary of the Treasury will put up such a building as he thinks necessary for that community, regardless of the limitations imposed by the law, and cover the balance of the money back into the Treasury to cover up the deficits.

Mr. BRISTOW. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Kansas?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield for a question.

Mr. BRISTOW. May I inquire if it is proposed to take that money, then, which Congress has appropriated for public buildings and public improvements here among our own people and use it to buy these old ships that are interned now, and set them afloat to lose a lot more money?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Certainly.

Mr. BRISTOW. If I understand the Senator correctly, in the case of the buildings that have been provided for, and an appropriation, we will say, of fifty or one hundred thousand dollars made for the building, the money is not to be spent for the erection of that building?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. No.

Mr. BRISTOW. Then what are they going to do with the money that is not spent—take a part of it for these ships?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Cover it back into the Treasury to help make up the deficit, and then take it out of the Treasury with the other hand and pay for these ships; even trust funds—the Panama Canal bonds are to be taken. But let us see whether that course on the part of Treasury officials is justified. We will take the case of a community like Des Moines, a fine, splendid community in the State of my honored friend from Iowa.

Mr. CUMMINS. That is exactly what happened there.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Is it? Well, I did not know it. I have put my finger on a place where it actually occurred. I was not aware of it, but I was taking Des Moines merely because it affords such a fine example. I will finish what I have to say, and then I am going to ask the Senator just what they did at Des Moines.

We will say that the people of Des Moines have waited until they have a city of substantially 100,000 people. They have waited for years for a public building commensurate with the dignity and importance of that community. They have declined small appropriations for little buildings on the ground that the community was growing and would soon need more elaborate improvements. The Senators and Representatives from Iowa have pushed aside offers of small appropriations until finally the city has risen to such importance that the Government of the United States concludes to build a creditable structure for the convenience of the public. It is the only immediate connection that Des Moines has with the Federal Government. It is the only tangible, local evidence of the existence of the Federal Government in Des Moines. It is the only thing that identifies that enterprising city with the Federal Government at Washington. We plan a monument that will typify the majesty of our Government and vote an appropriation of $100,000. The present Secretary of the Treasury will get bids. If that appropriation would put up a granite building which would stand for ages, the Secretary of the Treasury, acting autocratically and without authority of law, will plan a building merely to accommodate the present necessities of Des Moines, and if he can build it for $60,000 he covers the other $40,000 back into the Treasury to buy ships with.

I venture the assertion that Des Moines would prefer no building to an inadequate one; that is high-handed and autocratic, but do not think it is prompted by economy; the money will be spent in other directions. They are going to build a railroad in Alaska to cost $35,000,000, where there are two railroads now that are not patronized. They are going to spend $40,000,000 for ocean decorations, and yet they can not give a suitable public building to that splendid community. And yet that is Democratic economy!

Mr. GORE and Mr. JONES addressed the Chair.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Oklahoma?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. If my friend from Washington will pardon me, I will yield to the Senator from Oklahoma for a question.

Mr. GORE. I should like to inquire of the Senator how much the Federal Government has expended to construct locks and dams in the St. Marys Canal between Lake Superior and the lower lakes?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Probably $100,000,000, thereby opening the Great Lakes to the commerce of the world.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, if the Senator from Michigan will allow me, I should like to remark——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I can yield only for a question, under the ruling of the Chair.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I will put it in the form of a question. I should like to inquire whether the Senator is not aware that the saving in freight rates on the traffic of the Great Lakes in a single year when business was prosperous, over what would have had to be paid in rail rates, was equal to the entire expenditure of the Government in the improvement of those waterways?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, many times over, as everyone knows.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I know that that is a fact.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Everyone recognizes that; the Senator from Washington speaks with absolute authority.

Proclamations from the White House do not furnish food to the unemployed.

I belong to a political party that paid the expenses of the Government, ordinary and extraordinary. I belong to a political party which paid the expenses of the War with Spain, and when the war was over we had more money to our credit in the Treasury than when it began. How well I remember when President McKinley called Congress in extraordinary session, and our old friend Dingley, of Maine, of pleasant memory, walked in and took his place in the House of Representatives, and said: "We will provide now for the expenses of the war." We went right on with the public business of the country, neglecting nothing, and did not owe a dollar as the result of that war.

In the Senate we ratified the treaty of peace which called for the payment of $20,000,000 to Spain to settle some differences growing out of the war and affecting the transfer of Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippine Islands. Did we have the money—$20,000,000? Did we have to curtail public expenses? Did we have to impose new and inquisitorial taxes? No! We paid that money out of the Treasury; even the present Secretary of State advocated it. We still have the Philippines, 7,000 miles away, but there is a Democratic proposition pending to turn them adrift. They criticized President McKinley so much for taking that territory. I do not know but that they now intend to give it away.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I will yield for a question.

Mr. JONES. I understood that the Senator was trying to show the extravagant economy of this party. I should like to ask him whether or not he has read the Democratic campaign textbook of 1914.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I read a portion.

Mr. JONES. I want to ask the Senator whether he found very many references in that campaign textbook to the record of economy they had made.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, no; they pride themselves on their expenditures.

Mr. JONES. Did the Senator note—I have not had the time to read this textbook, but we naturally look to the index to see what has been treated—that the only references to economy in this index are two, namely, economies in the War Department and economy in collecting the income tax? Those are apparently the only references to economy in this book.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes; that is true. Some Democrats in very high place seem to think that the country approves of their extravagance. I do not think so. Appropriation bills originate in the House of Representatives. The people reduced the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives in the last election from about 140 to about 35 and indicated a hostility to their program; and yet the President, in his speech at Indianapolis, says that he was approved by the country at the last election. I do not think he was. I think I am right when I assert it.

The totals in the Electoral College under the vote in the last election would have been as follows:

Republican	297
Democratic	213
Progressive	13
Doubtful	8

Figuring by States, the congressional elections show Democratic States in the Electoral College would have been as follows:

Alabama	12
Arizona	3
Arankasas	9
Colorado	6
Florida	6
Georgia	14
Indiana	15
Kansas	10
Kentucky	13
Louisiana	10
Maryland	8
Mississippi	10
Missouri	18
Montana	4
North Carolina	12
Oklahoma	10
South Carolina	9
Tennessee	12
Texas	20
Virginia	12

Mr. BRISTOW. Mr. President——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield for a question.

Mr. BRISTOW. I wish to inquire of the Senator if he is not mistaken as to Kansas, the Kansas Republican State ticket being elected by from thirty to fifty thousand majority and a Republican United States Senator being elected.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes; I appreciate that; it was a very welcome sound when the news came over the wire; but what about the congressional delegation as it stands in the next Congress?

Mr. BRISTOW. Unfortunately that stands as at present.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. That is what I am giving. I am giving the Democrats the benefit of the congressional elections, and the incident to which the Senator from Kansas calls my attention only shows that I am very generous with our friends on the other side.

The States that have gone congressionally Republican with their votes in the Electoral College are as follows:

Connecticut	7
Delaware	3
Idaho	4
Illinois	27
Iowa	13
Maine	6
Massachusetts	18
Michigan	15
Minnesota	12
Nevada	3
New Mexico	3
New York	45
North Dakota	5
Ohio	24
Oregon	5
Pennsylvania	38
Rhode Island	5
South Dakota	5
Utah	4
Vermont	6
Washington	7
West Virginia	8
Wisconsin	13
Wyoming	3

This leaves California in the Democratic column, although the Republicans seem to have elected 5 of its 11 Representatives and the Democrats 3. Nebraska split its congressional delegation evenly. The net result, if this had been a presidential year, a Republican President would be due for inauguration March 4. This is a wholesome and expected rebuke to the administration, and would easily have given us in the Electoral College 297 votes against 213 Democratic.

I think we are due to win a great victory in the next campaign, and I am looking forward, with unalloyed pleasure, to that event. Representative FITZGERALD turned State's evidence against his party. He calls them Treasury looters.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Mr. FITZGERALD alone?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. No; he is not alone. Representative SISSON, from Mississippi, is also aroused.

We are a debt-paying Nation. The Republican Party has an especially commendable record in this regard. Let us see what we have done. The cancellation of $2,500,000,000 of indebtedness in 25 years following the Civil War is the finest chapter in the history of national financiering. The United States, with an indebtedness of only $10 per capita, with a credit so good that bonds can be sold bearing but 2 per cent, and with $112,000,000 of Panama bonds authorized but not issued, our financial credit was the best of any nation of the world when the Democratic Party came into power. They have injured American credit and prestige. They have aroused the indignation of our own countrymen, and excited the mirth of foreigners, by the puerile and child-like manner in which they have conducted our foreign affairs. We have no friends of this Government to the south of us. I do not believe there is a person in Mexico who does not despise us, while Americans who have interests in Mexico, and have plead and begged for some kind of protection at the hands of our Government, feel very unkindly toward those in authority.

We have angered Honduras by attempting to violate her constitution. We have angered Costa Rica beyond measure, those prosperous, self-reliant, happy people.

We entered into a treaty with Nicaragua regarding the Nicaragua Canal, across Lake Managua and San Juan River. Grover Cleveland held the treaty between Costa Rica and Nicaragua to be valid and binding upon both countries. Yet the United States of America, while professing respect for treaty rights, attempts to destroy it to gratify purely private interests against the protests of the Government of Costa Rica.

Mr. BRISTOW. Mr. President——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield for a question only. I want the Chair to understand if anyone interrupts me I only yield for a question, because under the new rules here I am not permitted to be as courteous to my associates as I would like to be.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HUGHES in the chair). The Senator from Michigan yields to the Senator from Kansas.

Mr. BRISTOW. I want to inquire of the Senator what is the significance of this alleged purpose to pay Costa Rica a million and a half dollars that I saw in the papers. Is that a balm to her wounded feelings, to satisfy her, or what is the significance of the added appropriations that we are asked to pay those countries?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The principal significance which I attach to it is the utter recklessness of the party in power to present Treasury conditions. The entire attitude assumed by our Government in Central America is wrong and does us no credit. We have been occupying Nicaragua with our soldiers for over two years against the protest of a large majority of the people.

Mr. BRISTOW. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Kansas?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield for a question.

Mr. BRISTOW. The Senator is very familiar with Mexico and our relations with that country. I should like to inquire of him what has become of the million dollars which we collected of the Mexican people when we took Vera Cruz, when we made war on Mexico and captured that port, appropriated her revenues, aggregating more than a million dollars? What has become of that money? Did we bring it to the United States; and if so, where is it and what is to be done with it?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I do not know, of course. I am not in the confidence of the present administration. No one can prophesy with accuracy what it will do from day to day; I shall not enter such a doubtful field; but we went to Vera Cruz for the purpose of helping Carranza and Villa, who were at that time together, probably to overawe President Huerta. When we got in we could not get out with credit to ourselves. Our soldiers were landed at Vera Cruz under a desultory fire, and the lives of many Americans were threatened. The long procession of noncombatants from the interior of Mexico got under our flag, and the protection which was afforded by Gen. Funston made it absolutely necessary that we should not leave. We administered the customhouse at Vera Cruz. If there is anything on earth that is dear to a Mexican recalcitrant it is a customhouse. A customhouse will inspire a revolution in Mexico any time. I know of my own knowledge that President Madero offered a Michigan man 40 per cent for his money if he would let him have $100,000 until they could get possession of the customhouse at Juarez.

The customhouses have been the aim and the hope and the ambition of every revolutionary Mexican in the last three or four years. When Carranza found himself cut off at his northern customhouse he made post haste for a more southerly one at Vera Cruz, and just before he reached it our soldiers took possession.

It was not intended to withhold this money from these Mexican revolutionists. It was intended to give it to them, but when we were about ready to give it to one of them the other objected, and as we have been their copartners in this whole bad business, we must hold what we have for a more favorable time or enter a court of equity, where conscience is king, to determine which one of these highwaymen is to have this money. I think, answering directly the question of the Senator from Kansas, that the money is now in the Treasury, where it will remain until order is restored, if that time ever comes.

Mr. BRISTOW. Mr. President——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield for a question.

Mr. BRISTOW. Let me inquire if that money should be given to any Mexican revolutionist or bandit or statesman without the consent of Congress?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I will say to the Senator from Kansas our ships of war were sent to Vera Cruz without the consent of Congress. Our soldiers were placed upon Mexican soil without the consent of Congress. Our soldiers are now upon the soil of Nicaragua without the consent of Congress, and have actually carried on war without the consent of Congress. I had always supposed that Congress was the sole power to determine whether or not there should be war, but this administration has made war not only upon Mexico but upon Nicaragua without the authority of Congress.

I said in another place, under some provocation, our troops were ordered out of Mexico by Carranza. I have very good authority for making that statement. I know that Carranza, through the American consul, made a demand for the withdrawal of our troops. He wanted the Vera Cruz customhouse. If it were not for customhouses there would be no revolution. But I said that our troops had been ordered out of Mexico by Carranza. I feel quite sure the official records will show that our troops were ordered out of Mexico by Carranza and the order complied with.

Mr. BRISTOW. Mr. President——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I do not say he could have moved our troops by his mandate, but he moved some one, and a controversy promptly arose between Gen. Funston and the War Department over the withdrawal of our troops. Funston protested that it would be inhuman and expose thousands of innocent people to danger. While he was quarreling with the War Department over the withdrawal order Villa and Carranza dissolved partnership, and in that situation Gen. Funston remained for awhile longer to protect those people. I yield to the Senator from Kansas for a question.

Mr. BRISTOW. Mr. President, continuing my question, I am anxious to know who has authority to use this million dollars which we have, I think, purloined from the people of Mexico and brought up here. It is their money and not ours. Who can use that money? Could it be used by the Executive to build up one faction as against another?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. By our Executive?

Mr. BRISTOW. Yes.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes, it could; if he were so disposed.

Mr. BRISTOW. Does the Senator mean to say that with our Army and Navy we can take a port of a foreign country, capture it, hold it by force of arms, collect the revenue from it, aggregating a vast sum of more than a million dollars, and then the Executive can bring it away——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Use it?

Mr. BRISTOW. And they can use the money as a political agency to put up or tear down parties to a controversy in that foreign country?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes, Mr. President; unfortunate as that may seem it can be done if an administration were reckless enough to do it. I do not think it would be much more reckless than to authorize the shipment of arms and ammunition into Mexico at the time we did it. I know it would not be half as reckless as it is to hold the people of Nicaragua in subjection without authority of Congress. Yes; it could be done.

While Huerta was President of Mexico our Government sent emissaries to his enemies in the field; I know that the President sent William Bayard Hale, Mr. Carrothers, and John Lind to Huerta's enemies; and the strange thing about it all is—and I am going to say this—that there has not been an emissary sent from this Government to the Mexican Capital in the last two years who has not fallen squarely into the arms of the representatives of Henry Clay Pierce and the Waters-Pierce Oil Co.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield for a question.

Mr. CUMMINS. My question is this: The Senator stated a few moments ago that he supposed the money collected at Vera Cruz was in the Treasury. How does he know that it is in the Treasury?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I do not really know, but I assume it is.

Mr. CUMMINS. Does not the Senator know that a short while ago I introduced a resolution asking the President to inform the Senate with respect to the amount collected, what he proposed to do with it, and whether he proposed to expend it without the authority of Congress, and that the resolution was opposed on the other side of the Chamber, and finally sought to be sent to the Committee on Foreign Relations, it being now on the calendar.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes, Mr. President, I know that is so; and I should like to see the resolution of the Senator from Iowa acted upon. It should have received the approval of the Senate. It might have revealed a condition of affairs about which the country knows but little. I do not think, however, that the money is in the Treasury to the credit of our general fund. I think it is only held for safe-keeping.

Mr. CUMMINS. I was about to ask the Senator from Michigan whether he thought that money might be used to buy these ships in view of an empty Treasury?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Well, if the Mexican quarrel keeps up long enough, it might be borrowed to buy ships.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield to the Senator from Illinois for a question.

Mr. SHERMAN. I wish to inquire of the Senator from Michigan whether the Government does not now find itself in a situation where great diplomatic embarrassment would arise if it undertook to dispose of this million dollars which it has in its custody? Would not the payment of this million dollars, even if it were by the authority of Congress, to any of the revolutionary elements now in Mexico, carry with it a recognition by this Government of what we deemed to be the lawful government of that Republic?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes, Mr. President; and it would carry with it the recognition of no other government on the face of the earth. There is not a government in the civilized world that has recognized any government in Mexico since Gen. Huerta was driven from Mexico City by the activities, the spleen, the pique, and the madness of our own Government, although he had been recognized by every government in the word, except two or three. The foremost Governments, Germany, France, England, Russia, Austria, and Italy, had all recognized Huerta, and recognized him promptly. When the secretary for foreign affairs in England was asked in the House of Commons regarding the recognition by England he said: "It has been the policy of this Government always to recognize de facto governments." We could have done the same thing with perfect propriety. If we had done it, in my judgment, Huerta could have composed the differences that existed there, and the responsibility for all the robbery and all the murder and all the lawlessness from that time to this rests upon the President's shoulders.

While I am on the subject I am going to give as tersely as I can what I believe to be the errors of the Washington administration in Mexico.

I.

The announcement of the new doctrine that governments owing their origin to violence would not be recognized by this Government was an error. It had no more than been announced before the Chief Executive of this Nation knew it was an error. When an incipient revolution in Peru occurred, when their President was incarcerated and their secretary of war was murdered, a revolution which, in its effect, was as far-reaching as was the revolution in Mexico, the President of the United States promptly recognized the revolutionists. "Consistency, thou art a jewel," but thy name is not Democracy. [Laughter.] It was an error for this Government when it announced the new doctrine that governments owing their origin to violence would not be recognized by this Government for the following reasons:

(a) It was announced before the President had access to the records of the Department of State and the history of our foreign relations, which should have served as his guidance.

(b) It was purely an expression of the President's personal views, being contrary to the traditions and precedents of this Government since its existence.

(c) It was uttered without foresight and without that comprehensive view of its effect on our foreign relations which should have obtained. This is made evident by the inconsistent attitude of the administration in refusing to recognize the administration of Huerta and subsequently recognizing the new Government of Peru—where the President had been deposed by violence and was in jail and the minister of war had been assassinated—and by the recognition of the Government of Haiti. These inconsistencies subject the administration to the charge of insincerity.

There is no apparent continuity in the American policy.

II.

In refusing to recognize the provisional government of Gen. Huerta, this Government was within its rights, but it nevertheless contributed to the discredit of a government which was endeavoring to restore peace and order to Mexico, and which had the support of 98 per cent of Mexican public opinion and of the American and all other foreign colonies as well as of all European Governments.

That is quite a startling statement, and yet it is true. The consequences following the withholding of our recognition have been most grave. Our attitude has been interpreted and is now recognized as favoring and supporting rebels in arms against a regularly constituted government. It has fed the flames of rebellion, stimulated the revolutionary movement, and is responsible for the destruction of millions of dollars' worth of property and thousands of human lives. It has financially ruined thousands of Americans, and it has afforded advantages to European commercial, manufacturing, and exploiting interests to the loss and detriment of those of the United States. It has excited the suspicion and hostility of every Latin-American country, has grievously affronted every European chancellery, and has placed this Nation in such imminent peril in its foreign relations with three great Governments that it has found itself obliged to determine its course in a great international question by the pressing necessities of the difficult position which it has created rather than in response to the call of high national and moral obligations.

That is the truth about it.

It has forced a further distorted and amplified interpretation of the already exaggerated Monroe doctrine and launched us upon seas of imperialism from which no man may see the shore. Persistence in such a policy can be justified only by the supreme necessity of saving the pride, prestige, and face of an administration committed to a national blunder. It can therefore be justified only as a policy of "expediency" and not as one of "morals."

III.—THE DISPATCH OF THE LIND MISSION.

The dispatch of Mr. Lind to Mexico as the official representative of the President in dealing with the Huerta administration, without diplomatic character and without the approval or consent of the Senate of the United States, was an act at variance with our precedents and was an assertion of overlordship over the sovereign Mexican Nation through direct though not armed intervention in its affairs. The representations made through Mr. Lind had already been made under instructions from Washington through the sworn and constitutionally made officer of this Government without success, and their repetition through the personal representative of the President, a person without diplomatic character or training, was an act of needless offensiveness to a friendly and sovereign State, foredoomed to failure even before negotiations were entabled.

I myself do not say anything against Mr. Lind in this connection. I think John Lind is an upright man. I served with him in Congress and found him to be a most agreeable, able, and conscientious man; but his mission to Mexico was an absolute failure, so far as our information goes. He has not accomplished one thing for this country; neither did William Bayard Hale accomplish anything. Nobody knows how much these men have been paid for going down there, but we do know that after they reached Mexico they were generously entertained by people who had interests to subserve. The Huerta government was convicted of high crimes and misdemeanors upon ex parte testimony. Huerta was told that he was unfit to be President and was asked to join an expression of his own condemnation. Huerta's government was further asked to give guaranties for a constitutional election, whereas every person versed in Mexican affairs knows that a constitutional election is impossible in Mexico.

There has never been anything said about a constitutional election since Huerta retired. It was not constitutional for a body of Mexican generals to meet at Aguas Calientes. That was not the constitutional dignity that the President of the United States said must be observed in Mexico before he would have anything to do with it. The Aguas Calientes convention was not constitutional. Two or three Presidents have emanated from that voluntary, promiscuous, and rather revolutionary gathering.

Finally, the diplomacy of the Washington administration having been conspicuously unhorsed by the unafraid Mexican President and his astute minister of foreign relations, Mr. Gamboa, it made an irreparable mistake in retaining Mr. Lind in Mexico after his mission had terminated, thus further irritating the Mexican Government, exposing our own Government to further ridicule, and the unfortunate Mr. Lind to the dubious delights—though assured safety—of the seaport of Vera Cruz, the only place where he could live in quiet.

IV.

The attempt to discredit European nations accredited to Mexico and to misrepresent their attitude with reference to recognition.

The European Governments accredited in Mexico have no political interests in that country, but they have large commercial ones and large colonies. France has $900,000,000 invested in banking and manufacturing enterprises. Great Britain has close upon a billion of dollars invested in mines, banks, railways, and plantations. Germany and Spain have each over $500,000,000 invested in the country at large and growing colonies. The representatives of these Governments

have experienced not only nearly two years of the misgovernment, but also the terrors and insincerities of the Madero government, a government in theory totally unsuited to Mexico and in practice worse than the autocracy of Gen. Diaz.

No one doubts that. He was a dreamer, a good man, I guess, but his brother, who was summarily disposed of for intrigue, was always at his heels. It was his brother who drew out of the Mexican treasury $50,000 in gold and handed it to Capt. Hopkins, whose office is in the Hibbs Building in Washington, for throwing sand in the eyes of the administration of President Diaz. Some people say that he drew out $300,000 at the first offering. That he gave Mr. Hopkins $50,000 of it in gold I know to be true; and Hopkins was a sand thrower. He spent most of his time casting reproach upon the Diaz administration. He is the professional revolutionist over Central America. He knew Zelaya was going out of the presidency of Nicaragua weeks before he went out; he helped put him out. I do not know how much he got for it, but if I had the power I would make him tell how much he got for it. If I had the power, I would drive these professional revolutionists out of the District of Columbia.

You talk about driving bad women out of the District of Columbia and destroying the "red-light" district. The police can look after that. But you permit a pest pot of revolution to burn and smell to heaven right under your noses. Then, too, they have access to the Department of State, and have had for years. I have called attention on this floor several times to that fact, but I can not move anyone to action on the majority side.

The New York Herald, with a degree of independence that is most commendable, has published page after page of the iniquities of this revolutionary cabal who have their offices in this city, where most of these revolutions at the south of us are concocted. The New York World, which admires the President of the United States, but which has not very much love for the Secretary of State, although it treats him with respect, has over and over again cautioned the country against this revolutionary pest pot in the District of Columbia, but nothing is done. But I must not be turned aside. They desired to secure the safety of their nationals and an opportunity for them to pursue their peaceful occupations. They therefore recommended the recognition of the Huerta government, and for these reason only their representations were approved and acted upon by their Governments. The refusal of this Government to accord recognition became, therefore, equivalent to a rebuke to the European, Asiatic, and Latin-American nations which had accorded recognition, and it was further distressing to them in that they were deprived of the moral support of this Government in aiding the Huerta administration to restore order, and that while they were deprived of the benefits expected to flow from their action they were offered no compensation therefor in the policy of this administration.

V.

In attempting to destroy the financial credit and standing of Mexico we went out of our way to strike a blow at the people of a friendly Republic. Huerta had made all his arrangements for money in France. He got an advance of ten or twenty millions. He took ten millions of it and paid back a loan to the banks made by Madero, and the other ten millions he used in strengthening his army and maintaining peace. The President of the United States hung a sign on him, saying that he was an undesirable citizen, and the world took note of that sign and refused to loan him any more money, although he stayed in his place 15 months after that sign was hung out and seemed to enjoy the confidence of his countrymen.

This was a second act of intervention in the affairs of Mexico, designedly expected to deprive the federal government of the means necessary to put down rebellion and disorder.

Can anybody say anything against that? Is not that sound doctrine? For the purpose of carrying out the policy of the President this Government and this Nation were made responsible for the destruction of vast material interests, for a protracted and bloody warfare, for the unnecessary sacrifice of thousands of human lives, and for the permanent impairment of cordial good feelings between the two nations. This policy, initiated without any knowledge of the resources of the Mexican Government, has been a ridiculous failure. Mexico's revenues to-day are larger than they were six months ago. They are composed of $5,000,000 a month from the customhouse and $6,000,000 from other special taxes that are not burdensome, thus giving a total revenue of $11,000,000 a month being used entirely for administrative and war purposes.

Huerta was in pretty good shape. He was proportionally in better shape than we are in the net result. He had more money, and would have had good credit if we had not broken it down.

VI.—IN LIFTING THE EMBARGO ON THE IMPORTATION OF ARMS AND AMMUNITION INTO MEXICO.

(a) This was an error because it was dictated by considerations of "expediency" and not of "morals"; placing arms in the hands of civilized people bent on destroying one another is an immoral act and contrary to laws, human and divine.

When the Senator from Iowa [Mr. KENYON] asked me, Saturday night, if I regarded the shipment of arms to Mexico as a proper thing for this Government to do, I said that it was the custom of nations but that it was immoral.

This was an error contrary to laws, divine and human. How much more reprehensible, therefore, is the placing of arms in the hands of savages and vandals, with the power to take human life and destroy the property of law-abiding people. By this act, our Government, acting upon the promptings of mistaken, even though honest, motives, became accessory to the crimes committed by the hands of barbarians.

They are not all barbarians, but many of the men who are fighting under numerous chiefs are known to be not of the highest order of citizenship.

(b) Because the act convicts the administration of insincerity, since the President some six months ago announced his determination never to take this step. He announced that he never would take the step, and then took it.

(c) The failure of some established Mexican Government to become responsible for damages growing out of the disturbed conditions existing in northern Mexico, we, as a Nation, will become liable under international law and under the interpretation of the Monroe doctrine for money compensation for the lives and property of foreigners taken in that territory. These damages will amount to probably seventy-five or one hundred millions of dollars.

And Mr. Bryan, Secretary of State, in the interest of peace and good order, would probably recommend paying such damages, even though he had to give the bonds of the Government to do it. If anybody has any claim against this Government anywhere on the civilized earth, I recommend him to bring it here now, because he never had a better opportunity to collect it. Pay Colombia $25,000,000 salve money, when we ought to charge them $50,000,000 for the benefit conferred on future generations of Colombians by connecting their Atlantic and Pacific ports through a waterway that for all the future generations of men will give them access to their widely separated ports upon both oceans! But they seem to understand that people could get their claims easily up here now, and they are all coming up with their satchels. There have been more men hanging around this Capitol with satchels, ready to take back money that they think they are entitled to, than I have seen before in 20 years of service. They come from everywhere. My advice to them is to get action quickly, because the money will not last long.

VII.—THE ASSUMPTION THAT CONSTITUTIONAL ELECTIONS CAN BE HELD IN MEXICO.

There never has been a constitutional election in Mexico, and there never will be until a radical change is made in the habits and character of the people. The work of making the nation democratic must be begun at the bottom and not at the top. We can not justly saddle an ignorant and savage nation with responsibilities such as are borne with difficulty by highly civilized nations. Eighty per cent of the population is Indian and unable to read or write, and with no more comprehension of the theory and practice of democracy than a Zulu or Hottentot. As well expect the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor to stand if built upon quicksand as to expect a constitutional election under present conditions in Mexico. It was a dream. The only thing I am sorry about is that it was a presidential dream.

Every government there has been shot in and shot out of power. That is the plain truth about it. I am not saying this because it is pleasant. That is the plain truth about it. Anybody who has been down there knows it. Why, the last time I was in Mexico City the policemen carried lanterns so that other people might not think they were prowlers, and there was not a depot where the train stopped anywhere in Mexico where they did not have soldiers ranged up to overawe the disobedient populace.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from New Hampshire?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield to the Senator for a question.

Mr. GALLINGER. I should like to ask the Senator who was President of the Republic of Mexico at that time?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Diaz.

Mr. GALLINGER. Can the Senator tell who is the President of Mexico now?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. No, Mr. President; I have not read the morning papers thoroughly. [Laughter.] I know who was President yesterday, but I have not read this morning's papers. I do not know who is President; but whoever it is, he is trying his level best to avoid going to the capitol. If he can be seen once in the capitol he is doomed.

Every government there has been shot in and shot out of power, and a revolution is an election. That is a terrible thing to say, is it not? I do not like to say it; my criticism is not directed to the whole 17,000,000 of Mexicans. I think our Government is partially responsible for their being in this demoralized and awful condition; and I am not altogether sure—I am going to be fair about it—that the responsibility rests wholly with the party now in power, although they have done much to encourage the present situation.

Do you remember the battle of Juarez? I said the other day that five men in the Belmont Hotel in New York held up that battle for two days; and there were not enough shots fired in the battle of Juarez to gratify the interest and inquisitive desire of people across the border, who expected a real fight. Some shots came over into El Paso. You can see buildings there where a stray shot came across the river. Even the American consulate got one or two of them in the roof, but it was not a battle. President Diaz had been convinced that the monetary interests that had controlled the Mexican railways and the oil business had turned against him. He had been convinced of it. His minister, Limantour, when he returned from Europe, gave out an interview in New York which put the finishing touches on the reign of Diaz; and he surrendered almost without firing a gun at Orozco and the soldiers under President Madero.

Madero made all kinds of promises to his people and did not keep them. I regret the manner of his death. He did nothing for this country. He did not cause the prosecution of any man for murder of an American citizen. Foreigners had more standing in Mexico than Americans did. One of the most prominent citizens of New Hampshire—I do not know but that my friend the senior Senator from New Hampshire will remember this—came here to ascertain what rights an American had in Mexico and he was told that his name sounded a little like a German name and they hoped he would not disclose his American citizenship.

Mr. GALLINGER. The Senator is correct in that.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I am obliged to the Senator from New Hampshire for confirming what I have said. Every government in Mexico has been shot in and shot out of power, and we furnished the ammunition and the guns. It is no credit to us.

How I was thrilled by the couplet of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]—I wish I could recall it—when he was discoursing so ably and interestingly upon the delicate situation in Magdalena Bay. "Our name was on the guns, John." Now, I know what I am talking about when I say "our guns." The testimony taken by our committee on the Mexican border disclosed this condition of affairs.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I hope the Senator will read it, if it does not take too long.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I will read it on the request of the Senator, although I did not intend to do so; but it is so pertinent to the present issue that I think it really ought to be read.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Is that all there is of it?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. This is all there is of it, but there was further and ample proof of selfish activity on the part of prominent Americans.

Mr. CUMMINS. They did not want to be investigated.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. They did not want to be investigated; but we know that millions and millions of rounds of ammunition have been spirited across the border, sometimes with the consent of our Government officials and sometimes without it. Every government of Mexico has been shot into office, and our only answer was rhetoric, rhetoric, rhetoric.

The truth of this view is sustained by the history of Mexico since the time of the revolution against Spain. Where else throughout the world has there been more turbulence, more violent overturning of government, more hallelujahs of triumph, or more anathemas of death and defeat? The hero and patriot of one hour becomes in the next hour the fugitive from justice, with a price upon his head.

It is but a few days ago that Carranza marched in triumph into the Mexican capital and then skulked out of it under color of darkness. Now he is on his way back again, and his successor is skulking.

Hallelujahs of triumph and anathemas of death and defeat right at our door. Right at our door the president of Mexico only a few short months ago, it seems to me, came over to the Rio Grande and the President of the United States met him on the international bridge, where they exchanged felicitations. It was supposed then that we had some interest in that country and its people, but we have given its bandits arms and ammunition to destroy honest people. The red fire of anarchy now burns from the Rio Grande to Vera Cruz.

Somebody may ask what I would have done about it. I would not have broken down the barriers of self-government in Mexico. But I would have given protection to American citizens and to other foreigners who had a right to rely upon us.

Mr. ROOT. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from New York?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Certainly; I yield with pleasure to the Senator from New York for a question.

Mr. ROOT. I rose for the purpose of putting a question to the Senator from Michigan that may direct his mind and his very illuminating discourse toward one specific direction in which the pending ship-purchase bill may bring us into contact with serious questions in Mexico. The question is this: Would it be possible, in the judgment of the Senator from Michigan, to preserve an attitude of entire impartiality and abstention from all participation in controversies that are going on in Mexico between the various aspirants for supreme control and at the same time operate a line of Government-owned vessels engaged in commerce between the ports of the United States and the ports of Mexico? Would not this situation naturally arise? While private vessels can make their private arrangements with these chieftains, Carranza and Villa and Zapata and Obregon, and all the others, while private persons can arrange with these aspirants, as we know, for their accommodations and their protection at one port and another, the Government of the United States could not possibly do that without involving itself in controversy by giving its moral support to one of the arrangements. What does the Senator from Michigan think about the situation in which we would be placed with reference to our self-denying ordinance as to the affairs of Mexico if this bill were to pass?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, that is what caused me to refer to the Mexican situation. It is a fact that we are about to establish a new medium of communication upon the sea, and of course we could do no business safely with Mexico under present conditions.

All that the Senator from New York has said, and most appropriately, is very illuminating as illustrating the difficulties under which we are now laboring to bring forth a mountain, when in reality we will bring forth a mouse. We will get nothing out of Mexico and nothing out of Central America and nothing out of South America by these Government-owned ships. Our entire attitude toward these people must be changed to disarm prejudice.

Mr. ROOT. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield further?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. For a question.

Mr. ROOT. May I ask the Senator from Michigan whether the very striking figure of his is designed to affect the suffrage vote?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. No; I had no hidden motive.

Mr. ROOT. I call the attention of the Senator to the fact that there are a considerable number of the States of the Union, including that of my friend the Senator from Utah [Mr. SUTHERLAND], who I observe is smiling at this moment, in which the threat of bringing forth a mouse would present a most serious political problem.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, Mr. President, I voted for suffrage in Michigan, and I am going to vote for it here if I have an opportunity. But before we undertake to establish closer trade relations with the Republics to the south of us we must get their good will. They are very suspicious of us now.

Mr. LIPPITT. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Rhode Island?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield for a question only.

Mr. LIPPITT. I should like to ask the Senator from Michigan if he thinks it is perhaps taking a long step toward getting their good will when our Chief Executive has acknowledged that they have a right to shoot all the people they want and we are not going to interfere with their holy pastime?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, what a striking indictment that presents! What a striking indictment of one whose action has contributed so much to the disrespect for law in Mexico. It seems to me that it is rather dubious doctrine to say to the people of the Western Hemisphere that you can fight whenever you please as long as is necessary to kill one another off.

Recently we have heard Senators on the other side of the Chamber quote with approval the records of distinguished Secretaries of State in the past. They talk about Evarts and Frelinghuysen, and yet when a Senator who has been a great Secretary of State, who is fitted to fill any office in this Government with credit, stands up here with solemnity and candor and admonishes them against the danger they will encounter by this departure from a settled policy of the American Government for over a century they turn a deaf ear. How vain the eloquent appeal of the great Senator from New York. Future generations, however, will do Senator Root the credit to say that he warned his country against the danger of this paternalistic device. The President of the United States says he will not recognize anyone unless he is chosen squarely under the constitution of Mexico. He who rules marches through slaughter to a throne. Power is seized by ambitious hands, but the victor ends his career either in the dungeon, in exile, or by the dagger.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield for a question.

Mr. JONES. It may be that the Senator has already touched on the point I have in mind. If he has done so, I will not ask him to repeat it. Can he give us any information as to why it is that we have apparently kept some of the representatives of our Government going around over Mexico with different factions. Have we kept our representatives along with Villa and Carranza and Zapata to see that they were doing their pillage and their ravishing and their murders in a proper sort of a way, or why have we kept our representatives there?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. We have kept them spying on conditions. Some of them ought never to have been sent there. Some of them were discredited in their own countries before they were chosen for that kind of service. When the President of the United States solemnly told the American people that Villa had entered Torreon not as a victor but as a brother to those people, he based his statement upon the report reputed to have been made to the State Department by Consul Hanna. I know from the lips of a man who was with Villa at Torreon that Hanna was not within 15 miles of Torreon when Villa entered and did not know anything about it. This man, who is worthy of belief, told me that when Villa entered Torreon he was walking with him on the streets of Torreon when a woman cried out, "There goes the federal paymaster," and without waiting to see who he was Villa and his chief of staff drew their guns and shot that man to the earth, and as he lay groaning and dying he held in his hand a yellow piece of paper which this newspaper man told me he bent over and took out of his hand and it was a pass from Villa. He was not the paymaster. He was a lumberman of Torreon. He had in his pocket $15,000 in money, for he had sold his lumber, anticipating the coming of revolutionists, and was preparing to get out of the country. Even the wife and children of the dying man were forbidden to look upon his face or give him burial. Finally toward evening they begged so hard that he might be buried that his body was thrown over a donkey's back and taken toward the cemetery. On the way the body fell off. No one was permitted to move it without authority from Villa. Finally when that authority was given this American told me he followed the body, which was again thrown across the back of a donkey, to the cemetery. When he got out to the cemetery he said there were 10 Americans out there digging graves, and he heard the man in charge of the cemetery say, "After you have finished digging the graves for these Spaniards you dig yours."

Yet the country is informed that Villa's entrance into Torreon was peaceful and kindly and not as a revolutionary chieftain. Some one has been fooled; why will not the President listen to people who know the truth? He kept Nelson O'Shaughnessy cooling his heels in a Washington hotel for 10 days before he would give him an audience. O'Shaughnessy reflected luster upon his country. He ordered him to come here direct and would not even let him stop over at his old home where his father had recently died. He wanted him here, and for 10 days O'Shaughnessy, the acting minister of the American Government in Mexico, who through peril and disaster stood at his post and rendered service for which the American people will always be his debtor, was denied access to the Chief Executive. I do not say that the President would have given out a false statement about Villa's entrance into Torreon if he had known the truth. But he will not listen to people who do know. He does not seem to want information from people who do know. I told Mr. Bryan while he was making a speaking campaign before the election of President Wilson, in his room in the Alexandria Hotel in Los Angeles, that I was taking testimony that would be useful to him if Wilson should be elected and he should be associated with the administration. I never have been asked for one syllable from him. I took this testimony to the State Department and laid it in his own hands, and told him it represented the statements of people under oath as to conditions in Mexico, and that is the last I ever heard about it.

From the time of the revolution against Spain down to the time of the establishment of the government of Gen. Diaz, the rulers of Mexico pass across the stage like the ghost of Banquo, "Come like shadows, so depart." The Empire of Iturbide, the tyrant Santa Ana, and the unhappy and unfortunate Maximilian, along with a multitude of vulgar and bloody tyrants, held sway over the destinies of this unhappy country, despoiling its population and leaving in their wake only the echo of disappointed ambitions and sad tragedies. And yet we are idle; there is plenty of rhetoric, but we are idle.

Philosophers should have learned the lesson taught in the pages of Mexico's bloody history that the practice of democracy, which is a burden at times to the most civilized nations, can not be successfully imposed upon an illiterate nation clothed only with the superficial vestments of modern civilization and harking back to the days of human sacrifice when the popular virtues were celebrated in blood.

There is not a Senator in this Chamber nor a citizen of this Republic who is proud of our course toward Mexico during the last two years—not one. There may be apologists for it, and there are always apologists enough, but no one is proud of that record. I am sorry it has been made. I do not think it has been done intentionally. I think it is simply lack of accurate knowledge and information that is responsible for most of our errors in handling that situation.

In this connection I desire to quote from the message of President Franklin Pierce on May 15, 1856, as follows:

> It is the established policy of the United States to recognize all Governments without question of their source or their organization or of the means by which the governing persons attain their power, provided there be a government de facto accepted by the people of the country, and with reserve only of the time as to the recognition of revolutionary governments arising out of the subdivision of parent States with which we are in relations of amity. We do not go behind the fact of a foreign Government exercising actual power to investigate questions of legitimacy; we do not inquire into the causes which may have led to a change of government. To us it is indifferent whether a successful revolution has been aided by foreign intervention or not; whether insurrection has overthrown existing government, and another has been established in its place according to preexisting forms or in a manner adopted for the occasion by those whom we may find in the actual possession of power. All these matters we leave to the people and public authorities of the particular country to determine, and their determination, whether it be by positive action or by ascertained acquiescence, is to us a sufficient warranty of the legitimacy of the new Government.

In some way, every time we send an emissary to Mexico he becomes a partisan of one or another of these revolutionary juntas. Men can not go out and do justice to a delicate situation like that unless they guard faithfully against undue prejudice against any class of people in the country to which they have been accredited.

Oh, it is a sad chapter. I do not like to discuss it; I have not been in the habit of discussing it, and I would not discuss it now except that we plan to buy ships and send them southward, with the hope that they can get business at Vera Cruz which private enterprise will not be able to get, or southward to the ports of Nicaragua and Costa Rica and Honduras and Salvador, and on southward to the great States of South America. I do not believe we can get any business there until those people have a higher regard for us than they have to-day. Other countries have acquainted themselves with their methods of doing business. Germany has been for year proselyting for commerce with South America. The largest and most imposing building in Lima has been erected by German bankers as an evidence of the strength of the financial institutions of the German Empire. Throughout Chile and the Argentine the same care, solicitude, and detail have been observed on the part of the European countries who have been proselyting for South American trade. They have been taught to do business with those countries understandingly; we can not dislodge them simply by investing $40,000,000 in ships.

If we want to cultivate the good will of the States to the south of us, we must keep our hands off their internal affairs. If we want to cultivate the good will of the States and the people on the south of us, we must stop trying to run their political affairs. We can not go on establishing puppet governments and then maintaining them in power by force of arms, either in Central or South America, and get the good will of the people of those countries. "We must take things as we find them," said a prominent Democratic official. Is it necessary to leave it as you find it?

The appropriateness of my reference to the condition of affairs in Central and South America in connection with this

debate grows out of the fact that we are about to establish steamship lines on Central and South American lanes. One of the great States of Central America has a man in this Capitol who asserts that we can never do business with them until we give them $25,000,000 as a balm to their wounded feelings. He came to see me at my house, and said he wanted to talk with me because I was a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations. He said, "I want to talk with you about this Colombian business, Senator." I said, "All right; go ahead." I listened to him for one hour, during the course of which he said 40 times, "What we want to do is to reestablish good will between our people and our Uncle Samuel." When he got through I said, "You want a frank answer, do you not? I do not want to deceive you." He said, "Yes"; and I said, "Instead of $25,000,000 I would not give you 5 cents, and I will tell you why. We spent $360,000,000 to improve the waterways of Central America. It is no longer necessary for Colombian people to go overland from one Colombian port to another. It is not necessary for them to transfer to and from the railroad at Panama, and for all future generations Colombian citizens have a waterway from their Pacific to their Atlantic ports without cost. We should have assessed Colombia $50,000,000 for benefits conferred. She has ports upon both seas, and may sail her ships from one to the other without hindrance or delay. This is a matchless and a superb country of ours. We can afford to set a good example to the world and be generous, but we must first be just to our own people."

When the President calls his chiefs to the White House to discuss the Treasury deficit, it is a poor time to make a country, to whom we owe nothing, a present of $25,000,000. They will get over this little disappointment, but we will not get over this deficit until we get the Democratic Party out of power.

As I said about an hour ago, if the last congressional elections are any index, we would have gotten the Democrats out this year, notwithstanding what the President says in his speech at Indianapolis about that being a Democratic victory; it was not. He is mistaken; he has been misinformed about that, as he has been about other things. He does not go to the right sources for his information; he has discouraged people from coming to him; he has surrounded himself with mystery and exclusiveness; and, if he goes wrong, he can not blame anybody but himself.

This is a minority administration. It ought to go slowly. The Democrats of this country in the election of 1912 carried only 14 States by a majority vote of the people of those States. Does anybody deny that? The party of protection carried 34 States of the Union by a majority vote; and yet the President of the United States, before he came to that exalted office, sitting in the quiet of his library, undisturbed by ambitions or tempests, political or otherwise, sat down deliberately and wrote this:

> No group of men less than the majority has a right to tell me how I have got to live in America.

And yet, representing a minority, he has told American workmen how they must live!

I do not like to annoy my friends on the other side of the Chamber by referring to such an embarrassing subject, but if we are going to buy ships out of a deficit, we ought to know it.

Now, let us see what the war in Europe had to do with this deficit.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from New Hampshire?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. For a question only.

Mr. GALLINGER. I will ask the Senator if his attention has been called to the fact that there is likely to be a $30,000,000 deficit in the postal revenues this year?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. That would not surprise me at all. They have turned the post offices in this country into employment agencies for the first time in 130 years. Every post office in this country has been turned into an employment agency. No wonder the postal receipts have fallen off, and the administration is pluming itself upon having done something wonderful. We did not have to do that under the Republican administrations. There was nobody looking for jobs then. There were not 150,000 Chicagoans out of employment then.

The first fiscal year of the Underwood law would have shown a deficit had it not been for the three months and three days of the Republican tariff law, and the fact that the woolen schedule did not go into effect until December 1, giving them five months of the Republican tariff duties, while the sugar schedule did not go into effect until March 1, 1914, giving eight months to enjoy the Republican sugar schedule. President Wilson says that the deficit is not due to the reduction of the tariff, in his message to the Congress, but to a decrease in importations on account of the war. I do not like to dispute the President, but I have got to do so if I tell the truth. The statement that it was due to a decrease of importations on account of the war is not according to the facts. Importations increased from month to month after the passage of the Underwood-Simmons bill. The decrease in revenue is not due to lessened imports, but it is due to reduced tariffs, which were not so adjusted as to produce adequate revenue with which to run the Government. That is the fact about it. The European war did not have anything to do with it. If it had not been for the European war, our despondency and demoralized industrial condition would have been much worse than it is to-day, for here and there is a large manufacturing institution filling war orders.

There was no trouble here when Russia and Japan were at War. There was no trouble in this country during the Franco-Prussian War. We went along swimmingly with our domestic affairs. There were at that time 50,000,000 people trading among themselves in diversified and varied employments, the man who made the chair buying shoes from the man who made the shoes, the shoemaker buying his chairs from the cabinetmaker; and in our own way, among ourselves, each patronizing the other, we were enabled to go through these wars without much difficulty or effect upon our domestic affairs.

In December, 1913, the people employed in the woolen and worsted industry in this country amounted to 172,693. If you buy your worsted goods abroad, what will become of these 172,000 men? For whom will they work? Where will they get their wages? If they do not get their wages you can not sell to them the fruits of California or of Florida, no matter how sweet and delicious and inviting those fruits may be. They will rot upon the ground if somebody is not sufficiently employed to pay the freight on them from the place where they were grown to the market place. Those 172,000 men are directly and vitally affected by the present tariff law. I was in New Hampshire a few weeks ago celebrating the election of my uncompromising protectionist friend the senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER], who for over 20 years has given an intelligent and disinterested service to his country, which the people of New Hampshire have shown they fully and deeply appreciate. I was down there in New Hampshire, and, I think, in the great mill at Manchester there is usually 17,000 people employed in one factory; am I not right, Senator?

Mr. GALLINGER. About that.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. And yet, Mr. President, there was not enough music in the spindles of that factory to attract the attention of the passers-by.

There were 172,693 men employed in the woolen and worsted industry. There were 383,529 men employed in making cotton goods. If we buy our cotton goods abroad, for whom will these 383,000 men work? We manufacture only about 30 per cent of the cotton goods of the world, and yet we open the door and make it easy to bring in the products of other men's toil while our workmen have nothing to do. For whom will these 383,000 men work?

In the cutlery manufacture of this country we had 35,586 men. If my friend from Connecticut were here, I would ask him how many of those men are employed in the cutlery manufacture in Connecticut at the present time. I venture less than half the usual force, and on short time at that.

Why, there were 102,000 men making glass in this country—beautiful glass, fit for anyone's table—and yet we have made it so easy to get glass from Europe and the glassworkers are looking for something else to do. When the men who make glass have no wages and no employment, they can not buy shoes that are made by the shoe man, nor furniture that is turned out by the furniture factories, nor carpets that are made by the carpet weaver. They must have work if they are to become customers. There were 102,000 of them in the glass business in this country in 1913, and now they are scattered all over our broad land seeking other employment. Our glass is as good as the glass made in any part of the world.

When the tariff was lowered on glass there was a glass manufacturing concern at Saginaw, Mich., making French plate glass at 16 cents a square foot and selling it at 15 cents a square foot. They lost a cent on every square foot they made; and this reckless Democratic free-trade Congress took away much of their protection, tore down their house, and drove them to the open hilltops, there to be chilled by the biting blast.

Oh, Mr. President, this is serious business—serious business—driving glassworkers out of their employment. I should like to ask the junior Senator from Connecticut [Mr. MCLEAN] how many men were employed in the cutlery industry in Connecticut before this new tariff law went into effect. Does the Senator know?

Mr. MCLEAN. I could not give the Senator the exact number; but of course it is a very large industry.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Thirty-five thousand are employed altogether in the country making cutlery. Are they now running on full time?

Mr. McLEAN. About four days in the week.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Ah! Four days they are to be permitted to earn their daily bread by the courtesy of the Democratic Party. My God! That is a crime against humanity—to expose American workmen with families, defenders of our flag, to want and misery, while we allow aliens to send their products across the border at daylight and to take our gold back to their country at eventide without any responsibility to our flag, to our Government, to our institutions, and without paying a cent toward our national expense. Upon what theory of government is this permitted?

The foundry and machine shops had 597,234 men employed when President Wilson took the oath of office on the east portico of this Capitol. Many thousands of them have been driven from their homes, denied employment, while we have been buying foundry and machine work abroad. If it had not been for this European war, which sent foreign machinists and foundrymen to the front with guns upon their shoulders, we would have been buying more foundry and machine products over there than we are buying to-day.

We had 89,886 people making automobiles, including the bodies of automobiles, and many of them are having a difficult time now to get work. Six thousand men appeared in front of one factory, to my knowledge, on one day, asking for work in the city of Detroit.

Here are 1,380,923 men whose occupations have been exposed to ruin by the accidental triumph of Democracy.

I read on Saturday reports from R. G. Dun & Co. of the failures throughout the country. I shall not repeat it. I do not want to repeat it; but I did not give the Senate the benefit of the concluding paragraph. I did refer to the number of failures in Florida and other Southern States where the increase was about 700, but I did not give you the conclusion:

> The real cause of the present widespread depression you do not mention at all, but the customhouse figures tell the whole story and show conclusively that closed factories and factories working on greatly reduced time all over the country are not the result of the war—on the contrary, this has been the means of temporarily opening many of them—but are the direct result of our present free-trade tariff under which a credit balance in our favor during 1913 of over $691,000,000 has been changed in five months of 1914 to a debit balance of over thirty-nine millions, or at the rate of about one hundred millions per year against us.

I wish some alert, well-informed, and courageous Democrats would answer that suggestion. R. G. Dun & Co. do not make reckless statements.

I want to give you some figures from their reports, and I am going to call the especial attention of the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SIMMONS] to them. The Senator from North Carolina and I are very good friends, though we frequently disagree on economic questions. The bill which has caused most of the devastation in the country bears his name. I am going to read these figures and I hope he will listen to them.

The following figures taken from R. G. Dun & Co.'s record show clearly the disastrous effects of a low tariff or free-trade policy in the business life of the country:

1914.

Number of failures	18,280
Number of business concerns	1,655.496
Per cent of failures	1.10

First year under low tariff, Wilson-Underwood-Simmons bill:

1912–13.

Number of failures	16,037
Number of business concerns	1,616,517
Per cent of failures	.99

That was the disastrous year, when the blight came upon us. The election had taken place, but they did not take office until the following spring.

1912.

Number of failures	15,452
Number of business concerns	1,564,279
Per cent of failures	.98

In 1911, that was before the blight came:

1911.

Number of failures	13,441
Number of business concerns	1,525,024
Per cent of failures	.81

That was under the Payne tariff law, for which no apology is necessary in view of present conditions.

Nineteen hundred and ten was another glorious Republican year. No new theories came creeping into the financial policies of the Government:

1910.

Number of failures	12,652
Number of business concerns	1,515,143
Per cent of failures	.80

1909.

Number of failures	12,924
Number of business concerns	1,486,389
Per cent of failures	.80

You see how these failures mutliplied under free trade and how they are minimized under protection.

In 1908 there were 15,690 failures in the United States; there were 1,470,554 firms in business; the percentage of failures was 1.8 of 1 per cent.

In 1911 we had 13,441 failures; in 1914 we had 18,280.

In 1907 we had 11,725 failures, with 1,418,075 concerns in business, and the percentage of failures was but three-fourths of 1 per cent. And yet our friends on the other side treat us to a moving picture of despair every time 1907 is mentioned.

Let us go on with those periods of protection. In 1906 there were 10,682 failures, 1,392,949 firms doing business, and the percentage of failures was but seventy-one one-hundredths of 1 per cent. I might run through the whole list. When we get back to Cleveland's unfortunate experiences with Prof. Wilson, who managed his affairs in the House of Representatives, we find that there were 12,186 failures, and there were 1,105,830 concerns in business, and the percentage was 1.10 per cent.

In 1897 there were 13,351, with 1,058,521 in business, and the first percentage of failures was 1.26. You know how prostrate business was under the Cleveland administration.

In 1896 there were 15,088 failures; 1,151,579 firms in business. The percentage of failures was 1.31 per cent.

In 1895 there were 13,197 failures; in 1894, 13,885 failures.

You may search this record through from one end to the other; it is the record of Dun & Co., and you will find the greatest number of failures when the Democrats are in power, with free trade and low tariff, and the danger is minimized greatly the moment we get a protective-tariff law. Failures in low-tariff years are 32.6 per cent greater than in the years of protection. These are mercantile figures. You may deny them if you can. One would think we were in the catacombs, everyone is so quiet on the other side of the Chamber.

Even the author of the bill has not the courage to rise and reply to R. G. Dun & Co.'s statement; there were 32 per cent more failures under low tariff than in the years of protection. Yet, with the recklessness born of political necessity, these free-trade buccaneers have dashed against the wall of protection and broken down the very citadel of American prosperity and independence.

Mr. McLEAN. The Senator will remember——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield for a question.

Mr. McLEAN. In his Indianapolis speech the President stated that the new Trade Commission, which he created, will have power to revise the tariff.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The President has no right to say that; Congress can not delegate its power of taxation. The unofficial list of probable appointees on the Federal Trade Commission does not contain the name of a man experienced in tariff matters.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Illinois?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield for a question.

Mr. SHERMAN. I will inquire if the Senator has heard, from what he considers authoritative sources, that Mr. Hurley, of Chicago, has been selected as a member of that board, and in a few days his name will be sent to the Senate for confirmation? I inquire further, to know if he is an associate and bosom companion of Roger C. Sullivan, of Chicago, and is president of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes; I know of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association.

The Senator from Florida in charge of this bill presented a telegram from the Illinois Manufacturers' Association a few days ago signed by Mr. Hurley, and I made some observations on the matter at that time.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield further?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield for a question.

Mr. SHERMAN. I will ask the Senator if he knows, and if not I should like to be interrogated at the proper time myself, if I ever get the floor again, that 5 out of the 12 directors of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association are not in favor of this resolution which Mr. Hurley put through the board of directors, and I have certain correspondence here to show it.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. That is most impressive and encouraging. I did not think it could be. There is, however, a well-organized, systematic propaganda among the appointees and prospective appointees of the President to uphold every vagary which he suggests.

I was of the opinion that Mr. Hurley was drawing upon his imagination somewhat when he said the Illinois Manufacturers' Association approved of this bill. But the last semiofficial announcement from the White House shows that the commission will be composed of Mr. Hurley, a Mr. William Parry, of Seattle, a Progressive, and a Mr. Davies, a Democrat, and two or three others, but no Republican. He can not see a Republican. He could not see one when he made up the Reserve Bank Board, and he can not see one on the Federal Trade Commission. There will not be one appointed. May I read this letter? I was very much surprised when the Senator from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER] offered that telegram. The letter is as follows, addressed to Senator SHERMAN:

PEKIN COOPERAGE CO.,
Pekin, Ill., January 25, 1915.

Hon. L. Y. SHERMAN, *Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. SHERMAN: In answer to your letter of January 23 would say I was not at the meeting of the directors of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association when they adopted the report to support the pending shipping bill.

Speaking for myself only, I am much opposed to this bill, and I think the Government goes far out of its way when it engages in shipping or transportation of any kind. In my humble opinion the passage of this bill would be inimical to the manufacturing interests of this country. I, of course, personally appreciate and approve the stand you take in this matter, and I regret I am not able to inform you what immediate causes led to such an action on the part of the board of directors.

With kind regards, I am,
Yours, very truly,
H. G. HERGET.

Does not that shed a flood of light upon the telegram of Mr. Hurley, who put his organization on record without even canvassing his own board? The President vetoed the immigration bill because no party platform had ever declared for the literacy test. The President vetoed the immigration bill because, he said, no one held a mandate from the American people to say what their attitude was concerning that matter, and he wanted a referendum before acting. Where is the popular mandate committing this Government to this folly of Government ownership? What part of the Democratic platform calls for this extravagance? What party demanded it? Why do it now of all times when you are holding secret councils at the White House to try and overcome the deficit of the Federal Treasury?

Still you go madly on, spurred only by caucus decree.

Representative FITZGERALD says, "I am tempted to quit my place."

He is the only Democrat I ever heard of who thought of resigning public office.

Mr. McLEAN. Mr. President——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield for a question only.

Mr. McLEAN. To return to the Senator's statement with regard to the majority for protection in 1912, the Senator will remember that the President said in his Indianapolis speech that had the last election been in a presidential year the Democratic candidate would have had 80 majority in the Electoral College; and in that vote, I understand, he included the State of Michigan——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, Mr. President——

Mr. McLEAN. Because the State of Michigan elected a Democratic governor.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. But we carried the State by 75,000 majority for everybody else. I proved this morning—and it is not necessary to go over it again—to the satisfaction of everybody that if the last election had been a presidential election, based upon the congressional elections throughout the States, the Republicans would have had in the Electoral College 297 votes, the Democrats would have had 213 votes, the Progressives would have had 13 votes, and there would have been doubtful 8 votes. If the President can take any comfort out of that situation, he is welcome to it.

I do not like to say anything irritating, so I will quote from the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS]. The Senator from Mississippi rose one day, in a colloquy here on the 8th of April, and said, in reply to the Senator from Iowa:

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, it is utterly impossible for Senators upon this side of the Chamber to hear the controversy that is going on upon the other side, and we are very anxious to hear it. Therefore I ask for order.

Senator JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS said:

The Senator from Iowa was exactly right. The poor, dear, old, foolish Democratic Party is going through the same game that she can be generally trusted to go through with soon after she gets into power. Here we Democrats are quarreling with one another because this or that or the other city was not made a reserve city.

Why, if the Apostles were here and had constituted a board and attempted to designate the reserve cities for this system, there would have been indignation meetings held somewhere and words of scurrility and violence would have been uttered at those meetings.

We Democrats stand here and we quarrel with one another, and mass meetings are held in New Orleans by Democrats, and this thing occurred which would be absolutely inconceivable if it had not happened—they became so indignant, they became so violent in their language, they became so unreasonable and illogical that they passed resolutions calling upon one of the Senators from that State to vote against the bill repealing the exemption of coastwise ships from tolls, because of what? Because the board has not made New Orleans a reserve city.

That is the Democratic Party; that is its history; that is what led old Tom Reed to say in 1894 and 1895—

"You can not last long, because you are not accustomed to governing anybody or anything; you can not govern the country; you can not even govern yourselves; you are incompetent."

The Senator from Iowa was exactly right, fellow Democrats.

That must be music to the ears of Senators upon the other side of the Chamber. It falls with dulcet tone upon our ears, because it is from the inside; it is from one who knows; it is from one of the managers; it is from one of the prophets; it is from one of the sages, a real leader on the other side of the Chamber; and he denounces his own party as incompetent. I would not do that; but I do say that some of the things that that party has done have been most unfortunate for the country, and if they accomplish the passage of this bill it will commit the country to a paternalistic and socialistic doctrine which for 130 years American public men have been inspired to resist.

The President and his party chieftains are alarmed over the present deficit and they are holding us here to make the deficit larger. How inconsistent! They broke down our industrial safeguards with a recklessness and indifference born of sectional and class hatred, and did it at a time when the people of our country were at the very height of their industrial prosperity and greatness; they broke them down when more than 25,000,000 persons in the United States had bank accounts to their credit and when there was more money to the credit of labor in the banks of this country than would be required to pay more than a third of the combined national debt of the 50 leading countries of the earth. Labor had more than $14,000,000,000 to its credit when Woodrow Wilson took the oath of office on the east portico of this Capitol. It represented more than double the whole world's known supply of gold, and is greater in value than the world's total output of gold and silver since Columbus sailed for America. Labor has been drawing on its savings from day to day because it has no employment.

We had better guard with great jealousy our domestic market, fellow Senators; we had better preserve it, for we are going to lose some of our foreign markets. All over Europe there is a feeling that they should protect themselves by economic barriers. England has been a dumping ground for the world, and yet her dependencies have erected barriers against industrial poaching, greatly prospering thereby.

The other day I was going across the Detroit River into Canada, when I saw a huge building and said, "What is that?" The reply came, "That is the Ford Automobile Co. of Canada." I said, "That is not the Ford Co.," and the reply was, "Yes; it is." I said, "Do you mean that they have built a factory in Canada?" "Yes," was the answer. I said, "Well, there is another one within a stone's throw on the American side; why was that factory duplicated?" And the answer came, "Mr. Ford could do no business with Canadians without paying tariff duty unless he manufactured upon Canadian soil; so he came over here and duplicated his factory." What a smart thing that was on the part of Canada!

I do not know of a more favored spot on the face of the civilized globe than is Canada. I wonder that immigrants do not go there in a steady stream. They have fertile fields and unoccupied lands. They have a variety of climate and production; they are just where we were 120 years ago in population, but they are just where we are to-day in everything that goes to make a nation great. When we had 7,000,000 people we did not have a railroad in this country. Canada has 7,000,000 people, and 30,000 miles of railroad girdle her domain from coast to coast.

Mr. PAGE. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Vermont?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield to the Senator from Vermont for a question.

Mr. PAGE. Is it true that the Canadians have excelled us in the past year in the amount of railroad construction? I understand that is so; that they have built more railroad lines than we have built in this country.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Well, I think they have been doing some very extensive railroad work, and also have been doing a great deal of canal and harbor work. Just how much they have done I do not believe I am able to say offhand, but I know the amount has been very large.

Mr. PAGE. I saw the statement made only a short time ago that for the first time in the history of Canada they had excelled the United States in the amount of new railroad construction; and I think that is a fact.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I would not be at all surprised if that were true. But what I am endeavoring to impress upon my colleague is this, that Canada, queen of the colonies of England, special favorite of the mother country, welcome always at the family table, influential in the discussion of the over-sea affairs whenever a council convenes at London—Canada, I say, ought to have millions of people going to it, because they not only have the advantage of open and free and unrestricted access to the American market place, but they enjoy absolute protection in the monopoly of their own market. If our manufacturers want to sell their products in Canada they have got to step up to the captain's office and pay something toward the current expenses of the Government of the Dominion. If they want to sell anything in this country they put it on a wagon and cross the river, enter our markets at daybreak and take back our gold at nightfall. They contribute nothing toward the expenses of our Government. Nearly 40,000 Canadians are now bearing arms upon European soil. Pray God they may come back safely to their country! It seems to me this afternoon, as I think about it, I can hear them on their march, and the drum-beats that summon them to their duty. But if our country were imperiled, if we were menaced, we could not draw upon Canadian soldiers to fight our battles. We would have to rely upon our mechanics, farmers, and laborers to whom I referred a few moments ago; we would have to take these 1,300,000 men employed in industries that were sacrificed by this new tariff law, and they would fight our battles. If our Treasury were empty, as it has every promise of being, we could not draw upon Canadians to restore it, and yet we give them our markets, inviting open competition with our own labor.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield for a question to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. SHERMAN. I wish to ask the Senator if he knows of any other industries that have migrated to Canada in part to pursue their industrial activities?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, yes; many of them. I am told about them, indeed, almost every day. I know quite a number that have felt it absolutely incumbent upon them to locate on the other side of that tariff wall in order to do business with Canada, while we are tearing down our wall to make access easy for them.

The time is coming—and I am no prophet, but I said it Saturday night, and I say it to-day—when Great Britain will circle her Empire with a protective-tariff wall which will restrict the products of foreign States, and when that time comes we will have lost the best customer we have in all the world. There is a growing sentiment in England in favor of protection. It is already the law of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. When that time comes Great Britain will circle her Empire with tariff restrictions; when that time comes Ireland, with its vast and undeveloped resources, with its climate like California, with its rivers running madly to the sea, with its fertile soil and its abundant natural richness, with its light-hearted people, who make a success in every part of the world except on their own soil, will be included in a confederation like the German confederation. When that time comes protection will again be the policy of the Emerald Isle, as it once was. There was a time in the history of Ireland when it had a protective-tariff law when the products of Ireland were seen everywhere throughout the world. There was a time when her spindles made merry music and her people were happy and contented. There was a time when Ireland produced great statesmen and poets and scholars. Walk through Westminster Abbey to-day and read upon the gravestones the names of the historic dead who lie buried there, and you will touch your hat to the Sheridans and the Grattans and other great leaders of Irish thought in the days that are past, who rest beside the Kings and Queens of England. When I was in Ireland last I went out with Michael Davitt, the great Irish statesman—peace to his ashes—to the cemetery. He said, "What do you want to go out there for?" I said, "Because I want to touch the casket of Daniel O'Connell." We went out together and got down on our knees and touched the casket of Daniel O'Connell as we pondered over his mighty contest for human liberty.

Ireland once kept out the products of English factories. Their fabrics were unexcelled; their labor employed; but in a moment of weakness they yielded to the persuasion of English statesmen and a union was established which broke down the trade barriers, and from the hour Ireland and England formed this union and the tariff wall between the two countries was destroyed, from that hour Irishmen have spent their time in mines, digging out coal to carry to England, there to light the furnaces and build the fires that keep British industry going.

Some of us feel that the time is coming when England is going to gather her colonial dependencies into a central parliament in London and pass a protective tariff law for that confederation. She will draw upon Irish mines and forests and fields. She will call upon Australia for her wool, and take the products of New Zealand's fertile soil. She will draw upon South Africa and Egypt. The Nile will make its contribution to the industrial welfare of greater Britain, doing exactly what Germany did after the Franco-Prussian War.

I wish I could repeat what the Emperor of Germany said to me in his palace in Berlin about protection to German industry and labor. I never have repeated his conversation. I have thought of it many times, and of the pleasant evening spent in his company with 200 of his generals and all of his family. I never shall forget it. In the trouble and the heartaches and the misery of the present hour I can see him as he moves about amid the danger and responsibility which rest upon him. I saw him then in the very height and vigor of his potentiality and greatness. I wish I could tell of his hopes for his own fatherland and his friendship for America, but I desist. He gathered in every outlying German State and welded them all into a confederation, industrially independent and prosperous. Great Britain is going to do the same thing, and when she does we will lose the best American customer we have in the world; and if we are not wise enough to diversify our employments and develop our own domestic possibilities so that we may live prosperously among our own people, we will have missed the aim and purpose of national existence.

Mr. PAGE. Mr. President——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Does the Senator from Vermont desire to ask me a question?

Mr. PAGE. Yes; I do.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield for that purpose.

Mr. PAGE. I should like to ask the Senator if he is aware that even at this very moment the Canadian Government are considering the advisability of largely increasing the tariff on articles coming from the United States to Canada?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I do know it. I know it, and it shows the wisdom of those people. I heard Laurier when he closed his campaign at Windsor in favor of reciprocity between Canada and the United States. It was one of his greatest efforts. It was addressed to about 15,000 Canadians. Everyone in Canada loves Laurier. I can illustrate it by a story that I heard over there shortly after the death of Queen Victoria.

They had draped buildings throughout the Dominion in honor of the late Queen, and back in the country in a little town they had draped a grocery store and a meat market in her honor. About 25 days after the Queen had been buried a Canadian woodsman came into town, looked at this draped store, and said, "Why, what is the matter? What is the matter here?" Some one said, "Why, the Queen is dead." "Oh, my!" he said, "the Queen is dead! Who gets that job?" Instantly the man said, "Why, the Prince of Wales gets it." "Ah," said this Canadian, "he must be bully boy with Laurier."

Many Canadians thought Laurier was the British Government. They could not conceive how the Prince of Wales could become King of England without his assistance. The people of Canada loved him, but would not follow him for reciprocity, because protection had proven itself so valuable to Canada. They had our example in the early history of this Republic. When Washington finished his struggle for American liberty we had less people than Canada has to-day; but she has the telephone, thousands of miles of good roads, and 30,000 miles of railroads. The reason the Canadians did not take reciprocity from the lips of Laurier was because they knew their population. Those who came from England have been saturated with free trade, and they knew if they lowered the bars the Britishers who were free traders would be encouraged to fight protection, therefore they refused to follow Laurier. It was because the Canadians were protectionists that they rejected American reciprocity. How wise they were. All the advantages they were to receive from reciprocity were immediately conferred upon them without charge by this administration.

If there is a green spot in the civilized world it is Canada, with her marvelous possibilities, and the right of her 7,000,000 people to make use of our market places, giving us absolutely nothing in return.

Mr. PAGE. Mr. President——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield to the Senator from Vermont for a question.

Mr. PAGE. I should like the opinion of the Senator from Michigan as to why, at the immediate present, there is such anxiety in regard to the increase of the Canadian tariff. I ask, because this very morning I received from home a letter stating that our largest customers in Canada had written us—yes, had

wired us—to forward the goods that we had for them immediately, that they might be received in Canada before the tariff went on to the goods.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. You mean the increased tariff?

Mr. PAGE. Yes; the increased tariff. It is so urgent that we put an extra force upon the order to get it off at once.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. When you say "we" who do you mean?

Mr. PAGE. My own personal interest.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. In what line?

Mr. PAGE. Hides.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I think they must have our hides. They do not care very much whether they get Democratic or Republican hides, but they must have them. Am I right?

Mr. PAGE. Yes. And they have become now a most active competitor with this country in leather. There is a competition there which did not exist 10 years ago, and it has been increasing until to-day they are able to compete successfully, because they get the advantage in regard to the tariff which we do not possess.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Is not that remarkable? They want to make boots and shoes and leather findings and send them here under our low tariff. They are indeed highly favored. They can sit in security behind their protective wall and sell their surplus products in this market of a hundred million people while we are effectually barred by them!

Mr. PAGE. Mr. President——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield for a question.

Mr. PAGE. The Senator comes from a lumber State?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Formerly a great lumber State.

Mr. PAGE. My own State is not a large lumber State. Still, there are quite a number of small towns where the logging business is done. I would like to know how the conditions of the tariff affect the lumber interests of Michigan, because in my own State the sawmill owners put in all their stock in the winter of 1913 and 1914, and they have it stacked up in the yards. They are losing the interest and the insurance; they are losing the decadence or the reduction in value because of the effect of wind, sun, and rain. Those men are unable to give the poor people in their towns the usual employment this winter because they say, "All our money is in our stock of lumber, and we can not go on and stock more this winter." I should like to know if there is any similar condition in the Senator's State?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Undoubtedly. Many people thought when the duty was taken off of lumber that we were going to get it cheap from Canada, but Canada promptly put an export duty on lumber which comes into active competition with our people.

Canada is wise, and Great Britain will some day follow her example. Why should England pay out her gold in settlement of balances of trade for products which she can produce within her own dominions and insure her people steady and remunerative employment?

What I am arguing for is this: That we are upon unsafe ground when we fix our eyes upon foreign trade. That part of the President's message I do not like at all where he says we must give more attention to our foreign trade. Foreign trade is nothing compared with our marvelous domestic commerce. If all the commerce that we do abroad were to be scattered over the highways of our country it would attract no attention. It bulks largely in the public eye because it is piled upon the wharves of seaport cities.

Foreign trade is a Democratic delusion and a snare, and our present tariff law is based upon a wrong theory and will not insure industrial independence. Our wonderful domestic commerce amounting to $40,000,000,000 a year keeps our people employed, happy, and prosperous. As we exchange our products with one another, we retain our gold supply.

Great Britain will some day have a tremendous confederation unless this war arrests her onward march. She has boasted for a hundred years that she has territory upon which the sun never sets. But we also have a territory upon which the sun never sets. Our acquisition of the Aleutian Islands from Russian America has given us a territory upon which the sun never sets. As the Aleutian fisherman is pushing his canoe toward the shore at nightfall the woodchopper of Maine is beginning to wake the forest echo with the stirring music of the ax.

Oh, what a blessed Republic this is! How generous and considerate it has been to the alien, the immigrant from other lands! How indulgent it has been to its own citizens lowly born! Thank God I live in a country that sets a premium upon individual initiative and does not circumscribe the growth of man.

Paternalism is insidious. It is to-day gnawing at the very vitals of this Republic. It is as insidious as it is unwise and as harmful as it is unnecessary.

The minority which dissented from this bill in the Committee on Commerce had reliable information that there were ample ships now tied up in American ports ready for service. Why should we now draw $10,000,000 out in cash and give our notes for $30,000,000 more merely to test out an experiment? Somewhere, sometime, this account has got to be squared. I do not know who is going to do it. We can not do it for two years, but somewhere this deficit must be overcome. The fact that you stop the work on public buildings—ah, what a satire—and the fact that you have chloroformed the Committee on Commerce for fear it will bring in a river and harbor bill shows the desperation of your case and the unwisdom of your course.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield for a question to my honored friend from Iowa.

Mr. CUMMINS. Is not the Senator from Michigan mistaken as to the amount that may be taken out of the Treasury under this bill? He has spoken of it several times as $10,000,000. Is it not $20,000,000?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Well, Senator, they have changed the bill four or five times since it came out of the committee. I do not know what it is this morning. It may now call for $20,000,000 cash. Is it now $20,000,000 I ask the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. CUMMINS. I ask the Senator from Michigan. He can not ask me any question, I understand.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. No; I can not without losing the floor, and I am not quite through with my remarks.

Mr. CUMMINS. I ask the Senator from Michigan if it is not true that the bill provides originally for an original capital of a corporation to be organized of $10,000,000, of which the Government may take the entire issue. Then is it not true that the bill further provides that the capital of the corporation may be increased and that it authorizes the Government to take $10,000,000, not to exceed $10,000,000, of that increase?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes; the Senator is correct. But the folly of the whole thing is evidenced by the fact that the administration has not the courage to meet the situation exactly as it is. Administration officials do not expect to sell a dollar of that 49 per cent of the stock to anyone on earth. Why? Because the Secretary of the Treasury admits that it is a losing venture, and people are not knowingly putting their money into a losing venture. Why do they not have the courage to take it all in the first place? The Secretary of the Treasury says the public will not take it. My, what a condemnation that is! Mr. HARDY, a Member of the House, said:

> Mr. HARDY. Is not the consideration you are discussing now one that would prevent private capital from taking any part of this stock?
> Secretary MCADOO. Yes. I do not believe you can get private capital to take stock in any company that is going to be obliged for some time to operate the ships at a loss in order to build up trade.

Well, what do you think of that? He admits the public will not take any of the stock, and yet he holds out in this bill the suggestion that the public will take 49 per cent of it. I wonder how that bill would look if it were making an out-and-out appropriation to buy merchant ships? I wonder how it would look to the public. Said Mr. HARDY:

> Mr. HARDY. So that really you do not much expect private capital to come in?
> Secretary MCADOO. To take part of this stock?
> Mr. HARDY. Yes.
> Secretary MCADOO. No; I do not.

If he does not expect the public to take any of this stock, why put that provision in the bill? Why not be frank about it? The public will not take it, they will not have anything to do with it, and they will condemn it at the first opportunity.

This whole proposition is based upon the wrong theory. It is based on the theory that we need the ships, which is at least questionable. I do not underestimate the value generally of trade relations with the world—not at all. I appreciate that in the great forward movement in the history of mankind trade has played an important part. I know that trade with Asia was the magnet which drew forth the ambition, the enterprise, and the daring of Europe. I know that trade with Asia steered the frail bark of Columbus across the unknown waters of the western sea, prompting him to new fields of enterprise and daring. Trade with Asia discovered a continent, the fairest and most glorious among the dominions of men. I do not underestimate the influence of trade relations with the world; but this will not get us anywhere. This bill will break down and

discourage private enterprise in American shipping. It will retard the wholesome growth of our merchant marine.

I should like to see our merchant marine built up, Senators. For many years we have indulged in the hope that this would come about. I have my own ideas as to how it ought to be done. I favor discriminating tariff duties; I would do it by so framing our tariff laws that there would be an inducement for foreigners to send their products in American bottoms. The Underwood-Simmons bill did something in this direction, but not enough. Our merchant marine should be encouraged and our flag restored to the sea in a practical and appropriate way. Commerce is a great civilizing agency.

Trade with Asia bound the world in the chains of commerce and placed civilization upon the lofty pedestal which it occupies to-day; trade with Asia knocked at the barred portals of China and gained admittance; trade with Asia poured through the veins of old Japan a reviving current that has made her the foremost nation of Asia and the arbiter of the destinies of the Orient; trade with Asia now causes the greatest nations of Europe to stand alert and exigent upon the soil of China.

If we have sense enough to maintain our undisputed supremacy, if we hold the Philippine Islands, a natural outpost in the Pacific and a way station in the pathway to the Orient, some day the 400,000,000 people over there will want the products of American genius and labor. But our important outposts ought to be preserved.

Gen. Grant, when he was President, knew the value of ocean outposts. He tried to get our Government to purchase Santo Domingo. President Grant sent a commission down to Santo Domingo to find out what kind of people were there, and whether or not they would like to become a part of the United States. They found the people of Santo Domingo kind and gentle, patriotic, and law-abiding. They would willingly have come under our flag. President Grant made a treaty for that purpose, and one vote in this Chamber—that of Charles Sumner—kept the United States from acquiring Santo Domingo.

Why are we suzeraine in Porto Rico to-day? Because it is a valuable outpost for our commerce. Why are we active in Hawaii? Because it is an outpost on the highway of American commerce. That is the reason that England has held on so tenaciously to her islands in the West Indies. Oliver Cromwell nailed a sign on a tree in Jamaica over 300 years ago that that was the property of the King of England, and it has been the property of England ever since. Why? Because it was a strategic outpost on the sea, which Great Britain appreciated.

Trade with Asia will be one of the most important factors in the future industrial development of this country in the years to come. There are 400,000,000 people over there, and some one country is going to intimately trade with them. If we have sense enough to treat them fairly, we ought to have a part of that trade. We might not get it for some time to come, but they are smart people over there. Do not let anybody delude himself to the contrary. You southern people need not imagine that you can raise all the cotton that is to be raised in this part of the world. The great Imperial Valley of California is now producing the best cotton that can be found anywhere in the world. I brought a sample of it five years ago to the Capitol and handed it to the president of the South Carolina Cotton Growers' Association, and he told me that that was the finest cotton he had ever seen, better than the Egyptian cotton or the southern cotton. If we have any sense—I do not know whether we have any left or not as a Government—but if we have any sense, we will encourage the development of the Imperial Valley before we buy merchant ships.

We have done something; we have given them some water, as my colleagues all know; and oh, what fruit it has borne! The Imperial Valley resembles the Valley of the Nile in richness, is fully as productive and limitless in its possibilities. The Japanese are acquiring cotton lands freely enough to excite our curiosity. The raw cotton must not cross the Pacific Ocean to Japan and China; it should be manufactured here, thus adding millions of workmen to the prosperous roll of labor on the Pacific coast and opening up limitless possibilities in the Orient.

Before buying ships you might appropriately engage in buying water for the fertile but arid and dry sections of our country. If you have any money to spare just put a few drops of water onto the arid lands of the West and it will return you a crop useful to your countrymen and rich in its commercial possibilities and value; but this Utopian, paternalistic, socialistic plan of buying ships just to see them bound the billows in competition with private enterprise does not appeal to me.

I do not underestimate trade with the outside world, but it is hazardous trade. We have not a single customer in Europe who patronizes us from choice. They buy from us because they are obliged to do so, and as soon as they can get along without us they will do so.

Take the Columbia River Valley in Washington, with its unexampled possibilities. Harness the Columbia River and revolutionize the economic conditions of a State.

"Poor, old, foolish Democratic Party!" as the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS], who honors me by his presence, says. He knows more about it than I do. "Poor, old, foolish Democratic Party!"

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator a question.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from New Jersey?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President——

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. The Senator speaks of it——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Just one moment, Senator.

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. I will not take the Senator off the floor.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. One moment; I would not be discourteous to the Senator for anything, but I want it distinctly understood that under the new rule the Senate is imposing I can only yield for a question.

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. My question is this: Why is it that the Senator from Michigan spends so much time and so much force and so much energy on so miserable a weakling as the poor, old Democratic Party?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I will tell you why. It was the switch of a cow's tail that set Chicago on fire. [Laughter in the galleries.]

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. I did not happen to catch the Senator's remark.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Within the last three days the Chair has been compelled to call the attention of the galleries a number of times to the fact that it is a rule of the Senate that there must be no applause, no disorder, and no approval or disapproval in the galleries. It is made the duty of the Chair to enforce that rule; and if it is not obeyed, it is made the duty of the Chair to clear the galleries. For three days this rule has been violated. This is the last warning the Chair is going to give the galleries.

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I understand the Senator's response to be that the switching of a cow's tail set Chicago on fire.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. One moment, Mr. President.

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. Now, I have to say——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Wait a moment.

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. That it will take more than a suggestion——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President——

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. Have I not the floor by the Senator's consent?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator has not the floor by the Senator's consent at all.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I am replying to the Senator. I said it was the switch of a cow's tail that set Chicago on fire. That is historic. The old lady who went out with her lamp to milk the cows died two or three days ago. The cow in switching its tail turned over the lamp; the lamp set fire to the hay; the hay burned the building, set other buildings on fire, and the city of Chicago was destroyed.

I am giving my attention to the Democratic Party lest there be a spark of life left, which may consume a State.

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. In response to that——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I am not yielding the floor, Mr. President.

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. Well, I will not take the Senator off the floor.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. No; I know the Senator will not, and I do not intend he shall.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Michigan declines to yield.

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I am asking the Senator a question.

The VICE PRESIDENT. No; the Senator from New Jersey is not asking the Senator from Michigan a question. He is making a speech, and the Senator from Michigan objects to being interrupted.

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. I am not making a speech.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I presume my honored friend from New Jersey did not hear me——

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. I heard something about the "switch of a cow's tail."

Mr. SMITH of Michigan (continuing). I was recalling the graphic words of my friend from Mississippi, who said, "the poor, dear, old, foolish Democratic Party."

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. Yes.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. And that is what Senator JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS, of Mississippi, said, and that is his estimate of his party. He knows more about it than I do; if I have offended my honored friend from New Jersey, I beg his pardon.

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. But the Senator certainly attributed all wisdom to the Senator from Mississippi in that remark——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. It may not have been a wise remark, but was it truthful?

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey (continuing). And I ask why it was, if we were so weak, impotent, and miserable, that the Senator from Michigan should expend so much time and energy and magnificent oratory in denunciation of us?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I was simply stating a historic fact. I can not yield, Mr. President.

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. According to the Senator's estimate of us, we are dead now; but it seems to me we are a pretty live corpse.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, Mr. President, we can not neglect such a corpse. It has frequently been galvanized into life and must be watched. [Laughter on the floor and in the galleries.]

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair has just admonished the occupants of the galleries that they should keep quiet. They have not done so. The Chair is in doubt as to whether to clear them now or not. If this is repeated, the galleries will be cleared.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I think I had better leave this part of my address, because the remark of the Senator from Mississippi is calculated to rouse the risibilities of anyone. It is authentic. I am not doing him any injustice. I would not do that. I have great respect for him. I have served with him for 20 years and like him very much. I have not much confidence in his economic views, but I suppose that is reciprocal. He has not much in mine. That is all right. Michigan has just given me a new commission, and I have no doubt Mississippi will do the same by him. I hope so.

When I was interrupted I was speaking about the effect of this bill upon the general policy of the Government. I am fearful that the seed we are about to sow will produce nothing but thistles, even though it be a new thought and comes from a most respectable source; for one, I am very glad the idea never occurred to our party.

I was talking about trade with Asia. We must get on a good commercial footing with Asia; there is danger that the "open door" may be closed as a result of this war. That is the only part of the world where manufacturing and industrial enterprise is still in its infancy. We have great opportunities there if we are considerate and watchful.

This is the best Government in the world, Mr. President. It rests on the many and not on the few; on persons, not on property; on the development of public opinion, not on authority.

Whoever holds a mandate from a majority of the American people holds a royal commission. Whoever assumes to exercise a power never bestowed by the electorate is presumptious, indeed. The President, in his veto of the immigration bill, said: "What party platform has ever declared for the principles in this legislation? Who holds a mandate from the people" to exclude aliens because they can not read and write? What political party has declared for the measure now before the Senate? I ask, What political party has demanded that we forsake the paths of the fathers and invest the public money in private enterprise? Who holds such a mandate from the people? Not your party, Senators. The language used by the President in the veto of the immigration bill applies so strikingly to the bill under consideration that I marvel he could be for the one and not the other.

What party platform has declared in favor of Government ownership of transportation facilities? I will pause for any Democrat to reply. Why, when Mr. Bryan, the present Secretary of State, returned from a trip around the world a few years ago, and in a thoughtless moment at Madison Square Garden let slip unintentionally his conviction that the Government ownership of railroads was a good thing, the Democratic Party promptly chloroformed him, and the idea was never accepted as a party axiom. He approved the sale of the Government railroad of Nicaragua to private bankers, showing that he has fully recovered from his malady. You chloroformed Mr. Bryan the moment he said he was in favor of Government ownership of railroads, and you did a good job. I commend you for it; but you must have run out of chloroform, because some is needed to stop this bill; it is a departure; it is not necessary; it launches us on the open sea without rudder or compass or chart, and you do it without a mandate from the people.

The Senator from Iowa [Mr. KENYON] and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. BURTON] saved the country about $45,000,000 by making long speeches in this Chamber at the close of the last session, and the country rang with their praise. Now you are going to spend it for something the people do not want, something they have not asked you for. Everybody praises BURTON and KENYON for saving millions of dollars, but did they do it in order that you might squander it in a socialistic venture? No, Mr. President; no.

I know that if the Speaker of the House of Representatives is correctly reported, he uttered a solemn warning to his party in Chicago yesterday which should have some influence upon his colleagues here. Speaker CLARK was the choice of more men in this Chamber for President of the United States than the present occupant of the White House. He says, "Some danger may lurk in this measure; the deficit is giving us concern." Of course it is giving us concern.

Mr. KENYON. What did Representative FITZGERALD say?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The Senator from Iowa asks me a question. I hesitate to answer, but I quote again from this distinguished New Yorker:

> It may seem somewhat strange, but I hope it is not out of place, to remind Members on this side of the House that the Democratic platform pledged us in favor of economy and to the abolishment of useless offices; but it did not declare, Mr. Chairman, that the party favored economy at the expense of Republicans—

You would almost think a Republican was saying that—

> and the abolition of useless offices in territory represented in this House by Republicans while favoring a different doctrine wherever a Democratic Representative would be affected.

Now, do you not feel a little chagrined over that? Has he told the truth? Do you challenge its correctness? Was he goaded to this criticism by any personal ambition of his own? No. What prompted him to say that you were discontinuing offices in Republican districts and increasing them in Democratic districts?

The chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations further says:

> I am looking now at Democrats who seem to take amusement in soliciting votes on the floor of this House to overturn the Committee on Appropriations in its efforts to carry out the pledges of the Democratic platform. They seem to take it to be a huge joke not to obey their platform, and to make ridiculous the efforts of the members of our party who do try to live up to the promises they made to the people. I know that some Members on this side are voting continually for appropriations because they fear the wrath of the public if they do not vote out of the Public Treasury assistance for everything anyone suggests.

He further said:

> If I placed my political fortunes above my sworn duty under the law, I would not attempt to carry out the promises of the Democratic platform.

Then he seems almost to regret that for 12 years he charged the Republican administration with being extravagant. Well, we did spend money; we did build public buildings; we did improve harbors; we did dredge rivers, spending millions upon the Mississippi River, which runs through the fertile and beautiful State of the honored Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS]. But, gentlemen, we spent all of this money under proper vouchers. We did not borrow it; we did not impair the Treasury to do it; we did not strain the national credit.

Everything we have done since the Democrats came into power has been experimental and disappointing. Name one measure you have enacted that has borne fruit. Certainly not the disappointing tariff law, which was the first thing you did; certainly not your income-tax law with which the country has been afflicted, or the war tax, which is misnamed and a subterfuge to cover up real conditions. There was just as much money in the country as there was a year before, when everything was prosperous. There were $3,500,000,000 in currency floating around, but it was not employed as it had been when the Republican Party was in power.

You broke the seal and passed out $378,000,000 in emergency currency because you thought the country was suffering from a lack of money, when in reality it was suffering from lack of confidence in the Government. Then you passed a banking and currency law. It is not yet a success. I think it is pretty early to condemn it. I doubt whether it can earn its fixed charges. I know of scores of bankers who would leave the system if they could get out. Some one has said, "All hope abandon those who enter here," and those who have gone into this new banking system will not be able to get out of it if they desire.

Mr. CUMMINS. It was Dante who said it.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. It was Dante. I thank the Senator.

The new system was intended to be partisan. There is not a Republican on the reserve board.

Every place is filled by a Democrat, just as though Republicans did not have any interest in the financial welfare of the

country. There is not a Republican on that board. It is a partisan board. It was born in hostility to New York and nurtured in the cradle of sectionalism. That is the truth about it.

When the Secretary of the Treasury, at the time he was trying to make forced loans to the cotton States, called up banker after banker to see if they would subscribe, he was rebuked over and over again for his insolence; bankers realized for the first time that a political machine was trying to direct the banking affairs of the country.

You know the Secretary of the Treasury said that certain banks were carrying too much money; that they were hoarding it, and he named a number of banks; he named one at Beloit, Wis. The answer came back that a State bank had been on the verge of failure for two weeks there, and they thought they were doing a proper thing to get ready for the failure when it came. He named a bank at Lake Linden, in northern Michigan, in the copper country. He said it was carrying too much money; but he did not know that that bank furnished the pay roll of the Calumet & Hecla Mining Co.; that to meet that pay roll for a week would break an ordinary bank. They were obliged to carry a large amount of cash. What insolence to criticize men for being prudent!

As soon as the banking people of this country wake up to the fact that an appointee temporarily holding political office is undertaking, from the seat of government, to influence the course of the banking business in this country they will call a halt and take note of the consequences of political management.

Oh, Mr. President, the Democrats have not done anything yet of which they should be proud. Their Mexican policy, the attempt to be "good Lord and good devil" in the present deplorable European crisis in order that some one may be invited to settle the war, may dull the intensity of our Americanism. Would Lincoln, or Grant, or McKinley have done that? Poor Lincoln, when he had the Civil War on his hands, and Maximilian and the French forces were coming into Mexico to set up a government of their own, took time to emphasize his Americanism. When the French Government protested, Lincoln said, "You must go." Those men were wise; they were farsighted; they had had some experience. Lincoln's experience had been among the brambles and the briars and the bushes of adversity. He knew men because he was one of them. The threat of French occupation had no terror for him. Although burdened with the weight of awful responsibility, he still had courage to tell them to get out of Mexico; and they got out. American guns and American powder are sent into Mexico, and we stand by and watch, as though it were a panorama spread out for our entertainment.

Our military occupation of Nicaragua is no credit to this Government. Some day I am going to tell that story. I have here in my portfolio the detailed reports of our soldiers. Some day, when I shall not be trespassing upon the time of the Senate, I am going to tell that story.

Mr. BRISTOW. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Kansas?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield for a question.

Mr. BRISTOW. I have unfortunately been necessarily absent from the Chamber attending a committee meeting during a part of the Senator's remarks, and I should like to know if he has dealt with the Santo Domingan situation?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I do not like to enter that field, now the subject of inquiry by a Senator elect. I am sorry he is coming to the Senate, because I think his State ought to have sent a Republican; but if California was determined to send a Democrat, we should be glad Mr. Phelan is here. He is investigating some phases of the Santo Domingan situation. I said a little while ago that if the fervent wish of President Grant had been granted our flag would float over Santo Domingo and the great Bay of Samana, that would hold the fleets of the world; that beautiful bay that encircles a rich and fertile island would have been ours but for the pique of Charles Sumner, who cast his vote against annexation. The people of Santo Domingo wanted to come. Mr. Hitt, of pleasant memory, with whom my honored friend from Ohio, Mr. BURTON, and myself served for many years in the other House, was one of the commissioners who visited the island to ascertain the character of the Santo Domingan people. He said they were a kind, honest, affectionate, well-meaning and well-informed people, and crime was comparatively unknown. Why, at one time in the history of Santo Domingo President Baez was offered a crown by the French Emperor, and declined it, saying: "My countrymen are fit to govern themselves."

Senator Sumner was an able man. He was an optimist and believed in the manifest destiny of his country to rule the Western Hemisphere; but his vote paralyzed the purpose of Grant to make Santo Domingo a part of the American Union.

Personal ill will entered into the contest. The treaty was defeated because he was angry with Grant, and this beautiful island has since been a derelict upon the high seas, while Haiti, on the other side of the mountain, has bathed the surface of her island with the blood of her people. Would it have been wise to have taken Santo Domingo when it was offered? Grant wanted it, because he knew that the time would come in the history of this Government when there would be a canal across the Isthmus or through Nicaragua. He wanted Santo Domingo as an outpost of the Republic. He wanted Samoa for our Navy. Who doubts the wisdom of our island ownership?

Cuba for more than a hundred years has been a pawn upon the chessboard of nations. France and England once came to the United States with a proposition to establish a tripartite agreement for the permanent government of Cuba. Why? Because it was at our doorway, an outpost in the Atlantic destined to mark the gateway from sea to sea. In a moment of generosity we gave it to the Cubans and, while I have no regrets, I think it would have been better for us both if Cuba was part of the United States. We had no qualifying clause in the resolution passed by the House, but when it came over here all the diplomats accredited to this Government called upon President McKinley and represented to him that we were inviting danger from European States, to which the President replied that we accepted full responsibility for our course. This body wrote the qualifying words into law at a midnight session of the Senate, our word was given and the promise has been fully redeemed. Porto Rico lies right at the entrance to this canal. Our flag proudly flies over the island; we could have had Cuba and Santo Domingo as well.

I did not intend to say anything about it; but the Senator from Kansas [Mr. BRISTOW] called my attention to the Dominican situation. I know what he meant; he would like to have me say something about the activities of our present minister there, but I can not do so without revealing some of the secrets of executive session; so I will not say anything about it. But I want to say this much, that I was not at all surprised with the failure of the American minister to satisfy the people of Santo Domingo and the United States.

Mr. President, the bill we are now considering in such hot haste involves so much, is so experimental in its character, so threatening and far-reaching in its effect, so deplorable from every point of view that I have hoped against hope that the danger might be avoided. I wish the Senators might be persuaded not to press it, but I am fearful that all that we say upon this side of the Chamber will not deter them. They seem determined to go blindly on; I think they have made up their minds to put this measure through at any sacrifice. Can we not appeal to them to consider Treasury conditions and the possible danger of international complications? Will you stop your ears to all our pleadings?

The Late Representative Payne, of New York.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS

OF

HON. JOHN J. FITZGERALD,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, February 7, 1915.

The House had under consideration House resolution 725, as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the business of the House be now suspended that an opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of the Hon. SERENO E. PAYNE, late a Member of the House of Representatives from the State of New York, and to the memory of the Hon. EDWIN A. MERRITT, Jr., late a Member of the House of Representatives from the State of New York.

"*Resolved*, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and in recognition of their eminent abilities as distinguished public servants, the House, at the conclusion of these memorial proceedings, shall stand adjourned.

"*Resolved*, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

"*Resolved*, That the Clerk be instructed to send a copy of these resolutions to the families of the deceased."

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives suffered a distinct loss in the death of SERENO E. PAYNE. He was one of its most notable and distinguished Members. His fame rested upon substantial accomplishments. I am unable at this time to review with that detail which it deserves

the career of Mr. PAYNE in the House. The demands of the short session upon me give no opportunity for the preparation of such a tribute as I should be honored to express. I can only hope to have recorded an expression of my sincere esteem and keen appreciation of a very dearly cherished friend.

My service in the House began in the Fifty-sixth Congress. The death of Mr. PAYNE leaves me the sole survivor of the 34 Representatives who were elected from the State of New York in 1898. Even then, 16 years ago, he had attained an enviable prominence in public life. Intimately identified with the preparation of several tariff laws, he was justly regarded as one of the best-informed men in the United States upon the tariff question.

He was a man of profound industry, of wide information, and of unquestioned integrity. His assiduous attention to duty was well illustrated by his constant attendance during the sessions of the House. Only upon exceedingly rare occasions was his striking figure missed from its accustomed place, and then only when ill health or imperative committee work prevented his attendance in the House. His example can be emulated with profit by many Members, and if universally adopted as the rule by Members of the House would tend very greatly to facilitate the business of the House.

Convinced that the principles of Government advocated by the political party with which he was identified were most likely to advance the prosperity and the happiness of the people, he sturdily advocated his political beliefs. In such discussions he was the intense partisan that strong men of intense convictions must necessarily be. Adversity did not discourage him. His views were not altered by shifting majorities or changes of political sentiment. All the time he remained sturdy and unyielding as the oak, vigorously controverting all contentions which were not in harmony with his views.

I am of those who believe that the country is better served by such study partisans. Honest in convictions, with accumulated stores of valuable information, they eventually bring forth from the strife of intellect results that advance most the country's welfare. Seldom do permanent acquisitions of value result from the alert public man who is overeager to adapt his views to every passing popular whim or fancy.

Mr. PAYNE was a modest and a lovable man. During 16 years of association with him I came to know him intimately and to cherish his friendship. His services to the country were distinguished and valuable. He had the respect of all men, the good will of opponents, the deep affection of his friends. His death deprives this House of the wisdom, the experience, the counsel of one of its most distinguished Members. He will linger long in the memory of many men who respected, admired, and loved him.

William M. Calder.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LUTHER W. MOTT,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. MOTT. Mr. Speaker, I feel that the Sixty-third Congress should not pass into history without a brief reference to the unique and valuable record of one of its Members from the State of New York. I refer to WILLIAM M. CALDER, a Representative from the sixth district, in Brooklyn. Mr. CALDER is retiring to private life after 10 years of service in this body. He is retiring to the regret, I can unhesitatingly say, of every one of his colleagues from the State of New York, without regard to party allegiance. His retirement is not only a loss to this House, but to his home city and State and even to the Nation at large, for Mr. CALDER has been a Representative in the American Congress in the best and finest sense of that word.

He came into the Fifty-ninth Congress as a Republican, and such he has loyally and consistently remained throughout his 10 years of service; but, far more than mere allegiance to one of the great political parties of this country, he has stood for earnest service, true patriotism, and constant endeavor in the cause of good government. His duty to his country always has stood first with him. His allegiance to the Republican Party never conflicted with that, nor did it breed in him any narrow partisanship. He felt that he owed a duty to the people of his district and his State that rose above party lines, and he performed that duty with courage and consistency and wisdom.

I have said that Mr. CALDER's record is unique. By that I make reference to his term of service as a Representative from the city of New York. Mr. CALDER, so far as the records of this House show, is the first Republican Member who ever served 10 years from the greatest city in the Western World. With singularly few exceptions, it has not been the habit of the city of New York to return to Congress, term after term, Members who have yielded faithful and worthy service. Rather, it has been the political custom of that city to make frequent changes in its Representatives, even when there has been no essential change in the balance of party representation. Many of us who realize the importance and influence of long service in this body may regard this as a shortsighted policy on the part of a community whose interests in the National Government are so large; but such has been its custom.

In the case of Mr. CALDER the voters of the city of New York made an exception—and I speak particularly of the Republican voters. They delegated him to represent them for five consecutive terms, a fact which constitutes a record for Republican representation from that city. More than that, for the past four years Mr. CALDER has been the sole Republican Representative from that city. In the present Congress he has been the only Republican Member south of Poughkeepsie. He has, in literal fact, constituted for a period of four years the entire Republican delegation from the city of New York. His service was uninterrupted by reverses of his own party, reverses which even extended to other candidates in his own congressional district, but which never affected him. His support came from voters in all parties in such overwhelming force that even in the darkest hours of the Republican Party he emerged triumphant, a tribute to his personal worth and the sterling nature of his service, such as has rarely been accorded to any Member of this body.

Mr. CALDER has retired from the House of Representatives of his own free will. Last year he elected to present himself as a candidate for the United States Senate, an honorable and praiseworthy ambition and one which was soundly based upon the decade of faithful work he rendered in this branch of the Congress. He thereby put aside any opportunity to return as a Member of the House. He made a notable campaign for the senatorial nomination, and when the choice went to a distinguished opponent, Mr. CALDER retired from active politics with more honor in his own State than would have come to him through a renomination to this body.

I can not feel that the service of WILLIAM M. CALDER in the United States Congress has come to an end, for his work here during a period of 10 years has been far too valuable to be brought to a conclusion when he is still a young man. He has served on two of the great committees of this House, those dealing with interstate and foreign commerce and appropriations. He brought to his work on those committees a sound and experienced business judgment, which made him one of their most useful and valued members. His term of service in Washington has covered a period of constructive American legislation, whether wise or unwise, such as is scarcely paralleled by any other decade in the history of the country. As each year has gone by he has become of steadily increasing value as a legislator, because of his faithfulness to his work, his industry, his study and knowledge of our national affairs, and his never-failing sound and patriotic judgment. It is because of the character of his work in this House that I can not bring myself to believe that he has quitted Congress forever.

There is to me another phase of regret in Mr. CALDER's retirement. The House has lost the wise counsels of a typical American business man, who made himself a success in his chosen occupation and who gave freely to this body the value of his experience and training in the business world. In no sense of disparagement to any Member of this body, I feel that the American business man has never been represented in Congress to an extent commensurate with his importance in the life of this country. A large preponderance of the Members of Congress, including both Houses, are members of the legal profession. It seems to have become a custom widespread among the voters to send lawyers to Washington to make laws. I do not criticize it; I recognize the great necessity of having in Congress the best legal minds that it can attract. But I also believe firmly that Congress needs just as vitally the wisdom, the counsel, and the wide experience of the American business man, particularly in a day when so much of our national legislation concerns business and the industrial prosperity of our country. And when any Congress, or a series of Congresses, can obtain the services of such a typical American business man as WILLIAM M. CALDER I believe the fact is one for congratulation and praise. The people of the United States need business men in Congress, just as they need lawyers and the representatives of other professions and occupations. Mr.

CALDER was one of the men who peculiarly filled such a need, and it is because of that fact, if for no other reason, that the people of New York will view his retirement with sincere regret.

On both sides of this House, and particularly among the members of the delegation from the State of New York, Mr. CALDER'S absence in the Sixty-fourth Congress will be a matter of ungrudging regret. We who have served with him here came to know and admire his unfailing courtesy, his patience, his diligence, his wisdom, and his loyalty to his work. He has been a true representative of the people of his district, his State, and his country. He has been an honor not only to his own party but to the voters of all parties. His public life has been such, in the value of its yield to the people, that I firmly hope and believe it will admit of no permanent retirement from service in the American Congress of my friend WILLIAM M. CALDER.

The Nation and the Constitution.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM P. BORLAND,
OF MISSOURI,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, at the present time we hear so much outcry, particularly from some of our fellow Members of the legal profession, against the rapid, radical, and revolutionary changes being made in our form of government and political life that we are inclined to think that we are really in danger of losing all of the limitations of constitutional government. In truth, this outcry is the strongest evidence of the innate conservatism of the American mind. The legal profession is notoriously conservative and devoted to forms and precedents. The legal profession has during our entire national life been a great leader of American political thought and action. In the early days of our Republic, in the absence of any hereditary or class leadership, this duty, with the privileges which go with it, was promptly assumed by the American bar, and has been held with great tenacity until the present time.

Like most men who have had a legal training I am a devout believer in constitutional limitation. The safeguards of an organic law are essential to the calm, deliberate, and effective exercise of power by democracy. Constitutional limitations are for the protection of the minority and those who for any reason are temporarily unpopular or whose race, religion, occupation, or geographical situation renders them the object of popular distrust or denies them the power of controlling the policies of the country at the moment. Majorities do not feel the need for constitutional rights. They are amply able to protect themselves. While majorities may fret under constitutional limitations and the delays thus interposed to the extreme exercise of their will, yet such limitations can not long stand in the way of a settled and deliberate policy or principle that will result in the greatest good to the greatest number. In the long run these limitations protect the majority against its own hasty, ill-considered, and unjust actions. Every individual will find himself sometime or another in the minority, and even a majority is habitually dominated by a minority. To place unlimited power in the hands of a temporary majority may mean in the last analysis to place it in the hands of an active, bold, and, possibly, reckless minority of leaders who for the moment control public thought.

The Constituent Assembly of France was a remarkable example of the weakness of government of the temporary majority. The majority in that instance did not hesitate to proscribe and persecute the minority and to deprive them of all political rights. The tyranny became so great that no man dared be in the minority. To oppose the majority was to be branded as a public enemy. As the lust of power grew even terror could not hold the majority together. The leader of a faction which was in power for the moment relentlessly used such power to stifle all possibility of opposition. As a result the Constituent Assembly degenerated rapidly from a large representative body to a small faction, turbulent and utterly irresponsible. The members were afraid that they would awaken some morning in the minority and on the way to the guillotine. Hence they hastened to vote for the most reckless proposals of their leaders. No answer was found to this problem but the far-reaching absolutism of one leader.

But the fears of the friends of constitutional government are not justified by the present condition of public opinion in America, and certainly not by the results of the 126 years of constitutional history. We speak of our country as new and of our Government as an experiment. In truth, we are the oldest Government in the world. We have lived 126 years under the present Constitution. In all of that time but 17 amendments have been made to it. The first 10 of these were cotemporaneous with its adoption. They constitute a Bill of Rights, and as they were proposed as a condition of the acceptance of the Constitution by the requisite number of States may be regarded as a part of the original instrument. Of the remaining seven amendments none even remotely affects the fundamental character of our Government. They relate simply to details of governmental machinery:

The eleventh amendment restricted the jurisdiction of the Federal courts.

The twelfth amendment changed the machinery for choosing the President and Vice President.

The thirteenth amendment abolished slavery and involuntary servitude.

The fourteenth amendment provided for a citizenship of the United States as distinguished from the citizenship of an individual State.

The fifteenth amendment extended the right of suffrage.

The sixteenth amendment provided for the collection of an income tax.

The seventeenth amendment provided for the election of the United States Senators by the direct vote of the people instead of through the machinery of the State legislatures.

Not a single fundamental right of any individual has been added or taken away unless we consider that the thirteenth amendment, abolishing slavery, destroyed what was meant to be a permanent and fundamental part of our political system.

While our Constitution and form of government have thus remained almost unchanged for more than a century and a quarter the government of every great nation of the world has undergone radical and fundamental changes. In 1789 France was still a monarchy under the dying splendor of the house of Bourbon. Since then she has passed through three revolutions, has been three times a republic and three times an empire. In 1789 Germany was a collection of fragments of feudal States. Italy did not claim national existence. Since that period Spain, Portugal, Russia, Austria, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden have all passed through successive changes. Even England, which boasts of a continuous national existence since the landing of William the Norman, in 1066, has changed her form of government so completely that the words of Blackstone fall upon uncomprehending ears when read to a British lawyer. In 1830 the celebrated reform bill passed the British Parliament. By this bill the power to control the House of Commons was taken out of the hands of the House of Lords, and the Commons became the representative body of the Empire. Aristocracy as the permanent source of political power ended, and the control of both the purse and sword passed into the hands of the representatives of the people. Even the King could summon to his cabinet only the leaders whom they selected. The result has been a democracy more complete and more direct than any that has ever existed outside the cities of ancient Greece.

Our isolated condition is not the sole cause for the remarkable permanency of our institutions. Revolutions are as indigenous to the Western Hemisphere as to any other part of the world. The cause of our conservatism lies deeper and is found in our national history. The war for independence was conducted by the Continental Congress, a feeble body of ambassadors from a loose and jarring set of allies. The Articles of Confederation which followed proved to be but a rope of sand. They did not make us a nation, and their weakness would have left us a prey to our own passions in our poverty and to the greed and cupidity of the stronger nations as we grew more prosperous. The Federal Constitution came at a happy time to weld these little communities into a nation, but a full generation must live and die under that instrument before we begin to realize its strength. In the Southwest were many who were willing at any time to organize independent republics or to make alliances with Spain. Hardly had the Southwest been cemented to the Union by the Louisiana Purchase, which removed the fear of the Spanish power, than New England cherished the same idea that she could detach herself from the Federal Union and unite herself with Canada for the greater security and prosperity of her trade under the British flag. South Carolina produced a statesman who proved by the logic of theory that any State had the right to nullify Federal legislation that was hostile to her local interests. Calhoun had everything in favor of his argument but the facts. If South Carolina had really found wider opportunities outside of the Union than in it, Calhoun would have been right. He was fundamentally wrong, because such opportunities did not exist.

The long struggle over constitutional powers and the relation of the States to the Federal Union, which occupied the American public from the Missouri compromise in 1821 until the inauguration of Lincoln in 1861, established so completely the supremacy of the Federal Constitution and embedded in the American mind so thoroughly a subconscious conviction of both the strength and wisdom of that great instrument that veneration for it became almost a religion.

The vigorous and able defense of the Federal Constitution in the period preceding the Civil War produced a natural feeling in the mind of the average American that it was a sacred instrument, to change which in any respect would be a species of sacrilege. Strange to say, both sides of that great controversy claimed to be defenders of the Constitution. Nobody attacked the Constitution. Everybody appealed to it and defended it, even those who claimed the right of secession. The happy result of this, as I have said, was to embed deeply in the American mind a respect and reverence for the Constitution and a belief that it could in no possible way be improved. Three amendments grew out of the Civil War, but nearly half a century elapsed after the Civil War before a successful attempt was made to amend it.

Can we be certain, however, that our governmental institutions will remain rigid and static because we do not amend the written charter? We can be sure of the reverse. Government is a progressive science. It can not stand still. It must develop and expand with the growth of civilization and the advance of public opinion. An attempt to keep governmental institutions static is like binding the limbs of a growing child. Our Federal system has grown in an astonishing degree since the Civil War. Whether this growth has been constitutional or extraconstitutional is a question that the wisest lawyer would not undertake to solve. For exactly 100 years—that is, from the forming of the Constitution in 1787 down to 1887—every Federal official, every judge, and more than 90 per cent of our lawyers and legislators believed that the clause of the Constitution giving the Federal Government jurisdiction over commerce between the several States was purely negative and restrictive in its operation. The clause had never been evoked as the basis of affirmative legislation by Congress. Its effect was supposed to be fully exhausted in preventing discriminatory laws by the several States which would interfere with the natural course of commerce. In 1887 Congress passed the first feeble experimental draft of the interstate-commerce law providing for an affirmative control over one of the greatest channels of commerce. In the quarter of a century which has followed the enactments on the subject of interstate commerce have been so numerous and so far-reaching as to defy legal classification and analysis. The Federal Government not only regulates rates; routes; terms and conditions of service; safety of passengers and employees; expenditure, organization, and accounting of transportation companies; payment of damages to shippers; equipment and construction of engines and cars; but it passes upon the character and quality of goods that are to be carried in interstate commerce; it prohibits entirely commerce in certain classes of commodities; it controls the packing and handling of poisons and explosives and imposes a multitude of restrictions. The pure-food law prevents a citizen from carrying a can of corned beef across a State line unless it is marked "United States inspected and passed." Scarcely an article can be bought in either a corner grocery or drug store that does not bear the O. K. of Uncle Sam. Two people of the opposite sex can not travel together from one State to another until the Government is satisfied that they carry no improper intent in their minds. This remarkable expansion of the interstate-commerce clause is but one example of the widening sweep of our Constitution. I might instance many others—the construction of the Panama Canal; the socialization of Alaska, by which the Government becomes a vast proprietor, improving and developing a commercial property; the irrigation projects in the West; and, more recently, the water-power projects by which the Federal Government becomes a public-service corporation engaged in constructing and operating a public utility. The temptation at the present time is to find somewhere in the four corners of the Constitution power for the Federal Government to do anything which seems to be beneficial at the particular time. I do not complain of this. I believe in it. I think that we should frankly admit to ourselves that the Constitution is a growing instrument and that government is a progressive science. Our conception of the powers and functions of government increase with our growing confidence in our country. It is not a bad sign that such a universal appeal is made by the American public to Congress for legislation upon every conceivable subject from religion or the price of bread to deciding how much powder a woman shall use on her face before her marriage.

I think we should frankly acknowledge that changes may still be made in our Constitution, the powers of our Government enlarged and its control put more strictly into the hands of the people without serious danger to our institutions. Public opinion, once thoroughly formed and crystallized into a settled conviction, will find a way of expressing itself. It would have been a blessed thing for this country if Congress had had the courage or the wisdom to submit the thirteenth amendment, abolishing slavery, in 1850, at the time California applied for admission. It might have taken a generation to have secured the adoption of the amendment by the requisite number of States, but it would have been done eventually, and would have saved untold blood and treasure, while producing in the end exactly the same result. Whenever any respectable number of American citizens so generally diffused throughout the Nation as to represent national rather than local sentiment desires the submission of an amendment to the Federal Constitution, and that desire is the result of settled conviction rather than temporary agitation, Congress should heed their demands. There is but one way to tell whether the people want the Constitution amended, and that is to let them vote on it. It is manifest that 36 States will not unite in adopting an amendment which either invades the liberty of individual citizens or destroys the fundamental rights of the remaining 12 States. Not a dozen amendments will be made to the Federal Constitution in the course of a century, and it is not likely that those will be of a fundamental character. The way to preserve the Constitution and to make it really American is to keep it constantly adapted to the best thought of the American Nation.

Agricultural Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MOSES P. KINKAID,
OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 1, 1915,

On the bill (H. R. 20415) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916.

Mr. KINKAID. Mr. Speaker, it will be a great disappointment to me, and it will be keenly regretted by my constituents, if the right kind of a rural-credits law shall not be passed at this session. Right now it is within the power of the Congress, and the authority is positively in the hands of the House, to secure such an act by the adoption of the McCumber bill, already passed by the Senate. Unless the McCumber bill shall be adopted precisely or practically as written, it is clear to me we shall not pass a rural-credits act at this session, or if any should be passed it will not be what farmers want or what the farming industry requires.

Mr. Speaker, the main difficulty is that the membership is divided into two schools as to what should constitute the fundamentals of a rural-credits act. The particular feature of this issue is whether middlemen shall be given the administration of the law with the right to a commission or compensation which will prevent a reduction of interest rates below what has now to be paid by farmer borrowers. It ought to be granted that it would be useless to pass a rural-credits act unless interest rates are to be materially lowered. Whatever kind of a bill may be passed, useless overhead expenses should be avoided, otherwise the first and main purpose of such legislation will be nullified. For my part, while I do not regard the provisions of the McCumber bill as complete as are desirable, I shall vote for it and otherwise give it my hearty support, because it contains the very best it is possible to secure in the way of rural-credits legislation during this Congress, which will be extinct in a few hours.

Mr. Speaker, a rural-credits law ought to have been passed two or three years ago, and there was a greater reason still why such relief ought to have been afforded a year ago, and naturally the demand has been more imperative for such relief at this session than ever. The demand for such relief has been increasing, because the subject has been all the time receiving greater and more widespread attention. The friends of rural-credits legislation, with whom I count myself, were promised in the last session of Congress that if we would just wait until this session such a measure would have the support of the

administration. We yielded, because we could do no better, for we did not have the votes to overcome the administration opposition to favorable action taken at the last session. But we did believe that the promise of the administration forces would be fulfilled at this session, and I for one, by letters written and words spoken, encouraged many constituents to expect that such an act would be passed before the adjournment of this session. But the friends of such legislation were very greatly disappointed when they found right at the commencement of this session a well-settled disposition of the administration forces to not allow the question to be taken up and disposed of during the present Congress. Instead of fulfilling the promise made at the last session, the administration forces insisted at the commencement of this session, and still insist, that action must be deferred until the next Congress. I am frank to say I fear, notwithstanding that the House now has in its hands to adopt the McCumber bill as passed by the Senate, and thus require it to go straight to the President for his approval, that those who favor further delay are going to have their way about it, and that the question will be sidetracked for the present, but with a renewed promise that it will be taken up in the next Congress.

Mr. Speaker, there can be no object in passing a rural-credits measure unless interest rates upon farm loans will thereby be lowered, and unless also longer time shall be secured and, what is equally important, unless also amortization shall be one of the features of the measure, because as desirable and beneficial as lower interest rates and long time will be to borrowers the scheme to pay a very small percentage of the principal every time an interest payment is made, which is the equivalent of unconsciously paying the principal with ease, will constitute one of the greatest virtues of a rural-credits measure. It will mean that when a farmer is done paying interest that, to his surprise, no part of the principal will remain to be paid. Under the present farm-mortgage system the crisis occurs when the mortgage matures, with all of the principal yet to be paid, with the consequence that, in too many instances, foreclosure, with the loss of the home, results.

Mr. Speaker, I fear I should be misunderstood as intending to be partisan if I should not here grant the fact that quite a number of the Democratic membership have all the time been earnest advocates of a rural-credits act which would bring needed relief to the farming industry; but the difficulty is that they and the rest of us are so greatly outnumbered by the other members of their own party.

Mr. Speaker, a rural-credits law is inevitable, and, whether just the right kind of a measure shall be attained at the start, sooner or later the industry of agriculture will be accorded its rights, and the whole public will enjoy the benefits. Then, why should the Congress delay longer the relief, benefit, and justice which the millions need and for which so many are waiting?

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD E. BROWNE,
OF WISCONSIN,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Tuesday, March 2, 1915.

On the bill (S. 6692) to facilitate credits and decrease interest charges on farm securities.

Mr. BROWNE of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of this bill because it will give the farmer a chance to borrow money on long-time loans at 5 per cent interest.

The Government in this bill is safeguarded so that it stands no chance of losing a dollar.

This bill has already passed the Senate, and if we concur in it at this time it will become a law. A bureau of farm credits will be established in the Treasury Department, presided over by a commissioner of farm credits, and $10,000,000 appropriated and loaned on gilt-edge farm security. When $1,000,000 of this amount is loaned, bonds will be issued for that amount and sold, so the Government will not at any one time have more than $10,000,000 invested.

This bill is not perfect, and perhaps is not as good a bill as some of the others which have been introduced and which have been slumbering in the committees. But, in my opinion, with only two days remaining before Congress will adjourn, the substitution of any other bill for this one, or the amendment of this bill, will necessitate its going back to the Senate, where it will stand no show of passing.

I believe if this bill becomes a law the Government will demonstrate within a very few years that we can lower the rate of interest that this bill provides, from 5 to 4 per cent, and maybe even lower, and also enable the farmer to borrow money for from 20 to 30 years, with the privilege of paying any part of his indebtedness at the end of any interest-paying year.

The farms of the United States are mortgaged to the amount of $3,460,172,851. If interest rates could be reduced even 2 per cent, it would mean an annual saving to the farmer of over $60,000,000.

If farmers could borrow money for a long term, say, 20 to 30 years, it would mean more home owners and fewer farm renters.

Farm mortgages are regarded by investors as the safest and most reliable securities, and yet the farmers of the United States are paying double the rate of interest charged the farmers of any other country in the world. The rate of interest on farm mortgages is from 6 to 15 per cent, when you include the commissions and charges incidental to making the loan and drawing up the papers. The farmer who is obliged to borrow money must do so for a comparatively short term, which is another great handicap.

TENANT FARMING INCREASING.

The result of this is that tenant farming has increased in the United States at an alarming rate. Mortgage foreclosures are increasing, and young men are becoming afraid to purchase farms and run in debt for part of the purchase price. They prefer to play safe—rent farms and live and die as farm tenants.

In 1880, 25.6 per cent of all our farms were operated by tenants; in 1890, 28.4 per cent; in 1900, 35.3 per cent; and in 1910, 37.1 per cent. This shows a steady and positive increase of tenantry.

Since 1900 the farm owners have increased only eight-tenths of 1 per cent, while the farm tenants have increased 16.3 per cent. The farm homes mortgaged in 1890 were 28.2 per cent of the whole; in 1910, 33.6 per cent.

A farmer who owns his farm is the most independent man in the world; a farmer who rents a farm—becomes a tenant—is the most dependent man in the world.

The tenant system has been the curse of European countries for years. Is it not possible for the United States to establish a system by which the farmers of the country can marshal their securities so that the farmer can get money at a low rate of interest and for a long period of time?

Farmers of other countries get money at a low rate of interest. Germany, France, and other European countries have solved this problem. They have established a system by which the farmer can get money for from 20 to 30 years, with the privilege of again renewing the loan at a very low rate of interest.

Germany's great farm-loan institution, the landschaft, is loaning over $750,000,000 to the farmers of that country on 20 and 30 year loans at from 3 to 4½ per cent interest.

The Jewish Farm Cooperative Credit Union of the United States, an offshoot of the Baron Hirsch Foundation, which came into existence in 1890, has $1,800,000 loaned to 2,500 Jewish farmers in 31 States of the Union at a rate of 4 per cent interest.

Is the American Congress not capable of giving the people a law that will enable the farmers to obtain money at a reasonable rate of interest and on long-time loans, or are certain competitive interests preventing such legislation?

The express companies for years prevented parcel-post legislation, but the people at last made such a demand that we obtained a parcel post, and now no one would ask for its repeal.

PLATFORM PROMISES.

The last Republican and Democratic platforms provided for rural credits. The Democratic platform pledge upon this subject was as follows:

> Of equal importance with the question of currency reform is the question of rural credits or agricultural finance. Therefore we recommend that an investigation of agricultural credit societies in foreign countries be made, so that it may be ascertained whether a system of rural credits may be devised suitable to conditions in the United States.

A commission to investigate rural credits went to Europe. Their report and hearings are embraced in several volumes.

Many rural credits bills were introduced in Congress, some of them very complete and embodying the best thought upon the subject, yet the Banking and Currency Committee in either House, with an overwhelming Democratic majority, has never reported out any of these bill or given the Members a chance to vote upon them.

When the banking and currency law was reported we looked for a provision in it providing for rural credits, but were disap-

pointed. We were assured by the Democratic leaders that they would report a rural-credits bill at an early date as a separate measure.

June 1, 1914, I called the attention of the House of Representatives to their broken promises in their neglect to give us a rural-credits law and in their neglect to pass a good-roads law. I quote from my speech of that date:

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS NOT DEALT FAIRLY WITH THE FARMERS.

I charge the Democratic Party with not dealing fairly with the farmers of the North and West.

I ask, What have you done for the farmers who, during the last crop year, produced nearly $10,000,000 worth of wealth?

You have appropriated $141,000,000 for battleships. You have appropriated $100,000,000 for the Army, although you spent almost two weeks' time making speeches on the Winston Churchill peace resolution. You have appropriated $44,000,000 for rivers and harbors.

You have done all this after talking economy and accusing the former Republican administration of being extravagant.

The 12,000,000 farmers of this country have received very little consideration at your hands.

NOTHING FOR GOOD ROADS.

The $25,000,000 appropriation for wagon roads that passed this House in February is sleeping the peaceful sleep of death in one of the committees of the Senate.

RURAL CREDITS SHELVED.

The farmers of the country demanded and were promised by this administration a law that would enable them to borrow money at a lower rate of interest and on easier terms. This would help the farmer in moving his crops and enable the tenant farmer or the young man with small capital to become the owner of a farm with a fair chance of paying for it.

Many wanted rural-credit legislation to be written into the banking and currency law, where it could have been appropriately placed, but "the powers that be" said no, and it looks as though rural-credit legislation had been relegated with the other broken promises of the Democratic Party.

UNDERWOOD TARIFF DISCRIMINATES AGAINST THE FARMER.

By taking off the tariff on farm products you have opened wide the doors of the great home market of the United States to the farmers of the world and invited them to dump their surplus.

Argentina, since the tariff bill went into effect, has sent millions of dollars' worth of butter, beef, and corn into the United States.

THE GOVERNMENT LOANS MONEY TO BANKS, WHY NOT TO FARMERS?

The Government takes the people's money from the postal savings banks of the country and loans it to the national banks.

To-day over $75,000,000 of the people's money is being loaned to the national banks by this Democratic administration at 2½ per cent interest, and yet the Government has so far refused to establish a bureau of rural credits, which would only require $10,000,000, which would be loaned on as safe security as the national banks can give.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS NOT DEALT FAIRLY WITH THE FARMERS.

No one can dispute that agriculture is the greatest industry of our country. Thirty millions of sturdy, hard-working people are engaged in it, which is practically one-third of our total population. Forty billions of dollars are invested in it. The wealth of agriculture in the United States amounts to more than the total wealth of Great Britain, including England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, and yet the present Democratic administration has refused to give the farmer a means by which he can borrow money at a reasonable rate of interest. It has refused to aid in improving the wagon roads over which he annually hauls $10,000,000,000 worth of farm products. It has also refused to extend the rural delivery routes, but, on the contrary, the present administration is practicing all its economy on this branch of its service. In this connection I quote from the ruling of the Postmaster General, found in the speech of Representative THOMAS, page 5462 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of March 3, 1915:

A sweeping reorganization of the Rural Delivery Service throughout the United States for purposes of economy will be completed within the next six months in accordance with amendments to the existing postal laws and regulations issued to-day by Postmaster General Burleson. The effect of the new regulations will be the discontinuance of many rural routes in sparsely settled communities and reduction in frequency of service in many routes. During one month of each quarter every piece of mail carried by rural carriers shall be counted and weighed, and an accurate count shall be made of the number of patrons served. Routes on which the count of mail collected and delivered has averaged for six consecutive months less than 756 pieces per month per mile are to be discontinued unless they can be arranged so as to come under the new rule. The regulations are in effect now, but their full force will not be felt under six months.

When we take into consideration that this Congress has extended the delivery of mail to small cities of less than 3,000 inhabitants so that the people of these cities get their mail several times a day, delivered at their houses and offices; when we consider that the humblest citizen in our great cities living 5 or 10 miles from the central post office gets his mail delivered at his front door several times a day, we can see no fairness in any law or ruling which prevents the establishment of rural delivery of mail so that the great farming classes can get their mail daily without inconvenience and without traveling an unreasonable distance.

When this Government can afford to appropriate $30,000,000 of the people's money for rivers and harbors, in addition to $61,000,000 appropriated the two years preceding, when this Government can afford to appropriate $35,000,000 to build a railroad in Alaska to accommodate 60,000 people, it is hard to conceive why the Government can not appropriate $25,000,000 for the improvement of the wagon roads, which would benefit directly 30,000,000 farmers and indirectly every man, woman, and child in the United States.

The present House of Representatives has a Democratic majority of over 140 Members. The Senate has a good working Democratic majority. The Democratic Party is therefore responsible to the country for legislation, and its failure to give the people, especially the farmers, of this country this legislation, which it promised in its platform and which would have been of inestimable benefit to the great producing classes of the United States, either shows incompetency on the part of the Democratic Party or else a willful disregard on its part of its solemn pledge to the people. In either case it can not appeal to the farmers of the country for their support at the next general election.

RIVER AND HARBOR BILLS.

A powerful secret lobby demands $50,000,000 annually.
The fight begun against waste and extravagance saved $41,000,000 to taxpayers in two years.
Was it a "good thing" to accomplish?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. FREAR,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 3 (legislative day of Tuesday, March 2),

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Speaker, during this Sixty-third Congress I have frequently spoken against different projects contained in the two river and harbor bills that were defeated. At the outset I was advised by older Members that for a dozen years not a single item had been stricken from "pork-barrel" bills. To expose their true character and bring about their defeat has required the combined help of many agencies and saved more than $41,000,000 to the Government Treasury. Recently a Democratic weekly in my own district published the following criticism:

Will some one of the numerous Republican newspapers in the tenth district, who are such ardent admirers and defenders of our Congressman, J. A. FREAR, speak right up in the meeting and name one good thing that the pork fighter has accomplished for the people of this district, or one thing that he may reasonably be expected to accomplish if he continues in that course?

My attention was directed to this peculiar wail by an answer from a leading editorial in the foremost Democratic paper of my own State, the Milwaukee Journal, which commented, in part, as follows:

The country generally recognizes the necessity of a determined fight against "pork." But the Times thinks it sees a chance for a partisan whack, and what does economy in public money matter? The Times, we believe, is a Democratic paper, but it is doing its party no good when it upholds "pork." It is free to disagree with Mr. FREAR if it wants to do so, but it shows poor judgment when it attacks him for the best thing he has done.

Mr. Speaker, I do not feel called upon to defend my "fight," and am sure that hundreds of constituents in my district will testify to my active and successful efforts to serve them in countless ways in which every Representative is legitimately called upon to act. I am not disturbed if criticized at home or by interested Members on this floor because of the successful fight made against the last two pork barrels. Nor is it my purpose to discuss at length a contest which has covered many days of active debate in the House and also in the Senate.

The annual river and harbor bill is vicious, wasteful, and indefensible, and will continue to be so as long as the people permit it to be built in pork-barrel shape. In the RECORD for January 29 last I placed before the House a recapitulation of wasteful items contained in what was claimed to be the 1915 "expurgated" bill—as bad in character if not in amount as its predecessors. For several days these vicious items were exposed and thoroughly discussed during debate. Placed in the bill at the behest of dredgers, contractors, and special interests working through waterway lobbies, they will annually confront us, until the public is awakened to the situa-

tion. Men who believe the sole end of public life is "pork" are often supported in that belief by special interests, voicing their demands through innocent constituencies. The value of propositions may generally be determined by a willingness of localities or special interests to contribute some share of the proposed burden which now is placed entirely on the Government Treasury. Contribution removes incentive to graft.

WASTEFUL PROJECTS GET MOST OF THE MONEY.

As has been repeatedly pointed out, river and harbor bills are largely bad, and scores of wasteful, worthless items will annually drain the Treasury unless we can overthrow the present system. Good men privately commend the fight against this annual "humbug and steal," as TILLMAN calls it, but because of some local project they say, "I can not explain my vote to my constituents, who have an item in the bill." Therein lays the vice of "pork-barrel" legislation, because in order to save some insignificant local project Members have voted in 1915 to give $6,500,000 to a wasteful, indefensible Mississippi River land-reclamation scheme, which has been denounced by reputable papers of the Mississippi Valley as a "pork-barrel" grab for "Yankee money."

To save some local project in the 1915 bill honest Members voted $8,200,000 for a scandalous $64,000,000 Ohio River canalization fraud, which was condemned by Senator KENYON in debate as one of the worst projects in the country. In the 1915 bill the House voted $1,200,000 for what Senator BURTON denounced as a vicious, worthless $20,000,000 Missouri River reclamation scheme. To save some small item for home constituents, Members annually vote extravagant appropriations for the notorious Coosa, Brazos, and Trinity Rivers, that propose to filch $30,000,000 from the Treasury before completion—good money wasted beyond possible doubt.

The House voted $800,000 in the 1915 bill for the idiotic $5,400,000 Beaufort Canal project, located in North Carolina, where a score of smaller worthless projects exist. Defended only by irresponsible Army engineers and strong political pull, ridiculed and denounced by Senator Burton, it was voted for, together with dozens of other wasteful, worthless projects in Florida, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas. Why are these vicious projects retained? We all know it is because they are placed in the "pork barrel" by political pull.

A legitimate waterway, the greatest river in the world, flows past my own district and needs annual improvement, but it has been shown on this floor that a prodigious waste of money occurs in handling the entire Mississippi River project. In the 1915 bill is an item of $1,200,000 for the upper Mississippi, while $6,500,000 is appropriated for the lower part of the river to continue an extravagant land-reclamation scheme. Compare the amounts. Why is Wisconsin required to pay for reclaiming Louisiana lands? Will the levee lobby answer?

Over $140,000,000 of Government money has been recklessly poured into the Mississippi River in recent years. Wisconsin's proportionate contribution was about seven millions. What has my State or the country to show for this criminal and stupid waste of public funds? Where has it gone and what is to be the limit? Ask the Mississippi River lobby.

LET ME PRESENT THE "PORK BARREL" IN ANOTHER WAY.

The Mississippi, Missouri, and Ohio Rivers were given approximately $17,500,000 under the 1915 sundry civil bill and the river bill reported by the Senate committee. After deducting floatable logs and timber, sand and levee-construction material, and deducting duplications as presented on January 29, the following remarkable statistics appear, based on the 1914 engineers' report:

Three rivers given $17,500,000 in 1915 bills.	Tons.
Upper Mississippi (including duplications)	233, 315
Lower Mississippi (no definite data, but possibly)	300, 000
Missouri River (deducting sand hauled 1 mile)	35, 000
Ohio River (Kingman's letter), continuous traffic	2, 000, 000

Total, less than 3,000,000 tons.

Verified tonnage of four Lake ports given $499,000 in 1915 bills.	Tons.
Ashland ($20,000 in 1915 bill)	5, 623, 309
Milwaukee ($15,000 in 1915 bill)	8, 647, 230
Chicago ($464,000 item in 1915 bill)	13, 275, 000
Superior-Duluth (no appropriation)	46, 875, 416

These four Lake ports handled about 75,000,000 tons. The river traffic costs the Government about $6 per ton annually; the Lake traffic less than 1 cent per ton. The latter is for navigation; the former is for land reclamation and other scandalous schemes. Where does the pork go and who pays for it?

Most of the annual appropriations go to Southern States, where navigation is a joke. Sectionalism has been forced upon us by indefensible pork-barrel legislation. Take Wisconsin for illustration. While no accurate estimate can be made because of Federal revenue-producing methods, Wisconsin contributes presumably about 5 per cent of the income tax, war tax, and other Government revenues, based on its own share of the Nation's wealth. A proportionate contribution of 5 per cent toward appropriations, if a direct tax was levied, is a fair basis of determining comparative burdens per capita.

The 1914 pork barrel, including sundry civil bill waterway items, reached over $60,000,000. The 1915 bills reached over $42,000,000, or $102,000,000 for two years. After a hard fight this total amount was cut down to $61,000,000 for both years, a saving of $41,000,000. Of the $61,000,000, Wisconsin's share of the burden is about $3,000,000. Possessing several of the finest harbors in the world, Wisconsin receives from the Federal Treasury less than $300,000. In other words, Wisconsin gets back less than 10 cents on every dollar contributed in 1915. If given for educational purposes, national defense, or any other beneficial use, it would be beyond criticism; but this money is largely used for special interests on wasteful or worthless waterway projects, and is secured through political pull, not merit.

Of the $41,000,000 saved to the Treasury from two pork-barrel bills Wisconsin's saving, based on a 5 per cent contribution, would be about $2,000,000, or nearly $1 per capita for every man, woman, and child in the State. A saving of $2,000,000 for Wisconsin is an example of the saving that results to practically every Northern State. However this apportionment may be determined, a saving of $41,000,000 to the country is indisputable, and that saving is of inestimable value during these strenuous days of income taxes and war taxes.

Pork-barrel defenders, supported by dredgers and contractors and all the waterway lobbies in the country, can not disguise facts disclosed to the country during the debate, and for myself I am content in having taken a small part in defeating two scandalous bills and in helping to save to the people $41,000,000 of Government money that the lobby demanded and almost secured.

Yet money waste is not the worst part of pork-barrel legislation, although it is bad beyond description. Another incalculable evil comes through the system of bargain and sale whereby this annual pork barrel and other extravagant legislation is rammed through Congress. How long will the people of this country permit such bills to suck millions of dollars annually out of the Treasury, just because it is part of the game? A sober, honest, intelligent citizenship is not willing to use any different standard of morals for legislative bodies than for private individuals. We represent those who pay the bills.

A discriminating public desires to give credit where credit is due, and Senators who fought the pork barrels to a finish primarily helped to save $41,000,000 of the people's money. They were aided by the public press, which gave splendid encouragement by exposing fraudulent items that masquerade under the name of waterway improvements.

In the House Mr. CALLAWAY, of Texas, hit hard blows effectively, and my colleague Mr. LENROOT gave invaluable aid in the defeat of the $18,700,000 Muscle Shoals private water-power scheme, which was cloaked under $150,000 initial appropriation. My colleague Mr. ESCH also gave substantial help when he insisted upon a detailed report of work performed on the Mississippi River project. Nearly the entire Wisconsin delegation, including Democrats and Republicans, joined in opposition to the 1915 bill, and were with the 99 votes recorded against it. To defeat the scandalous Muscle Shoals private water-power scheme would be a big victory, but to keep new projects out of the bill and to secure a record vote for the first time in many years and to aid in saving two score millions is a matter of congratulation for all who engaged in the fight. Never has a better or more successful fight been waged for honest legislation than this one which was concluded yesterday in the Sixty-third Congress.

STRAINING AT GNATS AND SWALLOWING CAMELS.

A number of Members who annually fight Quixotic battles against garden seeds, voted for the pork-barrel bill, and yet $6,500,000 given in 1915 to the lower Mississippi reclamation scheme alone would pay for garden seeds for a quarter of a century. Several of our southern friends who fight vigorously against special pension bills for northern veterans, voted for the waterway bill, and yet all increases for special pensions for the Sixty-third Congress reached about $150,000, or less than one-fiftieth part of the $8,200,000 to be wasted on the Ohio River this year.

No foreign Government spends half as much for all its waterways as we throw away annually on the Mississippi, Missouri, Ohio, Tennessee, Cumberland, Brazos, Trinity, and other wasteful projects, and no other Government on the face

of the earth permits a legislative pork barrel. Why do we submit, when every intelligent man knows our river commerce is a stupendous joke, as has been shown by statistics based on Army engineer's reports.

In the House and Senate many kindly words have been expressed by able men for my own efforts to expose the viciousness of both bills, and because of captious criticism on this floor and occasional complaints from "pork" defenders elsewhere I venture to insert two letters that speak for themselves, letters which come unsolicited from two distinguished Senators who led a successful fight against both bills.

UNITED STATES SENATE, *September 23, 1914.*

Hon. JAMES A. FREAR,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. FREAR: Now that the river and harbor bill is defeated, I can not refrain from giving credit where credit is due. You are the man who started the whole fight; you are the man who is entitled to the credit. You, in my judgment, performed one of the greatest public services that any man has ever done in Congress. I congratulate you from the bottom of my heart.

If you need me in your campaign, I will be glad to come there and tell the people what a splendid Representative you have been. Would that we had more men in Congress like you.

Sincerely, yours, W. S. KENYON.

Among hundreds of generous letters at hand, the following letter is one of several received from the greatest waterway expert, and one of the ablest public men in the country:

HOT SPRINGS, VA., *October 1, 1914.*

Hon. JAMES A. FREAR,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. FREAR: I learn that the House concurred night before last in the Senate substitute, after a lively debate.

I am here for a brief rest, but can not omit to congratulate you on your part in this most happy outcome. I am sure that you will be listened to more attentively next winter than you were last winter or spring.

Yours, sincerely, T. E. BURTON.

Of many words of commendation spoken during debate, the following from the September 29 RECORD, uttered by the able Republican leader, Mr. MANN, are highly prized:

The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. FREAR], I think, is entitled to the thanks of the country for what he has done. * * *

The country knows that MANN and MURDOCK, two party leaders on this floor, voted against both bills. Is it not significant? Can fake waterway lobbies control future appropriations? I do not believe so.

To show that legitimate transportation companies are not misled as to the real issue, a brief extract is offered from a lengthy resolution passed at its annual meeting in 1914 by the leading commercial body of the country, the New York Board of Trade and Transportation:

* * * * * * * *

Resolved, That while we regret the defeat of certain items in the rivers and harbors bill, * * * we nevertheless regard with approval the defeat of the bill as a whole, and commend Congressman JAMES A. FREAR, of Wisconsin, and Senator THEODORE E. BURTON, of Ohio, for their courage and perseverance in opposing the inflated rivers and harbors bill, and cordially congratulate them upon the success of their efforts.

* * * * * * * *

The Chicago Tribune, Milwaukee Sentinel, Free Press, Boston Transcript, Christian Science Monitor, New York Herald, Sun, Press, Washington Times, and scores of other papers of acknowledged standing throughout the country, including practically every daily paper in my own State, have given strong support to this fight. Collier's, La Follette's, Pearson's, the Outlook, Chappel's, World's Work, Saturday Evening Post, Harper's, and other magazines have rendered signal service in exposing the vicious pork-barrel system, while many of these publications have kindly commended my own efforts.

These opinions I place in the scales against itching palms of hungry pork hunters. The battle is not half won, because the system of bargain and trade is firmly intrenched, but it is probable that the powerful river and harbor lobby, including its eight railroad contributors, will be more secretive hereafter. Congress has unconsciously abrogated its powers of waterway legislation to discredited Army engineers and irresponsible lobbies supported by secret agencies, from private water-power interests to land-reclamation schemes. The confidence of the American people has been grossly abused, and the most deadly leprous spot on the legislative program is the annual river and harbor pork barrel. If a "humbug and steal" a dozen years ago, it is a scandalous, hypocritical fraud to-day, and the steal has more than doubled in size during that period.

Let us place the power and responsibility for managing our waterway improvements in the hands of a competent, high-class, responsible board that will command the confidence of the American Congress and of the country. Appropriations must be made by Congress, but the amount and application should be based on authoritative advice.

Personal Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY T. HELGESEN,
OF NORTH DAKOTA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. HELGESEN. Mr. Speaker, on February 20, 1915, I introduced the following resolution, House joint resolution 430:

Joint resolution to authorize the Committees on Agriculture of the Senate and House to investigate a system of rural personal credit.

Whereas none of the several rural-credit investigating bodies appointed by Congress within the past few years has drafted a personal rural-credit bill; and

Whereas personal rural credit is more necessary than a land-mortgage system, although such system is good so far as it goes; and

Whereas nearly every highly civilized country has in successful operation a personal rural-credit system through which the farmers of those countries obtain credit for productive purposes at low rates of interest and in sufficient amounts to enable them to produce agricultural products more economically than is done in this country, even though our farmers possess many natural advantages not enjoyed by them; and

Whereas the great European war now being waged is wasting capital at a rate never before approached, which condition is bound to result in materially affecting the world's capital and credit markets; and the American farmers having no organized credit machinery, it naturally follows that their interests will suffer more than any other interests in the country and make it more difficult for them to obtain credit in the future than it has been in the past; and

Whereas the function of a body to investigate a scientific question like credit is judicial in character and not legislative in any sense, because its chief mission is to ascertain the truth to form the basis of sound legislation, just as it is the mission of the court to ascertain the truth to form the basis of its judgment, and the function of an investigating body being judicial in character, it follows that its machinery should conform to that of other judicial bodies, which provides that the interested parties may appear in open court and establish the merits of their respective contentions; and if the selfishly interested parties are brought into court to fight out their own battles, in an orderly manner and on fair terms prescribed by the commission, then the Members of Congress would not be charged with representing any special interest: Therefore be it

Resolved, etc., That the Committees on Agriculture of the Senate and House of Representatives are hereby authorized, through a subcommittee, to investigate and hold hearings on such personal rural-credit bills as may be presented to them, in the manner hereinafter more specifically set forth, and make a report thereof not later than the 10th day of December next.

SEC. 2. That such subcommittee or investigating body, which is hereinafter referred to as the commission, shall hold its hearings and investigations in such manner that will permit persons who, in the commission's opinion, have sufficient authoritative backing to present bills for a personal rural-credit system in the United States to the commission and appear before them by experts of their own selection to establish the merits of their respective bills and to disprove any provisions contained in bills not presented by themselves. The commission shall notify at least one leading representative of every interest affected by such bills, including the president of the American Bankers' Association, of his privilege to appear before the commission by an expert of his own selection and to advocate or oppose any bill presented, who shall enjoy the same rights and privileges before the commission as the experts of the proponents.

SEC. 3. That it shall be the further duty of the commission to send for persons and papers; to administer oaths; to summon and compel the attendance of witnesses and have the same examined by themselves or by the representatives of the parties at interest appearing before them, or both; to adopt rules of procedure and the same to amend; and to employ such secretaries, experts, stenographers, and other assistants as shall be necessary to carry out the purposes for which the commission was created.

SEC. 4. That the members of the commission shall receive no compensation for their services on the commission except traveling expenses incurred while attending to the duties imposed under this act.

SEC. 5. That the sum of $9,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this act and to defray the expenses of the commission, is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated. Such appropriation shall be immediately available and shall be paid out on the audit and order of the chairman or acting chairman of said commission, which audit and order shall be conclusive and binding upon all departments as to the correctness of the accounts of said commission.

I did not introduce this resolution because I had any pet plan for providing the country with a system of personal rural credits, but because I realized the vital importance of the proposition, and because I find that it is so little understood, not only by the people at large, but by those who are charged with the responsibility of legislating on the subject, that I thought it wise to provide for a hearing that would give all those who are interested in the subject a chance to be heard, no matter whether they be for or against the proposition.

Such a hearing as I have proposed would give us the arguments on both sides, presented by the best experts obtainable, and would, therefore, furnish us with the best possible basis for the drafting of a bill that would bring the necessary relief, and by having constantly before us the arguments of those who

are opposed to the proposition we would be aided in drafting a bill that would not unnecessarily antagonize their interests.

My resolution, and the kind of an investigation it calls for, is indorsed by farm journals representing the views of millions of readers, and it has brought petitions from all over the country praying for its adoption. And why should it not be adopted? It is certainly the only sane and businesslike way to deal with an absolutely new proposition that is of such vital importance as is the question of a sound system of personal credits for our farmers.

The ordinary method of legislating is to depend on the bills introduced by the individual Members of the House or Senate, and while some of these bills represent the views of men who have given the subject patient and thoughtful study, many of them are drawn in a haphazard manner and introduced solely for political effect. Whenever the subject of these bills is finally taken up for consideration by Congress the authors of these various bills fight strenuously for their own measures and do not enter the discussion with open minds, ready and willing to accept whatever may be shown to be for the best interest of all concerned. This makes intelligent consideration of important legislation extremely difficult, especially when dealing with an entirely new problem and where there are no American precedents that can be taken as guides.

If the commission provided for in my resolution were appointed and authorized to take charge of this matter, it would furnish the information upon which a committee bill could be drawn and would eliminate the confusion, delay, and opposition caused by a lot of bills introduced by individual Members.

Every Member who is really friendly to rural credits ought, it seems to me, to welcome the creation of such a commission, and even those who are honestly opposed to rural credits in any form should not object to its creation, for they, too, could appear before this commission and present to it their arguments in opposition, knowing that their case would be given full and fair consideration.

Agricultural Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTIN D. FOSTER,

OF ILLINOIS,

Monday, March 1, 1915.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, this Congress has passed the Federal reserve banking act, which, it is believed by those who have studied the financial history of our country and are fully conversant with the laws on the subject, will be a great improvement on the old inelastic banking system which had been on the statute books for 50 years. We need in commercial business an elastic currency, one that will afford credit to those engaged in business at the time when they need it. Men who are engaged in large enterprises usually require a large amount of capital, and they are compelled to be borrowers to successfully carry on their businesses. The Federal reserve act will afford an expansion of currency by the banking interests to meet this legitimate need of business.

There is another class of people in our country, and they are producing the basic wealth of the land. Farming must ever remain the chief source of our prosperity. And while the Federal reserve act does give to the farmers more relief than they had under the old system, yet it does not furnish them with the kind of credit they need and on such terms as they ought to have to carry on their work.

There is no better security than land security. When the Federal reserve act was under consideration it was promised to the farmers of the country that at a later date this matter would be taken up by Congress and fully considered and a bill passed giving them the kind of credit that is necessary to carry on their business. It is the duty of Congress to carry out this pledge and to fulfill the demand made to the farmers everywhere for a credit system that will permit them to borrow money at a lower rate of interest and on more favorable terms than they are now able to do. As a rule they are not large borrowers, but desire to secure loans for the purpose of buying land, improving the farm, or to meet demands that are necessary until a crop can be made and the money secured by selling the product to meet their obligations. It is to be regretted that in this Congress it has not been possible to secure some system to aid the farmer so that he might meet his financial condition on more favorable terms. It is true that on an Agricultural appropriation bill it is difficult to harmonize the different interests and secure a bill which will give the farmer relief. The closing hours of Congress usually are so congested with bills that must be enacted into law that matters of such great importance can not properly be considered. I regret that we are not able to pass some bill which would start this work which is of such vital importance to this class of our people. A commission was sent to Europe to study the different systems in operation in those countries. They have made a report, and yet there seems to be much difference of opinion as to what system ought to be put into operation in this country. Whatever system may be adopted ought to provide some means whereby the man who has no land may be able to secure it, and any system that will afford a credit to those who are already owners of land to borrow and increase their holdings will eventually work a system of landlord and tenant, a condition to be avoided if possible. Everyone will admit that we ought to have more actual owners of the land who live upon it than we have now. If we are to put into operation a system that will only help the landowner, it will be a mistake, and will only furnish partial relief to those engaged in agriculture. It is necessary for the farmer to have some way whereby he may meet his temporary requirements. It is necessary for his need oftentimes to borrow money for a few months to be able to operate the farm until he markets his crops. Loans of this kind, which are granted for a short time, ought to be secured without having to give a mortgage upon his farm, or he may not own one on which he could give a mortgage to secure the debt; so that in considering a plan for rural credits there ought to be some provision for the organization of associations along the lines of personal credit. It is said that the most perfect system of short-time credits which are afforded through local institutions are those found in Germany, and in that country they have proven very satisfactory and very successful. It is to be hoped that the committee selected to make this investigation and report to Congress will not overlook this important provision.

I beg to insert, in this connection, an article by Mr. John P. Doyle, of Mount Vernon, Ill., State secretary-treasurer of the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America. Mr. Doyle is an actual farmer, and one who has lived upon the farm all his life and has some idea of the needs, the problems, prosperity, and the failure of the farmer.

THE PROBLEM OF SHORT-TERM RURAL CREDITS.

[By John P. Doyle, Mount Vernon, Ill., State secretary-treasurer Illinois Branch of the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America.]

It has been well said, "A man buys a farm once or twice in a lifetime, but he needs a short-term credit every year." The voluminous reports that have been made and the many bills that have been presented by Members of Congress will surely soon lead to a solution of the long-term loan question; but the seemingly more necessary short-term loan proposition has yet received far less than its due need of consideration.

To one who has farmed all his life, and who has gone through all the hardships that lack of sufficient means entails, this subject of short-term credit would seem one of the most important considerations of all the farmers' needs. Might I illustrate and make this more concrete by giving some actual experiences in an impersonal way? A young couple having, by previous individual effort or by inheritance acquired sufficient for a first payment, invested it all in a piece of land. They have thus burned their bridges, destroyed their ships, and must go forward; there is no turning back; and they start the march and battle of life with high hope and courage. But they soon discover that it is a Marching Through Georgia; that they have abandoned their supplies, and must forage as they go. Little unforeseen happenings occur which can not be foretold.

Even with the farmer's best skill he is always a partner with nature and the elements are his master. A glare of ice in the winter has smothered the wheat and it must be put in oats, thus calling possibly for extra hired help and cash for seed oats; an expense not looked for. A wet spot over there would be increased in value ten times by a few drain tiles. Can he do it? Yes; he is young and strong and the little woman at the house consents and so he will try. A line of fence down this side will give a lot of pasture and must be done; some accidents to machinery by careless "help" require more repairs than calculated, and he finds himself, before any crop is made, asking credit of the grocer, the tiler, the hardware merchant, the blacksmith, the worst and usually the dearest forms of credit known. Prospects are good though and the harvest is here. But as the golden color increases in the grain the golden color in the price steadily and always declines, and when his crop is finally ready for the market the quotations are invariably at the bottom. Then he sits long at the after-supper table and consults with the good woman: "Oh, if I could only hold this 75-cent wheat it will be worth a dollar later on, or this 30-cent corn will be worth 50 cents by spring. Some one must hold it for the needs of humanity throughout the year, then why not we who have given it our toil? These hogs are just now at the point for greatest gains and the market is at its lowest. It is ruinous to sell them now. Of course I could go to the bank and borrow, but with the obligating myself to a friend for his indorsement, the high rate of interest, and the short time for payment I may be as bad off as ever, and these bills must be paid." And so a large part of the fruits of his toil is given to others "Who toil not, neither do they spin." But with each spring he starts in with renewed hope, and well was it said by an observer watching the farmers leaving town of an afternoon, "There go the most courageous set of people on earth; amid drouth and flood, bugs and disease, cholera and death, they ever go bravely on."

Something ever demands the ready cash and makes credit necessary. This time it is a case of sickness, possibly of death, that depletes the little surplus; again one of the work team dies and must be replaced, and fortunate indeed is the farmer who does not pay a heavy tax to death each year. The family is increasing, as it should, and an extra room must be built; the dreaded hog cholera comes just as the shoats are putting the second kink in their tails, and he sees his prospects of clearing off the debts swept away as by theft. In the meantime this usually falls heaviest on the farmer's wife. No matter what his efforts, she generally goes him one better.

While he dozes after the toil of the day she may be out around the henhouse with a lantern giving the final care to those hatchers whose broods will be of so much value in the fall. Up again in the early dawn, she is the dynamo that keeps the whole machinery moving. Suddenly some day the spring of life breaks, the heartstring, too constantly tense, snaps, the tired hands are folded in rest for the last time, and the bereft, sitting by the bier asks, "My God! Was it all worth while?" Our observation is that there are more farmers with second and third wives than in any other calling.

In the meantime it has not been all clouds and disaster. Such strenuous effort and close living must meet some reward. A husky family of boys and girls is growing up, and a place and work is found for each one from the time he can slop a hog, milk a cow, or handle a hoe; and it all tells in the increasing betterments of the home each year.

Here and now comes the keynote of this address in the exodus of the young from the farm.

With the ever-incessant need for cash, the major portion of our crops are rushed on to a glutted market at far less prices than our efforts demand. The bright farm boy sees this and becomes restless. To use his own words, "Pop furnishes plenty of work but no pay; he doesn't shower." Too true, for the golden shower comes too slow to him, and so the boy, too, early leaves. We talk blithely of how to prevent this; of better roads, better schools, better social advantages; but make farm life as remunerative as it should be and you will have solved the problem of "How to keep the boy on the farm." The great need, then, would seem to be a means of ready cash to supply the constantly occurring demands while crops and stock are being raised, matured, and marketed profitably. While a perfected system of rural credits would not be a panacea for all ills, I believe it would go far toward ameliorating the conditions above described, each of which are worse with the landless than with the landholding man.

A METHOD.

Before commencing any undertaking, especially one in which living things are concerned, it would be the part of wisdom to study the surroundings and, too, the conditions. One would not expect to raise bananas in Alaska or polar bears in Brazil. There are commercial banks in every little town, but they do not meet the needs of farm life. The European peoples appear to have solved this question, but their environment is different from ours.

In the meantime there is a form of rural credit that seems absolutely indigenous to American soil; that has grown with the growth of the United States farmer. This is the kind found embodied in the ordinary farm auction sale. In this the credit extension is almost always 12 months. The farmer seems to recognize instinctively that he needs a full year "to make a turn," and he usually looks with some suspicion on a sale billed for less time. The consideration which he gives is generally a two or three name paper. This paper is then indorsed by the owner and often sold at a home bank at a discount of 10 per cent. The bank again has been known to offer these notes with its indorsement for rediscount at a reserve bank; this again to a central reserve, from this to a broker, and finally into the hands of a money lender; at each change becoming stronger with each indorsement.

Recently our Government has perfected a financial system by which the mercantile operator can offer his paper at a member bank for discount; this sent again to the Federal reserve bank, passed upon by higher authority, and money issued under a safe system. This could not be used conveniently in rural finance, because the commercial man or firm has a rating known to the world while the agriculturist has not. Here would be a place, then, for some features of the European systems.

Summing up, I believe that a plan of rural credits can be devised, starting with the essential principles of the Raiffeisen system for security, holding to our indigenous American idea as to time facilities, and patterning after our Federal reserve system for the legal machinery. At the base should be the rural-credit associations of not less than 20 bona fide farmers in a restricted area so close as to give community of interests. There should be unlimited liability among these so as to equal the commercial rating held by the business man, restriction as to the use to be made of loan, and a minimum of office and official expense. Thus limitation of persons, of area, of use, and of cost. The time limit should be arranged on the farm-sale credit idea before mentioned rather than on the commercial custom.

The bill of exchange, rather than the promissory note, as used in some European forms and so clearly explained by Mr. R. C. Milliken, of Washington, D. C., in his outline of a bill and presented by Senator OWEN, should be used.

I see no reason why this bill of exchange, having the unlimited liability of the rural association back of it, could not be treated much similar to other commercial paper. It is the general feeling that any plan of stock subscriptions to provide funds at first will be too slow, and that the Government should here make provision for placing the system upon its feet, with whatever guaranties of stock thought necessary. One more point needs to be met: Many of our farm leaders believe that the rural-credit association and unlimited liability can not be used under American conditions.

In this connection I would like to relate a circumstance in opposition to this: It was my privilege to plan and superintend the construction of some 50 miles of the first hard roads of northern Indiana. Every conceivable objection was raised against these in the beginning; but after once built the most strenuous objector would not do without them. Some years later a son was developing typhoid fever and needed to be brought home quickly. To make quick train connection an overland trip of 20 miles was undertaken. Half of this was over these smooth, hard roads of Indiana and then a sudden drop at the State line into the mud and ruts of Illinois; every jolt seemingly taking the life out of the sufferer. The line itself was not even marked at the point by a wire fence. The same country, the same climate, land, people, money, material; only that on one side of an imaginary line they had the legal machinery, and on the other they had not.

Moreover, we have a form of rural association and unlimited liability all over our country at the present time in our farm mutual fire insurance companies, and which works to perfection.

So we would urge our legislators to give us the legal machinery and equipment for a system of rural credits, and we feel confident of results.

Whatever system is to be adopted ought to be such as will not give profit to those who are not actual farmers, and should be established and operated with the sole idea of giving the farmer as cheap a rate of interest as possible and on such terms as will enable him to repay the loan. It seems to me that, whatever system of farm credits is to be established, the Government should furnish aid and should have supervision over the system. Without such aid and supervision, it seems to me, it must be a failure. In the system of Federal reserve banks we have aided the banker. Why not the farmer?

A large number of farm loans under this system must necessarily be for a long time, and so can not be handled by purely commercial banks, and which they are unable to furnish at a rate of interest the farmer should be required to pay; so that if we inaugurate a system of this kind, it must be done on a plan which will give to the farmer the aid he needs and which can not now be supplied by commercial banking institutions.

It is estimated that the value of all the farms of the United States is about $40,000,000,000. There is an indebtedness owing by the farmers of something like $6,000,000,000, $2,000,000,000 of this representing mortgages upon the land. In this indebtedness on the farms, it is said, the interest rate and expenses connected with loans amounts to 10 per cent each year; so the farmers of the country to-day are paying interest charges amounting to $600,000,000. This high interest rate is too much to be paid by this class of our people, and in the past we have given too little attention to helping them secure loans on more favorable terms and at a less rate of interest. A farmer necessarily can not make a large amount of money in any one year, and in order to make any profit he must be very economical, and at the end of each year he can at best have but a small amount for his year's work. He must contend with the many disadvantages that may be adverse to his production on the farm; and if he is compelled to pay a highe rate of interest, it must necessarily work a very great hardship on him when these failures come, and often he loses the land and must become a tenant.

It is to be hoped that the committee having this matter in charge will take into consideration the land-mortgage banks and also personal credit, which seems to be necessary if this system is to be made a success. It is to be hoped that early next year when Congress convenes this question will be taken up and a bill will be passed which will afford relief to this class of our citizens. If we are to do anything to help keep people on the farm, it must be made more profitable and their condition, financially, socially, and otherwise, must be improved.

Monument to the Memory of Nathan Hale.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUSTINE LONERGAN,

OF CONNECTICUT,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. LONERGAN. Mr. Speaker, pending before the Committee on the Library at the present time is a bill introduced by me which has for its object the honoring of one of the most loyal patriots whose name is written in American history. This bill calls for an appropriation for a monument to be erected on the public grounds in Washington, D. C., in memory of Nathan Hale, the scholar, teacher, soldier, and patriot, who died in the loyal performance of his duty, and whose dying words constitute a message to posterity, expressing the enduring faith and unconquerable spirit of America. Although a native of Connecticut, educated at Yale College, that State realizes that in the contemplation of the character and service of the patriot Nathan Hale mere imaginary lines of statehood disappear, and he is essentially American, beloved and revered by all States in the Nation which he served so well.

The history of our Revolutionary War records the perilous undertaking in which Hale engaged. Gen. Washington desired accurate information regarding the strength, position, and plans of the British Army which was encamped at Long Island. He made this desire known to Col. Knowlton, commander of a regiment of light infantry in the American Army. Nathan Hale was a captain in the regiment known as Knowlton's Rangers, made up largely of Connecticut men, with Col. Knowlton in command. Gen. Washington's wishes were made known through Col. Knowlton. One historian gives a description of a meeting

between Col. Knowlton and his officers, in which an appeal in the name of Washington for a volunteer to enter the enemy's lines met with no response from anyone. A painful silence followed. Then came the ringing words, "I will undertake it," spoken by Capt. Hale. Other authorities believe that this historian accepted tradition. At any rate, it is known that through Col. Knowlton the needs of Gen. Washington were communicated to Hale. The sturdy young officer confided to his college associate and fellow captain, William Hull, his intention to cross the enemy's lines in search of information. Alarmed at the risk involved, Capt. Hull tried to dissuade Hale, reminding him of the hateful duties of spy service and the consequences of detection, the closing of a promising career by an ignominious death. Hale's reply, according to Capt. Hull, was spoken with warmth and decision:

I am fully sensible of the consequences of discovery and capture in such a situation. But for a year I have been attached to the Army and have not rendered any material service while receiving a compensation for which I make no return. Yet I am not influenced by the expectation of promotion or pecuniary reward; I wish to be useful, and every kind of service necessary to the public good becomes honorable by becoming necessary. If the exigencies of my country demand a peculiar service, its claims to perform that service are imperious.

During the second week in September, 1776, Hale set out with his sergeant, Hempstead, to accompany him a part of the distance as an attendant. The safest route lay across the Sound and along the roads of Long Island around to the rear of the British Army on the East River. Hale proceeded through Westchester County and into Connecticut as far as Norwalk. In that city he discarded his uniform, donned a plain suit of brown clothing, with round, broad-brimmed hat, and assumed the character of a Dutch schoolmaster. Here Capt. Hempstead left him and he crossed the enemy's lines. Then Hale was completely lost to view—the movements of those in the spy service seldom come to light—and the movements of the young soldier may have been of thrilling interest, but as to this history must remain silent, for the facts can not be obtained. However, it is known that soon after landing on the shores of Huntington Bay he learned that New York had been captured by the British on September 15 and that the Americans had been defeated and crowded back to the heights above Harlem. At Huntington Hale was 40 miles distant from his objective point, the main British Army on New York Island. There were also camps on the Long Island side, opposite Hell Gate. With courage and skill Hale conducted his desperate business and made drawings and outlines of the enemy's works.

Meanwhile the young patriot's friends were anxiously awaiting news of him. The news came with shocking force when it became known that on the evening of September 22 the regular daily orders from the British commander in chief to his army contained an unusual announcement couched in military brevity and reading as follows:

HEADQUARTERS, NEW YORK ISLAND,
September 22, 1776.

PAROL, *London, Count, Great Britain:*

* * * * * * *

A spy from the enemy (by his own confession) apprehended last night was this day executed at 11 o'clock in front of Artillery Park.

There is uncertainty as to where Capt. Hale was captured. Some writers assert that he returned to Huntington, and while waiting for a boat to convey him back to Norwalk approached the shore and was confronted by the crew from a barge from the British boat *Halifax*, with leveled muskets, demanding his surrender. Other writers maintain that Hale was captured in New York or its immediate vicinity. A brief examination followed the capture, pointed questions were put, concealed papers were searched for and found—sketches of fortifications and military notes—and they convicted Capt. Hale. The accused was immediately sentenced by Gen. Howe, and the penalty was execution.

No better example of self-poise, undaunted youth, and nobility of character can be found in all history than is furnished by the manner in which Hale faced death. What an inspiration! On Sunday morning—September 22—without the comfort of the presence of a spiritual adviser or a single friend, Hale took his place at the gibbet and gave the fullest measure of service which any man can give—he gave his life for his cause—and gave it with the immortal words on his lips: "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country."

In the words of Judge Miles Finch, late judge of the New York Court of Appeals:

In the long night, the still night,
He kneels upon the sod;
And the brutal guards withhold
E'en the solemn word of God!
In the long night, the still night,
He walks where Christ hath trod.
His last words, his message words,
They burn, lest friendly eye
Should read how proud and calm
A patriot could die,
With his last words, his dying words,
A soldier's battle cry!

Mr. Speaker, when we consider the life and sacrifice of Hale, particularly his devotion to duty, his unfaltering courage, and his ringing words of patriotism even at the moment of death, must we not admit that this martyr of the Revolution richly deserves the honor of a monument to his memory on the public grounds of the National Capital of the country which he loved and died for?

Connecticut is honored by statues in Washington which bear testimony to the national service of two of her distinguished sons. In the National Statuary Hall in the Capitol there are statues of Roger Sherman and Jonathan Trumbull. Both were completed and installed in 1872. However, space for many statues would be required in Statuary Hall if the National Government were to bestow this recognition in honor of the services of Connecticut men in the Revolutionary War and during the years closely following the Nation's birth. Surely space would be reserved for such men as Gen. Israel Putnam, Oliver Wolcott, Maj. Durkee, Brig. Gen. Spencer, Lieut. Col. Wyllys, Maj. Mayo, Col. Waterbury, Col. Coit, Capt. Chester, Oliver Ellsworth, and Gen. Knowlton; also for Lyman, Whiting, Parsons, Dyer, Fitch, and Wooster.

But Connecticut does not ask that in memory of all of these patriots—deserving and meritorious though their services were—there be erected statues in Washington. But she does ask that, as fitting reward for the heroic service and unselfish sacrifice of the scholar and soldier Nathan Hale, a monument in his memory be erected on the public grounds of the Nation's Capital.

Rural Credits and Farm Mortgages.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD WAYNE PARKER,

OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Under the general leave granted by the House, Mr. PARKER of New Jersey submits the following remarks on the subject of rural credits and farm mortgages:

A SYSTEM OF RURAL CREDITS HAS BEEN ORDERED TO BE REPORTED.

Mr. Speaker, a joint committee of 12 Senators and Representatives has been ordered to report a system of rural credits "adapted to American needs and conditions." The country ought to know what this means, and we must judge what it may mean by what the two Houses have already done. In foreign countries local associations of farmers are formed to encourage husbandry and guarantee each other's loans. In this country the savings banks and building and loan associations that have sprung up everywhere have done much to give rural credit and afford farm mortgages at lower rates of interest. But a cry has gone up for more, that cooperation is not enough, and that the United States Government must find the money for these mortgage loans, even if it has to be borrowed on an issue of Government bonds.

GOVERNMENT LOANS TO PRIVATE ENTERPRISE A REAL ISSUE.

This is a matter that the country must realize and consider, for the policy of Government loans to private enterprise is becoming as real an issue as greenback or specie payments or free silver or the subtreasury schemes were in the past.

THE M'CUMBER AMENDMENT, A BOND ISSUE TO RAISE MONEY TO LEND ON FARM MORTGAGES.

The Senate and the House each amended the appropriation bill for the Department of Agriculture by a rider that embodied this idea. The so-called McCumber amendment, however, can perhaps hardly be regarded as the action of the Senate, for only five or six Members were present when that amendment was adopted in Committee of the Whole, and the debate when the bill came into the Senate seems to show that some Senators who had come in did not realize what had been done. This McCumber amendment provides for an unlimited issue of United States bonds to raise money to be loaned on farm mortgages through National and State banks by a Treasury Department bureau of farm credits. Ten million dollars are appropriated to start the work of the bureau.

THE HOLLIS BILL FOR FEDERAL LOANS—FIFTY MILLION DOLLARS TO BE FURNISHED BY THE UNITED STATES.

The House of Representatives substituted another scheme, namely, that of Senator HOLLIS's bill, under which the United States are to spend up to $50,000,000 a year in buying the bonds of "Federal land banks," and the banks use the money in buying farm mortgages, preferring those held by any "national farm-loan association." A Federal farm-loan board supervises the work. The Federal land bank in each Federal reserve district is to have a capital of $500,000, which the United States must subscribe if others do not. The bonds of the bank may be bought by outsiders, if marketable. The national farm-loan associations are organized like building and loan associations, the stock being payable by installments. The whole plan is careful in detail; but as the interest on the farm mortgages is to be under 5 per cent the profits on the other securities will be less, and the only live thing in the scheme is that it is to be financed with United States money, and this will probably be the only money that will go into it.

MAJORITIES FOR THESE SCHEMES.

These schemes, and many more, were voted upon and will go before the joint committee. They all include loans of Government money. The country ought to realize that "rural credits" has come to mean this. If the joint committee report any plan, it will probably be on this model. The House of Representatives voted for the Hollis plan by a large majority. There is no record vote to show the real opinion of the Members. The ayes and noes on the adoption of the Hollis scheme were refused by 213 to 53. But it is to be understood that Grangers everywhere are demanding that the Government shall lend them money on their lands at an interest that they can not secure from others. The older States do not quite comprehend this. They have savings banks in every small town to lend money on all good property at fairly reasonable interest.

FARM LOANS AS SECURITY.

In other States it must be admitted that farm loans are hard to obtain at reasonable rates. There is reason for this. Farm values fluctuate. Worn-out lands, with dilapidated houses, barns, and fences, are worth less than nothing. Wheat has trebled in price in my recollection, and cotton fallen to a third of what it once brought. Land values go with those of the crops. In 1870 farm lands in some places in my State sold for several times what they are selling for now. New England is full of deserted farms; the rivers south of us are fringed by plantations once the abode of wealth and now of poverty, and even some western values have fallen as the pioneers have moved to Canada. As towns grow up and taxes increase, farms are abandoned if they can not stand a 2 per cent tax on a high valuation. Tax sales and tax titles imperil the mortgage security, which is dangerous unless in the hands of some one near by who can watch the property. The business of the Federal land banks has been tried by mortgage companies, quite a number of which have been instituted in our great cities to lend on farm mortgages, and those companies have often failed. Perhaps a farmer ought not to risk being in debt. Crops, wages, and prices are all uncertain, and debt means destruction in any bad year.

COOPERATION, AND NOT UNITED STATES AID, IS NEEDED.

The system of rural credits abroad is such as will encourage the farmers of each locality to save and to help their poorer neighbor. The system now proposed is that a paternal Government should help one class of the community, the farmer, out of his difficulties by running him into debt.

There is no doubt that the rates of interest charged on farm mortgages in certain parts of the country are at present excessive. Under the new Federal reserve system national banks are allowed to do a savings-bank business and to lend to a certain extent upon lands. A bank in the neighborhood can lend with reasonable safety where distant capital should be afraid to do so, because the lender could not see the land or know whether it had been kept up, and the present system of tax sales makes it unsafe to be far away.

SUBTREASURY SCHEME.

The country ought to understand what it is asked to do. The United States was lately asked to lend on cotton. Now, it is asked to lend on land, although that form of investment was till lately forbidden to the national banks. Perhaps it needs worse times to teach us the danger of putting money into land, which sometimes has an unearned increment and sometimes an undeserved decay.

SIMILAR LAND SCHEMES IN COLONIAL DAYS.

It is historically interesting to know that Government loans on farm mortgages are not new. Before the Revolution all the Colonies loaned legal-tender "bills of credit" on farm mortgages, and the interest paid the governor's salary. General prosperity followed until the mortgages were due and then lands fell to a tithe of their value. Thirty years before the Revolution New Jersey refused to raise taxes unless these mortgages were renewed and extended. In New England the bills of credit fell to one-seventh of the face value. When rents or interest or mortgages are payable to a Government, a revolution against the hard-hearted creditor is in prospect.

STATE CONTROL.

We need not go into the details of the various loaning schemes proposed in the debate in the House of Representatives. They all ask Uncle Sam to do the financing. We shall hereafter have to argue the matter of "rural credits." Under the old ideas of State and National Government, such credit would be a local matter subject only to State control, but those that hold the new ideas of national functions insist that the United States can and shall finance all the farmers of the country. This is the proposition.

The country should understand the issue and make up its mind before the joint committee reports at our next session.

N. B.—The McCumber amendment will be found on page 4991 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The Hollis bill modified, as reported by the Committee on Agriculture, is printed on pages 5013–5019 of the RECORD. It leaves out section 30 of the Hollis bill, which provides for the Government subscription of $50,000,000 a year, which was reinserted by the Committee of the Whole, as printed, page 5048, and was dubbed the "very life of the whole proposition." (See Mr. BULKLEY's remarks, p. 5048.)

Commerce of New York City.

SPEECH

OF

HON. HERMAN A. METZ,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. METZ. Mr. Speaker, the one discordant note in my otherwise very agreeable service here has been a certain sectional hostility, often expressed and more often indicated, toward the commercial north, and especially toward the city of New York, which I have the honor in part of representing.

It would seem as if the belief existed among certain Members that New York is a selfish, inert part of the body politic, ever receiving and never rendering good. In very truth there never was so empty and senseless a bias. The city of New York is preeminently the central source of strength, power, and life for the whole country. I will not call her great. That worn and abused adjective, so incessantly and indiscriminately applied here to every hamlet, town, county, and State of the Union, is inadequate to describe her distinction.

She is metropolitan, cosmopolitan—civilization's latest and best civic expression—and always, and above all, the symbol of America enlightening the world.

She is the vanguard of the Nation, intrepidly facing the world in the strife for commercial and financial supremacy.

She is the good mother who stretches out her arms in welcome to countless immigrants and fosters and sustains them in her bosom for the common weal.

She is the fountain of finance, enriching every acre and developing every industry of the land.

She is the skilled producer who supplies alike your necessities and your comforts.

Stay her advance, clog her supply, or hamper her hand, and back you may go to your swamps and sage brush, your coonskins, and wild-cat notes, your homespun and linsey-woolsey.

There is naught of this jealousy about New York. Her country—it is her life; a matter of fact requiring no deliberation or reason. Hence, she is ever responsive to the public good.

In time of war, her troops have been the first to march to the front and stay there.

In time of panic, her bankers have been the Atlas that has sustained the world of credit.

In time of economic vagaries, the learning of her professional men and the judgment of her merchants have insisted on the maintenance of high and pure national integrity toward all mankind.

At the very top of her commercial code is set the golden rule.

To the cry of "Give, give, give," which the wind from every quarter keeps echoing through her narrow canyons and around her lofty turrets, she ever makes generous response. Who ever heard of her asking aught in return? Her national buildings

are her poorest public buildings; while her mighty harbor is neglected by the Government for Dry River and Slim Creek.

Let me tell a very few of the very many things New York is doing:

She is the largest manufacturing center in the United States.

Her imports and exports are unequaled, exceeding those of either London, Liverpool, or Hamburg, the leading ports of Europe.

She carries on about one-half of the total foreign commerce of the United States.

Her bank clearings are nearly 60 per cent of the total clearings of the United States.

How, then, does the average business man of New York, while so faithfully and efficiently doing his part in such vast undertakings, feel about the slurs that are said and the clogs that are laid against him?

He is sore; not in body, but in spirit. He cares little for the raps he gets; he can give back as good, and a little weightier and a little swifter, for that matter. But he has a sense of wrong over honest and honorable men made criminal by process of law.

He believes that legislation that does not mete out equal justice to all is unjust legislation. He resents the exemption of labor unions and farmer combinations from the operation of the antitrust law. This seems to him but another instance of that Machiavellian policy of balancing something vicious which is wanted with something harmless which is not needed, so often employed by President Roosevelt. He resents, too, the evident relish with which the districts of the Federal reserve bank were so carved out as to give to New York the least territory possible—as if artificial metes and bounds could curb her financial power.

From the prying trend of legislation he fears that the country is in danger of becoming administration bound, as France was just prior to the Revolution. He knows that he who runs a race can not go far or fast if hobbled, and that the best regulation, even in a school, is the regulation of honor.

He believes that the more commissions there are created the more the business of the country will go out of commission. He fears lest President Wilson, in wiping the interrogation points off his slate, may wipe the slate bare, and that legislative cure-alls may prove legislative kill-alls. While he hopes for constructive legislation, he keeps getting obstructive legislation; and so what is airily termed "psychology" is downright "sickology" for him.

He has far more respect for the enforcement of existing laws than for the enactment of new laws, and far more reverence for decisions than for statutes. The former seem to him the orderly, progressive development and construction of the law adapted to changing conditions. The latter seem to him a heterogeneous, conflicting mass, dead at the bottom and dying at the top. He recognizes the difference between common law and law that is common—the one as effective, the other as inefficient. What he wants is the reign of law, not a rain of laws.

He feels that he should be left free to work out his own salvation instead of being forced to work out his own damnation, and so he detests the word "reform" as much as he does the word "uplift," because it also seems to him the mere cloak of sophistry and hypocrisy.

He recognizes that there is a difference between big business and business that is big—that while the one should perhaps be curbed, the other should most certainly be encouraged. But he feels that the many are being punished for the faults of the few, while even the culpable few are unable to determine just why, when, and how much they may be punished. His one prayer is that theory may give way to practice and words to work.

He favors a strong government—a government that is strong in self-respect, able to help itself, able to protect itself. He believes that the Army and Navy should be a competent fighting force, not a skeleton on which an undisciplined mob is to be imposed, nor a school for the creation of clerks.

He believes that our own business is best tended when it is best minded; that we should avoid entangling alliances; and that, above all, we should not meddle internationally, however altruistic our intentions may be.

In this time of storm and stress he believes in strict and constant neutrality, subject always to as strict and constant an insistence on our rights under the law of nations.

He meets the distrust of Congress with a dislike for Congress. Ninety-nine out of a hundred if asked what would best serve business conditions, would answer: "Let Congress adjourn, and stay adjourned."

He feels that imaginings rather than ideas prevail in our process of legislation; and he regards our interminable debates as a mess of bunk, punk, and junk for the misleading of the Nation. To his ears the voice of the people, as uttered in Congress, is the voice of the small lawyer from a southwestern village—loud, assertive, and ignorant.

Since, notwithstanding, we are all good fellows, in Congress and out—yes, every one of us—what is the remedy for this mutual distrust and dislike? It lies in a deeper consideration and a fuller understanding. It lies in the intimacy that comes from harmony. It lies in the truth that we are all members of one body. It lies in the closeness and perpetuity of our Union—one for all and all for one; North, South, East, West, brothers in blood and brothers in arms—yes, one for all and all for one.

The following statistics may serve in a degree to show New York's position in manufacture, commerce, and finance:

NEW YORK'S INDUSTRIAL POSITION.

New York City is the largest manufacturing center in the United States, producing 10 per cent of the total value of the manufactured products of the entire country.

The Federal census gives the following figures for New York City for 1909, the latest statement available:

Capital employed in manufacturing	$1,364,353,000
Value of manufactured products	$2,029,693,000
Number of manufacturing establishments	25,938
Persons employed	680,510
Annual wages paid	$323,698,000

The New York State Department of Labor published in 1912 an industrial directory which credits New York City with 34,128 manufacturing establishments, approximately 8,000 more than are given in the Federal census.

The value of the goods manufactured in New York City in 1909 exceeded the value of the combined output of Chicago and Philadelphia. It also exceeded the combined output of Boston, St. Louis, Cleveland, Detroit, Cincinnati, Milwaukee, Buffalo, and Pittsburgh. In fact, the value of the manufactures of New York City surpassed the value of the similar products of every State in the Union with the exception of the States of Pennsylvania and, of course, New York.

During the five years between 1904 and 1909 the number of manufacturing establishments in New York City increased over 5,000 in number, or almost one-fourth. During the same period the value of her manufactured products increased over $500,000,000, or 33 per cent.

The borough of Brooklyn alone manufactured products to the value of $417,223,000 in 1909, which represents over 2 per cent of the value of manufactured products of the entire country and surpasses the value of the manufactured products of every city in the United States except New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia.

The industries which go to make up this large total are widely diversified. In the following lines of manufacturing New York City surpasses every city in the United States in the value of the products manufactured (census, 1909):

Artificial flowers and feathers	$21,098,000
Blacking, cleansing, and polishing preparations	1,998,000
Bread and other bakery products	61,904,000
Boxes, cigar	1,843,000
Boxes, fancy and paper	9,450,000
Buttons	5,235,000
Chemicals	12,945,000
Clothing, men's (including shirts)	218,411,000
Clothing, women's	266,477,000
Coffins, burial cases, and undertakers' goods	2,102,000
Confectionery	20,062,000
Cooperage	3,446,000
Copper, tin, and sheet-iron products	23,303,000
Cordage, twine, jute, and linen goods	7,374,000
Engravers' materials	328,000
Fancy articles	6,987,000
Flags, banners, regalia, society badges, and emblems	1,347,000
Food preparations	8,046,000
Furnishing goods, men's	25,496,000
Furs and fur skins, dressed	41,083,000
Gas and electric fixtures, lamps and reflectors	10,750,000
Gas, illuminating, and heating	34,117,000
Gold and silver leaf and foil	833,000
Hair work	7,817,000
Ink, printing	3,965,000
Jewelry, including cases	20,589,000
Leather goods	17,775,000
Marble and stone works	12,205,000
Millinery and lace goods	51,239,000
Musical instruments, pianos, organs, and materials	25,516,000
Paint and varnish	26,664,000
Paper goods	8,833,000
Patent medicines, compounds, druggists' preparations	24,984,000
Pens, fountain, stylographic, and gold	3,219,000
Photo-engraving	2,517,000
Pipes, tobacco	3,137,000
Printing and publishing	183,509,000
Smelting and refining, not from ore	8,417,000
Tobacco manufactures	62,488,000
Toys, novelties	1,634,000
Umbrellas and canes	6,374,000
Stereotyping and electrotyping	1,961,000
Window shades and fixtures	4,125,000

In several of the above industries New York City not only leads every other city in the Union but produces a large part of the total product of the industry.

New York City produces over one-half of all the clothing worn by the men and women in the United States.

Almost 70 per cent of the women's clothing manufactured in the United States is manufactured in New York City.

New York City produces one-quarter of all the printed goods manufactured in the United States, and this is true in spite of the fact that every corner in the Union has a printing shop.

One-third of all the pianos and piano players manufactured in the United States are produced in New York City.

New York City produces 95 per cent of all the artificial feathers and flowers manufactured in the United States.

New York City produces 70 per cent of the fountain pens used in the entire country.

This city also produces over one-third of the men's furnishing goods, almost one-quarter of the gas and electric fixtures, almost one-quarter of the jewelry, almost 60 per cent of the millinery, and over 20 per cent of the paint and varnish manufactured in the United States.

NEW YORK CITY'S COMMERCIAL POSITION.

The port of New York is the greatest port in the world.

The port of New York has 445 miles of direct water front. Boston, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New Orleans have less than 100 miles.

The port of New York has 343 miles of wharfage available for shipping, whereas the combined wharfage of Liverpool (36 miles), London (28 miles), Antwerp (12 miles), Hamburg (21 miles), Philadelphia (18 miles), and San Francisco (11 miles) is only 126 miles.

The trade routes of the world will change with the opening of the Panama Canal. New York will then be nearer to the Far East than European ports. This is shown as follows:

Distance after completion of the Panama Canal from great ports of the world to—

Ports.	New York.	Liverpool.	Hamburg.
Panama	2,017	4,591	5,110
Valparaiso	4,633	7,207	7,726
San Francisco	5,262	7,836	8,355
Shanghai	10,649	10,637	11,156
Yokohama	9,798	11,678	12,197
Sydney	9,811	12,235	12,754
Wellington	8,851	[1] 12,989	[1] 13,503

[1] Via Suez Canal. Wellington to Liverpool via Panama is 11,425 miles; Wellington to Hamburg via Panama is 11,944 miles.

The total value of the imports and exports in New York City is on a par with the corresponding figures for London, Liverpool, and Hamburg, which are the leading shipping ports of Europe. This is shown as follows:

Ports.	Year.	Total value of imports and exports.	Net tonnage of vessels.	
			Entered.	Cleared.
New York	1913	$1,966,326,617	14,464,161	14,370,619
Hamburg	1912	1,960,779,855	13,567,913	13,837,076
London	1912	1,866,930,782	10,800,716	8,748,008
Liverpool	1912	1,816,983,279	7,253,016	7,446,873

The total foreign commerce of the port of New York during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1913, amounted to $2,140,241,845, against $1,915,644,233 in 1912, an increase of $224,597,612. This was the first year of the foreign commerce of New York exceeding $2,000,000,000. New York's commerce in 1913 was greater than that of the United States in 1897.

The total foreign commerce of the rest of the country (outside of New York) in 1913 was $2,398,490,012, against $2,160,148,842 in 1912, an increase of $238,341,170. The total foreign commerce of the United States including New York in 1913 was $4,538,731,857, an increase of $462,938,782.

The comparative exhibit is as follows:

Ports	Gain in commerce.	Per cent of increase over 1912.
New York	$224,597,612	10.49
All other ports	238,341,170	9.93
Total United States	462,938,782	10.20

New York's share of the total foreign commerce of the United States was, in 1913, 47.15 per cent, as compared with 46.99 per cent in 1912, 46.12 per cent in 1911, and an average of 47.85 per cent in the 10 years from 1900 to 1910.

The above figures included foreign and domestic exports and imports of merchandise and gold and silver.

In 1913 importations to the value of $1,048,290,620, or 57.82 per cent of all the importations of the United States, entered the port of New York.

In 1913 exports to the value of $917,935,988, or 37.22 per cent of the total for the United States, were shipped from New York. Over 50 per cent of all the manufactured exports of the United States are shipped from New York.

The value of the exports from New York City in 1913 was more than three times the combined value of the exports from Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston.

The exports of flour in 1913 from the chief shipping ports of America were as follows:

	Barrels.
New York	4,549,838
Boston	238,229
Philadelphia	1,172,241
Baltimore	878,545
Newport News	133,774
Norfolk	23,487
New Orleans	1,071,410
Galveston	392,536
Portland (Me.)	8,138
Montreal	1,760,653

The list indicates that New York City shipped between two and three times as much flour as its nearest competitor, Montreal. All of these ports show increases over last year in such shipments, New York and Montreal making the most noticeable gains. New York's gain was larger than Montreal, however, both in the actual amount, 847,000 barrels, and in its percentage, 23 per cent.

Exports of wheat from New York and Montreal.

Years.	New York (bushels).	Montreal (bushels).
1909	17,589,885	25,004,491
1910	9,278,270	20,089,558
1911	20,571,965	17,718,723
1912	38,240,639	30,652,475
1913	49,019,674	33,706,089

New York's jump into prominence as a shipping center for wheat dates from 1911. In 1913 New York shipped over 50 per cent more wheat than Montreal.

New York's facilities for handling these cargoes is shown by the fact that in 1913 the port of New York had a scheduled steamship sailing every 2 hours and 41 minutes, as compared with a scheduled steamship sailing every 18 hours from Boston, every 31 hours from Baltimore, and every 36 hours from Philadelphia.

The terminals of 77 foreign steamship lines are located in New York Harbor.

NEW YORK CITY'S FINANCIAL POSITION.

The volume of the bank clearings of the entire United States last year was $173,765,288,300, which is an increase of $5,564,362,000, or 3.2 per cent over the prior year. The clearings of the principal cities of the United States are shown as follows:

Annual bank clearings of the principal cities of the United States, September 30, 1913.

Cities.	Total bank clearings (millions of dollars).	Per capita clearings (based on population of 1910).
New York	$98,121.5	$20,584
Chicago	16,018.2	7,330
Boston	8,326.2	12,416
Philadelphia	8,543.5	5,515
St. Louis	4,122.1	6,000
Pittsburgh	2,951.9	5,529
San Francisco	2,666.6	6,396
Total, 162 cities	173,765.3	.....

Bank clearings of the New York Association were $98,121,520,000, or nearly 56½ per cent of the total clearings for the United States. The increase in clearings in New York City over the preceding year was $1,449,000,000, or 1.5 per cent.

Chicago, the second city in size, has bank clearings of $16,018,200,000, which is but 9.2 per cent of the total clearings of the United States.

Considering New York City alone, its bank clearings are six and one-tenth times those of Chicago, approximately twelve

times those of Boston, and twenty-three times those of St. Louis.

Reduced to a per capita basis, the clearings of the New York association show the same margin over the other cities. Almost three times as much money passed through the clearing house of New York for every resident of the city as passed through the Chicago Clearing House for each resident of that city.

The banking resources of the city of New York amount to over 17 per cent of the total resources of the United States.

The following statement includes national, State, and savings banks, private bankers, and trust companies, June 24, 1913:

Cities.	Number of banks.	Total resources.	Average resources per bank.
New York	144	$4,460,360,980	$30,905,284
Chicago	88	1,182,172,332	13,433,776
St. Louis	44	405,683,463	9,220,078
Boston	60	905,939,522	15,098,992
Philadelphia	100	966,518,263	9,665,182
Pittsburgh	83	616,744,641	7,430,658
San Francisco	45	495,604,585	11,013,437
Total seven cities	564	9,033,023,786	16,016,001
Rest of the United States	25,429	16,679,139,813	655,910
Total United States	25,993	25,712,163,599	988,349

The table indicates that the total resources of New York City are three and seven-tenths times greater than those of Chicago and almost five times greater than those of Philadelphia and Boston.

Personal Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MOSES P. KINKAID,

OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. KINKAID. Mr. Speaker, it is disappointing to me, and I apprehend it will be a great disappointment to farmers generally scattered throughout the United States, that this Sixty-third Congress has failed to do anything in the way of providing a personal rural-credits system. The present administration is long on promise and short in performance on this important subject. I agree with some others that a very great improvement may be made in the method of investigating these important new subjects of legislation. By thorough and intelligent investigation the right kind of a foundation for a commencement can be laid for a personal rural-credits system, and I am strongly in favor that this method be preferred to having a bill handed to the Congress and that bill railroaded through a caucus by the majority party in one night and then in due course brought up for consideration on the floor of the House and passed under a rule restricting amendment and curbing or prohibiting debate. Farmers themselves should play the larger part in investigating this subject of such great direct importance to them and the great industry they represent.

Mr. Speaker, why a personal rural-credits system is needed is that too often the ordinary local lending institutions which now exist find themselves unable to respond to the applications of farmer borrowers when their necessities for relief are the very greatest. When crops fail, money is found to be scarce and the security which the farmer may be able to offer not satisfactory. The interests of agriculture, and, consequently, the interests of the public in general, would be preserved and promoted by a system which would afford relief by loans to farmers when their necessities are greatest, usually caused by a general failure of crops. It is not singular that merely local banks often find themselves unable to cope with the situation, unable to command enough funds for the extraordinary demand, even though the security offered would be satisfactory. It is only a strong national combination system that can be capable of certainly meeting such exigencies, and that is what should be provided to tide farmers over, not merely for one year, but perhaps for two or three years, until good crops shall have restored their losses and credit.

But I wish to call attention to a letter received from Mr. R. C. Milliken on this subject, which I ask to be incorporated with my remarks. He has given a great deal of time and study to this question of personal rural credits, is exceptionally well informed on the subject, and what he says is entitled to the consideration of all concerned. I believe his efforts to secure a fair and open investigation of the subject should have the sympathy and cooperation of the Congress and the press, especially the rural press, of the country. Mr. Milliken's letter reads:

WHY NEW RURAL-CREDIT COMMISSION SHOULD HOLD THEIR HEARINGS ON PERSONAL CREDIT IN MANNER PROVIDED BY THE SHEPPARD AND CANDLER-DOOLITTLE-HELGESEN RESOLUTIONS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 4, 1915.*

Hon. M. P. KINKAID,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: Pardon me while I call your attention to the necessity for the newly created Rural Credit Investigating Commission holding its hearings on personal credit in the manner provided by the Sheppard and Candler-Doolittle-Helgesen resolutions. In the first place, we must not fail to consider the distinctive American financial institutions and pecular characteristics of our investing public when we inaugurate a personal rural-credit system. I might name three classes of financial institutions which are peculiar to this country—the trust company, savings bank, and life insurance company. The trust company is wholly unknown to any other country; our life insurance companies do more business than all the companies of Europe, Asia, Africa, and South America combined. The mutual savings bank has had its greatest growth here.

Statement of savings bank deposits and population.

	Savings bank deposits.	Population.
France:		
Private	$754,409,859	38,691,945
Postal	328,890,226	
Total	1,083,300,085	38,691,945
Massachusetts	861,416,889	3,366,416
Indiana	13,056,514	2,700,876
Kansas	4,689,387	1,690,949
Nebraska	3,197,031	1,192,214
Oklahoma	334,547	1,657,155
Total	21,277,479	7,240,194

Because Massachusetts, with less than half the population of those four Western States, has forty times more savings bank deposits than they, does not mean that she has forty times their wealth and prosperity. It means that the character of the investments of the two sections are different, and that the wage earners of Massachusetts have forty times as many demand payable mortgages on the prosperity of that State as do the people of those four Western States. An excessive amount of bank deposits is unhealthy for any community, because credit may be more injuriously inflated through deposits than by the issuance of currency. France not only limits the amount of deposits one may put in a year in any one or number of savings banks, but she will not permit the bank receiving them to invest one penny of the same. Her statesmanship encourages the use of savings banks until the depositor has accumulated a corporate unit, and then it encourages the masses to become permanent investors. Hence it is she has the greatest race of investors in the world.

The French personal rural-credit system (the Credit Agricole) does not do a deposit business, but accepts bills of exchange drawn on it by its members, and those bills are placed on the money markets of France through the Credit Agricole. They are accepted at the Bank of France as the basis for the issuance of currency. If that farm paper is safe for a bank whose obligations are all payable on demand, it certainly would be safe for a savings bank. But the wage earners of France buy the farm paper of the Credit Agricole. Congress has no power to prescribe the class of investments our citizens or the corporations chartered by the States shall make, but a rural-credit investigating commission could so conduct its hearings as would inspire public confidence in the securities to be created by our personal rural-credit system, and, after all, public sentiment, is the best of laws. If that commission should properly conduct its hearings, then it would enable our rural-credit system to sell its sound farm paper to the wage earners of our industrial centers. Those people now are realizing only from 2½ to 3 per cent on the billions they have deposited in their savings banks. Show them that that farm paper is more liquid than the investments held by those institutions and that they can realize nearly 50 per cent more interest on them, and I tell you our farm paper would find ready purchasers in those markets.

If the commission conducts its investigation in the usual manner, it will be worth nothing to the American farmer, but if it adopts the method provided by the Sheppard and Candler-Doolittle-Helgesen resolutions they can accomplish much in establishing public confidence among investors in that farm paper. Suppose that the best expert in the country should go before that commission and testify to what I have written, and even if the members of the commission agreed with him, and so report to Congress, that would have little effect in establishing public confidence in those securities, unless that expert and the members of the commission enjoyed national reputations as experts on that matter. But it is impossible to find an expert who bears such a reputation among our small investors. But suppose they should conduct their hearings in the manner provided by those four resolutions, then a group of farmers could present a bill to the commission and appear by an expert to prove it up, and it would be the duty of the commission to notify at least one leading representative of every interest affected by that bill of his right to appear before the commission and oppose the farmers' expert. The representatives of those savings banks, who represent more than five billions of investments, would

select an expert to properly represent their interests. Now, if the commission should find, after such an investigation, that that paper was a good investment for those institutions, it would be a powerful factor in establishing public confidence for that paper.

There is no cheap money in the West and South, but the wage earners of our industrial centers have billions seeking investment. They have not the same opportunities for safe investments as have our farmers. Therefore we must inaugurate a system which will place the farmers' paper on the markets of our great industrial centers. The only way the commission can aid in that matter is to conduct an investigation which will inspire public confidence in that paper, and that can not be done by an ex parte investigation. The investigation of this subject is a judicial matter, as has been so ably presented by Judge E. W. SAUNDERS, of Virginia, in his great speech delivered on this subject. Therefore all the parties at interest should be brought into court and heard, and then the report of the commission will be of benefit to the farmers.

Let me call your attention to the movement which Mr. H. S. Gilleylen, of Aberdeen, Miss., is going to inaugurate to get the rural press to take this up and urge the commission to conduct its hearings in the manner provided by the Sheppard and Candler-Doolittle-Helgesen resolutions. Mr. Gilleylen desires the press association of each State to select one successful and wide-awake farmer in each rural congressional district to cooperate with him and the press. He desires such an association of farmers to aid, first, in securing a proper investigation from the new commission; second, in selecting a monetary expert to represent them before the commission; third, to meet him in Washington, D. C., one week after Congress convenes next December, and take time in going over the bill presented to the commission by their expert and meeting Members of Congress and letting them know their views on the bill.

If the rural press would take this up and keep at it from now until the commission decides to grant this request, they would accomplish the greatest good for the farmer that was ever accomplished by the press in the same length of time. Let every paper which takes this up send to the Rural Credit Press Association, Washington, D. C., a marked copy of each paper containing editorial mention of this method of investigation, so that they may be presented to the commission. There should be no let-up by the press until this simple request is granted by the commission. Mr. Gilleylen is a most successful farmer and a man of the highest standing for honor and integrity. So let's all rally to his call.

Yours, sincerely, R. C. MILLIKEN.

Workingmen's Compensation Acts.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE R. SMITH,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. SMITH of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, in June, 1910, Congress passed a resolution authorizing the creation of a commission to make a thorough investigation of the subject of employers' liability and workingmen's compensation and to submit a report of their proceedings and findings through the President to Congress. After nearly two years devoted to investigation and consideration the commission created by said resolution made to Congress on February 20, 1912, an exhaustive report covering every phase of the subject. It also submitted with its report a carefully drawn bill which worked out in detail a system of payments for accidental injury of employees of common carriers engaged in interstate business on the theory "that the injuries to workingmen under existing conditions should be regarded as risks of the industry," and therefore chargeable to the industry as a part of the operating expenses, and recommending that the common-law system of liability based upon negligence, with its defenses of contributory negligence, assumption of risk, and negligences of fellow servant, that has been the law on the subject in this country since 1841, be abrogated and replaced by a compensation law based on the fact of injury and not on negligences, as at common law.

I have tried, without success, to find out why no apparent effort has been made by this Congress to pass a workingmen's compensation bill. Under the present Federal liability law, as well as the liability laws of nearly all the States, no liability attaches to a railroad for any injury to or for the death of an employee unless it can be proven that the company was negligent in some degree and that the workman was free from negligence on his part. The number of accidents and deaths paid for by the company under this law is quite limited.

It is admitted on all sides that the present system of liability for negligence is wasteful and unjust—wasteful because more than one-half the money that the company expends for damages to its workmen goes to maintaining expensive claim departments, lawyers' fees, and court costs, and unjust because it imposes upon the workman the greater share of the financial risk of the business without permitting him to share in the profits. A few of the injured employees get large verdicts, while a great number of worthy cases get nothing by reason of the injustice of the system of recovery.

Under the bill drawn by the commission the railroads, regardless of how injury or death occurs, must pay the injured workman, or his dependent family in case of death, thus eliminating the question of negligence and requiring the company to pay in all cases instead of a few, as under the present law—changing the policy of payments for injury or death from an unscientific and highly speculative one to a humane and scientific method. Why the Federal Government should hesitate about adopting a policy that modern conditions have made necessary in order that justice be done to the great body of employees who contribute so large a share to the prosperity of the Nation at the constant risk of their limbs, and in many cases of their life, is beyond my comprehension.

Between 4,000 and 5,000 railroad men lose their lives in the service every year, and from 75,000 to 80,000 more are injured. The railroads of the United States, under the present system, pay about $10,000,000 for injuries to and for death of their workmen. Not more than five millions of this amount reaches the pockets of the injured or the dependents of those who are killed. It is claimed for the commission bill that if it is adopted the railroads of the country will be compelled to pay about $18,000,000 per year, assuming the number and character of the accidents will remain about the same as that of the years 1908, 1909, and 1910. Moreover, practically every dollar of the eighteen millions will go to the injured employees or their dependent families, who under the present system are too often compelled to seek charity from fraternal organizations and kind-hearted neighbors.

There may be a substantial reason why legislation that would secure justice for so many unfortunate souls has not been enacted into law during this session of Congress. If so, the universally recognized justice of the railway-man's cause makes it incumbent upon those of this House charged with the duty of reporting to the House either the commission bill, or, if that is not satisfactory—and, in my judgment, it does not provide, in many cases, adequate compensation—some bill framed upon the same basic principles, to explain why they have not done so.

It is to be regretted that in modern industry the railway employees in particular and the workmen in general have to operate under a system that places "the greater part of the financial burden as well as the physical" on them when that system has long since been recognized as an unjust and unwise economic policy not only by the people of the United States, but by the Governments of the industrial world.

Prior to 1884 Germany had a law dealing with accidents in industries similar to our present law of negligences. It became apparent to the German Government that while this law was efficient under the early simple conditions of industry, it worked an injustice to the employee under highly improved conditions, and therefore should be supplanted by a more equitable and just rule of relationship between the employer and the employee. Hence, in 1884, Germany abrogated her law of negligence and instituted in its stead a law based on the principle of compensation for every accident, irrespective of negligence. In 1897 England discarded the common-law rule of negligence that had been the system of dealing with industrial accidents in that country since 1837 and substituted in its place the principle of compensating accidents in industry regardless of the question of negligence.

About 4,000 American railway employees lost their lives in the accidents of their employment in 1912, and the fatal accident rate was 3.02 per thousand, while the British rate for the five-year period from 1907 to 1912 was 0.65 per thousand and the German rate for the same five years was 1.13 per thousand. It has been estimated that there are annually 2,000,000 nonfatal accidents in this country. The number of accidents in Germany and England is about one-third the number in the United States in similar occupations.

It is apparent from the foregoing statements that there is a greater necessity for the enactment of industrial accident laws in this country than in either Germany or England, for in those countries careful study has been given to the cause of accidents and the best methods of prevention, with the result that the accident rates have been reduced by two-thirds.

Furthermore, our country is rapidly changing from an agricultural nation to an industrial nation—at least 60 per cent of the exports are wholly or partially manufactured goods and 20 per cent of the population are engaged in industrial occupations. Hence it is a grave and serious neglect of duty on the part of those upon whom the responsibility rests not to enact legislation that will tend to establish a just and equitable relationship between employer and employee, and thus prevent countless cripples and dependent women and children from becoming objects of charity.

The United States is, and of right ought to be, a progressive Nation, and will continue to be such so long as its laws keep abreast of the times, and no longer. Law, being a rule of conduct, must adapt itself to new conditions and new necessities of the people that it expects to guide, and unless it does it is apt to work serious injustice to a certain class of citizens, which I contend is the case with the present industrial accident law of this country. Though there has been a wonderful change in the conditions under which an employee works and though the dangers have increased manyfold, there has been little or no change in the law to meet these changed conditions in the last 73 years. During that time we have advanced from the use of hand, horse, and water power to that of steam, gas, and electricity, and with this change to a more dangerous motive power has come wonderful inventions of exceedingly dangerous mechanical devices for use in all lines of industry. From a Nation of small and independent factories, operated by the workmen that own them, we have become, by discovery and invention, a Nation of mammoth industrial plants owned by corporations that are in many cases controlled by the owners of their stock who live across the sea.

About $4,000,000,000 of United States industrial stock and securities are held by Europeans, and it goes without saying that these nonresident owners have no special interest, as did the small factory owner, in the welfare of the great army of American workmen that operate these industrial wonders of the twentieth century, not on the basis of mutual profit, but on the theory of making the plants yield the greatest possible dividend for the owners of its stocks.

Every industrial country in the world, except the United States, recognizes "that the vast majority of industrial accidents of to-day are due to the inherent dangers of the industry itself and should be regarded as risks of the industry and paid for by the industry in the same way as are other losses occasioned by the breaking of machinery and appliances," and have long since abandoned the system of negligence in dealing with industrial accidents and adopted the just and wise method advocated by all thoughtful men, both in this country and abroad, called workmen's compensation.

How long will it be before the Federal Government will recognize its obligation to the industrial workers of this country and pass a workmen's compensation act? The question as to whether or not Congress has power under the Constitution to enact the proposed legislation has been answered in a very able and satisfactory manner by the commission in its report. Their report called attention to the fact that the Supreme Court in the employers' liability case (207 U. S., 463) held that legislation of this character comes within the provisions of the commerce clause of the Constitution and is considered to be a regulation of interstate and foreign commerce. In deciding the case referred to above the court said:

> We fail to perceive any just reason for holding that Congress is without power to regulate the relation of master and servant to the extent that regulations adopted by Congress on that subject are solely confined to interstate commerce and therefore are within the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution to regulate that commerce, or within the authority given to use all means appropriate to the exercise of the powers conferred.

In Watson, administratrix, *v.* St. Louis, Iron Mountain & Southern Railway Co. (169 Fed., 942), District Judge Trieber, in a well-considered opinion, said:

> That provisions for the safety of employees of a railway, if not directly, at least indirectly, add to that of the passengers can not be doubted. The knowledge of the fact that in case of an accident some provision will be made for him in case of disability, or for the family dependent upon him if death results from the injury, relieves the employee's mind to that extent of the anxiety incidental to the fear entertained by every man, and especially if he has a family dependent upon his earnings, as to what will become of them if he became helpless or be killed. This anxiety, ever present to those engaged in such a hazardous occupation as that of railways propelled by the dangerous agency of steam, may materially affect the safety of the passengers intrusted to them in an emergency in which cool judgment is so essential. By making this provision for him legislators might well have reasoned that the safety of passengers is as much promoted as that of the employee.

It is further urged that the proposed legislation is repugnant to the fourteenth amendment of the Constitution, inasmuch as it makes the employer liable to the employee for every industrial accident, even though in the given case the employer may have exercised the highest degree of care, and therefore violates the due-process clause of the Constitution. While the commission in its report takes up this question and reviews the authorities at length, I am satisfied that the speech delivered by ex-Gov. Burke of North Dakota and the present Treasurer of the United States in June, 1911, before the Iowa Bar Association is the best exposition of the law relating to this question that I have examined, not excepting the highly meritorious report of the commission. Therefore, I believe that Mr. Burke's speech will make a valuable addition to the very excellent report of the commission, and I take the liberty, with his permission, of incorporating it into my speech. He said in part:

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY AND WORKINGMEN'S COMPENSATION ACTS.

The marvelous development in the industrial world in the last quarter of a century has made the employers' liability and workingmen's compensation for industrial accidents one of the most important and interesting legal and economic problems now awaiting solution in the United States.

Only a little while ago we had no great industrial institutions. Every little village, town, and hamlet was supplied with small manufactories. The song of the spinning wheel and the loom was heard in every country home. Our homespun clothes were made by our mothers or by the village or country tailor, and our shoes by the village or country shoemaker. In almost every home there was one handy man, who mended the harness and the shoes, set broken limbs, cut hair, and pulled teeth. Even in the larger cities manufactories were small and the employees few in number. The owner of the institution gave it his personal supervision, often working side by side with his employees as a coworker and friend. The machinery was simple and accidents were few. On account of the personal contact between employer and employee, there was a bond of sympathy existing between them that brought forth the employee's best efforts for the success of his employer, and the employer in return naturally exercised the same care for the protection and life of his servant that he did for himself. If there was an accident resulting in an injury to an employee, it was usually one that was unavoidable, and any liability was easily settled through the mutual sympathy and friendship existing between employer and employee. If death resulted from an accident, the sorrow of the relatives of the deceased was shared by the employer and employee alike, for all were friends.

But the development in the industrial world has changed all this; the corporation has taken the place of the individual, and finally the trust the place of the corporation. The concentration of wealth has made some of our cities the greatest manufacturing centers of the world, and it binds ocean to ocean with rails of steel. The little manufactories have been purchased or driven out of business by the large industrial institutions, to which the owners no longer give their personal supervision. They are now managed by foremen and superintendents, whose business it is to make the institution pay dividends. The capital is owned by stockholders in the corporation or a combination of corporations known as a trust; they know little about the management of the great institution in which they are stockholders; they are interested in its economic management and in the dividends which it pays. The institution with employees few in number has been replaced by the institution which employs thousands upon thousands. The simple machinery of the old-fashioned factory has been replaced with new, modern, complex machinery, which cheapens the cost of production and correspondingly increases the hazard to human life. The bond of sympathy between employer and employee is severed. They do not know each other. They have no interest in each other as individuals. The one invests his money in the institution for the dividends it will earn, and the other enters into the employment for his daily wage. The conditions of each have changed so that it must be very apparent that the rule of liability under the former conditions is not adequate nor just under present conditions.

While modern inventions and improvements in machinery have facilitated manufacturing and cheapened the cost of production, human ingenuity has not been able to construct machinery that will run without human agency. Ingenious as it is, it must be set in motion and operated by man. If this development is credited with the decrease in the cost of production, should it not be charged with the increased waste of human life and limb? It is responsible for both. This is an age of conservation, and should not every industrial institution conserve its own waste, not only in material and machinery, but in the agency that operates the machinery; and should not this waste in human life and limb be charged up to the cost of production and the industry made to bear the burden, the same as it must bear the burden of replacing machinery and other wastes connected with the institution? If this can be accomplished, it ought to result in the invention of safety appliances for the protection of life and limb and the decrease in waste along this line in the same way that there has been a decrease in waste in other lines.

Every practitioner knows that the laws governing the right of recovery for industrial accidents under the old conditions are grossly inadequate under present conditions, for, while the employee may recover on proof of negligence on the part of the employer, it is often very difficult, if not impossible, to prove negligence; and there are any number of accidents for which no recovery can be had because unavoidable or incidental to the operation of the industry. In many cases the employers are insured against liability in casualty companies, and in case of an accident resulting in litigation the right to recover is strenuously resisted by trained men in the employ of the casualty companies to avoid payment of the insurance. If not insured against liability for accident, the employer has his own claim agents, who, immediately upon the happening of an accident, proceed to procure a signed statement from the injured, if living, and if dead, from the relatives, which is usually colored in favor of the employer and signed at a time when the injured is suffering from pain or the relative overwhelmed with grief. The employer is practically compelled to have his claim agents or insure in a casualty company against industrial accidents to protect himself from false and fictitious claims presented or instituted by claim attorneys, sometimes called "ambulance chasers," who often in the race to the injured workingman beat the claim agent or the representative of the casualty company, and sometimes recover upon a manufactured case. One is just as reprehensible as the other; but while the employer is sometimes held liable in damages in large amounts when there is no real liability, it much more frequently happens that there is no recovery when there should be, and that in only a small percentage of the cases is the compensation adequate. The law governing the right to recover has not kept pace with our industrial development.

Take, for instance, the fellow-servant law which was established in England in 1837 in the case of Priestley *v.* Fowler (3 Meeson & Welsby, 1). In this case the defendant Fowler, who was a butcher, directed his helper, Priestley, to take certain goods belonging to the defendant in a certain van also belonging to the defendant, used by him and conducted by another of his servants in carrying goods for hire. The van was loaded by the other servant and Priestley, the plaintiff, and upon the journey the van broke down and the plaintiff was thrown with such violence

to the ground that his thigh was fractured. The evidence at the trial showed that the defendant had knowledge of the load that was placed upon the van; it further showed that the van was overloaded. In delivering the opinion of the court Lord Abinger said:

"In most of the cases in which danger may be incurred, if not in all, he (the servant) is just as likely to be acquainted with the probability and extent of it as the master. In that sort of employment, especially, which is described in the declaration in this case, the plaintiff must have known as well as his master, and probably better, whether the van was sufficient, whether it was overloaded, and whether it was likely to carry him safely. In fact, to allow this sort of actions to prevail would be an encouragement to the servant to omit that diligence and caution which he is in duty bound to exercise on the behalf of his master, to protect him against the misconduct or negligence of others who serve him, and which diligence and caution, while they protect the master, are a much better security against any injury the servant may sustain by the negligence of others engaged under the same master, than any recourse against his master for damages could possibly afford."

How vastly different are the conditions surrounding the butcher's helper and the van driver in this case, and the employees in a great manufactory of the present day. The butcher's helper and the van driver knew each other; they worked together in the loading of the van, and as the court well says: "The plaintiff must have known as well as his master, and probably better, whether the van was sufficient, whether it was overloaded, and whether it was likely to carry him safely." To hold the master liable under such circumstances would be unreasonable and unjust; but it is just as unreasonable and unjust that this rule should govern industrial accidents under the conditions which exist to-day.

This principle was first followed in this country in the case of Murray *v.* South Carolina Railroad Co. (1 McMullan, 385), but the court was very careful to say that the decision was confined strictly to the case before the court; that it did not intend to prejudge other questions that might arise between the company and its servants, and that a case might occur where the owner, whether individual or company, would be liable for the acts of one agent to another. This case seems to have been decided upon the theory that the plaintiff, who was a fireman, was well acquainted with the engineer through whose alleged negligence he was injured; that he had selected him as an engineer to work under; that he had been working under him for some time; and that the engineer was thoroughly competent.

This case, together with the case of Priestley against Fowler, is next approved in the case of Farwell *v.* The Boston & Worcester Railway Co. (4 Metcalf, 49). In this case the plaintiff was an engineer in charge of an engine which ran off the track at a switch left open by another servant of the defendant, who had been long in their employment as a switchman and tender and had the care of the switches and was careful and trustworthy of character, and as such servant was well known to the plaintiff. It further appears that the engineer, the plaintiff, and the switchman were appointed by the superintendent of the road, who was in the habit of passing over the same frequently and often rode on the engine. It further appears that for his services the engineer received $2 per day, which was more than the pay of a machinist. Aside from the precedents of Priestley against Fowler and Murray against South Carolina Railway Co., two things are considered that seem to have a controlling influence over this case, which are wholly inapplicable to present conditions, and one is unsound in principle. First is the question of the wages that the plaintiff received. I quote from the opinion on page 57:

"The general rule, resulting from considerations as well of justice as of policy, is, that he who engages in the employment of another for the performance of specified duties and services, for compensation, takes upon himself the natural and ordinary risks and perils incident to the performance of such service, and in legal presumption the compensation is adjusted accordingly."

And again, on page 59, the court says:

"In applying these principles to the present case it appears that the plaintiff was employed by the defendant as an engineer at the rate of wages usually paid in that employment, being a higher rate than the plaintiff had before received as a machinist."

This is the doctrine of assumed risk, founded upon the theory that the risk is assumed for the extra pay received by the plaintiff as an engineer. In other words, the fact that the engineer was receiving more pay as an engineer than he had previously received as a machinist must have been considered by the court as payment for any injury that he might receive by the increased hazard. The increased pay was his insurance against accident. If not, why was the defendant permitted to show that the plaintiff received more pay as an engineer than as a machinist; and why is this fact twice referred to in the opinion and the principle laid down that the servant takes upon himself the natural and ordinary risks and perils incident to the performance of such service, with the legal presumption that the compensation is adjusted accordingly? Compensation adjusted how? According to the risks and perils incident to the performance of the service; hence, it was competent to show that the engineer was receiving more pay than a machinist, and this extra pay was his compensation for the increased hazard and liability to injury as an engineer. Surely if this principle was ever entitled to any consideration, certainly it is no remedy or adequate relief from industrial accidents. It does not benefit the injured, but rather the uninjured. If extra compensation is paid on account of increased hazard, it is of benefit to those who are not injured; but if the employee is injured, his compensation stops and there is no relief from that source whatever. Dangerous employments do not always pay the highest wage. This is regulated by the law of supply and demand, and unskilled labor, however dangerous, is poorly paid because of the great supply, while skilled labor, because of the great demand, commands a higher wage.

Second, the question of knowledge on the part of the employee. Quoting again from the opinion on page 59: "The rule is founded upon the expediency of throwing the risk upon those who can best guard against it." This rule was no doubt applicable to the conditions existing at the time the decision was written. The switch that was left open was probably the only switch in the yard; the switchman who left it open was, no doubt, the only switchman at that point. The conditions were probably such that the engineer could better guard against the risk than the railway company. But the modern railroad yard in the city is a perfect network of sidetracks and switches in the care of many switchmen, and the same rule of throwing the risk upon those who can best guard against it, as applied literally, would shift the burden of responsibility. The court in this case was also careful to disclaim any intention of establishing a precedent, but for years this was the leading case in this country on the fellow-servant rule, although it is difficult to tell which rule had the most influence on the court.

Because of the changing industrial conditions the fellow-servant rule has been much modified. Out of its harshness grew the doctrine of vice principal. Many of the States have abolished the rule by legislative enactment. It was abolished as to railroads in North Dakota in 1903; it was modified by the Legislature in Arizona in 1901; abolished in Arkansas in 1907; abolished in Georgia in 1909; modified in Idaho in 1909; abolished in Iowa as to railroads, and in 1909 the legislature of that State abolished the doctrine of assumed risk and modified the law of contributory negligence, as follows:

"The fact that the employee may have been found guilty of contributory negligence shall not bar a recovery, but the damages shall be diminished by the jury in proportion to the amount of negligence attributable to such employee. No employee who may have been killed or injured can be held to have been guilty of contributory negligence in any case where the common carrier or corporation contributed to the injury or death of such employee. It shall not be any defense to such action that such employee assumed the risks of his employment."

In 1909 Michigan abolished the fellow-servant rule as applied to railroads; by section 2042, laws of 1905, Minnesota has modified the fellow-servant rule making railroads liable for all damages sustained within the State by any agent or servant thereof, without contributory negligence on his part, by reason of the negligence of any other servant. The rule was abolished in Mississippi in 1908; modified in Missouri by section 2873, Revised Statutes of 1899; abolished in Ohio in 1908; abrogated by the constitution of Oklahoma; while Texas in 1909 abolished the fellow-servant rule and modified the law on contributory negligence by providing that in all actions brought against any common carrier to recover damages for personal injuries to an employee, or where such injuries have resulted in death, the fact that the employee may have been guilty of contributory negligence is not a bar to recovery, but damages shall be diminished by the jury in proportion to the amount of negligence attributable to such employee.

Every argument that can be used against the fellow-servant law is applicable to the doctrine of assumed risk under present conditions. The employee in a large industrial institution can not possibly know the risks that he assumes. He may thoroughly understand his own duties and the risk immediately incident to such duties, which may be only a small part of the risk assumed in an institution where there are thousands employed. Only a week ago I visited a manufactory in Beverly, Mass., which has a floor space of 21 acres. In this institution 150,000 pounds of steel are used per week; 1,800 tons of steel are carried in the stock-supply room for use in manufacturing; over 19,000,000 parts of machines are sent out from the stock room annually and over 24,000 complete machines. To do up and ship the 19,000,000 parts of machines takes an army of men, and yet every piece is manufactured in this institution from the molding to the finished product; and in addition to the 19,000,000 parts, 24,000 complete machines for the manufacture of shoes are shipped annually from this one institution.

If an injury results from negligence that is willful or intentional, there is no reason in justice why the rule should not be enforced; but there are so many cases where "through momentary distraction or inadvertent miscalculation, probably induced by mental or physical fatigue, resulting in accidental injury to the workingman without any intention or moral fault of his own." Such cases are now everywhere recognized as inevitable, a necessary hazard to the work, as certain to happen as machinery is to break. Nearly all accidents are the result of such conditions, whether it be through the negligence of the fellow servant or the contributory negligence of the injured party. The fellow servant has no object in injuring his fellow workingman, and the workingman certainly would not injure himself intentionally, for self-preservation is the first law of nature. Both are unavoidable accidents, occurring with surprising regularity.

Every industry must of necessity employ the most modern appliances and use all the mechanical powers usually employed in such industry. Competition demands this; success depends upon it, and as a result the risk of the workingman daily increases with modern methods of production—risks that increase with our growth and development, and conditions which lead to the conclusion that with every reasonable precaution we will still have injuries from unavoidable accidents. The employer is benefited by modern machinery with increased production, greater profits, and greater opportunities to enrich himself; the public is benefited for the reason that modern machinery has cheapened the cost of production and given to it cheaper commodities; and while the workingman's pay may have increased it has not increased in accordance with the increased risk. This has led to the theory of compensation to the workingman, paid by the employer in the first instance and distributed upon the public generally that consumes the commodity. This principle has been recognized in all European countries, all of which either have some form of compulsory insurance or a direct law fixing the responsibility directly upon the employer.

New York, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Washington, and other States have appointed commissions (and all have reported against the present system and in favor of laws of compensation), usually elective, for compulsory insurance or fixing responsibility directly upon the employer. It is true that in some of our industrial institutions there is a scheme of mutual insurance which works out as satisfactorily as the compulsory insurance in Europe. This, however, is to a very limited extent. Many casualty companies have been organized for the purpose of insuring the employer against liability for accidents to workingmen and against suits instituted for injuries occasioned by industrial accidents. Such insurance, however, is of no benefit to the workingman; the companies are not organized for the benefit of the workingman; they are organized for the purpose of making money for the company. They undertake to insure the employer not only against industrial accidents but against suits, and in case of an accident to settle with the injured person, and if settlement is not effected the defense of the action, and it is to the interests of the company to make the best possible settlement, and, failing in the settlement, beat the case if possible. In an address delivered last month in Chicago to the National Lumber Manufacturing Association, James A. Emery, of Washington, D. C., counsel for the National Association of Manufacturers, stated in substance that, according to the last report of the insurance commissioner of Connecticut, there were 49 insurance companies doing business in the State of Connecticut, and that throughout the United States they received $26,500,000 in annual premiums for employers' liability insurance, and that they paid out in claims about $9,000,000 during the last year. In other words, of the $26,500,000 that the employers paid for insurance against accident to their employees $9,000,000 of it went to the injured employees, while $17,500,000 flowed into the coffers of the insurance companies. Employers' liability insurance is surely not for the benefit of either employer or employee. How much better would it have been if the entire $26,500,000 had been paid to the employees as compensation for injuries or as increased wages if the injuries were

few, and how much closer it would have brought employer and employee together in the friendly relation that should exist between them.

The theory of such insurance is wrong in principle, for the theory upon which the employer is liable is that he has committed a wrong, he has been guilty of negligence and is liable in damages for his wrongful act, and his insurance against the consequences of his wrongful act is wrong in theory and it is wrong in practice, as it is neither for the benefit of the employer or the employee. It is not permitted in many of the countries of Europe, and while it is permitted in some since the enactment of laws providing for compulsory insurance for the compensation of workingmen the private insurance companies have practically gone out of business. While we in the United States are behind all the European countries, we are fortunate in having their laws and their experience to guide us in the final solution of this problem. New York was the first State to appoint a commission to investigate and report to the legislature, and as a result of the investigation and report New York enacted a law practically the same as the English law, making the employer directly liable in damages for a fixed amount. It preserved to the employee his common-law remedy, giving him the choice between it and the new act, and the employer had to submit to the election without a right to trial by jury on the amount to be recovered. This law was held unconstitutional in the case of Ives *v.* South Buffalo Railroad Co., reported in Ninety-fourth Northeastern Reporter, 431, and while you are all no doubt familiar with this decision a discussion of the same for the effect it will have upon other enactments upon the same subject may be profitable. In the opinion in this case there is one thing that stands out prominently and above all others, and that is that the law is unconstitutional, because it makes the employer liable when he is not at fault, when he has omitted no legal duty and has committed no wrong. Every other principle laid down in the decision could be evaded or provided against but this, which is bound to be more or less of an obstacle in every law that may be enacted upon the subject.

It is this principle that controls in the decision on the due-process clause of the Constitution and likewise in the discussion of the police regulation. The court recognizes the necessity for such legislation in the following language, namely:

"In arriving at this conclusion we do not overlook the cogent economic and sociological arguments which are urged in support of the statute. There can be no doubt as to the theory of this law. It is based upon the proposition that the inherent risks of an employment should in justice be placed upon the shoulders of the employer, who can protect himself against loss by insurance and by such an addition to the price of his wares as to cast the burden ultimately upon the consumer; that indemnity to an injured employee should be as much a charge upon the business as the cost of replacing or repairing disabled or defective machinery, appliances, or tools; that, under our present system, the loss falls immediately upon the employee who is almost invariably unable to bear it, and ultimately upon the community which is taxed for the support of the indigent; and that our present system is uncertain, unscientific, and wasteful, and fosters a spirit of antagonism between employer and employee which it is to the interests of the State to remove. We have already admitted the strength of this appeal to a recognized and widely prevalent sentiment; but we think it is an appeal which must be made to the people and not to the courts."

In that part of the decision upon the question of the act being in violation of the due process clause in the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution, and in the constitution of the State of New York, the court said:

"'Process of law' in its broad sense means law in its regular course of administration through courts of justice, and that is but another way of saying that every man's right to life, liberty, and property is to be disposed of in accordance with those ancient and fundamental principles which were in existence when our constitutions were adopted. Due process of law implies the right of the person affected thereby to be present before the tribunal which pronounces judgment upon the question of life, liberty, or property in its most comprehensive sense, to be heard by testimony or otherwise, and to have the right of controverting, by proof, every material fact which bears upon the question of right in the matter involved. If any question of fact or liability be conclusively presumed against him this is not due process of law. * * * When our constitutions were adopted, it was the law of the land that no man who was without fault or negligence could be held liable in damages for injuries sustained by another. That is still the law, except as to the employers enumerated in the new statute, and as to them it provides that they shall be liable to their employees for personal injury by accident to any workmen arising out of and in the course of the employment which is caused in whole or in part, or is contributed to, by a necessary risk or danger of the employment or one inherent in the nature thereof, except that there shall be no liability in any case where the injury is caused in whole or in part by the serious and willful misconduct of the injured workman. It is conceded that this is a liability unknown to the common law, and we think it plainly constitutes a deprivation of liberty and property under the Federal and State Constitutions, unless its imposition can be justified under the police power, which will be discussed under a separate head."

In holding that the act is not within the police power, on page 443, the court falls back upon the same principle that there can be no liability where there is no wrong or omission, in the following language:

"Conceding, as we do, that it is within the range of proper legislative action to give a workman two remedies for a wrong, when he had but one before, we ask: By what stretch of the police power is the legislature authorized to give a remedy for no wrong? If, before the passage of this law, the employer had a right to a jury trial upon the question of liability, where and how did he lose it? Can it be taken from him by the mere assertion that this statute only reverses the common-law doctrine that the employee assumes the risk of his employment?"

The members of the court did not agree on all of the questions discussed in the two opinions in the case. Judge Werner says in his opinion, on page 438, that the doctrines of contributory negligence and the fellow-servant rule may be regulated or even abolished, and that this is true to a limited extent as to the assumption of risk by the employee. The first paragraph of the syllabus reads as follows:

"The legislature has full power to modify or abolish the fellow-servant rule and the law of contributory negligence, as applied to injuries to servants, and also to a limited extent to regulate the application of the doctrine of assumed risk."

While Judge Cullen in his concurring opinion, on page 449, says:

"I concede that the legislature may also abolish as a defense the rule of assumption of risk and that of contributory negligence, unless the accident proceed from the willful act of the employee."

Thus, one opinion holding that the doctrine of assumed risk can be regulated by law only to a limited extent, and the other holding that it can be abolished altogether; while upon the question relating to the scale of compensation and settlement of disputes without a trial by jury, the court disagreed and did not decide.

It is very difficult for me to see any analogy between the case under discussion and the authorities which the court, on page 440, says state clearly the legal principles which it thinks applicable to the case at bar. The first was the case of Parrot *v.* Wells, Fargo & Co. (15 Wall., 524, 21 L. Ed., 206):

"The plaintiff, who was the common landlord of the defendants and other tenants, sought to hold the defendants liable for damages occasioned to the premises occupied by the other tenants by an explosion of nitroglycerin which had been delivered to defendants as common carriers for shipment. It appeared that the defendants were innocently ignorant of the contents of the packages containing the dangerous explosives, and that they were guilty of no negligence in receiving or handling them."

Surely this case is not analogous; it is not brought under any statute claimed to be unconstitutional; the plaintiff is simply seeking to recover damages for an injury, and the court held that there was no liability. There being no statute, of course the plaintiff could only recover upon the ground of negligence, and there being no negligence he could not recover.

The next is a case of the Ohio & Mississippi Ry. Co. *v.* Lackey (78 Ill., 55, 20 Am. Rep., 259). Plaintiff sought to recover under a statute making every railroad company running cars within the State liable for all the expense of the coroner and his inquest and the burial of all persons who might die on the cars or who might be killed by collision or other accident occurring to such cars, or otherwise. This act made the railroad company liable for every death on any of its trains and for the expenses of the coroner and the funeral. The company was liable without regard to whether death was occasioned by accident, self-inflicted, or from disease. If it had been confined to deaths caused by negligence of the company or its employees, or to deaths caused by unavoidable accidents, it would no doubt have been upheld. It was held unconstitutional because it made the company liable for deaths for which it was in no way responsible, that were not caused by or the result of the journey, but from some other agency.

Then follows a number of cases holding laws unconstitutional for making railroad corporations absolutely liable for the killing or injuring upon their right of way horses, cattle, etc., by running over them. Such cases can not be analogous, for horses and cattle killed upon a right of way are trespassers; they are there wrongfully, and to make the company absolutely liable for the killing of trespassing animals when there was no negligence on the part of the company or its servants would be unreasonable and unjust. A number of cases are cited to show that the railroad is liable for the killing of animals when the law requires them to fence their right of way and they have failed to do so.

Even had the courts held otherwise, I can not see the applicability of such cases to the case at bar. Neither can I see any good reason in the argument advanced in favor of the decision on page 440, namely:

"If the argument in support of this statute is sound, we do not see why it can not logically be carried much further. Poverty and misfortune from every cause are detrimental to the State. It would probably conduce to the welfare of all concerned if there could be a more equal distribution of wealth. Many persons have much more property than they can use to advantage and many more find it impossible to get the means for a comfortable existence. If the legislature can say to an employer, 'You must compensate your employee for an injury not caused by you or by your fault,' why can it not go further and say to the man of wealth, 'You have more property than you need, and your neighbor is so poor that he can barely subsist; in the interests of natural justice you must divide with your neighbor, so that he and his dependents shall not become a charge upon the State'?"

This argument does not apply and such an enactment would be unconstitutional for the same reason that the law making the railroad company liable in any event for a death on its trains was unconstitutional. It can not be in justice said to the man of wealth: "You have more property than you need, and your neighbor is so poor that he can barely subsist; in the interests of natural justice you must divide with your neighbor," for the reason that the man of wealth is under no obligation to support his poorer neighbor. You can tax him under a uniform system of taxation for the support of the poor, but he being under no obligation to support the poor generally can not be made to do so directly; but if he had a poor father, or mother, or a son, or a daughter, or any near relative that he is naturally under obligations to, a law compelling him to take care of such relatives and contribute to their support would be upheld.

Is there not almost as great an obligation existing between employer and employee, while the relation exists, and upon this same theory could not the law be sustained? They are coadventurers; the employer furnishes the money, the employee the labor and the skill and takes all the risk. From the combination of the employer's wealth and the employee's skill comes the finished product, the profits on which go exclusively to the employer, the employee receiving only his daily wage. The law of compensation is not asking charity; it demands justice. And justice demands that the employer should assume the risk, to be paid ultimately by the consumer.

Again, on page 440 of the opinion:

"If it is competent to impose upon an employer, who has omitted no legal duty and has committed no wrong, a liability based solely upon a legislative fiat that his business is inherently dangerous, it is equally competent to visit upon him a special tax for the support of hospitals and other charitable institutions, upon the theory that they are devoted largely to the alleviation of ills primarily due to his business. In its final and simple analysis that is taking the property of A and giving it to B, and that can not be done under our constitutions. Practical and simple illustrations of the extent to which this theory of liability might be carried could be multiplied ad infinitum, and many will readily occur to the thoughtful reader."

This may be true, but none of the illustrations offered by the court give any light to me upon the subject. Indeed, the cases offered by the plaintiff in support of the law, and rejected by the court, seem more nearly analogous; for instance, the admiralty cases of *The Osceola* (189 U. S., 159), *The City of Alexandria*, District of Columbia (17 Fed. Rep., 390), and the case of Scarff *v.* Metcalf (107 N. Y., 211). In relation to these cases the court says:

"They seem to us equally inapplicable as authorities for the proposition that the law recognizes liability without fault. It is common knowledge that the contracts and services of seamen are exceptional in character. A seaman engages for the voyage. He is subject to physical discipline and exposed to hardships and dangers peculiar to the sea. He is, in effect, a coadventurer with the master and shares in the risks of shipwreck and capture, often losing his wages by casualties which do not affect workmen on land. For these and many

other obvious reasons the maritime law has wisely and benevolently built up peculiar rights and privileges for the protection of the seaman which are not cognizable in the common law. When he is sick or injured he is entitled to be cared for at the expense of the ship, and, for the failure of the master to perform his duty in this regard, the ship or the owner is liable. That is a right given to the seaman and a duty enjoined upon the master by the plainest dictates of justice, which arise out of the necessities of the case; and because of the reason of the rule the right and duty cease when the contract has terminated and the seaman has been returned to the port of shipment or discharged, or has been furnished with means to do so. But beyond this duty on the part of the master or owner there seems to be no liability whatever for injuries sustained by the seaman in the course of his work."

The contract and service of seamen are exceptional in character. The seaman engages for a voyage, it is true, for when he starts out on the voyage it is natural that he should want to return. He would not want to be turned loose in midocean, and the master would want to make sure of sailors sufficient in number to bring the ship home; hence, he engages for the voyage. He is subject to physical discipline, for there is no other discipline on the ocean; he is out of the reach of courts and physical discipline may be necessary. The service demands all this for the safety of the ship, the cargo, and the lives of the pasengers. But compare in parallel columns what the court says about protection to the seaman and the employee on land, and the remedy for each, as follows:

WORKMAN. (P. 439.)	SEAMAN. (P. 446.)
"There can be no doubt as to the theory of this law. It is based upon the proposition that the inherent risks of an employment should in justice be placed upon the shoulders of the employer, who can protect himself against loss by insurance and by such addition to the price of his wares as to cast the burden ultimately upon the consumer; that indemnity to an injured employee should be as much a charge upon the business as the cost of replacing or repairing disabled or defective machinery, appliances, or tools; that, under our present system, the loss falls immediately upon the employee who is almost invariably unable to bear it, and ultimately upon the community, which is taxed for the support of the indigent; and that our present system is uncertain, unscientific, and wasteful, and fosters a spirit of antagonism between employer and employee, which it is to the interest of the State to remove. We have already admitted the strength of this appeal to a recognized and widely prevalent sentiment."	"It is common knowledge that the contracts and services of seamen are exceptional in character. A seaman engages for the voyage. He is subject to physical discipline and exposed to hardships and dangers peculiar to the sea. He is, in effect, a coadventurer with the master and shares in the risks of shipwreck and capture, often losing his wages by casualties which do not affect the workman on land."
REMEDY.	REMEDY.
"But we think it is an appeal which must be made to the people, and not to the courts."	"For these and many other obvious reasons the maritime law has wisely and benevolently built up peculiar rights and privileges for the protection of the seamen which are not cognizable in the common law. When he is sick or injured he is entitled to be cared for at the expense of the ship, and, for failure of the master to perform his duty in this regard, the ship or the owner is liable. That is a right given to the seaman and a duty enjoined upon the master by the plainest dictates of justice, which arise out of the necessities of the case."

According to the foregoing, the employee on land needs the protection of the law as much as the seaman, and greater reasons are given for legislative action in his behalf. The public is interested in a general way in behalf of the seaman, while the sentiment in favor of legislation protecting the employee is widely prevalent and favored by the State, in whose interest it is to remove the antagonism fostered by the present system between employer and employee. But legislation making the master liable, when without fault, for sickness and care of the seaman "is a wise and benevolent right given to the seaman and a duty enjoined upon the master by the plainest dictates of justice"; while the law making the employer liable when without fault for injury to an employee is "taking his property without due process of law." From whence does the power come to make the master of the ship liable for the care and sickness of seamen and the act of Congress requiring the master of the ship to contribute monthly for each sailor employed for the maintenance of a marine hospital? It does not come from the Constitution, but from Congress and the courts, and can not the same power that requires the master of the ship to care for the sailor in sickness, that requires him to contribute to the support of a marine hospital, also require him to respond in damages for injuries resulting from unavoidable accidents? "Seamen have been designated as wards of admiralty, in need of the protection of the courts because peculiarly exposed to the wiles of sharpers and unable to take care of themselves." (1 Parson's Ship and Admiralty, 32.) "Every court should watch with jealousy any encroachment upon the rights of seamen, because they are unprotected and need counsel, because they are thoughtless and require indulgence, because they are credulous and complying, and are easily overreached," as said by Mr. Justice Story in Harden *v.* Gordon (2 Mason, 541). And as said by Mr. Justice Thompson, in Cadmus *v.* Mathews (2 Paine, 229): "Due weight ought to be given to the character and situation of this class of men."

The Constitution does not make the seaman an exception, and the decisions referred to show how far legislation and the courts may go when the exigencies of the case demand. The seaman is exposed to hardships and dangers peculiar to the sea; the laborer is exposed to the hardships and dangers peculiar to his employment. The seaman is, in effect, a coadventurer with the master and shares in the risks of shipwreck. The employee in the industrial institution likewise is a coadventurer with the master, but he does not share the risks of life and limb with the master; he assumes them all himself. The sailor is liable to physical discipline, a rule that is not necessary for the employee, for he is within the reach of the courts. The sailor can not break his contract; neither can the employee, without great inconvenience and sometimes suffering on the part of his loved ones, who are depending upon his daily wage for their daily bread. The sailor is improvident and with a prodigal hand lavishes his earnings upon a "sweetheart in every port," while the employee is usually industrious, frugal, and a home builder, entitled to at least equal rights with the improvident, prodigal seaman.

There are many cases cited where legislative enactment has absolutely fixed liability without fault upon railroads, for setting fires, for injury or death of passengers, for stock killed on their own unfenced right of ways, and section 634, Freund's Police Power, approves the principle of liability without fault; and upon these authorities the court might well have said, as did Mr. Justice Brown in the case of Holden *v.* Hardy (169 U. S. 366):

"That the law is to a certain extent a progressive science, that in some of the States methods of procedure which at the time the Constitution was adopted were deemed essential to the protection and safety of the people or to the liberty of the citizen have been found to be no longer necessary; that restrictions which had formerly been laid upon the conduct of individuals or of classes of individuals had proved detrimental to their interests, while, upon the other hand, certain other classes of persons, particularly those engaged in dangerous or unhealthful employments, have been found to be in need of additional protection. * * * The law will be forced to adapt itself to new conditions of society, and particularly to the new relations between employer and employee as they arise."

And as said in Hertado *v.* California (110 U. S., 516, 28 L. Ed., 232): "The flexibility and capacity for growth and adaptation is the peculiar boast and excellence of the common law" and adapted to modern conditions in Muller *v.* Oregon (208 U. S., 412, 52 L. Ed., 551).

The use of modern machinery by the employer has increased the danger to employee, and while neither is to blame for unavoidable accidents if the workingman is made to bear the burden he and his family must bear it alone, while, on the other hand, the employer reaps large profits from the use of the dangerous machinery and is in a position to add the burden to the cost of the manufactured article and distribute it among the consumers. It is necessary to protect the sailor, Congress and the courts say, because he can not protect himself. It is likewise necessary to protect the workingman from unavoidable accidents, for he can not protect himself, while the employer can. The burden to the injured workingman and his family is the cause of poverty, and poverty begets crime. The antagonism between employer and employee is the cause of frequent disturbance of the peace and good order of the State, often resulting in crime. Is it not in the interests of the general welfare of the State to promote peace and good order, to prevent poverty, and suppress crime? "The fourteenth amendment was not designed to interfere with the power of the State to protect the lives, liberties, and property of its citizens, and to promote their health, peace, morals, education, and good order." This principle has been clearly held in ex parte Kemler (136 U. S., 436, 34 L. Ed., 519), St. Louis & San Francisco Railway Co. *v.* Mathews (165 U. S., 1, 41 L. Ed., 611), Holden *v.* Hardy (169 U. S., 366, 42 L. Ed., 780), in re Converse (137 U. S., 624, 34 L. Ed., 796), Barbier *v.* Connolly (113 U. S., 27, 28 L. Ed., 923), Muggler *v.* Kansas (123 U. S., 560, 31 L. Ed., 205), Connolly *v.* Union Sewer Pipe Co. (184 U. S., 540, 46 L. Ed., 679), Lochner *v.* New York (198 U. S., 45, 49 L. Ed., 937), Thorpe *v.* R. & B. Railway Co. (27 Vt., 149), Slaughterhouse cases (16 Wall., 36, 21 L. Ed., 305), Passenger cases (7 How., 283, 12 L. Ed., 702), and Lawton *v.* Steele (152 U. S., 136; 36 L. Ed., 388). Conversely, the police power is a limitation upon the freedom of contract secured by the fourteenth amendment. (Holden *v.* Hardy, supra; Harbison *v.* Knoxville Water Co., 53 S. W., 993; 183 U. S., 13; 46 L. Ed., 55; St. Louis, Iron Mountain & Southern Railway Co. *v.* Paul, 173 U. S., 404; Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad Co. *v.* Matthews, 174 U. S., 96; Beer Co. *v.* Massachusetts, 97 U. S., 25). This law would promote the health and peace and morals and education and good order of the citizens of the State by relieving the distress and poverty of the family of the injured workingman at the time when they were most in need, and it would seem to me to come fairly within the police power of the State in the light of the decisions quoted.

The decision in this case is based upon the theory that the Constitution does not permit the legislature to enact legislation making a person liable in damages "when he is not at fault," "when he has omitted no legal duty, and has committed no wrong." Upon this theory all the legislation making railroad companies absolutely liable for fires started by the use of locomotives when the company is without fault would be unconstitutional, and yet such legislation is uniformly held constitutional. In the case of Union Pacific Railway Co. *v.* De Busk (12 Colo., 294) the court in construing legislation which declared that every railway company shall be liable for all damages by fire that is set out or caused by operation of its road, said: "Such statutes are not penal, but purely remedial in their nature, and enacted for the better protection of property exposed to such unusual dangers."

Chief Justice Shaw, of Massachusetts, declared that the "design as well as the legal effect of such a statute was to afford indemnity for those suffering damages from fire caused by the use of a dangerous apparatus." "It is not a penal statute, but purely remedial in its nature; and it is to be interpreted fairly and liberally, so as to secure to parties injured an indemnity from those who reap the advantages and profits arising from the use of a dangerous mode of locomotion, by means of which buildings and other property are destroyed." (Hart *v.* Western R. R. Co., 13 Met., 99, 46 Am. Dec., 719; Lyman *v.* Boston, etc., R. R. Co., 4 Cush., 288; Pratt *v.* Atlantic, etc., R. R. Co., 42 Me., 579; Smith *v.* Boston, etc., R. R. Co., 63 N. H., 25; Ross *v.* Boston, etc., R. R. Co., 6 Allen, 87; Rodemacher *v.* Milwaukee, etc., R. R. Co., 41 Iowa, 297, 20 Am. Rep., 592; St. Louis & San Francisco R. R. Co. *v.* Mathews, 165 U. S., 1; Grissell *v.* Housatonic R. R. Co., 54 Conn., 447; Hartford Ins. Co. *v.* C., M. & St. P. Ry. Co., 62 Fed., 904; Ingersoll & Quigley *v.* Stockbridge & Pittsfield R. R. Co., 8 Allen, 438; Grand Trunk Ry. Co. *v.* Richardson, 91 U. S., 454.)

Can it be possible that the legislature can go further in the protection of property than it can for the protection of human life? No; such is not the intention of the Constitution. This legislation held unconstitutional by the New York Court of Appeals is likewise remedial legislation. It is intended to regulate the use of dangerous machinery

in industrial institutions and dangerous employments connected therewith; and unless the Constitution intends to place a higher value upon mere property than it does upon life and limb, the law is constitutional. The railway company is made absolutely liable for fires started by the locomotives when without fault, when it has omitted no legal duty and has committed no wrong, because the railway company is using locomotive power that is dangerous, that is liable to set fires, and is making large profits out of the business. So, too, the employer to increase his profits uses dangerous machinery, the operation of which causes great loss of life and limb to the employees. The one is destructive of property, the other destructive of human life and limb; and shall it be said that the laws of this country under the Constitution shall afford protection to the one that is destructive of property and no protection to the one that is destructive of human life? If the courts are to make a distinction, it should be in favor of the legislation which affords protection to life rather than to property, and ultimately such will be the distinction. The scale of compensation and settlement of disputes provided for in the New York law deprives the employer of the right to have the jury fix the amount which he shall pay when his liability to pay has been determined. This is a dangerous provision in the law, for it has always been one of the functions of a jury to pass upon the amount in controversy, or the amount of damages sustained, as well as upon liability. This subject is thoroughly discussed in the elaborate notes following the case of Flint River Steamboat Co. *v.* Roberts (48 Am. Dec., 178). The seventh amendment to the Constitution of the United States does not, of course, apply to State legislation, but there are similar provisions in all the State constitutions, usually a little stronger. I quote from the notes referred to:

"The trial by jury secured to the subject by the Constitution is a trial according to the course of the common law, and the same in substance as that which was in use when the Constitution was framed. On this all the decisions agree."

It being one of the functions of the jury to pass upon the amount of recovery as well as the liability, and such being the law at the time of the adoption of the different constitutions of the different States, it will be seen that the provision referred to in the New York law, which takes away from the jury this function, is a dangerous provision. For if the legislature can take from the jury one of its legitimate functions it can take them all, and thus take away the right of trial by jury altogether. This objection, however, is not serious, for it can be avoided in a compensation law by providing for a trial with a jury upon the election of either party. This would preserve the right and the employer would never ask for a jury trial, for he knows that the jury would be more liberal with the employee than would the legislature.

It is claimed that the compulsory contribution of both employer and employee to a fund created for a public purpose, having for its object compensation for industrial accidents, can be sustained as a taxing measure; but if an employer can not be made wholly liable upon what principle can he be held partially liable? The State of Montana recently passed such a law which is now being considered by the supreme court of that State in an action contesting it on the grounds that it is unconstitutional, and the outcome will be watched with interest. It is claimed that the law recently passed in New Jersey, and which is similar to the laws of Wisconsin and Washington on this subject, avoids all the objections to the law held unconstitutional by the New York Court of Appeals in the case of Ives *v.* Railroad Co., by making the system of compensation optional. If the employer elects to come under the law of course he can raise no legal objection; if he refuses he is deprived of his common-law defenses, namely: the fellow-servant defense, the doctrine of assumed risk and the defense of contributory negligence. But the depriving him of these defenses does not make him liable unless he is negligent and at fault, and if he can not be held liable when he is not at fault and has done no wrong, of what use will it be to abolish these defenses? You can tell him "You shall no longer plead the negligence of the employee as a defense," but this does not make the employer liable, for under the New York decision he can not be liable unless he is personally at fault. You may say to him that he shall no longer plead as a defense the doctrine of assumed risk, but taking from him this defense does not make him liable. You may take from him the right to plead as a defense that the accident was caused through the negligence of the fellow servant, but this does not make the employer liable, for the doctrine of respondeat superior never did apply to such case. Possibly the law might go so far as to say that every industrial accident is prima facie evidence of negligence on the part of the employer, but this, however, would be only a presumption easily overcome by showing that the employer and his agents used all the care that the law required and all the modern appliances for the protection of human life and limb; and so it appears to me that this decision in the Ives case is going to be more or less of an obstacle to all legislation upon the subject if it is followed generally by the courts. It is to be hoped, however, that the employers will recognize the great necessity there is for legislation that will give to the employee adequate compensation for industrial accidents, and that the employer and employee may get together and agree upon a uniform law for every State of the Union. This is one subject upon which the laws should be uniform, that the employers of one State might not have an advantage over the employers of other States.

Practically all the civilized countries of Europe have adopted the insurance plan against industrial accidents, and in adopting the compulsory principle have been careful that compensation shall be proportioned to actual financial loss to the injured. It is based upon the actual current earnings of the workingman, and fixed at a percentage in cases of total disability on concurrent wages varying from 50 in Great Britain to as high as 70 per cent in Holland.

The German system has given the most general satisfaction. It is conducted entirely by mutual association of employers, supervised by the State. Every employer contributes yearly in accordance with the risk of his establishment and his pay roll, the risk being determined by means of a classified tariff of rates drawn up by the association. The law confers on them the privilege of prescribing preventive rules and regulations that have the force of law and must be complied with. The association may send inspectors to any factory or establishment at any time, and in case of negligence the employer may be fined or given a higher rate for a higher risk. In case of flagrant neglect the factory may be closed. Workingmen are also subject to regulation on the part of the association.

This subject received consideration in Germany as early as 1838, in the recognition of the new principle of liability by employers to provide compensation for industrial accidents. To check the force of discontent after the Franco-Prussian War, Bismarck, one of the greatest statesmen of his or any other age, in 1881 presented a plan of compulsory insurance of workingmen. In commenting upon this in the work entitled "Workingmen's Insurance in Europe," by Frankel and Dawson, the author says:

"In the short period of nine years, 1881–1889, every detail of this comprehensive scheme was put into operation. Legislation so far-reaching in its consequences had never before been attempted. Though at the time regarded as revolutionary in character, it has served the country better than its great author dreamed possible. Now, at the close of a period of 25 years, it is recognized as the most effective instrument for the protection of the great body of people in the important exigencies of life; and its merits are warmly appreciated by all who have the welfare of the Nation at heart."

Bismarck's compulsory insurance bill, presented to the Reichstag in 1881, received the approval of that body, but it refused to vote financial support and also desired to substitute separate departments for the kingdom, which amendments were rejected by the Government, whereupon Emperor William sent a message to the Reichstag, as follows:

"We consider it our imperial duty to impress upon the Reichstag the necessity of furthering the welfare of the working people. We should review with increased satisfaction the manifold successes with which the Lord has blessed our reign, could we carry with us to the grave the consciousness of leaving our country an additional and lasting assurance of internal peace, and the conviction that we have rendered the needy that assistance to which they are justly entitled. Our efforts in this direction are certain of the approval of all the federate governments, and we confidently rely on the support of the Reichstag without distinction of parties. In order to realize these views, a bill for the insurance of workmen against industrial accidents will, first of all, be laid before you, after which a supplementary measure will be submitted, providing for a general organization of industrial sick relief insurance. Likewise those who are disabled in consequence of old age or invalidity possess a well-founded claim to more ample relief on the part of the State than they have hitherto enjoyed. To devise the fittest ways and means for making such provision, however difficult, is one of the highest obligations of every community, based on the moral principles of Christianity. A more intimate acquaintance with the actual capabilities of the people and a mode of turning these to account in corporate associations, under the patronage and with the aid of the State, will, we trust, develop a scheme to solve which the State alone would prove unequal."

This humane and patriotic appeal resulted in the passage of the first compulsory insurance law in Germany, under which the same authority claims:

"The most striking fact in the remarkable industrial advance made by Germany during the last half century is the improved condition of the great body of its working people. On all sides are evidences of greater effectiveness, contentment, and prosperity. Many causes have undoubtedly contributed to this end, but perhaps the most important has been the fostering care of the Government. It has met the requirements of its people in an orderly and businesslike manner, looking upon their occupations as both social and individual in character. * * * The wide scope of this branch of workingmen's insurance is evident from the fact that at the close of 1907 more than 21,000,000 working people, employed in nearly 5,500,000 separate establishments, were directly insured under the provisions of the law. * * * Notwithstanding great improvements in safety appliances and other means of prevention, the number of accidents, with the single exception of those resulting in complete permanent disablement, has increased rapidly per thousand insured. The average duration of disability has also increased, doubtless partly due to the broadening of the statutes. The same condition has been observed in all other countries where liability laws have been liberalized. The increase is also ascribed to simulation and to malingering, as it is certain that some workmen take advantage of the slightest accident to claim compensation. But the chief cause of increase in the number of accidents in Germany is unquestionably the greater complication of industry, the greater hazard necessarily resulting therefrom, and intensity of pressure upon workingmen. With the strong tendency to migrate from the country to industrial cities, thousands of men enter factories who are not by training prepared for the complex machinery they must handle. These factors augment the number and the seriousness of accidents.

"In general accidents increase in number as workmen become older. Thus, in the industrial, building, and marine associations of employers, the rate per annum was 3.6 per 1,000 insured for those between the ages of 18 and 20, 5.4 for those between 20 and 30 years, 9.2 for those between 30 and 40, 12.3 for those between 40 and 50, and 13.8 for those between 50 and 60 years. More accidents occur in the summer months when the activity in certain occupations is greatest and when more men are at work; and Monday and Saturday are accountable for a heavier toll than the remaining week days. The large number of accidents occurring on Saturdays is doubtless caused by the strain of the week's work, while those of Monday are very likely the result of Sunday's jollification.

"The four classes of accidents, taken together, have almost doubled in frequency in the last 20 years, while those resulting in temporary injuries only, but exceeding 13 weeks in duration, have increased fivefold in the same period. The one striking exception is the constant reduction in the number of completely disabled and killed. This is very likely due to the care which the mutual associations of employers exercise in dealing with cases of serious injury.

"The operation of the law has, on the whole, been satisfactory to the German people. There has been much improvement in the efficiency of workmen, and employers have indirectly reaped returns for their compulsory outlay. It may be true, as is sometimes claimed, that the law has had some tendency to decrease the sense of personal responsibility on the part of workmen and to tempt them to secure compensation for the slightest injury; but they, on their part, have never been content with the arrangement that placed the adjustment of compensation in the first instance in the hands of the employers' associations. As a result of this dissatisfaction these adjustments are constantly challenged. Appeals from the awards of the associations of employers as well as those of the arbitration board are only too common, the more so because litigation is free."

It appears from this report that while compulsory insurance in Germany is generally satisfactory, that it is not free from objection and it is very far from perfect. A commission appointed by the English Government will make its report on the English law the last of this month. This will no doubt give us much valuable information upon that law. We are living in a progressive age and we must meet and solve this economic problem in accordance with the spirit of the age. More depends upon the employer and employee than on any other class. If they can in some way be brought closer together, as they were when the employer and employee worked side by side as friends and coworkers, the problem will be solved.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT J. BULKLEY,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. BULKLEY. Mr. Speaker, it is not without significance that, in the closing days of this session, after all hope of rural credits legislation at the present time had been abandoned, both Houses of Congress should pass, as amendments to the Agriculture appropriation bill, bills proposing to establish agricultural land-mortgage systems with Government aid. The two systems proposed differed materially, and the committee of conference between the two Houses saw fit to recommend the present abandonment of both plans and the establishment of a joint committee, representing the Senate and House, to investigate and report to Congress not later than January 1, 1916.

A brief review and analysis of the several steps which led to the present situation may now be worth while.

On Thursday evening, February 25, the Senate adopted, as an amendment to the Agriculture appropriation bill, the so-called McCumber amendment, which is identical with the Senate bill 6692, proposing to create in the Treasury Department a bureau of farm credits to loan on farm mortgages, at 5 per cent, an unlimited amount of Government funds, to be raised by the sale of United States 4½ per cent bonds at par. The amendment is short, and is here reproduced in full:

Be it enacted, etc., That there is hereby created in the Treasury Department a bureau to be known as the bureau of farm credits. Said bureau shall be presided over by an officer who shall be designated commisioner of farm credits. The Secretary of the Treasury shall provide for sufficient clerical force to perform the duties of said bureau.

SEC. 2. That there is hereby appropriated and set aside for the use of said bureau, in the manner hereinafter provided, the sum of $10,000,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary.

SEC. 3. That the said sum so provided shall be used for the purpose of purchasing notes secured by first mortgages on agricultural lands, as hereinafter provided for stationery and clerical expenses, and such other expenses as may be incident to the business of said bureau.

SEC. 4. That every national bank and every State bank desiring to avail itself of the privileges herein provided are hereby created and declared to be agencies of the Treasury Department for the purpose of receiving from mortgagors notes and mortgages securing same, advancing the moneys to the said mortgagors and transmitting said notes and mortgages to the bureau of farm credits, and receiving in return therefor the amount advanced to the mortgagor by the said bureau.

SEC. 5. That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to apportion the sum hereby appropriated among the several States according to the agricultural population, importance of the agricultural productions of each State, and percentage of agricultural lands encumbered by mortgages or trust deeds, and to pay for such notes and mortgages as may be presented to the extent of the amount apportioned to any State.

SEC. 6. That any owner of agricultural lands within the United States, who is living upon and farming such lands, desiring a loan under the provisions of this act, shall execute a promissory note due in 10 years, bearing interest at the rate of 5 per cent per annum, interest payable annually, which interest shall be evidenced by 10 coupon notes attached to said principal note, and which coupons shall also bear interest at the rate of 5 per cent per annum from the date of maturity until paid, payable annually. Said note shall also provide that the principal may be paid on any interest-paying day after the expiration of five years. Said note shall be secured by a first mortgage upon the lands so farmed by the owner, and executed and recorded in the manner provided by the laws of the State in which the land is situated for the execution and recording of mortgages on real estate. Such mortgage shall be accompanied by an application for loan, which application shall recite the purpose for which the loan is desired, the market value of the land, the value at which it was last assessed for taxation, the value and kind of buildings thereon, the number of acres under cultivation, the character and quality of the soil, the number of acres capable of being cultivated, and such other information as may be required by the rules of the said bureau. Said application shall have attached thereto or made as a part thereof an affidavit signed by the owner and at least two neighbors who are thoroughly acquainted with land values in the vicinity, stating the market value of such lands and the market value of the particular lands to be mortgaged. Said note, mortgage, and application shall also be accompanied by an abstract of title duly certified by an abstract company, the register of deeds, or other officer authorized by the laws of the State to make and certify abstracts of lands, which abstract shall show no other mortgages, judgments, delinquent taxes, or other liens of any character against the said lands, unless the purpose of the loan is to secure money to cancel such liens. Said owner shall then present to any national bank or State bank accepting the provisions of this act the said loan papers. The said abstract and papers shall be carefully examined by the president, cashier, or other officer of the bank for the purpose of ascertaining whether the title is perfect in the mortgagor, whether the land is affected by any liens, who shall certify the result of his examination of the abstract, and who shall further certify what in his opinion and judgment is the actual cash selling price of the land. And no mortgage shall be accepted for a greater amount than one-half of the value of such lands, including improvements; nor in any event to an amount exceeding one-half of the actual market value thereof. The said bank may charge the borrower for its services in examining papers and abstract and in forwarding the papers to the bureau of farm credits a sum not exceeding 1 per cent of the amount of the mortgage. No mortgage shall be less than $300 nor more than $10,000 to one person or company, and shall be in multiples of $100. The said notes and mortgages shall not be dated at the time they are executed and presented to the bank. The said bank shall forward all the said papers to the said bureau of farm credits, which bureau shall examine the abstract, note, mortgage, and application, and if said abstract shows the land to be clear or to have no liens of greater amount than the amount desired to be loaned, and all papers properly executed, it shall remit to the bank forwarding the papers the amount of the loan, and shall date the notes and mortgage the date on which the remittance is made, from which date interest shall begin to accrue; and all coupons shall be dated to correspond with the date affixed to the principal instrument; and said bureau shall return, with the remittance, the abstract of title. Upon receipt of the said abstract of title by the bank, said bank shall require the abstract to be continued up to date of payment by said bank to the borrower, and if said abstract after being continued shows the land clear, the bank shall indorse over to the borrower the remittance made by the bureau of farm credits. If there are any liens upon the land, the bank, out of the remittance, shall first pay and have canceled such liens and pay the balance to the borrower. The bank shall be held responsible for any negligence in the performance of its duties as agent of said bureau. The principal and all interest coupons shall be payable at the bank where and through which the loan is negotiated and remitted by said bank to said bureau.

SEC. 6. That whenever the bureau of farm credits shall have received such mortgages to the extent of $1,000,000 it shall issue bonds in the name of the United States, payable in 20 years and bearing 4½ per cent interest, payable annually, with the privilege and option of the said bureau to pay the principal at the expiration of 10 years. Said bonds shall be issued in denominations from $100 to $500 each, and the said commissioner of farm credits shall sell the said bonds for the face value thereof to any persons applying therefor, preference being given to those desiring small investments. Said bonds shall not be subject to taxation by the United States, a State, or municipality. All moneys received by the said commissioner in the sale of bonds and the principal and all interest paid on said mortgages shall be covered into the said fund of $10,000,000 and used in the payment of mortgages as they may be presented, the expenses of the bureau, the interest on bonds, and payment thereof at maturity.

SEC. 7. That all mortgages shall run to the commissioner of farm credits, and said commissioner shall have all the rights and authority of a mortgagee under the laws of the State wherein such mortgage is executed.

SEC. 8. That all taxes of every kind levied by a State or municipality which may become a lien prior to said mortgage shall be paid by the mortgagor at least 30 days prior to the time such lands could be sold for delinquent taxes. Upon his failure to do so, or to pay any other lien that may attach to said lands and become superior to said mortgage, the commissioner may pay the same and the mortgage shall stand as security for such sums so paid and interest thereon at 8 per cent per annum. And said mortgage shall further provide that in default of the payment of any interest or the payment of taxes, or other superior liens, as aforesaid, the commissioner may foreclose the premises pursuant to the laws of the State in which the land is situated. All papers necessary for the foreclosure proceedings shall be prepared and premises foreclosed by the proper law officer of the bureau. In lieu of foreclosure the commissioner may sell the mortgage to any person desiring to purchase the same, without recourse, and the money so received shall be covered into the said fund. Upon foreclosure, the said commissioner may transfer and assign the certificate of sale to any purchaser, and after the period of redemption has expired may sell the lands. And any sum received therefor shall in like manner be covered into said fund.

SEC. 9. That it is the purpose of this act not only to secure and facilitate borrowing upon agricultural lands at a reasonable rate of interest, but also to afford a means for those who desire a safe investment, and so long as the said bureau shall be able to dispose of bonds at par it shall accept mortgages presented to any extent above the $10,000,000 hereby appropriated.

SEC. 10. That said bonds shall be negotiable in form, and transferable by indorsement, and may be bought and sold by Federal reserve banks under the provisions of sections 13 and 14 of the Federal reserve act, approved December 23, 1913, and may also be received as collateral for the issue of Federal reserve notes under the provisions of section 16 of said act.

SEC. 11. That the word "mortgage" shall be construed to include deeds of trust or any other instruments of security on agricultural lands.

SEC. 12. That the Secretary of the Treasury shall make all needful rules and regulations to carry out the provisions of this act.

SEC. 13. That this act shall take effect from and after its passage and approval.

This bill proposes a very radical reform in an extremely crude manner. In parts it is so vague as to be hardly workable at all. For instance, section 1 provides for a "commissioner of farm credits," but does not tell how he shall be appointed nor what compensation he shall receive. Again, section 5 provides for the apportionment of the loanable fund among the States by the Secretary of the Treasury, not according to his discretion but according to a rule stated so vaguely as to be practically impossible of application. The bill contains two sections numbered 6, the second of which contains some very loose language concerning the application of "moneys received" by the farm-credit commissioner. It would appear to authorize the use of the proceeds of sales of United States bonds in the payment of mortgages. Such a meaning can not, of course, be intended. It is problematical how much trouble and loss might result from the vagueness and looseness of the whole bill, further examples of which I shall not now pause to show.

The proposition is open to more fundamental objections. For example, it altogether fails to make any provision for the payment of loans on the amortization plan. Amortization is perhaps not yet sufficiently understood in this country to be fully appreciated, yet its benefits to the American farmer will be as great as a substantial reduction in the interest rate. When loans are so made that they may be extinguished by small and easy installments, the whole principal sum never coming due,

the borrowing farmer will gain much in a feeling of security in the permanent possession of his farm, and will save much in renewal fees and commissions. The proposed plan, with no amortization feature, would bring no benefit whatever to some sections of the country which already enjoy an interest rate as low as 5 per cent.

The amendment adopted by the Senate provides no adequate safeguard against land speculation with the proceeds of the loans. There is, it is true, a requirement that the borrower in his application must state the purpose of the loan, but the proposed bureau of farm credits is required to make the loan, if the borrower has a clear title and offers a first lien, and there is no discretion in the bureau or elsewhere to reject the loan merely because the purpose of it may be improvident or speculative. Again, the loans are not adequately restricted to actual farmers living on their own land. The first few lines in the first section 6 seem to contemplate such a restriction, but later in the same section there is a reference to loans to a "company," which is, of course, inconsistent with the first restriction and inconsistent with the idea of home building. The importance of careful safeguards against speculation can hardly be overemphasized. If these safeguards are not adequate, the whole system will prove to be of advantage only to the owner of land, and will actually make it more difficult for the new settler and the tenant farmer to become independent owners of their own homes.

Another vital defect in the so-called McCumber amendment is that it requires every application for a loan to be made to a bank and passed upon by a bank. Banks and bankers do a very great service to the country, but if the farmer is to get real relief in the land-mortgage situation he must be placed in a position to borrow independently of the banks. There is no good reason for giving new privileges to banks, as this amendment does, frankly so stating at the beginning of section 4.

Brevity and simplicity are merits claimed for the McCumber bill. These merits are apparent rather than real. Obviously a land-mortgage credit system can not be established without the creation of a considerable amount of machinery which must be set up with some technical skill. The Senate amendment disposes of all questions of mechanical operation by leaving to the Secretary of the Treasury a very broad discretion. No one need doubt the capacity of the Secretary to set up a land-mortgage system, but many will believe it appropriate for the Congress to prescribe just what the system shall be and just how it shall work, rather than to leave too much to executive discretion.

The Senate amendment does not adequately safeguard the Government in the matter of appraisals, unless it be assumed that the general authority given to the Secretary of the Treasury would permit him to assume powers of appraisal which might be expensive to exercise and which might be inconsistent with the appraisal powers given elsewhere to the borrower's neighbors and the local bank.

But the most fatal defect in this ill-considered amendment is that provision requiring the Government to sell its 4½ per cent bonds at par. A United States bond bearing such a rate of interest is obviously worth much more than par on the market, yet no discretion as to price is allowed; the bonds must be sold at par, no more, no less. The effect on the national credit can easily be imagined; it would at once become impossible to borrow at a rate less than 4½ per cent. Surely no one who had given the matter so much as a second thought could seriously advocate this wanton blow at the national credit.

To sum up, then, the defects of the McCumber amendment: First, it is vague and very loosely drawn; second, it fails to provide for repayment of loans on the amortization plan; third, it contains no adequate safeguards against land speculation; fourth, it places the control of loans with the banks; fifth, it leaves to the Secretary of the Treasury too much power in prescribing the methods of operating the system; sixth, it does not properly safeguard the Government in the making of loans; and, seventh, its bond-sale provisions would be absolutely ruinous to the national credit.

So far, I have confined my criticism of the McCumber amendment to defects which are fairly obvious and which will no doubt be generally acknowledged. It is but fair to say, however, that none of these defects, with one exception, is fundamental; only one of them is necessarily incidental to a plan of direct loans from the Government to the farmer. There is, indeed, no very good evidence that such a plan could not be made to work successfully. It is unfortunate that the direct-loan idea did not come before Congress in well-considered form, free from obvious and unnecessary defects.

A full discussion of the question of direct Government loans would necessarily be very lengthy. For the present I shall only state the two fundamental difficulties which are inherent in such a plan, and which I for one do not know how to overcome. The first difficulty relates to the interest rate. A flat rate to all is manifestly unfair, as it calls upon the Government to absorb differences in conditions among its citizens to the great benefit of some and probably to the relative detriment of others. On the other hand, rates varying according to persons and localities must give rise to the possibility of political favoritism. Again, it is difficult to determine what rate represents the true value of the use of the money advanced, and the tendency would be to fix a rate below the true value. If that were done a subsidy and special privilege would be established, not a very vicious one in itself, but involving a moral principle which ought not to be sacrificed.

The other fundamental difficulty in the direct-loan plan is that of safeguarding the Government in appraisals and collections. In these respects the way is opened for frauds so insidious that it would be all but impossible to draw the line between liberality on the part of a Government appraiser or collector and actual fraud. And even without fraud, liberality might well be extended so as to be inordinately costly to the Government. All are familiar with the constant tendency toward greater liberality on the part of the Government in any matter in which its financial interests are opposed to those of a large part of its citizens.

Directly related to both of these great obstacles is the inevitable necessity that any direct Government loan system must be controlled, not by the borrowers, not by individuals under a competitive system, but by a bureaucracy.

The direct Government loan plan is in actual operation in a number of foreign countries, but there has been no experience sufficiently long to be entirely conclusive as to results under conditions similar to ours, with the possible exception of the New Zealand experience, and there is hardly sufficient first-hand information about New Zealand now available to justify using her system as a model.

The direct-loan plan is beset with dangers and difficulties and is not adequately justified by any foreign experience. It should not be adopted, then, unless it is absolutely necessary for the establishment of the amortization plan, the substantial reduction of excessive interest rates on farm mortgages, and the liberation of the farmer from financial exploitation. But these purposes can all be accomplished without these dangers and difficulties under a system controlled by the borrowing farmer himself. This is the system embodied in H. R. 16478, known as the Hollis-Bulkley bill, which is fully explained in the report of the House subcommittee on rural credits.

I have said that it was of some significance that the Senate should pass the McCumber amendment. We must not, however, overestimate the significance. It is current rumor that at the time this amendment was adopted the attendance in the Senate Chamber was very small. The amendment was subject to a point of order, and therefore must have failed if a single Senator had insisted on the point of order. The RECORD discloses the presence at the time of at least two Senators whose declared views on land-mortgage credits are absolutely inconsistent with the provisions of the amendment as adopted. As either of them could have prevented its adoption, it is not unfair to assume that both relied on very substantial changes being made by the committee of conference between the two Houses. We may even venture to suspect what was intended to be written into the bill, for the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency unanimously reported, on Saturday morning, February 27, S. 5542, the Hollis-Bulkley bill, with a number of amendments, most of them meritorious but unimportant, two of them fundamental and subversive of the whole plan of the original bill.

These two amendments are so important that they should be set out in full. The first was to strike out section 30 of the original Hollis-Bulkley bill, providing for the purchase of farm-loan bonds by the Government, the full text of which follows:

PURCHASE OF BONDS BY GOVERNMENT.

SEC. 30. That the Secretary of the Treasury shall, upon application of one or more of the Federal land banks herein established, and upon the recommendation of the Federal Reserve Board, purchase from Federal land banks farm-loan bonds not previously issued or sold, in an amount not to exceed $50,000,000 during any one year, and shall pay for the same out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated: *Provided*, That any land bank which may sell its bonds to the Secretary of the Treasury, as provided by this section, shall, by appropriate action of its board of directors, as consideration for the accommodation afforded by the Secretary of the Treasury, enter into an agreement that at any time, on 30 days' notice from the Secretary of the Treasury, said land bank will cease to make any investments whatever, and will devote all receipts from every source, except so much as may be necessary for the payment of maturing liabilities, to the redemption of its bonds so purchased and held by the Secretary of the Treasury. The enforcement of said agreement shall be at the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury.

Whenever the Secretary of the Treasury shall have purchased any farm-loan bonds under the provisions of this section, he may hold the same until maturity or may sell such bonds, at his discretion.

The other important amendment was the insertion of a new section providing for the incorporation of private banking institutions to compete with the farmers' cooperative associations proposed by the original bill. The matter proposed to be inserted was as follows:

FEDERAL FARM-BOND BANKS.

SEC. 17. That associations to be known as Federal farm-bond banks for carrying on the business of lending on farm-mortgage security and issuing farm-loan bonds may be formed by any number of natural persons not less than five. They shall be organized subject to the requirements and under the conditions set forth in section 4 of this act, so far as the same may be applicable: *Provided*, That the board of directors of every Federal farm-bond bank shall consist of nine members, three of whom shall be appointed by the Federal farm-loan board for terms of three years each, and six of whom shall be chosen as herein provided for the election of directors of farm-loan associations. Every director of a Federal farm-bond bank shall have been for two years preceding his selection a bona fide resident of the farm-loan district in which such bank is situate.

Any director of a Federal farm-bond bank may be removed at any time by the Federal farm-loan board at its discretion.

In the business of lending on farm-mortgage security, said Federal farm-bond banks shall be limited to a single State, and shall be subject to all the restrictions and conditions imposed on national farm-loan associations by this act, so far as such restrictions and conditions are applicable: *Provided, however*, That borrowers from such banks shall not be required to become shareholders in said banks.

In the business of issuing farm-loan bonds said Federal farm-bond banks shall be subject to all the restrictions and conditions imposed on Federal land banks by this act, so far as such restrictions and conditions are applicable: *Provided, however*, That the Government of the United States shall not be authorized or required to purchase or subscribe for any of the capital stock of any such bank; and each shareholder of any such bank shall have the same voting privileges as holders of shares in national banking associations.

No Federal farm-bond bank shall be authorized to do business until capital stock to the amount of at least $250,000 has been subscribed and paid in cash.

Farm-loan bonds issued by such banks shall be so engraved as to be *readily distinguished* in form and color from farm-loan bonds issued under this act by Federal land banks.

Federal farm-bond banks shall be subject to the provisions of section 10 and section 25 of this act as to interest rates, but any such bank may, by majority vote of its directors, make loans at less than the normal rate.

The bill as thus amended is in substance the original Fletcher-Moss bill, as was stated with some satisfaction by the able gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Moss] on the floor of the House. The same gentleman also stated that, in his judgment, under the provisions of the bill as amended, the private banking institutions would do practically all of the business, and the farmers' cooperative institutions would do practically none. It is a bankers' system as distinguished from a farmers' cooperative system with Government aid.

Having already made one long speech on the subject of Government aid to agricultural land-mortgage credit, I shall not now discuss this question at length. However, in order to make my position entirely clear, it will be necessary to answer in some detail the argument against Government aid advanced by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Moss] on the floor of the House on January 2 last. The gentleman from Indiana has made himself the leader of the opposition to Government aid, and whatever is said by one so able and industrious as he deserves careful attention.

In two important respects the gentleman from Indiana seemed to misunderstand my position. He, like some others who oppose section 30 of the original Hollis-Bulkley bill, inveighs against subsidy and special privilege, and cites authorities to show that subsidy and special privilege are not justified under the circumstances. This is all a sham battle against a man of straw. Our opponents would do well to abandon it and address themselves to the task of showing what subsidy or special privilege is involved in section 30 of the original Hollis-Bulkley bill. Again, the gentleman from Indiana seemed to think I had stated that mortgage banking is impossible without Government aid. Of course, I did not say it, and it is not true. What I did say I will now repeat: "No system of long-time agricultural land mortgages for the benefit of the small borrower has ever been successful without Government aid." This the gentleman can not successfully contradict.

Having called attention to these rather material misconceptions of my position on this subject I proceed to reply to the argument of the gentleman from Indiana. He cites several authorities with the strong implication that they have all indorsed the position of the United States commission in proposing a bill without Government aid, though the language he quotes from them is in most of the cases equally consistent with the provisions of the original Hollis-Bulkley bill. Then he undertakes to show that Government aid in five European countries was given only as a result of feudalism, war, or other condition not existing in this country, and finally reaches the conclusion, which he bases on German experience, that "the vast volume of all rural-mortgage business is transacted by agencies operated without Government credit or Government cash." This is altogether unfounded in fact, as I shall presently show.

Let us consider first his authorities. Dr. Augsbin, of Berlin, is twice quoted, and following the second quotation the gentleman from Indiana says, "With these curt words this eminent authority dismissed the State-endowed institutions of Prussia and disposed of the contention" for Government aid. I do not believe that the curt words of any authority in Prussia, however eminent, can dispose of the contention of the American farmer, that he, no less than the other great interests of this country, shall have such Government aid as may be necessary to establish a system providing for his legitimate needs for credit. It happens, however, that there is nothing in what Dr. Augsbin said that is inconsistent with the Hollis-Bulkley bill. He said "the American farmer of to-day does not need any subsidy," and we agree with him. He said "what he needs is a cheaply acquired credit on long time and with the right of amortization," and we agree with him again. I do not know what, if any, bill now pending Dr. Augsbin might approve, but what he said is entirely consistent with the findings of the joint subcommittee.

The gentleman's next authority is President Wilson, from whom he quotes a sentence not inconsistent with the Hollis-Bulkley bill.

Mr. David Lubin is mentioned and highly praised by the gentleman from Indiana, and his opinion is entitled to consideration. It may be remembered that Mr. Lubin said of the Fletcher-Moss bill:

> I am sorry to say that the bill is disappointing to me. * * * I find it to be in substance a plan for mortgage banks by bankers, instead of being for cooperative mortgage associations operated by farmers and for farmers. * * * I believe it would tend to so standardize the farm-loan business as to lend itself readily to an understanding between the proposed banks for a general control of terms and interest rates to the exclusion of a voice in the matter by the farmer. In short, it seems to me that the bill would be likely to create an artificial barrier between the farmers and the lending public.

Yet, when this criticism was uttered, the gentleman from Indiana did not at once throw up his hands and yield to Mr. Lubin's view. He will therefore be indulgent with us if we venture to differ from Mr. Lubin on another point, though substantially agreeing with what he said about the Fletcher-Moss bill.

In the article of Mr. Jesse E. Pope, in a recent number of the Quarterly Journal of Economics, which was quoted by the gentleman from Indiana, there are some important errors which it is not worth while now to discuss in full. But it is worth while to say that the European authorities against State aid which were referred to by Mr. Pope were discussing the question of short-term personal credits and not at all long-term land-mortgage credits.

The gentleman from Indiana is entitled to whatever satisfaction he can extract from the executive bulletin of the governor of Alabama, chairman of a committee of 12 governors of States which was organized to prepare bills on rural credits to be submitted to State legislatures, but decided, after some effort, that it was impracticable to draft such bills. The Government-aid question was disposed of completely in 12 lines of mere assertion without reasoning and without authority.

Ambassador Herrick is cited as an authority against Government aid, and I have heretofore discussed my reasons for differing from his conclusion on this subject, as widely as the gentleman from Indiana and I would both differ from him on the protective tariff or on the ship subsidy question. Whatever may be Mr. Herrick's conclusions, his scholarship and industry have made it apparent to us that Government aid has been used to establish every successful agricultural long-time mortgage system which ever did anything for the small borrower.

The other authority cited is the Secretary of Agriculture. The Secretary does not, either in his annual report or in his letter of January 2 to the gentleman from Indiana, state whether he is for or against such a plan of Government investment in agricultural-land securities as is proposed in the Hollis-Bulkley bill. The gentleman from Indiana, however, says that the Secretary is against us on this point, and it seems likely that this is true, as the Secretary has taken pains to quote passages from Ambassador Herrick's book, "Rural Credits," which are opposed to State aid to agricultural credit. These quotations, which were printed in the RECORD of January 2, with the speech of the gentleman from Indiana, are five in number, and concerning them an interesting fact is worthy of note. Ambassador Herrick's work is in two parts: "Part I, Land Credit," "Part II, Cooperative Credit." Part I is concerned with the same subject matter as the Fletcher-Moss and Hollis-Bulkley bills. Part II is concerned with cooperative short-term credit not based on mortgages, an entirely different matter. Of the Secretary's five quotations from Herrick, four are from Part II and relate to personal short-term credit, concerning which it is cheerfully conceded that there is not the same fundamental

reason for Government aid that I have shown to exist in the case of land-mortgage credit. It is quite likely that the experience of the world may tell a different story about short-term credit from that which it teaches on land mortgages; without more exhaustive study than I have had an opportunity to give to personal credits, I am not prepared to say. It is interesting now to note to what extent Secretary Houston's opinion is based on a misapprehension of what Ambassador Herrick was talking about in the passages quoted. The one passage quoted from Herrick which was written on the subject of land-mortgage credit is unquestionably in line with the position taken by the gentleman from Indiana and would be worthy of serious consideration were it not so abundantly contradicted by other passages from the same work, to which I have already referred in my speech of last December.

The gentleman from Indiana advances the erroneous notion that in other countries Government aid to agricultural credit has been extended only for the purpose of establishing ex-serfs as independent farmers, emancipating agricultural labor from the feudal system, or rehabilitating agriculture immediately following the devastation of war. This idea also pervades Secretary Houston's discussion of the subject. My friend from Indiana has taken some trouble to show that Government aid given to agriculture by five European countries was more or less directly the result of one of the extraordinary causes which I have mentioned. In my speech on this subject I discussed State aid in 22 different countries, and from these the gentleman from Indiana has selected 5 in his attempt to show that State aid has been given only under the circumstances mentioned. He is wrong about all 5.

The Russian Government, it is true, made direct loans on agricultural lands in order to help establish the economic independence of ex-serfs. But the serfs have been free in Russia for more than 50 years, and the Government still makes direct loans to farmers. It is promoting the colonization of Siberia by Government aid—a problem in many respects similar to our settling of the West. It is, of course, cheerfully conceded that Russian conditions are in many respects very different from our own, and so also are the character and extent of Government aid proposed by our bill very different from the Government aid given by Russia.

As to Hungary, the gentleman has been at great pains to describe the distressing financial and agricultural conditions resulting from the war of 1848–49, which preceded State endowment of the Hungarian Land Mortgage Institute in 1863, but omits to tell us of any war, devastation, or emancipation from slavery or feudalism which occurred in 1911, when the State endowed the National Federation of Land Credit Institutions.

Of course it is not contended that slavery or feudalism existed in France in 1852 when the crédit foncier was endowed by the Government, but the gentleman from Indiana paints a dark picture of economic conditions existing at that time. However this may be, it will not be questioned that France was one of the richest nations on the face of the earth in 1906, at which time it inaugurated a policy of Government aid to agriculture much more direct than that afforded by the law of 1852. How is it possible to contend that this law has anything to do with recovery from war or emancipation from bondage other than the bondage of the money lender?

As to the activities of the British Government in land-mortgage credit, the gentleman from Indiana took pains to explain that conditions in Ireland are very different from our own conditions, but entirely avoided reference to the great Government-aid laws enacted for England and Wales in 1908 and for Scotland in 1911. But, of course, it was necessary for him to make very careful selections in order to maintain his precarious position. And even in Ireland he does not allege that war, feudalism, or serfdom existed when the estates commission was established in 1903, but only that Irish tenants working their lands have had to pay too much to their English landlords. That which the producer must pay to the non-producer is to some extent a handicap, whether it goes by the name of rent or of interest on the investment or by any other name. We have conditions in our own agriculture which should be improved, even though they be not so bad as the conditions in downtrodden Ireland.

A novel argument is advanced by the gentleman from Indiana to show that the landschaften of Germany have had no State aid. While admitting that special privileges and financial endowment were granted to the first landschaft organizations, the gentleman from Indiana contends that inasmuch as Napoleon probably robbed the institutions of an amount in excess of their original endowment, they have practically existed without financial help from the Government. In other words, he contends that an act which happened about 35 years after the establishment of the first institution may somehow be related back to establish the theory that the institutions at their inception could have succeeded without State aid. At least we must admire the ingenuity of this contention. The wretched state of war-torn Prussia at the time of the establishment of the first landschaft organizations and the troubles arising from the Napoleonic wars are alleged to have been the imperative reasons necessitating Government aid to the early landschaften. But what shall be said of the Bavarian Agricultural Institute, the latest and one of the largest of the landschaft organizations, which was created and endowed by the Bavarian Government in 1896?

I turn now to the gentleman's further discussion of rural credit conditions in Germany, and especially to his extraordinary statements that the landschaften were established without grants of Government capital or credit, and that State-endowed banks only hold 5 per cent of the agricultural mortgages in Germany.

In support of this last statement the gentleman presents the following estimates of the amounts loaned by the several classes of institutions on agricultural mortgages in Germany, and I do not question the substantial accuracy of the table:

Savings banks	$850,000,000
Landschaft associations	750,000,000
Joint-stock banks	170,000,000
State and provincial banks	100,000,000

(See Economic Quarterly for August.)

This shows that he regards the State and provincial banks as the only ones which have had State aid.

In discussing Government aid to the landschaften, I have endeavored to make my remarks fair and conservative. In my recent speech I stated of the landschaften that "they exist practically without Government aid to-day," and that "most of their strength has come from cooperation and not from Government aid," but to this I added that "it is important to note that Government aid established that first confidence which is so absolutely essential to a new financial enterprise." This last sentence is the milk in the coconut. The whole point of the argument for Government aid is that it is necessary in order to create public confidence in a new financial enterprise which would otherwise be of slow growth, such confidence being absolutely essential in order to secure a market for land-mortgage debentures running for a long enough time and at a low enough rate of interest to make possible the granting of loans to farmers on favorable terms. When an institution of this character is once firmly established it may indeed be possible to withdraw all Government support. But this no more proves that the institution could have been started without Government support than the ability of a boy of 18 to earn his own living would prove that he needed no parental support during his first year of life.

Let it be reiterated, then, that the earliest German landschaften were given Government grants, as stated by all authorities, and especially by Cahill, on page 42 of his "Report on Agricultural Credit and Cooperation in Germany," a passage which the gentleman from Indiana himself quotes, though it utterly disproves his contention that these land banks were established without Government capital or credit. It is also true of the early landschaften that they were not established by private initiative at all, but were created by the royal decree of Frederick the Great. And in order to establish beyond question the necessary public confidence in them they were given a much more extreme form of Government aid than the grant of a moderate amount of Government capital or credit—the lands of all manorial owners within a Province being made security for their debentures by royal decree, regardless of whether the owners were borrowers or not, and regardless of whether they wished to go on the security or not.

These being the undisputed facts established by abundant authority, it is remarkable that anyone should contend that the early landschaft associations were established without Government aid. Yet in order to support his contention that only 5 per cent of the agricultural loans in Germany are held by State-aided institutions, the gentleman from Indiana counts all the landschaft associations, early and late, as being non-State aided institutions. But even if, by tortuous reasoning, we could in anyway delude ourselves about the early landschaften, the evidence about the latest one to be established is incontrovertible. I refer to the Bavarian Agricultural Bank at Munich, which was established in 1896, "practically founded and capitalized by the State," as Cahill says on page 41 of his work already referred to. This bank has already become one of the largest and most important of the landschaft associations. The statement of the president of the Bavarian Council of Agriculture that this bank is endowed with State funds appears on page 268 of the printed report of the United States commission of which the gentleman from Indiana was a member.

He is equally mistaken in supposing that the German savings banks have no State aid. Cahill says of these institutions, on page 75, that—

> They have been established usually by and under a guarantee of public authorities, and in normal cases do not aim at profits beyond the obtaining of an adequate interest on the money deposited with them and the payment of the expense of management.

At page 76 he says:

> The great majority of savings banks are commercial, district, or urban, and are public institutions established, supervised, or managed and guaranteed by these governmental units, apart from which they do not possess a separate legal status.

Figures which may be found on page 77 of Cahill's report shows that about 90 per cent of the German savings banks are public institutions.

It is not even true that the so-called joint-stock banks have grown up entirely without State aid. Out of the $170,000,000 of agricultural loans held by these institutions more than $50,000,000 is held by the Prussian Central Land Credit Joint Stock Co. In the founding of this institution the Prussian State Bank subscribed to the original capital, as stated by Cahill on page 72. Herrick, on page 108, says that this joint-stock bank—

> Was the outcome of the efforts of Prince Bismarck to create a national mortgage institution for the great Empire that he was forming. * * * The Government bank of Prussia bought a large block of stock, so as to give the new concern prestige and aid its first ventures.

The only other joint-stock bank which lends largely on agricultural mortgages is the Bavarian Mortgage & Exchange Bank of Munich, of which Herrick says, at page 108:

> The King and Queen of Bavaria and high state officials were charter members when it was founded in 1835.

This bank holds $55,000,000 of agricultural mortgages. It will therefore be noted that these two banks hold nearly two-thirds of all the agricultural mortgages held by joint-stock banks.

Cahill tells us on page 65 that the proportion of business done by the joint-stock banks on agricultural loans is small, only about 6 per cent of their business, having sunk from about 10 per cent in 1897. He continues:

> Some banks do not grant loans on such security, and others do so only in exceptional cases.

From the point of view of agricultural land credit, Herrick regards these banks as a failure. He says, at page 107:

> The lack of success of the German land banks, as regards farm loans, has been attributed to various causes, but the trouble seems to be that only a few of them have the necessary size and standing to enable them to sell bonds which have no fixed time for maturity, and, in consequence of their inability to raise money by such investments, they are not in position to grant long-term reducible loans of the kind needed by agriculture. The proof of this lies in the fact that the two big banks which have gained the confidence of the investing public do a large farm-mortgage business.

These two are, of course, the banks I have just referred to which have had public support of the character I have stated. It would seem that this experience ought to teach a lesson to the gentleman from Indiana and others who advocate putting our agricultural mortgage credit in the hands of private institutions. The lesson is that only large institutions can succeed. Large ones can be easily financed by big financial interests if the proposition is made sufficiently attractive, but can not be financed by the farmers who need the help. It thus appears on the statement of acknowledged authorities that about 90 per cent of the agricultural land mortgage business in Germany is done by State-aided institutions, instead of 5 per cent, as the gentleman from Indiana seems to think. If he holds such erroneous conceptions as to material facts, we must not be surprised if he comes to wrong conclusions.

I do not attach particular significance to the fact that as much as 90 per cent of the agricultural loans have been made by State-aided institutions; a much smaller proportion would have been entirely sufficient to act as a leaven for the whole situation. Government-aided banks, doing a much smaller proportion of the total business, might well set such an example as to be of material benefit to the farmer with respect to all his borrowings. I believe this would be true under the operation of such a law as the subcommittee has proposed, and it would not seem to me at all necessary that the proposed public-aided institutions should crowd all other lenders entirely out of business in order to prove their success in aiding the farmer. In support of this view, let me cite the statement prepared by the royal Hungarian department of agriculture for the American and United States commissions, printed in their report beginning at page 121:

> There is no denying the fact that by virtue of their moral weight and the guiding influence they manifestly exercise, the two land-mortgage institutions occupy the foremost place among the institutes engaged in advancing mortgage loans, though in the amount of such loans they are surpassed by the joint-stock banks and savings banks.

The two land-mortgage institutions referred to are the Hungarian Land Mortgage Institute and the National Small Holdings Land Mortgage Institute, both of which received substantial contributions from the Hungarian national treasury.

So much for a general discussion of the question of Government aid. The fact is that no substantial affirmative reason has yet been advanced for striking section 30 out of the Hollis-Bulkley bill. It is contended that the section is unnecessary; but, even if that be true, it can do no harm, as it is worded so that it could operate only in case of need. And if there be any wrong principle in Government aid the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency went wrong when it reported out the new Hollis bill, retaining from the original Hollis-Bulkley bill the provisions for exemption from taxation investments of postal-savings funds and Government subscription to land-bank stock. Whatever of principle there may be in opposition to Government aid is thus sacrificed, and the only real insistence seems to be that Government aid must not be allowed to be effective. The excision of original section 30 went hand in hand with the addition of new section 17, providing for the incorporation of great capitalistic banks under private ownership and control. The prospectus of such an institution, already in print, suggests annual dividends in the neighborhood of 15 per cent, and it is proposed in the new Hollis bill that the securities of these institutions shall be tax-exempt.

The remainder of the narrative can be quickly told. On Saturday afternoon, February 27, the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. LEVER], the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, asked unanimous consent that the House disagree to all of the Senate amendments to the Agriculture appropriation bill, nearly 100 in number, including the McCumber amendment. Objection was made, and the gentleman from South Carolina then sought to accomplish the same result by moving to suspend the rules. But the House refused to take such action without having an opportunity to vote on the rural credits question. This made it necessary for the Committee on Agriculture to consider all of the Senate amendments.

On Monday, March 1, that committee reported to the House its recommendation that the House concur in the McCumber amendment with an amendment, substituting for the McCumber amendment the new Hollis bill as reported by the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency. Amendments to this proposition, which I offered on the floor, to reinsert section 30 of the original Hollis-Bulkley bill and to strike out the new section 17, providing for the private banks, were adopted by substantial majorities, approximately 3 to 1. And so the House went on record strongly in favor of cooperation and Government aid. The amendment which passed the House was substantially the original Hollis-Bulkley bill. There were some improvements over the original bill, the most important being an amendment to place the control of the land-mortgage system in the hands of a farm-loan board instead of the Federal Reserve Board as originally provided.

In order to make the amendment passed by the House conveniently accessible, I introduced it verbatim, as a new bill, on March 2. It is H. R. 21603.

The bill went to conference, and the conferees, so far as rural credits are concerned, adopted the traditional method of dodging a difficult question—they provided for a commission to investigate. The investigating committee is to be made up of six Senators and six Members of the House, appointed, not by the Vice President and Speaker, as is usual in such cases, but by the chairmen of the House and Senate Committees on Agriculture and on Banking and Currency. It will be remembered that of the four chairmen charged with selecting members of the committee two are chairmen of committees which have already unanimously reported the new Hollis bill, with Government aid eliminated. As each chairman was required to select two additional members from his own committee, it follows that there must be six members of the new investigating committee who, presumably, have voted to report the new Hollis bill. As all meetings of the House Committee on Banking and Currency are open, I violate no confidence in saying that the three members of that committee who are to serve on the new investigating committee have consistently opposed any action on rural credits ever since the original Hollis-Bulkley bill was reported from the subcommittee, and may be counted on to oppose Government aid. In addition to these nine, one of the remaining three was a member of the United States commission which reported the Fletcher-Moss bill. Only one man who has shown an unflinching adherence to Government aid has been offered a place on the investigating committee. The friends of Government aid, therefore, must not expect too much from the coming investigation. However, it may be too early to form judgments.

The Unemployed.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. ROBERT FOWLER,
OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. FOWLER. Mr. Speaker, as I have been one of the leaders in the fight for efficiency in our Navy and seacoast defense, and have had the pleasure of witnessing a forward movement in this direction during the closing days of Congress, I have also been anxious to lead the fight for relief to the unemployed before my term of office expired. Several weeks ago I introduced a bill for this purpose, which proposes an amendment to the law creating the Department of Labor by the addition of a new section thereto, to be known as section 12. I have repeatedly urged the chairman of the Committee on Labor to call a meeting of his committee for the consideration of this bill, but so far he has not done so, and I presume he will not do so now, as the days of this Congress are about numbered. I am much disappointed at this turn of affairs, and regret very much that I have not been given an opportunity to bring this question before Congress for final action before adjournment.

The terms of my bill, Mr. Speaker, provide for a new bureau in the Department of Labor, to be known as the bureau of the unemployed, to be presided over by a commissioner, assisted by a deputy commissioner. The bureau has the power to take the census of the unemployed as often as may be necessary; to keep a record of the unemployed; to make and keep a record of the commercial and industrial conditions affecting the unemployed; to furnish full information of business places where employment can be had, and to facilitate the movement of the unemployed to such places; to make investigations as to the extent of enforced idleness and the cause of the same, and to suggest remedies for relief; and to make reports to Congress and the President on the 1st day of December of each year and oftener if deemed necessary.

"A bill (H. R. 21331) to amend an act entitled 'An act to create a Department of Labor' by providing for a bureau of the unemployed.

"*Be it enacted, etc.*, That an act entitled 'An act to create a Department of Labor,' approved March 4, 1913, be, and the same is hereby, amended by adding the following section:

"'SEC. 12. That there shall be in the Department of Labor a bureau to be called the bureau of the unemployed, and a commissioner of the unemployed who shall be the head of the said bureau, to be appointed by the President, who shall receive a salary of $6,000 per annum. There shall also be in said bureau a deputy commissioner who shall receive a salary of $4,000 per annum, and who shall, in the absence of the commissioner, act as and perform the duties of the commissioner of the unemployed, and who shall also perform such other duties as may be assigned to him by the Secretary of Labor or by the said commissioner.

"'The said commissioner shall have power and authority under the direction of the Secretary of Labor—

"'(a) To take a census at as frequent intervals as possible, not less than once per month, of the unemployed in the United States.

"'(b) To make and keep a classified enrollment of the unemployed by avocations.

"'(c) To correct and keep full records of the industrial and commercial conditions throughout the United States, especially in relation to opportunities for the employment of labor.

"'(d) To furnish the fullest possible information to the unemployed of opportunities for employment in any part of the United States and to devise plans for facilitating the movement of the unemployed to places where opportunity for employment exists.

"'(e) To make investigations and report to Congress and the President annually on the 1st of December and oftener, if requested, the extent of enforced idleness and unemployment in the United States and the causes thereof, with suggestions for remedies for the same.'"

Mr. Speaker, if this bill were enacted into law, the Department of Labor would have full authority over this whole subject matter, and, undoubtedly, would be able to furnish employment to thousands of idle men who are anxious to work. Every man is entitled to an opportunity to work, and when deprived of this right he has a right to know the cause and to demand its removal.

Surrounded, as we are, by nature's handbook of evidence, we must conclude that the divine plan of our heavenly Master in creating the earth was to warm it with a sun and water it with the dews from heaven, so that it might be productive and suitable for the home of intelligence, and then to populate it with a people upon a plane of equality, enjoining upon all alike the necessity of laboring to supply themselves with food, raiment, and shelter. Whatever agency is set in motion which deprives men of this divine right to supply themselves and their families with these three great and overshadowing necessaries of life is an evil; yea, more, it is a sin. If the state has so administered the affairs of government as to deprive the citizen of the opportunity to work, it is the duty of the state to restore this opportunity, and this is the object of my bill, Mr. Speaker. There are many causes which have brought about enforced idleness in the country, and it is the duty of the Government to discover them and remove them as fast as possible.

That there are idle men in the country no one can deny. Mayor Mitchel, of New York, gave out a report in the second week of February, 1915, that there were 400,000 idle men in the city of New York; and about the same time the Chicago Tribune claimed that there were about 200,000 unemployed in the city of Chicago. In his Indianapolis speech, the President referred, with a marked degree of pride, to the noble work of the Department of Labor in securing employment for idle men. During the winter of 1907 and 1908 the country was full of idle men. There were more business failures during that year than has occurred in any one year either before or since that time. Millions of unemployed people suffered for the want of the necessaries of life, many of whom died of starvation.

In a rich country like ours this should not be the case, Mr. Speaker. Approximately we have a hundred and fifty billion dollars of wealth. We have more than 800,000,000 acres of productive soil, more than 400,000,000 acres of which are unimproved. Here is a vast opportunity for employment, if the lands were properly distributed. We have more than 3,000,000 miles of public roads in the United States, with less than 10 per cent of them improved. Again, Mr. Speaker, here is room for all of the idle men in America, and I see no good reason why the strong arm of the Government should not be extended in this direction to furnish work for all who are out of jobs.

Mr. Speaker, we need trained soldiers, and several hundred thousand men could be employed on Government works, devoting a portion of their time each day to military drill and a portion to labor for the Government. Every soldier in Cæsar's army was a skilled artisan, able to make and repair all the sinews of war. This is what made his army so invulnerable. We pay out annually more than $250,000,000 on account of our Army, Navy, and coast defense. We need manufacturing plants for the production of armor and armament. This would afford an opportunity for labor and for military drill, which would create a large reserve force for emergencies. Mr. Speaker, if the President should issue a call for half a million men to work on public roads and Government works, with the privilege of devoting a portion of their time to military drill, I have no doubt but what twice that number would respond readily, and within less than two weeks thereafter, our industrial and commercial masters would be advertising for men at increased wages in order to supply themselves with labor. It is well known that the business of our country is now and has been for many years conducted by a few rich corporate magnates, who assume that it is their privilege to open up or close down business concerns at will, thereby entailing upon the country enforced idleness and extreme want. The divine right to labor demands that the strong arm of the Government should be used to relieve the people from this dreadful condition. This must be done sooner or later, for it is well known that enforced idleness brings on want and misery, and to relieve this condition men are often forced to commit crimes, which have often resulted in revolution. One is raging in Mexico now.

Mr. Speaker, since introducing my bill I have been interrogated as to the method of securing means to pay for labor on public roads and public work. Congressman LOFT, of New York, has a bill now pending before the Committee on Labor, which, if enacted into law, will furnish all the means necessary for this purpose.

"A bill (H. R. 21332) to provide for the unemployed, strengthen the national defense, and for other purposes.

"*Be it enacted, etc.*, That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to take an immediate census and enrollment of all unemployed persons in the United States between

the ages of 16 and 65, all expedition to be used in making such enrollment, employing as fully as possible the forces of the Department of Labor, the Post Office Department, the Census Bureau, and other departments of the Federal Government and such additional employees in those departments as may be needed. The President shall also invite the State and municipal governments to aid in making such census and enrollment as complete and speedily as possible.

"SEC. 2. That at the completion of said census and enrollment of unemployed persons, and earlier if possible, the President is hereby authorized and empowered to enlist such unemployed persons volunteering for such employment for labor on public works of the United States at the prevailing rate of wages. The President is also authorized to cooperate with the various State and municipal governments in facilitating employment on local public works.

"SEC. 3. That the President is hereby authorized to select from among the said enrolled and enlisted persons all able-bodied male citizens of the United States and all able-bodied males who have declared their intention to become citizens of the United States between the ages of 18 and 35 and detail them for training in military service for four hours each day, the remaining four hours each day to be employed on public works of the United States as laborers and mechanics; such employment and training to be as near as possible to the place of residence of those with families or dependents to support. All enlistments and details under this act to be voluntary.

"SEC. 4. That the term of service under enlistment and detail as provided in sections 2 and 3 of this act shall be four months, any extension of said time of enlistment to be by voluntary agreement between the Government and the person so enlisting. All able-bodied male persons between the ages of 18 and 35 enlisted and detailed for part-time military training under this act shall, after their discharge or termination of service, be maintained on the rolls of the Government as a special military reserve force, without pay, until they have reached the age of 40 years, and during such period be subject to call for home service in the national defense in time of war and shall report to the Government for two weeks' military training each year.

"SEC. 5. That the pay of persons so enrolled and enlisted by the United States Government shall begin at one-half regular rates on the day of enlistment and at full rates on the day they are assigned to work. No one shall be eligible for employment through enlistment under this act unless he shall have continuously resided in the United States for at least one year. The sale of Panama bonds already authorized shall be used to defray the expenses of this act so far as may be required."

A large portion of the cost of building the Panama Canal has been paid out of the Treasury, whereas the original plan was to sell Panama Canal bonds for this purpose. We could very well afford now to sell some of these bonds in order to relieve the unemployed. We must have better roads in America, and the Nation must help build them. We must have a military reserve to meet emergencies, and the Nation must devise means to defray the expenses thereof. We must have relief from the oppressive trusts, and the Nation must enforce the law in order to restore normal conditions. If our commercial masters have so conducted the business of the country as to disturb its equilibrium, then the Government must either bring them to justice by enforcing the laws or it will be compelled to take over the business of the country and operate it. Government aid in the construction of good roads is clearly within the provisions of the Constitution, and the production of military and naval supplies by the Government is just as clearly within its provisions. A strong effort has been made by Members of this and the Sixty-second Congress to pass laws for this purpose. The House has passed a bill twice for national aid for good-road building, but neither of them passed the Senate.

Samuel Gompers, in the January issue of the American Federationist, in commenting upon the proceedings of the convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Philadelphia, said:

> Unemployment is a serious matter as long as a single man or woman wants work and can not get it.

Further on he says that the Philadelphia convention refused to indorse a resolution for bureau employment agencies. This indicates that labor organizations are demanding something much more substantial than employment bureaus. We need a well-thought-out plan for permanent employment, so that the poor and helpless may escape the hardships of business depression. As long as business men hold that a moderate fortune is three-quarters of a billion dollars, as was done by Senator LIPPITT in the hearings before the Ways and Means Committee in 1909, and refuse to operate their plants unless the incomes will produce such "moderate" fortunes, the employment of labor will always be uncertain; and unless business masters change their views upon this subject, we will either be compelled to submit to the present inhuman system of employment or resort to Government regulation and control. Indeed, many writers upon this subject have advanced the doctrine of Government ownership as the only solution of this vexed question. But my confidence in the ability of American statesmanship has always led me to believe that it is sufficient to meet and solve all questions of social and economic concern according to the fundamental principles of this Republic as laid down by our forefathers, and I trust that the question of the unemployed will not be the cause of a departure from any of the basic principles of our Government.

Yet, while we cherish this fond hope, we must not forget that as time passes our population grows more dense, and the opportunity to secure homes grows more difficult. If we should fail to take time by the forelock and make the bed of labor as easy as the bed of capital, and permit the disease of enforced idleness to grow until it spreads to the four corners of our country, pouring out its wail of hunger and a cry for bread throughout the land, who knows but what we will be compelled to resort to drastic measures. It will then require a large military force to subdue the unemployed and hold them in proper check to prevent revolution, or the Government will be compelled either to regulate business so as to give steady employment or take over the business of the country and operate it for the purpose of giving employment to the hungry in order to prevent revolution. Mr. Speaker, I seek by the terms of my bill to avert just such a condition, and if it were enacted into law, along with Congressman LOFT'S bill, I feel sure that it would be the beginning of the proper solution of this question.

"The North Pole Aftermath"—Reply to Some Criticisms in the North Pole Controversy.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY T. HELGESEN,

OF NORTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. HELGESEN. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS] says, "American history must not be perverted"; and adds that he speaks not only as a Member of Congress, but in the spirit of an educator—a college president, a teacher of history, and as a citizen jealous that there shall be no perversion of our American history.

It is true that the gentleman from Ohio does at present hold the position of president of an institution of learning called Antioch College, located somewhere in his native State. In this connection, Mr. Speaker, I will quote, as some of my distinguished colleagues have already quoted, from recent letters written by the educators of other institutions of learning, not so obscure and possibly of as high rank as Antioch College, of which the gentleman from Ohio is president.

President Emeritus Charles W. Eliot, of Harvard University, universally recognized as one of the leading, if not the leading, educator of the world, in a letter dated December 29, 1913, said:

> CAMBRIDGE, MASS., *December 29, 1913.*
>
> DEAR SIR: Your letter of December 26 has just reached me.
>
> By national authority you probably mean authority of the United States Government. I am not aware of any statement that the Government has made that Robert E. Peary is the discoverer of the North Pole unless it be contained, incidentally, in the act which promoted him in the Navy.
>
> Very truly, yours, CHARLES W. ELIOT.

The gentleman from Ohio also refers to the verdict of some of the newspapers at a time when the campaign of calumny against Dr. Cook was at its height. I shall speak on that point at greater length later, but just now I would call the gentleman's attention to the following letter from a man whose position as district superintendent of schools in the State of Vermont renders his opinion worthy of consideration:

> READSBORO, VT., *January 26, 1914.*
>
> DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of recent date, I will say that I regard Cook rather than Peary to be the real discoverer of the North Pole. I base my opinion on the fact that the most reliable newspapers at the time of the much-heated controversy unreservedly championed Cook as being the first to reach the pole.
>
> F. E. SAWYER,
> *District Superintendent of Schools, Readsboro, Vt.*

Prof. R. D. Salisbury, of the University of Chicago—with which the gentleman from Ohio was at one time connected—wrote, on February 13, 1914:

I do not think that there was ever a "national indorsement" of Mr. Peary's discovery of the North Pole in the sense you mean. It follows that I can not refer you to any official document showing that Mr. Peary had "national indorsement."

R. D. SALISBURY.

In an article printed by the New Yorker Zeitung August 9, 1913, taken from the Berliner Tageblatt, Prof. Otto Baschin, president of the Geographic Institute of the Berlin University, said:

It is unbelievable that anyone who is willing to study the facts can doubt Dr. Cook.

The gentleman from Ohio is proud of the fact that he was the author of the amendment creating the department of State superintendent of public instruction in Ohio.

I have before me a letter signed by the deputy superintendent of public instruction, Columbus, Ohio, written on January 24, 1914, from which I shall quote:

Permit me to say that it is my firm conviction that Dr. Cook was as near the North Pole as was Peary. I do not like the attitude of Peary in all of this matter. The National Geographic Magazine seems to accept the statements of Peary. Nevertheless, this does not change my views at all in regard to the discoveries made by Dr. Cook.

CHARLES C. MILLER.

The writer of the above letter also signed a special memorial, addressed to the Congress, asking for a congressional investigation into the merits of the polar controversy.

On February 8, 1915, the distinguished Member from Kentucky [Mr. FIELDS] included in his remarks a letter from which I quote, signed by Dr. G. Frederick Wright, of Oberlin College, Ohio, president of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, and author of the "Ice Age of America." Dr. Wright explored the Muir Glacier in Alaska in 1886, and was a member of the Arctic expedition in the steamship *Miranda* in 1894, to study glacial formations in the far north. The degree of D. D. was conferred on him by Brown University in 1887 and L. L. D. by Drury in the same year. His letter from which I quote is dated December 28, 1914:

DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter of the 25th instant I would say that in the summer of 1894 I accompanied Dr. Frederick A. Cook to Greenland in the ill-fated *Miranda*, and had abundant occasion to observe his straightforward and honest character and his great resourcefulness in times of peril. When our ship was injured upon the rocks the courage and skill which he showed in venturing 100 miles northward along the rugged coast of Greenland in a small boat to get relief, prepared me for believing that he could accomplish any daring enterprise that was within reach of human effort. In an interview which I had with Admiral Schley a year or two before his death he expressed to me his perfect confidence in Dr. Cook's honesty and ability to make observations, since he knew that Dr. Cook took great pains to perfect himself in handling instruments before his last Arctic tour.

Trusting that the truth in this whole matter may come out, I am,

Very truly, yours,

G. FREDERICK WRIGHT.

Again I quote from a letter written by Rev. William F. Rigge, astronomer of Creighton University, Omaha, Nebr., dated August 11, 1914.

Father Rigge was a college professor in Chicago from 1884 to 1887; in St. Louis from 1891 to 1895; and from September, 1895, to July, 1896, he was connected with the Georgetown College Observatory, engaged in scientific research. His principal work consisted of the photographic determination of the variation of latitude. Since September, 1896, he has been instructor in astronomy, mathematics, and physics at Creighton University, which is probably the best equipped students' observatory in the United States. He is a contributor to "Astronomische Nachrichten," Astrophysical Journal, the Astronomical Journal, Popular Astronomy, Scientific American, Benziger's Magazine, Familienfreund, Regensburger Marien Kalender, and many other publications, including the Omaha Bee and the Omaha World-Herald, from which the gentleman from Ohio makes a quotation. Father Rigge is a member of the Royal Astronomical Society of the Academy of Science, St. Louis, Mo., and a Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society of England. Altogether he ranks quite as high in the scientific and educational world as does the gentleman from Ohio. His letter to Senator O'GORMAN reads:

OMAHA, NEBR., *August 11, 1914.*

Senator O'GORMAN, *New York.*

HONORED SIR: Allow me to respectfully ask your honor to use your influence in having Congress investigate Dr. Cook's claims as to the discovery of the North Pole.

It is only fair that Congress should take up his case, as it did that of Admiral Peary, and that Dr. Cook himself should ask for such a hearing shows that he is not afraid of submitting his data to the Nation's scrutiny.

While I am personally convinced of the many advantages, and even of the necessity of this investigation, my name does not in any way imply the official sanction of the Creighton University.

Respectfully, yours,

WILLIAM F. RIGGE.

Rand, McNally & Co., of New York, Chicago, and London, are without question the best-known publishers of commercial and academic geographies, maps, and atlases in the United States, if not in the world. In a letter dated February 24, 1914, their representative, Mr. Newkirk, writing for the firm, said:

You ask us to advise the authority on which the statement is made that Peary discovered the North Pole. Your question is a very proper one, and indicates the same question mark which has been in our own minds. The New York office received from the office of President Churchill, of the New York Board of Education, some time ago, a telephone communication asking if there was any reference to the discovery of the North Pole in the Dodge Geography. The New York office thereupon called up Prof. Dodge, and he replied "That inasmuch as this question had not been decided no mention was made of it."

From many original letters now before me I shall quote one addressed to Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, written under date of March 25, 1914, and signed by a man of high standing in the educational world, Dr. Robert J. Usher, at the present time in charge of the library of the University of California, Berkeley, Cal.; at the time this letter was written, assistant reference librarian of the John Crerar Reference Library, Chicago, Ill.:

CHICAGO, ILL., *March 25, 1914.*

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I hope you will be inclined to interest yourself in the matter which I believe is about to be presented in Congress—an investigation of the merits of the claims of Dr. Frederick Cook.

I am told every effort is being made to prevent any action, on the ground that this is a personal matter between two men, Peary and Cook; that it is a scandalous affair, to be let alone. My own feeling, after a careful investigation of the subject, is that it is much more than a personal matter; it is a question of whether we who are in position to know the facts are to allow a man's character to be blackened through the agency of a heavily capitalized press bureau. Most people have their opinions on public questions made for them by newspapers or magazines, and the articles in the latter are ordinarily based upon newspaper accounts. Public opinion was so made in this controversy, and it was notably true that articles tending to discredit Dr. Cook were given widest publicity, retractions or corrections almost no space.

Up to the time Dr. Cook announced his discovery of the North Pole, in September, 1909, there had been nothing against his record. His climb of Mount McKinley in 1906 had been generally acknowledged. His book on the subject had been sold for three years, and, so far as I can find from the geographical literature of the period, no question was raised as to its veracity. Peary himself had praised Cook's work in the Arctic regions. A campaign to discredit Cook began from the moment when Peary announced to the world that it had been "handed a gold brick."

Successively the following events, all of which were given wide publicity to Cook's discredit followed:

1. Cook's own story of his polar trip, "a confession" of nothing more than that he could not be certain that he was at the exact boreal center, was published in Hampton's Magazine, with the glaring caption "Cook's confession" upon its cover; this without Cook's consent or knowledge, of course.

2. A self-appointed jury from the Pro-Peary Explorers' Club, of New York, decided that Cook could not have climbed Mount McKinley in 1906.

3. Edward Barrille, a guide, who accompanied Cook on the McKinley trip, and who for three years had proudly boasted of the fact, made affidavit that the story of the climb was false. Dr. Cook says he has proof ready to be produced in court that Barrille was bribed with a large sum of money by the Peary press bureau to make this affidavit.

4. The Copenhagen jury to which Dr. Cook had submitted such records of his trip as he could produce found that in his evidence there was nothing to prove conclusively that he reached the pole, nor, on the other hand, was there anything to prove the contrary. This statement was much garbled by the newspapers. Absolutely no publicity was given to the statement later admitted in the hearings before Congress by two of the three men in the jury of the National Geographic Society which passed upon Peary's records that there was nothing in them to prove that he—Peary—had reached the North Pole.

5. Two men, Dunkle and Loose, after worming their way into Dr. Cook's confidence, attempted to get him to publish as his own a set of faked observations prepared by themselves.

6. Mountain-climbing expeditions have been fitted out at great expense under the direction of Belmore Browne and Herschel Parker to discredit Cook's ascent of Mount McKinley. The evidence they submit in the matter, together with that offered by Archdeacon Stuck, will not, in my judgment, bear a scientific investigation.

Is not this a combination of circumstances to prove Cook's contention of a conspiracy to destroy his good name at whatever cost? For three years Cook from the lecture platform has charged Peary and his financial backers with a series of criminal actions. R. E. Peary is a rear admiral, thanks to Congress. He is not a poor man. Why do he and his friends not answer these charges?

There was an officer—I can't now recall his name—who was unjustly accused of cowardice in battle in the Civil War. It was not until some time in the eighties that he was able, after a long fight, to prove his case and leave to his family an unsullied name. A good part of his lifetime spent for it.

Some day Cook's contentions will all be proven. Later travelers will verify his statesments as Edwin Balch has clearly predicted in his recent work, The North Pole and Bradley Land. But, is it not a duty in the name of American fair play to give this man a chance to prove his case to ourselves rather than to leave it to a coming generation to be proven to others to our shame?

I hope you will lend your powerful support to this proposed investigation.

Very truly, yours,

ROBERT J. USHER,
Acting Reference Librarian,
John Crerar Library, Chicago, Ill.

Dr. Usher and other officials of the Crerar Library also signed a special memorial to the Congress, in their official capacities, asking for an investigation of the polar discovery.

Mr. Speaker, on December 23, 1914, in a speech on education in the House of Representatives, that distinguished and able statesman from Illinois, Mr. FITZHENRY, said:

* * * Dr. Frederick A. Cook claims that he discovered the North Pole, having reached it on the 21st day of April, 1908, and I find that a great preponderance of the authorities upon this subject are inclined to give Dr. Cook the credit for having made this exceedingly valuable addition to science as well as to the territory of the United States. In justice to him, as well as Admiral Peary, the conflicting claims should be finally settled.

On January 15, 1915, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FITZHENRY] received the following letter of appreciation and compliment from one of his constituents, which I shall quote:

ILLINOIS WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY,
Bloomington, Ill., January 15, 1915.

Hon. LOUIS FITZHENRY,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: I have just read a copy of your speech before the House of Representatives, December 23, 1914, on the case of Dr. Cook and his claim as the discoverer of the North Pole. Allow me to congratulate you and also thank you for the amount of information you brought to bear on the subject.

I have always felt since the controversy began that Dr. Cook did not have a square deal, and I hope Congress will soon sift the whole evidence and fairly decide which is the right claimant to the honor—Cook or Peary. As one of your constituents I want to say that I admire the stand you have taken on this as well as nearly all other questions (perhaps all) which have come before Congress since you became a Member.

Very truly, yours,

F. M. AUSTIN.

Mr. Speaker, in his remarks of March 4, extended in the RECORD of that date, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS] says:

Admiral Peary's stand, persisted in through many years, not to demean himself by any controversy with Dr. Cook, is one which must receive the hearty approval of all right-thinking Americans. A few, perhaps, not knowing the character of Dr. Cook's propaganda, do not understand that no self-respecting man could stoop to engage in such a controversy.

It seems to me a pertinent question, Mr. Speaker, to ask if the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS] really considers that the men whose names and opinions I have quoted, together with others whom I shall quote, including other Members of Congress and myself, are men without self-respect?

The gentleman from Ohio further makes the statement that—

Peary's journey in quest of the North Pole and to make polar soundings and tidal observations was undertaken with the sanction and full approval of the President of the United States and of the Navy Department; indeed, he went to the Arctic under the direct orders of the President as Commander in Chief of the Navy.

A misapprehension seems to exist in the mind of the public and of some Congressmen as to the sponsors for Mr. Peary's latest Arctic expedition. When it is convenient for Mr. Peary to make it appear that his polar expedition was a Government enterprise such statements as the one above quoted are made. When Mr. Peary wishes to dodge the accusation that his various expeditions were conducted at Government expense he refers the interested person to the book published over his name, "The North Pole," on page 326 of which is a copy of the record left at Cape Columbia, which reads in part:

PEARY ARCTIC CLUB NORTH POLE EXPEDITION, 1908.

S. S. "ROOSEVELT," *June 12, 1909.*

This monument marks the point of departure and return of the sledge expedition of the Peary Arctic Club, etc.

From the report of the congressional committee investigating Peary's alleged trip to the pole the gentleman from Ohio makes what he calls a "few salient excerpts." In these "excerpts" he mentions—

a report from Hugh C. Mitchell and C. R. Duvall, expert computers of astronomical observations from the Coast and Geodetic Survey of the United States—

but neglects to state that these "expert computers" were two men employed personally by Mr. Peary, who were not serving in their official capacity when making their computations for Mr. Peary.

For proof of this statement I quote from a letter signed by O. H. Tittmann, Superintendent of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, under date of March 4, 1914:

The computations of Peary's work were made by Messrs. Hugh C. Mitchell and Charles R. Duvall, who were employed for the purpose by Mr. Peary.

These computations were, therefore, not made officially by the Coast and Geodetic Survey.

O. H. TITTMANN, *Superintendent.*

It is quite evident that the gentlemen, as Mr. Tittmann says, were not acting in their official capacity, otherwise they would hardly have cared to risk their professional reputations on the confirmation of "observations" containing such grossly palpable errors as are contained in the "observations" reproduced on pages 293, 294, and 359 of "The North Pole."

The report also states that—

on the return of the Peary party to the United States the standard chronometer used by Peary was sent to its makers for rating and comparison—

but again fails to state that this same standard chronometer was found to be so much in error that as Meyers Lexikon (published in Leipzig and Vienna in 1912) says:

The investigation appointed by the Congress of the United States of North America, into Peary's data and material, found that Peary came only to within 1.5 minutes distance from the North Pole, and even that nearness could not be proved, because his chronometers were shown to be wrong.

Nor does the gentleman from Ohio make any note of the fact that at the present time the sale of Mr. Peary's book, "The North Pole," is not permitted in Germany, as it is not allowable in that country to sell a book under a false title, and the University of Berlin has decided that Mr. Peary did not discover the pole.

The question of Peary's speed on his alleged polar trip is a subject that has been worn so nearly threadbare that it seems almost futile to discuss it further; nevertheless, since the gentleman from Ohio has seen fit to reopen a subject on which it would seem the part of wisdom for a Peary advocate to maintain a discreet silence, I will quote from a book written by one of our English cousins, W. Henry Lewin, entitled "Did Peary Reach the Pole?"

On page 28 of this book Mr. Lewin says:

The distance from Cape Columbia to the pole is 475 statute miles; that is, in a perfectly straight line.

On pages 34 to 42, inclusive, the author says:

No man ever yet traveled over the polar ice in a straight line. The straight line of Peary's route seems, therefore, to show an entire absence of continuous observations for latitude and longitude. Peary's book contains no real sequence of observations. There are not more than four recorded observations for latitude on the whole journey to the pole, and an entire absence of observations for longitude. In the absence of the latter, the commander had no option but to draw his line of route on the map with an almost straight line. * * * He states, "There was no lateral movement of the ice on the journey," but in the absence of observations to verify that "estimate" the statement must be accepted with considerable reserve. The statement is a curious one also from the fact that every strong east or west wind on the journey (and there were many) must have caused lateral movements of the ice.

In the absence of any real chart of the alleged journey to the pole by Peary, or of his return from the pole, we shall attempt to construct a record of the real mileage that it would have been necessary for Commander Peary to have covered to achieve success in the time at his disposal. In doing this we shall attempt to err, if at all, upon the side of moderation, even at the expense of exactitude.

The first point to be considered to enable us to make an addition to Peary's straight-line mileage may be summed up under three headings:

1. The unequal surface of the ice and the necessity for being compelled to climb small mountains in the shape of ice hummocks.
2. The deviation from straight line caused by avoidance of the worst places on the ice.
3. The deviations from straight line caused by the avoidance of open leads and searches for the lost trail when the lead had been crossed.

A quotation from the commander himself has an interesting bearing upon these three headings:

"The ice of the polar sea is not an immovable surface. Twenty-four hours—even 12 hours—of strong wind will set the big blocks grinding and twisting among themselves, crushing up into pressure ridges on one side, breaking into leads (open water) in another place."

One of these leads on the early part of the journey caused a deviation of nearly 2 miles to connect up with the other end of the trail, while upon the return journey one end of the trail was lost, owing to an opening of the ice, which necessitated a long and anxious search before connection with the other end could be made.

For the reasons given, therefore, under the three headings, we shall place the addition to the straight-line route at the very conservative estimate of 10 per cent. * * * It is admitted that this estimate must be purely speculative, but the estimate arrived at is by no means on the side of exaggeration.

We have, therefore, to add 105 miles to Peary's mileage of 1,050 miles from Cape Columbia to the pole and back to Cape Sheridan via Cape Columbia, which brings the total at this point to 1,155 miles. It must be remembered that no allowance has yet been made for standard or windward drift, the 10 per cent having been made up by a consideration of the elemental difficulties of travel over the actual surface only, and this does not allow for the daily changes of latitude and longitude caused by standard and windward drift.

Pages 43 to 47, inclusive, state:

Peary states, in his book, the prevalence of winds from all points of the compass. We read of "strong east winds," strong west, north, and south winds, but there is no record on the chart of the enormous extra distance this eastward, westward, and, particularly, southward drift caused by north winds must have caused him to travel.

Peary mentions the handicap of drift in one place only. During the observation taken for latitude prior to Bartlett's return, it was found that "our latitude was the direct result of the northerly wind of the last two days, which had crowded the ice southward as we traveled over it northward." Twelve miles were lost here, but if we examine Peary's chart in the region of the eighty-eighth parallel we find no trace of the admitted 12 miles backward drift shown. How much, therefore, is to be added to the commander's figures of 1,155 miles to allow for loss by drift?

We shall add only 30 per cent to the commander's figures to represent the extra distance covered owing to movement of the ice caused by drift. This brings the total mileage to be accomplished by Commander Peary, on the basis of our formula, to roughly 1,500 statute miles.

The journey was accomplished in 45 marches—27 marches in 37 days for the outward journey and 18 marches on the homeward journey. Although the whole journey therefore occupied 55 days, the 10 days upon which the expedition was resting, from one cause or another, must be written off, and only the 45 days of actual travel considered in working out the speed average.

Fifteen hundred miles in 45 days gives an average of 33⅓ miles per day * * * (p. 53). His average for the last 6 marches to the pole after the return of Bartlett, 41⅔ miles per march.

His average from the pole to steamship *Roosevelt* via Cape Columbia on the return, 45⅔ miles per march; and his average for the final 2 marches, 73½ miles per march.

Pages 66 to 70, inclusive:

"It is obviously necessary to find some method of checking Peary's great speed after leaving Bartlett at 87° 46′ 49″ north latitude. That method of checking is found in Peary's book, 'The North Pole,' and the result of this checking furnishes one of the most dramatic points of the whole of our criticism of the commander's claims."

Capt. Bartlett was sent back south at a point 87° 46′ 49″—about 145 statute miles from the pole—and the position when they parted was that Peary could have said to Bartlett: "You hurry back to the ship—about 430 statute miles straight line via Cape Columbia from that point. I shall go north a farther 145 miles to the pole, spend 30 hours there, and then return and follow you to the ship. I am therefore going to undertake a journey of 290 statute miles—straight line—more than you, and before I see you again on the *Roosevelt* I shall have done 720 miles to your 430 miles from this point."

That was exactly the position, and in ascertaining the result of this little polar handicap the straight-line, point-to-point statute mileage will only be considered in this instance.

Who won this race?

"Why, Capt. Bartlett, of course, by several weeks," the reader will reply.

No! Commander Peary had covered the distance of 720 statute miles to Cape Columbia at least 24 hours before Bartlett reached the *Roosevelt*, and was thus considering the speed at which Peary's last 2 marches were covered, only about 24 hours behind him.

"Impossible!" the reader will exclaim.

But we have the commander's own evidence on the point.

He states: "It was almost exactly 6 o'clock on the morning of April 23 when we reached the igloo of Crane City, Cape Columbia, and the work was done."

And in another place: "Capt. Bartlett reached the *Roosevelt* on the return journey on April 24."

Peary and his party slept for two days at Cape Columbia; but had that two days and also the 30 hours spent at the pole been spent in marching, Peary must have won a sensational race to the *Roosevelt* by a "short head."

If Capt. Bartlett expressed any astonishment at Peary's return, so closely behind him, it is not recorded, nor is any information supplied as to how the news of the commander's success was conveyed to Bartlett or to the rest of the party.

I could quote much more along the same line and from many other authorities, but the above will suffice at this time.

The gentleman from Ohio quotes a list of medals which have been awarded Mr. Peary "for his discoveries," but makes no note of the fact that these medals were not awarded for the discovery of the North Pole, notwithstanding Mr. Peary's statement on page 364 of his book, "The North Pole":

Among the home and foreign honors awarded for the attainment of the pole are the following: * * * The Royal Geographical Society of London, etc.

Facing page 365 of that same book is a life-size reproduction of the medal presented to Mr. Peary by the Royal Geographical Society of London, showing plainly that the words "discovery" or "North Pole" do not appear on it. The inscription reads, "For Arctic explorations." Other medals presented to Mr. Peary by other geographical societies bear similar evasively worded inscriptions. The gentleman from Ohio very wisely forgot to be specific in mentioning medals awarded to Mr. Peary "for polar discovery."

The distinguished gentleman also quoted "the committee's tribute to Peary and its recommendations," which includes the following:

Finally having successfully followed a carefully laid plan, resulting in his reaching on April 6, 1909, and bringing back to civilization the conditions existing at the North Pole, that Robert Edwin Peary has performed a most remarkable and wonderful service, etc.

But the gentleman from Ohio fails altogether to make any note of the fact that one week before any word was heard from Mr. Peary announcing his return, Dr. Frederick A. Cook gave a detailed, explicit account of those same "conditions existing at the North Pole"; furthermore, that Peary stayed in silence at Battle Harbor for 10 days before transmitting his account of those conditions to the world; that during those 10 days Dr. Cook's detailed account had been transmitted to Mr. Peary; and that when Mr. Peary did see fit to give his description of polar conditions to the world, it was almost a word-for-word facsimile of that published by Dr. Cook before Mr. Peary returned to civilization. This is a matter of history, confirmed by practically every newspaper in the world; a fact which I have yet to see any of Mr. Peary's supporters successfully explain.

The gentleman from Ohio says, "So much for official American recognition of the services of the explorer (Mr. Peary)." It is only necessary to say that before the bill granting Mr. Peary this "official American recognition" had passed both Houses, the words "discovery" and "discoverer" were stricken from it, making the bill read only "for reaching the pole," thus recognizing that a prior claim for discovery exists. Incidentally, it is worthy of note that in writing of this bill three years later, ex-President William H. Taft, in a letter, the original of which is before me, states that he "has no doubt that Gen. Thomas Hubbard wished him to sign the bill promoting Engineer Peary, but as he recollects it, it was not due to his (Gen. Hubbard's) intervention that he signed it." Why, may I ask, did the ex-President have to stop to scratch his head and stir up his recollection to remember whether or not he signed this bill because of the intervention of Gen. Thomas Hubbard, or anyone else? (Gen. Hubbard was at that time the president of the Peary Arctic Club, one of Mr. Peary's heaviest financial backers, and is now the manager of the Peary press campaign, being the owner of one New York newspaper and interested in several others.)

The gentleman from Ohio says, "The American press sees the humor of the situation"—re Dr. Cook's claim for recognition—and quotes several undated newspaper items to support his statement. Mr. Speaker, I would say that some notable representatives of the American press see the injustice of the situation, and I, too, quote newspaper items to support my contention.

The Johnstown (Pa.) Leader, in an editorial dated October 13, 1914, entitled "Time to square it with Cook," says:

Cook reached the pole April 21, 1908. We can not deny his claims. No proof has been brought against him to sustain the Peary charge that he lied. There is no good reason apparent at this time why the Congress of the United States should not pay to Cook the honors which none denies him except his rival.

The Altoona (Pa.) Times editorially says under date of October 14, 1914:

It is not possible to come in contact with this great man (Dr. Cook) and not feel that he has been mistreated by his fellow countrymen. His quiet, unassuming manner invites respect and confidence. There is little reason to doubt that ultimately his labor and sacrifices will be accepted at their real value.

Under date of May 1, 1914, the New York Journal, in reporting the Poindexter resolution, which it "featured" in large type on the front page, said:

PEARY VERDICT RAILROADED.

From the beginning there have been numerous persons who have declared that Congress railroaded through the recognition of Peary and heaped honors upon him that he did not deserve.

Dr. Cook has never asked anything but an investigation and "a square deal."

The Marion (Ohio) Tribune, of July 29, 1914, in large headlines stated:

Cook sincere and honest, Marion verdict—That he reached goal, belief here—Explorer's story and appeal win sympathy of big audience at Chautauqua—Many sign petitions asking justice for him.

The Jackson (Mich.) Citizen-Press, December 1, 1913, said:

It would seem that, in justice to himself, Peary should accept the doctor's challenge to answer certain questions propounded during the latter's lecture.

The Benton Harbor (Mich.) News-Palladium, of November 19, 1913, in flaring headlines across the first page of the paper said:

Cook's pole tale wildly cheered—Copenhagen honors repeated in visit of explorer to Benton Harbor—Cause is popular—Ovation tendered speaker when he steps upon stage, and at conclusion theater rings with applause.

The Racine (Wis.) Daily Call, December 12, 1914, says editorially:

COOK COMING BACK.

By persistency that is equalled only in his heart-rending dash to the pole, and a sincerity that no man can doubt, Cook is convincing the American people that he actually reached the pole when he said he did.

Scientists now generally credit Cook with having reached the pole, and congressional action naming him as its discoverer is expected shortly.

The Arlington Heights (Ill.) Review, on March 27, 1914, editorially:

The Review has always believed in Dr. Cook—even when it has been unpopular dared to say so.

Arlington Heights will eagerly await the day when Congress shall yield unto him his own, so modestly referred to as "a square deal," and when all the world will recognize and gladly honor Dr. Frederick A. Cook, the discoverer of the North Pole.

The Paterson (N. J.) Press of December 19, 1913, in an editorial headed "The Cook-Peary controversy," said:

The American people do not care a whit which of the two men discovered the North Pole, but they are very much interested in seeing justice done. No man can read Dr. Cook's book and hear him talk, no matter how ardent an admirer and how firm a believer he may have been in Admiral Peary, without having his faith shaken. Admiral Peary, therefore, needs the official investigation as much as Dr. Cook. What, therefore, stands in the way?

The Hartford (Mich.) Day Spring, in an editorial called "The polar claimants," said on November 19, 1913:

The world loves a good fighter, and it is quite incomprehensible that an insincere man could wage the determined fight that Dr. Cook has made. His determination, courage, and apparent sincerity in waging his claim are qualities which Americans admire.

Let the gentleman from Ohio read the following editorial printed in the Rockville (Ill.) Tribune in December, 1913:

It is a monstrous injustice that the children of the United States should be taught that Peary discovered the pole, when it was really discovered a year before by another man. But falsehoods in history rarely survive. Sooner or later the real historian will get the truth on record. In this case, the sooner the better. This is why every American should demand an honest investigation of the polar controversy.

I admit that editorial utterances are important as showing the trend of public opinion; and I would again call the attention of the gentleman from Ohio to the fact that he has omitted

the dates on each one of the quotations which he makes, thereby rendering them valueless as an up-to-date expression of opinion. I wish to quote but one more, and that from the Des Moines (Iowa) Tribune of June 23, 1914, which is especially worthy of note, for thereby hangs a tale:

Whatever else Dr. Cook may be right or wrong about, he is most certainly right about the efforts that are being made to suppress him and his contentions over the North Pole discovery.

The Evening Tribune is in receipt of a mass of printed matter about the doctor, sent from no acknowledged source, that in the preparation must represent weeks of labor and hundreds of dollars' expense.

The question that naturally suggests itself is why such an effort should now be considered necessary to discredit the doctor, and who is financially interested enough to go to the expense?

The "mass of printed matter" which was "sent from no acknowledged source" to which the Tribune editor refers consists of an imitation newspaper, made up of clippings from the pro-Peary press, most of which are nearly 5 years old. This anonymous material, I am reliably informed, is sent to every town where Dr. Cook is booked to lecture a few days in advance of the date of the lecture. I have a copy of it in my possession. Mr. Speaker, some time ago many Members of this American Congress, both Senators and Representatives, were the recipients of a copy of this imitation newspaper which is being sent anonymously over the country, with this difference: In the case of the Members of Congress each copy of this imitation newspaper was accompanied by a circular letter signed by one Lucien Alexander, a Philadelphia lawyer, with offices at 713–714 Arcade Building, Philadelphia.

It is a singular circumstance, Mr. Speaker, that two days before the remarks of the gentleman from Ohio were extended in the RECORD this Lucien Alexander came to Washington by appointment, and, by appointment, visited the offices of a select few of the Peary advocates in Congress; and it is a yet more singular circumstance, which can not truthfully be called a coincidence, that the remarks of the gentleman from Ohio, which were extended in the RECORD, are largely a line-for-line duplicate of the letter which accompanied the imitation newspaper sent to the Members of Congress, and which was signed by Lucien Alexander.

We have therefore, Mr. Speaker, direct evidence connecting this chain of scurrilous, anonymous, faked newspaper material, sent broadcast over the country, with Lucien Alexander, of Philadelphia.

I repeat the inquiry of the Des Moines editor: "Who is financially interested enough to go to the expense of these very expensive efforts to discredit Dr. Cook?"

The gentleman from Ohio quotes a paragraph from a letter written by Hon. Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, in which Mr. Daniels presumes to advise Congress in regard to the matter of an investigation; but the gentleman from Ohio omits the preceding paragraph of that letter which reads:

The department has never conducted any investigation or made any findings in regard to the discovery of the North Pole, and is therefore, should the joint resolution 282 be approved by the Congress, unable to submit a report of finding in reference to the matter under consideration.

In this connection I wish to quote from a letter written by ex-Secretary of the Navy G. von L. Meyer, at the time of the Peary investigation in Congress, under date of February 10, 1910, to the chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs:

His (Peary's) various exploring expeditions can not be regarded as having been conducted for a strictly military or naval purpose, and for this reason it seems inappropriate to confer upon him a title for which his previous education, training, and service have not fitted him.

DR. COOK'S CASE IN THE SENATE.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to call especial attention to the statement of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS] relative to the Cook resolution in the Senate. That resolution is S. J. Res. 144, and was introduced in the Senate by that distinguished Senator from Washington, Mr. POINDEXTER.

Mr. Speaker, I have now in my possession a letter addressed to me, written by Senator POINDEXTER under date of March 12, 1915, which I shall here quote verbatim:

[MILES POINDEXTER, Washington, chairman; WILLIAM S. KENYON, Iowa; GEORGE W. NORRIS, Nebraska; HARRY LANE, Oregon.]

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE WAR DEPARTMENT,
March 12, 1915.

Hon. HENRY T. HELGESEN,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. HELGESEN: My attention has been called to the statement, "It (the Cook resolution in the Senate) was referred to the Library Committee and a subcommittee, which was named to look after the matter, flatly refused to give aid or encouragement to the investigation of any such subject, and there the matter ended in the Senate."

This statement is wholly incorrect; in fact, the reverse of what actually occurred. No subcommittee of the Library Committee "refused" flatly or otherwise to investigate the subject; but, on the contrary, the subcommittee which was selected did expressly agree to act and to hear testimony and conduct the investigation referred to.

The hearing was not had because a committee of the House of Representatives took the matter up and began a hearing, holding one sitting, so that it was not regarded as advisable at that time to duplicate the proceeding in the Senate, and consequentiy the sponsors of the resolution referred to did not bring it up or request a hearing upon it.

Very truly, yours,

(Signed) MILES POINDEXTER.

Mr. Speaker, the unqualified assertion of Senator POINDEXTER in his letter of March 12, above quoted, that "this statement is wholly incorrect; in fact, the reverse of what actually occurred," disposes finally and effectually of the erroneous statement of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS] that the Senate Committee on the Library refused to investigate the Cook resolution.

In the "Illustration of Dr. Cook's evidence," given by the gentleman from Ohio, in which he tried to belittle the testimony given before the Educational Committee, on January 26, I need only call attention to the report of the hearing of that date before the Committee on Education, which is inserted in the RECORD by the distinguished Member from Arkansas, Mr. CARAWAY, which report immediately follows in the RECORD the extended remarks of the gentleman from Ohio. It is relevant to state also that the chairman of the Committee on Education, of which committee the gentleman from Ohio is a member, refused to sanction the printing of this evidence in favor of Dr. Cook, and that every possible effort was made to suppress this evidence. Why? Furthermore, Mr. Speaker, it was only through the energetic efforts of the distinguished Member from New York, Mr. CHARLES B. SMITH, and the fine spirit of fair play and justice which characterized the distinguished Member from Arkansas, Mr. CARAWAY, that the report of the hearing before the Committee on Education was ever made public.

As to the Copenhagen verdict, I personally have in my possession the original document giving the report of the University of Copenhagen in regard to Dr. Cook's claims. This report is printed in Danish, which I read fluently, and that original report does not repudiate Dr. Cook. This fact is further attested in Salmonsen's Danish Encyclopedia, published in Copenhagen, Denmark, in 1911, two years after the so often mis-quoted verdict was rendered.

The Danes never have repudiated Dr. Cook. The claim that Dr. Cook submitted his data in full to the Danes is unjust. I shall quote from a letter by Dr. Frits V. Holm, of whom Who's Who says:

Dr. Frits V. Holm, G. C. C. M., K. C. L. O., M. R. A. S. (Navigator, journalist, explorer, lecturer.)

Born near Copenhagen, Denmark, July 23, 1881, he passed a preliminary examination at the Copenhagen University and received (1895–1900) an officer's education in the Royal Danish Navy, visiting many countries on men of war. He has lectured in English, French, and Danish in 28 universities and institutions in the United States of America, Canada, and Mexico about his explorations.

He is the author of numerous papers on Far Eastern and other subjects, a doctor of philosophy, a (Boy) Scout commissioner, a consulting editor of The Records of the Past, and holds a royal Danish license as sworn interpreter-translator, commanding many languages. He is a member of the Royal Asiatic Society (London), a gold medalist of the International Historical Society (Paris), an honorary member of the Royal Sauveteurs Society (Brussels), a corresponding member of the Archaeological Society of 1816 (Paris) and of the Romanic Academy of Sciences, a life member of several Red Cross societies, of the Kihin Kai (Tokio), and the Royal Yacht Club (Copenhagen); also of the Authors' Club (London).

He has been decorated with the Grand Cross, with swords of the Order of St. Cyrillus and St. Methodius (Holy See), the Knight Commander Badge and Star of the Order El Busto del Liberatador (Venezuela), the Knight's Cross of the Royal Order of the Redeemer (Greece), and with other decorations and medals from Russia, France, Spain, Belgium, Japan, Mexico, Liechtenstein, Cambodia, and Luang-Prabang—in all, 14 decorations.

Dr. Holm writes, under date of May 8, 1914:

"During my travels I have been lucky in making the acquaintance of many explorers, including arctic travelers. Among the latter have been Dr. Frithiof Nansen, Sir Ernest Shackleton, the Duke of the Abruzzi, Knud Rasmussen, Roald Amundsen, and also Robert E. Peary and Dr. Frederick A. Cook.

"I feel convinced that all fair-minded and unbiased persons must admit that had there been no Peary expedition Dr. Cook's claim would have stood unchallenged.

"It was solely and exclusively the machinations of Mr. Peary and his henchmen that made it possible, temporarily, to discredit Cook. Their work was indeed relentless, ungentlemanlike, and self-damnatory. Dr. Cook never had a chance against the wealthy coterie of the 'polar trust,' and if he had one he did not avail himself of it.

"There is, as far as I can see, absolutely no reason to disbelieve him. His book is a convincing document and sincere.

"It is impossible to predict what a congressional investigation of the Cook claim may bring—it has been so long deferred—but I certainly hope it will come, and soon. But, if I may venture a prophecy, I should say that Dr. Cook will receive the thanks of Congress as well as his well-deserved gold medal, and that an investigation, if earnest, of his affairs will bring to light facts and matters that will necessitate, for the honor of the country, a new Peary investigation, an investigation into the affairs of the National Geographic Society, and, possibly, the prosecution of certain individuals."

Does the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS] consider Dr. Frits V. Holm to be a man without self-respect?

The gentleman from Ohio says that Dr. Cook makes false claims of support by polar experts and arctic explorers. Mr. Speaker, I make the plain statement that I personally have read

the original letters of indorsement from the men whom Dr. Cook claims as his supporters nearly all of which are dated in 1914 and some in 1915.

The gentleman from Ohio makes special mention of Amundsen, the discoverer of the South Pole, and quotes an alleged newspaper interview with Amundsen which he forgets to date, but which will be found in some of the newspapers of December, 1909.

Mr. Speaker, I shall quote from Capt. Amundsen's latest book, written since his discovery of the South Pole, long after the alleged interview above referred to was supposed to have been given:

From Roald Amundsen's History of the South Pole, volume 1, page 19:

"Frederick A. Cook, of Brooklyn, was surgeon to the expedition, beloved and respected by all. As a medical man his calm and convincing presence had an excellent effect. As things turned out the greatest responsibility fell upon Cook, but he mastered the situation in a wonderful way. Through his practical qualities he finally became indispensable. It can not be denied that the Belgian antarctic expedition owes a great debt to Cook."

From volume 1, pages 23–24:

"Scurvy especially increased and did such havoc that finally there was not a single man who escaped being attacked by this fearful disease. Cook's behavior at this time won the respect and devotion of all. It is not too much to say that Cook was the most popular man of the expedition, and he deserved it. From morning to night he was occupied with his many patients, and when the sun returned it happened not infrequently that after a strenuous day's work the doctor sacrificed his night's sleep to go hunting seals and penguins in order to provide the fresh meat that was so greatly needed by all. * * * New Year's Day came and went without any change in the ice. The situation now began to be seriously threatening.

"Again Cook came to the aid of the expedition. In conjunction with Raconitza he had thought out a very ingenious way of sawing a channel and thus reaching the nearest land. The proposal was submitted to the leader of the expedition and accepted by him. Both the plan and the method of carrying it out were well considered. After three weeks' hard work, day and night, they at last reached the lead (open water). Cook was incontestably the leading spirit in this work and gained such honor among the members of the expedition that I think it just to mention it. Upright, honorable, capable, and conscientious in the extreme—such is the memory we retain of Frederick A. Cook."

So far as Capt. Evelyn Briggs Baldwin and his recent repudiation of Dr. Cook is concerned, I will only say that Capt. Baldwin went too far in his support of Dr. Cook to enable him to withdraw his support gracefully. He boasted that he based his arguments in favor of Cook on no personal opinion, but on scientific facts, which he as a practical and scientific navigator knew to be true and indisputable. He has many times stated that he could not deny the truth of Dr. Cook's claims, even if he wished to do so.

Even some of Mr. Peary's friends look with disfavor on Capt. Baldwin's change of attitude. In an interview given to a reporter of the "N. E. A." on April 5, 1914, Mr. Henry Collins Walsh, the secretary of the explorers' club of which Mr. Peary is a prime factor, said:

Baldwin! That scoundrel? Why, he's a downright crook! The scum of the earth. Cook has nothing to fear from Baldwin. He can't do Cook any harm. Nobody believes him.

The above interview took place more than three months after Capt. Baldwin's "repudiation" of Dr. Cook.

The gentleman from Ohio makes great capital of Dr. Cook's expulsion from membership in the Arctic Club of America, but fails to make any note of the fact that said expulsion took place at a forced meeting of the club when no quorum was present. Although this action occurred when Admiral Schley was president of the club, the admiral, who up to the day of his death was a staunch supporter of Cook, was not present at that meeting.

In this connection I shall quote from a letter written less than a month ago—February 11, 1915—by a former vice president of the Arctic Club, which shows the secret manner in which Dr. Cook was dropped from the list of membership:

I was not present at the meeting at which Dr. Cook was dropped from the roll of membership of the Arctic Club of America. I did not know that such action had been taken or I would have resigned my membership at once.

TARLETON H. BEAN.

Dr. Tarleton H. Bean is State fish culturist of the State of New York, with his office in the capitol at Albany. He has held this position since 1906. Prior to that time he was for seven years, 1880 to 1887, curator of fishes in the United States National Museum, and director of the New York Aquarium from 1895 to 1898. He is also an educator of note, having been principal of the Wilkes-Barre (Pa.) High School for three years. He is a Chevalier, Légion d'Honneur, and officer of Mérite Agricole, France; Knight of the Imperial Order of Red Eagle, Germany; member of the Order of the Rising Sun, Japan; of the Danish Fisheries Society and the Finland Fisheries Association. He is also an Arctic explorer of renown and the author of several valuable papers on Arctic subjects. Does the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS] consider Dr. Bean a man without self-respect?

The action which the Arctic Club really took and which has never been repudiated is shown in the following quotation from a letter which is before me:

The Arctic Club gave Dr. Cook a medal for discovery of the North Pole. It was presented to him by a committee at the city hall of New York; the same day Cook was given the "freedom of the city." The medal was of pure virgin gold, about 4 inches in diameter, three-eighths inch thick, designed by Count Santa Eulalia.

The Arctic Club as a body has never considered Mr. Peary in any way, officially or otherwise.

KERSTING.

Mr. Rudolph Kersting wrote the above letter on February 26, 1914, at which time he was secretary of the Arctic Club of America.

The favorite bugaboo of Mr. Peary and his friends is Dr. Cook's ascent of Mount McKinley. As was to be expected, the gentleman from Ohio refers to this as an unanswerable argument. In reply to his misleading quotations it is only necessary, Mr. Speaker, to refer to the remarks of the distinguished Member from Illinois, Mr. FRANK T. O'HAIR, as extended in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 22, 1915. In those remarks the gentleman from Illinois disposes of the Mount McKinley slander effectually and finally. The statements made by him and the authorities quoted by him are ably supported and corroborated in a book entitled "Mount McKinley and Mountain Climbers' Proofs," by Edwin Swift Balch, of Philadelphia. Mr. Balch is a graduate of Harvard University, with the degree of bachelor of arts; a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science; member of the American Philosophical Society, of the National Geographic Society, the American Geographical Society, and in 1895 was president of the Philadelphia Geographical Society. He is a member of the Appalachian Mountain Club, a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society of London, England, and the author of many interesting and valuable works on comparative art, geography, Arctic and Antarctic discoveries, and other scientific subjects. Does the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS] consider Mr. Balch a man without self-respect?

The gentleman from Ohio refers with admiration to Mr. Peary's refusal to openly discuss the polar controversy.

I wish to say most emphatically, Mr. Speaker, that I am firmly convinced beyond doubt that Mr. Peary and his friends have neither the courage nor the evidence to appear before a final examining board of unbiased investigators, as Dr. Cook, to my knowledge, is ready and anxious to do.

Furthermore, Mr. Speaker, the silence of Mr. Peary on the charges made against his claims to discovery and the use of anonymous material by his friends in attempting to bolster up those claims must be accepted as proof, positive and final, that he can not defend his title as discoverer. Since the polar controversy has assumed the proportions of a debate on the floors of Congress—some speeches on the subject having appeared as far back as December, 1914—why has the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. Peary's champion, failed to bring forth one argument or utter one word in reply to the plain statements of fact in the remarks by various Members, including my own of February 25, 1915, quoting the leading authorities of the world that Mr. Peary not only has no right to the title of discoverer of the North Pole, but that all of his other so-called discoveries are but figments of his overheated imagination and have no foundation in reality?

Dr. Cook's campaign for recognition has not been conducted with the widespread distribution of anonymous and untruthful material, but with substantial and scientific facts. His observations determining his position at the North Pole on April 21, 1908, have been recomputed, and his data shown in diagram, recomputed and plotted by Clark Brown, associate member of the American Society of Civil Engineers, and an engineer of the New York State Barge Canal. Mr. Brown's computations and diagrams have been recomputed and verified by five engineers and scientists of the highest standing, working independently of each other and without Dr. Cook's knowledge, not one of the five being an acquaintance of Dr. Cook or in his employ, directly or indirectly. The names of these men are:

David R. Lee, B. S., C. U., 1889, member of American Society of Civil Engineers.

J. M. Taylor, M. E., Cornell University, 1888.

E. G. Raynor, C. E., B. S., New York University, 1903.

R. L. Holt, C. E., Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, 1904.

J. C. Green, Michigan Agricultural College, 1901, associate member American Society Civil Engineers.

The recomputations and scientific calculations of Dr. Cook's astronomical and nautical observations by these unbiased and impartial experts place Dr. Cook at the North Pole beyond doubt or logical question on April 21, 1908.

Mr. Ross's Letter—Recent Progress in the Philippines.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MANUEL L. QUEZON,

RESIDENT COMMISSIONER FROM THE PHILIPPINES,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. QUEZON. Mr. Speaker, I shall avail myself of the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing two papers, one written by Judge James Ross, of Manila, for the World Outlook, and the other by me for the Journal of Race Development.

The papers referred to are as follows:

MR. ROSS'S LETTER.

NEW YORK, *March 8, 1915.*

EDITOR WORLD OUTLOOK, *New York.*

DEAR SIR: While I fear that due to limitations of time and space I may not be able to do justice to the subject, I nevertheless welcome the opportunity you have given me to reply to an article which, I understand, is to be published in this issue of your paper, written in the form of a letter addressed to the Hon. William H. Taft. I am deeply appreciative of the spirit of fairness shown by you in thus offering an opportunity to present the other side. It has been some years since the writer held public office in the Philippines. He aspires to no public position, would accept none in any department or branch of the United States Government, and although a supporter and admirer of Gov. Harrison, holds no brief for him, and what is here written is without his knowledge and not at the request or suggestion of anyone authorized to act for him. The writer is engaged in business in the Philippine Islands—every material interest he has in the world is there—and it will hardly be claimed by anyone that he would look with indifference upon the carrying out of any policies inimical to the business interest of the islands or to the welfare of the residents, native, American, or foreign.

The writer lays no claim to knowledge of conditions in the islands or of the history of the American occupation of the Philippines not possessed by many others who have had equal opportunities for acquiring information, nor would he have anything that may herein be said understood as an attempt to detract from the credit due the many able and conscientious men have had a part in the great work that has been done by our country for the benefit of the Filipino people. Nothing is taken from them by giving credit where credit is due, and it in no way detracts from their merits to assert, as I do, that Francis Burton Harrison is a worthy successor of those who have preceded him in his high office. There has been an active, persistent, and apparently organized effort to discredit and misrepresent every act of the present Governor General, and in certain quarters a fixed determination to see nothing good in anything he may do or propose. A most attractive gentleman—kindly, courteous, and affable in his dealings with all elements of the community, and with every individual coming in contact with him—Mr. Harrison has, since the day of his arrival in the islands, been made a target for a torrent of abuse and unfair criticism such as has never before been directed against any chief executive of the islands, with the exception of Mr. Taft, who in the early days of his direction of Philippine affairs became extremely unpopular with a large and influential section of the American community, and for reasons almost identical with those which have inspired the bitter feeling now shown against Mr. Harrison. Mr. Taft early announced the policy of "the Philippines for the Filipinos," thereby bringing down upon his head the wrath of hundreds of his fellow countrymen. An able and fair-minded man, inspired by the loftiest sentiments and holding very near to his heart the welfare of the Filipino people, Mr. Taft's motives, purposes, and policies were misunderstood and misrepresented, as are now those of Mr. Harrison. The conditions under which these two men began their work in the islands are strikingly similar, with this difference: That it fell to the lot of Mr. Taft to inaugurate the McKinley policy and set in operation theories and practices of government absolutely new to the people of the country, whereas the Democratic administration at Washington and Mr. Harrison, as its representative in the Philippines, came into office bound by precedents established through 15 years of administration under the McKinley policy, of which they became the heirs and executors. Under the McKinley policy there had been steady, if slow, progress in enlarging the participation of the Filipinos in their own government; never has there been a backward step, and it is inconceivable that there could have originated in the White House, the War Department, or the executive mansion at Manila a reactionary policy, or that there could be any thought of less liberal treatment of the Filipinos than that accorded them under the administrations of McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft.

I am not asserting that the McKinley-Taft policies were wrong; I believe that in the main they were right, which is a good reason for continuing them; but is it not, I ask, most unfair for the adherents and supporters of those originally responsible for the present Philippine policy of the United States to complain of the conscientious and consistent carrying out of these policies? The trouble, it seems to me, is that Gov. Harrison has treated very seriously the promises and pledges of the United States to the Filipino people, and that, finding the machinery moving slowly, has "speeded it up"—translated words into deeds and promises into performances. Much has been heard during the past year about the Filipinization of the Philippine service. Why not? Could the Americanization of the American civil service be made a subject of serious political controversy in this country? We have, as presently will be seen, the word of a distinguished and able administrator under the Republican régime that the Filipinization of the Philippine service had not made satisfactory progress under his own administration. And yet we hear from men who were closely associated with Gov. Gen. Forbes bitter complaints against Gov. Harrison for his efforts to make satisfactory progress along this line. These complaints have been founded largely upon the assertion that Filipinization has been carried out in a manner detrimental to the efficiency of the government service and with injustice to old and faithful American employees. I think it can be shown that this charge is absolutely unfounded, and that in this, as in other matters, Gov. Harrison has acted with justice, moderation, good sense, and a due regard for the stability and efficiency of the civil service. The Hon. Dean C. Worcester, for many years a member of the Philippine Commission, and now a vigorous opponent of the Harrison administration, has said:

"Many persons who do not believe that Filipinization has been actively pushed by making nationality, not merit and faithful service, the basis of appointment, retention in office, and promotions have been misled."

Permit me to here quote from President McKinley's instructions to the first Philippine Commission, afterwards made, in effect, a part of the organic law of the Philippine Islands, certainly a very fixed and definite part of the policy of the United States Government in the islands:

"That in all cases the municipal officers, who administer the local affairs of the people, are to be selected by the people, and that wherever officers of more extended jurisdiction are to be selected in any way natives of the islands are to be preferred, and if they can be found competent and willing to perform the duties, they are to receive the offices in preference to any others."

It is possible that Mr. McKinley was wrong, but no one—not even Mr. Worcester—has ever suggested the abandonment or material changing of this policy, notwithstanding it would be difficult to make anything more clear than Mr. McKinley's statement that nationality was to exercise an important influence in the selection of officials and employees under the Philippine government. As late as 1909 Gov. Gen. Forbes, in his annual report, said:

"The figures for this year reveal the fact that the progress made in increasing the proportion of Filipino employees is not satisfactory."

It would seem from Gov. Forbes's statement that while the soundness of the McKinley principle was recognized the practice had not come up to the desired standard and that difficulties had been encountered in carrying out this well-understood policy, but now that Mr. Harrison has endeavored to overcome these difficulties, and make progress satisfactory where it had been unsatisfactory before, he has met with criticism, complaint, and even with abuse. It is not denied, and no apology is offered therefor, that one of the most important policies of Mr. Harrison's administration has been to Filipinize the Philippine service, but it is equally true that in carrying out his policy he has been guided by prudence and a due regard for the efficiency of the government, as well as the greatest consideration for deserving members of the public service. That this is true is shown by undisputed evidence, including public records. Space does not permit of an extended review of the changes in the civil service made under Mr. Harrison's administration, but I make the assertion, and point to the records for its confirmation, that the Americans who are to-day the heads of the different bureaus under the Philippine government average a longer period of service in the islands than did the heads of the bureaus on the date when Gov. Gen. Harrison was inaugurated. Several changes were made by Gov. Harrison in the heads and assistant heads of bureaus; several were due to the voluntary resignation of the incumbents, others to removal for cause, and others to the necessities of the service and decreased appropriations. Only two Filipinos have been appointed to head bureaus formerly directed by Americans, one of them being to the position of executive secretary made vacant by the promotion of Mr. Frank W. Carpenter to the important post of governor of the Department of Mindanao and Sulu. The spoils system has not been operated in the Philippines, very few men having been brought out from the United States to fill positions there, and there have been a great many cases of promotion of Americans who had rendered long and faithful service to the government. A few examples that may be cited are the case of Mr. Carpenter, above referred to; the selection of Mr. Sam Ferguson, an old employee of the bureau of justice and executive bureau, as private secretary to the Governor General; Capt. Shearer, as special agent of the executive bureau; Mr. J. J. Rafferty, promoted from a subordinate position in the bureau of customs to be director of the bureau of internal revenue; and Mr. Edwards, promoted from assistant director to director of the bureau of agriculture. Many other cases could be cited if space permitted. And what of Warwick Greene, a close personal friend of Gov. Gen. Forbes, retained as director of public works, and of French and Manning, promoted to the positions of auditor and treasurer, respectively, on Gov. Harrison's recommendation? But to keep within the allotted space, permit me to take up briefly the specific charges contained in the Taft letter. The writer of that letter says "business is utterly stagnant," and claims that this condition existed before the European war began. I deny the implication that the alleged stagnation of business is the fault of the present administration. There had been a general and widespread depression in business throughout the world before the beginning of the war, and the war has worked no greater havoc with business in the Philippine Islands than it has in this country, notwithstanding we have suffered severely from the closing of the markets of the world to our hemp, tobacco, and copra.

Mr. Taft's correspondent says that no new investments have come to the islands. May I ask whether there is an abundance of capital for investment in new enterprises in the United States? As a matter of fact, it is a matter within my knowledge that several investments in enterprises initiated after the inauguration of Mr. Harrison are held up for no other reason than the European war, and I am in a position to assert and maintain that Gov. Harrison has shown himself friendly to business and has done everything within his power to encourage the investment of capital in the islands, and in carrying out this policy has refuted the charge that "practically no relations exist between the new officials and the American community." I am surprised that anyone with sufficient standing to warrant Mr. Taft's making a communication from him public would make the assertion that "there is practically no government." Anyone who had resided in the islands for a year previous to Mr. Harrison's inauguration and for the year succeeding it could go about from one department and bureau of the government to another, from the highest to the lowest, without observing any material change in conduct of government business. And the statement that what government there is is in the hands of the Nationalist Party and Messrs. Osmeña and Palma is no more true than it was under the administrations of Gov. Forbes, Gov. Smith, Gov. Ide, or of Mr. Taft himself. Messrs. Osmeña and Palma and Mr. QUEZON, Resident Commissioner of the Philippine Islands in Washington, are men of the highest character and standing. They are natural, selected, and approved leaders of their people, and very properly they are consulted about appointments and other matters closely related to the welfare of their people, as they were, or at least were supposed to be, under former administrations. The statement that the Governor General seldom comes to his office, while perhaps not intentionally misleading is so in

effect. The fact is that Gov. Harrison has adopted the practice of doing office work and seeing visitors at Malacanang Palace, his official residence, where commodious quarters are provided for that purpose, rather than at the Ayuntamiento or government building, where much valuable time was consumed in having to receive callers with no important business and being bothered with small details properly attended to by subordinates. Mr. Harrison has been most regular and punctual in his attendance upon meetings of the Philippine Commission, over which he presides. He is a hard-working and painstaking official, and neglect of duty is about the last accusation that anyone at all well acquainted with him would venture to bring against him.

I pass, for lack of space, the statements of Mr. Taft's correspondent concerning certain other minor matters, but wish briefly to notice the charge concerning the bureau of agriculture. As heretofore stated, Mr. Edwards was promoted from assistant director to director of this important bureau, succeeding Mr. Taylor. It will be well to note that Mr. Taylor was an importation from the United States, without experience in the islands or knowledge of local conditions, while Mr. Edwards, a man of high attainments and character, has been connected with the bureau for 12 years, is thoroughly familiar with its operations and with the peculiar conditions with which this bureau has to deal.

If the bureau of public works has been disorganized, as charged, it is due to the retention of Mr. Forbes's appointee and personal friend. Again, space does not permit of a detailed analysis of the charges made by Mr. Taft's anonymous correspondent, but at this moment I recall in connection with the bureau of prisons, concerning which complaint is also made, that the head of that bureau resigned voluntarily and was succeeded by a thoroughly competent and qualified man, long in the Philippine government service. The alleged disturbances at Iwahig came to my notice for the first time in Mr. Taft's letter, but even if the statements concerning them are true they can not be connected with the change of bureau chiefs, and the incident referred to is one that might occur at any time in any prison. Much is made of the killing of an American school-teacher. School-teachers as a rule receive the most kindly treatment and the greatest consideration from the people of the country. There have, however, been several instances under former administrations where teachers have been the victims of murderous attacks made for purposes of robbery. This, however, is the first time I have ever heard of such an unfortunate occurrence being charged against the administration. Perhaps the most unfounded charge of all, and showing how little knowledge the writer of the letter to Mr. Taft has of the conditions in the islands, is the one relating the reorganization of the judiciary, an incident of which was the abolishment of the court of land registration. I confidently assert, and will be sustained by the vast majority of residents of the islands, including Americans and nine-tenths of the practicing lawyers, that the judiciary reorganization act was one of the best measures ever enacted by a Philippine Legislature. Instead of impairing the efficiency of the courts in the matter of registration of land titles, it has greatly increased it by abolishing a special court composed of 5 judges, which formerly had exclusive jurisdiction in the adjudication and registration of land titles, and vesting this jurisdiction in the court of first instance, composed of about 40 judges. Every one of the judges of the land court was provided for by being reappointed a judge of the court of first instance, and a few new districts were, for the good of the service, created. The judiciary reorganization act provided that all the judges of the courts as they existed prior to the passage of the act should on a specified date vacate their positions. This placed it in the power of the Governor General to appoint in the neighborhood of 40 judges, and let it be recorded and remembered to the everlasting credit of Francis Burton Harrison that with this power placed in his hands and confronted with the temptation of making spoils of judicial positions, with pressure being brought upon him from all sides for and against candidates for these positions, he reappointed every one of the old judges, all of whom had received their appointments under former administrations. It is also generally conceded that the appointments made by him to the newly created positions and the changes in assignments and stations of judges made necessary under the new act were made with admirable judgment, the appointments when made meeting with general commendation, even from newspapers opposed to many of the policies of Mr. Harrison's administration.

I have no idea as to the identity of the writer of the letter to Mr. Taft—I impute no bad faith or misrepresentation to him—but it is as clear to me as it must be to anyone familiar with the conditions in the Philippine Islands that if a nonresident of the islands, he has been very badly misinformed, and if a resident, he has not taken the trouble to ascertain the facts, or else has allowed his judgment to be distorted by partisanship.

JAMES ROSS, *Manila, P. I.*

RECENT PROGRESS IN THE PHILIPPINES.

[By Manuel L. Quezon, Resident Commissioner from the Philippines.]

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The genuine interest which is felt by at least a small section of the American public in the future of the Philippines and in the present solution of the problem of America's relation to the islands is seen in the constant inquiry which comes from thoughtful Americans the country over: "What progress is being made by Filipinos? Are they succeeding in establishing a stable government? Are they showing capacity for managing their own affairs?" These questions are sincerely put by many of those who ask them, and when thus put, they are worthy of an equally sincere reply. In order to afford that reply, it is, however, necessary to know exactly what is meant. If the answers to the questions are to be more than alarmist declarations, on the one hand, or soothing assurances, on the other, it must be stated exactly what we mean when we speak of progress, stable government, and national capacity. This at once opens a very wide field of thought. It raises questions to which no adequate or satisfactory answer has been afforded. For a long time past it has been customary to discuss the Philippine question in the language of cant and hypocrisy, and to seek to apply to it standards which have no, or only a very remote, bearing upon the situation. I make this statement at the outset in order that I may not be misunderstood in what I shall have to say and in the presentation of facts that I am about to make. I am particularly anxious that it shall not be assumed by any that I accept the standards of progress for the Philippines that have been proposed, whether consciously or unconsciously, whether directly or indirectly, by insincere or thoughtless speakers who have expressed themselves upon insular questions.

I.

I will begin, however, by assuming that what is desired first of all is a discussion of progress in the Philippine Islands from an American standpoint, and that what it is desired to know is the extent of the progress that has been made since the inauguration of the Philippine policy of the present administration as regards government, economic affairs, and national and social development. Let us start with the question of government. In the year 1907 the American rulers of the Philippines, acting in accordance with the provisions of the Philippine civil government act, brought into existence the Philippine Assembly, a legislative body intended to represent the people of the islands and to act as a lower house of legislature, the Philippine Commission, with its minority of Filipinos, acting as the upper. It is a well-known fact that this assembly in its earlier years was regarded as a highly creditable and efficient body, measured by standards of western civilization and governmental method. The fact that it was so was attested by former President Taft, then Secretary of War, by many Members of Congress, by nonpartisan observers, as well as by politicians with their own axes to grind. In fact, too much was said of the efficient and satisfactory quality of the Philippine Assembly. It became an article of party faith in the United States to show that the assembly had worked well because of the fact that it had been created by a certain political party, and must therefore be held to justify the expectations and predictions of those who had established it. The simple fact in the case was that had the assembly been in truth what its fulsome admirers said it was it would not have been a very serviceable or useful body. Had it continued to be docile, not to say subservient, merely meeting the political desires and wants of those who had created it, in order that it might be used as a pawn in their political game, it would not have been a body in which any native Filipino could fairly feel pride. The fact that it was a genuine governmental agency was evidenced by the fact that as soon as its members had gained experience in the methods they were to follow and had squarely before them the public questions with which they were to deal, they began to be somewhat restive. They felt that the Philippine Commission, with its great body of subordinate foreign officeholders, receiving salaries which to native minds seemed utterly exorbitant, was not managing affairs in the public interest. They were disturbed at the apparent inability to reduce the amount of money paid to foreigners, at the bad distribution of appropriations, and at the lack of satisfactory legislation on economic topics. It was upon these grounds that the assembly for three years in succession refused to pass the budget recommended to it by the Philippine Commission acting as the upper house of legislature, and it was because of this refusal to grant the increasing exactions of the foreign officeholders in the islands that the assembly was constantly denounced as a recalcitrant and inefficient body and that efforts were made to demonstrate to the American public that it had been a failure.

President Wilson, upon the advent of his administration, took up the Philippine question for very thoughtful study, and determined that the difficulty did not lie in too much "native government," but in too little. Without waiting for legislation by Congress, he took a step placed within his power by the Philippine organic act. He determined to name a majority of Filipinos as members of the commission, and in so doing he placed the control of both branches of the legislative department of the Philippine government in the hands of the inhabitants of the islands. It is true that the Filipinos thus named as members of the commission were appointed by him and were not elected by the people, but his choices were satisfactory to the rank and file of the population, and the result, therefore, was to give the control of their own legislative body to the inhabitants in a very real sense. I have shown that the Philippine Assembly had already demonstrated its capacity by refusing to become a mere tool in the hands of a group of foreign autocrats. So the House of Commons acted during the critical early years when the establishment of English self-government was in the balance. So every self-governing nation has demanded that its legislative representatives should act. A different kind of test was, however, to be imposed upon the representatives of the Filipino people upon the advent of the new régime in the Philippines in October, 1913. Could the newly constituted legislative body do constructive work? Could it deal successfully with the problems presented to it? I do not care, writing in a scientific journal, to pass too hastily upon either of these questions, however strongly I may entertain opinions and beliefs. Little more than one year has elapsed since the beginning of the new era. What I can say with confidence is that that year has been conspicuously successful and has produced results which would be held by any standards to be eminently satisfactory.

When Gov. Gen. Harrison, who had been named by President Wilson to succeed former Gov. Gen. Forbes, reached the Philippines, he found a serious threat of financial disaster in the islands. The insular government had been brought to the brink of bankruptcy. I can best describe the situation which existed there in the words of Gov. Gen. Harrison himself, who in his first message to the Philippine Legislature said:

"The most pressing need of the hour is economy in the public expenditures. This matter, in my opinion, is the most important question now affecting the success and welfare of this government. Based upon the estimates of probable receipts and expenditures for the current fiscal year, as published by the auditor, it is probable that the government, without the adoption of a drastic program of economy, is face to face with a deficit of about four and a half million pesos.

"From June 30, 1908, when the surplus in the insular treasury was ₱17,499,894.97, the surplus has fallen as of June 30, 1913, to ₱14,230,220.23. Of this sum, however, about ₱5,000,000 is only nominally available, it being invested in supplies and having been carried to the surplus account in 1911, thus leaving an actual cash surplus in hand at the conclusion of the last fiscal year of only about ₱9,000,000.

"This shrinkage in the available surplus of the Government has come about notwithstanding the fact that during this period of four years the sum of ₱6,000,000 has been obtained by the sale of an issue of public-works bonds, and expended out of the treasury, and notwithstanding the further fact that a little less than ₱3,500,000 from the gold-standard fund has during this period passed through the treasury in the same way.

"At the present rate the auditor on June 30, 1913, estimated that the current expenditures of this government would exceed the income by about ₱2,000,000 in the course of the fiscal year. In this connection it is fair to say that the insular collector of customs, in making his estimate to the auditor, properly discounted the fact that owing to the limited importation of rice the customs revenues would fall, and they actually have fallen in the first two months about ₱1,600,000. It is also fair to state that the estimates made at the same time by the collector of internal revenue were probably exaggerated when he pre-

dicted an increase of about ₱1,000,000 in internal revenue; in any event it is certain that this expected increase has not only failed to materialize thus far, but that we are actually running behind the internal-revenue receipts of the preceding fiscal year in a sum which for the first three months has exceeded ₱100,000. This decrease may possible be offset by the collection of the new income tax.

"While it is possible that the income from customs may improve somewhat from the present date, approximately ₱3,000,000 may be figured as the probable deficit based upon the ordinary income and expenditures of the government for the present year. To this we must add the sum of ₱1,500,000 of which the treasury is to be deprived in the balance of the current year by the passage of the Underwood tariff bill, which removes the tax upon exports."

These words of Gov. Harrison were not exaggerated. It was for the new government to attempt to remedy the state of things they indicated. The subject was at once taken in hand and substantial economies were effected. A revised budget was prepared and adopted and thereby a saving of over one million and a half dollars in current expenses annually was brought about. Gov. Gen. Harrison was able at the end of his first session's work with the Philippine Legislature to review the work done in terms of the utmost satisfaction and to give the legislature the highest encomium for its industry, diligence, and ability. His opinion in this regard has been echoed by reliable witnesses of every shade of political opinion, and to-day there is a general, if in some quarters unwilling, agreement that the new government of the islands has been wholly successful, and that the fears expressed by professionally pessimistic persons at the outset were baseless.

These were not idle words of compliment. Their truth has been amply attested since the time they were uttered by many different observers, although to those who knew Mr. Harrison and his motives no such attestation was necessary. Persons who are interested in knowing how far Filipinos were responsible for the work thus accomplished should remember that this was done during a period when no American commissioners were present in the islands, with the sole exception of Gov. Gen. Harrison, who had then just arrived. It is no detraction from the high quality of Mr. Harrison's leadership to say that the successes which he has so generously recognized were the product of Filipino effort and Filipino determination to improve governmental conditions.

Nor was the improvement in the situation entirely confined to financial affairs. In the following table, prepared by a capable journalistic observer resident in the islands, is given a digested summary of exactly what has been accomplished:

	Sessions.			
	1910–11	1911–12	1912–13	1913–14
Bills introduced in commission	63	69	71	103
Bills passed by commission	48	52	61	69
Commission bills enacted by legislature	17	17	18	50
Bills introduced in assembly	484	518	421	398
Bills passed by assembly	98	181	131	169
Assembly bills enacted by legislature	33	69	51	51
Percentage of commission bills enacted by legislature	35	25	30	72
Percentage of assembly bills enacted by legislature	34	38	39	30
Percentage of bills passed by either house enacted by legislature	34	37	36	42

The same observer in commenting upon this showing says:

"It will be seen that whereas the percentage of bills passed by the assembly and enacted by the legislature fell from 39 last year to 30 for this year's session, the percentage of commission bills passed by the legislature rose from 30 to 72.

"The decrease in the number of assembly bills enacted was largely due to the fact that the extraordinary labors involved in the framing in the general appropriation bill resulted in the holding over of a great many bills in the lower house without action. Moreover, due to the renaissance of the national spirit, there was more activity in the lower house in the matter of framing bills and more initiative in the presentation of measures. Then, the commission was very cautious in its consideration of bills arising in the lower house, and brought its superior wisdom and experience to bear on measures arising there. It thus performed its intended function as a check upon the more youthful and exuberant spirits of the assembly.

"On the other hand, the unbounded confidence of the assembly in the commission, a new condition in Philippine legislation, is demonstrated by the fact that 72 per cent of bills passed in the upper house were approved by the lower chamber. Compare this figure with the 30, 25, and 35 of the three previous years.

"During the last session 101 bills were enacted into law. For the three previous years the figures are 69, 86, and 50.

"In the session of 1910–11, outside of a 'negotiable instruments' act, a bill for the reorganization of the justice of the peace courts, and a bill granting a gas franchise for the city of Manila, no important measures were enacted. In the following session the most important laws passed were an act permitting the utilization of the 'gold standard and reserve' fund for public-works loans to Provinces and municipalities; a warehouse-receipt act, governing the use of this class of business documents; an automobile law, fixing speed limits, etc.; and an act providing for systematic government inspection of the municipal police forces in the islands. This latter law was never enforced for lack of appropriation. During the session of 1912–13 the only important laws enacted were a bill providing for the registration of patents, a law regulating the practice of veterinary medicine, and a bill appropriating funds for a portion of the cadastral survey of the islands."

I should not, of course, attempt to conceal the fact that what has been done has been received with the utmost hostility and criticism, not to say execration, by those who were affected by it. The charge was made that wholesale dismissals of American officials were occurring, and that incompetent Filipinos were being substituted for trained and experienced foreigners. I regret to say that these assertions, founded although they were upon no evidence of the slightest trustworthiness, were accepted as if true and were given currency by supposedly reputable journals apparently eager to prove their hypothesis that the slightest relaxation of autocracy in the islands would be followed by nepotism, incompetence, and political favoritism.

Secretary of War Garrison, in responding to this and other such attacks, has stated the situation clearly and concisely in answer to questions put to him by a trusted interviewer, and I can not do better than to cite his words:

"Question. Have there been any unusual dismissals of American employees under the Harrison administration?

"Answer. No; the number of dismissal has not been unusual. It has increased slightly, due to necessary retrenchment. The number, however, is not one-half of what it was in years like 1903 and 1904, nor so great as it was in 1905 and 1906, where there was an effort at retrenchment.

"Question. What is there in the charge that the civil-service rules have been disregarded? How many Americans, all told has Gov. Harrison taken out to the Philippines and put into positions there?

"Answer. Not a single instance has been brought to my attention where it was charged that Gov. Harrison had disregarded civil-service rules. Fewer Americans have been taken to the islands during Gov. Gen. Harrison's administration than during any similar period in recent years.

"Of Americans coming from the United States since his arrival, he has appointed the collector of customs, one member of the municipal board of the city of Manila, and one member of the public utilities commission.

"Question. What are the important positions to which the Governor General might, if he so desired, appoint his American political friends?

"Answer. First, the chiefs of bureaus of the government, of which there are about 22. Second, the judges of first instance in the islands, of which there are 36. All of these judicial positions have been filled by appointment since Gov. Harrison arrived in the islands. Third, miscellaneous appointments, such as the members of the municipal board of the city of Manila, governor of the department of Mindanao and Sulu, and members of the public utilities commission.

"Question. Now, Mr. Secretary, in how many of these has the governor actually appointed Americans brought by him from the United States?

"Answer. Of the heads of the bureaus of the Philippine government Gov. Harrison appointed one—the collector of customs—from the United States, Dr. Herstein. Dr. Herstein had been an employee of the United States Civil Service for some years. He was a tariff expert employed in the framing of the recent United States tariff. His politics are not known to me.

"He appointed as a member of the municipal board of the city of Manila Dr. Fitzsimmons, who had served in the islands formerly.

"He appointed as a member of the public utilities commission Stephen Bonsal, a well-known American newspaper and literary man.

"He reappointed every judge of first instance on the bench, and in filling the remaining vacancies he selected two Americans, one of whom had been long in the service of the islands and one who had been in the islands only a short time in the civil service, but had previously been in the civil service of the United States.

"Question. What basis is there for the statement that business is disorganized in the islands and that the economic conditions are upset?

"Answer. About as much basis as there is for such a statement with reference to the United States. It is perfectly well known to anyone who is searching for the truth that there has been a world-wide business depression, and that while in particular communities this depression may have been enhanced or mitigated by local conditions, this has only been in the matter of degree. In the Philippines, due to the exclusively agricultural basis of business, this depression has been least. Unquestionably, some business men wished to know the course that this administration purposed to pursue before they embarked in any extension of their business enterprises. But to suggest seriously that there has been any panicky condition produced in the Philippines by anything that this government has done or left undone is simply to state that which has not the basis of truth.

"I think it is not the least of the achievements of the Filipino people and of their legislative body that, in spite of every kind of misrepresentation and attack, they have continued steadfastly on their way, advancing in the policies which they have mapped out for themselves, not terrified by vicious criticism or by the fear of losing the greater powers that have been extended to them, and, on the other hand, never seeking to retaliate upon those who had subjected them to aspersion and abuse, nor allowing themselves to be led into any excesses. They have been steady, faithful, and determined.

"In economic affairs the islands have had to endure their share of the losses and difficulties consequent upon the European war, just as has been true of every other portion of the world. In some particulars they have suffered with exceptional severity, such articles as copra being deprived of almost their entire market. This, however—it is to be hoped, at least—is a temporary condition. The activity and energy of the people have been stimulated by the prospect of better government, and instead of a retrograde movement in commerce or agriculture, which has been predicted by professional pessimists at the outset of the new régime, there had, prior to the present temporary troubles due to war, been a marked advance, as the following official figures will show:

"The fiscal year 1912—i. e., the year ending June 30, 1912—was, measured by the total of imports, the most prosperous year up to that time in the history of the Philippines. The total imports were $54,549,980. But the dark spot was that of this total $10,519,949 was rice, the result of an unusually disastrous failure of the Philippine rice crop.

"In the fiscal year 1913 the total imports showed an increase over the preceding year of $56,327,583, though the imports of rice were but $7,940,857.

"The reports of Philippine commerce have now been received to include the month of May, 1914. I give the following from the records for purposes of comparison:

Total imports for 11 months ending May, 1912	$48,522,580
Total imports for 11 months ending May, 1913	51,543,134
Total for 11 months ending May, 1914	50,876,025

"For the same periods, omitting rice:

1912	39,731,895
1913	43,825,329
1914	48,395,180

"Of the total during these three periods there were from the United States:

1912	$18,560,805
1913	23,130,695
1914	25,752,233

"In face of this it is idle to talk of depression or lack of confidence."

Throughout the whole period, during which these transformations have been occurring, there has been profound peace in the islands. The native force, the constabulary, is amply able to take care of all police duty, and except for mere practice marches there is little for American soldiers and officers stationed in the Philippines to do. The Philippines are a peaceful, agricultural country, thoroughly and growingly able to manage their own affairs, keenly desirous of doing so, and hopefully awaiting the time when the United States will fulfill the many promises and assurances furnished by American statesmen that such a condition of self-control will be established. I might enlarge upon the continued and promising advance in education in the Philippines, but so much has been said upon that subject that it scarcely seems necessary to repeat what is already a twice-told tale.

II.

It would seem that the Philippine Islands have in every respect lived up to occidental standards of stability in government and advancement in popular welfare, and that during that time that they have had an increased control over their own affairs they have shown both the ability and the intention to increase and advance the beneficial elements of their civilization whether of native origin or of foreign importation. Such is in fact the case. I wish, however, at this point to dissent entirely, as indicated at the outset of this discussion, from the view of the Philippine problem which will admit no evidence of advancement except that which is gauged by conditions in the United States. The Filipinos are a people of oriental habits and types of mind, resident in the Tropics, and subject to their own conditions of life and industry. It seems to me to expect them to emulate the United States in all particulars is a gross perversion of the teaching of human experience or of any sound political philosophy. Many of the conditions which exist in the United States to-day are not ideal, but even when they are so, they are the product of many years of labor and development intended to result in the better provision of social justice and equity between man and man. They are intended to meet the peculiar needs of a highly industrialized society with a structure totally different from that which is found in any eastern country. I think that the thoughtful student of race development must feel that it is far better that a nation should evolve its own type of culture and of government and should follow its own instincts in selecting a path toward the attainment of a higher civilization than that it should be made a slavish imitator of any other country or group of countries, however elevated may be the civilization of the latter. I would go further than this and say that even if such a nation did not do as well in the initial stages of self-government as it might do with foreign preceptors, nevertheless the slower and less perfect progress was the more solid and stable, and therefore vastly to be preferred.

As I have said in another connection, I question most seriously the statement that any nation can successfully direct the course of development that must be followed by another. The education of the individual is most successful when it affords the best vehicle for self-expression; the education of the nation or the race proceeds most naturally as a matter of internal evolution. Mistakes may be made, and when made they bring their own penalty. Now, as always, it is true that experience is the best teacher, and that only by endeavoring, aspiring, and striving can a government attain to practical efficiency. That has been conspicuously the history of the Anglo-Saxon race. Magna Charta was not bestowed by some friendly conqueror, but was the product of long years of struggle and effort. American constitutional government was not the gift of Howe, Cornwallis, or the King of England. Is there not a way of national progress from within as compared with that stimulated from without, that hasty thinkers seem sometimes to overlook? Are we mindful of the fact that the one priceless advantage of self-development is that it proceeds along the proper lines, in accord with the tendencies, peculiarities, and special abilities of the people; in other words, that it is always a natural growth, while progress imposed from without may result in an unnatural type of evolution?

Without being overcritical, let me speak of this matter frankly. It is a fact that the work of Americans in the Philippines has not been as free from errors as the former officials of the Philippine Government in their self-laudation would have us believe. There have been mistakes—mistakes that were very expensive to the Filipino taxpayers; there have been injustices and wrongs. Some things have been overdone and other things have been neglected. I do not, however, on that account underrate the value of that work as a whole, and I gladly reiterate that considering all the circumstances Americans have done marvels. No government of men is free from shortcomings. I only wish to note the fact that some of the mistakes which their representatives have made in the Philippines, because of their unfamiliarity with the people and the country, would not have been made by Filipinos acting for themselves.

I do not believe that either the Filipinos or any other eastern people, if left to themselves, would either reject or be unable to assimilate western civilization. Quite the contrary. We have the example of Japan, and China herself is beginning to furnish another illustration of the same sort. Japan, without falling under the rule of another nation, nevertheless made marvelous progress within a short time. If it be remembered that when Japan began her development she was much less familiar with occidental civilization than were we when we sought to organize our own government, it would seem apparent that we should have made at least the same advance. When Japan decided that in order to live she must adopt modern and occidental methods, she knew absolutely nothing of their technique, and yet how brief a time did she require to adopt those methods and even to surpass some of the older powers. What was it that Japan did? She sent her sons throughout the world to acquire learning, and occidental instruction; she brought to her land men who could teach every branch of human knowledge and who could help to organize a modern government. Would anyone pretend to say that because of this foreign help Japan's was not a process of self-development and progress? Why can Filipinos not accomplish, by using the same means, what Japan has accomplished? Who can say that Japan would have made as much progress had she fallen under a foreign yoke?

The Filipinos are showing that they are amply capable of taking over and assimilating the beneficial ideas of western nations, adapting them to their own use, fitting them to the needs of their peculiar situation, and drawing intellectual sustenance therefrom. This has been the history of successful civilizations everywhere. They have not advanced by a process of mental inbreeding, but by a process of crossing themselves intellectually with the best strains they could find the world over. It is not progress, but just the reverse, if a nation be compelled to confine itself to imitation of another and if it be debarred from selecting useful elements of civilization, education, social custom, and government wherever it can find them throughout the world. I refuse to test the progress of Filipinos by the extent to which they have adopted American customs, law, and civilization, whether in their desirable or in their undesirable aspects. It is a sign of progress that they have succeeded in assimilating so rapidly those elements of civilization and of thought in which America stands conspicuous. This does not mean that for the future they should be debarred from following any other models. Least of all does it signify that whenever there is a departure from American practice such departure should afford the basis for bitter criticism. In the fundamentals of civilized life and thought, Filipinos, considering the opportunities they have had, the character of their preceptors, the nature of their surroundings, have done conspicuously well. The seed planted in the islands, whether indigenous or whether brought there from Spanish, American, or other sources, has not fallen upon stony ground, but has brought forth manyfold, particularly since the inhabitants have been permitted to cultivate it. It should continue to do so, and that such will be the case is convincingly attested by the accelerated advance in all good things that has been realized since the inhabitants were given the power and responsibility to govern themselves in some measure, and were made to feel the responsibility for such mistakes of temper, judgment, or policy as they might commit.

Rural Credits.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. OLDFIELD.

OF ARKANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

RURAL CREDITS.

Mr. OLDFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I am greatly disappointed at our failure to enact rural-credits legislation during this Congress. While the Sixty-third Congress has enacted a great deal of constructive legislation in the interest of the people, yet it seems to be impossible for the House and Senate to agree on a rural-credits bill. In the closing hours of the Congress a committee, composed of Senators and Representatives, was appointed to investigate the entire subject of rural credits and report a bill by the 1st of next January, and it is hoped that this committee will hold hearings and make a real and thorough investigation of the subject and report a bill which will be workable and in the interest of the farmers of this country. There is no doubt in my mind that one of the chief troubles regarding rural-credits legislation has been the method employed in investigating the subject. Let me say, further, that it is my candid belief that the farmers will never get any desirable rural-credits legislation until we improve the methods of investigation heretofore employed.

The committee recently selected by Congress to investigate this subject and report a bill should without delay call upon the various farmers' organizations of the country and ask them to send their experts before the committee, such of their experts as have studied the financial institutions and the characteristics of the investing classes of this country, and the bills the farmers present should be drawn with reference to our institutions and the characteristics of our investors, and it is the duty of the committee to give the farmers an opportunity to present their bills. It is not the duty of the Government to become the bill collector for the public, but it is the duty of the Government to establish courts where those entertaining the belief that they have a just cause of action against others may appear and present their contention. And the same rule applies to the important question of rural credits. The requests already presented to Congress for a change in the method of investigating this question are sufficient to warrant us in acting upon them. Some of the leading farm journalists of the country have requested it. The legislative committee of the National Grange has expressly requested it; so, also has a change been requested by all the leading members of the Farmers' Union, besides there have been several hundred petitions presented to Congress by farmers demanding this method. But even if there had not been a single petition or request asking for this method, and even though the investigating bodies pursuing another method had not made such lamentable failures, still this new method appeals with such force to my judgment that I do not hesitate to say we should have given it to the farmers. Four resolutions have been introduced seeking to put this new method in operation—one was introduced in the Senate by Senator SHEPPARD of Texas and three in this body by Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi, Mr. DOOLITTLE of Kansas, Mr. HELGESEN of North Dakota.

Section 2 of those resolutions reads as follows:

SEC. 2. That such subcommittee or investigating body, which is hereinafter referred to as the commission, shall hold its hearings and investigations in such manner that will permit persons who, in the commission's opinion, have sufficient authoritative backing, to present bills

for a personal rural-credit system in the United States to the commission and appear before them by experts of their own selection to establish the merits of their respective bills and to disprove any provisions contained in bills not presented by themselves. The commission shall notify at least one leading representative of every interest affected by such bills, including the president of the American Bankers' Association, of his privilege to appear before the commission by an expert of his own selection and to advocate or oppose any bill presented, who shall enjoy the same rights and privileges before the commission as the experts of the proponents.

This section clothes the investigating body with judicial authority and gives the experts of the parties at interest appearing before them the rights of the lawyers of litigants appearing before a court to establish their contentions. It gives to the farmers' experts the right to present bills for the establishment of a personal rural-credit system in the United States and requires the investigating body to notify at least one leading representative of every interest affected by any bill presented of his right to appear by an expert and advocate or oppose any bill presented. If a commission is to benefit the farmer by its investigations it must be by molding a healthy public sentiment for the farm paper to be created by the personal rural credit system it presents to Congress for its enactment. And it can best perform its labors by bringing the interested parties into open court to establish that that paper is a good and safe investment for our investing classes. Nothing short of that method of investigation will be of any benefit to our farmers, for Congress can not legislate as to how the residents or corporations of the various States shall invest their surplus funds; but if the investigating body will establish public sentiment in favor of the farm paper to be created by the plan proposed, then they would be accomplishing much for the farmer.

Congress should do two things in the matter of establishing a personal rural-credit system: First, establish a system which will create a piece of productive farm paper which is as good and sound as the farm paper created by the best of foreign personal rural-credit systems; second, create a healthy public sentiment among the investing classes for that paper. You must have buyers as well as sellers before you can do business. If I were to take a load of cotton to Des Moines, Iowa, I would have to dispose of it as souvenirs, as there is no commercial market there for cotton in the seed. But let me take it to my home city during the season, and the moment I reached the public square there would be buyers to meet me. Precisely the same thing is true respecting investments. In planning a system for this country it is important that one should know the reasons underlying the success of those foreign systems, but it is absolutely necessary that he should know all about the financial institutions and characteristics of our investing classes. For example, Massachusetts has $861,000,000 deposited in savings banks drawing from 2 to 3 per cent interest; California has $400,000,000 in savings banks; the great insurance companies of New York have in their vaults for safe investment at a low rate of interest some $4,000,000,000. What the farmers of this country need is a workable rural-credit system which will bring them into contact with these savings bank and insurance funds, so that they may secure these funds on long time at a low rate of interest. The farmers' lands are the best securities in the world, and this is the kind of security these funds are seeking. No business can prosper when it is compelled to pay all the way from 8 to 12 per cent interest, and this is the condition which confronts the farmers of the Southwest to-day. What we need in the South to make our farmers prosperous is money at a low rate of interest, and it is hoped that we will secure rural credit legislation early in the next Congress which will bring about this greatly desired result.

Here I want to include statistics taken from the New York World's Almanac for 1914 relative to savings bank deposits and populations in the various States mentioned, which must be of considerable interest in this connection:

States.	Savings bank deposits.	Population.
Massachusetts	$861,416,880	3,366,416
Arkansas	2,283,872	1,574,449
Kansas	4,689,387	1,690,949
Oklahoma	334,547	1,657,155
Idaho	235,104	325,594
Nebraska	3,197,031	1,192,214
Virginia	9,365,413	2,061,612
South Carolina	10,699,946	1,515,400
Georgia	12,397,319	2,609,121
Indiana	13,056,514	2,700,876
Minnesota	30,977,493	2,075,708
Oregon	13,891,788	672,765
Total	962,545,303	21,642,259

I have a letter from R. C. Milliken, Esq., a local monetary statist, bearing on this point, which I wish to incorporate in my remarks; but before doing so let me say something about him and his efforts to improve our rural-credit system. He appeared before the first rural-credit investigating body created by Congress. That was three years ago. It was the House Committee on Agriculture, which was investigating Senate joint resolution 75, for the appointment of a commission to go abroad and investigate rural credit. At that time the House was Democratic and the Presidency Republican. It was decided by the committee making the investigation to cooperate with the President in the use of our consuls to make this investigation. Mr. Milliken made two predictions at that time, both of which have proven literally true. He told them that our consuls could not make such an investigation as was needed by Congress, and that if we sent abroad a commission who were not experts it would be a waste of public funds and accomplish nothing for the farmer. I desire to quote from his argument before that committee at those hearings. He said:

Our consuls can not make such an investigation as is necessary for the guidance of Congress, as they are not monetary experts. A lawyer must know something about his case before he begins to bring out the evidence before the jury. * * * Well, an attorney can not properly present his case on its merits to the jury through his witnesses unless he has previously studied and assimilated the evidence himself. He can not potluck and succeed. Therefore, if you send over there men who are not monetary experts it will be a waste of money. It would be far better to have a commission composed of philosophers of credit. They certainly should know enough about monetary science to be able to tell when they were investigating an unsound system and to discuss the subject intelligently with foreign monetary experts. * * *

It is well recognized that we have the weakest banking system in the world, yet if foreign consuls in this country should write critical analyses of it for the use of their own people and they should be published, as would be the case, does not anybody know they would have to leave this country? They would be charged with meddling with political conditions here.

If we had adopted the advice then given by Mr. Milliken, we would have been better off. Certainly we would have saved a considerable sum of money experimenting on the use of consuls and sending a commission abroad who were not experts, either on foreign or our home financial institutions. Mr. Milliken has appeared before numerous monetary bodies, is a writer of force on such subjects, and what he writes is entitled to serious consideration. His letter follows:

DUTY OF RURAL PRESS TO AMERICAN FARMERS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 4, 1915.*

Hon. WILLIAM A. OLDFIELD,
Chairman House Committee on Patents.

MY DEAR SIR: I beg your indulgence in directing attention to how the recently created Rural Credit Investigating Commission may hold its hearings so as to greatly benefit the American farmers in securing an effective personal rural-credit system. In inaugurating such system we must not overlook the characteristics of our investing public and financial institutions. We have some institutions which are peculiarly American. The life insurance company is one. Our life insurance companies do more business than all the life insurance companies of Europe, Asia, Africa, and South America combined. We must not forget also that many of the largest are located in the East, though they draw a large portion of their business from the agricultural sections. To be more specific, let me direct attention to the 1905 Life Insurance Yearbook. From that you will observe that our old-line life insurance companies did $185,316,265 of new business the year before in Illinois alone, where the French companies did only $73,052,938 in all the countries in which they wrote business, including France. Of that $185,316,265 of new business written in that State that year by our companies only $760,049 of it was done by Illinois companies.

The farm paper of the credit agricole, the personal rural-credit system of France, is accepted at the Bank of France for discount and as a basis for the issuance of currency. Therefore, if that paper is safe for a bank whose obligations are all payable on demand to carry, it would certainly be safe for a life insurance company, whose obligations are deferred for years in the future. Congress has no power to legislate as to how a life insurance company chartered by a State shall invest its funds, but an investigating commission of Congress could so conduct its hearings as to mold a sound and healthy public sentiment for that paper, and, after all, public sentiment is the best of laws. Suppose the soundest monetary expert in the country should appear before the commission and state that the life insurance companies should carry a line of that farm paper. That would have little or no effect in creating public sentiment, even though the commission agreed with him, and so reported to Congress, unless such expert and the members of the commission bore national reputations as experts on that subject. But it is impossible to find such an expert. Furthermore, that would be an ex parte hearing and not conducive to the establishment of a sound public sentiment.

But suppose the commission should conduct its hearings in the manner prescribed by the Sheppard and Candler-Doolittle-Helgesen resolutions. Then any group of farmers may appear before the commission with an expert and present a bill and have the right to prove it up, and it would be the duty of the commission to notify at least one leading representative of every interest affected by that bill of his right to appear and advocate or oppose that bill. Therefore, the moment the farmers' expert announced it as his intention to show that the life insurance companies should carry a line of that paper, it would be their duty to notify their representatives, who doubtless would be the president of the Association of Life Insurance Presidents, an association of life insurance presidents whose companies have more than four billions of wealth. The representative of that vast wealth would surely carry great weight and prestige, and if the commission, after hearing his testimony and argument, should find that that paper was a good investment for those institutions, it would go a long ways toward establishing public sentiment. The farmer has everything to gain and nothing to

lose by an open and scientific investigation of this question. An ordinary investigation would not establish a market for one dollar of his paper.

Let me call your attention to the movement which Mr. H. S. Gilleylen, of Aberdeen, Miss., is going to inaugurate to get the rural press to take this up and urge the commission to conduct its hearings in the manner provided by the Sheppard and Candler-Doolittle-Helgesen resolutions. Mr. Gilleylen desires the officers of the press association of each State to select one successful and wide-awake farmer in each rural congressional district to cooperate with him and the press. He desires such an association of farmers to aid, first, in securing a proper investigation from the new commission; second, in selecting a monetary expert to represent them before the commission; third, to meet him in Washington, D. C., one week after Congress convenes in December next, and take time in going over the bill presented to the commission by their expert and meeting the Members of Congress and letting them know their views on the bill.

If the rural press would take this up and keep at it until the commission decides to grant this request, they would accomplish the greatest good for the farmer that was ever accomplished in the same length of time. Let every paper which takes this up send to the Rural Credit Press Association, Washington, D. C., a marked copy of each paper containing editorial mention of this method of investigating this subject, so that they may be presented to the commission. They will be presented and constitute a permanent memorial to the press. There should be no let-up by the press until this simple request is granted by the commission. Mr. Gilleylen is one of the most successful farmers of my acquaintance and a man of strict integrity. So let's all rally to his call.

Sincerely, yours,

R. C. MILLIKEN.

Reduction of Salaries of Postal Employees.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTIN B. MADDEN,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 3, 1915.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I have received a number of complaints recently from postal employees in Chicago and many other cities throughout the country, who claim to have had their salaries reduced without warrant of law through an order issued by First Assistant Postmaster General Roper. On investigation, I learned that about the middle of January a number of postmasters of the largest cities throughout the country had been summoned to Washington by instructions of the Postmaster General for the purpose of considering ways and means to reduce expenditures in order to meet the falling off in postal revenues. Shortly after this meeting a circular letter was mailed to the several postal stations in Chicago, of which the following is a copy:

JANUARY 26, 1915.

Circular No. 6.

ECONOMIES IN THE SERVICE.

The receipts of the office have seriously decreased. The post office being operated as a business institution, its expenditures, therefore, must not exceed its receipts, and it becomes necessary to reduce the expenses of operation.

The office does not desire to reduce the force of employees in order to meet this condition, which would involve the returning to the sublist of a certain number of employees in order of their efficiency, regardless of their period of service. It is necessary, however, immediately to practice the most rigid economy, and therefore no expense for auxiliary service must be used except in emergency and upon authorization.

The parcel-post wagons assigned to the following stations will be withdrawn on or about February 1 and arrangement made to effect delivery of parcel post now handled by these wagons by collectors under an arrangement worked out by the collection department. The carriers assigned to parcel-post wagons will be returned temporarily to subservice.

Armour, Garfield, Lake View, Carpenter, Englewood, Chicago, Hyde Park, Yards, Wicker Park, Fifty-first, C, D, Edgewater, Jackson, North Halsted Stations are directed to this office. The names of any clerks or carriers who do not fully conform to the requirements as laid down in section 679, paragraph 6, of Postal Laws and Regulations, 4, 1913 station, are requested also to make any suggestions to this office that may occur to them as to the introduction of any economies that may be worked out at their station.

LEROY T. STEWARD.

I also learned that official instructions were mailed to postmasters throughout the country urging rigid economy in expenditures and suggesting readjustment of the Postal Service and reduction in the number of employees. An order was also issued to postmasters providing that the maximum salaries of letter carriers assigned to the collection of mail be fixed at $1,000 per annum.

In order to carry out the instructions of the department officials the postmasters of Chicago and other cities sent for the letter carriers who collect the mail and submitted a paper for their signature which is supposed to be a waiver of their rights. This paper contained the following statement:

I, ——— ———, a letter carrier in the Chicago post office, assigned to duty as a collector, and understanding that the $1,200 grade is a reward for specially meritorious service as a letter carrier, and desiring to remain assigned as a collector, hereby consent to accept a salary of $1,000 per annum from ——— for my service as a letter carrier assigned to the collection branch of the service: *Provided*, That should I at any future time be permanently assigned or transferred to the exclusive delivery of mail I shall be eligible to promotion in due course.

If any carrier demurred in signing this waiver, he was handed a second paper, which he was at liberty to sign, and of which the following is a copy:

I, ——— ———, a letter carrier in the Chicago post office, assigned to duty in the collection branch, and understanding that only men who are receiving $1,000 or less salary are to be retained in the collection branch, and that my retention in the collection service would, therefore, be compensated for at $1,000 per annum, request to be transferred to permanent duty as a letter carrier in the delivery branch, understanding that the $1,200 grade in which I am at present is granted as a reward for specially meritorious service, and that if my services are not hereafter satisfactory as a carrier I will not be reassigned to the collection service or be retained in the carrier service if found deficient as a carrier.

This, to my mind, is a plain case of coercion, as the superintendents who presented these papers to the employees are the officials who pass on their efficiency rating and decide whether a man measures up to the proper standard of efficiency or not. It seems to me to be a plain case of duress, as under the circumstances if a man valued his position in the service and was anxious to remain in it he signed the waiver and accepted the salary offered him, which in nearly every instance means a reduction of $200 per annum.

It is this reduction in salary in order to effect economy that is the cause of so much unrest and discontent among the postal employees. If this policy of the administration of the Post Office Department is permitted to be carried into effect, it will lower the standard of living of the employees, cause the destruction of carefully laid plans for home buying, limit education of children, cause a lapsing of life insurance policies, and be the cause of other hardships due to reduction in wages, and will react on the Postal Service. To my mind, it is neither just nor fair to reduce expenditures by placing the burden on those who can least afford to bear it. The majority of these men who are affected by this reduction have been in the Postal Service a number of years and have regulated their living conditions according to the salaries they have been receiving, and which they supposed were fixed by law. To take away a great part of their earnings from them by a departmental order will compel them to readjust their whole method of living and to a lower standard than they have been accustomed to.

We do not want the living conditions of those who toil reduced to a lower level, nor do we want their purchasing power decreased. This administration is appealing on one hand to business men to keep labor employed and not reduce salaries, while on the other hand it is reducing the salaries of Government employees and adding to the ranks of unemployed by curtailing the Postal Service and laying off a number of employees. Another matter that has been brought to my attention, and which I am unalterably opposed to, is the so-called efficiency system or speed tests that postal employees are being subjected to.

I have been informed that the pace set in these tests is beyond the physical and mental endurance of an ordinary man, and if lived up to would result in the breakdown of any human being under the strain. The tests could no doubt be made by a man of exceptional ability and training and for a short period of time when a man is at his best. No ordinary man could stand the pace and maintain all the requirements set out in the rules and regulations for the employees. The post-office clerks and letter carriers have been surrounded by hard and fast rules for years, and have been chafing at times under the restrictions contained in arbitrary orders defining the methods for performing their duties. The system under which they are now working has a tendency to make mere machines of men, and I protest that when men are not treated as men there is lack of harmony and cooperation between the officials and employees and with resultant harm to the public service.

It seems to me to be poor policy on the part of the department to institute a system among its employees that takes away from them the incentive to take pride in their work. It is carrying the policy of economy to extremes, and has developed into a parsimonious cheeseparing policy that fosters discontent in the minds of the men who do the real work.

I am in favor of the Senate amendment which will restore the letter carriers who have been reduced in salary to their former grades, and I hope that the Members of the House will concur in the Senate amendment.

Personally, I do not believe that the Post Office Department officials have the authority to issue an order that reduces the salaries of postal employees, as such an order, if permitted to stand, would nullify the will of Congress. I was a Mem-

ber of the Congress which enacted the classification law for post-office clerks and letter carriers, and took an active part in preparing and perfecting the bill. The enactment of the classification act was the result of mature deliberation on the part of the Members of Congress that had studied conditions in the Postal Service, and was intended not only for the relief and benefit of the postal employees, but also to improve the Postal Service. That the Congress was justified in placing the law on the statute books is attested by the reports of the Postmaster General for the two years following the enactment of the law. The employees took a keener interest in their work, and it was an incentive not only to keep the best men in the service, but was an inducement for high-class men to take the civil-service examination and seek employment in the service. This resulted in increased efficiency, and, as any business man knows, is the most satisfactory kind of economy. I trust that the Members of this body will not lose sight of these facts, and that the Members will register their disapproval of the attempt to economize in expenditures of the Postal Service by reducing the salaries and placing extra burdens on the lowest-paid and hardest-worked employees.

National Prohibition.

SPEECH

OF

HON. PATRICK D. NORTON,

OF NORTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 22, 1914.

The House had under consideration the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 168) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States prohibiting the sale, etc., of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes.

Mr. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, the State I have the honor to represent in part has enjoyed the benefits and blessings of constitutional prohibition of the liquor traffic for more than a quarter of a century. There is no one thing of which the great majority of the people of my State are to-day more proud of than the fact that the present generation of young men and women in North Dakota are being reared in an environment free from the evils and degrading influences of saloons and other institutions of the liquor traffic. In North Dakota constitutional prohibition is not an experiment. It is a tried and true success. The operation of the prohibition law in North Dakota, as in many other States in the Union, is an absolute refutation of all arguments that the sale and general use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage can not effectively and successfully be done away with by proper legislation. Some of the weakest and most peculiar arguments that I have ever listened to have been presented to-day in this Chamber in opposition to the pending resolution. The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT] opposes the resolution for the reason, among others, that if the resolution is adopted by the Congress it will then be referred to the legislative assemblies of the different States instead of to a direct vote of the people of the several States.

I would ask the gentleman if as a true friend of national prohibition he is at all fearful or if he has any real ground to fear that the legislative assembly of any State in the Nation will approve and adopt this resolution unless a large majority of the people of the State are in favor of prohibiting the sale and manufacture for sale of intoxicating liquor?

Rather I believe the friends of prohibition might have good ground to fear that in some States where a large majority of the people are in favor of this resolution and in favor of the prohibition of the manufacture for sale or sale or gift of intoxicating liquor it may be difficult on account of the well-organized power and influence of the liquor interests to secure an adoption of the resolution by the members of the legislative assemblies of these States.

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] appears fearful that the executive forces of the Federal Government added to the executive forces of the States will not be as effective in enforcing laws prohibiting traffic in intoxicating liquors as the executive forces of the several States alone. This has not been the experience of this country in the enforcement of other and similar laws. That kind of argument will I am certain be taken by the House and by the country at large for what it is worth and for no more.

The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] sees in the passage of the resolution the undermining of the fundamental principles of government. I venture to say that the great Thomas Jefferson and other early fathers of the Constitution never imagined that any leader of any great political party in this country would at any time seriously contend that a submission to the several States of a proposed constitutional amendment would be an undermining of the fundamental principles of this Government. Why, gentlemen, instead of the submission to the several States of this proposed amendment to the Constitution being an undermining of the fundamental principles of this Government, it is wholly and entirely in accord with the very basic spirit and principles on which this Nation and our Constitution was founded. I would ask the gentleman if he would have our Constitution amended by orderly process of government or by revolution?

The question of amending the Constitution by ratification of less than all the States was fully considered and discussed at much length during the Constitutional Convention of 1787. It was only after long debate and after all propositions limiting the method of amending the Constitution to ratification by all the States was decisively defeated by the votes of Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia as against Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Jersey that Article V of the Constitution was adopted in this its present form:

ART. V. The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress: *Provided*, That no amendment which may be made prior to the year 1808 shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article, and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

The "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union Between the States," which was the form of the government of this Nation preceding our present system, contained this provision in its Thirteenth Article defining the way in which the Articles could be amended:

And the Articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States and be afterwards confirmed by the legislature of every State.

The gentlemen who argue that this proposed prohibition amendment should not be submitted by the Congress to the several States unless on its merits the amendment is satisfactory to every State appear to forget that we are living under the Constitution of the United States and not under the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union Between the States. The Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union Between the States, as the first charter of our Nation, went out of existence in 1789, more than 125 years ago.

The fathers of this Nation wisely determined that the Constitution might be amended by the ratification of a proposed amendment by three-fourths of the legislatures of the several States or by conventions in three-fourths of the States. If this had not been so provided for, does anyone think that the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution would have been adopted in orderly process of government and without revolution, if at all? The greatest statesmen and the most learned authorities on constitutional law who have discussed this question are unanimous in the opinion that the power vested in three-fourths of the States to amend the Constitution is wise and safe.

It is wise for to require the consent of all the States to an amendment would prevent the adoption of amendments which time and changing circumstances make vitally necessary; and, on the other hand, it is wise for to require a smaller number in proportion to the whole would expose the Constitution to hasty and poorly considered amendments by the party for the time dominant in the Nation.

It is safe because the proportion of the States required to ratify a proposed amendment before it becomes a part of the Constitution is sufficiently large to prevent any dominant part of the Union or combination of the States from using the amending power so as to unfairly and unjustly affect the rights and the interests of a weaker part of the Union or a small minority of the States.

It is not so much a question for the Congress to consider the merits of the amendment as it is to determine whether any large and considerable number of people in the several States desire that the Constitution be amended in accordance with the resolution. The argument that has been advanced by the opponents of this resolution to the effect that if the resolution is submitted by the Congress to the States for their action it will likely be ratified within a short time by three-fourths of the

States is, in my opinion, and in my interpretation of the spirit of the Constitution, the strongest argument that could possibly be advanced as a reason why the Congress should adopt this resolution.

The petitions from hundreds of thousands of our best citizens that have been sent this Congress on this question, and the widespread evidence of interest and enthusiasm for this resolution throughout the Nation, convince me beyond any doubt that a very large proportion of the American people are to-day in favor of national prohibition, and that it is our plain duty as Members of the Congress to submit this amendment to the several States for their ratification or their rejection. Our Constitution must be changed from time to time to keep pace with the evolution of the Nation. If at any time the Congress long persists in refusing arbitrarily to do its plain duty and thus prevent the people from changing their Constitution in accordance with the methods of amendment provided in the Constitution itself, history records in no uncertain language that the changes will be made, even if through blood and revolution. The Constitution is but a reflection of the spirit of the ages. The highest and best thoughts, attainments, and ideals of a free people can not long be denied expression and representation in their chosen charter of government.

If the Members of this Congress fail to adopt this resolution and submit this question to the people of the several States of the Nation, the years will not be long until there will come in this Nation a Congress that, responding truly to the spirit of the Constitution, will do what we here should do to-day. The mighty movement for prohibition can not be stayed by false logic, false arguments, or by all the power and influences of the rum sellers of the Nation any more than can the rolling waters of the broad Mississippi be stayed on their way to join the sea.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

The Postalization of the Telephone.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DAVID J. LEWIS,
OF MARYLAND,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. LEWIS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, the Postmaster General has again recommended to Congress the postalizing of the telephone and telegraph communication. His predecessors for 50 years have given like counsel, including the parcel post.

The principal countries of the world, the United States alone excepted, have already postalized these agencies. Why? Briefly, because the post office alone has the motive and facilities to makes rates low enough to render service to all the people. Before the parcel post we had the highest parcel rates. They are now among the lowest in the world. But we still have the highest telegraph rates. They run from 25 cents to $1. Where the post conducts the telegraph they run from 10 to 24 cents for the longest distances. (1) The result of our high rates is that we use the telegraph but little. New Zealand, with a 12-cent rate, shows 9 telegrams per capita, the United States only 1. (2) And yet with the lowest letter rates we show the highest use, 101 letters per capita, as against 93 for New Zealand. (3) While our telegraph rates run from two to over four times as high as countries like Australia, with distances as long and wages as high as our own, our toll or long-distance telephone rates are even more immoderate. They run from three to seven times as high as the postal telephone rates of other countries. (4) Here is a statement of the average rates for nine countries on the Continent of Europe:

Miles.	Continental rate.	Bell rate.
100	$0.20	$0.60
300	.37	1.80
400	.39	2.40
500	.46	3.00
700	.53	4.20

That is, for 100 miles we pay three times, for 300 miles five times, for 400 miles six times, and for 700 miles eight times the rate on the Continent of Europe for a three-minute conversation.

Mr. Speaker, I am obliged to make a sensational statement about these long-distance rates. It costs the American as much to ship his long-distance conversation over the wires as it costs him to ship a ton of freight over the rails. The railroads get, on the average, 7 mills a mile for moving the ton of freight. The Bell system charges 6 mills a mile for carrying the three-minute conversation (5). Gentlemen can realize how weighty their conversations sometimes are. They weigh about a ton on the long-distance wires.

SOCIAL RESULTS.

Mr. Speaker, what is the consequence of our high rates? Well, sir, their effect is to reduce the traffic to a point as abnormally low as they are high. Combining the telegrams and long-distance messages, we find that other countries use the wire for such purposes from two to four times as often as we. While Denmark shows 17 such messages per capita and New Zealand 12, we show only 3. While we rank first in the use of the letter—101 per capita—we stand but thirteenth in the combined use of telegrams and long-distance messages (6). Moreover, our companies maintain but one telegraph office to seven post offices. These postal institutions maintain an average of two telegraph offices to every three post offices (7). This is the penalty our Nation pays for permitting a private monopoly to conduct this part of the Postal Service—the highest rates and the lowest service among the nations.

LOCAL TELEPHONE RATES.

Mr. Speaker, second only to the letter in importance is the local telephone call. Perhaps it would be first if its cost permitted the use of the telephone by all the people. In other countries the average postal rate for the local telephone call is about a cent a call, or half the letter rates (8), while in our cities the rates run from 5 to 10 cents a call. We rank twenty-ninth, or the highest but two among 31 telephone institutions, on the rates for the local call, while we rank the lowest but one in the world on our letter rates. Our measured service rates run from two to three times the like rates elsewhere, even in Australia (9).

The flat or unlimited tariffs, as in Norway, run as low as $10.72 per year. And for the large cities you have Christiania $21.44, population 227,626, as against Seattle $90, population 237,194; Berlin $43.20, population 2,320,000, as against Manhattan, N. Y., $205.20, for a population of 2,331,542; while London is $82.79, and San Francisco $180. Thus the separate rate for Boston, Denver, Washington, Baltimore, and San Francisco each exceeds the combined unlimited rates of Berlin and Paris; while the New York rate, for 5,700 calls, exceeds the three unlimited-service rates of London, Berlin, and Paris combined (10). Instead of running about half the letter rate, here, as elsewhere, our local-message rate in the cities runs with the street car fare, and often twice as much. In New York and Washington the business-phone rate is $48 for the first 600 calls, or 8 cents a call. You can now send a 4-pound parcel 150 miles for 8 cents, the postal system making about a cent profit. Mr. Speaker, it seems a duty to say that these telegraph and telephone rates are the scandal of public-service rates the world over, and only to be compared with the express rates before the advent of the parcel post.

Mr. Vail, president of the Bell System, with reference to the long-distance rates, observes that "Rates more or less equal to the foreign rates" could be given (11). He has also said in apology for the limited service:

> Instantaneous and immediate transmission of communication is as yet a convenience or luxury, although under modern methods of business and commerce it is an economical alternative to the cheaper mail service in business operations. The use of the telegraph may be a popular convenience, but it is not a necessity and is still confined to the comparatively few, and for that reason should be at the cost of the few that find benefit and profit in that use (12).

This is bold language. We are virtually told that of the three great agencies of postal communication only one, the letter post, may be used by all the people.

EFFICIENCY—ECONOMY.

Mr. Speaker, the cautious man will inquire, "But do these postal rates pay?" The facts are these: The telegraph, telephone, the Parcel Post, and the mail services are conducted in the same offices and by the same postal personnel abroad. The budgets of receipts and expenditures of the 16 leading countries for the year 1910 show receipts of $631,133,621 and expenses of $503,798,404, giving a surplus of $124,335,217, or about 20 per cent (13). Such are the results when the postal hand is allowed the use of all its fingers—the letter, the parcel, the savings bank, and the telephone and telegraph functions. The parcel post alone already has saved us from deficits. Superimposing the telegraphic function on the telephone wires—and you can use the telephone wire for both purposes at the same moment (14)—all the expenses of a telegraphic system except

the operator and messenger would be eliminated. Cutting our telegraph rates in half, it appears that we should have a surplus of $85,000,000 a year to reduce telephone rates and extend the telephone system to the homes of the masses, with 3 per cent for interest and 4 per cent for depreciation (15). If our Postal Service were but given its full rights, there would be no question about it being made to pay as well as other postal establishments.

But, Mr. Speaker, it will be urged, and the conviction is common, that men will not work as earnestly for the public as when supervised by the self-interest of a private employer. Doubtless this is a weakness in some kinds of employment. But there is a fundamental exception to it. It consists of those monopolies where the work is of a character that its quantity can be measured out in advance and a fixed task be assigned to the employee as a daily duty. Such is the work of the city carrier whose route and deliveries are scheduled. Such, too, are the tasks of the telephone and telegraph operators and messengers, for as the flow of the traffic, the number of calls and telegrams becomes known, a fair task for each worker can be adjusted. Whatever merit this objection may have elsewhere, investigation discloses that it does not apply to the postal institution. Not only is it efficient, but it is much more economical than the private postal monopolies.

The race is not always to the self-seeker, but sometimes it goes with the unselfish motive to serve society. This is true of the postal monopolies, where the productive capacity of the institution—that is, its service output—is determined mainly by the price. Let us take a familiar illustration. The work of the American postal employee consists of handling an average of 60,000 mail pieces per annum (16). If the postage rates were to be doubled the traffic would likely fall to one-half. But the 60,000 post offices would still have to be conducted with but a small possible reduction of the employees. They might then average no more than 40,000 mail pieces per annum, as the effect of doubled postal rates. The degree of plant utilization for a monopoly is determined by the price charged for the product and the desulting demand, and the cost per unit of production or service will be high or low for the employees accordingly. This principle is aptly illustrated in the telegraph and telephone field. For example, the service unit in telephony is the call. The average rate per call in Norway is 5 mills, and the number of calls handled per telephone employee in 1912 was 118,500. The average rate per call of the Bell System is 19 mills, and the average number of calls handled per employee was 65,265 per annum. Among 12 countries compared the Bell System ranked but ninth in product per employee, while 5 postal and 3 private systems outrank it (17). It is the high rate of the Bell System which gives it but the ninth place in productive efficiency. In one city where the rates were twice normal the utilization per phone was less than 1,000 calls per year, while the average for the country is more than 2,000. But the operating cost per phone was quite as great. The same principle is exemplified in the telegraph field. The American telegram cost 48 cents for handling, the highest to be found anywhere, and but 27 cents in Australia and 21 cents in Great Britain (18).

	United States.	Australia.	Great Britain.
Operating cost per telegram	$0.48	$0.27	$0.21
Maintenance of offices; one office to population of	10,960	902	3,214
Traffic supply; telegrams per day per office	41.4	11.9	22.3
Maintenance of pole line; 1 mile to population of	385	100	686

Australia is strictly comparable with the United States because of the equal wages and distances involved there. The postal telegraph employee gives a greater product per year than the private American monopoly. In New Zealand the telegraph employee handled 3,980 telegrams per year, the American only 2,933, and yet the American has a traffic supply of 15,114 telegrams per office maintained, and the New Zealand only 4,573 (19).

Mr. Speaker, experience shows that there is, as the economists say, "a possible beneficent principle in the form of a monopoly," provided it is placed under the guidance of the appropriate rules of financiering. Says Dr. Adams (20):

Private financiering: The relations here set forth will present themselves more clearly to our minds if we throw into comparison the rule of public and the rule of private financiering. A private business is managed to secure a profit, and, other things being equal, the higher the price secured for any service rendered the higher will be the profit. The rule of private financiering therefore is to maintain the price of goods or services at the highest price which has no tendency to curtail profitable business.

Public financiering: The rule of public financiering, on the other hand, conforms to an altogether different principle. It is the purpose of government to render services at the lowest price consistent with efficient service. Price equals cost. This is true, because the State, being the manager of the business, has no motive in acquiring riches.

These differing rules are well illustrated in recent characteristic applications by private and postal functionaries. The Chicago & Milwaukee Telephone Co., doing business between those cities for many years, charged a rate of 15 cents for 10 words and 1 cent per additional word. After the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. secured control of the Western Union it managed to gain control of this lesser company and raised its rates to 25 cents and 2 cents per word. Under the low rate in 1909 the service rendered the public amounted to 103,248 telegrams. In 1912 under the 25-cent rate the number of telegrams fell to 57,689. By this raise in the rate the Bell Co. gained the salaries of two operators and two messengers, whom it was able to discharge, by reducing the service to the public one-half. But by the same proceeding it raised the productive cost per telegram from about 14 cents in 1909 to 24 cents each in 1912.

What the Bell Co. did in that case was according to the rule of private financiering. Under postal control and the public-service motive the 15-cent rate, while it paid expenses—and it did—would have remained to insure the maximum social service.

Per contra, now, let me illustrate the action of a postal financier. I went to Postmaster General Burleson and demonstrated that the parcel rates on the 50 and 150 mile zones were some four times the cost of service. After the fullest consideration by himself and the Interstate Commerce Commission he reduced them from 3 and 4 to 1 cent a pound. The traffic, from 1 pound and up, in these zones since then has increased by 200 per cent, and from 5 pounds and up by 500 per cent; and yet he is making a good profit at these rates, as much as the express companies ever made, after allowing for railway pay a sum per ton-mile twice as great as they are paying the railways.

Mr. Speaker, it was just as natural for the Postmaster General, acting under the rule of public financiering, to make these reductions, when he found them feasible, as for the Bell management to raise its telegraph rate from 15 cents to 25 cents; and it was just as natural under the well-known laws of monopoly economics that the traffic should increase 200 per cent in the parcels as it was that the traffic in telegrams should fall 44 per cent. In the case of the parcel you have a public-service efficiency that has been raised 500 per cent, while in that of the telegram the service efficiency has been lowered nearly half. Can such marvels be accomplished by simply changing names, from private to postal financiering, you ask? No; it is the fundamental change of motive or purpose that takes place.

ADEQUACY OF ORGANIZATION.

Mr. Speaker, I present now the elements laid down by the political economists as necessary in the working organization of a monopoly in order that its service be rendered at the lowest cost, and that society should realize the benefits of a monopoly in the class of enterprises for which that form of capital and labor is adapted. The elements are stated to be:

(a) Unity and exclusiveness of organization.

(b) Details of management well worked out.

(c) Facility for extension by mere duplication of existing structure.

(d) A social demand for the service which is widespread and constant.

(e) Adequate ability in authority.

Results:

(f) Service at less cost than if broken into groups, because—

(g) Assured demands for service admits of closest calculations.

(h) Extent of demand admits of most minute division of labor.

(i) Absence of rivalry reduces to a minimum the amount of capital and other expenditures necessary for the performance of the service.

(j) Speculative management is eliminated.

(k) And thus, with public financiering motives, the maximum of utilization and efficiency is rendered possible.

Mr. Speaker, it is, of course, not a matter of criticism that our private telephone and telegraph monopolies are lacking in the main essential—the public-service motive. As privately financiering organizations, such a motive is against nature, and should not be asked. What our people do not understand is that an entrenched postal monopoly in private hands is seldom actually efficient, but that, judged by the amount of service rendered per dollar expended, our telegraph and telephone monopolies are grossly uneconomical. In the competitive industries

the uneconomical are being constantly weeded out by "failure"; but these monopolies do not "fail." They simply pass the waste into the price to the public. Our telegraph agencies are reeking with inefficiency. They put the telegram through some 74 processes (21), some 50 of which are eliminated by the postage stamp by the postal systems. When judged by economic standards, these monopolies are merely political anacronisms in postal history, unfit to be tolerated in the court of economics or institutional efficiency. Because our competitive industries show constantly increasing efficiency and, for the most part, a cheapening of the cost of the unit of production, it is thoughtlessly assumed that this is true of all private enterprises. But it is not true of our telegraph, telephone, and express agencies—natural postal monopolies. It is costing the express company to-day three times as much to handle the parcel—barring railway pay—as it does the Post Office. It is certainly costing the telegraph and telephone companies to handle their communications twice what it would cost the post under rational rates and high plant utilization; and, with reference to the telephone, it is beyond doubt that any true competitive business would scrap the costly manual telephone, as the postal systems are doing, for the automatic, or "girlless," telephone, eliminating one-half the employees and the terrible cost of manual switchboard obsolescence. The private exploitation of postal monopolies has never failed as yet to spell with high rates the highest cost per unit of service rendered, and hence the lowest social-service efficiency. That is a matter of demonstration. If the Post Office copied the red tape of the express companies (22), its parcel rate would have to be doubled, and if it handled the letter as the telegraph companies do the telegram we would have 8 or 10 cent letter rates.

We reach the conclusion that the rules of private finance improperly applied to these postal monoplies fail to cheapen the price of the service, as they do in the competitive industries. Its rules condemn the agency to a half marketing of its potential service. The Post Office makes the profit from Chicago and New York pay for the nonprofitable rural and other services, while the private telephone and telegraph investor naturally restricts his activities to the particular points which promise a satisfactory profit.

REGULATION NOT A SUBSTITUTE FOR POSTAL MOTIVE.

What are you going to do about it? "Submit it to regulation," says the overcautious, who is without time or disposition to study the subject and who fears new ideas as a child fears new faces. With this he rids himself of the troublesome problem for a while. But does he solve it? No; it is fundamentally impossible to secure a substitute for the postal motive and methods in a postal monopoly if it is to render the maximum social service. Regulation may remove discriminations in the rates or the service and often prevent the looting of the business by corrupt corporate officers. But postal rates and universality of service, a retail rate as low as the wholesale cost, is out of the question, it would be morally wrong to impose on the private investor. He is entitled to the market rate of interest on private investments, even when the investment and interest is certain; and that rate is twice the rate on Government bonds. But the income of even a telephone company is not certain, and so something more—the regulating tribunals say from 7 to 8 per cent—must be allowed. Otherwise the private investor will decline to provide the new capital necessary where he has to take the chances on a low or no return, but is denied the right to reap the high returns of a lucky investment. Thus private capital must cost from two to two and a half times that of the postal investment. Observe the effect when regulation is applied. In a city of 600,000 the investment was $5,665,729, the receipts $1,507,550, and the net revenue, after payment of operating expenses and taxes, depreciation, and so forth, $400,169, or a little over 7 per cent on the investment. The number of phones was 43,000, and the messages per phone 993 as compared with 2,013, the average for the country. As against this low utilization the average rate was $3.53 per 100 calls as against $1.86 for the Bell system generally and 88 cents for the independents. The number of messages per capita was 71 compared with 156 for the country, while the total revenue was distributed as follows (23):

Expenditures per message:	Cents.
Operating cost	1.50
Rentals, taxes, depreciation	1.08
Profits	.95
	3.53

These double rates reduced the use of the phone to less than half normal, from 2,013 to 993 calls per year. The Postmaster General, acting on the public-service motive, would reduce these message rates one-half, and the traffic doubling would leave his gross revenues intact. But he would need to double the exchange operators, for a manual exchange, at a cost of $125,000, and reform the switchboard at an interest cost of $18,000 more. These items taken from his $400,000 profit would leave him some $257,000. His interest charge at 3 per cent for capital would be $170,000, giving him a margin of $87,000. But $257,000 would amount to but 4½ per cent for a private investor. Could a regulating tribunal order him to halve his rates, take the chances of the traffic doubling, and even so, receive but 4 per cent interest on his property? Manifestly no sane tribunal would take such chances with another man's property. And yet the Postmaster General could justly say, "I will take the chance of the traffic doubling, of its going up to normal; even if it falls short 5 per cent, I will still be safe, for if my revenue falls off 5 per cent and the public service is increased 95 per cent, since the people and the post office are convertible terms, I have gained 90 per cent in institutional efficiency. I lose 5 per cent in one pocket, but I gain 95 per cent in the other." In this very case whether the capital is to be a 3 per cent Government bond or a 7 per cent private investment determines the question whether the rate can be reduced one-half or not reduced at all. Manifestly regulation is not a substitute for the postal motive in securing to the public the lowest communicating rates. Already the regulating theory as applied to our railways has broken down. The telephone managerial interest may continue to contend for Government supervision rather than ownership long after the investor has said, "Go get your money where you get your regulations, from the Government." We can understand that the high-priced managers may have an interest in keeping the monopoly a private one, an interest entirely distinct from that of the public or even the private owners.

RELIEF, POSTAL TELEPHONES.

What are we going to do about it? Well, Mr. Speaker, just what other countries have done. Do what we did with the parcel—give the post office its institutional rights. Sir, last year the parcel post carried about 300,000,000 parcels weighing a pound and over. Not more than 50,000,000 of these were taken from the express companies, which carried about the same number. That is to say, 250,000,000 parcels—about half the potential traffic—were moved by post that would have been "killed" by the prohibitive express rates. What does this mean? Simply that half the country's express traffic for generations has been killed by a private monopoly with methods so grossly expensive that it could not make rates low enough to move it, but insisted upon squatting on the postal function. That is what is now wrong with the electrical communication. Certainly not less than three-fourths of the potential telegraph traffic is killed by our prohibitive telegraph rates. New Zealand has nine telegrams per capita; we have but one (1). Our long-distance telephone rates, three to seven times as high as elsewhere, are certainly killing four out of five such messages. Meanwhile the long-distance lines are used but 4 per cent of their potential capacity, as against 19 per cent in Germany under postal rates; and as to the local telephone service, only the business office and the well-to-do residence can afford it at all. The homes of the masses are denied this facility—the only postal facility now denied them in the United States—and this merely because a private monopoly, like the express companies, insists upon conducting a postal function.

Mr. Speaker, the opportunity to communicate ought to be made as nearly universal as science and sound business consideration will permit. Mr. Vail, president of the Bell System, has said:

> There is a road to every man's door; there should be a telephone to every man's house.

The parallel is indisputable, but its complementary fact should also be noted. It was society, and not any privately financed monopoly, that built these roads.

Now, the postal object is not merely to confer equal privileges in form. It so organizes its service and formulates its rates as to remove any economic barriers to their use. The poor man can actually utilize any form of the Postal Service. Its rates are adapted to his means.

Besides keeping the phone out of the homes of the masses, the high rates prohibit its proper use for some of the most important purposes. I take time to refer to one, of probable fundamental importance, a kitchen-to-farm rate, by which the consumer could connect with the farm and have his produce brought him direct by parcel post at its first price and with its first smell. The phone provides the personal contact necessary in bargain making. The letter does not, saying nothing of its

delays and labor. But the telephone can not be used now because of its prohibitive rates. Washington is completely environed by farms, yet I find that the housewife can not reach a single farmer here at less than 15 to 25 cents, a rate prohibitive in such small transactions. Rates below a nickel could be made, say, for the evening hours, when the use of the lines is less than 5 per cent of the potential. Rates as low as 4 cents for 20 miles obtain in Australia, Germany, and Italy. And postal rates at cost could be given here to the farm within a region of 50 miles, granted only the postal motive to put the wires in use.

THE POSTAL OBJECT.

Mr. Speaker, our problem is threefold. Stated formally, our rates for the electrical communication average—

The telegraph rate two to four times.

The long-distance rate three to seven times.

The local-call rate, two to four times the rate for such services where the postal agency is given the complete function of communication. It appears that the telephone network alone can be used for all three objects of relief. And what, sir, does the experience of the world justify us in expecting as the resultants of such postalization? In answer it may be confidently said that ultimately we should have—

(a) A 12-cent telegram for shorter, and

(b) A 30-cent telegram for longer distances.

(c) Long-distance and toll rates at one-fourth prevailing rates.

(d) A cent a call local rates, and

(e) A phone in every home.

(f) Farm-to-kitchen telephone rates, thus enabling the consumer and farmer to deal direct through the parcel post or otherwise.

Mr. Speaker, this is a rational, a safe, and practicable program. The experience and practice of all the great postal establishments proclaims it to be so—as much so as the parcel post. Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, New Caledonia, Dahomey, Denmark, Egypt, Formosa, France, Tunis, Germany, Switzerland, Great Britain, Sweden, Greece, South Africa, French Guinea, Servia, Hungary, Roumania, India, French Indo-China, Italy, Norway, Japan, New Zealand, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Russia, Siam, all testify that the telephone and telegraph communication belong, with the letter, to the postal establishment. Is our postal system less worthy than theirs? Are our people less worthy than the subjects of foreign princes? What has our postal system done that it should be dishonored by a disinheritance of its functions? Sir, it is not to blame. We ourselves are to blame. Seventeen different times (24) have committees of Congress recommended the course now advised. * * *

Mr. Speaker, I rest my case upon the truth of the statement that these private functionaries, by the law of their nature, are incapable of properly discharging the postal function of communication; that they can not have even a purpose of trying to do so; that, just as with the parcel post, their operating methods are too expensive and wasteful to allow of its full discharge. That, in short, they are closing the mouth of communication three times where they facilitate its message once. What said the great Teacher of mankind to the steward who brought back the talent uninvested and without increase? And what said He to that other steward who returned his talent multiplied manyfold? Even so should this function of communication be taken from the private functionary, who is plainly incapable, and given to the Postal Department which on the mail piece, and now notably with the parcel, shows the right regard for its master's interest, and alone is able to give the maximum of service to the people of this country.

We know that the history of the United States in its normal development was greatly disturbed by the Civil War; we know that after its completion great princes of finance grew up whose activities were necessary to build 200,000 miles of railroad and to erect other great industrial institutions for our country. While they were doing this the shadow of the State and of the Government grew less, and their statures grew the greater in comparison. The real, active powers of society were not found in the State house; the power of the great Republic itself was not found in its Capital nor at the White House, but in the inner offices of these princes of finance. I challenge whether it be not true that anyone here to-day can remember the names of a half dozen great financiers of that period quicker than they can remember the names of contemporary Presidents of this Republic. It was only natural in exerting that power that they should slough over onto the Government's domain. They did slough over, not only with regard to the telegram and the telephone, but they did it also with regard to the parcel; and we have found since the Parcel Post Service has been installed that their rule under the prohibitive rates necessary for private financiering actually killed one-half of the potential parcel traffic of this country for more than 40 years. The same result obtains now with the private financiering of electrical communications. Meanwhile dangers to the Republic of the most insidious character have been presented. I speak of the fact that public functionaries, rendered weak by the deprivation of their normal powers, have yielded, often too readily, to the domination of promoters who have bribed them away from their duty. In the city of San Francisco two telephone concerns were striving for the franchise. Both sides to that controversy bought up the city council of San Francisco. The councilor went out of the municipal meeting with bribes in each of his pockets, taken from each of the contestants. As a contrast with that picture I invite comparison with the history of San Francisco, with the history of London, or of Berlin, or even of "Gay Paree." Yes, and I invite comparison, too, with our own great postal agency, the greatest public-service organization in the world. The people trust it; the people love it; for they know it to be the—

Enlarger of the common life.
Carrier of news and knowledge.
Instrument of trade and industry.
Messenger of sympathy and love.
Servant of parted friends.
Consoler of the lonely.
Bond of the scattered family.

(1) Page 11, (2) page 13, (3) page 12, (4) pages 25 and 26, (5) pages 27 and 28, (6) page 13, (7) page 17, (8) page 19, (9) page 23, (10) page 23, (11) page 96, (12) page 29, (13) page 90, (14) page 54, (15) page 78, (16) page 38, (17) page 39, (18) page 85, (19) page 36, (20) pages 5, 6, 7, and 8, (21) page 31, (22) page 34, (23) pages 48, 49, and 50, (24) page 114 of Hearing on Postalization of the Telephone before House Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

Lincoln's Birthday.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. ROBERT FOWLER,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. FOWLER. Mr. Speaker, this is the aniversary of the birth of one of America's greatest men, and I doubt if we could serve our country more appropriately than by devoting a few moments of our time to his memory. God gave him to Kentucky, Kentucky gave him to Illinois, Illinois gave him to the Nation, and he gave to the world a Republic baptized in the blood of liberty and dedicated to the doctrine that all men are created equal. He blotted out Mason and Dixon's line, struck from the limbs of undermen the shackles of slavery, and established in America and put in practice the doctrine that governments derive their just rights from the consent of the governed. We owe to him much, and as time passes the fruits of his public service will grow in importance and be recognized as the crowning glory of American statesmanship.

Mr. Speaker, I did not rise to make a speech, but before I take my seat I desire to comment for a few moments upon the greatest speech I ever read. It was delivered at Gettysburg at a reunion in 1863. Edward Everett was the orator of the day, and delivered a powerful oration of two hours' length. Then followed Mr. Lincoln's masterpiece of only 267 words. It is said that when the exercises were about to close Lincoln took Everett by the hand and congratulated him upon his success as an orator, whereupon Everett replied in substance, "I would only be too happy if I could console myself that I, in my two hours' speech, said as much appropriate to the occasion as you did in two minutes." It has been said by some that Mr. Lincoln hastily prepared this speech, but I do not think this is true. While it is very short, yet I doubt if any orator ever breathed forth to his hearers so much crystallized thought for the occasion as is couched in these few words. It is a masterpiece and takes rank with our greatest classics. I advise every schoolboy to commit it to memory.

Mr. Speaker, history is not without other examples of short masterpieces. David's masterpiece on the Glory of God, the nineteenth Psalm, contains only 274 words, and yet it is full of information and thought. I regard it as one of the most important chapters of the Bible. It, too, should be memorized. St. Paul's masterpiece on Charity, delivered at Ephesus more than 1,800 years before Mr. Lincoln delivered his Gettysburg speech, contains only 270 words. I think it can be truthfully said that

Lincoln's Gettysburg speech, the nineteenth Psalm, and the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians, from a literary standpoint alone, rank among the greatest literary productions in the world, yet they are among the shortest in point of words. It is said that an American once twitted an Indian chief on the shortness of the Indian language and received this reply: "Humph; don't take big language to tell the truth." I have been so impressed with the similarity between these two masterpieces of Mr. Lincoln and St. Paul that I will place them in the RECORD in parallel columns for comparison and study. The nineteenth Psalm might be read and compared with them with much profit.

"Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. And though I have the gift of prophecy and understand all mysteries and all knowledge, and though I have all faith so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing. And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing. Charity suffereth long and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil; rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things. Charity never faileth: but whether there be prophecies, they shall fail; whether there be tongues, they shall cease; whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away. For we know in part and we prophesy in part. But when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away. When I was a child I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man I put away childish things. For now we see through a glass darkly, but then face to face; now I know in part, but then shall I know even as also I am known. And now abideth faith, hope, and charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity." (St. Paul at Ephesus (A. D. 57 or 58), I Corinthians xiii, 2–13.)

"Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure. We are met on a great battle field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as the final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate, we can not consecrate, we can not hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to the cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve these dead shall not have died in vain; that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that the Government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth." (Lincoln, Gettysburg, 1863.)

Governmental Regulation of Railroads.

SPEECH
OF
HON. OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD,
OF ALABAMA,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE SPHINX CLUB,

In the City of New York, March 9, 1915.

[Printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD March 15, 1915.]

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, under the general leave to print, I desire to extend my remarks by printing in the RECORD an address I delivered before the Sphinx Club in the city of New York on the night of Tuesday, March 9, 1915, on the subject of Governmental Regulation of Railroads.

The address is as follows:

"No great economic question is settled finally until it is settled right. To consider and decide the problems that confront the railroad world to-day, we must lay aside passion and prejudice, greed and desire, personal interest and political bias, and approach the solution of the problem from a judicial point of view, as seekers after the truth, with a determination to stand only for the right.

"Let us not forget that the money invested in our railroads exceeds the public debts of the four greatest nations of the world. That from the standpoint of capital, the question presents itself as an investment of money.

"Let us not forget that trade regards the railroads as its best customers; that the output of thousands of mines, furnaces, factories are required each year to supply the consumptive capacity of the great railroad systems of the United States.

"Let us not forget that labor recognizes that the railroads employ a million and a half of men and pays a wage that approximates that of the embattled armies of Europe.

"Let us not forget that in the end the public, either as passengers or shippers, must pay every dollar that is required to maintain and operate the great transportation system of our country.

"Have I defined the points of view from which the solution of the problem that confronts us must be approached? Not yet. As the human body in all its beauty and strength must fall and die when the heart ceases to drive its life blood to the extremities, so too will invested capital perish, trade languish, and labor starve when the great railroad systems of our country fail to perform the function for which they were created, and economically and efficiently transport the products of our fields and our factories to the ultimate marts of trade where they may find ready sale and rapid consumption.

"Finally, let us not forget that commerce is the vital part of a healthy business development and that an efficient transportation system is as necessary to the life of commerce as the heart is to the life of the human body.

"The railroads are the country's most important highways. Destroy the railroads as they exist to-day and you destroy our commerce and bring disaster to our people. Without their proper maintenance they will soon cease to exist. Unless you extend and enlarge our present transportation facilities the business development of our country must stop where it is to-day.

"We have undertaken the problem of Governmental regulation of railroads and the Government will not turn back. Regulation of practices and rates is here, and here to stay.

"But let us stand for wise and just regulation and not for ill-considered and dangerous regulation. We must regulate so as to insure all necessary railroad facilities both for the present and for the future.

"As the public in the end must pay the bill, they are primarily interested in the railroads securing the money needed for their maintenance and development at reasonable rates and equally interested in seeing that it is wisely expended.

"That no unnecessary highways are built in the future, and those that are selected for extension and development are best adapted to carry commerce with the least burden are Governmental problems of the first importance, for it must be remembered that when you construct two highways where one can render the service required, the public in the end will bear the burden of the cost of the additional highway without receiving a commensurate benefit in return, for rates no longer will be fixed by competition now that Governmental regulation has become the fixed policy of our people.

"To regulate the freight and passenger rates of the railroads so that the rates may be both just to the invested capital and at the same time reasonable to the public is a secondary problem, but of scarcely less importance than the one I have mentioned first. Together they embrace the alpha and omega of the railroad problem of our day.

"In the solution of these problems we must protect the rights of private property invested in the railroads and at the same time assure to the public fair and reasonable treatment in the movement of commerce of our country.

"I have said that the fixed policy of our people was regulation by the Government of our railroad systems, and it is; for whether you agree with me or not you may as well accept my conclusion. Revolutions never move backward. If governmental regulation is unable to solve the vexed problems that confront us, the people will accept Government ownership of railroads as the next step ahead. It is, therefore, a matter of great importance that we should earnestly endeavor to reach a fair and reasonable solution of the problem of regulation at as early a day as is possible.

"The transportation problem is so closely interwoven into the business fabric of our people that governmental control in some way was inevitable from the beginning. In almost all countries the railroad question is one of first importance, and has

been met in foreign lands either by governmental regulation or ownership; but in other countries the problem has not been as difficult of solution as in our own, due primarily to two causes: Our large population and vast natural resources located far inland and at great distances from water transportation makes railroad carriage indispensable, and industrial freedom could be guaranteed only by just regulation.

"Another difficulty that hinders the solution of the problem here and is not met abroad is a political one. Our dual system of government greatly increases the difficulties and uncertainties that surround the problem before us. Our Federal Government and 48 State governments constitute the 49 masters that the railroads must obey. It has been said, 'No man can serve two masters.' All of the important railroads run through two or more States and are subject to different laws, rules, and regulations whenever a train crosses a State line.

"It is true that our lawmakers and our judges have endeavored to differentiate between interstate and intrastate business, but the effort to do so had led to much confusion and to much litigation. In the passenger coach we find an interstate riding beside an intrastate passenger, and in the baggage car a package that will reach its destination within the State in which it was shipped resting against a parcel whose destination is across the State line. Consider for a moment that the one package is subject to the rule of one and the other must obey the mandate of at least three masters.

"The difficulties that confront us do not end here. If a uniform system of regulation were adopted by the Federal and all the State governments you would not have solved all the difficulties of regulation and control, because the railroads are privately owned, and our courts have held inviolable the right of the railroads to charge rates that will produce a reasonable income on the invested capital.

"If the corporation is successful in earning more than an adequate income, the rates may be regulated; but if the revenue received is not a fair return on its invested capital, the Government is powerless to act.

"Low rates and adequate facilities are demanded by the public, but the granting of one is often the denial of the other. Adequate facilities very often require the expenditure of large sums of money. Low rates prevent the accumulation of surplus capital and lessen the borrowing power of the roads. The price of new facilities must always be the acquisition of new capital from some source. Without new railroad facilities, our commerce can not expand beyond our present limitations and trade has met a permanent barrier to its future development.

"It is therefore the public and not the stockholder who must suffer most if our regulation policies are inadequate to meet conditions fairly, broadly, and safely; for the travelers and shippers must defray the cost of transportation and pay for incompetence in building, operating, and regulating. The tax paid by our people for freight and passenger transportation for the year 1912 amounted to $2,826,917,967, and the part of the gross receipts that went to the stockholders as dividends was $346,805,582, or 12 cents out of every dollar. In fact, 88 cents of every dollar paid by the public went for operating expenses, taxes, and interest before there was a cent for new facilities or dividends.

"The matter of dividends to-day is a very small part of the equation we must solve. The public must be interested in the items that make up the operating expenses of the railroads if it desires both adequate facilities and reasonable rates.

"For more than four decades the Federal Government and the States have enacted laws supervising the practices and regulating the rates of the railroads, and it can not be denied that much good and some harm has resulted to the public.

"In the beginning the railroads denied the right of any Government to control what they were pleased to call their private property, but they overlooked the fact that the grant given them was to maintain a public highway in which the public was as much interested, if not more so, than their stockholders. Step by step governmental regulation has advanced until to-day railroad corporations are controlled by the public in respect to every detail of their business, and this control has been accepted and recognized by their managers.

"It can not be denied that public control has reduced the rates charged for transportation and abolished unjust discriminations given to favored shippers. No one now contends that localities, as well as shippers, should not be treated with equal fairness.

"But the greater problem remains unsolved. Can the money be provided to expand and develop these great public works in a manner commensurate with the expanding needs of our commerce under the present systems of public control?

"For a time the growth of population on new lines and increased motive power for train service on old lines enabled the management to provide new facilities and at the same time reduce rates, but the limit to development along these lines seems to have been reached.

"In recent years accumulated surplus of railroads have largely disappeared; dividends have been greatly reduced, and the ability to secure long-time loans at low rates of interest has passed way. Without cheap money for development, new facilities can not be obtained and low rates for transportation be maintained.

"We must all give credit to the present system of regulation for the accomplishment of much good in the interest of the public, but those who are giving careful study to the railroad problems that confront us are bound to admit that our present system of regulation is breaking down, in so far as it has supervised the finances of our railroad systems with a view to allowing them to properly protect their securities that their credit may be maintained to aid in present and future development.

"If railway investments can not be made attractive to capital, is not the Nation threatened with an inevitable breakdown of its transportation systems?

"We can never have permanent prosperity in the country until our great problem of transportation is settled and settled wisely. There is no more difficult problem awaiting its solution ahead of us, and no more inviting field for the exercise of true statesmanship has ever faced our public men.

"The problem can be solved and will be worked out satisfactorily to both the investor and the shipper, but it can be solved only by wise, fearless, and patriotic men, in the daylight of publicity, with the determination to do exact and even-handed justice between invested capital and the public.

"Let us concede without cavil that transportation and commerce can only advance when they go hand in hand. Let us inspire courage and give aid to those leaders who, not by chance but through merit, direct our industry, control our trade, and manage our finance. It is not enough for our Government to permit those men to rise from the prostration which has overtaken them and their affairs. It must occasionally assist them. We have reached the point on our way to social betterment where sound progressivism must recognize that the proper regulation of business requires that it must be sometimes helped and not always hindered; must be sometimes assisted and not forever stricken; that we must occasionally say, 'You may,' and not always 'You shall not.'

"It is gratifying to know that the policies mentioned are responsive to natural growths and can be achieved without entrenching privilege and subsidizing trade. We need only to permit railways, traders, and bankers that economic freedom which is consistent with a wise and helpful regulation of all affairs and to give every citizen the national protection to which he is entitled, wherever he may rightfully be—at home or abroad—for our trade to gain its lost position and for our flag to be seen on every sea."

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANDREW J. VOLSTEAD,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 3 (legislative day of Tuesday, March 2), 1915.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Mr. Speaker, when we had under consideration the Federal reserve act several attempts were made to amend it so as to provide cheaper money for the farmers. To defeat these efforts the administration promised that the subject of farm credits should be promptly dealt with in a separate act. A commission was appointed for the purpose of investigating the subject. This commission has long since reported, but no serious attempt has been made by the House or Senate leaders to secure legislation. A strenuous effort has been made during the last days of this session by some of those interested in the matter to secure action, but this has been defeated. Instead of action, another promise has been made and another commission has been authorized to study the matter. It is perfectly evident that many are opposed to any legislation on the subject. They appear to believe that such legislation would favor a special class and would be paternalistic in character. Some of them urge that the Federal reserve act meets the situation. These contentions are clearly without merit. There is a fundamental difference between the kind of credit demanded by the merchant and the farmer. The merchant in carrying on his business can get along with short-

time credit of, say, 30 to 90 days, the time needed in turning over his goods, while the farmer needs from six months to a year in securing and marketing his crops, and must have correspondingly longer credit. This difference in the class of credits required makes it necessary that there should be a different credit system for the farmer from that furnished by the Federal reserve banks. These latter banks are not designated to meet the demands of the farmers. They are only authorized to care for short-time paper. If it is class legislation to meet the demands of farmers, it is also class legislation to provide the Federal reserve system to care for the merchant.

The Federal reserve system is but a poor copy of the European central banks so modified as to apply to our situation. Notwithstanding that nearly every European country has a central bank like our Federal reserve system, those countries have found it necessary to provide separate credit associations for their farmers. I am not prepared to say that any European farm-credit system, either for personal credit or for land loans can be made to work successfully in this country, but it seems to me that this subject should receive the most careful consideration. A system has grown up in this country that meets the situation in an entirely different way from that abroad, but generally at much higher cost. Can this system be so modified as to reduce this cost? We know that there are hundreds of millions of very cheap money in our savings banks, insurance companies, and other like institutions. Can anything be done to make farm credits so secure that this class of money will go out on the farms to aid production? France and other European countries have solved this problem, and they have solved it without Government guarantees of these credits. In some countries the Government has aided by contributing comparatively small sums as guarantee funds or capital stock to start such systems, but so far as I am aware, farm credits are not guaranteed by any Government. There is no good reason why we might not, in aid of general welfare, make a like contribution. Under the Federal reserve act more than a hundred million dollars will be constantly kept in the Federal reserve banks for the benefit of commerce. Why not contribute, if necessary, say, $10,000,000 as a guaranty fund to aid agricultural credits; it could probably be made to pay the Government as large a return as the money contributed to the Federal reserve system. To the extent of such contribution the Government's liability would be limited. We certainly could do that if we can guarantee all the notes of the Federal reserve banks, a liability that is almost unlimited. The investigation of this subject should be, it seems to me, confined very largely to the situation in this country. The foreign systems have been quite fully explained in the report already printed. The farmers should be given ample opportunity to present their views, and explain the difficulties under which they labor. This new commission should become the clearing house for the views of those who want to borrow money and those who have money to loan. If the dreams of those who have been the most enthusiastic in urging rural-credit legislation should come true, it would greatly aid, not only the farmers, but everybody else. The prosperity of the farm means prosperous merchants, mills, and mines. Instead of passing laws to take from the farmers the protection accorded other producers, instead of trying to cripple the rural route system which the administration appears to be bent on doing, it seems to me that we should do what we can to aid the farmers to secure equal treatment with other classes of our people.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SIMEON D. FESS,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 1, 1915.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, I take advantage of the privilege of leave to print extended me when Senate amendment 89, known as the McCumber amendment, to the Agriculture appropriation bill, which was designed to provide for a system of rural credits, was under consideration, to say something about the character of the people of the seventh Ohio congressional district, which I have the honor to represent. I embrace this opportunity, first, because rural credits is a question of interest to the argiculturist; and, second, I wish to call the attention of the country to this remarkable district. It is but natural for a Congressman to think well of the district which honors him by electing him its Representative. To be selected to speak and vote for the interests of a free people is no small honor. To be intrusted with such power places any man under great responsibility. Aside from the honor which goes with the office of Representative of a people of a particular district, some districts have elements of especial interest which would do more than ordinary honor to any man who is fortunate enough to be chosen its Representative. I once heard a distinguished American statesman declare that to be chosen to represent one's compeers is a greater honor than to be born a king. Especially is this true when the people represented are a reading and independent thinking people. Such is the seventh Ohio district, composed of nine of the best counties in the State, with an aggregate population of 264,297, and with an electorate that on the last election, November 3, 1914, cast 74,432 votes—over one and one-third times the entire vote cast for the eight Representatives in the State of Mississippi in the election of 1912. This people look upon public service as not only a sovereign right, but a sacred duty as well. The election day is the one time when all men stand upon the same level. No one man can vote more than any other man.

The seventh district has a historical significance. Within its borders were fought some of the greatest battles which determined the future of the great West. For years after the adoption of the Constitution the chief activities of the people of the Republic were devoted to the winning of the West. Every step was a contest between the pioneer and the native. This section of the country became the battle ground between these claimants. Here figured the wide-reaching struggle of the Nation in the Miami Indian War, in which St. Clair, Hamer, and Mad Anthony Wayne played an important part. The records of those leaders make up a considerable portion of the history of Washington's administration. Many of the daring feats that distinguished the red man as the wielder of the scalping knife were performed in this locality.

Within this district Tecumseh spent much of his youth, having been born on its borders. Here he held councils with his own and with the representatives of the conquering race. Gen. Benjaman Logan, the famous Indian chief, after whom one of the counties was named, saw much of his activities within this district. Logan was not only brave, but is known in Indian history as the orator second only to the famous brother of Tecumseh. Within the district were famous Indian hunting grounds as well as historic convocations. One of the meeting places was at old Chillicothe, in what is now Greene County, where as many as 2,000 Indians would gather in conference. Tradition tells us that at least 2,000 Indians had gathered in this one place more than once. The mound builder has left his marks within the territory comprised within the district. Within the seventh district is located the historic Fort Ancient, of so much significance to the archeologist. Besides the mound builder and Indian we have the Indian fighter. Simon Kenton, the pioneer and Indian fighter of wide repute, performed many of his wonderful feats within this district. It was here he ran the gantlet and it was here where tradition has it that he escaped by the leap across the Miami. After a life of spectacular performances he found a final resting place in the district at Urbana. The nomenclature links back to history. The names of the various counties have significance. Warren, Greene, and Fayette bear the names of warriors; Madison and Clinton, of statesmen; Logan, an Indian chief; Clark, an explorer; Champaign, from the landscape; and Union, of parts of others.

Among the men of note who lived in the territory included in this district can be named Jeremiah Morrow, Ohio's first Congressman. Much of the early law governing the public-lands question was framed by him. John McLean, judge of the United States Supreme Court. Thomas Corwin, Ohio's greatest political orator; there is larger space devoted to the activities of this orator and statesman than to any other of his Ohio contemporaries. Robert C. Schenck, one of the Nation's greatest statesmen; Blaine pays high tribute to the service performed by this son of Ohio. Samuel Schellenbarger, than whom there was no greater Union defender on the floor of Congress. Judge William H. West, the "blind man eloquent," who was chosen to present the name of Blaine in the convention of 1884; seven years before he had led his party as its candidate for governor. He is universally rated as Ohio's best political orator of his day and one of its finest legal minds. Judge William Lawrence, who was an authority on the subject of finance and tariff; as Comptroller of the Currency he distinguished himself. In his day he was rated as the best living authority upon the subject of wool. J. Warren Keifer, the only Ohioan who ever held the position of Speaker of the House of Representatives, and who

was a distinguished soldier in the Civil War, still lives in a vital and active relationship in the affairs of the Nation. From Union County came the former manager of the Associated Press, William Henry Smith.

In the field of the writer the district has been rich. Three names of literary note are found in the records of Greene County. Foremost of all is that of W. D. Howells, the greatest name in American fiction. He lived but a short time within the limits of the district. The other two are Coates Kinney, author of the Ohio Centennial Hymn and Rain on the Roof; and William D. Gallagher, author of Fifty Years Ago, a song of the western pioneer.

In this district were born and lived some famous writers and newspaper editors. Chief in this group was Whitelaw Reid, of the New York Tribune, whose fame extended to two continents. The Reid homestead, near Cedarville, is preserved in splendid condition. Julius Chambers, of the New York Herald, was born within the district. E. D. Mansfield, of the New York Times, spent his last 30 years in this district. One of his best efforts was his address on Ohio day at the Centennial at Philadelphia. The famous family of the Piatts had their stately country seat in Logan County, where they spent most of their lives. Within this district America's greatest sculptor, J. Q. A. Ward, was born and lived. His art is viewed in many of the great parks of the country. His Seventh Regiment, Shakespeare, and his Pilgrim, all in Central Park, are examples of his work. His George H. Thomas and his Garfield, both in Washington, are also types of his work. These are some of the really great names in American history which add luster to the seventh Ohio district and, indeed, to the entire Nation.

One of the best indexes of a community's worth is the emphasis it places upon education. Education, religion, and morality were written as fundamental in the historic ordinance of 1787, which became the first Ohio charter of government. Ohio has always been alive to this interest from that day to this. Among the educators of the Nation many began their work in this State. At least 10 years before Horace Mann forced upon public attention the needs of public-school education, when he succeeded in 1837 as the secretary of the first State board of education in a State system of public schools for Massachusetts, Ohio was endeavoring to find a way to provide for it. While only a semblance of success was realized, the beginnings of a real system here were begun. Within the counties which make up the seventh district can be found the most advanced steps of modern methods in public education that can be found anywhere. Whatever is of good in the Ohio system this section of the State has given approval. The idea of township supervision has had a favorable hearing. There are more township superintendents in these counties than can be found elsewhere in a like population. The centralization plan has been tried out here. The strong and weak features have been fully laid before the public. The new code is finding a sympathetic trial as an experiment in these counties. While it is being tested in every detail with an open mind, the counties within this seventh district will probably give it the most ample try out of any place in the State. In this district are found at least eight colleges that grant degrees, some of them among the oldest as well as among the most distinguished of the country. Six do collegiate work and two are theological seminaries. Here within this district is one of the first colleges in the world to admit women and the very first to grant them full rights equal with men. At Antioch, located at Yellow Springs, labored for six years Horace Mann in what he was pleased to call his "great experiment." His educational platform had realized the public-school system, the normal-school system, and the district library system. It lacked his type of higher education. Antioch offered the opportunity. He declined the governorship of Massachusetts to accept the chance to thus work out his plans. He attracted the entire country. During his six years here he was visited by most of the great educators of the country. He was also visited here by such men as Emerson, Bayard Taylor, Charles Sumner, and others. He made up his faculty from those of his personal knowledge. Antioch was looked upon as the coming college of the West. A Harvard graduate wrote in 1867, "The plant is superior to that of Harvard." The work was nobly seconded by Thomas Hill, afterwards president of Harvard. Dr. Andrew White was extended the presidency, but Cornell was more attractive. The third president, Austin Craig, induced the famous chemist, Edwin L. Yeoumans, to cast his lot with Antioch, where he became the professor of chemistry, and who after seven years became the founder of the Popular Science Monthly. Edward Everett Hale, who served on the board of trustees from 1865 to 1898, was Antioch's greatest financial benefactor, with the exception of Peter Cooper, of New York, and Josiah Quincy, of Boston. Hale secured an endowment of $100,000. It was on this institution that Nathaniel Hawthorne drew for some of his literary characters. More than one famous writer laid his story's foundation in the hopes and aspirations aroused in the early days of promise of this "experiment." It was here that Edward A. Orton labored in the field of geology. In a glen of but a mile in length he studied the records of nature and made for Limself a reputation known wherever the science of geology is taught. Joseph Bergen likewise, in the field of botany studied another form of life in the same glen and won for himself as well as the college that nurtured him a world-wide reputation in his field. The list of names on the rolls of this historic institution is a comment upon the character of its work.

In this district is located Wittenberg, the famous Lutheran college, so widely known throughout the Nation. This institution is winning deserved recognition as a growing college of increasing influence in the higher training of the youth of the Nation, and especially for the church which is sponsor for it.

The Quaker college of Wilmington is also located in the district, as is also the United Presbyterian College at Cedarville. Both of these institutions display a devotion to the cause of higher education which promises well for their future. In the district the Lebanon National Normal School was established by Dr. Holbrook, which in its day had a marked career in a particular field of education. While this school did not attempt the character of work done in the standardized college, it has had a marked success in the short courses. In the district is also located the Wilberforce University, one of the best institutions for the colored race in the country. This great school was the response to the immediate needs of the colored people for technical training. In this place from time to time gather the greatest lights of the race. It is partially supported by the State, which is thoroughly justified by the army of young men and women it is sending out to do the work demanded by the welfare of the race. Besides these various institutions of higher learning, each of which grants degrees, there are two theological seminaries domiciled within the district. The one at Xenia is the second oldest in the United States. It will long live as the institution over which presided for many years Dr. N. G. Moorehead, one of the country's greatest Bible scholars. The other is located at Springfield and is known wherever the Lutheran faith is preached. In addition to these institutions there is a very good school for colored boys at Urbana, which is growing in usefulness. Its students are winning recognition both for themselves and their alma mater. The influence of these various institutions of higher learning is noticed upon the character of the citizenship which they serve. In every walk of life they have stamped their impress, whether professional or what not. They insure a high estimate of the value of education. Not only is it observed in the character of the local schools, but it is most common to send from the farms sons and daughters to college whose parents are not infrequently college bred.

Another index of a community is the reading habit it maintains. This may be exemplified either in the library or the magazine or the newspaper, or all of these together. It is but natural that a community of colleges would be a reading people. In this district there are at least 65 newspapers. Of these 9 are dailies. A glance at these publications indicates the character maintained, which does not suffer in comparison with an equal number of publications of similar character elsewhere. The almost universal rural mail delivery places a daily newspaper, either local or State, in most of the homes of the seventh district. It is not uncommon to find the regular appearance of a copy of the cosmopolitan press in many rural homes. Another equally suggestive item is the frequency with which some of the weekly press is favorably quoted in the city press. Every county and city has its publications, but at least one city in the district is the home of widely known popular magazines, the Woman's Home Companion, the Farm and Fireside, and the American Magazine, besides 14 other publications. The first has a circulation of nearly 1,000,000 copies and the second and third of a half a million each. Springfield is the domicile of the famous Cromwell Publishing Co. Not infrequently long delays of trains occur, caused by the vast amount of reading matter shipped from this point. Literally tons of mail matter are carried out of this city every month. This city is the first in the country in horticulture. If an order for a million roses could be filled anywhere, it would be in Springfield, where literally acres are under glass.

This district has 760 miles of steam lines of railroads, with junction points of the Nation's two greatest lines, the Pennsylvania and the New York Central. Besides these two the trunk lines of the Baltimore & Ohio and the Erie run through the district. It has 175 miles of trolley road, with one of the best

trolley centers in the State. From this center can be reached by trolley Columbus, Zanesville, Cincinnati, Dayton, Indianapolis, Lima, Fort Wayne, Toledo, Detroit, Cleveland, Erie, and many other points. A resident of my home town is within 25 minutes of a steam train that will carry him without change of cars to any city of significance in the East as far as Boston, in the South as far as New Orleans, in the North as far as Mackinaw, and in the West as far as St. Louis and Chicago. Steam and trolley transportation traverse every portion of the district, both with local and express convenience.

This district is noted for its work of altruism, especially its churches, its Young Men's Christian Associations and Young Women's Christian Associations, and fraternal homes. The people have been pioneers in many movements. The abolition movement of other days found a responsive hearing in these parts. All causes that appeal to the heroic find hearty response.

While there are many Young Men's Christian Associations throughout the district, there are two splendid institutional associations, one at Springfield and the other at Washington Courthouse. In both these cities the association owns its own buildings, fully equipped. The one at Springfield has had such a remarkable growth that while its building was sufficient for all its needs when built, long ago it outgrew its dimensions and is loudly calling for new quarters. These institutions are pioneering in some respects in both religious work, school work, and social-betterment work.

The district has one of the very few county associations for young men, and still another for young women. This feature is quite new in the association work and can well be regarded in the experimental stage yet. The first, the county Young Men's Christian Association, is in Union County, and the second, the county Young Woman's Christian Association, is in Greene County. The Young Woman's Christian Association of Springfield is one of the best in the State. It owns its own home, modernly equipped, and is carrying on its work with marked results.

This district can also boast of many State homes, so called, not because they are supported by the State, but because they serve the State. At Xenia is located the well and favorably known orphan's home, for the orphans of soldiers and sailors. This home was the response to the conviction that the children of those who served the State and were left fatherless should be cared for by the State. It is capable of widely important possibilities and its past has proved its justification. This home is supported by the State. Springfield is the domicile of the three fraternal homes for the children of the orders of the Masons, the Odd Fellows, and the Knights of Pythias. These are not State supported, but are supported by the respective orders. Each has a beautiful building situated on a beautiful high hill overlooking the country roundabout. Within the district is found a pronounced sentiment for a high moral standing. Whether country, village, or city, the church life is prominent. The religious and moral tone is marked. Within the district the women's crusade of years was inaugurated. It became most prominent in Washington Courthouse and made its early impress, which still survives. At this date only one city in the district has the open saloon. Within the district is the notable Franklin Chautauqua, located on the Great Miami in the edge of Warren County. This is one of the earlier Ohio chautauquas, and in its score of years of existence has heard most of this country's great lights, either from the pulpit, forum, lyceum, or studio. Within the district are held annually at various points at least 10 other chautauquas. These annual gatherings are an attempt to carry popular education to the very door of the resident. Some of these are of long standing, as the one at Urbana and at Bellefontaine, while others are of more recent date. The people of the district are ideally situated for education of the character of the lecture and lyceum.

Population of counties of the seventh district.

Counties.	Land area, square miles.	Population—			Per cent of increase—	
		1910	1900	1890	1900–1910	1890–1900
Champaign	421	26,351	26,642	26,980	— 1.1	— 1.3
Clark	407	66,435	58,939	52,277	12.7	12.7
Clinton	411	23,680	24,202	24,240	— 2.2	— 0.2
Fayette	413	21,744	21,725	22,309	0.1	— 2.6
Greene	415	29,733	31,613	29,820	— 5.9	6.0
Logan	451	30,084	30,420	27,386	— 1.1	11.1
Madison	497	19,902	20,590	20,057	— 3.3	2.7
Union	446	21,871	22,342	22,860	— 2.1	— 2.3
Warren	413	24,497	25,584	25,468	— 4.2	0.5
Total	3,874	264,297	262,057	251,397	0.8	2.9
Total State	40,740	4,767,121	4,157,545	3,672,329	14.7	13.2

The district is distinctively agricultural. Each county excells in certain lines. A drive through the country in any portion of the district reveals the high-grade agriculturist. The following table shows the productiveness of the soil:

Products.	State.	Champaign.	Clarke.	Clinton.	Fayette.	Greene.	Logan.	Madison.	Union.	Warren.
Corn	157,513,300	3,484,119	3,008,773	3,745,541	3,841,506	3,602,577	2,735,615	3,796,638	2,374,748	2,562,458
Oats	57,591,046	1,085,200	481,838	166,753	157,869	341,880	1,106,982	904,202	676,235	346,891
Wheat	30,663,704	208,887	290,526	573,142	792,023	355,304	89,143	350,498	148,010	267,546
Total cereals	247,749,763	4,794,463	3,796,645	4,523,680	4,800,004	4,314,967	3,955,018	5,060,763	3,229,446	3,201,935
Hay, tons	4,521,409	38,866	42,754	36,909	23,603	35,177	54,007	37,968	71,015	41,366
Timothy	2,348,660	14,986	21,367	19,489	10,724	15,947	23,431	19,210	36,164	22,806
Timothy and clover	1,346,347	11,178	12,802	7,888	10,414	10,927	18,830	11,361	24,240	4,692
Clover	239,492	3,439	1,753	1,549	1,521	2,968	5,251	3,162	7,035	1,835
Alfalfa	70,126	3,636	1,523	737	677	1,526	5,471	987	1,627	1,683
Potatoes	20,322,984	119,320	192,839	84,591	56,579	180,326	110,134	71,513	53,885	106,592
Tobacco, pounds	88,603,308	64,708	236,044	23,707	600	362,950	121,855	----------	1,000	4,014,534
Orchard fruits	6,711,208	51,502	49,329	31,091	13,024	26,454	55,788	12,348	15,376	16,985
Apples	4,663,752	38,284	30,050	18,155	5,596	14,165	45,760	8,316	11,852	9,736
Peaches	1,036,340	6,036	9,204	3,423	2,233	5,696	2,507	2,214	822	3,488
Plums	215,657	1,470	1,265	3,978	918	724	3,367	475	1,113	313
Cherries	338,644	3,519	6,930	3,058	2,893	4,169	2,261	614	469	1,414
Grapes, pounds	43,933,207	59,885	41,681	91,493	43,695	59,542	117,434	29,590	64,257	53,615
Number of all farms	272,045	2,462	2,532	2,586	1,846	2,575	2,886	1,833	2,773	2,687
Approximate land area	26,073,600	269,440	260,480	263,040	264,320	265,600	288,640	318,080	285,440	264,320
Land in farms	24,105,708	256,240	241,631	200,404	249,140	258,698	278,978	286,586	269,064	249,783
Unimproved land	1,592,363	8,552	14,051	5,067	2,213	11,178	15,344	4,037	3,427	14,236
Value of farm property	$1,902,694,589	$24,111,670	$25,204,080	$24,386,107	$26,756,525	$24,603,850	$22,653,264	$28,033,950	$24,395,735	$19,840,067
Per cent increase in value 1900–1910	58.7	70.1	48.9	76.1	73.1	56.6	75.7	67.9	79.9	49.1
Value of domestic animals	$187,523,324	$2,595,681	$2,458,277	$2,346,721	$2,335,193	$2,490,140	$2,599,786	$2,741,854	$3,055,216	$1,884,824
Number of cattle	1,837,607	19,734	22,017	16,325	15,350	19,724	21,097	19,945	21,411	17,315
Value of cattle	$51,403,341	$611,374	$696,033	$512,520	$524,263	$650,797	$691,973	$642,903	$663,981	$519,416
Number of horses	910,224	11,685	11,805	10,946	11,639	12,093	12,112	13,541	13,188	10,021
Value of horses	$98,910,638	$1,297,603	$1,195,986	$1,028,329	$1,137,724	$1,173,216	$1,353,186	$1,468,184	$1,562,530	$907,306
Number of mules	22,850	557	516	692	409	573	304	295	180	534
Value of mules	$2,775,831	$67,263	$68,599	$78,567	$46,758	$64,251	$39,170	$35,406	$23,985	$54,761
Number of swine	3,105,627	62,908	55,241	101,696	93,560	79,825	50,451	77,598	80,125	55,895
Value of swine	$19,412,730	$433,380	$342,524	$594,199	$521,004	$472,681	$331,283	$455,238	$466,374	$339,957
Number of sheep	3,909,162	39,968	34,204	31,447	24,025	28,607	68,208	33,081	82,975	14,929
Value of sheep	$14,941,381	$185,127	$152,902	$132,811	$105,299	$128,649	$274,627	$140,082	$337,917	$64,867

Fine stock raising has brought national recognition to this district from exhibitions at the World's Fair at St. Louis, both in cattle, hogs, and sheep. London, in Madison County, for years was widely known for its famous stock sales, which would attract buyers from far and near. Some of the most up-to-date, modern, scientific agriculturists of the country are found in this county.

In each of the nine counties there is a splendid county seat, up-to-date in evidence of civic pride. The city of Springfield, the largest city in the district, is notable in many respects. Not many years ago it was the greatest agricultural implement manufacturing center in the United States. To-day it is second only to Chicago in this industry. For many reasons it can be and is rated as the best 60,000 city in the United States.

Not the least advantage is due to its splendid location, its topography, and its rare landscape effects. It possesses the highest grade of business enterprise and the finest type of laboring man to be found in the country. The commercial club of the city consists of over 1,000 members, among whom are the headliners of business activity. A great manufacturing center, with no labor troubles. The labor is intelligent and displays in its individual as well as collective capacity a spirit of cooperation with his employer. This city is first in the number of piano plates manufactured, where 85 per cent of those used in the United States are manufactured. It is also third in the manufacture of motor fans, and third in motor trucks.

Other places, as the town of Franklin, supports a remarkable aggregation of men known as the Business Men's Club. Every county seat in the district maintains a wide-awake organization of business men, devoted to the upbuilding of the city. Within the district there are at least 75 villages, which operate as centers for markets and mails to serve the adjacent communities. In each, as a rule, can be found aggressive men and women devoted to the cause of a better citizenship. Most of them are on the railroad or trolley line, which dispels the former isolation. Each was a stranger to the other; now, if not by trolley, at least all are connected by a system of pike roads, which will admit of easy transit even with automobile in most, if not in all, parts of the year. Most of these villages have the modern high-school building and maintain a course of study that gives it its rank by the recognition of the State inspector. All of these schools offer such courses as 50 years ago could only be found in the best colleges of the country. Commencement is an annual performance. There are more first-grade high schools within this district than any other in the State, and I am convinced there is no district in the Nation that approaches it in this respect. Ohio has taken the lead in the modern high school, and this part of the State has been active from the very first. This fact insures a fairly good condition in the rural schools, as may be noted by a trip throughout the district. Everywhere, as a rule, the rural school problem is pressing upon the citizenry of the community. As the character of the school from the standpoint of efficiency of both the teacher and the taught can be judged by the appearance of the buildings and grounds, the schools of the seventh district, when tested by this standard, are among the very best in the State. The same conclusion is made when studied from the rank of salary paid the teacher and equipment provided.

The character of the people of an agricultural community can well be determined by the appearance of the farms upon which they live. It does not require much agricultural training to detect the progressive from the slovenly farmer. From this point of view the seventh district stands well. The average farm, whether large or small, shows the character of the occupant. The condition of cultivation, the absence of waste land, the presence of the wood lot, the care of the premises, including buildings, fencing, and machinery, and especially the provisions for caring for the live stock in the winter season, all serve as an index of the type of farmer on the farm.

Intensive farming and scientific agriculture, including attention to home economics, are apparent among the agricultural population of the seventh district. Whether domestic science is in accordance with the rules as taught in the technical schools or not, the evidence is abundant that the farm has long ceased to be the drudgery it once was. It has taken on the elements of both science and art. It is quite noticeable that every year sees a good proportion of the boys and girls attending a higher institution of learning to acquire the necessary technical skill demanded upon the farm, that what once was mere drudge may be displaced with the art of the agriculturist. There is a well-defined conviction among the rural peoples that a successful farmer must know more than enough to break ground, to sow and reap. This passed as sufficient years ago, but to-day he must know the science of political economy, to understand the movement of prices. The laws of the market must be comprehended. He must recognize the relation of supply and demand, the needed cooperation between the producer and the consumer. He must also know the chemistry of the soil, that he can understand what depletes it and better know the secret of production. The young man or woman of to-day looking to a successful career on the farm concerns himself as much about his education as he would were he going to enter upon some liberal profession. This is not alone that he may be an educated farmer, but that he may be an educated man on the farm. The agriculturist anticipates a most desirable field in the near future. While his primary concern will be a producer upon the soil, much of his thought will be devoted to his influence as a citizen of a community. From this point of view the farm ceases to be the place of drudgery, of lack of convenience, of exposure, and ill-success, and becomes an opportunity to find a large place in the activities of his day. In these times of modern machinery, rural mail, telephone, automobile, good roads, near-by high-schools, multiplied conveniences in the home and on the farm, easy markets, and ready pay the youth will educate for the farm rather than from the farm. The "back-to-the-farm" movement is rational and is the call of the hour. The farm is growing in attractiveness as well as in profit. In these days, when we discuss the question of rural credits, it is in the spirit of the investigator, independent in his judgments and fearless in expressing opinions.

The seventh district has within its borders just 100 banks, all doing a fairly prosperous business. These banks are rendering service to the people; and while our citizens are talking rural credits, I am wondering how many farmers of the seventh district are suffering for lack of such a system as here proposed. One caution that should be observed is the danger of too much dependence on a mere name or a mere system. There is no possible substitute for industry and economy. While I shall give the most careful and sympathetic consideration to any proposal to improve our currency situation, and shall stand for such additions to our banking system as will be beneficial to our agriculturists, for no benefit will come to the producer without a corresponding benefit to the consumer, yet I am persuaded that more is expected from these suggestions than will or can be realized. There is no greater error than to fix upon the banking system the cause of man's battle for a livelihood. Likewise, there is no question on which we have more men absolutely sure that they have the unfailing solution. Thus far a man who has credit will not have much trouble in the seventh district to secure such loans as he may need. If he has no credit, no plan yet proposed will enable him to substitute something else for it. The common error of all agitators on the money question is the theory that a money system can be inaugurated that will make it easy to get money. It is not conclusive that final success lies in the direction of easy credit. Successful liquidation is the important item which determines the wisdom of borrowing. Money borrowed beyond ability to return is not a principle that a wise course would follow. Were it not so easy to make debts, it would most likely be less difficult to pay them.

A system which would provide for some plan of amortization so as to permit the purchaser to purchase a farm upon such terms and conditions that payment could be made in such a way as to liquidate by a system of deferred payments until he becomes the owner of his farm would be a desirable system and would meet with the approval of the country. Such a scheme was recommended by President Taft. It was also urged by Ambassador Herrick, who had made a careful study of the European systems now in vogue. Such a scheme would meet with approval in the seventh district, which returned a Republican plurality of 15,325. But whatever scheme, it must be remembered that in no case will any scheme of banking take the place of industry and wise frugality. I shall gladly, Mr. Speaker, vote for any measure that will increase the fruits of both, but as yet I see no substitutes for these homely but sensible virtues. From the standpoint of these two qualities I invite the country to observe the people of the seventh Ohio district, and especially do I call attention to the brand of Republicanism as displayed in the vote of 1914 in pronouncing its verdict upon Republican policies.

An Exposure of the Taylor System.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLYDE H. TAVENNER,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 3 (legislative day of Tuesday, March 2), 1915.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Speaker, what is the basis of the much discussed Taylor system of "scientific" shop management?

Will it really enable a workman, without wearing him out prematurely, to earn more wages while putting in less time than he is now putting in per day, as Frederick W. Taylor, the originator of the system, contends?

Or is the basis of the system in actual practice merely the "scientific" overworking of men for the purpose of increasing dividends regardless of whether the speeding up is injurious to the health and happiness of the victim?

It may be stated at the outset that Mr. Taylor's propaganda contains many excellent features of systemization and standardization. To these the workmen have not objected, could not object. It has been intimated the labor organizations oppose these reasonable and sensible features of the Taylor system, but there is not a word to substantiate it in the hearings of five investigations of the system—four by Congress and one by the Commission on Industrial Relations.

The Taylor system in its final analysis is based on extremes. Mr. Taylor's system is different from other so-called systems of "scientific" shop management principally in the fact that he covers in his propaganda all the ground covered by other labor-saving scientists—and they all have gone as far as they thought it would be humane to go—and then continues still farther. It is these extremes, and these extremes only, that workmen oppose. It is these extremes and not the systemization and standardization features of Taylorism which are to the mutual advantage of employee and employer that Congress has recently forbidden in Government arsenals and navy yards.

Many well-meaning employers, and many men who are sincere in their desire to see the conditions of workingmen improved, have been misled as to what the Taylor system is and as to the motive behind it. I will mention, for instance, Mr. Louis Brandeis, of Boston, a man who more than once has served the public and that, too, without being on the pay roll of the public. Mr. Brandeis has spoken approvingly of Mr. Taylor's methods. But with all respect to Mr. Brandeis, I believe he is honestly mistaken in his idea that the Taylor system was conceived in the interests of man. It was not. It was conceived in the interests of greed, and in operation it exploits man and does not benefit him.

ONLY ONE OUT OF FIVE WORKMEN COULD KEEP UP.

I do not believe the man lives who can successfully defend before an audience of average American citizens the Taylor system as Mr. Taylor himself describes it.

Imagine Mr. Brandeis, or any other man, confronted on the public platform with Mr. Taylor's own words, used in describing how he installed the Taylor system at the plant of the Bethlehem Steel Co.:

> The tasks were all purposely made so severe that not more than one out of five laborers (perhaps even a smaller percentage than this) could keep up.

Mr. Speaker, I desire to repeat that the motive behind the stop watch and other speeding-up features of Taylorism is not efficiency, as the average man understands the meaning of the word, but an inordinate desire for a greater profit from the toil of man, and back of that desire is greed.

In its last analysis the Taylor system is simply the "scientific" grinding down of the spirit, the hopes, the ambitions, as well as the physical bodies of those who toil, and for what? In order that dividends may be increased. The thing is too inhuman and too murderous to be imposed on beasts of burden, to say nothing of imposing it upon fellow human beings. It may be said to the credit of the average American employer that he has refused to go to anything like the extremes that Mr. Taylor has recommended.

ATTEMPT TO INSTALL SYSTEM IN GOVERNMENT ARSENALS.

Strange to relate, the Chief of Ordnance wants to install the Taylor system in the Government arsenals. The Sixty-third Congress deserves the unstinted thanks of the workers of the Nation for inserting in the Army and Navy bills a provision prohibiting the use in Government arsenals and navy yards of the stop watch and other objectionable speeding-up features of the Taylor system.

This provision reads as follows:

> *Provided*, That no part of the appropriations made in this bill shall be available for the salary or pay of any officer, manager, superintendent, foreman, or other person having charge of the work of any employee of the United States Government while making or causing to be made, with a stop watch or other time-measuring device, a time study of any job of any such employee between the starting and completion thereof or of the movements of any such employee while engaged upon such work; nor shall any part of the appropriations made in this bill be available to pay any premium or bonus or cash reward to any employee in addition to his regular wages, except for suggestions resulting in improvements or economy in the operation of any Government plant; and no claim for services performed by any person while violating this proviso shall be allowed.

The enactment of this legislation was accomplished in the face of the bitter opposition of special-interest servers in Congress.

Considering the powerful influences that opposed it; considering the treacherous parliamentary whirlpools through which it had to pass, and the dangers which beset it at every stage of its legislative journey, the workingmen of the Nation are to be congratulated upon its final safe arrival upon the statutes as law.

ANTISTOP-WATCH LEGISLATION IMPORTANT TO ALL WORKERS.

This legislation is of importance to all workingmen, whether they are employed in Government establishments or not, because if the Taylor system could have been installed in Government plants, the fact could have been made use of to the disadvantage of employees in private plants where the installation of the system is contemplated. Private employers would be in the strategic position of being able to assert to their protesting employees that the Taylor system had been indorsed by the United States Government, and that if it was an inhuman and bad system Uncle Sam would not be putting his official stamp of approval upon it by introducing it in the Government arsenals and navy yards.

IS THIS WHAT MR. TAYLOR MEANS?

A statement in Mr. Taylor's book on scientific shop management, which supplies food for thought, is this:

> In all cases money must be spent, and in many cases a great deal of money, before the changes are completed which result in lowering cost.

One inference which might be drawn from this language is that at first men must be paid higher wages to induce them to set the fastest possible pace, but that in the end the men will be doing a greatly increased amount of work for the same pay received before the installation of the system. Evidence is available to sustain this inference.

When Mr. Taylor undertook to install his system in the plant of the Bethlehem Steel Co. the laborers handling pig iron were receiving $1.15 per day, and were handling between 12 and 13 tons per man per day. After the Taylor system was finally installed, the men were handling 48 tons per man per day, and the wages of the fastest workers had been increased to $1.85 per day. Thus, it will be seen that before the installation of the Taylor system laborers were receiving 8.8 cents per ton for handling pig iron, and after it was installed they were receiving 3.8 cents per ton.

Mr. Taylor relates that when he started in at the Bethlehem plant workmen were turning out 4 and 5 castings of a certain type per day, receiving therefor 50 cents each, and that he succeeded in speeding up the men to a point where they turned out from 8 to 10 castings per day. The price was reduced to 25 cents each.

Permit me at this point to quote from a colloquy between Congressman EDWARD KEATING, of Colorado, a member of the House Labor Committee, and Gen. William Crozier, Chief of Ordnance of the War Department, who is installing the Taylor system in the Government arsenals, and who is not exceeded in his enthusiasm for its principles by even Mr. Taylor himself:

> Mr. KEATING. You have shown that the efficiency of your establishment has been increased 274 per cent and the wages have been increased less than 33 per cent.
>
> Gen. CROZIER. That is true.
>
> Mr. KEATING. The practical result is that the efficient workman under the Taylor system is receiving one-half as much per unit for his output as the less efficient workman.

OUTPUT INCREASED 200 PER CENT, WAGES 33 PER CENT, IN INSTANCES.

Gen. Crozier admitted frequently that under the speeding-up processes workmen had increased their output over 200 per cent, and that the wages of some of the men had been increased as much as 33 per cent. The increased profit to the employer, therefore, is the difference between 200 per cent and 33 per cent, and even considerably more than this, because where there is an increase in the output of this proportion there is a considerable decrease in the overhead charges per unit, and because not all of the men are fortunate enough to receive anything like 33 per cent increase.

And this is the milk in the coconut! It reveals the motive behind the introduction of the Taylor system. Its sole object and purpose is to induce the workman to perform more work for less pay per unit. Its operation in the end is to decrease, instead of increase, wages.

That the system increases dividends for the employer, there is no doubt. In fact, it is a get-rich-quick scheme for the employer who is heartless enough to use it to its final analysis, but there are very few employers who will resort to its use as Mr. Taylor describes it.

WHEN A WORKMAN WEARS OUT FRESH MAN TAKES HIS PLACE.

Under the Taylor system the man is of secondary importance to the machine. Here is the "science" of it: Be careful of the machinery, because if it breaks down or wears out it costs money to repair or replace it. But if a workman breaks down or wears out, it costs the employer nothing to replace him. There are always fresh men waiting at the door to be employed. So as long as the supply of men holds out, the Taylor system can go on.

But whether Mr. Taylor takes it into consideration or not, it is a fact that if a workman, because of long-continued overexer-

tion, is finally thrown prematurely on the scrap heap, some one has to stand the loss even if the employer does not, and where the workman is the head of a family it is the family that must bear the burden. One of the principles of "scientific" shop management, it should be remembered, is that it is no concern to the employer what happens to the man who can not keep up to the pace.

THE SCIENCE OF PERSUASION.

Mr. Taylor lays great stress on his system of scientific "persuasion." Eight bosses assist in the "persuading." Five of them are directly over the workman urging him on.

The tasks laid out for the men are evidently so severe that at first the foremen themselves do not have the heart to insist upon the workmen under them performing the excessive amount of work "planned" for them. But Mr. Taylor foresaw the possibility of weak-hearted foremen, and he arranged to take care of them. He provided "overforemen." I quote from his book (p. 1397, par. 254):

BOSSES NEED NERVING AND BRACING UP TO THE POINT OF INSISTING THAT THE WORKMEN CARRY OUT ORDERS.

The functions of these overforemen are twofold: First, that of teaching each of the bosses under them the exact nature of his duties, and at start also of nerving and bracing them up to the point of insisting that the workmen shall carry out the orders exactly as specified on the instruction cards.

Mr. Taylor says foremen make a great mistake in trying to persuade several men at once. He indicates the way to successfully intimidate a workman is for all the foremen to center their persuasion "right onto a single man," and to keep after him until he is persuaded.

No workman—

Says Mr. Taylor—

can long resist the help and persuasion of five foremen over him. He will either do the work as he is told or leave. (P. 1479.)

HERE IS INFORMATION THAT WILL INTEREST WORKINGMEN! MR. TAYLOR FINES HIMSELF WHEN HE DESERVES IT!

"The writer has fined men from 1 cent to $60," says Mr. Taylor in his book of instructions to employers (p. 1453, par. 449). If it will afford workmen any consolation to know that Mr. Taylor also fines himself when he thinks he has not been sufficiently "scientific," it may be stated that he makes such a claim.

"The writer has invariably fined himself," says Mr. Taylor, "just as he would the men under him for offenses committed."

It should be understood that these secrets of the Taylor system are generally not divulged to the employees, but are particularly for the consideration of employers. It is a part of the "science" of the Taylor system to introduce many of its features "quietly" and to "get them running smoothly in a shop before calling attention to the principle involved." When the effect of certain features of the system are finally realized, Mr. Taylor says, "it invariably acts as the proverbial red flag on the bull."

But these are not all of the persuasive features that Mr. Taylor has worked out. Here is an idea which can undoubtedly be employed with more or less success, especially on workers who have no other jobs immediately in sight and who have families that would be placed in want if they should quit their employment.

In piecework of this class the task idea should always be maintained by keeping it clearly before each man that his average daily earnings must amount to a given high sum (as in the case of the Bethlehem laborers, $1.85 per day) and that failure to average this amount will surely result in his being laid off. (P. 1374, par. 166.)

LAY OFF MEN "QUITE OFTEN" TO INTIMIDATE THOSE WHO REMAIN.

Men must be laid off occasionally whether it is absolutely necessary or not, however. Mr. Taylor says this is necessary for the success of the system. Here is the philosophy in his exact words:

For the success of the system, the number of men employed on practically the same class of work should be large enough for the workmen quite often to have the object lesson of seeing men laid off for failing to earn high wages, and others substituted in their place.

It is no part of the "science" of the Taylor system to be concerned with any workman who can not keep up. Mr. Taylor says it is really wonderful what a prodigious amount of work can be performed by the body of picked men who survive three or four years of his stimulating and eliminating processes. Mr. Taylor has nothing to say of bread earners who drop out in the preliminaries. The Taylor system concerns itself only with the survivors.

PUBLIC IS FOOLED SOMEWHAT AS TO JUST WHAT THE TAYLOR SYSTEM REALLY IS.

Mr. Taylor has two descriptions of his system. They differ somewhat. One is for the perusal of the general public, whose approval of his methods would be a valuable asset in imposing the system upon workmen in spite of their objections. To the public it is made to appear there is nothing about it objectionable to the workman, especially no such thing as hurry, and that it was, indeed, conceived in the interests of man instead of to exploit man.

Mr. Taylor has another description of his system intended for the eyes and ears of employers particularly. In this version he makes no claim to being a humanitarian, but reveals himself rather as a slave driver—always, of course, driving scientifically—discarding the use of the soft pedal and showing how after men have been speeded up, and speeded up, and speeded up, they will be doing more work for less pay per unit, which, of course, means increased dividends, and increased dividends constitute the plot of the play throughout.

In other words, the picture Mr. Taylor draws of his system for the public is one of gentleness personified, while the other version leaves a vision of breakneck speed and enormous profits.

WHAT THE "SCIENCE" OF THE TAYLOR SYSTEM APPEARS TO BE.

A careful perusal of Mr. Taylor's various works explaining his system of shop management would indicate—

First. That the "science" of the Taylor system in its final analysis is the relentless speeding up of workmen by the setting of a task which, in some instances, but one out of five workmen can accomplish;

Second. That it is no part of the "science" to be concerned with any workmen who can not keep up to the pace of the fastest man on the part of an operation on which he is engaged;

Third. That if the Taylor system was adopted universally, a great army of workmen would be thrown out of employment or reduced in rank, such as mechanics being forced to take positions as laborers, because it is obvious that all men are not physically able to keep up, day after day and month after month, to a pace set by the fastest and freshest workers;

Fourth. That the Taylor system would tend to destroy organization among workmen, one of the corner stones of Taylor logic being the principle that workmen must be dealt with individually and not in masses or through committees; that it is no concern of one workman what happens to another. All men working under this system must be "satisfied"; the moment he becomes dissatisfied he must quit; otherwise there would be danger of his grievance becoming contagious and the "system" interfered with.

The Taylor system means, in a sentence, that the quickest time at which a job can be completed by a first-class man is to be the standard time at which all men are to be compelled to complete the same job, with a bonus—at least, to start with—for reaching the maximum speed, and a fine or discharge for not reaching that speed.

TAYLOR SYSTEM TRANSPLANTED IN ARSENALS FROM SHOPS OF THE WAR TRUST.

The attention of the Chief of Ordnance of the War Department was first attracted to the Taylor system at the plants of the Midvale Steel Co. and the Bethlehem Steel Co., two of the three concerns which constitute the War Trust in this country and to which concerns the War Department has awarded millions of dollars' worth of contracts for munitions of war, paying them from 20 to 60 per cent more than it would have cost to manufacture these supplies in the Government arsenals. The action of the Chief of Ordnance in transplanting the Taylor system from the plants of the Midvale and Bethlehem companies to the Government arsenals is additional evidence of the close cooperation between Army officers and the War Trust.

Gen. Crozier employed Mr. Taylor and his assistants to install the system in the Government arsenals.

It has been put into effect at the Watertown Arsenal and has been partly introduced at the Rock Island Arsenal. The employees at both establishments are opposed to the system almost to a man, and it was their protests that have brought about action by Congress.

In spite of the opposition of the workmen at the arsenals and in spite of the fact that four committees of Congress have investigated this system and reported adversely, the Chief of Ordnance has persisted in extending the system.

Relative to the activity of the Ordnance Department chief in introducing the Taylor system in the Government arsenals, the report of the Committee on Labor, made to the House on September 30, 1914, had the following to say:

THE "SYSTEM" IS BEING FORCED IN.

The moving spirit behind the plan to install the Taylor system in the Government arsenals appears to be Brig. Gen. William Crozier, Chief of Ordnance of the War Department, who has jurisdiction over all of the Government arsenals. Gen. Crozier appears to be determined to install the stop watch and other objectionable speeding-up features of the Taylor system in the arsenals in spite of the protests of the workmen and even in spite of the strong denunciation of such methods by the special committee of the House of Representatives which investigated the subject during the preceding Congress.

This officer appeared before the committee and spoke in favor of the use of the stop watch and the Taylor system; and there appears to be every reason to believe that, unless Congress passes legislation absolutely prohibiting the use of such methods in the Government establishments, Gen. Crozier will proceed with the extension of the system, not only at Watertown and Rock Island, but in all the manufacturing establishments of the Government within his domain.

GENEROUS WITH WAR TRUST, BUT A SCIENTIST IN SHOP MANAGEMENT.

It is worthy of passing notice that while Army officers are not the least bit saving with the people's money when awarding contracts to the Bethlehem Steel Co., paying this concern 35 per cent more than they could obtain the same work for by Government manufacture, they are extreme economists when it comes to using the stop watch on a workingman.

Although Gen. Crozier's own testimony before the Appropriations Committee was that the arsenal workmen are turning out work 35 per cent below the price of the private manufacturers, and are saving the Government hundreds of thousands of dollars annually, Gen. Crozier is determined to make them work still faster.

ARSENAL EMPLOYEES ARE SAVING GOVERNMENT THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS ANNUALLY BY THEIR PRESENT EFFICIENCY.

For instance, the workmen at the Frankford Arsenal are producing a 3-inch finished shrapnel case for $1.75, for which the Government is paying private manufacturers $3.06.

Three-eighths-inch common shrapnel are being produced for $7.94 in the Government arsenal, while the Government is paying the private manufacturers $17.50 for the same article. And so on.

On a contract of $1,900,064.05 worth of such work manufactured at the Frankford Arsenal, the Government saved $979,840.94, or approximately, in round figures, $1,000,000 on a $2,000,000 order. These figures tend to indicate that the workmen in the Government arsenals are now efficient and do not deserve having imposed upon them speeding-up processes compelling them to work still faster than they are now working.

The table from which these figures are taken, as compiled by Col. Montgomery, is as follows:

Articles.	Quantities under manufacture.	Total arsenal costs per unit.	Aggregate total arsenal cost.	Contract cost per unit.	Total contract cost.	Saving over contract costs.
3-inch finished shrapnel cases	10,000	$1.75	$17,500.00	$3.15	$31,500.00	$14,000.00
3.8-inch finished shrapnel cases	2,000	4.68	9,360.00	6.85	13,700.00	4,340.00
4.7-inch finished shrapnel cases	3,961	8.80	34,856.80	9.65	38,223.65	3,366.85
6-inch finished shrapnel cases	5,000	17.10	85,500.00	16.48	82,400.00	−3,100.00
3-inch common shrapnel without fuses or base charges	48,000	3.55	170,400.00	5.96	286,080.00	115,680.00
3.8-inch common shrapnel without fuses or base charges	7,000	7.94	55,580.00	18.03	126,210.00	70,630.00
4.7-inch common shrapnel without fuses or base charges	14,500	15.45	224,025.00	26.02	377,290.00	153,265.00
6-inch common shrapnel without fuses or base charges	5,000	30.20	151,000.00	38.11	190,550.00	39,550.00
3-inch common steel shell	6,900	2.39	16,491.00	5.02	34,638.00	18,147.00
3.8-inch common steel shell	9,500	4.81	45,695.00	9.45	89,775.00	44,080.00
4.7-inch common steel shell	10,605	8.30	88,021.50	12.83	136,062.15	48,040.65
6-inch common steel shell	7,077	16.75	118,539.75	18.47	130,712.19	12,172.44
21-second combination fuses	48,000	2.16	103,680.00	4.43	212,640.00	108,960.00
31-second combination fuses	26,500	2.92	77,380.00	7.21	191,065.00	113,685.00
3-inch high-explosive shrapnel, fixed	55,000	10.15	558,250.00	13.17	724,350.00	166,100.00
Fuse stocks	74,500	1.66	123,670.00	2.47	184,015.00	60,345.00
Rear plugs for fuses	74,500	.18	13,410.00	.2369	17,649.05	4,239.05
Front plugs for fuses	74,500	.09	6,705.00	.1751	13,044.95	6,339.95

Grand total, contract cost	$2,879,904.99
Grand total, arsenal cost	1,900,064.05
Saving by government manufacture	979,840.94

GEN. CROZIER HIMSELF TESTIFIES THAT ARSENAL EMPLOYEES ARE SAVING MONEY TO THE GOVERNMENT.

Let us turn for a moment to certain recent testimony of the Chief of Ordnance as to the present efficiency of the plant at Rock Island, Ill., and thereby ascertain if the necessity exists for any drastic change of method, or speeding up. On January 13, 1912, Gen. Crozier said before the special committee of the House of Representatives to investigate the Taylor system, and so forth, as follows—see page 1118 of hearings:

We have recently manufactured gun carriages and are doing it still for 3-inch rifles; that is, field guns, at $2,510.60, the exact cost. We purchased those rifle carriages from experienced manufacturers, who had had preceding orders for the same thing, for $3,398.82, an increase of 35.4 per cent over our own price. Our carriages were made at the Rock Island Arsenal.

We have manufactured there, at the same arsenal, caissons for $1,128.67, and we have purchased the same caissons from private manufacturers who had had previous orders for them, so that they had experience in the manufacture, for $1,744.10, which is 54.6 per cent greater than our own price.

On page 1117 of the same hearings Gen. Crozier stated as follows:

At the Springfield Armory the principal manufacture is small-arms rifles. We make a few other things, but the manufacture is almost entirely of the small-arms rifle. We manufacture that rifle for about $15, and in doing so I take into account what I think should properly be taken into account in the cost; but the Springfield Armory, like the other arsenals, is maintained as an arsenal of storage and issue, as well as a manufacturing place; and, therefore, in computing these costs, I have subtracted from the total expense of the Springfield Armory those portions which I consider result from its character as an arsenal of issue and storage. Unless somebody goes into the details quite closely, there may be a question as to whether I subtract quite as much as I ought to.

Therefore, I, last year, for the purpose of satisfying some persons who might have some doubt, made up what I might call an exaggerated cost of the rifles at the Springfield Armory—that is, I took every cent of money that was sent up to the Springfield Armory and charged it to the rifle. Whether it was for the payment of the clerks that were used in the issue of stores, the payment of the storehouse force, whether it was for the payment of the watchmen—they are the guards and custodians of the valuable property we have up there—I charged all the pay of officers and all the pay of everybody concerned to the rifle, and by that means I arrived at a cost of the rifle of $17.64 instead of $15—that is, I found I had to add to the cost as I had reported it about 17 per cent. Now, that then became a statement of an exaggerated cost which, whatever the rifle might cost properly, it could not possibly reach. It must have been below $17.65; and if it were possible to obtain the opinion of an expert, I would be glad to ask him if he thought the Springfield rifle could be produced by anybody else anywhere and purchased for $25. My own opinion is that you could not get it as low as $25 from any manufacturer.

The rifles are also made at the Rock Island Arsenal at practically the same figure.

ARSENAL COST OF LIMBERS IS LESS THAN HALF THE PURCHASE PRICE.

On April 2, 1912, Gen. Crozier stated as follows before a subcommittee of the Appropriation Committee of the House of Representatives relative to the cost of manufacture at the Rock Island Arsenal—see pages 637–638 of hearings:

The CHAIRMAN. Do your figures show the comparative cost of manufacture and purchase?

Gen. CROZIER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Put them in the record, please.

Gen. CROZIER. I will mention a few of them for the record. I think I can mention them more summarily, so they can be better comprehended in the record, than if I put in all of these details. I will take the limbers for the 3-inch rifles. The average of three contracts gave a price of $1,518 a piece for those limbers.

Mr. CANNON. What is a limber?

Gen. CROZIER. A limber is the forward portion of the wagon which transports the gun, the forward portion of the gun carriage; and the average of five orders for manufacture at the Rock Island Arsenal was $684 a piece. The arsenal cost was less than half the purchase price.

* * * * * * *

Gen. CROZIER. Now, for the 3-inch caisson, the average of five contracts shows a price of $1,708, and the average of six manufacturing orders given to the Rock Island Arsenal is $1,081. The 3-inch gun carriage proper—that is, the vehicle on which the gun rests and from which it is fired—gives as the average price three contracts, $3,268, and the average cost under five manufacturing orders at the arsenal was $2,341.

Mr. CANNON. Does that include overhead charges?

Gen. CROZIER. Yes, sir.

These figures, representing the cost of manufacture at the Rock Island Arsenal, include all overhead charges, such as pay of officers, interest on investment (which, for the ordnance department, is 3 per cent), insurance (allowance set aside for fire losses), and depreciation of plant.

It will be observed that the very shop in which ordnance materials are manufactured at approximately half the cost of purchasing from private contractors is the place where it is proposed to install the Taylor system. I submit the necessity does not exist for the installation of such a system of intensive production, with its accompanying disregard for the welfare of the employee, in a plant where efficiency has already reached such an advanced stage.

If the Chief of Ordnance had manufactured in Government arsenals all the munitions and supplies that he has purchased of the War Trust at excessive prices since he has been at the head of the Ordnance Department, he could have saved to the taxpayers more money than could be saved via the stop watch and speeding up of workmen in the next century.

LIFE IN THE MIDVALE STEEL PLANT.

Mr. Taylor received his first industrial training and first tested out his system at the plant of the Midvale Steel Co., in Pennsylvania.

Let us study the "science" of the shop management in this plant. C. H. Harrah, president of the company, happened to be testifying before the Committee on Labor of the House of Representatives on Thursday, March 1, 1900, and the transcript of his testimony fortunately remains intact to this day to throw light on the working methods of Frederick W. Taylor, the subject of our sketch:

"We had men with stop watches over the workmen working on an axle lathe, or whatever else it might be," said Mr. Harrah, "and every time a man looked up they took his time; every time he stopped to breathe they took his time, and in that way they got absolutely the amount of time employed in doing a certain amount of work.

"We made it a rule to run a machine to break," continued Mr. Harrah. "For instance, the life of a hammer bar may be two years. If that hammer bar does not break inside of the two years, I go for the forgemaster, because he is not getting the work he ought to out of the forge. It is the same way in the machine shop. If a lathe, the natural life of which might be two years, does not break down before that, I would go for the engineer in charge."

Mr. Harrah did not divulge information as to whether, in the event a workman failed to break down in a given number of years under the terrific pace scientifically mapped out by Mr. Taylor he would demand to know the reason, but he was frank enough to add, "We have absolutely no regard for machinery or for men."

Mr. Harrah's testimony was Tayloresque. See how well it corresponds with paragraph 312 of Mr. Taylor's book of instructions: "All employees should bear in mind that each shop exists first, last, and all the time for the purpose of paying dividends to its owners."

Mr. Harrah was asked whether workmen were permitted to leave the mill to take meals.

"No, sir," he replied. "Once a man passes inside the red fence he stays there until his day's work is through."

The "science" of keeping men penned in was shown when a huge container filled with molten metal gave way in this same Midvale plant and 6 workmen were killed outright and 13 others seriously hurt. The principle of this feature of Taylorism was again demonstrated in the Triangular Shirt Waist Factory fire in New York, where 160 women were locked in and could not get out until their day's work was done, and they did not get out until the grim destroyer burned them.

TAYLOR SYSTEM SMACKS OF ATMOSPHERE OF SHOPS IN WHICH IT WAS BORN.

After Midvale, Mr. Taylor installed his system in the plant of the Bethlehem Steel Co.

Thanks to an investigation of the Bethlehem Steel Co.'s strike in 1910, information is available as to conditions of labor in that concern's plants. The inquiry was made by the United States Bureau of Labor in 1910, under the direction of Ethelbert Stewart, a special agent of the Labor Bureau at the time, who bore the reputation of being one of the most experienced economic investigators in the country.

When this strike began there were no labor organizations in the plant; the company would not permit them. It was the higher grade workers who led off in the strike. Many of the highest-grade men had approximately a 10½-hour day. But they were frequently being required to work overtime on week days and to do additional work on Sundays. Fearing that the encroachments of overtime and Sunday work were leading to a 12-hour and 7-day schedule for the whole force, they therefore protested. Therefore the protesting committee was discharged; therefore the strike.

The Government investigation revealed this:

That out of every 100 men 29 were working 7 days every week.

That out of every 100 men 43, including these 29, were working some Sundays in the month.

That out of every 100 men 51 were working 12 hours a day.

That out of every 100 men 25 were working 12 hours a day 7 days a week.

That out of every 100 men 46 were earning less than $2 a day.

These are the grim figures which the United States Bureau of Labor gives us of the working shifts of the Bethlehem Steel Co. as drawn from the company's own time books.

It may be imagined from the foregoing what a fine humanitarian atmosphere must abound at the Midvale and Bethlehem plants, where the Taylor system was born. And the Taylor system is just as humanitarian as the atmosphere in the shops from which it sprang.

AVERAGE OUTPUT OF AMERICAN WORKMAN EXCEEDS THAT OF GERMAN, FRENCH, AND BRITISH WORKER.

Is it true that the American workman "deliberately plans to turn out far less work than he is able to do, in many instances failing to do more than one-third or one-half of a proper day's work"? Frederick W. Taylor is endeavoring to convince the public that such is the case, and that this condition is the disease that his system of "scientific shop management" is aimed to cure.

Before endeavoring to estimate the value of a cure one must be sure of the disease to be cured. What are the facts? There are 63 prominent occupations in the United States in which the paying of workers by the piece is more or less common. Pieceworkers come within the scope of the Taylor system more than any others. Is it common sense that a pieceworker is going to do but "one-third or one-half" of a day's work? It is the universal experience that a pieceworker will do just as much work as he can to obtain the highest amount of wages possible on Saturday night. It is obvious, therefore, that the "disease" which Mr. Taylor is setting out to cure does not exist among pieceworkers. With the cost of living so high that the average workman must have steady employment to maintain his family, it is also obvious that day workers must do a full day's work. Otherwise they would be liable to speedily lose their positions and place their families in want.

Comparisons between the United States, Germany, France, and England have demonstrated time and again that the American worker turns out more work per man in a given length of time than the worker of any of the other three nations. The same comparisons also establish the fact that because of being compelled to work so fast the product of the American worker is inferior in quality to that turned out by the German, French, or British worker. The Taylor system, by means of the use of the stop watch and similar methods of sweatshop "speeding-up" processes, proposes to increase by one-third the present output per man, regardless of the additional terrific strain on the physical and mental constitution of the worker and the certainty of still further inferiority of quality in output.

Mr. Taylor frankly admits his scheme is primarily aimed to "cheapen production." Is a decrease in the present labor cost in manufacture justified? Let us consider the steel industry, for instance. The United States Commissioner of Labor reports that the Steel Trust makes a profit on steel rails of $9.20 per ton. He also states that the labor cost of the same rails from the ingot is $1.16. In other words, the steel worker receives $1.16 for doing the work, while the Steel Trust magnates draw down $9.20.

APPLYING THE TAYLOR SYSTEM ON THE WOMEN AND CHILDREN WORKERS IN THE WOOLEN MILLS.

Here is a similar story from the woolen industry, which I heard first hand from Miss Josephine Liss, who accompanied the children of the Lawrence strikers to Washington:

"The reports in the newspapers have not told half the story of the outrages in Lawrence," said Miss Liss. She is a short, stout young woman, with a pretty face, but sad eyes, and has been working ever since she was 14 years old. "Take my case. I was walking quietly to my home one day during the strike, when I was stopped by a militiaman and told to go back. He called me horrible names and insulted me. When I refused to go back he attempted to stick me in the breast with his bayonet, and then I began to fight. I was knocked down, and then arrested and convicted.

"Even the most skilled workers do not earn more than $7 or $8 a week, and I can remember when my father was supporting a large family on $5 a week. The children earn about $4 a week. Most of us work in the mills, and our hours are long. And they are constantly putting in effect a faster pace through speeding-up systems. It means that we have no time or money for pleasure, but are practically slaves. It is not right that human beings should be treated so."

The question arises, if Mr. Taylor could put his stop watch and other scientific methods of "persuasion" at work on these men, women, and children workers at Lawrence, setting paces, which, in his own language, would be "purposely made so severe that not more than one out of five could keep up," what kind of fathers and mothers would the children make when they grew up? And what kind of children would their children be? This is as important to consider as dividends.

BILL INTRODUCED TO PROHIBIT USE OF STOP WATCH IN ALL GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHMENTS.

Mr. DEITRICK of Massachusetts introduced a bill in the Sixty-third Congress providing for the abolishment of the Taylor system in arsenals, navy yards, and other Government establishments.

The Deitrick bill was as follows:

A bill to regulate the method of directing the work of Government employees.

Whereas certain executive departments are installing in their respective establishments new systems of shop management, known by the generic term of "scientific management," which have for their purpose the attainment of the maximum efficiency from both plant and workmen; and

Whereas a stop watch is used in timing workmen while at work to ascertain the maximum amount of work possible for the most capable man in a given time and making this the "standard time" in which work must be done, and by a system of premiums and bonuses, together with disciplinary measures sufficiently severe to enforce the system, this "standard time" is the speed to which all workmen must eventually attain if they are to retain their employment; and

Whereas experience has shown that the American workman by his exceptional celerity performs about twice the work performed by the manual worker of other countries, with the concomitant condition that the ratio of accidents here is from three to four times as high as in other countries, and the tendency of so-called "scientific management" through the above timing and bonus features will be to further aggravate the accident disabilities and mortality aforesaid and reduce the workman to a mere mechanical, instead of a social and moral, relation to his work, and, moreover, are unnecessary to secure adequate efficiency of labor: Therefore

Be it enacted, etc., That it shall be unlawful for any officer, manager, superintendent, foreman, or other person having charge of the work of any employee of the United States Government to make or cause to be made with a stop watch or other time-measuring device a time study of the movements between the starting and completion of any job of any such employee. No premium or bonus or cash reward shall be paid to any employee, except for suggestions resulting in improvement or economy in the operation of the plant in which he is employed.

SEC. 2. That any violations of the provisions of this act shall be deemed a misdemeanor and shall be punished by a fine of not more than $500 or by imprisonment of not more than six months, at the discretion of the court.

LABOR COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS PASSAGE OF DEITRICK BILL.

The House Committee on Labor held hearings on the bill and reported it favorably on September 30, 1914. This bill, however, did not become a law, largely for the reason it was reported so late in the life of the Sixty-third Congress that it was impossible to get it before the House for a vote. The bill will be reintroduced in the next Congress, and it is hoped that it may be passed.

When it was ascertained that it would be impossible to obtain the passage of the Deitrick bill prohibiting the use of the stop watch in all Government establishments the friends of the measure adopted the expedient of having the provisions heretofore mentioned tacked on the Army and Navy bills, which will prohibit the use of the stop watch and the premium or bonus features of the Taylor system in the arsenals and navy yards during the life of those appropriations.

I will quote from the report of the Committee on Labor which accompanied the Deitrick bill, and which was submitted to the House by Hon. EDWARD KEATING, of Colorado.

Mr. Speaker, I believe I am justified in taking some pride in this report, because it sustains practically all the statements I have made about the Taylor system in the three and a half years I have been opposing it.

There are several systems of shop management. They agree as to essentials, but differ as to details. Probably the best known is the so-called "Taylor system," named for its author, F. W. Taylor, an efficiency engineer.

This is the system which has been partially adopted by the War and Navy Departments, which action has led to the introduction of the bill now under consideration.

The Taylor system may be divided under three headings—standardization, systematization, and stimulation. The pending legislation does not seek to interfere in any way with standardization or systematization, but is intended to eliminate the more obnoxious phases of stimulation in so far as Government workshops are concerned.

The position of your committee is very accurately stated in the preamble to Mr. DEITRICK's bill:

"The tendency of so-called scientific management through the timing (stop watch) and bonus features will be to further aggravate the accident disabilities and mortality among American workmen and reduce the workman to a mere mechanical instead of a social and moral relation to his work, and, moreover, are unnecessary to secure adequate efficiency of labor."

The Taylor system regards the workman as a machine to be "speeded up" to its maximum capacity. When this human machine fails to function to the satisfaction of the management it is to be cast aside to make room for a new machine—a fresh workman. The authors of the system do not appear to have concerned themselves about the ultimate fate of the human derelicts who may be compelled to drop out because they can not stand the pace. Mr. Taylor boasts that when he installed his system in the Bethlehem Steel Works he purposely made the tasks so hard that "not more than one out of five laborers (perhaps even a smaller percentage than this) could keep up."

That may be the kind of "efficiency" which produces dividends for the Steel Trust, but it is surely not the system which a beneficent Government should force upon its employees.

THE PURPOSE OF THE SYSTEM.

The main object of the Taylor system, and all its related "systems," is to produce the maximum of output at the minimum of expense.

The so-called bonus or premium system is a fraud and a snare. It really operates to reduce the workman's wages; not to increase them, as the proponents of the Taylor system maintain.

The following extract from the committee hearings will serve to illustrate this point:

"Mr. KEATING. Just on that point, the practical effect of this stop-watch system is to reduce the salary of the men 50 per cent?

"Gen. CROZIER. No.

"Mr. KEATING. Well, measured by the compensation per unit of output. To make myself clear, the salary of the machinist is $3.28 a day. Suppose that under your system the expert finds this machinist should produce a hundred pieces of work in the 2 hours and 20 minutes that he took as a basis. He would get $3.28 a day for doing that work. If, through his skill and physical exertion, he succeeded in coming up to the highest standard set here, which would enable him to get 33⅓ per cent increase, his output would be increased 274 per cent. That has been the effect of your reasoning. So he would produce 274 of those pieces, for which he would get $4.37.

"Mr. HAWLEY. Have you figured in there the advantage that might be given to him by better appliances and greater facilities?

"Mr. KEATING. No; what I am——

"Gen. CROZIER (interposing). Not in the case Mr. KEATING has in mind. But there is this that is included: He does get the benefit of the expert study of his own way of doing the job, and of pointing out any errors he may make or any unnecessary movements he himself makes.

"Mr. KEATING. The practical effect of the system, if my figures are correct, is to cut the labor cost of a given piece of work 50 per cent. The compensation which the workman receives for doing a particular piece of work is reduced under this system 50 per cent. It is difficult for me, not knowing anything about this particular business, to find something to use as an illustration. But let us suppose that you were producing shoes; that under this stop-watch system you found that a man should produce 10 pairs of shoes in order to do a fair day's work, which would entitle him to $3.28. Under your system, by which you allowed him half a minute for every minute he saved, when he produced 27.4 pairs of shoes he would receive $4.37. He would be receiving less than one-half as much per shoe as his less efficient colaborer received. That is, according to the figures that you have produced. You have shown that the efficiency of your establishment has been increased 274 per cent and the wages have been increased less than 33 per cent.

"Gen. CROZIER. That is true.

"Mr. KEATING. The practical result is that the efficient workman under the Taylor system is receiving one-half as much per unit for his output as the less efficient workman."

The promoters of these various systems of "scientific management" are making a determined effort to have them generally adopted by large manufacturing concerns, and labor, both organized and unorganized, is most insistent in its opposition. It can be readily seen that the advocates of the stop-watch system would have won a signal victory if they were in a position to say, "The United States Government has installed this system in its workshops. It can not be inhumane or the Federal authorities would not have adopted it."

The committee does not believe such an indorsement should be given to a system which is so inimical to the best interests of the toilers of the Nation.

PREVIOUS STUDY OF THIS SUBJECT.

A bill similar to the one under consideration was reported favorably from the Committee on Labor in the Sixty-second Congress, and a similar bill was reported favorably from the Committee on Education and Labor in the Senate. Owing, however, to the crowded condition of the calendars in both Houses the bills were not reached.

In the Sixty-second Congress these systems of shop management were thoroughly investigated by a special committee of the House, composed of Hon. William B. Wilson, present Secretary of Labor; Hon. William C. Redfield, present Secretary of Commerce; and Hon. John Q. Tilson. The hearings conducted by this investigating committee and their findings were submitted to the House in three large volumes of hearings, and a report describing many of the features of these systems, such as the method of speeding up workmen and the time study and the premium-bonus system of payment.

The findings of this special committee, as disclosed by their report, and the subsequent investigation made by the present Committee on Labor, we believe, justify the enactment into law of the provisions of this bill.

The protest against these "systems" originally came from the employees of the arsenals under the War Department, when it was proposed to introduce the Taylor system into these establishments. The protest was unheeded by the officials of the Ordnance Department at that time, and the system was gradually introduced. Practically the entire system is now in operation at the Watertown Arsenal, and the features least objected to by the employees are in operation at some of the other arsenals. From present indications it still appears to be the intention of the officials of the Ordnance Department to extend the Taylor system to the other arsenals at an opportune time.

The opposition to this system by the laboring people in general has made it impractical to apply the system in as drastic a manner as its authors evidently contemplated; but the machinery for oppression is latent in the system, and is regarded by the workmen as an ever-present menace to them and furnishing a reason for their apprehension of what is to come.

The Committee on Labor has concluded that an employer who is satisfied with a normal and reasonable day's work does not need to use a stop-watch time study on his employees to ascertain what should constitute a day's work, and the ordinary incentives in general use are sufficient as a spur to the activities of the workmen without resorting to further high-pressure methods to induce intensive production.

THE "SYSTEM" IS BEING FORCED IN.

The moving spirit behind the plan to install the Taylor system in the Government arsenals appears to be Brig. Gen. William Crozier, Chief of Ordnance of the War Department, who has jurisdiction over all of the Government arsenals. Gen. Crozier appears to be determined to install the stop watch and other objectionable speeding-up features of the Taylor system in the arsenals in spite of the protests of the workmen and even in spite of the strong denunciation of such methods by the special committee of the House of Representatives which investigated the subject during the preceding Congress.

This officer appeared before the committee and spoke in favor of the use of the stop watch and the Taylor system; and there appears to be every reason to believe that unless Congress passes legislation absolutely prohibiting the use of such methods in the Government establishments that Gen. Crozier will proceed with the extension of the system, not only at Watertown and Rock Island, but in all the manufacturing establishments of the Government within his domain.

Representative CLYDE H. TAVENNER, of Illinois, representing the congressional district in which the Rock Island Arsenal is located, appeared before the committee in opposition to the attitude of Gen. Crozier and contended that, inasmuch as the workmen at the Rock Island Arsenal are now producing war materials 35 per cent below the prices Gen. Crozier is paying outside private manufacturers, thus saving the Government hundreds of thousands of dollars annually by their present efficiency, that Gen. Crozier is not justified in installing the stop watch and other "speeding-up" processes to force the men to work still faster. He declared the same is true of the efficiency of the workmen at the Frankford Arsenal and all the arsenals, and produced figures showing the cost of various articles in the arsenals and showing the prices being paid private manufacturers for the same articles.

GOVERNMENT PRODUCT NOW CHEAPER THAN PRIVATE.

Reading from a table prepared by Col. George Montgomery, commandant of the Frankford Arsenal, Philadelphia, Mr. TAVENNER made the following specific comparisons:

That the workmen at the Frankford Arsenal are producing a 3-inch finished shrapnel case for $1.75 that the Government is paying private manufacturers $3.06 for.

That 3.8-inch common shrapnel are being produced for $7.94 in the Government arsenal, while the Government is paying the private manufacturers $17.50 for the same article. And so on.

On a contract of $1,900,064.05 worth of such work manufactured at the Frankford Arsenal, Mr. TAVENNER showed the Government saved $979,840.94, or approximately, in round figures, $1,000,000 on a $2,000 000 order. He made the point that these figures tended to show that the workmen in the Government arsenals are now efficient, and do not deserve having imposed upon them speeding-up processes compelling them to work still faster than they are now working.

EVERY COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS THAT EVER INVESTIGATED TAYLOR SYSTEM REPORTED ADVERSELY.

Mr. Speaker, the Taylor system was also investigated by a special committee of the House during the Sixty-second Congress. Two of the three members of that committee are now members of President Wilson's Cabinet, William B. Wilson, the Secretary of Labor, and William C. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce. I will now quote from the report of that committee:

Government in a mill should be like government in a State.

It appears to your committee that no one can seriously object, and as a matter of fact no one has objected, to any system which so standardizes and systematizes the work to be performed that a greater amount of production is secured with the same expenditure of labor. Employer and employee alike and the public generally are interested in securing the largest amount and the best quality of production that can possibly be secured by the amount of labor expended. All men have a mutual interest in the accomplishment of that end. It is only when it comes to a division of that which has been produced that their interests diverge. It therefore follows that any system of management which has a tendency to destroy the power of employees, individually or collectively, to secure the equivalent of the production which properly belongs to them must be looked upon as being dangerous to the welfare of the community at large.

Efficiency must not be had at the cost of the men, women, and children who labor and who should be the primary beneficiaries from efficiency. We should study how to produce the best results in output while also producing conditions to make the most efficient men and women to produce that output, and this must be done by conserving in every way not only their health and physical and nervous vigor, but by creating such conditions as will permit them to work out their own happiness and contentment, secure wages which will enable them to live in such a manner as to maintain their own self-respect and sufficient leisure to enjoy the refreshing influence of mental and moral recreation.

The Taylor system of shop management may be divided into three general heads: Standardization, systematization, and stimulation. Efficiency may be gained in whole or in part by any of these ways, by any two of them, or by all three combined. Any or all of these devices may be carried to an extreme. In the first two devices, namely, standardization and systematization, the expense which would be created by carrying them to an extreme would act as a check against the continuance of such a condition, but that check would not exist in that portion of stimulation which is applied to the workman.

The expenses of standardization and systematization are borne by the management, while the expense of stimulation in the form of increased energy is borne by the workmen. Any system of shop management which creates a burden charge through standardization or systematization which is too heavy for the shop to bear or which imposes burden charges through stimulation which are too heavy for the workman to bear should be discontinued.

That there is some loafing or soldiering amongst workmen has been shown by the testimony before your committee, but it is not general, nor does it occur in numerous instances compared with the total number employed.

Ordinary intelligent management under any system could eliminate it entirely or at least reduce it to the point where it would not be a serious hindrance to production. Because there are some loafers is no reason why the remainder of the workmen should either be compelled or induced to work up to the very edge of the breaking strain. There is need for production at the lowest cost, but no economic necessity can justify requiring workmen to speed up to the highest point which they can continue from day to day and from year to year, even without injury to their health and strength. To place workmen in a position of that kind is to put them in the position of a beast of burden which is required to go on from day to day performing a given task.

There is a margin between the work performed by the loafer and the maximum task for a man, and in that margin lies a proper day's work. What constitutes a reasonable day's work can only be determined by practical experience and intelligent observation. It can not be wholly determined by a stop watch or any other time-measuring instrument used only for a brief period of time.

By the stop watch you may be able to determine the time in which a piece of work can be done, but you do not thereby alone determine the length of time in which it ought to be done.

The time study of the operations of any machine can be made with a reasonable degree of accuracy, because all of the elements can be taken into consideration in making the computation. A machine is an inanimate thing—it has no life, no brain, no sentiment, and no place in the social order. With a workman it is different. He is a living, moving, sentient, social being; he is entitled to all the rights, privileges, opportunities, and respectful consideration given to other men.

He would be less than a man if he did not resent the introduction of any system which deals with him in the same way as a beast of burden or an inanimate machine.

In making a time study of the operations of a workman, all of the elements can not be taken into consideration, and consequently the computation can not be made with mathematical accuracy. There is no work that can be performed, or that is performed, that is not preceded by a mental process on the part of the workman. The more skill needed in the work, the greater the mental process which precedes the expression of it. So far as your committee has been able to learn, there is no method known to scientific management by which a time study can be made of the mental process preceding the physical act.

SENATOR BORAH'S COMMITTEE MADE REPORT CONDEMNING STOP WATCH.

Senator BORAH, chairman of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, made a very exhaustive report of the Taylor system, following an investigation of the subject by his committee. This report condemns the speeding-up features of the Taylor system, reports they are wholly unnecessary, and recommends the passage of legislation prohibiting the use of the stop watch, and so forth, in Government establishments. This report is Senate Document, report No. 930, second session, Sixty-second Congress.

N. P. ALIFAS DESERVES GREAT CREDIT FOR VALUABLE INFORMATION ABOUT THE TAYLOR SYSTEM.

As an appendix to my remarks I desire to insert several documents and letters I have received from time to time from Mr. N. P. Alifas, president of District No. 44, International Association of Machinists. The information contained in them has been extensively used in both Houses of Congress during the time these anti-Taylor system clauses in the Army and Naval appropriation bills have been under consideration. The first I desire to insert is a letter under date of February 18, 1915:

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS,
Washington, D. C., February 18, 1915.

Hon. CLYDE H. TAVENNER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The clause in this year's Army appropriation bill, on page 70, beginning with line 13, is directed against certain objectionable features of the Taylor system of shop management and similar systems, sometimes miscalled by the generic term of "scientific management." The clause prohibits time study of workmen and the premium system of payment, which together form the basis for the speeding-up scheme invented by Mr. Taylor. This clause does not interfere with standardizing shop tools and equipment, systematizing production methods, or cost accounting. It is directed only against the abnormal stimulus to activity of the workman made possible by the time study and premium system.

For your information as to our objection to these systems of shop management I refer you to the marked portions of our hearings before the Committee on Labor of the House during April, 1914. (Copy sent herewith.) This hearing contains, on pages 16 to 38, inclusive, my testimony before the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations in relation to organized labor's objections to certain features of so-called "scientific management." This testimony is considered a rather concise statement.

On pages 38 to 52 of this hearing is my written reply to a defense of the Taylor system—as in operation at the Watertown Arsenal—by Gen. Crozier, Chief of Ordnance, United States Army. The several subjects are discussed seriatim in my reply. This accounts for the disconnected presentation of the subject. This reply also contains many extracts from the writings of Mr. Taylor showing the underlying purposes and aims of the system. The very fact that any system of shop management contemplating such drastic and inhuman methods of dealing with employees should commend itself to officials of the Government is an indication of the treatment employees could expect if the opportunity to force this system presented itself to those having charge of the work.

While the present heads of the Navy Department have not urged the more objectionable features of the Taylor system in the past, serious labor troubles have been very narrowly averted at some navy yards only by the withdrawal of the obnoxious methods intended to be introduced. This was particularly true at the Norfolk Navy Yard in 1912.

From time to time efforts have persistently been made by officers at various navy yards to introduce the time study of workmen and the premium system against the continued and emphatic protest of the employees.

NAVAL OFFICERS INDICATE THEIR LOVE FOR TAYLOR SYSTEM.

A great many of the officers in charge of work at our navy yards are ardent advocates of Taylor system methods, as was disclosed during an investigation conducted by a special committee of the House in 1912. This attitude on their part has been repeatedly shown up to the present time and forms a constant ground for the suspicion of the employees, that at some opportune time the Taylor system, with all its enslaving tendencies, will be inaugurated. The employees will never be content until some assurance is given by an act of Congress that at least the time study and premium system will not be employed.

That this is not a groundless suspicion on the part of navy-yard employees is evidenced by the efforts made during January, 1915, to introduce in the gun shop at the Washington Navy Yard an elemental time-study feature of the work that was so nearly akin to Taylor-system method that the difference was almost imperceptible. In this instance the employees were required to time-study their own work.

As far as the War Department is concerned, the full possibilities of the Taylor system have not been taken advantage of at the Watertown Arsenal, where the system is furthest advanced. This we attribute to the fact that the department has been on its good behavior while several public investigations have been in progress. While the conditions of labor at the Watertown Arsenal, where they are going through the motions of using the system, are bad enough, the conditions are not as bad as they would be had no opposition to the system developed.

It is also significant to us that Mr. Taylor has not repudiated any of his writings which were completed before it became necessary for him to defend his schemes before the public; and that the Chief of Ordnance can see nothing wrong or harsh about the aims and methods advocated by Mr. Taylor. These methods to the average man seem abhorrent because of the unadulterated greed displayed and utter disregard for the welfare of the workman.

While the annual reports of the Chief of Ordnance show many glowing accounts of the advantages of the system, both to the workmen and the Government, the employees have as yet not been imbued with these alleged advantages to such an extent that they are willing to withdraw their opposition. The employees at the Watertown Arsenal even went so far as to refuse to avail themselves of a collective bargaining agreement proposed by Mr. Thompson, attorney for the Industrial Commission, unless it was specifically stated that the plan was

not for the purpose of settling by arbitration their objections to the Taylor system.

As to the advantages to the Government through reduced costs of production by means of the Taylor system, it was shown in the investigation by a special committee of the House in 1912 that the alleged savings recorded on page 16 of the 1911 report of the Chief of Ordnance was largely due to the claim that one-half the cost of material was saved by the system. It does not seem plausible that any system can save one-half of the material used in manufacture.

The information as to savings contained in subsequent reports of the Chief of Ordnance have not been investigated by others than those who are interested in proving the advantages of the system. However, all the alleged savings due to better equipment, high-speed tools, routing of work, and many other common-sense features which have been appropriated by Mr. Taylor as a part of his system would still be preserved after the passage of the restrictive clause herein advocated. Our case, however, does not stand or fall according to whether or not the system as in operation at the Watertown Arsenal has been developed to the point of oppression as yet. Any man of sound mind can see what such measures will lead to. After our power of resistance has been worn away by the system it will be too late to raise a feeble protest. The Military Affairs Committee is well acquainted with efforts made by every nation to prevent other rival nations from gaining strategic positions on the high seas because of what they can do with the advantage gained. This opposition is shown no matter what the nation about to gain the advantage promises.

CLAIM THAT SYSTEM INCREASES WAGES IS MISLEADING.

Much has been made of the presumption that this system increases wages. This is exceedingly misleading. Mr. Taylor claims that by his system he will be able to hire common laborers usually getting about $1.50 per day; and by paying them say $2.00 per day can teach them to do work for which the employer now has to pay $3 per day to a mechanic. This advanced stage of the development of the system has not been reached at the Watertown Arsenal as yet; but it can be attempted at any time the Chief of Ordnance decided. It would not prove that the system was good, even though the Chief of Ordnance should pay the men $10 per day temporarily, which might be done in order to induce some to support the system while the opposition was active. That the Ordnance Department is not given to charity ordinarily is shown by the starvation wages now being paid women employees at the Frankford Arsenal at Philadelphia. They receive $1.16 per day at present.

Just after the passage of the Army appropriation bill by the House, the Ordnance Department stopped the time study and the premium system at Watertown and Frankford Arsenals, and the officials went out among the employees during working hours to persuade (?) them to protest against the clause therein advocated, which prohibited time study and the premium system. When the premium was taken away from the aforementioned women employees, their earnings dropped from $2 per day to $1.16, the latter being the nominal day rate. It is well known that where piecework or any task system exists a wide difference is arbitrarily made between the day rate and the task earnings in order to make the task system appear attractive. If, however, the task work were abolished, everyone knows that the day rate would have to be increased. These women, who are unorganized and who probably do not understand the economic basis for wages, might readily be lead to believe that this artificial low wage is to be permanent and agree to protest for the same reason that women in Illinois protested against the eight-hour law on the ground that it would reduce wages.

During the consideration of the eight-hour law by the Senate, petitions were filed by workmen against the enactment of the law on the ground that it would reduce wages. These petitions were gotten up in much the same way as in the present case, namely, by the influence of the employer circulating the petitions.

At the Watertown Arsenal the employees have also gone back to daywork since the passage of the bill by the House; they are still anxious to have the bill pass.

It is also a significant fact that at the Watertown Arsenal, where the premium system has been in operation for several years, that the wages earned, premium and all, is no greater on the average than the wages received by the same grade of employees at the Boston Navy Yard, which is only 7 miles away, and whose wage scale is presumed to be regulated by the same facts. The reason for this is apparent. Under premium systems employees are usually expected to increase their earnings by working harder, when otherwise an increase should be given directly.

"SCIENTIFIC" MANAGEMENT MEANS CONSTANT FRICTION.

The petty injustices involved in this system are so numerous that it forms a daily ground for discontent among the employees. Employees at the Watertown Arsenal, for instance, inform us that the same amount of effort will net them vastly different results in earnings, showing that the time study is inaccurate and that it is impossible to make it accurate. The variables, in the machinists' business especially, are so great that no exact standards can be set; and where arbitrary standards are set they result only in injustice to employees.

The last four conventions of the American Federation of Labor have gone on record against the Taylor system. In 1911 the present Secretary of Labor, William B. Wilson, was secretary of the committee of the convention that recommended against the system. (See pp. 77, 287, and 296 of proceedings of the convention.) The American Federation of Labor convention of 1913 also has in its proceedings as severe an indictment against the Taylor system as was ever written. (See p. 299 of proceedings.)

THERE IS SOME REASON TO DOUBT GOOD FAITH OF ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT.

The Ordnance Department insists that we should wait for the report of the Federal Industrial Commission relative to the system in operation at the Watertown Arsenal. The department had up to date paid no heed to adverse reports made by four committees of Congress, and there is no reason to suppose they will cease their attempt to force the system on the employees unless compelled to by law. However, having had much to do with members and officers of the commission I feel safe in saying that the commission will not make any investigation of the system at the Watertown Arsenal, and therefore no special report will be forthcoming, and their general report on scientific management is not likely to be made until after Congress extends the time for the existence of the commission, due to their lack of time to complete the scope of the work started. There has been enough said by the commission to indicate that they do not think these systems safe from the employees' point of view unless accompanied by collective bargaining in which the workman shall have an equal voice with the management. This the War Department has indicated its unwillingness to agree to.

Our fear that the Ordnance Department will eventually displace the skilled, well-paid mechanic with cheap labor and by men of lower caliber is amply substantiated by a statement on page 15 of the last annual report of the Chief of Ordnance.

In order to obviate the necessity of attaching this clause to every appropriation bill passed by Congress, and thus needlessly take up much valuable time, it is respectfully requested that the clause on page 70, beginning with line 13, be modified as indicated in the accompanying amendment.

I have been advised to-day that this clause was indorsed at a mass meeting of employees of the Frankford Arsenal on the 16th instant, and that a large petition favoring this clause has been forwarded to a Member of the Senate. This is the employees' effort to offset the coercive methods adopted about three weeks ago by the management there to get employees to protest to the Senate against this clause.

As a representative of the employees concerned I shall be glad to make any further explanation that I can, either in writing or orally.

We believe the workmen of the United States have a right to say how fast they want to work and the degree of temptation and stimulus they are willing to submit to day after day. We feel that we have a right to preserve the race from deteriorating influences.

Trusting this will receive your favorable consideration, I am,

Very respectfully, yours,

N. P. ALIFAS,
President District No. 44, International Association of Machinists.

MR. ALIFAS, ON BEHALF OF ARSENAL AND NAVY YARD EMPLOYEES, MAKES CAREFULLY PREPARED REPLY TO GEN. CROZIER.

On April 17, 18, and 20, 1914, the Committee on Labor of the House held hearings on the bill H. R. 8662, subsequently designated H. R. 17800. This bill had the same purpose as the time study and premium clauses in the Army bill now under discussion. As a part of his remarks Mr. Alifas inserted a written statement which was a reply to a defense of the Taylor system as in operation at the Watertown Arsenal, written by Gen. William Crozier, Chief of Ordnance. The letter is so concisely written and presents the viewpoint of labor so well that I regard it as worthy of careful perusal by anyone interested in the subject. The letter of Mr. Alifas reads as follows:

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS,
Washington, D. C., April 18, 1914.

Hon. DAVID J. LEWIS, M. C.,
Chairman Committee on Labor,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: On behalf of the machinists employed in the Government arsenals, who I am authorized to represent, and to supplement my brief statement before your committee on April 17, 1914, I desire to herewith submit a brief with a view to sustain their contention that the Taylor system of shop management should be discontinued at these arsenals, particularly the features of this system against which specific protest has been made.

Numerous protests have been made by the employees of the arsenals against the continuance of the Taylor system of shop management, particularly by the employees at the Rock Island and Watertown Arsenals.

This system has been in operation at the Watertown Arsenal to a greater extent than at other arsenals and for several years, so that if it was going to prove satisfactory to the employees, as has been prophesied by the Taylor system advocates, this opposition ought to be diminishing instead of increasing.

I shall therefore direct your attention in this brief to a defense of the Taylor system made by the Chief of Ordnance in a memorandum dated September 6, 1913, addressed to the Secretary of War. This memorandum is a reply to a petition sent to the Secretary of War by the employees at the Watertown Arsenal. The petition contained about 300 signatures; and the basis of the opposition was indicated by the heading of the petition and the accompanying letter, setting forth a number of specific grievances which, it was alleged, had been brought about by the system.

CHIEF OF ORDNANCE RECOMMENDS EXTENSION OF TAYLOR SYSTEM.

The memorandum of the Chief of Ordnance set forth the alleged advantages of the Taylor system and recommends that it not only be continued but that it be extended from time to time to include other features not yet in operation whenever it shall appear to the judgment of the office of the Chief of Ordnance to be an advantage to the Government to introduce further innovations.

I shall therefore direct my attention to the memorandum of September 6, 1913, numbering the paragraphs containing my reply to the arrangement of that document.

QUESTION 1.

The answer to the question, contained in paragraphs 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, has little bearing on the desirability of the Taylor system since the class of expenditures to be considered in the computing of costs is supposed to be the same regardless of what kind of system of management is in use in the shops.

QUESTION 2.

6. No serious objection has been raised by the employers against systematizing the processes of manufacture, provided systematizing is not so arranged as to be a mere first step to applying the methods of stimulus to the workmen advocated by Mr. Taylor.

Our attitude toward the first part of the Taylor system can be illustrated by the following: The War Department would never allow Japan to have a coaling station and a fort in the Hawaiian islands, even though the assurance was given that the coaling station was only to enable Japan to engage in the peaceful pursuit of training the personnel of its fleet; that the fort was only to protect their property against pirates and foreign powers, and that this advantage would never be used to the detriment of the United States. The fact would remain that the temptation to press the advantage would be there as a perpetual menace.

The first part of the Taylor system is so designed as to fit in with the other parts of the Taylor system intended to follow. While it is so designed as to be used apart from the rest, it furnishes a reason and a desire on the part of the management to use the entire system.

As a battleship presupposes armament, as a large navy by a foreign power presupposes a possible war, and is the cause of preparations being made to meet such an emergency by our own country, so the first part of the Taylor system is to the workmen. It constitutes a perpetual menace to us by reason of the likelihood that the drastic features of the Taylor system may start at any time.

CHIEF OF ORDNANCE GIVES NO ASSURANCE THAT HE WILL NOT GO TO THE LIMIT.

The Chief of Ordnance has never given us the assurance that there is to be any point in the development of the Taylor system beyond which he will not go. In fact, we have every reason to fear the introduction of the complete system, since the favor with which the advanced stages of the system are regarded by the Chief of Ordnance has depended upon the success of the first steps taken. So that if each succeeding unobjectionable step is a success financially, it will indicate that Mr. Taylor's further plans should be used if possible.

In his annual report of 1911, page 17, the Chief of Ordnance says: "The confirmation of the claims as to the advantages of the features first installed, which the practical test at Watertown affords, lends such force to these further claims that, in the absence of any positive evidence to the contrary, I do not think they can be disregarded by an administrative officer honestly desirous of serving the interests of the Government."

7. (a) There is nothing in the methods of Mr. Taylor or the methods used at the Watertown Arsenal to indicate that it makes any difference whether an employee does his task "cheerfully" or not. The amount of stimulus contemplated by Mr. Taylor is regulated by the amount required to make an employee give the output. By making the stimulus strong enough it is, of course, possible to compel an employee to admit that he does his task "cheerfully," for instance: A machinist by the name of Mr. Wright was discharged at the Watertown Arsenal because he refused to work on a premium basis. It might be contended that all employees who agree to accept premium work did so cheerfully. However, petitions have been signed by these employees asking that the system be discontinued; and to prove the distastefulness of the system one need only point to the fact that the molders went on a strike against the system in 1911 at Watertown Arsenal. It would be possible, of course, to induce a man to cheerfully accept a life sentence in the penitentiary, provided the alternative was being put to death.

A WORKMAN HAS SOME LITTLE SENSE OF HIS OWN.

(b) A workman having learned a trade, knows what methods of holding and machining his work are the most expeditious; he knows what kind of steel and what shape of tool will perform the best service on any given job of any kind of material. With the same amount of experimenting as is done by the so-called expert on any given job, in conjunction with advice from his foreman, the workman can turn out a day's work that should be satisfactory to a reasonable employer. The purpose of using the stop watch is not so much to ascertain the best methods of doing the work (these are matters which can be determined from slide rules and tables of cutting speeds and feeds) as it is to ascertain the least time in which a job can be done for the purpose of compelling an employee to meet that time. The stimulus advocated by the Taylor system is so adjusted that once the least time in which a job can be done is ascertained it is comparatively easy to drive the employee to abnormal exertions in his effort to meet that time.

(c) The necessity of having experts to direct the detailed movements of a workman in order to get the utmost out of him seems to be based on the belief that it is impossible for a workman to learn the machinist trade. In the Taylor system it is aimed to gradually replace the skilled mechanic (whose faulty knowledge becomes unnecessary, when an expert is to direct his movements) with a low and cheap grade of workman whose movements will be directed by an expert and to whom a premium will be paid above his regular wages, but who will not be paid as much (premium included) as the workman he displaced. This is Mr. Taylor's method of increasing wages. It is true that this stage of the system has not yet been reached at the Watertown Arsenal, but it is believed the Chief of Ordnance will not ultimately employ men of greater skill than is necessary to do the work with the aid of these so-called experts.

8. In order to understand our reasons for opposing the Taylor system your attention is invited to the following, which is part of a report of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor on a bill designed to prohibit the use of the stop watch and the premium bonus. The quotations from Mr. Taylor's "Shop Management," pages 4 to 9, inclusive, of this report, were given under circumstances which did not require that he disguise the real purpose and methods of his system, and therefore indicate the hardships his system would impose upon workmen much better than his remarks before a committee of Congress, where his theories have to pass inspection before the public conscience.

EXHIBIT A.

In order to further elucidate the basic principles of these systems, and to ascertain the motives which have suggested their provisions and the possible extent to which they could be carried out if unrestricted, we give below extracts from the treatise on "Shop Management," by F. W. Taylor, which it appears is regarded as a sort of textbook on the subject, and from which the outline above given was deducted. The substance of this publication, which was written prior to the investigation of these systems by a special committee of the House of Representatives last winter, was defended both in whole and in part by its author at the hearings, no part of it being repudiated. Hence its aims and purposes shall still be regarded as the essence of "scientific management." Quotations are as follows:

UNIT TIME STUDY NECESSARY.

"What the writer wishes particularly to emphasize is that this whole system rests upon an accurate and scientific study of 'unit times,' which is by far the most important element in modern management. With it greater and more permanent results can be attained, even under ordinary daywork or piecework than can be reached under any of the more elaborate systems without it. (Par. 133, p. 1364.)

QUICKEST TIME IS STANDARD TIME.

"For each job there is the quickest time in which it can be done by a first-class man. This time may be called the 'quickest time' or the 'standard time' for the job.

"Under all the ordinary systems this 'quickest time' is more or less completely shrouded in mist. In most cases, however, the workman is nearer to it and sees it more clearly than the employer. (Pars. 136–137, p. 1365.)

ORDINARY SYSTEMS NOT FAST ENOUGH.

"The injustice of the very foundation of the system is thus forced upon the workman every day of his life, and no man, however kindly disposed he may be toward his employer, can fail to resent this and be seriously influenced by it in his work. These systems are therefore of necessity slow and irregular in their operation in reducing costs. They drift gradually toward an increased output, but under them the attainment of the maximum output of a first-class man is almost impossible. (Par. 90, p. 1355.)

STOP-WATCH TIME STUDY USED.

"His first step was to place an intelligent, college-educated man in charge of progress in this line. This man had not before handled this class of labor, although he understood managing workmen. He was not familiar with the methods pursued by the writer, but was soon taught the art of determining how much work a first-class man can do in a day. This was done by timing with a stop watch a first-class man while he was working fast. The best way to do this—in fact, almost the only way in which the timing can be done with certainty—is to divide the man's work into its elements and time each element separately. For example, in the case of a man loading pig iron onto a car, the elements should be: Picking up the pig iron from the ground or pile (time in hundredths of a minute); walking with it on a level (time per foot walked); walking with it up an incline to car (time per foot walked); throwing the pig down (time in hundredths of a minute) or laying it on a pile (time in hundredths of a minute); walking back empty to get a load (time per foot walked). (Par. 101, p. 1358.)

ONLY ONE OUT OF FIVE CAN KEEP UP TO TASK.

"When the writer left the steel works the Bethlehem pieceworkers were the finest body of picked laborers that he had ever seen together. They were practically all first-class men, because in each case the task which they were called upon to perform was such that only a first-class man could do it. The tasks were all purposely made so severe that not more than one out of five laborers (perhaps even a smaller percentage than this) could keep up. (Par. 125, p. 1361.)

ONLY TEMPERATE WORKMEN COULD STAND PACE.

"A careful inquiry into the condition of these men when away from work developed the fact that out of the whole gang only two were said to be drinking men. This does not, of course, imply that many of them did not take an occasional drink. The fact is that a steady drinker would find it almost impossible to keep up with the pace which was set, so that they were practically all sober. (Par. 128, p. 1363.)

A LARGE DAILY TASK SET.

"Each man in the establishment, high or low, should daily have a clearly defined task laid out before him. This task should not in the least degree be vague nor indefinite, but should be circumscribed carefully and completely, and should not be easy to accomplish. (Par. 149, p. 1368.)

"When an establishment has reached an advanced state of organization, in many cases a fifth element should be added, namely, the task should be made so difficult that it can only be accomplished by a first-class man. (Par. 153, p. 1368.)

LARGE TASK ENFORCED BY OBJECT LESSON OF LAYING OFF WORKMEN.

"Where the labor market is large enough to secure in a reasonable time enough strictly first-class men, the piecework rate should be fixed on such a basis that only a first-class man working at his best can earn the average amount called for. This figure should be, in the case of first-class men, as stated above, from 30 per cent to 100 per cent beyond the wages usually paid. The task idea is emphasized with this style of piecework by two things—the high wages and the laying off, after a reasonable trial, of incompetent men; and for the success of the system the number of men employed on practically the same class of work should be large enough for the workmen quite often to have the object lesson of seeing men laid off for failing to earn high wages and others substituted in their places. (Par. 166, p. 1374.)

THE "DIFFERENTIAL-RATE PIECEWORK" IS MOST FORCEFUL, AND SHOULD BE USED WHERE POSSIBLE.

"The 'differential-rate piecework' is rather simpler in its application and is the more forceful of the two. It should be used wherever it is practicable, but in no case until after all the accompanying conditions have been perfected and completely standardized and a thorough time study has been made of all of the elements of the work. This system is particularly useful where the same kind of work is repeated day after day, and also whenever the maximum possible output is desired, which is almost always the case in the operation of expensive machinery or of a plant occupying valuable ground or a large building. It is more forceful than 'task work with a bonus,' because it not only pulls the man up from the top, but pushes him equally hard from the bottom. (Par. 170, p. 1375.)

IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN RAPID PACE WORKMEN SHOULD BE ABLE FREQUENTLY TO SEE IF THEY ARE FALLING BEHIND.

"In fixing the times for the tasks, and the piecework rates in jobs of this class, the job should be subdivided into a number of divisions, and a separate time and price assigned to each division rather than to assign a single time and price for the whole job. This for several reasons, the most important of which is that the average workman, in order to maintain a rapid pace, should be given the opportunity of measuring his performance against the task set him at frequent intervals. Many men are incapable of looking very far ahead, but if they see a definite opportunity of earning so many cents by working hard for so many minutes, they will avail themselves of it. (Par. 189, p. 1380.)

WORKMEN CAN DO TWO OR THREE TIMES AS MUCH WORK AS IN THE PAST.

"Second. As a result of this change of feeling, such an increase in their determination and physical activity, and such an improvement in the conditions under which the work is done, will result in many cases in their turning out from two to three times as much work as they have done in the past. (Par. 291, p. 1411.)

SOME MEN WILL BE UNABLE TO KEEP UP PACE UNDER SYSTEM; THESE MUST GO.

"Second. After the men acquiesce in the new order of things and are willing to do their part toward cheapening production, it will take time for them to change from their old easy-going ways to a higher rate of speed and to learn to stay steadily at their work, think ahead, and make every minute count. A certain percentage of them, with the best of intentions, will fail in this and find that they have no place in the new organization, while still others, and among them some of the best work-

ers, who are, however, either stupid or stubborn, can never be made to see that the new system is as good as the old; and these, too, must drop out. (Par. 293, p. 1412.)

SPEED GRADUALLY ACCELERATED—WORKMEN AT FIRST RESENT INTERFERENCE.

"In reaching the final high rate of speed which shall be steadily maintained the broad fact should be realized that the men must pass through several distinct phases, rising from one plane of efficiency to another until the final level is reached. First they must be taught to work under an improved system of daywork. Each man must learn how to give up his own particular way of doing things, adapt his methods to the many new standards, and grow accustomed to receiving and obeying directions covering details large and small which in the past have been left to his individual judgment. At first the workmen can see nothing in all this but red tape and useless and impertinent interference, and time must be allowed them to recover from their irritation, not only at this but at every stage in their upward march. (Par. 295, p. 1413.)

WHAT IS MEANT BY HIGH WAGES.

"By high wages he means wages which are high only with relation to the average of the class to which the man belongs and which are paid only to those who do much more or better work than the average of their class. He would not for an instant advocate the use of a high-priced tradesman to do the work which could be done by a trained laborer or a low-priced man. (Par. 37, p. 1347.)

USING HELPERS TO DO MECHANICS' WORK COMMENDED.

"As a rule, the fewer the men employed by the contractor and the smaller the variety of the work the greater will be the success under the contract system, the reason for this being that the contractor, under the spur of financial necessity, makes personally so close a study of the quickest time in which the work can be done that soldiering on the part of his men becomes difficult, and the best of them teach laborers or low-priced helpers to do the work formerly done by mechanics. (Par. 67, p. 1352.)

"The objection to the contract system are that the machine tools used by the contractor are apt to deteriorate rapidly, his chief interest being to get a large output, whether the tools are properly cared for or not, and that through the ignorance and inexperience of the contractor in handling men, his employees are frequently unjustly treated. (Par. 68, p. 1352.)

"These disadvantages are, however, more than counterbalanced by the comparative absence of soldiering on the part of the men. (Par. 69, p. 1352.)

FUNCTIONAL FOREMANSHIP RESULTS IN CHEAP WORKMEN, AND MEN DESIRED OF SMALL CALIBER AND ATTAINMENTS.

"The full possibilities of functional foremanship, however, will not have been realized until almost all of the machines in the shop are run by men who are of smaller caliber and attainments and who are, therefore, cheaper than those required under the old system. The adoption of standard tools, appliances, and methods throughout the shop, the planning done in the planning room and the detailed instructions sent them from this department, added to the direct help received from the four executive bosses, permit the use of comparatively cheap men even on complicated work. Of the men in the machine shop of the Bethlehem Steel Co. engaged in running the roughing machines, and who were working under the bonus system when the writer left them, about 95 per cent were handy men trained up from laborers; and on the finishing machines working on bonus about 25 per cent were handy men. (Par. 247, p. 1395.)

"DISPLACING SKILLED LABOR WITH UNSKILLED.

"It is true, for instance, that the planning room and functional foremanship render it possible for an intelligent laborer or helper in time to do much of the work now done by a machinist. Is not this a good thing for the laborer and helper? He is given a higher class of work, which tends to develop him and gives him better wages. In the sympathy for the machinist the case of the laborer is overlooked. (Par. 319, p. 1421.)

"CHANGING FROM ONE BONUS SYSTEM TO ANOTHER AS SYSTEM DEVELOPS.

"Mr. Gantt's system is especially useful during the difficult and delicate period of transition from the slow pace of ordinary daywork to the high speed which is the leading characteristic of good management. During this period of transition in the past a time was always reached when a sudden long leap was taken from improved daywork to some form of piecework; and in making this jump many good men inevitably fell and were lost from the procession. Mr. Gantt's system bridges over this difficult stretch and enables the workman to go smoothly and with gradually accelerating speed from the slower pace of improved daywork to the high speed of the new system. (Par. 172, p. 1376.)

"No workman can be expected to do a piece of work the first time as fast as he will later. It should also be recognized that it takes a certain time for men who have worked at the ordinary slow rate of speed to change to high speed. Mr. Gantt's plan can be adapted to meet both of these conditions by allowing the workman to take a longer time to do the job at first and yet earn his bonus; and later compelling him to finish the job in the quickest time in order to get the premium. (Par. 174, p. 1377.)

"ALL FOUR SYSTEMS OF PAYING FOR WORK CAN BE USED IN LARGE PLANTS.

"It is clear, then, that in carrying out the task idea after the required knowledge has been obtained through a study of 'unit times,' each of the four systems, 'day work,' 'straight piecework,' 'task work with a bonus,' and 'differential piecework,' has its especial field of usefulness, and that in every large establishment doing a variety of work all four of these plans can and should be used at the same time. Three of these systems were in use at the Bethlehem Steel Co. when the writer left there, and the fourth would have soon been started if he had remained. (Par. 177, p. 1378.)

"EXAMPLE OF HOW DIFFERENTIAL RATE SYSTEM WORKS.

"The first case in which a differential rate was applied during the year 1884 furnishes a good illustration of what can be accomplished by it. A standard steel forging, many thousands of which are used each year, had for several years been turned at the rate of from four to five per day under the ordinary system of piecework, 50 cents per piece being the price paid for the work. After analyzing the job and determining the shortest time required to do each of the elementary operations of which it was composed, and then summing up the total, the writer became convinced that it was possible to turn 10 pieces a day. To finish the forgings at this rate, however, the machinists were obliged to work at their maximum pace from morning to night, and the lathes were run as fast as the tools would allow and under a heavy feed. (Ordinary tempered tools 1 inch by 1½ inches, made of carbon tool steel, were used for this work.) (Par. 180, p. 1379.)

"It will be appreciated that this was a big day's work, both for men and machines, when it is understood that it involved removing with a single 16-inch lathe having two saddles an average of more than 800 pounds of steel chips in 10 hours. In place of the 50-cent rate that they had been paid before they were given 35 cents per piece when they turned them at the speed of 10 per day, and when they produced less than 10 they received only 25 cents per piece. (Par. 181, p. 1379.)

HOW HIGH TASKS SHOULD BE SET AT THE START.

"As the writer has said several times, the difference between the best speed of a first-class man and the actual speed of the average man is very great. One of the most difficult pieces of work which must be faced by the man who is to set the daily tasks is to decide just how hard it is wise for him to make the task. Shall it be fixed for a first-class man; and if not, then at what point between the first class and the average? (Par. 382, p. 1441.)

"One fact is clear, it should always be well above the performance of the average man, since men will invariably do better if a bonus is offered them than they have done without this incentive. (Par. 383, p. 1441.)

"The writer has in almost all cases solved this part of the problem by fixing a task which required a first-class man to do his best and then offering a good round premium. When this high standard is set it takes longer to raise men up to it. But it is surprising, after all, how rapidly they develop. (Par. 384, p. 1441.)

EACH SHOP EXISTS, FIRST, LAST, AND ALL THE TIME, TO PAY DIVIDENDS TO OWNERS.

"On the other hand, this policy of promoting men and finding them new positions has its limits. No worse mistake can be made than that of allowing an establishment to be looked upon as a training school to be used mainly for the education of many of its employees. All employees should bear in mind that each shop exists, first, last, and all the time, for the purpose of paying dividends to its owners. They should have patience and never lose sight of this fact. And no man should expect promotion until he has trained his successor to take his place. (Par. 312, p. 1419.)

COLLOQUY BETWEEN MR. TAYLOR AND DISSATISFIED CUSTOMER.

"Mr. TAYLOR. I think that Mr. Rankin has also overlooked another important factor, and that is the question of time. If Mr. Hawkins expects large results in six months or a year in a very large works he is looking for the impossible. If he expects to convert union men to a higher rate of production, coupled with high wages, in six months or a year he is expecting next to an impossibility. But if he is patient enough to wait for two or three years he can go among almost any set of workmen in this country and not find the trouble which he did in Massachusetts.

"Mr. HAWKINS. I have waited six years now.

"Mr. TAYLOR. Have you tried the incisive plan of centering on one man instead of going at the whole shooting match at once? I think failure is due to a lack of patient persistence on the part of the employers and then to a lack of centering right onto a single man. No workman can long resist the help and persuasion of five foremen over him. He will either do the work as he is told to or leave."

MR. TAYLOR AND GEN. CROZIER REGARD IT AS AN IMPOSSIBILITY FOR A MACHINIST TO WORK TOO FAST.

9. The methods here described in connection with the use of the stop watch are very mild; they are like merely laying a whip on a horse's back instead of hitting him with it. However, Mr. Taylor advocates the time study should be made on a fast man while he is working fast.

Since the Chief of Ordnance can see nothing objectionable in Mr. Taylor's exposition of the Taylor system, and since he regards it as an impossibility for a machinist to work too fast (see par 13. of letter of September 6 here under consideration) we may expect the worst, ultimately.

A time study is not necessary where an employer is satisfied with a reasonable day's work. When the employer begins to inquire into how an employee spends every minute of the day by means of such minute surveillance as is contemplated by the Taylor system, he is beginning to approach the frame of mind attributed to the "economic man" of political economy, and loses sight of the larger view, that industry exists primarily for the purpose of supplying the wants of man, and not for the purpose of furnishing a lifetime task that taxes the human frame to its utmost capacity. Mr. Taylor's system is devised exclusively from the point of view and for the benefit of the employer; the workman is merely a production devise to be used to its utmost capacity like a machine. One of our dangers lies in the fact that such a system should have appealed to the ordnance office as desirable and deserving of emulation. No one looking at industry from the workman's point of view would have ever considered using such a system.

10. The methods of determining the premiums to be paid here described are in accordance with Mr. Taylor's system. This method is milder than the scheme which is advocated when the shop system has developed to a more advanced stage. (See hearings, p. 1210.) While it is stated that no unpleasant exertion is admitted in fixing the time, I am informed that men have been discharged at the Watertown Arsenal for failing to meet their task. However, whether the men are overworked at present or not, they do not want this system with its menacing possibilities.

11. Practically all employers who introduce piece or premium work pay a liberal wage to begin with in order to overcome the opposition of the workman to these systems. These first rates are practically always reduced when the system becomes established. The Chief of Ordnance has not yet begun to displace machinists with common laborers at a lower rating, as is intimated on page 1141 of hearings, and as advocated by Mr. Taylor, nor has he as yet endeavored to apply the full possibilities of the features of the system so far evolved.

In their collective judgment, workmen do not want to be continually tempted to overexert themselves, but individually they will succumb to the temptation of a premium or bonus if held out to them long enough, even though they know they are doing themselves an injury in the long run.

We have laws against the sale of opium cigarettes to minors, and regulations for the sale of liquor in order to protect people against their weaknesses. Our working people endeavor to protect themselves through their unions against their own penny wisdom induced by these high-speed premium systems, and from the avarice of the employer who does not concern himself about what becomes of them after they are worn out, but only considers their present value.

These premiums are not considered by the employees as being worth the disadvantages of the system.

AS TO THE ALLEGED ECONOMIES OF TAYLORISM.

12. Many alleged economies attributed to this system have been due to the use of high-speed cutting tools instead of the common tool steel formerly used. Also no expense seems to have been spared in providing appliances, special tools, and equipment in the endeavor to have the new system show up favorably, while under the old system great economy was practiced in providing this equipment. It is quite possible to go into almost any shop where laxness in management has prevailed and by a determination to effect economies do so without the aid of any system. At the Watertown Arsenal on some of the jobs upon which the time was reduced supposedly by means of the system, much of this reduction was caused by a change to the use of high-speed tool steel. It does not require the Taylor system to suggest the use of tool steel or a liberal supply of reamers, drills, taps, and other tool-room equipment with which much time can be saved in production. It is claimed by the employees that before the system was introduced it was difficult to get the proper and necessary tools with which to do the work, due to a mistaken notion of economy on the part of the management, but as soon as the system began all tools were secured whereby economies in production could be made. All this saving, due to a change of attitude toward providing necessary tools, is unjustly attributed to the Taylor system.

13. The stimulus contemplated by the Taylor system not alone tries to stimulate the exertions of workmen by offering rewards, but further stimulates workmen by a system of gradual selection of the most proficient workmen and the elimination of those who are unable to meet the increasing tasks set, and by other ever present disadvantages which invariably attend failure on the part of a workman to measure up to requirement, such as fines or its equivalent for various shortcomings, the earnest inquiries of four bosses as to why the workman failed to complete his task (since the bosses lose their premiums when the workman fails to meet his task, they are likely to depart from the scientific bent of mind suggested by the terms "time study" and "scientific management" and resort to harsh treatment), and the fear of being eliminated or discharged for not working fast enough. Mr. Taylor advocates that a workman should be discharged every now and then in order to serve as a warning to the rest not to slacken their pace. (See Shop Management, par. 166.)

The only limit to tasks which appears to be recognized by the Taylor system is the endurance of the workman and the ability of the management to enforce their wishes. As long as a workman meets his task it seems to be no concern of theirs how it affects him. In his book Shop Management (par. 128) Mr. Taylor states that men who drink could not keep up to tasks set. A task that is so great that the difference in endurance of men who drink and others who do not (other things being equal) renders the man who drinks unable to cope with the situation is too great, even though a workman does not pine away noticeably from month to month. He can not last much over 20 years at such work.

14. The process here described as reprehensible is Taylor-system method. This can readily be ascertained by reading the reference heretofore given. (Exhibit A, pp. 4 to 9, inclusive.) The rest of the paragraph explains conditions as they are supposed to exist at the Watertown Arsenal, but makes no promise as to what the intentions are for the future. The conditions now existing at the arsenal we do not understand to be final.

ONLY ONE MAN OUT OF FIVE COULD KEEP UP.

15. From the way Mr. Taylor worked the pig-iron carrier (see par. 125, Shop Management), making the task so hard that only one out of five, or even a smaller percentage, could do the work, it does not seem plausible that he concerned himself about the degree of their happiness under this load or whether they thrived under those conditions. That they did the work was probably all that concerned the expert.

The illustration about what is meant by first-class men and first-class horses was made by Mr. Taylor, it appears, as a sort of an apology for the more drastic methods advocated in his earlier writings, but the illustration is not true to his practices. In his practices with the pig-iron handlers he apparently not only selected men who were physically built for that kind of work, but he instituted a competition among the select ones with a view to retain only the best. He eliminates those who are unable to meet the task as certainly as those who are able to but who refuse.

Workmen do not desire to be tested, classified, and assigned to arduous tasks by employers, like so many horses or cattle, and then worked to their full capacity.

The Taylor-system scheme does not provide that the workman shall have any voice in all this arrangement. The employer does it all. If it were possible to enforce this system in its entirety upon workmen, they would get no relief until their condition would appeal to some humanitarian society like the S. P. C. A.

As to the solicitude of an employer to find a place for a second-class man at which he could measure up first class, that would depend upon the condition of the labor market. If workmen were plentiful, it would be easier to discharge second-class men and try out new ones than to find a place that would be appropriate for men incapable of meeting the larger tasks.

16. The rates of pay for machinists employed at the Watertown Arsenal are less than is paid machinists at the Boston Navy Yard, which is only 7 miles away. If the premium system had not been introduced at the arsenal, the day rates of pay would probably have been advanced to meet advances in pay in the vicinity.

Piecework and premium systems have a tendency to hold the day rates stationary, and if any increases in wages are expected by the workmen they must be made through their piecework or premium earnings.

ARSENAL WAGES UNDER TAYLORISM AVERAGE NO HIGHER THAN AT NAVY YARD, WHERE SYSTEM IS NOT IN USE.

The earnings of the machinists at the Watertown Arsenal, including the premium, are about the same as the wages paid machinists at the Boston Navy Yard, in the same vicinity.

Of course, wages are supposed to be regulated according to the law, but in the application of the law to the character of work and other conditions of employment in private employ, which has a bearing on wages, there is room for a wide range of interpretation. When the men employed in Government shops are working daywork this interpretation must be liberal, and when the premium system is in vogue a less liberal stand is taken by the management.

To revert back to the daywork system at the Watertown Arsenal would not bring the production back to where it was when the Taylor system was started, because since the introduction of the Taylor system high-speed steel has been used more extensively, more equipment has been secured, and many other beneficial but harmless changes have been made which reduce costs of work. Introducing an efficiency system may be likened in many respects to a religious revival. While the efficiency engineer is there a great deal of virtue in eliminating waste is developed, even though most of his enthusiastic supporters or victims chafe under the stress of his regulations, part of which they shed when he leaves; but it is not all lost.

The piecework system in machine shops is practically just as objectionable as the premium system, although the time study is eliminated. A great deal of stress is laid by scientific-management advocates upon the dissatisfaction caused by reductions in piece rates and the advantages of the time study in fixing a price once for all time. The advantage is practically all on the management's side, however. Under the time-study method the rate is fixed at what the piecework rate would be after a number of cuts had taken place; while under the piecework rates the employee would be getting the benefit of the more liberal times and compensation while the cutting of piece rates was in progress. It is generally acknowledged that men always work harder under piecework than under daywork; and yet the shop manager feels aggrieved if he has not secured all the productivity possible out of the workman, and casts about for a method, such as the time study, whereby he can more easily work his will.

17, 18, 19. Regardless of whether or not the specific complaints enumerated and to which reply is made are well founded, the fact remains that the employees are opposed to the Taylor system because of its possibilities. In paragraph 20 it is surmised by the Chief of Ordnance that the petitions were signed by many without the signers knowing what the specific complaints enumerated were, only knowing that they were opposed to the Taylor system; so that a satisfactory answer to these specific complaints does not overcome the opposition to the Taylor system.

It must be noted that the alleged facts upon which the rebuttal is based were collected by those who are endeavoring to show that the system is not as yet working any hardship and are contradictory of the alleged facts stated by the employees. The true status of affairs could be ascertained only by an investigation of all the facts having a bearing on the case by some impartial tribunal.

ON GOOD BEHAVIOR TO START OFF WITH.

It must be remembered that at a time when the Taylor system is on trial for its life, so to speak, great care would ordinarily be taken not to make it oppressive by unduly pressing the advantages that it places in the hands of the employer, and which he can use to drive the employee to abnormal exertions, or refrain from so doing if he chooses. The employees realize the dangers of this system and may have been under the impression that the abolition of the system hinged upon whether or not it had been pushed at the Watertown Arsenal to the extent of being oppressive, and that they were in duty bound to put their finger on the exact cause of the difficulty. Even had they not placed the blame where it belonged, they are no more mistaken than many a man has been who has gone to the dentist with a toothache. The fact that the dentist may prove that the particular tooth indicated is absolutely sound does not prove that the man hasn't got a toothache.

In the replies to these complaints, however, the Chief of Ordnance gives expression to views that would justify the misgivings of the employees as to the future. Some of them are as follows:

(*a*) In replies to complaints Nos. 1, 7, and 8, under section 17, the idea is set forth that a higher priced man should not be used for any given job that a cheaper man can perform. This is in line with the teachings of Mr. Taylor that his system will so simplify the work that helpers or laborers will be able to do the work upon which it was formerly necessary to employ a skilled mechanic.

(*b*) In reply to complaint No. 13, under section 17, the belief is expressed that it is practically impossible in the general case to overwork a machinist. In the face of such a presumption coupled with the firm conviction that practically all workingmen are loafers unless they are forced by surveillance or measured tasks to work hard, very little sympathy or satisfaction could be expected by a machinist who would complain of being overworked.

The strain of work does not always bear most heavily on the muscles. The strained attention incident to running a machine that is run at its full capacity; the anxiety about making the time set; the effect of a man's efforts on his efficiency which affects his wages and the retention of his job; the vexations incident to faulty tools, waiting for cranes, helpers, and tools, which interfere with the making of the premium, are all elements that tax the human frame. One man with whom I conferred at Watertown suffered from a nervous breakdown due to these vexations of the Taylor system. It required a two months' furlough with absolute rest before he was able again to resume his duties.

20. The reasons for statements being made by the employees that were favorable to the Taylor system was doubtless due to a feeling of intimidation. They knew what sort of replies their inquisitors desired. As soon as they were assured that they would be protected against discrimination, their replies "commenced to take on a uniform tone of opposition to the system."

UNION OPPOSES UNREASONABLE SPEEDING UP OF WORKMEN.

21. There has been no form of coercion used, to my knowledge, to secure these signatures, with perhaps the possible exception of the esteem in which a workman who was afraid to indicate his opposition would be held by his fellows. The union has no power to compel a workman to either sign a petition or join the union. The Government does not recognize a union shop, and the existence of the union and all acts in accordance with its teachings or wishes are of a purely voluntary nature, actuated by the desire of the workmen for mutual protection.

The accusation of the employer that the union stands for "limitation of output" should be changed to read "the union teaches that there should be a limit to the exertions required of a workman."

While the unions are accused of opposing improvements in the benefits of which they were to have no share, and which would entail untold hardships upon their members during the period of transition, even though the next generation would be benefited, the employers have opposed the shortening of the hours of labor, the safeguarding of life and limb, the prevention of child labor, and the paying of wages that would lift the family out of poverty and want.

Had the promoters of our great epoch-making inventions been as interested in benefiting their immediate generation as they were in augmenting their personal fortunes there would have been fewer victims to oppose them.

If labor had been strong enough to enforce its wishes, it would not have met the doom of invention and enterprise; but in each case a

way would have had to be found whereby inventions would have redounded to the benefit of the workers concerned. As it was, labor was defeated, due to its economic dependence; the drastic method of making progress through their suffering was continued; the immediate promoters and future generations were benefited; and labor has been blamed for its opposition ever since, because it was not able to force a method of making progress that would have eliminated privation for the wage earner.

22. The opposition of the employees at the Watertown Arsenal to the Taylor system would by no means disappear, even though they knew to a certainty that they would lose the amount of the premiums earned. They would rather go back to straight day work than to work under the system with the premium. It is, however, believed that the present day rates at that arsenal are lower than they would be if the Taylor system were not in operation, since it is generally expected in shops operating under piece-rate systems, at least, that the employees will make up their low day-wage rate by their earnings.

It is quite evident that no change in the rule of the department for setting wages would have to be made, as is claimed, in order to give the machinists at the arsenal an increase in their day rate, because the machinists at the Boston Navy Yard, which is in the same vicinity, are receiving a wage rate that is about as high as the day rate plus the premiums earned by the machinists at the arsenal. The Navy Department operates under the same rules as to wages that the War Department observes, but they have no Taylor system installed.

FOUR COMMITTEES OF CONGRESS REPORTED AGAINST TIME STUDY.

In the Sixty-second Congress there were favorably reported out from the Committee on Labor of the House and the Committee on Education and Labor of the Senate bills which had for their aim the prohibiting of the use of the time study of workmen and the premium system of pay in the Government service. These bills were intended to prevent the drastic methods provided for in the Taylor system.

There were no hearings held on these bills, due to the fact that these two committees of Congress had available all the information necessary to reach a conclusion, as a result of the investigation of the subject of so-called scientific management by the special committee of the House created for that purpose.

The introduction of these bills was due to the unwillingness of the War Department to be influenced in its determination to install the Taylor system by the recommendations and views contained in the report of the special committee, which was composed of Congressmen William B. Wilson, William C. Redfield, and John Q. Tilson, and it appeared that the War Department would not modify its course unless compelled to do so by legislation.

Organized labor throughout the United States has indicated in no uncertain terms its attitude on the Taylor system and kindred systems. This can be seen by the resolutions relating thereto passed upon at the last few conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Labor has a right to say how hard it wants to be worked and to what degree of stimulus it is willing to be subjected.

The justice of its position does not stand or fall according to the degree of oppression that has become manifest in a few shops now operating under the Taylor system. The possibilities for oppression in the way this and similar systems of shop management are built up, the mental attitude of its advocates toward the labor problem, and the lack of safeguards for the workman against its drastic possibilities are among the principal reasons for the opposition of labor.

I am appending hereto a copy of the testimony I gave before the Commission on Industrial Relations on April 15, 1914, which contains a statement of the chief reasons for the opposition of labor to the methods which have become identified with the term "scientific management."

Very respectfully,

N. P. ALIFAS,
President District No. 44,
International Association of Machinists.

MR. ALIFAS, FORMER ARSENAL EMPLOYEE, MADE A REMARKABLE SHOWING BEFORE INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS COMMISSION.

I desire next to insert the testimony of Mr. N. P. Alifas before the Commission on Industrial Relations, on April 15, 1914, while the commission had under consideration the subject of "scientific management" in general. This testimony was considered by those who heard it as especially clear-cut and to the point.

Mr. Alifas's remarks speak for themselves. Being himself a machinist, and having been an employee at the Rock Island Arsenal at the time the Ordnance Department began the installation there of a portion of the Taylor system, he was able to speak from first-hand knowledge, and he showed a remarkable ability to present the attitude of the arsenal and navy-yard employees, making a marked impression on the members of the Industrial Relations Commission.

The workingmen of the Nation are to be congratulated on having so able a representative in Washington, and one who, to my own knowledge, is patient, painstaking, and gentlemanly persistent in his efforts to represent in Washington the views of his people.

STATEMENT OF MR. N. P. ALIFAS BEFORE THE COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.

"Mr. THOMPSON. Will you give us your name, residence, and occupation?

"Mr. ALIFAS. N. P. Alifas.

"Mr. THOMPSON. And your residence.

"Mr. ALIFAS. 120 Maryland Avenue NE., in the city of Washington, D. C.

"Mr. THOMPSON. And what is your occupation?

"Mr. ALIFAS. I am the president of District No. 44, International Association of Machinists. District No. 44 comprises the machinists employed in the Government service.

"Mr. THOMPSON. Everywhere in this country?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes; it comprises the machinists of the arsenals and navy yards and the Government departments here at Washington, such as the Government Printing Office, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, the Lighthouse Service, and the employees on the Canal Zone.

"Mr. THOMPSON. How long have you been in that position?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Since December 1, 1911.

"Mr. THOMPSON. In that time you have come into contact with so-called scientific management, or so-called efficiency systems?

"Mr. ALIFAS. I have.

"Mr. THOMPSON. What is your general attitude toward scientific management, and what are the reasons therefor?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Do you wish me to give you a general statement of our objections to it and why we object to the different things?

"Mr. THOMPSON. I wish you would briefly state it, if you will.

"Mr. ALIFAS. Our objections are these: We object to the system of scientific management as a whole on account of the way it is built up; and we also have specific objections against certain features of it to which we would object even though they were segregated and were acted upon apart from the system as a whole. Our principal objections to the system are its possibilities and the sort of limitations that are placed upon the possibilities of the system. The principal features of the system that we object to are the time study—the stop-watch time study, the premium system, the system advocated by certain of the scientific engineers, of hiring cheaper men to do the character of work that has been formerly done by highly skilled men. We object to the very severe disciplinary system that goes with it.

"It must be understood that any complicated system in order to work, in order to make everything come just right, has to have a very severe system of discipline in order to make it do that.

"We object to the elimination feature of it.

"While labor does not object to improvements, to good management, we think that before any very drastic changes should be brought about some provision should be made for those who are going to be inconvenienced by such changes.

"Those are just some of the objections. I can explain in detail or a little more specifically why we object to these different items that I have brought out.

"Mr. THOMPSON. I should like to hear that. Take the first in order, the possibilities of the system. Why do you object to those?

"Mr. ALIFAS. I do not know that the possibilities of the system ought to come first in order, because the explanation of some of these other questions might perhaps be necessary in order to explain the possibilities, but I will go on with that.

"Mr. THOMPSON. I simply took that first because you stated it first. Start with the one that will unfold, in your opinion, naturally.

OBJECT IS, OF COURSE, TO INCREASE OUTPUT OF INDIVIDUAL WORKMAN.

"Mr. ALIFAS. I could just briefly touch on the possibilities, in order that you might understand the others, also.

"The question of paying men bonuses is, of course, a method of endeavoring to get them to do more work—to do as much as possible—and all the expedients that are explained in Mr. Taylor's work principally are in the direction of increasing the output of the individual workman and offering him as many stimulants to increase the output as it is possible to get him to stand for, or as circumstances will permit.

"Now, take piecework for an example. That, of course, is not a part of the scientific system, but it is more strenuous than day work, that the machinists whom I represent in particular are now working under. We think that the system of day work is sufficiently severe and furnishes sufficient inducements to induce the average employee to work as hard as he ought to be compelled to work, and if you give him any more stimulants than that, that he eventually is going to overwork and shorten the years of his life, probably by 10 or 15 or even more than that.

"The premium system is still more intense than the piecework system, and I should like to explain the difference. I do not believe that has been brought out here. That is, it has not, to my way of looking at it. We will take the way the premium is arranged at the Watertown Arsenal, in regard to which I have some information. We will say that the time study has indicated that 100 pieces can be made in 36 minutes. As a premium or as a time within which premiums shall be given, they will set, say, an hour, which is 40 per cent in addition to the lowest possible time, and they will give one-half of the man's rate per minute for every minute that he saves under the hour.

"Mr. EMERSON. Might I interrupt, Mr. Chairman, to ask whether it would not be better to define the terms 'premium' and 'bonus'? The witness is testifying about the 'bonus system' and calling it a 'premium system.'

"Mr. ALIFAS. I am talking about the premium system.

"Mr. EMERSON. Not as we know it.

"Mr. ALIFAS. I am talking about the premium system.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. Do you use 'premium' and 'bonus' as synonymous?.

"Mr. ALIFAS. No, sir; I know very well what I am talking about.

"The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Is this the Taylor system?

"Mr. ALIFAS. It is the Taylor system.

"The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Mr. Taylor and his men have been talking about his system as a task and bonus system.

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes.

"The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Is it a task and bonus system, or are you really describing the premium system?

"Mr. ALIFAS. It is the task system with a premium.

"Mr. EMERSON. With a bonus.

"Mr. ALIFAS. With a premium. [Laughter.]

"Mr. BARTH. Mr. Chairman, I installed that system. What is the use of listening to everybody else and not giving me a chance? I am all right.

"The ACTING CHAIRMAN. I think we will hear the witness.

"Mr. BARTH. I think that is mighty funny.

"Commissioner O'CONNELL. Let Mr. Alifas go along in his own way. He knows what he is talking about.

"The ACTING CHAIRMAN (Commissioner Delano). I think we will have to let him go along. Evidently you have not been here, Mr. Alifas, all the time. Mr. Taylor and his men have been careful not to use the word 'premium' in describing their system, but they use the words 'differential piecework' and 'task-and-bonus system' in describing their methods.

"Mr. EMERSON. That is the reason that I asked this witness if he would not kindly define those terms for us—for the benefit of the commission.

"Mr. E. S. THOMPSON. May I answer that one point now—since you asked me that question?

"The ACTING CHAIRMAN (Commissioner Delano). I do not think we should interrupt the witness now.

"Mr. THOMPSON. I will ask this witness to define what he means by these terms. That will simplify the thing, so far as he is concerned.

"The ACTING CHAIRMAN (Commissioner Delano). If you will define what you mean by 'premium' as you are using it, we would like to have you do that. You may not be using it in the same sense in which others are using it.

THE PREMIUM SYSTEM AT THE WATERTOWN ARSENAL.

"Mr. ALIFAS. I mean at the Watertown Arsenal they call this a premium—the money they make in the plan that they have inaugurated there. I was endeavoring to describe that plan. If they made 100 pieces in 36 minutes and they were allowed an hour to make those pieces, the plan is that for every minute that is saved within the hour the workman shall be paid for a half a minute. Under the piece system, if a man has been given a task that he would take an hour to do, he will be paid, say, 5 cents a piece, and for every piece he makes more than that he will be paid 5 cents a piece. If an employee under this system that is in vogue at the arsenal should complete that particular job in 36 minutes, he would get more for that same amount of work than he would if he worked an hour on it. If he worked an hour on this particular piece—if he was getting 30 cents an hour, I mean 30 cents for the 100 pieces—he would get 30 cents; but if he completed that within 36 minutes he would get 30 cents plus one-half of the amount of money he would save by shortening the time 24 minutes, which amounts to about 40 cents for the 100 pieces. Consequently it is to the man's interest to increase the price that he gets for the particular amount of work that he is doing. Now, in that it is more intense than the piecework system is.

"Another way of stimulating men, which, I understand, is to follow this particular plan, which I have called the premium system—it may be different from what these other gentlemen claim is the premium system, but that is what we call it at the arsenal—is a differential rate system with a bonus. Whenever they have finally discovered how much a man can do of a certain amount of work they place that at as high a limit as they think they can get a man to work and still make it. Suppose that they should discover that a man, by very strenuous efforts, could make 10 of these given pieces in a day, they would say, 'If you can make 10 of these in a day, we will give you 35 cents apiece. If you do not come up to 10, if you only make 9¾'—or whatever the tolerance will be—'we will give you only 25 cents.'

"The question of only a very few minutes of speeding up during the day might mean the difference between getting $2.50 a day or $3.50 a day. If a man misses that $3.50 a day by only 10 minutes, he would regret that very much, and he would be willing to speed himself up considerably harder in order to make that. That is an added stimulant added onto the man.

SYSTEM PROVIDES FOR ELIMINATION OF MEN WHO CAN NOT KEEP UP.

"Then you can stimulate him still further. These systems provide for a system of eliminating men, and eliminating the least efficient of them, and in view of the fact of their supposed increased productions, so they do not need as many men to do the same amount of work they have been doing, it is possible to discharge quite a few men every once in a while, as the system becomes perfected and they can get along without them. While they are discharging these men, they might as well turn it into an advantage, and say: 'We will keep the best of the men, and those who can not keep up, of course, will have to go.' That is natural. They will say: 'If you men do not make these premiums or bonuses that we are offering to you, if you will not work hard enough to get them, we will eliminate you.' That is an added stimulant, especially at a time when there is very little work in the country, and the men will work still harder.

"A foreman might not be disposed to press that point as hard if he is working himself under a salary as if he were under a bonus or premium for doing that sort of thing. Mr. Taylor's system especially, and I think most of the other scientific systems, provide that a foreman shall be paid a bonus in proportion to the number of his men who are making bonuses. Consequently that gives him an incentive to speed up his men in order to force them to make bonuses. There are two ways of doing it. You could give a foreman a premium or bonus for the number of men who were making bonuses or premiums, or you could regulate the size of his premium or bonus in accordance with the amount of premium or bonus his men were making. This last particularly, of course, would be more stimulating to him.

"We feel that there is altogether too much stimulus connected with that. You might say, 'Oh, they would not do that. Our employers are too tender hearted to be willing to enforce such an inhuman system of oppressing people.' I would feel very much disposed to give them credit for their very best intentions. However, we have to be guided somewhat by what they say they will do. Mr. Taylor, in his presentation of this subject before the American Society of Mechanical Engineers in June, 1903, gave an outline of his system. It was at least just as harrowing as what I have just related, in our opinion. He not only advised them to do that, but he showed where he had done that, to prove that it was possible to do it.

WHY WORKINGMEN ARE JUSTIFIED IN TAKING NOTICE.

"In presenting a subject of that kind, in the way that Mr. Taylor did, since he had had enough experience with employers to know what would appeal to them, I presume he wrote this paper in such a way as to appeal to the average employer. If that sort of language is what is going to appeal to the average employer, I think that the working people might put up a good, strong resistance to any program that is going to work out in that fashion.

"Mr. THOMPSON. Have you that language here?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes, sir. In regard to keeping the cheap men, I will read a paragraph to illustrate that point from 'Shop management,' page 1347, paragraph 37:

"By 'high wages' he means wages which are high only as relating to the average of the class to which the man belongs, and which are paid only to those who do much more or better work than the average of his class. I would not, for illustration, advocate the use of a high-priced tradesman to do the work which could be done by a trade laborer or low-priced man.

"In explanation of that, he figures that by systematizing the shop and taking advantage of all the modern improvements that he has incorporated in his system, it is going to so simplify the work that it is not going to be necessary to have the skill of the mechanic who formerly had to do it, but that he can dispense with him and use a laborer or a skilled man who gets much less pay, and that the increase that he would be giving the employee would not be an increase to the mechanic who was displaced, but would be an increase of a certain per cent to the laborer, and an increase in the laborer's wages would not amount to probably as much as the mechanic got who formerly did that class of work.

"Mr. THOMPSON. Referring to that last paragraph which you read, what objection, if any, could be made to a simplification of the work in a shop so that the element of skill was reduced and more men of the kind who labor and work as you have suggested could perform tasks?

"Mr. ALIFAS. There could be no objection raised to it, except it would be the objection that whenever the employer improves things he keeps all the advantage of the improvement himself.

"Mr. THOMPSON. That would be the objection?

"Mr. ALIFAS. That would be the objection. We have no objection to simplifying things. In fact, if we could make everything by automatic machinery, and nobody would have

to do anything, it would be perfectly satisfactory, provided the man who invented that did not keep all the advantage himself and let the rest of the world starve to death.

"Now, paragraph 247 illustrates the effort which will be made toward cheaper workmen:

"The full possibilities of functional foremanship, however, will not have been realized until almost all the machines in the shop are run by men who are of smaller caliber and attainments, and are therefore cheaper than those that were required under the old systems. The adoption of standard tools, appliances, and methods throughout the shop, the planning done in the planning room, and detailed instructions sent them from this department, added to the direct help received from the four executive bosses, permit the use of comparatively cheap men even on complicated work.

"Now, he will not be able to do that. It appears in certain shops that they have not reached this highly desired state of affairs where they can get along without the high-priced man, but that is due to their inability to make the system do what they thought it would; but it does not prevent them from taking advantage of every situation which will enable them to do that.

MEN WHO FINALLY REMAIN FOR THE FINALS ARE TOPNOTCHERS.

"In regard to the speed, I believe that has been read here to the commission, paragraph 125 of 'Shop management,' which relates to the pig-iron handlers at Midvale.

"When the writer left the steel works the Bethlehem steel workers were the finest body of picked workers that the writer had ever seen, altogether. They were all practically first-class men; the work they were called upon to do was such that only first-class men could do it; the tasks were purposely made so severe that only one out of five, or perhaps even a smaller percentage than this, could keep up.

Now, with regard to that, as I remember it, there were about 400 men in that gang, and only about 140 or 144 of them were finally retained. If labor conditions had been very bad in that district from the workers' point of view, they naturally would have attained very high speed. Mr. Taylor the other day illustrated what he meant by first-class men, by comparing them to horses—not comparing the workingmen to horses, but in the sense that he would take a large horse to do heavy work.

"In introducing scientific management I do not suppose that the man who hired them would hire a weakling to carry pig iron, but in the first place he would naturally select men who he thought would be capable of doing the work, and men would offer themselves for that service who thought they would be able to perform the duties. Now, after trying such men as that, who ordinarily would appear to be capable of doing it, only about one out of five were able to do the work assigned to them. The others would either quit or go to other work, or they would be discharged for their inability to do the work.

"Now, that looks pretty severe to us. I think one reason why the employees who were contemplating to have to work under this system in the Government service, one reason why they were fearful of the system was due to the inability of those over them to see anything drastic about that book of Mr. Taylor's. Even after pointing out these things to them, it seemed like they were unable to see that that would cause anybody any hardship.

"Now, we have a pretty fair conception of what we consider hardships, and if those are not hardships, we do not know what hardships are.

"Mr. THOMPSON. What, if any, increase in pay do you know that these men got—do you?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes.

"Mr. THOMPSON. What is the additional output—if you know?

"Mr. ALIFAS. I think it is shown in the book, that instead of carrying about 13 tons of pig iron a day they carried about 48 tons of pig iron a day, and instead of receiving $1.15 for that they got $1.85. It was stated, I believe, that some men would work in their gardens in the evening under the old way of working. However, there is some question as to whether, after a day's work, carrying 48 tons of pig iron, they would be able to do that or not.

"Now, another limitation——

"Mr. THOMPSON. In that particular case they carried about 300 per cent more?

Mr. ALIFAS. Yes.

"Mr. THOMPSON. Three hundred per cent more pig iron and got a little over 50 per cent more wages?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes; something like that.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. How do you make it 300 per cent increase from 12 to 48?

"Mr. THOMPSON. From 12½ to 48.

"Mr. ALIFAS. From 12½ to 48. That would be about 3 to 1.

SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT WILL NEXT WANT TO TELL A WORKMAN HOW MUCH OR HOW LITTLE HE MUST EAT.

"Mr. ALIFAS. Now, another limitation that I wish to call the attention of this commission to is the question of what a man is able to do. It appears that these gentlemen have figured out to a nicety just how long rest periods men must have during the day in order to be able to carry a certain load. That is, if he rests less, he carries less; and if he rests more, he also carries less. That is, by experimenting they have discovered just exactly how much a man can do. That resolves itself down to a very pertinent suspicion, that if they had their way about it they might start to find out how much it was necessary for a man to eat in order to maintain his strength, regardless of whether his appetite was satisfied or not, and then base his wages on what it was necessary for him to earn in order to sustain life. That is a bare possibility; at least, it falls in line with scientific methods of doing things.

"Mr. THOMPSON. Are they not really doing that now?

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. That is done under the minimum-wage law to determine the cost of living.

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes; they determine how much it costs to sustain life.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. The State does that?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes; how much it costs to sustain life, and they determine that you must at least get that.

"Mr. THOMPSON. That is, so many calories of strength.

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes. Now, we object to being reduced to a scientific formula, and we do not want to have the world run on that kind of basis at all. We would a good deal rather have the world run on the basis that everybody should enjoy some of the things in it, and if the people of the United States do not want to spend all their time working they have a right to say so, even though the scientific engineers claim that they can do five times as much as they are doing now. If they don't want to do it, why should they be compelled to do it?

"Mr. THOMPSON. Just one point: Assuming by the introduction of scientific management in regard to these men they reduce the efforts of the men, cut out waste motions and false motions, and teach the men to do the work easier, and thereby to accomplish more work in a given number of hours; your objection just made would not apply to that condition, would it?

"Mr. ALIFAS. No, sir; it would not.

"Mr. THOMPSON. So far as it did that, you would agree to that system?

NO OBJECTION TO ELIMINATION OF UNNECESSARY MOVEMENTS.

"Mr. ALIFAS. I would agree to anything that cut out unnecessary work on the part of people, provided, of course, that we were not put to too great an inconvenience. That is, I would not care to burn down this entire city with the assurance that I would have a better one 50 years from now, because we might have to live in a tent in the meantime. But improvements are a good thing, if you do not have to suffer too much inconvenience in getting them. Of course, the man who is starting these improvements can stand to see the workmen suffer considerable inconvenience in order that he might get the benefit of it.

"Mr. THOMPSON. Forgetting for the moment the language of Mr. Taylor, which perhaps is very unfortunate in that book, and perhaps elsewhere, and simply taking this fact into consideration, that by advising these men how to carry pig iron they are able to increase the man's output from 12½ tons to 48 tons a day, and without any more exertion on his part, could there be any objection to that?

"Mr. ALIFAS. No; I do not think so, except as I have already stated, that the people who are inconvenienced by improvements should get sufficient benefits out of them; otherwise the improvement should be postponed until some solution is found by which they can get the benefit distributed.

"Mr. THOMPSON. In other words, you would not have any objection to the saving of the waste motion and waste time, but if there is a saving, you think the workmen should share more proportionately in it?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes.

"Mr. THOMPSON. Now, taking up your time-watch study, you said that you and labor objected to scientific management on that account. What have you to say in that regard?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes. In the first place, I think that it is humiliating to have a man hold a stop watch on us. We have been, through the papers on scientific management, accused of soldiering repeatedly, and while, of course, we are not really blamed for it, the manufacturer is blamed for it because he does not take the necessary measures to prevent us from soldiering; that, however, is a blame that would be taken in very good part by him, but it is humiliating to have a man stand over you with a stop watch, when it is well recognized that the reason he is doing it is because he suspects that if he does not do it and tries to get your task as a whole you would cheat him. That is, you would give him to understand that it took you longer to do the work than it did actually take.

"I read an account not long ago of where a man had been in some foreign country, and one of the spectacles that amazed him very much was to see a farmer out in his field plowing, and he had his wife hitched up to the plow in connection with an

ox. Now, even under scientific management, if that task had been fixed so that it was not hurting her any and that she was not overworked, yet I imagine that under such circumstances our American wives would feel somewhat humiliated at being in such a situation; so that even though it does not hurt you any, it is possible to have a thing humiliate you.

"Mr. THOMPSON. And you think the average American wife would object to that yoking?

"Mr. ALIFAS. I think so. Another reason why we have objected to time study has been on account of the attitude of the employer to get the very most out of us that is possible, and oftentimes the only defense that the workingman has had has been in the ignorance of the employer as to exactly how much he could do. Just as soon as an employer found out how much he could do, the employer would insist that the employee should do a larger day's work than it was possible for him to do and keep up, and the only defense he has had has been the same defense that a great many business houses and big corporations have when the public proposes to find out what their earnings are, to say if they can not get an increase in rates, or something like that, like our railroads are doing, to endeavor to force the facts and figures with a view to pretending that they are not earning as much as they really are.

"There seems to be a disposition on the part of people, when determining what anybody else should have, that they make it a little bit less than it ought to be. That is one reason.

"Mr. THOMPSON. What cases do you know of in scientific management where that has been actually the case?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Well, according to the testimony of the gentlemen here, it seems that piecework, when first established, is susceptible of being cut several times until it finally reaches a point where it is impossible to reduce it any more, but with the stop-watch practice that last time after the job has been cut is the time that has been discovered in the first place, so that labor does not get the advantage of having had an easier time while the cutting was going on.

"In that way they find out the least possible time that should be taken in the first place.

"Mr. THOMPSON. Assuming, Mr. Alifas, that the time study is a normal time study, would there be any objection to making that time the task time?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Well, in assuming that you would have to assume that the people who have the final determining of it are going to determine right, and that is just where we differ.

"Mr. THOMPSON. Assuming that they did determine right, what objection could there be to it?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Assuming that they gave you the right task? I do not know as you could find any objection to it if you assume that, but under the present circumstances I do not see that any assumption of that kind could be made, due to the fact that it is all determined at the present time by the employer.

"Mr. THOMPSON. For instance, if a study of a task which took several hours, say, five hours, involved quite a few different processes, it might be necessary to make a study of those processes to see wherein motions could be eliminated, and waste effort, and finally, on reaching the completion of the whole task, they would say that a certain time was normal. Suppose it was the right time, and nobody could reasonably object to it, could anybody reasonably object, then, to the methods of examining into any of the processes to arrive at the same total, say five hours?

"Mr. ALIFAS. That has something to do with the mental attitude that would induce a man to think that he should make a time study.

"Mr. THOMPSON. Let us assume that it was understood on both sides that the desire was simply to arrive at the whole task or process, and that it took five hours and required several processes—that it was simply a desire to arrive at a normal time for the whole task; could there be any reasonable objection then?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Well, there is no objection where there is no objection, of course; we all know that.

"Mr. THOMPSON. Could there be any objection in that kind of case, where it was understood?

THE TAYLOR SYSTEM IN THE HOME.

"Mr. ALIFAS. Well, the objection is this, that when a man thinks it is necessary for him to find out what a workman is doing every minute of the day, he has got an attitude of mind that is going to be hard to please as to the work to be done; and when a man takes that attitude, it is necessary for the workingman to guard himself. I think it is like a husband starting out from the house in the morning and he would decide to dole out for his wife to use that day so much pepper and so much salt and so many potatoes, etc.; whereas before she had been able to use about what she thought was necessary, she would begin to think he was getting altogether too closefisted in his management, and that is what we think when the employer begins to inquire what we did with that last 15 seconds; it is time to oppose it.

"Mr. THOMPSON. Are you a married man?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes; and I don't do that.

"Commissioner O'CONNELL. The scientific management is on the other end.

"Mr. THOMPSON. I do not think that illustration, while very interesting, meets the idea I have. What I want to bring out—what I want to prove—is that if the employer and employee meet for the purpose of ascertaining in a perfectly friendly way as to what time should be consumed in an operation—where the employee understands that there is no desire to question his good will, even, much less his honesty—this thing would evaporate, the thing you speak of?

"Mr. ALIFAS. I would say, assuming the very favorable premises you have stated, that there could be no objection.

"Mr. THOMPSON. Is it not a fact that in piece-price factories the determination of the piece prices, like in clothing factories and glove factories and other places, there is a time test made, not only at the instance of the employer, but often, and most often, at the instance of the employee, particularly in all these establishments where the manufacturer sets the price first, then the employee demands a time test of the operation, so that he may prove to the employer that the price he has set for the operation is not fair? In that case the employee insisting upon the time study could not object to it, could he?

"Mr. ALIFAS. No; he could not.

"Mr. THOMPSON. Then, therefore, the objection of the employee to the time study is to what he thinks is back of it; he thinks there is some question of his honesty or faithfulness of work, and he objects to it?

PIECEWORK, FOR INSTANCE, IS PREFERABLE TO SOMETHING WORSE.

"Mr. ALIFAS. Allow me to make an explanation there. The employee might ask that a certain thing be done which he really objects to in itself; that is, that it is better than something else. I have heard of people who asked to be allowed to go to the penitentiary instead of being hung, but that is not to say that he prefers the penitentiary instead of being free. A man might prefer a time study to an unjust condition imposed upon him by an employer, but that is not to say that he would be in favor of that time study.

"Mr. THOMPSON. Then you think, if I understand you correctly, that where an employer sets a price on an operation and the employee asks for a time study, it is similar to a man who is condemned to be hung asking for a term in the penitentiary?

"Mr. ALIFAS. In the sense that it is a lighter punishment, so to speak.

"Commissioner GARRETSON. It is the lesser of two evils?

"Mr. ALIFAS. It is the lesser of two evils. What we object to is piecework.

"Mr. THOMPSON. Would you say that is the attitude of the employees in connection with time studies in different trades—the clothing trade, for instance?

"Mr. ALIFAS. I would not presume to speak for the clothing trades. I am speaking for the machinists' trade, which trade objects to piecework and to the necessary paraphernalia for carrying the piecework system into operation.

"Mr. THOMPSON. If I should tell you that in the clothing trade the employees ask for that time study and accept it as part of their machinery for arriving at prices, and it is not looked upon with any disfavor whatever, that would eliminate at least one group of workers, would it not?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes, sir; assuming your premises, it would.

"Mr. THOMPSON. But as a result of your testimony, it is what is back of the time study that you object to?

"Mr. ALIFAS. That is it.

"Mr. THOMPSON. The motive?

"Mr. ALIFAS. That is it—the motive.

"Mr. THOMPSON. The implication?

"Mr. ALIFAS. The motive behind it; and that brings out another point I would like to just touch on before I forget it. That is the suggestion that has been made here that employers should confide in employees what they propose to do. In accordance with this system, I see that it would be very much to the disadvantage of the employer to confide any such thing to the employee, if he proposes to do to him what these writings indicate. He would, in effect, tell a good machinist who is working in the shop, getting $4 a day, "I want to time you on this job, and I want to find out if you can do two or three times as much work as you are doing now, and then I propose to make you do it. That is, I am going to pay you enough so you will not quit here and go somewhere else, but I am going to make you do it by penalties, if I can not find somebody else that is

cheaper than you are who can do that; and if I can, I will take him." That is, in effect, what he would have to tell the employee if he proposed to follow out this system, as we understand it.

"Mr. THOMPSON. Then, in your opinion, under the ordinary rules of business, the scientific system of management, while designed to lessen effort and eliminate waste, is really a method by which the employer can exploit labor?

BECAUSE A THING IS SCIENTIFIC IS NO EVIDENCE THAT IT IS HUMANE.

"Mr. ALIFAS. That is the idea exactly. Simply because a thing is scientific does not make it good; that is, you may discover a scientific way of doing almost anything, such, for instance, as swindling the public. They have that down to a science, I understand, in New York in certain places, where they inveigle the credulous into certain schemes and then trim them. They might reduce that to scientific methods of doing it, and yet it would not be a good thing simply because it was scientific. It depends on the purpose for which you expect to use any given knowledge whether it is good or not.

"Mr. THOMPSON. If the introduction of a scientific system of management was simply for the purpose of eliminating waste, false motion, and the like, and labor was to share fairly and fully in the saving thereby, there could be no objection reasonably to such a system, could there?

"Mr. ALIFAS. No.

"Mr. THOMPSON. If the chairman, please, that is all.

"The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Mr. O'Connell?

"Commissioner O'CONNELL. Nothing at this time, Mr. Chairman.

"The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Mr. Garretson?

"Commissioner GARRETSON. Mr. Alifas, do you and the average man whom you represent believe man was created wholly for the purpose of creating wealth for others?

"Mr. ALIFAS. No, sir. Man was created, we think, for the purpose of enjoying life to some extent.

"Commissioner GARRETSON. As you understand scientific management from the presentation from which you read, it would act as an amendment to the ordinary catechism which gives man another purpose in life?

"Mr. ALIFAS. It would seem like it.

"Commissioner GARRETSON. Does the perusal of the writings on the subject with which you are conversant convey the idea to the average laboring man that this form of management is a boon to labor, an unquestioned good?

"Mr. ALIFAS. I have endeavored to find that out first hand. About three years ago I went to Philadelphia for the purpose of interviewing some of the employees who were working in three plants of that city where it was alleged they had introduced scientific management. Those plants were the Midvale Steel Plant, the Link Belt Co., and the Tabor Manufacturing Co. I interviewed all the employees that were working there or that had worked there that I could find and that I could see. I only found one man who liked the system, who would not rather work under the ordinary daywork at the regular daywork wages.

"Commissioner GARRETSON. He did not like the real thing any better than he liked the public statement, then, in regard to what to do?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Apparently not.

"Commissioner GARRETSON. In regard to the rules that exist in trade agreements, is it not true that a large number of those rules, covering both wage or condition of service, are not a fair example of what either side, employer or employee, in making up the trade agreement, desires, but are compromise measures?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes, sir. The employee, as a rule, would make—I will state that in another way, and come right to the point: Each side would make it more favorable to itself if it could.

"Commissioner GARRETSON. It is the result of mutual concessions?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes, sir.

"Commissioner GARRETSON. Is not that true of every trade agreement with which you are familiar?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes; it is.

"Commissioner GARRETSON. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

"The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Mr. Weinstock?

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. Mr. Chairman, I regard Mr. Alifas as one of the most intelligent and one of the best informed men from the labor side on this question of scientific management.

"Mr. ALIFAS. Thank you, Mr. Weinstock.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. There are a number of questions, Mr. Chairman, in connection with scientific management, concerning which my mind is undetermined. I have not been able to get conclusive evidence to reach an opinion of my own that I can depend on. I want to take advantage of this opportunity of questioning Mr. Alifas, and therefore I will submit to him quite a number of questions; and I want to ask the indulgence of the commission to permit me to take not only my own time but to take advantage of the absence of my fellow employer representative on the board, Mr. Ballard, and use his time also.

"The ACTING CHAIRMAN. You may have my time, too.

"Commissioner LENNON. And you may have my time, too.

MR. ALIFAS AGREES THAT THE MOST VALUABLE ASSET THAT THE STATE HAS IS ITS MEN.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. Mr. Alifas, to begin, do you agree with me that the most valuable asset the State has is its men?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes, sir.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. Do you also agree with me that the most valuable asset man has, the most valuable asset that you have, the most valuable asset that I have, is our efficiency?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes, sir.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. Rob us of our efficiency and we become burdens upon the State.

"Mr. ALIFAS. In all directions, I would say. Our efficiency not only to produce something that somebody else helps to divide for us and give us our little share, but also our efficiency in getting more of the things that we are already producing, instead of trying to produce more, and to get results from the Government we are under.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. Therefore, really the most valuable asset the State has is the efficiency of its men and its women?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes, sir.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. Anything that will increase that efficiency without injury is in the nature of a blessing, is it not?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes, sir.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. Anything that will diminish that efficiency is in the nature of an evil?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes, sir. I want to modify both of those answers to this extent—that anything that would increase efficiency without detriment to the individual is a blessing and anything that would decrease efficiency for the benefit of the overworked individual would also be a blessing. I think there are some people who are working too hard at the present time.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. I also think you will agree with me, Mr. Alifas, that all employers are not fair and are not equitable and are not just. Do you?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes; I do.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. That there are employers who are unfair and inequitable and unjust?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. And that it is the purpose of organized labor, as I stated, to protect themselves against that kind of employers?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes, sir.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. Is that right?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes, sir.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. In other words, if all employers were just and fair and equitable and did the square thing, there would be no need for labor unions, would there?

"Mr. ALIFAS. No, sir. I will also add there that the good employer at the present time is handicapped in giving his employees good conditions, due to the unjust competition of the unfair employer.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. The unfair employer sets the pace?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes, sir.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. And the fair employer must either follow that pace or get out of the game?

"Mr. ALIFAS. That is correct.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. I take it from that that you will also agree with me that all workers are not fair and just?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes, sir.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. That is, all workers do not give a fair day's work for a fair day's pay?

"Mr. ALIFAS. I will modify that to the extent that as a rule a man is performing a task that is worth what he gets for it, because the employer would not hire him at all if he was not worth as much as he is getting; so he can not possibly cheat the employer by any means to any great extent—that is, with reasonable supervision. The average employer would find out if he was not worth what he was getting. He might cheat the employer to a certain extent by not giving the employer a just return on his investment.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. You do not think, then, it is possible for a man to do the least that he can and to hold his job without the employer dismissing him?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Ordinarily I think that the employer would find out a man like that. I will state that our experience in daywork has led us to the conclusion that daywork furnishes a man sufficient incentive to make him do a good day's work. He may not invent new methods of doing it, but he does a good day's work with the implements he has at hand, and that the fear of discharge, the desire to stay in the same locality, where he may own a home, and the natural fondness he might feel toward a good employer would induce him to turn out a good day's work.

"Of course, these systems carry along with them, supposedly, a lot of new improvements that have been made in shop management; and wherever shops which they have invaded have been run under the old systems which have been in existence for 15 or 20 years they find a lot of antiquated methods, and if they abolish those antiquated methods, together with their stimulus for the workman, that will increase the productivity; and all that productivity is charged to the system, whereas under the old method of doing work they could have secured perhaps three-fourths of that increase without putting any added stimulus on the workman.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. If you were earning, for example, say $4 a day, would you be content to remain at $4 a day for the rest of your days, or would you want to increase the amount of your earnings if you could legitimately and honorably do so without injury to yourself?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Oh, every man wants to increase his earnings.

UNDER TAYLORISM THE TASK AND WAGE ARE NOT FIXED BY MUTUAL AGREEMENT.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. If I was to come to you—if you were my worker and I was your employer—and I should say, 'Mr. Alifas, you are getting $4 a day, and that is all you are worth with your present output; that is the maximum. If the output can not be increased, you have reached your highest point. Now, I want to see if there is not some way by which you can earn more than $4 a day and I can also increase my profits. I am not coming to you as a philanthropist, and I am not coming to you out of benevolence. I am coming to you for our mutual good, and I want to see if I can not, for your good and mine, increase your efficiency so that you can earn more money and I may earn more money. I will exercise my brain, or such brains as I can spare, and cooperate with you for our common benefit.' Suppose I should come to you and say that; would you object to that?

"Mr. ALIFAS. I would not object to it if I had some voice in the thing.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. If you had a voice?

"Mr. ALIFAS. And you should not insist upon getting all the benefits of it and eliminating me, possibly.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. Exactly. Now, if I should come to you and invite your cooperation and give you an equal voice with myself, you would look upon it as an advantage?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes; without a doubt.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. Your objection—and when I say 'your objection' I assume that you are here representing organized labor, and are not speaking only for yourself——

"Mr. ALIFAS. I have talked with a great many employees, and while they may not have expressed their objections in the same terms that I have, I feel that their objections are, either consciously or unconsciously, mine.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. Then I take it that the objection to this so-called scientific management is not the fact that it can increase productivity, but the fact that it is put upon the worker without his cooperation and without giving him a voice in the matter?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes. It is the purpose for which they propose to use it.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. If that objection was removed——

"Mr. ALIFAS. But I will say this, that the system has been built up with that in view. Now, it is a good deal like building a structure of any kind, you might say building a guillotine. It is proposed to use that for the purpose of decapitating people, and you would not expect to have that used for a church organ or something of that sort. [Laughter.] It is constructed for some given purpose.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. Very well, then; you have not any objection to the system, then, I take it, but you have objection to the manner in which it is applied?

"Mr. ALIFAS. I would arrange the system a little bit differently.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. Go ahead and tell us just exactly how you would arrange it so it would be fair and equitable to both sides.

REPEATS THERE IS NO OBJECTION TO ELIMINATION OF WASTE.

"Mr. ALIFAS. I will say this, that if we should agree to any one of the features of the system it is so built up that the next logical step in the system is something else that we think is to our disadvantage. Of course, we may be mistaken. Our opponents have credited us with a great deal of ignorance on this subject, but it looks to us, at least, as if it was built up in such a way that the next logical step would be something that would finally be to our disadvantage. I do not think we would have any objection to a shop or an industry, say, rearranging their machinery in such a way that there would be no unnecessary time lost in distributing the work, or properly routing the work. There would be no objection to that. There would not be any objection to ascertaining and insisting on it, in a general way, that workmen should use the proper speed and feed for work.

"Now, I will say right here that the very elaborate explanation that Mr. Barth gave yesterday of his method of ascertaining the proper speed and feed could not be figured out by the workman as he figures it out; but the workman is accustomed to looking at a lathe, say, for instance, and knowing what kind of a tool he has got, he can figure out by his experience, he knows it intuitively, about how fast that machine should run and still keep that tool sharp until he gets to the end of the cut. If he has any number of pieces to make he may experiment, and he does experiment. He will throw on a little heavier feed and faster speed until he gets the proper feed and speed, and it does not take him much longer to ascertain that than it does for a man with an elaborate set of figures to sit down and figure it out. It might be likened to analyzing the air a man breathes. I take it that some scientist, if he was like efficiency engineers, might wonder how people were able to breathe before they knew what the air was composed of. It is just like this, ascertaining what amount of speed and feed it is necessary to use, it is necessary to observe the point of contact of the tool with the steel, and in order to find out what will stand the machinist will put on a little more feed or speed, and if it will not stand it, he will throw it down again. We get the proper relation established from experience and experimenting.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. Now, you heard Mr. Thompson explain to us the method that prevails in the clothing industry. He explained that the worker has an equal voice with the employer in determining the prices, and consequently in the clothing trade the men take the initiative and ask that the system be introduced. Therefore, it is evident that in the clothing industry the objection that you have against the system has been removed.

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. That if the worker has an equal voice with the employer and the employer is not supreme?

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. He is put upon a basis of absolute equality. It is a case of real copartnership between the employer and the employee, and it has worked out in such a degree to the interest of the worker that he now desires it. Therefore would not the whole problem be solved if we transplanted the conditions that now prevail in the clothing industry into all other industries?

"Mr. ALIFAS. I will say that that depends upon the character of the work. The clothing industry is such that it lends itself to duplication. There is very little variation in it. But in a machine shop there is a great deal of variation. Mr. Taylor told you that in ascertaining the variation in the speed of the machine there were 12 variables.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. Yes.

GREATER SPEED IS POSSIBLE ON SOME METAL THAN ON OTHER.

"Mr. ALIFAS. One of those variables is the hardness of the metal, which varies a great deal, and it is impossible for you to know until you try the metal oftentimes what its hardness is. I presume he guesses at the hardness of the metal, and then he figures out how much speed that will take. It is something like the way they weigh hogs in Kansas—they put a rock at one end of the beam and a hog on the other end, and then they guess at the weight of the rock. He guesses at the hardness of the steel and then figures out how fast the machine should run. It is just as accurate to guess at the speed in the first place, or to experiment.

"But to come back to the clothing industry and other industries, the conditions in the machine shop are so variable that there are no two things alike, you might say, there are so many variables. There are 12 variables in the cutting of steel, and that is only a part of the variations which are possible, and all that causes so much dissatisfaction where a premium or a bonus or a piece system is used.

"For instance, if a man has a certain job to do, and if he has got a certain amount of time to do it, he goes to the tool room to get his tools. Now, tools are used over and over again by different workmen, and they may be worn. They may not be 100 per cent efficient. The workman's time is likely to be on the

basis that everything will be fairly satisfactory, and he finds that he can not get a proper tool. He loses premium while he is working with a poor tool through no fault of his. Then he may be waiting for a crane, and he loses premium through that process. The steel may be hard, and he loses premium through that. We are told that if it is proven to the management that there are any obstacles that they had not foreseen they will be adjusted, but I believe it was Mr. Townsend who wrote an article in the American Magazine—I may be wrong about that, but I am pretty sure that it was Mr. Townsend—in which he said this. He said that if you gave men allowances every time they came around and apparently proved that they had troubles you would never get a job done in proper time, and that he had to shut down on the allowances altogether in order to compel men to overcome obstacles that he thought they ought to overcome by themselves.

"In the machine shop the conditions are so variable that we feel that the workmen should not be compelled to stand all the variations. It is just like an insurance company. People may insure—they insure their houses——

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. I have caught your point. It is not necessary to give that illustration.

"Mr. ALIFAS. I just wanted to illustrate it.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. I want to digress for a moment and put Mr. William C. Thompson on the witness stand for a moment or two.

"Mr. Thompson, I take it that you are more or less familiar with the conditions that prevail in the woman's garment industry?

"Mr. THOMPSON. I am less familiar with it, but in New York, for instance, repetition is not the rule.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. How many changes in prices are there in the clothing industry in New York?

"Mr. THOMPSON. One firm had 6,800 different styles in a year. That would make 6,800 different prices in a year.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. That was in one firm?

"Mr. THOMPSON. Yes; and there are 1,000 firms.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. All right. Does the same condition prevail in the woman's garment industry that prevails in the men's clothing industry, of both sides having a voice in fixing the prices?

"Mr. THOMPSON. They do in the clothing industry under the protocol; both sides have a voice. But that is because of the complicated nature of the work. A standard has not been arrived at.

"In the cloak, skirt, and waist industry, also, women's garments—that appears to be the name—they have spent $40,000, both the unions and the firms, in trying to arrive at some standard or yardstick by which to measure the values. That report has just been completed. I doubt very much that it is the final word in that trade, because I know that they have had great difficulty up to very lately in being sure that they are right, but they have at least got an approximation toward some standard which can be worked out.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. In both those cases, both sides have an equal voice?

"Mr. THOMPSON. Yes; in that case.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. And prices are adjudicated by general action?

"Mr. THOMPSON. By general action.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. Do you know of any machine shop where there would be 6,800 changes in a season, Mr. Alifas?

"Mr. THOMPSON. I was speaking of a year.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. That was in one firm, there were 6,800 variations?

"Mr. THOMPSON. Yes.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. How many firms are there?

"Mr. THOMPSON. There are 1,000 firms.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. Is that the average number in one firm?

"Mr. THOMPSON. No, sir.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. That is the maximum?

"Mr. THOMPSON. That is the big pumpkin of the show.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. Is the machine-shop business more variable than that?

"Mr. ALIFAS. I have not figured out the variations. Among those garments there are several thousand pieces—of those styles—that do not vary among themselves.

"Mr. THOMPSON. The great reason for that is that the women of the land, fortunately or unfortunately, demand something that no other woman has got.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. They want exclusiveness?

"Mr. THOMPSON. Yes; that is the great problem.

"Commissioner GARRETSON. They even want that in regard to men; they want a man that nobody else has got.

"Mr. THOMPSON. I am not so sure about that last.

"Commissioner O'CONNELL. The question of a change goes to the extreme of whether a buttonhole is up and down or straight across.

CLOTHING INDUSTRY SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT.

"Mr. ALIFAS. So far as sewing a seam is concerned, there is not very much difference in the thread or in the hardness of the material, so that you can figure out how long it will take to sew a seam of any given length with a certain number of stitches to an inch. Most of that would reduce itself, then, to some such problem as that. In the machine shop you might take a piece like that, that size [indicating], and they might desire to change the diameter and you could not tell how long it would take to run a cut across that, because you do not know how hard it is. If it was very hard, it would take longer.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. But somebody has got to determine that, sooner or later?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Our point is that you can determine it after it is done. The workman is a mechanic, and he endeavors to do the best he can with it.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. Very well. Let us ignore the method that is pursued in determining the value. The fact is that somebody under the system does determine the value?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. All right. At that point do you not meet the situation by giving labor an equal voice with the employer when the moment of determination arrives?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. So that there are doubtless difficulties and problems, just as Mr. Thompson has pointed out there are in the woman's garment industry; but they are being met; they are being solved; but it is a progressive science, and will never be absolutely solved, because conditions are changing all the time.

"Now, if it can be done in an industry so complex, so variable as is the woman's garment industry, it certainly ought to be possible to do it in the machine industry, which, I take it, is far less complex. Therefore, summing up, I gather as the result of my questioning you, that the solution of the problem lies in giving labor a joint voice with the employer in determining values?

"Mr. ALIFAS. All those details can be determined by conference and agreement and arbitration, I think. There are some things we would not submit to arbitration, however.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. Those are outside of this particular question. That makes it clear to me, Mr. Alifas, that labor, being given a voice with the employer, under those conditions, anything that will develop the worker—and he will not permit himself to be developed unfairly, he will not permit himself to be exploited——

"Mr. ALIFAS. No.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK (continuing). Anything under those conditions that develops the worker, increases efficiency, and increases his earning power is a very great blessing to the worker, to his employer, and to society?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. I am through.

"Mr. ALIFAS. I can say in that connection that there are certain things we would not arbitrate, because even if they were arbitrated and were settled by conference with the employer, at the moment they got them established and he could get along very nicely without us, he could terminate the collective bargaining arrangement.

"We could not get away from it; that is, he would have his plans all laid, and he would perhaps engage in collective bargaining while he was establishing these relations, but when he got his plans worked out he could get along without it; and there are matters, such as the time study, which we think is one of them, and the premium system is another, which we feel that we could not afford to allow to be introduced under any conditions if we could prevent it.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. Then, taking the Watertown situation as an illustration, I am, then, to understand this to be your attitude: You ask that labor be given an equal voice with capital in fixing the rates?

"Mr. ALIFAS. In fixing the amount that is a proper day's work?

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. Yes. In other words, I gather now, from what you have said in the last few minutes, that you do not want to consider the Taylor system or the systems that correspond with the Taylor system under any circumstances; and yet you ask the Government to give you a voice in wage fixing. What do you propose to concede to the Government in consideration of their giving you a voice in the fixing of wages? You have no right to come into court and ask everything and

give nothing. What do you propose to give in exchange for that?

"Mr. ALIFAS. If an employee insists upon getting more wages than the employer is willing to give, he goes on a strike or he does other things that are equally bad.

"That is the alternative. If the employer does not see fit to do somewhere near what labor wants, those are the alternatives the employer has to contend with, and in exchange for that on these particular questions he ought to be willing to arbitrate the thing.

"In regard to such things as the premium system, that is a very radical change in the method of paying the machinist compared with what he has been accustomed to doing for a good many years, and he believes that he has discovered in the task system, other than the day system, the stimulus might be too much, and he can not afford to bargain too much in regard to it, any more than a man who is susceptible to alcoholism could afford to compromise on the matter.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. What you have stated in the last sentence has put me up in the air as to where we are at. I understood this: That the objection you had to the so-called Taylor system was the fact that it was arbitrary, that labor had no voice in determining the conditions or bonus or premium or whatever it was, and that if the same conditions could be established that prevailed in the clothing industry there would be no objections to it. Then you turn around and say, 'I would not have it under any circumstances.' I can not reconcile it.

"Mr. ALIFAS. On that particular thing I believe you are assuming that we had ideal conditions, and on that basis could afford to compromise, but, now, here is some one thing that the laboring people do not want to do, and if they do not want to do a certain thing the people of the United States have a right to say that they do not want to do it, even if some people could prove to them that they would be financially ahead by it. In regard to such a matter, how can you compromise on a matter that you do not want to do at all? There is no halfway measure between a daywork system and the premium system. We do not want to operate on a basis of pay that is variable—like the premium system—because we think that the daywork furnishes stimulus enough. If we do not want any more stimulus than that, how are we going to compromise on it?

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. We are told by representatives on the other side that there are tens of thousands of workingmen in the United States, union and nonunion, who are working under this system and who do not have to do it if they do not want to. They can quit, and the proof that they are willing to do it is that they do not quit—the fact that they do it.

"Mr. ALIFAS. The fact that they continue to do it is evidence that they do want to do it?

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. Surely.

LABOR IS NOT VOLUNTARY, BUT COMPULSORY, BECAUSE ALL SELF-RESPECTING MEN MUST LABOR IN ORDER TO LIVE.

"Mr. ALIFAS. At the Watertown Arsenal they are working on the premium system, and a very large percentage of them are utterly opposed to it.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. That is a mere matter of opinion; that is not a fact. It is demonstrated, because on the opposite side it is said that they are satisfied.

"Mr. ALIFAS. Who says they are satisfied?

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. Gen. Crozier, who was here, made that statement, that he has had no complaint.

"Mr. ALIFAS. Suppose I was working at the arsenal and Gen. Crozier said that I was satisfied and I said I was not; who would you believe?

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. If you were working there, I would take your word, of course.

"Mr. ALIFAS. The employees down there are the ones that I have been talking to on this proposition, and I have understood from the employees who have gathered the information, and also judging by the large petition that was sent to Gen. Crozier, that they do not want the system, and they had a petition signed by 300 people that was sent to the Chief of Ordnance last September, asking him to abolish the system; they didn't want it. That, to me, is evidence that they do not want it, no matter what anybody else might say; somebody else is not authorized to speak for them; they can speak for themselves.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. It is very evident, then, that there is a very pronounced conflict of opinion.

"Mr. ALIFAS. I have asked at least half of the machinists collectively at the Watertown Arsenal, just offhand at a meeting at which I endeavored to get at their true sentiment on this—if they would rather give up the premium system as it existed there and not get the premium and to go back to daywork; and they said they would.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. How many have you asked?

"Mr. ALIFAS. At that particular time I asked about 75.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. How many are employed there?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Well, there might not have been over 60 at that meeting.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. How many are employed there?

"Mr. ALIFAS. There are, I think, about 130 machinists.

"A VOICE. I would like to make a statement as an employee of the Watertown Arsenal.

"The ACTING CHAIRMAN (Commissioner Delano). I do not think we can have that. We will call you at some other time.

"Mr. ALIFAS. I will say offhand 130 machinists.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. And you say there were 60 present at the meeting?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. Was their opinion unanimous?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes; there was not a single man that would not rather give up the premium and go back to daywork.

"Commissioner O'CONNELL. You were at the Watertown Arsenal just recently, during the investigation?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes.

"Commissioner O'CONNELL. How recently?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Last week.

"Commissioner O'CONNELL. This talk you had with the men was as recent as last week?

"Mr. ALIFAS. Yes. May I say another thing in regard to this yardstick that you spoke of some time ago? The idea, as I understood it, was that the customer had a right to demand that the persons he bought cloth of should use the yardstick to measure it off.

"Commissioner WEINSTOCK. And not use his eye.

"Mr. ALIFAS. And not use his eye. I do not think that illustration is exactly applicable to this question of time study. This system would put the rights of the employer in this way, that the customer, who is the employer, buying the labor from the laboring man, has a right to go to the laboring man and say, 'Now, you propose to sell me 6 cents worth of cloth; now, I am going to investigate your books and see how much cloth you can sell for 6 cents, and then I will say that that is the amount I want.' That is a little bit different than a customer asking his purchase to be measured. The employer under these systems proposes to see how much the employee is able to sell him, how much he is able to do. Now, we are not asking the employer to open up his books and tell us how much he is able to pay, and then proceed to make him pay that; and we do not want him to try to find out the very maximum that we are able to do, and then try to make us do it; it is a fair bargain to say, 'Such an amount of work for a day's work is all we want to do, and if you are satisfied to accept that as a day's work for so much it is a bargain.' A man should not have to work at his top speed if he does not want to. If he wants to take life a little bit easier and make a little less money, that is his business.

"The ACTING CHAIRMAN (Commissioner Delano). I think that is all, Mr. Alifas. We are much obliged to you."

ALLEGED HOSTILITY OF ARSENAL WORKERS TO ANTITAYLOR SYSTEM AMENDMENT IS WORTHY OF CLOSE EXAMINATION.

I next insert a letter, under date of February 27, 1915, which points out the questionable nature of the opposition to the clauses prohibiting time study and the premium and bonus system.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS,
Washington, D. C., February 27, 1915.

Hon. CLYDE H. TAVENNER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: 1. The letter read by Senator WEEKS, which appears in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 23, 1915, was written by Mr. Minor Chipman, an efficiency engineer, and does not represent the views of the employees whom he claims to represent. He secured the right to represent them with the understanding that he would help them throw out the Taylor system and support the Deitrick bill or like measures.

2. The letter read by Senator LODGE, found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 23, 1915, represents the views of the employees of the Watertown Arsenal. It was signed by the same committee that authorized Mr. Chipman to assist in fighting the Taylor system.

3. Senator PENROSE has received a large petition from employees of the Frankford Arsenal favoring the clause in the naval bill which is identical with the clause in the Army bill. The petition had 350 signatures. The Deitrick amendment was also indorsed at a mass meeting of Frankford Arsenal employees on February 15, 1915. This action was taken after the petition was sent to the Senate from certain employees in opposition to the clause prohibiting the time study and premium system in the Government service. This latter petition was secured by the officers and foremen and was not voluntarily signed.

4. The letter presented by a committee of three girls and two men employees at the Frankford Arsenal, which is found in the CONGRES-

SIONAL RECORD of February 22, 1915, and read by Senator OLIVER against the clause in the Army bill is so grammatical and well written that it suggests the likelihood that it was written by the management. It contains more inside information than most employees are in possession of.

Respectfully,

N. P. ALIFAS,
President District No. 44, I. A. of M.

MR. CHIPMAN NOT AUTHORIZED TO REPRESENT ARSENAL EMPLOYEES AS BEING IN FAVOR OF TAYLOR SYSTEM.

To further bear out the contention of Mr. Alifas that Mr. Minor Chipman had no authority to represent the Watertown Arsenal employees as being opposed to the pending legislation, I insert a letter signed by the chairman of the general committee representing the Watertown Arsenal employees, which is intended to show that Mr. Chipman should pursue such a course as was decided upon by the representatives of labor. This understanding was reached and agreed to by Mr. Chipman at a meeting preceding the mass meeting referred to in the letter which follows. There were present at this meeting with the general committee Mr. W. O. Thompson, counsel for the Industrial Commission; Mr. John R. O'Leary, Mr. Minor Chipman, Mr. N. P. Alifas, and others.

23 CHARLES STREET, AUBURNDALE, MASS.,
November 30, 1914.

Mr. N. P. ALIFAS,
President District 44, I. A. of M.,
Naval Lodge Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Mass meeting assembled at Malta Building, Cambridge, Mass., Saturday evening, November 28, 1914, Mr. M. W. Bowen presiding, Mr. Minor Chipman principal speaker of the evening, with others.

Motion made by Mr. Howeitt, of machinists' union, and seconded, that Mr. Chipman appear as counsel for Watertown Arsenal employees at Washington, as amended by Mr. Cooney, of molders' union, that the national and other representatives of the different trades unions work in conjunction with Mr. Chipman and pursue whatever course as may be desired by said representatives pertaining to the Deitrick bill and other congressional legislation.

I may say that Mr. Chipman will be in Washington December 7 and 8.

Respectfully, yours,

MAURICE W. BOWEN,
Chairman of Representative Committee.

NOTE.—After reading these remarks, kindly pass them on to some friend whom you think would be likely to find interest in them.

Civil-Service Employees and Civil Service.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. HAMILL,
OF NEW JERSEY,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. HAMILL. Mr. Speaker, I desire to have printed in the RECORD the following statement regarding the civil service and civil-service employees. I am satisfied that a consideration of these facts will convince any reasonable-minded person of the justice of my bill entitled "A bill to provide for the retirement of employees in the civil service."

The statement is as follows:

A large number of people throughout the United States have an erroneous conception of the Government employee in general and the civil service in particular. Many believe that a Government employee has a sinecure with little, if any, work, and a handsome salary. A smaller number of our people, either through ignorance or prejudice, display evidences of antagonism or, to say the least, ill will or unfriendly feeling. The flickering spoils system, a relic of early mismanagement in Government affairs, is largely responsible for this animus on the part of a few who would set promiscuous job giving as a reward for more or less clean political activity above efficient, high standard service.

There are very few drones in the large family of Government employees, and wherever found they should be speedily eliminated. An overwhelming majority are alert, intelligent, hard-working people, with an education above the average, possessing an esprit de corps that urges them to perform their duties well and expeditiously, and that gives to them a demeanor and character that ranks them with the genteel and patriotic element. It is a fact that in all communities where their duties have stationed them they hold their place among their peers, and are examples of integrity and of mental and moral accomplishment.

Never before in the history of our country has the complicated machinery of the Government been excelled or equaled. Each employee is a cog in one of the thousands of wheels that revolve, and there must not be a slip.

Starting with the President and has Cabinet, each member of which is a chief engineer in his special department, the Government machinery reaches out into every State and Territory, every city and hamlet, and everywhere stand loyal servants, trusted Government employees, watchful for the interests of the country, bending every energy in the faithful performance of their duties; and these are just as truly patriotic as the bravest of soldiers, though their branch of the public service may not have in it the martial glory that is found in the military branch. But in the civil service discipline is enforced just as vigorously as in the military; rules and regulations must be strictly lived up to—efficiency, honesty, industry, are the watchwords.

So far as salary is concerned, the remuneration awarded to the Government employee in the civil-service branch is practically the same as that which prevailed many years ago. The salary list of this branch of the Government service has not been revised in 40 years, although the cost of living has increased, speaking very conservatively, at least 40 per cent.

The rules that govern in this branch are intended to safeguard and protect the respective departments. Each employee must qualify from a physical, mental, and moral standpoint; he must demonstrate that his education is fully commensurate with the employment he is seeking to obtain; and in addition to a thorough examination there must be produced a record of character reaching back for 10 to 20 years.

Retirement legislation that would compare favorably with that governing the Army and Navy is needed for the civil branch, especially in view of the fact that officers and privates in the military branch are housed, fed, clothed, given free medical and hospital care, and at retirement are pensioned so that they may, in their old age and enfeebled condition, still live in a manner befitting their education. And in the making of such needed legislation due consideration should be given to the generous treatment heretofore accorded by our Government to half-civilized peoples on foreign shores the munificence shown in bettering the conditions of the oppressed; the freeing from persecution of the Filipino and the Cuban; the expenditure of enormous sums of money in bringing about sanitary conditions where disease and corruption had for ages its stronghold, purifying the atmosphere in the very haunts of pestilence, reeking in filth and venom. Such accomplishments by our Government were performed with no thought of territorial aggrandizement or gain, but simply for the good that would accrue to millions of unfortunate human beings, performed modestly and without glamor or glitter, and these efforts crowned by providing means for educating the former victims of such untoward conditions in hygiene, civilization, mental and moral development, where all was darkness before. Is it any wonder that the entire civilized world marvels at these stupendous achievements? The United States has demonstrated that the flag stands for all that is good, no matter what the expense. The poor, the lowly, the unfortunate, the oppressed, it matters not in what clime their lot may be, look with longing and hope to the Stars and Stripes, our flag, the greatest emblem to-day of peace on earth and good will to men, a thing of beauty dedicated to God for His service.

Thus it is that our great men who are at the helm of the ship of state are naturally coming to seriously consider a bettering of the conditions of the masses at home; and it is small wonder that, in keeping with this unbounded philanthropy our country has practiced, our lawmakers are awake to conditions in our own home Government machinery, and that they are preparing to enact in a consistent and expeditious manner some legislation that will give hope and succor to many who have grown old and feeble in the faithful discharge of their duties to the Government, and who, on account of the excessive increase of cost in living in the last 20 years, many of them raising large families, have not been able to set aside anything for old age because their remuneration has not ben advanced in proportion to that increased cost of living.

European Governments have long ago enacted retirement measures, and in these countries the young man whose ambition is to become a Government employee can attend preparatory schools that fit him for the service, and he knows that when he has grown old in the service or when he has reached the age limit or perhaps before his vitality has been impaired he may retire, still in comparative vigor, able to devote himself to literature or the arts or to some pursuit which appeals to his inclinations, and may be still useful to the world, provided, of course, that he has complied with the time limit governing retirement.

And so we say, God speed the movement, and may it be granted to the aged and tired American Government employee to see the dawning of his deliverance from anxiety about existence in his old age. He can thus, without fear or worry, make room for younger material to fill the ranks, and with such young and vigorous manhood the service shall be made more expeditious and effective. With honest, unprejudiced feeling, let all say, God speed this beneficent legislation.

SUPERANNUATION.

Undoubtedly no question dealing with the personnel of the civil service has been so seriously considered as that relating to superannuation. The problem was encountered and dealt with in the Army and Navy over 50 years ago. It is now critically present and awaiting solution in the civil department of the Government. Superannuation is an unavoidable contingency which must be met by application of modern ideas and strictly business principles. The periodic and automatic elimination of those impaired by age or infirmity and the introduction of the younger and more vigorous, to the end that the Government may realize the maximum of public service at the minimum of cost, demand alike the interests of the employees and the Government in seeking remedial legislation.

HAMILL BILL.

Our association unanimously indorsed the provisions of H. R. 5139, introduced on May 15, 1913, by Representative JAMES A. HAMILL, of New Jersey. Briefly stated, the Hamill bill provides that the Government shall retire its superannuated employees at the cost of the Government.

EFFICIENCY.

The possible extent of the efficiency that is attainable by any of the departments is rigidly restricted by the lack of a retirement system. Unless some provision be made for the retirement of superannuated civil employees, the Government can never hope to secure the most efficient and satisfactory service. A large percentage, by reason of the provision for old age, would remain in and make the service their career, becoming expert in their particular line of work, to the distinct advantage of the Government. It would result in the infusion of new blood into the service and would stimulate the younger clerks now in the service to even more faithful and more energetic endeavor. It would be an inducement for them not only to remain in the service, but to deport themselves in such a manner as to do nothing to forfeit so valuable a provision. Until this is done department officials will, in most cases, continue to bear the burden of an inefficient force rather than place themselves on record as removing or reducing a public servant who has become incapacitated while in the faithful performance of duty.

ECONOMY.

There is abundant proof that the Government, in effect, though indirectly, has for many years throughout its service maintained a pension system without retirement, and if it should establish a pension system with retirement there is good reason to believe that in the long run it

would not only suffer no pecuniary loss, but, on the contrary, would reap a substantial gain in the increased efficiency and improved morale of the service. It would likely result in a positive financial saving by creating opportunity for the employment of younger persons, who are able to do two or three times as much work for the salaries paid. While humanitarian reasons may have suggested the advisability, and in fact the duty, of providing a system of retirement, it is now being recognized quite generally that the conditions are such as to more than justify it from a strictly economical point of view. Not only Governments, but an ever-increasing number of private corporations, have provided a retirement system for their employees. This has been instituted as a reward for long and faithful service and has proven a splendid investment, and has brought adequate return in the shape of greater efficiency. Indeed, the adoption of a provision retiring employees of the civil service has become so usual, so a matter of course, that America is the only important civilized Government which does not recognize this as a national duty, both to the employee and to the Government and people.

HUMANITARIAN.

Noble and humanitarian in character, the weapons of a just cause. Nothing paternal, just as has been written by a famous author, "That the race of mankind would perish did they cease to aid each other." In taking such action we should only be following the world-wide tread of national Governments and large business interests, whether we find warrant for such action in humanitarian principles or consideration of a sound business policy, or both combined. Very few of the employees are able to accumulate much, if anything. Others are obliged to support large families and can not save any money. It is those who can not retire and live upon their savings, for savings they have none. When old-age disability does come to them they must either be carried as a burden on the Government pay rolls or thrown out in the world with no suitable provision for their last days. A law that will permit them to live their declining years in peace and contentment, without fear of being thrown on the charity of the world, would, indeed, be founded upon the basis of common humanity. In passing, we have fresh upon our memories a few cases worthy of mention. Frank E. Kimbal was in the service as a letter carrier for 37 years. "He was advanced in age, but did his best. It was pitiable, indeed, at times to watch him trying to keep up his end with a forced smile that deceived no one. He continued work, however, up to almost the last minute of his life, and practically died in harness." Daniel Fitzgerald, clerk and carrier for 25 years, became afflicted with epilepsy, was finally discharged and forced to seek his living as best he could. He is still living in Denver. There have been others, and there are more to follow in their wake.

NONCONTRIBUTORY.

The purely monetary rewards and opportunities of the Government service never will be so great as those offered in the business and professional world elsewhere, and if the Government service is to be maintained upon a high and increasing level of proficiency it must meet the compensations from other quarters by some compensating features that will attract the best talent to its service and retain it. As bearing directly upon the question whether the employees should provide the means for their retirement, the following statement is quoted from the report of a bureau officer:

"I strongly advocate a plan for the compulsory retirement of employees when they have reached a certain age (to be determined by proper authority), or when, because of physical or mental disability, they become unfit for service before attaining the age limit. Coincident with retirement for superannuation there should be provided a pension representing an adequate percentage of the salary of employees at the time of retirement. This pension should be given outright by the Government without an assessment levied against the salary of active employees. Owing to small salaries paid in civil service, the exaction of even a small percentage of the income for a pension fund would work hardship in many cases."

NONPARTISAN.

Congressman HAMILL, author of the Hamill bill, has been quoted as follows:

"As a Democrat I am bound by the traditions of my party to uphold genuine civil service. Grover Cleveland was the great apostle of civil service and I will oppose any attempt to dig at the walls of such a system or to make a breach in it or to weaken it. Not long ago I opposed a proposition to remove fourth-class postmasters from the protection of the civil service, even though a Republican President had covered them under civil service by an Executive order. This is not a question of partisanship but of American patriotism, and in such a case my partisanship will never interfere with my plain duty as an American representative. The great present problem that confronts us is that of granting a pension to our civil-service employees. The future of the Government, as far as the efficiency of our departments is concerned, rests solely on this question."

Cabinet officers in the past have recommended that remedial legislation be enacted to relieve the departments of superannuated employees. Some of the leaders of both houses of Congress, and no less a person that ex-President Taft, also President Wilson, have expressed themselves as being in favor of some system of retirement which would solve the question of superannuation in the civil service of the Government.

Every consideration of humanity, economy, and efficiency that is conceivably related to the question calls for the enactment of an equitable retirement system.

HAMILL BILL—TO PROVIDE FOR THE RETIREMENT OF EMPLOYEES IN THE CIVIL SERVICE.

Be it enacted, etc., That beginning with the 1st day of July next following the passage of this act all employees in the classified civil service shall be eligible for retirement as hereinafter provided.

SEC. 2. That any employee in the classified civil service who has served the United States for 30 years or more shall, upon his or her request, be retired from the service on an annuity of 50 per cent of his or her annual salary based upon the average annual salary, pay, or compensation he or she may have received for the 5 years next preceding retirement. Any employee in the classified civil service who has served the United States for a period of from 25 to 30 years shall, upon his or her request, be retired from the service on an annuity of 45 per cent of his or her annual salary based upon the average annual salary, pay, or compensation he or she may have received for the 5 years next preceding retirement. Any employee in the classified civil service who has served the United States for a period of from 20 to 25 years shall, upon his or her request, be retired from the service on an annuity of 40 per cent of his or her annual salary based upon the average annual salary, pay, or compensation he or she may have received for the 5 years next preceding retirement.

SEC. 3. That no employee provided for in this act shall be retained in the service after arriving at the age of 70 years.

SEC. 4. That the payments provided for in this act shall be paid quarterly throughout the life of the employee.

SEC. 5. That any employee to whom this act applies who has served the United States for not less than 5 years, and who, by reason of accident or illness not due to vicious habits and without fault or delinquency on his or her part, has become disabled, shall be retired from the service on certificate from the head of the department or independent office in which he or she is employed to the Secretary of the Treasury, setting forth such disabilities, and on the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury he or she shall receive an annuity, payable quarterly, of 30 per cent of his or her annual salary, based upon his or her average annual salary, pay, or compensation for the 5 years next preceding his or her retirement, for from 5 to 10 years of service; 40 per cent for from 10 to 20 years of service; 50 per cent for from 21 years and over.

SEC. 6. That for the purposes of this act the period of service shall be computed from original employment, whether as a classified or unclassified employee, and shall include periods of service at different times, and service in one or more departments, branches, or independent offices of the Government, the Signal Corps prior to July 1, 1891, and the general service in or under the War Department prior to May 6, 1896.

SEC. 7. That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to pay, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, a sum sufficient to carry out the purposes of this act.

SEC. 8. That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to perform or cause to be performed any and all acts and to make such rules and regulations as may be necessary and proper for the purpose of carrying the provisions of this act into full force and effect.

Immigration.

SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE M. YOUNG,

OF NORTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 4, 1915.

The House had under consideration the veto message of the President on the act (H. R. 6060) to regulate the immigration of aliens to and the residence of aliens in the United States.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. Speaker, it has frequently been claimed of late that there will be a very large immigration following the close of the European war. Is there anything substantial upon which to base such a prediction? Soldiers are being killed so rapidly, many with American bullets, it would seem that men will be in great demand in Europe to rebuild railroads, restore wrecked buildings, and reclaim abandoned farms. The god of war will take a heavy toll in human lives. The mailed fist of militarism will sweep away the savings of the survivors, and the fight for bare existence will make impossible the accumulation of sufficient savings to cover the cost of passage across the seas.

In the five minutes so courteously yielded to me by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GARDNER] I desire to call the attention of the membership of this House to a large number of letters and petitions received from my constituents upon the subject of an embargo upon the exportation of arms and munitions of war. More than 1,500 citizens of my district have signed petitions urging that this Congress adopt joint resolution No. 377, to prohibit the exportation of munitions of war. These petitioners are dreadfully in earnest. They all feel that our Government should prevent its citizens from sending bombs, guns, and bullets to be used in killing their kinsmen across the sea. Many of these loyal citizens of our country who have signed these petitions have brothers and cousins whose lives are being sacrificed by the products of American gun factories. Imagine, if you can, the distress of mind and heart of these good citizens of our country when they read such dispatches as this. Here, in the Washington Post, is a dispatch, with large headlines, reading:

BIG ORDER FOR SHELLS—BRITISH AND FRENCH BUY MILLIONS FROM BETHLEHEM PLANT—SHRAPNEL IS SENT TO CANADA.

BETHLEHEM, PA., *January 30.*

Orders given by the British Government to the Bethlehem Steel Co. are said to require the manufacture of millions of shells. Hundreds of thousands have already been made. The shells are of various sizes, the smallest 3 inches.

All the shrapnel is loaded with leaden bullets half an inch in diameter.

Notice the death-dealing character of these terrible explosives.

The shell is supposed to explode over the enemy, the leaden bullets raining down on him.

And observe the secrecy. If it is a legitimate industry why shroud it with mystery?

The shrapnel is shipped to Canada. Company's officials refuse to say where it is shipped from the Dominion. The fact that the calibers are of various sizes leads to the belief that some of it goes to the French as well as to the British. That which is sent to Vancouver undoubtedly goes to the Russian Army.

Millions of the bullets are made every day at this one plant. I do not know how many other concerns are engaged in this shameful business which, while legal, should be condemned from every standpoint of ethics and humanity. The newspaper dispatch continues:

The company has invented and perfected its own machinery for the production of bullets. It resembles machinery that cuts nails. An eccentric operates a cutter, through which pass leaden bands, which comes in enormous rolls. Millions of the bullets are made daily.

Some estimate of the enormous quantities of bullets required can be made from the fact that a 3-inch shell contains 240 of them, and a 5-inch shell about 500.

Big guns are also being sold.

The company has all but completed its first order for fieldpieces. The lot consists of 220 18-pounders. These guns are about 7 feet in length.

And the business is evidently profitable. Here is another dispatch under date of February 4, with headlines:

BETHLEHEM STEEL UP—GAINS NEARLY 3 POINTS.

* * * * * * *

Rumor attributed the selling of Canadian Pacific and some other favorites to the foreign account, but international brokers reported little liquidation for Europe. United States Steel and the coppers were sympathetically affected, the one notable exception being Bethlehem Steel, which was the most active feature of the morning session, with a rise of almost 3 points, which it maintained despite another authoritative denial of the rumor that the stock is soon to be placed on a dividend basis.

Mr. Speaker, if Congress fails to take action upon this most important matter, I hope the administration will at least not approve of the making of any more loans by New York bankers to foreign countries with which to finance the sales of war materials, and that in the future such loans, to facilitate and increase such sales, will be discouraged. It is well known that such loans to foreign countries are never made without the consent of the Department of State.

I realize the heavy responsibility of the President and Secretary of State and their difficulties in dealing with a most serious situation, and I speak not in a spirit of criticism, but in order that the views of the great number of constituents who have written to and petitioned me may be reflected and brought to the attention of those who have the responsibility of action.

In addition to the largely signed petitions which have been referred to, I have received from my district over 500 personal letters, begging, yes, imploring Congress to save their kinsmen from being killed by cannon, bombs, rifles, and ammunition of American manufacture. The enlightened public opinion of a nation sooner or later is written into its statute law. The public opinion of the civilized nations sooner or later becomes international law. It is the belief of an ever increasing number of thoughtful men throughout the Nation that the sale of munitions of war to belligerent nations can not be defended upon ethical grounds, and that our Nation should now take a stand which will help bring about and eventually become the recognized law of nations.

The Late Representative Bremner.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS

OF

HON. JAMES A. HAMILL,

OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, January 24, 1915.

The House had under consideration House resolution 711, as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the business of the House be now suspended that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. ROBERT G. BREMNER, late a Member of this House from the State of New Jersey.

"*Resolved*, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased and in recognition of his distinguished public career the House, at the conclusion of these exercises, shall stand adjourned.

"*Resolved*, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

"*Resolved*, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased."

Mr. HAMILL. Mr. Speaker, we have come here to-day in compliance with a commendable and well-observed rule of this House to remember our departed colleague, ROBERT GUNN BREMNER. Amidst the many cares and duties of our busy daily life we have paused for a while to hold these few simple ceremonies in order that the motto, "Gone, but not forgotten," may not be a mere empty form of words, but that it may possess a living, definite, and emphatic meaning.

Our absent colleague has gone away never again to return. He has left us in the heyday of his young manhood and before his ambitions were realized or his hopes were fulfilled. He has gone into the silent land. He has succumbed to the onslaught of death, the conqueror.

How resistless is the mighty and destroying angel, death. What mortal power for a moment can impede his approach? Who can defy his dread summons to join the countless host whose home lies beyond the portals of the grave? Can power, however extensive; can wealth, however boundless, or learning, however marvelous, ward off or withstand him? No! The king, whose mere nod commands obeisance from millions of subjects, will in turn one day yield obeisance to a monarch more absolute; the conqueror, whose might is invincible, will eventually perish at the approach of a conqueror unseen; the opulent one, whose uncounted wealth can purchase every pleasure in life, can not with all his treasures buy immunity from death. And science, with all its wonderful discoveries and developments, can compound no elixir that will prolong human existence a moment beyond its allotted span. Every hour of bounding life urges us on to death, and the whole world without exception sweeps on to its gigantic burial—

The boast of heraldry, the pomp of pow'r,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Await alike the inevitable hour.
The paths of glory lead but to the grave.

Death is indeed inevitably certain in its occurrence, but the time when it will arrive is uncertain and unheralded. We can tell in advance the regular revolution of the seasons or the alternate coming of night and day; we can determine the time when trees and grasses will grow and wither, when roses will bloom and fade, but human eye can not pierce nor can human reason remove the veil that shrouds and conceals the coming of death:

Leaves have their time to fade,
And flowers to wither at the north wind's breath,
But thou hast all seasons for thine own, O Death.

These thoughts teem upon our minds during this quiet and suggestive hour as we commemorate him who in life was numbered among us.

We tender our deepest condolences to his stricken family and linger a few moments to reflect upon his busy and useful life.

ROBERT GUNN BREMNER was born on December 17, 1873, in the little village of Keiss, in Caithness, the most northern county of Scotland. His father was a seaman and ship carpenter by trade. The small peaceful village, however, afforded few opportunities for prosperity, and to advance the fortunes of the family the father sailed for America and finally settled on a farm in Canada. Life on the farm was hard and Robert early became inured to hard labor, but it was possible by dint of unremitting industry to give him the advantages of an education. During his earlier years he attended the local schools. This education was supplemented by a course in the higher educational institutions where he equipped himself to follow the profession of school-teacher. He was always an eager and hungry student. He read every book that was available, and feverishly panted for that broader knowledge which he afterwards possessed in so marked a degree. This passion for books and knowledge never abated.

He abandoned the profession of school-teaching and took up the trade of electrician. In this new field he met with small success. He was not a man to succeed in trade or a mechanical business. He knew nothing about driving sharp bargains, or if he did he never put it into practice, and as a result he soon abandoned this avocation.

Finally he drifted into journalism and it was in this profession that he achieved distinction and success. He served as a representative of different papers in the city of Paterson, N. J., and in 1902 took charge of the Passaic Herald. His reputation as a journalist is identified with the growth and prosperity of that newspaper, in the upbuilding of which he took such a conspicuous part. He made it one of the ablest papers in the State. He had a hard struggle at first, but by pluck, energy, and determination made his newspaper adventure a splendid success.

We who were admitted to his warm friendship knew him as a most lovable man, and all who came within the scope of his influence entertained for him the deepest affection. His face was itself a fair type of his nature which was essentially of the sunshine character. All of us admired his brilliant intellect and all of us knew his warm unselfish heart. He held high place in public esteem and in the affection of his legion of friends. Had his life been spared he would undoubtedly have taken a commanding position in the deliberations of this House.

It is unnecessary for me to recount the heroic struggle which he made against the remorseless disease which eventually consumed his life. The country watched his brave fight with eager interest and felt a severe pang when his eyelids closed in death. His struggle to regain health ceased only when he lapsed into unconsciousness from which he passed into death. As he himself

expressed it in memorable words, "The question is not whether I am going to get well, but rather if I am going to live up to ideals for dying gamely, which are just as helpful to the race as living bravely."

He of all men made unselfishness the rule of his daily life, and there has never been a more self-sacrificing character or a more self-abnegating spirit or one who had more watchful regard for the comfort and interest of others than ROBERT GUNN BREMNER. He remained throughout all his life a brave, honorable, Christian gentleman, a loyal friend, and a lover of his fellow men.

On that dark February 5, 1914, when the soul of ROBERT BREMNER fled from the busy scenes of earth to seek its Maker and its God, the curtain fell on a human life brimful of the most inspiring instances of noble and unselfish effort, a life which will always continue to exert a deep and inspiring impression.

All must to their cold graves;
But the actions of the just
Smell sweet and blossom in the dust.

How the Sugar Trust Robs the Sugar-Beet Farmers.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD KEATING,

OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, my distinguished friend from Michigan [Mr. FORDNEY] was in a very bad humor when he addressed the House the other day on his favorite theme—the need of a tariff on sugar. I think it was Henry Grattan who once said, "Some men's talents are so limited that they can not be severe without being unparliamentary." I will not apply the brilliant Irishman's rebuke to the gentleman from Michigan, for I have no desire to drag the discussion of so important a subject to the level of a personal controversy.

I will continue to have regard for the amenities which should prevail between gentlemen, however much the Member from Michigan may depart from accepted standards.

The remarks which aroused the ire of the gentleman from Michigan were delivered by me in the House on February 26. My distinguished friend replied on March 3 at a time when the business of the House was so congested that it was quite impossible for me to secure the floor to make proper rejoinder.

I shall not attempt to review the gentleman's remarks sentence by sentence and paragraph by paragraph, as that would be an unwarranted trespass on the patience of my colleagues; but I will undertake to point out a few of the more glaring inaccuracies in which the gentleman indulged.

Reference to the report of the gentleman's remarks in the RECORD of March 4 will reveal the fact that at the very outset of his speech the following colloquy occurred:

Mr. FORDNEY. The gentleman from Colorado said that four out of seven beet-sugar factories in his State had closed their doors and were not operating at the present time.

The reason given by the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. KEATING] for the closing of the doors of those four factories was that the machinery was antiquated and not up to date, and therefore those factories were at a disadvantage with other factories in his State with more modern machinery and more favorably located for the production and manufacture of sugar.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield just a moment?

Mr. FORDNEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. KEATING. I am sure the gentleman has no desire to misquote me.

Mr. FORDNEY. Oh, not at all; not under any circumstances.

Mr. KEATING. If the gentleman will refer to my remarks in the RECORD, he will find that I said that the real reason those factories were closed was because the companies which controlled them refused to pay the farmers a sufficient price for their beets.

Mr. FORDNEY. No; I beg to differ with the gentleman. That was not your statement. Your statement was that the trust-controlled factories would not pay the farmers a reasonable price for their beets.

Mr. KEATING. Yes; and I reiterate that.

Mr. FORDNEY. Well, then, let me call your attention to the fact, my friend, that you are in error, because the Sugar Trust has no interest in the four factories in question that closed down, and the only factories operating in your State are the ones in which the Sugar Trust holds stock—the Great Western Sugar Co.

A little farther on in the gentleman's speech the following interruption is recorded:

Mr. KEATING. Does the gentleman contend that those factories, the ones controlled by the Sugar Trust, have dealt more generously with the farmers of Colorado than the others?

Mr. FORDNEY. The others, since 1913, could not deal at all with your farmers, because of your tariff legislation, and have closed their doors. And the only factories dealing with the farmers in your district are the ones in which the Sugar Trust is interested. [Applause.] That is correct, is it not?

Mr. KEATING. No; that is absolutely incorrect. The gentleman is mistaken.

NO FOUNDATION IN FACT.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I want to call your attention to the emphasis which the distinguished gentleman from Michigan lays on the statement that the only sugar factories in my district which are dealing with the farmers are the ones in which the Sugar Trust is interested. That assertion won a good deal of applause on the Republican side of the House, and the gentleman from Michigan seemed to regard it as a "clincher."

But the fact is, Mr. Speaker, that it hasn't the slightest foundation in fact.

As I have stated before, there are seven sugar factories in my district. During the last season three operated at capacity and four remained closed.

Of these seven factories three are owned by the American Beet Sugar Co. They are located at Rocky Ford, Lamar, and Las Animas. The American Beet Sugar Co. operated its Rocky Ford factory, and refused to operate its Las Animas and Lamar factories.

The Holly Sugar Co. owns the factories at Holly and Swink, and during the last season operated the Swink factory and refused to operate the Holly factory.

The National Sugar Manufacturing Co. owns the sugar factory at Sugar City, Colo. This was operated during the last season.

The San Luis Valley Beet Sugar Co. owns the factory at Monte Vista, Colo. This factory did not operate during the last season because, as the company publicly announced, the farmers could not be induced to raise a sufficient acreage of beets.

So far as the ownership of these companies is concerned, Mr. Speaker, I do not believe that anyone, except it be the distinguished gentleman from Michigan, contends that the Sugar Trust owns any stock in any of them.

Later on I will submit a table prepared by the Hardwick committee which reveals the Sugar Trust's holdings in various beet-sugar factories. An examination of this table will show that at one time the trust did have an interest in the American Beet Sugar Co., but that it disposed of its stock some time prior to 1911.

There is nothing in the Hardwick report or in any court record with which I am familiar which shows that the trust had a stock interest at any time in either the Holly Co. or the National Sugar Co.

So you see, Mr. Speaker, when the distinguished gentleman from Michigan asserted "the only factories dealing with the farmers in your district are the ones in which the Sugar Trust is interested," he either did not know what he was talking about or he was attempting to deceive the membership of this House. He is at liberty to take whichever horn of this dilemma appeals to him. I will not make a choice for him.

HOW THE TRUST CONTROLS.

And now, Mr. Speaker, permit me to say a few words concerning the control of the beet-sugar industry by the American Sugar Refining Co., commonly known as the Sugar Trust.

I have repeatedly stated on the floor of this House that the Sugar Trust dominated the beet-sugar industry, and in my feeble way I have endeavored to sustain that statement with what seemed to me most convincing testimony.

When I have said that the Sugar Trust dominated the beet-sugar industry I did not mean that the trust owned a majority of the stock in every beet-sugar company in this country. What I meant, and what has been clearly demonstrated through court proceedings and investigations conducted by committees of this House, was that the Sugar Trust had secured stock control of a sufficient number of beet-sugar companies to enable it to dominate the industry.

Through this control the trust was enabled to fix the price which the farmers received for their beets and to prevent genuine competition in the sale of sugar to consumers.

The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORDNEY] would like to have you believe that a "war to the knife" is being waged between the Sugar Trust and the owners of the beet-sugar factories. As I have frequently stated, this is a purely mythical war—a "fake fight," as the sporting editors would phrase it.

There was a time when we had independent beet-sugar factories in this country. That was prior to 1901, when the beet-sugar industry was in its infancy. In those days the Sugar Trust felt that the industry was a mushroom growth and could be easily destroyed.

Havemeyer and his associates soon discovered their error, however, and determined to secure control of the industry and, by controlling it, limit its development and wring from it enormous dividends.

If the gentleman from Michigan, or any other gentleman who is interested, will go to the Department of Justice he will have

placed in his hands several volumes of testimony taken in the case of the United States against the American Sugar Refining Co., and in these volumes he will find the story of how the beet-sugar industry was "sold out" to the Sugar Trust. If any Member wishes to secure the facts in more condensed form, he can secure a copy of the report of the special committee appointed by this House in the Sixty-second Congress, and which was charged with the task of investigating the American Sugar Refining Co. Mr. HARDWICK, of Georgia, was chairman of that committee, and on February 17, 1912, he submitted a report in which he tells briefly and clearly how the trust gobbled up the beet-sugar industry.

HARDWICK'S REPORT.

I quote from Mr. HARDWICK'S report as follows:

In the summer of 1901 the American Sugar Refining Co. and its allies undertook an aggressive campaign against the beet-sugar companies, who were then 31 in number, separate and independent concerns, competitors of each other and of the American and its allies. This war seems to have been hottest in the territory supplied by the Missouri River points. According to one of its participants—Mr. Oxnard—the American lowered the price of sugar to 3½ cents overnight—October 1 or October 2, 1901—at a time when the beet-sugar people had large contracts already made to deliver sugar "at the market."

Finally concluding that beet sugar "had come to stay," the American rapidly and completely reversed its policy. In the fall of 1901, after a preliminary inspection of the field had been made for Mr. Havemeyer by Mr. Willett, of Willett & Gray, Mr. Havemeyer, for the American, dealing with Thomas R. Cutler, who represented the Utah Sugar Co., acquired a one-half interest in the latter concern, which was one of the first established (though under a different corporate name) of the beet-sugar enterprises. One of the American's then officials, Mr. Lowell M. Palmer, says the American dealt first with the Mormons in Utah, because he felt "that the Mormon Church in a measure controlled its people, and that we (the American) would be more liable to get sugar beets." This was the beginning of a comprehensive campaign of beet-sugar acquisitions by the American.

On September 18, 1901, the capital stock of the American Co. was increased from seventy-five to ninety millions of dollars, and this money was used to purchase for the American extensive beet-sugar interests.

The minutes of the directors of that company (p. 43) of December 2, 1902, contain this significant entry:

"On motion, Messrs. Havemeyer, Thomas, Palmer, and Donner were appointed a committee to take charge of the purchase and management of beet-sugar companies."

The minutes of both the board of directors and of the executive committee of the American teem with the record of specific transactions in which the American from month to month and from year to year acquired interest in its beet-sugar competitors.

Finally, by 1909, the American had acquired large interests in 11 of the beet-sugar companies, operating 32 factories, and producing about 64 per cent of the beet sugar of the country, as follows: Four companies, operating 11 factories in Michigan, Iowa, and Ohio, and producing about 50 per cent of the beet sugar of those States; 3 companies, operating 11 factories in the States of Colorado, Montana, and Nebraska, and producing 67 per cent of the beet sugar of those States; 3 companies, which operate 10 factories in the States of Utah, Idaho, and Oregon, and produce all of the beet sugar of those States; 2 companies, operating 3 factories in the State of California, and producing 46 per cent of the beet sugar of that State.

From 1909 to the present time the situation has not been greatly altered, as will be observed from the following tables furnished your committee by the American under date of October 11, 1911:

American Sugar Refining Co.

Names of companies.	Beet-sugar investments.				Book value of present holdings, Oct. 1, 1911, after depreciation for sales and dividends.		
	Par value.	Original cost.	Common shares.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.	Preferred shares.	Total book value.
Michigan Sugar Co	100	$3,547,895.43	30,555	20,438	21,074	20,438	$2,428,958.21
Menominee River Sugar Co	10	300,000.00	30,000		30,000		285,000.00
Continental Sugar Co	100	505,440.00	4,154⅘		5,193		505,440.00
Iowa Sugar Co	100	405,650.00	4,165		4,165		405,650.00
Carver County Sugar Co	100	483,700.00	4,837		4,837		459,515.00
Great Western Sugar Co	100	7,087,824.40	40,440	66,092	27,352	51,592	4,052,287.07
Utah-Idaho Sugar Co	10	3,922,455.07		465,050		465,050	3,014,076.88
Amalgamated Sugar Co	100	1,151,925.00		12,757		12,757	705,433.50
Lewiston Sugar Co	10	225,000.00	22,500		37,103		225,000.00
Alameda Sugar Co	25	465,750.00	14,850		14,850		203,874.93
Spreckels Sugar Co	100	3,250,000.00	25,000		25,000		2,450,077.48
American Beet Sugar Co	100	1,846,687.50	75,000				
Total		23,210,327.40	251,501⅘	564,337	169,574	549,837	14,735,313.07

Table relating to beet-sugar companies in which the American Sugar Refining Co. is interested (Oct. 1, 1911).

Names of companies.	Capital stock issued.	Amount owned by American Sugar Refining Co.	Where incorporated.	Owns beet-sugar factories at—
Michigan Sugar Co	[1] $7,471,107 [2] 3,703,500	$3,055,500 2,043,800	Michigan	Bay City, Mich. Caro, Mich. Crosswell, Mich. Sebewaing, Mich. Saginaw, Mich. Alma, Mich.
Menominee River Sugar Co	825,000	300,000	do	Menominee, Mich.
Continental Sugar Co	1,500,000	519,300	Ohio	Fremont, Ohio. Findlay, Ohio.
Iowa Sugar Co	550,000	416,500	Iowa	Blissfield, Mich. Waverly, Iowa.
Carver County Sugar Co	600,000	483,700	Minnesota	Chaska, Minn.
Great Western Sugar Co	[1] 10,544,000 [2] 13,630,000	2,735,200 5,159,200	New Jersey	Longmont, Colo. Loveland, Colo. Fort Collins, Colo. Fort Morgan, Colo. Brush, Colo. Eaton, Colo. Greeley, Colo. Windsor, Colo. Sterling, Colo.
Billings Sugar Co				Billings, Mont.
Scotts Bluff Sugar Co				Scotts Bluff, Nebr.
Utah-Idaho Sugar Co	[1] 1,470 [2] 9,449,090	4,650,500	Utah	Lehi, Utah. Garland, Utah. Blackfoot, Idaho. Sugar City, Idaho. Nampa, Idaho. Idaho Falls, Idaho.
Amalgamated Sugar Co	2,551,400	1,275,700	do	Ogden, Utah. Logan, Utah. La Grande, Oreg.
Lewiston Sugar Co	1,000,000	371,030	do	Lewiston, Utah.
Alameda Sugar Co	745,825	371,250	California	Alameda, Cal.
Spreckels Sugar Co	5,000,000	2,500,000	do	Spreckels, Cal. Watsonville, Cal.

[1] Common. [2] Preferred.

The above table differs in book valuation from the preceding table.

Of these 11 companies, the American owns 41 per cent of the capital stock, according to the following table furnished your committee by the American on June 13, 1911:

The American Sugar Refining Co.'s interests in beet-sugar companies, May 23, 1911.

Names of companies.	Kind of stock.	Par value of shares.	Capital stock.		Per cent owned.	Production, campaign 1910-11.	American Sugar Refining Co.'s interest per stock holdings.
			Total issue.	Owned by American Sugar Refining Co.			
						Pounds.	*Pounds.*
Alameda Sugar Co.	Common	$25.00	$745,825	$371,250	+49	12,482,400	6,116,375
Spreckels Sugar Co.	do	100.00	5,000,000	2,500,000	50	68,452,800	34,226,400
Utah-Idaho Sugar Co.	Preferred	10.00	9,449,090	4,650,500	+49	70,965,800	34,773,242
	Common	10.00	1,470				
Amalgamated Sugar Co.	Preferred	100.00	2,551,400	1,275,700	50	25,801,300	12,900,650
Lewiston Sugar Co.	Common	10.00	606,430	225,000	+37	10,619,300	3,929,141
Great Western Sugar Co., including Billings Sugar Co. and Scottsbluff...	do	100.00	10,544,000	2,735,500	26	191,810,803	63,297,564
	Preferred	100.00	13,630,000	5,159,200	38		
Michigan Sugar Co.	Common	100.00	7,471,107	2,607,400	35	123,130,991	51,715,016
	Preferred	100.00	3,703,500	2,043,800	55		
Iowa Sugar Co.	Common	100.00	550,000	416,500	+75	7,486,330	5,614,747
Carver County Sugar Co.	do	100.00	600,000	483,700	+80	5,003,696	4,002,957
Menominee River Sugar Co.	do	10.00	825,000	300,000	+36	6,135,588	2,208,812
Continental Sugar Co.	do	100.00	1,200,000	415,440	−35	24,160,176	8,456,062
			56,883,617	23,183,990	−41	546,049,181	227,240,967

The production of these 11 beet companies, in which the American is so largely interested, was, according to the above table, 546,049,181 pounds, which, reduced to tons (long), would be 243,750 tons. These figures were for the season of 1910–11, and it appears from the testimony of Mr. Truman Palmer (hearings, p. 2627), secretary of the Beet Sugar Association, that the total production of all the beet-sugar companies of the United States for the season of 1910–11 was 445,000 tons. It will therefore be seen that the beet companies in which the American is so largely interested produced during that season almost 54 per cent of all the beet sugar of the United States.

CONCEALED TRUST AFFILIATIONS.

Up to the time that the report of the Hardwick committee was given to the public, the champions of the sugar interests in and out of Congress indignantly denied that there was any alliance between the Sugar Trust and the beet-sugar industry.

When the Ways and Means Committee of this House was framing the so-called Payne-Aldrich tariff bill in November of 1908 a great number of witnesses appeared on behalf of the beet-sugar interests. My distinguished friend from Michigan [Mr. FORDNEY] was a member of that committee and took a conspicuous part in examining the witnesses and in urging a high protective tariff on sugar. Among the witnesses was Mr. F. R. Hathaway, who said he represented the Michigan Sugar Co., of Detroit, Mich. On page 3307 of the hearings we find that Mr. Hathaway testified as follows:

Mr. UNDERWOOD. What is the name of the company you represent?
Mr. HATHAWAY. The Michigan Sugar Co.
Mr. UNDERWOOD. That has six factories?
Mr. HATHAWAY. Yes.
Mr. UNDERWOOD. Some in Michigan and some in Colorado?
Mr. HATHAWAY. No, sir; all in Michigan.
Mr. UNDERWOOD. Has that company any connection whatever with the American Sugar Refining Co.?
Mr. HATHAWAY. No, sir.
Mr. UNDERWOOD. Is there any agreement between the refining companies—the companies that refine cane sugar and beet-sugar refineries—as to the maintenance of prices?
Mr. HATHAWAY. No, sir.
Mr. UNDERWOOD. It is an open competition and a free market?
Mr. HATHAWAY. Yes, sir.

Now, Mr. Speaker, if you will turn to the table which I have just quoted from the report of the Hardwick committee you will find how much truth there was in Mr. Hathaway's statements. That table shows that the Sugar Trust owned 55 per cent of the preferred stock of the Michigan Sugar Co. and 35 per cent of the common stock. Of course Mr. Hathaway was familar with that fact when he was answering Mr. UNDERWOOD's questions, but he preferred to conceal the truth in order to strengthen his plea for a tariff on sugar.

CRUSHING OUT "INDEPENDENTS."

From time to time since the trust became the dominant figure in the beet-sugar industry attempts have been made to establish genuinely "independent" factories, but the promoters were either destroyed financially or compelled to make terms with the trust. Here again the court records furnish ample evidence of the workings of the trust, and I refer the Members of this House who are interested to the testimony in the case of the United States against the American Sugar Refining Co. and others in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York. As I said before, this evidence may be secured at the Department of Justice.

So much, Mr. Speaker, for the effort of the gentleman from Michigan to show that only those Colorado beet-sugar companies, which are actually owned by the Sugar Trust, have been able to operate since the Underwood tariff bill went into effect. I must confess that I am a little amazed at the audacity of the gentleman; and yet I presume that when one has a desperate case, one must resort to desperate methods. This is the only theory on which I can explain the gentleman's course, as I take it for granted that he is not entirely ignorant concerning the ownership of the various beet-sugar factories of the country or of the methods of those who operate them.

TREATMENT OF THE FARMER.

And now, Mr. Speaker, I want to get back to the point which I think the gentleman from Michigan is most anxious to avoid—the treatment of the farmer by the beet-sugar factories. During my remarks on February 26 I stated:

The farmers in my district are prepared to supply ample beets for every one of the seven factories in my district, but they insist that they shall share in the benefits which flow from the high price of sugar.

In the "good old days," when the high protectionists had control of Congress and the gentleman from Michigan was writing sugar schedules for tariff bills, we heard a great deal about the benefits which the farmer derived from a tariff on sugar. We were assured that a tariff was desired because it would enable the factory owner to pay the farmer a high price for his beets, and in support of this theory the sugar-beet farmer was brought to Washington, individually and in platoons, and paraded before the members of the Ways and Means Committee.

In this way the sugar-beet farmer was made the principal prop for the sugar tariff.

It must be very disconcerting to the gentleman from Michigan to have this prop abruptly removed and to have the farmer and the American public made acquainted with the plain, naked truth—that the tariff on sugar is imposed for the sole purpose of increasing the profits of the seaboard refiner and his ally, the owner of the beet-sugar factory.

There was a time when the farmer imagined that he did secure some of the benefits from the sugar tariff, but he has had his eyes opened. He knows that the beet-sugar industry is "protected" to a greater extent to-day than ever before in its history. This because the European war has paralyzed the sugar industry in Germany, France, Austria, and Russia. He knows that beet sugar is selling for from 5¾ to 6¼ cents a pound, and he knows that he only receives about 2 cents a pound for the sugar content of his beets. The factory takes the difference between 2 cents and 5¾ cents and 6¼ cents, and the farmer knows that this unreasonable profit has enabled many of the factories during the last year to earn dividends of more than 100 per cent on the capital invested.

Naturally, the farmer does not think this is a square deal, and he has protested. I do not believe it is a square deal, and I have protested. And because I have protested I have drawn down on myself the anger of the distinguished gentleman from Michigan.

THE "FARMER'S FRIEND."

For many years he has posed in this House as the friend of the sugar-beet farmer, but apparently that friendship is not strong enough to induce him to demand a square deal for the farmer. He can become righteously indignant when some one suggests the curtailment of the profits of the manufacturer of sugar, but he seems utterly indifferent to the fate of the producer of sugar beets.

I do not know how the farmers in the gentleman's district may feel about his course.

That the farmers in my district understand the situation is evidenced by the following article from the Bent County Democrat of February 5, 1915:

WANT TO GROW BEETS.

"One Who Wants to Grow Beets" sends in the communication which follows:

A report has been in circulation at Las Animas that the Holly & Swink Sugar Co. are considering paying $6 per ton flat for sugar beets for the coming season. If such is the case, the farmers will surely load the different factories in the valley with all they can handle. The farmer wants to grow beets, or anything else for that matter, that will bring him the most money. Wheat is sure to be profitable for the next year, and farmers around Las Animas are figuring on putting in quite an acreage of spring wheat. They did not expect the war prices of wheat in the fall and did not get in as large a number of acres as they would have put in had they then known what they can see now. But still they would like to grow beets. There is only one reason for the factories in the valley remaining idle and that is that the farmer is not paid enough for beets. Sugar will be high as well as wheat. Although the speculator and middle man in wheat profit most, the farmer will come in for his share of the high price, but this so far is not the case with sugar beets, unless the sugar companies are willing to share with the farmer.

BEET GROWERS' VIEWS.

As a further evidence of the temper of the beet growers in my district, I desire to submit the following article from the Bent County Democrat of Friday, February 12, 1915:

BEET GROWERS' MEETING.

There was a large attendance of growers at the meeting Monday afternoon in commercial club rooms, and the talk by O. H. Baxter, secretary of the Otero County association, on the cost of raising beets and selling the product on the markets was listened to with close attention. He first stated the growers in Otero County, with few exceptions, were standing out for $6 a ton, and if all the growers of the valley were of the same mind and determination they would surely get the price asked. Mr. Baxter said the sugar company gave out the statement they had paid the farmers $1,500,000, harvested 201,600 tons of beets from 17,000 acres, and manufactured 500,000 bags of sugar. If this statement were correct, then they paid $7.44 a ton, but as they paid only about $5.30 a ton the actual amount paid the growers was $1,068,480. The best authority gives the cost of growing and marketing an acre of beets at $70.40. So if we multiply the 17,000 acres by $70.40 we have $1,196,800 as the cost to the farmer to get $1,068,480, which the sugar company paid him, or an actual loss of $128,320. For the 500,000 bags of sugar the company received $2,625,000, for the pulp $53,428, and for the sirup $110,880, or a total of $2,789,308 the company received from 17,000 acres of beets. To manufacture these acres of beets into sugar cost $604,800. Now, add this sum to the $1,068,480 paid the farmer and we have a total cost of $1,673,280. Subtract this sum from the amount the company received and we have a total profit for the company of $1,116,028.

W. S. Ellenberger, of McClave, was an interested listener, and at its conclusion made the growers a talk that gave them new life and hope. He said this was the time for the farmer to stand firm and strong for his rights and demands; that the war in Europe would keep the price of sugar and wheat up for several years, and now was the time to stand together. He thought the growers should create an executive committee with full power to make contract with the sugar company, and that growers should turn their acreage over to this committee. As it now is the company makes the contract and sets the price and deals individually with hundreds of growers. An executive committee could meet the sugar officials, discuss all questions in a business way, and the results, he thought, would be better for all.

His remarks were received with applause, and immediately the faces of the auditors brightened. Steps were immediately taken, and an active campaign will now be started to pool all unsigned acreage. And one man remarked that next year when this executive committee, with 17,000 acres of beets in their control, asked the sugar company what price per ton they would pay, the growers might rest assured they would receive a satisfactory price.

You will notice, Mr. Speaker, that in both these articles the farmers of my district insist that they are prepared to furnish all the beets that the sugar factories can handle, and that all they ask in return is that the sugar factories give them an opportunity to share the high prices which sugar is now commanding in the markets of the world.

Surely, Mr. Speaker, even the distinguished gentleman from Michigan can not object to so fair a proposition as that.

DOES THE CONSUMER BENEFIT?

In season and out of season the distinguished gentleman from Michigan, and other advocates of the tariff on sugar, insist that the consumer does not receive the benefit from a reduction of the tariff. In the course of my remarks on February 26, I stated that during my campaign in Colorado in the fall of 1912 the retail price of sugar was from 12 to 14 pounds for a dollar, and that after the Underwood bill became a law the same stores sold from 20 to 22 pounds of sugar for a dollar. The gentleman from Michigan flatly contradicts that statement, but as usual, he is wide of the mark and endeavors to befuddle the Members of the House by printing misleading figures.

Wherever I went during the campaign of 1912 I advocated free sugar, and as a rule asked the women in the audience to tell me how many pounds of sugar they received for a dollar. I found that in the large cities the ordinary grocer gave 14 pounds for a dollar, but occasionally big concerns offered as high as 17 pounds as a "leader." In the mountain towns the price was 12 pounds for a dollar. After the Underwood bill went into effect, the grocers in the large cities sold from 20 to 22 pounds for a dollar, and in the mountain towns from 16 to 18 pounds.

By reference to the files of the Rocky Mountain News of Denver, I find that the John Thompson Grocery Co., of Denver, advertised granulated sugar at retail, as follows:

July, 1912, 100 pounds for	$5.70
July, 1913, 100 pounds for	5.10
July, 1914, 100 pounds for	4.55

In two years there was a decrease in the price paid by the actual consumer of $1.15 a hundred. The country had a Republican sugar schedule in July, 1912, and a Democratic sugar schedule in July, 1914.

War was declared in Europe in the latter part of July, 1914; the European sugar industry was paralyzed, and of course prices mounted toward the skies. But so long as normal conditions prevailed, the consumer received the full benefit of the reduction in the tariff.

I will not attempt to make further reply to the gentleman at this time. He will undoubtedly return to the charge in the Sixty-fourth Congress, because the Sugar Trust has no intention of abandoning its fight for a sugar tariff; but I hope when we hear from him again he will be in better humor, and that he will not make the mistake of substituting abuse for argument.

The Late Representative Martin.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS

OF

HON. JAMES A. HAMILL,

OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, February 14, 1915.

The House had under consideration House resolution 735, as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the business of the House be now suspended that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. LEWIS J. MARTIN, late a Member of this House from the State of New Jersey.

"*Resolved*, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased and in recognition of his distinguished public career the House, at the conclusion of these exercises, shall stand adjourned.

"*Resolved*, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

"*Resolved*, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased."

Mr. HAMILL. Mr. Speaker, our gathering to-day is overcast with gloom and sadness. We are here to lament the loss of our beloved colleague, LEWIS J. MARTIN, who has passed forever beyond the scene of life's labors and now lies wrapped in that dreamless sleep which knows no earthly waking.

He was in the fullness of energy and usefulness when the compelling finger of death beckoned him to the land which lies beyond the grave.

It is fitting that we, his colleagues, should gather in this hall to pay a fervent tribute to his cherished memory. We realize how unavailingly we sigh for the touch of a vanished hand and the sound of a voice that is still forever, and we seek such poor consolation as we can derive from placing on record the estimate we entertain of his character and services.

LEWIS J. MARTIN belonged to that type which we fondly term "a man of the people." To the American mind this phrase is richly significant. It denotes a self-reliant man of courage, energy, and perseverance who, by native ability and application, has carved his way to high and respected station among his fellow men. In a marked degree these qualities were exemplified in the earnest and industrious life of LEWIS J. MARTIN.

His early education was obtained in the public schools of the village of Deckertown and these studies were supplemented by a course at the Newton Collegiate Institute. On the completion of this latter course he devoted himself to the study of the law, and was admitted to the bar of New Jersey in 1867.

His habits were industrious and his disposition was genial, and as a consequence he rapidly gained the respect and favor of his neighbors. The people of Sussex County evinced their high regard for his ability by repeatedly electing him to important public positions.

Upon the death of his father, in 1869, he was chosen county clerk of Sussex County, and during this period he also held the office of town clerk of Newton. Several years later he was chosen to represent his county in the New Jersey House of Assembly, and this position he occupied for several terms. Afterwards he for many years held the office of judge of the county of Sussex. In 1897 he was elected to the upper house of the New Jersey Legislature as a senator from Sussex County.

There was a mutual confidence and cordiality between him and his constituents, with a great number of whom he enjoyed personal and intimate acquaintance. I enjoyed the privilege of his friendship before he came to Congress and our relations grew warmer and more cordial after he came to this House. I found him always the same generous and kindly hearted gentleman. He had a magnetic openness of manner which easily attracted friends and invited men to salute him in terms of easy familiarity, but in purpose he was sincere and ardent, and as he pursued his path through life he strove always to scatter seeds of kindness, to bring a smile to the face of sorrow, and to create happiness and hope among those where formerly there had been but misery and dejection.

It is to be most deeply regretted that his career in this House terminated almost before it had fairly begun.

On May 5, 1913, while returning to his duties at the Capitol, death came upon him with the swiftness of an eagle's flight and less than its pity. To-day he lies at rest among the people whom he loved and served and who in return were loving and loyal to him. By them his memory will ever be kept green and the recollection of his splendid qualities of mind and heart will ever be enshrined in their memories. And we, his colleagues, even amid the changing conditions of this busy place, will affectionately remember him always.

Our Navy—The Constructive and Progressive Record Made During the First Two Years of the Administration of President Wilson and Secretary Daniels—A Summary of Achievements.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN H. SMALL,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 3, 1915.

Mr. SMALL. Mr. Speaker, the record of the Sixty-third Congress has justified the traditional Democratic record of faith in a strong Navy. The Democratic Party has consistently opposed great standing armies and every proposition looking to the substitution of militarism. When the Democratic Party returned to power for the first time after the war, in 1884, the foundation for the new Navy, which has grown to be our national pride, was laid by Hon. William C. Whitney, Secretary of the Navy, and in the second Cleveland administration the same jealous care for the Navy was shown under that other illustrious Secretary of the Navy, Hon. Hilary A. Herbert. Steady progress has been made in increasing the Navy in years that intervened between the last Democratic Secretary and the present incumbent of that great office. But the record of constructive progress made by the Navy since the inauguration of Woodrow Wilson is greater than that made by any previous Congress during the history of the Republic.

Mr. Speaker, it seems fitting at the close of a session of Congress marked by unusual interest in, and discussion of, our means of national defense, in general and naval affairs in particular, that there should be made a fair and dispassionate review of the work accomplished by the Navy Department in the last two years looking toward increased efficiency in the United States Navy. It is right to assume, of course, that all taking part in the numerous hearings, speeches, and criticism on this subject, favorable or unfavorable, calm or heated, hurried or deliberate, have been animated by genuine patriotism and a sincere desire to arrive at the truth, with a view to benefiting this important arm of defense. Patriotism and good intent are not doubted, but it is thought that, after the excitement of controversy, the heat of argument, and the haste of action (the last made necessary by the approaching end of the session), a calm survey of the work accomplished may lead to fairness in judgment and a true knowledge of the condition of the service and its needs.

In furtherance of this thought I feel that I can not do better than to present somewhat categorically the various tasks accomplished since March 4, 1913.

The number of enlisted men actually enrolled, ready for instant service, has been increased by 5,670, making it possible to commission, ready for immediate active service at sea, 12 submarines, 6 light cruisers, 5 destroyers, 5 gunboats, 1 battleship, 1 armored cruiser, and 3 monitors, the last named serving as submarine tenders, increasing the total number of commissioned vessels by 33. These additional numbers have been gained, not by increasing through legislation the total complement of the enlisted personnel, but by filling the complement already allowed.

During the preceding four years the Navy was never recruited to its full strength. Under such conditions it would not have been possible for the fleet to expand and meet the demands for exceptional and protracted service levied against it during the last two years, which have been unusually severe in their demands upon the Navy Department. It had already reached the stage where men and, consequently, ships were unavailable for unusual duty without withdrawing them from their assigned positions with the fleets, and in numerous instances improper organization and the assignment of vessels ill suited to their purposes detracted from the efficiency of the fleet. It was not until the fresh impulse of recruiting had become effective that the Navy could assign a suitable vessel as flagship of the torpedo flotilla, the *Birmingham*, a 25-knot cruiser, being selected for that duty. Previously the old *Dixie*, a vessel converted to the uses of a repair and depot ship, with a speed of 12 knots, was called upon to act as flag and repair ship to 20 or more destroyers, with an average maximum speed of 29 knots, and generally the commander of the flotilla could count upon arriving at his destination from one to three days later, according to the distance, than the swift craft under his command. I cite this instance, Mr. Speaker, as a singular and striking evidence of the handicap under which the Navy labored, due to a shortage of men at a time when, under the laws, it would have been proper to enlist more. Obviously, the right sort of men could not be had under the conditions then prevailing, and it required some sort of encouragement and some additional attraction to convince the young men of our country that the Navy was a career worthy of their devotion. I have already referred to the fact that the enlisted strength of the service has been increased by 5,670 men, and I might add here, in view of what has been said, that there can be no reasonable doubt their enlistment has been due solely to the more certain opportunity they now have for advancement and the encouragement and assistance that are lent them by the Navy to make the most of their chances. Increased enlistments were the immediate result of a statement issued by the Secretary of the Navy in the early months of his term that such would be his policy while in office, and that we have in the service more men who are capable of measuring up to the high standards which the service properly exacts of all who aspire to high rank is illustrated by the ability of five young men to qualify for admission to the Naval Academy, of 12 to pass the grueling tests required of an ensign, and 13 to qualify for commissions in the Pay Corps.

The new policy has succeeded in gaining for the Navy a finer and more ambitious class of recruits, young men of the highest attainments and good character; it has permitted the establishment of a higher standard for admission, excluding as never before the mental, physical, and moral derelict, and it keeps the Navy recruited to the maximum strength permitted by law, so that for the first time in many years a waiting list for applicants has been introduced. It has had the further effect of increasing reenlistments by about 12 per cent, retaining in the service that many more men who have become experienced through four years of training and actual experience and obviated the necessity of training in their stead new and raw recruits. It has effected also, in conjunction with certain changes in the regulations, a most gratifying decrease—17 per cent—in the number of desertions as compared with the records for the two preceding years, and the fault of overstaying leave by enlisted men, formerly such a prevalent offense against discipline, is now practically eliminated. At his hearings before the House Committee on Naval Affairs in January, 1914, the Secretary of the Navy outlined a change in the method of punishment for desertion then in contemplation, which has since been put into effect under General Order No. 110 and certain changes in the Naval Regulations which went into effect at the same time. As a result of these changes, if a man tires of the service, means by which he can obtain his discharge honorably are facilitated; and a large percentage of those men who leave the service without permission and subsequently surrender to naval authority are either placed on probation, where by good conduct they can earn an honorable discharge, or are summarily discharged with a bad-conduct discharge, instead of being imprisoned. This plan was put into operation after correspondence with nearly every admiral and captain in the Navy, most of whom made suggestions as to the best method of ameliorating and improving the conditions attending the punishments of military offenses, and in the short time that the plan has been in operation the number of naval prisoners has

been greatly reduced; in May, 1914, the total number of naval prisoners was 1,835, and the number on December 12, 1914, was 1,076. Since October 1 there have been placed on probation 110 general court-martial prisoners who would otherwise have been sent to a naval prison. Of course the system has not been in operation long enough to say absolutely that it has justified its adoption, but it has already abolished two prisons entirely. In commenting upon the order which went into effect October 1, 1914, the Secretary of the Navy, in the course of his remarks before the Naval Committee of the House, made the following statement:

I did not promulgate the order until it could reach every ship, so that it would go into effect everywhere simutaneously. I believe it is going to work very well. When a man first goes away without leave and comes back, we put him on probation and fine him a certain amount of money, which he works off on half pay. This pay is returned to him if he does well and receives an honorable discharge on the termination of his enlistment. The second time we say, "You get out of the Navy; you can not stay in the Navy; you are not fit for it." In other words, on first offense he receives a punishment which, in case he behaves himself thereafter during his enlistment, amounts to nothing more than a warning. His treatment thereafter is all in his own hands. If he commits a serious military offense, but not one involving moral turpitude nor contempt of authority, he is not imprisoned, but is summarily discharged.

We drew a tentative order and sent it to every captain and admiral, and said, "We are thinking about putting it in operation, and we would like to have your views or any suggestions as to changes." We took a referendum of the commanding officers of the Navy, and I think about 75 per cent of them approved it with various suggestions. We adopted a good many of those suggestions. The Judge Advocate General and the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, who have chiefly to do with these matters, were very confident of its wisdom, and so far it has worked well. The fear that we had of a large loss of men immediately after it went into operation has not materialized. On the contrary, it is, I think, very popular.

"Desertion" is punished now as heretofore. The difference is that if a man who has been absent over leave, even for prolonged periods, surrenders to the naval authorities, he is given the benefit of the doubt on his first offense and is not tried for desertion, provided there is sufficient time remaining on his current enlistment for him to work through his probationary period. Formerly men who were absent over 10 days, even though they surrendered, were usually tried for desertion, but now we give them the benefit of the doubt.

Our whole disciplinary system is based on the theory of modern penology, namely, to permit a man to earn his rehabilitation by his own efforts. Therefore under our present plan men guilty of the least serious offenses, for which they were formerly imprisoned, are placed on probation, and by future conduct they earn back even the pay which they were sentenced to lose. Those whose offenses are more serious and who consequently merit imprisonment, but who are less than 21 years of age, are given the benefit of their youth and sent to a disciplinary barracks through which they can earn their restoration to duty without the stigma of wearing prison clothes or performing hard labor. Those of this class who are more than 21 are sent to naval prisons, but if their entire service is such as to warrant the belief that they have performed and will in the future perform faithful service, they also are sent to a disciplinary barracks after one-third of their period of confinement, and, if conduct merits, are restored to duty after two-thirds of their period of confinement.

Since October 1 there have been between 50 and 75 men imprisoned, but many who would otherwise have been imprisoned have been put on probation.

One of the many changes made by the present Secretary of the Navy, having in view increased comfort and attractiveness of ship life, was that providing facilities on board ship for the purchase of money orders. This is a great convenience for the men, enabling them, as it does, to send remittances to their friends and families with the same ease as is done on shore.

In the designs of all new battleships, including the *Texas* and the *New York*, suitable reading rooms have been provided for the accommodation and the comfort of the crew, and for use as reception rooms for their relatives and friends.

If any further proof were wanted of the deep interest taken in the welfare of the personnel of the Navy by the present Secretary, it is to be found in the order, issued in less than a year after he entered office, providing for the instruction of enlisted men, petty officers, and warrant officers, with a view to supplying deficiencies in academic education, and also to provide systematic means by which all enlisted men and warrant officers may receive the assistance and encouragement in technical branches which may be necessary to fit them for promotion in the Navy or which will better prepare them for civil trades at the end of their period of service afloat.

Of the Russian soldiers von Woyrsch, "the silent general," now fighting in Poland, recently said:

They are brave and tough. What's the matter with them? They lack school education. * * * That is why you Americans would make unbeatable soldiers—because your standard of public-school education is high.

Recent reports from the fleet indicate that under the operation of that order, prescribing a school period on board ship for men who have not yet completed two years' service in the Navy, 40 per cent of the total force afloat, or 15,600 men, are under instruction in academic branches, while 3,960 more, who do not come under the compulsory clause, are taking the course voluntarily; 1,560 are taking a correspondence course; 356 are preparing for warrant rank; and 85 are studying for entrance to the Naval Academy; about 50 per cent of the enlisted force, or 25,200 men, are being instructed in professional and technical subjects.

A recent tabulation showed that the greatest influence in enlistments was the desire to see the world and travel, 876 men giving this as their reason for joining the Navy. In view of this fact, it was predicted that enlistments would materially increase between then and the approaching cruise of the battleship fleet to the Mediterranean, which was ordered by the Secretary in conformity with the representations of the department that enlisted men would have a chance to visit foreign shores as circumstances permitted. The next highest number of answers was the recommendation of relatives or friends in the Navy, 748 giving that as their reason. The latter figures are very gratifying and show that the men in the service as a whole are contented and are willing to voluntarily recommend the Navy to their friends at home; 515 men joined with the desire to learn a trade; 481 to better themselves. Of the entire 5,381 only 318 stated they were out of work. The Navy is no place for the shiftless.

It will be noted a total of 996 entered either to learn a trade or better themselves. All had the same end in view—advancement. In the words of Secretary Daniels:

A man comes into the Navy very often poorly prepared in education, and he goes to the school a short six months, where he gets very good training. If he is ambitious to be in the Pay Corps or to be an ensign or to go to Annapolis, he needs to have the training to go on, and he has plenty of time to take it. We have a plan now, which we have already inaugurated in part, to relieve the men of their own laundering, which takes a great deal of time, and to put a laundry on the ships. A laundry is in use on the *Texas*, and it works very well. That will give a man more time for study. As soon as he learns more of arithmetic, geography, and grammar he is better able to learn more of mathematics, so that he can take these higher examinations.

This year, to the several technical schools maintained by the Navy, have been added one at Newport for the training of the Hospital Corps and one in Washington for newly appointed pay officers. The educational system thus briefly referred to has, in the opinion of those who have closely observed its working, fully demonstrated its effectiveness in raising the standard of knowledge of the enlisted personnel, and has gained its object of increasing the efficiency of the naval service in general.

What has thus far been said relates to school work for the bluejackets and marines. For the officers, the Naval Academy at Annapolis and the War College at Newport have increased their usefulness in extending the courses until now they rank with the very best schools of their kind in the world. The high standards which have always distinguished our Naval Academy among the universities of America have been retained as heretofore, but much progress has been made in the expansion and larger usefulness of the Naval War College at Newport. Although the United States was first among the naval nations of the world in establishing a naval war college for the study of the higher sciences peculiar to the art of naval warfare, it neglected during ensuing years to pursue the advantage it had attained, and of recent years other nations, recognizing the potential value of such an institution, eclipsed our own by applying to it the attention and study merited by its importance. When the Secretary of the Navy visited the Naval War College for the first time, in June, 1913, he found a class of less than 10 officers studying the courses, and his remark to the president of the War College was to the effect that if he were president of the college and had but 10 pupils he should advertise for more. The following statement of the Secretary of the Navy, made during the course of his hearings before the House Committee on Naval Affairs this year, is worthy, as evidence of the great progress made in this regard, of repetition in such place as this:

When I first went to the War College in July of 1913 I found less than 10 officers taking the courses. I said to the president of the War College, "If I were the president of a college and had but 10 pupils, I would advertise for more."

I have not issued an order to the effect that no officer shall be promoted to the grade of rear admiral unless he had been to the War College, but every officer has to put on his record a statement as to whether he has taken the War College courses. We now have an average of not less than 30 officers taking the courses at the War College. The summer before last, when the fleet was at Newport, I directed that five officers from every battleship should be at the college at the same time, and while the fleet was there we had about 100 officers studying to fit themselves for higher commands. Not only that, but we have inaugurated a correspondence course, so that practically all officers who have not been to the college, as well as those who have graduated, are in constant touch with the faculty and cognizant of all that is being done. The officers who have taken the course are assisting those officers on shipboard who have not, in such a way that they can take better advantage of the correspondence course. The War College has been strengthened and helped in every way, and to-day there are 450 officers in direct touch with its work.

It may be proper for me to insert here also the following, which is an opinion expressed by the president of the War College in forwarding to the Secretary his remarks to the class

of officers at the completion of a year's study during last December:

I am writing this letter because I feel you are entitled to much of the credit for the very satisfactory results which we have been able to achieve.

Embodied in the two naval appropriation bills which this Congress has adopted are several pieces of legislation which bear upon the personnel of the Navy, and a passing word concerning them before I proceed to treat of other phases of the Naval Establishment may be pertinent here. Provision has been made, Mr. Speaker, for the restoration of the grades of admiral and vice admiral in our Navy. We have passed a law which places the naval militias of the various States that receive Federal aid under the immediate direction of the President when emergency may require, and we have at this session passed the most far-reaching piece of personnel legislation in establishing a naval reserve that has been enacted in a decade. At the present time, in recognition of the invaluable services and great skill he displayed in handling a most delicate international situation, Admiral Dewey enjoys, by virtue of a special act of Congress, the rank of Admiral of the Navy. Since the year 1891 no other American naval officer has been elevated above the rank of rear admiral. Many years ago, shortly after the War between the States, the Congress enacted a law which conferred the rank of admiral and vice admiral upon Farragut and Porter. Upon the death of Farragut, Porter succeeded to his position; but when Porter died, in accordance with the provisions of the law, his rank died with him. In the time that has elapsed our Navy has grown a hundredfold and our participation in international affairs is a matter of daily occurrence. In almost every instance where we have combined our efforts with those of other nations through our naval agencies we have been subordinated in rank, and therefore in position, through want of grades befitting the dignity and conspicuous part played in the dealings of the world by this great Nation. As a simple matter of organization and in recognition of the numerous responsibilities which rest upon the commander of a modern fleet officers vested with this command are deserving of a rank commensurate with the importance of their duties; and the law we have enacted providing the rank of admiral for the commanders in chief of our Atlantic, Pacific, and Asiatic Fleets and that of vice admiral for the officer second in command are sure to redound to the benefit of our naval service and to obtain for us our proper position in such international events with which our Navy may become identified in the future.

The bill provides also for a new position in the Navy, to be known as the chief of operations, who, under the direction of the Secretary of the Navy, will be in charge of the operations of the fleet and preparation of plans for its use in war. This new position, it is believed, will coordinate and develop more perfectly the work of the War College, the General Board, the Office of Naval Intelligence, and the carrying out of maneuvers by the fleet. The wisest men in the Navy believe this provision will make the organization as perfect as it is possible to make any organization and will centralize in the Navy Department all the utilities which go to make for the preparation for war.

The adoption into the bill of that part providing for the position of chief of operations may be said to be due in great measure to the result of the hearing of Secretary Daniels before the Naval Committee relating to the status of the General Board, in which it transpired that the reports of that board, until the present Secretary came into office, had never been made public. In the course of that hearing Mr. ROBERTS said:

I recall very well sitting here when Secretary Moody came before us and placed before us the plan adopted by the General Board, which, he stated at that time, was to be regarded as a naval secret. Some years we never did see it. I will be frank to say that in the 14 or 15 years I have been on the committee I have never seen the complete report of the General Board until your report last year and this year. What we have had is the building program, just enumerating the units and classes. That has been given to us a number of times, and that is why I am so interested to know how much importance we can attach to this report of the General Board, now that we have it.

Mr. BUTLER, another member of the committee, in the course of the discussion, voiced his sentiments as follows:

Permit me to say, Mr. Secretary, that I have sat on this side of the table in this committee for 18 years, and I have been in the dark for 18 years, and I have come to a point in my life where I do not want fine phrases, but I want plain language, and I want honest instruction.

In reply to a question of a member of the committee, asking in what particular the Secretary found a continuity of the policy of Secretaries, Secretary Daniels replied:

I did not find any fixed policy, though I found former Secretaries had generally followed in construction the view of the General Board. The American people vote as to what party shall be in power, and no policy can be unchangeable. Nothing is unchangeable that grows.

Again:

Ought there not to be—

Said a member—

in the interests of the people some competent brain to deal with such a vital question as the continuing policy of national defense?

Yes—

Said Secretary Daniels—

and we have. We have a competent brain in the White House, a competent brain in the Secretary of War, and we have the competent brains of admirals and captains in the Navy, in the General Board, in the Naval War College, in the bureau chiefs, and in the Council of Aids. You have able men on the Committee on Naval Affairs, and if it should be the case that there are not competent men in these offices and in Congress, it is the people who are sovereign; and if you ever get a board or a commission in this country which can determine the naval policy independent of Congress, you will have an autocracy and militarism that is dangerous. I think the policy of national defense is not determined by the Secretaries; it is determined by Congress, and that it is a very good thing for Congress to have the varying and fluctuating views, so that it may have all the light it can get, and then for it to fix the policy.

As throwing light upon the views of the Secretary regarding the relations between Congress and boards and commissions in general, it may be pertinent to quote here Secretary Daniels's remarks before the committee:

We have, in the organization of our country, a Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy. It is the duty of the executive departments of the Government, under the direction of the Commander in Chief, to present to the Congress their recommendations as to what shall be done. It is the Congress that must settle the whole program. You can never get in this country a commission or a board that could take from Congress the real power that inheres in Congress. I have no sympathy with the program in favor of trying to substitute somebody else to determine the policy that Congress must determine.

Now, in the Navy Department we have an organization based upon experience, and it gives to the Secretary every bit of the information about naval affairs in this country and the world. That comes to me in regular reports. We have organizations through which I give to the Commander in Chief the results of the expert opinion of the Navy.

We have a joint board, composed of Army and Navy officers, who discuss all sorts of problems, and my own judgment is that you do not want any commission made up partly executive and partly legislative. Whenever you have a commission composed of the chairmen of the Committees on Naval Affairs and the chairmen of the Committees on Military Affairs, the Secretary of War, and the Secretary of the Navy, and mix up the executive and legislative, you have taken a wrong step. You do not want that. You want recommendations from the executive department, and we have given them to you. You must determine whether you will take them up or improve them or otherwise. Our Government is established upon the principle that the legislative, executive, and judicial branches are separate branches.

Since the inception of our Union a standing army of huge dimensions has been held in abhorrence by a peace-loving people. In its stead we have had organized the various State militias, and through the valuable service rendered by patriotic men who devote their time and energies to the efficiency of their organizations the Nation has lived through a series of conflicts and emerged triumphant at the conclusion of hostilities. As early as 1807 Jefferson said:

I think it will be necessary to erect our seafaring men into a naval militia and subject them to tours of duty in whatever port they may be.

A naval militia has existed through all the years down to the present, and during the conflict with Spain it responded with alacrity to the summons of the President. Within the last year the strength of the militia has grown considerably, and on July 1 last there were enrolled 596 officers and 7,132 men, constituting a reserve that with the helpful legislation we enacted should be capable of rendering immediate and valuable service to the Federal Government in an emergency. But times change and so do the customs of our people, and during the very period in which we were expanding the naval forces of the Nation, and the service was becoming more complex through the introduction and usage of so many marvelous inventions of the age of electricity and steel, our American merchant marine suffered a woeful decadence and the number of our seafaring people who to-day are capable of taking their place upon a man-of-war is lamentably small. The expense of maintaining in active commission all vessels of value in hostilities is such that no nation can bear the burden, and it is the practice of all navies to relegate to the reserve such vessels as have been supplanted on the first line by improved and stronger craft. To insure a prompt and proper manning of such reserve vessels as are on the roster of the United States Navy would require several thousand experienced man-of-war's men.

The number necessary is to be found scattered through the cities and the hills and the plains where men who have given an enlistment or two to the colors have repaired to settle down to civil life. It is known that their patriotism can be relied upon when needed. During the War with Spain they returned in droves, and a year ago, when trouble threatened with Mexico, so many applications were received that enlistments had to be suspended temporarily. It would, however, have required considerable time effectively to distribute and organize this reserve among the various ships on which they would be needed; and modern war, like Father Time and the tides of the ocean, wait upon the pleasure of no man and no nation.

These men would be needed immediately, and can be obtained in the required time only through effective organization. Such an organization we have authorized in the formation of a naval reserve to be composed exclusively of honorably discharged man-of-war's men who have served not less than four years in active service. Naval authorities agree that this is one of the most far-reaching and probably the best piece of legislation enacted by the present Congress in its legislation touching upon the Navy. We have the ships, but to man them it is necessary to have the men, and this measure will insure to the Navy a force trained to obedience and the requirements of a man-of-war's men, ready to answer the call of duty within a time that will make their service as valuable as it is cheerful. In return for the services required of the men constituting the reserve, the act provides that they shall receive certain compensations, varying according to the length of service which each reservist has rendered in active duty. We have here authorized something for which the enlisted personnel has craved for years—a graduated retirement which will make worth while their remaining in the Navy for 12 or 16 years instead of 4 or 8, as is now the prevailing rule. At the present time our Navy is composed two-thirds of men in their first enlistment. Only one-third are seasoned, and the naval reserve act, it is believed, will reverse the order and insure to the service more than 50 per cent of veterans and less than 50 per cent of recruits. If such proves the case, it will be economical not only in the matter of efficiency but financially as well, for the considerable expense which is involved in the training of a man for the Navy should be reduced by half, according to the larger percentage of men continuing in active service.

Until the second session of the Sixty-third Congress signified its interest in the spiritual welfare of the men of the Navy by authorizing an increase in the corps of chaplains there had been no additions to the corps since 1846, when the Navy numbered but 12,000 men. During the years which elapsed the Navy grew in the number of its men and in ships, particularly during the last 16 years, but no action whatsoever was taken to provide more chaplains in proportion to the increase of men in the service; and last spring, when there was a possibility that men from all our battleships might see active service, the number of chaplains with the fleet, though every available one had been ordered to duty, was utterly inadequate. When it is recalled that two-thirds of the enlisted personnel of the Navy are men in their first enlistment, and that first enlisted men are, as a rule, youths in their teens, for the first time removed from the bosoms of their families, it becomes incumbent upon the Government to provide suitable spiritual guidance and counsel, and the increase allowed by last year's bill, which authorized the appointment of 1 chaplain to every 1,250 men, will enable the department to assign in the future a chaplain to every battleship and practically double the corps.

One of the first official acts of the Secretary of the Navy was to emphasize the necessity of adequate sea service in every one of the various grades through which officers of the line progress. Most officers of the Navy are keen to command ships at sea and jealous of their ability to render the service afloat for which they entered the Navy, for the business of a naval officer is on the sea. In some few instances, however, land service had been excessive, affording to some choice billets ashore at the expense of others who suffered a loss of some portion of the duty ashore to which they were reasonably entitled. The order issued, while affecting but few, was in the best interests of the service. That Congress itself, or at least the Senate, was this month in the same frame of mind as the Secretary when he issued his order in March, 1913, was strikingly evidenced by a resolution which was incorporated in the naval appropriation bill by the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, making sea service requisite not only for officers of the line but for officers of the staff, including medical and pay officers as well. The order already issued, however, insures to the country the proper proportion of sea service by the officers of the Navy whose business is at sea, and will quicken their interest in sea duty as the chief function of their profession.

On the 3d of February, 1899, Hon. John D. Long, Secretary of the Navy in McKinley's administration, "after mature deliberation," as he said, issued General Order No. 508, forbidding officers or commandants "to allow any malt or other intoxicating liquor to be sold to, or issued to, enlisted men, either on board ship or within the limits of navy yards, naval stations, or marine barracks, except in the medical department." On July 1 last year an order, No. 99, went into effect in these words: "The use or introduction for drinking purposes of alcoholic liquors on board any naval vessel or within any navy yard or station is strictly prohibited."

The action of the Secretary of the Navy was the culmination of a series of official acts designed to eliminate the evils of alcoholism in the Navy. It is known that Secretary of the Navy Branch, whom North Carolina is proud to regard as one of her most gifted sons, wrote, on May 25, 1829, to Dr. William P. C. Barton, surgeon, United States Navy:

I inclose copy of a resolution of the House of Representatives of the 25th February, 1829, instructing the Secretary of the Navy "to require three of the medical officers of the Navy, whom he shall designate, to report to him their opinions, separately, whether it is necessary or expedient that 'distilled spirits' should constitute a part of the rations allowed to midshipmen."

In compliance with this resolution I have designated you as one of the medical officers, and request your opinion as early as may be convenient that I may transmit a report on the subject at the next session of Congress.

It seems, Mr. Speaker, that North Carolinians who served in the Cabinet of the President are destined to hold the portfolio of the Secretary of the Navy. North Carolina has had five Cabinet officers—Branch, Graham, Dobbin, who is responsible for the Perry expedition which opened Japan to the commerce of the world, Badger, and the present Secretary of the Navy, Hon. Josephus Daniels—and all were destined to preside over the administration of naval matters.

"Secretary Daniels's order," to quote ex-Secretary Long, "is the natural sequence of my own prohibiting liquors for enlisted men in the Navy," and this former Secretary added:

It is more than likely that foreign vessels will be led by this example to consider and imitate it, so that the drink evil in foreign navies may be put in process of elimination as well as our own.

Within a few weeks after that prophecy not one but several foreign countries caught step and fell into line, some of them going so far as to prohibit the use of liquor in both army and navy. Of the new and far-reaching order in Russia, the most sweeping of all, Capt. N. A. McCully, of the United States Navy, naval attaché at Petrograd, writes:

Further acquaintance with Russia's antiliquor law convinces me that it is one of the best things that ever happened in Russia. I have not met one single Russian who is not very much in favor of it.

Lord Kitchener, upon being appointed Secretary of State for War, issued this message to the soldiers of the expeditionary force:

Your duty can not be done unless your health is sound. So keep constantly on your guard against any excesses. In this new experience you may find temptation in both wine and women. You must entirely resist both temptations.

A cable from Panama, dated November 14 last, conveys the information that Col. Goethals had on that day issued an order placing all persons engaged in canal transportation on a strict temperance basis. The order provides that all persons employed on the canal who have marine licenses must abstain absolutely from liquor. This includes pilots taking ships through the canal, the captains of tugboats, mates, and others.

The Surgeon General of the Army, Dr. Gorgas, whose sanitation work on the Isthmus gave him world-wide fame, in his annual report says that the rate of alcoholism in the Army was lower in the last fiscal year than since 1870, and he makes the observation that "this improvement strengthens the contention of those who disapprove the restoration of the canteen," and adds:

It is believed that the Army will be well rid of any system of supplying alcoholic drinks. There really appears to be no more reason why they should be sold on Government reservations to soldiers than there appears to be any reason for the regulation issue of grog of former days.

One reason for the decrease of alcoholism in the Army, according to Dr. Gorgas, is—

the effect produced by the act of Congress stopping the pay of officers and enlisted men when incapacitated for duty on account of sickness due to drug addiction, alcoholism, or other misconduct.

Similar legislation was recommended last year for the Navy and Marine Corps, and the experience of the Army is an unanswerable argument for applying the same law to this branch of the service.

In announcing the order that ended the wine mess, as it was called, the present Secretary made the following statement:

There should not be on shipboard, with reference to intoxicants, one rule for officers and another and a different rule for the enlisted personnel. I believe experience has demonstrated that a uniform rule should prevail in the Navy for all who enlist in the service, from the highest rank to the youngest enlisted man or officer who comes into the service, and that the abolition of the wine mess will be justified.

Already many who did not welcome the new order are its strong advocates.

In connection with the new and better habits in all navies, it may be well to call attention to the statement of Emperor William of Germany, who, speaking some years ago to naval cadets at Murwick, recounted that when he was a cadet "It passed for extraordinary cleverness in the youth for him to imbibe a large

quantity of alcohol and bear it. I, as a young officer, had occasion to see such examples, but never myself to participate." He went on to point out that such conduct "suits the Thirty Years' War, but not now," because "the service in my navy has reached such a height of strenuousness as you can hardly surpass," and he added:

The next war and the next sea battle demand sound nerves of you. Nerves will decide. These become undermined through alcohol, and from youth up by the use of alcohol endangered.

You will later have opportunity to see the target ships and the action of the modern projectiles upon the ships, and therefrom you can picture the conditions during battle. You will see horrible destruction when you are upon these.

Here it calls, "Steady nerves and a cool head."

That nation which consumes the least quantity of alcohol wins; and that you should be, my gentlemen. And through you an example should be given the crews.

And in consequence of this I expect of you that even now at the naval academy and on board ship in all comradeship and friendliness in no way disturbed among yourselves you take heed thereto and provide that the indulgence in alcohol be not counted as belonging to your privileges.

In his speech at Gibraltar in 1904 Sir Charles Beresford, C. B., gave utterance to a sentiment that finds more and more approval, just as Emperor William's address to the German youths entering the navy is accepted as necessary for the best efficiency of naval officers. Lord Beresford, as he now is, said at that time:

When I was a young man I was an athlete. I used to box a great deal, ride steeplechases and races, play football, and go through a number of competitive sports and pastimes. When I put myself into training, which was a continual occurrence, I never drank any wine, spirits, or beer at all, for the simple reason that I felt I could get fit quicker without taking any stimulants. Now, I am an older man and have a position of great responsibility, often entailing quick thought and determination and instant decision. I drink no wine, spirits, and beer, not because they do me harm, not because I think it wrong to drink, but simply because I am more ready for any work imposed upon me, day or night; always fresh, cheery, and in good temper.

The order No. 99 was not issued by the Secretary until, at his request, the Surgeon General had made a report showing its wisdom. Not only has the order been approved by other nations, but the medical authorities of the world have given approval. In closing an editorial approving the action of the Navy, the Journal of the American Medical Association used these words:

The development of scientific methods, and the use of instruments of precision in warfare have made alcohol absolutely detrimental to the modern naval man. Sea fights in the past were won by brute hardihood and physical endurance, which could, perhaps, be stimulated, temporarily at least, by large doses of alcohol. The modern warship is a floating laboratory of delicate and accurate machines. The gun pointer who directs a 14-inch rifle on the modern man-of-war needs not only personal courage, but also absolute steadiness of nerve, clearness of vision, and fine muscular coordination. All these things modern physiology has shown to be impaired by even small amounts of alcohol. The engineer who superintends the machinery at the heart of the modern battleship, the man at the wheel who directs its course, and the captain or the executive officer on the bridge, as well as the most humble member of the crew, need at all times to be in a condition of maximum physical and mental efficiency. Intoxication in the naval officer to-day might easily be as disastrous as cowardice and treason. Surg. Gen. Braisted's recommendations and Secretary Daniels's order are simply in line with our growing knowledge. The Nation needs on its battleships to-day the most capable, clear-headed, cool-brained, and steady-handed men, and these men are not found among habitual or occasional users of alcohol in any form. Entirely aside from moral or sentimental reason, and considered simply as a scientific regulation in the interest of efficiency, this order will recommend itself to the vast majority of the American people.

Referring to the subject of temperance, Admiral Jellicoe, commander in chief of the British North Sea Fleet, said:

Any officer holding a command which carries with it any measure of responsibility for the defense of the Empire must recognize, as I do, the value of temperance in promoting fighting efficiency. In the navy there are three qualities upon which efficiency mainly depends. They are discipline, straight shooting, and endurance, and temperance unquestionably tends greatly to the promotion of these qualities.

Another measure for the betterment of the "man behind the gun" taken by the department is the recent letter of Secretary Daniels to all commanding officers, written with a view to awakening interest and activity in the proper teaching of the personnel with regard to the nature and dangers of venereal diseases, and to ask the hearty cooperation of every officer and man to see, so far as his influence and example go, that every associate and shipmate does not become the victim of any of these diseases through ignorance or the lack of moral support in all that makes for a clean and moral life. At the same time the Secretary is on record as favoring a law which would deprive men of their pay during the time they are incapacitated by such diseases, contracted through failure to heed the repeated warnings and instructions given them. In the course of this letter the Secretary said:

The spectacle of an officer or hospital steward calling up boys in their teens as they are going on leave and handing over these "preventive packets" is abhorrent to me. It is equivalent to the Government advising these boys that it is right and proper for them to indulge in an evil which perverts their morals. I would not permit a youth in whom I was interested to enlist in a service that would thus give virtual approval to disobeying the teachings of his parents and the dictates of the highest moral code. You may say that the ideal raised is too high and we need not expect young men to live up to the ideal of continence. If so, I can not agree. It is a duty we can not shirk to point to the true ideal, to chastity, to a single standard of morals for men and women. If, unhappily, experience has taught us that too few resist temptation, that in no wise lessens our responsibility to seek to guide the youth to whom we owe a solemn duty. We need not hope to induce young men to become strong in will power, firm in resisting temptation, if we say to them: "Go in the way of sin. We have no admonition to you to refrain from evil. All that we have to say to you is to be careful not to contract disease." Such admonitions to boys in their teens would make me, as Secretary of the Navy, an apologist for looseness of morals. I could not look a boy in the Navy straight in the face while I appealed to him to lead a clean life if I were approving the policy and the use of a measure of this kind.

In regard to the personnel in general, it can be truly said that in no organization in the country is there a better and more perfect understanding, a finer sense of mutual respect between those who direct and those who obey, than that governing the relations between the officers and men of our Navy.

Turning now from the personnel to the material, we find that the record of the past two years is one of which we may well be proud. Economy has been the watchword, and no dollar has been spent merely because authority for its expenditure was authorized by Congress. In filing his first report during the fall of 1913, the Secretary of the Navy was able to state to the President that already as huge a sum as $2,000,000 had been saved the Government because of insistence by the Navy Department upon competition on all contracts. Of this sum as much as $600,000 was saved on contracts for one ship alone, the dreadnaught *Arizona*. Strict adherence to this commendable policy during the ensuing year resulted in savings almost as great, which I shall mention later, and in unexpended balances totaling over $2,000,000, of which $1,800,000 was reappropriated at the present session of Congress for the construction of submarines and air craft. It has not affected in the slightest, this policy of "economy ashore for expenditure afloat," necessary and important improvement of our shore stations. A former Secretary of the Navy has seen fit, and justly so, to condemn in the most absolute terms unnecessary expenditures for shore stations. During no other similar period have greater reductions been made in the appropriations for shore stations than during the last two years. In the four years of the Taft administration Congress authorized the expenditure of $21,928,572 on shore stations, of which about $13,500,000 were authorized during the first two years and more than $8,000,000 during the last two years. In the two naval appropriation bills that have been passed by the present Congress, Mr. Speaker, the total sum authorized by us for expenditure on naval shore stations totals but $3,920,880. We authorized about $2,300,000 a year ago, and under the bill just adopted, which carries a larger sum than any other naval appropriation bill, only $1,500,000 can be applied to this purpose. We have not stinted the Navy in our appropriations, for they have been large and liberal; but the money has gone to the Navy, to new ships, and the amounts in our bills for increase of the Navy exceed by $30,000,000 similar expenditures authorized during the last two years of the Taft administration. Necessary growth ashore has been authorized and all projects under way have been continued and the moneys applied to purposes which will greatly improve our Navy's readiness for war and establish and expand the sources from which the necessary munitions of war are to be obtained.

The output of the Navy Powder Factory has already been increased by about 1,100,000 pounds annually, and when the extension of the works, authorized at the last session of the present Congress at the request of the department, is completed, the output will be increased by another million pounds. In other words, the capacity of the factory will be increased from 2,791,636 pounds to 4,900,000 pounds per year.

The manufacture of torpedoes has been started at the Washington Navy Yard, providing a third source from which this necessary engine of war may be obtained, and the output of the Newport factory has been practically doubled. Thanks to an appropriation voted at the last session its capacity will be materially increased and the time and cost of manufacture reduced. For every 100 torpedoes which the department had on hand in March, 1913, 96 more are in the course of manufacture. Within a few months the supply of torpedoes will, therefore, be almost doubled.

The department has also begun the manufacture of mines, and within a short while it will have 31 mines for every 9 mines it had two years ago, increasing the supply of mines about 244 per cent. In addition to this a particular type of contact mine has been adopted.

The Boston and Philadelphia Navy Yards have been equipped to build large auxiliary craft, the Portsmouth (N. H.) Yard has begun construction work on submarines, and the scope of con-

struction work at Mare Island, Cal., Charleston, S. C., and Norfolk, Va., has been extended to include destroyers. The equipment of these three yards to build quickly men-of-war adds materially to the readiness of the Navy to respond to an emergency. Until a year ago none of our navy yards were prepared to build ships except New York and Mare Island.

In radio the advance has been exceptionally great. Radio has been successfully installed on submarines. More than 75 ships, which either had no radio or whose equipment was obsolete and worn-out, have been supplied with modern equipment. Three entirely new stations have been added to the chain: Balboa (Canal Zone), Great Lakes, Ill., and Tutuila, Samoa.

The naval act of 1914 provides that no part of the money appropriated shall be used "to procure through purchase or contract any vessels, armament, articles, or materials which the navy yards, gun factories, or other industrial plants operated by the Navy Department are equipped to supply, unless such Government plants are operated approximately at their full capacity for not less than one regular shift each working day." Three exceptions are made—the first, "except when contract costs are less than costs in Government plants"; second, "except when Government plants are unable to complete the work within the time required"; and, third, "except in cases of emergency."

This injunction of the law that nothing should be bought in the markets which could be made by the Navy itself has been observed with a conscientious scruple in letter and in spirit, which has resulted often, not only in large savings, but in widening the Navy's avenues of manufacture. The law has yielded profits. Contrary to popular idea the Navy Department in what it manufactures does so, from a superdreadnaught to a gallon of paint or a pound of powder, cheaper than the same can be purchased. This is particularly true of the most expensive instruments of war, but is equally true of gasoline engines, electrical supplies, engines for dreadnaughts, shrapnel, clothing for marines and sailors, accouterments, and a multitude of other articles required for the fleet and shore stations.

The last Congress made an appropriation, upon the recommendation of the department, for the enlargement of the powder factory. Before the Government began to manufacture smokeless powder it paid 80 cents a pound for it. Government competition, coupled with better methods (but chiefly the fact that the Government demonstrated the exact cost of producing it), have brought down the price at which the department purchases this powder to 53 cents. The department is now manufacturing it at Indian Head at a cost of 36 cents a pound, and when the enlarged plant is completed may be able to still further reduce the cost of production. If the department had bought what it manufactured last year, the powder bill would have been $397,536.16 more than it was. In addition to effecting this saving by manufacture, the department reworked 1,013,940 pounds, at 11.9 cents per pound, and this method insures the use of much powder every year that would otherwise be useless, and has encouraged the department to undertake the manufacture of such other necessary munitions as mines and to embark upon the construction of vessels of war and auxiliaries to an extent never before essayed.

Upon the recommendation of the department Congress made an appropriation for enlarging the torpedo works at Newport, R. I. In the two years that the present torpedo works have been in full operation the cost of manufacture of each torpedo has been reduced from $4,200 to $3,200. These torpedoes, if bought at the only private torpedo plant in the country, would cost $5,000. The enlargement of the torpedo works will not necessarily cause the Navy Department to manufacture all its torpedoes, but ability to make a large proportion of the number needed will result in securing better prices from manufacturers. This is true of all other munitions of war. Ability to make them secures reduction in cost. This experience has justified the recommendation of the department and the act of Congress.

Every Secretary of the Navy has been confronted with the problem of securing the most efficient management of the navy yards. Inasmuch as it is both a military and industrial problem, there have been widely differing opinions as to the methods of securing the best results in the industrial department and at the same time preserving the necessary military authority. The House Committee on Naval Affairs visited most of the yards last year, and during the hearings of the Secretary of the Navy the question of economic management was fully discussed. The committee was promised recommendations on navy-yard management in the Secretary's report at the third session of Congress. As a result of long consideration, it has been decided not to formulate any hard and fast plan; but, in pursuance of the act of Congress permitting the Secretary to designate engineer and construction officers, as well as line officers, to navy-yard management, a plan has been put in operation at the New York yard—which is the largest construction as well as repair yard in the Navy—by which an admiral is to be commandant, in charge of all military matters, and an engineer officer is to be the industrial manager of the yard. At the Charleston Navy Yard an engineer officer has been named as commandant, and construction officers have been assigned as industrial managers of the navy yards at Portsmouth, N. H.; Norfolk, Va.; and New Orleans, La. Within a short time construction or engineer officers will be utilized at such other yards as may promise the best results. It is believed the introduction of industrial managers has already justified the wisdom of the experiment; and when the system has been in operation a sufficient length of time to be benefited by the continued superintendence of the same officers, a system characteristic of similar private concerns, but impracticable under the old order in the Navy, it is almost certain that most of the difficulties and much of the expense involved in the maintenance of so many and so extensive naval stations will have been solved.

No account of the Navy Department's work would be complete without a statement of the saving in cost of construction and maintenance, a saving effected by close scrutiny of contracts, most careful supervision of work of all kinds, and ceaseless efforts to economize wherever and whenever it could be done without impairing efficiency.

POWDER.

Through the increased output of the factory at Indianhead, Md., the difference in the cost of manufacture and the purchase price, the Government has been saved $150,000. As the plant will now continue to manufacture the increased amount annually, or even a still greater amount, this saving continues indefinitely.

The cost of manufacture has been reduced by 2.7 cents per pound.

PROJECTILES.

As against the prices paid for the last previous purchases, the Government was saved on the contract of January, 1914 (contracts to American firms), $1,077,210.

The price of 14-inch armor-piercing shells was reduced from $500 and $490 to $315 and $320 and $334.

The price of 12-inch, from $272 to $165.

The price of 5-inch common projectiles, from $13.30 to $8.56 and $8.72.

The price of 4-inch common, from $9.75 to $5.46.

On a contract of a year later, January, 1915, after the outbreak of the European war, with competition removed, a higher price was exacted, but even at the higher rates a saving, as compared with the previous figures of the preceding administration, was effected amounting to $287,000.

This time prices amounted to: Fourteen-inch, $415, $420, and $425; 5-inch, $12; 4-inch, $9.50 and $9.80.

ARMOR.

The last ship for which armor was awarded by the preceding administration was the *Pennsylvania*. It cost as follows:

Class A1	$454
Class A2	518
Class B	496
Class C	548

Precisely the same prices were asked for the first contracts to be let by the present administration. All bids were rejected, and the following prices obtained:

Class A1	$440
Class A2	504
Class B	471
Class C	448

Effecting a saving on armor for the *Arizona* of $114,646.

A year later still better prices were obtained on the armor for the three dreadnaughts authorized at the last session of Congress, as follows:

Class A1	$425
Class A2	486
Class B	466
Class C	376

As compared with the prices paid for *Pennsylvania* armor, a saving of $738,642 was effected under this contract.

Total savings on armor to date, $1,110,084.

TORPEDOES.

The cost of torpedoes manufactured at the Government factory, Newport, R. I., has been reduced from $4,202.11 each to $3,245.72 each. Through a reduction in the cost of torpedoes a total saving of $326,700 has been effected.

GUNS AND GUN FORGINGS.

Since March 4, 1913, the saving in contracts for guns and gun forgings, based upon the difference between the former prices and the current prices, has amounted to $280,425.33.

MINES.

In manufacturing mines at a Government station, in lieu of purchasing them, a saving of $178,750 has been effected.

ENGINEERING.

The Bureau of Steam Engineering is to-day maintaining a much larger fleet in active commission and in reserve than in 1910 on an appropriation of about $1,100,000 less. The reductions in appropriations have been gradual since 1910, and the efficient maintenance of the fleet is a splendid tribute to the efficiency of this department, the reductions being made during a period in which the fleet was enlarged, a reserve fleet organized, aeronautics introduced, radio developed, and the pay of navy-yard employees increased.

CONSTRUCTION AND REPAIR.

As evidence of the efficient administration of this bureau, attention is invited to the reduction of $680,000 in the appropriation for next year, which has been recommended because of the unexpended balances from last year's appropriation, the department maintaining a much larger fleet and superintending considerably more construction work than in any previous year.

TRANSPORTATION.

As a result of careful scrutiny of transportation expenses and better methods in routing parties of men between the various naval stations, a saving of $176,643.56 has been effected by the Bureau of Navigation during the last fiscal year.

The effect of this economical administration of the Navy Department was to enable the Secretary to submit estimates for 1916 over $2,000,000 less than the appropriations for 1915 and still provide for a larger building program than Congress has authorized during recent years.

The economies effected and the securing of real competition wherever possible by the Navy Department has enabled Congress to largely increase the sums available for fighting craft without large increase of the naval appropriation bill. The following statement shows how the building program has steadily increased:

Statement of the totals of the appropriations carried by the naval acts from 1900 to 1914, showing separately the amounts for "Increase of the Navy" and showing the number and types of vessels authorized by those acts.

Year.	Appropriation.	Amount for increase, Navy.	Tonnage, exclusive of submarines.	Building program.
1900....	$65,140,916.67	$17,140,699.00	100,036	2 first-class battleships; 3 armored cruisers; 3 protected cruisers; 7 submarines.
1901....	78,101,791.00	25,400,000.00	.....	No new construction.
1902....	78,856,363.13	22,703,010.00	63,630	2 first-class battleships; 2 armored cruisers; 2 gun boats; 2 tugs.
1903....	81,876,791.43	25,925,632.00	77,600	5 first-class battleships; 2 training ships.
1904....	97,505,140.94	32,176,860.00	82,930	1 first-class battleship; 2 armored cruisers; 3 scout cruisers; 2 colliers; 2 tugs; 4 submarines.
1905....	100,336,679.94	42,255,833.00	32,000	2 first-class battleships.
1906....	102,091,670.27	33,475,829.00	22,100	1 first-class battleship; 3 torpedo-boat destroyers; 8 submarines.
1907....	98,958,507.50	23,713,915.00	21,400	1 first-class battleship; 2 torpedo-boat destroyers.
1908....	122,663,885.47	30,307,962.00	123,480	2 first-class battleships; 5 colliers; 10 torpedo-boat destroyers; 8 submarines.
1909....	136,935,199.05	38,819,595.00	75,085	2 first-class battleships; 1 collier; 8 destroyers (3 subsurface); 4 submarines.
1910....	131,350,854.38	33,770,346.00	96,452	2 first-class battleships; 2 colliers; 6 torpedo-boat destroyers; 4 submarines.
1911....	126,478,338.24	26,0055,47.67	106,797	2 first-class battleships; 2 colliers; 1 river gunboat; 1 gunboat; 2 tugs; 4 submarines; 1 submarine tender; 8 torpedo-boat destroyers.
1912....	123,225,007.76	20,569,373.48	77,440	1 battleship, first line; 2 fuel ships; 6 destroyers; 1 destroyer tender; 8 submarines; 1 submarine tender.
1913....	140,800,643.52	35,325,695.00	56,530	1 battleship; 1 transport; 1 supply ship; 6 destroyers; 4 submarines.
1914....	144,868,716.61	41,091,734.00	102,660	3 battleships; 6 destroyers; 8 (or more) submarines.
1915....	147,461,864.88	[1] 46,853,801.00	89,660	2 battleships; 6 destroyers; 16 submarines; 2 sea-going submarines; 1 oiler.

[1] Includes $1,800,000 saved on shore expenditures, reappropriated for aeronautic and submarines.

With $500,000 less than the previous bill carried, eliminating the Mississippi and Idaho transaction, the last session of this Congress directed that over $1,000,000 more should go to increase of the Navy, and the bill we have just enacted authorizes $11,528,106 more for increase of the Navy than was authorized in the last year of the preceding administration. The total appropriation for increase in ships and air craft of the Navy authorized by the Sixty-third Congress is $86,145,535, to which should be added $1,800,000 of money saved the Government by the economical administration of naval affairs and reappropriated by Congress for the development of aviation and the construction of submarines, making a total of $87,945,535, which is $32,050,466 above the amount authorized by the Sixty-second Congress for the same purposes. We have authorized in the two naval appropriation bills an entire division of five dreadnaughts, which will be the most formidable vessels afloat and will each cost in the neighborhood of $15,000,000, and three seakeeping submarines of a type, speed, and radius of action greater than that of any submersible of any other country, according to the best advices available. Twelve torpedo-boat destroyers, costing about $900,000 each; 23 submarines, costing about $500,000 each; and a fuel ship, to cost about $1,000,000, complete the greatest naval program ever authorized by any Congress since the organization of the Navy.

We have been the first to recognize by distinctive appropriation the importance of air craft in future warfare. Until this year whatever money was available for the development of aviation was parceled among several different appropriations, and frequently the entire work was impeded because one appropriation was exhausted, even though adequate funds remained in another and were unavailable for expenditure. With the larger appropriation concentrated in one fund, and the progress already accomplished at the School of Aeronautics at Pensacola, and the good results which we hope to come from the advisory committee on aeronautics authorized in this bill, which will cooperate with the work of the Army and Navy Aviation Corps, the country may be justified in expecting that their military forces will keep the pace maintained by those of other nations in the development of the science of flight, which is the fruit of American genius.

The question was raised by uninformed persons that because of the Mexican situation and other disturbances in countries to the south of us ships of the Navy had not been given their usual practices. Secretary Daniels made a full statement, as follows:

The routine of the regular maneuvers and drills of the fleet has been to a degree interfered with during the present year owing to unusual conditions which demanded and exacted unusual service from the fleet, and to which the fleet responded with an alacrity and readiness which amply justifies the faith of the country that there exists no more efficient institution than the United States Navy. The emergency experience of a year of stress and strain has been of far greater value than the old routine, because it has demonstrated the readiness of the Navy in every department, afloat and ashore, to meet an urgent call, its flexibility in adjusting itself to an entirely new and unexpected situation, and its remarkable efficiency in handling every problem presented to it. The few drills which had been missed or postponed during the Mexican trouble were more than counterbalanced by the experience gained in the mobilization of the Atlantic Fleet and the occupation of Vera Cruz. No one believes more earnestly in the value of practice and drill than I, but it is absurd to say that because a few maneuvers could not be held at the same time this year that they were held last year the whole fleet has deteriorated to the danger point of actual inefficiency. The declaration of Admiral Badger as he made his brilliant "get-away" from Hampton Roads last April is as true to-day as it was then: "I do not know what we will be called upon to do, but we are ready." This is the spirit of the officers and men of the American Navy.

The rendezvous and departure of the fleet at the time Admiral Badger was ordered to Mexican waters last April demonstrated the all-round efficiency of the Navy—the splendid condition of the ships, the carefully prearranged availability of coal and supplies in huge quantities, the instant readiness of officers and men. All these things spelled in capital letters the word "preparedness"; and efficiency, from the first order to assemble the ships to the transfer of Vera Cruz to the Army, was characteristic of every act. The department, in all its branches, moved like well-oiled machinery, every part coordinating. Three varying instances may be taken, each illustrative of different phases of the activity. One battleship took on 1,800 tons of coal, provisions for a thousand men for six weeks, huge quantities of various supplies, rounded up officers and men ashore on leave, and was tugging at her anchor waiting only the signal to proceed, inside of 12 hours. At the Newport Training Station, just 15 minutes elapsed after orders arrived before 1,000 men were in complete readiness to embark. The department desiring immediately to charter a large merchant steamer as an auxiliary for the men-of-war, the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts reported in less than 60 minutes that a great Ward liner had been secured at Vera Cruz and 90 minutes later Admiral Fletcher was notified that this vessel was at his disposal. In spite of all alarmists, the Navy could repeat these brilliant performances to-morrow.

The best preparation for war on the sea is the constant exercising and maneuvering of fighting vessels in divisions and fleets, and particularly is this true in exercising these groups of vessels in the manner which careful study and constant practice has shown can best develop their offensive and defensive qualities, in order to have them ready to meet in the most advantageous manner the most probable conditions under which the enemy will act.

It must, however, be conceded that the best school and preparation for war is war itself, and it was almost under this condition that our fleet acted during its stay off Vera Cruz during the past summer. There it was for the first time that our fleet landed since 1865 its

largest body of armed men, and these ships' battalions were under fire and secured possession of the city, but only after considerable loss in killed and wounded. This experience and that which followed of erecting and holding defenses to protect the city from outside attack, of governing a population unfriendly, to say the least, to themselves, maintaining law and order, and providing for the sanitation of the men landed, as well as for the entire population, were all matters of professional education which rarely in peace times fall to the lot of officers and men. It is unquestionably true that the practical knowledge and experience gained by officers and men on the ships at Vera Cruz during this period was of more advantage to the Navy and our country than could have possibly been gained had the ships been denied this experience and confined their summer work to the usual drills and exercises, as heretofore. At Vera Cruz they had the actual tests to which the peace exercises were only the prelude—the landing under fire, the fighting in the streets, the firing from the ships, the erection of defenses and holding them against a possible superior force, the control and governing of a large body of natives, the sanitation of a city, and the collection of revenue.

The stay ot the fleet off Vera Cruz, however, did not prevent the further preparation of the ships for battle, as each week one or more divisions could, and generally did, get underway and spend such time at divisional or fleet drills of vessels and torpedo exercises as the commander in chief deemed advisable. The records of the department show that the drills of vessels while in Mexico included, besides division exercises and tactical maneuvers, torpedo-proving practice and subcaliber drill in preparation for target practice. In view of these facts little, if any, truth can be properly found in the claim made by some that our fleet suffered in efficiency as a result of its stay off Vera Cruz. Any shortcoming due to interference with the exercising of the fleet as a whole by the duty at Vera Cruz was many times advantageously overcome by the great and beneficial experience gained by the officers and men in the actual conditions undergone by the preparation for the fighting ashore and the subsequent duties of the control of a captured city—experiences which come only in conflict and for which no one can justly claim peaceful drills are equally as instructive.

The opinion of the commander in chief as to the value of the mobilization of the fleet of 70 ships at Vera Cruz from the standpoint of experience and training is shown by the following quotation from the annual report of Rear Admiral Badger under date of August 23, 1914:

"The necessity during the past 18 months for maintaining detachments of capital ships in Mexican waters and in the Caribbean has somewhat interfered with the most efficient development of the fleet along the lines of preparation to meet successfully a hostile fleet of similar power. On the other hand, the rapid mobilization of the whole fleet on the east coast of Mexico in April and May, when more than 70 ships, including auxiliaries, were in close touch with the commander in chief, was an experience of great value and was an evidence of effective organization."

For many years officers have written and talked about the formation of advance-base material and the practice of exercising landing parties of seamen and marines in the use of this important adjunct to naval warfare. All have recognized the importance of advance bases, and our plans for campaigns have provided for such as an important integral factor in the successful beginning of a campaign as well as the prime necessity for holding and maintaining the base throughout the period of hostilities carried on in its vicinity or along its line of march.

Due to the growing importance and necessity of advance bases in connection with any campaign our Navy might be engaged in hereafter and to the insistence of officers on this point, Congress has allowed for them in its appropriations, and for several years past material has been collected and the quota of guns, ammunition, etc., added to, and officers and men assigned to duty at the home stations (Philadelphia and San Francisco yards) at which the advance-base material had been collected, yet, notwithstanding all the written articles, lectures delivered, and plans of campaigns worked out, extending over many years, regarding the value and necessity of advance bases and drills, with the material necessary for establishing them, not a single time was the Navy exercised in their use of the advance-base material under conditions approaching those to be expected in war time until the present year. There had been plenty of talk, plenty of reasons given showing the needs, and the material had been collected, but there the work virtually stopped until, in January last, Admiral Badger, commander in chief of the Atlantic Fleet, acting under my instructions, carried out a proper and comprehensive exercise of transporting two regiments of marines, with all their war material, including the advance-base material, to Culebra Island, there made a landing and fortified the island as an advance base for the use of the fleet. Guns of different calibers were landed, transported up high hills, and mounted in commanding positions, the harbor and approaches mined, batteries placed, signal stations erected; in fact, everything was done which would have been required had actual hostilities been in progress. To further carry out the operations under war conditions, the fleet attacked the advance base, dragged for the mines, landed battalions of seamen, and made sham attacks—all the features that would be probably encountered in war time were tried and threshed out. The professional advantages thus gained by the officers and men were inestimable, and this was the first time that the practice had ever been carried out, though by no means the first opportunity afforded the Navy to have done so.

Three months after this landing of seamen and marines and advance-base drilling at Culebra, the same fleet and same men were called upon to land at Vera Cruz, Mexico, under really hostile conditions, and the excellent manner in which the work at that port was accomplished can in all probability be claimed as largely due to the experience and practice had at Culebra in January last. The landing at Culebra was the prelude of that at Vera Cruz. The taking of Vera Cruz was the repetition, under fire, of the landing at Culebra. In retrospect of Vera Cruz, I confess to a feeling of intense satisfaction that I went further than any of my predecessors in actually putting into practice the long-contemplated and long-delayed advance-base experiments.

I quote herewith an extract from the report of the commander in chief, Admiral Badger, giving his opinion of the beneficial results of the advance-base exercises at Culebra:

"The commander in chief believes that the joint exercises were of great benefit to the advance base expedition. Opportunity was given for exercise in the control of gun fire, both day and night, mine control, mine defense, operation of searchlights, exercise of signal parties, and tests of lines of communication; also exercise of the mobile regiment, including the landing gun batteries. Incidentally the experience gained by the fleet during these exercises was of considerable value, especially with respect to mine sweeping and landing the regiment. The destroyers received valuable experience in piloting and deserve much credit for able handling in the restricted waters about Culebra.

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"Finally, the commander in chief desires to express his appreciation of the excellent work of the advance base brigade as a whole. In particular, commendation is due for their thoroughness of preparation, for the successful establishment of the base in the time allowed, in spite of serious difficulties encountered, and for the excellent disposition of the various features of the defense. The discipline and spirit of the brigade was admirable. The experience gained will be of the greatest value in the development of methods and material, and it is recommended that opportunity be given as often as possible for work of this kind, to include carrying out target practices. Incidentally the construction work done by the brigade this winter in the establishment of gun placements, roads, trenches, etc., will greatly facilitate the reestablishment of the base at Culebra, either as a peace exercise or for war service."

The work of the Atlantic Fleet, as regards great gun and torpedo practice, maneuvers, and exercises, is divided among several different periods throughout the year. Beginning about the 3d or 4th of January, after a Christmas leave period for all vessels, the fleet starts for Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, for the winter drill period, which lasts ordinarily until about the end of March. The program for this period includes war games, search problems, fleet and division battle exercises, full-power runs, standardization runs, torpedo-defense practice, torpedo practice, camping, small-arm practice, and general exercises with destroyers and submarines.

Immediately following this comes the annual spring target practice, which is held on the southern drill grounds beginning about the end of March and ending about the end of April.

Some time during May the fleet is again assembled at Newport or Provincetown for the summer drill period, and is engaged on the scheduled work for this period during the months of June, July, and August. This period includes war games, tactical exercises, fleet maneuvers with destroyers and submarines, preparation for autumn target practice, and, whenever practicable, joint maneuvers with the Army.

Following the summer period comes the first autumn target practice during the month of September; then comes the docking period, which is followed by a second autumn target practice.

Following the second autumn practice it is the custom to send the fleet by divisions for short cruise, at the end of which, about December 15, the vessels are sent to their home yards for Christmas leave and to prepare for the next year's work.

The various forms of target practice include elementary gun practice, elementary torpedo practice, night torpedo-defense practice, division battle practice, day individual battle practice, and battle torpedo practice. These various forms of practice are divided among the three target-practice periods, ships firing during their regular periods whenever practicable. Whenever it happens that a vessel is unable to fire during the regular period, because of necessary repairs or detached service, the practice missed is held at the next target-practice period, or, if possible, at odd times as soon as available.

In February, 1913, it became necessary to assign a part of the fleet to duty on the coast of Mexico, and vessels have been kept there since that time in such numbers and of such types as was demanded by this Government's interests.

In detailing vessels to this duty it has been the department's policy to assign battleships in groups of four and to have the various divisions alternate as far as practicable. By this means the detached service was distributed among all the vessels of the fleet as nearly equally as possible, and it was provided that while away from the fleet they would be in division units and organized for division drills and exercises. Except for about a month following the landing at Vera Cruz, vessels on duty in Mexico put to sea at frequent intervals for drills and maneuvers. It was the policy to maintain a "week-in-and-week-out" program, and the reports of the commander in chief and the division commanders indicate that this policy was generally carried out.

On April 14, 1914, the commander in chief of the Atlantic Fleet was ordered to proceed to Mexico, and all available vessels in the Atlantic were ordered to assemble in those waters under his command. The commander in chief arrived with the battleship fleet, the destroyer flotilla, and auxiliaries on April 22. By May 1 the following vessels had been assembled under the immediate command and supervision of the commander in chief:

Battleships: *New York, Arkansas, Florida, Utah, North Dakota, Michigan, South Carolina, Louisiana, Connecticut, Vermont, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Georgia, Virginia, Nebraska, Mississippi* (aviation ship).

Torpedo flotilla: *Birmingham* (tender), *Dixie* (tender), *Balch, Burrows, Drayton, Fanning, Henley, Patterson, Paulding, Reid, Trippe, Jenkins, Jouett, Monaghan, Terry, Warrington, Preston, Sterrett, Walke, Flusser, Ammen, Beale, Cassin, Cummings, Jarvis.*

Auxiliaries: *Celtic* (supply ship), *Hancock* (transport), *Prairie* (transport), *Solace* (hospital ship), *San Francisco* (mine layer), *Vestal* (repair ship), *Lebanon* (ammunition ship), *Yankton* (tender), *Cyclops* (collier), *Jason* (collier), *Nereus* (collier), *Orion* (collier), *Patapsco* (tug), *Patuxent* (tug), *Ontario* (tug), *Sonoma* (tug).

Cruisers and gunboats: *Montana, Chester, Des Moines, Tacoma, Salem, Dolphin, Nashville, Eagle.*

Chartered merchant vessels: *Esperanza, Mexico, Tampico, Morro Castle.*

The fleet organization of these 70 vessels consisted of the main battleship fleet of four divisions, the special-service squadron of two battleships, and the gunboats and cruisers under command of Admiral Winslow, who had arrived on the *New York*, the Atlantic torpedo flotilla, and a train made up of supply ships, repair ship, hospital ship, transports with advanced base brigade of marines, mine-laying vessel, ammunition ship, aviation ship, tugs, and tenders.

At the same time the Pacific Fleet was mobilized on the west coast of Mexico, where Rear Admiral Howard had under his immediate supervision 28 vessels, as follows:

Cruisers and gunboats: *California, South Dakota, West Virginia, Maryland, Raleigh, Denver, New Orleans, Chattanooga, Albany, Cleveland, Annapolis, Yorktown.*

Torpedo flotilla: *Cheyenne* (tender), *Iris* (tender), *Hopkins, Hull, Lawrence, Paul Jones, Perry, Preble, Stewart, Truxtun, Whipple.*

Auxiliaries: *Glacier* (supply ship), *Jupiter* (collier), *Justin* (collier), *Naushan* (collier), *Saturn* (collier).

Autumn maneuvers, 1914: During the period from about September 1 to October 15, as the vessels returning from Mexico became available they were docked and assembled under the new commander in chief,

Rear Admiral Fletcher, for fleet exercises and autumn target practice, and were kept together on the southern drill grounds off the Virginia Capes engaged in various fleet maneuvers and exercises until December 4. This period included two target practices.

Summarizing, the following facts appear:

First. All battleships in active commission have held the customary elementary target practice in the customary manner since July 1, 1911, and the Mexican situation has not interfered with this practice.

Second. In elementary torpedo practice only 1 battleship failed to hold it in the year ending June 30, 1914, and only 4 (2 of which were in Mexican waters) failed to hold it during the current year; while 10 battleships failed to hold it in 1913 and 5 in 1912—evidently since the beginning of the Mexican trouble this practice (elementary torpedo) has been held more thoroughly than prior thereto.

Third. In division target practice 3 ships failed to carry it out in the year ending June 30, 1912, 4 in 1913, 8 in 1914, and 4 during the current half year. Of these vessels failing to hold this practice, 2 only appear to have done so because of duty in Mexican waters in the year ending June 30, 1914, and the same during the current half year.

Fourth. In torpedo-defense practice 1 battleship failed to hold it for the year ending June 30, 1912, 3 in 1913, 7 in 1914. Of these 7 only 2 failed to hold it, due to service in Mexican and Haitian waters, the remaining 5 missing the practice, apparently, because of overhaul at navy yards.

Fifth. In battle torpedo practice 2 battleships failed to hold it during the year ending June 30, 1912, 4 in 1913, and 5 in 1914. Of these 5 only 1 was due to duty in Mexican and Haitian waters. The battle torpedo practice for the current year has not yet been held.

On the whole but very little interference with the carrying out of target practices with guns and torpedoes has been caused by the battleships being in Mexican waters, though such practices may not have been held on the schedule times desired, as before the Mexican conditions arose. The fact remains that the practices have been held anyway, with but few exceptions.

It has not been customary to hold target practices by ships in commission in reserve, and hence no account is taken of them.

To the periods of drills and maneuvers should be added the voyage of the fleet in the fall of 1913 to European waters, during which excellent opportunity was afforded for drilling and exercising the divisions of ships, as well as affording our officers and men the benefits of visits to foreign ports, the inspection of foreign ships, and association with foreign officers and crews, all of which is not only professionally instructive but tends to improve and increase the interest of our men in their love for the service in which they are engaged. The newspaper L'Eclaireur, of Nice, voiced the unanimous good opinion which obtained abroad when it said:

"Now that the fine American naval division is leaving us, we should like to place on record our admiration for the remarkably good behavior of the crews, not only on board their ships, where discipline is strict, but ashore. Altogether they behaved like gentlemen.

"Their bearing was irreproachable; their manners showed good education, and frequently rose above mere banal politeness. They taught us Frenchmen, who pay no heed to 'The Marseillaise,' a lesson when they stood rigidly at attention during the rendition of 'The Star-Spangled Banner.'

"Secretary Daniels, when he ordered the cruise, did more than he foresaw. He intended to educate the crews, but he also educated us by showing us such splendid ships and men."

Our fleet is to-day more numerous, better organized, of heavier tonnage and greater strength, more completely manned, and more intelligently served than ever before. The present Congress has contributed most generously and with wise discrimination to the steady, normal, and healthy expansion. I would remind the House that our modern Navy had its inception during the administration of Grover Cleveland while Hon. William C. Whitney was Secretary of the Navy. It was he who issued that drastic but sagacious order in which he said thereafter no dollar should be expended upon a wooden vessel. The foundations he laid were developed toward the completed structure by his successor during the second Cleveland term, Hon. Hilary A. Herbert, who, in commenting upon some of the strong language used in the discussion of naval affairs, recently said in a letter to Secretary Daniels:

I followed in the newspapers with deep interest the hearings before the Committee on Naval Affairs, and now have to thank you for an official copy, an examination of which has much impressed me with the knowledge you have acquired of naval affairs and the readiness with which you have been able to use it as occasion has demanded.

Your explanation of what the President meant by saying that the administration was not "nervous or excited" and your elucidation of the present status of the Navy and the program of the department were capital. The old maxim "Festina lente" never was more applicable than it is to our naval program now. But the horror of the war in Europe has swept many well-meaning people off of their feet, and there are even those who see political advantage in an attack on the Navy Department, because you have not asked for larger appropriations, but in my opinion you can afford to stand pat where you are. First, because sound public sentiment in this country demands that politics be kept out of naval as well as of foreign affairs; and, secondly, because now is precisely the time when we should keep cool and study carefully the lessons that are being taught by the war in Europe.

Let me reminisce a little. Thirty years ago the first Cleveland administration found that a modest but efficient beginning of a new Navy had been made under Arthur. The Democratic Naval Committee of the House at the session of 1885–86 reported a bill for quite a number of new ships. Tom Reed, the opposition leader, under the rules of the House, for a time successfully obstructed its passage. The bill was tacked on to an appropriation bill, points of order evaded, and it passed.

Mr. Reed later thought better of the matter, and never again, either under Cleveland or his successor, Harrison, was there any partisan opposition to naval appropriations. When I became Secretary of the Navy one of the first to congratulate me and tell me that he had written to President Cleveland urging my appointment was Nelson Dingley, of Maine, and during my administration of the department Senators Chandler and Hale and other Republicans of the Senate Naval Committee cooperated with the Secretary of the Navy as heartily as did the Democrats in the House committee. And there was no politics in naval affairs under McKinley or Roosevelt or Taft. Nor was there any in the discussions of the first bill under your administration, and beyond all doubt the orderly progress of the Navy for the last 18 months, as the hearings and your reports prior to the hearings clearly show, has been quite as rapid under you as it was under any of your predecessors. Under none of them was the Navy any better prepared for immediate war with a great power than now. All this the public will fully understand.

If the Navy is not to be made the football of politics, then should the Congress decide at this short session, just because there is a great war in Europe, on an extensive program of construction? We have already before us several lessons from this war about the efficiency of submarines, of contact mines, of fast fighting ships, of swift commerce destroyers, of long-range guns, and we have learned also something about aeroplanes and Zeppelins, but we do not know yet the relative values of all these or what are to be the decisive factors in the great naval war that is now on and that, before it is ended, will try out to the utmost every implement of destruction that human ingenuity has been able to devise.

If Congress now appropriates, no matter how many millions, it must specify the amounts for each item, the department must begin work upon each and all, and it may be that before the program is fairly entered upon it will become clear that grave mistakes have been made and much money is being wasted.

Twelve months hence we shall know better how much we should expend for naval construction and what to spend it for. Congressman GARDNER, in introducing his "searchlight" resolution, said he was convinced that the German cause was "unholy and a menace to the principles of democracy," and further expressed his belief that "the God of battles will visit defeat upon the Germans." If Mr. GARDNER is right in his opinion and his prophecy proves correct, German menace to our democratic institutions will be removed, and that important fact will be up for consideration in future appropriations. On the other hand, if Germany should win, even though her success should be a vast menace to America, no one can for a moment believe that, exhausted as the winner in this great war will be when it is over, our country would be in danger of immediate attack from that quarter.

I have no doubt of the wisdom of your construction program.

The country has again chosen a Democratic Congress. A Democrat resides in the White House and a Democrat is charged with the administration of the affairs of the Navy. With what satisfaction can we point to the zeal with which our naval problems have been studied and give assurance to the people of the land that the vital interests of their naval service are as safely intrusted in the hands of the present authorities as in the days when our Navy was regenerated under Whitney and Herbert! It may with truth be said that no advance nearly so great in personnel, material, or efficiency of the Navy has been made in many years as in the two years since the inauguration of Woodrow Wilson.

Education, Farm Demonstration, and Rural Credits.

I want to see the demonstration work brought to the farm and home of every farmer by competent and efficient men. This requires money investment, which I am sure can be made available through rural credits. It is necessary for our State, like many others, to increase its income in order to maintain its splendid internal improvements and other necessary expenditures for the various institutions of the State. I know of no better way to produce this income than the greater development of the thousands of acres of land not now producing to their utmost and of improving those other lands which are lying idle for need of attention and the expenditure of money.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. CHARLES LINTHICUM,

OF MARYLAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Speaker, I am deeply interested in the welfare of the agricultural work in our country. I feel that the success of our Nation largely depends upon the prosperity of the farmers. When we recognize the fact that the farmers added to the wealth of the land during the past year some nine billions of dollars, we can not but feel that the encouragement of this class of our citizenship is highly important.

SPEAK FROM EXPERIENCE.

I was raised in the country but, like thousands of other farm boys, drifted to the city in my early life, there to earn a living among the toiling masses and to carve out my career amid keen competition and never-ending toil. My father was a farmer—a progressive farmer; one who believed in constant enrichment of the soil, seed selection, scientific cultivation, farm machinery, drainage, and the application of ready cash to obtain the best and most economical results. To educate his eight boys and two girls was his great endeavor, and also that of my mother. To this end every wise economy was practiced and every available means employed.

Each boy in turn, when not in school, became a worker and later the assistant manager of the farm, and helped father conduct his large truck and berry farm with the numerous men and women necessary to its full development and efficiency.

Each was shown the bounds of the farm, taught the soil of the various fields—to what they were best adapted. Each in turn wrote the farm diary and kept the time book telling what had been done, who had worked, and what had been accomplished. This diary gave the yields from the various fields and by comparison with the record of previous years the best results could be ascertained; this not alone determined the best crops to plant but the best place to plant them and the most successful way to cultivate, and various other results only obtainable by such comparison.

When one is raised upon the farm and leaves it he is most likely some day to return to the soil. Such was my case. Ten years ago I, too, secured a farm in my native county of Anne Arundel, and adjoining the old home place, where I have since spent my summers with great pleasure and comfort and continued my farm work.

I mention these things, Mr. Speaker, both as a tribute to my father and mother as well as to show that I speak of farming not alone from the book but as one who in early life has had considerable practical experience. I have known the farmer in prosperity and in adversity, in sunshine and shadow. Though I have lived in the city for some years and have represented those of my adopted home for the past 10 years, I have never allowed my intense interest to cease in the occupation of farming, which my forefathers practiced as far back as I can trace.

FARM PROSPERITY.

To my mind, there are three things essential to enlarge the prosperity of our farming class:

First. The best possible school system, which should embrace vocational education.

Second. The constant application of farm demonstration and experimental work upon the farm and in the home.

Third. Rural credit or farm loans, to better enable the farmer to secure necessary capital at reasonable interest.

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM.

That the States are now endowed with splendid educational systems is manifest to all. That through the cooperation of the educational officials of the various States and those of the National Government teaching is yearly becoming more efficient and more adaptable to the various people of the different sections. I feel that to properly educate the children we should endeavor to ascertain the occupation best suited to the respective pupils and to educate them along that line so that their work may become not drudgery but a pleasure. If the pupil be inclined toward the farm, he or she should be educated in such a way that their occupation may become a most agreeable and remunerative one. There are so many things in nature which we miss unless, when a pupil, our attention is called to them. I therefore believe that if we would have the children remain upon the farms it is necessary to incorporate in our school curriculum those subjects which will make them better acquainted with the products of the soil and those methods by which we may expect the best results. Nothing can be more interesting than the study of nature, and nothing more profitable to the tiller of the soil.

The National Government is endeavoring to encourage rural and industrial education—education in the home—education in civics and the principles of citizenship, by large appropriations expended by the Secretary of the Interior. The Government is endeavoring to encourage home and school gardening along practical lines in order that the pupil may receive that training which will function in the after life of the child.

I would like to see my own State adopt a plan for extending this work of the Federal Government by appointing rural school supervisors for every county in the State, whose duty it will be to keep in close touch with the teacher and also the people of the respective communities of the several schools, acquainting himself with the specific needs of every community and carrying this information to the teacher and giving her such aid and encouragement as will connect the work of the school directly with community life, thus making the school an important community center. Until this is accomplished our school system, as splendid as it is, will not be performing its full function as an important branch of the State Government.

FARM DEMONSTRATION WORK.

Farm demonstration work, which I have named as being one of the requisites necessary to make farming profitable and more enjoyable, is now being undertaken by the National Government and the States jointly, as also is demonstration to the women of the home in home economics and suggestions for greater comfort with less labor. Men are engaged, not alone in my State but in many States of the Union, in demonstrating to the farmer directly upon his farm the best methods to obtain the highest results. That we should undertake farm demonstration and home economics and comforts with a vim and energy never before displayed is quite evident to all. We have but to inquire into the vast increase of population in our country to see that there are many more millions of people to be fed, housed, and clothed than there were some years ago. When we read of a million or more immigrants who have come into our country each year for several years past, aside from the natural growth of our population, we must realize that these people must be fed, clothed, and educated, and their offspring, for ensuing years. To do this it is not only necessary to place under cultivation more acres of land, but it is necessary to get greater production from the acres now under cultivation and to show the women how to lighten their laborious work in the home.

I do not know what the average efficiency of the farms of other States may be, but when I say that my State, many parts of which are as fine as any section of the country, is producing only as a general average 48 per cent of what it should produce, we can readily understand that there is abundant room for farm demonstration and experimental work.

It is not my intention to go into the question of demonstration and experimental work to any great extent, because I believe the American people are aware of the fact that farming can be made easier and more profitable by scientific work rather than the old methods. What is the use of cultivating 100 acres when 50 acres can be made to give the same results with less labor?

Congress has appropriated for demonstration and experimental work during the past session about a million dollars, and with such an appropriation we should accomplish a vast amount of work during the present year. Scientific discoveries of the Department of Agriculture and the State agricultural colleges will be carried directly to the farmers. The system to be applied has been in force among the countries of Europe for many years and the results have been most wonderful. It is conservatively estimated by men who know the benefit of such work that the production of the farm can be made to double during the next 10 years. We can readily see what a great advantage this will be in the welfare of the country and in the prosperity and success of our farmers.

WASTE LANDS.

There are many acres of our State not cultivated to the extent they should be. Often from inexperience and lack of knowledge, and just as frequently from need of a little capital with which to carry on the work more progressively, there are thousands of acres in Maryland not under cultivation at all which if properly tilled would produce in abundance. Much of this land not now cultivated and not susceptible to cultivation is along the many rivers of our State. They are lowlands and by the expenditure of funds for drainage would become more productive perhaps than much of the best land now under culitvation. Not only are these marshlands not cultivated, but they are a menace to the public health. They represent soil gathered from the hills and valleys throughout their region. They are rich and fertile and should be made, under the farm demonstration work and under the drainage system suggested by the Government, to yield in abundance. I note that some of the marshlands along the Patapsco River have been brought under cultivation and the yield is very large. That many of these thousands of acres of land throughout our Commonwealth can, with the expenditure of a little money and proper cultivation, be made a source of splendid income is beyond doubt.

Now, Mr. Speaker, what I have said in reference to educational and demonstration work at this time I have said on several occasions before, but the theme upon which I desire to lay especial stress is rural credits.

RURAL CREDITS.

The term "rural credits" is generally used to designate any system of financial machinery whereby funds are furnished to meet the peculiar and special needs of the farmers upon such terms and at such a rate of interest as not to prove burdensome. Rural or farm credit is divided into two classes—long-term or land credit, which is briefly defined as "credit to meet the capital requirements of the farmer," and short-term or personal credit, which is briefly defined as "credit to meet the current or annually recurring needs of the farmer."

The Democratic Party, recognizing the necessity for rural credits, made it one of the planks in their Baltimore platform, which reads as follows:

> Of equal importance with the question of currency is the question of rural credits or agricultural finance. Therefore we recommend that an investigation of agricultural credit societies in foreign countries be made, so that it may be ascertained whether a system of rural credits may be devised suitable to conditions in the United States; and we also favor legislation permitting national banks to loan a reasonable proportion of the funds on real estate security.

As evidence that rural credit is highly necessary to the full prosperity of our land is the fact that in 1913 the farmers' indebtedness aggregated $6,000,000,000, upon which interest

charged amounted to $510,000,000. The cost of this money to the farmer, including commission, renewal charges, and interest, aggregated 8½ per cent, while in Germany and France the farmers obtain their money under a rural credit system at 4½ per cent. We have about 100,000,000 people in this country, so we behold that for every man, woman, and child there is a farm interest charge of over $5; as the consumer must carry the burden, the farm interest charge becomes of importance to all the people.

In Maryland we have about 49,000 farms, and of those owned in whole or in part by the parties operating them over 36 per cent are mortgaged, and statistics show that, including commissions, renewal charges, and so forth, this money costs the farmers of Maryland 8 per cent. It is quite evident, therefore, that something should be done in order to make money more available to the farmers of the country at a cheaper rate of interest.

We have allowed the industry of our farmers to lag behind the other activities of the country in its development, the very industry that is perhaps the most fundamental to the life of the Nation, because it is that industry which provides food for the people. The farmer, as has been well said, does not stand upon the same footing with the forester and the miner in the market of credit. He is a servant to the seasons, and nature determines how long he must wait for his crops, and will not be hurried in her processes. He may give his note, but the season of its maturity depends upon the season when his crops mature, and the security he has to offer is of a character not known in the broker's office and not as it should be on the counter of his native bank.

FARMERS DISCRIMINATED AGAINST.

Truly has it been said that the act of 1864 which established our banking system previous to the Federal reserve act provided for a commercial system. It was never intended to be and was not capable of being made to meet the needs of the farmer. It discriminated against him by prohibiting loans on real estate security. The effect was to place a ban on real estate as a basis of credit. This being the farmer's chief asset, the system absolutely discriminated against him in its operation.

The result has been that the farmer has been obliged to depend upon the factor, the merchant, and the money lender to obtain what accommodations he required and to make the best financial arrangements that he could, with the further result that high prices were charged him, enormous profits were made at his expense and burdensome interest charges and exactions were put upon him, and with the result, further, that his earnings were largely consumed in that way. His net returns were small, and with no prospect of growing larger.

Discouragement faced every young man growing up on the farm; hard work and the most meager remuneration were in store for him. It was impossible to improve rural conditions; there was no money with which to do it. No wonder occupying owners decreased in number and tenants increased, and a steady flow set in to the cites and towns. The greatest and most important industry of the country, the one upon which we all depend for our food, clothing, and shelter, was not merely neglected and left unprovided for, as far as our financial system was concerned, but was given a severe blow and discriminated against.

Strange to say, this has been continued all these years until the good year 1913 and until the passage of that great measure, to my mind unsurpassed in importance and benefits to the country by any law put on the statute books since the War between the States—the Federal reserve act.

FEDERAL RESERVE ACT.

The Federal reserve act provides for loans whereby the farmer may borrow from the bank for a term of years; but the truth of the situation is that the banks do not want to lend to the farmer. The banks depend for their profit upon the constant investment of their money. If all their money was loaned out in long-time loans, it would not be possible to pay running expenses and the proper dividends. The banking system as now established is evidently for the commercial, business, and financial interests of the land. While I say it is the best system ever adopted in this country and the finest piece of constructive legislation passed within the last 50 years, the fact still remains that even with the changes made in this system it does not serve the interest of the farmer, and the consequence is that not alone is it impossible for him to obtain money, but when he does obtain it it costs him a much larger rate of interest than it does the other pursuits of life.

The President of the United States recognized this fact and said in the newspapers that a rural-credit system should have gone hand in hand with the reform of our banking and currency legislation if we had been ready to act wisely and with full knowledge of what we were about. He stated a distinctive system should be provided for the farmers, and that he regarded such legislation as our next great task and duty. Europe has adopted farmers' credits throughout nearly every country, and to that it owes much of its prosperity and wealth to-day. It is the duty of Congress to so provide for agriculture in this country that the American farmer will continue self-reliant and productive and not to permit the burden of intolerable economic conditions force him to the last extremity before he is provided for through a financial system adequate to his needs.

FARM MONEY NECESSARY.

We have the splendid school system and the farm demonstration and experimental work has been provided by the necessary legislation and appropriations. What we now need and must have is a rural credit system granting the farmers loans for long or short periods, so that they may be invested in the proper development of the broad acres of the country along scientific and approved lines. Many farmers are supplied with funds or they are easily available, but the farmer whose land most needs development is the fellow to whom money is not available. It is this man we must look after, and through a rural credit system bring about the cooperation of the money lender and the borrower, thus forming a system mutually beneficial to both. Many men of money are to-day placing their funds in the savings institutions of the great cities, which in turn invest the larger portion in big corporations, whose interests are beyond the State, thus draining the rural sections of their capital. If we had a rural credit system, much of this money would go into its depositories and be invested in the development of the farms of the community, thus not alone improving the farm upon which it is expended but the neighborhood as well. We can not accomplish the great results attainable until we provide the farmers a financial system, just as we enacted the Federal reserve act for the commercial interests.

I believe that when the system is provided and the farmer can obtain the money for development and expansion we shall see an unprecedent improvement all over the country, and in order to compel an immediate provision for rural credits I shall vote against the agricultural conference report, which eliminates its establishment and provides a commission.

NEEDS OF MARYLAND.

I want to see the fertile and uncultivated acres of my State improved and occupied; the thousands of acres of lowlands drained and producing abundantly, as they are capable of doing. I want to see the demonstration work brought to the farm and home of every farmer by competent and efficient men. This requires money investment which I am sure can be made available through rural credits. It is necesasry for our State, like many others, to increase its income in order to maintain its splendid internal improvements and other necessary expenditures for the various institutions of the State. I know of no better way to produce this income than the greater development of the thousands of acres of land not now producing to their utmost and of improving those other lands which are lying idle for need of attention and the expenditure of money.

States, like individuals, have advanced in improvements and comforts. Better roads, State care of insane, larger and more commodious hospitals, better and more comprehensive school systems, sanitary and health regulations, and many other things which people demand. To meet the expenses of all these modern conveniences not only must our cities continue to expand and improve but every available acre should be brought under cultivation and greater efficiency procured. I believe with the enactment of a rural credit system and the constant application of farm and home demonstration and experimental work this can all be accomplished with hardship to none.

Munitions of War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE M. YOUNG,

OF NORTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. Speaker, I desire to call particular attention to the highly commendable conduct of Mr. Charles R. Bryson, president of the Electric Steel Co., of Pittsburgh, who has for reasons of humanity refused to accept a $4,000,000 order for shells to be furnished to a foreign Government. Two other American concerns have recently turned down fat orders for war materials for the same reasons. And now comes John Stevenson, jr., Sharon, Pa., president of the

Driggs-Seabury Ordnance Corporation, who states that his company has turned down orders for millions of dollars' worth of munitions during the past four months. He says, according to press reports:

Agents of the Russian, French, and British Governments have for months past been trying to get the Driggs-Seabury Corporation to manufacture shells for them, but just as persistently as they have come the orders have been rejected. Our corporation will take no part in the bloody business. I am opposed to war on principle. The last time we made shells was eight years ago. I have since joined Andrew Carnegie's peace society, and have been an active member ever since.

It is far better to make things that are useful for mankind than it is to make things that destroy mankind. I would rather—far rather—that the Driggs-Seabury Ordnance Corporation never again make any article that might be used to destroy life. I am hopeful that this unholy and uncivilized struggle now going on in Europe will come to a speedy end.

Bloody business it is, indeed! Some manufacturers, with the excuse of giving work to the army of unemployed, have been reaping a rich harvest from war orders. Louis Noltimier, a leading Democrat of Valley City, N. Dak., makes an earnest appeal in a petition signed by himself and others:

The United States is practically the only highly civilized neutral Nation that is reaping blood-money profit from the sale of arms and ammunition to the countries at war. Neutral European nations, viz, Italy, Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, have laid embargos on the exportation of arms and ammunition, including copper and gasoline. This great Christian Republic of ours is allowing its factories to run at full speed to supply the warring nations with weapons. Every ounce thus shipped wounds to the quick Americans whose kin it is intended to destroy. We consider it national hypocrisy to pray for peace on Sunday and during the remaining days of the week make a profit from the sale of weapons whereby the frightful slaughter is prolonged. It appears to us as a crime against civilization, and we beg to have it discontinued.

Water Powers on Navigable Streams.

SPEECH

OF

HON. RAYMOND B. STEVENS,

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, July 24, 1914.

The House in Committe of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 16053) to amend an act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of dams across navigable waters," approved June 21, 1906, as amended by the act approved June 23, 1910.

Mr. STEVENS of New Hampshire. Mr. Chairman, power is the life of modern civilization. Unfortunately nearly every source of power in this country has been already turned over to private capital and to private ownership. We are largely dependent for our power upon coal, gas, oil, or water power. Nearly all our coal has become private property, nearly all our oil has become private property, nearly all our gas has become private property, and the greater part of our water power, both developed and undeveloped, has become private property, and the great benefit to the community of such natural sources of power accrue mainly to the owners thereof and not to the general public, because with any limited natural resource what fixes the price the public must pay is the demand and need for it, and not the cost of production.

We have left in this country some undeveloped water powers that are still in the control of the Federal Government. We have those which are located upon the public domain that have not yet been given away, and we have those which are located upon the navigable streams; and the question is what we shall do with those water-power rights that are still within our control, and that question is before Congress to-day, both as regards the water powers of navigable streams and those water powers located upon the public domain. We have the Adamson bill, dealing with the water powers upon navigable streams, and we have the Ferris bill, dealing with the water powers upon the public domain. I believe that the policy of the Government in dealing with these undeveloped water powers should be absolutely the same. There is no reason why a water power upon a navigable stream should be turned over to private capital without any compensation to the Government any more than there is why the water power upon a public domain should be turned over to private control without compensation. [Applause.] Furthermore, I believe under the recent decision of the Supreme Court in the Chandler-Dunbar case the Federal Government has the same full control and ownership, if it sees fit to exercise it, over the water powers upon navigable streams as it has over those in the public domain. It makes no difference what the source of the Federal control is, whether it comes from ownership or title to the land, or whether it comes through the power of the Federal Government over navigation. That makes no difference. If we have full control over the water power upon a navigable stream, we should exercise it in the same way and under the same general policy that we do over that which we own directly. The question is, Does the bill before the House as finally amended properly protect the public interest?

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEVENS of New Hampshire. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. If I understood the gentleman correctly, he said that the water controlled by the Government where navigation is possible to be controlled under similar conditions to that exercised where we own the water on the public domain. Does the gentleman remember the fact that the House a day or two ago voted to authorize the use of water upon the public domain without any expense to the people who use it?

Mr. STEVENS of New Hampshire. No; I do not, for water-power purposes; and I do not think the gentleman from Illinois does, either.

Mr. MADDEN. Not for water-power purposes, but for the development of the land.

Mr. STEVENS of New Hampshire. Mr. Chairman, the question of the use of water for water power as against that used for irrigation is an entirely different matter, and I do not propose to be drawn into a discussion of reclamation or irrigation. I am talking about water power, and I say that the water power upon the navigable streams should be developed in the same way as the water power on a public domain, as far as the general public policy is concerned, and that we have the power to do it.

As I started to say, the question is, Does the bill in the final amended shape properly protect the public interests, and I think it is perfectly clear that it does not. This bill was drafted by men who believe that the Federal Government has no ownership or right in the water power on navigable streams. The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] made a very able speech in favor of this bill, and he stated his position, which I believe to be the position of the chairman of the committee, in these words:

I believe that the beneficial use of a stream belongs to the riparian owners, subject to the laws of the State in which it is located, and that the Federal Government has no right to impose any charge or tax for the enjoyment thereof.

Mr. Chairman, that is not the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States. The Supreme Court has decided otherwise. It has decided that there is no private ownership in the use of water power in the riparian owner, that the Federal Government has the right to put in any dams in aid of navigation, and that all water power developed by that dam belongs to it, and that it does not have to pay any private owner one cent for water-power rights. The Supreme Court held that the Government in that case took nothing away from the private owner which he had a right to. So, under this decision of the Supreme Court, we undoubtedly have a right to impose upon those men who develop a water power upon a navigable stream such terms and conditions for the public interests that we see fit, including an annual charge, rent, or whatever you may see fit to call it, for the use of the franchise.

I know there are many men here who differ with me upon this constitutional question, but I will guarantee that every man who differs with me upon the constitutional question of whether it can be imposed also differs with me upon the question of whether it ought to be done, and it is a very difficult thing to convince a man that it is a constitutional thing to do a thing that he does not want to do or believe in doing. Let me say to the men of this House who believe as a matter of public policy that the Government should get some revenue from these water powers that in my opinion, and in the opinion of very many able lawyers, backed up by the decision of the Supreme Court, we have the right to do so. This bill does not provide for the possibility of any revenue to the public for the use for 50 years of an irrevocable charter to develop water powers upon navigable streams. Neither is the public protected by the provisions of this bill that the rates and charges for power shall be subject to local commissions. There is no full protection to the public in that provision for two reasons. In the first place, the greater majority of these water powers will be developed and used for private manufacturing purposes and not for public-utility corporations. Mr. UNDERWOOD, in his speech advocating that the water power was a monopoly and should be regulated, said that he believed in regulation, and went on to say that these water powers would be used to run the factories and to run aluminum plants and to manufacture fertilizers. Every power used for private manufacturing purposes is without any regulation by the Federal Government, without any regulation by the State government, and they pay not one cent to the National Government for the use of this

franchise. The bill should be amended to conform to the Ferris bill or the public-lands bill and provide that an annual charge or rental should be paid by every power company which develops power under the provisions of this act. The gentleman says you can not get any private capital if you put in any such provision. I deny that statement.

The gentleman from Connecticut who spoke here this morning referred you to a much-needed development in his own State, the Windsor Locks, and said this bill was necessary in order to develop that project, and yet two years ago the Windsor Locks people, which was owned and controlled by the Stone-Webster people, made an agreement with Secretary of War Stimson by which they agreed to accept a bill, a charter, to develop this particular power, and in that bill was a provision for compensation to the Federal Government for the use of that power, and in that bill were better protections to navigation than are provided in this bill, and in that bill was a stricter requirement about compensation the Government should pay if it took it over than in this bill, so it is clear enough on the facts that there are some projects at least that could be developed in this country immediately even if this bill contains a provision for compensation to the Government. Now, not only does this bill fail to provide for any revenue for the public, but there are other important defects in the bill. A charter granted under this bill is said to last for 50 years, but as a matter of fact it is not true. The charter does not terminate at the end of 50 years. At the end of 50 years, unless the Government takes it over or should they manage to get some new legislation from Congress, the original grantees continue indefinitely to hold the charter under all the original conditions. The bill should be so amended that at the end of 50 years the franchise terminates absolutely, and at that time the Government should have the right to make a new lease under new conditions with the old grantees or any new grantees it sees fit, or it should have the right to take the property over on the payment of its proper legitimate value.

Mr. HUMPHREYS of Mississippi. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. STEVENS of New Hampshire. Yes.

Mr. HUMPHREYS of Mississippi. Is it not a fact that all of these companies that are created for 20 or 30 years provide a sinking fund out of the receipts for the payment of the buildings, for buildings and appurtenance work?

Mr. STEVENS of New Hampshire. Well, I think those that are well managed do.

Mr. HUMPHREYS of Mississippi. As a matter of fact, the public has paid for everything they put up before the 30 or 50 year lease has expired.

Mr. STEVENS of New Hampshire. Well, I do not know whether under the provisions of this bill corporations would have a sinking fund and depreciation charge large enough to cover the full cost of the plant. Probably they would not, since under the bill they are certain to receive back from the Government or any other grantee the replacement value.

Mr. HUMPHREYS of Mississippi. That occurs to me as an important fact, whether they will or not. Now, I have understood in actual practice that before they can finance one of these enterprises they must arrange for a sinking fund sufficient to pay for the investment in machinery and in appurtenance work, and so forth, in order to get their bonds floated.

Mr. STEVENS of New Hampshire. Of course, before they can float their bonds and securities they have to show that they have a net income large enough not only to pay a reasonable dividend, but to provide for the depreciation of the plant and have a surplus for contingencies. I do not think it would be necessary under this bill that they should have a fund large enough to pay for the original cost of the plant.

Mr. HUMPHREYS of Mississippi. I did not mean under the bill, but I mean under the practical operation of these enterprises. Is it the opinion of the gentleman that they would have to lay aside a sufficient sinking fund to pay for all that would be left, and also that the Government should be required to purchase at the end of the time?

Mr. STEVENS of New Hampshire. I think the gentleman will find that these successful well-managed projects which have been developed heretofore have actually done that—not only paid a dividend but have accumulated a surplus and sinking fund to cover depreciation.

Mr. HUMPHREYS of Mississippi. Will the gentleman just yield a second longer? I understand the argument is frequently made that if we take the property at the expiration of the time without compensation that the practical result of it will be this: That the people who use the facilities up to the time the lease terminates will pay more in order that the company might provide a sinking fund, while the Government, thus getting this property for nothing, will be able to sell power subsequently at a less rate, so we pay more now in order that those who come after us may pay less. It occurs to me there is force in that contention.

Mr. STEVENS of Minnesota. Will the gentleman yield at that point?

Mr. STEVENS of New Hampshire. Let me answer the gentleman.

Mr. STEVENS of Minnesota. Before the gentleman answers that I would like to ask the gentleman this: Has the gentleman read the testimony before the National Waterways Commission that was before our committee in the consideration of the bill on that point, that it is not good practice now among the best companies to amortize in the way stated by the gentleman from Mississippi, and that it is not done?

Mr. STEVENS of New Hampshire. Well, it does not make any difference whether that is done or not about the old projects under this bill. They are sure to receive the physical value of the plant back at the end of the 50 years, and of course they would not have any sinking fund to cover that.

Mr. FESS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEVENS of New Hampshire. Yes.

Mr. FESS. As I understand the gentleman, his idea is at the end of the 50 years the Government should not be compelled to take over if it chooses to select to continue the contract and not upon the same terms.

Mr. STEVENS of New Hampshire. It should have the right to make new terms and conditions. What conditions will exist 50 years from now no man can foresee.

Mr. FESS. In other words, there may be new developments in other lines which you can not see now that would make it entirely different in the requirements?

Mr. STEVENS of New Hampshire. Yes. And I would like to point out further that regulation by public-utility corporations is not a protection to the public. That is, it does not follow that the rates will be held down to a fair return on the fair value of the property, and it is not true in all instances, by any means, that any tax charge put upon these corporations would be transferred to the consumers. In those parts of the country where there is a big demand for power, where there are large manufacturing plants, in big cities, the possible water-power development will not supply the whole demand. We shall still have to rely, as we do now, very largely upon coal and other sources for power and light. And where you have several different sources of power supplying the same market, regulation will only mean that the business will be fixed at the point where the one that it costs the most to produce can live. You certainly can not have different rates in the same community for the same service, and if you must rely on two different sources of power the rate must be high enough to allow the most expensive one to live. Now, that is a matter not only of theory, but it is a matter of fact. In New England, where there is a big demand for water power, it is coal that fixes the price of water-power development, and the engineers and promoters that are back of any scheme to produce water power figure to a cent what it will cost to produce power by coal. As we are a long way from the coal field, the price of coal is high. The margin between the cost of production by coal and the cost of production by water power is capitalized, every cent of it, and you will not find any water power in New England or in any other part of the country where those conditions prevail that does not have to-day as much watered stock as it has bonds. That is the usual method of financing these corporations. Therefore there is no danger that you would put upon the public the cost, the added expense, of an annual charge or an annual rent under those conditions.

Mr. LINDBERGH. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. STEVENS of New Hampshire. I will.

Mr. LINDBERGH. Would that be true in all localities?

Mr. STEVENS of New Hampshire. It would not. In localities like some of the western localities, like Montana, for instance, where there is a great deal of undeveloped water power, and where it is thinly settled, that would not be true at all.

Mr. LINDBERGH. One more question, please. If the principal is to revert to the Government at the end of a certain period, will it not be necessary, in determining the reasonable cost of the service, to take that into consideration and make the present consumers pay more? I simply ask that as a question.

Mr. STEVENS of New Hampshire. No.

Mr. LINDBERGH. If the original principal is to be wiped out at the end of, say, 50 years, necessarily some time during that 50 years it will have to be returned to the parties making the investment?

Mr. STEVENS of New Hampshire. If the Government takes it over at the end of 50 years, they should pay the owners a

fair value of the property. I am not contending for forfeiture to the Government.

Now, there is another serious objection to this bill, and that is as to the conditions under which the Government may take it over at the end of 50 years. In section 10 it provides that the United States may take it over upon giving certain notice, and that it shall pay for all the transmission plant, and also "all other property the value and usefulness of which would be destroyed or seriously impaired by such termination." Now, I consider that a very dangerous phrase. The only property which the Government should be compelled to take over is the dam, the power plant, and the transmission lines, and if the same corporation developing the power also used it itself in manufacturing plants or in public utility corporations, the Government under this bill would have to take over all the property which used the power. That would mean that the Government in some instances would have to take over manufacturing business, public utilities, and all kinds of business. That section should be stricken from the bill.

What should the Government pay to these people at the end of 50 years? I believe they should pay the physical value—the replacement value—of the plant, minus the depreciation; and for all land acquired, all easements, and all rights of way they should not pay sums in excess of the original cost to the grantees.

This bill will compel the Federal Government to pay for the unearned increment—the increased value—of all land, all easements, all rights of way, all property which it has acquired in connection with the business. In many States power corporations have the right by eminent domain to flow lands. They have the right of eminent domain, and by grant of franchise have easements, rights of way for the transmission lines; and this bill proposes to give the private companies all the unearned increment that may have accrued at the end of 50 years. I believe if they got back the actual cost to them of right of way and flowage rights to land that it would be just and fair to them and just and fair to the public.

Mr. KENT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEVENS of New Hampshire. Yes, sir.

Mr. KENT. I wish to ask the gentleman if he understands that in the cost charged consumers there is ordinarily put in a cost for amortization? I have always understood that these power companies put in a cost of amortization in canceling their indebtedness at certain times.

Mr. STEVENS of New Hampshire. I have known some that did. The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. STEVENS] says that at present, however, that is not the policy of a great many of them.

Mr. KENT. I will ask the gentleman, if they do that, do they not charge the public twice?

Mr. STEVENS of New Hampshire. They certainly charge the public twice under those conditions.

The only interest of the Federal Government—the only interest of the general public—which this bill really pretends to protect is navigation. The gentlemen who drew the bill, the gentlemen who have defended the bill, are men who believe the Federal Government has no right to demand any compensation. They are men who believe that the riparian owners own the water power, subject to State laws and the Federal power over navigation.

Navigation is the only interest which this bill, in my opinion, will protect; and yet the rights of navigation are not fully protected under this bill. Under the present dam law any grantee of a franchise from the Government must put in such locks and aids to navigation as the Secretary of War or Congress may decide are necessary at any time. In this bill the company is only bound to put in those locks and aids to navigation which the Secretary of War shall decide are necessary before the project is begun, and that is good for 50 years. So that if it is necessary at any time during the life of this charter to enlarge or improve the aids to navigation, the Federal Government must do it at its own expense.

Mr. Chairman, this controversy over the water powers on navigable streams has been going on for some 8 or 10 years. President Roosevelt vetoed bill after bill, special bills, on the ground that the terms and conditions did not properly protect the public interest. President Taft continued that same policy. We have here a general dam act which is supposed to settle this question, and, unfortunately, it does not maintain the standard set by Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Taft. We propose in this bill to turn over for 50 years, beyond the power of Congress itself to repeal or alter or amend, the use of the water powers upon the navigable streams of this country without the possibility of one cent of revenue or compensation to the people of the country, only upon the condition that they shall put in such locks as the Secretary of War shall deem necessary to-day, and the further condition that the local State commissions shall regulate the charges when that power is used in public-utility corporations alone.

As one interested in conservation, I regret exceedingly that this bill in this shape is urged upon this House. Furthermore, as a Democrat, I sincerely regret that this is the bill that is put forth here as the embodiment of Democratic ideas on the subject of conservation, because, say what you will, this bill surrenders the interests of the public in the water powers on the navigable streams of this country under such terms and under such conditions as the water-power people want and have asked for. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New Hampshire has expired.

Mr. STEVENS of New Hampshire. Let me say, then, in closing—will the gentleman from Georgia give me a moment?

Mr. ADAMSON. I regret that all the time is allotted.

Mr. STEVENS of New Hampshire. Will the gentleman from Minnesota give me a moment?

Mr. STEVENS of Minnesota. I will yield one minute to the gentleman.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New Hampshire is recognized for one minute.

Mr. STEVENS of New Hampshire. There were just two hearings had before the committee and only two people appeared. Not a single person appeared before that committee in behalf of the interests of the people; not a single thing was said before that committee in favor of the interests of the people of the country. It is a water-power bill, wanted by water-power people, and urged and written by the people who believe that the Government has no water-power rights to conserve in the navigable streams, who believe that the water powers in those streams belong to the private owners in the States. I believe that the water powers belong to all the people of the country and should be developed for the public benefit and not solely the profit of private capital.

Closing of Cypress Creek Gap.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. GOODWIN,

OF ARKANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 19, 1915.

Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, I desire to submit herewith a copy of the testimony given by Judge Harry E. Cook, of Lake Village, Ark., county judge of Chicot County, and Mr. C. Warfield, of Readland, president of the levee board in that county, before the Committee on Rivers and Harbors of the House.

The gentlemen are from my district, and they are well qualified to speak concerning the levee conditions in Arkansas from intimate personal knowledge of the facts. The testimony was not printed by the committee.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER LEVEES IN DESHA COUNTY, ARK.

COMMITTEE ON RIVERS AND HARBORS,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Saturday, December 12, 1914.

The committee this day met, Hon. S. M. SPARKMAN (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen of the committee, we are to hear first this afternoon from some gentlemen whom Mr. GOODWIN desires to introduce regarding improvements in Arkansas.

Mr. GOODWIN. Mr. Chairman, I will first present to the committee Judge Harry E. Cook, present judge of Chicot County, and then Mr. C. Warfield, of Readland.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be glad to hear Judge Cook.

STATEMENT OF JUDGE HARRY E. COOK, OF LAKE VILLAGE, ARK.

Mr. COOK. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I beg to assure you that I will not occupy more than 15 minutes of your time.

I understand Mr. GOODWIN has already presented the matter in which we are interested to the committee, but that he thought I might be able to give the committee a little more detailed information, since I am more familiar with the details of some phases of the proposition than he is. I wish the members of the committee to understand that the project for which we are speaking has been favorably reported by the Mississippi River Commission. They have said it should be completed as rapidly as possible, but that they did not have the appropriation with which to complete it. We think it is an urgent matter, and what we are seeking is an appropriation in order that the project may be completed as soon as possible. The Mississippi River Commission reported in favor of the project and its completion in their reports of 1912 and 1914. You will understand that there is a continuing line of levees in

the levee system on the Mississippi side of the river. On our side near the Arkansas River there is no levee for part of the distance on account of the high banks, and that leaves a gap on the north bank of the Arkansas River.

When you reach the south bank of the Arkansas River you still have a high bank for part of the way. The town of Arkansas City is located 18 miles below the mouth of the Arkansas River on the Mississippi River. The records show that when the Mississippi reaches a stage of 50 feet on the Arkansas side the water backs up the Arkansas River and the other rivers in that vicinity, in Desha and Chicot Counties, and the backwater floods the lands in those two counties, both north and south of the Arkansas River. Then they began building a levee at the mouth of the Arkansas River, and also built one at the mouth of Boggy Bayou. Then they built a levee along the south side of the Arkansas River for several miles, coming within 2½ miles of Cypress Creek. Then they brought the Arkansas River levee down. That was in 1912. At that time they brought it down to station 953. During the present year they have continued the construction until now there is a gap of about 2½ miles left open. When the water rises to the 50-foot stage at Arkansas City it backs up the Arkansas River and runs through this gap and comes down through there and submerges these two counties. In 1912 our levee broke, and there followed the most disastrous flood during that year.

That levee was rebuilt, but in 1913, with all our levees holding, Arkansas City had 1 foot more water by reason of this spillway than in 1912, with the levees breaking. In the town where I live, Lake Village, we had 6 inches less water. In the southern end of the county they had 9 inches less water.

We do not ask that the entire distance of this gap be closed, but we do ask that it be brought from the present station 973 to the high bank of Cypress Creek, and you will find that this is advocated in the report of the Mississippi River Commission. They advocate that Desha and Chicot Counties prepare their drainage district and close up the matter. With a gap left open of only about 200 yards wide we believe that the natural streams in our county will carry that water along pretty well so that only the extremely low lands will be submerged. It will not flow over the highly cultivated lands, as it did in 1913.

We think that the engineers' report which we have from the Vicksburg office will show that the approximate cost of that work would be $210,000. But the contracts that have been let in the last three months show that they have been let at less than 50 per cent of the contracts of two years ago. Some have been let as low as a third of what it cost to build levees under normal conditions.

The CHAIRMAN. How much are you asking for?

Mr. COOK. We will be satisfied with $125,000.

The CHAIRMAN. That is under the jurisdiction of the Mississippi River Commission?

Mr. COOK. Yes, sir; they are to do the work.

The CHAIRMAN. We are making a lump-sum appropriation for them to do their work, leaving it to their discretion as to what work should be done.

Mr. COOK. We look upon this as an emergency proposition, and I think I can demonstrate to the members of the committee why the Congress should make an appropriation for this project.

Mr. EDWARDS. We appropriate a lump sum for all the work up and down the Mississippi River, and leave it to the Mississippi River Commission to determine, in its discretion, where the money shall be spent. However, I am sure we will be glad to hear you, although it looks to me as if your argument ought to be presented to the Mississippi River Commission.

Mr. COOK. It probably will be presented to the Mississippi River Commission.

The War Department records of 1913 will show that the Government expended there for food and supplies for the purpose of taking care of the people something like $600,000. As soon as you have another flood the same thing is going to occur again, whereas, if this gap were closed, you would not have to spend that money to take care of those people.

Mr. EDWARDS. Has this ever been presented to the Mississippi River Commission?

Mr. COOK. I do not know.

Mr. EDWARDS. It appears to be a very meritorious proposition, but it seems to me it is a question whether this committee will undertake to take it out of the hands of the Mississippi River Commission.

Mr. COOK. We do not ask that. All we ask is that this committee will appropriate an amount sufficient to enable the commission to go ahead and finish the work as quickly as possible. The members of the commission say that they have not the money with which to do it.

Mr. EDWARDS. They have the funds with which to do it if they think it ought to be done and think it is necessary.

Mr. COOK. Under the present situation all our mail routes are disarranged. It is now necessary to carry the mail 14 miles out of the way because of this condition, and that would be saved if this gap were closed as we suggest. In 1912 you spent millions of dollars around there, and practically the same thing resulted in 1913.

The CHAIRMAN. One of the reasons why we do not interfere in these cases with the Mississippi River Commission is because the commission is pursuing a certain line of policy. That line of policy includes the securing of local contributions; by inquiring among the people they ascertain how much they can put up in a given case, after which they determine how much money the Government ought to put into that particular project. That is one reason why we do not like to take such matters out of the jurisdiction of the commission.

Mr. COOK. We do not ask that. We thought if this committee would give the commission the sinews of war they could then go ahead and finish the work, rushing it through.

All this property which is now submerged is now paying a 4 per cent levee tax, a tax of 4 per cent on every dollar's worth we have. But if we are going to be submerged right along we will soon not have any property left on which to pay the tax.

Mr. HUMPHREYS. The people living around the Yazoo River and in that district are troubled every year in very much the same way from the water that backs up into the Yazoo River.

Mr. COOK. We are not asking that this be closed entirely. We are asking that a 200-yard gap be left open there, feeling that we can take care of that water with our natural streams. Of course, we expect to dig a drainage canal.

Mr. HUMPHREYS. How far up the Arkansas River has the Mississippi River Commission already built its levees?

Mr. COOK. About 20 miles.

Mr. HUMPHREYS. Who builds the Arkansas River levees?

Mr. COOK. The Mississippi River Commission and the local boards together.

Mr. HUMPHREYS. How far up does that extend?

Mr. COOK. It comes down.

Mr. HUMPHREYS. Where does it come from?

Mr. COOK. It starts at Red Fork and comes south, and comes within about 2¾ miles of joining the levee extending down.

That is our situation. If you can help us we will appreciate it.

STATEMENT OF MR. C. WARFIELD.

The CHAIRMAN. What reasons do the Mississippi River Commission assign for not doing that work?

Mr. WARFIELD. They claim they have not the funds with which to do it. They recommend that it be done, but for some reason their funds have not been able to reach that particular spot and bring the levee down to where it should be.

The CHAIRMAN. They work above and below?

Mr. WARFIELD. They work above and below; yes, sir; and this 2-mile stretch, it seems, is left open on account of lack of funds, although they have levees on both sides of the river.

The CHAIRMAN. I am under the impression that we will furnish at this session of Congress a reasonable amount of funds to carry on that work. We do not know how much there will be in the bill for the Mississippi River Commission to expend, but I have no doubt there will be something in the bill, and I expect that in due time, when they reach that place, they will spend some money on it.

Mr. WARFIELD. This, of course, is more expensive work than the enlargement work, and we feel that this ought to be done first and that there should be enough funds in the hands of the commission to extend this levee down to the banks of that creek and then proceed with the enlargement work as a part of their project. If the funds were available we feel sure they would do it. The Chief of Engineers approved the project and said the work ought to be finished.

Mr. GOODWIN. We have had this matter before the Mississippi River Commission, and they always claim lack of funds.

The CHAIRMAN. I suppose they mean they did not regard this particular work as of as much importance as some other work. In 1912 they had three or four million dollars and, I think, the next year they had five or six millions. In the last bill they had a little over $3,000,000.

Mr. WARFIELD. We will thank you for anything you can do for us. We feel that this is an emergency proposition and that the work ought to be done without delay.

Mr. GOODWIN. I am obliged to you, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, for your courtesy in giving us this hearing.

Pipe Line from Oklahoma to the Gulf.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES D. CARTER,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to print I desire to have published in the DAILY CONGRESSIONAL RECORD house concurrent resolution No. 17, by Hunter and Sykes.

House concurrent resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States to appropriate $10,000,000 to build a pipe line from Oklahoma to the Gulf.

(By Lewis Hunter, of Comanche, and Sykes, of Tulsa.)

Whereas the construction and operation of a pipe line from Oklahoma to the Gulf of Mexico is feasible and borne out by the following facts:

First. That Oklahoma is the greatest high grade oil producing area in existence and is without available marketing and transporting facilities;

That the monopolistic tendency of the Standard Oil Co. to control the pipe lines and production has paralyzed the independent producers;

That the said Standard Oil Co., through their pipe lines and monopoly, have from the first discovery of oil in Oklahoma wielded such powerful influence that it has obstructed, prevented, and discouraged every attempt or semblance of competition;

That the independent oil producers and royalty owners must depend upon the interstate pipe line of the Standard Oil Co. to carry their oil products to the markets of the world, which places them entirely at the mercy of the czar method of fixing the price of their product;

That it would relieve the Indian wards of the Government, who are robbed under the present system for lack of adequate market for their royalties;

That under the present system the pipe-line companies are crushing the life out of the independent producers in the face of a world-wide increased demand for both crude and refined oil;

That the Government is a large consumer both of crude and refined oil, and with a pipe line, under present congested conditions, would be able to lay up a supply for any emergency that might arise, thereby extending relief to 65 per cent of the oil producers of Oklahoma who are unable to operate their properties during present period;

That the investigation made within the last year by the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of the Navy bear voluminous evidence of the titanic oil fields of Oklahoma: Be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Oklahoma (the senate concurring), That the Congress of the United States be, and the same is hereby, earnestly memorialized and requested to make an appropriation of $10,000,000 for the building of an oil pipe line to the Gulf of Mexico: *Provided*, That the money appropriated for this purpose shall be repaid in 10 annual payments from a tax levied on each barrel of oil transported through said pipe line; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded at once to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the President of the Senate, our Representatives in Congress, the Secretary of the Interior, and the Secretary of the United States Navy asking their indorsement.

Adopted by the house of representatives February 26, 1915.

A. MCCRORY,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Adopted by the senate March 3, 1915.

M. E. TRAPP,
President of the Senate.

Retirement Pension for Civil-Service Employees.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. HAMILL,

OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. HAMILL. Mr. Speaker, for a number of years I have advocated in this House a plan to provide a retirement pension for civil-service employees. I have favored the straight pension, whereby the entire cost of pension is borne by the Government, as opposed to a contributory plan, according to which the cost of the pension is divided between the Government and the employee. I believe the straight-pension plan is the more advantageous of the two, both from the standpoint of the Government and that of the employee.

I wish to insert in the RECORD a memorandum on the subject of retirement pensions in accordance with the provisions of my bill. This memorandum has been prepared for the National Association of Civil Service Employees by Mr. Miles M. Dawson, a learned and well-recognized authority on the subject.

The memorandum is as follows:

The association contends that retirement pensions should be granted outright—i. e., without requiring civil-service employees to contribute the whole or any part of the cost of providing the same by deductions from their salaries or otherwise—in support of which, through their counsel and actuary, they present their statement and argument, as follows:

I.—IT IS MOST DESIRABLE THAT PROVISION BE MADE FOR RETIREMENT AND FOR SUPPORT OF SUPERANNUATED EMPLOYEES.

That it is desirable to make provision for the retirement of employees in the civil service and for pensions to support them when superannuated is clear upon the following grounds:

1. THE PUBLIC INTEREST IS THUS BEST SERVED.

The best service will be secured by the introduction of a proper retirement pension system through securing thereby a better class of applicants for civil-service appointments, through a larger number of the best appointees resisting financial inducements to quit the service, and through the much stronger inducement to render satisfactory service in that dismissal will involve not merely cessation of salary but also loss of pension.

That such may confidently be expected to result is shown by the unanimous testimony of all experts upon the subject and of all who have had experience with persons working under such a system; and it is also borne out by the facts in countries which have adopted such a system, as is well known to all students of the subject.

In our own country the experience and practice of large corporations which have adopted pension plans also bear witness to this; and public systems of providing pensions for superannuated fire department, police department, and school employees are everywhere appreciated, and every step taken or proposed is toward, not their abandonment, but their perfection.

2. IT RESULTS ALSO IN THE MOST ECONOMICAL SERVICE.

The best is always likely to be the most economical. If the improvements in quantity and quality of service amount to from 2 per cent to 4 per cent (depending somewhat upon when one enters the service) of the salaries of all employees or 7½ per cent of the salaries only of employees who persist in the service until retirement age or prior death, they will more than offset the cost of pensions even on a very liberal scale.

There will also be great savings by disencumbering the service of the load of elderly, ailing employees who are now the subject of much complaint by heads of departments and whose service, often deteriorated in quality, is always more and more defective in quantity as old age overcomes them.

3. IT IS DEMANDED BY DICTATES OF COMMON HUMANITY, RECOGNIZED THE WORLD OVER.

The claims of employees who have grown old and infirm in the service to support during their declining years are unescapably recognized by every man with a conscience and a heart, be he acting as an individual or as officer of a government or corporation. The man who would turn a domestic servant out to die in the poorhouse after a lifetime of faithful service would be justly condemned. That this applies in business also is every day more and more recognized by individuals, firms, and corporations either by just taking care of them by means of light employment or gifts or by a pension system.

In the Governments of the world this obligation has also come to be generally acquiesced in. Our own Government is almost the only one in a civilized country which has not done so openly by providing pensions. Our failure to do so hitherto has been due chiefly to the following reasons:

1. The rapid growth of our civil service, especially in recent years, has somewhat obscured the need for pensions, because the proportion of old to young employees has by the vast number of new appointments been low.

2. The system of partisan appointments as a reward for political service for a long time caused them to be looked upon as lucrative "jobs," without much regard for fitness or value of service, and often only as stepping-stones to other political preferment; i. e., temporary employment.

3. The legislative and administrative functions have been so separated that not always have the administrative responsibilities rested upon Congressmen so as to create a true and keen sense of duty in this matter, as witnesses their strong disposition, both creditable and natural, to make special provision on occasion for old and faithful congressional employees whom they know and love while neglecting the duty of making suitable general provision for employees in the civil service whom they usually do not know.

4. The awkward, largely ineffectual, and always costly and inadvisable subterfuge to which the chiefs of all administrative departments perforce resort—viz, retaining on the pay roll the superannuated employees until actually so feeble as to be unable to come to work at all—has veiled and obscured the necessity for retirement pensions. It is not too much to say that if Congress were to-day to require the dismissal of every civil-service employee over the age of 65 on July 1, 1914, the distress occasioned by this inhuman but for the service salutary and businesslike proceeding would permeate the entire country and every Member of the House and Senate would hasten the passage of an act granting proper and reasonable service pensions.

Indeed, whenever now the head of any department is hard-hearted enough to attempt this in a small way, it is well known that he is besieged by Congressmen and Senators seeking to protect the friends of voters residing in their districts, and not infrequently their own friends for whose appointments they were sponsors.

5. It is distinctly discreditable that the greatest popular Government of the world should be behind others in a matter of justice to the plain people while so ready to pension for naval and military service, Presidents' widows, and others.

All the great civilized countries of Europe provide pensions for civil-service employees; among the great nations of the world we are alone in neglecting it.

It may be argued that salaries and wages are better here; but so also are both cost of living and standard of living.

Moreover, that salaried employees will, in the nature of things, both save on the average and in the aggregate less than the self-employed, and also invest it less safely and wisely, is perfectly well known and is borne out by human experience everywhere.

There are certain to be many such who reach senile incapacity in no condition financially to provide for themselves and for those who may still be dependent on them. The question is squarely before Members of Congress: Shall these old and faithful servants of the American people be supported by the people of the United States in honor, or shall they be supported by the same people as supernumerary burdens upon the civil service, for reason shows and experience proves that they will be supported by us, and that not in almshouses?

To that question there can ultimately be but one possible answer: Provision will be made by the people of the United States for the honorable retirement upon moderate pensions of old and faithful civil-service employees.

II.—THE PURPOSES TO BE SERVED BY A CIVIL-SERVICE RETIREMENT PENSION PLAN.

1. TO SECURE BETTER SERVICE.

It is confidently expected that to grant retirement pensions will cause a better class, on the whole, to enter the civil service, will encourage the better of them to resist offers of larger salaries outside, and will cause more and better service both by increasing their satisfaction with the employment and by making dismissal mean not merely cessation of salary but also loss of pension. Such is the road to increased efficiency.

2.—TO ECONOMIZE IN THE COST OF THE SERVICE.

Unquestionably there is yet a strong tendency for the civil service to attract chiefly those men who would earn smaller incomes in other employments, though there has been much improvement in this regard, and such are also often dropped from the service.

That retirement pensions will be granted is a strong inducement to precisely those prudent, capable men in every community who would prefer to render acceptable public service for moderate pay rather than engage in business or a profession for a considerably larger emolument. This is not mere theory, but that it has taken place in every country where pensions are granted is attested by those who know the facts.

Such is true economy.

3.—TO SECURE GREATER PERSISTENCE IN THE SERVICE.

It is obvious that it is bad, from the standpoints both of efficiency and of economy, to train a man in the civil service only to lose his services as soon as he really knows his business. This can never be entirely avoided, as the Government will not often compete, of course, with private employers for the services of particular persons; but it can be avoided to a very large extent if the reward of long and faithful service be a retirement pension, for in such case all who definitely prefer public service will remain.

4.—TO RELIEVE THE SERVICE OF EMPLOYEES WHOLLY OR LARGELY INCAPACITATED BY OLD AGE.

That this is a desideratum requires no argument.

Any so-called retirement or pension plan which fails to accomplish these ends can not be deemed satisfactory.

III.—WOULD A PLAN OF VOLUNTARY SAVINGS TO PURCHASE OLD-AGE ANNUITIES ANSWER THE REQUIREMENTS?

Obviously not, because while a few more would perhaps be induced to save, precisely those for whose relief a pension is most needed, they who for one reason or another will be unable to save, will yet remain unprovided for.

There is also nothing in such a system to answer any one of the four requirements:

1. There would not be better service. No casual relation can be traced between such a system and any one of those things which have been enumerated as making for efficiency.

2. There would be nothing in this to cause men to be willing to accept lower emoluments than they could secure elsewhere, therefore nothing to promote economy.

3. So far would it be from encouraging persistency that employees would be likely to quit the service in order to get the privilege of withdrawing their savings.

4. It would not in the least relieve the burden of incapacitated employees upon the service. It would not do so in any case until those who would now start saving had reached old age with an ample provision; it would not then do so as to others for whom the same humanitarian considerations would hold berths; and in such case those who had saved would also hang on as now.

A purely voluntary system is not proposed by anybody. These considerations are therefore presented chiefly because of their applicability to other methods which are proposed.

IV.—A SYSTEM OF VOLUNTARY SAVINGS, SUBSIDIZED BY THE GOVERNMENT, WOULD NOT ANSWER THE REQUIREMENTS.

Suggestion of such a system has been made at different times. It has also been tried several times in other countries as well as our

own, in pension systems set up by corporations (where it has worked best, but usually far from well) or in public systems intended to avoid a general pension system.

Its failure to solve these problems or, indeed, any of them is notorious.

The most outstanding corporation example on this continent was the pension fund set up by the Grand Trunk Railway Co. of Canada—abandoned for straight-out service pensions after many years' trial of it.

The most significant governmental example was the subsidized workmen's old-age annuity law of 1900 of Belgium, already acknowledged to be an utter failure and about to be abandoned.

Partial success has been achieved by its use in encouraging self-provision, but it always fails in comprehensiveness and certainty and does little or nothing in any case to subserve the four purposes set forth in point 2 of this brief.

V.—A Compulsory Savings or Contribution Plan Would also Not Answer the Requirements.

The proposal has been somewhat insistently urged upon Congress that what should be done is to compel civil-service employees to save a sufficient portion of their salaries and invest it in a fund in the custody of the Government, to provide for their own retirement at a fixed age.

Would this conduce to better service?

A prior reasoning and experience alike say "no." It leads to general and persistent dissatisfaction and greatly impairs the esprit du corps.

Would it tend to economy?

It not only would not attract men who might command larger emoluments elsewhere, but would actually repel them, while on the other hand not in the least discouraging men who could only command smaller emoluments elsewhere.

Would it lead to increased efficiency?

On the contrary, so far as good men remaining in the service goes, it would in two ways operate to cause them to withdraw, viz:

1. Through their resentment at the offer of this stone in answer to their cry for bread—this drain upon their incomes as a sardonic response to their petition for pensions.

2. Through the temptation to withdraw accumulations of savings, after they were made, which they could only do by retiring from the service.

It should be remembered that savings are often, even usually, trenched upon because of dire necessity, such as sickness or death in the family; that is, because of some duty which all men deem superior to selfish, prudential considerations. The man who reaches old age in poverty is not infrequently he who has best fulfilled his duties to his family or the community and sacrificed himself in doing so.

Would this relieve the service now?

Obviously, like all other plans based upon savings, it would not. The employees who are now superannuated, not having been required to contribute such sums to make provision for their old age, would not be entitled to pensions now payable out of such fund.

Moreover, those who will be superannuated soon, can not have saved enough.

Therefore relief to the service, as to the civil-service employees, would be delayed for an entire generation.

Because of these things it is generally conceded that a compulsory contributory plan, standing by itself, would not answer.

VI.—Compulsory Contribution, Supplemented by Complementary Provisions for Existing Employees, is also not a Solution.

The plan most insistently urged as a substitute for service pensions in the last Congress was compulsory deductions from salaries of certain percentages, according to present age for existing employees and age upon admission to the service for new employees, such deductions being sufficient, it was computed, to furnish certain annuities for life, beginning at a given age fixed for retirement.

Then, as the contribution required to purchase this income would, for those who are now approaching the retirement age, be utterly prohibitory, it was proposed that the Government under certain circumstances supplement the annuity paid for by their contributions, at a lower amount, so as to supply a certain minimum pension.

This supplementary subsidy would be largest for those who paid in least before retiring and smallest, indeed nothing at all, for those who paid in most; for the idea was that after a generation elapses each would be supplying his own pension.

What chance is there that this would fulfill the requirements?

Would it conduce to better service?

Undoubtedly it would create widespread dissatisfaction among civil-service employees; the mere proposal of it has caused great consternation among them, and with good reason, for under it the Government would give:

Most to those who would contribute nothing; i. e., those who would at once be retired.

Much to those who would contribute little; i. e., those who would soon be retired.

Little to those who would contribute much; i. e., those who would not soon be retired.

Nothing to those who would contribute most; i. e., who would not retire before their own contributions would supply the prescribed incomes.

It would surely repel instead of attract men who could command larger emoluments elsewhere.

It would offer no inducement for such to continue in the service, but would operate against permanency of their employment by giving them their savings only in case they resign, and offering them nothing whatever as a reward for long and faithful service.

It would relieve the service now by rendering possible the retirements which ought to be made; but that single advantage, it is clear, is due to the Government's gifts and not to the employee's savings; i. e., to the incident and not to the principle of the plan.

If attempted, this system will demoralize the force in many ways; and experience shows that there will be repeated and insistent demands for increases in salaries to meet those costs and also for the substitution of service pensions.

VII.—Compulsory Savings, with Such Supplement to Provide for Present Employees and with a Subsidy Toward All Other Pensions, Also a Poor and Incomplete Solution.

Attempts have been made to solve these problems by a device of the following type, viz:

Compulsory contributions by employees.

Contributions of a like or a proportionate amount by the employer.

These combined estimated to be sufficient to provide a certain income to all employees put on hereafter, who reach a certain age while in the service.

For those now in the service the employer to contribute also enough to make their incomes, upon retirement, the same as if they had been contributing from the outset.

This or something akin to it has been the best form which the contributory-pension idea has taken, as has been abundantly shown by experience.

It is doubtful that it improves the service; though, if the employer contributes regularly a large proportion, it may be that in some cases such operates to offset the resentment and dissatisfaction.

It would hardly attract men who could command more elsewhere very much, and therefore economy would not be greatly fostered, for economy consists chiefly in getting better men for the money.

It will, or might, make for persistency and therefore efficiency; this would depend upon whether the inducement due to the employer's contributions is strong enough.

In some cases the need to withdraw will undoubtedly outweigh all other considerations.

Experience has shown that under such plans there is constant pressure to have the accumulation of the employer's contributions paid also in each of the following cases:

1. The death of the employee.
2. The disability of the employee.
3. The voluntary retirement of the employee before the retirement age, after a certain minimum number of years of service.

It is difficult to resist these demands; each can be supported by persuasive arguments. To grant any of them—much more, all—greatly lessens the income which the contributions will supply the superannuated employees; and to grant the last mentioned may greatly militate against permanency, and therefore against efficiency, by offering a prize for resigning.

Altogether, it is not too much to say that the virtues of this best of all the contributory plans consist of those features which are non-contributory, i. e., of the portions of the incomes supplied superannuated employees, as service pensions, freely contributed by the employer.

VIII.—The Contributory Idea is Fundamentally a Misfit and Not Adapted to Secure the Desired Ends.

Fundamentally this provision should be, and will be, a special reward for long and faithful service.

If openly given as such, it forms a strong special inducement to the best men to enter the service and remain in it. This is also not counterbalanced by any other way of getting all or part of this provision without rendering long and faithful service.

Experience everywhere is that it is effective.

It is also an economical way to do it. In general it will not call for an outlay of more than one-half as much by the employer as it would be necessary to deduct from his employees' salaries, were it all provided that way. For, on the straight-pension plan, the employer need only contribute enough to provide for those who actually survive the retirement age in his service—rarely one-half of those who survive or one-quarter of those who enter his service. On the other hand, employees' contributions must be computed as if all would survive in the service, and the accumulations in respect of those who do not must be returned.

If the employer contribute in such a contributory scheme as much as his employees, the chances are that he is assessing himself quite as much as out-and-out-service pension would cost him, and he will reap no such advantages from it in improved service, greater economy, and greater persistency of employment.

Theoretically his contributions in such a scheme would not be so large, but practically the payment of the accumulation of his contributions also will certainly be demanded in event of death, disability, or retirement after a few years. In such case—and that is the universal experience—it would be cheaper for him to give the pensions outright and have this money go only to old and faithful employees.

Moreover, all contributory plans, however qualified, involve frequent and insistent demands for higher salaries; service-pension plans certainly do not do so, but instead have a marked tendency to cause the best men to come in and stay in at lower salaries than they might command elsewhere. This is peculiarly the case when the employment is reliable and steady promotion likely as in the public service.

There are also the following decided disadvantages:

1. The Government must accept the responsibility for the safe-keeping and investment of the funds.

2. If it does not guarantee a certain rate of interest, the amount of the income to be purchased will vary, (a) with the accumulation up to retirement age, (b) with its earnings after the retirement age.

3. If it does guarantee the rate, it is likely to be a low rate, and even then it is likely to lose money on its guaranty.

4. Not even a guaranteed rate of interest can make the pension bear a fixed relation to the term of service and the salary just before retirement, which is necessary in order that a scheme be readily intelligible and attractive.

5. The incomes so secured will be reduced very materially by the fact that contributions may be withdrawn before reaching the retirement age.

6. They will be yet further very materially reduced by the fact that even when the income has been entered upon the amount of the accumulation not yet paid out in income must be returned in event of death.

7. In many cases the entire purpose will be defeated by the employee insisting upon taking the capital accumulated instead of the life income.

8. If changes in scales of pensions should be desirable, how are they to be made as regards past contributions, which will pay for just what they do pay for?

These disadvantages, as well as many others, attend all systems of contributory pensions based on the savings idea.

Their presence affords a lucrative field for actuarial and other expert advice, whereas a straight-out service pension plan calls only for a little, not complex or costly, service at the outset in arriving at probable ultimate costs, and especially at probable outlay for a number of years, both of which can be computed pretty closely if the requisite data can be had.

Notwithstanding that the contributory plans have supplied them many and frequent opportunities for earning fees, the greatest actuaries who have had wide experience in this work are, without notable exception, of the opinion that even the best-conceived contributory plans are not well suited to most conditions, and least of all to Government employments.

This association has a communication from the British actuary, who is recognized as the most expert upon this subject, Mr. Henry

William Manly, ex-president of the Institute of Actuaries, copies of which will be supplied this committee.

In the current number (January, 1914) of the Journal of the institute he gives in an article upon a compulsory contributory scheme proposed in New South Wales, which he condemns, the following illuminating and practical statement:

"Now, the service of the State has a certain attraction on account of its permanence and security and the dignity attached to the appointment; but it also wants to attract the best talent and best business ability, which can always command its value, and it has to pay for it. At what price can it secure such men? We are now speaking of the salaried class. There is always some relation between salary without pension and salary plus a satisfactory pension; and it is the writer's opinion, derived from a long acquaintance with and study of the question, that the difference in the salaries generally is as much as 10 per cent; it may be less at the young ages, say about 5 per cent, and greater in the case of the high salaries, probably from 15 to 20 per cent, and more.

"Assuming that all enter from 18 to 20 years of age and retire, on the average, at 62, or previous incapacity, a noncontributory pension of one-sixtieth of average of last three years' salary for every year of service, the pension not to exceed two-thirds of such average, would cost 7½ per cent of salaries reckoning interest at 3½ per cent, or 6½ per cent of salaries reckoning interest at 4 per cent. Say the average salary without pension would be £200 a year; how much less would a State employee be willing to take if he had such a pension guaranteed to him for faithful service?"

Mr. Manly makes it that he should be willing to accept from £10 to £15 per annum less, and continues:

"But taking the salaried service throughout, we believe that the cost of salaries and pension together would not be more than for salaries without pension; and the State would have a contented, able, and efficient staff, without any extra cost to itself. There is a view, we believe a mistaken one, that the men would appreciate the pension more if they were made to contribute to its cost. We never came across anyone who did not fully appreciate the value of a noncontributory pension. But suppose the State required that the employee should contribute toward the cost; then the whole case assumes a different appearance. As the State actually takes from the employee money which belongs to him, an agreement will have to be made by which the money deducted will have to be returned on resignation, dismissal, or death, and if the pension payments do not amount to such deductions the difference will have to be returned, otherwise the State will be charged with robbery. Again, since the employee has to make a contribution out of his salary, he will require to have the salary he would otherwise be content with increased by the amount of contribution he will have to make."

IX.—A COMPULSORY-ASSESSMENT PLAN WOULD ALSO NOT ANSWER THE REQUIREMENTS.

If, instead of requiring contributions on the basis of the income to be furnished after retirement being purchased by the accumulations of the employees' own contributions, whether or not the same are supplemented by accumulations of the employer's contributions, the pensions were provided for by compulsory contributions assessed against the employees as needed to supply pensions currently payable, the requirements would be better answered in some particulars.

For instance, no question would perhaps arise about return of an employee's contributions in event of his death or his disability or his voluntary retirement before the fixed age for retirement if it were understood that they were mere assessments and were paid out immediately upon their receipt.

In like manner presumably no strong demand would be made that the amount contributed over and above the amount received in pensions be returned in event of death after the retirement age.

These things would render it unnecessary to collect a dollar more than the amounts actually payable to the old and faithful employees who survive the retirement age during the remainder of their lifetime. It would reduce the deductions from salaries at least one-half—the amount can be approximately arrived at if the necessary data can be had—and if employees out of their salaries really ought to supply the rewards to their superannuated comrades for old and faithful service, or any part of them, they would surely prefer to do it this way.

This is not mere assertion on the part of the subscriber hereto. The instances in this country of provision by labor unions for their aged comrades are of that character; and, as regards one of the oldest and strongest of them, when consulting him about possible extensions of their plan, its representatives required that only such a plan be considered.

The association of civil-service employees which preceded this, more than 10 years ago, also in consultation with him professionally, through its representatives made it clear that, if a contributory plan was unavoidable, one which did not call for large accumulations and which would extract as little as possible from the meager incomes of civil-service employees would be preferred.

The same general position was taken by virtually all the trade-unionists of France in opposition to the compulsory-savings old-age annuity law enacted in 1910; precisely what was the nature of this opposition was described to the subscriber hereto by their leaders while he was in Europe on an investigation in behalf of the United States Bureau of Labor.

Therefore, while by no means intending to express the willingness of this association or its members—they have voted against all contributory plans by an immense majority—that contribution be demanded of them, the subscriber hereto expresses his opinion that this would be the least objectionable form, especially if the Government contribute at least half, precisely because it would cost least.

Such a plan, by reason of resentment at the enforced contribution, would not make for the good of the service. It would not be economical, for it would not attract to the service those who could command higher salaries elsewhere. It would make for permanency and it would relieve the service now.

X.—STRAIGHT-OUT SERVICE PENSIONS COMPLETELY ANSWER ALL REQUIREMENTS.

Straight-out service pensions are deemed the best and cheapest by virtually all experts upon the subject.

Experience approves their verdict; for while contributory plans are often and, indeed, customarily, abandoned for service pensions, no case of the contrary can be cited.

Among those who have so abandoned contributory for noncontributory plans are, as has been stated, the Government of Great Britain and the Grand Trunk Railway Co. of Canada, both after a thorough trial of the former.

In the United States nearly all large employers who have done anything about it have granted service pensions outright. Among these may be mentioned the United States Steel Corporation, International Harvester Co., Pennsylvania Railway Co., New York Central Railroad Co., Chicago & North Western Railway Co., Southern Pacific Railroad Co., Westinghouse Airbrake Co., and American (Bell) Telephone & Telegraph Co.

Perhaps a hundred more substantial companies and firms could be added to this list. Almost the only contributory plans are to be found in the special cases of—

Banks and trust companies—pensions largely for employees with big salaries;

Public schools—an assessment system, greatly resented, though deductions are most moderate.

The plan of out-and-out service pensions is cheaper in the long run, as has been shown, because it involves the payment of no money to any person except an employee retired as superannuated.

It is also cheaper because it tends to make employees contented with their salaries, whereas the contributory plans produce precisely the opposite sentiment.

It is also preferable because it does not involve the accumulation of large funds in the hands of the Government or of trustees—always a peril.

Likewise, because it imposes no peculiar responsibility upon the Government, as for custody and safe investment or for guaranty of earnings.

It also avoids the complicated and difficult problem of maintaining the sufficiency and solvency of such a fund, a problem which in all contributory systems calls for—though it does not often receive—the skilled attention of actuaries. Thus, the plight of insolvent funds—a steady accompaniment of all public contributory schemes in this country so far—and the alternative of costly expert attention are both avoided. A moderate expenditure to investigate costs at the outset is almost all that will be required, as regards such service, under a service-pension plan.

But most important of all is that such a plan completely fulfills all requirements.

It makes for good service. The employees are always pleased with it; not necessarily humbly grateful, for it is not a cure for everything, but appreciative and with better esprit du corps.

It conduces to economy.

Such is attained only by attracting men to the service who are worth more elsewhere than they will receive in the civil service. A good pension system will do this.

It greatly increases persistency in the service, and thus also efficiency.

Its influence is constantly to hold good men and to cause them to make themselves sure of the pension by giving full and efficient service. There is no greater waste than to train good men and then let them get away.

It will fairly and without discrimination relieve the service now.

For under service pensions only will the employees now beyond, and the employees now approaching, the retirement age be retired on pension, without giving them anything which other employees in the service will not in turn, under like conditions, be entitled to receive.

Wherefore, it is submitted, a plan of providing reasonable service pensions for civil-service employees upon examination, at the expense of the Public Treasury, is clearly from every standpoint indicated as the prudent, economical, wise, and humane thing for the Congress of the United States to adopt and put into effect without delay.

Respectfully submitted.

MILES M. DAWSON,
Counselor at Law, Consulting Actuary.

No. 141 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, *February 19, 1914.*

Hon. Edwin A. Merritt, Jr., Late a Representative from the State of New York.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS
OF
HON. JOHN J. FITZGERALD,
OF NEW YORK,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, February 7, 1915.

The House had under consideration House resolution 725, as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the business of the House be now suspended that an opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of the Hon. SERENO E. PAYNE, late a Member of the House of Representatives from the State of New York, and to the memory of the Hon. EDWIN A. MERRITT, Jr., late a Member of the House of Representatives from the State of New York.

"*Resolved*, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and in recognition of their eminent abilities as distinguished public servants, the House, at the conclusion of these memorial proceedings, shall stand adjourned.

"*Resolved*, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

"*Resolved*, That the Clerk be instructed to send a copy of these resolutions to the families of the deceased."

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, death lays a heavy toll upon the House of Representatives. It exempts no group from its levy. We have just paid merited tribute to the memory of the late Sereno E. Payne. For more than a quarter of a century he had served in the House with distinction. We now commemorate the services of another Member from the State of New York who has been called from this life. His service in the House was too brief to enable him to attain commanding place in it. Protracted ill health prevented the advancement otherwise possible even in his shortened career. Few who knew him, however, were not convinced that, had EDWIN A.

MERRITT, Jr., been spared for long service in this body, he would have won the confidence of the House by his industry and sagacity, his wide knowledge, and by virtue of his peculiar capacity for constructive work in a legislative body. He was hardly known to the Members of the House. The confidence of his friends in the brilliancy of his career was based upon an intimate knowledge of his work in the Legislature of the State of New York.

Gifted with a powerful physique, his was a commanding figure. Highly educated and widely read, his logical and retentive mind was stored with a mass of useful information which he commanded with facility. Possessed of the peculiar gifts which adapt some men preeminently for a parliamentary career, his great talents had been utilized in the preparation of many important laws which to-day are of inestimable benefit to the State of New York.

With his training, experience, knowledge, and adaptability he would unquestionably have been a valued and influential Member of the House had he lived sufficiently long to have had full opportunity to display in this new field his wonderful gifts. Inscrutable, indeed, however, are the ways of Divine Providence. His predecessor, the late George R. Maltby, had had an equally brilliant career in the Legislature of the State of New York. Like Mr. MERRITT he had been the leader of his party and then speaker of the assembly. He had also served in the senate for a number of years, while Mr. MERRITT's service had been confined to the assembly. After a brief service here, during which he had demonstrated his value to the House, he was unexpectedly called to another life. The brevity of the service of these two men from the same district, after their useful careers in the State legislature, is a unique coincidence.

Either one of them would have achieved distinction had his service been sufficiently extended.

Those who knew Mr. MERRITT admired him sincerely. He had a most attractive personality and, despite his unusual gifts, was modest and attracted and attached men to him.

For many years I enjoyed his acquaintance. Familiar with his activity in the field he quit to take up the duties of this body, I was one of those who believed that he would speedily impress his personality upon the House.

In his death the country has lost a capable and a useful public servant, his family and friends one who will long be mourned for his many good and lovable qualities.

Naval Appropriation Bill.

SPEECH

OF

HON. MICHAEL K. REILLY,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 29, 1915.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 20975) making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, and for other purposes.

Mr. REILLY of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I am not a military nor a naval expert. My only excuse in asking for time in this debate, when there are so many older and abler men who desire to discuss this question, is the fact that in the judgment of many people our Army and Navy problems are the most important and vital questions that our people have to consider to-day.

The question as to whether or not we are to continue to appropriate the huge sums for our Army and Navy that we have been appropriating, and thereby become one of the great military powers of the world, is a question of vital importance to Americans living and unborn.

During the last 17 years Congress has appropriated more than three and a half billion dollars for our Army and our Navy.

The total agricultural wealth of our Nation is estimated at only about $40,000,000,000, yet in less than one-quarter of a century the representatives of the people have voted for war an amount equal to almost one-eleventh of the total agricultural wealth of our country.

In 1897, the last year of the Cleveland administration, our Army appropriations amounted to $23,000,000 and our Navy appropriations to $33,000,000, and in 1913, the last year of President Taft's administration, 16 years later, the Army bill carried an appropriation of $90,000,000 and the Navy bill $144,000,000.

In those 16 years, from spending the sum total of $56,000,000 a year for Army and Navy we have jumped to an expenditure of about $235,000,000 a year, an increase of more than 400 per cent.

For the 17 years ending in 1897 our appropriations for the Army and Navy amounted to about $800,000,000, or about $400,000,000 for running each line of the service, while in the 17 years since 1897 our appropriations for Army and Navy have increased to about $3,500,000,000.

The fact is that our appropriations for war have increased to such an extent that to-day more than 60 per cent of all of the expenditures of the Government outside of the Post Office Department are appropriated for the upkeep of our Navy and our Army and for pensions.

Think of it! A Nation dedicated to peace, with no desire for war or conquest, is permitting its representatives to appropriate more than one-half of its revenues for war and the results of war; and still we are told that we are unprepared for war and that much larger appropriations must be made if we are to avoid war.

When will the end come, may I ask? When will we have squandered enough of the people's money to have reached that stage when the jingoist and the alarmist will think that we can safely rest on past expenditures for our public defense?

It does seem, Mr. Chairman, that it would be a godsend to this country if we could get back to the good old days when American ideals and our territorial isolation were considered our greatest protection from foreign foes.

The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HOBSON], who has just addressed this House, has indulged in his annual effort to terrorize the American people into the belief that our country stands in the shadow of a war with Japan.

Ever since the distinguished gentleman from Alabama first came to Congress, several years ago, and prior to his entrance into congressional life, he has been the victim of what might be termed "the Japanese nightmare," and has been working overtime in an attempt to impress the American people with the belief that this country is in need of a larger Army and a larger Navy in order to repel his imaginary foreign foe.

Of course, all men are entitled to their opinions upon all subjects; but as I view the situation, Mr. Chairman, all this talk about our country being attacked by Japan or any other country is not even respectable nonsense. The so-called Japanese peril is a pure figment of imagination and has not a single fact upon which to stand.

Japan at the present time is trying to work out her own destiny in her own way, and there is absolutely no evidence that the Japanese people have any desire to make trouble for this country. Japan's financial and economic problems, together with her distance, 4,000 miles from our shores, would make it absolutely impossible for her to give this country any trouble in the way of sending against our shores an invading host, even if her people were so disposed to act toward our country.

The gentleman from Alabama is not satisfied with two dreadnaughts a year as an addition to our Navy; he would have an increase of four or five dreadnaughts a year, with the accompanying quota of auxiliary cruisers, submarines, destroyers, transports, and so forth. If this specially appointed guardian of our national defense could have his way, our naval appropriation would carry $300,000,000 a year instead of about $140,000,000. But the gentleman from Alabama has a rival on the floor of this House who bids fair to divide with him the honors and laurels of his position.

For years the gentleman from Alabama has stood alone the sole and valiant champion of militarism in our country, but recently his distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GARDNER], has jumped into the arena and achieved much fame as a jingoist, terrorizer, and exploiter of an undefended country. The gentleman from Massachusetts has recently awakened to the fact that his country is terribly unprepared for war. He has been in Congress for many years, representing the great Commonwealth of Massachusetts, "asleep at the switch," it would seem, all these years, but suddenly, it appears, awakens and announces to the world that, upon investigation, he finds that his country is terribly unprepared for war, and it is the duty of Congress to appropriate not for the construction of 4 or 5 dreadnaughts a year, but for 20 or 30 dreadnaughts at once, and to provide a standing Army of a half a million men.

This eloquent and new-found champion of militarism does not even stop to count the cost of his extraordinary plans. It matters little to him what his program might cost the taxpaying public, whether the sum be a half a billion or a billion of dollars extra a year; sufficient is, that he has become obsessed with

the idea that Germany and England, now locked in the greatest war that the world has ever known, will, when they get free from each other, attack this country, and we must be prepared for that attack, no matter what the cost may be.

The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GARDNER], in his fear of a German or an English invasion of our country, is just as much of a rainbow chaser, in my judgment, as the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HOBSON] in his ravings about a Japanese invasion of our country.

Why should the German people desire to invade our country or come over here and fight their own blood? Germany has always been our friend; and I do not believe that the idea of attacking our country has ever entered the minds of a German citizen, official, or ruler of the German people. We have among our citizens millions and millions of the sons and daughters of Germany and their descendants, and they constitute, in my judgment, as patriotic an element of our citizenship as we have; and in case of war between the United States and the fatherland I am satisfied that the sons and daughters of Germany who have found a home in this country would rally to a man under the Stars and Stripes and resist with their lives the efforts of an army from the fatherland to invade our country.

England will never attack us, partly because she would be fighting her own kin and partly because she knows that such an attack on our country would result to her in the loss of Canada. Canada's unprotected frontier and proximity to the United States will always serve as a protection for this country from a war with Great Britain.

We hear a great deal nowadays about the need of an adequate Army and an adequate Navy, but there seems to be a lack of definiteness on the part of the users of these terms as to just what is meant by an adequate Army and an adequate Navy. Adequate for what purpose? Adequate for defensive purposes or for offense? I am in favor of an adequate Army and an adequate Navy for this country, but my army and my navy are for defense.

It is submitted that no country needs as large an army or navy for defensive purposes as for offensive purposes.

Germany supposed that she had an adequate navy for defensive purposes before this war, and it would appear that in this judgment she was correct, but if she would desire a navy for offensive purposes in order to gain and retain control of the seas she would have required a navy larger than those of England, France, and Russia combined. If we are to have an adequate Navy, must it be a Navy large enough to match the Navies of England, Germany, Russia, France, and Italy combined, or must it be a Navy large enough to match the Navies of England, Germany, and France combined? When will we know when we have squandered enough of the people's money to have an adequate Navy?

Mr. Chairman, I submit that we have to-day an adequate Navy for this country, and it is no surprise that we have an adequate Navy for defensive purposes, for the reason that in the past 20 years or more we have spent $500,000,000 more for Navy preparations than any other country in the world with the exception of Great Britain.

There are some advocates of a larger Navy on the floor of this House who do not hesitate to say that our Navy is inferior to that of Germany; yet the fact remains that our country has appropriated $500,000,000 more in the past 16 years than has Germany for her Navy. There are some advocates of a larger Navy who contend that our Navy is inferior to the Navy of France, and yet during the past 17 years we have spent over $700,000,000 more on our Navy than France has on hers.

A year ago when the naval appropriation bill was before the House Judge WITHERSPOON, of Mississippi, demonstrated to my complete satisfaction—and I believe to the complete satisfaction of most Members of this House—that from the standpoint of destructive force and gun power our Navy was superior to that of Germany, and second only to the Navy of Great Britain. A year ago, it is true, the German Navy was superior to our Navy from the standpoint of tonnage, but as a result of the sale or destruction in the present war of some 45 German ships, our Navy to-day is superior to the Navy of Germany, not only from the standpoint of gun power and destructive force, but also from the tonnage standpoint, and our Navy stands to-day the second strongest Navy in the world, England's Navy alone being stronger. I say that our Navy stands second in the world from the standpoint of tonnage, destructive force, and gun power, but from the standpoint of the men behind the guns our Navy is more than the equal of any other navy in the world.

It would seem that while we were building 12 and 13 inch guns Germany was building 11 and 12 inch guns, and that while we were building 13 and 14 inch guns Germany was building 12 and 13 inch guns. In other words, we have preceded Germany in building large-caliber guns, and that is why a year ago, with less tonnage than the German Navy, our Navy had a greater destructive force.

It is said that as an explanation of this the Germans point out that they built smaller bore guns because of the foggy conditions of the Baltic and the North Seas, where their naval battles would undoubtedly be fought, and where the range of contest would be much shorter than in other waters where there are no fogs, and in such conditions smaller bore guns would be just as efficient as larger bore guns.

It was also stated that a large majority of the German vessels of war have been constructed with such small coal bunkers that they could not venture on a long foreign voyage. This is an indication of the belief that the German Navy was constructed for naval battles near home, and a rather conclusive argument that the German Navy was constructed solely for defensive purposes.

A great many persons are of the belief that Germany, France, and other European countries are the only nations that have placed upon the backs of their subjects the heavy taxes of militarism.

I was astonished upon investigation to learn that during the past 17 years the United States has spent about three and a half billion dollars in preparing for war, and that during that same period she has spent $500,000,000 more for Navy purposes than Germany has spent, and $700,000,000 more than France.

Since 1910 we have appropriated $120,000,000 more for our Navy than has Germany and $200,000,000 more than France has appropriated for her navy, and yet the advocates of a bigger navy declare that both Germany and France have better navies than we have.

It would seem that instead of introducing a resolution for the purpose of investigating our unpreparedness for war the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GARDNER] would have introduced a resolution for the purpose of investigating what has become of the immense sums spent by our country for Navy purposes in the past 17 years.

Mr. HOBSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. REILLY of Wisconsin. I will.

Mr. HOBSON. I believe that years ago if we had had a commission for national defense we would not have had all of these expenditures.

Mr. REILLY of Wisconsin. Well, if the commission had been made up of the character of men who have been testifying before your committee, we would have spent a great deal more money than we have expended.

Mr. HOBSON. The gentleman understands that the gentlemen comprising this commission would be Members of the House and Senate.

Mr. REILLY of Wisconsin. Such a composition might be all right, but we would want to leave off that commission those men who dream of wars and battles on land and sea by night and by day, and men who are directly or indirectly interested in the commercial or official phases of war.

Mr. PADGETT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. REILLY of Wisconsin. I will.

Mr. PADGETT. You were talking about the differences in expenditures. I think I can give the gentleman a statement that will clarify the situation and relieve his mind. Just, for instance, in one year we have paid our men in the Navy $44,300,000; Germany, having a conscript system, paid $11,400,000, a difference of $33,000,000 in favor of the United States as against Germany on the pay of men alone. For provisions the United States paid $8,600,000; Germany paid $900,000; for clothing the United States paid $1,400,000; Germany paid $140,000. In other words, we have paid ten times as much on that item. Now, if you will run that through the number of years of which you have been speaking, you will get that solution.

Now, then, in the year 1913 the United States appropriated for new construction $35,315,000 and Germany appropriated $53,568,000, so that you will see that we put our money up for men and Germany puts hers in ships.

Mr. BUTLER. Ours are volunteers?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes; it is not hard to understand the difference in expenditures.

Mr. REILLY of Wisconsin. I thank the chairman of the committee for the information that he has given to the House, and I presume, according to his statement, that if we were to have attempted to have a Navy the size of England's it would cost us a great deal more than England's Navy because of the pay we grant to our men and officers.

Mr. PADGETT. Certainly; and everything else. Everything here is on a higher price level than in Germany.

Mr. REILLY of Wisconsin. The distinguished gentleman, chairman of the committee, has given us another reason why this country should never enter upon a career of competition with the European countries in the matter of military and naval policies, and why the programs of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GARDNER] and the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HOBSON] would absolutely bankrupt this country.

Not only have our appropriations for the Navy been excessive as compared with those of other countries, but we find upon investigation that our appropriations for the Army have also been excessive.

We have to-day a standing Army of about a hundred thousand men. The Army appropriation bill carried this year more than $100,000,000, making the cost to this country of each man in the Army $1,000 annually.

Germany had a standing army of 700,000 men when the war broke out, and the cost of that army never exceeded $250,000,000.

If we were to maintain a standing Army the size of Germany, as some of our ex-Chiefs of Staff would have us do, or as the gentleman from Massachusetts believes we ought to do, it would cost us all the way from five to seven hundred millions of dollars a year to do it.

Some one has said that the military systems of Europe have put a soldier on every workingman's back. The new apostles of militarism in this country would put two soldiers on every American laboring man's back.

There are reasons why England, Germany, Russia, and France should possess large armies and navies. Their geographical location, racial conditions, and commercial conflicts all tend to bring about a situation that demands armies and navies, while, on the other hand, our geographical situation and our cosmopolitan population, made up of representatives of every race in the world, render unnecessary large armies and navies in order that we may be protected from foreign invasion.

Mr. Chairman, there is no doubt at all that war is the greatest scourge that has ever afflicted the human race. War is morally wrong and utterly destructive of the highest ideals and humanizing influence of every civilization. When Gen. Sherman stated that war was "hell," he shocked a great many good people; but there can be no doubt at all that if the great Federal commander was permitted to return to earth and view the results of the present European conflict, and see war-torn and blood-soaked Europe in a modern war, he would agree that his characterization of war was entirely too mild and that a new word should be coined to describe the horrors of a modern war.

Mr. Chairman, in the decade prior to the commencement of the present European contest there was more peace talk and more organized efforts in behalf of an international peace propaganda and more distinguished citizens of all the countries of Europe at work on the great problem of international peace than at any other time in the history of the world. Yet during that same period—a period practically of profound peace in Europe and America—there was more money spent for battleships and fortifications in preparation for war than at any other like period in the history of the world.

During that decade two international peace conferences had been held, and the rulers of every nation on earth had vied with each other in paying fulsome tribute to the dove of international peace, but after each conference and before the echoes of the eloquent tributes to international peace had died away, each nation participating in such conferences provided for larger armies, for more guns and ammunition, for more battleships and fortifications.

A third international peace conference was finally called, the delegates to which, from the great powers of the earth, were about to assemble when the six great European countries, whose rulers had been outspoken advocates of international peace, were suddenly plunged into the greatest war the world has ever known, a contest that has developed into the most sorrowful tragedy in all history.

I do not care to enter upon a discussion as to the causes of the European war; suffice for me to know that ordinary experience and common sense ought to have told the people and rulers of Europe that the inevitable result of the European policy of arming to the teeth, so to speak, must be a great and disastrous war. Hundreds of millions and billions of dollars had been spent in organizing invincible armies and building up-to-date navies, and that the military leaders of these countries should not be averse to a trial of strength of their respective engines of war is not unusual and was to be expected.

That the diplomacy of Europe could have avoided the present unfortunate struggles if their respective countries had not been so well prepared for war no student of recent events can doubt.

In one sense the present European war is a result of the pernicious doctrine furnished to the world by the advocates of large armies and large navies, to wit, "The way to keep the peace is to prepare for war"; in other words, if we are to have a peace it must be an armed peace. This doctrine that has so well suited the purposes of military men and war contractors of all countries has been responsible to a large extent for the extraordinary preparations for war in this country and in foreign countries during a time of profound peace.

These advocates of larger armies and larger navies desire peace, of course; but the peace that they would have is an armed peace, because any other kind of a peace would not open opportunities for military men or yield profits to those interested in the possibility of larger armies and larger navies.

Mr. Chairman, there are at work to-day in this country agencies manufacturing sentiment, with the view of making possible each year larger appropriations for our Army and our Navy. The Navy and Army experts in and out of service and their cousins and relatives are all busily at work trying to impress the American people with the danger from foreign foes.

The Army contractors, the battleship builders, the manufacturers of all kinds of munitions of war are deeply interested in the continuation of the large Army and Navy appropriations that have come out of our Congresses in the past 17 years, and I have no doubt at all but that there are a great many good citizens, men who have no sons in the Army or Navy, men who have no Navy or Army connections themselves or who have no financial interests in the building of battleships or cruisers, who are sincerely of the opinion that our country is in great danger from foreign foes, and that we must have a larger Navy and a greater standing Army if even to secure which our Army and Navy appropriations must be increased to $500,000,000 a year. These men are honestly deluded by the Hobsons and Gardners in Congress and their prototypes in Army and Navy life, men who think of war, and who dream of battleships, and some of them who find it quite profitable to have the people accept the doctrine that an armed peace is the only peace that our country can have.

These forces, Mr. Chairman, operating particularly in this country since the Spanish War, have succeeded in their efforts, and have brought this country to that point when we are one of the great military countries of the world, when our people are beginning to feel the tax of an Army and armaments.

Mr. Chairman, there has been an effort in this debate to characterize every Member on the floor of this House who is opposed to the two-battleship proposition of this bill as a no-Navy man and a no-Army man. Such a charge is untrue and unjust. I am opposed to the ordering of two battleships at this time; I am not opposed to an adequate Navy for defensive purposes. I do not believe that we are warranted at this time in ordering the expenditure of thirty or forty millions of dollars of the people's money in the construction of two battleships that the lesson of the present war may teach us are worthless in naval warfare of the future.

We have to-day, without the laying of another keel for a battleship, an adequate Navy, and more than an adequate Navy for defensive purposes. In fact, since the development of the submarine and its wonderful accomplishments in the present war, it would seem that battleships and dreadnaughts are to play a minor part in the naval warfare of the future.

In the Baltic Sea and the North Sea are anchored and harbored three of the largest navies in the world. In the northern part of the Baltic lies at anchor the Russian fleet. In the southern part of that same sea is safely harbored the German fleet. The German fleet is three times the size of the Russian fleet, yet the Russian fleet is protected from the German fleet by mines and submarines. Out in the North Sea lies the greatest navy in the world, and a few hundred miles away is the Germany Navy, many times smaller than the English Navy, yet the German seaports and harbors are absolutely protected from the destructive force of England's greatest dreadnaughts by mines and submarines.

I recognize, Mr. Chairman, that naval officers will be slow to admit that their floating palaces, their battleships, cruisers, and dreadnaughts, are things of the past; but whether they admit it or not, the recent contest in the North Sea between the forces of Germany and England, wherein the English admiral in command of one of the strongest and largest vessels afloat ordered a retreat, not because he was afraid of the German ships that he was chasing, but because he feared the Germany submarines.

There can be no question at all, Mr. Chairman, but that our coast line from Maine to Florida and from Washington to California can be protected with a hundred submarines, so that it would be absolutely impossible for a foreign vessel to land on our shores. But submarines do not cost enough of money to satisfy those patriots who have been spending large sums of

money in the propaganda for a larger Navy and larger Army. You can build 30 or 40 submarines for what it will cost to construct a single dreadnought, and that is the one reason why a systematic effort has been made and is being made to discredit the work of the submarine.

If the present war teaches any one lesson it is that the submarine is becoming an important factor in naval warfare; that as a destroyer of hugh battleships and of ships of commerce it has no equal, and that the navy of the future will be more a navy of aeroplanes and submarines and fast cruisers than of battleships and dreadnaughts.

Mr. Chairman, some one has said that if we are to maintain the Monroe doctrine we must have control of the seas. In answer to such a statement it is sufficient to observe that when we first promulgated the Monroe doctrine we did not have ships enough to be entitled to call them a navy. There was never a time in our history when we needed a large navy and a large army less than at the present time. The European countries that some alarmists think might some day attack us are now engaged in a long and desperate struggle that will make it impossible for them to carry on any wars of foreign conquest for at least a quarter of a century.

Our great advantage as a nation, Mr. Chairman, lies in our isolation from the rest of the world, with our wonderful natural resources, in our unbounded wealth whereby we are able to support ourselves without receiving shipments of food or clothing from the world, not only for months but for years and for all time. A war of aggression toward this country by any European nation would punish those countries more than it would punish our country. In recent years the world has become a large family, as the present war has demonstrated, and it will not be possible for one nation to inflict injury on another nation without injuring itself for some time.

It is true we have no large standing Army. We do not need one. The history of our country from Bunker Hill down to Santiago plainly demonstrates that the American volunteer soldier is equal to every emergency.

Along down the line of American history he has won imperishable glory upon all the battle fields of the Republic.

While we have not a large standing Army, it is true, we have an Army of 16,000,000 of free men following the arts of peace who will rise as a man in defense of their country and their country's flag against any foreign foe about to invade our shores.

All our country has to do, Mr. Chairman, is to be true to its ideals—to its history—and we will be left alone to work out our problem, the greatest problem ever given a people to solve, the problem of the self-government of man.

Mr. Chairman, our country has no fear from foreign foes. If we have any foes the foes are internal ones.

The problems that we will have to solve—the social and industrial problems, problems regarding the equitable distribution of the fruits of labor, the problem of labor and capital—are not the problems that can be solved with glistening bayonets and battleships.

Mr. Chairman, if the hundreds of millions of dollars that have been spent in the past 10 years by our Government on our Navy and our Army had been spent in trying to better some of our social and industrial problems and to conquer some of the enemies that are gnawing at the vitals of our national life, our country would be better off to-day.

Mr. Chairman, I can not vote for this bill; I can not consistently vote for two battleships at this time.

In the first place, the construction of two battleships at this time is a reckless waste of money, because before the said battleships can have any possible use in foreign wars they will have become obsolete and will be used for target practice.

Again, it would seem that this is the time when our country, which has been talking so much for peace and which has done so much for international peace, should take the lead—the emphatic lead—in stopping the building of large and useless armaments.

We are not involved in the European conflict, and I hope we will not become involved in it. Then why not let our country declare a naval holiday for our country alone as an example to the military-ridden countries of the world? In the long-looked-for time prayed for by saints and sages, the hope of humanity, when swords are to be converted into plowshares and spears into pruning hooks, our country, that has always been the hope of suffering humanity for all the world, serving as a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of light by night, should take the lead in this great movement for the disarmament of the nations of the world.

Life, Character, and Public Service of the Late Hon. Forrest D. Goodwin.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. McGILLICUDDY,

OF MAINE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, February 1, 1915,

On House resolution 741, as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the business of the House be now suspended in order that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. FORREST GOODWIN, late a Member of this House from the State of Maine.

"*Resolved*, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased and in recognition of his distinguished public career the House at the conclusion of these exercises stand adjourned.

"*Resolved*, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

"*Resolved*, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the widow of the deceased."

Mr. McGILLICUDDY. Mr. Speaker, to pay a richly deserved tribute to the life, character, and public services of our deceased friend and colleague, the Hon. FORREST GOODWIN, is the solemn duty of this hour.

Death is always sad, but in the case of our friend it was unusually and impressively pathetic.

He had just achieved what was probably one of the highest ambitions of his life, the opportunity to serve his country, and particularly the people of his district, where he was beloved and admired, in the Halls of the American Congress.

Some of the most distinguished sons of his native State had represented that district in Congress, and it was undoubtedly his worthy and commendable ambition to emulate their illustrious careers on the floor of this House.

Let me say that in my judgment few men come to this Congress better equipped to discharge its high and important duties than FORREST GOODWIN.

He brought to the task talents of a high order, a matured mind stored with valuable information and disciplined not only in intellectual pursuits but in the stern school of practical experience.

A brilliant future lay before him. But, alas, he sat in this historic Chamber but little more than a month when the angel of death beckoned him away. A sad and impressive lesson to us all of the uncertainty of these worldly ambitions and careers.

The story of his life is typical of the average ambitious New England boy and man.

He was born in a small Maine town, of parents poor in this world's goods, but self-reliant, independent, self-sustaining, hard-working people who feared God, loved their neighbors, and did no man injustice—the best possible school out of which to graduate a real man.

Under these conditions he was reared and upon his young mind were impressed lessons of economy, thrift, self-reliance, prudence, and foresight. And in his young heart was impressed the greatest of all human lessons—the lesson of sympathy for his fellow man. In the well-disposed mind these lessons early learned in the school of adversity are not forgotten in the later days of comfort, plenty, and prosperity.

FORREST GOODWIN was preeminently a successful man, and his success was achieved under conditions that reflect upon him the highest type of credit.

He had neither wealth, social influence, nor political power to aid him until he won them by his own efforts.

But he had an honest heart and a clear, right-thinking mind. To these God-given qualities he added industry, thrift, fidelity, and a determination to win.

Undoubtedly his greatest success was in the chosen profession of his life—the law.

Notwithstanding his great promise of success in the field of politics and statesmanship upon which he had just entered, I am not sure but it would have been his choice to rest his reputation in the field of his chosen profession. It was here that he spent the best years of his life and gave all that was in him.

He had all the qualities of an eminently successful lawyer. He had a keen, analytical mind that absorbed legal principles and applied them to given facts in a case with surprising accuracy and effect.

His eloquence and logic as an advocate before a jury were irresistible.

On questions of law before the court his opinions were always received with the profoundest consideration and respect.

But, to my mind, one of the greatest elements of his success in the law was that he possessed the confidence both of the jury and the court. They trusted him not only as a lawyer but as a man; and when a man has won the trust of his fellow men, and not abused it, he has laid the surest foundation for true and lasting success.

Such a man was FORREST GOODWIN. His people, who knew him best, loved and trusted him; and he, in turn, loved and trusted them.

His charming personality, warm and sympathetic nature, won for him innumerable friends.

He was a delightful companion, a broad-minded and cultured gentleman.

He never forgot the comfort and happiness of others, and to contribute to them was his own greatest joy.

But our friend and colleague has gone. His death was, indeed, untimely and all too soon. But in this hour of tribute to his memory his friends have this consoling thought—his name and fame are now secure. By every standard that measures the worth of men he stands eminently among the foremost sons of his native State. In this thought in closing I am reminded of Tennyson's tender and consoling lines to his friend:

Sleep till the end, true soul and sweet!
Nothing comes to thee new or strange.
Sleep full of rest from head to feet;
Lie still, dry dust, secure of change.

A Bureau for Farm Women.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD KEATING,
OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, on January 27, 1915, I introduced a bill "To provide for the establishment, operation, and management of a bureau to be known as the Farm Women's Bureau in the Department of Agriculture."

This measure was drafted at the suggestion of some of the officials of the American Branch of the International Congress of Farm Women, an organization which is doing a splendid work among the women on the farms of this country.

The following is a copy of my bill:

Be it enacted, etc., That the short title of this act shall be the "Farm Women's Bureau act."

SEC. 2. That there is hereby created in the Agricultural Department of the United States a bureau to be known as the Farm Women's Bureau.

SEC. 3 That this bureau shall conduct investigations of problems relating to the rural homes of the United States, and to that end may cooperate with the various departments of the State and Federal Governments, State agricultural colleges, and organizations of farm women engaged in research work.

SEC. 4. That this bureau shall be an advisory center of rural home work, to which the agricultural colleges, experiment stations, etc., may turn in the development of their county and local work.

SEC. 5. That this bureau may call upon the Bureau of Public Health Service and the Hygienic Laboratory for any assistance in planning the sanitation and hygiene of rural homes and for information concerning care of infants, nursing, and other subjects related to the activities of said bureau; and said Bureau of Public Health and said Hygienic Laboratory are hereby authorized to render such assistance and information.

SEC. 6. That this bureau shall assist in the organization of farm women into clubs of 10 or more, for the purpose of studying the problems of the farm, and to this end advantage may be taken of the publications prepared by the Federal and State Governments, lecture programs, laboratory demonstrations, lantern slides, etc., and of the personal help of the county and State agents.

SEC. 7. That this bureau cooperate with the Bureau of Education in working toward the consolidation of rural schools, the formation of social centers in rural districts, and with the extension departments of the various agricultural colleges in the establishment of circulating libraries and promoting courses for home study by farm women.

SEC. 8. That this bureau investigate and endeavor to solve the problem of female help on the farm.

SEC. 9. That this bureau prepare data for the use of farm women, informing them where and how to procure bulletins giving the result of the Agricultural Department's investigations in regard to balanced rations, scientific preparation of food, comparative cost of food, and farm home economy.

SEC. 10. That this bureau investigate labor-saving devices and new inventions for the home, and it is hereby authorized to build a model farm home, either at the experimental farm at Arlington or any place the Secretary of Agriculture may direct, where labor-saving devices may be tested.

SEC. 11. That the Secretary of Agriculture is hereby directed to appoint as the head of this bureau a woman who has the requisite educational qualifications, and who has had at least 10 years' practical experience as a home maker on the farm. The Secretary of Agriculture may appoint, subject to the provisions of the civil-service law, such other employees for said bureau as Congress may from time to time provide.

SEC. 12. That there is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, available until expended, the sum of $200,000 to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to make such investigations, to collect such data, and to use such methods and means as he may deem necessary to carry out the provisions of this act.

MRS. HARBERT'S LETTER.

The president of the American branch of the International Congress of Farm Women is a Colorado woman and a resident of my congressional district—Mrs. Bell van Dorn Harbert, of Manzanola, Colo. Mrs. Harbert is a splendid representative of American womanhood. She has had years of experience as a home maker on the farm and is well qualified to speak for "the woman of the country."

I have asked Mrs. Harbert to prepare a statement in support of the bill which I introduced, and she has been good enough to comply; and with the permission of the House I will insert it in the RECORD, as follows:

MANZANOLA, COLO., *February 27, 1915.*

Hon. EDWARD KEATING,
Member House of Representatives, United States,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: The bill for creating a farm women's bureau in the Department of Agriculture represents the best thought and unselfish devotion of practical women who know both the poetry and prose of country life, and who realize the immense importance of the farm woman as an economic factor in the world's great work.

Agriculture is the basis of all wealth, and upon this truth the department was established; since then the Government has worked shoulder to shoulder with the farmer, always taking the initiative and bearing the expense of introducing new and valuable aids to his work.

Experts have been sent to every foreign country to examine and collect the promising products of the soil. Experiment stations have been established in all parts of the country to test their commercial value; but in this very commendable effort for greater yields and more scientific cultivation of the soil the important science of rural home making has been almost entirely overlooked, and the brave little woman has been left to struggle alone.

STRIKING CONTRASTS.

Millions have been spent to "make two blades of grass grow in the place of one," while practically nothing has been done to make one step in the home take the place of two.

The whole trend of modern education has been along the lines of making a living rather than how to live. Everything in rural life has been so commercialized that one might think it better business to raise fine stock than mere boys and girls, and better to own a big barn than a good home with modern conveniences; the amount of money spent to successfully combat diseases among cattle and hogs compared with the amount used to prevent the appalling loss of infant life from preventable diseases is unthinkable.

The health in the cities has been so safeguarded by medical science and by the strict enforcement of sanitary regulations that it has been stated by good authority that the percentage of defective children and of death from preventable diseases are greater in rural districts than in the city. If this be true it is time that the farmer's wife, upon whose shoulders falls the burden of responsibility of looking after the health and habits of the children, should have help.

We are therefore asking for the establishing of a farm women's bureau in the Department of Agriculture in order that the needs of the rural home shall be more fully considered.

I have been asked, "Why the farm women's bureau, when the whole Department of Agriculture should be considering the needs of the rural home." My answer is I know it should, but it never has. For instance, the agricultural appropriation for the fiscal year 1915 approximated $26,000,000. Of this amount the program of work for the Agricultural Department shows the following which might be classed as legislation for the benefit of the farm home. The office of farm management is to spend $3,320 for farm home studies.

The Bureau of Chemistry will spend $1,500 for studies in bread making.

The Office of Experiment Stations expects to spend $31,260 for investigating the relative utility and economy of agricultural products for food.

The office of markets and rural organizations expects to spend $12,700 for investigating rural social and educational activities.

This makes a total of $58,780 for the rural home.

In comparison with the above amounts the Forestry Service alone will spend $8,000,000, and of this amount $2,000,000 will be spent for purchasing land for watersheds. This shows that money is forthcoming when the need is apparent.

SMITH-LEVER BILL.

The amount of money made available by the Smith-Lever bill for the spread of scientific knowledge in the rural districts is a great step forward, and the manner in which it is spent is of vital interest to every farm woman in America, for upon her shoulders will fall the working out of the practical part of any plan for rural progress. If she is not in sympathy with the movement it will stop where it began, therefore through a farm women's bureau in the Department of Agriculture she should be taken into the "councils of the most high."

The farm woman has forever been the burden bearer of the human race and has been as silent as the force of gravity in her work of feeding and clothing the nations. She has been too busy doing the things that her hands found to do to demand or expect anything of the world except a chance to work. She has been the conserver, the builder, the tireless toiler, but now the world has awakened to find that she, who has been the very balance wheel of civilization, is behind in the procession; already science has discovered her isolated kitchen and is knocking at the door. Shall she be allowed to invite him to enter or will he simply come in and take possession?

The farm woman has been criticized in various ways for her lack of interest in improving rural conditions, and even a bulletin published by

the Department of Agriculture accuses her of being shiftless and careless as compared to her grandmother.

But what will she do?

NEEDS NEW RESPONSIBILITIES.

We all agree that the old-time responsibilities of knitting, spinning, weaving, dipping tallow candles, etc., have been taken out of her hands forever. They have gone with the ox team and the old-fashioned threshing floor. The farmer has adjusted himself to the change, but the farm woman has been given nothing to compensate her for her loss as an economic necessity.

Responsibility is the only means of bringing out the best there is in humanity and the farm woman is no exception to the rule, so in order to bring back the thrift and contentment that characterized her grandmother's day the farm woman should be given responsibility along other lines.

Invite her through this bureau in the Department of Agriculture to help in the solution of the rural problems of to-day and see how quick her attitude is changed. Invite her cooperation with the agricultural colleges and the extension departments and you have enlisted the "better half" of rural humanity.

There is enough energy going to waste because "nobody cares" to bring sunshine, beauty, and gladness into every rural home in the United States. This latent power, if rightly directed by the Department of Agriculture, would put a stop to the drift from the farms to the already overcrowded cities; for, verily I say unto you, the women are responsible for the exodus.

Answers to thousands of inquiries show that 90 per cent of all the families who leave the farms do so because of the dissatisfaction of the mother. Many reasons, such as better educational advantages, social privileges, intellectual environment, modern conveniences, and to escape isolation and loneliness are all given, but the fact is that the rural home has not kept apace with modern life and this neglect is sapping the very foundation of our civilization.

All these objections can be overcome by modern inventions, aided by organized efforts and a cooperation of all concerned, but leave the farm woman out of the scheme and you have delayed the progress by a generation.

KNOWS PRACTICAL SIDE.

She knows the practical side of farm life and she knows by experience and a keen intuition how theories will work out. She may be conservative, but she is always ready to take hold of the hand of science if it is reached out and not down.

The world may call her careless, but it must respect her high disdain for anything subservient; this splendid characteristic has done more to preserve the American independence than any other influence. If in this matter of rural education she is expected to reach up and accept something which science directs without having had a part in its planning, the chances are she will be slow in accepting the proffered help.

88530—14736

This bureau is necessary as a nucleus or headquarters for all farm women's organizations and would centralize the work that is being done for rural uplift.

Organization and cooperation are the two great factors which will bring about the needed changes in country life.

The farm woman must be responsible for her own organization and through this organization she must study the needs of her own community and then cooperate with the agricultural college in supplying them. She must be considered as authority in the practical art of housekeeping. This is necessary to give her proper respect for her position as the farmer's helpmate. It is also necessary in order to give the boys and girls a proper respect for the mother in the home.

This bureau will be the beginning of a larger community life, higher ideals, and a cooperation of hand and brain. It will mean an awakened interest and a new ambition for the woman on the farm.

Hoping your honorable body will pass this bill for a farm woman's bureau, and thanking you for honoring us by its introduction, I am,

Very cordially,

MRS. BELLE VAN DORN HORBERT.

MRS. BIGELOW'S COMMENTS.

One of Mrs. Harbert's earnest, intelligent lieutenants is Mrs. Mary L. Bigelow, of Minneapolis, Minn., president of the Farm Women's Press Association. Mrs. Bigelow has been good enough to prepare a letter in support of the bill, which I will take the liberty of inserting in the RECORD, as follows:

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., *February 26, 1915.*

Hon. EDWARD KEATING,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have been requested to write you in connection with your bill calling for a farm woman's bureau and to give reasons why such a bureau is necessary. The question is asked, "Why a bureau for farm women any more than for any other women?"

The city woman's needs are largely taken care of municipally. Public health is a necessity; hence, sanitation and all that relates to its application is cared for at public expense. Sickness, contagion, and epidemics from various causes are, on account of close segregation in cities, such a menace that the city cares for, directs, and even forces obedience to rules conducive to the greatest good to the greatest number. She is within reach of immense libraries and lectures on every conceivable topic, cultural, and economic. She is within reach of food supplies, prepared and otherwise, and is protected by sanitary regulations.

She has abundant water supply at a nominal cost. Garbage is disposed of. Her home is lighted and easily heated with minimum labor. Cooking is made easy. In fact, all conveniences are placed at her disposal either by municipal activities or by public-utility corporations acting under municipal control.

Time, "the great gift of the gods," is hers to live, to improve her mind, rear her children, compass charities, and allow her soul to grow.

The woman of the country has had to look either to herself alone or at the most to the unaided generosity, farsightedness, and financial ability of one man (her husband) to get any of these blessings which come naturally to the city woman.

If the farmer is the ward of the Nation at large, having no town to stand sponsor for him, so the farm woman is equally entitled to at least all the guidance, advice, help, demonstration, and experimental work that the Government can encompass to enable her to get for herself what the city woman already has without asking.

In many of the States the agricultural colleges are giving this service, in some cases covering nearly all that is needed, in many instances specializing in a few directions in which a record has been made and leaving many crying needs entirely without remedy. In other States, sometimes through lack of appropriation or other causes, little, if anything, has been done for the women on the farms.

It is useless to work for the farmer, to teach him to grow better crops; urge him to educate his children and enable him to accumulate a competency, if as soon as all this is done the woman or women of the farm simply will not stay where they have no chance to really live and prefer to move into town and expand under the benign influence of municipal and corporate protection.

So it would seem to be really "up to" the Federal Government to protect, educate, and develop his female wards and exercise the same intelligent parentalism over the women of the country that he is now doing for the men on the farms and for the children of the whole country.

Yours, very truly,

MRS. MARY L. BIGELOW,
President Farm Women's Press Association.

WILL REINTRODUCE BILL.

I found it impossible, Mr. Speaker, to secure consideration of this bill during the Sixty-third Congress, but I intend to reintroduce it at the opening session of the Sixty-fourth Congress, and at that time I will urge my colleagues in the House to give it serious consideration. I am sure I may count on a proper response. Most of us were born on farms, and we are therefore the sons of farm women. It would be strange, indeed, if we did not gladly embrace an opportunity to better the conditions surrounding the women who have taken the places once occupied by our mothers.

On the Hobson Resolution for Nation-Wide Prohibition.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY M. GOLDFOGLE,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 22, 1914.

The House had under consideration the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 168) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States prohibiting the sale, etc., of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. Mr. Speaker, I shall vote against the Hobson resolution, regarding it as subversive of the principles of local self-government and destructive of property rights, without making compensation; as destructive, too, of legitimate industries, the control and regulation of which should rest with the States alone; and finally as opposed to the teachings of the Democratic Party.

It has been the policy of our Government, and I think I express what Democracy has always claimed to be its doctrine, that those matters which affect the moral and social relations of the States should be left to the control of the several States. The subject of excise has ever been regarded as a matter peculiarly within the province of States to legislate on, and no good reason has been advanced for the invasion of this State sovereignty. It was Thomas Jefferson who, in one of his famous letters, said:

I have always thought where the line of demarcation between the power of the General Government and the State government was doubtful or indistinctly drawn it would be prudent and praiseworthy in both parties never to approach it but in the most urgent necessity.

I can not reconcile myself to the idea that the prohibition to manufacture and sell beer and spirituous liquors comes within the legitimate field of Federal legislation.

It is now within the province of any State to adopt, if it sees fit, prohibition laws, make them as drastic as it sees fit, and provide for their enforcement. Commit this power generally to the National Government, and it would require swarms of officials and myriads of spies to enforce the law. In States where the sentiment opposed to prohibition prevails it would be next to impossible to secure the enforcement of the law. You can not carry any law, as a rule, into effect unless the opinion of the general public is behind it and lends it its moral support. In certain jurisdictions the sentiment would be so strong against prohibition that jurors could not be found to convict, and the law would be treated with that indifference or meet with such local opposition that it would be treated with the evasion or contempt that it deserves.

Again, it may be urged that to carry out the scheme the resolution contemplates would require an army of marshals and in many places a force of other officials, which would call for so

large an expenditure of public moneys as to be burdensome on the Treasury. Clothed with the power of seizure, search, and arrest, and, in some localities, the necessity of taking alleged violators of the law to distant parts before Federal courts, the power to enforce the law would become tyrannous, and where sentiment for it would be lacking the law would to the community become obnoxious. I can not conceive of a species of legislation worse than that, nor of a condition which, instead of promoting respect for, would rather bring an utter contempt for the law.

Suppose a dozen States, each large in population and powerful in their resources—such, for instance, as New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, and California—be, as I confidently believe they are, opposed to this prohibition legislation. Yet the advocates of national prohibition would, through constitutional amendment, have 36 other States foist on the entire country a law which these powerful States would justly regard as an invasion of their sovereignties, as destructive of the property rights of their citizens, as an unfair, arbitrary, and unjust deprivation of their revenues, and an unnecessary interference with the tastes and inclinations of their citizens. Against the attempt now made to have these smaller States make this aggression upon these larger States I must enter my emphatic protest.

Mr. Speaker, in so far as my State is concerned this prohibition measure if enacted into law or written into the Constitution would entail a loss annually to its treasury of about $20,000,000. It is a well-governed State. It is opposed to this prohibition measure. The city of New York, which in part I am privileged to represent, is a well-governed city—the metropolis of the country—and stands as a pride to the Nation. It is opposed to this prohibition legislation. My city and State, in the exercise of their right of self-government, in their insistence on the right of local control of matters that have no legitimate place in the domain of Federal legislation, in their determination that the lawful industries and legitimate investment of capital and the legitimate employment of honest labor shall not be ruthlessly destroyed, protest against the adoption of this Hobson resolution.

Again, I would remind the House that while we have been seeking for sources of revenue and have been doing so much talking about taking off the burdens of taxation from the people, this prohibition measure, if enacted, would entail an annual loss of about $230,000,000 to the National Treasury. How do you propose this loss shall be made up? You would throw an immense army of workingmen out of employment; you would shut off this large revenue to the public coffers, and where, I ask, would you look for moneys to make up the loss? You would enter on new fields for taxation and thereby add to the burdens already heavily felt by the general public. Indeed, you who advocate this nation-wide prohibition, many of whom have so loudly talked of your interest in the workingman, would strike down scores of industries which enter into the manufacture and sale of beer and ale and wine and liquor and cast out of employment the immense army of thousands of workingmen now engaged in those legitimate pursuits. Whatever may be thought of the so-called liquor question, let each community for itself decide, but let us not venture into an encroachment on the rights of States and an interference with those privileges which peculiarly belong to local communities to regulate.

You who come from States that are dry enforce your laws if you will. You who come from local option counties or towns enforce your laws if you can. But we seriously object to your efforts to have, so far as this matter of prohibition is concerned, a probable minority spread through two-thirds of the States overrule the judgment and desires of what likely is a majority of people in the remaining one-third of the States of the Union.

In this connection and in the few minutes remaining I desire to read from the words of our illustrious President Wilson in his work on constitutional government. He says:

> It would be fatal to our political vitality really to strip the States of their powers and transfer them to the Federal Government. It can not be too often repeated that it has been the privilege of separate development secured to the several regions of the country by the Constitution, and not the privilege of separate development only, but also that other more fundamental privilege that lies back of it, the privilege of independent local opinion and individual conviction which has given speed, facility, vigor, and certainty to the processes of our economic and political growth. To buy temporary ease and convenience for the performance of a few great tasks of the hour at the expense of that would be to pay too great a price and to cheat all generations for the sake of one.

Applying this sound philosophy, which is in perfect harmony and consonance with Democratic doctrine, I trust the resolution will be voted down. [Applause.]

National Marketing Commission.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. GOODWIN,
OF ARKANSAS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, there are no two questions that engage the thought of the agricultural population so much as the subject of rural credits and the creation of a national marketing system that will enable the agricultural people to find a ready market for their produce. By all means this Congress should have enacted both propositions into law. I desire upon this occasion to stress and emphasize the importance of the latter proposition—a national marketing system. The greatest authority on both of these questions in this country, who has had an actual experience of nearly 40 years in this country, augmented by a dozen years of close study and observation in Europe, is that world character, Mr. David Lubin, of California, who conceived the idea of creating and is the father of the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome. By his unceasing labors Mr. Lubin finally brought his conception to a realization, and this institute, supported by 54 adhering Governments, is the world's great clearing house of information on all agricultural questions, and no member of this institute, learned as I think all of them are, stands higher as an authority and as an unselfish advocate of bettering the condition of the farming class of people than does Mr. Lubin.

It was my pleasure, Mr. Speaker, for about seven weeks last fall to be thrown in almost daily touch and contact with Mr. Lubin upon his invitation, and no man who is sincerely desirous that the backbone of our country—the agricultural people—should have their lot and condition in life bettered can fail to have a higher appreciation as well as a broadening of his vision by being associated with a man of Mr. Lubin's intellect and sympathy.

It is largely through the efforts of Mr. Lubin that House joint resolution 311, which was reported by me from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, passed this House as well as the Senate and was approved by the President. This resolution seeks to create an international commerce commission on ocean freights that the same may be regulated and made stable, the Shipping Trust destroyed or compelled under a penalty of international law to carry the world's commerce at reasonable and not exorbitant rates. If such an international agreement existed to-day, we could appreciate its worth and value in throttling the Shipping Trust that is devouring the peoples' substance and with an avarice hitherto unknown.

Of the two questions, important as they both are, rural credits and a national marketing commission, Mr. Lubin thinks that the latter should come first, though I believe both should have been enacted by this Congress. For every borrower of money there must be a lender, and no lender of money will begin to put his money out at interest unless he deems the security inviting and the borrower solvent and liable upon his contract. In other words, Mr. Speaker, if the farmer can dispose of his surplus products at a good advantage, at a profit that is due him, by a system of marketing instead of his products rotting in the fields or in the bins, he is then in a condition to receive accommodation and to discharge his obligation, as the same may fall due from time to time, from year to year, in the way of partial payments on long-time loans as well as to meet the annual interest thereon. Therefore if a system of marketing were established in this country, National, State, county, and township, all correlated, dovetailed, and interlinked, there would be no excuse for a failure of any farmer to market his produce, if not locally, then possibly to be consumed by some producer to be found by the county commission; but failing there to be disposed of, probably by the State commission; and if no demand in the State for these products of a given locality, then to find a market at the instance and through the intervention of a national marketing commission. Reports from day to day should be sent by telephone, by telegraph, and by mail, if necessary, not only as to all products for sale by the producers thereof, but likewise similar communications made to all parts of the country by the National, State, county, and township commissions of a demand for farm products which people need and are compelled to have. Therefore, Mr. Lubin says, first establish your marketing commission, conserve the peoples' products by finding a

market for same, build up and make prosperous the producers of the country, then the lender of money, knowing that the man who seeks to borrow it will meet his obligations as they fall due, will not hesitate to accommodate his needs.

A resolution introduced by me to create a national marketing commission, permit me to say, has received wide publicity in different parts of the country, has been indorsed by representative farmers' organizations, consumers' leagues, and many dozens of other civic bodies and some of the foremost editors of agricultural papers throughout the country, and in the State of California, where Mr. Lubin is so favorably known, has possibly been indorsed by a half million people through divers and sundry organizations. The resolution (H. J. Res. 344) above referred to has since been modified to some degree at the instance of the legislative committee of the National Farmers' Union and others, and I herewith append this modified resolution, which speaks for itself:

Joint resolution providing for the appointment of a national marketing commission.

Whereas it is patent that there are defects in the economic system of the United States which affect adversely the producers and the consumers of agricultural products; and

Whereas these defects have been accentuated by the European war, and to a degree justifying the recent utterances of the President of the United States in the matter of the high cost of living; and

Whereas various attempts have been made from time to time to overcome these defects, mainly through nongovernmental agencies, and recently under governmental agency under the Bureau of Marketing of the Department of Agriculture; and

Whereas experience has, however, proven that the solution of this question is not to be found in nongovernmental agencies, nor is it to be found in a governmental agency. It is to be found in a semiofficial governmental agency, as is here proposed, as witness the success in the European countries of such a system, a system which has swept aside the trusts in food products and which renders the trust an impossibility; and

Whereas the present abnormally high prices for food products not alone offers an opportune time for the establishment of a semiofficial governmental agency as a means for the temporary solution of this problem, but also for the organization of the agricultural forces of the United States on the lines indicated as a means for the permanent solution of this problem: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, etc., That the President be authorized and requested to appoint a national marketing commission, to be composed of 18 members, 12 of whom shall be engaged in agricultural or horticultural pursuits, and 6 of whom shall be selected with special reference to their knowledge of commerce, finance, transportation, and law, and who shall receive compensation not in excess of $6,000 each per annum.

That said commission shall meet in the city of Washington, at a time designated by the President, to organize by the election of officers and to adopt a plan of action for the effective organization of the States, counties, and localities of the United States.

Said commission shall be empowered and directed to act with organizations and individuals as may become part of the national marketing system, when such organizations and individuals may have been authorized by said commission to cooperate to that end and under such rules and regulations as the national marketing commission may prescribe.

I also will publish with the resolution, Mr. Speaker, a few of the letters received by me indorsing this proposition. Mr. Charles Kurzman, of New York, has written me a great number of letters upon this question, and he likewise has addressed other letters to different officers of the Agricultural Department in Washington, as well as other representative officials, not only indorsing the idea set forth in this resolution, but commenting at considerable length, giving his views in a many-sided way to the question of a national marketing commission. I do not agree with some of Mr. Kurzman's conclusions, but I publish his letters gladly as a contribution to this very important subject, for Mr. Kurzman has been a close student of the economic needs of our farming population as well as the unfortunate consumers in crowded centers and cities, who on account of the unfair, cumbersome, and expensive manner of distributing the products from the farm to the consumers in cities is compelled to pay an exorbitant rate for same, thus forcing the producer to receive but a fraction of what he should receive.

HUNTING CREEK, N. C., *February 20, 1915.*

Hon. W. S. GOODWIN,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: Replying to your favor of a recent date, will say that I most heartily approve the measure and the joint resolution now before the House providing for the appointment of a national marketing committee, and shall be pleased to do what I can to further its passage.

Trusting that all goes well with you, and with kindly regards and best wishes, I am,

Very truly, yours,

C. C. WRIGHT.

—

MOUNT VERNON, ILL., *February 25, 1915.*

Hon. W. S. GOODWIN,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Just back from a speaking trip and had yours awaiting me. I have had some correspondence with Hon. D. Lubin over these matters and have indorsed the "Landwirtschaftsrat" fully. See his published letter to Senator FLETCHER on bill S. 4246.

If I might be allowed to suggest, I think the words in your resolution, "to appoint a national marketing commission," are altogether too limiting for Mr. Lubin's idea and the Landwirtschaftsrat of Germany. It is essentially a national advisory agricultural council along all lines of farm and rural life.

Hoping that this may be broadened, and wishing you every success, I am,

Fraternally,

JNO. P. DOYLE.

—

ARKANSAS STATE FARMERS' UNION,
Little Rock, Ark., February 26, 1915.

Hon. W. S. GOODWIN,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR GOODWIN: I am writing you in regard to House joint resolution No. 423, introduced by you in Congress recently as a substitute for House joint resolution No. 344.

I want to say that the idea of this agricultural commission as advanced by Mr. David Lubin and embodied by you in this resolution is one that is in entire accord with the principles and efforts of the Farmers' Union; that is, to provide some actual representative manner in which the views of the small farmer may be properly and accurately presented to the Congress of the United States at all times; and it is one of the most worthy and far-reaching efforts to help the agricultural classes in a practical manner that has been introduced in this or any other Congress, I earnestly believe, and I certainly hope that you will be successful in having it enacted into law.

Anything I can do or that the national organization of Farmers' Union can do to help this matter forward you have but to command me and I will see that the proper agencies are put to work to do it.

Very truly, yours,

H. S. MOBLEY.

—

FARM AND FIRESIDE,
Berkeley Springs, W. Va., March 1, 1915.

Hon. W. S. GOODWIN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: When I talked with Mr. Lubin about the Landwirtschaftsrat I was convinced of the correctness of his views, and a rereading of his speech before the Committee on Agriculture reproduces in me the original conviction. A national council of agriculture of that sort would be a good thing, I am sure—a splendid thing—if it could represent accurately the sentiment of actual farmers of the country. By actual farmers I mean not only farm owners who work their own farms, but tenant farmers and farm hands. Surely the lower down in the agricultural scale a man may be the more necessary it is that his needs and his rights be taken into account.

I am afraid, however, that I can not help very much in perfecting your plan for the appointment of a national marketing commission. I have been trying to visualize the sort of gathering we should have if either of your proposed commissions should be appointed. I have never been able to see any constructive agreement as an outcome of their deliberations, and yet I am in favor of the resolution. What we need more than anything else is an active cooperative life in the townships and school districts, so that there will be issues on which representatives can be chosen from the localities to the county gathering, from the county meeting to the State convention, and from the State meeting to the national Landwirtschaftsrat. I am afraid we shall not get this through your resolution. As Mr. Lubin so well said, it ought to come from the bottom up, and I am afraid it will have to.

Yours, sincerely,

HERBERT QUICK.

—

FARMERS' EDUCATIONAL AND COOPERATIVE UNION OF AMERICA,
Gravette, Ark., March 2, 1915.

Hon. W. S. GOODWIN,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of February 17 has just been called to my notice. I have read with great interest Mr. Lubin's address at the hearing on H. J. Res. 344. You are working on the right line; in fact, upon the line we had in mind two years ago, when we introduced the bill to create a marketing bureau. The thing Congress gave us will never do what we had hoped to accomplish. The commission provided for in your resolution will get at the bottom of things.

The farmer's problem of the hour is economic distribution. It must be solved in the interest of the whole people. Governmental assistance is absolutely essential, not to market products, but to point the way.

Will you kindly send me 25 or 30 reports of the hearing last September?

Thanking you in advance, I am,

Very truly, yours,

A. C. DAVIS.

—

WASHINGTON STATE UNION,
FARMERS' EDUCATIONAL AND COOPERATIVE UNION OF AMERICA,
St. Andrews, Wash., March 3, 1915.

Hon. W. S. GOODWIN,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 17th ultimo to hand, containing copy of H. J. Res. 423; also copy of hearing before the Committee on Agriculture of the House, and I wish to thank you for the same.

The resolution meets my hearty approval. I believe we could expect more efficient service if the commissioners receive an adequate salary for the important work that would be required of them.

I believe the bill in its present form is much better than in the first resolution, 344, and would like to see it passed in this form.

Thanking you for the information given and for your interest in behalf of the farmers, I am,

Very truly, yours,

A. D. CROSS,
State Secretary-Treasurer.

—

Letter from Gov. Capper, who is interested in several farm journals, having a circulation of several millions, indorsing the resolution:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE,
Topeka, March 8, 1915.

Hon. W. S. GOODWIN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GOODWIN: I have read with much interest your joint resolution to create a national market commission to follow out the suggestions in Mr. Lubin's statement. It seems to me you will do well to have on that commission the two men in the Farmers' Union and the Grange who are their highest authorities on practical, actual cooperation. For the rest, I hope you will be able to obtain high-grade men who will go into the matter actively and with enthusiasm. One

of the difficulties will be to find men of that kind who can give this enterprise the attention it should have. You and your colleagues will have my best wishes in this endeavor.

Very respectfully,

ARTHUR CAPPER,
Governor.

PLAN FOR INCREASING PRODUCTION, DECREASING PRICE TO CONSUMER, AND YET ENABLE THE FARMER TO MAKE GREATER PROFITS THAN UNDER PRESENT SYSTEM.

MR. CHARLES J. BRAND,
Chief, Office of Markets, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: With further reference to the figures of the United States Department of Agriculture on survey of 273 of the best farms in Iowa, Indiana, and Illinois, showing 18 per cent losing from $200 to $500 yearly, and 15 per cent losing from $1 to $200 yearly, or breaking even, for their labor—over and above 5 per cent interest on the investment—thus apparently 33 per cent, or one-third, of the farmers work for nothing or less than nothing.

These would come under the head of "inefficient.."

It is claimed that about one-third of the animals on the farms are also inefficient—that is, they consume more than they produce—hence instead of having a population of 100,000,000 people to feed we also have to feed or board these one-third of our farm animals that are inefficient.

For example, in 1913 it is said the produce of the farms was valued at close to $10,000,000,000, but almost half of this vast sum remained on the farms—for feed for animals, poultry, etc; for seed, food for the farmer, etc.—therefore one-third of this vast sum that was consumed by the inefficient or boarding animals that produce less than they consume is a drain, first on the farmer himself and in turn, as it leaves less for human consumption, raises prices unduly, and as a result is a drain on the Nation. In addition to our 100,000,000 population of human beings we have to feed those animals and fowls that do not pay their way.

By proper supervision—for example, in dairy cattle and poultry—a supervisor in each district, as outlined April 16, the boarders can be eliminated little by little, and in their place gradually produce better breeds that more than pay their way for feed and care bestowed upon them.

Around Ithaca, N. Y.—north and easterly of the lower end of Lake Cayuga—there are about 275 farmers that are in a sort of cooperative organization, who every morning bring their milk to the nearest of six gathering stations, from whence daily the separated cream is brought to the central station, where it is churned into butter. The managing head of this central station is an able, scientific, as well as practical expert. For some years he has been trying to persuade farmers to get rid of their poor milkers and gradually improve their herds. He has established "cow testing" to see the quantity and richness of milk as well as the food consumed by each cow, costing only $1 per cow per year, yet of 275 patrons only 26 have been persuaded to have their cows "tested."

Although the average for New York State yield per cow is 4,400 pounds of milk per year, yet the average of the yield of the 275 farmers is only 3,800 pounds milk per year per cow.

There are cows that yield 25,000 to 27,000 pounds milk yearly, and by proper selection in breeding, etc., in the course of time—say, 5 to 6 years—herds can be vastly improved. It is said that no cow really pays to keep unless her yield of milk is from 6,000 to 7,000 pounds milk yearly.

When it is figured that of these 275 farmers, some amongst the 26 who have their cows tested, as well as some others, now have really fine milkers, that produce 12,000 or 10,000 pounds of milk, and a lot that produce 3,000 to 6,000 pounds of milk, then imagine how many cows are "boarding," such as produce around 2,000 pounds of milk only—to make the average of 3,800 pounds of milk for these 275 farmers—or take the entire State of New York, a great dairying State, how many "boarding" cows there are in New York that, combined with the good yielders, give but an average of 4,400 pounds of milk.

Prof. Harper, of Cornell, claims that easily one-third of the cows in New York State—or, for that matter, in the United States—do not pay their way for feed and care in yield of milk, and that anyone with influence or authority over the farmers in each district, or in the State, or in the United States, could in the space of six years, more or less, gradually weed out the poor cows and so improve the herds that with two-thirds of the number of cows, and perhaps with 70 per cent or 75 per cent of the feed they all now consume, the same yield of milk would be produced.

This would mean that 30 per cent or 25 per cent of the land now used for producing feed for the cows could be utilized for producing food for human beings or food for raising beef and other meat animals.

The same theory applies to poultry—in producing hens for egg production or for flesh—by improving the breed through the advice of a guide or supervisor amongst cooperating farmers in each district or locality.

Likewise, in improving breed of meat animals—steers, hogs, sheep, etc.

Near the same district—about one-quarter overlapping the 275 cooperative milk association—there is also a sort of cooperative poultry association of about 200 farmers, of whom probably 50 bring their milk daily to the milk station. Is there any reason why these 50 farmers could not daily bring their eggs along with the milk to the stations, and from these milk stations the eggs could daily be brought to the central station along with the separated cream—all on the same conveyance—for the poultry station is but two minutes' walk from the central milk or cream station?

Although these farmers cooperate, they have no conception of systematically economizing. At present a wagon goes daily to the farms, gathering the eggs from these 200 farmers, and it takes one week to make the round; thus each farmer has eggs accumulating for one week before brought to the poultry station, and it costs money to do it; but by the new system, with less cost for gathering, the eggs would be daily gathered fresh laid.

The United States Department of Agriculture stated on April 6 that $50,000,000 worth of eggs spoiled on the farms, and that the total loss on eggs from farms to consumers was in the neighborhood of $200,000,000 yearly.

Although the United States Department of Agriculture, as well as the various States, made extra efforts this year to have eggs reach markets from the farms unaffected by heat, yet reports seem to indicate that practically no improvement has taken place, and that the loss or waste is as great as ever. Is not this due to a great extent to improper gathering, which a system as here outlined would to a great extent correct? There are cooperative creameries in a great many sections of the United States, and the farmers who bring their milk to such creameries should also bring their eggs along daily, fresh gathered, to be from there properly graded and packed and shipped on to consuming markets.

The able and scientific head of this cooperative poultry association is now trying to induce the farmers who bring their milk to the six stations, and also the 225 who sell their eggs to hucksters or country stores, to join the cooperative poultry association and bring their eggs daily, fresh gathered, to the nearest of the six milk stations, from whence daily said eggs would be conveyed along with the cream to the central poultry station.

Now comes the difficulty. Will the conservative farmer be willing to change his life-long method of disposing of his eggs; will he be willing to wait a month for his check, even though the price obtained by the cooperative company is 2 cents per dozen above market; and what obstacles or inducements will the present buyers of the eggs of these 225 farmers, or even of the entire 275 farmers in the cooperative milk company, place in the way of the cooperative poultry association obtaining said eggs via the six milk stations? The present buyers in that district make money or a living in buying from these 225 farmers all their eggs, and will not allow themselves to be easily dislodged. Their extra cost of gathering, their profits, etc., as well as the losses in spoiling due to gathering weekly in warm weather, etc., all has to be paid, part by the farmer and part by the consumer.

DISADVANTAGE TO ALL OWING TO COMPETITVE BUYING OF FARM PRODUCE.

Among the 275 farmers in the cooperative milk association there are some that are careless, and a few have been requested to take better care of the milk, as it had soured and could not be used along with the milk or cream of the others.

Owing to no overabundance of almost any farm produce, ready buyers are easily found; and one concern that has use for milk is anxious to lure away the farmers from the cooperative milk company, notwithstanding they obtain a premium of 2 cents per pound for butter fat. When these farmers were told they must take better care of their milk or it would be refused, at once they opened negotiations with the man who was eager for their milk, good or bad. As a result the cooperative-milk chief is now contemplating making two grades of butter—extras and firsts—for to mix the poor with the good milk or cream would lower the standard or grade of the butter produced. This would entail an extra churning of the second grade, meaning an extra expense, or else disappoint the customers who depend upon being supplied with butter with the usual quantities and grade.

When it is remembered that this is in a cooperative district that has the advice and guidance of one of the best men in the State to help the farmers become efficient and prosperous, the outlook for voluntary cooperation amongst farmers for their mutual benefit, resulting in the end in also benefiting the consumers who depend upon them, is not very encouraging.

The claim is here made that probably one-third of the animals on the farms are "boarders" or inefficient, but "surveys" show that probably one-third of the farmers are also inefficient.

We may be able to eliminate in time the "boarding" animals, but one can not drive off the farms the owners or renters who, through persisting in following careless or antiquated methods, retard the proper yield coming from the land under cultivation which they control. These one-third inefficient farmers work for nothing or at a loss, which is their own loss; but what is worse the Nation suffers in consequence, owing to their inability to increase production, thus retarding increase of yield. Just like a chain is no stronger than its weakest link, or a fleet can go no faster than its slowest ships, so these one-third inefficient farmers retard the increase of production and progress.

Thus instead of the inefficient or careless farmers becoming efficient things go on as before, and the user of the milk in the cooperative has to accommodate himself to the heedlessness or stubbornness of the farmer.

If supervised in each district, with notice given to the farmer that he has but one outlet, except direct to the consuming public and to no dealers, and that his record in that supervisor's office will be the basis on which loans to him will be made, he must of necessity change his methods to those suggested for increase of yield with least cost of food consumption, etc., and the necessary care required for the proper preservation of what has been produced, resulting in larger production, less feeding to undesirable animals or poultry and hence lower cost of production, which finally means increased quantity and better uniformity of quality for consumers, accompanied by lower prices to consumers and at the same time a steady profit on all the farmer produces.

Supervision on marketing also prevents glutting of certain markets that temporarily lowers prices to consumers, to the detriment of the farmer, who next season stops or reduces producing that commodity, resulting in high prices next season to consumers. This plays havoc both ways.

Not only can glutting of some markets be prevented, but, to a certain extent, even the planting or overproduction can be regulated, especially in such commodities that can not be exported. A supervisor in each department or commodity can regulate or advise farmers, receiving word from the central or Federal bureau of that department. No reason to have onions in storage unsalable or cabbages rotting in the fields and, as a result of such blindness, the following season a shortage and then high prices again.

Cooperation in each county among farmers will help, but if the operations of the adjoining county or State, or even of States far distant, spoil the market of the cooperating farmers, most of their work is nullified; but national, or rather nation-wide, supervision in each commodity will tend to prevent this.

The idea is to stabilize prices so that what has been produced will not be sacrificed at prices below cost of production, and in some cases for less than the freight, nor to exact prices from consumers that are unreasonable.

The mere fact that each commodity—or even any commodity—is under supervision in itself stabilizes prices, improves quality to a higher standard of uniformity, and the surplus, if exportable, will be exported by the national supervisor of the cooperating farmers, prorating the loss, if any, over the entire production of that commodity, thus making the loss almost infinitesimal to each producer; and yet prices are not unduly depressed for the entire product, and, on the other hand, in case of a shortage in production, the national supervisor of that commodity of the cooperating farmers imports the same from abroad and distributes where needed, thus preventing the soaring of prices.

At present, owing to the European war, as foreigners can buy upon the same free and unrestricted terms in our home markets foodstuffs for

export to any part of the world, prices in almost all exportable articles of food are rising.

If, however, for example, a sort of forced cooperation were in existence—say, through a law that would prevent dealers in the country points from buying farmers' produce by imposing a heavy or almost prohibitive license tax on such dealers in each farming district—it would not pay them to buy of farmers; hence farmers having at all times the privilege of selling direct to consumers but not to dealers, would be forced to cooperate and establish stations for gathering produce in their districts, they selecting their own chief in each commodity, who, as outlined April 16, would receive instructions where to ship such commodity to, to be sold by the farmers' agent in the cities. The result would be that the surplus, having no destination, would be taken care of by the national supervisor of the cooperating farmers in that particular commodity, and thus only our surplus would be exported, at any price the national supervisor or the board would decide upon. Thus we could have two prices—the usual or normal price to our own consumers and during the war a higher price for export, and the gain over the normal price would be prorated among the producers—cooperating farmers. All this was outlined February 27 and April 16.

Distributors.—Public utilities in the United States are under Government supervision, and even the prices charged are regulated. Railroads (in which the public have invested billions of dollars) are distributors, and their rates for distributing are regulated.

Farmers are producers, and dealers, who take their produce to dispose of to consumers, are not producers but mere distributors. If these distributors of food will in the consuming centers receive same from the supervisors' agents of the cooperating farmers, and are reasonably sure no markets will be glutted, and that shortages will be relieved by the national supervisor in that commodity, hence the price should be stable, not drop unduly nor rise unduly; therefore, with practically stable prices, their cost of distribution and profits will be within reason, too. In other words, the distributors, running practically but little risk regarding violent price fluctuations, would eliminate speculation and arrange selling prices to consumers to conform with the cost of the commodity under supervision plus carrying charges, interest, cost of doing business, and a reasonable profit for their time and labor. This would not only stabilize prices, but also increase prices to producers (farmers) and decrease or lower prices to consumers.

The farmers cooperate in their district, sending their product to the gathering stations in their locality, where, for each commodity thus to be supervised, they have selected their own man to gather, grade, pack, and mark same for shipment to consuming markets, where again there is a selling agent for each commodity, all under a central supervision, with subdivisions for States, counties, etc., divided along railroad zones of distribution.

The man selected by the cooperating farmers in each district is to be an expert in that particular commodity he will have charge of. He is to take a special course of instruction in that branch only at the State agricultural college, making him a sort of specialist in it, and he is to guide the farmers in his district in producing and caring properly for that commodity on scientific as well as practical lines.

Let us assume that, to start with, cooperation will commence in milk, butter, eggs, poultry, and potatoes. Thus, the records of the local agency of the farmers' agent in milk and butter, poultry and eggs, and potatoes would show what farmers are efficient and which of them refuse to heed the advice of their own agent. If a certain farmer persists in careless methods and remains inefficient, such a farmer is a hopeless case, and is undeserving of financial aid or credit, and by reason of being discriminated against by banks or lenders of money (who naturally would inquire of the agents as to the efficiency or earning power of the intending borrower) would in time be eliminated and may probably be succeeded or supplanted by farmers willing to learn to become efficient.

But the bulk of the cooperating farmers, upon learning that records are kept, and that lenders of money will want to have reports of same to guide them in granting credit, and that efficiency will be rewarded, not only by better profits for their toil, but also by the prospects of financial aid (if they show themselves worthy of it), result must of necessity be that it will spur the farmers on to renewed hopes that their individual welfare is being looked after, and that he is bound to prosper and succeed, provided he himself will act as the agents or supervisors in his district will suggest.

It has been found that many farmers (renters) stay but two or three years on a farm, and then rove to some other farm, always hoping the next farm will prove better paying than the last.

As a rule, they leave the farms, as well as themselves, in a poorer condition, and by not changing their methods, and under existing system, they fight against the same odds as before, and have nothing to show for their toil.

It is the disappointing results that discourage the farmers (except the very efficient ones), and cooperation, as outlined on April 16, with but little financial help added, where it can be safely given, when the borrowing farmer shows his eagerness to wake up from his lethargic condition, will go far to galvanize into new life activities on the farms of the United States.

It is a pity to leave five to six and one-half million farmers to work out their own salvation. Deluging with literature and advice won't and so far has not helped. Asking them to form cooperative societies, without the required leadership in each district to make or take the initiative steps, is like having leaderless regiments without a general in chief command.

We have the material—fine lands and intelligent farmers—but we fail to drill our farmers; fail to make them work like an army of well-trained (soldiers) farmers.

The farmers don't want excessive prices for their produce, and the consumers don't expect to obtain their food for less than cost of production, nor even would the wholesalers and retailers in the towns and cities desire to make more than a fair profit or a good living; but unless the vast army of producers are taken hold of and drilled and trained, and not to work at cross purposes, but little headway can be made.

The initiative is not likely to come from amongst the farmers themselves; their mode of life precludes that. Therefore the initiative must come from governmental sources.

The plans outlined do not deprive the farmer of his right to sell his produce to consumers nor to do with his land as he chooses; but taking away the country buyer through a high or prohibitive license tax forces the farmers to cooperate; and if they cooperate in a district or locality why not go a step further and have the cooperation nation wide in scope in such commodities as they will start to cooperate in, and in time it will lead from one commodity to another, for one can easily see that without a nation-wide supervision in a commodity it would simply mean that each community of cooperating farmers fighting each other in prices or overstocking one market or undersupplying another, thus defeating the very ends and aims that cooperation are intended for, viz, larger and better quality of production, economy in marketing, and stable prices, all of which insure a steady progress; and this in the end is bound to lower prices to consumers and at the same time make the farmers more prosperous and efficient.

It is a fallacy to think that by lowering duties on foodstuffs we lower prices to consumers; that in the long run will only reduce our own production and leave us at the mercy of the foreign producers. In the short time that has elapsed we already see a smaller production of sugar, butter, and eggs. The present war teaches that a nation should be as self-sustaining in food production as her soil and climate will permit.

England, by her free-trade policy, has encouraged the newer countries to supply her with food, and thus discouraged her own farmers, with the startling result that since the 1846 laws the acreage under cultivation as well as the production is said to have dwindled about 50 per cent, and this in the face of a large increase since 1845 in her population. And see the vulnerable position England is in to-day, dependent upon foreign lands to feed her.

Look at sugar. At one time this season, after the reduced duties went into effect, price for raw sugar, 96 polariscope test, was 2.99 cents a pound; later it had risen to 3.39 cents a pound. Was not this rise of four-tenths cent per pound due to our decrease in production, which would have to be made up by foreign importations? That is, as the lower duties discouraged our own production we would have to import more and more; result is that the rise of four-tenths of a cent per pound on the 60 per cent more or less we import was about equal to the reduction in duty. In other words, we did not, up to the time of the outbreak of the present European war, lower prices to consumers; but, instead, the amount the consumers would have paid into the United States Treasury as duties on imported sugar, this sum went instead into the pockets of the foreign producers of sugars who sold to United States (advance in price 2.99 cents to 3.39 cents).

Is not this a national loss? The money had to be paid anyhow by the consumers, and it would have been better in our United States Treasury than in the pockets of the foreign sellers of sugars.

On the other hand, high protective duties, like on butter and eggs, do not help either. While it is true that under present conditions lowering duties will reduce the production and ultimately work harm, yet the consumer, too, has a right to be protected from paying for his food far, far above what similar articles can be procured from abroad; therefore even too high protection is wrong, too.

Since, therefore, low or no duties seem to work harm and, on the other hand, high duties do not increase markedly our food production, therefore we are suffering from something that as yet seems to baffle all our statesmen, irrespective of what parties they belong to, for this is a matter where there are no party lines.

Further, by assuming that to counterbalance our imports of cheap food products (instead of trying to produce same at home) we will exchange such with our manufactures of a similar amount in value, even this is a fallacy.

For example, if we export shoes to the value of a million dollars, it will not equal imports of food that we could have produced at home valued at a million dollars, for we have largely to import the hides and skins; or even if it be coal, oil, copper, or steel, we there export articles taken out of our soil that can not be reproduced and are not inexhaustible, while intelligently raising foodstuffs from our soil can go on forever. Just as harnessing water power is the more economical over using mined coal for power, so is the intelligent production and reproduction of food, whether for home consumption, and exporting the surplus, the more beneficial for a nation over exporting manufactures and importing foodstuffs.

But cooperation nation-wide in scope will help increase the yield, giving better profits to farmers and lower prices to home consumers.

The new dean of the State agricultural college, who was for 25 years with the United States Agricultural Department, is reported to have said that 50 per cent of the farmers show increase of production, while 50 per cent show a decrease, and that of the increase 90 per cent of it is made by only 10 per cent of the farmers, inferring that the bulk of the farmers are inefficient or careless in some one of the many things they produce; for example, improper care of eggs, which may be only a side line attended to by the women or children on the farm, yet if only a dozen are spoiled on the farm in a month the total aggregate throughout the United States amounts to enormous sums.

He further claims that 75 per cent of the farmers take more out of the soil than they put back—that is, that three-fourths of our farms are becoming poorer and less productive; and, finally, he is reported as saying that by efficiency, without increasing the area under cultivation, production of our farms could be doubled.

The astounding remarks from an expert who has made a lifelong study of the situation are not to be lightly considered as mere idle words, but thought should be given how to make the farmer and our farms more efficient as producers.

By teaching the farmer, some say. But the president of the Maryland School of Agriculture is reported to have said that last season he notified farmers in a certain district to meet and hear lectures from experts of the college, which would help them, and yet the attendance was so small that he became discouraged.

The plan of April 16, further dilated upon here, embraces all at one time:

1. Cooperation, accelerated and nation-wide.
2. Marketing, economical, eliminating all except wholesalers and retailers in consuming centers.
3. Tuition, or guidance and instruction by the agent or supervisor of a commodity—selected by the farmers themselves in each district—preferably the most active and intelligent from the many in the locality who now buy or handle such product, and who prior to starting as the farmers' agent will have to attend a special course of lectures in that commodity or branch at the State agricultural college, thus making him a sort of practical as well as scientific expert in that product.
4. Loans: Lenders of money will, through the agents of the farmers, be enabled to judge where loans can be with safety made, and to help increase production.

One might ask what will become of the many in the farming districts who now buy or handle the produce. Well, does not the marketing direct from farm to consumer by parcel post or express even cut out the dealers in the towns and cities who sell to the consumers?

It would pay the Nation (if such a thing were necessary) to pension off the country buyers and dealers, for the saving in waste and expenses would be enormous. However, the capital of these unnecessary go-betweens would go into farming, instead of, as now, being em-

ployed as useless links in a chain that circles and curves instead of running straight from the rural districts to consuming centers.

There would hardly be a ripple caused by the change in gathering and distributing. It is doubtful if even 1 per cent or 2 per cent of many a product would have its destination changed from what it is at present; but the destination and marketing would be more direct and less wasteful and less expensive.

Respectfully submitted for your consideration.

CHAS. KURZMAN.

514 WEST ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTEENTH STREET,
New York, August 25, 1914.

Mr. CHARLES J. BRAND,
Chief of the Office of Markets,
Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: On October 13, at Wichita, Kans., Mr. T. N. Carner, of the United States Department of Agriculture, is reported to have declared before the National Dry Farming Congress that "Human character should be made as much a basis for rural credits and farm loans as collateral."

But if we leave the farmer to shift for himself, how can we ever expect to develop character and efficiency that will come up to requirements, so that lenders of money will feel warranted in extending credit to farmers as freely as banks to merchants and manufacturers who have demonstrated their efficiency?

There is to be a meeting on October 27 at Congress Hall, in Chicago, which has for its object the mobilization of dairy forces to make war on poor milk and cream. The announcement reads that "poor cream and milk is intrenched behind a wall of competition that must be broken down by cooperation. Some have pointed out the danger of organized effort as an infringement of the Sherman antitrust law. We can not think for a moment that the United States Government would ever attempt to interfere with any united movement whose principal object was to uplift or improve."

Owing to no overabundance in production, the eagerness with which farm products are bought up encourages those who are stubborn or careless amongst producers to continue to improperly care for what has been produced. A sample of this is clearly shown in the previous article on the food problem, dated August 25.

In Europe, under rural-credit systems, such as the Raiffeisen and others, farmers are forced to be not only efficient but even thrifty, for their neighbors, who are jointly liable for each other's debts, so to speak, exercise a moral pressure on any debtor farmer who fails in any way to produce the maximum and to carefully guard from spoiling what has been produced. Let us take the dairy industry. We have in this country cooperative creameries, as also creameries that are owned by individuals and corporations in many parts of the United States, and wholesale dealers in the cities eagerly bid against each other to make contracts to take the output of such creameries at the market price daily. Thus there is a ready market for all that the farmer produces from the milk his cows yield.

But under existing conditions and present system of operation the creameries receive the milk or cream from the farmer, and have no means of forcing the farmer to carefully guard same from deterioration, owing to competitive buying.

If, however, a United States law were enacted heavily taxing all dealers in milk or cream, so heavy a tax that it would force such dealers to quit business, result would be that in each farming district the farmers would form cooperative societies, who would rent the creameries at a fair return on the money invested, and these cooperating farmers would then choose the most efficient in the district to receive their milk and cream to be churned into butter.

In all probability they would choose the very men who operate the creameries at present; thus these, instead of being principals, would become agents or rather employees of the cooperating farmers.

Under the present system they are not interested, nor have they the right or power to dictate or rather to guide and instruct the farmer; but under the suggested plan it would be part of the duty of the agent or employee of the farmers to do so; hence if any milk or cream reaches the creamery that has been improperly cared for, it would be refused—rejected.

The farmer would still have an outlet direct to consumers but to no competitive buyers or creameries, as such were taxed out of existence. Therefore, with only the consumer direct as a possible purchaser of the poorly kept milk or cream, the inefficient farmer would soon learn that even this outlet is shut to him, as the direct consumer (customer) would soon stop buying bad milk or bad cream.

A law such as outlined here would have the same beneficent effect as the Raiffeisen and other rural-credit systems do in Europe to make the farmers efficient, careful, and thrifty. Further, if these agents or employees of the cooperating farmers, prior to starting in their work, would have to attend a special course of lectures at the State agricultural college in dairying only, it would make them semiexperts, scientific as well as practical.

As they would then require "cow testing" for yield of milk, feed consumed, etc., arrangements could be made to use such records for improving the breed of cows, so that in the course of six years, more or less, the breed would be greatly improved in milk productive power. This would decrease cost of dairy products and leave perhaps 25 per cent of the land now used for providing feed for unprofitable or "boarding" cows to be utilized for producing food for human beings.

If in addition there would be appointed in every county an expert in animal husbandry (breeding), such expert, with the records at hand from the chief employees in every creamery, and otherwise, would be able to determine how to improve the herds, and would take the proper steps to do so. Cost and keep (board) of excellent bulls would be proportionately paid for by the cooperating farmers.

Follow the same plan in poultry husbandry and eggs, and market the eggs via the creameries or milk distributors, by enacting a similar law—prohibitive tax—thus forcing farmers to cooperate in each district in poultry and eggs also.

By starting with these two on a nation-wide scope it would inaugurate the long-needed movement of cooperation among farmers, not only for their own welfare but for the benefit of the consumers all over the United States, too.

COUNTY AGENTS.

It seems to be the hope that by having county agents for farmers that great improvements will be brought about. No doubt it would help somewhat; but imagine a big college (like a big county) with but a single instructor or guide to teach the many branches of agriculture that farmers are interested in. Just as a college or university teaches by departments—a tutor or professor for each subject—so should this matter be taken hold of, too, and each class in any subject or department should not be too big—like a county—but, rather, the class should be no larger than a single district or locality where almost daily the tutor or agent of the farmers in any branch or department is able to come into almost personal contact with the farmers for whom he acts as agent or tutor or employee.

The plan suggested divides the United States into gathering stations along railroad zones of transportation (representatives of the transporters, railroads, or steamship lines, to be on the central or Federal board to help improve, if possible, even the transportation problem, for, good as it is, nothing is as yet so perfect but what it can be further improved), and in each such district there is to be a cooperative society of farmers, who select their own agent or employee for each product or related products, each agent having first attended a special course in his particular line or branch at the State agricultural college; thus in each product to be handled or cooperated in the farmers will have practical as well as scientific guides in each district. Each such department in each district to be under the head of a county chief, and these, again, to be under the head of a State chief, and, finally, the various State chiefs to be under a central or Federal supervisor or board for the entire United States for each such department or branch, and the selling end to have an agency by departments established in consuming centers.

Thus in each department or commodity there would be supervision or control, and it would be known by the central or Federal head or board, as well as by the State chiefs in such department or commodity, not only the production, quantity in transit, quantity in each consuming center, but also where there is a shortage or oversupply, and the Federal head or board would look after the importation or exporting of same and thus avoid violent price fluctuations, as under present system. A stable or normal price is thus likely to result, benefiting both producer and consumer.

When a plan such as outlined is once in operation farmers will themselves see how beneficial it is, and they themselves will eagerly clamor for cooperation to be extended from dairy and poultry industries to other farm products, too, and thus in time we would gradually work up, by departments, a great many of the commodities the farmers produce on highest efficient lines of scientific production, economical gathering, grading (standardizing), transporting, and marketing, stoppage of waste, and also bring about prosperity among farmers and lower prices to consumers, and perhaps in time exports of surplus farm products other than the few the United States had a surplus of for export in recent years.

LOANS.

It is claimed that our farmers owe about $6,000,000,000; half of this is due on farm mortgages by about one-third of the farmers, and the other half is due by the farmers on notes, accounts current, etc. It is further claimed that the interest rate paid by farmers is excessive as compared to mortgages on real estate in the large cities, or accommodations granted to merchants, manufacturers, etc.

There is a reason for this.

Create a system that will make our farmers prosperous, and their credit, whether on the farm as collateral or on notes, will be on the same basis as the merchants or manufacturers.

The railroads that show a high earning power have hitherto enjoyed good credit at home, as well as abroad, on long-time mortgages. When the farming industry is so systematized that it will show a steady profit, year by year, the farms will be even better security than railroad mortgages. For with the railroads, many are mortgaged for more than 50 per cent of the valuation, while the agricultural-credit bill limits farm-mortgage loans to 50 per cent with amortization, so that as the years pass the farm loans are gradually reduced, while on railroad mortgages not only are the mortgages not reduced but they keep on growing in amount, thus increasing the fixed charges, which in recent years seem to mount at a more rapid rate than the net earning power. So much is this in evidence that many formerly esteemed good railroad bonds are now in danger of default.

Further, when a railroad gets into financial trouble the receiver issues certificates of indebtedness that come ahead of the existing mortgages, while with farms the mortgages grow smaller yearly (under the proposed bill), and if properly cared for under the suggested plan of cooperation and supervision by departments or commodities the farms would become more valuable and productive as time elapses, thus increasing the security, while at the same time the mortgage grows less and less yearly.

Further, it appears that "somehow" the farmers do, after a fashion, manage to get along with the present indebtedness.

If there be any that assume or think billions are needed to put our farmers into a position to properly produce the maximum, they are losing sight of one important fact, viz, the indebtedness already exists, and when it can be conclusively demonstrated that the farmers under the suggested system of cooperation by departments will be or are prospering, immediately their credit rises. Thus as each loan matures, be it a mortgage or a note, with a higher credit rating, the farmer would be able to refund or renew the debt at a lower rate of interest, and where needed, and the absolute soundness of the loan is shown, the refunding or renewal would be for a larger amount than the old indebtedness.

The debts of the farmers are not held abroad, so that when maturing, if held by Europeans, they would probably want the gold and refuse to renew; the debts are due mainly to our own citizens, and if any refuse to renew (after the farmer shows his steady road to prosperity) the debts would simply be shifted from the old creditor to the agricultural banks or to a new and wiser set of creditors, and ultimately the old creditor, who has been paid off, will seek investments in other fields and perhaps ere long will learn that, after all, the highest and best type of security is that offered by the farmer—provided the farming industry is so systematized that it can prosper, and not allow it to drift aimlessly, without real business supervision, which should come from sources other than from among the farmers themselves.

IRELAND.

In Ireland the farming population had sunk into a most deplorable state. One owner, who had about 235,000 acres of land, leased his land to a few individuals, who in turn split the leases into smaller plots to a new set of lessees, who in turn did likewise, until, when finally the poor Irish tenant got his lease, he was paying as high as £2 rent per acre, while at the same time the original owner received but 12 shillings rent per acre. The difference, equal to about $7 rent per acre, was swallowed up by the many unnecessary go-between lessees, who were nothing more than parasites. Result was the Irish tenant farmer could not eke out of the soil sufficient to meet the heavy drain, nor could he produce the maximum, as he had not the means or the credit to do it with. Only about 30 years ago the land laws were changed and Ireland

to-day is on the road to agricultural prosperity. The law rid them of the unnecessary middlemen lessees, and to this they added cooperation.

In many a commodity produced on our farms we, too, have too many middlemen or go-betweens. By starting in such commodities as dairy and poultry products, by passing laws that tax out of existence the unnecessary middlemen, we would at the same time bring about also cooperation. Of the many buyers or dealers or handlers of such products in each country district, the most active and efficient is selected by the farmers themselves to act as their agent and guide, and in the selling marts a single selling agency in each commodity, to sell to wholesalers, who in turn must sell direct to public or to retailers, who sell to the consumers. Thus even in the cities the unnecessary jobbers are eliminated.

Further, wherever in any of the cities they have municipal markets the selling agency of the farmers in any commodity retains a certain quantity in carload lots, which can be sent to these municipal markets, to be there sold, say, 5 per cent above the wholesale price of the day direct to the public. The 5 per cent is to cover cost of transporting into the municipal markets, wages for the men employed in selling to the public, etc., and any balance left to go to the municipality in lieu of tax to cover maintenance of such market, etc. The per cent may vary according to the commodity, but in any event such a method would be as near as possible to bringing farm products to the city consumers without the wasteful expense of having each farmer bring his own produce to such market to sell there personally.

BASIS FOR CREDIT.

Suppose in time cooperation as outlined will have grown to include, say, five or six farm products. The records or reports of such five or six agents—one for each commodity—in a rural district would be a pretty good criterion on which the lender of funds to farmers could judge as to which farmers are efficient and prosperous, and therefore deserving of credit. If agricultural banks have been established, the agents of the cooperating farmers would form a sort of advisory board to the bank, to whom would be referred the question as to who is and who is not deserving of credit or loans. This would cause farmers to become efficient and would make for an increase in production at a lower net cost, and the inefficient farmers, by reason of being discriminated against in procuring loans, would in time be eliminated and supplanted by others eager for farm life—eager to enjoy a happy and contented life, with prosperity in his grasp on our farm lands.

In many commodities we barely produce enough to supply our 100,000,000 population. The farmers have a sure outlet for their produce in our home markets, with prospects that if the production is increased it will be wanted by our ever-growing population as well as in foreign lands.

FIXED CHARGES.

Public utilities such as our railroads, when in receiver's hands, are operated for the benefit of the public first, even if new money is required, going ahead of existing mortgages. So with the food production; that, too, is vital for the public welfare. We, as a Nation, have billions of our railroad and other securities owned abroad by foreigners, and the interest and dividends on these are like fixed charges, payable either by excess of exports over imports or in gold. Shall we, therefore, add to our fixed charges by failing to keep up our home-produced food supply, get into the habit of importing our shortage from abroad, when we can easily produce ample and to spare at home provided we but so arrange our farming problem that it will pay the farmer to do so? By ridding ourselves of the strangle hold both producer and consumer are in, legislating out of existence the well meaning but nevertheless too expensive country buyer and other unnecessary middlemen, we at one stroke do what neither coaxing, persuasion, or literature has so far been able to accomplish, and that is we leave the farmer no alternative but to form cooperative societies.

Industry in the towns and cities brings business men as well as laborers together for interchange of ideas, improved methods, etc.; but agriculture in itself holds farmers apart in lonely ignorance to be the victims of a system that has brought one-third of them into working for nothing or at a loss and crying for financial aid. Suppose, through Government aid or otherwise, financial aid were granted; would it not be like pouring money into a rat hole to be eaten up or dissipated under existing systems? The farmer is industrious, but needs business methods and guidance, and that must come from a different source than from amongst themselves. In fact, the problem should be divided along natural and practical lines—(1) the farmer to produce only on scientific lines; (2) the gathering, grading, packing, transporting, and selling belongs to a different class altogether, and the cooperating farmers should select their own agent in each district or locality by departments, and a selling agency for each such department in the consuming centers. If to start with cooperative societies were formed in dairy and poultry products only, it would probably take in the bulk of the farmers in the United States, and it would form a medium or channel through which improvements in other farm products could reach the farmer in 24 hours' notice. They would thus be in touch with the business world, and could be communicated with almost daily if necessary.

LITERATURE.

As an example of how little use literature alone is, it is but necessary to read Farmers' Bulletin 445, issued in April, 1911. The suggestion of marketing eggs via the creameries or milk distributors of August 25 was anticipated in that bulletin over three years ago, yet the wise suggestion of the United States Department of Agriculture was practically ignored, costing the farmer and consumer at least $100,000,000 yearly on eggs.

Respectfully submitted for your consideration.

CHAS. KURZMAN.

514 WEST ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTEENTH STREET,
New York, October 15, 1914.

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514 WEST ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTEENTH STREET,
New York, October 19, 1914.

Hon. W. S. GOODWIN,
Washington, D. C.

HONORED SIR: Your kind letter of October 19 at hand with inclosure. Senator FLETCHER has sent me, besides, the National Marketing Commission, which contains the speech of Mr. D. Lubin, which certainly is enlightening, also some other literature, for which I am very grateful.

This country of ours is a veritable gold mine, only so far we have not properly worked it.

Have you ever noticed in a gymnasium how easy those that know how can get upon a horizontal bar, or climb a rope hand over hand without the aid of their limbs, or how easy it is to climb into a boat or onto a float out of the water without assistance? Yet those with greater physical strength are unable to do so if they do not know how.

So with the United States, having unsurpassed land and industrious farmers, and yet it is about all we can do to raise sufficient food for our population—outside of wheat and a few other articles we still have a surplus of for export. Devise a system such as Germany, for example, has and what wonders can not we perform?

What induced me to look into the agricultural problem was the fact of so many strikes and unrest in England, which, having been dependent upon United States for food supplies, when ours gave out had to look to newer countries to supply her, and when finally our meat supply dwindled, and we last year took off the duty on meats, we raised the price of beef almost 40 per cent in England by bidding against England for supplies in Argentina and elsewhere.

Shall we, too, place ourselves in such a position as England has allowed herself to drift to?

I inclose further articles on the food problem—dated August 25 and October 15.

I understand Congress adjourns October 22, and, as I have some further views with concrete examples which I would like to submit to you for your consideration, I would thank you to send me your home address and I will mail same to you there.

Yours, very respectfully,
CHAS. KURZMAN.

P. S. Kindly also mail me the Florida home address of Senator FLETCHER.

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NEW YORK, *November 23, 1914.*

Hon. W. S. GOODWIN,
Member of Congress, Washington, D. C.

KIND SIR: I duly received yours of 20th ultimo, and thank you for suggesting seeing Mr. Lubin, whom I found to be just as you described.

Perhaps you are not aware of it, but I hear he spends four or five times more in the performance of his duties for the benefit of mankind than his salary amounts to. He certainly is one of the few characters that give more to the world than he gets in return; and I speak not from a monetary standpoint, for I fully appreciate what Mr. Lubin's aims are and what he is laying the foundations for.

Perhaps some of my ideas you may not like, such as on the tariff, which I believe should neither be too high nor too low—like my ideas on prices—a reasonable price that deals fairly with all—for I believe neither farmer, laborer, merchant, corporation, or anyone should be forced to labor for less than a fair remuneration, and if any of these gets less than is their due, whether through a tariff, ruling of a commission, or in any manner whatsoever, it in the long run upsets the balance or equilibrium of the community, and that means each of us is bound to suffer in some way.

Let us try to be just to others and we will find we are just to ourselves, too.

Regarding the supplying of horses and war materials to the combatants in Europe, I hope the conscience of the Nation will be aroused and that a stop will be put to same. Are we not hypocrites to pray the Almighty to stop the war, and yet we help to enable the murder to go on?

We and England helped some years ago to finance the Japanese in their war against Russia, and one of the results of that war is the intriguing that brought on the present war. And I think no one who will analyze the matter now can fail to admit that we, too, are suffering from the consequences of the war, and will continue to do so for years to come in some way or another. So in the final analysis it resolves itself down to as you sow, so you reap.

Yours, respectfully,
CHAS. KURZMAN.

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NEW YORK, *November 23, 1914.*

Hon. D. U. FLETCHER, *Washington, D. C.*

HONORABLE SENATOR: Inclosed you will find some more food for thought on the agricultural problem, this time mainly about prices and how we fool ourselves into believing supply and demand only make prices—and in my opinion price is a vital factor in production as well as in consumption.

Two days ago I saw a few lines in the newspapers, and in the course of a week or 10 days I expect to have another communication ready in which I think I can point out reasons for the absolute necessity for creating the national marketing commission.

This country of ours can be made prosperous beyond the wildest dreams of imagination; we can take care of double the population we now have, and welcome such newcomers as the consequences of the war will force away from bankrupt Europe, so ill governed.

If only a stop will be put in this country on playing the searchlight on wrongdoers, and instead of inciting further hatred try to bring out the good qualities inherent in every human breast—by so doing we will, in the language of Franklin, purify but not destroy.

Many thanks for the literature you so kindly sent me, and after what I have so far read all I can say is the country is to be congratulated upon your reelection.

Yours, respectfully,
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514 WEST ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTEENTH STREET,
New York, November 23, 1914.

CHARLES J. BRAND, Esq.,
Chief Office of Markets, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I herewith send you another installment on the food problem, dealing mainly with prices.

In one of the prior articles I mentioned that large milk distributors, such as we have in this city, make prices or contracts with farmers for months ahead for milk. If, therefore, producer and distributor can get together and have a fixed or stable price for milk, why can't stability of prices on certain food products also be arranged by a competent board, who will look after the interests of those really vitally concerned in the matter—that is, producer and consumer—the distributor being nothing more in reality on certain food products than are the railroads—that is, they act as conveyors—and run but little more risk than do the railroads in transporting, and should receive compensation accordingly, and not at times make large profits, and the larger or more violent the fluctuations the greater are the chances of large profits to these distributors, most of whom would be well pleased with a small and steady profit, but the system forces them, at times against their wishes, to take the heavy toll, either from one end or the other, and this is one of the reasons for high prices and for retarding increase of yield and improved quality and lack of profit to producer and a wail from consumer about high cost of living.

It is the system, not the middlemen nor the farmers nor the consumers that are to blame.

If you will kindly mail me copy of your last reply (which seems to have been mislaid), I will in my next, which will treat the matter from a different phase, include reply to yours.

Yours, respectfully, CHAS. KURZMAN.

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NEW YORK, *November 8, 1914.*

DEAR SIR: The Decalogue has been in existence for at least 3,000 years. I believe it to be of Divine inspiration, and time has proved it can not be improved upon. But the policies and laws created by man are not always wise. See with what little wisdom the world is governed.

The European war is too horrible to contemplate, and yet daily the slaughter goes on. I sympathize with all and am antiwar.

I sometimes wonder whether England could not have prevented the war, or at least prevented it from spreading. I, too, am against militarism, but why insist upon not stopping the slaughter until the vanquished are so crushed that it is hoped militarism will be stamped out? Many a wrong and injustice is done in the name of law, religion, and morality.

I understand Australia for some years past has had compulsory military training, and that Lord Kitchener supervised the plan. Look at the map. Australia is not surrounded by enemies, and therefore why militarism under England's flag?

The inclosed copy of letter is in reply to a lecture on the war, with free trade as a preventive.

Of England's exports, about one-third are manufactures of cottons. India, China, and Japan have started manufacturing cotton, and the first two also now produce raw cotton. Cheap and efficient as is England's labor in cottons, can they hope to compete with Asiatic labor? It is only a question of time, with such competitors, when England's cotton industry will be materially harmed if free trade is adhered to.

If only Henry Berg (late president of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals) were alive, he would protest against the exports of horses to the war zone. Yet we go even further and export foodstuffs to give renewed strength for the combatants and guns and ammunition with which the slaughter of human beings can be continued.

And yet we repair to our respective places of worship, praying to God to end the war.

It should not be our concern as to who can or who can not obtain these; it ought to be our aim to deprive them all of the means with which to keep on the slaughter, and thus effectively and practically protest against it. Never mind who is right or who is wrong—stop it—and we can help to do so. It would even be to our economic benefit to do so, as all our foodstuffs will be wanted, and much more eagerly later on than at present, even.

This is a time for men with big, humane hearts, who are endowed with farseeing wisdom and foresight, to raise their voices for sane ideas to prevail. The Eternal will recompense the wise counselor who pleads for peace.

Yours, respectfully, ——— ———.

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NEW YORK, *October 25, 1914.*

DEAR SIR: Your lecture left me under the impression that you believed England had arrived at a state or condition where free trade was desirable for her welfare, and that we, the United States, were about to begin an era that was approaching it.

Some months ago, in wondering what was the cause of the rise in cost of food in the United States, and looking into the matter, I learned that the free-trade policy of England had since 1846 so discouraged her farmers that area under cultivation as well as production had dwindled about 50 per cent, making her more and more dependent upon foreign food supplies. When we enacted the new tariff, enabling us to import beef, we raised the price of beef about 40 per cent to the English consumer *by bidding* against him in Argentina, etc.

On the other hand, Germany could dump its surplus manufactures into England itself, compelling the industries thus affected to work with little or no profit, and some were being driven out of business.

This created a state of affairs that brought about for some time past strikes, unrest, discontent, and much pauperism, and would ultimately have led to a condition bordering on anarchy.

Imagine a people who were partly idle or working in industries where, owing to competition with surplus goods from other countries that generally can be sold at or close to cost, it was found impossible to raise wages to meet the rising cost of living.

Further, England, although a free-trade country, buys in the cheapest markets, and gives no preference to products of her colonies; yet in many instances England's products have a preferential duty in such colonies. That is to say, the colonies must lower their prices to the lowest of the world in order to sell to England, but in buying the colonies can not buy in the cheapest markets. How long can such a state of affairs continue without bringing about a disintegration of the British Empire?

In the past 12 months our excess of exports over imports have fallen off about $350,000,000. Part of this was due to curtailment of buying power in various countries of the world, due to preparations for war, drawing in of credits, gold, etc.; but part was due to the too radical reduction in duties.

I am not interested in politics, but surely if we are to maintain our high standard of living, we can not hope to compete with the cheaper labor produced products, whether from factory or farm, of other countries.

We are confronting a serious situation, and unless wisdom is shown by our statesmen and leaders it may result in the beginning of the breaking up of this great and unrivaled Republic.

We are a hundred million people, and our internal trade is vastly greater than our foreign trade; therefore I reason, if we can so arrange our affairs to deal equitably amongst ourselves, reciprocal as it were, it would be only our surplus or shortages that would concern us, plus the amounts due foreigners already matured and maturing, and the securities held abroad on which monthly will mature dividends and interest.

Wealth I consider the product of labor; therefore any idleness enforced or unnecessary is a loss of wealth.

Why do we therefore harp on inability to increase freight rates, assuming the consumer can't stand same, when in reality the consumer is not so much concerned with whether he pays 5 per cent or even 10 per cent more on the cost of transportation of products, but is more vitally concerned with obtaining work; and if his employment is steady and the wages remunerative, he not only is able to pay the extra cost of transportation, but to consume in larger quantities, thus keeping the circle of production and consumption unbroken; and being thus employed remuneratively he will have a little surplus to spare, which surplus in the aggregate makes the savings of the Nation, which goes through our savings banks and life insurance companies, individuals, etc., into securities, which represent the increase of production or wealth, such as additions and improvements to railroads, new buildings, etc.

The theory in recent years seems to be making promises on fallacious premises to the gallery—to decrease cost of everything to them, when in reality our aim should be to decrease idleness. For fear the big fellow or the one with shrewd brains will make a little too much, we so now conduct our affairs as to hurt the little fellow all the more. It is true it is hard to strike an equitable balance or equitable exchange, but why go to extremes—too high or too low protective duties or refuse higher freight compensation when monthly earnings show they are too low—ruinous.

Further, why must we go abroad for new capital—capital to place our men to work to produce rails, cars, buildings, etc., when the raw material and labor are at hand? The surplus earnings of our people should easily be able to take care of that; in short, we have a gold mine under our feet, but have become so accustomed to digging abroad for it, and paying a royalty for so doing, that the suggestion of developing our country with our own raw products, labor, and resources must seem queer.

If we adopt a policy to import less of what we can produce at home and export our surplus—at reduced prices when necessary—we are bound in time to wipe out not only what we now owe abroad, but even to gradually absorb our securities from abroad, and in the interim treat such securities not like income-bearing gold certificates payable on demand (when sold here), but rather temporarily like what they are to our own citizens—partnerships and mortgages in our rails and industries, which can't be turned into gold unless the corporations which issued them liquidate and go out of business. By making the certificates held abroad—respective numbers of such to be stricken off the list on the stock exchange and made "not a good delivery"—we virtually invite the foreigner to hold on to such securities for the time being or else to emigrate to this country and avoid the almost confiscatory taxation that is likely to result abroad from the war. The income we will remit as usual in gold or in excess of exports over imports, but the principal we can not at present or even in the near future. Thus we place a sort of storm shield around ourselves and free ourselves from slavery to what might prove too insistent creditors, who really are not creditors (except in normal times we treat them as such), but partners in our enterprises.

I don't know whether my ideas on the distribution of labor and equitable exchange are correct; it is puzzling, especially how to bring this about, but surely any idleness that can be avoided is a saving of wealth, and too low a tariff or too low freight rates or too low compensation for any service of man or corporation are harmful and destructive, and instead of helping to reduce cost of living, helps only to eat up our substance gathered in previous years.

I never read any books on "economics" and don't know if my theories are in keeping with views of recognized economists.

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OUR FOOD PROBLEM, WITH SOME RECENT INEXPLICABLE FLUCTUATIONS IN PRICES.

CHARLES J. BRAND, Esq.,
Chief of the Office of Markets,
Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: During the past fortnight the attorney general of the State of New York has been investigating the cause of high prices of butter and eggs, alleging, according to reports, that prices were made through a conference of big dealers, who gather daily to test the firmness of the market, and disseminate information or misinformation, as the case may be, with respect to prevailing conditions; also that the cold-storage companies and the packing houses and the mercantile exchange and dealers have been influencing and controlling the price above the normal price that would be fixed by the laws of supply and demand; and that there is an alleged combination that is illegal between the above-named elements in the trade.

Let us look into this matter and see if any intelligent conclusions can be arrived at.

The claim has been made right along that high or remunerative prices stimulate production, while too low prices reduce production.

Eggs in December, 1913, were quoted at 44 to 45 cents per dozen, then dropped to 34 and advanced again to 38; in January, 1914, the price dropped further to 32½, and in February down to 28½, then in March advanced to 34, and finally ended in March at 22½, and opening the new season in April at 19½.

In the meanwhile, owing to the new tariff placing eggs on the duty free list, importations in small quantities—compared to our total consumption of about 80,000,000 cases of 30 dozen each—had started, with the result that country dealers and buyers feared it would be unsafe to buy the heavy spring output of eggs at prices above 15 or 17 cents per dozen, which to many a farmer would be unremunerative, result seems to be that many farmers became discouraged, for the production during the flush season seems to have fallen off.

Receipts in New York, Chicago, and Boston, March 1 to July 31, 1913, 6,645,000 cases of 30 dozen; March 1 to July 31, 1914, 6,438,000 cases of 30 dozen; a falling off of 207,000 cases; and this falling off, if compared to 1912, would be heavier yet, for the 1913 receipts were smaller than in 1912, due to spring floods in the Ohio Valley in 1913.

With regard to butter the situation seems to be as follows: At the beginning of the year, in January, 1914, the price was as high as 37½ cents, then, as importations started—in small quantities as compared to our total consumption—the price suddenly slumped off to 26 cents, a drop of 11½ cents, or, say, about a 30 per cent drop; but before February ended the price advanced from 26 to 32 cents, or about 25 per cent advance; but during March it dropped again from 32 to 24½, or, say, a drop of about 25 per cent.

Here we have within three months: In January, a drop of 11½ cents, or, say, a drop of 30 per cent; in February, a rise of 6 cents, or, say, a rise of 25 per cent; in March, a drop of 7½ cents, or, say, a drop of 25 per cent.

What was the cause of these violent fluctuations? Many.

Amongst them may be enumerated the following:

(1) The fear of heavy importations, which compared to our total production or consumption is an utter impossibility.

(2) The lack of absolute and definite knowledge, even in the trade amongst the large dealers, as to exact stock on hand. Most of the cold-storage houses do report stock on hand, but some do not, and hence some guessing has to be done; then most of the large dealers have their own private cold-storage rooms, and they leave their competitors

guessing as to what they have on hand; then also any dealers who may have bought abroad for import do not inform their competitors either, so the net result seems to be that a grand guessing match exists, and each can have a guess of his own, and each guess backed up by a purchase or sale helps to make these violent fluctuations.

Is this the law of supply and demand governing prices?

It seems that finally at the end of the season, May 1, 1914, it was found that in the United States there was a surplus unconsumed carried over into the new season of about 10,000,000 pounds of butter; that is to say, had it not been for the 5,000,000 pounds imported there would have been only 5,000,000 pounds carried into the new season.

It is claimed that New York City consumes from 45,000 to 50,000 tubs of 60 pounds weekly, or say, in round numbers, about 3,000,000 pounds per week, or 150,000,000 pounds per year; and assuming that the United States consumes only 15 times that quantity, ratio according to population, then, approximately, we consume 2,250,000,000 pounds of butter yearly.

Thus, the carrying over of only 10,000,000 pounds, or less than one-half per cent of our annual requirements, had such a tremendous effect on prices as to cause a drop of 30 per cent, then an advance of 25 per cent, then another drop of 25 per cent, and all within the short space of three months.

In short, the importation of less than $1,500,000 worth, on top of what seemed to be a surplus production of a similar value, had the effect of causing such wide monthly fluctuations on a product valued at $600,000,000 yearly.

If the consumer always received the benefit of the low prices, there would be some justification; but often the retailer does not reduce his price until long after he has replenished his stock at lower prices, and then only when some neighboring competitor has forced him to reluctantly reduce his price to the new market conditions.

But how does this affect the producer? The moment the wholesale price drops, immediately the price of fresh receipts from country points is lowered; and that continues as long as the wholesale market price remains low.

It looks as if the distributor—for that, practically, is about all the middleman is—is like unto a porter with a long pole on which he carries the produce from the producer to the consumer—owing to the awkward system, as he turns from the producer he knocks him down with one end of the pole, then in turning to the consumer he again turns round the other way and knocks him in the head with the other end of the pole; thus repeatedly, first with one end, then with the other, the awkward distributor gets a whack at the producer and consumer. Is it any wonder that the producer claims he gets bad treatment (insufficient remuneration) and that the consumer complains he can't stand the high prices?

Let us go a little further into this matter.

As a result of the low prices prevailing at the beginning of the flush season many farmers seemed to have been discouraged, for the receipts of New York, Chicago, and Boston from May 1 to August 1 seem to be as follows:

	Packages (tubs).
1913	3,212,000
1914	3,040,000
Shortage over 1913	172,000

It is claimed that stock on hand at end of August this year in the United States was 10,000,000 pounds less than a year ago, but as we carried over a surplus of 10,000,000 pounds, hence (assuming consumption to be same as in 1913), then production fell off 20,000,000 pounds in the four months, May to August.

So the result seems to be that if we try to force prices down at the expense of the producer, we so discourage some that the production falls off, which causes later on an advance in prices and also brings about importations.

Why should we import from abroad when we have all the facilities for producing at home what we need, provided we properly regulate our affairs?

The system we have of marketing—distributing from producer to consumer—seems to be wrong, and by remedying that, as outlined on previous occasions, we not only increase production on scientific lines and eliminate all unnecessary middlemen, but we are also enabled to give better returns to producers and lower cost of living to consumers, and we also avoid violent price fluctuations and speculation and will also ere long have surplus for exports, which will add to our annual wealth or trade balance.

SHERMAN LAW—MONOPOLY.

As outlined on previous occasions, of the many buyers or dealers the farmers in each district or locality are to select the most active, intelligent, and efficient, who is to gather, grade, pack, and ship the produce, by departments or commodities, to consuming centers, and he is also to act as their guide or instructor in that particular commodity.

But the selling end is to have but a single head central or Federal board for each commodity, with selling subagents in each consuming center.

This looks like a huge monopoly, but is it?

The Sherman law, as the average layman understands it, is meant to prevent a monopoly controlled by a few men who exploit the masses. It is inconceivable that our farming population, who number probably 30,000,000, will want to exploit the other 70,000,000 (consumers). No one single farmer produces enough to warrant him in standing out for a desire for exorbitant or extortionate prices. There is too much sense of justice and fair play amongst ourselves, whether it be amongst farmers or consumers, for one set of citizens to try and oppress the others.

One might say the new Federal Reserve Board is a monopoly, too, and that either the bank stockholders or the borrowers will be in danger of being oppressed.

Or one might claim that the two great political parties are each conspiring to obtain control of the Government and the party that gains the ascendancy through the voice of the majority at the polls will appress the other side (minority). The party in power does enact laws that affect business and prices, but no one would dream of saying it was a monopoly.

Just as we have a Federal Reserve Board, part with Government officials, so should the central or Federal selling agency of the cooperating farmers be constituted—part with Government officials and part with representatives of the farmers, selected by themselves, and part with men of the highest standing in the United States to represent the consumers or public.

Thus we would have a board of three distinct elements—one representing the Government, one representing the farmers, and one representing the consumers.

Also representatives of the railroads or transporters as an adjunct or advisory committee to help improve and cooperate in the transportation of the produce.

We have average prices of previous years, at different seasons of the year, to help guide the board as to prices, as also the ruling world price for a guide.

It is said that many wholesale dealers would prefer stable price and avoid speculation or violent fluctuations in price and would be perfectly satisfied with a fair or moderate profit, but the system, of which any single wholesaler is but a part or fraction, is such that it is impossible to bring this about, and therefore each wholesaler or dealer is forced to protect his own interest or welfare as best he can, and the result is that each tries to make as much as he can or else run the risk of being annihilated by competitors in the struggle for survival.

The plan suggested enables the Federal board in any particular commodity to know quantity on hand in consuming centers, quantity in transit, quantity likely to be produced, etc.; and in such commodities as dairy and poultry products that cooperation could be started, as the production about equals the consumption, the control by the Federal selling board would stabilize prices.

It is folly to allow guessing by dealers to make or influence the price, for, as shown in butter this year, one-half of 1 per cent overproduced creates such havoc in prices, up and down.

All sense of proportion seems to be lost when one-half of 1 per cent or 1 per cent surplus can affect prices 25 per cent, resulting finally in a shortage of production the following season. On the other hand, a similar small percentage short produced sends prices soaring sky-high for the entire product.

In manufactures when there is an overproduction the manufacturer tries to dispose of the surplus at slightly reduced prices. If there is an export outlet, he unhesitatingly lowers the price, and thus relieves himself of the surplus. He does not take his entire output and lower the price on same, as then he would have to lower the wages of his workmen. Hence, often our exports at prices a little below home prices act like a safety valve.

With the farmer the farm is his factory, and the interest on the value of same is similar to the interest or dividends on the value of the plant and machinery of the manufacturer. The farmer's labor compares to the labor of the man in the factory. Therefore, as the manufacturer disposes of his surplus output at reduced prices, and does not lower the wages of his employees, so should we export the little surplus we may have of certain farm products at slightly reduced prices (when necessary), but not allow that little surplus to so tremendously lower prices (as shown in butter) as to affect the returns or compensation for the labor of the farmer.

This should be done for the benefit of the laboring farmer. And, on the other hand, why allow a small shortage of certain farm products to so unduly raise prices as to grievously hurt the consumer, when by having a central or Federal board, who sell the produce for the cooperating farmers, prices are kept steady, stable, and remunerative to producers, and the board, upon learning that there is likely to be a shortage, arranges to import from abroad, and distributes where needed, and thus keep prices from soaring?

Just as the comptroller at stated periods asks the banks for a statement of their condition, which in future will act as a guide for the Federal Reserve Board, so will we under the suggested plan know through the central or Federal selling board or agency of the cooperating farmers about any commodity which will be under cooperation.

The whole plan is nothing more than applying common-sense business principles to the farming problem for the benefit of the farmers and consumers.

There is no denying that law of supply and demand prevails, and those who attempt to act counter to same, as a rule, come to grief.

But the contention made is that the unorganized condition at the producing as well as at the consuming end leaves both the producer as well as the consumer at the mercy of the middlemen, who simply act as distributors; that is, they exact a heavy toll at both ends.

For example, after the producers have sold the greater part of their produce to the middlemen or dealers, then (unless the overproduction is too great) the middlemen, being the owners of the greater part of the produce, contrive to advance prices. In this way the producer sold at the lower price, while the equally helpless and unorganized consumer has to buy his needs at the higher price. After the middlemen have disposed of the bulk of their purchases, then efforts are made to depress prices again, so that new purchases can be made from producers at low figures.

The law of supply and demand is not violated, but while operating within this universal law the organized dealers with their superior business knowledge and training take advantage of the helpless conditions at producing and consuming ends and exact profits that often are unreasonable.

Let us look at the remarkable showing made in the past three months in sugar.

After the great bulk of raw sugars had been marketed by the producers, the European war breaks out, and England is short of sugar, due to inability to obtain her usual supply from Continental Europe of beet sugar. She bids desperately for raw cane sugar in all producing tropical countries, and also buys heavily in the United States, even of refined sugar, and as a result the price advances 100 per cent—from 3.26 cents to 6.52 cents—say in round figures about 3¼ cents per pound. This advance naturally curtails consumption in the United States, especially for canning and preserving purposes. But the fact remains that the producer had parted with the bulk of his product at low prices before the outbreak of the war and the sales at the high prices were made by the middlemen—be they refiners, speculators, or what not. The advance in price occurred too late to affect materially the growing new crop of cane or beet sugars. It is estimated that our United States production of beet sugar will be about 150,000 tons less than last year, due to discouraging the industry by the fallacious idea that by reducing duties we lower prices to consumers, when in reality all about that this accomplishes is to kill off our own industry and ask foreigners to grow upon their lands what we require, thus increasing our fixed charges, for we must eat to live, and expecting foreign countries to increase their purchases of manufactured goods from us, when, as now seen in times of stress, mostly absolute necessities are being bought by foreigners from us. So that the conditions have not materially changed, certainly not for a larger yield. Why, then, do we now see raw sugars back to within about one-quarter of a cent per pound of the price before the outbreak of the war? It looks as if the same old story is being repeated—that is, after the middlemen have disposed of the bulk of their purchases at high prices, and their stocks are down quite low now, and the new crop will soon come along, by abstaining from making new purchases and other methods they allow or help bring about a decline in price, so that the

unorganized and helpless producers will be forced to sell their produce at low figures. After the bulk of the produce has been again absorbed or accumulated at low prices, then the middlemen being again owners of such produce in quantities use their best business talent to engineer an advance in prices, and the consumer, who must eat to live, pays the advanced price. This little comedy goes on year after year in mostly all food products, but once in a while the middlemen are tripped up, but in the long run they are successful; and when at times they do meet with disastrous results, the following season the effort to recoup the previous year's loss is all the greater.

In view of this, why should not the producers organize; that is, cooperate for their mutual benefit as also for the benefit of the consumers?

The plan as outlined would increase production, improve quality, and give better profits to producers; it would eliminate many unnecessary middlemen and make of some of them mere employees in the producing sections—to gather, grade, pack, and ship the produce to consuming centers and have them also guide and instruct the producers. It would make the middlemen in the consuming centers almost, if not quite, mere distributors, eliminating jobbers and speculations and giving moderate profits to these distributors for their capital invested, cost of doing business, carrying charges, and compensation for their time and labor in distributing, and so forth. And to the consumer it would bring about a lower cost of living; and for the United States it would bring about prosperity by enabling us to produce what we require for food at home, and, if there be a surplus, to market same abroad, thus increasing our trade balance or helping to avoid exports of gold.

By no means would it be advisable to attempt to have a stable price at home and export the surplus, at reduced price when necessary, in such commodities as wheat and cotton, in both of which we have quantities to spare for export, especially of the latter, of which we consume about one-third only and usually export the other two-thirds. But there are quite a number of products where we barely produce enough for our own requirements, such as dairy and poultry products; and by making a start at cooperation in these two we could see by practical results how it works, and if successful it could be extended to other commodities little by little.

We have become so accustomed to wide fluctuations in food products that even the farmer tries his hand at speculation. Last May, the papers reported, some farmers in the potato district of Maine, having hopes of obtaining top prices, held on to their potatoes, which they might have sold near to $2.50, but finally had to sell at around $1. As usual, after they sold the price advanced quite some.

But when farmers realize that by cooperation each and every one of them will receive fair and remunerative prices, differentiating, of course, according to quality and nearness to markets, and that a thoroughly equipped and qualified business organization will look after their and the public's interests at one and the same time, and that their own representatives will be on the board, they will not desire to hold on to produce for a possible advance, knowing that the stabilizing of prices will make wide fluctuations improbable.

Absolute freedom is given to farmers who do not wish to cooperate. They do not lose any of their liberty or independence, and can do with their land and produce as they please. But if they do not cooperate in such commodities as there will be cooperation in, they must find consumers as purchasers, as the plan contemplates eliminating all dealers, except only wholesalers and retailers in consuming centers who can obtain their produce only from the selling agency of the cooperating farmers.

In advocating a single selling agency for a commodity having a central or Federal board the idea is fashioned somewhat like our Federal Reserve Board, with 12 regional divisions, and in each of these 12 regions are located the member banks of each respective region.

The Danes, it seems, have nine selling federations, each of which is in close and immediate touch with its members. But for general watching of prices the nine federations seem to act as a single national committee.

The plan is to have a central or Federal board, which has subdivisions by States or regions, and these subdivided again and again along railroad zones of transportation until each little district is mapped off, and to that district so mapped off the respective farmers within same belong.

The produce will be sold, as is now customary, to the nearest consumers, and only the surplus will be shipped out of the district to the nearest large consuming center. It is not intended to dislocate or disarrange existing system, except to avoid unnecessary crisscrossing of shipments, and instead of farmers selling the produce as at present to form cooperative societies in each district, and the gathering agent of the farmers, who probably was formerly one of the dealers or buyers, is to act as their agent or employee, to ship the produce—probably to the same points of destination as before—but instead of being sold to dealers in the large consuming centers the selling agent is the sole consignee or receiver of such produce, and this selling agent disposes of same to the wholesalers, who can obtain such produce nowhere else. Therefore with only one source from which to obtain such produce the wholesaler must of necessity comply with the spirit in which the plan is organized—that is, to eliminate speculation or not attempt to sell for consumption at too high prices—for as the price paid by the wholesaler is known publicly any attempt to exact huge profits will raise a storm of protests, and if the extortion is flagrant or repeated the selling agent may have the power granted to him to refuse to sell to such wholesaler.

This is not an attempt to force dealers to sell without reasonable compensation, but it will act as a preventive at extortion, and in reality every wholesaler who has a large enough outlet will be assured of a competency.

The selling agency in each consuming center for each product to have no depot or warehouse, but only an office.

The wholesalers apply at the office for their requirements, and the carloads in transit are sold to arrive, and upon arrival the wholesalers are to call for their merchandise.

There will be no danger under this system of goods arriving without having been sold to wholesalers, for with assured stability of prices each wholesaler will be only too anxious to obtain goods, knowing that the market will not be glutted and that consumption goes on daily, and hence the public will want what arrives.

The Interstate Commerce Commission fixes a rate for transportation—a maximum and even a minimum.

TARIFF.

We have direct and indirect taxation. The indirect tariff tax, especially on food products that have a world-wide market and that can be exported or imported, affects and even makes prices on such food products, modified, of course, in turn by the still further effect that speculation or sales and purchases of dealers have on such products.

Therefore to a certain extent our tariff law makes or influences prices of such food products, which really means it makes or influences the compensation for the labor of the farmer. If, therefore, we make or influence the price through our tariff created by law, why not permit it to be done by a competent body or board, partly under Government control, like our Federal Reserve Board, who will do so in such manner as to give just returns to the producer and at the same time deal fairly with the consumer, too.

To allow middle men, who are mainly interested in gathering profits, to fix or make prices has so far proven burdensome, and retards increase of production, which increase could, under the suggested plan, be made on scientific lines. To allow ourselves to be blinded by thinking we would run counter to natural laws of supply and demand in the end so far harms producer and consumer and plays into the hands of the middle men, many of whom would gladly welcome the change suggested.

Any dealer or middle man who, through conscientious motives or principles, would abstain from trying to buy as low as possible, would be driven to the wall by the many competitors who, from the beginning of barter and trade, have been trained in the school of experience to always try to buy cheaper than their competitors, and in selling the same principle applies.

So that even if there be middle men whose aim in life would be to be satisfied with moderate profits, such foolhardy philanthropic spirited middle men would soon be in bankruptcy. Competition compels the middle man to buy as low and sell as high as possible, as a rule, and those failing to follow this law can not long continue in the fight or struggle to survive.

Thus we have a trained army of middle men, who, in trying to maintain their position in the trade of exchange, use their talent and experience to reap advantages in both buying and selling; a trained army, using latest methods against producer first and later turning against consumer, and neither the producers nor the consumers are organized or trained to hold their own against such a fighting machine.

We can start to end this unequal fight by the plan suggested, and as we remove the parasitic process one can imagine how strong and lusty will grow both producer and consumer.

No less an authority than Senator D. U. FLETCHER, of Florida, whose speeches on the agricultural problem show a careful study and thorough and profound grasp of the matter, claims that some six billions of dollars disappear or become absorbed annually between the farm and the consumer's kitchen; and in addition to this, enormous amounts go to waste and bring nothing. If we had a proper system, part of the waste could be avoided and part of the six billions would go to the producer and part would remain in the pockets of the consumer.

The part that would be saved or go to the producer would enable him to increase production. It is an almost invariable rule in manufacturing lines that with the profits made the manufacturer increases his output. So also with the farmer. Place him in the position where part of these six billions will reach him, and you enable him to increase production; and if that increase be on scientific lines with less waste than at present, result is the farmer prospers, and that means the entire country, too, shares in that prosperity; and the consumer's cost of living is also reduced, and finally the Nation, too, grows richer, and we again become exporters of what the world will always need—foodstuffs—and perhaps again our exports will be as varied and as great as in former years.

The middleman is not interested in bringing this much-to-be-desired system about, the farmer is unable to do so, and the consumer has not the power. But it can be done, and there is no problem that is of greater importance for the welfare of all of us.

Cooperation amongst farmers as suggested, by departments, with a competent business head in the form of a central or Federal board—nation wide—to look after the interests of the farmer and consumer will bring this about. A trial on dairy and poultry products will at one stroke create the much-to-be-desired cooperative districts or localities. Once we have such districts the rest follows, as does the day the night. One commodity after another will be taken hold of, on the same or similar lines, perhaps, with some modifications, until in time nearly all products of the farm will receive attention and be under cooperation in producing and marketing.

By starting in dairy and poultry products probably the bulk of the farmers in the United States would come into the cooperating fold. Butter production probably amounts to $600,000,000 yearly. Eggs, assuming production to be 80,000,000 cases of 30 dozen each, have a value of somewhere near to $500,000,000 yearly. To this must be added the value of fowls sold for flesh and also the value of milk sold to consumers, so that in all probability cooperation would start with two farm industries, of daily production and daily marketing, having a cash value of over $1,500,000,000, or of greater value than any single farm product sold to consumers. Furthermore, by starting in these two products, in many sections of the United States where butter is still made on the farm, through cooperation creameries could be built for producing a better grade of butter, giving better returns to farmers and a larger quantity of fine-grade butter for consumers. And by establishing such creamery plants, where daily or every second day the farmer's milk would be gathered to be made into fine butter, along with the gathering of such milk would also be gathered the fresh-laid eggs, to be marketed in businesslike methods, fresh for consumers, which probably would save $100,000,000 yearly in waste to farmer and consumer.

And by doing this many rural sections of our country would start to prosper, and with prosperity would come the building of better country roads leading from the farms to our highways, all of which would help to solve the larger question of agricultural products being more cheaply brought to railroad tracks. The offices of the selling agencies in the consuming centers could also act as the medium for obtaining additional farm labor, like a labor employment agency, for the benefit of both farmers and the unemployed in the towns and cities.

The Clayton bill says, in effect, that nothing in the antitrust laws shall be construed to forbid labor or farmers' organizations, instituted for mutual help and without capital, from lawfully carrying out the legitimate objects thereof, nor shall such organizations or members thereof be held or construed to be illegal combinations or conspiracies in restraint of trade.

As pointed out in earlier communications, in manufactures many middlemen such as jobbers have been eliminated, and many manufacturers now sell direct to establishments that deal direct with the consumers. Why, therefore, should we not apply the same up-to-date business methods, where possible, to farm products?

The question may be raised that in manufactured articles such as hardware, wearing apparel, etc., the retailer who sells to the consumer is not limited in price or profits except through competition. Why, therefore, suggest the idea of limiting the selling price or profit of wholesalers and retailers who sell farm products to consumers?

The reply is that the dealer in manufactured articles such as hardware, wearing apparel, etc., buys in hope of selling to consumers, and at times finds on outlet, especially if the season is unfavorable or times are bad or styles change, and therefore he runs a greater risk and is entitled to a greater profit—or, rather, to such profit as competition will permit. But in food products it is entirely different; neither unseasonable weather, hard times, or change of styles has any appreciable effect upon our daily food requirements, and since the system contemplates regulating the supply—that is, not glutting or short supplying the consuming markets—therefore there is a reasonably sure outlet for such produce; and, with an assured outlet, the dealer in such produce, if he takes proper care of same, should and will be well satisfied with a reasonable profit to cover cost of carrying charges, cost of doing business, and a reasonable return on the investment and for time and labor expended.

SUGAR.

Since writing the above, raw sugars, after dropping back from 6.52 cents, the higher war prices, to about 3.52 cents (a drop of about 3 cents per pound), or, say, within about one-quarter of a cent of the price ruling about the time the war started in Europe, has advanced over half a cent per pound, to 4.07 cents.

So we see an advance of 100 per cent, then a loss of 92 per cent of that advance, and finally about 17 per cent of it regained again.

In yours of January 27, 1914, you state:

"Our work is all carried out with a point of view that things must be done on a community basis. To attempt to organize a territory of any size or to federate newly organized communities which have not yet worked out their own problems satisfactorily would be impossible."

Efforts have been made in previous communications to show why farmers among or by themselves can not accomplish this; and since it is desirable and even necessary to bring this about, it can easily be done by enacting a law that places an almost prohibitive tax on country buyers or country dealers, say, in dairy and poultry products. This brings about cooperation, divides the country into little districts of cooperating farmers who will have a business organization to market the produce, and there can be no cornering of such produce nor undue raising or lowering of prices, and even the tariff, as pointed out on February 27, can be entirely ignored.

It will be unnecessary to place a tax on country buyers of other farm products that cooperation is desirable in, because once the farmers, as well as the consumers, have seen how beneficial the plan is when in operation in dairy and poultry products, the farmers themselves will ask the extension of cooperation and marketing to other farm products.

Respectfully submitted for your consideration.

CHAS. KURZMAN.

514 WEST ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTEENTH STREET,
New York, November 23, 1914.

NEW YORK, *December 6, 1914.*

Honorable Senator FLETCHER,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: Replying to yours of December 1, perhaps I have not made a clear statement. In letter of November 30, in second paragraph, I do say, "No use trying under present conditions to keep on producing an article mainly for export, when we can easily raise foodstuffs and feed cattle, etc., on such cotton-growing lands in the South." I meant this to be taken together with the communications to Mr. C. J. Brand, which suggested that some board or commission should have guided the cotton planters to grow, say, 10 per cent or 15 per cent less and keep up the price (bulk of which is bought for foreign countries from us), and utilize the 10 per cent or 15 per cent for corn, etc. I ignore the war altogether, and assume that gradually the overproduction in other countries, even if of higher or inferior grades, would have brought prices down. By under the present system I mean that on the same area we could probably increase the yield by perhaps 25 per cent or more by scientific methods, such as suggested in increased yield of milk from cows, eggs from fowls, etc. As we grow in efficiency the cost of production is reduced, and that perhaps to a great extent will enable us to compete against cheap labor in other parts of the world. But as long as we have not reached the required efficiency, and food products are so high, why persist in 100 per cent cotton instead of 90 per cent cotton and, say, 10 per cent foodstuffs?

Referring to Senate Document 113, on production and marketing Egyptian cotton, page 6, first paragraph, "it (cotton) is bought in the villages by the agents of the Alexandria merchants, and the evidence we gathered shows that the cotton of the tenants sold by the proprietors of the large estates brings fairer returns than that sold by the small farmers to the village buyers."

This same thing is what I claim on many of our farm products—why have so many village or country buyers? They in turn sell to larger dealers, and their expenses of doing business, interest on unnecessary capital invested (which would probably go into farming or loans to farmers), and their profits can be eliminated. Take the most active and efficient village buyer and educate him scientifically at the State agricultural college in that particular commodity only and then have him act as the agent of the cooperating farmers in his district.

Page 7, last paragraph, under "Cooperation": "The method of selling so large a part of the crop under contract makes for the advantage of the ignorant peasantry, who otherwise would be the victims of commercial greed, which seems to manifest itself everywhere in about the same way under similar opportunities and circumstances."

The above needs no comment—it is only too true—except that, somehow, we have gradually drifted into a habit or system whereby we the consumers, too, try our hand at it, to be followed the next season when production is short, due to too low prices the previous year, when the farmer has his inning—provided the middlemen don't grab a goodly share of the price above the normal.

Page 9, end of first paragraph: "We are confident that such a bureau would operate as a practical insurance against either overproduction or underproduction, and would maintain the price of cotton above cost of production, and yet prevent abnormally high prices to the injury and hardship of the consumers."

Page 9, last paragraph: "The proprietors of large Egyptian estates, representing about 10 per cent of the crop, are in a position to cooperate and render powerful aid in maintaining fair prices for their commodities, and these prices will tend to steady the price of American cotton, if our producers do not commit the folly of producing more than the world will take at profitable values."

The above extracts are called to your attention in hope they will be applied more or less to our farming problem.

In an article of October 15 I tried to show that loans with amortization on farms, and also short-term loans to farmers for crop raising, etc., on notes, etc., are the best kind of security. In Germany the farm-land bonds in many instances sell at higher prices than do Government bonds, and rightfully so. A government may be wiped out or be forced—like at present, owing to the war—to issue enormous amounts of new bonds that depreciate the value of all prior government issues—and the money is wasted—but all that can happen to farms is that buildings and equipment may be destroyed; and if, as contemplated in the Fletcher bill, only 20 per cent is to be allowed for destroyable property and limited to 50 per cent loans, it means only 10 per cent of the loan is the maximum that can be destroyed, and the land remains practically indestructible.

But how can money be made to flow into farm-land bonds if hitherto the producer and consumer have played tag via the various middlemen?

Why not come down to business? We have the grandest country on God's footstool, and it is folly for the consumers to think that, like England, the rest of the world will or can feed us and clothe us and that we will sell manufactured goods in return for food from foreign countries. So, really a tacit understanding exists between our farmers and consumers equal to this: The farmer is hereby engaged for a period of 999 years, with privilege of renewals, to produce foodstuffs, cotton, etc., for us—consumers—and we agree to pay him a living wage for so doing; but he in turn also agrees to buy all his requirements from us—the consumers—which we may produce in our factories and mines, etc., and as we will pay him a living wage, he in turn is to do likewise with us, and we hereby bury the hatchet and make peace, and no more will we wage war. We will not try to obtain his produce for less than cost of production, nor must he try to do so from us. If either he—the farmer—overproduces, or we—the workers in the factories—overproduce, we agree to hold up prices—that is, remuneration for labor and capital invested—and market the surplus abroad as best we can.

But just as the laborers in the factories improve in efficiency, through the guidance of the business brains that constantly seek for more improved methods, so will we—the farmers—too, try to increase the yield and improve the quality, and in this way we farmers will try to give you consumers the benefit of what science, through cooperative methods and business guidance, can do for us farmers.

What earthly good will money do the farmer if we try to keep on taking advantage of him whenever he slightly overproduces or sends his produce to the wrong market?

New capital is hard to obtain for railroads, because the compensation is too low or precarious to warrant capital to enter that field.

The committee representing the collateral bonds, which has as security the stock of an old railway system, in order to obtain about $30,000,000 new capital, after carefully studying the matter, finally to obtain the new money offered a 7 per cent preferred stock plus almost 90 per cent additional of their own old stock as an inducement. The old stock was still earning a small dividend, but the outlook was so discouraging that finally those who at one time were willing to advance the money backed out. Just imagine the terms for every dollar advanced—a 7 per cent preferred stock plus about 90 cents of the old common stock, given up by the collateral bondholders out of their security rather than that they themselves should provide the money. This looks as if railroad investments of new capital was like putting money into some wildcat mining scheme.

But is our farming problem any different from the railroad problem? Don't we try in every way to take advantage of the farmer? If the farmer guessed wrong and overproduced any commodity, prices go smashing down; and as long as we continue to treat the farmer thus, so long will money avoid going into farm loans. We are destructively fighting each other instead of cooperating.

Why should a Dakota farmer, who, so to speak, does not want to carry all his eggs in one basket and who, owing to rust or smut in his district, runs a precarious risk as also the additional risk of very low prices when the world production of wheat is above the normal, why should such a farmer find funds to diversify his crops almost unobtainable at almost any price? Reason seems to be that capital is afraid to enter into farming even as a loan to an upright, honest, industrious, hardworking farmer who is striving to release himself from the extra-hazardous risk that dependence on raising wheat only places him in.

Capitalists think that as long as the farmer is not reasonably sure of obtaining a fair return for capital invested and his labor, so long is it unsafe for capital to flow into helping the farmer. If the farmer is able to diversify his crops with new capital, what assurance has the capitalist that the diversified crops will not be overproduced and result in loss of labor and loss of part of the capital, too?

Like new capital for railroads, so also new capital for farmers is hard to obtain, but the capital will be forthcoming the moment capitalists find the loans or investments in either is reasonably safe; and it is within our power to make both safe.

I understand the State of New York recently enacted a law for amortization farm loans, but it is doubtful if savings banks, trustees of estates, life insurance companies, etc., will invest, and it may be the same with any United States agricultural farm-land bank bonds. We need such banks, but the bonds may not be saleable unless the farming industry is made safe. Therefore the two go hand in hand; that is, show that the farmers will be protected by a new system of marketing that will at the same time bring about an increased yield through scientific methods, and at once those controlling capital will eagerly seek investments therein; nay, the capital already invested as loans on farm lands or to farmers on notes will be refunded into new loans at lower rates of interest, world interest rates permitting, of course.

In one of the earlier articles on the farming problem (December 28) I suggested that each large railroad system should, through its employees in the rural sections, form cooperative districts, and that the railroad could take such farm mortgages and against them issue debenture bonds, which having the total aggregate of the farm mortgages as security, plus the guaranty of the railroad, who would carefully in a businesslike manner look after the appraisal, as well as furnish a board to market without profit such produce as the farmers along the railroad line produce, would not only help stabilize prices and give better returns to farmers, but would also help build up the farmers into a prosperous state on scientific lines, and as the railroad stockholders would be anxious to increase the value of their railroad stocks through the increased prosperity and building up of the territory through which the railroad runs, they naturally would buy such railroad farm-secured debenture bonds. I suggested that the start be made with the Pennsylvania Railroad system, but alas the railroads have troubles enough of their own.

Perhaps it is a mistake to expect the Government to do everything, like valorizing. We want to be self-reliant, and whatever savors of paternalism perhaps may cause us to lose confidence in ourselves. But, on the other hand, I do think the day is fast approaching when the Government should take the initiative and suggest combined or cooperative methods and create commissions or boards composed of producing and consuming ends, with Government officials ex officio on such boards to see that both sides receive fair treatment and fair play. We can be a happy and prosperous family, and a cooperative spirit will do much to arouse the conscience of our citizens which in itself will help to suppress the monopolies that oppress.

Regarding the Fletcher rural-credits bill, I beg to suggest the following for your consideration:

As it is claimed that about 37 per cent of our farms are cultivated by renters, and as this is a serious problem, and in order to help such renters become the actual owners of the farms they are on, and thus insure a deeper interest being taken, as it is but natural that the renter is more interested in profits than in the upkeep of the farm, therefore I beg to suggest:

To help renters purchase the farms they are on, loan 50 per cent on the farm, payable in the bank's farm-land mortgage bonds, and a further 20 or 25 per cent in bonds to be issued by the bank "conditionally," to be held by the seller for a period of five years, after which date interest only having been paid on such "conditional" bonds, the owner or holder of such bonds is to apply to the bank to have such conditional mortgage bond on that particular farm exchanged for a regular mortgage bond or bonds of the bank, which is then salable and transferable. The bank prior to making such an exchange is to reappraise the farm, and if value has not depreciated and the buying renter has shown himself to be worthy of the extra credit, the bank can then issue the exchange in regular bonds.

But in no event is the total aggregate of such conditional mortgage bonds, when exchanged for regular mortgage bonds, to exceed the total amount of amortization during that 5-year period—that is, if $100,000 bonds have been issued on farms valued at $200,000, and, say, $10,000 conditional mortgages issued, at the end of 5 years the amount of amortization paid in will exceed the $10,000 conditional mortgages, and therefore same could be issued as regular bank bonds, without exceeding the 50 per cent loans on the total farms, assuming values to have remained the same as 5 years previous.

This will enable renters who have a small capital to buy the farm, and the owner who sells will have a sort of second mortgage for a 5-year period, and who, to protect same, will be interested enough in the buying renter, as well as in his former farm, to see that all goes well with the former renter and the farm.

Further, it does not depreciate the amount of security that the buyers of the bonds will have, as at no time will same be over 50 per cent loaned.

The seller of the farm will be reasonably sure of having, after 5 years (if all goes well), a security that will be as easily salable as any of the original bonds of such farm-land banks. After 5 years' amortization, when the exchange is made, the loan would be 60 to 65 per cent of the value of such farms.

The bank, it is true, takes a little extra risk, but as the buying renter is located in the district, and his character and operations will be well known to the bank officials, they would not make the exchange for regular bonds of the bank unless they were well satisfied that the buying renter was worthy of the confidence they placed in him.

There is room for fraud, through dummies, etc., but 5 years is a pretty long period for a man to be under observation, and owners of farms, who perhaps otherwise would not sell, under this plan perhaps would be inclined to do so.

If 37 per cent of our farms are now in the hands of renters, this plan would probably enable one-third of these renters to become owners, and, as one 5-year period elapses, the same method could go on and on, and thus perhaps in time we may be able to wipe out the renting system. It may take 15 or 20 years to do this, under the suggested plan, but a start could be made as outlined.

Yours, respectfully, CHAS. KURZMAN.

(Copy to Hon. W. G. Goodwin, Washington, D. C.)

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514 WEST ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTEENTH STREET,
New York, February 3, 1915.

To His Excellency President WOODROW WILSON,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: On January 20, 1914, I sent a communication to you regarding our farming problem, which you kindly referred to Mr. C. J. Brand, Chief of Office of Markets, Department of Agriculture. Since then I have sent numerous additional manuscripts on the matter to Mr. Brand, and according to the tenor of his replies it appears the idea seems to prevail that by urging farmers to form cooperative associations in the rural districts the matter will be solved.

Without in any way minimizing the value of cooperation, which is one of the essential features necessary for economy, stoppage of waste, and increase in efficiency in producing, gathering, and distributing, it is my firm belief that a vital feature is overlooked, namely, marketing, and the selling price is left to the mercy of our present system, whereby the surplus or shortage determines the price for the greater part of the product, sometimes to the hurt of the consumer and sometimes the price is below cost of production.

In any industry where labor forms a large part in cost of production it has been the policy of both our great political parties to always amply protect labor and not expose it to competition with cheaper labor in other countries, especially on our home consumption.

Our farming industry may be compared to our manufacturing industries. Some farm products require no or but little protection, while others, where labor forms a big item in producing, may require heavy protection.

In a manuscript I am sending to Mr. Brand to-day I draw comparisons between the English unprotected system, which caused decrease of about 50 per cent in production, and the German system, under which farming made phenomenal progress, keeping pace with the growth in population and growth in industries. I also show how, although we had a protective tariff for farming for many years past, yet the protection was only partial, for the moment a surplus was produced Liverpool or the world price determined the compensation to our farmers for almost the entire product, even if the bulk was consumed in the United States of America.

Thus we virtually notified our farmers that in products where cost of production was greater in the United States than abroad they must not produce more than barely enough for home requirements. In other words, we discouraged full development of our farming (as did England), and in consequence forced excess numbers into factories, resulting in a loss of equilibrium, and for some years past we see every year large numbers in industries out of employment and in forced idleness.

To protect agriculture, Germany has its council of agriculture, and I beg to suggest that a similar body be created in the United States, such as the national marketing commission, for example, to work in conjunction with the Department of Agriculture for the upbuilding of our farming industry. My aim is to make farmers prosperous, increase yield and production, and decrease cost of living, by natural process and not arbitrarily, and it in no way reflects upon the ability of the Department of Agriculture to suggest that a body having also experienced business men thereon help solve so important a problem.

I trust you will pardon me in obtruding my views upon you, and hope you will be sufficiently impressed to inquire more fully into some of the points I draw attention to, which I consider ought to be remedied.

Yours, respectfully, CHAS. KURZMAN.

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THE SUPPLY AND DEMAND JOKE, OR HOW BY SEEING BUT HALF THE TRUTH WE FORCE GAMBLING IN OUR FOOD SUPPLY TO THE SERIOUS HURT OF BOTH PRODUCER AND CONSUMER—REASONS FOR THE DECLINE OF AGRICULTURE IN ENGLAND AND ITS MARVELOUS GROWTH IN GERMANY—SHOWING HOW A PROTECTIVE TARIFF IN THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT PROTECT OUR FARMING INDUSTRY EVEN ON OUR HOME CONSUMPTION, AND HOW FARM LABOR IS THUS OFTEN FORCED TO WORK BELOW THE UNITED STATES STANDARD OF WAGES—TOO LOW OR UNJUST COMPENSATION FOR FARM LABOR PREVENTS DEVELOPMENT OF EFFICIENCY AND INCREASE IN YIELD AND CAUSES COMPARATIVE NEGLECT OF AGRICULTURE, BRINGS ABOUT UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDUSTRIES BY FORCING TOO MANY INTO FACTORIES WHO WOULD HAVE FOUND EMPLOYMENT ON FARMS—A PROPER ADJUSTMENT OF OUR FARMING PROBLEM THROUGH THE AID OF A NATIONAL MARKETING COMMISSION OR A COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURE, WOULD MAKE FARMING MORE ATTRACTIVE AND REMUNERATIVE AND ALSO DECREASE COST OF LIVING—INDIAN WAR DANCE (IN WHEAT), OR PREPARING TO SCALP THE UNITED STATES CONSUMER, TO BE FOLLOWED SOME DAY BY A RETALIATORY WAR DANCE, WHEN THE PRODUCER WILL BE THE VICTIM TO BE SCALPED.

Mr. CHARLES J. BRAND, Esq.,
Chief Office of Markets, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am in receipt of yours of January 18, in which you state that many of the ills I called attention to in the various communications sent you during the past year "can be adequately handled by cooperative marketing associations of producers."

You further say that you do not agree to the advisability of establishing a national marketing commission to take direct charge of the actual marketing of farm products which you believe to be economically wrong and actually impractical.

In replying I trust you will not consider what I write as criticism, but simply in the nature of a discussion, in which I shall try to convince you that what I am advocating is not impractical nor economically wrong, and that cooperative associations of producers can not remedy the ills of high cost of living to consumers nor make farmers more prosperous or efficient, except to but a limited degree.

It must be conceded by all who have given the subject any serious thought, that agriculturally (and this takes in everything produced on our farms), our country has not kept pace with the increase of population, nor with the marked increase of the United States industrially. Although we have by no means gone backwards, as has England in the past 70 years, since the adoption of the 1846 laws, under which the farmers were so discouraged, and farming in foreign lands encouraged in turn as to actually decrease the production 50 per cent in England, yet we by no means have made any such phenomenal progress as has Germany, that on an area smaller than Texas is almost able to produce sufficient foodstuffs to sustain its sixty-five to seventy million of population.

Therefore to intelligently study the question one must not only study the manner in which Germany accomplished this, and try to imitate her methods, adopting them as best we can to our method of Government and the temperament of our people, but we must also study the English system and try to find out the cause of the decline of her farming industry and try to avoid the pitfall that brought about such a terrible condition there.

TARIFF.

Primarily it appears that the free importation of foodstuffs, especially from countries like the United States where we had cheap, virgin, and fertile lands, enabled foreign countries to produce foodstuffs cheaper than could be done in England where the value of the land, or rather its renting value for farming purposes, was too high to compete against the newer countries. Result seems to be that labor was driven off English farms and into factories. England imports five-sixths of its foodstuffs, amounting to net $1,200,000,000, and therefore the one-sixth she still produces is valued at $240,000,000, and if this is one-half of what it was formerly, then the free tariff or compensation to farmers was so low and inadequate as to drive $240,000,000 in labor (for practically it is all labor, the land being still there) from farming into factories. But $240,000,000 labor in factories produces double, triple, perhaps quadruple that sum in manufactures. Let us assume wages are but £2 per week, that means one-half million people and those dependent upon them driven off farms and into cities into factories. If such labor produced but double in value in manufactured goods, it means one-half billion dollars produced seeking an export outlet.

In 1905 England exported £330,000,000; in 1911, £434,000,000; thus we see that England did increase its exports about one-half of a billion dollars, but that sum was insufficient to give steady and remunerative employment to its unnaturally stimulated numbers in industries, for England had a standing army of 675,000 paupers, besides countless numbers of unemployed; and as other countries also grew industrially, the competition England had to contend against was too great for England to withstand. It must be remembered that English products have a preferential tariff in some of her colonies, like Canada, Australia, etc.; have also a preference in many countries in supplying corporations that are controlled by English capital; have also some slight or perhaps sentimental preference in other English possessions, where English merchants predominate; and, besides, England has an equal chance for her manufactured products with other competing manufacturing nations in countries like the United States. Yet with all these advantages England was unable to find employment for the excess numbers it had in industries to such an extent that for some years past it was a fight to obtain footholds in many a market that perhaps she would not have been so eager for if she had not driven people from farms into factories, and some seem to think that was one of the underlying causes of the present war. If to this state of affairs is added

the impossibility of raising wages in factories, due to tremendous competition on the one hand, and on the other to the steady rise of price of foodstuffs in the past 15 to 20 years, one can easily see in what a precarious condition England placed itself in by depending too much on manufacturing to give a livelihood to her people, and at the same time by the inordinate amount of foodstuffs she had to buy from abroad. For example, for some four or five years past our exports of beef to England had practically ceased, and England found Argentine beef to replace ours; but as we contemplated and later actually enacted our new tariff, that permitted free importations of beef, our bidding against England for Argentine beef actually raised prices in Argentine which England has to pay in the neighborhood of 40 per cent. Thus, although our beef importations are on a small scale, yet small as it is it raised prices unduly to English consumers, who are more largely supplied from Argentina than is the United States. Thus we see how by depending on other countries to supply a daily absolute necessity—food—a country may endanger its welfare to a most alarming extent; and if wages in industries can not be raised, and the cost of food goes up and up, even those who have work can not make both ends meet.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

I tried to show on November 30 that too low compensation for labor or services, whether in fields or factory, for cotton or railroad transportation rates, so unduly hurts those thus insufficiently compensated that their buying or consuming power is curtailed, and that in turn again reduces production by the amount thus curtailed in consumption. But there is also another side to this. If the cost of food is too high, and some say that from 40 to 50 per cent is expended for food, the result is that too much is expended by the masses for food, and hence too little is left for other expenditures, and it is easily conceivable how if the masses spend too much for food they will have to stint themselves in other directions, such as the buying of clothes, etc.; and this in turn forces a reduction in the production of clothing, etc., and thus we see how little by little one industry after another has to slow down in production and as this is done the numbers out of employment increases.

On February 27, 1914, I wrote you that the claim that had been made in a Washington's Birthday speech that the new tariff had already lowered prices on meat, butter, eggs, etc., and that apparently a remedy had been found for our ills, but that it might prove to be the beginning of our undoing. I pointed out how unhappy England, that had such serious labor troubles, had faced a similar situation years ago, which resulted in decline of its agriculture and overstimulating manufactures. I had nothing to base my remarks on, except one very important fact that must never be lost sight of, and that is not to kill off our farming industry by expecting or trying to force the farmer to work for nothing or at a loss.

As a direct result of those unduly low prices that some felt so happy over, sugar, butter, eggs, etc., decreased in production, as shown you on November 23.

So far I have tried to prove that a tariff that is too low does not protect our farmers sufficiently and causes a decrease in production, which later will force us to import our shortages from abroad and might gradually, though slowly, bring us step by step, in certain commodities, to where England finally landed, via, helpless, unless foreign countries supply sufficient to meet the requirements.

But, on the other hand, why, having had a high protective tariff for farmers for so many years, how comes it that our farming in many commodities did not keep pace with our growth in manufactures, etc.? There are many reasons, of course. For example, as our grazing ranges were put up into farms it naturally would decrease our number of beeves and at the same time increase the price. But just as a tariff would protect our farmers or low or no duties would expose them to competition from abroad—so also our system by which we export our surplus, even if it be small, yet such is the natural law of supply and demand that if left free to work without any artificial interference—the price at which the surplus is sold abroad makes the price for the entire crop, or, rather, for the time being, which generally means after the farmer has sold the bulk of his produce; then generally the operator or middleman who has bought the farmer's produce at the low price sells a goodly portion of the surplus abroad at the low price, and after the market is relieved of that surplus up go prices again. But the damage to the farmer has been done and the consumer only partly benefited.

Thus year after year the game went on, even under high protection, which gave no protection to the producer in any of the commodities slightly overproduced. The operator or middleman had a safety valve in exporting the surplus, but the farmer, except in exceptional cases, had none.

Before the United States Industrial Relations Commission, Mr. Henry Ford recently testified that an increase in wages to his employees had increased the efficiency of his men. Compensation that enables a man to more than exist, or more than merely make a fair living, has the effect of giving renewed life and zest in all one does. Give men sufficient for their labor to properly live and keep their families and to enable them to put something aside in savings for a rainy day and you create a new spirit in such men. The latent power is there, but if one has to live a life of drudgery, often in fear that the next week might bring unemployment and throw them onto the mercy of the world, where each is struggling to exist, the initiative or the best that is in such men is crushed.

Has not the farmer been ill treated? Has not the system under which many farm products are marketed practically exposed him to the most precarious kind of an existence?

According to the figures of the United States Department of Agriculture of March 29, 1914, 18 per cent of our farmers lost from $200 to $500 yearly, and 15 per cent lost from $1 to $200; thus one-third of our farmers worked for nothing or at a loss, while the average for all, according to the survey, seemed to be $408 for their year's labor. If our system of compensating the farmers through our antiquated and unjust marketing brings such results, how can we expect the farmers to wake up to the so-called golden opportunities said to be in store for them if they will become more efficient? Mr. Ford's workmen did not become wide awake and efficient on promises or pamphlets. The actual sight of the good wages did it; and show the farmer profits and he, too, will wake up and become efficient.

But no; our system so binds us that we don't give the farmer a chance. It seems as though we had adopted a plan whereby the farmer and consumer seem to be sworn enemies, and each has a knife behind his back, ready to run it into each other, through the middle man. If the farmer overproduces, the knife is run into the farmer; if the farmer underproduces, the knife is run into the consumer.

What needless bloodletting; what unnecessary strife! Why not get together and seal a compact for 999 years, with privileges for renewal?

COOPERATION.

No doubt forming farmers' cooperative societies in every little district throughout the United States for the gathering, grading, packing, and marketing the surplus that has not been sold locally or nearby will be of immense benefit. But as yet we are far, very far, from having even this. But, even if this becomes general throughout the United States, it still leaves the farmers at the mercy of the same old system. The same old operators or middlemen make the prices, and the same old illusory supply and demand make the prices or compensation for the farmers. That same little extra surplus makes the low prices for compensation for the producer, and that same little shortage makes the exorbitant price for the consumer; and the wider the fluctuations the greater the distress of the producer and the consumer, and the greater the glee or opportunity for profit of the expert operator or middle man.

Let me give an example. In the spring finest grades of butter, owing to the reasons stated on previous occasions, had dropped to 24½ cents, and the best June butter in the flush of the season sold at 26½ cents. In December that same stored butter sold at 33 cents. Carrying charges probably amount to 2 cents a pound, and, according to testimony given before the investigating officer of the attorney general of the State of New Yerk, many wholesale dealers claimed they would be satisfied with one-half cent profit on their entire turnover. Yet apparently the profit seems to be 4 cents greater. Would not the producer have been well pleased with 2 cents extra, and the consumer also be benefited by a reduction in price of the other 2 cents? But our system of marketing prevents any such benefit accruing to either producer or consumer, and even the wholesaler would welcome the change.

I have pointed out some of the defects in the English system which we ought to try to avoid. Let me now come to Germany—Germany that has shown the most marvelous progress in all walks of human endeavor, such marvels as no country in the history of the world gives any similar example of. In industries, as well as in agriculture, a standard has been set by Germany. If we could only adopt some of the best features that produced such results!

If you will kindly look at Senate Document 214, issued in 1913, on Agricultural Cooperation and Rural Credits in Europe, you will find one of the reasons why Germany leads the world in productive capacity of its farmers. On page 399 you will find Dr. Dade, secretary general of the German council of agriculture, making a statement.

If you will carefully read what Dr. Dade says, you probably will change your ideas about a national marketing commission being unnecessary.

There is not the slightest doubt that our United States Department of Agriculture is efficient and doing excellent work; but it is lacking in an essential feature, viz, it has no experienced men of marked ability taken out of the ranks of our leaders and captains of industry, where business methods and system and organization with these directing brains guided the men under them to the efficiency that brought many of our manufacturing and commercial businesses to the success they attained. Such men as are required to lead and guide our farming industry, who ought to be on such a commission, are not to be had, except on the rarest of occasions, at any salary the United States Government usually pays; and although there are able men in the Department of Agriculture and in many other departments of the Government, yet the ability is of a different kind than is necessary for the object in view. The Department of Agriculture can do its scientific work, but when it comes to marketing—and that in the final analysis means the compensation or remuneration for the farmer—such marketing can be better devised by men who have spent the greater part of their lives in various business walks of life. Such men are too high priced to be employed at a salary, but what they would not do for a money consideration, they will gladly do gratis for the good of their country, as is shown by the New York City Mayor's Food Supply Commission and also the unemployment committee. A national marketing commission, composed as it would be under the pending bill of 15 men from farming industry and 14 men of marked business ability, could be created to work in harmony with the United States Department of Agriculture, and they would help solve our farming problem. It is not such a big problem. Germany solved it, why can't we, having before us the data, etc., to go by. We confound the big results possible with a supposedly equally big problem as to how to bring this about. Devise the right system of marketing, which in it would embrace stoppage of waste and eagerness of farmers to gain good wages or compensation, and it will be found that farmers who now are indifferent or unwilling to follow suggestions of the Department of Agriculture, will eagerly follow the suggestions such a marketing commission would recommend. Not law, coercion, coaxing, or literature, but simply proof that good and sure profits or compensation for their labor, and they will work with the same zest and zeal as do the men in the Ford factory.

It is my belief that some of the ablest men in the United States would gladly serve on such a commission gratis, and the only expense would be clerk hire and railroad fares.

I have been suggesting right along that the easiest and quickest way to start cooperation throughout the United States would be to start with dairy products, poultry, and eggs, dividing up the United States into little districts, say, something like the post-office districts are divided up in the rural sections, and to put a prohibitive tax on country buyers or dealers in such dairy and poultry products, thus forcing the farmers to select in each district their own representative in each of these three products, preferably men who formerly bought such produce of them, who have a commercial knowledge already of such produce, prior to starting as the local agent of the farmers in such district, are to attend a special lecture course in that product only at the State agricultural college to gain a scientific knowledge also, so as to be able to guide the producers to increased production on latest scientific lines, and who is also to gather, grade, pack, and ship the surplus not locally sold by him to the nearest large consuming market or such market as he will receive notice from his superiors in the selling agency of that commodity to ship to.

The wholesale dealers in the consuming centers can procure such commodity only from the selling agency in that town or city, at the office of such selling agency. Instead of the wholesaler dictating the price which we delude ourselves into believing is solely governed by the law of supply and demand, the price can be determined by mutual agreement for certain seasons of the year, as is now actually done in advance for months ahead in our milk supply, or it can be made as Australia now suggests for a method of opening up new farming districts, by making a minimum price that surely will cover cost of production and fair remuneration for labor, and also a maximum to protcet consumers, not to rise above certain levels or world prices plus protection for farmer in lieu of tariff duties.

It is claimed by R. P. Trask, of the New York State Agricultural College, the average egg production per hen in the United States is 8 dozen, and at 27 cents average, for farmers that have 500 hens, it is claimed the farmer just about quits even. The average milk production in the United States per cow, it is claimed, is 3,500 pounds, and for New York State it is said to be 4,400 pounds, and for the 275 farmers in the Ithaca cooperative district it is said to be 3,800 pounds per year. Suppose, through scientific breeding, etc., which farmers, if they find we consumers mean business and mean really to treat them right, will eagerly desire to help bring about, we later find 25 per cent or possibly 50 per cent, in time, increase in yield of eggs per hen and milk per cow, part of that increase in yield would go to the farmer in extra profits and part to the consumer in lower prices.

Will you please point out what is economically wrong with the whole plan and what part is impractical?

Perhaps it may be economically wrong not to permit the country buyer and the city middlemen to continue their playing football, first using the farmers as the football and later the consumers as the football.

As to impractical, allow me to point out that we actually do bring our farm products to market now; we know more or less, and in many cases exactly, where the produce comes from and where it goes to. The country dealers, the transport lines, and the city wholesale receivers have such records, and no Pompeiian or Martinique earthquake has destroyed such records or knowledge. Even by the cooperative system, which the United States Department of Agriculture, as well as the State of New York also, is urging farmers to form, only the surplus produce from each district will be shipped to consuming markets. Will such cooperative farmers' associations have any better facilities for knowing where to ship to than if such cooperative associations or districts have a central or Federal board, having a department for each commodity, that would have records of production, what is in transit, what in hands of wholesale dealers in consuming centers, what the usual or ordinary daily requirements or consumption of each market, what, if any, surplus or shortage likely to be, etc.? We are going it blind more or less now, and we would continue to do so even if cooperative associations of farmers were formed; but we would not be, under the plan outlined. The task is not herculean nor impractical, but, perhaps, the idea in itself may be startling and that might possibly cause one at first glance to think it impractical or economically wrong.

The destination of such product would probably not be disturbed or changed by as much as 1 per cent, but it would be more direct and economical. Please remember I never at any time contemplate depriving the farmer of absolute freedom to do with his produce or land as he pleases; he at all times has the privilege of selling such produce as he chooses direct to consumers, but not to dealers.

It is only the country dealer who now obtains the produce from the farmer and who is indifferent as to what the farmer does or what becomes of the produce as long as he makes a living or profit out of his share in the transaction; that such country dealers be deprived of this privilege and in place thereof take him—or if there be many in a district the farmers to select the ablest amongst them—and make him the local agent of the cooperating farmers in that district.

Business men who are at the head of large and successful establishments have broad plans or principles on which they operate, but they have no fixed or rigid rules by which the economy of operation may be interfered with, and they allow certain things to be done which possibly might be counter to the general broad plan they have in view; that is, they adapt themselves to circumstances and conditions. Therefore, for example, if the milk supply would also come under the control of the selling agency, and finding that the various concerns that supply New York City with its milk actually have an efficient gathering force, the common-sense business man, who would not be hampered by a rigid rule, but would be guided by the spirit or aim to procure efficiency and good results, would permit the continuation of the business; but probably they would be required to have cow testing for yield of milk enforced and would require arrangements to be made to use the results of such tests for weeding out unprofitable cows and improving the breed gradually, which at present none of the milk distributors are doing. The aim in view is to improve yield and efficiency, not to destroy or punish; to insure better and surer compensation to producers which will act as the impelling force or inducement for producers to do as suggested.

There probably will be many districts in the United States where it would not be feasible or practical to put the plan into operation and where therefore it would not be enforced, except for statistical purposes and also to simply mark out the district and effect an organization of farmers, who are to select their president and other officers so that upon 24 hours' notice they can be communicated with through its president or secretary; but that is no reason why the attempt should not be made to bring about the aim in view, especially in such sections where the production in such produce is carried on on a large scale.

When farmers and consumers and even the middlemen find the plan works well in dairy products, poultry, and eggs, the cry will go up, even from the farmers, to extend it to other commodities.

WHO MAKES THE PRICE?

Let us take poultry and dairy products. At the end of last season the old stock was practically gone and the new April eggs were coming on the market in quantities, as is customary in the season of highest production. It is claimed from time immemorial that supply and demand governs the price. But here the season opens with a heavy production—too big, fortunately, for the population to consume—hence operators or large dealers buy not only to sell part for immediate consumption but also to store and hold for sale in the fall and winter months. The same applies also to full-grass June butter. Therefore for about two months the production is very much heavier than the consumption, and the operators keep on buying and storing. Now the question arises, Where does that illusive law of supply and demand governing prices come in? Nobody knows what the production will be—there are too many uncertainties that can affect the production—and no one knows what quantities will be imported from abroad, except that by no means can it possibly reach 5 per cent of our consumption, for such a diversion to the United States from foreign countries, if it were possible under existing world production and consumption (assuming there had been no war), would raise prices enormously and would perhaps have created riots and bloodshed in England, where the shortage caused by our taking even 5 per cent of our needs from abroad would have made not famine, but what is as bad, famine prices.

The producer surely does not make the price. He, meeklike, has to take what price they say is the market price. The consumer does not make the price, for he is asked no questions. All he knows is that he requires three meals a day and has got to get them, and the market price he is charged he has very little voice in making. The farmer has to sell, as he can not store on the farm; and the consumer must buy his daily food; but neither producer nor consumer really has a voice in making the price. Each is shown market reports or daily quotations and are told these are the prices—one to the farmer, and another, including waste and a lot of unnecessary expenses also, for the consumer. However, producer and consumer are given the privilege to register protests, which the producer does by reducing production when prices get too low, and the consumer by curtailing consumption when prices get too high; and vice versa.

Then, pray, who does make the price? The demand from the consumer is insufficient during this period to anywhere near approach the supply; the goods keep on piling up and up all over the country, and considerable guessing is daily done by the operators as to quantity stored and likely to still further increase, etc. All the pros and cons are taken into consideration by the operators, and they and they only make the price. That is, they are taking a big chance—gambling—and for that chance or risk they take they are the real price makers; and it is but natural that after they have bought and stored large quantities that until the bulk of what has thus been bought by them has been disposed of they will use their best business talent to hold up or even raise prices, so as to insure them a profit. They are taking a gambling chance, and they certainly are entitled to all the profit they can get out of the gambling system under which we operate in marketing foodstuffs.

We know to a certainty that if the goods have been properly selected and stored it will all be consumed; so but very little chance is taken in that respect; but the vital part—the price, low to producer when he sells the major portion and then high to consumers—that is left entirely to what we call supply and demand, the operators.

Many operators or wholesalers would be only too happy to work on a small profit on their turnover, eliminating excessive profits, provided arrangements were made to stabilize prices at various seasons and thus stop what is virtually guessing or gambling.

RURAL CREDITS.

We certainly do need better credit facilities for farmers. Long-term farm-land loans, as contemplated in the Fletcher bill, would be of material benefit to farmers and to the entire United States in consequence. But when loans are made, even if limited to 50 per cent of the value of the farms, the lender looks not only to the security but also to the earning power of that security. If one-third of the farmers work for nothing or at a loss, the earning power seems to be at low ebb. The ordinary chances and risks of loss in raising crops or animals on farms is precarious enough, but if to this we add the still further risk that often the farmer can not tell whether prices he will obtain will cover cost of production, due to our method or system of marketing, then, indeed, farm loans are not quite as alluring as they could be made to be, and the question arises, Is the farmer, no matter how upright and hard working he may be, really a good risk to lend to, considering the business he is engaged in is such a big gamble, even if his production is a little above the normal yield?

JUSTICE.

When contemplating a revision of the tariff, various manufacturing industries that will be affected by the tariff are accorded a hearing before the framers of the bill, with a view to protect the compensation in that industry—fair compensation for labor and for capital. Has it ever occurred to you that the farmer is never consulted at all about the compensation he is to obtain for his labor and capital invested? He has absolutely no voice in the matter at all. The selling price of his produce, which includes labor and returns on capital invested, is left to what we call chance—supply and demand—or what not. On November 23 I showed how within the space of a few months of smallest production even prices fluctuated 25 to 30 per cent, and when, as was later found to be the case, the supply did not exceed the demand by more than 1 per cent. Examples, of which this is a sample, discourage the producer and disinclines him to inaugurate methods that would lead to increase of yield and efficiency. Many producers are so discouraged that they do not care "whether school keeps or not." To think that we permit the backbone or foundation of our county to be left to the mercy of chance or guesswork amongst operators. Remember, please, I am not blaming the operators or middlemen—you even force them into gambling and speculating and guessing and worrying, too. They do the best they can under the system, and the bulk of them are not intentionally trying to be unjust to producers or consumers.

Barring a few products, such as wheat, cotton, etc., we produce just about enough for our requirements; and if there be some products, such as dairy and poultry products, where upon occasion we at times might slightly over and under produce, is that any reason why the fluctuations should be so violent as to work infinite harm to producers and consumers? Stabilize prices, and it will be found everybody will benefit.

If the large milk distributers can get together with the milk producers and can agree upon a range of prices according to grade and nearness to market, and the consumers are not asked whether it suits them or not, why can not it be done to start with in other dairy products, poultry, and eggs by a competent central or Federal board—which will have on its board representatives of the farmers and dealers and also men of high standing for business ability and fair play—with perhaps one or two Government officials to see that no conspiracy to hurt any interest involved—producer, dealer, or consumer—is attempted. This would at least give producer and consumer a voice in making fair and equitable prices, and be it remembered no price can be fair that does not amply compensate the average producer, otherwise we are likely in time to reach the stage England arrived at.

When you show the producer that he at all times will be protected, and that if the yield or efficiency is increased, he will obtain part of it in profits—and the consumer the other part in lower prices—you cause the producer to look upon farming in an entirely different light than at present. This is the foundation upon which, I think, our farming industry can be built up, and upon which our future welfare will to a great extent be determined. It will be an inducement for those in farming to draw others to the farm instead of driving them into factories, as seems to have been the case in England.

You say many of the points I draw attention to are well taken, but you do not always agree with the conclusions I draw from them.

There is but one conclusion I have arrived at, and I desire to emphasize it very strongly, for I consider it vital and paramount in dealing with our farming problem, and that is make farming profitable; do not allow it to become a gamble more than nature or providence has always made it; make the toil or labor expended in farming a surer source of remuneration than our system of marketing has permitted it to be,

and the whole question will solve itself. Show the farmer that he actually will be compensated for his toil, and you sharpen his wits and create in him a desire to profit more and more by becoming efficient and less wasteful. Urging farmers to form cooperative associations will help, but without a business organization or head to devise means to procure just compensation for the farmers' labor, through the advice or guidance of a national marketing commission, with able men trained and experienced in industry and commerce on such a commission, would be like trying to count the chickens to be hatched from infertile eggs.

Without the business brains to guide and protect the wages the farmer is to receive for his labor such cooperative associations may turn out to be simply heavyweights fighting against each other in production and marketing instead of as now each farmer by himself a lightweight. Cooperative combination to avoid making farming less of a gamble than it at present is will help the farmer through better marketing and cheap loans and will lower prices to consumers by stoppage of waste and increased yield per acre and from live stock, and will also be welcomed even by the much-abused middlemen, who will do less guessing and gambling and become more efficient and economical in distributing.

Please remember that Germany encouraged the formation of the Stahlwerks Verband and the potash syndicate in order to avoid destructive competition, and even Belgium had its Comptoir des Acieres. We recently enacted the Clayton bill that permits and encourages farmers to form cooperative combinations. Why, then, should we hesitate to take full advantage of it for the upbuilding of our farming industry, which is bound to redound to the benefit of the entire country.

SHOWING HOW A PROTECTIVE TARIFF GIVES ONLY PARTIAL PROTECTION TO FARMING; MOMENT THERE IS PRODUCED A SURPLUS FOR EXPORT PROTECTION CEASES AND PRICES DROP TO WORLD LEVEL.

I have tried to show how in farm products a small shortage or surplus materially raises or lowers prices for the bulk of the commodity in question, and often out of all proportion to the slight under or over production, thus causing violent fluctuations that are so harmful to producer and consumer; and on previous occasions I tried to show how in manufacturing industry these violent fluctuations are avoided.

My contention is that by not protecting the English farmer and placing him in free competition with farmers the world over English agriculture declined about 50 per cent in the face of a growing population and resulted in excess numbers in industries for whom later it was found hard and almost impossible to obtain steady and remunerative employment, while at the same time large numbers out of employment in industries could have found employment on English land in farming if the policy of England had protected her home farming and farm labor.

We in the United States did protect our farming industry by a protective tariff, but that protection lasted only as long as our production for home requirements was not excessive; and as no foreign importations could take place, it resulted in prices or remunerations as a rule equal to the world price plus freight and import or protective duty.

Therefore for home consumption foreign importations of foodstuffs were practically barred out, and our farmers could count upon our own people as consumers. But the one great defect with this was that it did not amply protect the farmer or the labor on the farm (as it did in manufacturing industries) when we had a surplus to export. That surplus, be it large or small, made the price for the entire or the great bulk of the commodity, and the price always includes labor. If the world price was low, although at no time while the protective tariff was in existence, could importations be made for home consumption, yet it did not prevent prices from falling to the world level, more or less. So that the protection was only partial and not full and complete, as was the case in protecting manufacturing industries.

In Germany, however, a better protective system seems to have been adopted, and that, perhaps was one of the causes why German agriculture kept on growing, not only in amount produced to meet the needs of the increasing population, but also in yield and efficiency.

Broadly, or in a general sense, Germany was not an exporter of foodstuffs. The question with her was (as it should have been with England) how to increase her production to meet the needs of her growing population. A protective tariff and the further safeguarding of the farming industry by the German council of agriculture that acts as the official advisory board, with right of criticism and initiative in all legislation regarding agriculture, helped to give absolute and ironclad protection to German agriculture. A system was devised which virtually gave protection to farmers and labor on the farm by which any surplus produced could be exported without loss to the exporter and without at any time lowering home prices (or compensation for capital and labor) to world prices.

Perhaps I can give a better idea by quoting from "Germany and the German Emperor," by Herbert Perris, who seems to prefer the English system:

"Exporters of all grain, home or foreign, were now allowed free import certificates to a like value, which being available for any cereals and some other goods, including coffee and petroleum, and being saleable, amount to a bounty on exports. Thus, whenever a bountiful harvest brings down the home price below the amount of the foreign price plus the duty, it pays the German corn grower to export. The value of the import certificate makes up the lower foreign price to the requisite amount, and the market being relieved of the surplus supply, the native price swings back to the old level, and the consumer is again paying the full amount of the duty. A more flagrant arrangement, from the national point of view, than this protectionist flywheel it would be difficult to imagine."

Thus we see that in case of a surplus production in any farm product the price which includes labor was maintained to always give adequate protection.

I maintain that good compensation for labor produces contentment and efficiency and encourages increase of production and tends to increase of yield and to not only holding labor in such adequately compensated industry, but even draws additional labor to it, to keep equal pace with the growth in manufacturing labor so as to make a country more evenly balanced.

We in the United States have a higher standard of living and wages than in almost any other country on the globe. Both of the large political parties believe in protecting labor; and the tariff, which produces not only revenue but also protects labor, has more or less protected industrial labor to such an extent that our industries grew up in a marvelous manner; and, as pointed out on prior occasions, when an overproduction or surplus was produced, the system by which sales are effected enabled manufacturers to protect labor from being lowered in compensation.

But our system of marketing farm produce is entirely different; result is that when a surplus was produced the price of that commodity was lowered to the world price; and hence if our cost of producing was greater than in other countries, not infrequently capital invested as well as labor in producing such farm produce was seriously underpaid.

DRAWBACK DUTIES.

To encourage increased employment of labor we devised the system of allowing drawback duties, so that we could import raw products from abroad, paying duty thereon; but after labor has been expended thereon in the manufactured state we allow 99 per cent of the duty in order to enable export trade to grow as well as give employment to labor in the United States. But in doing this we recognize the principle that for home consumption higher prices should prevail. Even if it be a food product like sugar, where duties are paid on the raw imported sugar, after labor is expended thereon in refining—if the sugar is consumed in the United States, the consumer pays the duty; but if exported to a foreign country, the drawback duty is refunded and the foreign consumer does not pay the duty, but he did give employment to our workmen in the sugar refineries. These workmen did not lower their wages for the benefit of the foreign consumer, nor did the fact of labor having refined more sugar than we consumed at home lower the entire or the bulk of the workmen's wages in the sugar-refining industry in the United States.

Therefore we encourage labor to work for foreign consumers in manufacturing industries without damaging such industry, but we do not encourage farm labor to produce for foreign consumers, for the moment we produce through farm labor more than our tariff-protected farm products can be consumed at home, immediately, after even a slight surplus is produced, the price drops to the world price and the protective home-consumption tariff no longer protects such farm labor.

Therefore we virtually say to our farmers and to labor which would desire to go into farming, "We will protect you if you underproduce; but the instant an overproduction or a surplus is created you will have to work at the same low wage of compensation as is paid in other surplus-producing countries where the standard of living or wages for everything the laborer requires and has to buy and pay for is on a much lower basis."

Thus we create an impossible situation, and this is one of the principal reasons why our farming industry has not kept pace with our phenomenal growth in manufacturing industries.

True, you can point to our big exports of cotton and wheat where for special reasons we could afford to be content with the world price; but look back to, say, 20 years ago or more, and you will find many farm products we then exported we now are beginning to import.

LOANS.

The cry comes from the farmers that they should receive better facilities for obtaining long-time loans on their farms, as also short-time loans for crop raising, etc., at lower rates of interest.

The provisions in the new Federal Reserve Board act were intended to help the farmer, and efforts are now being made to perfect the Fletcher bill providing for long-term farm-land loans.

The farmer certainly does need better facilities for obtaining funds at more reasonable rates of interest.

But I claim that even if the Fletcher bill becomes a law it will not help the farmer much, for our farming is too uncertain in returns or compensation for capital and labor, and earning power of the farmer or his security (the land and implements) is a vital factor and must be made more secure and not overlooked.

EXAMPLES OF DROP IN VALUATION DUE TO FALL OF EARNING POWER.

The real owners of a large western railroad system, rather than run the risk of investing some $30,000,000 needed, through a committee representing the real owners of that railroad, offered a preferred 7 per cent stock, going ahead of its own security, plus a bonus equal to about 90 cents for every $1 invested in the new 7 per cent preferred stock, to be given up out of their own security. Early in July the offer was turned down. This means that compensation as determined by the rates of freight was so low that a 7 per cent preferred stock plus 90 per cent bonus in common stock did not tempt capital to enter. One would think that legitimate railroad investments had deteriorated to the standard of wildcat mining ventures. The railroad was still earning a small income on its capital stock, but the future outlook was so uncertain that its stockholders preferred to make extraordinary sacrifices rather than risk any more money of their own, and those who at first entertained the proposition, after due consideration, backed out.

The United States Steel Corporation had reduced its dividend from 1¾ per cent to one-half of 1 per cent quarterly. All interested knew its business and profits had gone down to a low-water mark, but since the turn of the year its business was improving. Recently the directors decided, rather than attempt to lower wages of its workmen in these hard times when cost of living is so high, that its stockholders shall do without even that one-half of 1 per cent quarterly dividend. Result was that, although the business is improving, the stockholders rushed to sell, and the price depreciated over 25 times the amount of the passed one-half of 1 per cent dividend. In other words, although the plants are still there, undamaged by fire, flood, or earthquake, yet owing to the lack of returns as compensation the market value depreciated almost $75,000,000.

In the great city of New York, in our famous Broadway and neighborhood, around Canal Street, Grand Street, etc., rents for certain reasons had a big drop. Result was the value of property there declined in value 50 per cent, more or less. The land is still there, so are the buildings, and the city of New York has not become depopulated; but the moment the rent or earning power decreased it carried with it inevitably a decrease in value of the property.

By the above three examples, in railroad, steel plants, and Broadway, New York City property, we find the values of such properties materially affected by the earning power. Can we create a different standard by which farm values will be judged by capital that is expected to enter as loans to farmers or on farms?

The past, present, and future earning power of farms and farmers is a most vital factor, and until we make our farming a reasonably safe industry, no matter what banking legislation is created for the benefit of farmers or farms, it will not materially induce capital to enter.

On February 27 last I stated that through national supervision by departments for each commodity, through a license tax (or later prohibitive tax on country dealers who buy from the farmers, or otherwise), we could devise a system that would protect our farming industry so that no matter how high or how low prices for such commodities were abroad it would not affect prices in the United States, and price always includes compensation for labor.

We agree on the urgent necessity of having cooperative farmers' associations in all the rural districts throughout the United States. The office of such rural cooperative society sends the surplus not sold locally to the distant consuming markets, and the net proceeds are paid to each farmer, according to the quantity, grade, etc. That is, the office keeps an account with each farmer. It is impractical or economically wrong for the Federal or central board of the sell-

ing agency of the farmers in a certain commodity, say it be butter or eggs, when it is found desirable to export at a lower price to get rid of any small surplus where perhaps $100,000 or even $500,000 loss is sustained over the normal price the farmers obtained, to distribute such loss through the various States, and in these States it is divided and subdivided again and again until finally the loss sustained in any local rural district is determined, and that local rural office apportions or charges it up against each farmer in that local association, according to the per cent he is chargeable with as against the amount of business he transacted there in that particular commodity? It would probably be an infinitessimal sum compared to the volume of business transacted, but it would have protected the farmer and even the consumer from violent price fluctuations.

As to any profits on importations that would thus be made at lower prices than ruling at home in a certain commodity, that profit could be retained for prizes to farmers and to agents of the farmers in the local rural districts as an inducement to spur them all on to efficiency. But the plan outlined would ere long bring our farming industry to such marked prosperity and increase of production and yield and decrease in cost of production and decrease in cost of living that importations of food products would soon be but a memory and no more an actuality or even a possibility.

We have virtually told the farmer that any commodity that he can not produce as cheaply as other countries, even when he had a protective tariff for home consumption in his favor, he must not and dare not produce more than barely enough for our own home needs. If he dares produce a trifle more, the price of that commodity, or the price for the greater portion, drops to world levels, and that means his labor is wasted and sometimes part of his capital, too. Thus we encourage and almost force farmers not to increase production except for the growing needs of our increasing population; and we further force labor to seek employment in factories already oversupplied rather than encourage a more equal distribution of labor into farming as well as into manufacturing.

We further, through this short-sighted policy, cause farmers to lose interest in what they do, and thus they fail to take heed or advantage of the many ideas suggested for increase of yield and efficiency, which would in time decrease cost of production, decrease cost of living, and yet give farmers better and surer profits or compensation. Nay, further, as some wide-awake and hopeful farmers do adopt the ideas suggested in improved methods, etc., enabling them to withstand unduly low prices that prevail in times of slight overproduction of such commodities, those farmers who have not adopted the improved methods suffer all the more when prices are low or near to cost of production for the efficient farmers but are entirely too low to cover cost of production for the inefficient, indifferent, or discouraged farmer.

The plan I suggest, starting by departments for the three products, will not only give fair remuneration for all the farmers engaged therein but will cause the increase of yield from cows and hens to march throughout the United States in an almost equal or armylike advance and it will not be by coercion either, but through assured good profits or compensation, through the advice or system whereby all who are in the cooperative societies can not but help act on the plan for increase of yield and efficiency; and those who do not care to do so will not only receive a "black eye" from the local agent whose report the lenders of funds will consult in granting loans to farmers, but they will further be deprived of the privilege of using the cooperative association and its selling agency for the sale of their produce; and as there would be no dealers in the United States in such commodity to whom they could sell such produce—as all dealers would obtain their produce only through the selling agency—it necessarily would leave such recalcitrant farmers only one outlet for such produce, namely, to seek consumers to whom they can sell direct; but as even consumers want standard and not inferior produce, even such an outlet would soon be closed to such farmers.

Farmers are human beings, have feelings and instincts like other human beings, and when they see that what is intended is not to have him treated like the "easy mark" some city people think he has been hitherto, but that primarily what is intended is to look first of all after his welfare, and the consumers' welfare will follow as a natural consequence, then the farmer will wake up from his lethargy. It would create a spirit of competition to excel in efficiency of production, yield, and stoppage of waste instead of, as now, a competition to see how often we can make him work for nothing, which in turn causes a desire to retaliate when opportunity offers, to turn the tables on those who thus unjustly forced him on previous occasions to work for nothing, and at times even at a loss of his capital, too.

We have the lands, we have the farmers and their help, and we even have excess numbers in factories who could be drawn to the land to produce foodstuffs that the world will always need. We have 100,000,000 people to feed, and our numbers will keep on growing. We have a high standard of living and wages in the United States, and labor on farms should receive as full protection as it does in manufacturing for what we produce and consume in the United States; and we should encourage overproduction even in some commodities that can be more cheaply produced in other countries, and sell such overproduction only at the world price and distribute the difference between the world and home price on the total produced at home, but not to lower our home price also to the world price. Such a plan would in time, by the good wages paid farmers and farm labor, produce increase of yield and efficiency, and that perhaps would ere long bring cost of our total production to a lower basis and nearer to the world level.

Although our wages for labor in industries are higher in the United States than in other countries, yet through efficiency in many a manufactured product we find that, high as our labor wages are, we can compete, more or less, with manufacturing countries where labor is paid lower wages. Through the protection such industries received in the past, not only did they grow to large proportions but also markedly, too, in efficiency.

Why not, therefore, too, start to properly protect our farming industry? As shown, the protective tariff to farmers gave protection only as long as they produced barely enough for ourselves; and the moment a surplus production occurred, as in former years, where labor and cost of feed, etc., played a big item in cost of production, then the surplus brought down price, and that discouraged overproduction and discouraged marked general increase in yield and efficiency.

But by adequately protecting the farmer, at least on the home consumption, we would encourage overproducing and surplus going abroad at slightly lower prices; and in time the efficiency of the farmers in general throughout the United States will have been brought to such a high standard that even the surplus would bring prices close to cost, enabling them to compete in time, as we now do in some manufactured lines, with the cheaper labor produced farm products of other countries.

It would not only create a large favorable trade balance, but would also in time, as efficiency would develop, bring down cost of living to consumers, and would require a larger percentage of our population on farms than we unfortunately now have, and we would see less unemployed and distress in the towns and cities than we have witnessed in recent years.

In fact, those who are thoroughly familiar with our export trade know that prices are often shaded on manufactured articles below the home selling price in order to obtain a foreign outlet for the surplus manufactured at home. In this way the manufacturer figures that the profits made on the 90 per cent, more or less, sold in the United States should produce sufficient profit to enable him to sell 10 per cent, more or less, or his surplus production, at a reduced price or with little or no profit, and in this manner he gives employment to a larger number or more steady employment than otherwise could have resulted. What I suggest is simply applying the same principle on some of our farm products, where labor, care, cost of feed, etc., are higher in the United States than abroad, and the profits made on the large quantity consumed at home will enable the small relative surplus to be exported at lower prices and thus give employment on our farms to larger numbers, and in time, as yield and efficiency increases through good wages, the cost of production decreases, and as this takes place the entire country and the consumers therein will pay lower prices on the larger quantity consumed within our borders, which prior to this they were asked to pay a little more for under the present destructive method of leveling to world prices when overproduced, and unduly raising or keeping up prices by the enforced restriction of production, which prevents increase of yield and increase of efficiency, and which is one of the main causes for the high cost of living and also for the distress of the farmers in other than war time, when war prices prevail on foodstuffs.

On October 26 you wrote: "We wish to acknowledge receipt of the manuscript you submitted treating on improved methods of marketing farm products. In our investigational work on this subject we are glad to have constructive opinions of those who have made a careful study of the matter."

As far as I am concerned, I have made no careful study at all of this matter, and even if I had it would all be theoretical and valueless. All that I have sent since January last year to President Wilson, who referred the matter to you, was all based on actual experience gained in foreign and domestic commerce.

And if I, who can lay no claim to marked ability, have seen the ills and defects from which our farming, and in consequence we consumers, too, suffer from, you can imagine what a national marketing commission would be able to accomplish who would have on it men renowned throughout the United States and the world for their experience and business ability, to work in conjunction with the United States Department of Agriculture, to solve our farming problem.

What the German council of agriculture helped to bring about in Germany the national marketing commission would do for farming in the United States. It is primarily a business problem, and business men should be brought to give their guidance and advice to the matter. This is by no means a reflection on the farmers or on the Department of Agriculture or on our financiers for not lending financial aid; but through the guidance of experienced and able business men, with the aid of all others combined, it is my humble opinion the matter will be solved, and easily at that.

On August 25 I wrote you that steps ought to be taken to protect our citizens from paying war or famine prices for food, and suggested a temporary expedient, and that we seemed to be frantic to get rid of our wheat and flour, of which we had a great quantity to spare, but added my belief that as the quantity was diminished by home consumption and exports it was not inconceivable that prices might rise to $1.50 or $2 per bushel, as 10 or more countries would be eagerly bidding for it.

Here you have an example of how a world shortage creates such a demand; that, big as our surplus was, prices are run up far above cost of production, and to the hurt of our home consumers on the larger quantity we consume at home ourselves.

So, likewise, if there had been no war or no world shortage, the surplus, even if much smaller, would have been pressed for sale abroad, and prices would have tumbled below cost of production.

Our farmers need fear no foreign competition on wheat, but on many a product cost of production is lower in other countries than in the United States, and if we produce but a little more than our home consumption the price gradually drops to the world price, at which the surplus is pressing for sale, and thus we underpay our farmers for having tried to be industrious. When you underpay you prevent efficiency and increase of yield from being developed, and thus we help to prevent a decrease in cost of production, which helps to keep up cost of living and at same time keeps farmers' compensation too low.

It hurts producer and consumer, and we ought to remedy it, as did Germany.

Respectfully submitted for your consideration by a fellow citizen.

CHAS. KURZMAN.

514 WEST ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTEENTH STREET,
New York, February 3, 1915.

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514 WEST ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTEENTH STREET,
New York, February 26, 1915.

Hon. W. S. GOODWIN,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: I take the liberty of inclosing another manuscript on our farming problem, in which, as formerly, I again draw attention to some features of German methods, which perhaps might prove of benefit in the United States if same could be adopted or copied to suit our people and temperament.

Reason I pick out German methods is because in that country farming and farm credits are models.

Hoping you will pardon my obtruding my views upon you, I am,

Yours, very respectfully,

CHAS. KURZMAN.

WHAT PROTECTION DOES THE AMERICAN FLAG FURNISH TO CITIZENS, BE THEY FARMERS OR CONSUMERS, WHO LIVE ON AMERICAN SOIL, ON THEIR FOOD SUPPLY PRODUCED ON AMERICAN SOIL?

According to Immanuel Kant, "nature is governed by law, man by his conception of law."

In nature everything is orderly and methodical, but man not being infallible in creating laws, often errs, and these errors, if not corrected, lead to distress and misery.

The Paris Figaro, after the Agadir incident, sent a special correspondent to Germany with a view to learning the feelings and sentiments in Germany that brought about the regrettable affair, which led to the new military laws in Germany of March 27, 1911, to be followed by the law of June 14, 1912, and later by the law of March,

1913, all of which increased the military forces of Germany. Written by a Frenchman, Georges Bourdon, the closing words in the chapter on Agadir, in his book, the German Enigma, also lays blame on the French in these words: "But it is also apparent that lamentable, even criminal, blunders were committed at the quai d'orsay, and that it is the duty of a nation, if it desires to live in security against accident, to exact from the men who represent it capacity in the science of politics, scrupulous clear sightedness, and precision in all their dealings and actions."

In other words, it is the duty of the Government to protect the welfare of its people by clear-sighted action and wise laws.

Does the American flag protect its citizens? Even on American soil the flag does not protect its citizens from harm. True, no foreign naval guns have destroyed life or property here, nor has a foreign army invaded our country, but the citizens of our country are suffering nevertheless. Although we have a great abundance of wheat and a big surplus to spare for foreign consumption, yet our citizens are made to suffer by the high prices they have to pay for their bread. What protection does being on American soil, under the American flag, afford our citizen consumers from paying war prices when there is no war within our borders? On the other hand, in case of an overproduction, where the smaller quantity exported also makes the price for the bulk of the commodity consumed at home, what protection has the American producer on the home-consumed quantity?

Therefore it seems that custom or man-made law in a daily necessity—food—which it should be the duty of the nation to foster and protect the full potential production thereof, we are entirely remiss in and leave it to the mercy of chance, speculation, and what not. Instead of paying those engaged in agriculture a living wage according to United States standard of wages and living, somehow the custom grew up to entirely ignore cost of production and a fair living wage, and instead thereof, compensate farmers according to surplus or shortage, and the skilled operators who play upon this keyboard make the high or low prices, regardless of cost of production or fair compensation to farmers. Sometimes the producer profits; sometimes he is seriously hurt; the same applies to consumers; but at all times the skilled operator or middle man, who should be considered no more than part of the distributing machinery, as are the railroad transporters, are afforded opportunities of exorbitant profits to the hurt of both producer and consumer.

Extracts from Agricultural Cooperation and Rural Credit in Europe, Senate Document 214:

(Page 399.)

"Suppose you had no council of agriculture in Germany, but only voluntary organizations; how would you stand?

"We had that in earlier times.

"The great drawback to this movement was the lack of solidarity between the various unions."

(Page 400.)

"The logic of the situation is such that a council of agriculture for the United States has become an absolute necessity. The capital and brains of the cities are organized. The labor of the cities is organized. The farmer may only remain unorganized at the peril of his existence. This is the situation which makes the council of agriculture an absolute necessity for the United States. I wish to ask if you attribute the success of Germany as an agricultural country to the council of agriculture?

"Yes; the council of agriculture is one of the factors in this success. It has secured success from the legislative and political end. The other factor in securing the success has been the agricultural society, which has watched over and promoted technical development and improvement."

(Pages 425–427.)

"A cattle-breeding law has been enacted. The law provides that only those bulls may be used for breeding purposes which have been approved by a commission."

"If one takes 10 swine or 10 sheep or 10 goats as being equal to 1 head of larger cattle, Saxony has 1.2 head of cattle for each hectare of agriculturally utilized land, or, say, 1 head of cattle for every 2 acres. This makes a stock of cattle probably larger than any to be found in any other land. The great number of cattle in Saxony is responsible for the large production of manure by which the state of cultivation of the fields is extraordinarily raised."

"Our highly respected colleagues from America will therefore not take it ill when we insist upon a certain degree of protective tariff, for without it an intensive agriculture could hardly be maintained in Germany in face of the high cost of production. The interest of the whole German population in a large production of foodstuffs in Germany itself in consequence of our geographical position is so great that to renounce our protective-tariff policy would portend disaster for agriculture and for the whole population."

(Page 443.)

"Hanover (cattle) Marketing Association aim to uphold German market for German agriculture to influence fixing of prices to regulate the supply according to the demand."

(Page 450.)

"Landwirtschaftskammer—council of agriculture—is the mother of all cooperative associations; is the advisory board, and supports agriculture in every possible way."

From these few extracts of that 900-page document of information gathered by our United States investigators many valuable lessons can be deduced for the upbuilding of United States agriculture.

It seems that what we are trying to do in the United States is to form organizations such as Germany 40 years ago found to be insufficient. Will we deliberately defy the experience of Germany (see p. 399) and presume that our farmers, who have less opportunity of meeting and exchanging views and ideas than most farmers in the villages and hamlets of Germany, can overcome a difficulty that Germany found it necessary to remedy by solidifying the cooperative unions through a council of agriculture?

First and foremost, we see that Germany protects its farming industry. The council of agriculture does that even to the extent of having had enacted not only a protective tariff on importations of farm products from abroad but also by having protection extended to native farm produce when overproduced, through the "import certificate," which keeps up the price at home equal to the world price, plus freight and protective duty. Therefore, although prices fluctuate, yet when world prices are below the usual or extremely low, the price on the home consumption is still protected, even when there is a surplus being exported.

It is economically wrong to force farmers to accept prices below cost of production (including fair returns for capital and labor) on the quantity consumed in the United States when at the same time everything the farmer has to buy is paid for at the higher range of prices prevailing in the United States.

It is also economically wrong to ask the United States consumer to pay at the rate of $1.50 to $1.75 per bushel of wheat in these war times when the consumers' wages have not been proportionately raised.

We have not treated the farmer justly hitherto, and that accounts for the comparative failure of farming to grow at the same phenomenal rate that we have advanced industrially and commercially. Not without reason does there seem to be unwillingness, now that the farmer has his inning when war prices are prevailing, for a movement to be started to rectify the injustice done farmers formerly. Possibly from the large consuming centers, like New York City, the effort may be made to bring this important question before the country in its true light, and to try and inaugurate new laws or a new system that will, first of all, deal justly with our farmers and their compensation, and justice, to be even-handed, will in turn make just prices to consumers, too.

BREAD.

Prices for wheat and flour have advanced over 80 per cent, and now the price of a 5-cent loaf of bread has been raised to 6 cents, or 20 per cent.

If, therefore, 6 cents is to-day a fair price for bread, then for years past the consumer has been paying far, far above what he should have. Who made the enormous difference on the big quantity we yearly consume at home? It has been swallowed up by the go-betweens.

We had for years past a standard or fixed price for a daily necessity—bread; the consumer never was asked if he was satisfied; whether the price of wheat was unduly low, moderate, or a little above the usual average made no difference; the consumer was not asked any questions. The price was fixed for him, not by overproduction or supply and demand, but by custom, and so used did the consumer become to this custom that he never stopped to ask if at times the price could not be lowered or the weight or quantity for the 5 cents he paid be increased.

But if we had a fixed price for bread, which the consumer willingly and without complaint or murmer paid, why did not the farmer receive compensation in accordance with that 5-cent price for a loaf of bread on the quantity consumed in the United States? Why did we permit him to be so often underpaid, to such an extent that many of them have become so poverty-stricken that they are unable to procure sufficient funds to diversify their crops, or to expend money for lime, fertilizers, etc., to improve the much-impoverished soil?

Cooperative associations of farmers have not and can not remedy the evil; but we ought to have such cooperative associations throughout the length and breadth of the United States in each and every rural district, being in turn combined by counties and then by States, and from these States a solid agricultural society with a national or central board, to which should be added men of ability from the ranks of our leaders in industrial and commercial enterprises, to give their aid to protect farmers and consumers, with also a few Government officials to see that both publicity and fair play are given and no effort to oppress or exploit be attempted, and to this be added advisory boards having on them able railroad men to help improve the transporting of the produce and besides dealers in various commodities to give advice.

Such a body, whether it be called a council of agriculture or national marketing commission, or what not, created by United States law, but not part of the Government itself, no more than is the American Federation of Labor, would help solve our farming problem.

It would study the various commodities produced on our farms, find the average cost of production, and would suggest ways and means for seeing that our farmers were paid in accordance with such cost, more or less, and not by speculative prices.

In many of the labor organizations compensation as well as hours of labor are fixed and the members are compelled to abide by the rules of the labor organization. So likewise with farmers—they would have to be governed by the rules of the organization, which, having on it also representatives of the consumers, would formulate rules and regulations for the farmers.

For example, in marking eggs the farmers would be compelled to bring or deliver the same wherever possible along with their milk, which in itself would probably save at least $100,000,000 yearly. They would also have to take better care of their milk, and they would have to start cow testing for yield of milk per cow, so as to weed out the unprofitable or boarding cows, and they would have the benefit of improving the breed through cooperative certified breeding bulls that the cooperative societies would have in the district; they would also have to try and increase the production of eggs from fowls reared for that purpose as counter to those reared for flesh; and likewise there could be inaugurated raising steers for their flesh; and by the increased number of animals on the farms the increased manure would help raise the productive capacity of the soil of the farms.

In advocating a selling agency for the farmers' cooperative associations, to start with, say, dairy products, poultry, and eggs, with a department for each, having a central or Federal board, which has regional branches, which in turn have divisions and subdivisions, the aim is to bring about economies in gathering and distributing and to eliminate such middlemen as will be found to have been unnecessary hitherto. Instead of having many country buyers of such produce from the farmers, there will be none at all, and in place only an agent of the farmers, selected by themselves, to gather, grade, standardize, and ship to consuming markets such of that product that has not been locally sold by him for local consumption. In the large consuming markets the selling agency has an office only, by departments, to which wholesale dealers in the commodity in question have to apply for their requirements and purchases. Nowhere else can they obtain such produce, and it is to be hoped in time there will be only wholesale merchants and retailers and all jobbers or other unnecessary middlemen will have been eliminated, too.

These wholesalers (as also farmers and consumers) will have representatives on the central board of the selling agency and will have been consulted as to prices for grades and seasons, etc., and although the prices to be paid by the wholesalers need not necessarily be fixed, yet they can be made stable; and as the supply to be sent to each market will be regulated more or less to the demand or consumption, the wholesaler will know that if he properly takes care of the produce he is sure of its sale at a reasonable profit, no speculation or violent fluctuations being possible, and in turn the retailers will purchase such produce at stable prices, to be distributed to consumers who are never asked any questions if price suits them or not—as has actually been the case for years and years past in milk and bread.

Any shortage or surplus the central board of the selling agency in that commodity looks after, perhaps direct or through merchants now engaged in such business, but always under such rules and regulations as the central board will formulate to prevent exploitation of any of the interests involved—producer, dealer, or consumer.

In this way we at one stroke, by eliminating unnecessary middlemen and expenses, decrease prices to consumers and increase prices to producers.

But what must not be lost sight of is, that by having such a selling agency the products in question will receive better care and preservation, and at the producing end there will be methods introduced for increasing yield and decreasing cost of production; and as the farmers will receive the benefit of such guidance and instruction they, in view of the stability in compensation it will give them, are expected to do their share in helping to bring this about. Therefore, such farmers as are unwilling to do this would be deprived of their membership in the cooperative society. They would still have the use of their land and could sell their produce direct to consumers, but they would be "independents" and would not belong to the organization and could not use the selling agency for the disposal of their produce.

In other words, the organization, although created by a law of the United States, is not one that forces or coerces farmers to join, but if they desire to enjoy the benefits of organized selling to other than consumers direct by themselves they must abide by the rules of the society, same as do members of organized labor.

It is most probable that if farmers are made efficient in the dairy products, poultry, and eggs the chances are that it will also help bring about efficiency in farm crops, etc.

PROTECTING HOME INDUSTRIES.

Farming is a home industry, in which almost 30,000,000 of our people are engaged, and the protection accorded them even under a protective tariff was not real protection; hence our farming did not keep equal pace with the growth of our manufacturing industries.

Germany, through the advice and suggestions of the German Council of Agriculture and through the "import certificate," gave real protection to German agriculture.

Mr. Herbert Perris's "Germany and the German Emperor" was quoted on February 3, in which he derided the German plan of protection through the import certificate, as undoubtedly price of food was maintained at all times at a higher level in Germany than in free-trade England.

But was this a hardship on the German population? Is it not economically just and fair if home labor and home industries are to be protected from cheaper labor in other countries that the protection be extended to all industries that require it? An employee of a railroad who obtains fair compensation for his labor must not expect to buy his food from abroad, where possibly prices may be lower, but in all fairness should patronize the native farmer whose produce he helps to transport, and who, therefore, in reality furnishes him with employment. A workman in a shoe or clothing factory who works at the United States standard of wages should also patronize the United States farmer, even though the price of such farm produce is at times higher than abroad, otherwise the farmer, who in turn buys the shoes and clothing produced by United States labor, will be unable to make such purchases and could with justice complain that he can procure his clothing cheaper abroad.

When we recognize the principle of protecting home industries, as we have for years past, we must see to it that the protection is extended to all home industries that need it alike, otherwise those that receive ample protection would be laying tribute on those that do not, and this would be creating a situation that unbalances a country and has the effect at first of drawing labor to the well-protected industries and away from those not so protected, and in time slowly, gradually, sometimes with slight reactions, the underprotected industry begins to languish, and then begins the cry as it has in recent years of high cost of living from consumers, and on the farmers' side the cry that high as prices are he, too, is suffering, and then a slowing down in business where the excess numbers of labor were drawn, resulting in unemployment.

While admitting that a good deal is wasted in our awkward, wasteful, and antiquated methods of distributing farm products, which causes distress to both producer and consumer, yet seemingly from the efforts made in various directions the idea seems to prevail that by remedying the distributing part a solution will have been found. No stress seems to be laid upon the potential possibilities of lowering cost of production by increase of yield. The United States Department of Agriculture has for years been doing most excellent work in this direction, but unfortunately the proper method of applying the suggestions and information has not been found. The pamphlets are most excellent, and those with high-school or college educations take advantage of the pamphlets. One might as well try to influence human beings to a higher standard of morality through free distribution of the Scriptures.

In order to draw some further comparisons between German and other methods a few extracts will be quoted from—

"GERMANY OF THE GERMANS.

"[By Robert M. Berry.]

"These people are wonderfully methodical. Without knowing it he has hit on the principal reason of Germany's prosperity. Signs of method and discipline are visible on every hand. Well-ordered progress is apparent everywhere—not that frenzied, demonstrative progress observable in newer countries, but an organized forward movement in which every detail seems to have been well considered and nothing left to chance.

"No detail is too small to claim attention, and to this study of detail much of the extraordinary progress which has been attained is to be attributed.

"The men engaged in trade and commerce are most enlightened and full of worldly knowledge. This they apply to business, which they conduct with intense energy, common sense, and practicality.

"Guardianship of the State has effected much in delivering the working classes from the horrible nightmare of an old age of hopeless privation and dependence on others.

"Virility of the people, instead of being dribbled away in constant internal bickerings, has been directed into its proper channel, and power hitherto wasted has been utilized to develop the vast national resources of the country."

Are higher prices at home for food a detriment to the people, provided, of course, industrial labor is paid higher compensation than in countries where food or cost or standard of living is lower?

Let us again refer to Robert M. Berry.

In 1909 the trade-unions in Germany and England each had a membership of about 2,000,000, with an annual income of about £2,350,000 yearly for each.

The figures quoted below speak for themselves:

GERMANY.

Paid out for sick benefits and annuation	£190,000
Paid out for deaths	115,000
Paid out for unemployment	180,000

GREAT BRITAIN.

Paid out for sick benefits and annuation	735,000
Paid out for deaths	10,000
Paid out for unemployment	430,000

Apparently it seems that Germany had less sickness and less unemployment than Great Britain's trade-unions, and Germany gave greater protection to widows and orphans in case of death of the wage earner.

SMALL DEPOSITORS—SAVINGS OF THE WORKING CLASS.

According to Mr. Berry, Germany had 19,000,000 depositors prior to 1909, having deposits of £642,600,000.

But Mr. Georges Bourdon, in his German Enigma, gives the following figures of saving deposits in marks:

England, 4,500 million marks in 1909.

United States, 17,000 million marks in 1909.

Germany, 15,500 million marks in 1909; 16,780 millions marks in 1910; 18,000 million marks in 1911.

According to the above, Germany had more than double per capita savings of the laboring class than Great Britain. Some of our newspapers give the "savings" for Germany in 1914 as amounting to £1,050,000,000, and one paper stated that the United States had about 17,000,000 savings-bank depositors, with deposits of almost $7,000,000,000.

According to Sir Charles Booth, one-third of the families (not individuals) of London had to live on a pound sterling per week or less; this astounding announcement that entire families had to exist on $5 weekly or less was seriously questioned, but another British authority, Rountree, who caused investigations to be made, found a practically similar state of affairs in Yorkshire.

Therefore it is but natural that if a man of family earns but $5 weekly, more or less, the savings to be banked for a rainy day will be practically nil; in fact, the wonder of it is that they managed to keep body and soul together, and the cost of food rising and rising.

But if small savings are a criterion of prosperity of the masses, then the unprotected system of Great Britain is far behind the fully protected system of Germany, where not only industrial but also farm labor was at all times fully protected, and it seems to have been no hardship on the people of Germany, when, according to the 1909 figures, the savings in Germany per capita was greater even than in the United States, where farm labor received but partial and not full protection.

CONFEDERATE STATES.

When the Confederate States on February 4, 1861, were about to adopt their constitution they decided that congress did not have the power to give bounties or lay protective duties, but exports might be taxed by a two-thirds vote of each house.

The South was an agricultural country in those days and it was but natural that their main crop—cotton—which could be procured nowhere else as cheaply, should form the chief source of revenue through an export tax, while at the same time, having to purchase their manufactured products, these they desired to procure in the cheapest markets, free of import duties.

But the United States as constituted to-day is both industrial as well as agricultural. We amply have protected industries, and they grew up most marvelously, but we failed to accord that same measure of protection to our agriculture, as did Germany through its "import certificates," with the result that farming, except in a few commodities like cotton, wheat, etc., has not progressed to the same degree as our manufacturing industries.

Why with so much labor seeking employment year after year of late, and why with land in abundance, on which billions could be raised additional in farm products, should we to-day be importing beef, butter, eggs, etc., when 10 to 20 years ago we were large exporters of these commodities? These small importations, which we recently started, are like a stimulant or drug, which, if allowed to continue, will in time be a necessity for us, and as time passes we will require more and more and will be unable to get along without them.

Germany used every possible means, even in addition to protective duties, to bar out importations of food, thus forcing a larger production at home, and this was not an unimportant factor in creating the increase of yield and increase in efficiency.

Notwithstanding that seemingly it increased the cost of food and cost of living, the savings of the masses kept on growing year by year; was more than double free-trade and cheap-food England, and was also greater per capita than even in the United States, where industrial labor was fully protected, but agricultural labor only protected to produce enough for home requirements; but if a surplus was produced (except in cotton and wheat for special reasons and conditions) the protection ceased, even on the quantity consumed in the United States.

We also see there was less unemployment in fully protected Germany than in free-trade England.

THE PIECEWORK SYSTEM.

Labor organizes to protect the laborer, and those in the union have to live up to the rules and regulations of the union in order to protect their fellow workmen as well as themselves.

In many industries the employers as well as the employees prefer the system of paying by piecework. It is of benefit to the employer, as it enables him to figure the cost of his labor and product more exactly; but the efficient workman also prefers it, as through his efficiency and industriousness he can increase his daily or weekly earnings.

This system puts a premium on efficiency and a discount on laziness. By this system the lazy or inefficient are forced through competition to become more industrious and more efficient, or as time passes and the compensation changes to a basis where the increase of yield or production is divided partly between employer, employee, and ultimate consumer those who remained lazy or inefficient find themselves unable to exist and are driven into some other field more suitable, perhaps, to their qualifications.

In suggesting that produce of the farms be in future compensated not as heretofore, mainly by the law of supply and demand, or by the high or low prices brought about by the skilled operators who, playing on the

keyboard of the surplus or shortage, which often they themselves have no definite knowledge of and which is frequently a matter of guesswork, and in playing on this keyboard—high or low—as circumstances, guessing, or the courage or interests of the operators may dictate, results in such wide fluctuations that have proved so harmful to both producer and consumer—that instead of this we in future also take into consideration the average cost of production for any commodity in question and let that, too, be an important factor in determining prices on our home consumption.

This would place farming on the same basis as the piecework system. The employer or consumer for whom the farmer labors would pay a living wage to farm labor; according to grade or quality and nearness to market the farmer would receive from his employer, the consumer, a more stable and at the same time equitable price—so much per egg, so much per pound for milk or butter, so much per pound of poultry, beef, etc., so much per bushel of potatoes, wheat, etc.

Instead of as heretofore, when a surplus is produced, sell that surplus abroad at the world price and prorate the difference amongst the producers, but without lowering the home price or compensation on the much larger quantity we need and require for home consumption.

The result of such a system would be that each farmer (like the workman at a machine in a factory who was paid by piecework) would strive on his farm (or machine) to produce a higher standard of goods and a greater quantity than he now produces. Now, he knows that if overproduced he will obtain less than if the production is barely sufficient for home consumption, but by the system suggested he will, like the workman in the factory, do all in his power to increase yield from his farm.

Pamphlets and suggestions from the United States Department of Agriculture that now are unread or unheeded would at once be in demand and eagerly followed, for who does not want to profit if a way to do so is paved for him?

As the increase of yield per acre or per animal would decrease cost of production, the employer and the employee (consumers and producers) through their representatives—be it through a council of agriculture, a marketing commission nation wide in scope, or a central or Federal board of a selling agency having on its board representatives of the farmers, dealers, and also able and experienced business men to look after the consumers' welfare in addition to the farmers', and besides a few Government officials, and add to this full publicity of all meetings of such a body—would revise prices, and the result would be that as increase of yield and efficiency would decrease cost of production the price or compensation would be lowered to such an extent that part would go to the farmer in extra compensation and part to the consumer in lower cost of living.

Like in making a new tariff or in many legislative enactments, compromises would be made; but at least it would make it worth while for the farmer to use every effort to outdo his neighbor, for the more efficient he becomes or the greater increase in yield he can obtain from his farm the greater would be his compensation.

This would be true and ideal competition, the same as it is in factories where the piecework system prevails, a competition to excel; and the more each farmer excels the greater his profit, tending little by little to decrease cost of food products to consumers, and yet at the same time fully compensating farmers for their extra exertions, which to-day they are not encouraged to inaugurate, due to our system of unduly depressing prices on the huge quantity consumed at home if he but slightly produces more than our home market can consume. Also, like in the factories, those farmers who have not adopted the improved and scientific methods would ere long be compelled to seek other fields of employment more suitable to their qualifications.

The assured fair compensation or wages to the farmers would enable them to procure and invest capital to improve the productivity of their land and animals, would enable them to purchase such implements as they may require, and would even make farm-land mortgages, as contemplated in the Fletcher bill, one of the safest of legal investments which individuals as well as institutions would eagerly seek, and these would in time rank as high as the best of first-mortgage bonds of our leading railroad systems or as high as any first-class municipal bonds; and perhaps in time these would even sell higher than such securities, like in Germany. Thus the farmer, if the way is paved for him to reach this goal, would obtain loans at as low a rate of interest as railroads or municipalities having the highest credit rating.

And would the consumer in any way have suffered? Apparently not, if the figures quoted herein about Germany as compared to Great Britain, or even the United States, are studied. On the contrary, the consumer as well as the farmer both will have benefited.

Instead of destructive warfare, under which we have been operating the farming industry—warfare in trying to obtain the farmers' produce, often below cost of production, which in turn justifies him, as at present, owing to the European war, in exacting from the consumer the full measure of retaliation in the high price now ruling for wheat, which has raised such a howl and cry of distress from the poor in the cities who now pay 6 cents for bread.

It is our own fault; and by "our" is meant the 70,000,000 consumers who have been unfairly treating the 30,000,000 farmers.

HOW CAN WE CHANGE THE SYSTEM?

Over 65,000 new bills have passed Congress, etc., in four years, "to the delight of the lawyers," as ex-President Taft puts it. It is a well-informed man who knows even 1 per cent of these new laws. However, one bill stands out in bold relief as unquestionably the most constructive piece of legislation enacted, not in four years, but at any time, and that bill had for one of its aims the stabilizing of the price or use of money or credit. The wild fluctuations of interest rates, at times as high as 100 per cent per annum, are now a thing of the past.

So, likewise, with a daily necessity, food, the price of this, too, should be established and not be made a football to play with; but we should recognize that as business—commercial, industrial, or agricultural—could not do without money or credits, and should be made available to all worthy of it at reasonable prices, so, also, food, without which we can not get along, and which no country or countries in the world can supply us with in large quantities, and which, if we treat the industry properly, we can produce ample and to spare at home, and in time even reduce cost of production to the benefit of producer and consumer, that for this industry, too, some legislation is necessary. If we can enact 65,000 new laws why can not one more be enacted that is so vital to our welfare?

Over a year ago, on January 27, 1914, you wrote: "The problem is more complex than your letter indicates. We have the great inertia of an existing system to overcome. To attempt to organize a territory of any size or to federate newly organized communities which have not yet worked out their own problems satisfactorily would be impossible."

That great inertia is inherent to those living by themselves on the farms, as do our farmers in the United States in contradistinction to many parts of Europe, where they live in villages or hamlets and can meet daily to interchange views and ideas, as do workmen in the towns, which led to labor unions being organized.

As to expecting communities to work out their own problems first, how can they do so when the produce of their farms, on which they expended hard toil, is made a football of speculation, and frequently they receive payment that shows no remuneration for their labor and at times puts them further in debt, and they have no voice in saying what the compensation shall be for their work, and being unorganized can not as individuals work out their own problems nor that of their neighbors who are similarly situated, even if organized into small cooperative societies without an organization nation wide in scope.

In yours of February 18, 1915, you say: "In the scope of the letter it is impossible to discuss the various points which you bring up. Inasmuch as the essential feature of your national marketing scheme rests with the taxing power of Congress, it is impossible for any executive power to carry out your suggestions."

The tax is not on farmers nor on consumers, but simply through a law to tax out of existence a parasitic class, and in place thereof take the ablest of these at present parasites and make them useful agents of cooperative farmers, who, without these country parasites, are left not alternative but to shake off the inertia now existing and form cooperative societies.

But this is or can be separate and distinct from the council of agriculture, marketing commission, or whatever you please to call the independent body to be created, who are to study the farming problem from a business point of view for the benefit of farmers, dealers, and consumers.

It is only too true that the executive department of the Government does not enact laws, but a recommendation from the Chief Office of Markets to his superior, the Secretary of Agriculture, as to the desirability of suggesting that a law be enacted to create a body outside of the Government itself, such as exists in Germany, to help the Department of Agriculture in upbuilding our farming industry, such a suggestion, if it meets with the approval of the Secretary of Agriculture and the President, with their recommendations, would go far in helping to bring the matter to the attention of Congress, who, if the matter is explained to them in an abler manner than my efforts seem to have been, would probably enact such a law.

Even assuming that all that I have suggested in the way or manner of marketing is undesirable, impractical, or economically wrong, yet that in no way proves that other ways can not be devised, and since marketing is primarily a business in which experience and not theory must be brought to bear to make it successful, is there a better way than to have an independent body, such as a council of agriculture or marketing commission, on which farmers, dealers, and experienced business men will be, to study the business end of the question, while the Department of Agriculture continues its efforts on the scientific side?

I repeat that I am of the opinion that such a body can be created without any expense to the Government, except a trifle, perhaps, for clerk hire and railroad fares; and the recommendations of such a body would be publicly discussed, and surely would not be enacted as new laws unless public opinion approved.

Nature is governed by law; there is a plan or method in nature, but we in the United States have no plan or business method by which our farming industry can be successfully conducted, as have been our industrial industries, as evidenced by the phenomenal growth, while farming has not kept equal pace with such growth as it did in Germany. Protection need not necessarily be high; it will vary on commodities as it does on manufactures, but a competent independent body should study the matter as it did in Germany.

The Naval Bill.

SPEECH

OF

HON. EDWARD W. SAUNDERS,

OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 29, 1915.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 20975) making appropriations for the support of the Navy for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915.

Mr. SAUNDERS. Mr. Chairman, I trust that I will not require the entire time that has been yielded to me by the gentleman from Missouri, to present some thoughts in connection with the pending bill.

The advocates of an excessive, and therefore an extravagant Navy, relate all antagonism to their pet project, to one of two heads—ignorance, or lack of patriotism. Neither count in this indictment is well taken. So far as the charge of ignorance is concerned, the Members of this body who stand for a moderate Navy will not, in respect of their intellectual capacities and equipment, suffer in comparison with their colleagues who bow the knee to militarism and navalism, and without regard to conditions, or expense, insist upon a great Army, and a greater Navy.

I undertake to say that the arguments in behalf of a moderate and sufficient Navy submitted by the men derisively styled pacificists by their opponents, are better exemplified by pertinent illustration, more fully supported by cogent facts, and in more harmonious accord with the lessons of history, than the

arguments of their antagonists. By way of reply to our suggested lack of patriotism, I submit that there is not a pacificist in this body who is for "peace at any price," in the sneering sense in which that phrase of belittlement is applied to the men who favor a moderate Navy. There is not one of us who would be willing to secure peace by the sacrifice of aught that concerns the honor, the traditions, or the welfare of our motherland, "this dear, this native soil." [Applause.] There is not a Member of this House who is a little Navy man in the sense imputed, that is a man who favors a smaller Navy than the needs of our country require. In a real sense we are all great Navy men, since we favor a Navy sufficient for the requirements and necessities of the national defense, rightfully and reasonably apprehended. Surely that is as big a Navy as any country should desire to possess.

The gravest mistake that has been made with respect to our naval policy is that the legislative branch of the Government has failed to do its plain duty. This duty on our part is to disregard the hysterical appeals of the timid, the clamor of the swashbucklers and the jingoes, and the suggestions of the selfish interests, and use toward this particular subject matter that same common sense with which we have discharged our other duties. In the exercise of this common sense we should establish a naval policy for the United States. The establishment of this policy appropriately belongs to civil administration. It is a proper function of the legislative department, and is not a problem to be remitted to the military experts. Moreover, in the words of ex-Secretary Chandler, we ought to strengthen, not weaken the civilian control of the Navy Department. The navalists are too prone to cite with an air of finality the opinions of the admirals, the rear admirals, the captains, and the commodores, on the subject of our naval program. We should be willing to hear these gentlemen gladly, but their judgment should not be the final judgment, or of more than persuasive value in the determination of an appropriate naval policy for this country.

The determination of that policy is fundamental and preliminary to the size of our fleet, and the character of our fighting ships. The statesmen of this body should determine the dangers to be provided against, and the possibilities to be disregarded, that is to say, they should determine both the reasonable risks requiring attention and the chances that may be reasonably taken. The task of providing against all the possibilities that the future holds, is an undertaking that would strain even the vast resources of this country to the breaking point. Nor does the proper defense of the United States require that we should undertake to provide against all contingencies. In our rôle of civil administrators we should endeavor to forecast the likely, and the unlikely dangers, the risks that constitute a real menace, and the risks that are mere possibilities. We should not burden too greatly the present, in the effort to anticipate the future. The dangers reasonably to be apprehended, the likely combinations of nations, if any, that may be formed against us, and the possibilities that may be disregarded, are the factors of the problem to be settled before we call in the experts. There is no reason to believe that they are in a position to advise us in any authoritative fashion which of the great powers would be most likely to attack this country, or to prescribe the appropriate course for this Nation to pursue in its international rôle, but once apprised by this body of the dangers to be provided against, and the possibilities to be excluded from contemplation, in a word once acquainted with the scope and limits of our policy, it should be their appropriate task to afford a scheme of national defense that would safeguard the United States.

We train our military men to the end that they may advise us within the limits fixed by the policy that we formulate to control our military expenditures. This body should constantly keep in mind the duty that it owes to the taxpayers. Within the limits thus prescribed by Congress the experts come into their own, and are qualified to fix the forces both military and naval that will be sufficient to provide against the dangers that this body has concluded are of sufficient likelihood to justify preparation.

It is for us to determine this likelihood of danger, the source from which it may be apprehended, and the possible combinations against which we wish to make provision. With the factors of the problem submitted for their consideration, the experts can work out an appropriate policy of defense, outlining the men, the guns, the ships, the permanent works and other instrumentalities, which in their judgment will safeguard this country against the dangers in contemplation, excluding from their consideration all other possibilities, and combinations, and confining themselves solely to the solution of the problem submitted. In this way, and in this way only, will Congress secure the real benefit of the military experts along the line for which they have been trained and prepared. So long as we are concerned to provide against all contingencies, all possibilities, and all conceivable combinations, so long will we continue to pile up Ossa on Pelion in the way of military and naval expenditures, and provide great armies and even greater navies to afford security against fantastic, unlikely, and chimerical dangers.

Whenever one of the alarmists who entertain the public from time to time with stories of our national defenselessness, advises us that we must be prepared against every possible danger, he should be asked to translate that warning into terms of dollars and cents, and inform us what such a state of preparation would cost this country. Such an attitude would mean that the United States must not only provide against possible war with a selected antagonist, but in addition must provide against possible war with a confederacy of the great nations of the world. A combination of this character directed against this country is not only conceivable, but it is one of the possibilities of the future. But does it follow that the United States in the exercise of a wise precaution should take steps to provide itself with an Army, and a Navy sufficient to make headway against such a combination of enemies? I have often heard the question asked on the floor of the House: What would the United States do, should one of the great military powers of the world land an army of 100,000 men on our shores? Well, if that question implies that we must at once begin to increase our Army, and Navy, the next question that may be asked is what would we do, should some other one of these powers land an army of 200,000 on our coasts, and what additions to our Army and Navy would this possibility require us to make? The Secretary of War has recently recommended an addition of 25,000 men to our present Army. While this would add about $25,000,000 to our annual expenditures, the numerically feeble addition thereby contributed to our present forces is far short of what should be afforded, if there is any real likelihood that armies of one, two, or other hundreds of thousands of men will be landed upon our shores.

If it is likely that the armed nations of the earth will assail us upon our own soil, this country should make adequate preparations to protect our shores. If these dangers are real, we ought to meet the situation as Germany has done, and become a military nation in real and deadly earnest. The chances that we may become involved in war with a combination of nations are fully as great as the likelihood of war with a single nation. Who in this body, or what military expert of high or low degree in the Army or Navy, can undertake to forecast the future, and pronounce against the possibility that within the next decade the whole world may be arrayed in arms against the United States?

But are we to order our policies, and establish our armaments with reference to such fantastic possibilities? No, while we may admit that such an array of foes is a possibility, this country must take its chances of danger in this respect. The burden of preparing against all chances of danger and all combinations of possible opponents is too great to be undertaken. Nor is there any imminent risk in omitting to make these preparations.

If only we would use our common sense at this particular time, it is apparent that no such opportunity has been afforded within 50 years for a holiday in naval construction. "The blindest man can see our absolute safety until long after the present European war ends." Why do we maintain a Navy at all? The answer is, to make our country secure. Granted. But if we are secure with our present force, then the construction of a single additional ship is simply a vicious waste, and a prodigal extravagance. [Applause.] Looking abroad the spectacle is presented of the greatest nations of the world reducing themselves so rapidly to such a condition of physical and financial exhaustion that not even the weaker countries in this hemisphere need fear the menace of their aggression, much less this rich, powerful, and virile Republic. In the past we have been told that by reason of the development of German militarism and navalism, particularly navalism, the security of this Nation was threatened, so that to save ourselves harmless, the burdens of the taxpayers must be increased for naval construction. This was a false and vicious argument, and a most unwarranted conclusion.

How is it to-day? In view of the continuous destruction of Germany's naval forces, and of the crushing burden of debt that will be her portion at the expiration of the war, is there any reason to apprehend danger from that quarter? The war once ended, whether she is a victor or a loser in the awful grapple in which she is now engaged, Germany will be as little likely to provoke, or invite fresh conflicts, as she was at the expiration of the Thirty Years' War. In the judgment of

ex-Secretary of the Navy Hilary A. Herbert, even if Germany should win, even if her success should be a vast menace to America, no one can believe that exhausted as the winner in this great war will be, our country will be in danger of attack from that quarter.

This war is a guaranty of world peace for decades to come. The great nations will come out of this conflict bankrupt and exhausted, and recognizing the vital need of a long peace for their recuperation. If then we are safe against foreign aggression, and we are undoubtedly safe, nay safer than we have been during any period of our history, why not call a halt on our building activities until the conclusion of the war, and with the war well over, and the lessons of that war before us, determine the form and direction that our defensive naval construction shall take. This would seem to be the lesson of wisdom for this country.

Secure on this side of the Atlantic we can watch the progress of the fighting across the water, and without venture or risk on our part, reap the benefit of the experiment which others are making, an experiment which will teach profound lessons, and doubtless bring to pass radical changes in the construction and use of the machinery of war, both on the land and the sea.

The following protest again naval increase by Senator BURTON and many other distinguished advocates of moderation in military preparation states the case for the pacificists in a very cogent fashion:

We desire to record ourselves as unqualifiedly in support of the policy of restriction in regard to naval construction at this time and, in accordance therewith, to emphasize the inadvisability of any present increase in our naval program. It is our conviction that no change of program involving increased construction as a result of current European conditions would serve any present purpose or conduce to future safety. The reasons for urging these considerations are the following:

1. No immediate need of defense commensurate with our present armament can possibly arise within the period to be affected by the forthcoming program. All the naval powers peers of the United States are engaged in warfare except Italy. Their armaments are being reduced by the stress of battle; and they themselves will be concerned strictly with their own affairs during the course of the campaigns, the period of peace negotiations and a necessary additional period for recovery. Even admitting the probability of a war in which the United States should be engaged—an assumption against all reason—that war could not occur within a time sufficiently close to demand preparation for it at the next regular session of Congress. All possible antagonists of a strength nearly equal to the United States will have to recuperate a long time before they are on a par with this country. At present they are all sedulously cultivating American friendship, they are greatly indebted to us, and after their own affairs are rearranged on a peace basis they will necessarily continue to cultivate our friendship until world conditions become approximately normal. We need no new construction to maintain our proportionate strength relative to other powers.

2. The inhibition of naval increase is no less strong in respect to technical construction. Naval armaments are developed in time of peace and become with its long continuance more or less fixed as to type along theoretical lines. Every new experience prescribes fundamental changes in construction. The dreadnought type was the technical lesson of the Russo-Japanese War; and recently so acute a student as Sir Percy Scott published his conclusion that the dreadnought is rendered obsolescent by the submarine and the aeroplane. Besides demonstrating the degree of truth in his conclusion, the present war will prove many other things about the current standards of naval construction. Attempts to forecast the experience which will be in the hands of the naval constructors in due course are useless. It is proper to conclude that any plans thus forecasted would, if realized in steel, simply involve a waste of the public money.

3. Even from the point of view of international politics a new naval program of any sort is, it seems to us, entirely inadvisable. The whole system of militarism is on trial in Europe. The conflict will beyond question establish a new order in Europe; and there seems no reasonable doubt that in its solution provisions will be made by which the burden of armaments will be in some degree removed from the nations of Europe, and therefore of the world. American sympathies are bound up with that hope, and that it will be realized to some extent is one of the surest things that the whole tragic conflict offers as an earnest to the future. If Europe's solution of the problem results only in lowering the level of relative defense, the proportionate needs of the United States will be lessened; and so much is as certain as anything human can be.

If, then, the United States should now plan to increase its naval armament, this could do nothing but permanent harm. Naval programs in Europe, in so far as keels have not been laid down, are at a standstill. Europe is using up its armament, and is building only for current use to meet present exigencies. It may end the war by abolishing armaments largely or altogether. The United States is not in need of current defense, and will not be for a period of years, even on the basis of the old international order. We can halt—and if we do the example will encourage Europe to go much further in the abolition of armament than it otherwise would. If we take advantage of our peaceful condition to rush into construction of any magnitude, we shall certainly be building to a large extent for the scrap heap, and the example would discourage European efforts to lower the level of their own armament, which, by operation of the principle of proportion, has always determined the level of the world's armaments.

If the awful catastrophe in Europe has demonstrated anything, it has demonstrated most signally the groundlessness of the argument that the way to preserve peace is for nations to pile up armaments to such portentous extent as to scare their neighbors from attack. The mad rivalry had already been well characterized before the war as "organized insanity." To-day serious men the world over see clearly that these monstrous armaments were vastly more a menace than a defense and that they were largely responsible for the ruin which has been wrought. That the war shall result in the drastic and universal reduction of armaments is therefore the imperative demand of the best European statesmanship. For the United States, safest of nations, to consider at such a time the increase instead of the decrease of her own armaments would indicate a most untimely readiness to intensify the very evil whose consequences now appall us and tend to check the great movement which all Governments and all earnest men should unite to promote.

The latest results in naval armament, and the latest machinery of naval construction are being put to the supreme test, the arbitrament of actual service under the most severe conditions. But at this point some one suggests that this country, as a matter of precaution should maintain itself in a condition of armed peace. A few days ago Sir James Bryce of England sounded a note of warning against the unhappy policy euphemistically styled armed peace, and the moral that he drew, Mr. Chairman, and the warning that he sounded, we may well afford to take to ourselves at this time. The advocates of armed peace insist that military preparation affords the greatest security against war. Methinks I have heard that argument before. Methinks this phrase that so many advocates of armed peace in this House have rolled as a rich morsel under their tongues, has never been more sonorously sounded, than by Emperor William of Germany. All of his policies were avowedly for peace. All of his arguments were for peace. All of his vast system of military preparation was for peace. And yet somehow, in spite of the emphatic assurance, and reassurance on his part that peace was the ultimate goal of his activities, the whole world seemed to distrust his professions. Still we are told that we ought to imitate this policy on a gigantic scale. Does it never occur to the gentlemen who favor this attitude that when we multiply our implements of destruction, our preparations for war, and our devices to maintain a security that is not menaced, that by that very way will come on the part of the nations of the world first mistrust of our intentions, then apprehension, then combination, and then war.

The war that is now in progress in Europe is an exemplification that armed peace does not avert, but begets war. Coincident with the development of German militarism was the development of counter preparation, and of that combination of nations known as the Triple Entente. To-day we are the one great nation toward which the eyes of the world have turned in the hope that in the ultimate we will be the arbiter of peace. Once we begin to tread the path of militarism, and to cultivate the development of the military attitude on the part of our people, once our actions cause the nations generally, and in particular our sister Republics of this hemisphere, to question the sincerity of our professions, and we will lose our present position, we will lose the moral force that makes us at present so potential in world politics. We will fall from our high estate. Our fervent protestations of peaceful intentions, when there is no peace in our hearts, or evidence of peace in our preparations, will fall upon deaf ears. An inevitable sequel of the international distrust of our attitude will be an offensive and defensive alliance of other nations. This will be their answer to the menace of our military development. "To-day we are the first moral power in the world. Others may be first in armies, still others first in navies. But we have made good our right to be appealed to on questions of national and international morality. That all Europe is seeking our favor is the acknowledgment of this fact by the European nations, and their tribute to it. They do not want to fight us. They want us to approve them. They feel that our judgment will be the judgment of history."

The best way, they tell us, to avert war, is to prepare for war in time of peace. That argument has been often advanced, but in the light of Germany's experience, it is not likely to be repeated in this body with the confidence with which it was formerly presented.

If great armaments are a guaranty of peace, why is it that to-day embattled Europe is arrayed against Germany, and peace has taken the wings of the morning and fled from that country to the uttermost parts of the earth? The militarists tell us that but for Germany's military preparations she would not be able to resist, as she is now resisting, the mighty armies that menace the integrity of the German Empire from every direction. That may be true. On the other hand, but for the arrogance induced by the vast military machine which she erected, the war would not, in all likelihood, have occurred. Is there anyone in this audience who is acquainted with the teachings of history, or who has knowledge of current events, who doubts that if the chancelleries of Europe, and in particular the chancellery of Germany had been presided over by heads holding the same attitude toward war as the present President of the United States, the soul-sickening carnage now in full tide in Europe would have been averted? [Applause.] In spite of the Emperor's asseverations for peace, does anyone believe that

Germany would be at war to-day if peace had been in the heart of hearts of the German nation, if they had believed less in the invincibility of the Kaiser's war machine, less in the mailed fist, and more in the peaceful methods of determining international differences? Does anyone believe that war could not have been avoided, if the heads of the warring nations had believed in peace as we believe in it, as the President of our Republic believes in it? No, Mr. Chairman, this war was the outcome and culmination of the development of that military attitude which some of our shriekers and shouters for militarism are anxious *to transplant* upon the soil of the United States. "The sum of a thousand other follies is not so great as the single folly of war. The Germans and the allies know the importance of peace now, if they did not know it six months ago."

Mr. HELM. Will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Virginia yield to the gentleman from Kentucky?

Mr. SAUNDERS. Yes.

Mr. HELM. Which is the greater evil, militarism on land, or militarism on water?

Mr. SAUNDERS. It is hard to say. I should dislike to choose between them.

Mr. HELM. One other question.

Mr. SAUNDERS. Certainly.

Mr. HELM. I believe that three-quarters of the earth's surface is water. Germany is about the size of Texas. England has had three-quarters of the earth's surface under militarism for 50 years. The Emperor of Germany has had Germany on a military basis for perhaps a decade. Which of the two is the greater evil?

Mr. SAUNDERS. Oh, I do not know; but so far as that is concerned, both of them are bad enough. [Laughter.] England's teeming population and the necessity of drawing her food supplies from abroad have compelled that country to maintain a great navy. She could not afford to take any chances, even the most remote. England's situation and England's environment has left her no choice but to maintain a great navy. Her dangers have been very real. No such condition confronts the United States.

I will point out, however, that in England, the country of naval militarism, the principles of civil liberty, as we understand them, have been perfectly preserved. That country is a great exemplar of civil and religious freedom, the fount from which we have derived many precious principles, and sacred precedents. On the other hand in Germany, in spite of its wonderful scientific and commercial development, there is no such sense, or understanding of civil liberty as is found in this country, or in Great Britain. The cultivation of the military attitude has starved and stunted the growth of civil liberty, and the development of popular government. It has been alleged that England was caught napping at the outset of this war, and that the present conflict is emphasizing her need of a mighty standing army.

With open eyes and full knowledge of what it meant, Great Britain has steadfastly pursued her policy of a great navy, and a small army, knowing full well that real liberty, as Anglo-Saxons understand it, is a flower that will not flourish under the shadow of militarism. Better far the maintenance and preservation of that liberty, pure and undefiled, than the security thought to be afforded by a military despotism! This thought was presented with insistence by no less a man than William E. Gladstone. When arms are abroad liberty, like the laws, is silent.

I desire to call your attention to the further fact that if a country really desires peace, it must develop the peaceful attitude, and avoid the development of the machinery of war. As the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SHERWOOD] recently said, you do not develop peace in the canine world by breeding bulldogs. [Applause.] In the civil world you do not promote peace by developing the military attitude. The essential difference between England and Germany is that the former by choice has deliberately omitted to develop the military attitude on land, though maintaining a mighty navy under the compulsion of necessity. The lesson that Germany teaches us is that you can not develop a great standing army, and a great naval establishment without building up at the same time the military attitude, and the military temper. Once the military attitude is fully developed, you have created the ideal conditions under which force, and force alone, comes to the front as the appropriate solution for international controversies. Ethical considerations and peaceful arbitrament are thrown to the winds.

Our friend from Alabama [Mr. HOBSON] is in private an amiable and gentle spirit, but in his views of public questions, and of the proper national attitude, he is saturated with the military spirit. He dreams of armed controversies, of battling millions, of mighty navies engaged in deadly grapple. This mental attitude on his part is largely due to his military training, and the environment to which he has been subjected. What could be more absurd than his argument this evening to the effect that this country should control both the Pacific and the Atlantic Oceans with its armadas, and impose our ethical concepts upon the nations of the world, by the cannon's mouth, as if the multiplication of our machinery of destruction would so quicken our ethical sense, as to fit us for the rôle of moral arbiter of the nations?

So far as my knowledge of the teachings of history advises me, no nation has ever attained a higher moral level through the development of military establishments, and the cultivation of the military point of view. There are other methods of international settlement, than the arbitrament of war. There are better ways of determining international controversies than by dynamite shells, dreadnaughts, submarines, aeroplanes and the other instruments of devilish destruction with which the belligerents in the European war are "killing off their young laborers, ruining their industrial plants, accumulating a huge burden of taxation, inflicting a cruel blow on their economic development, and devouring their capital." A holocaust of death is in progress abroad, consuming the very flower of young manhood in the countries engaged.

Mr. BRYAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Virginia yield to the gentleman from Washington?

Mr. SAUNDERS. Yes.

Mr. BRYAN. From what the gentleman said a few moments ago about England, I should judge he would refer to England as one of those nations that established the other kind of ideals, would he not?

Mr. SAUNDERS. Well, I said that the best of our civil institutions have come from England. I do not suppose the gentleman will challenge that statement.

Mr. BRYAN. No; but the gentleman was condemning other nations that did not go as far as England in that direction and was holding them up to condemnation.

Mr. SAUNDERS. Well, I have tried to point out that as between England and Germany, we have derived our greatest blessings of civil liberty, and our highest concepts of free institutions from England, and not from military Germany.

Mr. BRYAN. I agree with the gentleman on that.

Mr. SAUNDERS. Now permit me go a little further on this line. I do not suppose there is a single Member of this body who will claim that the bare possession of an army, or a navy adds one jot, or one tittle to the sum of human happiness. In this respect these instrumentalities are unlike the great industrial plants and commercial enterprises which, in their orderly operation, are continually adding to the sum total of human comfort, and human possessions, hence to the sum total of human progress.

Armies and navies are per se burdens upon a nation, and can be justified only to the extent that they are necessary for the purposes of national defense. As civil administrators we ought to determine, as I said, the limits of our preparation, as well as the dangers to be reasonably apprehended, and for which provision should be made. We do not educate men at the Naval and Military Academies to advise us as to our civil policy, or to determine with finality a scheme of military preparation for this Government. We abdicate our position, we lower ourselves in the estimate of the people, when we disregard our plain duty, and allow others to be called in to solve a problem which is wholly ours, a problem of civil, not military administration.

I have heard another remarkable proposition advanced this evening, and that is that the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine depends upon absolute force. And yet from the date of the enunciation of that doctrine down to the present time, we have supported it without firing a shot. We announced it when as a Nation we were utterly incapable of maintaining it by force, if the new principle had been challenged by the military monarchies of the Old World. [Applause.] From that time forward the doctrine has remained unshaken, such has been the moral strength of our attitude.

Mr. J. R. KNOWLAND. Have we enforced it without battleships?

Mr. SAUNDERS. Yes. When President Monroe promulgated this doctrine in the face of the menace of the Holy Alliance of Europe, he had no battleships with which to make good the declaration of a novel principle that challenged the authority of the most powerful nations of the Old World. Yet it was accepted by those nations without demur. When we took issue

with Great Britain over the Venezuela incident how many battleships did this country own with which to make effective our position, in case of an appeal to force?

Mr. J. R. KNOWLAND. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. SAUNDERS. In a moment. At that time our battle fleet, as compared with the naval array of Great Britain, was as insignificant as a torpedo boat in comparison with a superdreadnaught. I know what the gentleman from California has in mind by way of answer, and that is that Great Britain did not accept our challenge because in the event of war, we would hold Canada as a hostage. Granted. But that condition will endure for all time. Hence we can eliminate Great Britain from the list of possible adversaries. But if Great Britain is eliminated, pray tell me what nation in the world remains, whose naval might is a menace to the United States, or is sufficient to justify this body in increasing the burdens of the people to maintain an imposing array of fighting ships from the tiniest submarine to the most formidable superdreadnaught? [Applause.]

Mr. FESS. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. SAUNDERS. Yes.

Mr. FESS. When President Cleveland in 1895 sent the message here to Congress asking permission to send a commission to investigate that disputed boundary line and said he would ask Congress for the authority to enforce their recommendations, why did England withdraw from the contest?

Mr. SAUNDERS. Will the gentleman please answer that query himself? Certainly the force of the United States on the high seas was not sufficient to cause her withdrawal. Why did she withdraw?

Mr. FESS. When the President referred to the matter of the Monroe doctrine being violated Lord Salisbury replied that the Monroe doctrine was not international law and never had been, no matter how brilliant the statesman who announced it, nor powerful the nation that backed it. Then President Cleveland asked Congress for that support.

Mr. SAUNDERS. Very well.

Mr. FESS. And Salisbury withdrew. Now, why did he withdraw?

Mr. SAUNDERS. Why did he withdraw? You have not answered your own question.

Mr. FESS. That is what I am asking you.

Mr. SAUNDERS. I maintain that he did not withdraw by reason of our might on the seas. That is my answer to your question. What is yours?

Mr. FESS. My answer is that he did not want to get into a fight with us.

Mr. SAUNDERS. Why?

Mr. BRYAN. They had had two with us before.

Mr. HENSLEY. If the gentleman will yield to me, I ask his consent to answer the question put by the gentleman from Ohio, in the words of an admiral before our committee:

> I then asked him how he accounted for the fact that Great Britain acceded to our position concerning the Venezuelan dispute. He answered me that the concession of Great Britain to this country was not contingent upon the size of our Navy; that Great Britain took her time, and that when she saw that our position was a just one she acceded to it.

Further, in this connection, permit me to read from an examination before the Naval Affairs Committee that proves beyond question that the position taken by the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SAUNDERS] is undoubtedly correct:

> Mr. WITHERSPOON. Do nations fight to maintain their rights, without any reference to whether they are as powerful or less powerful?
>
> Admiral VREELAND. I think the aggressor is generally the more powerful nation, because he thinks there is something to gain by warring, and the other party to the contest is forced into it.
>
> Mr. WITHERSPOON. The aggressor, according to your idea, would go into war because he thought that he could win in the war; is that your idea?
>
> Admiral VREELAND. He would not become the aggressor if he were sure of defeat.

Mr. SAUNDERS. My friend from Ohio has offered an explanation which I will accept. England did withdraw because she did not desire to have a war with us, not because she was afraid to match her fleet against ours. Her naval superiority at that time was even more conspicuous than it is to-day.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SAUNDERS. Yes.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Will the gentleman from Virginia kindly give some thought to this proposition: Is it not true that the Monroe doctrine is supposed to have been suggested by the British ministry at the time of its origin?

Mr. SAUNDERS. Conceding that to be true, what of it?

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. It was suggested as some offset to the expected maneuvers of the Holy Alliance in Europe at that time.

Mr. SAUNDERS. Concede that the original suggestion came from the British ministry, still that concession in no wise weakens my contention that we have maintained the Monroe doctrine without recourse to arms, even in our days of feeble immaturity. Why then suggest that at this period of our maturity, when our strength is as the strength of ten, and our resources without limit, we need to pile up armaments in order to make this doctrine effective? Who is challenging, or is disposed to challenge the Monroe doctrine?

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. The Monroe doctrine was suggested at the time of our weakness by the most powerful nation on earth, and the one that at that time controlled the seas and was prepared to back up her suggestion in company with us.

Mr. SAUNDERS. Do you think that the Monroe doctrine has been maintained by reason of the fact that England was prepared to fight for it in the beginning?

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Originally that was the beginning of the Monroe doctrine. There was power behind us to enforce it by the nation that suggested it.

Mr. SAUNDERS. But when the Venezuelan controversy arose, the power of the nation that suggested the doctrine was no longer on our side.

Mr. FESS. Will the gentleman yield for another question on that same line?

Mr. SAUNDERS. Yes.

Mr. FESS. When Maximilian went into Mexico we were in the midst of our civil strife and unable to do more than protest.

Mr. SAUNDERS. Yes.

Mr. FESS. We protested officially three times.

Mr. SAUNDERS. Yes.

Mr. FESS. At the close of the war President Johnson sent an army of 50,000 men under Phil Sheridan.

Mr. SAUNDERS. He made ready to send them. They were never sent.

Mr. FESS. He got ready to send them, and Maximilian did not withdraw, but the French authority did.

Mr. SAUNDERS. Yes.

Mr. FESS. Did the Army have anything to do with it?

Mr. SAUNDERS. That very incident established for all time the fact that no foreign Government is prepared to challenge by force our assertion of the Monroe doctrine. Every man who knows the history of this country, knows the history of the Mexican incident. The French Emperor took advantage of our Civil War to send troops to Mexico with the idea that the United States would be divided into two hostile Republics as a result of the war, thus leaving the Monroe doctrine without its original advocate. But the moment that the Civil War ended with a united Government north of the Rio Grande, the French Emperor did not for a moment propose to challenge the supremacy of the Monroe doctrine in the Western Hemisphere, or invite an appeal to arms.

Now I wish to call attention of the committee—and my friend from Missouri [Mr. HENSLEY] will be able to give the appropriate reference—to a speech by one of our admirals that reveals the reason why so many of our military men favor great armaments. This high magnate in the naval service remarked in the course of his speech, that even if great naval armaments were not needed for our security and protection, there was no reason why this country should be weak in a military way, when it could be strong. In that thought is mirrored the attitude of the military potentates which is that the greatness of a country is established by the imposing character of its military and naval armaments. They believe in the pomp of power, and are indifferent to the burdens of taxation which their policies will inevitably impose. Senator LEWIS recently summed up the argument against militarism when he said: "The expense of the Navy on the one hand, and of the Army on the other, will be a constant drain on the citizens, while the despotism and aristocracy of the officers of a large army and navy will be a menace to the theory of equality of citizenship, which is the foundation upon which America rests."

Mr. FESS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SAUNDERS. No, I can not yield, I have only two or three minutes left.

Now, let me bring this argument to a head as it were. The majority party is charged with the administration of this Government, and should fix its naval policy. We ought to agree on a policy in this respect that in our judgment will preserve the security, the dignity, the interest, and the welfare of our beloved country against the reasonable likelihood of danger. Further we ought not to undertake to go. We need a Navy large enough to protect us against invasions, not one of a size sufficient to enable us to assail and invade other countries of our rank and power.

When we have done this, the gentlemen who favor the imposing armaments that are intended to protect us against all possibilities of danger, should submit their policy as a counter proposition, having first translated the same into terms of dollars and cents and to that end giving in detail the number of men required, the vessels of all types to be constructed and maintained, the guns on land and sea, the reserves of men, munitions, and supplies to be provided, in a word all that is needed in their view to make our country secure. The issue thus made up may be taken to the country, so that the people of the United States will pass on it in a great national referendum.

This country is entitled to possess all the military and naval forces that it desires, and for which it is willing to pay. I am anxious for the people to determine how many men we need, and how many ships we require to make our country perfectly secure. It will be a kindness to many timid and hysterical people to have an authoritative answer afforded to these inquiries, and the proper remedy supplied, so that the slumbers of our friend from Massachusetts and many others will be no more disturbed by dreadful dreams of invading armies, of ruined homesteads, of great cities given over to sack and rapine. [Laughter.] I have suggested the issue to be submitted to the people. On the one hand a program of moderation, a program that comprehends and provides against all dangers reasonably to be apprehended. On the other hand a program designed to provide against all contingencies and possibilities, a program that contemplates singly and collectively the great nations of the world as our possible antagonists. Remit this issue to the people and secure a determination that will be authoritative and final, a determination that will fix our policy, leaving to Congress to provide the ways and means to make the same effective.

Mr. Chairman, if our country is in danger, this is no time to talk about economy. The safety of the Republic is the supreme law, and if the peril to that safety is a verity, and not a chimera, if the menace of foreign aggression is established, we must not haggle over the cost of one, or a dozen battleships. The question of national defense takes precedence over all other interests and issues. Whatever else may suffer, whatever may be the condition of the Treasury, whatever the difficulties of raising the necessary revenues, no man, and no party should shrink from doing whatever their conscience and their judgment tells them is necessary for the safety and security of their country. [Applause.]

That is the way I feel about this matter. This is the way all pacificists feel. The same "patriotic tide that streamed through Wallace's undaunted heart," is not lacking in American bosoms. We do not favor economy at the expense of our national security, or favor cutting off a single necessary battleship, submarine, or aeroplane, on the ground of a failing Treasury. That is poor economy. We favor a moderate Navy, because we feel that with such a Navy this country is secure, and a greater Navy would be a wanton extravagance. But the Members of this House are patriots, one and all, and every patriot is prepared to devote his uttermost farthing to protect that sacred thing called liberty, to preserve the institutions of his country, and the ashes of his sires. [Applause.]

Indian Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES D. CARTER,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, under general leave to print, I submit herewith a statement concerning the failure of the per capita payment of $200 to the Choctaws and $100 to the Chickasaws.

The Indian appropriation bill containing this payment died with the recent session of Congress, through no fault of the House of Representatives, as the record will show, but on account of a filibuster in the United States Senate, which prevented its final passage through Congress before final adjournment on March 4, 1915. The conference report on the Indian appropriation bill, which contained the payment, reached the House just 20 minutes before Congress legally expired on March 4, and was being read by the reading clerk of the House when the hands of the clock pointed to 12 noon, the hour of final adjournment.

The House of Representatives had expressed itself unequivocally in favor of this payment and in opposition to reopening the rolls of the Five Civilized Tribes on four different occasions. Twice during the second session of the Sixty-third Congress were various enrollment amendments rejected and the per capita payment retained in the bill by decisive votes.

Again, during the recent session—third session of the Sixty-third Congress—this bill was taken up by the House, and on January 9 the House by decisive votes refused to strike out or reduce this payment, and defeated all amendments for reopening the rolls. In fact, every amendment to the payment was rejected by overwhelming votes and the item retained in the bill just as it had been reported by the House Committee on Indian Affairs.

The Indian bill, containing the payment without amendment, went to the Senate on January 9, immediately after passing the House. Over the protest of Chairman ASHURST and Senators OWEN and GORE, it was held up by the Senate for almost eight weeks. To be mathematically accurate, the bill did not pass the Senate until about noon of March 3—the day before adjournment—and when it was returned to the House it contained 171 Senate amendments, including one adopted by the Senate on the motion of Senator LA FOLLETTE to reopen the rolls of the Five Civilized Tribes to something more than 10,000 persons.

This La Follette amendment was rejected by the House by a decisive vote and all other amendments immediately sent to conference.

In pursuance of these House instructions, the conferees eliminated the La Follette enrollment amendment and retained the per capita payment item as originally adopted by the House without change. The conferees came to an agreement on the other 170 Senate amendments shortly before the midnight preceding adjournment. Upon return to the Senate the bill met the same dilatory tactics which prevented its passage by that body until about 30 minutes before adjournment, after which the occurrence set forth in the first paragraph of this statement resulted.

Unfortunately for this bill, the rules of the Senate permit unlimited debate and this was a short session of Congress. To these facts alone was due the failure of the per capita payment.

Under House rules debate can be brought to a close; and the House stood ready and eager at all times to reject all enrollment amendments, adopt the payment item without amendment, and pass the bill and conference report at any time within an hour and a half before adjournment, the time necessary for the reading and adoption of such report.

Every Member of the Oklahoma delegation in the House gave his best efforts on behalf of the passage of this payment, and Congressmen FERRIS and MURRAY were especially active. The Choctaw and Chickasaw people are deeply indebted to Congressmen JACOWAY, of Arkansas; CAMPBELL, of Kansas; BURKE, of South Dakota; SAUNDERS, of Virginia; POST, of Ohio; and many others too numerous to mention, for valuable services rendered in behalf of this payment.

Senators OWEN and GORE and their friends at the Senate end of the Capitol worked vigorously for the payment, and on the last vote in the Senate, just before final adjournment, appeared to have a large majority of the Senators with them in favor of discharging the delayed obligation of the Federal Government to its wards. It must be remembered, however, that our Senators were handicapped and failed for the same reason that the President's ship-purchase bill failed, to wit, on account of a filibuster during a short session of Congress.

It should also be borne in mind that claimants for enrollment in the Five Civilized Tribes are scattered over no less than 15 States, each having its full quota of Congressmen and Senators. Many of these, to be sure, look upon this matter with fairness and liberality and stood stanchly to keep the Government's obligation with the Choctaws and Chickasaws, regardless of the importunities of their own constituents. Some others, however, are prone to yield to the wishes of their constituents, disregard the Government's sacred obligation to the Choctaws and Chickasaws, and stand against a final settlement of our affairs in an unreasonable manner.

Moreover, a syndicate has been organized for the purpose of securing the enrollment of spurious applicants for citizenship. The records show that this syndicate, known as the Texas-Oklahoma Co., was organized with a capital stock of $100,000, $25,000 of which has already been paid in and used, and that the syndicate and its satellites have contracts for the enrollment of some 15,000 or 20,000 alleged claimants for citizenship, with fees aggregating about $11,000,000. The effect of this slush fund can not be overestimated. I do not, of course, mean to charge that any Congressman or Senator might be cor-

rupted by it, but a standing array of trained lobbyists is kept on the job at the Capitol during the entire sessions of Congress to lobby against a final settlement of the affairs of the Five Civilized Tribes and for a reopening of the rolls.

The Oklahoma delegation and others have fought this bunch of grafters from Hanover to Halifax and back again. We will continue to fight them until the sacred obligation of the Government to distribute their funds among enrolled Choctaws and Chickasaws is complied with.

IMPORTANT FACTS CONCERNING THE PER CAPITA PAYMENT ITEM IN THE INDIAN APPROPRIATION BILL, AS DISCLOSED BY THE RECORD.

The subcommittee making up the Indian appropriation bill, composed of STEPHENS of Texas, CARTER of Oklahoma, and BURKE of South Dakota, by unanimous vote placed in the Indian bill an item providing for a payment of $200 to the Choctaws and $100 to the Chickasaws, and recommended its adoption by the committee.

The House Committee on Indian Affairs adopted the subcommittee's report, including the amendment, without change and reported the matter favorably to the House on December 17, 1914. (Minute book, House Committee on Indian Affairs.)

The House of Representatives rejected all enrollment and other amendments to the per capita payment item, adopted it without change as a part of the Indian appropriation bill, and passed such bill on January 9, 1915—53 days before adjournment. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 1301.)

The Senate referred the Indian appropriation bill as passed by the House to the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, January 11, 1915—51 days before adjournment. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 1325.)

The Senate Committee on Indian Affairs held the Indian appropriation bill before that committee for 42 days, until February 22, 1915, when it was reported to the Senate—ten days before adjournment.

The Senate took up the committee report on the Indian appropriation bill five days thereafter, on February 27, 1915—five days before adjournment. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 4818.)

The Vardaman amendment to enroll Mississippi Choctaws was defeated, but the La Follette amendment to the payment item, providing for the reopening of the rolls of the Five Civilized Tribes to something more than 10,000 persons, was adopted by the Senate, and the bill, with 171 amendments, passed about noon of March 3, 1915—24 hours before adjournment. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, pp. 5156–5162.)

The La Follette amendment was rejected by the House and all other amendments sent to conference about 2 p. m. on March 3, 1915, within two hours after the Senate had passed the bill, CARTER, of Oklahoma; HAYDEN, of Arizona, and BURKE, of South Dakota, being appointed as managers on the part of the House. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 5445.)

The conferees took up the bill with amendments at 2.30 p. m. on March 3, 1914, and came to a complete agreement shortly before 12 midnight of the same day.

The Senate took up the conference report first at about 2 in the morning of March 4 (10 hours before adjournment), the House having to await action of the Senate. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 5358.)

The Senate adopted the conference report at about 11.40 a. m the same day (20 minutes before the hour of adjournment). (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 5497.)

The House took up the conference report at 11.48 (12 minutes before adjournment), and the report was in the process of reading when the hour of adjournment arrived. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 5526.)

It would have taken about an hour and 30 minutes for the House to have read the conference report and call the roll.

HOUSE AND SENATE ACTION ON PER CAPITA PAYMENT ITEM OF $200 TO THE CHOCTAWS AND $100 TO THE CHICKASAWS IN THE INDIAN APPROPRIATION BILL AS DISCLOSED BY THE RECORD. (3D SESS. 63D CONG.)

HOUSE.

A subcommittee of the House Committee on Indian Affairs, composed of STEPHENS of Texas, CARTER of Oklahoma, and BURKE of South Dakota, began making up the Indian appropriation bill during the second week of December, 1914.

The subcommittee, by unanimous vote, placed in the Indian appropriation bill an item providing for a per capita payment of $200 to the Choctaws and $100 to the Chickasaws.

The Indian bill, with the payment item, was reported by the subcommittee to the House Committee on Indian Affairs on December 17, 1914. (Minute book House Committee on Indian Affairs.)

The Indian bill, retaining the per capita payment item, reported by the Committee on Indian Affairs to the House of Representatives by unanimous vote on December 18, 1915. (Minute book, House Committee on Indian Affairs.)

The Indian bill taken up for consideration by the House in Committee of the Whole and filibuster begun by advocates of reopening the rolls of the Five Civilized Tribes on December 31, 1914. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 834.)

The per capita payment item reached by the House on January 8, 1915, and HARRISON, of Mississippi, made point of order against same, which was overruled by the Chair. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 1211.)

HARRISON proposed an amendment reopening the rolls. Point of order against same by CARTER sustained. January 8, 1915. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 1212.)

HARRISON proposed an amendment preventing payment to the Choctaws until Mississippi Choctaws are enrolled. Point of order made by STEPHENS overruled. January, 1915. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 1214.)

Harrison amendment holding up Choctaw payment rejected on division, January 9, 1915, ayes 50, noes 79. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 1301.)

Lenroot amendment to strike out per capita payment item rejected, January 9, 1915, ayes 44, noes 69. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 1302.)

Miller amendment to reduce Choctaw payment to $100 defeated, January 9, 1915, ayes 39, noes 54. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 1302.)

Lenroot amendment equalizing payment to all who might be hereafter enrolled defeated, January 9, 1915, ayes 23, noes 42. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 1303.)

Indian bill, with per capita payment item unamended, reported without dissenting vote by Committee of the Whole House to the House, January 9, 1915. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 1319.)

Indian bill containing per capita payment item, without amendment, passed by the House without roll call on January 9, 1915. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 1321.)

SENATE.

Indian bill referred by Senate to Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, January 11, 1915. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 1325.)

Indian bill delayed and held in Senate Committee on Indian Affairs for 42 days until February 22, 1915, when reported to Senate with no important amendments to per capita payment item.

Senate took up for consideration committee report on Indian bill on February 27, 1915, but filibuster delayed passage until March 3, 1915. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 4818.)

Vardaman amendment to enroll Mississippi Choctaws defeated on March 3, 1915; ayes 15, noes 33. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 5156.)

La Follette amendment to reopen rolls to something over 10,000 persons adopted March 3, 1915; ayes 33, noes 13. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 5162.)

Indian bill, containing La Follette amendment to reopen rolls, passed Senate and conference asked of the House. Senators ASHURST, of Arizona; MYERS, of Montana; and CLAPP, of Minnesota, appointed conferees on part of Senate March 3, 1915. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 5165.)

HOUSE.

Request of CARTER, of Oklahoma, that House disagree to Senate amendments and agree to conference asked by Senate objected to by HARRISON, of Mississippi, whereupon CARTER moved to suspend rules, disagree to Senate amendments, and go into conference asked by Senate, March 3, 1915. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 5440.)

HARRISON then asked unanimous consent for separate vote on amendment to reopen rolls, which was not objected to by CARTER, and upon separate vote La Follette amendment, reopening rolls, was disagreed to by House on March 3, 1915, by a vote of 44 to 69, thereby instructing the conferees against the Senate enrollment amendment. All other amendments were sent to conference en gross, CARTER of Oklahoma, HAYDEN of Arizona, and BURKE of South Dakota being named as managers on the part of the House. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 5445.)

Indian bill with amendments reached conference about 2.30 p. m. on March 3, 1915.

One hundred and seventy-one Senate amendments were considered, worked out, and complete agreement reached by the managers on the part of the House and Senate shortly before 12 o'clock midnight on March 3, 1915.

SENATE.

The Senate took up consideration of the conference report on the Indian bill about 2 a. m. the morning of March 4, 1915. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 5358.)

The House could take no further action until matter was disposed of by the Senate.

When reading of the report was concluded Senator GRONNA, of North Dakota, took the floor about 3 o'clock a. m. and talked until 10 a. m. on March 4, 1915. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, pp. 5361–5406.)

Senator GRONNA concluded his remarks shortly after 10 o'clock a. m., less than two hours before final adjournment. Passage of the conference report on the Indian bill being despaired of, Senator OVERMAN called up a joint resolution (S. J. Res. 441) continuing the current year's appropriations for the Indian Bureau, and it passed the Senate about 10.30 a. m., March 4, 1915, after which further consideration of the Indian bill by the Senate was dispensed with. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 5407.)

Shortly after 11 a. m. the House managers were informed that an agreement had been reached among certain Senators, and the conferees were reassembled. The agreement retained the per capita payment item with an unimportant amendment, eliminated the La Follette enrollment amendment. The conferees immediately consented to this agreement and sent the Indian bill back to the Senate. By the time this agreement on the conference report had passed the Senate and had been brought before the House the hour of 11.40 a. m. had been reached. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 5497.)

HOUSE.

The conference report containing the per capita payment item was taken up for consideration by the House at 11.48 a. m. March 4, 1915, only 12 minutes before adjournment, and the Clerk had finished reading about one-sixth of the conference report when the hands of the clock pointed to 12, the hour of final adjournment. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 5526.)

Report on H. R. 12586, to reopen the rolls of the Choctaw-Chickasaw Tribe, etc.—the Harrison bill:

JANUARY 2, 1915.

Hon. JOHN H. STEPHENS,
Chairman House Committee on Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: Your subcommittee appointed to investigate and report on H. R. 12586 begs leave to submit the following observations:

A careful and painstaking investigation of all treaties, laws, and other records bearing on this claim, including hearings lasting from April 1, 1914, until August 27, 1914, was gone into by your committee.

H. R. 12586 directs:

1. The Secretary of the Interior to enroll certain Mississippi Choctaws upon the rolls of the Choctaw Nation in Oklahoma with a full participation in their tribal estate.

2. To reopen the Choctaw rolls for the adjudication of 20,000 or more alleged claimants.

There are some Choctaws still remaining in Mississippi who have persistently refused and successfully resisted all efforts of the Federal Government and the Choctaw Nation to have them move west and affiliate with the tribe.

The testimony before the subcommittee discloses many thousands of persons of doubtful descent, African and other, living in Mississippi and surrounding States, who have attempted to assert claims as Choctaw Indians.

Such Indians of real Choctaw blood as still reside in Mississippi appear to take little interest in the claims asserted by their alleged attorneys. On the other hand, those claiming remote Indian blood and of doubtful descent have manifested much interest in being enrolled and sharing in a division of the Choctaw funds in Oklahoma.

The contention of these latter seems to have been inspired and augmented by certain attorneys who have sent agents among these people advising them that they were Indians and taking contracts for their enrollment for a contingent fee of from 30 to 40 per cent of recovery, and in many instances a small cash retainer in addition.

According to statements and admissions of these attorneys and their agents, two firms alone, those of Cantwell & Crews, of St. Louis, Mo., and Ballinger & Lee, of Washington City, D. C., and Ardmore, Okla., hold contracts with 15,596 individuals, carrying provisions for fees aggregating $10,882,815.

The testimony further shows that a syndicate for the purpose of securing the enrollment of Mississippi Choctaws and a participation in the tribal estate of the western Choctaws has been formed under the name "The Texas-Oklahoma Investment Co.," capitalized at $100,000, $25,000 of which has been paid in and used. The directors of this corporation are S. L. Hurlbut, of El Campo, Tex.; H. Masterson and W. A. Smith, of Houston, Tex.; and T. B. Crews and H. J. Cantwell, of St. Louis, Mo.

This claim of the Mississippi Choctaw attorneys for enrollment of their clients and participation in the Choctaw Nation's estate is by no means a new contention. The claim was, under the direction of law, fully adjudicated by the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes (H. Doc. 274, 55th Cong., 2d sess.) and afterwards by the Federal court, to which appeal was taken (Jack Amos et al. *v.* The Choctaw Nation, Decisions of United States courts in Indian Territory, 465), both decisions being adverse to the Mississippi Choctaw contention for enrollment.

In rejecting the claim of nonresident Mississippi Choctaws the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes said in part:

"This historical review of the acquisition of this territory by the Choctaw Nation and its subsequent legal relations to it makes it clear in the opinion of this commission that the Mississippi Choctaws are not under their treaties entitled to all rights of Choctaw citizenship except an interest in the Choctaw annuities and still continue their residence and citizenship in Mississippi." (H. Doc. 274, 55th Cong., 2d sess.)

In affirming the decision the United States District Court for the Central District of Indian Territory closed its decision with the following paragraph:

"To permit men with, perchance, but a strain of Choctaw blood in their veins, who, 65 years ago, broke away from their kindred and their nation, and during that time, or the most of it, have been exercising the rights of citizenship and doing homage to the sovereignty of another nation, and have become strangers to the people, to reach forth their hands from their distant and alien homes and lay hold on a part of the public domain, the common property of the people, and appropriate to their own use, would be unjust and inequitable. It is therefore the opinion of the court that the absent Mississippi Choctaws are not entitled to be enrolled as citizens of the Choctaw Nation. The action of the Dawes Commission is therefore affirmed and a decree will be entered for the Choctaw Nation." (Jack Amos et al. *v.* The Choctaw Nation, Decisions of United States courts in Indian Territory, 465.)

An appeal was taken from these decisions by the attorneys for the Mississippi Choctaws to the Supreme Court of the United States and the Jack Amos case was dismissed upon motion of the attorneys for the Mississippi Choctaws. (190 U. S., 873.)

Several years subsequent to the date of these decisions excluding the Mississippi Choctaws from enrollment this matter was again taken up and readjusted by the legally constituted authorities of the Federal Government and the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations in Oklahoma, by which agreement the Mississippi Choctaws were given additional time for identification and establishment of bona fide residence in the Choctaw Nation in Indian Territory. (Supplemental agreement, "An act to ratify and affirm the agreement with the Choctaw and Chickasaw Tribes of Indians, etc." approved July 1, 1902.)

The Choctaw Nation in Oklahoma has dealt justly and liberally with the Mississippi Choctaws, always granting them full citizenship in their nation with all emoluments thereto whenever they would agree to affiliate with the tribe, and the Choctaw Nation in Oklahoma is under no legal, equitable, or moral obligation to enroll the Mississippi Choctaws as citizens of the tribe in the West at this time.

By the agreements negotiated between the Federal Government and the Choctaw Nation all native western Choctaws were required to be on the reservation by June 28, 1898, or stand debarred from enrollment and participation in the tribal estate forever thereafter, and this rule has been strictly adhered to.

The time for establishment of residence on the reservation was extended to the Mississippi Choctaw claimants until July 1, 1903, giving the Mississippi Choctaws five years to move on the reservation after the time for establishment of such residence had been closed to the native Choctaws.

After 11 years were consumed by the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes in making up the rolls of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations such rolls were affirmatively closed by action of Congress on March 4, 1907.

The rolls of the Choctaw Nation were held open to the Mississippi Choctaws from 1830 until March 4, 1907, giving the Mississippi Choctaws 77 years in which to complete enrollment with full benefits of citizenship.

The Federal Government as such is neither legally nor equitably obligated to enroll Mississippi Choctaws with the Choctaws west, and is under only such moral obligation to the Mississippi Choctaws as is due to dependent North American Indians who were originally occupants and owners of the soil and who have been deprived of their patrimony by white settlers.

The passage of H. R. 12586 would completely upset and undo 11 years of careful, painstaking work of the Interior Department in settling the affairs of the Five Civilized Tribes, turn the wheels of progress backward for more than 20 years, and, as has been said by President Taft, "open up a Pandora's box of troubles, which the life of the present generation might not see closed."

The passage of H. R. 12586 would doubtless result in stupendous claims of millions of dollars against the Federal Government on the part of the Oklahoma Choctaws because of a division of their funds among persons whom the Federal commissions and Federal courts have decided were not entitled thereto.

Its passage would lend encouragement to grafting attorneys with contracts for enormous attorneys' fees, running into millions of dollars, and hold out inducement for procuring additional contracts from spurious claimants.

Your subcommittee therefore recommends that the Harrison bill (H. R. 12586) be not favorably reported by the House Committee on Indian Affairs.

Respectfully submitted.

C. D. CARTER, *Chairman.*
J. D. POST.
ROBT. P. HILL.
P. P. CAMPBELL.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS,
January 13, 1915.

The committee met at 10.30 pursuant to call of chairman, the chairman presiding.

Present: Messrs. STEPHENS, CARTER, GUDGER, POST, HAYDEN, HILL, CLANCY, EVANS, MURRAY, CHURCH, BURKE, CAMPBELL, MILLER, HAMILTON, and NORTON.

H. R. 12586 (the Harrison bill) was laid before the committee by the chairman, and on motion of Mr. CARTER, seconded by Mr. POST, the bill was unanimously laid on the table, leave, however, being given Mr. MILLER to file a report, which is to be printed, setting forth his views relative to the Mississippi Choctaw matter. * * *

Attest:

PAUL N. HUMPHREY,
Assistant Clerk.

* * * * * * *

I, Paul N. Humphrey, assistant clerk of the Committee on Indian Affairs, House of Representatives, hereby certify that the above and foregoing is a true and correct copy of the minutes of the Committee on Indian Affairs, recorded in the minute book of said committee at page 20, showing the action taken by said committee on H. R. 12586, being a bill "to reopen the rolls of the Choctaw-Chickasaw Tribe and to provide for the awarding of the rights secured to certain persons by the fourteenth article of the treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, of date September 27, 1830."

PAUL N. HUMPHREY,
Assistant Clerk, Committee on Indian Affairs.

RESOLUTIONS OF GENERAL CONVENTION OF CHOCTAWS.

Over 100 Choctaw citizens, representing 14 of the 17 counties of the Choctaw Nation, as follows, Skullyville, Sans Bois, Sugar Loaf, Gaines, Tobucksey, Atoka, Jackson, Jackfork, Blue, Kiamitia, Wade, Towson, Nashoba, and Red River Counties, as well as representatives of the Choctaws residing in the Chickasaw Nation, in general convention assembled at McAlester, Okla., October 28, 1914, passed the following resolutions:

We, the Choctaw people in representative convention assembled, respectfully and earnestly protest against the enrollment of the Mississippi Choctaws for the following reasons, to wit:

First. Under and by virtue of the terms of the treaty of 1830, the fourteenth article thereof, the Mississippi Choctaws who elected to remain in Mississippi were given valuable property rights in the State of Mississippi and were not to lose the rights of Choctaw citizens should they ever remove to Indian Territory, except that they should not participate in the annuities of the tribe. This right they had up to the very day and date of the closing of our rolls, March 4, 1907. Many of the Mississippi Choctaws exercised these rights, removed to the Indian Territory, and received allotments of land the same as other members of the tribe. The Mississippi Choctaws were by the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes given even more rights than were guaranteed them under the treaty of 1830, to wit, the right given by article 14 of the treaty of 1830 to Mississippi Choctaws to remove to the Indian Territory and become citizens of the Choctaw Nation was extended to the descendants of the Mississippi Choctaws by the Atoka and supplementary agreements. We represent that the Mississippi Choctaws have been given not only all the rights of other citizens of the tribe, save and except the right to participate in the annuities, but have been given every opportunity that the law could afford them to establish such rights.

Second. As a further concession to the Mississippi Choctaws, the Choctaw and Chickasaw Tribes waived proof on the part of full-blood Mississippi Choctaws as to their right under article 14 of the treaty of 1830 and admitted all full-blood Mississippi Choctaws to citizenship in our tribes without proof of their right. This concession was made to the Mississippi Choctaws and their representatives in Congress and before Congress at the time the supplementary agreement was before Congress for ratification. We feel that the Mississippi Choctaws are not entitled to any further special favors under the law.

PER CAPITA PAYMENT.

Inasmuch as the Choctaws and Chickasaws under the law jointly own the common property and the common funds of the two tribes, so that each and every member of said tribes is entitled to an equal share thereof, and inasmuch as the Congress of the United States authorized a per capita payment of $100 to the Chickasaws out of said joint funds, but withheld payment from the Choctaws on account of the claim of the Mississippi Choctaws, we feel it incumbent upon us as Choctaw citizens in the proper protection of our rights to protest against such action by Congress as being an unjust and illegal discrimination against the rights and interests of the Choctaws under the law and prejudicial against the Choctaw Nation in the matter of the Mississippi Choctaw claims, which claims are against both tribes, if against either. And we respectfully, earnestly, and urgently request that a per capita payment be made to the Choctaws to include the amount due us when payment was made to the Chickasaws and to include such other and additional amount to the Choctaws and Chickasaws per capita as the amount of the funds now in the hands of the Government belonging to the Choctaw and Chickasaw Tribes jointly would afford.

ABOLISHMENT OF TRIBAL SCHOOLS.

We favor the abolition of all tribal schools and a sale of all school property. Amalgamation and not segregation is our aim. The problem before the Indian people is to become progressive and up-to-date citizens in language and habits, and this can best be done by our children attending the common schools.

SALE OF COAL AND ASPHALT.

It is the opinion of this convention that the coal and asphalt, the common property of the Choctaw and Chickasaw people, should be sold without delay that a speedy settlement of our affairs may be had.

DELEGATES TO WASHINGTON, D. C.

In order that the interests of the Choctaw people may be properly presented to Congress, the committees, and the department in the spirit and sense of this convention, which is representative of the Choctaw people, we favor the selection of two delegates to be elected by this convention to proceed to Washington to assist in the protection of our interests generally and in the Mississippi Choctaw claims specially and to assist in securing a per capita payment to the Choctaws and such other distribution of our tribal property to which the tribes are entitled, and we ask the Oklahoma delegation in Congress to secure an appropriation of an amount sufficient to pay the expenses of said delegates and a reasonable compensation out of the Choctaw tribal funds.

INSTRUCTIONS TO TRIBAL ATTORNEY.

Owing to the value of the tribal estate belonging to the Choctaw Nation, and owing to the fact that many claims are being made against said estate, it is the sense of this meeting that the tribal attorney should devote his entire attention to business affecting legislation and litigation involving the tribal estate. It is the opinion of this meeting that the Secretary of the Interior has authority under existing law to distribute funds in the hands of the Government of the United States to the credit of the Choctaw Nation and the Chickasaw Nation. For the purpose of securing a legal determination as to whether the Secretary of the Interior has such authority, we instruct our national attorney to institute mandamus proceedings to compel the Secretary of the Interior to distribute per capita among the enrolled members of the tribe the tribal funds now in the hands of the Government of the United States to which they are entitled.

Inasmuch as our national attorney is employed by the Choctaw people we feel that we have the right to direct him to institute these proceedings, and we ask that he be not prevented by the Department of the Interior from carrying out these instructions.

H. P. Ward, chairman resolutions committee; H. J. Bond, P. J. Hudson, J. C. Folsom, W. A. Durant, E. N. Wright, N. B. Ainsworth, C. A. Wilson, G. W. Choate, W. H. Harrison, Amos Henry, Sim Colbert, S. H. Mackey, D. C. McCurtain, members of resolutions committee.

W. A. Durant and D. C. McCurtain were elected by the convention as delegates to Washington, D. C., under the foregoing resolutions.

We certify that the foregoing resolutions are a correct copy of the original resolutions adopted by the general convention.

HAMPTON TUCKER, *Chairman.*
WALTER J. TURNBULL, *Secretary.*

We indorse the foregoing resolutions and election of delegates.

D. L. Anchabubbi, Farris, Okla.; Robert Parish, Darwin, Okla.; J. G. Ralls, Atoka, Okla.; W. O. Dandridge, Atoka; H. T. Faudree, Caddo, Okla.; E. Jackson, Atoka, Okla.; Y. F. Danenhour, Lehigh; Q. L. McGahey, Atoka, Okla.; A. J. McGahey, Atoka, Okla.; R. M. Wilson, Atoka, Okla.; Lamar Jackson, Atoka, Okla.; Anderson Camer; M. A. Camp, Darwin, Okla.; Joel Bywyte; Isom Billy, Daisy, Okla.; Garnett Simser, Atoka, Okla.; Charley Jacob; W. B. Ray; T. J. Ball, Lehigh, Okla.; J. B. Spring; J. R. Laurence, Atoka; Alinton R. Telle, Atoka, Okla.; Victor M. Kelley, Durant; Cecil A. Beebo, Durant; G. B. Dickerson, Durant; J. J. Kelley, Durant; W. E. L. Durant, Durant; W. A. Durant, Durant; Esias Johnson, Durant; S. E. Nelson, Durant; Simon J. Nelson, Durant; J. W. Durant, Durant; M. H. McDaniel, Durant; C. R. Crowder, Durant; John Peese, Durant; J. G. Durant, Durant; W. F. Semple, Durant; J. D. Stowers, Durant; Jesse Robinson; J. L. Ellington; Joe Beames, Bukchito; H. L. Gooding, Mead, Okla.; H. Q. Wilkinson, Durant; R. Roberts, Durant; Johnnie Beal; C. E. Boerner; W. L. Boerner; Ben Flinchman, Durant; B. B. Gunter; Frank Crawford; A. R. Bateman; J. A. Jay; E. Duer; David Duer; R. B. Beal; Joseph J. James, Red Oak, Okla.; Charles Austin, Red Oak; R. A. Welch, Red Oak; William James, Red Oak, Okla.; Johnie James, Red Oak, Okla.; Collin James, Lodi, Okla.; George Freeman, Atoka, Okla.; Osborne Peter, Bentley, Okla.; D. J. Bond, Daisy, Okla.; M. J. Mathews, Atoka; J. W. Vail, Atoka; W. E. Vail, Atoka; John Stewart, Atoka; S. B. Carnes, Atoka; Lewis Tonuhher, Atoka; W. E. Hilsemeck, Atoka; John W. Franklin, Atoka; Wm. Hunkajiller, Atoka; Tom Jack, Atoka; Charley Jacob, Atoka; Wilson Billey, Atoka; Nancy Norris, Atoka; Louise Temple, Atoka; Elias Thompson, Atoka, Okla.; C. H. Allison, Bentley, Okla.; L. E. Carones, Bentley, Okla.; Robert B. Brinkley, Atoka, Okla.; Wanneto F. Williams, Atoka; W. N. Rogers, Atoka, Okla.; L. W. Folsom, Atoka, Okla.; Sam Downing, Atoka, Okla.; John Freeman, Atoka, Okla.; J. W. Herndon, Atoka, Okla.; Kingsberry Wade, Lane, Oklahoma; Jackson Carnes, Coalgate; R. W. Folsom, Atoka, Okla.; R. O. Hunter, Atoka, Okla.; C. R. Anglin, Atoka, Okla.; Nelson Jacob; Caney, Okla.; Jessy Billy, Bentley, Okla.; Silas McFarland, Atoka, Okla.; Lefer Byington, Lane, Okla.; Adam Lawrence, Atoka, Okla.; Smallwood Tolsson; Peter Gibson, Lane, Okla.; Jim Billy, Bentley, Okla.; Chas. La Flore, Limestone Gap, Okla.; A. J. Cline, Atoka, Okla.; C. S. Kilgore, Atoka; Charles Ward, Blanco; Amos Williams, Blanco; Walton Waverly, Blanco; Jonas Sexton, McAlester; Julius Durand, McAlester, R. F. D. 1, Box 77; R. J. Murphy, Wardville; Isaac Hancock, Arpelar, Okla.; Barnet Durant, McAlester, Okla.; Nancy Brenon, McAlester; John King, Damon, Okla.; Edmond Albert, Heywood, Okla.; L. W. Orphan, Arpelar, Okla.; Lynch Arpelar, Arpelar, Okla.; James Albert; Heywood, Okla.; L. J. Campbell, McAlester, Okla.; Gilbert Arpelar, Arpelar, Okla.; Ben Alberson, Arpelar, Okla.; Kissen Reed, McAlester, Okla.; Henry Sealey; Alice Arpelar; W. S. Nelson, Areplar, Okla.; Lee McLith, Arpelar, Okla.; Jimmie Nail, Savanna, Okla.; Alfort Nail, Savanna; C. T. Miller, Arpelar, Okla.; Simon Wade, McAlester, Okla.; Williamson Billy, McAlester, Okla.; Charles Bascom, Quinton, Okla.; Willie Wallace, Stigler, Okla.; T. D. Dyer, Quinton, Okla.; Joseph Jackson, Whitefield, Okla.; Simon Colbert, Quinton, Okla.; Morton Carney, Quinton, Okla.; T. B. Walls, Quinton, Okla.; Frank Caley, Keota, Okla.; Sam Riddle, Quinton, Okla.; Noel Pope, Featherston, Okla.; Coleman Perry, Featherston, Okla.; Coleman Riddle, Quinton, Okla.; James Quinton, Quinton, Okla.; Sam Quinton, Quinton, Okla.; Mack Daniel, Featherston, Okla.; Solomon Hancock, Featherston, Okla.; Jonas Carney, Quinton, Okla.; Jefferson Perry, Hartshorne, Okla.; John Sanders, Quinton, Okla.; Ernest Powell, Howe, Okla.; Adam J. Wilkins, Howe, Okla.; Charles E. McCartney, Howe, Okla.; Griggs Durant, McCurtain, Okla.; S. J. Folsom, Heavener, Okla.; S. W. Folsom, Poteau, Okla.; Tom Trail Sea Lake, Poteau, Okla.; Albert McClure, Cameron, Okla.; Orval Q. Hill, Poteau, Okla.; James Anderson, Poteau, Okla.; Silliman John, Leflore, Okla.; J. R. Logan, Wister, Okla.; Carnolle Runton, Heavener, Okla.; J. W. Leflore, Milton, Okla.; Riley McAlvain, Wister, Okla.; W. N. Durant, Poteau, Okla.; Robert Morris, Wister, Okla.; John K. Durant, Gilmore, Okla.; Eastman McNoel, Howe, Okla.; William Moore, Howe, Okla.; Loman Jack, Howe, Okla.; Joel McCurtain, Howe, Okla.; W. T. Blake, Howe, Okla.; S. I. Thompson, Wister, Okla.; Tylers Billy, Howe, Okla.; Myatt Greenwood, Howe, Okla.; Wm. Grammer, Howe, Okla.; Mrs. Jiney G. Folsom, Howe, Okla.; Henry Hitcher, Gilmore, Okla.; Charley Kiefer, Glendale, Okla.; John Frazeer, Howe, Okla.; Harris Gum, Wister, Okla.; Allie D. Whistler, Howe, Okla.; J. E. Stalarp, Poteau, Okla.; Cornelius D. Hill, Poteau, Okla.; Sam J. Allen, Howe, Okla.; Marlin Bilby, Howe, Okla.; Ben Hotyale, Howe, Okla.; Daniel Perry, Howe, Okla.; Dennis Billy, Howe, Okla.; Albert Willis, Glendale, Okla.; David Willis, Poteau, Okla.; Wm. C. Page, Poteau, Okla.; A. B. Thompson, Wister, Okla.; Jeff Hickman, Leflore, Okla.; Dennis Bohannan, Poteau, Okla.; W. D. James, Poteau, Okla.; Davis James, Poteau, Okla.; Albert Billy, Gilmore, Okla.; Simon Billy, Howe, Okla.; Wm. McKinney, Smithville, Okla.; W. J. Johnson, Smithville, Okla.; Vicey James, Smithville, Okla.; R. E. Hullson, Watson, Okla.; Wecklis McCoy, Smithville, Okla.; Allen W. James, Smithville, Okla.; J. H. Samuels, Smithville, Okla.; Robinson Jones, Smithville, Okla.; David H. Potts; Elam J. Johnson, Smithville, Okla.; Gibson Going, Watson, Okla.; Calvin Watson, Watson, Okla.; Annie McCoy, Smithville, Okla.; Simpson Taylor, Smithville, Okla.; Iston McCoy, Smithville, Okla.; Thomas Watson, Watson, Okla.; Sam Watson, Watson, Okla.; Silas Watson, Watson, Okla.; Sinsie Johnson, Smithville, Okla.; Margaret Watson, Watson, Okla.; Eisa Watson, Watson, Okla.; Lartie Bohanan, Watson, Okla.; Wilkin Wanes, Watson, Okla.; Moses Robinson, Watson, Okla.; Edson Jefferson, Smithville, Okla.;

John Daniel, Riefe, Okla.; W. W. Battiest, Watson, Okla.; Simpson Wilson, Smithville, Okla.; Sallie Wilson, Smithville, Okla.; Stewart Bohanan, Watson, Okla.; Hettie Gibson, Watson, Okla.; Liza Ann Robinson, Watson, Okla.; Richard Bohanan, Watson, Okla.; Rayson Goings, Watson, Okla.; Larsen Watson, Watson, Okla.; Narsie Watson, Watson, Okla.; Amy Watson, Watson, Okla.; Lena Watson, Watson, Okla.; Madison Jefferson, Smithville, Okla.; Rosanna Jefferson, née Jones, Smithville, Okla.; Saley Jefferson, Smithville, Okla.; Josephin Battiest, Smithville, Okla.; Ennis Impalumby, Smithville, Okla.; Mike Williams, Ludlow, Okla.; Lucey Ludlow, Ludlow, Okla.; Osbey Williams, Pickins, Okla.; Meton Ludlow, Ludlow, Okla.; Stephen Gipson, Bethel; Davis Peter, Bethel, Okla.; Elizabeth Peter, Bethel, Okla.; Samuel Peter, Bethel, Okla.; Sillis Peter, Bethel, Okla.; Nancy Carney, Smithville, Okla.; Payson Carney, Smithville, Okla.; Chesney Gibson, Bethel, Okla.; Jamisen Lewis, Smithville, Okla.; Ida Lewis, Smithville, Okla.; Etta R. Damon, née Davis, Chickasha; Frank Plato, Chickasha; Waity Lee Plato, Calumet; Wm. Ward Plato, Naples; Arthur H. Plato, Denver, Colo.; Julius S. Askew; Jno. C. Davis, Chickasha; Ben Hampton, Chickasha; H. T. Hampton, Chickasha; E. R. Hampton, Chickasha; P. H. Hampton, Chickasha; Jos. Anderson, Chickasha; W. E. Anderson; W. E. Kirkendoll; Mary A. McCaull; Ida McCaull; Maxis O. Anderson, Chickasha; Rhoda M. Edgar, by Paul Edgar; Nat Jones, Chickasha, Okla.; Deana Percer, Chickasha, Okla.; Walter Perser, Walters, Colo.; Wiley Perser, Apache, Okla.; Elmer Twill, Apache, Okla.; Boone Bailey, Chickasha, Okla.; J. D. Chastain, Chickasha, Okla.; Emet Fryner, Tuttle, Okla.; Ester D. Hartin, née Snider, Tuttle; J. O. Campbell, Tuttle; W. F. Williams, Tuttle; Ray J. Bowers, Tuttle; Claude F. Foster, Tuttle; Lottie Morris, Tuttle; James O. Foster, Tuttle; Henry L. Campbell, Tuttle; Campbell Lenochon, Tuttle; Kathryn Bruce, née Wooley, Tuttle; Jno. F. Thomas, Tuttle; Maud Thomas, née Foster, Tuttle; J. W. Thomas, Tuttle; Mrs. Ethel Baker, née Thomas; Mrs. Lulu Thomas, née Williams; Sarah P. Johnson, née Snyder; Athel Williams, Tuttle; Edgar L. Park, Tuttle; R. L. Park, Tuttle; J. S. Schrock, Tuttle; Victoria, née Smith; Joseph Francies Ireton; Bertha Marie McMahon, née Colem; W. F. Foster; John A. Foster; Robt. E. Foster; Oma T. Foster Brown; Thomas A. Campbell; J. M. Campbell, Mineral Wells; Dillard Campbell, Mineral Wells; Sam S. Campbell, Carlsbad, N. Mex.; Maggie Jones, Carlsbad, N. Mex.; Anna Jones Carlsbad, N. Mex.; W. M. Campbell, Carlsbad, N. Mex.; Minnie Kelgore, née Campbell, Carlsbad, N. Mex.; Edna Anderson, née Vaughn; W. D. Bailey, Chickasha; Gould Bailey, Chickasha; Emar McCalla, née Bailey; Cora C. Robinson, Chickasha; Pearl M. Robinson; Minnie E. Poag, née Robinson; James M. Buckholts, Waine, Okla.; William (his x mark) Muncrieff, Chickasha; Edna M. Link; Ada B. Link; Robert E. Link; Arthur C. Link; Minnie G. Friend, née Link; J. A. Garland, Millerton, Okla.; D. A. Fowler, Millerton, Okla.; G. C. Nelson, Bismark, Okla.; David Davis, Bismark Okla.; Joseph Watkins, Bismark, Okla.; Johnson Watkins, Bismark, Okla.; Levi Wood, Bismark, Okla.; George Billy, Bismark, Okla.; Harrison Noah; Milburt Watkins, Noah; Carrie Tyler (née Gardner), Millerton; W. A. Fowler, Millerton, Okla.; W. E. Watkins, Valliant, Okla.; H. B. Jacob, Valliant; Davis Wesley, Valliant, Okla.; Lockey McCane, Millerton, Okla.; Lyman Baker, Valliant, Okla.; Alfred Christie, Valliant, Okla.; Mary Christie, Valliant, Okla.; Mollie Baker, Valliant, Okla.; Wm. W. Swink, Valliant, Okla.; Charles Thompson, Bismark; Gibson Cobb, Millerton; Joe Murphy, Millerton; Salmon Clay, Millerton; Wilson Howell, Millerton; E. B. Herndon, Farmer; Cornelius Blanton (née James); Nancy James; Forbes Le Flore, Millerton, Okla.; S. D. Harley, Haworth, Okla.; Thomas H. Byington, Goodwater, Okla.; H. J. Joel, Bismark, Okla.; S. B. Noah, Bismark, Okla.; R. F. James, Millerton, Okla.; A. W. McClure, Haywood, Okla.; W. D. Frazier, Bianco, Okla.; Thos. W. Moore, Haywood, Okla.; S. H. Mackey, jr., Haywood, Okla.; A. D. Pollock; J. E. Colbert, Kiowa, Okla.; Peter Godfrey, Kiowa, Okla.; A. B. A. Goedlen (Mississippi Choctaw), Kiowa, Okla.; Smith Williams (Mississippi Choctaw), Kiowa, Okla.; Effie M. Barnes (née Crast), Kiowa, Okla.; Elma Crasatt, Kiowa, Okla.; Sam. Pulliam, Celestine, Okla.; Walter Choate, Haywood; A. J. Turner, Celestine, Okla.; Ida F. Turner, Anderson, Okla.; C. C. Mathies, Wister; W. C. Franklin, Summerfield; O. J. Davis, Summerfield, Okla.; Joseph R. Jackson, Heavener; Forbis MacKey, Wister; C. W. Lofton, Victor, Okla.; W. R. McAlvain, Kennedy, Okla.; Israel Folsom, Wister, Okla.; Austin James, Whitesboro, Okla.; N. L. Free, Wister, Okla.; W. L. Free, Wister, Okla.; Robinson Perry, Foss; H. J. Jackson, Wister; J. B. Jackson, Wister; Amos Henry, Walls, Okla.; Woodson Lewis, Lodi, Okla.; Calvin Jefferson, Lodi, Okla.; Elum Baker, Lodi, Okla.; Eli Jefferson, Lodi, Okla.; Douglas Jefferson, Lodi, Okla.; E. W. Colbert, Lodi, Okla.; Johnson Coley, Lodi, Okla.; Loman Thomas, McCurtain, Okla.; Cyrus Lewis, Lodi, Okla.; Stephen Jefferson, Lodi, Okla.; Robien Jackson, Lodi, Okla.; Bennett Martin, Lodi, Okla.; Joe Dixon, Lodi, Okla.; Sampson Loving, Red Oak, Okla.; J. H. Hardaway; Julius Hardaway; Edgar Hardaway; J. R. Hardaway; Alex Henry, Walls, Okla.; Morris Smith, Bennington; J. M. Lloyd, Bennington; S. D. Haisell, Bennington; H. A. Broekett, Bennington; B. H. Parrish, Bennington; M. J. Durant, Bennington; J. N. Jones, Bennington; T. M. Barker, Bennington; Gertie Michie (née Hickman), Bennington; M. O. Murray, Bennington; Curtis E. Lewis, Bennington, Okla.; L. J. Wilson, Bennington, Okla.; A. P. Durant, Bennington, Okla.; Benjamin Risener, Bennington, Okla.; Philip Johnson, Cade, Okla.; O. Hutchison, Wade, Okla.; Joel Ward, Bennington, Okla.; Thomas Frye, Bennington, Okla.; Simpson Armby, Bennington, Okla.; Joseph S. Durant, Bennington, Okla.; Ross Frazier, Bennington, Okla.; N. B. McClure, Bennington, Okla.; D. E. Burnside, Bennington, Okla.; C. Crowder, Bennington, Okla.; J. A. Onwhantubber, Bennington, Okla.; S. B. Roberts, Bennington, Okla.; Wm. Risner, Bennington, Okla.; Sam Chubley, Bennington, Okla.; Anderson Bully, Bennington, Okla.; Rena Mae Moore, Bennington, Okla.; William H. Labor, Bennington, Okla.; G. C. Pattey, Bennington, Okla.; Isaac Hampton, Bennington, Okla.; Jesse Roberts, Bennington, Okla.; John Labor, Bennington, Okla.; J. J. Cummey, Albany, Okla.; Paul Alexander, Bennington, Okla.; Albert G. Washington, Cade, Okla.; Sam Dyon, Bruno, Okla.; Willie Beames, Jackson, Okla.; W. W. Le Flore, Jackson, Okla.; Roscoe Gordon, Bennington, Okla.; Moses Chubbee; W. J. Billy, Bennington, Okla.; S. W. Dyer, Bennington, Okla.; S. W. Azien, Bennington, Okla.; Sam Frye; G. Colisnee, Bennington, Okla.; Willie Wilson; Harris Pestobbe; Nicholas Cochaueur; J. A. Lucas, Bennington, Okla.; C. C. Cale; Elias Moses; Phoebe Peters (nee Gabor); Albert Medelt; W. Medell Jacksa; Lewis W. Armstrong, Bruno, Okla.; John Williams, Bruno, Okla.; Alexander Peter, Lane, Okla.; E. S. Hayes, Bruno, Okla.; J. M. Sumter, Atoka, Okla.; McGee Woods, Atoka, Okla.; Wilburn Thompson, Bruno, Okla.; Philip Thompson, Atoka, Okla.; Lafayette Homer, Lane, Okla.; Sam Carnes, Bentley, Okla.; Edmond Carnes, Bentley, Okla.; Willis Turner, Bentley, Okla.; Annie Moore, Atoka, Okla.; Czarina Homer, Atoka, Okla.; Edmond Armstrong, Bruno, Okla.; Gane Armstrong, Bruno, Okla.; H. W. Woods, Atoka, Okla.; Joe Jones, Bruno, Okla.; Jackson Mcfee, Atoka, Okla.; Liser Mcfee, Atoka, Okla.; Linsey Moore, Bentley, Okla.; Kitsey Wilson, Lane, Okla.; Elwood Jones, Atoka, Okla.; Annie Wilson, Atoka, Okla.; L. C. Carnes, Bentley, Okla.; Malone Carnes, Bentley, Okla.; Smallwood Fulsom, Lane, Okla.; Fosbern Fulsom, Lane, Okla.; Johnson Fulsom, Lane, Okla.; Nancy Thompson, Atoka, Okla.; Mary Hayes, Bruno, Okla.; Alice Norris, Atoka, Okla.; Emma Jones, Atoka, Okla.; Sukey Jones, Atoka, Okla.; G. W. Choate, Indian, Okla.; A. B. Hamilton, Indian, Okla.; Alexander B. Hamilton, jr., Indian, Okla.; Robert T. Pearson, Indian, Okla.; Robert F. Turner; J. T. Statan; J. W. Thomas; J. B. Turner; C. B. Bosley, North McAlester, Okla.; Mrs. C. B. Bosley, North McAlester, Okla.; Lena Lane, North McAlester, Okla.; Annie E. Low, North McAlester, Okla.; Nancy Carttidge Canadidyn; Jack Fulton, Catherine Fulton, North McAlester, Okla.; Sallie T. Archer, McAlester, Okla.; Jefferson T. Archer, McAlester, Okla.; Caston T. Archer, McAlester, Okla.; Wm. W. Pusley, McAlester, Okla.; Lelan Pusley, McAlester, Okla.; Collins G. Pusley, McAlester; Vivian E. Pusley, McAlester; James H. Reed, McAlester; Maggie Reed, McAlester; Henry Falconer, Spiro; Willis Ward; C. D. Frazier; E. J. Darneal; Silas Darneal; Alex. Avery; J. H. Tibbitt; Ophelia McCale (nee Merryman); Lon Evans; Iry Slack Merryman; Frank J. Ward; Eliza Casey; J. H. Ward; Q. E. Bowman; Joanna Henderson; Susie Bowman (nee Ward); Gertrude Bowman; Euweta Bowman; Mrs. E. A. Bowman; Louie Leflore, Spiro; Edward Lanice, Oak Lodge; J. F. Casey, Spiro; Sampson Wood; Edwin L. Hickman; S. J. Slack; A. M. Mixon, guardian and administrator, Spiro, Okla.; W. H. Merryman, Spiro, Okla.; Cora I. Smith, Spiro, Okla.; Zack T. Smith, guardian Robt. and Lucy, Spiro, Okla.; C. L. Mixon, Spiro; Chester Ainsmith, Oak Lodge, Okla.; B. F. Brothers, Panama; J. H. Goodnight, Panama, Okla.; L. B. Smith; G. W. McClain; Ree V. Smith; N. B. Moore; Ida H. Moore; G. W. Derryberry; G. H. Mineharts; R. J. Ward; T. M. Ainsworth; Anslom Darneal; Felix Lefevre; J. D. Ward; L. E. Merryman; E. A. Moore; Lewis Hancock, McAlester, Okla.; Johnson Leader, Haywood, Okla.; Elmer Orphen, Arpelar; Simeon Ott, Cabaniss, Okla.; Edmon Alberson, Cabaniss; Dickerson Lewis, Haywood, Okla.; Ida (née) Eddie Alberson, Cabaniss, Okla.; Suckey Miller, Arpelar, Okla.; Rena Orphan, Arpelar, Okla.; Myrtle Orphan, Arpelar, Okla.; Sina Orphan, Arpelar, Okla.; Serena Byington, Wapanucka; J. A. Franklin, Bokchito; Will Grantt, Caddo, Okla.; T. H. Benton, Matoy, Okla.; J. H. Benton; W. C. Hatcher, Caddo; E. A. Benton, Caddo, Okla.; A. M. Smith, Caddo, Okla.; Robert C. Freeny, jr.; F. P. Semple, Caddo, Okla.; Chas. C. Semple, Caddo, Okla.; R. C. Freeny, Caddo, Okla.; W. P. Turnbull, Caddo, Okla.; Z. G. Harrison; M. Edwards, Caddo, Okla.; A. F. Manning, Caddo, Okla.; John L. Boland, Caddo, Okla.; A. D. Turnbull, Caddo, Okla.; Ruel F. Taylor, Durant, Okla.; Frank Battiest, Matoy, Okla.; James Culberson, Durant, Okla.; Chas. A. Woodward, Durant; W. E. Zion, Durant, Okla.; W. T. Booth, Matoy, Okla.; Isaac Nelson, Durant full B; D. Morgan, Durant; Will S. Gardner, Bokchito, Okla.; Lafe Hull, Caddo; C. W. Edens, Bokchito, Okla.; Coleman Crawford, Bokchito, Okla.; E. N. Gardner, Banty, Okla.; Robert L. Gardner, Bokchito, Okla.; L. H. Lutes, Bokchito, Okla.; W. D. Impson, Bokchito, Okla.; James W. Lewis, Bokchito, Okla.; R. C. Lewis, Abilene, Tex.; Mrs. J. B. Gainer, Dallas, Tex.; Joseph Neely, Bokchito; Oscar Riddle, Banty; Willie Jones, Bokchito; J. D. Ashford, Bokchito; Joe Jones, Bokchito, Okla.; L. W. Frazier, Bokchito, Okla.; C. H. Jones, Bokchito; John Impson, Bokchito, Okla; Millie Ann Lehem, Bokchito, Okla.; Isham Lehem, Bokchito, Okla.; Ward Nealy, Bokchito, Okla.; D. Robinson, Bokchito, Okla.; L. Jimpson, Bokchito, Okla.; T. J. Impson, Bokchito, Okla.; Jacob Thompson, Bokchito, Okla.; James Dyer, jr., Lukoota, Okla.; O. L. Blanche, Eagletown, Okla.; Isaac Winship, Ida, Okla.; Simeon Winship, Eagletown, Okla.; B. N. Wade, Eagletown, Okla.; Emeline Wade, Eagletown, Okla.; Willie Dyer, Eagletown, Okla.; Zack Gardner, Eagletown, Okla.; Charley Hleohtambi, Broken Bow, Okla.; Hilton Johnson, Ida, Okla.; Osborne Wilson, Broken Bow, Okla.; Watson

Belly, Broken Bow, Okla.; E. W. Belly, Broken Bow, Okla.; Reubin Naknitaya, Broken Bow, Okla.; John Gaing, Broken Bow, Okla.; George Tanihka, Broken Bow, Okla.; Louisa Ben, Broken Bow, Okla.; Lee Foff, Eagletown, Okla.; Melwee Bohanan, Eagletown, Okla.; Eden Foff, Eagletown, Okla.; Alfred Byington, Eagletown, Okla.; Walter Simpson, Keota, Okla.; Jack Bivins, Keota, Okla.; Levi Tom, Keota, Okla.; Mary Jane Tom, Keota, Okla.; William Kinchis, Keota, Okla.; Campbell Perry, Keota, Okla.; Nicholas McGilberry, Keota, Okla.; James Willis, Keota, Okla.; Watson Wallison, Keota, Okla.; Edward Hoskins, Keota, Okla.; Tom Moore, Keota, Okla.; Israel Gage, Keota, Okla.; C. J. Coley, Kanima, Okla.; Wm. Socky, Kanima, Okla.; Monroe Gage, Keota, Okla.; Henry Williams, Keota, Okla.; Claud R. Smith, Keota, Okla.; Geo. L. Smith, Keota, Okla.; Frank Hickman, Keota, Okla.; Mike Jones, Keota, Okla.; Dawes Hoaner, Keota, Okla.; Kirby S. Cooper, Keota, Okla.; A. J. Moore, Keota, Okla.; Sampson Chubbee, Keota, Okla.; Stacy Moore, Keota, Okla.; D. A. Moore, Keota, Okla.; W. H. Harrison, half Choctaw, Idabel, Okla.; D. J. McKinney, Choctaw full, Idabel, Okla.; L. G. Battiest, Choctaw full, Idabel, Okla.; Josiah James, Choctaw full, Idabel, Okla.; Emmett Anderson, Choctaw full, Idabel, Okla.; Denison Walker, Choctaw full, Idabel, Okla.; Silas Tushka, Choctaw full, Idabel, Okla.; John Lemon, Choctaw full, Idabel, Okla.; Esias Washington, Choctaw full, Garvin, Okla.; Eastman Jacob, Choctaw full, Idabel, Okla.; Esias Hleohtambi, Choctaw full, Broken Bow, Okla.; Elam Charley, Choctaw full, Lukfata, Okla.; Geo. T. Victor, Choctaw full, Idabel, Okla.; Ulul Suckky, Choctaw full, Kullituklo, Okla.; Hagan John, full blood, Garvin, Okla.; W. J. White, three-sixteenths, Idabel, Okla.; W. J. Whitman, intermarried, Goodwater, Okla.; T. J. Cephus, full blood, Boktuklo, Okla.; Wm. Wilmath, intermarried, Boktuklo, Okla.; David Lewis, full blood, Glover, Okla.; Raymond Wilson, full blood, Broken Bow, Okla.; Q. Herndon, intermarried, Garvin, Okla.; Anderson Wilson, Idabel, Okla.; Sam Williams, Kullituklo, Okla.; B. S. Harris, one-half, Pleasant Hill, Okla.; I. W. Tushka, full blood, Idabel, Okla.; L. W. Cobb, full blood, Idabel, Okla.; Thomas Loma, full blood, Broken Bow, Okla.; Elam M. Ward, Choctaw full, Oak Hill, Okla.; Abbee Ebilett, Choctaw full, Broken Bow, Okla.; Green McKinny, full blood, Broken Bow, Okla.; Jackson McKinny, Choctaw full, Broken Bow, Okla.; Edward Dwight, Choctaw full, Haworth, Okla.; A. T. Gardner, one-half blood Choctaw, Millerton, Okla.; Robert Anderson, full blood, Broken Bow, Okla.; Kalister Anna, Choctaw full, Broken Bow, Okla.; Elus Alimohtubbe, Choctaw full, Broken Bow, Okla.; J. R. Knight, farmer, member third legislature, exeditor Beacon Times, Idabel, Okla.; Simon Peter, Choctaw full, Idabel, Okla.; T. C. Hickman, Choctaw full, Idabel, Okla.; N. J. Christie, Choctaw full, Idabel, Okla.; Rabis King, Choctaw full, Idabel, Okla.; Wilson Lewis, Idabel, Okla.; Simeon Wah, Choctaw full, Idabel, Okla.; Willis Willie, Idabel, Okla.; D. A. James, Idabel, Okla.; Richard Johnson, one-half Choctaw, Idabel, Okla.; L. M. Le Flore, Garvin, Okla.; Simeon Hicks, Boktuklo, Okla.; Wellington Jefferson, Idabel, Okla.; Jerry Wilson, Idabel, Okla.; Jno. Wilson, full-blood Choctaw, Idabel, Okla.; Wellington Haiakambbi, Idabel, Okla.; Peter McClure, Choctaw full, Hochatown, Okla.; Tom Stephens, Choctaw full, Hochatown, Okla.; Colbert Battiest, Choctaw full, Bethel, Okla.; Wesley Baker, Choctaw full, Ida, Okla.; Sampson Hall, full blood, Ida, Okla.; J. A. Franklin, intermarried citizen, Ida, Okla.; H. C. Dukes, half-breed Choctaw, Ida, Okla.; T. Levi Sampson, full blood, Goodwater, Okla.

Rural Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. GOODWIN,

OF ARKANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, I think the failure of this Congress to enact a rural credit law approaches almost a tragedy in our economic life. I do not believe that the attention of the American farmer has been directed to any one national legislative matter so much as upon the subject of rural credits unless it be that other question which many consider of even greater importance—the distribution and marketing of farm products—which goes as a handmaid to the subject of rural credits. I have not thought for the past few months that Congress would enact this law at this session, and yet in my opinion there has been no legitimate excuse for this failure. We know the unfortunate disagreement existing between the Members who compose the Banking and Currency Committee—their failure to get together and agree upon a given proposition. When a great question like this is demanded by the people Members composing a committee should abandon their pet theories and bills, make common sacrifice, though not too much in principle, and agree upon a sound economic measure that the agricultural people may have what they demand and what has been promised to them.

This Congress has been the most constructive and has put upon the statute books more far-reaching legislation than possibly any Congress that ever assembled in Washington with probably two or three exceptions. The Democratic administration coming into power was pledged to reform certain abuses that had grown up in our national life for the past 50 years, not only unchecked and unhampered, but even fostered and cultivated by the Republican Party, so long in power; and the administration was pledged to first right these wrongs, and the bitterest opponent of the administration will not claim that this Congress in this regard has failed to keep the pledge of its party along these lines.

The passage of the income-tax law, shifting in a large measure the burden of the Government upon the wealth of the country; the modification and strengthening of the Sherman antitrust law; the enactment of a Trades Commission law to supervise and give direction to the acts of corporations; the passage of the law reforming the banking and currency system of the country, decentralizing great aggregations of capital and of power from Wall Street and diffusing it throughout all parts of the country, and this, I submit, Mr. Speaker, is the greatest constructive measure enacted by any party for the past 50 years; divers and sundry laws for the improvement of labor conditions of the country, and many other salutary laws too numerous to mention, constitute but a small part of the constructive work of this Democratic Congress. But, as great and efficacious as these measures in time will prove to be, they have all been overshadowed and put in the background by the most cruel and barbarous war in the history of time, bringing, as this war has done, not only desolation, ruin, and wreck to the countries and the civilization of Europe, but, like a besom blight, its scorching waves have blown across the seas until it has largely destroyed and consumed the prosperity of the American people.

Of course it was expected that the program to which I have just referred should first be carried out, that business might be set free, that the credits of the country should be liberalized and mobilized and made more liquid, that the Money Trust, which controlled the credits of the country, should be destroyed, that the issues that had divided the two dominant parties for so many years should first be settled and settled right.

While all of these, Mr. Speaker, were necessary and were to be expected, yet our platforms are equally committed to legislation permitting the agricultural people to borrow money on long-time loans at a low rate of interest. The merchant borrows money from 60 days to 12 months, and if business is fairly prosperous and no serious losses are entailed he can repay that money as he is turning his money over in the sale of goods from time to time; but not so always with the farmer, who is constantly making improvements in the way of building, ditching, fencing, fertilizing, and otherwise improving his farm, such as the purchase of live stock, farm machinery, and the like, all of which takes a constant stream of money to supply, and upon which investments returns and dividends may be long delayed. This man, I say—the farmer—needs money on long-time loans in order that these improvements may be made and borrowed at a low rate of interest, paying off a part of the loan from year to year until the debt is entirely liquidated.

I know that it is no child's play to draft and make successfully operating any kind of financial legislation, for if there is any one public question that takes every imaginary angle, every conceivable turn of the mind, that has multiplied phases, that may be looked upon from every imaginable viewpoint, that has as its sponsor thousands of people with variegated ideas as to the best possible law, it is the all-perplexing money question when it comes up to be legislated upon. You may go into a group of a dozen men of national reputation, each of whom knows much about the financial question, each of whom stands in a sense as an authority upon money and financial legislation, and from these dozen men will arise as many different ideas and theories. In other words, Mr. Speaker, when the money question is mentioned, every fellow becomes a sort of a law unto himself, many of whom have ideas unrelated, unassimilated and entirely incoherent, some parts of which ideas, I submit, are plausible, but upon the whole not workable, while others, I submit, are as crazy as March hares; thus every Congress is confronted and is baffled when it undertakes to legislate upon any phase of the money question.

The subject of rural credits is entirely a new question in this country. It is a very old question indeed in Europe where it has worked so well for so long a time, but their conditions are quite different from ours. In most countries over there the people cooperate, and this has come about by many years of training and of experience, and from the further fact that those

countries have been settled for many hundreds of years, while ours is a new country, newly peopled, many parts of which are yet sparsely and barely settled at all. The spirit of independence and of individualism has been taught in this country to the exclusion of cooperation that obtains across the waters, so, I say, I can see how the members of the Committee on Banking and Currency may honestly differ and are still groping in the dark, doing their best to see the light; and yet, Mr. Speaker, nearly two years have passed since this question began to be studied one way or another, not only by members of the Banking and Currency Committee, but by most every Member of Congress, and yet, Mr. Speaker, I am constrained to believe that there are some members of that committee who are at least indifferent to rural-credit legislation. I have been very charitable in my expressions until lately in that regard, as I was generous enough to hope at least that there was a natural and well-founded difference of opinion upon a part of the committee. But be that as it may, a Representative in Congress himself might not believe in the wisdom of this or that legislation, but if there is a widespread demand for that legislation and the same can be enacted safely and sanely, and if the political platforms of the country demand specifically that kind of legislation, I submit, sir, that whether a Member of Congress personally believes in the wisdom of that legislation or not, he should bury his individual opinion, divest himself of all pride, and reflect the wishes of all these demands by sacrificing his own convictions and preconceptions.

But, Mr. Speaker, there is another phase of rural-credit legislation aside from the land-mortgage system that is generally thought of when speaking of rural credits, and that is the question of personal credits, which is not backed up by farm mortgages, because the man seeking personal credit may be so unfortunate as not to be a landowner; and these people, Mr. Speaker, are of all our rural population the most unfortunate, the most imposed on; unfortunate that they do not own the roof that covers their heads or a plot of ground upon which they and their family may be buried. Yet these people composing a large part of our citizenship, breadwinners, creators of wealth, because their labor evolves wealth, who bear arms in time of trouble to bring peace and security to our land, embracing many of the young men of the country who, having obtained their majority, go out into the world, either as single or with a small family, and without homes, without collateral, without security, seek to earn a livelihood, but possess nothing except a strong arm and an honest heart and a good name. These virtues, however glorious and important, do not afford collateral at a bank in every instance, and certainly would not if our legislation upon rural credits should be confined entirely to land-mortgage legislation.

We hear little said about this phase of rural credits; the bulk of the talk and of the discussion is confined to a land-mortgage system of rural credits, but the millions of people all over this country without homes to mortgage need credit. These include not only most of the tenants of the country, but many others whom a few moments ago I named by reference.

Now, how are these people to be provided with credit by a law enacted by Congress? We know them by the thousands in our respective districts, men who go to their merchants or their banker from year to year and obtain credit of one kind or another. Some are fortunate enough to own a little live stock, a few cows, a head or two of horses, and maybe a few hogs. If they till the soil they execute a chattel mortgage to the money lender, be he merchant or banker, either for so much money borrowed or for a certain amount of supplies. In addition to that they include in this chattel mortgage a lien on their interests in all the crops of cotton and corn, or what not, that may be grown by them during that year. This mortgage, of course, is accompanied by a promissory note, which is the evidence of the indebtedness. Now, those of us who hail from certain sections of this country where wealth is the exception and not the rule, know to what great disadvantage these unfortunate people are put, as well as the disadvantage that falls upon the man who has land which he mortgages for money or supplies. Both are compelled to pay for money borrowed a high rate of interest. If for goods sold on time in the way of supplies furnished to the borrower, goods at a high profit to the seller. There is no such thing as borrowing money on long-time loans at a low rate of interest the way the system is now arranged. That is entirely out of the question. We are now seeking relief by way of congressional enactment; and what is that relief and what are some of the ideas proposed to grant that relief in the way of personal credit as distinguished from farm-mortgage credit? Let us see:

A commission has been appointed by Congress to investigate the question of rural credits during the recess of Congress. I think this unnecessary and maintain that we should have enacted a rural-credit law, both land mortgage and personal credit. But since that was not done and a commission has been created, this commission then should make the broadest inquiry possible and the most searching investigation of all rural-credit systems extant; moreover, this commission should sit as a court and hear testimony from the best authorities in the land, not bankers only, but farmers and men who would be borrowers of money, men who have credit to sell as well as men who have money to lend; to ascertain what would be right and fair for both borrower and lender as to time, collateral, interest, and amortization, or partial payments from year to year. Some people will want the German system indorsed in this country, others the French, still others the Belgian system, and so on, while others will have ideas original to themselves, strictly American in thought and practice. But how is the money to be had? Of course that would depend upon the system adopted. A considerable school of thought favor the Government of the United States backing whatever system is adopted by lending the Government's credit to this end. Others oppose this, however, claiming that the same is economically unsound and would wreck both the Government as well as the institution created.

In the Eastern States especially there are many hundreds of millions of dollars deposited in savings banks, upon which interest is drawn from 2½ to 3 per cent. These deposits are subject at any time to withdrawal, and this fact alone creates instability in money centers in times of panics or when money becomes timid, in fear of panics or a shake-up in the money market. These depositors, of course, would prefer to lend money out from 4 to 5 per cent rather than to receive from 2½ to 3 per cent, but such loans would not be made unless the Congress would standardize the system in a way that would guarantee stability as to loans. Congress, of course, can not regulate matters pertaining solely to the States only in a national or Federal sense.

I submit, Mr. Speaker, that an undertaking of this importance in order that it may prove a success and give relief to the Agricultural people should begin, at least, with Government aid, as otherwise the system would be of slow growth and possibly fail. The objection might be raised that the Government should abstain and withhold all aid from such enterprises. But the Government is engaged in many national activities, upon not a small but a most prodigious scale. The Government has constructed the Panama Canal at an expense of about $400,000,000; it is building railroads in Alaska, insuring ships and their cargoes since the recent European war came on; and only a day or two ago we had a great fight in this House over the purchase of ships by the Federal Government to carry the commerce of our country to foreign shores to relieve the shippers of exorbitant rates now imposed upon them by the Ship Trust—one of the most gigantic and heartless trusts in all the world—a trust which, taking advantage of our unfortunate situation on account of the war in Europe, is eating up the substance of the people by charging from 100 to 900 per cent more on freight than hitherto had been the custom in times of peace; exacting of the farmer from five to eighteen dollars a bale for his cotton, when the same prior to this had been carried from two and one-half to five dollars a bale across the ocean. Surely if the Government can spend hundreds of millions of dollars in other enterprises, it might at least start off a system of farm mortgage and personal credits by lending Government assistance in that behalf in order that success might be guaranteed at once to the undertaking.

I submit, Mr. Speaker, that there is no legitimate argument against the country coming to the aid of the men who till the soil, who may become home builders, who give strength and security to our Government. Thousands of people in all parts of our country are anxious to become bona fide home builders and permanent citizens—men who can not obtain credit or any considerable backing. We all know many hundreds of people, not only upon the farm, but who are engaged in public works, sawmilling, as well as thousands who reside in manufacturing and other industrial centers, who might own a home for the rent that they pay for a series of years. Nothing, sir, gives such strength and permanence and breeds such good and desirable citizenship as that man who owns his home, who is a fixture in the community in which he resides, who feels an interest in all local, State, and national questions; and nothing will promote home building so much as to be able to borrow money at a low rate of interest and to pay it back through a long series of years in the way of partial payments. All this while the home is being improved, advancing in value, and our failure thus far to do something of this kind has been little short of criminal.

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NAMES AND POST-OFFICE ADDRESSES

OF

SENATORS

IN THE

THIRD SESSION OF THE SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

THOMAS R. MARSHALL, Vice President, Indianapolis, Ind.
JAMES P. CLARKE, President pro tempore, Little Rock, Ark.

Name.	Home post office.	Name.	Home post office.
Ashurst, Henry F	Prescott, Ariz.	Myers, Henry L	Hamilton, Mont.
Bankhead, John H	Jasper, Ala.	Nelson, Knute	Alexandria, Minn.
Borah, William E	Boise, Idaho.	Newlands, Francis G	Reno, Nev.
Brady, James H	Pocatello, Idaho.	Norris, George W	McCook, Nebr.
Brandegee, Frank B	New London, Conn.	O'Gorman, James A	New York, N. Y.
Bristow, Joseph L	Salina, Kans.	Oliver, George T	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Bryan, Nathan P	Jacksonville, Fla.	Overman, Lee S	Salisbury, N. C.
Burleigh, Edwin C	Augusta, Me.	Owen, Robert L	Muskogee, Okla.
Burton, Theodore E	Cleveland, Ohio.	Page, Carroll S	Hyde Park, Vt.
Camden, Johnson N.[1]	Versailles, Ky.	Penrose, Boies	Philadelphia, Pa.
Catron, Thomas B	Santa Fe, N. Mex.	Perkins, George C	Oakland, Cal.
Chamberlain, George E	Portland, Oreg.	Pittman, Key	Tonopah, Nev.
Chilton, William E	Charleston, W. Va.	Poindexter, Miles	Spokane, Wash.
Clapp, Moses E	St. Paul, Minn.	Pomerene, Atlee	Canton, Ohio.
Clark, Clarence D	Evanston, Wyo.	Ransdell, Joseph E	Lake Providence, La.
Clarke, James P	Little Rock Ark.	Reed, James A	Kansas City, Mo.
Colt, LeBaron B	Bristol, R. I.	Robinson, Joseph T	Lonoke, Ark.
Crawford, Coe I	Huron, S. Dak.	Root, Elihu	New York, N. Y.
Culberson, Charles A	Dallas, Tex.	Saulsbury, Willard	Wilmington, Del.
Cummins, Albert B	Des Moines, Iowa.	Shafroth, John F	Denver, Colo.
Dillingham, William P	Montpelier, Vt.	Sheppard, Morris	Texarkana, Tex.
du Pont, Henry A	Winterthur, Del.	Sherman, Lawrence Y	Springfield, Ill.
Fall, Albert B	Three Rivers, N. Mex.	Shields, John K	Knoxville, Tenn.
Fletcher, Duncan U	Jacksonville, Fla.	Shively, Benjamin F	South Bend, Ind.
Gallinger, Jacob H	Concord, N. H.	Simmons, F. M	Newbern, N. C.
Goff, Nathan	Clarksburg, W. Va.	Smith, Ellison D	Florence, S. C.
Gore, Thomas P	Lawton, Okla.	Smith, Hoke	Atlanta, Ga.
Gronna, Asle J	Lakota, N. Dak.	Smith, John Walter	Snow Hill, Md.
Hardwick, Thomas W.[2]	Sandersville, Ga.	Smith, Marcus A	Tucson, Ariz.
Hitchcock, Gilbert M	Omaha, Nebr.	Smith, William Alden	Grand Rapids, Mich.
Hollis, Henry F	Concord, N. H.	Smoot, Reed	Provo City, Utah.
Hughes, William	Paterson, N. J.	Stephenson, Isaac	Marinette, Wis.
James, Ollie M	Marion, Ky.	Sterling, Thomas	Vermilion, S. Dak.
Johnson, Charles F	Waterville, Me.	Stone, William J	Jefferson City, Mo.
Jones, Wesley L	North Yakima, Wash.	Sutherland, George	Salt Lake City, Utah.
Kenyon, William S	Fort Dodge, Iowa.	Swanson, Claude A	Chatham, Va.
Kern, John W	Indianapolis, Ind.	Thomas, Charles S	Denver, Colo.
La Follette, Robert M	Madison, Wis.	Thompson, William H	Garden City, Kans.
Lane, Harry	Portland, Oreg.	Thornton, John R	Alexandria, La.
Lea, Luke	Nashville, Tenn.	Tillman, Benjamin R	Trenton, S. C.
Lee, Blair	Silver Spring, Md.	Townsend, Charles E	Jackson, Mich.
Lewis, J. Hamilton	Chicago, Ill.	Vardaman, James K	Jackson, Miss.
Lippitt, Henry F	Providence, R. I.	Walsh, Thomas J	Helena, Mont.
Lodge, Henry C	Nahant, Mass.	Warren, Francis E	Cheyenne, Wyo.
McCumber, Porter J	Wahpeton, N. Dak.	Weeks, John W	Newton, Mass.
McLean, George P	Simsbury, Conn.	White, Francis S	Birmingham, Ala.
Martin, Thomas S	Charlottesville, Va.	Williams, John S	Benton, Miss.
Martine, James E	Plainfield, N. J.	Works, John D	Los Angeles, Cal.

[1] Elected in place of William O. Bradley, deceased.

[2] Elected in place of William S. West, appointed Senator.

NAMES AND POST-OFFICE ADDRESSES

OF

REPRESENTATIVES AND DELEGATES

IN THE

THIRD SESSION OF THE SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

CHAMP CLARK, Speaker, Bowling Green, Mo.

Name.	Home post office.
Abercrombie, John W	Tuscaloosa, Ala.
Adair, John A. M	Portland, Ind.
Adamson, William C	Carrollton, Ga.
Aiken, Wyatt	Abbeville, S. C.
Ainey, William D. B	Montrose, Pa.
Alexander, Joshua W	Gallatin, Mo.
Allen, Alfred G	Cincinnati, Ohio.
Anderson, Sydney	Lanesboro, Minn.
Ansberry, Timothy T.[1]	Defiance, Ohio.
Anthony, Daniel R., jr	Leavenworth, Kans.
Ashbrook, William A	Johnstown, Ohio.
Aswell, James B	Natchitoches, La.
Austin, Richard W	Knoxville, Tenn.
Avis, Samuel B	Charleston, W. Va.
Bailey, Warren W	Johnstown, Pa.
Baker, J. Thompson	Wildwood, N. J.
Baltz, William N	Millstadt, Ill.
Barchfeld, Andrew J	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Barkley, Alben W	Paducah, Ky.
Barnhart, Henry A	Rochester, Ind.
Bartholdt, Richard	St. Louis, Mo.
Bartlett, Charles L	Macon, Ga.
Barton, Silas R	Grand Island, Nebr.
Bathrick, Ellsworth R	Akron, Ohio.
Beakes, Samuel W	Ann Arbor, Mich.
Beall, Jack	Waxahachie, Tex.
Bell, Charles W	Pasadena, Cal.
Bell, Thomas M	Gainesville, Ga.
Blackmon, Fred. L	Anniston, Ala.
Booher, Charles F	Savannah, Mo.
Borchers, Charles M	Decatur, Ill.
Borland, William P	Kansas City, Mo.
Bowdle, Stanley E	Cincinnati, Ohio.
Britten, Fred A	Chicago, Ill.
Brockson, Franklin	Clayton, Del.
Brodbeck, Andrew R	Hanover, Pa.
Broussard, Robert F	New Iberia, La.
Brown, Lathrop	St. James, N. Y.
Brown, William G., jr	Kingwood, W. Va.
Browne, Edward E	Waupaca, Wis.
Browning, William J	Camden, N. J.
Bruckner, Henry	New York, N. Y.
Brumbaugh, Clement	Columbus, Ohio.
Bryan, James W	Seattle, Wash.
Buchanan, Frank	Chicago, Ill.
Buchanan, James P	Brenham, Tex.
Bulkley, Robert J	Cleveland, Ohio.
Burgess, George F	Gonzales, Tex.
Burke, Charles H	Pierre, S. Dak.
Burke, James F	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Burke, Michael E	Beaver Dam, Wis.
Burnett, John L	Gadsden, Ala.
Butler, Thomas S	West Chester, Pa.
Byrnes, James F	Aiken, S. C.
Byrns, Joseph W	Nashville, Tenn.
Calder, William M	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Callaway, Oscar	Comanche, Tex.
Campbell, Philip P	Pittsburg, Kans.
Candler, Ezekiel S., jr	Corinth, Miss.
Cantor, Jacob A	New York, N. Y.
Cantrill, James C	Georgetown, Ky.
Caraway, Thaddeus H	Jonesboro, Ark.
Carew, John F	New York, N. Y.
Carlin, Charles C	Alexandria, Va.
Carr, Wooda N	Uniontown, Pa.
Carter, Charles D	Ardmore, Okla.
Cary, William J	Milwaukee, Wis.
Casey, John J	Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
Chandler, Walter M	New York, N. Y.
Church, Denver S	Fresno, Cal.
Clancy, John R	Syracuse, N. Y.
Clark, Champ	Bowling Green, Mo.
Clark, Frank	Gainesville, Fla.
Claypool, Horatio C	Chillicothe, Ohio.
Cline, Cyrus	Angola, Ind.
Coady, Charles P	Baltimore, Md.
Collier, James W	Vicksburg, Miss.
Connelly, John R	Colby, Kans.
Connolly, Maurice	Dubuque, Iowa.
Conry, Michael F	New York, N. Y.
Cooper, Henry A	Racine, Wis.
Copley, Ira C	Aurora, Ill.
Cox, William E	Jasper, Ind.
Cramton, Louis C	Lapeer, Mich.
Crisp, Charles R	Americus, Ga.
Crosser, Robert	Cleveland, Ohio.
Cullop, William A	Vincennes, Ind.
Curry, Charles F	Sacramento, Cal.
Dale, Harry H	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Danforth, Henry G	Rochester, N. Y.
Davenport, James S	Vinita, Okla.
Davis, Charles R	St. Peter, Minn.
Decker, Perl D	Joplin, Mo.
Deitrick, Fred. S	Cambridge, Mass.
Dent, S. Hubert, jr	Montgomery, Ala.
Dershem, Frank L	Lewisburg, Pa.
Dickinson, Clement C	Clinton, Mo.
Dies, Martin	Beaumont, Tex.
Difenderfer, Robert E	Jenkintown, Pa.
Dillon, Charles H	Yankton, S. Dak.
Dixon, Lincoln	North Vernon, Ind.
Donohoe, Michael	Philadelphia, Pa.
Donovan, Jeremiah	South Norwalk, Conn.
Dooling, Peter J	New York, N. Y.
Doolittle, Dudley	Strong City, Kans.
Doremus, Frank E	Detroit, Mich.

[1] Resigned January 9, 1915.

Names and post-office addresses of Members and Delegates of the House of Representatives—Continued.

Name.	Home post office.
Doughton, Robert L	Laurel Springs, N. C.
Driscoll, Daniel A	Buffalo, N. Y.
Drukker, Dow H	Passaic, N. J.
Dunn, Thomas B	Rochester, N. Y.
Dupré, H. Garland	New Orleans, La.
Eagan, John J	Weehawken, N. J.
Eagle, Joe H	Houston, Tex.
Edmonds, George W	Philadelphia, Pa.
Edwards, Charles G	Savannah, Ga.
Elder, Walter	Monroe, La.
Esch, John J	La Crosse, Wis.
Estopinal, Albert	Estopinal, La.
Evans, John M	Missoula, Mont.
Fairchild, George W	Oneonta, N. Y.
Faison, John M	Faison, N. C.
Falconer, J. A	Everett, Wash.
Farr, John R	Scranton, Pa.
Fergusson, Harvey B	Albuquerque, N. Mex.
Ferris, Scott	Lawton, Okla.
Fess, Simeon D	Yellow Springs, Ohio.
Fields, William J	Olive Hill, Ky.
Finley, David E	Yorkville, S. C.
Fitzgerald, John J	Brooklyn, N. Y.
FitzHenry, Louis	Bloomington, Ill.
Flood, Henry D	Appomattox, Va.
Floyd, John C	Yellville, Ark.
Fordney, Joseph W	Saginaw, Mich.
Foster, Martin D	Olney, Ill.
Fowler, H. Robert	Elizabethtown, Ill.
Francis, William B	Martins Ferry, Ohio.
Frear, James A	Hudson, Wis.
French, Burton L	Moscow, Idaho.
Gallagher, Thomas	Chicago, Ill.
Gallivan, James A	Boston, Mass.
Gard, Warren	Hamilton, Ohio.
Gardner, Augustus P	Hamilton, Mass.
Garner, John N	Uvalde, Tex.
Garrett, Daniel E	Houston, Tex.
Garrett, Finis J	Dresden, Tenn.
George, Henry, jr	New York, N. Y.
Gerry, Peter G	Warwick, R. I.
Gill, Michael J	St. Louis, Mo.
Gillett, Frederick H	Springfield, Mass.
Gilmore, Edward	Brockton, Mass.
Gittins, Robert H	Niagara Falls, N. Y.
Glass, Carter	Lynchburg, Va.
Godwin, Hannibal L	Dunn, N. C.
Goeke, J. Henry	Wapakoneta, Ohio.
Goldfogle, Henry M	New York, N. Y.
Good, James W	Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
Goodwin, William S	Warren, Ark.
Gordon, William	Cleveland, Ohio.
Gorman, George E	Chicago, Ill.
Goulden, Joseph A	New York, N. Y.
Graham, George S	Philadelphia, Pa.
Graham, James M	Springfield, Ill.
Gray, Finly H	Connersville, Ind.
Green, William R	Audubon, Iowa.
Greene, Frank L	St. Albans, Vt.
Greene, William S	Fall River, Mass.
Gregg, A. W	Palestine, Tex.
Griest, William W	Lancaster, Pa.
Griffin, Daniel J	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Gudger, James M., jr	Asheville, N. C.
Guernsey, Frank E	Dover, Me.
Hamill, James A	Jersey City, N. J.
Hamilton, Charles M	Ripley, N. Y.
Hamilton, Edward L	Niles, Mich.
Hamlin, Courtney W	Springfield, Mo.
Hammond, Winfield S.[2]	St. James, Minn.
Hardy, Rufus	Corsicana, Tex.
Harris, Christopher C	Decatur, Ala.
Harrison, Byron P	Gulfport, Miss.
Hart, Archibald C	Hackensack, N. J.
Haugen, Gilbert N	Northwood, Iowa.
Hawley, Willis C	Salem, Oreg.
Hay, James	Madison, Va.
Hayden, Carl	Phoenix, Ariz.
Hayes, Everis A	San Jose, Cal.
Heflin, J. Thomas	Lafayette, Ala.
Helgesen, Henry T	Milton, N. Dak.
Helm, Harvey	Stanford, Ky.
Helvering, Guy T	Marysville, Kans.
Henry, Robert L	Waco, Tex.
Hensley, Walter L	Farmington, Mo.
Hill, Robert P	Marion, Ill.
Hinds, Asher C	Portland, Me.
Hinebaugh, William H	Ottawa, Ill.
Hobson, Richmond P	Greensboro, Ala.
Holland, Edward E	Suffolk, Va.
Houston, William C	Woodbury, Tenn.
Howard, William S	Kirkwood, Ga.
Howell, Joseph	Logan, Utah.
Hoxworth, Stephen A	Rapatee, Ill.
Hughes, Dudley M	Danville, Ga.
Hughes, James A	Huntington, W. Va.
Hulings, Willis J	Oil City, Pa.
Hull, Cordell	Carthage, Tenn.
Humphrey, William E	Seattle, Wash.
Humphreys, Benjamin G	Greenville, Miss.
Igoe, William L	St. Louis, Mo.
Jacoway, Henderson M	Dardanelle, Ark.
Johnson, Albert	Hoquiam, Wash.
Johnson, Ben	Bardstown, Ky.
Johnson, Jacob	Spring City, Utah.
Johnson, Joseph T	Spartanburg, S. C.
Jones, William A	Warsaw, Va.
Kahn, Julius	San Francisco, Cal.
Keating, Edward	Pueblo, Colo.
Keister, Abraham L	Scottdale, Pa.
Kelley, Patrick H	Lansing, Mich.
Kelly, M. Clyde	Braddock, Pa.
Kennedy, Ambrose	Woonsocket, R. I.
Kennedy, Charles A	Montrose, Iowa.
Kennedy, William	Naugatuck, Conn.
Kent, William	Kentfield, Cal.
Kettner, William	San Diego, Cal.
Key, John A	Marion, Ohio.
Kiess, Edgar R	Williamsport, Pa.
Kindel, George J	Denver, Colo.
Kinkaid, Moses P	O'Neill, Nebr.
Kinkead, Eugene F.[3]	Jersey City, N. J.
Kirkpatrick, Sanford	Ottumwa, Iowa.
Kitchin, Claude	Scotland Neck, N. C.
Knowland, Joseph R	Alameda, Cal.
Konop, Thomas F	Kewaunee, Wis.
Korbly, Charles A	Indianapolis, Ind.
Kreider, Aaron S	Annville, Pa.
Lafferty, A. W	Portland, Oreg.
La Follette, William L	Pullman, Wash.
Langham, Jonathan N	Indiana, Pa.
Langley, John W	Pikeville, Ky.
Lazaro, Ladislas	Washington, La.
Lee, Gordon	Chickamauga, Ga.
Lee, Robert E	Pottsville, Pa.
L'Engle, Claude	Jacksonville, Fla.
Lenroot, Irvine L	Superior, Wis.
Lesher, John V	Sunbury, Pa.
Lever, Asbury F	Lexington, S. C.
Levy, Jefferson M	New York, N. Y.
Lewis, David J	Cumberland, Md.
Lewis, Fred E	Allentown, Pa.
Lieb, Charles	Rockport, Ind.
Lindbergh, Charles A	Little Falls, Minn.
Lindquist, Francis O	Greenville, Mich.
Linthicum, J. Charles	Baltimore, Md.
Lloyd, James T	Shelbyville, Mo.
Lobeck, C. O	Omaha, Nebr.
Loft, George W	New York, N. Y.
Logue, J. Washington	Philadelphia, Pa.
Lonergan, Augustine	Hartford, Conn.
McAndrews, James	Chicago, Ill.
McClellan, George	Chatham, N. Y.
McGillicuddy, Daniel J	Lewiston, Me.

[2] Resigned January 6, 1915.

[3] Resigned February 4, 1915.

Names and post-office addresses of Members and Delegates of the House of Representatives—Continued.

Name.	Home post office.
McGuire, Bird	Pawnee, Okla.
McKellar, Kenneth D	Memphis, Tenn.
McKenzie, John C	Elizabeth, Ill.
McLaughlin, James C	Muskegon, Mich.
MacDonald, William J	Calumet, Mich.
Madden, Martin B	Chicago, Ill.
Maguire, John A	Lincoln, Nebr.
Mahan, Bryan F	New London, Conn.
Maher, James P	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Manahan, James	Minneapolis, Minn.
Mann, James R	Chicago, Ill.
Mapes, Carl E	Grand Rapids, Mich.
Martin, Eben W	Deadwood, S. Dak.
Merritt, Edwin A., jr.[4]	Potsdam, N. Y.
Metz, Herman A	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Miller, Clarence B	Duluth, Minn.
Mitchell, John J	Marlboro, Mass.
Mondell, Frank W	Newcastle, Wyo.
Montague, Andrew J	Richmond, Va.
Moon, John A	Chattanooga, Tenn.
Moore, J. Hampton	Philadelphia, Pa.
Morgan, Dick T	Woodward, Okla.
Morgan, Lewis L	Covington, La.
Morin, John M	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Morrison, Martin A	Frankfort, Ind.
Moss, Hunter H., jr	Parkersburg, W. Va.
Moss, Ralph W	Center Point, Ind.
Mott, Luther W	Oswego, N. Y.
Mulkey, W. O	Geneva, Ala.
Murdock, Victor	Wichita, Kans.
Murray, William H	Tishomingo, Okla.
Neeley, George A	Hutchinson, Kans.
Neely, M. M	Fairmont, W. Va.
Nelson, John M	Madison, Wis.
Nolan, John I	San Francisco, Cal.
Norton, Patrick D	Hettinger, N. Dak.
O'Brien, James H	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Oglesby, Woodson R	Yonkers, N. Y.
O'Hair, Frank T	Paris, Ill.
Oldfield, William A	Batesville, Ark.
O'Leary, Denis[5]	Douglaston, N. Y.
O'Shaunessy, George F	Providence, R. I.
Padgett, Lemuel P	Columbia, Tenn.
Page, Robert N	Biscoe, N. C.
Paige, Calvin D	Southbridge, Mass.
Palmer, A. Mitchell	Stroudsburg, Pa.
Park, Frank	Sylvester, Ga.
Parker, James S	Salem, N. Y.
Parker, Richard Wayne[6]	Newark, N. J.
Patten, Thomas G	New York, N. Y.
Patton, Charles E	Curwensville, Pa.
Payne, Sereno E.[7]	Auburn, N. Y.
Peters, John A	Ellsworth, Me.
Peterson, John B	Crown Point, Ind.
Phelan, Michael F	Lynn, Mass.
Platt, Edmund	Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Plumley, Frank	Northfield, Vt.
Porter, Stephen G	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Post, James D	Washington C. H., Ohio.
Pou, Edward W	Smithfield, N. C.
Powers, Caleb	Barbourville, Ky.
Price, Jesse D.[8]	Salisbury, Md.
Prouty, Solomon F	Des Moines, Iowa.
Quin, Percy E	McComb City, Miss.
Ragsdale, J. Willard	Florence, S. C.
Rainey, Henry T	Carrollton, Ill.
Raker, John E	Alturas, Cal.
Rauch, George W	Marion, Ind.
Rayburn, Sam	Bonham, Tex.
Reed, Eugene E	Manchester, N. H.
Reilly, Michael K	Fond du Lac, Wis.
Reilly, Thomas L	Meriden, Conn.
Riordan, Daniel J	New York, N. Y.
Roberts, E. E	Carson City, Nev.
Roberts, Ernest W	Chelsea, Mass.
Rogers, John J	Lowell, Mass.
Rothermel, John H	Reading, Pa.
Rouse, Arthur B	Burlington, Ky.
Rubey, Thomas L	Lebanon, Mo.
Rucker, William W	Keytesville, Mo.
Rupley, Arthur R	Carlisle, Pa.
Russell, Joseph J	Charleston, Mo.
Sabath, Adolph J	Chicago, Ill.
Saunders, Edward W	Rocky Mount, Va.
Scott, George C	Sioux City, Iowa
Scully, Thomas J	South Amboy, N. J.
Seldomridge, H. H	Colorado Springs, Colo.
Sells, Sam R	Johnson City, Tenn.
Shackleford, Dorsey W	Jefferson City, Mo.
Sherley, Swagar	Louisville, Ky.
Sherwood, Isaac R	Toledo, Ohio.
Shreve, Milton W	Erie, Pa.
Sims, Thetus W	Linden, Tenn.
Sinnott, Nicholas J	The Dalles, Oreg.
Sisson, Thomas U	Winona, Miss.
Slayden, James L	San Antonio, Tex.
Slemp, C. Bascom	Big Stone Gap, Va.
Sloan, Charles H	Geneva, Nebr.
Small, John H	Washington, N. C.
Smith, Addison T	Twin Falls, Idaho.
Smith, Charles B	Buffalo, N. Y.
Smith, Frank O	Dunkirk, Md.
Smith, George R	Minneapolis, Minn.
Smith, J. M. C	Charlotte, Mich.
Smith, Samuel W	Pontiac, Mich.
Smith, William R	Colorado, Tex.
Sparkman, Stephen M	Tampa, Fla.
Stafford, William H	Milwaukee, Wis.
Stanley, Augustus O	Henderson, Ky.
Stedman, Charles M	Greensboro, N. C.
Steenerson, Halvor	Crookston, Minn.
Stephens, Dan V	Fremont, Nebr.
Stephens, Hubert D	New Albany, Miss.
Stephens, John H	Vernon, Tex.
Stephens, William D	Los Angeles, Cal.
Stevens, Frederick C	St. Paul, Minn.
Stevens, Raymond B	Lisbon, N. H.
Stone, Claudius U	Peoria, Ill.
Stout, Tom	Lewistown, Mont.
Stringer, Lawrence B	Lincoln, Ill.
Sumners, Hatton W	Dallas, Tex.
Sutherland, Howard	Elkins, W. Va.
Switzer, Robert M	Gallipolis, Ohio.
Taggart, Joseph	Kansas City, Kans.
Talbott, J. Fred. C	Lutherville, Md.
Talcott, Charles A	Utica, N. Y.
Tavenner, Clyde H	Cordova, Ill.
Taylor, Benjamin I	Harrison, N. Y.
Taylor, Edward T	Glenwood Springs, Colo.
Taylor, George W	Demopolis, Ala.
Taylor, Samuel M	Pine Bluff, Ark.
Temple, Henry W	Washington, Pa.
Ten Eyck, Peter G	Albany, N. Y.
Thacher, Thomas C	Yarmouth, Mass.
Thomas, Robert Y., jr	Central City, Ky.
Thompson, Joseph B	Pauls Valley, Okla.
Thomson, Charles M	Chicago, Ill.
Towner, Horace M	Corning, Iowa.
Townsend, Edward W	Montclair, N. J.
Treadway, Allen T	Stockbridge, Mass.
Tribble, Samuel J	Athens, Ga.
Tuttle, William E., jr	Westfield, N. J.
Underhill, Edwin S	Bath, N. Y.
Underwood, Oscar W	Birmingham, Ala.
Vare, William S	Philadelphia, Pa.
Vaughan, Horace W	Texarkana, Tex.
Vinson, Carl[9]	Milledgeville, Ga.
Vollmer, Henry	Davenport, Iowa.
Volstead, Andrew J	Granite Falls, Minn.
Walker, J. Randall	Valdosta, Ga.
Wallin, Samuel	Amsterdam, N. Y.
Walsh, Allan B	Trenton, N. J.

[4] Died December 4, 1914.
[5] Resigned December 31, 1914.
[6] Elected in place of W. I. McCoy, resigned.
[7] Died December 10, 1914.
[8] Elected in place of J. H. Covington, resigned.
[9] Elected in place of T. W. Hardwick, elected Senator.

Names and post-office addresses of Members and Delegates of the House of Representatives—Continued.

Name.	Home post office.	Name.	Home post office.
Walters, Anderson H	Johnstown, Pa.	Wilson, Emmett	Pensacola, Fla.
Watkins, John T	Minden, La.	Wilson, Frank E	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Watson, Walter A	Jennings Ordinary, Va.	Wingo, Otis	De Queen, Ark.
Weaver, Claude	Oklahoma City, Okla.	Winslow, Samuel E	Worcester, Mass.
Webb, Edwin Y	Shelby, N. C.	Witherspoon, Samuel A	Meridian, Miss.
Whaley, Richard S	Charleston, S. C.	Woodruff, Roy O	Bay City, Mich.
Whitacre, John J	Canton, Ohio.	Woods, Frank P	Estherville, Iowa.
White, George	Marietta, Ohio.	Young, George M	Valley City, N. Dak.
Williams, William E	Pittsfield, Ill.	Young, James	Kaufman, Tex.
Willis, Frank B.[10]	Ada, Ohio.		

DELEGATES.

Kalanianaole, J. Kuhio	Honolulu, Hawaii.	Wickersham, James	Fairbanks, Alaska.

RESIDENT COMMISSIONERS.

Earnshaw, Manuel	Manila, P. I.	Rivera, Luis Munoz	San Juan, P. R.
Quezon, Manuel L	Tayabas, P. I.		

[10] Resigned January 9, 1915.

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Foot-and-mouth disease (S. Rept. 831), 45.
Uniform grading of grain (S. Rept. 1014), 4083.

COMMITTEE ON ALCOHOLIC LIQUOR TRAFFIC (*House*).
Resolution assigning clerk to (see H. Res. 666*).

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS (*House*).
Reports by
Deficiency appropriation bill (H. Repts. 1241, 1440), 448, 4527.
District of Columbia appropriation bill (H. Rept. 1204), 11.
Fortifications appropriation bill (H. Rept. 1416), 4075.
Legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill (H. Rept. 1221), 178.
Payment of December salaries of officers and employees of Senate and House (H. Rept. 1243), 448.
Pension appropriation bill (H. Rept. 1320), 2268.
Sundry civil appropriation bill (H. Rept. 1365), 3052.

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS (*Senate*).
Amendment in Senate making appropriation for clerk and messenger to, 869.
Reports by
Deficiency appropriation bill (bill H. R. 20241; S. Repts. 848, 1053), 813, 5066.
Diplomatic and consular appropriation bill (S. Rept. 1024), 4523.

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS (*Senate*)—Continued.
Reports by
District of Columbia appropriation bill (S. Rept. 856), 978.
Fortifications appropriation bill (bill H. R. 21491), 4523.
Indian appropriations—continuing for fiscal year 1916 (H. J. Res. 441), 5407.
Legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill (S. Rept. 968), 3380.
Official opening of Panama Canal (S. J. Res. 223), 1328.
Payment of December salaries of officers and employees of Senate and House (S. J. Res. 213), 334.
Sundry civil appropriation bill (S. Rept. 1000), 3984.

COMMITTEE ON ARMOR PLATE INVESTIGATION. *See* COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE COST OF AN ARMOR PLANT (*Joint*).

COMMITTEE TO AUDIT AND CONTROL THE CONTINGENT EXPENSES OF THE SENATE (*Senate*).
Amendment in Senate making appropriation for clerk and messenger to, 869.
Reports by
Additional minority employee (S. Res. 510), 812.
Committee on Agriculture (S. Res. 539), 3626.
Committee on Indian Affairs (S. Res. 521), 1564.
Committee to Investigate the Excise Board of the District of Columbia (S. Res. 522), 2302.
Committee to investigate proposed purchase of vessels of belligerent nations (S. Res. 543), 3773.
Committee on Judiciary (S. Res. 552, 554), 4894.
Committee on the Philippines (S. Res. 489), 16.
Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads (S. Res. 519), 1601.
Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds (S. Res. 529, 547), 3085, 4083.
Continuing employment of an additional messenger (S. Res. 491), 1156.
Foot-and-mouth disease (S. Res. 490), 45.
Luten, Daniel B. (S. Res. 513), 4912.
Platt, Julia H. (S. Res. 553), 4894.

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY (*House*).
Resolution directing them to report in regard to the delay of bill providing for rural credits (see H. Res. 675).
Reports by
National rural credit commission (H. Rept. 1364), 3078.

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY (*Senate*).
Amendment in Senate making appropriation for clerks and messenger to, 869.
Reports by
Federal reserve banks (S. Rept. 854), 963.
National bank directors (S. Rept. 963), 2991.
Rural credits (S. Rept. 1048), 4844.

COMMITTEE ON CENSUS (*Senate*).
Mr. Thompson excused, 5508.

COMMITTEE ON CLAIMS (*House*).
Mr. Price elected, 429.
Reports by
American Towing & Lightering Co. (H. Rept. 1352), 2982.
Arms, F. T. (H. Rept. 1318), 2269.
Baranello, Libero and Michele (H. Rept. 1382), 3482.
Blake, William J. (H. Rept. 1295), 1917.
Bond, Eva G. (H. Rept. 1387), 3482.
Bookhamer, James (H. Rept. 1453), 4802.
Burrows, John (H. Rept. 1348), 2982.
Cameron, Mrs. Joseph (H. Rept. 1384), 3482.
Castellano, Amato (H. Rept. 1382), 3482.
Contributors to the Ellen M. Stone ransom fund (H. Rept. 1398), 3616.
Crawford, W. F. (H. Rept. 1354), 2982.
Darr, Thomas P. (H. Rept. 1296), 1917.
Davis, Joe (H. Rept. 1357), 2982.
Drake, Lyman D. (H. Rept. 1315), 2269.
Fineren, William W. (H. Rept. 1293), 1917.
Fowler, Arthur W. (H. Rept. 1355), 2982.
Georgia Railroad & Banking Co. (H. Rept. 1316), 2269.
Girolami, Teresa (H. Rept. 1361), 2982.
Gorman, James F. (H. Rept. 1294), 1917.
Hensley, William (H. Rept. 1383), 3482.
Howell, H. S., deceased (H. Rept. 1325), 2432.
Jackson, Daisy E. (H. Rept. 1387), 3482.
Jennings, Joseph A. (H. Rept. 1349), 2982.
Johnston, Charlotte M. (H. Rept. 1356), 2982.
Landram, Louis (H. Rept. 1297), 1917.
Langhorne, S. W. (H. Rept. 1325), 2432.
Leon, Nabor and Victoria (H. Rept. 1386), 3482.
McKay, Peter (H. Rept. 1359), 2982.
Monahan, Ellen B. (H. Rept. 1455), 4802.
Mortimer, John W. (H. Rept. 1298), 1917.
Payne, John Howard, deceased (H. Rept. 1454), 4802.
Preston, Simon M. (H. Rept. 1360), 2982.
Pumphrey, Mollie H. (H. Rept. 1358), 2982.
Refund of duties paid on imported artificial silk (H. Rept. 1397), 3616.
Rock, Homer (H. Rept. 1389), 3482.
Rogers, Frank Henry, deceased (H. Rept. 1385), 3482.
Ryan, John A. (H. Rept. 1350), 2982.
Settlers in Sherman County, Oreg. (H. Rept. 1442), 4553.
Smith, Frank E. (H. Rept. 1351), 2982.
Southern Transportation Co. (H. Rept. 1317), 2269.
Taheny, Dommick (H. Rept. 1298), 1917.
Tahoma, revenue cutter (H. Rept. 1388), 3482.
Tainter, Austin G. (H. Rept. 1370), 3153.
Walker, Frank H. (H. Rept. 1351), 2982.
Wilson, Richard H. (H. Rept. 1353), 2982.

COMMITTEE ON CLAIMS (*Senate*).
Amendment in Senate making appropriation for clerk and messenger to, 869.
Reports by
Allen, Hunton (S. Rept. 861), 1010.
American Towing & Lightering Co. (bill H. R. 17174), 5146.
Atlantic Canning Co. (S. Rept. 893), 1328.
Baranello, Libero and Michele (bill H. R. 16777), 5066.
Brose, Arthur (S. Rept. 876), 1156.
Burke, M. C. (S. Rept. 906), 1487.

COMMITTEE ON CLAIMS (*Senate*)—Continued.
Reports by
Burrows, John (S. Rept. 1011), 4083.
Byrd, Emily J. (S. Rept. 905), 1487.
Castellano, Amato (bill H. R. 16777), 5066.
Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway Co. (S. Rept. 864), 1010.
Clark, James S., deceased (S. Rept. 858), 1010.
Coffman, Victoria (S. Rept. 859), 1010.
Cramer, Le Grand C. (S. Rept. 885), 1285.
Crawford, Sandy (S. Rept. 877), 1156.
Crawford, W. F. (S. Rept. 1060), 5066.
Danley, Epps (S. Rept. 865), 1010.
Dehon, Theodore, deceased (S. Rept. 860), 1010.
Easson, James (S. Rept. 993), 3927.
Ehrmann, John P. (S. Rept. 1058), 5066.
Emerson, Fred A. (S. Rept. 873), 1156.
Entriken, Emmett W. (S. Rept. 872), 1156.
Hatch, Sarah B. (S. Rept. 862), 1010.
Howard, William A. (S. Rept. 869), 1011.
Lamar, Mrs. H. G. (S. Rept. 1008), 3984.
Lawrence, Andrew J. (S. Rept. 866), 1011.
McKay, Peter (S. Rept. 871), 1157.
Miller, Anna (S. Rept. 867), 1011.
Miller, Isador (S. Rept. 887), 1285.
Nicholls, Joshua, deceased (S. Rept. 1038), 4555.
Odum, Clyde (S. Rept. 863), 1010.
Penrose, George H. (S. Rept. 883), 1285.
Port Angeles City Dock Co. (S. Rept. 880), 1156.
Powers, Joseph A. (S. Rept. 875), 1156.
Pritchard, Charles L. (S. Rept. 1059), 5066.
Rapp, Lottie (S. Rept. 914), 1541.
Retter, Mrs. Max S. (S Rept. 886), 1285.
Rogers, Frank Henry, deceased (S. Rept. 988), 3927.
Rogers, J. A. (S. Rept. 888), 1285.
Rouse, Parker S., deceased (S. Rept. 884), 1285.
Ryan, Daniel J., (S. Rept. 903), 1487.
Schroeter, F. W. Theodore (S. Rept. 915), 1541.
Thomas, L. V. (S. Rept. 878), 1156.
Thresher, Alfred A. (S. Rept. 560), 5067.
Torkildsen, Vilhelm (bill S. 6866), 295.
Waldo, Hannah (S. Rept. 868), 1011.

COMMITTEE ON COINAGE, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES (*House*),
Mr. Price elected, 429.
Mr. Vinson elected, 429.

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE (*Senate*).
Amendment in Senate making appropriation for clerk and messengers to, 869.
Reports by
American seamen (bill S. 136), 901.
Assistant inspectors of steam vessels (S. Rept. 838), 173.
Bridges: Delaware River (S. Rept. 849), 901.
——— Mississippi River (S. Repts. 890, 956, 1004), 1285, 2991, 3985, 5555.
——— Missouri River (bill H. R. 21121), 5172.
——— Niagara River (S. Rept. 870), 1156.
——— Ohio River (S. Repts. 835, 857, 933, 1043), 138, 978, 2302, 4808.
——— Pearl River, La. (bill H. R. 21562), 5401.
——— Red River, Tex. (S. Rept. 1044), 4808.
——— Rock River, Ill. (S. Rept. 850), 901.
——— Rocky River, Ohio (S. Rept. 957), 2991.
——— St. Louis River (bill S. 7535), 2991.
——— Suwanee River (S. Rept. 978), 3549.
——— Tennessee River (S. Rept. 889), 1284.
Calument River, Ill. (S. Rept. 960), 2991.
Certificates of inspection of steam vessels (S. Repts. 922, 1006), 2302, 3984.
Certificates of registry of vessels abroad (S. Rept. 1005), 3984.
Collector of customs at Omaha, Nebr. (S. Rept. 844), 333.
Construction of two revenue cutters (S. Rept. 833), 126.
Dams: regulations for construction of (S. Rept. 846), 385.
East River and Hell Gate, N. Y. (S. Rept. 959), 2991.
Establishment of merchant marine (S. Rept. 841), 251.
Licensed officers of steam vessels (S. Rept. 840), 251.
Life-saving stations: Duxbury Reef, Cal. (S. Rept. 962), 2991.
——— Siuslaw River, Oreg. (S. Rept. 961), 2991.
Lighthouse reservation at Tawas, Mich. (S. Rept. 836), 173.
Lighthouse Service (S. Repts. 851, 965), 901, 3084.
Minnesota, steamer (S. Rept. 1064), 5172.
Moore, Thomas (S. Rept. 1013), 4083.
Nyando, N. Y. (S. Repts. 834, 1012), 138, 4083.
Revenue cutter at San Francisco, Cal. (S. Rept. 950), 2840.
River and harbor appropriation bill (S. Rept. 958), 2991, 4957.
Simla, bark (S. Rept. 832), 126.
Supervising inspectors and assistant inspectors of Steamboat-Inspection Service (S. Repts. 837, 1007, 1009), 173, 3985.
Van Buren, Me. (S. Rept. 1063), 5231.
Vessels for the Coast and Geodetic Survey (S. Rept. 879), 1156.

COMMITTEE ON CONSERVATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES (*Senate*).
Mr. Thompson excused, 5508.

COMMITTEE ON CORPORATIONS ORGANIZED IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (*Senate*).
Resolution to allow them to employ an additional stenographer (see S. Res. 497).
Reports by
Ellen Wilson Memorial Homes (bill S. 7743), 4911.
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ (S. Rept. 1041), 4681.
Institutions of learning (bill S. 3431), 4555.
Mother's Day Association (S. Rept. 1040), 4680.
National Society of Daughters of American Revolution (S. Rept. 1042), 4680.

COMMITTEE ON DISPOSITION OF USELESS EXECUTIVE PAPERS (*Joint*).
Resolution assigning clerk to (see H. Res. 666*).
Resolution to allow messenger to (see H. Res. 667*).
Reports by
Useless papers in Department of Commerce (H. Rept. 1434), 4341.
Useless papers in Department of Labor (H. Rept. 1469), 5057.
Useless papers in Treasury, Navy, and Post Office departments (H. Rept. 1486), 5225.

COMMITTEE ON DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (*House*).
Reports by
Adjust and settle certain shortages in accounts of the District of Columbia (H. Rept. 1212), 162.
Annual assessments of real estate (H. Rept. 1208), 77.
Cemetery of White's Tabernacle (H. Rept. 1260), 1007.
Church, Charles W. (H. Rept. 1206), 41.
Culbertson, Robert A., deceased (H. Rept. 1373), 3153.
Dearing, George T., deceased (H. Rept. 1206), 41.
Manner of paying expenses of District government (H. Rept. 1210), 77.
Petty, James T. (H. Rept. 1206), 41.
Sanitary conditions in composing rooms (H. Rept. 1289), 1734.
Segregation of races in street cars (H. Rept. 1340), 2740, 2827.
Taxation of real estate in District of Columbia (H. Repts. 1207, 1209), 77.
Wilson, Jessie B., deceased (H. Rept. 1206), 41.

COMMITTEE ON THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (*Senate*).
Amendment in Senate making appropriation for clerk and messenger to, 869.
Reports by
Appointment of committee to investigate financial relations of United States and District of Columbia (S. Rept. 1020), 4266.
Public-school buildings (bill H. R. 13222), 3699.
Shortages in certain accounts of District of Columbia (S. Rept. 1019), 4265.

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION (*House*).
Resolution assigning clerk to (see H. Res. 666*).
Reports by
Adult illiteracy (H. Rept. 1487), 5226.
Federal motion-picture commission (H. Rept. 1411), 3923.
National university (H. Rept. 1433), 4445.

COMMITTEE ON ENROLLED BILLS (*House*).
Resolution assigning clerk to (see H. Res. 666*).
Resolution to allow additional clerical assistance (see H. Res. 745*).

COMMITTEE ON ENROLLED BILLS (*Senate*).
Amendment in Senate making appropriation for clerk and messenger to, 869.

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE (*House*).
Mr. Vinson elected, 429.
Resolution to allow clerk to (see H. Res. 667*).

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE (*House*).
Resolution to allow clerk to (see H. Res. 667*).

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE (*House*).
Resolution to allow clerk to (see H. Res. 667*).

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR (*House*).
Resolution to allow clerk to (see H. Res. 667*).

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE INTERIOR DEPARTMENT (*House*).
Resolution to allow clerk to (see H. Res. 667*).

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE NAVY DEPARTMENT (*House*).
Resolution to allow clerk to (see H. Res. 667*).

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT (*House*).
Resolution to allow clerk to (see H. Res. 667*).

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT (*Senate*).
Mr. Hardwick appointed chairman, 9.

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT (*House*).
Resolution to allow clerk to (see H. Res. 667*).

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT (*House*).
Mr. Price elected, 429.
Resolution to allow clerk to (see H. Res. 667*).

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE WAR DEPARTMENT (*House*).
Resolution to allow clerk to (see H. Res. 667*).

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE WAR DEPARTMENT (*Senate*).
Resolution to allow them to employ stenographer (see S. Res. 526).

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS (*House*).
Resolution to allow clerk to (see H. Res. 667*).

COMMITTEE ON FEDERAL AID IN CONSTRUCTION OF POST ROADS (*Joint*).
Order of Senate to print additional copies of report of, agreed to (H. Doc. 1510), 2993.
Reports by
Public roads (H. Doc. 1510), 2032, 2099.

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE (*Senate*).
Amendment in Senate making appropriation for clerk and messenger to, 869.
Reports by
Bay City, Mich. (S. Rept. 1034), 4523.
Denatured alcohol (S. Rept. 1032), 4523.
Drawback of tax on articles shipped to Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands (bill H. R. 12674), 4204.
Fitch, Samuel M. (bill H. R. 10122), 5066.
Foreign-built vessels owned by Americans (S. Rept. 1023), 4392.
Jacksonville, Fla. (S. Rept. 1033), 4523.
Mixed flour (S. Rept. 1062), 5172.
Reexportation of goods in bond (S. Rept. 1061), 5146.
Refunding duties collected on flax-preparatory machines (S. Rept. 1056), 5066.
Refunding penalties collected under the income-tax law (S. Rept. 1055), 5066.
Spirits used in manufacture of flavoring extracts (S. Rept. 1035), 4555.
War tax (S. Rept. 839), 173.

COMMITTEE ON FISHERIES (*Senate*).
Reports by
Sealskins (S. J. Res. 214; H. J. Res. 391), 435, 3549.
Whales in Alaska (bill S. 5283; S. Rept. 982), 3699.

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS (*House*).
Reports by
Diplomatic and Consular Service (H. Rept. 1324), 2364.
International Dry Farming Congress (H. Rept. 1252), 782.
Niagara Falls, N. Y. (H. Rept. 990, pt. 2), 3739.
Pan American financial conference (H. Rept. 1421), 4165.
Pan American Medical Congress (H. Rept. 1409), 3837.
Practice of pharmacy and sale of poisons in consular districts of United States in China (H. Rept. 1311), 2202.

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS (*Senate*).
Amendment in Senate making appropriation for clerk and messenger to, 869.
Reports by
Neutrality (H. J. Res. 439), 5335.
Pan American financial conference (S. J. Res. 228; S. Rept. 920), 1947.
Pan American Medical Congress (S. Rept. 966), 3084.

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION (*Senate*).
Mr. Hardwick appointed, 139.

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION (*House*).
Reports by
Immigration (bill H. R. 6060; H. Rept. 1368), 3013.
Lerrigo, George Edward (H. Rept. 1321), 2364.

COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS (*House*).
Reports by
Assessments on Indian allotments in Minnesota (H. Rept. 1319), 2269.
Confirming patents heretofore issued to certain Indians in Washington (H. Rept. 1246), 616.
Creek Indian lands (H. Rept. 1326), 2432.
Indian appropriation bill (H. Rept. 1228), 379.
Indian depredation claims (H. Rept. 1237), 430.
Joint Commission to Investigate Indian Affairs (H. Rept. 1428), 4242.
Sisseton and Wahpeton Bands of Sioux Indians (H. Rept. 1274), 1379.

COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS (*Senate*).
Mr. Thompson excused, 5508.
Resolution to allow them to employ stenographer (S. Res. 521*), 1541, 1564.
Reports by
Construction of public roads on Indian reservations in Nebraska (S. Rept. 919), 1842.
Creek Indians (S. Repts. 917, 981), 1703, 3699.
Indian appropriation bill (S. Rept. 1022), 4265.
Indians in State of Washington (S. Rept. 939), 2302.
Joint Committee to Investigate Indian Affairs (S. Rept. 983), 3773.
Modisette, J. O. (S. Rept. 907), 1487.
Red Lake Indian Reservation, Minn. (S. Rept. 984), 3773.
Tuscarora Indians (S. Rept. 918), 1703.
Vacate certain lands reserved for town site in Oklahoma (S. Rept. 985), 3773.

COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL EXPOSITIONS (*Senate*).
Mr. Hardwick appointed, 139.
Reports by
Government exhibit of progress of the colored race at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition (S. J. Res. 106), 1327.

COMMITTEE ON INTEROCEANIC CANALS (*Senate*).
Mr. Chilton excused, 5508.
Mr. Thompson appointed, 5508.

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE (*House*).
Reports by
Aids to navigation and other works in the Lighthouse Service (H. Rept. 1213), 162.
Bills of lading (H. Rept. 1341), 2827.
Birkett, Frederick J. (H. Repts. 1226, 1285), 291, 1678.
Block signal system on railroads (H. Rept. 1249), 631.
Bridges: Delaware River (H. Rept. 1271), 1379.
——— Mississippi River (H. Repts. 1217, 1310, 1424, 1458), 162, 2162, 4165, 4888.
——— Missouri River (H. Rept. 1459), 4888.
——— Ohio River (H. Repts. 1223, 1225, 1259, 1302, 1404), 248, 1007, 1917, 3763.
——— Pearl River, La. (H. Rept. 1473), 5057.
——— Rocky River, Ohio (H. Rept. 1267), 1276.
——— St. Louis River, Minn. (H. Rept. 1216), 162.
——— Suwanee River (H. Rept. 1403), 3763.
Calumet River, Ill. (H. Rept. 1268), 1322.
Construction of two revenue cutters (H. Rept. 1214), 162.
Divisions of mental hygiene and rural sanitation in Public Health Service (H. Rept. 1224), 248, 267.
Leprosy (H. Rept. 1286), 1678.
Life-saving stations: Duxbury Reef, Cal. (H. Rept. 1323), 2364.
——— Siuslaw River, Oreg. (H. Rept. 1215), 162.
Vessels for Coast and Geodetic Survey (H. Rept. 1272), 1379.

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE COMMERCE (*Senate*).
Amendment in Senate making appropriation for clerk and messenger to, 869.
Resolution to allow them to subpœna witnesses, send for books and papers, administer oaths, employ stenographer, and sit during sessions or recesses of Senate (see S. Res. 533).
Reports by
Hours of labor of employees of railroads (bill H. R. 17893; S. Rept. 1072), 4681, 5354.
Inspection of correspondence of common carriers (bill S. 7738), 4837, 5059, 5133, 5244.
Inspection of locomotive boilers (bill H. R. 17894), 5355.
Interstate transportation of products of child labor (S. Rept. 1050), 4911.

COMMITTEE ON INVALID PENSIONS (*House*).
Resolution assigning assistant clerk to (see H. Res. 666*).
Reports by
Specified pension cases (H. Repts. 1205, 1261, 1301, 1390, 1391, 1392, 1451, 1452), 41, 1007, 1917, 3536, 4679.

COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE COST OF AN ARMOR PLANT (*Joint*).
Reports by
Investigation (H. Doc. 1620), 5252.

COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE EXCISE BOARD OF DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (*Senate*).
Appointed, 1815.
Mr. Hitchcock excused, 2310.
Mr. Hughes appointed, 2852.
Mr. James excused, 2852.
Mr. Saulsbury appointed, 2852.
Mr. Saulsbury excused, 3551.
Mr. Thompson appointed, 3956.
Resolution to allow them to send for persons and papers, administer oaths, compel attendance of witnesses, employ stenographer, order printing, and sit during sessions of Senate (see S. Res. 522*).
Reports by
Investigation (S. Doc. 981), 5499.

COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE GENERAL PARCEL POST (*Joint*).
Reports by
Parcel post (S. Doc. 944), 3626.

COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE PROPOSED PURCHASE OF VESSELS OF BELLIGERENT NATIONS (*Senate*).
Appointed, 3777, 3839.
Mr. Penrose appointed, 5506.

COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE TELEPOST (*Senate*).
Reports by
Investigation (S. Doc. 983), 5147.

COMMITTEE ON IRRIGATION OF ARID LANDS (*House*).
Resolution to amend rule relative to jurisdiction of (see H. Res. 710).

COMMITTEE ON IRRIGATION AND RECLAMATION OF ARID LANDS (*Senate*).
Resolution to allow them to employ stenographer (see S. Res. 524).
Reports by
Rio Grande River (S. Rept. 992), 3927.

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY (*House*).
Mr. Gard elected, 429.
Resolution assigning an additional assistant clerk to (see H. Res. 666*).
Reports by
Additional judge in fifth circuit (H. Rept. 1374), 3153.
Arkansas (H. Rept. 1346), 2982.
Bartow County, Ga. (H. Rept. 1278), 1532.
Boy Scouts of America (H. Rept. 1362), 2982.
Dayton, Alston G. (H. Repts. 1381, 1490), 3444, 3447, 5452.
Georgia (H. Rept. 1347), 2982.
Louisiana (H. Rept. 1394), 3536.
New Jersey (H. Rept. 1412), 3980.
Procedure in United States courts (H. Rept. 1218), 162.
Retirement of judges (H. Rept. 1419), 4164.
South Carolina (H. Rept. 1393), 3536.
Writs of certiorari (H. Rept. 1222), 199.

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY (*Senate*).
Amendment in Senate making appropriation for clerk and messenger to, 869.
Resolution authorizing them to consider further revision of the judicial code (see S. Res. 552*).
Resolution to allow them to send for persons and papers, administer oaths, employ stenographer, and sit during sessions of Senate (see S. Res. 554*).
Resolution extending time for the lobby investigation by (see S. Res. 569*).
Reports by
Additional judge in fifth judicial circuit (S. Rept. 1017), 4264.
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Hamer, Sarah B. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Hamilton, John C. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Hamm, George D. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Hammerton, Sarah L. (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Hammond, Arvilla B. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Hammond, James (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Hanoch, William (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Harden, Samuel W. (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Harding, George W. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Harmon, Charles P. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Harrington, Mary A. (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Harris, Fred F. (S. Rept. 969), 3547.
Harris, Hattie A. (formerly Hungerford) (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Harris, Susie E. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Harrison, James Forsyth (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Hart, William H. (S. Rept. 969), 3547.
Hartley, Lillian J. (S. Rept. 843), 333.
Hasbrook, Josiah (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Haskell, Nelson E. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Hatch, Sadie (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Haucke, Leona B. (S. Rept. 970), 3548.

COMMITTE ON PENSIONS (*Senate*)—Continued.
Reports by
Hawkins, William (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Hayes, John S. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Hayes, William H. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Hays, Joseph L. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Hazell, Warren J. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Healy, Mary (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Heck, Agnes M. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Hecox, Lou E. (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Hedlund, Fritz (S. Rept. 843), 333.
Helm, Eugene (S. Rept. 941), 2839.
Henderson, Alice I. (S. Rept. 843), 333.
Henderson, Minnie Lord (S. Rept. 941), 2839.
Herder, John M. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Herendeen, Sanford A. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Herndon, Joseph S. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Hess, Samuel L. (S. Rept. 894), 1327.
Hickman, Thomas (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Hicks, Beulah C. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Hicks, Sarah M. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Hill, Irvin M. (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Hilliard, Daniel (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Hilton, David M. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Hinson, William C. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Hitchcock, Cornelia S. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Hizar, Aquilla M. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Hobbs, James F. (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Holden, Vesta V. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Holt, Susan E. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Hopewell, John H. (S. Rept. 969), 3547.
Horne, A. Paul (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Hotchkin, Smith C. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Howard, John (S. Rept. 894), 1327.
Howell, Margaret J. (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Howell, William H. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Howery, Daniel (S. Rept. 969), 3547.
Howland, Mary B. (S. Rept. 894), 1327.
Hubbard, Jane (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Hudson, Semantha M. (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Huffaker, Lewis A. (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Hunie, Louise M. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Hunter, Joseph R. C. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Hurley, William (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Hutton, Frederick (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Hyde, Maria B. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Hyde, Patrick J. (S. Rept. 941), 2839.
Ingraham, Ida (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Ingram, Job (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Inman, James (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Jacks, Henry C. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Jackson, Harry (S. Rept. 843), 333.
Jackson, Matthew H. (S. Rept. 894), 1327.
Jacobs, Hazlett A. (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Jacobs, James W. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Jenkins, John (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Jenkins, Lee (S. Rept. 969), 3547.
Jenkins, Robert (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Jenks, Mary B. (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Jewett, Annie R. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Johnson, John, No. 2 (S. Rept. 941), 2839.
Johnson, Joseph (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Johnson, Thomas (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Jolly, Ann (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Jones, Ella F. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Jones, Isabelle E. (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Jones, Jacob (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Jones, Jennie (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Jones, John (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Jones, Maria T. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Jones, Rodney (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Jones, Thomas T. (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Jordan, Henry C. (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Judson, Frank F. (S. Rept. 894), 1327.
Kain, Seraphina (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Keller, Emily S. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Kelley, Andrew A. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Kelly, Catherine (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Kelsey, Wealthy L. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Kendall, Mary R. (S. Rept. 941), 2839.
Kennedy, Thomas H. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Kent, James T. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Kerr, Dennis M. (amendment), 4684.
Killin, George W. (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Kirk, Michael (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Kitchel, Jean H. G. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Kitts, James B. (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Klepper, Emanuel (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Klippert, Benjamin F. (S. Rept. 941), 2839.
Knitter, Frank (S. Rept. 843), 333.
Kooken, Callie E. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Krass, Anthony (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Kridelbaugh, Joseph P. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Krone, George (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Kuehn, Otto (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Lame, Lewis C. (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Lamoreaux, Annette M. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Lampke, John (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Lancaster, William H. D. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Lance, Albert A. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Lance, Martha (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Langdon, William H. (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Lansberry, James W. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Lansden, Joseph M. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Laughlin, Moses H. (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Lawrence, F. Isabelle (S. Rept. 843), 333.
Lawton, Hattie E. (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Lawton, Laura F. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Lea, Louis M. (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Leavens, Eden N. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Lee, Oscar O. (S. Rept. 843), 333.
Leith, John C. (S. Rept. 842), 332.

COMMITTE ON PENSIONS (*Senate*)—Continued.
Reports by
Lenfesty, Edward (S. Rept. 894), 1327.
Lenhart, Eugene (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Letcher, Jane (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Lewis, Charles H. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Lewis, George H. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Lewis, Maria (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Libby, Joann P. (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Lieber, Joseph (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Lilly, Samuel (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Lindaberry, John R. (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Littrell, Samuel R. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Livingston, Murray F. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Lloyd, Elias (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Lobenthal, Delilah (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Lockwood, William (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Logsdon, Henry P. (S. Rept. 941), 2839.
Long, Nathan (S. Rept. 843), 333.
Longfellow, Richard M. (S. Rept. 894), 1327.
Longley, Reuben F. (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Lotty, Mary (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Louden, Edward (S. Rept. 941), 2839.
Love, Maria (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Lowe, Mary L. (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Lowry, Mary A. (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Ludiker, Joseph (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Lunn, Olive (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Lyshon, Jeremiah (S. Rept. 842), 332.
McCarty, Charles H. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
McCarty, George P. L. and Mildred G. (S. Rept. 941), 2839.
McClelan, Benjamin (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
McClure, Samuel (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
McCorkle, Andrew C. (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
McDonald, Grace E. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
McDonald, Katharine H. (S. Rept. 969), 3547.
McDowell, Sarah (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
McEathron, John (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
McGaughey, Clara (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
McGee, William E. (S. Rept. 969), 3547.
McGloughlin, Alie (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
McIntosh, Peter S. (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
McKinley, William H. (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
McKinsey, Joseph (S. Rept. 842), 332.
McNaught, Alice S. C. (S. Rept. 941), 2839.
McOmber, Anna Mary (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
McPhail, Jasper (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Magers, James W. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Magoffin, Albert E. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Mahar, Arthur (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Mahoney, Philamena B. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Manley, Charlotte S. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Manning, Susan E. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Mansfield, Johanna (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Markland, George W. (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Marks, Harriet M. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Martin, Arthur W. (S. Rept. 941), 2839.
Martin, Elizabeth (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Martin, Murrandia (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Martin, Robert J. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Masterson, John H. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Matlock, Benjamin (S. Rept. 969), 3547.
Matthes, Margaretha (S. Rept. 843), 333.
Matthews, Miles (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Maxson, Jessie A. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Mead, David W. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Meekin, James H. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Menaugh, James (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Mendenhall, Hymelius (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Messenger, Martha E. (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Metzer, Nicholas (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Milam, Ellen (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Miles, Peter L. (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Miller, Fernando (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Miller, George O. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Miller, Henry (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Miller, John F. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Miller, John M. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Miller, Richard L. (S. Rept. 843), 333.
Miller, William H. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Miller, William M. (S. Rept. 969), 3547.
Milligan, Charles M. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Minert, William R. (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Mitchell, Ida A. (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Mitchell, Stephen D. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Mix, Parson B. (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Monticue, Jesse (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Moody, Edwin W. (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Moon, Fernando W. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Moore, Caro G. (S. Rept. 941), 2839.
Moore, May C. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Morang, Emily (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Morrell, Walter (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Morrison, Charles H. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Morrison, Robert I. (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Morse, Charles S. (S. Rept 921), 2301.
Morse, Hester (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Morse, Jay D. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Mott, Anna (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Moulton, Charles C. (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Moulton, George T. (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Mullin, Elizabeth J. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Myer, Wilhelmina (S. Rept. 941), 2839.
Myers, Jane E. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Magley, Rose Anna (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Male, James H. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Nash, Porter E. (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Neal, George L. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Nebbenburgh, Isaac (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Neff, Isabella (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Nelson, John (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Nelson, Lucinda E. (S. Rept. 842), 332.

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Reports by
Nettleton, Ammazetta L. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Nettleton, Charles (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Newman, George J. (S. Rept. 894), 1327.
Nicholson, Nancy J. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Nickerson, Jonathan S. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Nickerson, Julia C. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Nolan, Mary M. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Norment, Maggie (S. Rept. 843), 333.
Northrup, Nancy J. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Northway, Maggie S. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Norton, Elizabeth M. (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Norton, Warren W. (S. Rept. 969), 3547.
Nothhardt, Salome (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Nudd, Lovina J. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Oliver, Herbert A. (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Olmstead, King R. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Olney, Frank A. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Osborne, Lucy W. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Ostrander, Gordon P. (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Page, Horace (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Palmer, James M. (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Pangburn, Elizabeth (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Pangburn, Louisa C. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Parker, David (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Parmalee, Amanda (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Parsons, Mary (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Partridge, Rosalie A. (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Patterson, John A. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Patton, Horace M. (S. Rept. 894), 1327.
Payson, Amelia M. (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Penfield, Katie M. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Perkins, Emma (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Perkins, Martin, alias Charles Shepherd (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Perriton, John S. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Pettengill, Daniel H. (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Pettys, Charles (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Phares, Amos T. (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Phillips, Paul, alias Duncan Dunbar (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Pierce, Jennings J. (S. Rept. 941), 2839.
Pierce, Juliette (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Pilot, Edward (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Pitts, Maria E. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Poe, Alicen W. (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Poe, Amos (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Pollock, Alice (S. Rept. 941), 2839.
Pope, William C. (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Porter, William (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Potter, Gilbert W. (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Powell, Amanda F. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Power, Anna L. (S. Rept. 941), 2839.
Prine, Catherine E. (S. Rept. 843), 333.
Pugh, Allan E. (S. Rept. 941), 2839.
Pugsley, Frank (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Quinlivan, William (S. Rept. 894), 1327.
Quinn, Anna F. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Quint, Henry (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Randall, Clara B. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Rankin, John W. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Raphile, Joseph (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Raymond, Albert N. (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Read, George W. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Reames, William A. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Redding, James L. (S. Rept. 843), 333.
Reed, Egbert W. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Reed, Elizabeth (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Reed, Henry (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Reese, Eli (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Reeves, Lovina J. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Rennaker, Jacob C. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Reynolds, Prudie M. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Richards, Mary A. (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Riggs, Eliza J. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Roberts, Samuel (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Robinson, Francis (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Robinson, Osco L. (S. Rept. 843), 333.
Rodgers, William (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Rogers, Frances A. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Rook, Samuel (S. Rept. 894), 1327.
Roseberry, William (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Roth, Henry (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Rouner, William L. (S. Rept. 843), 333.
Rowe, Emma S. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Rudrauff, Edwin (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Rusie, William A. (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Russell, John L. (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Russell, Larkin (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Ryan, John (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Ryan, Mary T. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Sampson, M. Theresa (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Samson, Eli (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Sanders, Mary J. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Sargent, James W. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Sargent, Jonathan (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Saunders, John E. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Sayers, Roswell (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Sayles, Julia M. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Schaeffer, Frederick W. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Schantz, Charles F. (S. Rept. 941), 2839.
Schenk, Louisa (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Schlesser, Caspar (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Schmidt, George (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Schue, Minna (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Scott, David O. (S. Rept. 843), 333.
Scott, Elizabeth (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Searle, Mary E. (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Sebert, Herman (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Selleck, Mary A. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Service, Elizabeth C. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Setzer, Daniel W. (S. Rept. 894), 1327.
Shaffer, Samuel (S. Rept. 921), 2301.

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Reports by
Shannon, John A. (S. Rept. 894), 1327.
Shapley, Thomas (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Sheldon, Raymond S. (S. Rept. 941), 2839.
Shepard, Gordon H. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Shepherd, Benjamin F. (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Sheridan, Margaret (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Sherman, Ray M. (S. Rept. 894), 1327.
Shoop, George W. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Sigman, John (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Simons, Ann (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Simpson, John C. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Simpson, John P. (S. Rept. 964), 3083.
Sitz, Julian (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Small, Emily L. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Smith, Charles F. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Smith, Daniel W. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Smith, George S. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Smith, George W. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Smith, Henry A. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Smith, Hugh (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Smith, Jackson (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Smith, Jacob (S. Rept. 894), 1327.
Smith, Peter (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Smylie, Robert S. (S. Rept. 894), 1327.
Soper, Earl W. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Soule, William Henry (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Spaulding, Almond R. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
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Squier, Clara R. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Squires, Sarah E. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Stafford, Thomas Jefferson (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Stanton, Henrietta C. (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Startsman, Amanda M. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Stebbins, George D. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Steller, Josephus (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Stockford, Joseph N. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Stoddard, Sarah E. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Stodder, Watie H. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Stone, William P. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Stoops, Rose V. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Stotts, William Franklin (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Stuck, Charles L. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Sullivan, John W. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Sutterfield, Frank (S. Rept. 843), 333.
Swan, Elmina (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Swart, William M. (S. Rept. 843), 333.
Sylvester, Sanford B. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Sackett, James M. (S. Rept. 895), 1327.
Taliaferro, William G. (S. Rept. 941), 2839.
Taylor, George M. (S. Rept. 921), 2301.
Taylor, Georgia Ann (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Taylor, Mary L. (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Taylor, William A. (S. Rept. 941), 2839.
Taylor, Winfield S. (S. Rept. 941), 2839.
Terry, Frances (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Terwilger, Catharine (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Teter, Edward E. (S. Rept. 842), 332.
Thomas, Elisha (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
Thomas, Georgianna (S. Rept. 970), 3548.
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Annand, George P., to be postmaster at Ely, Nev.; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5415.
Applegate, George H., to be postmaster at Keytesville, Mo.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2100.
Argersinger, Frank, to be postmaster at Forman, N. Dak.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 3012.
Armbruster, Julius C., to be postmaster at Sebewaing, Mich.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 3012.
Armstrong, Frank S., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 176; confirmed, 398.
Armstrong, Thomas O., to be postmaster at Middle Point, Ohio; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2233.
Armstrong, W. L., to be postmaster at White Earth, N. Dak.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4743.
Arnold, Frank D., to be United States secretary of embassy or legation, class 3; nominated, 4844; confirmed, 5174.
Asbury, Frank L., to be postmaster at Clarkesville, Ga.; nominated, 2657; confirmed, 3012.
Ashley, John M., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2100.
Astin, John E., to be postmaster at Bryan, Tex.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 3795.
Atchison, G. P., to be postmaster at Erin, Tenn.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 495.
Atteberry, William H., to be postmaster at Munfordville, Ky.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 1406.
Atyeo, William A., to be postmaster at Belleville, Mich.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 1406.
Ault, William A., to be postmaster at Wadsworth, Ohio; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2324.
Austin, Andrew H., to be postmaster at Ravenna, Ohio; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2324.
Austin, Charles L., to be assistant paymaster in Navy; nominated, 1064; confirmed, 2324.
Austin, Frank Lynn, to be first lieutenant, United States Revenue-Cutter Service; nominated, 1948; confirmed, 2660.
Avant, Dorothy L., to be postmaster at Avant, Okla.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 3012.
Ayres, Sallie M., to be postmaster at Frankston, Tex.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 654.
Bagg, Frank B., to be postmaster at Barneveld, N. Y.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2324.
Bailey, Agard H., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 55; confirmed, 398.
Baird, Robert C., to be postmaster at Coulterville, Ill.; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 2958.
Baker, E. Carleton, to be United States consul at Nagasaki, Japan; nominated, 176; confirmed, 398.
Baldridge, Harry A., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Baldwin, Fred H., to be postmaster at Edgerton, Minn.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5415.
Baldwin, George W., to be postmaster at Summit, N. J.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 4977.
Ball, Frank D., to be postmaster at Holden, Mo.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 1406.
Ball, Lula A., to be postmaster at Wapanucka, Okla.; nominated, 4209.
Ball, William G., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 55; confirmed, 398.
Ballew, Lawerence D., to be postmaster at Des Arc, Ark.; nominated, 1183; confirmed, 1405.
Ballou, Charles C., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 5175.
Bandy, Willis Green, to be postmaster at Irvington, Ky.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2100.
Banks, A. L., to be postmaster at Denton, Tex.; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5415.
Barclay, John C., to be postmaster at Clearfield, Pa.; nominated, 4210; confirmed, 5415.
Bardsley, Linda, to be postmaster at Gunnison, Utah; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Bargen, Isaac I., to be postmaster at Mountain Lake, Minn.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 4628.
Barker, Frederick A., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 55; confirmed, 398.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Barker, George T., to be postmaster at Everton, Mo.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4628.
Barlow, John E., to be postmaster at Horseheads, N. Y.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Barnes, Hugh A., to be assistant appraiser of merchandise in customs collection district No. 20; nominated, 54; confirmed, 141.
Barney, Arthur, to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Barnum, W. B., to be postmaster at Ridgway, Ill.; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 3739.
Barrett, Clyde O., to be postmaster at Mackinaw, Mich.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2100.
Barrett, Edward Jenner, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps of Army; nominated, 1063; confirmed, 1513.
Barrett, Nicholas F., to be postmaster at Carnegie, Pa.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5510.
Barry, H. J., to be postmaster at Sun Prairie, Wis.; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5415.
Bartlett, Philip B., to be postmaster at Melrose, Wis.; nominated, 2233; confirmed, 3739.
Bartley, Frank A., to be postmaster at Sidney, N. Y.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Barton, Andrew, to be postmaster at Kilgore, Tex.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3012.
Barton, Robert M., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 176; confirmed, 398.
Bassore, Thomas C., to be postmaster at Rogersville, Mo.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3012.
Bates, Wellman L., to be postmaster at Sherman, N. Y.; nominated, 5173; confirmed, 5510.
Bauer, Alma E., to be postmaster at Arlington, Minn.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4977.
Bauer, John F., to be postmaster at Crestline, Ohio; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5415.
Baum, Charles E., to be postmaster at Ridge Farm, Ill.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5415.
Bauvette, J. E., to be postmaster at Hallock, Minn.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 2959.
Beach, Edward L., to be captain in Navy; nominated, 1064; confirmed, 2324.
Beam, Roscoe R., to be postmaster at Anthony, Kans.; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
Bean, George C., to be postmaster at Illmo, Mo.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4628.
Beatty, J. F., to be postmaster at Mannington, W. Va.; nominated, 1187; confirmed, 1406.
Beavers, Alonzo L., to be register of land office at Lamar, Colo.; nominated, 1183; confirmed, 1513.
Bechtel, Lewis W., to be postmaster at Stowe, Pa.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 1126.
Beck, Frederick C., to be assistant paymaster in Navy; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Becker, Henry, jr., to be postmaster at New Washington, Ohio; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4743.
Becker, Lawrence, to be Solicitor of the Treasury; nominated, 5173; confirmed, 5414.
Beckes, D. L., to be postmaster at Lynden, Wash.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 3795.
Beckwith, James C., to be postmaster at Marshall, Mich.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 815.
Beehn, Fred, sr., to be postmaster at West Salem, Ill.; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 4976.
Beeler, C. E., to be postmaster at Calhoun, Ky.; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 2660.
Beere, Donald M., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2233.
Beggs, Cary C., to be postmaster at Moulton, Iowa; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 2660.
Beggs, Sydney S., to be receiver of public moneys at Waterville, Wash.; nominated, 5414; confirmed, 5510.
Beier, Charlie W., to be postmaster at Lenox, Mich.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 815.
Bell, James G., to be postmaster at Frankfort, Ohio; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4743.
Bell, Katherine S., to be postmaster at Clovis, Cal.; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5175.
Bell, Milton D., to be postmaster at Innverness, Fla.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 494.
Bell, Samuel H., to be postmaster at Deport, Tex.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 654.
Bellah, W. E., to be postmaster at St. Jo, Tex.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Benner, William T., to be postmaster at Saxton, Pa.; nominated, 2958; confirmed, 3739.
Bennett, W. H., to be postmaster at Tifton, Ga.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 1187.
Bennett, William R., to be United States marshal, district of Porto Rico; nominated, 4627; confirmed, 5175.
Bennion, David, to be postmaster at Vernal, Utah; nominated, 354; confirmed, 1357.
Benson, Alexander, to be United States secretary of embassy or legation, class 3; nominated, 4844; confirmed, 5174.
Benson, E. R., to be postmaster at Mount Jewett, Pa.; nominated, 2958; confirmed, 3739.
Bergner, Charles F., to be postmaster at Callicoon, N. Y.; nominated, 4307; confirmed, 3650.
Bernard, William C., to be postmaster at Harlem, Mont.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3012.
Besst, Welker, to be postmaster at West Lafayette, Ohio; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 4307.
Bettersworth, Alexander P., to be postmaster at Elk Grove, Cal.; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4628.
Bevill, Bessie, to be postmaster at Kensett, Ark.; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2233.
Bible, H. C., to be postmaster at Holbrook, Nebr.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5510.
Biehn, Emma Kathryn, to be postmaster at Gregory, S. Dak.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Bierer, Levi E., to be postmaster at McComb, Ohio; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3795.
Bigney, Verado W., to be postmaster at Sunman, Ind.; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4628.
Billings, Frank, to be postmaster at Morocco, Ind.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3012.
Billington, Demetrious S., to be postmaster at Spearfish, S. Dak.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 654.
Bingham, Leslie I., to be postmaster at Bison, S. Dak.; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5415.
Bingham, Origen K., to be postmaster at Slippery Rock, Pa.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4743.
Bingham, Rutherfurd, to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 3, United States Diplomatic Service; nominated, 3647; confirmed, 4306.
Bisbee, John W., to be postmaster at Hop Bottom, Pa.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 4743.
Bishop, Edward H., to be postmaster at Central City, Nebr.; nominated 1768; confirmed, 2100.
Biwer, P. M., to be postmaster at Lincoln, Ill.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 2100.
Black, Fred M., to be postmaster at Greenwich, Ohio; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 4210.
Blackard, W. T., to be postmaster at Jackson, Tenn.; nominated, 3651; withdrawn, 5176.
Blackburn, Thomas E., to be postmaster at Bowling Green, Fla.; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 2660.
Blackford, Joseph E., to be postmaster at Martins Ferry, Ohio; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3795.
Blackwood, John R., to be postmaster at Hannibal, Mo.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 5176.
Blake, Maxwell, to be United States consul general, class 5; nominated, 3647; confirmed, 4306.
Blakely, Gould B., to be register of land office at Salt Lake City, Utah; nominated, 5414; confirmed, 5415.
Blakey, Gertrude, to be postmaster at Gordonsville, Va.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 3739.
Blalock, Horace C., to be postmaster at Marshall, Tex.; nominated, 2233; confirmed, 2660.
Blalock, Walter C., to be postmaster at Linden, Tex.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2100.
Bland, Ewing G., to be United States marshal for western district of Missouri; nominated, 54; rejected, 979.
Blankenship, Ernest J., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 2657; confirmed, 3011.
Block, Henry, to be postmaster at Syracuse, Kans.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2959.
Bloom, Marjorie J., to be postmaster at Devils Lake, [illegible]k.; nominated, 353; rejected, 928.
Blumenstein, Robert, to be postmaster at Elgin, Oreg.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4743.
Bodie, J. Henry, to be postmaster at Leesville, S. C.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1406.
Boggs, R. William I., to be postmaster at Veedersburg, Ind.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3739.
Bonham, Mary, to be postmaster at Ismay, Mont.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3012.
Booker, Leslie, to be postmaster at Phoenix, Ala.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 1357.
Boston, Greenup C., to be postmaster at Malvern, Iowa; nominated, 352; confirmed, 979.
Bosworth, John F., to be postmaster at El Paso, Ill.; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4743.
Bowen, George C., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2233.
Bowers, Thomas D., to be postmaster at Chestertown, Md.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 1187.
Bowers, Ulysses G., to be postmaster at Big Run, Pa; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5415.
Bowley, George Wheeler, to be district superintendent, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Bowman, Thomas D., to be United States consul at Fernie, British Columbia, Canada; nominated, 176; confirmed, 653.
Boyd, Harry Lansdale, to be senior engineer, United States Revenue-Cutter Service; nominated, 54; confirmed, 266.
Boyd, Mark, to be postmaster at McBain, Mich.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 3795.
Braddock, James T., to be postmaster at Madison, Kans; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2100.
Brandt, Edmund S. R., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 653; confirmed, 1064.
Bransom, Robert G., to be postmaster at Burleson, Tex.; nominated, 2233; confirmed, 2660.
Brawley, Robert V., to be postmaster at Statesville, N. C.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 398.
Bray, Ernest, to be postmaster at Neodesha, Kans.; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5175.
Bray, John P., to be United States consul general, class 3; nominated, 3647; confirmed, 4306.
Breckenridge, Samuel T., to be postmaster at Bosworth, Mo.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3012.
Breffle, Ira L., to be postmaster at Lake Park, Iowa; nominated, 352; confirmed, 979.
Breisacher, George, to be postmaster at Bergenfield, N. J.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 4977.
Brennan, James, to be postmaster at Grand Valley, Colo.; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2100.
Brett, Homer, to be United States consul, class 7; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Brewster, Neal, to be collector of internal revenue for twenty-first district of New York; nominated, 5173; confirmed, 5175.
Brissel, Charles F., to be United States consul, class 7; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Britch, Charles A., to be postmaster at Ida Grove, Iowa; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 2660.
Brittain, Joseph I., to be United States consul general, class 4; nominated, 3647; confirmed, 4306.
Brodhun, William C., to be postmaster at Dodge, Nebr.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Brodrick, Harry M., to be postmaster at Marysville, Kans.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3739.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Brody, Powell, to be postmaster at Lawton, Mich.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 815.
Bronson, Earl, to be postmaster at Spencer, Iowa; nominated, 653; confirmed, 979.
Brothers, John T., to be postmaster at National Military Home, Kans.; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
Brower, Allen S., to be postmaster at Woodmere, N. Y.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 494.
Brown, Francis W., to be postmaster at Lincoln, Nebr.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 398.
Brown, J. R., to be postmaster at Avella, Pa.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1514.
Brown, James L., to be postmaster at Greensboro, Ga.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 398.
Brown, James M., to be postmaster at Mancos, Colo.; nominated, 1183; confirmed, 1405.
Brown, Linsley, to be postmaster at Hamilton, Mo.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4210.
Brownlow, Louis, to be Commissioner of the District of Columbia; nominated, 1948; confirmed, 2100.
Bruce, Bryson, to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Brumit, D. M., to be postmaster at Elizabethton, Tenn.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 3795.
Brunner, George F., to be postmaster at Harrison, N. Y.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4743.
Bryant, Harry, to be postmaster at Norris City, Ill.; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5175.
Bryden, William, to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2233.
Buchanan, A. B., to be postmaster at Tazewell, Va.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 2325.
Buchanan, Alexander, to be postmaster at Lakemillis, Wis.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 4744.
Buchanan, Cornelius, to be postmaster at Florence, Oreg.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1406.
Buchanan, J. D., to be postmaster at Marion, Va.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 3739.
Buie, A. H., to be postmaster at Ennis, Tex.; nominated, 354; rejected, 5415.
Buten, Chauncey W., to be postmaster at Walnut Grove, Minn.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 1187.
Bullard, Peter C., to be first lieutenant, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5175.
Bullard, Vernon A., to be United States attorney for district of Vermont; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 4976.
Bunnell, Charles E., to be judge of district court, District of Alaska, division No. 4; nominated, 653; confirmed, 979.
Burchfield, William F., to be postmaster at Mifflin, Pa.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 1126.
Burgess, John D., to be postmaster at West Branch, Mich.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 1948.
Burke, James E., to be postmaster at Burlington, Vt.; nominated, 2233; confirmed, 4210.
Burke, Walter J., to be postmaster at Mineville, N. Y.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Burkhard, Joseph W., to be postmaster at Florence, Colo.; nominated, 1183; confirmed, 1357.
Burks, Horace E., to be chief machinist in Navy; nominated, 56; confirmed, 142.
Burnell, Albro L., to be United States consul at Rouen, France; nominated, 176; confirmed, 494.
Burnham, C. A., to be postmaster at Bristol, Vt.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 1126.
Burns, Linza A., to be postmaster at Clinton, Me.; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5176.
Burns, Robert, to be postmaster at Brandon, Miss.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4628.
Burris, Samuel J., to be United States marshal, district of Colorado; nominated, 4627; confirmed, 5175.
Bursk, Hardie E., to be postmaster at Mason, Ohio; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4743.
Burtnett, Casper S., to be postmaster at Beaverdale, Pa.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 5415.
Buser, Grover C., to be postmaster at Hummelstown, Pa.; nominated, 4209.
Bushnell, Frederick M., to be postmaster at Mansfield, Ohio; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 1948.
Butler, E. F., to be postmaster at Mosinee, Wis.; nominated, 2660; confirmed, 3739.
Butler, Eliza Ann, to be postmaster at North English, Iowa; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3739.
Butler, Harriet C., to be postmaster at Farmington, N. Mex.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 5176.
Butler, Henry F., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Butler, John, to be postmaster at Lesueur Center, Minn.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 1187.
Butler, W. L., to be postmaster at Frankfort, S. Dak.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1406.
Byerly, William A., to be postmaster at Bridgewater, Va.; nominated, 2233; confirmed, 2660.
Byers, James J., to be postmaster at Houghton, Mich.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 815.
Byers, Nathaniel S., to be postmaster at Perryopolis, Pa.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4743.
Byington, Homer M., to be United States consul, class 7; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Byrne, E. J., to be postmaster at Garfield, Wash.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Cage, William E., to be postmaster at Pharr, Tex.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2100.
Callahan, Bernard F., to be postmaster at Franklin, Mass.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5415.
Callahan, John P., to be postmaster at Branford, Conn.; nominated, 5414; confirmed, 5510.
Callaway, J. M., to be postmaster at Jonesboro, La.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4628.
Campbell, A. S., to be postmaster at Imperial, Nebr.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2100.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Campbell, Bernard, to be postmaster at Millville, Mass.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 2660.
Campbell, Charles, jr., to be secretary of United States legation at Berne, Switzerland; nominated, 54; confirmed, 266.
Campbell, E. L., to be postmaster at Eugene, Oreg.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4743.
Campbell, Frank E., to be postmaster at Red Key, Ind.; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
Campbell, James, to be postmaster at Hope, Idaho; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
Campbell, James H., to be postmaster at Higginsville, Mo.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 494.
Campbell, Joe H., to be postmaster at Matador, Tex.; nominated, 2233; confirmed, 2660.
Campbell, Nathaniel, to be register of land office at Portland, Oreg; nominated, 1766; confirmed, 2100.
Campbell, O. K., to be postmaster at Gibbon, Nebr.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4977.
Campeggio, Joseph F., to be postmaster at Ladd, Ill; nominated, 351; confirmed, 927.
Camper, M. W., to be postmaster at Florence, Ala.; nominated, 2958; confirmed, 3652.
Canaga, George O., to be postmaster at Scio, Ohio; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 4307.
Canfield, Sherman D., to be postmaster at Sheridan, Wyo.; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5415.
Cannedy, William M., to be postmaster at Greenfield, Ill.; nominated, 2657; confirmed, 3739.
Cannon, J. A., to be postmaster at Rochester, Vt.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5415.
Cannon, James F., to be postmaster at Tioga, N. Dak.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 3012.
Capers, Barnside, to be postmaster at Arcadia, La.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3012.
Capper, Thomas J., to be postmaster at Elgin, Iowa; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
Carey, Henry R., to be United States secretary of embassy or legation, class 5; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5174.
Carlin, John M., to be postmaster at Houtzdale, Pa.; nominated, 3651.
Carney, John J., to be postmaster at Aberdeen, Wash.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1406.
Carpenter, James D., to be postmaster at Woodbury, N. J.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2100.
Carpenter, William T., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 55; confirmed, 398.
Carrigan, Clarence, to be United States consul, class 7; nominated, 3348; confirmed, 4307.
Carroll, B. Harvey, jr., to be United States consul, class 8; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Carroll, John T., to be postmaster at Toluca, Ill.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 1406.
Carroll, Mary A., to be postmaster at Treadwell, Alaska; nominated, 653; confirmed, 927.
Carruth, Joseph T., to be register of land office at Blackfoot, Idaho; nominated, 1766; confirmed, 2233.
Carson, J. A., to be postmaster at Erie, Kans.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3012.
Carsteus, Charles B., to be postmaster at Grafton, Wis.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 4744.
Carter, Arthur L., to be postmaster at Fairfax, Mo.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 1406.
Carter, Frank S., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2100.
Cary, F. N., to be postmaster at New Richmond, Ohio; nominated, 353; confirmed, 815.
Cashman, John, to be postmaster at St. Marys, Pa.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 5176.
Castleberry, Merida, to be postmaster at McCune, Kans.; nominated 4845; confirmed, 5175.
Castlen, Charles Ruby, to be first lieutenant, Medical Corps of Army; nominated, 4743; confirmed, 5175.
Catchings, Mattie B., to be postmaster at Georgetown, Miss.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 398.
Cate, Harry H., to be postmaster at Anita, Iowa; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
Cates, James M., to be postmaster at Maryville, Tenn.; nominated, 4210; confirmed, 4847.
Ceperley, Jerome, to be postmaster at Otego, N. Y.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Chadwick, Edgar, to be district superintendent, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Chapman, Edwin Emmet, to be district superintendent, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Chapman, Eugene C., to be postmaster at Plain City, Ohio; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 1406.
Chapman, Thomas A., to be postmaster at Lakesville, Miss.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 3795.
Chapman, W. B., to be postmaster at Correctionville, Iowa; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5175.
Chase, John A., to be postmaster at Florence, S. C.; nominated, 5174; confirmed, 5176.
Chase, Orville W., to be postmaster at Montrose, Pa.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4743.
Cherry, John E., to be postmaster at Mount Vernon, Mo.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4210.
Chilcote, Charles B., to be postmaster at Mount Gilead, Ohio; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 5176.
Childs, F. W., to be postmaster at Brattleboro, Vt.; nominated, 354.
Childs, Frank W., to be postmaster at Cedaredge, Colo.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5415.
Chowning, Carroll C., to be postmaster at Urbanna, Va.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 1187.
Christensen, N. A., to be postmaster at Alta, Iowa; nominated, 352; confirmed, 979.
Christian, Sanders Lewis, to be assistant surgeon in Public Health Service; nominated, 54; confirmed, 398.
Christopher, Edgar R., to be postmaster at Lone Wolf, Okla.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4628.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Cipra, Wenslow, to be postmaster at Lincoln, Kans.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 654.
Clardy, James A., to be postmaster at Laurens, S. C.; nominated, 2958; confirmed, 3652.
Clark, Constance C., to be postmaster at Montesano, Wash.; nominated, 4210; confirmed, 4628.
Clark, David T., to be postmaster at Weldon, N. C.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 398.
Clark, Lacy M., to be postmaster at Beeford, N. C.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4628.
Clark, Mary G., to be postmaster at Bald Knob, Ark.; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2233.
Clarke, Ella G., to be postmaster at Florence, Ariz.; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2100.
Clarke, Oscar Lundy, to be postmaster at Washington, Kans.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 5175.
Clem, John L., to be retired with rank of brigadier general, Quartermaster Corps of Army; nominated, 4743; confirmed, 5175.
Clendenin, J. W., to be postmaster at Monmouth, Ill.; nominated, 2657; confirmed, 3739.
Clendenin, William H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 55; confirmed, 398.
Cleveland, C. L., to be postmaster at Centerville, Ala.; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 2660.
Clouse, John W., to be postmaster at Moscow, Pa.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Chiston, William, to be postmaster at Great Falls, Mont.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4210.
Cmajdalka, Charles H., to be postmaster at Fayetteville, Tex.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Coates, Edward Augustus, jr., to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps of Army; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 5175.
Coates, Samuel R., to be postmaster at Maynard, Ohio; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 2959.
Coatsworth, J. E., to be postmaster at California, Pa.; nominated, 5174; confirmed, 5510.
Cocklin, John A., to be postmaster at Milford, Nebr.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Cocroft, Reginald B., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 55; confirmed, 398.
Cody, Edward, to be postmaster at Antigo, Wis.; nominated, 1187; confirmed, 2325.
Cody, John A., to be postmaster at New Albany, Ind.; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 2324.
Coffin, William, to be United States consul general, class 5; nominated, 3647; confirmed, 4306.
Coffman, De Witt, to be rear admiral in Navy; nominated, 1064; confirmed, 2324.
Cohart, William, to be postmaster at Gladbrook, Iowa; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
Coke, Richard H., to be postmaster at Mendenhall, Miss.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 1406.
Cole, Edward T., to be postmaster at Garrison, N. Y.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2233.
Cole, George C., to be United States consul, class 7; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Cole, John Stites, to be district superintendent, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Cole, Josiah, to be postmaster at Slatington, Pa.; nominated, 4847.
Colegrove, A. D., to be postmaster at Corry, Pa.; nominated, 4976.
Collins, Charles L., to be postmaster at Cartersville, Ga.; nominated, 4207.
Collins, J. M., to be postmaster at Pine City, Minn.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4743.
Collins, Thomas H., to be postmaster at Farmington, Conn.; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 3795.
Collins, W. N., to be postmaster at Kansas City, Mo.; nominated, 353; rejected, 355.
Collins, Walter, to be chief machinist in Navy; nominated, 56; confirmed, 142.
Collins, Washington F., to be postmaster at Millington, Md.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 1187.
Cokon, Perry M., to be receiver of public moneys at Gainesville, Fla.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 355.
Comings, Herbert C., to be collector of customs for customs collection district No. 2; nominated, 54; confirmed, 266.
Conner, Jesse B., to be postmaster at Overbrook, Pa.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Connor, P. F., to be postmaster at Carbondale, Pa.; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5510.
Connors, J. B., to be postmaster at Hibbing, Minn.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 1187.
Conway, P. J., to be postmaster at Fromberg, Mont.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4210.
Cook, Albert Thomas, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps of Army; nominated, 54; confirmed, 398.
Cook, Charles F., to be postmaster at Austin, Minn.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 928.
Cook, W. R., to be postmaster at Madras, Oreg.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 2660.
Cooke, Arthur B., to be United States consul, class 7; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Cooke, Marianna J., to be postmaster at Milford, Mass.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 2660.
Cool, Peter J., to be postmaster at Baxter, Iowa; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 2660.
Coons, A. W., to be postmaster at Basin, Wyo.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 4628.
Cooper, Clarence D., to be postmaster at Mayesville, S. C.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1406.
Cooper, Horace B., to be postmaster at Quinlan, Tex.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2100.
Cooper, Thomas W., to be postmaster at Purvis, Miss.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5415.
Coppes, John, to be postmaster at South Kaukauna, Wis.; nominated, 1187; confirmed, 2325.
Corbin, C. A., to be postmaster at Ashtabula, Ohio; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 1514.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Cornell, George F., to be postmaster at Rosebank, N. Y.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3012.
Cosby, Spencer, to be lieutenant colonel, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5175.
Cosgrove, James H., to be postmaster at Olathe, Kans.; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5175.
Cotton, Robert C., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 4628; confirmed, 5175.
Coulter, Clarence, to be postmaster at Blue Rapids, Kans.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 654.
Countryman, C. L., to be postmaster at Bingham Canyon, Utah; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 5510.
Countryman, Hugh, to be postmaster at Westwood, Cal.; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5175.
Courtney, Thomas J., to be postmaster at Garden City, N. Y.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 494.
Coutts, J. J., to be postmaster at Sunnyvale, Cal.; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5175.
Cowdin, Ray H., to be postmaster at Hugo, Colo.; nominated, 5414; confirmed, 5510.
Cowger, J. A., to be postmaster at Mediapolis, Iowa; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4976.
Cox, Edward E., to be postmaster at Hartford City, Ind.; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
Cox, Irvin A., to be postmaster at Columbus, Ind.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5175.
Cox, J. T., to be postmaster at Groesbeck, Tex.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2100.
Crahen, Andrew, to be postmaster at Brooklyn, Wis.; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5415.
Craig, Fred C., to be assistant paymaster in Navy; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Craig, John M., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 55; confirmed, 398.
Craig, Stonewall J., to be postmaster at Clarkston, Wash.; nominated, 1770; confirmed, 2100.
Cramer, Almond, to be postmaster at Cherry Valley, N. Y.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Crane, Charles E., to be postmaster at Clayton, N. J.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 494.
Crane, W. Q., to be postmaster at Lomax, Ill.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5415.
Cranford, M. W., to be postmaster at Davidson, N. C.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4628.
Crater, Fred P., to be postmaster at Gladstone, N. J.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4628.
Craven, Thomas T., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Crawford, George, to be postmaster at Mineral Point, Wis.; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5415.
Crawford, J. L., to be postmaster at San Benito, Tex.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1406.
Cray, Daniel H., to be postmaster at Bellows Falls, Vt.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 4210.
Crea, Harry B., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 4628; confirmed, 5175.
Crean, Anthony J., to be postmaster at Turners Falls, Mass.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 4977.
Cree, Ira J., to be postmaster at Claremont, Cal.; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5175.
Creighton, John M., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Crenshaw, Russell S., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Cress, James B., to be first lieutenant, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5175.
Cresson, William Penn, to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 3, United States Diplomatic Service; nominated, 3647; confirmed, 4306.
Crock, Edward T., to be postmaster at Hampshire, Ill.; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4743.
Crockett, Elmer E., to be postmaster at Stonington, Me.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5415.
Cronan, Richard A., to be postmaster at Chicopee, Mass.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Crosland, Dana T., to be postmaster at Bennettsville, S. C.; nominated, 2233; confirmed, 2660.
Crow, George E., to be postmaster at Walker, Minn.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 2324.
Crow, William A., to be postmaster at Humansville, Mo.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 494.
Crowder, Enoch H., to be judge advocate general with rank of brigadier general in Army; nominated, 1567; confirmed, 1948.
Crusan, Clyde B., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 55; confirmed, 398.
Cullipher, Joseph B., to be postmaster at Saluda, N. C.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Culver, Henry S., to be United States consul, class 6; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Cummings, Robert P., to be postmaster at Abingdon, Va.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 3739.
Cunningham, Edwin S., to be United States consul general at Hankow, China; nominated, 176; confirmed, 494.
Cunningham, James J., to be postmaster at Corinth, N. Y.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Cunningham, Milton W., to be postmaster at Amarillo, Tex.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 3795.
Curran, Thomas N., to be postmaster at Campbellsport, Wis.; nominated, 1770; confirmed, 4744.
Curran, William F., to be postmaster at Bangor, Me.; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5176.
Cutrer, Emile V., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2233.
Dahl, A. O., to be postmaster at Plaza, N. Dak.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3012.
Dalthorp, V. M., to be postmaster at Volga, S. Dak.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 4628.
Dalton, Clarence G., to be postmaster at Mounds, Okla.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 815.
Dalton, John F., jr., to be postmaster at Manson, Iowa; nominated, 352; confirmed, 979.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Daly, J. J., to be postmaster at Frazee, Minn.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 2959.
Dameron, William T., to be postmaster at Huntsville, Mo.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 3795.
Damm, Henry C. A., to be United States consul, class 7; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Dannahy, Edward F., to be postmaster at Holliston, Mass.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 979.
Dardenne, Teakie W., to be postmaster at Plaquemine, La.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4628.
Darnell, I. R., to be postmaster at Benkelman, Nebr.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 1406.
Darwin, Fred P., to be postmaster at Dayton, Tenn.; nominated, 2958; confirmed, 3652.
Daublin, Freeland A., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Daugherty, G. E., to be postmaster at Iselin, Pa.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 3739.
Davidson, Charles, to be postmaster at Richmond, Mich.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3012.
Davidson, Charles N., to be postmaster at Stonega, Va.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 3739.
Davidson, I. C., to be postmaster at Carthage, Ill.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 927.
Davies, Joseph E., to be member of Federal Trade Commission; nominated, 4306; confirmed, 5175.
Davis, Andrew D., to be postmaster at North Conway, N. H.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 1406.
Davis, Benjamin F., to be collector of internal revenue for ninth district of Pennsylvania; nominated, 4627.
Davis, Charles C., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 4210.
Davis, Emily B., to be postmaster at Milner, Idaho; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 2660.
Davis, Frank M., to be postmaster at Westfield, Pa.; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5415.
Davis, G. F., to be postmaster at Estelline, S. Dak.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 4628.
Davis, G. M., to be postmaster at Findlay, Ill.; nominated, 4845.
Davis, Horace M., to be postmaster at Ord, Nebr.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4977.
Davis, John L., to be postmaster at Letcher, S. Dak.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1406.
Davis, Levi B., to be postmaster at Roanoke, Va.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3739.
Davis, Otis H., to be postmaster at Wellsboro, Pa.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4743.
Davis, Ralph E., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Davis, Robert W., to be register of land office at Gainesville, Fla.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 355.
Davis, Thomas D., to be United States consul, class 9; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Davis, Thomas E., to be postmaster at Mulberry Grove, Ill.; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2958.
Davison, Blythe J., to be postmaster at Canton, Pa.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1629.
Davy, Charles G., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Dawson, Claude I., to be United States consul, class 7; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Dawson, William, jr., to be United States consul, class 6; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Deadrick, I. N., to be postmaster at Parkin, Ark.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 653.
Dealy, William, to be postmaster at Hawarden, Iowa; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4976.
Dearing, Anderson C., to be second lieutenant, Marine Corps; nominated, 2657; confirmed, 3011.
Dearmont, James T., to be postmaster at Mound City, Mo.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2100.
Debenport, C. J., to be postmaster at Commerce, Tex.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 398.
De Camp, Robert L., to be postmaster at Westfield, N. Y.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 1948.
Decker, John M., to be postmaster at Stroudsburg, Pa.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4744.
Dedrick, C. E., to be postmaster at Superior, Nebr.; nominated, 5173; confirmed, 5510.
Deem, Joseph M., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 4628; confirmed, 5175.
Deeter, Ira A., to be postmaster at Pleasant Hill, Ohio; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 4307.
Deffinbaugh, Charles A., to be postmaster at Oakland, Md.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4210.
Deible, Henry C., to be postmaster at Reynoldsville, Pa.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1770.
Deichman, Carl F., to be United States consul at Bombay, India; nominated, 176; confirmed, 653.
Deichmann, Otto Henry, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps of Army; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 5175.
Delaney, William D., to be postmaster at Clayton, N. Y.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
De Lapp, T. C. H., to be postmaster at Huntington Beach, Cal.; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2100.
Denison, Frank C., to be United States consul at Prescott, Ontario, Canada; nominated, 176; confirmed, 1357.
Dennis, Samuel K., to be United States attorney, district of Maryland; nominated, 1063; confirmed, 1187.
Denomie, William, to be postmaster at Odanah, Wis.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Denton, J. Lester, to be postmaster at Caliente, Nev.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 3795.
Derick, Thomas A., to be postmaster at Newville, Pa.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 4207.
Derrick, John H., to be postmaster at Clayton, Ga.; nominated, 4845.
Derwin, H. E., to be postmaster at Guthrie, Okla.; nominated, 2659.
Desilets, Emory H., to be postmaster at Manville, R. I.; nominated, 1769.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Desobry, Elmer C., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2233.
Devanney, Michael, to be United States marshal for southern district of Ohio; nominated, 4627; confirmed, 4976.
Devine, William A., to be postmaster at Madison, Wis.; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5415.
Dewey, Walter H., to be postmaster at Chariton, Iowa; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4976.
Deyo, Sylvester R., to be postmaster at Kingston, N. Y.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2324.
Deyoe, Harriet A., to be postmaster at Marion, N. Dak.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4743.
Dick, George W., to be postmaster at Sumter, S. C.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1406.
Dickey, W. A., to be postmaster at Chino, Cal.; nominated, 1183; confirmed, 1405.
Dickinson, Haiden T., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142
Dickman, Joseph T., to be colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 266; confirmed, 398.
Dies, Jack, to be postmaster at Beaumont, Tex.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 3795.
Dillon, Gregory, to be postmaster at New Rochelle, N. Y.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2233.
Disque, Brice P., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 176; confirmed, 398.
Doherty, Francis B., to be chaplain, with rank of major, in Army; nominated, 54; confirmed, 398.
Dolan, John T., to be postmaster at Avon, Mass.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 2660.
Dolbeare, Frederic R., to be United States secretary of embassy or legation, class 5; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5174.
Dolcini, Corinne, to be postmaster at Guadalupe, Cal.; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4628.
Dolsen, William Walling van, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps of Army; nominated, 54; confirmed, 398.
Dominy, Arthur, to be district superintendent, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Donahue, James A., to be postmaster at Essex Junction, Vt.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1406.
Donahue, Thomas F., jr., to be postmaster at Groton, Mass.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 3739.
Donaldson, Beatrice F., to be postmaster at Hughson, Cal.; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5175.
Donaldson, Chester, to be United States consul, class 7; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Donegan, Alfred W., to be United States consul, class 7; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Donlon, Patrick H., to be postmaster at Emmetsburg, Iowa; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
Donnelly, Daniel A., to be postmaster at Walpole, Mass.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 4210.
Dorsey, W. Roderick, to be United States consul, class 7; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Dorst, James A., to be first lieutenant, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5175.
Doty, L. T., to be postmaster at Owenton, Ky.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 2660.
Dougherty, C. S., to be postmaster at Northfield, Minn.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2233.
Dougherty, Milton M., to be postmaster at Mechanicsburg, Pa.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1629.
Dowd, Frank N., to be postmaster at Faust, N. Y.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Dowling, Thomas C., to be postmaster at New Haven, Ind.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3012.
Downey, John J., to be postmaster at Blackstone, Mass.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 5510.
Downing, John C., to be postmaster at Vermontville, Mich.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3012.
Downing, Sidney F., to be postmaster at Lincoln, N. H.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 5415.
Downs, William J., to be postmaster at Wharton, N. J.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 4977.
Doyle, George W., to be postmaster at Vanburen, Ind.; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
Drake, James F., to be postmaster at Hawley, Pa.; nominated, 2233; confirmed, 3739.
Dray, William S., to be postmaster at Savannah, Mo.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 654.
Dreaden, Walter E., to be postmaster at Lambert, Miss.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 3012.
Drees, Joseph M., to be postmaster at Carroll, Iowa.; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5175.
Dresser, Alvin E., to be postmaster at Millbridge, Me.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 1406.
Driscoll, Daniel J., to be postmaster at Chicopee Falls, Mass.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Driscoll, Ruth S., to be postmaster at Madison, Minn.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 1187.
Dryden, Anna, to be postmaster at Manteca, Cal.; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4976.
Duckworth, Virginia B., to be postmaster at Prentiss, Miss.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2100.
Duff, Charles B., to be postmaster at Ford City, Pa.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 2324.
Duffey, Hugh, to be postmaster at Cortland, N. Y.; nominated, 5173; confirmed, 5176.
Dugan, John P., to be postmaster at Fishkill, N. Y.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Duhigg, Thomas F., to be assistant surgeon, Medical Reserve Corps of Navy; nominated, 56; confirmed, 142.
Dumont, Frederick T. F., to be United States consul, class 6; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Duncan, Arnott Kell, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps of Army; nominated, 54; confirmed, 398.
Duncan, B. Stiles, to be postmaster at Duncannon, Pa.; nominated, 2233; confirmed, 3012.
Duncan, David, to be postmaster at Whitmore, S. C.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2100.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Duncan, Ernest R., to be postmaster at Potomac, Ill.; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4743.
Duncan, Thomas, to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 55; confirmed, 398.
Duncombe, C. F., to be postmaster at Fort Dodge, Iowa; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 4210.
Dunham, David, to be postmaster at Ilion, N. Y.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Dunham, George Clark, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps of Army; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 5175.
Dunham, John, to be postmaster at Daggett, Mich.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 3795.
Dunkel, Daniel R., to be postmaster at Hamburg, Pa.; nominated, 2958; confirmed, 4307.
Dunkle, Forrest B., to be postmaster at Jersey Shore, Pa.; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5415.
Dunlap, Maurice P., to be United States consul, class 9; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Dunlap, Wirt, to be postmaster at Blacksburg, Va.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3739.
Dunne, Charles, to be chief machinist in Navy; nominated, 156; confirmed, 142.
Durham, W. B., to be postmaster at Milo, Iowa; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5175.
Durkin, John J., to be postmaster at Scranton, Pa.; nominated, 2958; confirmed, 3739.
Durst, Henry, to be postmaster at Battle Creek, Iowa; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4976.
Dworak, Fanny, to be postmaster at Howell, Nebr.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 1406.
Dyer, Francis J., to be United States consul, class 9; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Dyer, Horace T., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Earle, Josiah W., to be postmaster at Cohasset, Mass.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3012.
Earle, Ralph, to be commander in Navy; nominated, 176; confirmed, 355.
Eberly, Wilmer Hake, to be second lieutenant, United States Revenue-Cutter Service; nominated, 1948; confirmed, 2660.
Ebner, Gaphart D., to be postmaster at Mount Angel, Oreg.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 2660.
Eckert, Albert E., to be postmaster at East Stroudsburg, Pa.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 4307.
Edgerton, Rosse D., to be postmaster at Kenly, N. C.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4628.
Ewards, Andrew M., to be postmaster at New Castle, Ky.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2100.
Edwards, B. G., to be postmaster at Forney, Tex.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3012.
Edwards, Benjamin P., to be postmaster at Topsfield, Mass.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 3739.
Edwards, Clement S., to be United States consul, class 7; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Edwards, John D., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 653; confirmed, 1064.
Edwards, Richard S., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Eichoff, Frank W., to be postmaster at Muscatine, Iowa; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2100.
Eickmann, Frank X., to be postmaster at Glencoe, Minn.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2100.
Eiel, H. E., to be postmaster at Buffalo Center, Iowa; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
Eisely, George S., to be postmaster at Tallulah, La.; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5176.
Eisner, Mark, to be collector of internal revenue for third district of New York; nominated, 5173; confirmed, 5414.
Elder, Aldamar P., to be postmaster at Ottawa, Kans.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4977.
Eldridge, Nathaniel A., to be postmaster at Chatham, Mass.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2660.
Ellickson, Frank E., to be postmaster at Regent, N. Dak.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 3012.
Ellis, Olin O., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry, nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2233.
Ely, Matt, to be postmaster at Jersey City, N. J.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4628.
Emanuel, Frank, to be postmaster at Sulphur, Okla.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5510.
Engle, Walter M., to be postmaster at Francesville, Ind.; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 4976.
Englesby, Ida, to be postmaster at Eleva, Wis.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 4744.
English, Jefferson D., to be postmaster at Big Sandy, Mont.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 3012.
English, L. W., to be postmaster at Pelham, Ga.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5415.
Enterkin, W. A., to be postmaster at Temple, Ga.; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2100.
Eppley, George J., to be postmaster at Hershey, Pa.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3739.
Estabrook, F. B., to be postmaster at Moody, Mass.; nominated, 1768.
Estes, William K., to be postmaster at Calico Rock, Ark.; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2233.
Estill, M. H., to be postmaster at King City, Mo.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 494.
Evans, Arthur J., to be register of land office at Fort Sumner, N. Mex.; nominated, 4206; confirmed, 4743.
Evans, John C., to be postmaster at Warrenton, Ga.; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 5175.
Evans, R. L., to be postmaster at Riverbank, Cal.; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5175.
Evans, Sydney K., to be chaplain, with rank of lieutenant, in Navy; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Exley, Alice L., to be postmaster at Kensington, Md.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 3652.
Faber, Roy E., to be postmaster at Rittman, Ohio; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 4628.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Fagan, Francis, to be postmaster at Pascoag, R. I.; nominated, 2233; confirmed, 2959.
Fain, John A., to be United States attorney for western district of Oklahoma; nominated, 54; confirmed, 494.
Fair, Charles B., to be postmaster at Lindsay, Cal.; nominated, 2657; confirmed, 3012.
Fairchild, William, sr., to be postmaster at Dawson, Pa.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4744.
Fanning, Maurice, to be postmaster at Roxbury, N. Y.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Fant, A. C., to be postmaster at Macon, Miss.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 815.
Farrell, Mary, to be postmaster at Aspen, Colo.; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2100.
Farris, William H., to be postmaster at Houston, Mo.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 3739.
Farry, Martin F., to be United States marshal for district of Delaware; nominated, 653; confirmed, 927.
Fauntleroy, Walter, to be postmaster at Alta Vista, Va.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Faus, William C., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Feely, James Francis, to be dental surgeon, with rank of first lieutenant, in Army; nominated, 2657; confirmed, 3739.
Fegtly, Martin N., to be receiver of public moneys at Vale, Oreg.; nominated, 1766; confirmed, 2100.
Fegtly, Matthias N., to be receiver of public moneys at Vale, Oreg; nominated, 2958; confirmed, 3738.
Fell, Madge, to be postmaster at Fremont, Iowa; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 2660.
Ferrick, William J., to be postmaster at Chappaqua, N. Y.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 654.
Ferris, Jerry A., to be postmaster at Golden, Colo.; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4976.
Field, John L., to be postmaster at Quincy, Wash.; nominated, 2233; confirmed, 3739.
Filbert, William F., to be postmaster at Watertown, Ill.; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 2958.
Finlayson, James, to be postmaster at Grafton, Ohio; nominated, 5414; confirmed, 5415.
Firestone, Claud E., to be postmaster at Allegan, Mich.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5415.
Fisher, E. W., to be postmaster at Sugarcreek, Ohio; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2233.
Fisher, J. Thomas, to be postmaster at Jefferson City, Mo.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4210.
Fitzhugh, Lee B., to be postmaster at Sand Springs, Okla.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3012.
Fitzpatrick, Mary E., to be postmaster at Beaverton, Oreg.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 2660.
Flanigan, Helen G., to be postmaster at Mill Hall, Pa.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1629.
Flanly, Charles R., to be postmaster at Babylon, N. Y.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2233.
Flaugher, Wilford B., to be postmaster at Cimarron, Kans.; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 5175.
Fleeman, Thomas C., to be postmaster at Ozark, Ark.; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 3739.
Fleming, Andrew, to be postmaster at Melstone, Mont.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Foley, George H., to be postmaster at Mystic, Conn.; nominated, 1183; confirmed, 1406.
Foley, James A., to be postmaster at Grafton, N. Dak.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Ford, William J., to be postmaster at Lonaconing, Md.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3652.
Foreman, J. J., to be postmaster at Pavo, Ga.; nominated, 4207.
Foreman, J. McC., to be postmaster at Emmitsburg, Md.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Forrest, Edwin, jr., to be postmaster at Blum, Tex.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 654.
Fort, George, to be Assistant Treasurer of the United States; nominated, 1063; confirmed, 1187.
Foster, Albert D., to be surgeon in Public Health Service; nominated, 54; confirmed, 398.
Foster, Frank A., to be postmaster at Manchester, Mass.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Foster, John G., to be postmaster at Baker, Oreg.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4743.
Fowler, John, to be United States consul at Rimouski, Quebec, Canada; nominated, 176; confirmed, 653.
Fox, Henry C., to be postmaster at Coldwater, Ohio; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 3739.
Fox, Richard J., to be postmaster at Grantwood, N. J.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 2660.
Fox, William H., to be postmaster at Brocton, N. Y.; nominated, 5173; confirmed, 5510.
Fox, William V., to be assistant paymaster in Navy; nominated, 653; confirmed, 1064.
Framptom, George R., to be postmaster at Artesia, Cal.; nominated, 1183; confirmed, 1405.
France, Melville J., to be United States attorney for eastern district of New York; nominated, 4627; confirmed, 5175.
Francis, Arthur L., to be postmaster at Portland, Mich.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4628.
Francis, James S., to be postmaster at Conyers, Ga.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 398.
Francis, William J., to be postmaster at Fort Ethan Allen, Vt.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5415.
Fraser, James, to be postmaster at Webberville, Mich.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 2959.
Frazee, Charles R., to be postmaster at Pelican Rapids, Minn.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4743.
Frazier, Arthur Hugh, to be United States secretary of embassy or legation, class 2; nominated, 4844; confirmed, 5174.
Frederick, Julien V., to be postmaster at Marshallville, Ga.; nominated, 2657; confirmed, 3012.
Freeman, Wilbur S., to be postmaster at Claxton, Ga.; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Freer, Arden, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps of Army; nominated, 4743; confirmed, 5175.
Frellsen, Raymond F., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5175.
French, Ferdinand, to be postmaster at Pittsfield, N. H.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 3795.
Frey, Michael A., to be postmaster at Junction City, Kans.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3012.
Friel, Edward B., to be postmaster at Lahania, Hawaii; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
Frier, James H., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 55; confirmed, 398.
Frost, Arthur C., to be United States consul, class 8; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Frost, Wesley, to be United States consul, class 7; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Fulford, S. D., to be postmatser at Georgiani, Ala.; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4628.
Fullam, William F., to be rear admiral in Navy; nominated, 1064; confirmed, 2324.
Fuller, S. Jackson, to be postmaster at Cattaraugus, N. Y.; nominated, 5173; confirmed, 5510.
Fullerton, James, to be postmaster at Orange, Cal.; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5175.
Fulton, Hiram R., to be postmaster at Hanover, Kans.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4210.
Funston, Frederick, to be major general in Army; nominated, 54; confirmed, 398.
Furlong, W. A., to be postmaster at Roscoe, Pa.; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5415.
Gable, John, to be postmaster at Browning, Mo.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3012.
Gagnon, Louis P., to be postmaster at Van Buren, Me.; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5176.
Gaither, J. J., to be postmaster at Toledo, Oreg.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 2660.
Galewsky, Joseph, to be postmaster at St. Helena, Cal.; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 3795.
Gallagher, C. H., to be postmaster at Sebastopol, Cal.; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4628.
Gallagher, John J., to be postmaster at Hardwick, Vt.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3739.
Gallagher, John T., to be postmaster at Witherbee, N. Y.; nominated, 5173; confirmed, 5510.
Garman, Allen S., to be postmaster at Tyrone, Pa.; nominated, 2958; confirmed, 4744.
Garrels, Arthur, to be United States consul, class 4; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Garrett, Clarence W., to be postmaster at Bowling Green, Va.; nominated, 4210; confirmed, 4744.
Garrison, Maurice A., to be postmaster at Cape Charles, Va.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 3739.
Garvey, Hazel L., to be postmaster at Blandinsville, Ill.; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 3739.
Garvey, Patrick, to be postmaster at Hemlock, Mich.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 815.
Gassaway, Charles L., to be postmaster at Banning, Cal.; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2100.
Gatling, Bartholomew M., to be postmaster at Raleigh, N. C.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 3739.
Gaul, John Stuart, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps of Army; nominated, 4743; confirmed, 5175.
Gausewitz, William, to be postmaster at Hill City, Minn.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4743.
Gauss, Clarence E., to be United States consul, class 8; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Gawin, August M., to be collector of customs, customs collection district No. 37; nominated, 5414; confirmed, 5510.
Gay, Samuel S., to be postmaster at Nashville, N. C.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4628.
Geach, John H., to be postmaster at Granville, Ohio; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4743.
Geil, D. A., to be postmaster at Grand Island, Nebr.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5510.
Gent, Albert E., to be postmaster at Brighton, Ill.; nominated, 2657; confirmed, 4976.
Genung, Z. R., to be postmaster at Rantoul, Ill.; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 4976.
George, Carl L., to be postmaster at Sarles, N. Dak.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 654.
George, Frank, to be postmaster at Lexington, S. C.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1406.
Geraty, John W., to be postmaster at Yonges Island, S. C.; nominated, 2958; confirmed, 3652.
Gerber, Louis N., to be postmaster at Middleport, Ohio; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 3012.
Getty, Joseph P., to be postmaster at Western Port, Md.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4628.
Gibbs, Frank E., to be postmaster at Petersham, Mass.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 5415.
Gibson, Daniel M., to be postmaster at Van Nuys, Cal.; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5175.
Gibson, John G., to be postmaster at Utica, N. Y.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4307.
Giddings, Ralph P., to be postmaster at Turlock, Cal.; nominated, 2657; confirmed, 3012.
Gilbert, Kate, to be postmaster at Farmerville, La.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4628.
Gilbert, Martha L., to be postmaster at Randolph Center, Vt.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 1126.
Gilbertson, Adolph C., to be postmaster at Ironton, Minn.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3739.
Gildersleeve, Wickham R., to be postmaster at Mattituck, N. Y.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Gillette, Claude S., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Gilman, Alexander, to be postmaster at Putnam, Conn.; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 3795.
Gilmore, Edward, to be postmaster at Brockton, Mass.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 3739.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Gish, Jacob, to be postmaster at Le Sueur, Minn.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 2100.
Glasgow, William J., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 54; confirmed, 398.
Glassford, Pelham D., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 55; confirmed, 398.
Glazebrook, Otis A., to be United States consul, class 6; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Glenn, J. J., to be postmaster at Marengo, Iowa; nominated, 352; confirmed, 979.
Glodowski, Anton J., to be postmaster at Platte Center, Nebr.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3012.
Glover, Jesse Wilbur, to be first lieutenant of engineers, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Goethals, George R., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5175.
Goethals, George W., to be major general, United States Army; nominated, 5509; confirmed, 5510.
Gollands, G. Lindley, to be postmaster at Chandler, Ariz.; nominated, 2657; confirmed, 3011.
Gooch, Edward O., to be postmaster at Crab Orchard, Ky.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 494.
Goodfellow, W. J., to be postmaster at Kenyon, Minn.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4977.
Goodier, James H., to be United States consul at Niagara Falls, Ontario, Canada; nominated, 176; confirmed, 653.
Goodman, Charles F., to be postmaster at Collinsville, Tex.; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5415.
Goodson, W. M., to be postmaster at Marion, N. C.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3012.
Goodwin, Eugene M., to be postmaster at Odessa, Mo.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 494.
Goodyear, William, to be receiver of public moneys at Walla Walla, Wash.; nominated, 54; withdrawn, 1064.
Gordon, Philip, to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 5175.
Gordy, James J., to be postmaster at Richland, Ga.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 927.
Gorenflo, Frank L., to be postmaster at Cass Lake, Minn.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4743.
Gorgas, William C., to be major general and Surgeon General, United States Army; nominated, 5510; confirmed, 5510.
Gorman, George W., to be postmaster at Barre, Vt.; nominated, 2233; confirmed, 4210.
Goslin, Peter H., to be postmaster at Clarion, Iowa; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3739.
Gosman, F. H., to be postmaster at Shreveport, La.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 3795.
Gossett, John S., to be postmaster at Dennison, Ohio; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2324.
Gould, Virginia H., to be postmaster at Cottonwood, Cal.; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5175.
Gove, Edwin L., to be postmaster at Madelia, Minn.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 2324.
Grace, Claude B., to be postmaster at Trenton, Nebr.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 1406.
Graham, Robert, to be postmaster at Alliance, Nebr.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4977.
Granger, Walter K., to be postmaster at Cedar City, Utah; nominated, 354; confirmed, 2100.
Gray, E. S., to be postmaster at Weleetka, Okla.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Gray, Elmore B., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 55; confirmed, 398.
Gray, George B., to be postmaster at Sesser, Ill.; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2958.
Gray, Josephine M., to be postmaster at Adairsville, Ga.; nominated, 2657; confirmed, 3012.
Greene, Charles F., to be postmaster at Bridgeport, Conn.; nominated, 2657; confirmed, 3012.
Greene, Elbridge Gerry, to be United States secretary of embassy or legation, class 4; nominated, 4844; confirmed, 5174.
Greene, Henry A., to be brigadier general in Army; nominated, 54; confirmed, 398.
Greene, Oscar C., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Greenman, E. W. Perry, to be postmaster at Narragansett Pier, R. I.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 4210.
Gregg, J. R., to be postmaster at Ontario, Oreg.; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5415.
Gresham, Grover C., to be postmaster at Parkville, Mo.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 494.
Griffith, P. Merrill, to be United States consul, class 4; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Griggs, James D., to be postmaster at Truman, Minn.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2100.
Grignon, Robert A., to be postmaster at Suring, Wis.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 979.
Grimes, John N., to be postmaster at Troy, N. H.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2100.
Grof, Alexander B., to be postmaster at Somerset, Pa.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5415.
Grogan, Patrick H., to be postmaster at St. James, Minn.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4977.
Gross, Charles P., to be first lieutenant, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5175.
Grosser, William F., to be postmaster at Salina, Kans.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 1406.
Gruenewald, William F., to be postmaster at Oshkosh, Wis.; nominated, 1187; confirmed, 2325.
Gullion, Walter C., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2657; confirmed, 3739.
Gunsaulus, Edwin N., to be United States consul, class 2; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Gunster, Walter E., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4628; confirmed, 5175.
Gunther, Ernest L., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 653; confirmed, 1064.
Gurnett, M. J., to be postmaster at Balfour, N. Dak.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 3012.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Gurney, Helen L., to be postmaster at Erlanger, Ky.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2100.
Guthrie, John E., to be postmaster at Summerville, Pa.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1770.
Guyant, Claude E., to be United States consul, class 7; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Haas, John, to be postmaster at Lamberton, Minn.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 3012.
Haas, Walstien N., to be postmaster at Silverton, Colo.; nominated, 1183; confirmed, 1405.
Hackett, Ephraim E., to be postmaster at Victor, Mont.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 494.
Hadden, Charles, to be postmaster at Jackson, Ky.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 1406.
Haeberle, Arminius T., to be United States consul, class 5; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Haffner, Chris, to be postmaster at Donnellson, Iowa; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5175.
Hagan, Anna D., to be postmaster at New Richmond, Wis.; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5415.
Hagan, W. L. D., to be postmaster at Newton, Kans.; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1948.
Hagar, William S., to be postmaster at Island Falls, Me.; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5176.
Hale, W. L., to be postmaster at Mayfield, Ky.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 3795.
Haley, John F., to be collector of internal revenue for district of Hawaii; nominated, 4627; confirmed, 4976.
Haley, John T., to be postmaster at Steelville, Mo.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 3739.
Hall, Charles L., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5175.
Hall, Henry Clay, to be Interstate Commerce Commissioner; nominated, 653; confirmed, 2324.
Hall, J. C., to be postmaster at Kearney, Mo.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 494.
Hall, Reynold T., to be rear admiral in Navy; nominated, 653; confirmed, 1064.
Hallberg, Carl E., to be postmaster at Courtland, Kans.; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 2660.
Halliday, J. E., to be postmaster at Gallipolis, Ohio; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 3012.
Halstead, Albert, to be United States consul general, class 3; nominated, 3647; confirmed, 4306.
Hamer, W. R., to be postmaster at Newport, Oreg.; nominated, 2958; confirmed, 3739.
Hamilton, Glen S., to be postmaster at Falls Creek, Pa.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 2324.
Hamilton, Robert L., to be postmaster at Salisbury, Mo.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 1406.
Hammell, Joseph L., to be postmaster at Burlington, N. J.; nominated, 5173; confirmed, 5510.
Hammet, Benjamin J., to be postmaster at Blackville, S. C.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2100.
Hammond, L. H., to be postmaster at Mountpleasant, Tenn.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 3795.
Hampton, George, to be collector of internal revenue for first district of New Jersey; nominated, 54; rejected, 5415.
Hancock, C. E., to be postmaster at Selah, Wash.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 3795.
Handley, William W., to be United States consul general, class 4; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Handy, Solomon H., to be postmaster at Marshall, Ill.; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 4743.
Hanes, S. B., to be postmaster at Jena, La.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 398.
Hanisch, Oscar, to be postmaster at Waupun, Wis.; nominated, 4210; confirmed, 5176.
Hanley, William E., to be postmaster at Stafford Springs, Conn.; nominated, 1183; confirmed, 1406.
Hanley, William L., to be postmaster at Thomaston, Conn.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 979.
Hanlon, Arthur J., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2233.
Hanna, Philip C., to be United States consul general, class 5; nominated, 3647; confirmed, 4306.
Hannah, Orlando E., to be postmaster at Tavares, Fla.; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 4210.
Hanrahan, Daniel E., to be postmaster at Hallstead, Pa.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 1357.
Hanson, G. M., to be postmaster at Wolf Point, Mont.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Hanson, George C., to be United States consul, class 8; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Hanson, Inez L., to be postmaster at Ellsworth, Iowa; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5415.
Harber, Edgar M., to be collector of internal revenue for sixth district of Missouri; nominated, 266; confirmed, 1126.
Harbord, James G., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 176; confirmed, 398.
Harding, Silas Hatch, to be district superintendent, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Hare, John E., to be postmaster at Cunningham, Kans.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4210.
Harger, K. D., to be postmaster at Riverside, Cal.; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2100.
Harkins, James F., to be postmaster at Carlinville, Ill.; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 4976.
Harman, George, to be postmaster at Valley Falls, Kans.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 4628.
Harmon, Kenneth B., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 55; confirmed, 398.
Harper, Cicero, to be postmaster at Moran, Tex.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1406.
Harrer, W. F., to be postmaster at Montoursville, Pa.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Harris, D. J., to be postmaster at Inwood, Iowa; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4976.
Harris, Ernest L., to be United States consul general, class 5; nominated, 3647; confirmed, 4306.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Harris, William J., to be member of Federal Trade Commission; nominated, 4306; confirmed, 5175.
Harrison, Leland, to be United States secretary of embassy or legation, class 2; nominated, 4844; confirmed, 5174.
Harrison, Raymundo, to be receiver of public moneys at Fort Sumner, N. Mex.; nominated, 653; confirmed, 2324.
Harrison, Robert H., to be postmaster at Tuckerman, Ark.; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2233.
Harrocks, Sydney, to be postmaster at Westminster, Mass.; nominated, 2232.
Hart, Gideon B., to be postmaster at Breckenridge, Mo.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5415.
Hartley, George S., to be postmaster at Arkansas City, Kans.; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
Hartman, Jerome A., to be postmaster at Phoenixville, Pa.; nominated, 2958; confirmed, 3739.
Hartsick, William H., to be postmaster at Westpoint, Nebr.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2100.
Hartson, Mary K., to be postmaster at Kyle, Tex.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 3795.
Harwick, John L., to be postmaster at Rochester, Minn.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5415.
Haskell, Lewis W., to be United States consul, class 6; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Hastings, David H., to be postmaster at Lutherville, Md.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3652.
Hastings, Henry C., to be postmaster at Eldon, Iowa; nominated, 352; confirmed, 979.
Haswell, George Sherman, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps of Army; nominated, 1063; confirmed, 1513.
Hatfield, A. L., to be postmaster at Matewan, W. Va.; nominated, 1770; confirmed, 2325.
Hathaway, Fred S., to be postmaster at Grantsville, W. Va.; nominated, 2233; confirmed, 2660.
Hauk, Alvin E., to be postmaster at Morristown, Ind.; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 3795.
Hauser, Edward L., to be postmaster at Girard, Ohio; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 4628.
Hayden, Herbert, to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 55; confirmed, 398.
Haynes, J. L., to be postmaster at Decherd, Tenn.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 495.
Haynes, John, to be postmaster at Hinton, W. Va.; nominated, 4210; confirmed, 4307.
Hays, David V., to be postmaster at Burgettstown, Pa.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1948.
Hays, Perry C., to be United States consul, class 7; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Hazeltine, Rose, to be United States consul, class 7; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Headlee, Orville M., to be postmaster at Morehouse, Mo.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Healy, Michael P., to be postmaster at Navy Yard, S. C.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3012.
Healy, Thomas R., to be assistant surgeon, Medical Reserve Corps of Navy; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Heaney, William M., to be postmaster at Cold Spring Harbor, N. Y.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 494.
Heard, William W., to be assistant treasurer of United States at New Orleans, La.; nominated, 4206; confirmed, 4210.
Hearns, Hugh, to be postmaster at Naugatuck, Conn.; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 3795.
Hederman, Thomas F., to be postmaster at Webster, Mass.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 2660.
Hedger, Frederick M., to be register of land office at Walla Walla, Wash.; nominated, 54; confirmed, 815.
Heffelman, George W., to be postmaster at New Cumberland, Pa.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 1126.
Hefferan, W. H.; to be postmaster at Rockford, Ill.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 927.
Hein, Peter F., to be postmaster at Crown Point, Ind.; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4628.
Heine, Otto F., to be postmaster at Lahaina, Hawaii; nominated, 351; confirmed, 1126; withdrawn, 1187.
Heiney, Charlie E., to be postmaster at Andrews, Ind.; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4976.
Heizer, Oscar S., to be United States consul, class 8; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Helmer, Albert E., to be postmaster at Evans Mills, N. Y.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Hemmeter, William F., to be postmaster at Saginaw West Side, Mich.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 3012.
Hempstone, Smith, to be passed assistant paymaster in Navy; nominated, 1064; confirmed, 2324.
Henderson, Christian, to be postmaster at Woodlawn, Pa.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5415.
Henderson, M. M., to be postmaster at Tecumseh, Okla.; nominated, 4209.
Hendrick, Michael J., to be United States consul, class 5; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Hennessy, James T., to be postmaster at Wareham, Mass.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2660.
Henry, Charles O., to be postmaster at Athena, Oreg.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 2660.
Henry, William M., to be postmaster at Brevard, N. C.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 1406.
Hepworth, R. G., to be postmaster at Burlingame, Kans.; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5175.
Herder, Edmund, to be postmaster at Shiner, Tex.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 654.
Herman, J. E., to be postmaster at Mounds, Ill.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 2958.
Herring, Presley L., to be postmaster at Glasgow, Mont.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 4628.
Herring, Willie, to be postmaster at Bude, Miss.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4628.
Hersey, Mark L., jr., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Herzog, George H., to be postmaster at Racine, Wis.; nominated, 1770; confirmed, 3739.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Heslin, George T., to be postmaster at Newport, Wash.; nominated, 1770.
Hess, Dwight M., to be postmaster at Hellwood, Pa.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 4307.
Hess, Emil J., to be postmaster at Mendota, Ill.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 3012
Hester, John H., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2233.
Hewlett, George W., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2100.
Hiatt, Alfred M., to be postmaster at Pennville, Ind.; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
Hickey, John, to be postmaster at Vail, Iowa; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
Hicks, George P., to be postmaster at Callao, Mo.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3012.
Hicks, R. P., to be postmaster at Wrightsville, Ga.; nominated, 1184.
Higley, Frank H., to be postmaster at Cawker City, Kans.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 654.
Hille, Ross H., to be postmaster at San Fernando, Cal.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 494.
Hills, Frank B., to be postmaster at Thomaston, Me.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 928.
Hills, Ralph W., to be United States secretary of embassy or legation, class 4; nominated, 4844; confirmed, 5174.
Hinchman, Harry F., jr., to be postmaster at Convent Station, N. J.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 494.
Hindman, S. J., to be postmaster at Inglewood, Cal.; nominated, 1183; confirmed, 1405.
Hines, Harry, to be postmaster at Santa Monica, Cal.; nominated, 1183; confirmed, 1405.
Hines, J. H., to be postmaster at Valier, Mont.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 1406.
Hines, John P., to be postmaster at Stoneboro, Pa.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4744.
Hipp, Grover Cleveland H., to be postmaster at Grover Hill, Ohio; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 3012.
Hipps, George E., to be postmaster at Carrolltown, Pa.; nominated, 2958; confirmed, 3739.
Hirst, Robert L., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 55; confirmed, 398.
Hitch, Calvin Milton, to be United States consul, class 5; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Hoar, Blair E., to be receiver of public moneys at Lewiston, Idaho; nominated, 1567; confirmed, 3011.
Hobart, H. J., to be postmaster at Woonsocket, S. Dak.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 2233.
Hobley, Alfred H., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2233.
Hoch, Jacob C., to be postmaster at Spencerville, Ohio; nominated, 353; confirmed, 815.
Hodges, Harry F., to be brigadier general, United States Army; nominated, 5509; confirmed, 5510.
Hodges, J. Lester, to be postmaster at Junction, Tex.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1406.
Hodgins, Arthur Gordon, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps of Army; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 5175.
Hoefnagels, Edward J., to be register of land office at Leadville, Colo.; nominated, 1183; confirmed, 1513.
Hogadone, Charles E., to be postmaster at Grand Rapids, Mich.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 4743.
Hogan, Carrie M.; to be postmaster at Turtle Lake, Wis.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Hohes, Sylvester K., to be postmaster at Murfreesboro, Ark.; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2233.
Holaday, Ross E., to be United States consul of class 2; nominated, 3647; confirmed, 4307.
Holbrook, Willard A., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 54; confirmed, 398.
Holcomb, Chauncey P., to be district attorney of United States court for China; nominated, 4743; confirmed, 4976.
Holcombe, William H., to be first lieutenant, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5175.
Holland, Henry, to be collector of customs for customs collection district No. 7; nominated, 5173; confirmed, 5175.
Hollister, W. B., to be postmaster at St. Regis Falls, N. Y.; nominated, 5173; confirmed, 5510.
Holm, James M., to be postmaster at Pierre, S. Dak.; nominated, 2233; confirmed, 3739.
Hooker, Sidney R., to be postmaster at Angelica, N. Y.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4307.
Hoover, John H., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 4628; confirmed, 5175.
Hopfenspirger, Henry F., to be postmaster at Morgan, Minn.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 3739.
Hopkins, James K., to be postmaster at Princeton, Ill.; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2958.
Hopper, Jeremiah M., to be postmaster at Ness City, Kans.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 654.
Horn, Alexander W., to be postmaster at Cedarburg, Wis.; nominated, 1187; confirmed, 2325.
Horne, Robert L., to be postmaster at Ludowici, Ga.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 927.
Hornibrook, William H., to be United States envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Siam; nominated, 2958; confirmed, 3652.
Horton, George, to be United States consul general, class 5; nominated, 3647; confirmed, 4306.
Hoss, G. S., jr., to be postmaster at Cherryvale, Kans.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2959.
Hoss, Theodore, to be postmaster at Fowler, Ind.; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 2660.
Hostetler, John F., to be postmaster at Great Bend, Kans.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 2100.
Houseman, B. F., to be postmaster at Dunkirk, Ind.; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
Howard, Francis A., to be postmaster at Slater, Mo.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 494.
Howard, Frank, to be postmaster at Ravenna, Nebr.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3012.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Howard, Michael J., to be postmaster at Norwalk, Conn.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 979.
Howard, William Grant, to be postmaster at Marion, Mich.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 1948.
Howe, Harland B., to be United States district judge, district of Vermont; nominated, 4206; confirmed, 4307.
Howery, L. B., to be postmaster at Darlington, Wis.; nominated, 5414; confirmed, 5510.
Hoxie, Edward E., to be postmaster at Lee, Mass.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4977.
Hoyt, Frederick R., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 653; confirmed, 1064.
Hubbell, W. G., to be postmaster at Fort Lupton, Colo.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5415.
Huffman, Anna C., to be postmaster at Eureka, Kans.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 4977.
Huffman, C. A., to be postmaster at Des Moines, Iowa; nominated, 4975.
Hughes, Augustus S., to be postmaster at Seneca Falls, N. Y.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4743.
Hughes, Charles F., to be captain in Navy; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Hughes, George F., to be postmaster at Council Bluffs, Iowa; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5175.
Hughes, John W., to be postmaster at Fossil, Oreg.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 3012.
Hughes, Winifred, to be postmaster at Tioga, Pa.; nominated, 2233; confirmed, 3012.
Hull, C. Forrest, to be postmaster at Durbin, W. Va.; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5415.
Hulsizer, A. C., to be postmaster at Flemington, N. J.; nominated, 5173; confirmed, 5415.
Hummel, Chauncey, to be postmaster at Chelsea, Mich.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4628.
Humphrey, H. C., to be postmaster at Remington, Va.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1567.
Hunt, Guy H., to be postmaster at Newport, Me.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3012.
Hunter, Earl, to be postmaster at Lowell, Mich.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 815.
Hurley, Daniel P., to be postmaster at Terryville, Conn.; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4628.
Hurley, Edward N., to be member of Federal Trade Commission; nominated, 4306; confirmed, 5175.
Hutchins, John W., to be postmaster at Fryeburg, Me.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 928.
Hutter, Charles George, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps of Army; nominated, 4743; confirmed, 5175.
Hutzell, S. M., to be postmaster at Victor, Iowa; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3739.
Idol, Edgar R., to be postmaster at Pleasant Hill, Mo.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 494.
Ill, Charles F., to be postmaster at Notre Dame, Ind.; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 3795.
Ingersoll, John Marvin, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps of Army; nominated, 1063; confirmed, 1513.
Ingram, Augustus E., to be United States consul, class 4; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Inlow, Arthur C., to be postmaster at Hill City, Kans.; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 5175.
Irwin, George Le R., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 55; confirmed, 398.
Irwin, William A., to be postmaster at Downingtown, Pa.; nominated, 2958; confirmed, 3739.
Irwin, William W., to be postmaster at Wheeling, W. Va.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 495.
Isham, Nette A., to be postmaster at Manning, N. Dak.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Jackson, Carroll R., to be postmaster at Gambier, Ohio; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 4210.
Jackson, James P., to be assistant paymaster in Navy; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Jackson, John H., to be postmaster at Bland, Mo.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Jackson, John W., to be postmaster at Palmetto, Fla.; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5175.
Jackson, Lloyd E., to be postmaster at McPherson, Kans.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 654.
Jacobs, Douglas H., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2233.
Jacobs, James C., to be postmaster at Burnham, Pa.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4744.
Jacobs, Jesse, to be postmaster at Oxford, N. Y.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4307.
Jacobs, Randall, to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Jacquot, E. J., to be postmaster at Hortonville, Wis.; nominated, 1187; confirmed, 2325.
Jaeckel, Theodore, to be United States consul, class 8; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
James, Bernard B., to be postmaster at Union, S. C.; nominated, 2958; confirmed, 3652.
Jamison, Samuel J., to be postmaster at Rich Hill, Mo.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3012.
Janisch, Charles J., to be postmaster at Waterloo, Wis.; nominated, 1770; confirmed, 3739.
Janosky, J. E., to be postmaster at Connell, Wash.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1406.
Jay, Frederick D., to be postmaster at Elmwood, Ill.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 927.
Jeffery, Robert Emmett, to be United States envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Uruguay; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 2958.
Jenkins, A. F., to be postmaster at Russell, Iowa; nominated, 352; confirmed, 979.
Jenkins, Douglas, to be United States consul, class 6; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Jennings, George E., to be postmaster at Garden Grove, Iowa; nominated, 352; confirmed, 979.
Jennings, Robert E., to be postmaster at West Milton, Ohio; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 4628.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Jensen, M. W., to be postmaster at McIntosh, Minn.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 2959.
Jermin, Ellis T., to be postmaster at Ewen, Mich.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4628.
Jewett, Henry C., to be major, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5175.
Jewett, Milo A., to be United States consul, class 6; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Jex, Heber C., to be receiver of public moneys at Salt Lake City, Utah; nominated, 5414; confirmed, 5415.
Johnson, A. J., to be postmaster at Murdo, S. Dak.; nominated, 2233; confirmed, 3012.
Johnson, Charles A., to be postmaster at Pinconning, Mich.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 3012.
Johnson, Charles Herman, to be second lieutenant of engineers, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Johnson, Daniel R., to be postmaster at University, Miss.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5415.
Johnson, Hallett, to be United States secretary of embassy or legation, class 4; nominated, 4844; confirmed, 5174.
Johnson, Horrell, to be postmaster at New Madrid, Mo.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3012.
Johnson, Leo L., to be postmaster at Union City, Mich.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5415.
Johnson, Louis W., to be postmaster at Pittsburg, Kans.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5175.
Johnson, Milas N., to be postmaster at Calhan, Colo.; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5415.
Johnson, Nelson T., to be United States consul at Chungking, China; nominated, 176; confirmed, 653.
Johnson, Stewart, to be United States secretary of embassy or legation, class 4; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5174.
Johnson, W. A., to be postmaster at Green River, Wyo.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 495.
Johnston, William T., to be postmaster at Bristol, Pa.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 5176.
Johnstone, Vernon E., to be postmaster at Chesaning, Mich.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5415.
Jolliffe, Edgar H., to be postmaster at Congers, N. Y.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2324.
Jones, A. J., to be postmaster at Sonora, Cal.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5415.
Jones, Allen W., to be postmaster at Minneola, Kans.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 654.
Jones, Alonzo W., to be postmaster at Orleans, Mass.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5415.
Jones, George W., to be postmaster at Falmouth, Mass.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3012.
Jones, James J., to be postmaster at Clio, Mich.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4743.
Jones, Jesse F., to be postmaster at Loudon, Tenn.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2233.
Jordan, S. T., to be postmaster at Fonda, Iowa; nominated, 352; confirmed, 979.
Joy, James H., to be postmaster at Fort Ann, N. Y.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4307.
Judefind, Charles, to be postmaster at Rock Hall, Md.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 1187.
Juen, Henry A., to be postmaster at Waipahu, Hawaii; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 3795.
Juettner, Otto, to be First Lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps of Army; nominated, 1063; confirmed, 1514.
Julian, William A., to be postmaster at Merrill, Iowa; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4976.
Kaempfer, Henry B., to be postmaster at West Bend, Wis.; nominated, 1770; confirmed, 3739.
Kaiser, E. J., to be postmaster at Ashland, Oreg.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4743.
Kaiser, John J., to be postmaster at Stratford, Wis.; nominated, 1770; confirmed, 3739.
Kane, David J., to be postmaster at East Helena, Mont.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 1406.
Kane, Theodore P., to be colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 56; confirmed, 142.
Karcher, Ludwig A., to be postmaster at Dahlgren, Ill.; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2958.
Katz, P. G., to be postmaster at Verona, Pa.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 3012.
Kaufman, Moses, to be postmaster at Lexington, Ky.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 398.
Keating, Austin W., to be postmaster at Belfast, Me.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5415.
Keating, J. W., to be postmaster at Towanda, Pa.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4977.
Keeler, Laura Lee, to be postmaster at Middleburg, Va.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1567.
Keena, Leo J., to be United States consul general, class 4; nominated, 3647; confirmed, 4306.
Keenan, Thomas W., to be postmaster at Pinebluff, Wyo.; nominated, 2660; confirmed, 3012.
Keese, E. G., to be postmaster at Stamford, Tex.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 654.
Keesey, J. M., to be postmaster at Foxburg, Pa.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Kehl, John E., to be United States consul, class 5; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Kehoe, John, to be postmaster at Pittston, Pa.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 494.
Keiran, Richard T., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 1064; confirmed, 2324.
Kalahan, John T., to be postmaster at Algonquin, Ill.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5415.
Kellam, John W., to be postmaster at Onley, Va.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 928.
Kelley, Eugene, to be postmaster at Waterloo, Ind.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3012.
Kelley, Thomas L., to be chaplain, with rank of first lieutenant, in Army; nominated, 1063; confirmed, 1513.
Kellner, Frank H., to be postmaster at Denmark, Wis.; nominated, 1187; confirmed, 2325.
Kelly, Fred M., to be postmaster at Needles, Cal.; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 2660.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Kelly, James A., to be postmaster at Beaumont, Cal.; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5175.
Kelly, John R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 55; confirmed, 398.
Kelly, Martin F., to be postmaster at Dewitt, Iowa; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 4210.
Kelly, T. J., to be postmaster at Oakville, Conn.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 815.
Kelly, Ward J., to be postmaster at Crystal Falls, Mich.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2100.
Kendall, Clinton Philo, to be second lieutenant of engineers, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Kendall, Marley, to be postmaster at Dana, Ind.; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4628.
Kendrick, E. S., to be postmaster at Bristol, Va.; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5176.
Kennard, John, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 4628; confirmed, 5175.
Kennedy, Aloysius B., to be postmaster at Rochdale, Mass.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 3739.
Kennedy, J. I. C., to be postmaster at Mountain View, Cal.; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 3795.
Kennedy, J. M., to be postmaster at Lestershire, N. Y.; nominated, 5173; confirmed, 5510.
Kennedy, L. A., to be postmaster at Chester, Ill.; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 3739.
Kenney, Joseph A., to be postmaster at South Paris, Me.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 928.
Kenny, Owen, to be postmaster at Calistoga, Cal.; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 3795.
Keraus, Joseph J., to be postmaster at Wakeeney, Kans.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 654.
Kerberg, J. F., to be postmaster at Sioux City, Iowa; nominated, 4975.
Kercheville, J. A., to be postmaster at Devine, Tex.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2100.
Kern, Howard L., to be attorney general of Porto Rico; nominated, 54; confirmed, 141.
Kern, Louis P., to be postmaster at St. Genevieve, Mo.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 494.
Kessler, Charles J., to be postmaster at New Lexington, Ohio; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 4307.
Kessler, William A., to be postmaster at Homestead, Pa.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1514.
Ketcham, Daniel W., to be lieutenant colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 55; confirmed, 398.
Kettels, Axel V., to be chief machinist in Navy; nominated, 176; confirmed, 355.
Ketterer, William A., to be postmaster at Rochester, Pa.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 2233.
* Kiah, Jerome Godfrey, to be district superintendent, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Kiblinger, Lee, to be postmaster at Jackson, La.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4628.
Kidwell, Patrick H., to be postmaster at Versailles, Mo.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4628.
Kilborn, Francis J., to be postmaster at Washington Depot, Conn.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 979.
Kilgore, General M., to be postmaster at Logansville, Ga.; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2324.
Kilgore, Roy, to be postmaster at Norton, Va.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 3739.
Kilgore, Ruth D., to be postmaster at Colusa, Cal.; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4628.
King, George H., to be postmaster at Birch Tree, Mo.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 3739.
King, John T., to be postmaster at Ashland, Mass.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5415.
King, W. B., to be postmaster at Atwater, Cal.; nominated, 1183; confirmed, 1405.
Kingdon, E. J., to be postmaster at Cullom, Ill.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5415.
Kinnard, Henry W., to be postmaster at Rush Springs, Okla.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Kinyon, Virginia H., to be postmaster at Fall River, Kans.; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 2660.
Kirk, Alexander C., to be United States secretary of embassy or legation, class 4; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5174.
Kirk, Milton B., to be United States consul at Orillia, Ontario, Canada; nominated, 176; confirmed, 653.
Kirkendall, Fred C., to be collector of internal revenue for twelfth district of Pennsylvania; nominated, 4206; confirmed, 4628.
Kirkpatrick, John Hugh, to be United States marshal for western district of Louisiana; nominated, 266; confirmed, 354.
Kirkpatrick, Kate W., to be postmaster at Decatur, Ga.; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 4628.
Kirtley, William P., to be postmaster at Horse Cave, Ky.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 1948.
Kittrelle, Russell L., to be assistant paymaster in Navy; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Klein, Isaac, to be postmaster at Salem, N. Y.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 2660.
Knepp, A. S., to be postmaster at North East, Pa.; nominated, 4209.
Knight, Lucile D., to be postmaster at Twin Bridges, Mont.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4210.
Knowles, Herbert Minot, to be district superintendent, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Koehler, Lewis M., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 176; confirmed, 398.
Kooreman, Edward J., to be postmaster at Alton, Iowa; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
Krafft, Kurt Wolfgang, to be second lieutenant of engineers, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Kruger, Frederick J., to be postmaster at Centerville, Mich.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 815.
Kuhn, L. F., to be postmaster at Stockton, Cal.; nominated, 1183; confirmed, 2233.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Kuykendall, Charles D., to be postmaster at Grayville, Ill.; nominated, 351.
Kuypers, John A., to be postmaster at De Pere, Wis.; nominated, 1770; confirmed, 3739.
Kyle, William D., to be postmaster at Kingsport, Tenn.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2233.
Lackey, R. A., to be postmaster at Roosevelt, Okla.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Lahser, Charles A., to be postmaster at Redford, Mich.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4628.
Lambdin, William Wallace, to be United States district judge for southern district of Georgia; nominated, 5414; confirmed, 5414.
Lamberson, B. C., to be postmaster at McConnellsburg, Pa.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4744.
Lamberson, Charles A., to be postmaster at Coshocton, Ohio; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 3739.
Lampert, Joseph C., to be postmaster at Lena, Ill.; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
Lancer, Thomas Francis, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps of Army; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 5175.
Landers, George F., to be colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 55; confirmed, 398.
Lane, Jesse B., to be postmaster at Scottsbluff, Nebr.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4977.
Lane, Levi, to be postmaster at Oconto Falls, Wis.; nominated, 1187; confirmed, 2325.
Lang, A. A. J., to be postmaster at Sanborn, N. Dak.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 654.
Langham, Louis J., to be postmaster at Hammonton, N. J.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 4743.
Langhorne, Marshall, to be United States secretary of embassy or legation, class 1; nominated, 4844; confirmed, 5174.
Lapham, John W., to be postmaster at Chanute, Kans.; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
Lapine, Joseph F., to be postmaster at Hudson, Mass.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 979.
Largent, Daniel F., to be postmaster at Bridgeport, Tex.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 3795.
Larkin, Francis, to be postmaster at Ossining, N. Y.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4307.
Larsen, T. M., to be postmaster at Dundee, N. Y.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Lashley, Frank L., to be postmaster at Centerville, Ind.; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 3795.
Lasley, John B., to be postmaster at Lewisburg, Ky.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2100.
Latham, Charles L., to be United States consul, class 5; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Latham, W. H., to be postmaster at Curtis, Nebr.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 1406.
Lathrop, Lorin A., to be United States consul, class 7; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Latta, Jesse C., to be postmaster at Piggott, Ark.; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2233.
Lawler, Michael F., to be postmaster at Jessup, Pa.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 2324.
Lawson, Richard I., to be collector of customs for customs collection district No. 38; nominated, 4743; confirmed, 4976.
Layne, Edward F., to be postmaster at Center, Mo.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 3739.
Layton, Thomas B. L., to be United States consul at Tahiti, Society Islands; nominated, 176; confirmed, 354.
Leahy, Joseph F., to be postmaster at Stonington, Conn.; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4628.
Ledford, Virgil C., to be postmaster at Craig, Colo.; nominated, 1183; confirmed, 1405.
Lee, Samuel T., to be United States consul, class 6; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Lee, Richard H., to be postmaster at Wilsoncreek, Wash.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3739.
Lefever, B. C., to be postmaster at Williamsport, Md.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4210.
Lefevre, Charles, to be postmaster at Hinckley, N. Y.; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5415.
Lehr, Horace, to be postmaster at Easton, Pa.; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5415.
Leininger, P. F., to be postmaster at Myerstown, Pa.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2233.
Lemasters, Nesbert W., to be postmaster at Oak Grove, Mo.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3012.
Lenney, Morris J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 653; confirmed, 1064.
Leonhardy, Waldo, to be postmaster at Williston, N. Dak.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 4977.
Lesher, Joseph G., to be postmaster at Huntingdon, Pa.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4977.
Lesher, Robert, to be postmaster at Northumberland, Pa.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4977.
Leslie, William, to be postmaster at Parkers Landing, Pa.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 2324.
Letcher, Marion, to be United States consul, class 6; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Letzerich, Hugo J., to be postmaster at Harlingen, Tex.; nominated, 2233; confirmed, 2660.
Lewin, Charles E., to be postmaster at Comstock, Nebr.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4210.
Lewis, Charles K., to be postmaster at Russiaville, Ind.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3012.
Lewis, Cyril Ettrick, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps of Army; nominated, 1063; confirmed, 1514.
Lewis, Freeborn S., to be postmaster at Port Angeles, Wash.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3012.
Lewman, Robert H., to be postmaster at Georgetown, Ill.; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4743.
Lieb, Lewis J., to be postmaster at Colver, Pa.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 5415.
Lillard, George P., to be postmaster at Seguin, Tex.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2100.
Lilly, C. E., to be postmaster at Santa Cruz, Cal.; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4628.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Lincoln, Gatewood S., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 1064; confirmed, 2324.
Lindahl, John A., to be postmaster at Enterprise, Kans.; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1948.
Lindskog, Nils, to be postmaster at Pilger, Nebr.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4210.
Little, Carl L., to be postmaster at Ames, Iowa; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 2660.
Little, Sam H., to be postmaster at Eagle Lake, Tex.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3012.
Lively, Charles, to be postmaster at Weston, W. Va.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 654.
Livington, Hunn, to be postmaster at Allentown, N. J.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3012.
Lloyd, J. J., to be postmaster at Fairfield, Ill.; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2958.
Lockerman, Leslie C., to be postmaster at Cheswick, Pa.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 3012.
Lockhart, Calvin R., to be postmaster at Dustin, Okla.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4628.
Lockhart, Lloyd E., to be postmaster at Van Horn, Tex.; nominated, 4210; confirmed, 4628.
Lofberg, Gus Brynolf, to be district superintendent, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Loftus, Thomas W., to be postmaster at Archbald, Pa.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 1126.
Long, Mary K., to be postmaster at Medina, Ohio; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 1948.
Longenbaugh, Helen G., to be postmaster at Moweaqua, Ill.; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 3739.
Longmore, George J. W., to be postmaster at Louisville, Colo.; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 4743.
Loop, Carl R., to be United States consul, class 8; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Loper, James M., to be postmaster at Tishomingo, Okla.; nominated, 1186.
Lord, Herbert M., to be lieutenant colonel, Quartermaster Corps of Army; nominated, 1064.
Lorenz, Alva K., to be postmaster at Aiken, S. C.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1406.
Lovett, George J., to be chief machinist in Navy; nominated, 56; confirmed, 142.
Lowe, John Z., jr., to be collector of internal revenue for second district of New York; nominated, 5173; confirmed, 5414.
Lowell, James R., to be postmaster at Moberly, Mo.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 494.
Lowell, Robert T. S., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 176; confirmed, 355.
Lowrie, Will L., to be United States consul general, class 5; nominated, 3647; confirmed, 4307.
Lowth, Edward, to be postmaster at Wisconsin Veterans Home, Wis.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 979.
Lucas, Russell Lord, to be second lieutenant, United States Revenue-Cutter Service; nominated, 1948; confirmed, 2660.
Lummis, Elmer, to be postmaster at Quincy, Ill.; nominated, 1767.
Lund, Harry A., to be collector of customs, customs collection district No. 35; nominated, 5414; confirmed, 5414.
Lunn, D. L., to be postmaster at Humble, Tex.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2100.
Lupton, Stuart K., to be United States consul, class 6; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Lynch, Peter, jr., to be postmaster at Roslyn, N. Y.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Lynn, John D., to be United States attorney for western district of New York; nominated, 54; rejected, 176.
Lyons, James G., to be postmaster at Okmulgee, Okla.; nominated, 2958.
Lyons, Michael H., to be postmaster at Indian Orchard, Mass.; nominated, 4975.
Lyons, Patrick H., to be postmaster at Kings Park, N. Y.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 1406.
Lytle, Virgie H., to be postmaster at Augusta, Ky.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4847.
McAdoo, W. A., to be postmaster at Kitanning, Pa.; nominated, 5174; confirmed, 5510.
McAllen, Charles E., to be postmaster at Chokio, Minn.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 2324.
McAlpin, Susette E., to be postmaster at Bolton, Miss.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 3012.
McArdle, James J., to be postmaster at Nesquehoning, Pa.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 815.
McBeth, Walter James, to be postmaster at Braddock, Pa.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 2233.
McBroon, Elmer, to be postmaster at Chehalis, Wash.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3795.
McCage, Elmo D., to be postmaster at Aubrey, Tex.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2100.
McCain, Joseph S., to be postmaster at Lineville, Ala.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 494.
McCalmont, Robert, to be postmaster at Franklin, Pa.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2233.
McCanna, J. Edwin, to be postmaster at Paoli, Pa.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2233.
McCarthy, Jerry M., to be postmaster at Winthrop, N. Y.; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5415.
McCarthy, Thomas D., to be United States marshal for southern district of New York; nominated, 5173; confirmed, 5414.
McClellan, Samuel, to be postmaster at Springport, Mich.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 3795.
McClelland, Thomas J., to be postmaster at Boswell, Pa.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2233.
McCliman, R. D., to be postmaster at Seneca, Kans.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 654.
McClure, L. M., to be postmaster at Ocean Springs, Miss.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2100.
McClure, W. A., to be postmaster at Baldwin City, Kans.; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 2100.
McCobb, Thomas, to be postmaster at Cochranton, Pa.; nominated, 4209.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

McConnell, Horace E., to be postmaster at Milford Center, Ohio; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 4210.
McConnico, C. T., to be postmaster at Kerens, Tex.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 654.
McCormack, Arthur Thomas, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps of Army; nominated, 1063; confirmed, 1514.
McCormick, Thomas P., to be postmaster at Forest City, Pa.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4744.
McCourt, J. H., to be postmaster at Sequim, Wash.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3739.
McCullen, John T., to be postmaster at Miller, S. Dak.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 4628.
McCulloch, Harry K., to be postmaster at Freeport, Pa.; nominated, 2958; confirmed, 3739.
McCully, T. J., to be postmaster at Sheldon, N. Dak.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 3012.
McDaniel, Frederick, to be postmaster at Bartelsville, Okla.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3739.
McDevitt, Charles Joseph, to be assistant surgeon in Public Health Service; nominated, 54; confirmed, 398.
McDonald, A. R., to be postmaster at Whitehall, Mont.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4628.
McDonnell, J. F., to be postmaster at Waverly, Minn.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 1187.
McElduff, Daniel A., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 4210.
McFarlin, R. E. L., to be postmaster at Quincy, Fla.; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1770.
McGann, Patrick T., to be postmaster at Frostburg, Md.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4210.
McGehee, E. H., to be postmaster at Talbotton, Ga.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 398.
McGill, John F., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 653; confirmed, 1064.
McGinness, Felix P., to be postmaster at Carthage, Tenn.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1770.
McGlasson, Archibald, to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 4628; confirmed, 5175.
McGrath, Robert J., to be receiver of public moneys at Lamar, Colo.; nominated, 1183; confirmed, 1513.
McGraugh, Thomas W., to be postmaster at Ashland, Ill.; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 5415.
McGugin, Margaret, to be postmaster at Ravenswood, W. Va.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3012.
McGuire, John T., to be postmaster at North Bend, Oreg.; nominated, 2958; confirmed, 3739.
McHenry, David J., to be postmaster at Granville, N. Y.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4307.
McHenry, Lee W., to be postmaster at Chittenango, N. Y.; nominated, 5414; confirmed, 5510.
McIndoe, James F., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5175.
McInerney, John F., to be postmaster at Wyandotte, Mich.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 928.
McIntyre, Peter D., to be postmaster at Blythe, Cal.; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 3795.
McKean, Arthur, to be postmaster at Beaver Falls, Pa.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1620.
McKeehan, George W., to be postmaster at Cincinnati, Iowa; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 4210.
MacKenzie, David P., to be postmaster at Island Pond, Vt.; nominated, 1770; confirmed, 2660.
Mackey, Crandal, jr., to be postmaster at Rosslyn, Va.; nominated, 2233; confirmed, 2660.
McKillip, Joseph E., to be postmaster at Bellevue, Iowa; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5175.
McKinley, O. W., to be postmaster at Ault, Colo.; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 3795.
McKinnon, B. H., jr., to be postmaster at Canton, Tex.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3012.
McKinstry, James F., to be postmaster at Gainesville, Fla.; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 2324.
McKnett, Mary W., to be postmaster at Trappe, Md.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 1187.
McKnight, John W., to be postmaster at Castleton, N. Y.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2233.
McLain, Hugh P., to be postmaster at Marshfield, Oreg.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
McLaughlin, F. J., to be postmaster at Park City, Utah; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5415.
McLaurin, T. D., to be postmaster at Clio, S. C.; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5415.
McLeod, Hattie, to be postmaster at Moss Point, Miss.; nominated, 5414; confirmed, 5415.
McMahon, Joseph P., to be postmaster at Silvis, Ill.; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 4976.
McMahon, Joseph P., to be postmaster at Susquehanna, Pa.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 2660.
McMaster, Richard H., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 55; confirmed, 398.
McMillan, Daniel, to be postmaster at Heber, Utah; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 4977.
McMillen, William L., to be postmaster at Brook, Ind.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3012.
McMullen, Charles P., to be postmaster at North Easton, Mass.; nominated, 4846.
McMurray, Clyde G., to be postmaster at Oakdale, Pa.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5510.
McMurtry, Frank, to be postmaster at Mendham, N. Y.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4628.
McNamara, John E., to be postmaster at Castana, Iowa; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4976.
McPhee, M. D., to be postmaster at Wolverine, Mich.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
McQuade, James A., to be appraiser of merchandise, customs collection district No. 13; nominated, 1063.
McRae, Albert S. J., to be postmaster at McRae, Ga.; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 2660.
McRae, Paul, to be marshal of United States Court for China; nominated, 4206; confirmed, 4307.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
McShane, Frank, to be postmaster at Springfield, Iowa; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
McWilliams, W. C., to be postmaster at Hedrick, Iowa; nominated, 352; confirmed, 979.
Madson, Clarence O., to be postmaster at Halstad, Minn.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 4628.
Maffett, William H., to be postmaster at Vienna, Va.; nominated, 1770; confirmed, 2325.
Magee, James D., to be postmaster at Bordentown, N. J.; nominated, 5173; confirmed, 5510.
Magelssen, William C., to be United States consul, class 5; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Magruder, Leonard, to be assayer in charge of United States mint at New Orleans, La.; nominated, 54; confirmed, 142.
Mahey, Frederick H., to be postmaster at Rainelle, W. Va.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 3795.
Mahin, Frank W., to be United States consul, class 3; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Mahoney, William B., to be postmaster at Westfield, Mass.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 2660.
Maiberger, F. W., to be postmaster at Monroeville, Ohio; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 4210.
Maier, Pearl L., to be postmaster at Dumont, Iowa; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 4210.
Malmquist, Anthony J., to be postmaster at Rushmore, Minn.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5415.
Mangold, Mary T., to be postmaster at Gervais, Oreg.; nominated 2232; confirmed, 2660.
Manley, Charles E., to be postmaster at Fairmont, W. Va.; nominated, 1187; confirmed, 1406.
Mann, Eugene E., to be postmaster at Jordan, N. Y.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4977.
Mann, Luella, to be postmaster at Boulder Creek, Cal.; nominated, 2657; confirmed, 3012.
Mann, William A., to be brigadier general in Army; nominated, 1567; confirmed, 2233.
Mannion, T. P., to be postmaster at Eldorado, Kans.; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5175.
Manton, Michael J., to be postmaster at Sayville, N. Y.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4307.
Manuel, Samuel, to be postmaster at Fayette, Iowa; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4976.
Manwarren, George A., to be postmaster at Windsor, N. Y.; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5415.
Mapes, James R., to be postmaster at Canaserago, N. Y.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 2959.
Maples, Henry Clay, to be postmaster at Green Forest, Ark.; nominated, 2657; confirmed, 3012.
Marbury, Charles Clagett, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps of Army; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 5175.
Marcotte, Ulysses J., to be postmaster at Cottonport, La.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3012.
Maricelli, Frank J., jr., to be postmaster at Campti, La.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2100.
Marmaduke, William, to be postmaster at Wingate, Ind.; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 3795.
Marmon, Harlan W., to be postmaster at Barnes, Kans.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3012.
Marquart, Edward J., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 4628; confirmed, 5175.
Marsh, O. Gaylord, to be United States consul, class 9; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Martin, Joseph W., to be postmaster at Washington, Pa.; nominated, 5174; confirmed, 5510.
Martin, Luther L., to be chief carpenter, with rank of lieutenant (junior grade), on retired list of Navy; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5175.
Marty, Sebastian E., to be postmaster at Columbus, Nebr.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Mason, Dean B., to be United States consul, class 7; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Mason, George C., to be postmaster at Jefferson, Oreg.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 2660.
Matheny, Clara, to be postmaster at Fincastle, Va.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 3739.
Mathews, J. A., to be postmaster at Greenview, Ill.; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5175.
Matson, Norman D., to be postmaster at Brookville, Pa.; nominated, 2958; confirmed, 3739.
Mattison, W. E., to be postmaster at Mount Hope, Kans.; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 2660.
Maxfield, Louis H., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 4628; confirmed, 5175.
May, David L., to be postmaster at Elizabethtown, Ky.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4628.
Mayer, Max, to be postmaster at Iowa City, Iowa; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 2660.
Mayfield, Irving H., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 4210.
Mayne, James R., to be postmaster at Heuvelton, N. Y.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 2959.
Mead, F. D., to be postmaster at Cresco, Iowa; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
Means, David M., to be postmaster at New Wilmington, Pa.; nominated, 2958; confirmed, 3739.
Meany, William S., to be postmaster at Greenwich, Conn.; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 3795.
Mears, George R., to be postmaster at Georgetown, Del.; nominated, 1183; confirmed, 1406.
Medlin, T. W., to be postmaster at Anna, Ill.; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 3739.
Meehan, John F., to be postmaster at Lowell, Mass.; nominated, 5414; confirmed, 5510.
Meehan, William A., to be postmaster at Dickson City, Pa.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 1126.
Megley, J. Francis, to be postmaster at Holbrook, Mass.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4977.
Meharry, P. F., to be postmaster at Starkweather, N. Dak.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Mehner, Paul E., to be postmaster at Bremerton, Wash.; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5176.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Meier, Henry A., to be register of land office at Lincoln, Nebr.; nominated, 176; confirmed, 5510.
Meldon, Patrick M., to be postmaster at Rutland, Vt.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 495.
Meler, John H., to be postmaster at Sentinel, Okla.; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5415.
Mellberg, Frederick A., to be postmaster at Newman Grove, Nebr.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 654.
Memminger, Lucien, to be United States consul at Madras, India; nominated, 176; confirmed, 494.
Menary, John, to be postmaster at Arnold, Nebr.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Mercer, Jacob E., to be postmaster at Hicksville, Ohio; nominated, 353; confirmed, 815.
Mercer, N. T., to be postmaster at Columbia, Ky.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 3739.
Merchant, George H., to be postmaster at Cairo, W. Va.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3012.
Merrill, John F. A., to be United States attorney for district of Maine; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 3795.
Michelson, Albert H., to be United States consul, class 6; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Michie, A. E., to be postmaster at Webb City, Mo.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 1406.
Michie, Robert E. L., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 266; confirmed, 398.
Middlebrooks, Chester C., to be United States marshal for district of Connecticut; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4210.
Mifflin, Edward L., to be postmaster at Ridley Park, Pa.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 2233.
Milburn, George C., to be postmaster at Darby, Mont.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3012.
Miles, E. E., to be postmaster at Onancock, Va.; nominated, 4210; confirmed, 4977.
Miles, Francis H., jr., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 55; confirmed, 398.
Miles, Linville, to be postmaster at Langford, S. Dak.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 2233.
Milhoan, Benjamin C., to be postmaster at Hartford, Ark.; nominated, 1183; confirmed, 1405.
Miller, Bernard A., to be first lieutenant, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5175.
Miller, Clifford Lore, to be chaplain, with rank of first lieutenant, in Army; nominated, 2657; confirmed, 3739.
Miller, George P., to be postmaster at Papillion, Nebr.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4210.
Miller, James M., to be postmaster at Bonifay, Fla.; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4628.
Miller, Myron E., to be postmaster at Charlotte, Mich.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 815.
Miller, Stanley, to be postmaster at Mount Pleasant, Iowa; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
Milligan, Freda M., to be postmaster at Lowellville, Ohio; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1406.
Milliman, George A., to be postmaster at Oakley, Kans.; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
Milner, W. L., to be postmaster at Pell City, Ala.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5415.
Minnes, James D., to be postmaster at Moravia, Iowa; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4976.
Mitchell, C. F., to be postmaster at Winton, N. C.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3012.
Mitchell, Evelyn, to be postmaster at Dos Palos, Cal.; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 3795.
Mitchell, Frank J., to be postmaster at Port Clinton, Ohio; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 4307.
Mitchell, John, to be postmaster at Ontario, Cal.; nominated, 1183; confirmed, 1405.
Mitchell, John J., to be United States marshal for district of Massachusetts; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4210.
Moats, Frank P., to be postmaster at Smithfield, Pa.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 815.
Mobeck, Charles W., to be postmaster at Center City, Minn.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 2324.
Molloy, William, to be postmaster at Galva, Iowa; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5175.
Molohon, James Lafayette, to be postmaster at Divernon, Ill.; nominated, 2657; confirmed, 3739.
Monroe, W. R., to be postmaster at Coscob, Conn.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 2100.
Mooberry, Russell, to be postmaster at Dorchester, Nebr.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4977.
Moody, Edwin F., to be postmaster at Onaga, Kans.; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
Moore, Harvard Clayton, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps of Army; nominated, 4743; confirmed, 5175.
Moore, James D., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2100.
Moore, James T., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 5175.
Moore, N. Henry, to be postmaster at Washington, N. C.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3012.
Moore, William P., to be postmaster at Adena, Ohio; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 4307.
Moorman, Grace, to be postmaster at Ray, Ariz.; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5175.
Moran, Daniel J., to be postmaster at Thomas, W. Va.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Moran, John J., to be postmaster at Olyphant, Pa.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 1126.
Moran, John J., to be postmaster at Southington, Conn.; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4628.
Moran, John S., to be postmaster at Painted Post, N. Y.; nominated, 5173; confirmed, 5510.
Morgan, Alfred S., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 55; confirmed, 398.
Morgan, Patrick Henry, to be district superintendent, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Moroney, Maurice, to be postmaster at Eariville, Iowa; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3739.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Morris, R. R., to be postmaster at Coweta, Okla.; nominated, 5414.
Morrison, M. T., to be postmaster at Sutton, W. Va.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 3795.
Morton, Kenneth, to be lieutenant colonel, Ordnance Department, in Army; nominated, 54; confirmed, 398.
Moseley, Joseph E., to be postmaster at Hopkinsville, Ky.; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5176.
Mowatt, Thomas, to be postmaster at Ouray, Colo.; nominated, 1183; confirmed, 1406.
Mudgett, Rufus L., to be postmaster at Stockton Springs, Me.; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5176.
Mulville, John, to be postmaster at Norfolk, Conn.; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4628.
Munger, Frank E., to be postmaster at Atwood, Kans.; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 2660.
Murdock, James P., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 4210.
Murphy, Dominic I., to be United States consul general, class 4; nominated, 3647; confirmed, 4306.
Murphy, George H., to be United States consul general, class 2; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Murphy, John Andrew, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps of Army; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 5175.
Murphy, John P., to be postmaster at Norwich, Conn.; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4628.
Murphy, Johnnie L., to be postmaster at Madera, Cal.; nominated 2657; confirmed, 3012.
Murphy, P. H., to be postmaster at Henry, S. Dak.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 4210.
Murphy, Peter J., to be postmaster at Gardner, Kans.; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4977.
Murray, Nelson, to be postmaster at Roy, Wash.; nominated, 4210; confirmed, 4628.
Musgrove, W. G., to be postmaster at Brunswick, Md.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4628.
Myers, Myrl S., to be United States consul, class 6; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Naginey, M. M., to be postmaster at Milroy, Pa.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4977.
Naragon, Grover C., to be postmaster at Amsterdam, Ohio; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 2959.
Nash, Henry W., to be postmaster at Stirling City, Cal.; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 3795.
Nash, William T., to be postmaster at New Egypt, N. J.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3012.
Nathan, Edward I., to be United States consul, class 7; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Neafsey, John A., to be postmaster at Glen Cove, N. Y.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4307.
Neal, J. C., to be postmaster at Neoga, Ill.; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 3739.
Nebel, Sophus A., to be postmaster at Braham, Minn.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 2959.
Needham, Ralph C., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 1064; confirmed, 2324.
Nelson, H. J., to be postmaster at Vinton, La.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 3795.
Nelson, Hans A., to be postmaster at Joplin, Mont.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3012.
Nelson, John H., to be postmaster at Lewistown, Mo.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2100.
Nelson, John H., to be postmaster at Paxton, Ill.; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 5510.
Nelson, L. P., to be postmaster at Mount Pleasant, Utah; nominated, 1770; confirmed, 2100.
Nelson, Myrtle, to be postmaster at Bowman, N. Dak.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 654.
Nelson, William J., to be postmaster at Grinnell, Iowa; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
Neumann, George, to be postmaster at Osseo, Minn.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 4977.
Nevin, William H., to be postmaster at Ivanhoe, Minn.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 2959.
Newton, R. S., to be postmaster at Southport, N. C.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 1406.
Nichols, Joseph W., to be postmaster at Trenton, Tenn.; nominated, 2958; confirmed, 3652.
Nichols, Martha E., to be postmaster at Yorkville, S. C.; nominated, 653; confirmed, 979.
Nichols, Maydie, to be postmaster at South Mansfield, La.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4628.
Nicolay, Emma, to be postmaster at Postville, Iowa; nominated, 352; confirmed, 979.
Nixon, Noble J., to be postmaster at Mulberry, Ark.; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2233.
Nixon, P. E., to be postmaster at Paw Paw, W. Va.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 3795.
Noble, Edward D., to be postmaster at Claysville, Pa.; nominated, 5174; confirmed, 5510.
Noble, Everett, to be postmaster at Shoshone, Idaho; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 3795.
Nolan, C. E., to be postmaster at Superior, Wyo.; nominated, 1187; confirmed, 1406.
Nolan, Ella C., to be postmaster at Ruthven, Iowa; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
Nolan, Hugh A., to be postmaster at Everett, Wash.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 4628.
Noon, James H., to be postmaster at Sumner, Iowa; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4976.
Norvell, Robert E., to be postmaster at Hayden, Colo.; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 2660.
Nowlin, John L., to be postmaster at Sparta, Tenn.; nominated, 2233; confirmed, 3012.
Noyes, Willard R., to be postmaster at Albion, Mich.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 4977.
Oakford, Harold M., to be postmaster at Walnut, Ill.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 1948.
O'Brien, Daniel J., to be postmaster at Everson, Pa.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4744.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

O'Brien, Edward M., to be postmaster at Waterbury, Conn.; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 2324.
O'Bryant, Lemuel, to be postmaster at Batavia, Iowa; nominated, 1184.
Ocheltree, Edwin V., to be postmaster at Greenwood, Del.; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 2660.
O'Connell, Sarah J., to be postmaster at Georgetown, Colo.; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 2660.
O'Connell, Thomas G., to be postmaster at Wakefield, Mass.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3739.
O'Connor, Francis P., to be receiver of public moneys at Wausau, Wis.; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4743.
O'Connor, Herman, to be United States marshal for western district of Michigan; nominated, 4206; confirmed, 4976.
O'Connor, W. W., to be postmaster at Fort Plain, N. Y.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 4307.
O'Dell, Henry W., to be postmaster at Reeder, N. Dak.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 3012.
Odend'hal, Charles Joseph, to be second lieutenant of engineers, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Oehmke, William F., to be postmaster at Larchwood, Iowa; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 2660.
Officer, James P., to be postmaster at Randlett, Okla.; nominated, 5174; confirmed, 5510.
Ogren, Alvin A., to be postmaster at New London, Minn.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 2959.
Ohm, Herman A., to be postmaster at South Milwaukee, Wis.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
O'Keefe, Thomas H., to be postmaster at Oyster Bay, N. Y.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 4847.
O'Laughlin, M. J., to be postmaster at Lake City, Minn.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 3795.
O'Leary, Daniel M., to be postmaster at Baldwinsville, Mass.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 5415.
O'Leary, Herbert, to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 55; confirmed, 398.
Olivares, José de, to be United States consul at Hamilton, Ontario, Canada; nominated, 176; confirmed, 653.
Oliver, Lunsford E., to be first lieutenant, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5175.
Olivier, George L., to be postmaster at New Bedford, Mass.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3012.
O'Neal, John B., to be postmaster at Fairfax, S. C.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 398.
Oosterbaan, Benjamin G., to be postmaster at Muskegon, Mich.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4743.
O'Riley, William, to be postmaster at Hudson, Mich.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4628.
O'Rourke, John, to be postmaster at Red Oak, Iowa; nominated, 352; confirmed, 2958.
Orr, Louis C., to be postmaster at Atchison, Kans.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 654.
Orr, Thomas J., to be postmaster at Matthews, N. C.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3012.
Osborn, Mary H., to be postmaster at Oxford, N. C.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 494.
Osborne, Charles, to be postmaster at Holbrook, Ariz.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 494.
Osborne, Walter P., to be postmaster at Hunter, N. Dak.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4743.
Oseth, O. P., to be postmaster at Oslo, Minn.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 2959.
O'Shea, John, to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 266; confirmed, 398.
Osterhold, S. T., to be postmaster at Holton, Kans.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 654.
Otlis, Bernhard, to be postmaster at Wyndmere, N. Dak.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 3012.
Ovenden, A. E., to be postmaster at Pawnee City, Nebr.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Overshiner, C. D., to be postmaster at Santa Ana, Cal.; nominated, 1183; confirmed, 1405.
Owen, Samuel E., to be postmaster at St. Matthews, S. C.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2100.
Owens, L. A., to be postmaster at Fort Cobb, Okla.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Owsley, R. N., to be postmaster at Windsor, Mo.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 494.
Oxley, R. G., to be postmaster at Athens, W. Va.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 3795.
Pack, John W., to be assayer of United States mint at San Francisco, Cal.; nominated, 5173; confirmed, 5175.
Page, Daniel A., to be postmaster at Hardy, Nebr.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5510.
Page, Joseph Herbert, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps of Army; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 5175.
Page, William F., to be receiver of public moneys at Spokane, Wash.; nominated, 5414; confirmed, 5510.
Paine, Herbert O., to be postmaster at Cook, Nebr.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4210.
Palm, Andrew J., to be postmaster at Meadville, Pa.; nominated, 4209.
Palmer, W. E., to be postmaster at Naches, Wash.; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5415.
Parady, Ferdinand H., to be postmaster at Orono, Me.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5415.
Pardee, Everett I., to be postmaster at Cheshire, Conn.; nominated, 1183; confirmed, 1406.
Parham, John C., to be passed assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 4210.
Parker, Gabe E., to be superintendent for the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma; nominated, 442; confirmed, 494.
Parker, James H., to be postmaster at Kasson, Minn.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4743.
Parker, John H., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 55; confirmed, 398.
Parker, Marcellus, to be postmaster at Manasquan, N. J.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3012.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Parkhurst, Henry B., jr., to be postmaster at North Troy, Vt.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 3795.
Parkman, Harrison, to be postmaster at Emporia, Kans.; nominated, 5414; confirmed, 5415.
Parrish, George F., to be postmaster at Toledo, Ohio; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 4307.
Parry, Will H., to be member of Federal Trade Commission; nominated, 4306; confirmed, 5175.
Paskell, John R., to be postmaster at Henry, Ill.; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
Pate, Ralph A., to be postmaster at Glencoe, Ill.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 1357.
Patten, Earl P., to be postmaster at Danbury, Iowa; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 4210.
Patten, Effie L., to be postmaster at Whitesboro, N. Y.; nominated, 5174; confirmed, 5176.
Patten, J. T., to be postmaster at Dickson, Tenn.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3012.
Paul, James G., to be postmaster at Bradford, Pa.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 815.
Paxon, Roy J., to be postmaster at Akron, N. Y.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 1406.
Pease, William R., to be postmaster at Niobrara, Nebr.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Peeples, John W., jr., to be postmaster at Estill, S. C.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2100.
Peirce, Christopher H., to be postmaster at Faison, N. C.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3012.
Penn, Kate, to be postmaster at Kenton, Tenn.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 495.
Pennington, John D., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Perham, Herbert Norton, to be second lieutenant of engineers, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Perkins, Alvin S., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 176; confirmed, 398.
Perkins, Lizzie M., to be postmaster at Gardiner, Oreg.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3795.
Perry, Charles B., to be United States consul, class 8; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Perry, T. B., to be postmaster at Camilla, Ga.; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
Pessell, J. Bruce, to be postmaster at Butler, Ind.; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 2660.
Petefish, Glen, to be postmaster at Virginia, Ill.; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
Peters, Joseph, to be postmaster at Preston, Iowa; nominated, 352; confirmed, 979.
Peters, Preston L., to be postmaster at Saegerstown, Pa.; nominated, 4209.
Peterson, F. W., to be postmaster at Sentinel Butte, N. Dak.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 4977.
Peterson, Virgil L., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5175.
Petrie, Nelson C., to be postmaster at Rock Creek, Ohio; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2959.
Pfaender, Frederick, to be postmaster at New Ulm, Minn.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5415.
Phebus, George W., jr., to be postmaster at Union City, Tenn.; nominated, 2958; confirmed, 3652.
Phelps, Kenneth G., to be postmaster at Richfield, Idaho; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
Phillippe, Lewis, to be postmaster at Bicknell, Ind.; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 2660.
Phillips, Ervin L., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2233.
Phillips, James Franklin, to be district superintendent, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Phillips, William L., to be postmaster at Clio, Ala.; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 5510.
Phipps, Frank H., jr., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 55; confirmed, 398.
Pickering, Nora L., to be postmaster at Peckville, Pa.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Pickett, W. B., to be postmaster at Hinton, Okla.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Pierce, George W., to be postmaster at Lyndonville, Vt.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 654.
Pillans, Harry T., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 55; confirmed, 398.
Pittman, B. H., to be postmaster at Coleman, Tex.; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5415.
Plemer, Henry K., to be postmaster at Waialua, Hawaii; nominated, 351; confirmed, 1357.
Pollard, Dow S., to be postmaster at Cowgill, Mo.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2100.
Pontius, Albert W., to be United States consul at Foochow, China; nominated, 176; confirmed, 398.
Poor, Lewis C., to be postmaster at Sherman, Cal.; nominated, 1183; confirmed, 1405.
Pope, J. B., to be postmaster at Heavener, Okla.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Popps, Henry B., to be postmaster at West Liberty, Ohio; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5415.
Pore, Thomas, to be postmaster at Cedar Vale, Kans.; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 2660.
Porter, F. M., to be postmaster at Elkhorn, Wis.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Postma, John, to be postmaster at Milford, Ind.; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
Potts, Wilson S., to be postmaster at Lisbon, Ohio; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4743.
Powell, B. M., to be postmaster at Corydon, Ky.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 2660.
Powell, C. C., to be postmaster at Clarendon, Tex.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3012.
Power, David A., to be postmaster at Metuchen, N. J.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3012.
Power, James M., to be United States marshal for eastern district of New York; nominated, 5173; confirmed, 5414.
Powers, William E., to be postmaster at Harvey, Ill.; nominated, 3649.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Price, Oscar A., to be Auditor for the Interior Department; nominated, 5414; confirmed, 5414.
Pryor, William L., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 4628; confirmed, 5175.
Pugh, John D., to be postmaster at Anadarko, Okla.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Pulley, John L., to be postmaster at Ivor, Va.; nominated, 1770; confirmed, 2325.
Putnam, John R., to be United States consul, class 8; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Putnam, Rufus W., to be first lieutenant, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5175.
Pyles, James A., to be postmaster at New Martinsville, W. Va.; nominated, 1770; confirmed, 2325.
Quinlan, John H., to be postmaster at Pavilion, N. Y.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Quinn, Michael F., to be postmaster at Linden, N. J.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 4977.
Quirey, O. C., to be postmaster at Sturgis, Ky.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4628.
Radcliffe, C. D., to be postmaster at Merced, Cal.; nominated, 2657; confirmed, 3012.
Rafferty, Edmund J., to be postmaster at Conshohocken, Pa.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 5176.
Rankin, Clifford R., to be postmaster at Brewton, Ala.; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 4976.
Rannels, Nathan L., to be postmaster at La Jolla, Cal.; nominated, 1183; confirmed, 1405.
Raths, Otto N., to be postmaster at St. Paul, Minn.; nominated, 4846.
Ratliff, C. F., to be postmaster at Floyd, Va.; nominated, 653; confirmed, 2325.
Ratliff, Frank L., to be postmaster at Shaw, Miss.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 398.
Ravndal, Gabriel Bie, to be United States consul general, class 2, nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Reavis, Edwin, to be postmaster at Sweet Springs, Mo.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 494.
Reece, Nathan E., to be postmaster at Stafford, Kans.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 654.
Reed, Charles W., to be postmaster at Upland, Ind.; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
Reed, Francis H., to be postmaster at Mount Holly, N. J.; nominated, 5173; confirmed, 5510.
Reed, Jean L., to be postmaster at Little Valley, N. Y.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Rees, Ellis S., to be postmaster at Winamac, Ind.; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
Rehrig, Granville F., to be postmaster at Lehighton, Pa.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4977.
Reid, Allie, to be postmaster at Brandenberg, Ky.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2100.
Reid, William, to be postmaster at Deer Wood, Minn.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5415.
Reidy, Edward L., to be postmaster at Winsted, Conn.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 979.
Reitzammer, Louie, to be postmaster at Arkansas City, Ark.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5415.
Reuse, Harry J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Rice, Hugh, jr., to be postmaster at Piper City, Ill.; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4743.
Rice, Levi S., to be postmaster at Bessemer, Mich.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4628.
Rice, William Frederick, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps of Army; nominated, 4743; confirmed, 5175.
Richards, H. R., to be postmaster at Churdan, Iowa; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 4210.
Richardson, Elliot Verue, to be United States consul, class 9; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Richardson, Isaac N., to be postmaster at Delphos, Kans.; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 4628.
Richardson, James O., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Richardson, Judson E., to be postmaster at Evart, Mich.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 4628.
Richardson, T. L. D., to be postmaster at Jourdanton, Tex.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2100.
Richardson, T. W., to be postmaster at Bedford, Va.; nominated, 1770; confirmed, 2325.
Richardson, William D., to be postmaster at Oak Creek, Colo.; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 3795.
Richer, Maude V., to be postmaster at Audubon, N. J.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 1406.
Ricketts, Fred H., to be postmaster at Spring Hill, Kans.; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4977.
Rideout, Howard Eugene, to be first lieutenant, United States Revenue-Cutter Service; nominated, 1948; confirmed, 2660.
Rigney, Stephen J., to be postmaster at Cut Bank, Mont.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3012.
Ritchie, R. B., to be postmaster at Whitney, N. C.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Rix, Hans Peter N., to be postmaster at Manning, Iowa; nominated, 352; confirmed, 979.
Roach, Daniel J., to be postmaster at West New Brighton, N. Y.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Roach, Henry Charles, to be second lieutenant of engineers, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Roach, Nellie, to be postmaster at Soperton, Ga.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5415.
Robbins, Addison, jr., to be postmaster at Hightstown, N. J.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3012.
Robbins, John E., to be postmaster at Jeffersonville, Ohio; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2233.
Roberts, Barney M., to be postmaster at Clanton, Ala.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 1357.
Roberts, Frank K., to be postmaster at Holland Patent, N. Y.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Roberts, W. F., jr., to be postmaster at Elma, Wash.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1406.
Roberts, William J., to be postmaster at Shelby, N. C.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3012.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Roberts, William T., to be postmaster at Bellevue, Idaho; nominated, 351; confirmed, 815.
Robertson, Holcombe McG., to be surgeon in Public Health Service; nominated, 54; confirmed, 398.
Robertson, Jefferson B., to be postmaster at Brunswick, Mo.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4210.
Robertson, Marion C., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 653; confirmed, 1064.
Robertson, William H., to be United States consul general, class 2; nominated, 3647; confirmed, 4306.
Robinson, Amasa S., to be postmaster at Monroeville, Ind.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 979.
Robinson, Clyde R., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 176; confirmed, 355.
Robinson, Dan L., to be postmaster at Clarkdale, Ariz.; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4743.
Robinson, John A., to be postmaster at Brownsville, Pa.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 2233.
Roche, Phillippe P., to be postmaster at Fillmore, Cal.; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4628.
Rogers, John, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps of Army; nominated, 1063; confirmed, 1514.
Rogers, Maud, to be postmaster at Bridgehampton, N. Y.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2233.
Rogers, Samuel L., to be Director of the Census; nominated, 5414; confirmed, 5414.
Rogers, Stephen B., to be postmaster at Cainesville, Mo.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4628.
Rohde, John L., to be postmaster at Hammond, Ind.; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 2100.
Rolander, John C., to be postmaster at New Boston, Ill.; nominated. 4975; confirmed, 5415.
Rooks, Henrietta, to be postmaster at Linton, N. Dak.; nominated. 1769; confirmed, 3012.
Root, Edwin A., to be colonel, United States Infantry, nominated, 3648; confirmed, 5175.
Root, R. Morgan, to be postmaster at Pottstown, Pa.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2233.
Rorex, Bessie L., to be postmaster at Panhandle, Tex.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 654.
Ross, Stephen L., to be postmaster at Robersonville, N. C.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2100.
Rossell, Joseph A., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5175.
Rotegard, Andrew, to be postmaster at New Richland, Minn.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3012.
Rourke, Thomas S., to be postmaster at Unionville, Conn.; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4628.
Rouse, William, to be postmaster at Stanwood, Wash.; nominated. 1186; confirmed, 1406.
Rouse, William J., to be postmaster at Monroe City, Mo.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2100.
Rousseau, Harry Harwood, to be civil engineer in Navy, with rank of rear admiral of the lower nine; nominated, 5510; confirmed, 5510.
Rowley, L. B., to be postmaster at Greenville, Pa.; nominated 4209; confirmed. 5510.
Roy, James H., to be postmaster at Topeka, Ind.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 979.
Rozier, Alfred W., to be postmaster at Tuolumne, Cal.; nominated, 1183; confirmed, 1405.
Rublee, George, to be member of Federal Trade Commission; nominated, 4306.
Ruddock, Albert B., to be United States secretary of embassy or legation, class 3; nominated, 4844; confirmed, 5174.
Runkle, John W., to be postmaster at Middleburg, Pa.; nominated, 4210; confirmed, 4744.
Rusk, Claude E., to be receiver of public moneys at North Yakima, Wash.; nominated, 5414; confirmed, 5510.
Russell, Thomas J., to be postmaster at Post Falk, Idaho; nominated, 351; confirmed, 494.
Russell, William H., to be postmaster at Southport, Conn.; nominated. 351; confirmed, 979.
Ryan, Ed., to be assayer in charge of United States mint at Carson, Nev.; nominated, 2657; confirmed, 3011.
Ryan, John Latta, to be United States secretary of embassy or legation, class 5; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5174.
Ryan, John T., to be appraiser of merchandise, customs collection district No. 9; nominated, 5414; confirmed, 5414.
Ryan, Thomas F., to be postmaster at Litchfield, Conn.; nominated. 351; confirmed, 979.
Ryan, Thomas J., to be postmaster at St. Mary, Kans.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 654.
Ryan, William P., to be collector of customs for customs collection district No. 13; nominated, 1063; confirmed, 1187.
Ryder, Frederick M., to be United States consul general at Singapore, Straits Settlements; nominated, 176; confirmed, 494.
Sage, William H., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 5175.
Salisbury, John W., to be postmaster at Hamburg, N. Y.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2233.
Sammons, John L., to be postmaster at Westbrook, Minn.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5415.
Sampson, Ralph E., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 176; confirmed, 355.
Sanborn, H. K., to be postmaster at Hurley, S. Dak.; nominated, 1769.
Sandel, J. L., to be postmaster at Saratoga, Tex.; nominated, 653; confirmed, 928.
Sanders, Winfield S., to be postmaster at Westport, Ind.; nominated. 2658; confirmed, 3012.
Sanderson, Lena M., to be postmaster at Grassrange, Mont.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Sanck, George H., to be colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated. 176; confirmed, 398.
Sapp, Hayes, to be postmaster at Newburg, W. Va.; nominated, 2659; confirmed. 3012.
Sarvey, M. J., to be postmaster at Mars, Pa.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5415.
Saucier, Joseph E., to be postmaster at Bay St. Louis, Miss.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3012.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Sauer, Emil, to be United States consul, class 7; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Sausser, C. W., to be postmaster at Bellwood, Pa.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1629.
Sayers, Royd Ray, to be assistant surgeon in Public Health Service; nominated, 54; confirmed, 398.
Schaefer, Henry J., to be postmaster at Albany, Minn.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 1187.
Schannenk, Patrick H., to be postmaster at Chassell, Mich.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 815.
Scharping, Ferdinand, to be postmaster at Hillsboro, Kans.; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 2660.
Schendel, C. J., to be postmaster at Campbell, Minn.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2959.
Scherer, Jacob, to be postmaster at Winthrop, Minn.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4743.
Schliesser, Adolf John, to be chaplain, with rank of first lieutenant, in Army; nominated, 1567; confirmed, 1948.
Schmidt, C. E., to be postmaster at Farina, Ill.; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5175.
Schmidt, Henry F., to be postmaster at Dodge City, Kans.; nominated, 352; confirmed, 654.
Schmutz, Gaston, to be United States consul, class 8; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Schneitman, Harry R., to be postmaster at Elizabethtown, Pa.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 4307.
Schoenly, George D., to be postmaster at Boyertown, Pa.; nominated, 2958; confirmed, 4307.
Schultz, August, to be postmaster at Arapahoe, Nebr.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5510.
Schulz, John W. N., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5175.
Schweer, Conrad, to be postmaster at Crete, Ill.; nominated, 2657; confirmed, 3739.
Schweer, Frederick E., to be postmaster at Beardstown, Ill.; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4743.
Scidmore, George H., to be United States consul general, class 2; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Scott, E. E., to be postmaster at Council Grove, Kans.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 4628.
Scott, Edward G., to be postmaster at Iron River, Mich.; nominated. 2658; confirmed, 3012.
Scott, John T., to be postmaster at Saybrook, Ill.; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2958.
Scott, Walter J., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated. 266; confirmed, 398.
Scott, William L., to be postmaster at Sharon Springs, Kans.; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 4210.
Seager, Fred L., to be postmaster at Randolph, N. Y.; nominated 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Seeley, Charles E., to be postmaster at Coleraine, Minn.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4977.
Seeley, T. Dwight, to be postmaster at Tonganoxie, Kans.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4977.
Settle, Henry T., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 653; confirmed, 1064.
Sewall, James W., to be postmaster at Oldtown, Me.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5415.
Seward, Dennis W., to be postmaster at Elyria, Ohio; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4977.
Shaddock, Joe J., to be postmaster at Thornton, Ark.; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2233.
Shangle, S. Bruce, to be postmaster at Milton, Oreg.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Shannon, George D., to be postmaster at Anacortes, Wash.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 1357.
Shannon, Thomas L., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Sharpe, Andrew V., to be postmaster at Fruita, Colo.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 653.
Shaw, Frederick A., to be postmaster at Tidioute, Pa.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Shea, Daniel F., to be postmaster at Jamaica, N. Y.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 494.
Shea, John B., to be postmaster at Eldred, Pa.; nominated, 2233; confirmed, 3012.
Sheehan, Ann, to be postmaster at Ohio, Ill.; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4743.
Sheldon, George P., to be postmaster at Hopedale, Mass.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 1629.
Shelton, E. A., to be postmaster at El Paso, Tex.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1406.
Shepard, Charles E., to be postmaster at New London, N. H.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 1406.
Shepherd, Harry E., to be postmaster at Seneca, Mo.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4210.
Shepherd, J. W. C., to be postmaster at Meeker, Colo.; nominated, 1183; confirmed, 1406.
Sheppard, George W., to be postmaster at Glenallen, Va.; nominated, 2958; confirmed, 3739.
Sherbno, Charles T., to be postmaster at Sunrise, Wyo.; nominated, 3652; confirmed, 3795.
Sherland, M. E., to be postmaster at McGehee, Ark.; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 3012.
Sherlock, Hugh A., to be postmaster at South Royalton, Vt.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 1126.
Sherman, Bernard, to be postmaster at Minster, Ohio; nominated. 353; confirmed, 815.
Shoecraft, Eugene C., to be United States secretary of embassy or legation, class 5; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5174.
Shoff, Joseph A., to be postmaster at Madera, Pa.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 2660.
Shores, D. W., to be postmaster at Carbondale, Colo.; nominated, 1767; confirmed. 2100.
Shove, Benjamin S., to be postmaster at Onalaska, Wis.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Shubeck, F., to be postmaster at Ashley, N. Dak.; nominated, 5174.
Shuff, John L., to be postmaster at Cincinnati, Ohio; nominated, 353; confirmed, 494.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Shurts, Carl, to be postmaster at Lebanon, N. Y.; nominated, 2659; confirmed 3012.
Sibbald, Alexander H., to be postmaster at Park Ridge, N. Y.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3012.
Sibert, J. William, to be postmaster at Winchester, Va.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 495.
Sibert, William L., to be brigadier general, United States Army; nominated, 5509; confirmed, 5510.
Siddons, Frederick L., to be associate justice of Supreme Court of the District of Columbia; nominated, 54; confirmed, 1628.
Siebengartner, Frank C., to be postmaster at Bettendorf, Iowa; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 4628.
Sill, L. N., to be postmaster at Coupeville, Wash.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Silliman, John R., to be United States consul, class 9; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Simcox, Ralph W., to be postmaster at Sandy Lake, Pa.; nominated, 4210; confirmed, 4744.
Simmons, Caesar F., to be postmaster at Boley, Okla.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 3795.
Simmons, Catharine E., to be postmaster at Wellsville, Kans.; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5175.
Simmons, Richard J., to be postmaster at Macomb, Ill.; nominated, 351.
Simon, C. K., to be postmaster at Goff, Kans.; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5175.
Simpich, Frederick, to be United States consul, class 6; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Simpson, Irwin, to be postmaster at Punxsutawney, Pa.; nominated, 2958.
Singleton, Joseph W., to be postmaster at Waxahachie, Tex.; nominated, 2233; confirmed, 2660.
Skelton, James T., to be postmaster at Goodman, Miss.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2100.
Skinner, Emmet W., to be postmaster at Falls Church, Va.; nominated, 4210; confirmed, 4744.
Slattery, M. C., to be postmaster at Galena, Ill.; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4743.
Slayton, Charles C., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 4210.
Sloan, Paul H. E., jr., to be postmaster at Pendleton, S. C.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 4210.
Slykas, Louis A., to be postmaster at Westville, Ill.; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2958.
Smalls, Nathaniel W., to be postmaster at Fremont, Nebr.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4977.
Smiser, James A., to be United States attorney for district of Alaska, division No. 1; nominated, 1766; confirmed, 2660.
Smith, Caroline Y., to be postmaster at Leon, Iowa; nominated, 2658.
Smith, Charles D., to be postmaster at Gloucester, Mass.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 5176.
Smith, Delbert O., to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps of Army; nominated, 54; confirmed, 398.
Smith, E. N., to be postmaster at Blackduck, Minn.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4743.
Smith, Fannie Lou, to be postmaster at Reidsville, Ga.; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
Smith, Fenton, to be postmaster at South Bend, Wash.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3739.
Smith, Fred, to be postmaster at Stephens, Ark.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5415.
Smith, Frederick L., to be postmaster at Brandon, Vt.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1406.
Smith, George T., to be postmaster at Beattyville, Ky.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2100.
Smith, Henry E., to be postmaster at Taft, Cal.; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2100.
Smith, J. B., to be postmaster at Farmington, Mo.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 1406.
Smith, James A., to be United States consul general, class 2; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Smith, James J., to be postmaster at Fleischmanns, N. Y.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2233.
Smith, John R., to be postmaster at Fitchburg, Mass.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Smith, Martha A., to be postmaster at Pleasanton, Tex.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 654.
Smith, Philip J., to be postmaster at Dumas, Ark.; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2233.
Smith, Robert Lewis Irvine, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps of Army; nominated, 1064; confirmed, 1514.
Smith, Robert S., to be lieutenant colonel, Quartermaster Corps of Army; nominated, 1064.
Smith, Thomas, to be postmaster at West Winfield, N. Y.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4743.
Smith, W. A., to be postmaster at Gatesville, Tex.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3012.
Smith, W. S., to be postmaster at Onset, Mass.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 3739.
Smith, W. W., to be postmaster at Valley City, N. Dak.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 654.
Smyth, Edward, to be postmaster at New Hampton, Mo.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2100.
Snavely, John S., to be postmaster at Chilhowie, Va.; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5176.
Snead, John R., to be postmaster at Dixon, Cal.; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 3795.
Snider, C. D., to be postmaster at Waurika, Okla.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3012.
Snodgrass, John H., to be United States consul general, class 2; nominated, 3647; confirmed, 4306.
Snodgrass, William E., to be postmaster at Spring City, Tenn.; nominated, 4210; confirmed, 4977.
Snyder, Henry B., to be postmaster at Gary, Ind.; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 4210.
Snyder, Henry E., to be postmaster at Atlanta, Ind.; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 2660.
Snyder, Louis P., to be postmaster at Williamsville, N. Y.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Snyder, Walter D., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Spangler, Herman A., to be postmaster at Defiance, Ohio; nominated, 5414; confirmed, 5415.
Spear, Benjamin, to be register of land office at Waterville, Wash.; nominated, 5414; confirmed, 5510.
Spellman, Dennis F., to be postmaster at Newport, N. Y.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4743.
Spence, J. E., to be postmaster at Milton, Iowa; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 4210.
Spencer, Roscoe Roy, to be assistant surgeon in Public Health Service; nominated, 54; confirmed, 398.
Spencer, William, to be postmaster at Onida, S. Dak.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1406.
Spencer, Willing, to be secretary of United States legation at Panama, Panama; nominated, 351; confirmed, 1126.
Spillane, Michael J., to be postmaster at East Syracuse, N. Y.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 4307.
Spink, Theresa C., to be postmaster at Grand Bay, Ala.; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2100.
Spragg, C. K., to be postmaster at Waynesburg, Pa.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 494.
Spratt, Robert T., to be postmaster at Malvern, Ohio; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 2959.
Spunner, George W., to be postmaster at Barrington, Ill.; nominated, 2657; confirmed, 3739.
Stabler, Jordan Herbert, to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 3, United States Diplomatic Service; nominated, 3647; confirmed, 4306.
——— to be United States secretary of embassy or legation, class 2; nominated, 4844; confirmed, 5174.
Stackhouse, G. B., to be postmaster at Mullins, S. C.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 2660.
Stader, A., to be postmaster at Ankeny, Iowa; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5175.
Stader, W. H., to be postmaster at Equality, Ill.; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 4976.
Stafford, Asher C., to be postmaster at Gowanda, N. Y.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 4307.
Stafford, Daniel F., to be postmaster at Covina, Cal.; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5175.
Staley, D. Lee, to be postmaster at Telluride, Colo.; nominated, 1183; confirmed, 1406.
Stambaugh, Jesse S., to be postmaster at Spring Grove, Pa.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 2233.
Stangeland, Charles E., to be United States secretary of embassy or legation, class 3; nominated, 4844; confirmed, 5174.
Stapleton, Benjamin F., to be postmaster at Denver, Colo.; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 4847.
Starling, J. Frank, to be postmaster at Dover, Del.; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 2660.
Stavely, Bayard C., to be postmaster at Haddonfield, N. Y.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4628.
Steele, Frank F., to be receiver of public moneys at Helena, Mont.; nominated, 1567; confirmed, 2233.
Steele, Guy W., to be surveyor of customs in customs collection district No. 13; nominated, 1063; confirmed, 1187.
Steffes, Jacob, to be postmaster at Lake Linden, Mich.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4628.
Stephenson, Charles L., to be postmaster at St. Francisville, Ill.; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2958.
Sterling, Frederick A., to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 3, United States Diplomatic Service; nominated, 3647; confirmed, 4306.
Stevens, Charles N., to be postmaster at Knoxville, Pa.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Stevens, L. E., to be postmaster at Benson, N. C.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Stevens, Walter J., to be postmaster at Lexington, Okla.; nominated, 2958; confirmed, 4743.
Stevens, William E., to be assistant surgeon, Medical Reserve Corps of Navy; nominated, 2657; confirmed, 3011.
Stevenson, William G., to be postmaster at Accomac, Va.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 928.
Stewart, C. H., to be postmaster at Albany, Oreg.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4743.
Stewart, Calvin W., to be postmaster at Tacoma, Wash.; nominated, 1770; confirmed, 2660.
Stewart, Charles C., to be postmaster at Mays Landing, N. Y.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 2660.
Stewart, Glenn, to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 4, United States Diplomatic Service; nominated, 3647; confirmed, 4306.
Stewart, John A., to be postmaster at Seymour, Wis.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 979.
Stewart, Leota M., to be postmaster at Rialto, Cal.; nominated, 1183; confirmed, 1405.
Stewart, Paul Morton, to be assistant surgeon in Public Health Service; nominated, 54; confirmed, 398.
Stewart, Samuel M., to be postmaster at Metropolis, Ill.; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 2958.
Stickney, Herman O., to be captain in Navy; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2100.
Stiles, George K., to be United States consul, class 8; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Stillwell, J. F., to be postmaster at Edwardsville, Ill.; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 4743.
Stinchfield, A. P., to be postmaster at Danforth, Me.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Stiner, Frank T., to be postmaster at Moylan, Pa.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 2233.
Stockham, William W., to be United States marshal, district of Maryland; nominated, 1063; confirmed, 1187.
Stokes, Marcus B., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 55; confirmed, 398.
Stokey, William P., to be major, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5175.
Stokoe, Henry A., to be postmaster at Farmington, Ill.; nominated, 351.
Stone, William P., to be postmaster at Salisbury, Conn.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 979.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Stoneburner, James W., to be postmaster at Roseville, Ohio; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3795.
Stoner, Charles A., to be postmaster at Ridgeway, Mo.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 494.
Stowe, John Gurney, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps of Army; nominated, 1064; confirmed, 1514.
Stradley, W. B., to be postmaster at Paducah, Tex.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3012.
Stratton, H. Blake, to be postmaster at Monticello, N. Y.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3012.
Straughn, Merrimon, to be postmaster at Cambridge City, Ind.; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2100.
Streb, Henry W., to be postmaster at Canal Dover, Ohio; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 3739.
Streeter, Charles D., to be postmaster at Mount Hermon, Mass.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4977.
Strickler, Lester N., to be postmaster at Vanderbilt, Pa.; nominated, 4210; confirmed, 5415.
Stromme, Oscar T., to be postmaster at Elbow Lake, Minn.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 928.
Stuart, Edward J., to be postmaster at Lakeville, Conn.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5415.
Stuart, Nannie, to be postmaster at Morton, Miss.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 815.
Stuart, Thomas B., to be third judge of circuit court, first circuit of Hawaii; nominated, 54; confirmed, 979.
Stults, Frank S., to be postmaster at Oquawaka, Ill.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5415.
Sturdevant, Clarence L., to be captain, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5175.
Sublett, Frank L., to be postmaster at Harrisonburg, Va.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1406.
Sullivan, Frank J., to be postmaster at South Charleston, Ohio; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 4743.
Sullivan, James E., to be postmaster at Lima, Ohio; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1948.
Sullivan, John B., to be postmaster at Newport, R. I.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3739.
Sullivan, Lucien N., to be United States consul at Newcastle, New South Wales, Australia; nominated, 176; confirmed, 398.
Sullivan, T. L., to be postmaster at Eureka, Utah; nominated, 2233; confirmed, 2660.
Summers, Maddin, to be United States consul, class 3; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Sumner, Otis F., to be postmaster at Goffstown, N. H.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4743.
Sutherland, E. J., to be postmaster at Chatfield, Minn.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4743.
Sutterley, E. H., to be postmaster at Morrisville, Pa.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 494.
Sutton, D. H., to be postmaster at East Butler, Pa.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1514.
Swain, Joseph C., to be postmaster at Wagon Mound, N. Mex.; nominated, 4208.
Swearingen, F. Bartow, to be postmaster at Fort Meade, Fla.; nominated, 2657; confirmed, 3012.
Swearingen, Ralph W., to be assistant paymaster in Navy; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Swedberg, Mark N., to be postmaster at Luverne, Minn.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5415.
Sweeney, Patrick T., to be postmaster at St. Maries, Idaho; nominated, 2657; confirmed, 3012.
Sweeney, William, to be postmaster at Emerson, Nebr.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4210.
Swift, H. H., to be postmaster at Arlington, S. Dak.; nominated, 4210; confirmed, 4628.
Swift, J. F., to be postmaster at Redwood City, Cal.; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 3795.
Swigart, W. C., to be postmaster at Maquoketa, Iowa; nominated, 352; confirmed, 4628.
Tabler, C. E., to be postmaster at Parlier, Cal.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 494.
Tappmeyer, John, to be postmaster at Owensville, Mo.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Tarler, G. Cornell, to be United States secretary of embassy or legation, class 2; nominated, 4844; confirmed, 5174.
Tarlton, James T., to be postmaster at Gunter, Tex.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2100.
Tarte, Charles J., to be postmaster at Marine City, Mich.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 2100.
Taschetta, Charles A., to be postmaster at Leavenworth, Kans.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 4977.
Taylor, Charles A., to be postmaster at Betram, Tex.; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5415.
Taylor, David W., to be Chief Constructor and chief of Bureau of Construction and Repair in Department of Navy; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Taylor, Harry, to be colonel, United States Corps of Engineers; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5175.
Taylor, John H., to be postmaster at Chillicothe, Mo.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3012.
Teehee, Houston, B., to be Register of the Treasury; nominated, 5414; confirmed, 5414.
Teepe, Frederick W., to be chief machinist in Navy; nominated, 56; confirmed, 142.
Telford, J. W., to be postmaster at Margaretville, N. Y.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Telyea, W. B., to be postmaster at Cambridge, Wis.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Terrell, Walter S., to be postmaster at Chatham, N. J.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4628.
Terry, Isaac W., to be postmaster at Tamaroa, Ill.; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 4976.
Teufel, Walter Casper, to be assistant surgeon in Public Health Service; nominated, 54; confirmed, 398.
Thayer, John Alden, to be postmaster at Worcester, Mass.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 5510.
Theobold, J. A., to be postmaster at Breckenridge, Colo.; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2324.
Thewlis, J. Elmer, to be postmaster at Wakefield, R. I.; nominated, 2233; confirmed, 2959.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Thiel, Frank J. F., to be Deputy Assistant Treasurer of United States; nominated, 1357; confirmed, 5175.
Thomas, J. A., to be postmaster at Mineola, Tex.; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5415.
Thomas, Leverne, to be postmaster at Prattsburg, N. Y.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4743.
Thomas, Walter S., to be postmaster at Rockingham, N. C.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 1406.
Thomasson, Benjamin W., to be postmaster at Rison, Ark.; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2233.
Thompson, A. R., to be postmaster at Rolla, N. Dak.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Thompson, Charles William, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps of Army; nominated, 1064; confirmed, 1514.
Thompson, E. F., to be postmaster at Kingman, Ariz.; nominated, 2657; confirmed, 3011.
Thompson, John B., to be postmaster at Sulphur Springs, Ark.; nominated, 2657; confirmed, 3012.
Thompson, John B., to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2657; confirmed, 3739.
Thompson, L. K., to be postmaster at Uhrichsville, Ohio; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 3739.
Thompson, Loyd, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps of Army; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 5175.
Thompson, Maynard A., to be postmaster at Waverly, N. Y.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 4307.
Thomson, H. E., to be postmaster at Wagoner, Okla.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 5510.
Thysell, Nels J., to be postmaster at Hawley, Minn.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 2959.
Tilton, George R., to be postmaster at Danville, Ill.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 1770.
Tinham, W. L., to be postmaster at Northville, Mich.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 928.
Tinnin, Cecil W., to be postmaster at Isola, Miss.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5415.
Tintinger, F. A., to be postmaster at Cascade, Mont.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Todd, Virgil E., to be postmaster at Gilmer, Tex.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1406.
Toering, Herman, to be postmaster at Orange City, Iowa; nominated, 352; confirmed, 1628.
Torgeson, Thomas, to be postmaster at White City, Kans.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 1406.
Torrey, Rodney, to be postmaster at La Crosse, Kans.; nominated, 4845.
Towle, Sidney M., to be postmaster at Duxbury, Mass.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3012.
Townsend, E. W., to be postmaster at Montclair, N. J.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 4977.
Trainer, Mahala E., to be postmaster at Blue Mound, Ill.; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 2958.
Traughber, Francis M., to be postmaster at Centralia, Mo.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3012.
Travers, Mary A., to be postmaster at Osborne, Kans.; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5175.
Treadwell, Thomas C., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 653; confirmed, 1064.
Tredwell, Roger Culver, to be United States consul, class 6; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Trezevant, Stanley H., to be United States marshal for western district of Tennessee; nominated, 2657; confirmed, 3739.
Trippet, Oscar A., to be United States district judge for southern district of California; nominated, 5173; confirmed, 5414.
Trixler, Louis G., to be postmaster at Huntington, Ind.; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5415.
Trosclair, Joseph P., to be postmaster at Opelousas, La.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 3012.
Trout, George F., to be postmaster at Stewartstown, Pa.; nominated, 354; confirmed, 815.
Tunnell, William Edward, to be district superintendent, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Turley, Linn, to be postmaster at Forrest City, Ark.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 653.
Turpin, Walter S., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Twist, W. S., to be postmaster at Bonner Springs, Kans.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2100.
Tynan, Clarence, to be postmaster at Salinas, Cal.; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4628.
Uglow, John, to be postmaster at Olathe, Colo.; nominated, 1183; confirmed, 1406.
Van Arsdall, Charles, to be postmaster at Hymera, Ind.; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 2660.
Vandegrift, Alexander A., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5175.
Van Eman, William W., to be postmaster at Grove City, Pa.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2660.
Van Gorden, Edwin J., to be postmaster at Hammondsport, N. Y.; nominated, 4846.
Van Lopik, Peter, to be postmaster at Grand Haven, Mich.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4628.
Vars, Ruth A., to be postmaster at Bradford, R. I.; nominated, 4210; confirmed, 5510.
Vau Consant, William H., to be postmaster at St. Johns, Mich.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2959.
Vaughn, William T., to be postmaster at Sag Harbor, N. Y.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 3739.
Veling, Peter, to be postmaster at Beaver Dam, Wis.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 4744.
Vernon, Albert J., to be postmaster at Donora, Pa.; nominated, 5174; confirmed, 5510.
Vick, Iver K., to be postmaster at Sheyenne, N. Dak.; nominated, 5414.
Vigen, E. T., to be postmaster at Lake Park, Minn.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 3739.
Voetter, Thomas W., to be United States consul, class 5; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Vollmer, Charles F., to be postmaster at Bucyrus, Ohio; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 4307.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Vosburgh, Willard, to be postmaster at Port Byron, N. Y.; nominated, 5174; confirmed, 5510.
Wade, Martin J., to be United States district judge for southern district of Iowa; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5414.
Wadley, Henry W., to be postmaster at Pleasant Grove, Utah; nominated, 1770; confirmed, 4977.
Wadsworth, Craig W., to be United States secretary of embassy or legation, class 2; nominated, 4844; confirmed, 5174.
Wagner, Ralph S., to be postmaster at New Florence, Pa.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 2233.
Walker, Edward W., to be postmaster at Cranbury, N. J.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 494.
Walker, Margaret S., to be postmaster at Houlka, Miss.; nominated, 1768.
Walker, William B., to be postmaster at Andrews, N. C.; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 2100.
Wall, Frederick H., to be postmaster at Manchester, Conn.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5415.
Wallace, Henry G. S., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Wallbrecht, F. Raymond, to be postmaster at Central Lake, Mich.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 815.
Walley, Rose, to be postmaster at Richton, Miss.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4628.
Walling, Percy A., to be postmaster at Circleville, Ohio; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4977.
Wamsley, Turner A., to be postmaster at Parsons, W. Va.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 3795.
Ward, Don C., to be postmaster at Union City, Ind.; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
Ward, William J., to be postmaster at Great Lakes, Ill.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5415.
Wardlow, Bennett, to be postmaster at Lancaster, Mo.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 1406.
Ware, W. W., to be postmaster at Fort Bragg, Cal.; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 3795.
Warehime, John W., to be postmaster at Waynesboro, Pa.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 4307.
Warmoth, Edward B., to be postmaster at Red Bluff, Cal.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5415.
Warner, Theodore E., to be postmaster at New Oxford, Pa.; nominated, 4210; confirmed, 4977.
Warner, Walter B., to be appraiser of merchandise, customs collection district No. 13; nominated, 1063; confirmed, 1187.
Washburn, B. L., to be postmaster at Carterville, Ill.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 2958.
Watson, Floyd E., to be postmaster at Green City, Mo.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5415.
Watson, Thomas P., to be postmaster at Dows, Iowa; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4210.
Watt, Lovie R., to be postmaster at Amity, Oreg.; nominated, 2232; confirmed, 2660.
Weaver, Claude, to be postmaster at Oklahoma, Okla.; nominated, 4209; confirmed, 4307.
Weaver, Erasmus M., to be Chief of Coast Artillery, with rank of brigadier general; nominated, 4206; confirmed, 5175.
Weaver, Otis B., to be postmaster at Shawnee, Okla.; nominated, 5174.
Weber, Peter J., to be postmaster at Tipton, Mo.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 1406.
Weddell, Alexander W., to be United States consul general, class 5; nominated, 3647; confirmed, 4307.
Weitzel, Harry W., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Welch, Georgia B., to be postmaster at Corpus Christi, Tex.; nominated, 4210; confirmed, 4628.
Welden Charles L., to be postmaster at Maysville, Mo.; nominated, 353; confirmed, 494.
Wellander, Otto Gabriel, to be district superintendent, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Weller, Madge L., to be postmaster at New Castle, Colo.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5415.
Wells, Alva S., to be postmaster at Wyaconda, Mo.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4628.
Werner, Theodore B., to be postmaster at Rapid City, S. Dak.; nominated, 5174; confirmed, 5415.
Wertz, Edwin S., to be United States attorney for northern district of Ohio; nominated, 1948; confirmed, 2324.
Wettengel, Ivan C., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2100.
Weyand, Dallas C., to be register of land office at Glenwood Springs, Colo.; nominated, 1766; confirmed, 1948.
Wheelan, James T., to be postmaster at Ashburnham, Mass.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 5415.
Wheeler, Charles B., to be colonel, Ordnance Department in Army; nominated, 54; confirmed, 398.
Wheeler, Frank P., to be register of land office at Eureka, Cal.; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 3738.
Whistler, I. T., to be postmaster at Browning, Mont.; nominated, 2232.
Whitcher, Lewis E., to be postmaster at Highmore, S. Dak.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1406.
White, Alva A., to be postmaster at Mountain Home, Idaho; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5175.
White, Ira G., to be postmaster at Winterport, Me.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
White, Jacob W., to be postmaster at Meadow Grove, Nebr.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5510.
White, Michael J., to be postmaster at Dover, N. H.; nominated, 4846.
White, Roscoe Vance, to be postmaster at Middlefield, Ohio; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 4977.
White, Sherman A., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 55; confirmed, 398.
White, William A., to be postmaster at Crestline, Ohio; nominated, 353; confirmed, 815.
Whitley, Franklin L., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1767; confirmed, 2233.
Whitlock, Guy, to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 4210.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Whitlock, William R., to be postmaster at Black Diamond, Wash.; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5415.
Whitman, Charles E., to be postmaster at Weedsport, N. Y.; nominated, 5174; confirmed, 5510.
Wickert, John, to be postmaster at Hayfield, Minn.; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4977.
Wigginton, Hickman J., to be postmaster at Linneus, Mo.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Wilder, Frank E., to be postmaster at Spring Valley, Minn.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 2959.
Wiley, Samuel H., to be United States consul, class 8; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Wilkinson, George W., to be postmaster at Fargo, N. Dak.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 3652.
Willey, Frederick L., to be postmaster at Bridgeville, Del.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 398.
Williams, Dion, to be lieutenant colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 653; confirmed, 1064.
Williams, Eugene F., to be postmaster at Sterling, Ill.; nominated, 4845.
Williams, Frank P., to be postmaster at Carrollton, Ill.; nominated, 2657; confirmed, 3739.
Williams, Lawrence S., to be postmaster at Williams, Ariz.; nominated, 1183; confirmed, 1405.
Williams, Maurice, to be postmaster at South Easton, Mass.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 3739.
Williams, R. E., to be postmaster at Concrete, Wash; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5415.
Williamson, J. A., to be postmaster at Frederick, Md.; nominated, 4208; confirmed, 4628.
Williamson, William P., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Willm, D. F., to be postmaster at Crystal City, Mo.; nominated, 185; confirmed, 1406.
Willmore, T. A., to be postmaster at Hebron, Nebr.; nominated, 4847; confirmed, 5176.
Wilson, Adrienne G., to be postmaster at Russellville, Ala.; nominated, 1183; confirmed, 1405.
Wilson, B. A., to be postmaster at Los Banos, Cal.; nominated, 351; confirmed, 494.
Wilson, Bayard C., to be postmaster at Lawson, Mo.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2100.
Wilson, David, to be postmaster at Gridley, Ill.; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4743.
Wilson, David A., to be postmaster at Hartford, Conn.; nominated, 3649; confirmed, 3795.
Wilson, E. F., to be postmaster at Tullahoma, Tenn.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 1770.
Wilson, E. W., to be postmaster at Fowler, Cal.; nominated, 2657; confirmed, 3012.
Wilson, Frank B., to be postmaster at Greenfield, Iowa; nominated, 2231; confirmed, 2660.
Wilson, John H., to be postmaster at Sylva, N. C.; nominated, 353.
Wilson, Robert G., jr., to be postmaster at Lees Summit, Mo.; nominated, 4975; confirmed, 5415.
Wilson, Robert K., to be postmaster at Jackson, Mo.; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3012.
Wilson, W. C., to be postmaster at Joseph, Oreg.; nominated, 2233; confirmed, 2660.
Wine, Lacey A., to be postmaster at Sac City, Iowa; nominated, 352; confirmed, 979.
Winger, Jesse A., to be postmaster at Newton, Iowa; nominated, 1184; confirmed, 1406.
Winkler, William F., to be postmaster at Council, Idaho; nominated, 4845; confirmed, 5175.
Winn, Frank L., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 5175.
Winslow, Alfred A., to be United States consul general, class 5; nominated, 3647; confirmed, 4307.
Winslow, Edward D., to be United States consul general, class 5; nominated, 3647; confirmed, 4307.
Wirgman, Harold F., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 653; confirmed, 1064.
Wise, Adam, to be postmaster at Gap, Pa.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 4307.
Wise, J. Blaine, to be postmaster at Marianna, Pa.; nominated, 5174; confirmed, 5510.
Wisman, E. C., to be postmaster at Bryan, Ohio; nominated, 1769; confirmed, 4743.
Witten, Walter E., to be postmaster at Sloan, Iowa; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2100.
Wiweke, Louis A., to be postmaster at Cherokee, Iowa; nominated, 3650; confirmed, 4628.
Wolcott, Henry M., to be United States consul, class 9; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
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Wood, John E., to be postmaster at Harrison, Idaho; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 4976.
Wood, John Q., to be United States consul at Chemnitz, Germany; nominated, 176; confirmed, 653.
Wood, Thomas, to be postmaster at Muncy, Pa.; nominated, 4210; confirmed, 4744.
Wood, William H. S., to be postmaster at Howell, Mich; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 1770.
Woodward, G. Carlton, to be United States consul, class 9; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Woodward, John E., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 4207; confirmed, 5175.
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Yates, M. B., to be postmaster at Pattonsburg, Mo.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 1406.
Yelton, Edward F., to be postmaster at Butler, Ky.; nominated, 1768; confirmed, 2100.
Yerby, William J., to be United States consul, class 7; nominated, 3648; confirmed, 4307.
Young, Andrew J., to be postmaster at Pen Argyl, Pa.; nominated, 4210; confirmed, 4744.
Young, Clarence H., to be postmaster at Manheim, Pa.; nominated, 3651; confirmed, 4307.
Young, James B., to be United States consul, class 8; nominated, 4974; confirmed, 5174.
Young, John H., to be postmaster at Itasca, Tex.; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5415.
Younglove, Sidney E., to be postmaster at Monroe, Mich.; nominated, 4846; confirmed, 5176.
Zalman, William, to be postmaster at Lawrence, Nebr.; nominated, 4976; confirmed, 5510.
Zeien, Thomas, to be postmaster at North Branch, Minn.; nominated, 2658; confirmed, 4977.
Zellars, William A., to be postmaster at Freeport, Ohio; nominated, 2659; confirmed, 3739.
Zivley, George D., to be postmaster at Lampasas, Tex.; nominated, 1186; confirmed, 4628.
Zogbaum, Rufus F., jr., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 55; confirmed, 142.
Zorn, Will H., to be postmaster at Westplains, Mo.; nominated, 1185; confirmed, 1406.

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FALCONER, J. A. (*a Representative from Washington*).
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FARR, JOHN R. (*a Representative from Pennsylvania*).
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NORTON, PATRICK D. (*a Representative from North Dakota*).
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NUDD, LOVINA J., increase pension (see bills S. 6260, 6980*).

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O'BRIEN, JAMES H. (*a Representative from New York*).
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OGLESBY, WOODSON R. (*a Representative from New York*).
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O'GORMAN, JAMES A. (*a Senator from New York*).
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O'HAIR, FRANK T. (*a Representative from Illinois*).
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O'LAUGHLIN, MARTIN, increase pension (see bill S. 7388).

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OLDFIELD, WILLIAM A. (*a Representative from Arkansas*).
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O'LEARY, DENIS (*a Representative from New York*).
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OLIVER, GEORGE T. (*a Senator from Pennsylvania*).
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OLIVER, MARY L., report of Court of Claims on claim of (S. Doc. 879), 2835.
OLIVER, THOMAS O., increase pension (see bill S. 7365).
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SHERMAN, LAWRENCE Y. (*a Senator from Illinois*).
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SHERWOOD, ISAAC R. (*a Representative from Ohio*).
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SHIELDS, CLARINDA, increase pension (see bill H. R. 20180).

SHIELDS, JOHN K. (*a Senator from Tennessee*).
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SHIVELY, BENJAMIN F. (*a Senator from Indiana*).
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Coleman, Martha F. (bill S. 6980; Rept. 842), 332.
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Conn, Robert (bill S. 7402; Rept. 921), 2301.
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Fletcher, John W. (bill S. 7566; Rept. 964), 3084.
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Harden, Samuel W. (bill S. 7566; Rept. 964), 3083.
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Hicks, Beulah C. (bill S. 7402; Rept. 921), 2301.
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Hill, Irvin M. (bill S. 7598; Rept. 970), 3548.
Hilliard, Daniel (bill S. 7402; Rept. 921), 2301.
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Hitchcock, Cornelia S. (bill S. 7402; Rept. 921), 2301.
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Hobbs, James F. (bill S. 7566; Rept. 964), 3084.
Holden, Vesta V. (bill S. 7402; Rept. 921), 2301.
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Horne, A. Paul (bill S. 7402; Rept. 921), 2301.
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Howland, Mary B. (bill S. 7212; Rept. 894), 1327.
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Huffaker, Lewis A. (bill S. 7566; Rept. 964), 3084.
Hunie, Louise M. (bill S. 7213; Rept. 895), 1327.
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Manning, Susan E. (bill S. 7213; Rept. 895), 1327.
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S. 49—To provide for the exchange with the State of Oregon of certain school lands and indemnity rights within the national forests of that State for an equal area of national forest land.
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S. 93—To regulate the judicial procedure of the courts of the United States.
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S. 94—To amend an act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," approved Mar. 3, 1911.
Mr. Root; reported back (H. Rept. 1222), 199.—Debated and passed House, 276–278.—Examined and signed, 379, 382.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 224], 625.

S. 95—To amend chapter 11 of the Judicial Code.
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S. 136—To promote the welfare of American seamen in the merchant marine of the United States; to abolish arrest and imprisonment as a penalty for desertion and to secure the abrogation of treaty provisions in relation thereto; and to promote safety at sea.
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S. 155—For the relief of Joseph B. Riley, alias Thomas B. Keesy.
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S. 283—For the relief of Lester A. Rockwell.
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S. 392—To create in the War Department and Navy Department, respectively, a roll designated as "the Civil War volunteer officers' retired list," to authorize placing thereon with retired pay certain surviving officers who served in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States in the Civil War, and for other purposes.
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S. 543—To correct the military record of John T. Haines.
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S. 583—Incorporating the American Academy of Arts and Letters.
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S. 604—For the relief of Sarah A. Clinton and Marie Steinberg.
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Mr. Myers; debated, 3085.

S. 647—To amend an act entitled "An act for the survey and allotment of lands now embraced within the limits of the Flathead Indian Reservation, in the State of Montana, and the sale and disposal of all surplus lands after allotment," approved Apr. 23, 1904 (33 Stat. L., 302), as amended by the act of Mar. 3, 1909 (35 Stat. L., 796).
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S. 926—For the relief of the Georgia Railroad & Banking Co.
Mr. Bacon; reported back (H. Rept. 1316), 2269.—Debated and passed House, 3529, 3530.—Examined and signed, 3696, 3762.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 182], 4447.

S. 1044—For the relief of Byron W. Canfield.
Mr. Burton; passed House, 3521.—Examined and signed, 3696, 3762.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 172], 3996.

S. 1058—For the relief of Dommick Taheny and John W. Mortimer.
Mr. Penrose; reported back (H. Rept. 1298), 1917.

S. 1060—Fixing the date of reenlistment of Gustav Hertfelder, first-class fireman, United States Navy.
Mr. Penrose; reported back (H. Rept. 1253), 783.—Passed House, 3526.—Examined and signed, 3696, 3762.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 169], 3931.

S. 1281—Providing for the retirement of certain officers of the Philippine Scouts.
Mr. Shively; debated in House, 3799.

S. 1304—Authorizing the Department of State to deliver to Capt. P. H. Uberroth, United States Revenue-Cutter Service, and Gunner Carl Johannson, United States Revenue-Cutter Service, watches tendered to them by the Canadian Government.
Mr. Penrose; passed House, 3522.—Examined and signed, 3696, 3762.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 179], 3996.

S. 1366—To adjust the claims of certain settlers in Sherman County, Oreg.
Mr. Chamberlain; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1442), 4553.

S. 1373—For the relief of the estate of John Stewart, deceased.
Mr. McCumber; referred to House Committee on Claims, 177.

S. 1377—For the relief of Alfred S. Lewis.
Mr. Borah; reported back (H. Rept. 1334), 2536.—Passed House, 3531.—Examined and signed, 3696, 3762.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 173], 3996.

S. 1624—To regulate the construction of buildings along alleyways in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; laid on the table, 946.

S. 1701—To admit legislative journals of State and Territorial legislatures to the mails as second-class mail matter.
Mr. Bryan; reported back (H. Rept. 1290), 1734.—Debated, 3804.

S. 1703—For the relief of George P. Chandler.
Mr. Penrose; passed House, 3520.—Examined and signed, 3696, 3762.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 174], 3996.

S. 1762—Relating to procedure in United States courts.
Mr. Root; reported back adversely, 963.—Indefinitely postponed, 4956.

S. 1763—For the relief of Isador Miller.
Mr. Root; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 887), 1285.—Amended and passed Senate, 4961.

S. 1864—For the relief of the contributors to the Ellen M. Stone ransom fund.
Mr. O'Gorman; reported back (H. Rept. 1398), 3616.

S. 1880—For the relief of Chester D. Swift.
Mr. Pomerene; debated and passed House, 3519.—Examined and signed, 3696, 3762.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 183], 4447.

S. 1985—For the relief of Capt. Daniel H. Powers.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; passed Senate, 4948.

S. 1988—For the relief of John H. Armstrong.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; passed Senate, 4946.

S. 1991—For the relief of Abram H. Johnson.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; referred to House Committee on Invalid Pensions, 735.—Reference changed to Committee on Military Affairs, 782.

S. 2223—To authorize the use of the revenues in the Crater Lake National Park in the management of the same, and the construction, repair, and improvement of roads, trails, and bridges in the park.
Mr. Chamberlain; reported back (H. Rept. 1376), 3445.—Debated, 3821.

S. 2278—Granting the El Paso & Rock Island Railway Co. a right of way for its pipe lines and reservoir upon the Lincoln National Forest for the carrying and storage of water for railroad purposes.
Mr. Catron; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1288), 1734.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 3807, 3808, 4545, 5186, 5187, 5188.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 5121.—Examined and signed, 5245, 5417.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 323], 5507.

S. 2304—For the relief of Chris Kuppler.
Mr. Shively; passed House, 3519.—Examined and signed, 3696, 3762.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 175], 3996.

S. 2321—To limit the effect of the regulation of interstate commerce between the States in goods, wares, and merchandise wholly or in part manufactured, mined, or produced by convict labor or in any prison or reformatory.
Mr. Hughes; debated in Senate, 964–966.

S. 2334—For the relief of S. W. Langhorne and the legal representatives of H. S. Howell.
Mr. Walsh; House requests Senate to furnish a duplicate copy of engrossed bill (H. Res. 706), 1948, 2099.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1325), 2432.—Amended and passed House, 3530.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 3551.—Examined and signed, 3696, 3762.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 190], 4447.

S. 2335—To provide for the register and enrollment of vessels built in foreign countries when such vessels have been wrecked on the coasts of the United States or her possessions or adjacent waters and salved by American citizens and repaired in American shipyards.
Mr. Fletcher; referred to House Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 136.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1264), 1153, 1368.—Debated and passed House, 3958–3968 [Appendix, 386].—Examined and signed, 4211, 4260.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 254], 4447.

S. 2337—To create the Coast Guard by combining therein the existing Life-Saving Service and Revenue-Cutter Service.
Mr. Townsend; debated in House, 1949–1997 [Appendix, 174].—Amended and passed House, 1996, 1997.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 2028, 2099.—Examined and signed, 2268, 2271.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 239], 2434.

S. 2415—Relating to the exclusion of traffic from the streets and avenues of the District of Columbia during parades.
Mr. Jones; recommitted to the House Committee on the District of Columbia, 1775.

S. 2518—Granting to the town of Nevadaville, Colo., the right to purchase certain lands for the protection of water supply.
Mr. Shafroth; reported back (H. Rept. 1309), 2162.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 3808, 3809.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 3929.—Examined and signed, 4074, 4203.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 256], 4839.

S. 2548—To create an additional land district in the State of Arizona.
Mr. Smith of Arizona; debated in House, 2795.

S. 2589—For the relief of Peter McKay.
Mr. Poindexter; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 871), amended, and passed Senate, 1157.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 1370.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1359), 2982.—Debated, 3533, 3534, 5477.

S. 2616—To promote the efficiency of the Public Health Service.
Mr. Swanson; debated in House, 2407–2424.—Enacting clause stricken from bill, 2423, 2424.

S. 2651—Providing for the purchase and disposal of certain lands containing the minerals kaolin, kaolinite, fuller's earth, china clay, and ball clay in Tripp County, formerly a part of the Rosebud Indian Reservation in South Dakota.
Mr. Sterling; debated, amended, and passed House, 453, 454.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 492, 978, 979.—Examined and signed, 1126, 1127.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 229], 1330.

S. 2789—To award the medal of honor to Maj. John O. Skinner, surgeon, United States Army, retired.
Mr. Gallinger; reported back (S. Rept. 913), 1541.—Passed Senate, 3701.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 3796.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1466), 5057.—Debated and passed House, 5186, 5459, 5460.—Examined and signed, 5356, 5482.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 265], 5507.

S. 2810—For the relief of the heirs of Joshua Nicholls.
Mr. Williams; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 1038), 4555.—Amended and passed Senate, 5350.

S. 2824—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the adjudication and payment of claims arising from Indian depredations," approved Mar. 3, 1891.
Mr. Smoot; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1237), 430.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 935–938.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 1012.—Examined and signed, 1126, 1127.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 228], 1330.

S. 2854—Granting an honorable discharge to William C. Chandler.
Mr. Lea; reported back adversely and indefinitely postponed, 2302.

S. 2882—For the relief of Charles M. Clark.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; passed House, 3521.—Examined and signed, 3696, 3762.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 176], 3996.

S. 2999—To foster commerce between the United States and foreign countries by facilitating the reexportation in bond from ports of the United States of goods imported into the United States, duly entered for warehousing and stored in bonded warehouses.
Mr. Ransdell; reported back (S. Rept. 1061), 5146.—Debated, 5351.

S. 3000—For the relief of Ten Eyck De Witt Veeder, commodore on the retired list of the United States Navy.
Mr. Gallinger; debated, 903, 904.

S. 3200—Relating to desert-land entries.
Mr. Myers; reported back (S. Rept. 952), 2940.

S. 3342—For the enlargement, etc., of the Wall Street front of the assay office in the city of New York.
Mr. O'Gorman; debated and passed House, 931, 932.—Order vacated and bill laid on table, 960.

S. 3362—To authorize the Secretary of Commerce, through the Coast and Geodetic Survey and the Bureau of Fisheries, to make a survey of natural oyster beds, bars and rocks, and barren bottoms contiguous thereto in waters along the coast of and within the State of Texas.
Mr. Sheppard; debated, amended, and passed House, 3968–3979.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 4090.—Examined and signed, 4242, 4392.—The President requested to return bill (S. Con. Res. 37), 5102, 5218.—The President returns bill, 5244.—Signatures of the Vice President and the Speaker canceled and bill ordered to be reenrolled (S. Con. Res. 38), 5244, 5245, 5445.—Examined and signed, 5331, 5459.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 324], 5507.

S. 3367—Granting an honorable discharge to James Kennedy.
Mr. Penrose; indefinitely postponed, 4953.

S. 3419—Admitting to citizenship and fully naturalizing George Edward Lerrigo of the city of Topeka, in the Senate of Kansas.
Mr. Thompson; reported back (H. Rept. 1321), 2364.—Debated and passed House, 3530.—Examined and signed, 3696, 3762.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 184], 4447.

S. 3431—To amend subchapter 1, relating to institutions of learning, and subchapter 3, relating to societies, benevolent, educational, etc., of chapter 18 of "An act to establish a Code of Law for the District of Columbia," approved Mar. 3, 1901.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Corporations Organized in the District of Columbia discharged, and referred to the Committee on the University of the United States, 4555.

S. 3509—For the relief of Orion Mathews.
Mr. Myers; referred to House Committee on Invalid Pensions, 735.—Reference changed to Committee on Military Affairs, 782.

S. 3525—For the relief of Pay Inspector F. T. Arms, United States Navy.
Mr. Brandegee; reported back (H. Rept. 1318), 2269.—Passed House, 3530.—Examined and signed, 3696, 3762.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 170], 3931.

S. 3561—To appoint Frederick H. Lemly a passed assistant paymaster on the active list of the United States Navy.
Mr. Overman; debated in House, 3519, 3520, 5489, 5490.

S. 3863—Granting lands to the Grand Lodge, Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, grand jurisdiction of Arkansas.
Mr. Robinson; supplemental report (H. Rept. 818, pt. 2) submitted, 4444.

S. 3878—To validate certain homestead entries.
Mr. Smoot; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1336), 2536.—Debated and passed House, 4549, 4550, 5189, 5190.—Examined and signed, 5245, 5417.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 297], 5507.

S. 3892—For the relief of Charles G. Griffa.
Mr. Chamberlain; reported back (S. Rept. 930), 2302.—Passed Senate, 4965.

S. 3897—To authorize the Great Northern Railway Co. to revise the location of its right of way, and for other purposes.
Mr. Myers; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1292), 1813.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 3821, 3822.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 4090.—Examined and signed, 4242, 4392.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 257], 4839.

S. 3925—For the relief of Teresa Girolami.
Mr. Works; reported back (H. Rept. 1361), 2982.—Passed House, 3534.—Examined and signed, 3696, 3762.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 185], 4447.

S. 4012—To increase the limit of cost of the United States public building at Grand Junction, Colo.
Mr. Shafroth; debated, amended, and passed House, 1773, 1774.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 1842.—Examined and signed, 1997, 2099.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 237], 2434.

S. 4110—Authorizing the cutting of timber for mining purposes by corporations organized in one State and conducting mining operations in another.
Mr. Newlands; reported back (S. Rept. 1027), 4523.

S. 4146—Granting certain lands to school district No. 44, Chelan County, Wash.
Mr. Jones; reported back (H. Rept. 1305), 1998.—Debated and passed House, 3806.—Examined and signed, 3958, 3982.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 191], 4447.

S. 4180—To validate title to certain town sites in the State of Montana.
Mr. Myers; debated, amended, and passed Senate, 4947.—Passed House, 5419.—Examined and signed, 5251, 5459.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 298], 5507.

S. 4254—To enable the Secretary of War to pay the amount awarded to the Malambo fire claimants by the joint commission under article 6 of the treaty of Nov. 18, 1903, between the United States and Panama.
Mr. Root; debated, 5482–5484.

S. 4320—For the relief of certain homestead entrymen for lands within the limits of the Glacier National Park.
Mr. Myers; reported back (S. Rept. 951), 2940.

S. 4405—To provide for and encourage the prospecting, mining, and treatment of radium-bearing ores in lands belonging to the United States, for the purpose of securing an adequate supply of radium for Government and other hospitals in the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Walsh; debated in Senate, 4945 [Appendix, 175].

S. 4422—For the relief of John L. Sevy.
Mr. Smoot; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 935), 2301.—Amended and passed Senate, 5340.

S. 4495—Providing for the establishment of a term of the District Court for the District of Kansas at Salina, Kans.
Mr. Bristow; reported back (S. Rept. 955), 2940.

S. 4517—To establish a standard box for apples, and for other purposes.
Mr. Jones; Debated in House, 5218–5221, 5224.

S. 4522—To amend an act entitled "An act to amend an act entitled 'An act to regulate commerce,' approved Feb. 4, 1887, and all acts amendatory thereof, and to enlarge the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission," approved June 29, 1906.
Mr. Cummins; reported back (H. Rept. 1341), 2827.—Debated and passed House, 5446–5451.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 5335.—Examined and signed, 5505, 5515.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 325], 5507.

S. 4602—To pay the balance due the loyal Creek Indians on the award made by the Senate on the 16th day of February, 1903.
Mr. Owen; reported back (S. Rept. 917), 1703.—Passed Senate, 4963, 4964.

S. 4619—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Interior to vacate certain lands in Oklahoma reserved for a town site, and for other purposes.
Mr. Owen; reported back (S. Rept. 985), 3773.

S. 4712—To authorize the sale of certain lots in the Hot Springs Reservation for church and hospital purposes.
Mr. Robinson; reported back (S. Rept. 991), 3927.

S. 4725—Providing for the establishment of a lobster-rearing station at some suitable point on the Atlantic coast.
Mr. Johnson; reported back (H. Rept. 1258), 1007.—Debated, 3802.

S. 4738—For the relief of Frances L. Snell.
Mr. Lodge; referred to House Committee on Claims, 735.

S. 4854—To authorize the establishment of fish-cultural stations on the Columbia River or its tributaries in the State of Oregon or Washington, or both.
Mr. Lane; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1273), 1379.

S. 4876—To amend section 41 of the national-bank act, being renumbered as section 5144 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.
Mr. Pomerene; reported back (S. Rept. 963), 2991.—Debated, 5344.

S. 4920—To increase the cost of construction of Federal building at Pocatello, Idaho.
Mr. Brady; debated in House, 3797.

S. 5042—Legalizing certain conveyances heretofore made by the Central Pacific Railroad Co. and others within the State of Nevada.
Mr. Newlands; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1467), 5057.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 5186. 5464, 5472, 5477–5479.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 5400.—Examined and signed, 5356, 5515.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 326], 5507.

S. 5053—For the relief of James Anderson.
Mr. Bristow; passed Senate, 4954.

S. 5092—For the relief of Charles A. Spotts.
Mr. Myers; reported back (H. Rept. 1343), 2027.—Passed House, 3531.—Examined and signed, 3696, 3762.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 186], 4447.

S. 5103—To compensate Alfred A. Thresher for the infringement of his letters patent by the United States.
Mr. Bradley; referred to Court of Claims (see S. Res. 560), 5067.

S. 5104—To authorize the Secretary of War to furnish certain transportation to the Oregon Agricultural College Cadet Corps by a United States Army transport.
Mr. Chamberlain; reported back (S. Rept. 928), 2302.—Passed Senate, 4964.

S. 5168—For the relief of the King Theological Hall, and authorizing the conveyance of real estate to the Howard University and other grantees.
Mr. Hollis; debated, amended, and passed House, 1369, 1370.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 1542.—Examined and signed, 1596, 1599.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 235], 1942.

S. 5210—For the relief of Nelson T. Saunders.
Mr. O'Gorman; amended and passed Senate, 4947.

S. 5254—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior in his discretion to sell and convey a certain tract of land to the Mandan Town and Country Club.
Mr. Gronna; debated and passed House, 3517, 3518.—Examined and signed, 3696, 3762.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 187], 4447.

S. 5255—Conferring jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment in claims of the Sisseton and Wahpeton bands of Sioux Indians against the United States.
Mr. Gronna; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1274), 1379.—Debated, 3804.

S. 5259—To establish one or more United States Navy mail lines between the United States and South America and between the United States and the countries of Europe.
Mr. Weeks; debated in House, 3875–3923 [Appendix, 222, 249, 291, 317, 374, 377, 391, 396, 402, 447, 455, 469, 487, 516, 589, 641].—Amended and passed House, 3920–3923.—Motion to disagree to House amendments and ask for a conference debated and agreed to in Senate, 3931–3956, 4001–4020.—House insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 4122.—Conference appointed, 4020, 4164.—Conference report (No. 1465) made in House, 5201.—Conference report (No. 1491) debated in House; House further insists on its amendments and asks for a further conference, 5201–5208 [Appendix, 641].—Second conference appointed in House, 5208.—Motion to further disagree to House amendments and agree to a further conference, debated and withdrawn in Senate, 5295–5303 (see also bill S. 6856).

S. 5283—To regulate the catching of whales in the waters of the Territory of Alaska.
Mr. Nelson; reported back adversely (S. Rept. 982) and indefinitely postponed, 3699.

S. 5295—To amend existing legislation providing for the acquisition of a site and the construction of a building thereon for the accommodation of the post office, United States courts, customhouse, and other governmental offices at Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii, and for other purposes.
Mr. Warren; debated, amended, and passed House, 1777–1779.—Senate disagrees to House amendments and asks for a conference, 1843.—House insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 3447.—Conference appointed, 1843, 3447.—Conference report (No. 1430) made in House, 4670.—Conference report agreed to in House, 4670, 4671.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 4839.—Examined and signed, 5056, 5059.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 265], 5245.

S. 5325—Authorizing the county of St. Louis to construct a bridge across the St. Louis River between Minnesota and Wisconsin.
Mr. Nelson; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1216), 162.—Debated, 3796, 3797, 4548.

S. 5340—To amend, revise, and codify the laws relating to the public printing and binding and the distribution of Government publications.
Mr. Fletcher; debated in Senate, 4946.

S. 5404—For the payment of certain sums due by reason of an injury sustained by Second Lieut. Rogers, United States Army, while attempting to provide suitable mounts for United States Army.
Mr. Sheppard; reported back adversely (S. Rept. 888), 1285.—Indefinitely postponed, 4961.

S. 5433—To amend an act entitled "An act to establish the Glacier National Park in the Rocky Mountains south of the international boundary line, in the State of Montana, and for other purposes," approved May 11, 1910.
Mr. Walsh; reported back (H. Rept. 1432), 4445.

S. 5434—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to grant permits to the occupants of certain unpatented lands on which oil or gas has been discovered, and authorizing the extraction of oil or gas therefrom.
Mr. Walsh; referred to House Committee on Public Lands, 368.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1277, 1484.—Debated, 3806, 3807, 4545.

S. 5435—For the relief of Henry J. Davis.
Mr. Myers; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 1037), 4555.

S. 5449—To make Pembina, N. Dak., a port through which merchandise may be imported for transportation without appraisement.
Mr. McCumber; reported back (H. Rept. 1247), 616.—Debated, 3797, 3798, 3799, 3803.—Passed House, 3803.—Examined and signed, 3958, 3982.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 250], 4447.

S. 5484—Modifying and amending the act providing for the disposal of the surplus unallotted lands within the Blackfeet Indian Reservation, Mont.
Mr. Walsh; debated, 4950.

S. 5495—Authorizing the Secretary of War to make certain donations of condemned cannon and cannon balls.
Mr. Chamberlain; referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 735.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1331), 2536.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 5192–5200.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 5401–5404.—Examined and signed, 5505, 5521.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 327], 5507.

S. 5497—Authorizing the issuance of patent to Arthur J. Floyd for section 31, township 22 north, range 22 west of the sixth principal meridian, in the State of Nebraska.
Mr. Norris; reported back (H. Rept. 1238), 430.—Passed House, 3525.—Examined and signed, 3696, 3762.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 188], 4447.

S. 5525—To authorize the President to appoint Maj. William O. Owen, United States Army, retired, a colonel on the active list of the Army.
Mr. Pomerene; reported back (H. Rept. 1291), 1813.—Debated, 3527.

S. 5542—To provide capital for agricultural development, to create a standard form of investment based upon farm mortgages, to equalize rates of interest upon farm loans, to furnish a market for United States bonds, to provide a method of applying postal savings deposits to the promotion of the public welfare, and for other purposes.
Mr. Hollis; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 1048), 4844.—Debated, 5350.

S. 5588—To provide for the establishment and maintenance of mining experiment and mine safety stations for making investigations and disseminating information among employees in the mining, quarrying, metallurgical, and other mineral industries, and for other purposes.
Mr. Kern; indefinitely postponed (see bill H. R. 15869), 4950.

S. 5614—For the improvement of the foreign service.
Mr. Stone; debated, 1777, 1779–1786.—Amended and passed House, 1786.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 1841.—Examined and signed, 2424, 2434.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 242], 3230.

S. 5619—To transfer Capt. Frank E. Evans from the retired to the active list of the Marine Corps.
Mr. Hollis; reported back (S. Rept. 1001), 3984.—Debated, 5346.

S. 5620—For the relief of certain persons who made entry under the provisions of section 6, act of May 29, 1908.
Mr. Shafroth; referred to House Committee on Public Lands, 735.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1265), 1153.—Amended and passed House, 3802.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 3929, 3930.—Examined and signed, 4074, 4203.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 255], 4568.

S. 5681—To amend an act approved June 22, 1910, entitled "An act to provide for agricultural entries on coal lands.
Mr. Myers; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 998), 3927.

S. 5695—For the relief of the Southern Transportation Co.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; reported back (H. Rept. 1317), 2269.—Passed House, 3530.—Examined and signed, 3696, 3762.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 177], 3996.

S. 5705—Authorizing the health officer of the District of Columbia to issue a permit for the removal of the remains of the late Elsie McCaulley from Glenwood Cemetery, District of Columbia, to Philadelphia, Pa.
Mr. Saulsbury; debated in House, 5517.

S. 5734—To extend the provisions of an act entitled "An act to provide for an enlarged homestead," approved Feb. 19, 1909, to the State of Kansas.
Mr. Thompson; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1338), 2738.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 4550–4553.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 4559.—Examined and signed, 4838, 4888.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 272], 5330.

S. 5847—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to convey to the city of Bozeman, Mont., certain land for alley purposes.
Mr. Myers; reported back (H. Rept. 1444), 4553.

S. 5881—Providing for the refund of duties collected on flax-preparatory machines, parts, and accessories, such as described in the act of Congress approved Feb. 7, 1913, imported subsequently to Aug. 5, 1909, and prior to Jan. 1, 1911.
Mr. Hughes; reported back (S. Rept. 1056), 5066.—Debated, 5351.

S. 5909—To amend an act entitled "An act to amend the statutes in relation to immediate transportation of dutiable goods, and for other purposes," approved June 10, 1880.
Mr. Bryan; reported back (S. Rept. 1033), 4523.

S. 5970—For the relief of Isaac Bethurum.
Mr. Poindexter; passed House, 3520.—Examined and signed, 3696, 3762.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 178], 3996.

S. 5990—To authorize the sale and issuance of patent for certain land to William G. Kerckhoff.
Mr. Works; reported back (H. Rept. 1236), 430.—Passed House, 3525.—Examined and signed, 3696, 3762.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 189], 4447.

S. 6011—To reinstate Frederick J. Birkett as third lieutenant in the United States Revenue-Cutter Service.
Mr. Bristow; referred to House Committee on Naval Affairs, 735.—Reference changed to Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1357, 1358.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1285), 1678.

S. 6028—To authorize the Commissioner of Navigation to cause the rebuilt bark Simla to be registered as a vessel of the United States.
Mr. Perkins; reported back (S. Rept. 832), 126.—Passed Senate, 4954.

S. 6039—For the coinage of certain gold and silver coins in commemoration of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, and for other purposes.
Mr. Martine of New Jersey; amended and passed House, 934.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 1012, 1013.—Examined and signed, 1127, 1156.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 233], 1942.

S. 6061—For the relief of Robert W. Thompson.
Mr. Poindexter; reported back adversely (S. Rept. 845) and indefinitely postponed, 333.

S. 6093—To ratify, approve, and confirm an act duly enacted by the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii relating to certain gas, electric light and power, telephone, railroad, and street railway companies and franchises in the Territory of Hawaii, and amending the laws relating thereto.
Mr. Warren; reported back, 4555.

S. 6106—Validating locations of deposits of phosphate rock heretofore made in good faith under the placer-mining laws of the United States.
Mr. Smoot; amended and passed House, 930.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 1012.—Examined and signed, 1127, 1156.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 230], 1330.

S. 6109—For the relief of Emmett W. Entriken.
Mr. Lane; reported back (S. Rept. 872), 1156.—Passed Senate, 4959.

S. 6111—To incorporate the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.
Mr. White; reported back (S. Rept. 1041), 4681.

S. 6120—For the allowance of certain claims reported by the Court of Claims.
Mr. Bryan; debated in Senate, 5292, 5316, 5317, 5322.—Amended and passed Senate, 5322.

S. 6121—To authorize the construction of a bridge across the Niagara River, in the town of Lewiston, in the county of Niagara and State of New York.
Mr. Root; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 870), amended, and passed Senate, 1156.—Debated and passed House, 2032, 2033.—Examined and signed, 2137, 2272.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 240], 3082.

S. 6138—For the relief of Frank Kinsey Hill, captain on the retired list of the United States Navy.
Mr. Pomerene; motion to reconsider vote debated in Senate, 4951.

S. 6152—For the relief of Joseph Gorman.
Mr. Norris; referred to House Committee on Invalid Pensions, 735.—Reference changed to Committee on Military Affairs, 782.

S. 6194—To provide for the acquisition of a site and erection of a public building thereon at Hood River, Oreg.
Mr. Lane; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 946), 2839.

S. 6202—To amend an act entitled "An act to amend section 3 of the act of Congress of May 1, 1888, and to extend the provisions of section 2301 of the Revised Statutes of the United States to certain lands in the State of Montana embraced within the provisions of said act, and for other purposes."
Mr. Walsh; referred to House Committee on Public Lands, 735.

S. 6217—To increase the efficiency of the Organized Militia, and for other purposes.
Mr. Chamberlain; reported back (S. 924), 2302.

S. 6227—Granting the consent of Congress to the Norfolk-Berkley Bridge Corporation, of Virginia, to construct a bridge across the Eastern Branch of the Elizabeth River in Virginia.
Mr. Martin of Virginia; Committee discharged; passed House, 455, 456.—Examined and signed, 632, 735.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 226], 1012.

S. 6266—To authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to license cotton warehouses, and for other purposes.
Mr. Smith of Georgia; debated in House, 459–477 [Appendix, 28, 106].—Amended and passed House, 459, 477.—Motion to disagree to House amendment and ask for a conference objected to in Senate, 3623–3626.

S. 6309—To establish the Rocky Mountain National Park in the State of Colorado, and for other purposes.
Mr. Thomas; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1275), 1484.—Debated, 1788–1806.—Amended and passed House, 1806.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 1841, 1842.—Examined and signed, 1997, 2099.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 238], 2434.

S. 6373—To provide for the payment for certain lands within the former Flathead Indian Reservation, in the State of Montana.
Mr. Myers; reported back (S. Rept. 948), 2839.

S. 6384—To authorize the acceptance of certain lands by the United States for a military park reservation, and for other purposes.
Mr. Lea of Tennessee; referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 735.

S. 6392—For the relief of registers and receivers of the United States land offices in the State of Kansas.
Mr. Thompson; amended and passed Senate, 4951.

S. 6398—To amend section 1 of an act approved May 30, 1908, entitled "An act to amend the national banking laws."
Mr. Owen; rejected in House, 28–31.

S. 6403—Donating the old iron fence around Vance Park, Charlotte, N. C., to the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence Chapter, to be placed around Craighead Cemetery, near Sugar Creek Church, in Mecklenburg County.
Mr. Overman; reported back (S. Rept. 910), 1541.—Passed Senate, 4963.

S. 6454—To authorize the Government Exhibit Board for the Panama-Pacific International Exposition to install any part or parts of the Government exhibit at the said exposition either in the exhibit palaces of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition Co. or in the Government building at said exposition.
Mr. Perkins; passed House, 949.—Examined and signed, 1126, 1127.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 232], 1542.

S. 6486—To reserve certain lands and to incorporate the same and make them a part of the Pike National Forest.
Mr. Thomas; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 1057), 5066.—Indefinitely postponed (see bill H. R. 18747), 5351.

S. 6493—To provide for the appointment of an additional judge in the fifth judicial circuit of the United States.
Mr. Sheppard; reported back (S. Rept. 1017), 4264.—Passed Senate, 4483, 4484.

S. 6497—For the relief of Lloyd C. Stark.
Mr. Stone; referred to House Committee on Naval Affairs, 735.

S. 6505—To amend sections 11 and 16 of an act to provide for the establishment of Federal reserve banks, etc., approved Dec. 23, 1913, and commonly known as the Federal reserve act.
Mr. Reed; recommitted to the House Committee on Banking and Currency, 31–33.

S. 6510—To authorize the appointment of Duncan Grant Richart to the grade of second lieutenant in the Army.
Mr. Stone; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 934), 2302.—Amended and passed Senate, 5340.

S. 6528—To make Nyando, N. Y., a port through which merchandise may be imported for transportation without appraisement.
Mr. Root; reported back (S. Rept. 834), 138.—Indefinitely postponed (see bill H. R. 17982), 4083.

S. 6623—In relation to the location, entry, and patenting of lands within the former Uncompahgre Indian Reservation, in the State of Utah, containing gilsonite or other like substances, and for other purposes.
Mr. Smoot; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 1002), 3984.

S. 6631—To regulate the practice of pharmacy and the sale of poison in the consular districts of the United States in China.
Mr. Stone; referred to House Committee on Foreign Affairs, 735.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1311), 2202.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 4539–4543 [Appendix, 490].—Senate concurs in House amendment, 4559, 4560.—Examined and signed, 4801, 4809.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 262], 5245.

S. 6671—Confirming patents heretofore issued to certain Indians in the State of Washington.
Mr. Jones; reported back (S. Rept. 939), 2302.—Indefinitely postponed (see bill H. R. 19376), 3930.

S. 6686—To supplement an act entitled "An act to increase the internal revenue, and for other purposes," approved Oct. 22, 1914.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Finance, 6.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 839), amended, and passed Senate, 173.—Referred to House Committee on Ways and Means, 246.

S. 6687—To authorize the Chesapeake & Ohio Northern Railway Co. to construct a bridge across the Ohio River a short distance above the mouth of the Little Scioto River, between Scioto County, Ohio, and Greenup County, Ky., at or near Sciotoville, Ohio.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Commerce, 5.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 835), amended, and passed Senate, 138, 139.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 177.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1225), 248.—Debated and passed House, 458, 459.—Examined and signed, 616, 632.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 227], 1012.

S. 6688—To prohibit individuals, partnerships, or corporations in the United States from selling arms, ammunition, artillery, and explosives of any kind for exportation during the existence of war except upon proof that said arms, ammunition, artillery, and explosives are not to be used in said war against a country with which the United States is at peace.
Mr. Hitchcock; Committee on Foreign Relations, 6.

S. 6689—Making appropriation for the arrest and eradication of the foot-and-mouth disease.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 5.—Reported back (S. Rept. 831), 45.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 174, 175.—Referred to House Committee on Agriculture, 246.—Reference changed to Committee on Appropriations, 266, 267.

S. 6690—To place certain officers of the Army on the retired list.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Military Affairs, 5.

S. 6691—To establish a council of national defense.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Military Affairs, 5.

S. 6692—To facilitate farm credits and decrease interest charges on farm securities.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Banking and Currency, 5.

S. 6693—Granting an increase of pension to Helen A. Underhill.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6694—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Fletcher.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6695—Granting an increase of pension to Susan E. Holt.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6696—Granting an increase of pension to Amanda E. Bateman.
Mr. Oliver; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6697—Granting a pension to Annie R. Chaffee.
Mr. Works; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6698—Granting a pension to Ammazetta L. Nettleton.
Mr. Works; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6699—Granting a pension to Louis Hagenbucher.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6700—Appropriating $2,250,000 for the use of the Department of Agriculture in eradicating the foot-and-mouth disease.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 5.

S. 6701—Granting an increase of pension to Byron C. Davis.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6702—Granting an increase of pension to Walter Morrell.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6703—Granting an increase of pension to James W. Jacobs.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6704—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Rankin.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6705—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew J. Hall.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6706—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Harrison.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6707—Granting an increase of pension to Gordon H. Shepard.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6708—To prohibit the employment of armed men for any purpose by corporations or associations of any kind.
Mr. Martine of New Jersey; Committee on the Judiciary, 6.

S. 6709—To reimburse the Navajo Lumber & Timber Co. of Arizona for a deposit made to cover the purchase of timber.
Mr. Burton; Committee on Claims, 5.

S. 6710—To reimburse the Navajo Timber Co., of Delaware, for a deposit made to cover the purchase of timber.
Mr. Burton; Committee on Claims, 5.

S. 6711—Granting an increase of pension to Robert S. Thomas.
Mr. Burton; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6712—To aid and to regulate the development, operation, and maintenance of water powers on lands of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Public Lands, 6, 7.

S. 6713—Requiring railroad companies to equip passenger trains with physician's emergency cases.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 5.

S. 6714—To promote the increased consumption of cotton in the United States.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 5.

S. 6715—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Wickliffe.
Mr. Root; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6716—To correct the military record of Daniel Graeber.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Military Affairs, 5.

S. 6717—For the relief of Thomas H. Reed.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Military Affairs, 5.

S. 6718—To correct the military record of John W. Grayham.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Military Affairs, 5.

S. 6719—Granting a pension to John Pattison.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6720—Granting a pension to Charles J. Steiner.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6721—Granting a pension to Der G. Walter.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6722—Granting a pension to Laura D. McIntire.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6723—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel C. Burkholder.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6724—Granting a pension to Ella E. Crouch.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6725—Granting an increase of pension to W. H. Musser.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6726—Granting an increase of pension to Egbert Hall.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6727—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac J. Smith.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6728—Granting an increase of pension to John Wonderly.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6729—Granting an increase of pension to George Krone.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6730—Granting a pension to Gottlieb Long.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6731—Granting a pension to Mahlon Bostwick.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6732—Granting a pension to Mary E. Walls.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6733—Granting a pension to Robert S. Smylie, jr.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6734—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew B. Wagner.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6735—Granting a pension to N. E. Millender.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6736—Granting an increase of pension to Foster W. Davis.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6737—Granting an increase of pension to Kilian Grim.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6738—Granting an increase of pension to John Williams.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6739—Granting a pension to Margaret E. May.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6740—Granting a pension to Alice J. Harris.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6741—Granting an increase of pension to Philip Nace.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6742—Granting a pension to John A. Painter.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6743—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Stocker, jr.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6744—Granting a pension to Arthur E. Lanston.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6745—Granting a pension to George Hanes, jr.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6746—Granting an increase of pension to Peter M. Smith.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 5.

S. 6747—Granting an increase of pension to C. F. Cooken.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 6.

S. 6748—Granting an increase of pension to William W. Hampton.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 6.

S. 6749—Granting a pension to Ellwood C. Dixon.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 6.

S. 6750—Granting a pension to James N. Ragar.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 6.

S. 6751—Granting an increase of pension to Jane C. Vansciver.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 6.

S. 6752—To remodel the public building at Billings, Mont., so as to accommodate the United States court, and for other purposes.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 6.

S. 6753—To regulate the quantity of coal lands which may be entered or controlled by associations or corporations.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Public Lands, 6.

S. 6754—For the relief of Jacob Davis.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Military Affairs, 6.

S. 6755—For the relief of Charles E. H. Braley.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Military Affairs, 6.

S. 6756—Granting a pension to George Beals.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 6.

S. 6757—Granting an increase of pension to Stephen W. Cottingham.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 6.

S. 6758—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph D. Sovern.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 6.

S. 6759—Granting an increase of pension to David Phillips.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 6.

S. 6760—Granting an increase of pension to John M. Denton.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 6.

S. 6761—Granting an increase of pension to Simeon L. Wilson.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 6.

S. 6762—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph H. Wilson.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 6.

S. 6763—Granting an increase of pension to John R. Thompson.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 6.

S. 6764—Granting an increase of pension to Willard D. Cook.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 6.

S. 6765—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Franklin, jr.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 6.

S. 6766—Granting a pension to Richard B. Sturgeon.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 6.

S. 6767—Granting a pension to Hardin Howe.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 6.

S. 6768—Granting an increase of pension to William Banta.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 6.

S. 6769—Granting a pension to Sarah M. Clegg.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 6.

S. 6770—To amend the act approved June 25, 1910, authorizing a postal savings system.
Mr. Bankhead; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 6.

S. 6771—Granting an increase of pension to Anna M. Holt.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 6.

S. 6772—Granting an increase of pension to Harriet A. Rowe.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 6.

S. 6773—Granting an increase of pension to Fitzhugh S. Hoag.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 6.

S. 6774—Granting a pension to Stephen Konicka.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Pensions, 6.

S. 6775—Further to regulate the entrance of Chinese aliens into the United States.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Immigration, 6.

S. 6776—Granting an extension of time to construct a bridge across Rock River at or near Colona Ferry, in the State of Illinois.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Commerce, 17.—Reported back (S. Rept. 850); passed Senate, 901.

S. 6777—For the relief of Frank Ferrin.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Military Affairs, 17.

S. 6778—For the relief of Maxwell Carpenter.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Military Affairs, 17.

S. 6779—Making appropriations to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to meet the emergency caused by the infectious nature and the continued spread of the destructive disease of citrus trees known as citrus canker.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Appropriations, 17.

S. 6780—To authorize the Secretary of Commerce to transfer a portion of the lighthouse reservation, Tawas, Mich., to the Secretary of the Treasury.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Commerce, 17.—Reported back (S. Rept. 836), 173.—Passed Senate, 4954.

S. 6781—To provide for the appointment of 11 supervising inspectors, Steamboat-Inspection Service, in lieu of 10.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Commerce, 17.—Reported back (S. Rept. 837), 173.—Indefinitely postponed (see bill H. R. 20282), 3985, 4001.

S. 6782—To provide for the appointment of certain assistant inspectors, Steamboat-Inspection Service, at ports where they are actually performing duty, but to which they are at present detailed.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Commerce, 17.—Reported back (S. Rept. 838), 173.—Indefinitely postponed (see bill H. R. 20281), 3985.

S. 6783—Granting a pension to Esther L. Johns.
Mr. Bristow; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6784—Granting a pension to Pauline Lane.
Mr. Bristow; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6785—Granting an increase of pension to Wyatt C. Crawford.
Mr. Bristow; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6786—Granting an increase of pension to Jeremiah Adams.
Mr. Bristow; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6787—Providing that the death of the soldier in the service shall be deemed, for pensionable purposes, an honorable discharge.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6788—Granting an increase of pension to Hugh Smith.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6789—Granting an increase of pension to John C. Wilson.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6790—Granting a pension to John G. Schrock.
Mr. Burton; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6791—Granting an increase of pension to George Parker McCarty and Mildred Gertrude McCarty.
Mr. Weeks; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6792—Granting an increase of pension to Julia M. Sayles.
Mr. Lippitt; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6793—Granting an increase of pension to Maggie S. Northway.
Mr. Norris; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6794—Granting an increase of pension to Nicholas Metzer.
Mr. Norris; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6795—Granting an increase of pension to William H. D. Lancaster.
Mr. Norris; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6796—Granting an increase of pension to Jay D. Morse.
Mr. Norris; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6797—Granting a pension to Gertrude Edmonds.
Mr. Norris; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6798—Granting an increase of pension to John Nelson.
Mr. Norris; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6799—Granting an increase of pension to John T. Hayes.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6800—Granting an increase of pension to William F. Stotts.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6801—Granting an increase of pension to Charlotte J. Smith.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6802—Granting a pension to Louise R. Baglin.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6803—Granting a pension to Isabell Main.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6804—Granting an increase of pension to Mary J. Wilcox.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6805—Granting an increase of pension to John F. Davis.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6806—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Cartwright.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6807—Granting a pension to Edward M. Booe.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6808—Granting an increase of pension to George Turnbaugh.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6809—Granting an increase of pension to Walter F. Davidson.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6810—Granting an increase of pension to William D. Bonar.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6811—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Shaffer.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6812—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Franklin, jr.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6813—Granting an increase of pension to Edwin Forbes.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6814—Granting an increase of pension to James W. Toler.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6815—Granting an increase of pension to Warren J. Hazell.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6816—Granting an increase of pension to George Wort.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6817—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Markland.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6818—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Rusie.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 17.

S. 6819—Granting an increase of pension to Frank B. Gillespie.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 18.

S. 6820—Granting a pension to Herman W. Neistadt.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 18.

S. 6821—Granting a pension to Matthew H. Jackson.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 18.

S. 6822—Granting a pension to John H. Elder.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 18.

S. 6823—Granting a pension to Denver D. Barnes.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 18.

S. 6824—Granting a pension to Edward F. Collins.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Pensions, 18.

S. 6825—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac Baker.
Mr. Dillingham; Committee on Pensions, 18.

S. 6826—Granting an increase of pension to John Ryan.
Mr. Dillingham; Committee on Pensions, 18.

S. 6827—Relating to the reclamation of arid, semiarid, swamp, and overflow lands through district organizations, and authorizing Government aid therefor.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, 45.

S. 6828—Amending section 282 of the Judicial Code changing the number of grand jurors.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on the Judiciary, 45.

S. 6829—To provide for the construction of two revenue cutters.
Mr. Bankhead; Committee on Commerce, 45.—Reported back (S. Rept. 833), 126.—Passed Senate, 4954.—Debated in House, 5491–5493.

S. 6830—Granting an increase of pension to Jasper McPhail.
Mr. La Follette; Committee on Pensions, 45.

S. 6831—Granting an increase of pension to Perry B. Glines.
Mr. La Follette; Committee on Pensions, 45.

S. 6832—To amend the navigation laws of the United States.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Commerce, 45.

S. 6833—Granting an increase of pension to Louisa Bendel.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 45.

S. 6834—Granting an increase of pension to Stephen K. Ashley.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 45.

S. 6835—Granting a pension to Mary E. Walsh.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 45.

S. 6836—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel McClure.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 45.

S. 6837—Granting an increase of pension to M. B. Sasser.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 45.

S. 6838—Granting an increase of pension to William Bays.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 45.

S. 6839—Extending the time for completion of the bridge across the Delaware River authorized by an act entitled "An act to authorize the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. and the Pennsylvania & Newark Railroad Co., or their successors, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Delaware River," approved the 24th day of August, 1912.
Mr. Oliver; Committee on Commerce, 45.—Reported back (S. Rept. 849); passed Senate, 901.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 979.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1271), 1379.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 2430.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 2446.—Examined and signed, 2791, 2936.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 243], 3230.

S. 6840—Granting an increase of pension to Earl W. Soper.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 46.

S. 6841—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Frederick.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 46.

S. 6842—Granting an increase of pension to Nancy J. Nicholson.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 46.

S. 6843—Granting a pension to Rosalie A. Partridge.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 46.

S. 6844—Granting an increase of pension to Reuben F. Longley.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 46.

S. 6845—Granting a pension to Winfield Taylor.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 46.

S. 6846—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Roberts.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 46.

S. 6847—Granting an increase of pension to John E. Saunders.
Mr. Burleigh; Committee on Pensions, 46.

S. 6848—Granting a pension to William G. Taliaferro.
Mr. Martin of Virginia; Committee on Pensions, 46.

S. 6849—For the relief of James Orange.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Military Affairs, 46.

S. 6850—Granting an increase of pension to Nancy I. Williams.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 46.

S. 6851—Granting an increase of pension to Charles S. Morse.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 46.

S. 6852—Granting an increase of pension to James O. Anderson.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 46.

S. 6853—Granting a pension to Jane McGaughey.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 46.

S. 6854—To incorporate the Boy Scouts of America, and for other purposes.
Mr. Shields; Committee on the Judiciary, 46.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 937), 2301.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 3549, 4089, 4090, 5340, 5341.—Debated in House, 5493, 5494.

S. 6855—Granting an increase of pension to Charles H. Flournoy.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 46.

S. 6856—To authorize the United States, acting through a shipping board, to subscribe to the capital stock of a corporation to be organized under the laws of the United States or of a State thereof or of the District of Columbia to purchase, construct, equip, maintain, and operate merchant vessels in the foreign trade of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Commerce, 46.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 841), 251, 905.—Debated, 46, 904–919, 1061–1063, 1095–1113, 1758–1766, 1817–1840, 1919–1947, 1999–2032, 2082–2098, 2208–2229, 2272, 2273, 2306, 2307, 2310–2324, 2366–2406, 2434–2477, 2538–2655, 2786–2791, 2859, 2868, 2942–2958, 3003, 3004, 3007–3011, 3089–3106, 3230–3412, 3557–3579, 3618, 3619, 3620, 3637–3631, 3634–3647, 3695, 3696, 3701, 3702–3738, 3772, 3773–3777, 3778–3794, 3839–3873, 3931–3956, 3991–3995, 4001–4020, 4681, 4955 [Appendix, 598–638, 769–807].—Motion to recommit bill and all amendments to the Committee on Commerce, 2786–2791 (see also bill S. 5259).

S. 6857—Authorizing the retirement from active service, with increased rank, of officers now on the active list of the Army who served in the Civil War.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Military Affairs, 81.—Reported back (S. Rept. 896), 1326.—Debated and passed Senate, 4961, 4962.—Debated in House, 5484, 5485.

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S. 6862—To forbid the furnishing of war materials to belligerent nations.
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S. 6863—Concerning water-power plants hereafter located upon the public lands, and for other purposes.
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S. 6865—To prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors in the District of Columbia, and to prohibit the treating or giving of intoxicating liquors to minors in the District.
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Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 81.

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S. 6877—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Brown.
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S. 6922—For the relief of Mrs. George A. Miller.
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S. 6931—Granting an increase of pension to William Carter.
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S. 6932—Granting an increase of pension to Maria T. Jones.
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S. 6933—Granting an increase of pension to Peter P. Chocey.
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S. 6937—For the relief of Thomas F. Veno.
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S. 6938—Granting an increase of pension to Eloise Warner.
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S. 6939—Granting a pension to Sarah A. Boll.
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S. 6940—Making an appropriation to investigate the insects attacking clover plants in the States of California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, and Utah.
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S. 6946—Granting a pension to Sarah A. Spriggle.
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S. 6963—To increase the efficiency of the United States Army by creating an Army Transportation Reserve Corps.
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S. 6964—To increase the number of officers in the Signal Corps of the United States Army.
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S. 6967—To increase the authorized strength of the Coast Artillery Corps of the Army.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Military Affairs, 252.

S. 6968—To increase the efficiency of the Army of the United States by creating a reserve of officers, and for other purposes.
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S. 6970—To amend "An act to protect the birds and animals in Yellowstone National Park, and to punish crimes in said park, and for other purposes," approved May 7, 1894.
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S. 6975—For the relief of Minor Berry.
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S. 6976—Granting an increase of pension to Luther M. Blackman.
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S. 6977—To amend section 4215 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, and for other purposes.
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S. 6978—To increase the efficiency of the Army.
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S. 6979—Granting a pension to George Troutman.
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S. 6980—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War, and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors.
Mr. Shively, from the Committee on Pensions as substitute for certain bills referred to that committee (S. Rept. 842), 332.—Passed Senate, 2855–2858.—Referred to House Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3078.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1390), 3536.—Amended and passed House, 3653, 3654.—Senate disagrees to House amendments and asks for a conference, 3701.—House insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 3875.—Conference appointed, 3701, 3875.—Conference report (No. 1427) made in House, 4211.—Conference report agreed to in House, 4211.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 4204, 4205.—Examined and signed, 4341, 4447.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 197], 5245.

S. 6981—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Regular Army and Navy and of wars other than the Civil War, and to certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors
Mr. Shively, from the Committee on Pensions (S. Rept. 843), as substitute for certain bills referred to that committee, 333.—Passed Senate, 2858, 2859.—Referred to House Committee on Pensions, 3078.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1448), 4679.—Amended and passed House, 4984.—Senate disagrees to House amendments and asks for a conference, 5059.—House insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 5182.—Conference appointed, 5059, 5060, 5182.—Conference report (No. 1494) made and agreed to in House, 5222, 5223.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 5227, 5228.—Examined and signed, 5245, 5417.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 238], 5507.

S. 6982—Granting an increase of pension to Francis E. Smith.
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S. 6983—Granting an increase of pension to Nelson Haggerty.
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S. 6984—Granting an increase of pension to Edwin Rudrauff.
Mr. Bristow; Committee on Pensions, 334.

S. 6985—Granting a pension to Isaac Clark.
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S. 6986—Granting a pension to Hannah H. Ahlstrom.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 334.

S. 6987—Authorizing the Secretary of War, in his discretion, to deliver to the city of Shelbyville, in the county of Shelby, State of Indiana, four condemned bronze or brass fieldpieces, with a number of cannon balls.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Military Affairs, 334.

S. 6988—Authorizing the Secretary of War, in his discretion, to deliver to the city of Vincennes, in the county of Knox, State of Indiana, two condemned bronze or brass fieldpieces, with a number of cannon balls.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Military Affairs, 334.

S. 6989—For the relief of Charles W. Townsend.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Military Affairs, 334.

S. 6990—Granting an increase of pension to John J. Calkins.
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S. 6991—Granting a pension to Percy A. Farrar.
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S. 6992—Granting a pension to Jennie O. Collins.
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S. 6994—Granting an increase of pension to Joanna Swander.
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S. 6995—For the relief of the Buffalo River Zinc Mining Co.
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S. 6996—Granting a pension to William A. Taylor.
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S. 6997—Granting an increase of pension to Clarence C. Tritle.
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S. 6998—Granting an increase of pension to William Dickerson.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 383.

S. 6999—To provide homes for Confederate Veterans of the Civil War.
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S. 7000—Granting an increase of pension to Eli Samson.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 383.

S. 7001—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah A. Welliever.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 383.

S. 7002—For the relief of J. G. Seupelt.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Indian Affairs, 383.

S. 7003—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Clark.
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S. 7004—For the relief of Edward B. Fox, administrator of the last surviving partner of the firm of Child, Pratt & Fox.
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S. 7005—Granting an increase of pension to Joana Boone.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 383.

S. 7006—Granting an increase of pension to Fletcher N. Wilson.
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S. 7007—Granting a pension to Joseph L. Addison.
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S. 7008—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Barger.
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S. 7009—Granting an increase of pension to John Miller.
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S. 7011—Granting an increase of pension to Hugh Harbinson.
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S. 7013—Granting an increase of pension to Theodore Luther.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 383.

S. 7014—Granting a pension to Charles M. Williams.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 383.

S. 7015—To amend section 77 of an act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," approved Mar. 3, 1911.
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S. 7016—Granting a pension to John P. Todd.
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S. 7017—Granting a pension to Beulah C. Hicks.
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S. 7018—Granting a pension to John McAteer.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 7019—Granting a pension to Bessie M. Cogley.
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S. 7020—Granting an increase of pension to Cinderella B. McClure.
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S. 7021—Granting a pension to Emma V. K. Keleher.
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S. 7022—Granting a pension to G. M. Chamberlain.
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S. 7023—Granting a pension to Eugene F. Clements.
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S. 7024—Granting an increase of pension to Anna M. Keffer.
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S. 7029—Granting an increase of pension to Mahala Clemons.
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S. 7033—Granting an increase of pension to Augustus P. Horne.
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S. 7036—Granting an increase of pension to Annie R. Jewett.
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Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 7038—Granting an increase of pension to Katherine Bird.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 7039—Granting a pension to Martha J. Reynolds.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 436.

S. 7040—To remodel the old post-office building at Austin, Tex.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 490.

S. 7041—To amend section 260 of an act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," approved Mar. 3, 1911.
Mr. Smith of Georgia; Committee on the Judiciary, 490.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 945), 2839.—Debated, 4394–4397, 5343.

S. 7042—For the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River at the point where the line of the proposed Duluth and St. Vincent State highway enters upon the Minnesota National Forest, and also a bridge across the Narrows between Cass Lake and Pike Bay where the line of said proposed highway leaves said Minnesota National Forest.
Mr. Clapp; Committee on Appropriations, 490.

S. 7043—To amend an act entitled "An act granting pensions to certain enlisted men, soldiers and officers, who served in the Civil War and the War with Mexico," approved May 11, 1912.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Pensions, 490.

S. 7044—Granting an increase of pension to Charles L. Watrous.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Pensions, 490.

S. 7045—To increase the cost of construction of Federal building at Coeur d'Alene, Idaho
Mr. Brady; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 490.

S. 7046—Providing for the purchase of lands for an aviation school.
Mr. Works; Committee on Military Affairs, 490.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 925), 2302.

S. 7047—To provide for the closing of barber shops in the District of Columbia on Sunday.
Mr. Works; Committee on the District of Columbia, 490.

S. 7048—To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to furnish hot water from the hot springs on the Hot Springs Reservation for drinking and bathing purposes free of cost to the Leo N. Levi Memorial Hospital Association.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Public Lands, 490.

S. 7049—Granting a pension to Edward Robinson.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 490.

S. 7050—Granting an increase of pension to Charles N. Schreiber.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 490.

S. 7051—To authorize the disposal of clothing or uniforms which have become unserviceable or unsuitable.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Military Affairs, 490, 491.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 897), 1327.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 490, 491, 4681, 4962.—Debated in House, 5515, 5516.

S. 7052—For the relief of John Duggan.
Mr. Weeks; Committee on Military Affairs, 490.

S. 7053—To authorize the construction of works for the protection of the bank of White River and the harbor at Batesville, Ark.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Commerce, 624.

S. 7054—Granting an increase of pension to Eliza M. Doran.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Pensions, 624.

S. 7055—Granting an increase of pension to Louisa Walters.
Mr. Bristow; Committee on Pensions, 624.

S. 7056—To limit campaign contributions and expenditures and to provide for publicity thereof.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Privileges and Elections, 624.

S. 7057—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel W. Coan.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 624.

S. 7058—Granting a pension to Elizabeth S. Chaplain.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 624.

S. 7059—Granting a pension to George R. Acheson, Isabel M. Acheson, and Lillian J. Acheson.
Mr. Burleigh; Committee on Pensions, 624.

S. 7060—Granting an increase of pension to Luther H. Palmer.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 624.

S. 7061—Granting an increase of pension to Allen P. Gilson.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7062—Granting an increase of pension to Ellen Lyle Mahan.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7063—Granting an increase of pension to Caro G. Moore.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7064—For the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at Ashland, Oreg.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 635.

S. 7065—For the appointment of William Sooy Smith, late a brigadier general of United States Volunteers, to the rank of brigadier general on the retired list of the United States Army.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Military Affairs, 635.

S. 7066—For the relief of Amos Dahuff.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Military Affairs, 635.—Reported back (S. Rept. 931), 2302.—Passed Senate, 5340.

S. 7067—Providing for appeals in bankruptcy matters and repealing sections 24 and 25 of "An act to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States," approved July 1, 1898.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on the Judiciary, 635.

S. 7068—Granting a pension to Bernard Chistianson.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7069—To provide for a nominating election for postmasters.
Mr. Bristow; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 635.

S. 7070—Granting an increase of pension to George E. Harris.
Mr. Bristow; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7071—To provide for the disposition of the public lands for the supply of water for irrigation and the generation of power.
Mr. Works; Committee on Public Lands, 635.

S. 7072—Granting an increase of pension to La Fayette Piatt.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7073—Granting an increase of pension to James Enloe.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7074—Granting an increase of pension to John Stone.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7075—Granting an increase of pension to Rachel W. Carney.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7076—Granting an increase of pension to Alie McGloughlin.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7077—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Reames.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7078—To repeal an act entitled "An act granting to the city of Twin Falls, Idaho, certain lands for reservoir purposes," approved June 7, 1912, and to revoke the grant made thereby.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 635.—Reported back (S. Rept. 997), 3927.

S. 7079—Granting an increase of pension to Delilah Lobenthal.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7080—Granting an increase of pension to Asa Gatton.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7081—Granting an increase of pension to Ellen Conley.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7082—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Harpham.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7083—Granting an increase of pension to Augustus A. Rice.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7084—To authorize aids to navigation and other works in the Lighthouse Service, and for other purposes.
Mr. Perkins; Committee on Commerce, 635.

S. 7085—Granting a pension to Michael Lacey.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7086—Granting an increase of pension to William W. Waters.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7087—Granting an increase of pension to James Hammond.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7088—Granting a pension to Ada Tenney.
Mr. Burleigh; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7089—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Walker.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7090—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Interior to patent certain lands to the State of Utah and to accept relinquishment from the State of Utah of certain other lands in lieu thereof.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public Lands, 635.

S. 7091—To cerate an additional judge in the district of New Jersey.
Mr. Hughes; Committee on the Judiciary, 635.—Reported back (S. Rept. 944), 2839.—Passed Senate, 4084.

S. 7092—Granting an increase of pension to Prudie M. Reynolds.
Mr. Norris; Committee on Pensions, 815.

S. 7093—Granting an increase of pension to Susan J. Alexander.
Mr. Lippitt; Committee on Pensions, 815.

S. 7094—Granting an increase of pension to John H. Van Meter.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 815.

S. 7095—Granting an increase of pension to Addie M. Higgins.
Mr. Burleigh; Committee on Pensions, 815.

S. 7096—Granting an increase of pension to Lydia A. Smith.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 815.

S. 7097—Granting an increase of pension to Mary F. Weed.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 815.

S. 7098—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret Hoary.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 815.

S. 7099—Granting an increase of pension to Silas S. Beckwith.
Mr. Burleigh; Committee on Pensions, 815.

S. 7100—Granting an increase of pension to Lewis C. Lame.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 815.

S. 7101—Providing for the acquisition by a State, under certain conditions, of any lands therein which are or may become chiefly valuable for the development of water power.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public Lands, 813.

S. 7102—Granting a pension to John E. Halaas.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Pensions, 868.

S. 7103—For the relief of W. R. Wells.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Claims, 868.

S. 7104—Granting a pension to John Hamilton.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 868.

S. 7105—Granting a pension to Sue F. B. Prindle.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 868.

S. 7106—Granting an increase of pension to Susan Bryant.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 869.

S. 7107—To authorize the construction of a bridge across the Ohio River at Metropolis, Ill.
Mr. James; Committee on Commerce, 869.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 857), amended, and passed Senate, 978.—Passed House, 1127.—Examined and signed, 1156, 1187.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 231], 1330.

S. 7108—To authorize the purchase or construction of six new vessels, with all necessary equipment, for the Coast and Geodetic Survey.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Commerce, 869.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 879), 1156.—Amended and passed Senate, 4960, 4961.

S. 7109—To encourage the reclamation of certain arid lands in the State of Nevada, and for other purposes.
Mr. Pittman; Committee on Public Lands, 869.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 954), 2940.

S. 7110—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Jane Drew.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 869.

S. 7111—Granting a pension to George A. Atkinson.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Pensions, 869.

S. 7112—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to muster Dr. John A. Bobb, deceased, a brigade surgeon with rank of major from assistant surgeon.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Military Affairs, 869.

S. 7113—Granting an increase of pension to Charles E. Rogers.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 869.

S. 7114—For the relief of Ethel Proctor.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Claims, 869.

S. 7115—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin S. Wilbur.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 869.

S. 7116—Granting a pension to Sarah Spencer.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 869.

S. 7117—Granting an increase of pension to Fernando W. Moon.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 869.

S. 7118—Granting a pension to Lola I. Pope.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 869.

S. 7119—Granting an increase of pension to Imogene M. Burke.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 869.

S. 7120—For the relief of persons making simultaneous settlements on the same tract of the public lands.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Public Lands. 869.

S. 7121—For the relief of the heirs of Solomon Cohen.
Mr. Hardwick; Committee on Claims, 869.

S. 7122—For the relief of the legal representatives of Henry D. Geddings.
Mr. Hardwick; Committee on Claims, 869.

S. 7123—To create a tariff board.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Finance, 869.

S. 7124—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate two condemned bronze or brass cannon or fieldpieces and a suitable outfit of cannon balls to the city of Morganton, N. C.
Mr. Overman; Committee on Military Affairs, 901.

S. 7125—Granting a pension to Robert H. Trollinger.
Mr. Overman; Committee on Pensions, 902.

S. 7126—Authorizing the submission to the Court of Claims of the claim of Albert J. Hewlett, of Pocatello, Idaho, for damages sustained by reason of the overflow of his lands in connection with the Government canal being constructed under the supervision of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Interior Department.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Claims, 902.

S. 7127—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Ludiker.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Pensions, 902.

S. 7128—Granting an increase of pension to Jerome B. Wright.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Pensions, 902.

S. 7129—Granting a pension to Andrew J. Herring.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Pensions, 902.

S. 7130—Granting a pension to Celia A. Blodgett.
Mr. Dillingham; Committee on Pensions, 902.

S. 7131—Granting a pension to Esther Phillips.
Mr. Dillingham; Committee on Pensions, 902.

S. 7132—To amend an act entitled "An act to repeal section 3480 of the Revised Statutes of the United States."
Mr. Swanson; Committee on the Judiciary, 902.

S. 7133—Granting an increase of pension to H. B. Crouch.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 902.

S. 7134—Granting an increase of pension to Robert Conn.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 902.

S. 7135—Granting an increase of pension to Mathew Crawford.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 902.

S. 7136—For the purchase of a site for a public building at Bisbee, Cochise County, Ariz.
Mr. Smith of Arizona; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 902.

S. 7137—Granting an increase of pension to George L. Neal.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 902.

S. 7138—Granting an increase of pension to Fernando Miller.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Pensions, 902.

S. 7139—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Raphile.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Pensions, 902.

S. 7140—Creating an additional land district in the State of California, and for other purposes.
Mr. Works; Committee on Public Lands, 902.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 999), 3927.

S. 7141—For the relief of C. G. Wilford.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Claims, 902.

S. 7142—Granting an increase of pension to John Sargent.
Mr. Page; Committee on Pensions, 902.

S. 7143—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Gwin.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 902.

S. 7144—Granting an increase of pension to John P. Simpson.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 902.

S. 7145—Granting a pension to Charles M. Preston.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 902.

S. 7146—Granting an increase of pension to Albert Baur.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 902.

S. 7147—To amend section 4215 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Weeks; Committee on Commerce, 902.

S. 7148—For the relief of Ellen Sexton.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Claims, 963.

S. 7149—Granting a pension to Maggie Turner.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 963.

S. 7150—To divorce transportation in interstate and foreign commerce from manufacture, mining, production, and dealing, and for other purposes.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 963.

S. 7151—To correct the military record of Samuel D. Chase.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Military Affairs, 963.

S. 7152—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah McDowell.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 963.

S. 7153—Granting a pension to John M. Evans.
Mr. Pittman; Committee on Pensions, 963.

S. 7154—For the protection of officers of the United States in the eastern district of the State of Oklahoma, authorizing the search for and seizure of liquors introduced into the eastern district of the State of Oklahoma, and making the possession of such liquors prima facie evidence of an unlawful introduction, and for other purposes.
Mr. Owen; Committee on the Judiciary, 963.

S. 7155—To give to any State entitled to at least three Representatives in Congress the privilege of electing them by proportional representation, and to supplement the act of Aug. 8, 1911, entitled "An act for the apportionment of Representatives in Congress among the several States under the Thirteenth Census."
Mr. Owen; Committee on Privileges and Elections, 963.

S. 7156—Granting an increase of pension to Sadie Hatch.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Pensions, 964.

S. 7157—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas T. Jones.
Mr. Bristow; Committee on Pensions, 1011.

S. 7158—Granting a pension to Lydia A. Muma.
Mr. Bristow; Committee on Pensions, 1011.

S. 7159—Granting a pension to Martha J. Tumbleson.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 1011.

S. 7160—Granting a pension to Anna E. Babbitt.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 1011.

S. 7161—Granting an increase of pension to David Cox.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 1011.

S. 7162—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Shoop.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 1011.

S. 7163—Granting an increase of pension to Eliza M. Watkins.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 1011.

S. 7164—Granting a pension to Oliver P. Marsh.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 1011.

S. 7165—Granting a pension to Fred Lamke.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 1011.

S. 7166—Granting an increase of pension to Luther D. Whitten.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 1011.

S. 7167—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Randolph.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 1011.

S. 7168—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Updegraff.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 1011.

S. 7169—Granting an increase of pension to Lee Jenkins.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 1011.

S. 7170—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Mandler.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 1011.

S. 7171—Granting an increase of pension to Richard Dobson.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 1011.

S. 7172—Granting an increase of pension to Robert O. Jones.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 1011.

S. 7173—Granting an increase of pension to Miles Matthews.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 1011.

S. 7174—Granting an increase of pension to Eli W. Adams.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 1011.

S. 7175—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph H. Dearborn.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 1011.

S. 7176—Granting a pension to Sarah L. Hammerton.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 1011.

S. 7177—Granting an increase of pension to Theresa L. Breese.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 1011.

S. 7178—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to Bluff City, Sullivan County, Tenn., two brass cannon, with carriage.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Military Affairs, 1011.

S. 7179—To provide for the establishment of a forest reserve within the Red Lake Indian Reservation, Minn.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1095.—Reported back (S. Rept. 984), 3773.

S. 7180—Granting an increase of pension to Etta Adair Anderson.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Pensions, 1126.

S. 7181—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas E. Dunbar.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 1126.

S. 7182—Granting a pension to Clifton Whittum.
Mr. Burleigh; Committee on Pensions, 1126.

S. 7183—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Clark.
Mr. Saulsbury; Committee on Pensions, 1126.

S. 7184—To provide for the establishment, operation, and supervision of a national farm-land bank system in the United States of America, for the creation of depositaries for postal savings and other public funds, and for other purposes.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Banking and Currency, 1157, 1158.

S. 7185—To amend section 20 of an act to regulate commerce, to prevent overissues of securities by carriers, and for other purposes.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 1157.

S. 7186—Granting a pension to Anna E. Newbury.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 1157.

S. 7187—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to adjust the account of the St. Louis, Iron Mountain & Southern Railway Co. in accordance with the decision of the Court of Claims in case No. 24409.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Claims, 1157.

S. 7188—To increase the limit of cost of the United States post-office building at Garden City, Kans.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1157.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 995), 3928.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 3928.—Referred to House Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 4074.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1443), 4553.—Passed House, 5418.—Examined and signed, 5331, 5459.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 328], 5507.

S. 7189—For the relief of the heirs of George W. Croft.
Mr. Smith of South Carolina; Committee on Claims, 1157.

S. 7190—To create an international trade and tariff board.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Finance, 1157.

S. 7191—Granting an increase of pension to George Reed Davis.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Pensions, 1157.

S. 7192—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret J. Howell.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Pensions, 1157.

S. 7193—Granting an increase of pension to John Johnson, No. 2.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Pensions, 1157.

S. 7194—To authorize the Secretary of War to furnish transportation to the Organized Militia of the State of Washington by United States transport to the Panama-Pacific International Exposition.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Military Affairs, 1157.

S. 7195—Granting an increase of pension to Ephraim D. Edwards.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 1157.

S. 7196—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to adjust the accounts of the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis & Omaha Railway Co. in accordance with the decision of the Court of Claims in case No. 29875.
Mr. Clapp; Committee on Claims, 1157.

S. 7197—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to adjust the accounts of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway Co. for transporting the United States mails in accordance with certain decisions of the Court of Claims.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Claims, 1157.

S. 7198—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to adjust the accounts of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway Co. in accordance with the decision of the Court of Claims in case No. 30159.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Claims, 1157.

S. 7199—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Creed.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 1157.

S. 7200—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob Taylor.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 1157.

S. 7201—Granting a pension to Mary M. Beehrle.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Pensions, 1157.

S. 7202—Granting an increase of pension to Nelson B. Tool.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Pensions, 1157.

S. 7203—Granting an increase of pension to John S. Junkins.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 1157.

S. 7204—Granting an increase of pension to Josiah Hasbrook.
Mr. Dillingham; Committee on Pensions, 1157.

S. 7205—Granting a pension to Mary Frazor.
Mr. Martine of New Jersey; Committee on Pensions, 1157.

S. 7206—For the improvement of the Narrows of Lake Champlain, N. Y. and Vt.
Mr. O'Gorman; Committee on Commerce, 1157.

S. 7207—Granting a pension to Andrew J. Heatley.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Pensions, 1157.

S. 7208—Granting an increase of pension to John Jones.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Pensions, 1285.

S. 7209—Granting an increase of pension to Leonard E. Griffith.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Pensions, 1285.

S. 7210—For the relief of the Maine Central Railroad Co.
Mr. Johnson; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 1285.

S. 7211—Granting an increase of pension to Susan E. Norton.
Mr. Burleigh; Committee on Pensions, 1285.

S. 7212—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Regular Army and Navy and of wars other than the Civil War, and to certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors.
Mr. Shively, from the Committee on Pensions (S. Rept. 894), as substitute for certain bills referred to that committee, 1327.—Passed Senate, 2860, 2861.—Referred to House Committee on Pensions, 3078.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1449), 4679.—Amended and passed House, 4984.—Senate disagrees to House amendments and asks for a conference, 5060.—House insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 5182.—Conference appointed, 5060, 5182.—Conference report (No. 1493) made and agreed to in House, 5223.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 5228.—Examined and signed, 5251, 5459.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 239], 5507.

S. 7213—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors.
Mr. Shively, from the Committee on Pensions (S. Rept. 895) as substitute for certain bills referred to that committee, 1327.—Amended and passed Senate, 2861–2864.—Referred to House Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3078.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1391), 3536.—Amended and passed House, 3654, 3655.—Senate disagrees to House amendments and asks for a conference, 3701.—House insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 3875.—Conference appointed, 3701, 3875.—Conference report (No. 1426) made in House, 4211.—Conference report agreed to in House, 4211, 4212.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 4205.—Examined and signed, 4341, 4447.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 198], 5245.

S. 7214—To correct the military record of Martin Rosenberg.
Mr. La Follette; Committee on Military Affairs, 1328.

S. 7215—To amend section 5 of the motor-boat law, approved June 9, 1910.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Commerce, 1328.

S. 7216—Granting a medal of honor to John S. Kenney.
Mr. Chilton; Committee on Military Affairs, 1329.

S. 7217—Granting an increase of pension to James H. Kneeland.
Mr. Johnson; Committee on Pensions, 1329.

S. 7218—Granting a pension to Irena Ward.
Mr. Johnson; Committee on Pensions, 1329.

S. 7219—Granting a pension to Al Clark.
Mr. Johnson; Committee on Pensions, 1329.

S. 7220—Granting a pension to John C. Haley.
Mr. Johnson; Committee on Pensions, 1329.

S. 7221—Granting a pension to Jesse Kimball.
Mr. Johnson; Committee on Pensions, 1329.

S. 7222—Granting an increase of pension to Jeremiah Hurley.
Mr. Johnson; Committee on Pensions, 1329.

S. 7223—Granting an increase of pension to Charles F. Smith.
Mr. Johnson; Committee on Pensions, 1329.

S. 7224—Granting a pension to Lilian A. Doten.
Mr. Johnson; Committee on Pensions, 1329.

S. 7225—Granting an increase of pension to John G. Jackson.
Mr. Johnson; Committee on Pensions, 1329.

S. 7226—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Durham.
Mr. Johnson; Committee on Pensions, 1329.

S. 7227—Granting an increase of pension to William F. Margon.
Mr. Johnson; Committee on Pensions, 1329.

S. 7228—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Fletcher.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Pensions, 1329.

S. 7229—Granting a pension to Peter Peterson.
Mr. Stephenson; Committee on Pensions, 1329.

S. 7230—Granting a pension to Frank Schallert.
Mr. Stephenson; Committee on Pensions, 1329.

S. 7231—Granting an increase of pension to Samantha M. Hudson.
Mr. Stephenson; Committee on Pensions, 1329.

S. 7232—Granting an increase of pension to Louisa E. Catterson.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 1329.

S. 7233—For the relief of the Snare & Triest Co.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Claims, 1329.

S. 7234—Granting an increase of pension to Silas B. Hovious.
Mr. Bristow; Committee on Pensions, 1329.

S. 7235—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac H. Bodenhamer.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 1329.

S. 7236—Granting a pension to Frank M. Gilmore.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 1329.

S. 7237—Granting an increase of pension to Otis I. Trundy.
Mr. Burleigh; Committee on Pensions, 1329.

S. 7238—Granting a pension to James G. Royse.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 1329.

S. 7239—Granting a pension to Harold A. Salisbury.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 1329.

S. 7240—Granting a pension to Jesse Abbott.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 1329.

S. 7241—Granting a pension to Clementine Williams.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 1329.

S. 7242—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Weber.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 1329.

S. 7243—Granting an increase of pension to Gorham Tufts.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 1329.

S. 7244—Granting an increase of pension to James Menaugh.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 1329.

S. 7245—Granting an increase of pension to Martha A. White.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 1329.

S. 7246—Granting an increase of pension to Michael Kirk.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 1329.

S. 7247—Granting a pension to Sarah C. Kinsley.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 1329.

S. 7248—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Windell.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 1329.

S. 7249—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin F. Shepherd.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 1329.

S. 7250—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Adams Nye.
Mr. Weeks; Committee on Pensions, 1329.

S. 7251—Granting a pension to Katharine H. McDonald.
Mr. Weeks; Committee on Pensions, 1329.

S. 7252—Granting a pension to Mary Johnson.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 1382.

S. 7253—Granting a pension to Sarah A. Eddy.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 1382.

S. 7254—Granting an increase of pension to William R. Minert.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 1382.

S. 7255—To provide a harbor boat for the Revenue-Cutter Service to replace the Hartley at San Francisco, Cal.
Mr. Perkins; Committee on Commerce, 1382.—Reported back (S. Rept. 950), 2840.

S. 7256—Granting an increase of pension to Halvor Anderson.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 1382.

S. 7257—Granting an increase of pension to Michael Kelley.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Pensions, 1382.

S. 7258—Granting a pension to Mary Battle.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; Committee on Pensions, 1382.

S. 7259—Granting an increase of pension to John Wiebel.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; Committee on Pensions, 1382.

S. 7260—Granting an increase of pension to Allen C. Goodwin.
Mr. Burleigh; Committee on Pensions, 1382.

S. 7261—To amend sections 4421, 4422, 4423, 4424, and 4498 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, and section 12 of the act of May 28, 1908, relating to certificates of inspection of steam vessels.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Commerce, 1382.—Reported back (S. Rept. 922), 2302.

S. 7262—Granting a pension to Ulysses S. Baird.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 1382.

S. 7263—Granting additional rights to settlers on reclamation projects.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Public Lands, 1487.

S. 7264—Changing the designation, fixing the status of, and granting an increase in pay to certain clerks employed with the Army at headquarters of departments, divisions, brigades, districts, Army service schools, and posts commanded by general officers and heretofore known as "headquarters clerks."
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Military Affairs, 1487.

S. 7265—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel H. Pettengill.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Pensions, 1487.

S. 7266—To authorize the Brunot Island Bridge Co. to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the back channel of the Ohio River.
Mr. Oliver; Committee on Commerce, 1487.—Reported back (S. Rept. 933), 2302.—Indefinitely postponed (see bill H. R. 20818), 2993, 2994.

S. 7267—To place the name of James P. Barney on the lineal list of first lieutenants of Cavalry of the Army.
Mr. du Pont; Committee on Military Affairs, 1487.

S. 7268—For the relief of the heirs of the late Frank Henry Rogers.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Claims, 1487.

S. 7269—Granting an increase of pension to Richard Hudson.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 1487.

S. 7270—Granting a pension to Otis I. Trundy.
Mr. Burleigh; Committee on Pensions, 1487.

S. 7271—Granting a pension to Mary Marvin.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 1487.

S. 7272—For the relief of the legal representatives of Gustavus Colhoun, late of Adams County, Miss.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 1487.

S. 7273—Granting an increase of pension to Gardner B. Taylor.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 1541.

S. 2774—Granting an increase of pension to Ellen A. Pains.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 1541.

S. 7275—To authorize the Secretary of War to furnish transportation to the Organized Militia of the State of Oregon by United States transport to the Panama-Pacific International Exposition.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Military Affairs, 1541.

S. 7276—Granting a pension to Olive Lunn.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Pensions, 1541.

S. 7277—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate two condemned bronze or brass cannon or fieldpieces and a suitable outfit of cannon balls to the city of Graham, Alamance County, N. C.
Mr. Overman; Committee on Military Affairs, 1541.

S. 7278—Granting an increase of pension to Milton J. Hedges.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 1541.

S. 7279—Granting a pension to James D. Cox.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Pensions, 1542.

S. 7280—Granting a pension to James Morrison.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Pensions, 1542.

S. 7281—Granting a pension to James B. Russell.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Pensions, 1542.

S. 7282—Granting a pension to William M. Faidley.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Pensions, 1542.

S. 7283—Granting a pension to George T. Moulton.
Mr. Burleigh; Committee on Pensions, 1542.

S. 7284—For the relief of Simon J. Lonergan.
Mr. Hitchcock; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1542.

S. 7285—Granting an increase of pension to Charles R. Newton.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Pensions, 1542.

S. 7286—Granting a pension to Jesse Watkins.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Pensions, 1542.

S. 7287—Granting a pension to General P. Frederick.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Pensions, 1542.

S. 7288—Granting a pension to Minta Jones.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 1542.

S. 7289—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Stanton.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 1542.

S. 7290—Granting an increase of pension to Harriett S. Crooks.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 1542.

S. 7291—Granting an increase of pension to David Youts.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 1542.

S. 7292—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Kniffin.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 1542.

S. 7293—For the relief of the Iowa Tribe of Indians.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1542.

S. 7294—Granting a pension to Joseph Lieber.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Pensions, 1542.

S. 7295—Granting an increase of pension to William H. McKinley.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Pensions, 1542.

S. 7296—For the relief of Walter E. Holden.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Claims, 1542.

S. 7297—To regulate the admission into the United States of agricultural products raised on Daigle Island in the St. John River.
Mr. Johnson; Committee on Agriculture and Foresty, 1601.

S. 7298—Granting an increase of pension to Arvilla B. Hammond.
Mr. Johnson; Committee on Pensions, 1601.

S. 7299—Granting a pension to John A. Smith.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Pensions, 1601.

S. 7300—Granting an increase of pension to David J. Braughler.
Mr. Oliver; Committee on Pensions, 1601.

S. 7301—Granting an increase of pension to James F. Hobbs.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Pensions, 1601.

S. 7302—Providing for the celebration of the semicentennial anniversary of the act of emancipation, and for other purposes.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Industrial Expositions, 1601.

S. 7303—To amend section 20 of an act to regulate commerce, to prevent overissues of securities by carriers, and for other purposes.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 1601.

S. 7304—To correct the military record of J. W. Metler.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Military Affairs, 1601.

S. 7305—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to pay the claim of Mary Clerkin.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Claims, 1601.

S. 7306—Granting a pension to Laura E. Eby.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 1601.

S. 7307—Granting a pension to Sarah E. Davis.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 1601.

S. 7308—Granting a pension to Mable V. Rake.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 1601.

S. 7309—Granting a pension to John B. Lucas.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 1601.

S. 7310—Granting a pension to Ethel M. Kurfiss.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 1601.

S. 7311—Granting an increase of pension to Ewander V. Turner.
Mr. Bristow; Committee on Pensions, 1601.

S. 7312—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Clark.
Mr. Clapp; Committee on Pensions, 1601.

S. 7313—Granting an increase of pension to James Gorman.
Mr. Clapp; Committee on Pensions, 1601.

S. 7314—Granting an increase of pension to William A. N. Clare.
Mr. Crawford; Committee on Pensions, 1601.

S. 7315—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth M. Norton.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 1601.

S. 7316—Providing exemption in certain cases from internal-revenue taxation.
Mr. Bankhead; Committee on Finance, 1601.

S. 7317—Granting an increase of pension to Georgia Nelson.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 1601.

S. 7318—To authorize the issuance of search warrants where probable cause appears for believing that intoxicating liquors are contained in certain places in violation of law and prohibiting the introduction of liquors into States having prohibitory laws, and for other purposes.
Mr. Owen; Committee on the Judiciary, 1601.

S. 7319—Granting certain land to the board of education of the village of Mahnomen, Minn.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Public Lands, 1703.

S. 7320—Granting an increase of pension to Mercy A. Martin.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 1703.

S. 7321—Granting a pension to Clara McGaughey.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 1703.

S. 7322—Granting a pension to Edward H. Baldwin.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 1703.

S. 7323—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph England.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 1703.

S. 7324—Granting a pension to John H. Hopewell.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 1703.

S. 7325—Granting an increase of pension to William J. Cottrell.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 1703.

S. 7326—7326—Granting a pension to Fred Lajoie.
Mr. Burleigh; Committee on Pensions, 1703.

S. 7327—Granting an increase of pension to Alicen W. Poe.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Pensions, 1703.

S. 7328—Granting a pension to Virginia F. Sawyer.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Pensions, 1747.

S. 7329—Granting an increase of pension to Pleasant Thomas.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 1842.

S. 7330—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Searle.
Mr. Colt; Committee on Pensions, 1843.

S. 7331—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas M. Wall.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 1843.

S. 7332—Granting an increase of pension to Hugh M. Cory.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 1843.

S. 7333—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah Rebecca (Taylor) Jones.
Mr. Martin of Virginia; Committee on Pensions, 1942.

S. 7334—Granting an increase of pension to Sophie M. Walker.
Mr. Martin of Virginia; Committee on Pensions, 1942.

S. 7335—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah T. Wright.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 1942.

S. 7336—Granting a pension to Katherine Walker.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 1942.

S. 7337—Granting a pension to Joseph Phillips.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 1942.

S. 7338—Granting a pension to Minnie Kinder.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 1942.

S. 7339—Granting an increase of pension to William C. Fickas.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 1942.

S. 7340—Granting an increase of pension to John J. White.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 1942.

S. 7341—Granting a pension to Sue C. Barton.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 1942.

S. 7342—Granting an increase of pension to Madison T. Trent.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 1942.

S. 7343—Granting an increase of pension to John R. Lindaberry.
Mr. Martine of New Jersey; Committee on Pensions, 1942.

S. 7344—Granting a pension to Rose Barnes.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 1942.

S. 7345—Granting an increase of pension to William Husk.
Mr. Hughes; Committee on Pensions, 1942.

S. 7346—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Foster.
Mr. Hughes; Committee on Pensions, 1942.

S. 7347—Granting a pension to Elizabeth McCaveny.
Mr. Hughes; Committee on Pensions, 1942.

S. 7348—Granting an increase of pension to Nelly Cole.
Mr. Lippitt; Committee on Pensions, 1942.

S. 7349—Granting an increase of pension to Lewis A. Huffaker.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 1942.

S. 7350—Granting a pension to Lusetta Weary.
Mr. Oliver; Committee on Pensions, 1943.

S. 7351—Granting an increase of pension to David Parker.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Pensions, 2027.

S. 7352—Granting an increase of pension to Frederick Ickley.
Mr. Oliver; Committee on Pensions, 2027.

S. 7353—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Brewer.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Pensions, 2027.

S. 7354—Granting an increase of pension to Roscoe B. Smith.
Mr. Burleigh; Committee on Pensions, 2027.

S. 7355—Granting an increase of pension to Louisa Smith Fletcher.
Mr. O'Gorman; Committee on Pensions, 2027.

S. 7356—Granting an increase of pension Samuel H. Bingham.
Mr. O'Gorman; Committee on Pensions, 2027.

S. 7357—Granting an increase of pension to Peter S. McIntosh.
Mr. O'Gorman; Committee on Pensions, 2027.

S. 7358—Granting an increase of pension to James H. Gallup.
Mr. O'Gorman; Committee on Pensions, 2027.

S. 7359—Granting an increase of pension to James A. McAllister.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 2099.

S. 7360—Granting an increase of pension to Isaiah Griner.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 2099.

S. 7361—Granting a pension to William Meyers.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 2099.

S. 7362—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Interior to patent certain lands to the State of Utah and to accept relinquishment from the State of Utah of certain other lands in lieu thereof.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public Lands, 2099.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 1015), 4205.—Amended and passed Senate, 4205, 4206.—Passed House, 5445, 5448.—Examined and signed, 5331, 5459.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 329], 5507.

S. 7363—Granting an increase of pension to Arthur Mahac.
Mr. Clark of Wyoming; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7364—Granting an increase of pension to Katherine R. Doolittle.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7365—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas O. Oliver.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7366—Granting an increase of pension to James A. Snodgrass.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7367—Granting an increase of pension to Zeruah A. Newell.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7368—Granting an increase of pension to Hamilton Rogers.
Mr. Bristow; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7369—Granting an increase of pension to Morgan W. Jones.
Mr. Bristow; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7370—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Vanderpool.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7371—Granting an increase of pension to Charles H. Kirk.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7372—Granting an increase of pension to Edward J. Simmons.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7373—Granting a pension to John W. Detwiler.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7374—Granting an increase of pension to Uriah Fisher.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7375—Granting an increase of pension to Philena Harmer.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7376—Granting a pension to Elmer Harry Martin.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7377—Granting a pension to Mary Weber.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7378—Granting a pension to Uain A. Bigler.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7379—Granting a pension to Harry L. Wilson.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7380—Granting an increase of pension to Catherine M. Peck.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7381—Granting a pension to George W. Shearer.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7382—Granting a pension to John Williams.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7383—Granting an increase of pension to Alpheus Johnstonbaugh.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7384—Granting an increase of pension to George Weidner.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7385—Granting an increase of pension to George Miller.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7386—Granting a pension to Martha J. Miller.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7387—Granting an increase of pension to Henry M. Means.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7388—Granting an increase of pension to Martin O'Laughlin.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7389—Granting a pension to G. M. Richart.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7390—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Reese.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7391—Granting a pension to Frank E. Lawrence.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7392—Granting a pension to Caroline E. Pahl.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7393—Granting an increase of pension to J. A. Farnham.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7394—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Rauch.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7395—Granting an increase of pension to Harrison Carson.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7396—Granting an increase of pension to M. P. Holter.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7397—Granting a pension to Alice J. Harris.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7398—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Terwilliger.
Mr. O'Gorman; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7399—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Zeimer.
Mr. O'Gorman; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7400—Granting a pension to William Manley.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 2230.

S. 7401—For the relief of Frank H. Walker and Frank E. Smith.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Claims, 2230.

S. 7402—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors.
Mr. Shively, from the Committee on Pensions (S. Rept. 921), as substitute for certain bills referred to that committee, 2301.—Passed Senate, 2865–2868.—Referred to House Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3078.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1392), 3536.—Amended and passed House, 3655, 3656.—Senate disagrees to House amendments and asks for a conference, 3701.—House insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 3875.—Conference appointed, 3701, 3875.—Conference report (No. 1425) made in House, 4212.—Conference report agreed to in House, 4212.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 4205.—Examined and signed, 4341, 4447.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 196], 5245.

S. 7403—For the prevention of the manufacture, sale, or transportation of such edible alimentary pastes as macaroni, spaghetti, vermicelli, and noodles containing any added artificial coloring matter, and for regulating traffic therein, and for other purposes.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Public Health and National Quarantine, 2302.

S. 7404—Granting the consent of Congress to the Cleveland Yacht Club Co. to construct a bridge across the west arm of Rocky River, Ohio.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Commerce, 2302.

S. 7405—To amend section 1608j of the act of Congress entitled "An act to establish a code of law for the District of Columbia," approved Mar. 3, 1901, as amended by the act of Congress approved Feb. 23, 1905.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on the District of Columbia, 2302.

S. 7406—To enlarge, extend, remodel, and improve the United States post office and courthouse building located at Baltimore, Md.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2303.

S. 7407—To donate certain condemned cannon to the Gordon Institute, Barnesville, Ga.
Mr. Hardwick; Committee on Military Affairs, 2303.

S. 7408—Granting an increase of pension to Edward Dudevoire.
Mr. Gallinger, Committee on Pensions, 2303.

S. 7409—Granting a pension to Katherine B. Robeson.
Mr. Gallinger, Committee on Pensions, 2303.

S. 7410—To dissolve the Foundation for the Promotion of Industrial Peace, and for other purposes.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Education and Labor, 2303, 2304.

S. 7411—Granting an increase of pension to James C. Baker.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Pensions, 2303.

S. 7412—To appropriate $50,000 to erect an equestrian statue of Gen. Ulysses S. Grant at Georgetown, in the State of Ohio.
Mr. Burton; Committee on the Library, 2303.

S. 7413—To authorize the change of name of the steamer General Garretson to S. H. Robbins.
Mr. Burton; Committee on Commerce, 2303.

S. 7414—To amend section 2291, Revised Statutes, relating to homestead entry, as amended.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Public Lands, 2303.

S. 7415—Authorizing the appointment of Stephen R. Beard as captain in the Quartermaster Corps of the United States Army.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Military Affairs, 2303.

S. 7416—For the relief of John H. Fesenmeyer, alias John Wills.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Military Affairs, 2303.

S. 7417—Granting an increase of pension to Orlinda A. Edick.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2303.

S. 7418—Granting a pension to Mayme Chilson.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2303.

S. 7419—Granting certain lots to the city of Port Angeles, State of Washington, for municipal purposes.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Public Lands, 2303.

S. 7420—Granting an increase of pension to Ziba Fry.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Pensions, 2303.

S. 7421—Granting an increase of pension to Charles C. Moulton.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Pensions, 2303.

S. 7422—Granting an increase of pension to Parsons B. Mix.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Pensions, 2303.

S. 7423—To prohibit the collection of revenue from dealers in intoxicating liquors, and making sellers of liquors liable for crimes of persons while intoxicated by use of liquors supplied by them.
Mr. Works; Committee on Finance, 2304.

S. 7424—For the prevention of cruelty to animals transported in interstate commerce.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 2303.

S. 7425—To reimburse the State of New Mexico for money advanced for the survey of public lands.
Mr. Catron; Committee on Public Lands, 2303.

S. 7426—Granting an increase of pension to Lazaro Sandoval.
Mr. Catron; Committee on Pensions, 2303.

S. 7427—Prohibiting the use of the name of any Member of either House of Congress or of any officer of the Government by any person, firm, or corporation practicing before the Patent Office in advertising his business.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Patents, 2303.—Reported back and passed Senate, 4844, 4911.

S. 7428—To authorize the appointment of George W. Sager as a first lieutenant on the retired list of the United States Army.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Military Affairs, 2303.

S. 7429—Granting a pension to Mabel Turton.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Pensions, 2303.

S. 7430—Granting a pension to John A. Foster.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 2303.

S. 7431—For the relief of Frances A. Bliss.
Mr. Dillingham; Committee on Claims, 2303.

S. 7432—Granting a pension to James L. Swan.
Mr. Dillingham; Committee on Pensions, 2303.

S. 7433—Granting a pension to Nellie H. Judkins.
Mr. Dillingham; Committee on Pensions, 2303.

S. 7434—Granting an increase of pension to Alva M. Titchout.
Mr. Dillingham; Committee on Pensions, 2303.

S. 7435—Authorizing issuance of land patent to Lewis Montgomery.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Public Lands, 2303.

S. 7436—To encourage private enterprise and capital in upbuilding the merchant marine of the United States and to promote commerce between the United States and foreign nations.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Commerce, 2303.

S. 7437—Granting an increase of pension to William Dougherty.
Mr. Oliver; Committee on Pensions, 2303.

S. 7438—Granting an increase of pension to Alonzo Cole.
Mr. Oliver; Committee on Pensions, 2303.

S. 7439—To provide a commission to secure plans and designs for a memorial bridge to the memory of William Penn, and to provide for the erection thereof.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Commerce, 2303.

S. 7440—For the relief of Caleb Aber.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Military Affairs, 2303.

S. 7441—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Vogel.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 2303.

S. 7442—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph A. Fisher.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 2303.

S. 7443—Granting a pension to Laura Belle Ewing.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 2303.

S. 7444—Granting a pension to Anna C. Gregory.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 2303.

S. 7445—Granting an increase of pension to William Varnes.
Mr. Bryan; Committee on Pensions, 2303.

S. 7446—Granting an increase of pension to Edwin W. Moody.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Pensions, 2303.

S. 7447—For prohibition of the liquor traffic in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on the District of Columbia, 2303.

S. 7448—To appoint Roy K. Carson a second lieutenant in the United States Marine Corps.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2303.

S. 7449—Granting an increase of pension to Virginia Watson.
Mr. Weeks; Committee on Pensions, 2303.

S. 7450—Granting an increase of pension to Marie Raum Moses.
Mr. Weeks; Committee on Pensions, 2303.

S. 7451—Granting an increase of pension to Israel A. Gardner.
Mr. Burleigh; Committee on Pensions, 2303.

S. 7452—Amending section 26 of the act of Congress approved May 29, 1908, entitled "An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patents in fee to purchasers of Indian lands under any law now existing or hereafter enacted, and for other purposes."
Mr. Owen; Committee on Indian Affairs, 2303.

S. 7453—Granting an increase of pension to Alice S. C. McNaught.
Mr. La Follette; Committee on Pensions, 2303.

S. 7454—Granting an increase of pension to Lawrence Seaman.
Mr. O'Gorman; Committee on Pensions, 2303.

S. 7455—Granting a pension to Mary Walls.
Mr. O'Gorman; Committee on Pensions, 2303.

S. 7456—Regulating the use of the mails relative to loans, etc.
Mr. O'Gorman; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 2303.

S. 7457—Regulating use of postal service by mail from foreign countries pertaining to loans, etc.
Mr. O'Gorman; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 2303.

S. 7458—Granting an increase of pension to Mary L. Lowe.
Mr. Lippitt; Committee on Pensions, 2303.

S. 7459—For the relief of William E. Murray.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Claims, 2478.

S. 7460—Granting a pension to Anna Mitchell.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 2478.

S. 7461—Granting an increase of pension to John M. Taylor.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 2478.

S. 7462—Granting an increase of pension to Helen Morgan.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 2478.

S. 7463—Granting a pension to Rosalie A. Partridge.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 2478.

S. 7464—Granting an increase of pension to William E. Howard.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 2478.

S. 7465—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob Boyd.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 2478.

S. 7466—Granting a pension to Margaret Hayden.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 2478.

S. 7467—Granting an increase of pension to Lydia A. Brockway.
Mr. La Follette; Committee on Pensions, 2478.

S. 7468—Granting an increase of pension to William R. Donaldson.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 2478.

S. 7469—Granting an increase of pension to William Hawkins.
Mr. Oliver; Committee on Pensions, 2478.

S. 7470—Granting a pension to Albert C. Shuman.
Mr. O'Gorman; Committee on Pensions, 2478.

S. 7471—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph A. Nolan.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 2478.

S. 7472—Granting an increase of pension to Michael Galligan.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 2478.

S. 7473—Granting an increase of pension to John P. Leister.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 2478.

S. 7474—Granting an increase of pension to Frederick W. Green.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 2478.

S. 7475—Granting an increase of pension to Elisha Thomas.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 2478.

S. 7476—Granting an increase of pension to James B. Kitts.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 2478.

S. 7477—Granting a pension to Andrew J. Pope.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Pensions, 2478.

S. 7478—Granting an increase of pension to Robert R. Ferris.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 2478.

S. 7479—Granting an increase of pension to William Henry Beck.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Pensions, 2478.

S. 7480—Granting a pension to Viney Blanks.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Pensions, 2478.

S. 7481—Granting a pension to Frank J. Bauer.
Mr. O'Gorman; Committee on Pensions, 2478.

S. 7482—Granting an increase of pension to James M. Palmer.
Mr. Burleigh; Committee on Pensions, 2478.

S. 7483—Granting an increase of pension to Gardiner Roberts, jr.
Mr. Burleigh; Committee on Pensions, 2478.

S. 7484—Granting an increase of pension to Jackson Smith.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 2478.

S. 7485—Granting an increase of pension to Job Ingram.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Pensions, 2478.

S. 7486—Granting a pension to Alice Cox.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Pensions, 2478.

S. 7487—Granting an increase of pension to Aniceta R. De Lopez.
Mr. Catron; Committee on Pensions, 2478.

S. 7488—For the relief of the owners of the Nicolas Duran de Chaves grant.
Mr. Catron; Committee on Claims, 2478.

S. 7489—Granting a pension to William Bowen.
Mr. Oliver; Committee on Pensions, 2478.

S. 7490—Granting an increase of pension to John Jenkins.
Mr. Norris; Committee on Pensions, 2656.

S. 7491—Granting an increase of pension to Catherine Goodwin.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 2656.

S. 7492—Granting an increase of pension to Abbie Sloggy.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 2656.

S. 7493—Granting an increase of pension to Helen D. Longstreet.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Pensions, 2656.

S. 7494—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Woodward.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Pensions, 2656.

S. 7495—For the relief of Kate Canniff.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Claims, 2656.

S. 7496—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Propson.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 2656.

S. 7497—Granting an increase of pension to Todd L. Wagoner.
Mr. Bristow; Committee on Pensions, 2656.

S. 7498—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel D. Anderson.
Mr. Burleigh; Committee on Pensions, 2656.

S. 7499—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Terwilliger.
Mr. O'Gorman; Committee on Pensions, 2656.

S. 7500—Granting an increase of pension to Oliver P. Lockhart.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 2656.

S. 7501—Granting an increase of pension to Hattie E. Lawton.
Mr. Colt; Committee on Pensions, 2656.

S. 7502—Granting an increase of pension to John L. Epperson.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 2656.

S. 7503—Granting an increase of pension to William D. Eudy.
Mr. Hollis; Committee on Pensions, 2785.

S. 7504—Granting an increase of pension to James K. Stebbins.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 2786.

S. 7505—Granting an increase of pension to Annia Clark.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 2786.

S. 7506—Granting a pension to Mary L. Taylor.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 2786.

S. 7507—For the relief of Sarah J. Ireland.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Claims, 2786.

S. 7508—Granting an increase of pension to James Baker.
Mr. Burleigh; Committee on Pensions, 2786.

S. 7509—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Regular Army and Navy and of wars other than the Civil War, and to certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors.
Mr. Shively, from the Committee on Pensions (S. Rept. 941), as substitute for certain bills referred to that committee, 2839.—Passed Senate, 4485.—Referred to House Committee on Pensions, 4630.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1447), 4679.—Amended and passed House, 4982, 4983.—Senate disagrees to House amendments and asks for a conference, 5060.—House insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 5182.—Conference appointed, 5060, 5182.—Conference report (No. 1492) made and agreed to in House, 5223, 5224.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 5229.—Examined and signed, 5245, 5417.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 240], 5507.

S. 7510—To declare Ollala Slough in Lincoln County, Oreg., nonnavigable.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Commerce, 2846.

S. 7511—For the relief of George W. Mellinger.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Military Affairs, 2846.

S. 7512—To fix the compensation of the pages of the Senate and the House of Representatives.
Mr. Catron; Committee on Appropriations, 2846.

S. 7513—To acquire and preserve the battle ground of the battle variously known as the Battle of Apache Canyon, Pigeons Ranch, and Glorieta, in the State of New Mexico.
Mr. Catron; Committee on Military Affairs, 2846.

S. 7514—Providing for the holding of terms of the district court for the southern division of the western district of the State of Washington at Aberdeen.
Mr. Jones; Committee on the Judiciary, 2846.

S. 7515—To reserve lands to the Territory of Alaska for educational uses, and for other purposes.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Public Lands, 2846.—Reported back (S. Rept. 994), 3927.—Debated and passed Senate, 3927, 3928.—Referred to House Committee on Public Lands, 4074.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1460), 4888.—Debated and passed House, 4543–4545, 5485–5488.—Examined and signed, 5505, 5515.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 330], 5507.

S. 7516—Granting an increase of pension to John Lampke.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Pensions, 2846.

S. 7517—Granting an increase of pension to Herbert A. Oliver.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Pensions, 2846.

S. 7518—To make the gold and silver certificates issued by the United States full legal tender for the payment of all debts, public and private.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Banking and Currency, 2846.

S. 7519—To provide for the acquisition of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Lamar, Colo.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2846.

S. 7520—Granting an increase of pension to George E. Smith.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 2846.

S. 7521—Granting a pension to Mary A. Frank.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 2846.

S. 7522—Granting an increase of pension to Leonard L. Redfield.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 2846.

S. 7523—To reimburse the heirs of Chief Heavy Runner on account of his death and property taken from him at the time of the Baker massacre.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Indian Affairs, 2846.

S. 7524—Authorizing any nation, tribe, or band of Indians to submit claims against the United States to the Court of Claims with the right of either party to appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Indian Affairs, 2846.

S. 7525—For the relief of the widow of Thomas Harrison Beatty.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Military Affairs, 2846.

S. 7526—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret M. Lane.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Pensions, 2846.

S. 7527—Dividing the eastern judicial district of Oklahoma into three divisions, fixing the time and place for holding court therein, and for other purposes.
Mr. Gore; Committee on the Judiciary, 2846.

S. 7528—To correct the military record of Jesse J. Clemmons.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Military Affairs, 2846.

S. 7529—Providing for the erection of a public building at Coalgate, Okla.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2846.

S. 7530—Granting an increase of pension to Lenora Hoyt.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Pensions, 2846.

S. 7531—To increase the appropriation for a public building at Elkins, W. Va.
Mr. Chilton; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2846.

S. 7532—To provide for the establishment of a life-saving station in the vicinity of Duxbury Reef, Cal.
Mr. Perkins; Committee on Commerce, 2846.

S. 7533—For the relief of William E. Johnson.
Mr. Clapp; Committee on Claims, 2846.

S. 7534—For the relief of Joel J. Booth.
Mr. Bristow; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 2846.

S. 7535—Authorizing the county of St. Louis to construct a bridge across the St. Louis River between Minnesota and Wisconsin.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Commerce, 2846.—Reported back and passed Senate, 2991.—Motion to reconsider vote, 2991.

S. 7536—Granting an increase of pension to Irwin E. Scott.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 2846.

S. 7537—Granting a pension to Verona H. Coon.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 2846.

S. 7538—Granting a pension to Alice Quigley.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 2846.

S. 7539—Granting an increase of pension to Henry C. Jordan.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 2846.

S. 7540—Granting an increase of pension to Hazlet A. Jacobs.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 2846.

S. 7541—Granting an increase of pension to Elias Lloyd.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 2846.

S. 7542—Granting an increase of pension to John Kelly.
Mr. Hughes; Committee on Pensions, 2846.

S. 7543—To compensate the Delaware Indians for services rendered by them to the United States in various wars.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Public Lands, 2846.

S. 7544—Quieting and confirming the title of the Methodist University of Oklahoma in and to certain tracts of land located in the city of Guthrie, Okla.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Public Lands, 2846.

S. 7545—To provide for the acquisition of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Fort Worth, Tex., and for the remodeling, altering, etc., of the present post-office building.
Mr. Culberson; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2940.—Reported back (S. Rept. 986), 3839.

S. 7546—Granting a pension to Myrtle J. Hayes.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 2940.

S. 7547—Granting a pension to Walter K. Neal.
Mr. Stephenson; Committee on Pensions, 2940.

S. 7548—Granting a pension to Lucy A. Palmer.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 2940.

S. 7549—Granting an increase of pension to John E. Graham.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 2940.

S. 7550—To correct the military record of Almond S. Root.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Military Affairs, 2940.

S. 7551—To provide for the establishment, operation, and supervision of a cooperative national farm-land bank system in the United States of America, and for other purposes.
Mr. Smith of Georgia; Committee on Banking and Currency, 2940.

S. 7552—To authorize the United States, acting through a shipping board, to subscribe to the capital stock of a corporation to be organized under the laws of the United States or of a State thereof or of the District of Columbia to purchase, construct, equip, maintain, and operate merchant vessels in the foreign trade of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Gore; read the first time, 2940.—Referred to the Committee on Commerce, 2992.

S. 7553—Granting an increase of pension to John Hawksley.
Mr. Burleigh; Committee on Pensions, 2940.

S. 7554—To provide capital for agricultural development, to create a standard form of investment based upon farm mortgages, to equalize rates of interest upon farm loans, to furnish a market for United States bonds, to provide a method of applying postal savings deposits to the promotion of the public welfare, and for other purposes.
Mr. Hollis; Committee on Banking and Currency, 2992.

S. 7555—To authorize the construction of a bridge across the Suwanee River in the State of Florida.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Commerce, 2992.—Reported back (S. Rept. 978); passed Senate, 3549.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3692.—House requests Senate to return bill, 3795, 3796.—Senate returns bill, 3773.—Signature of the Vice President and Speaker canceled, 3794, 3827.—Passed House, 5181.—Examined and signed, 5245, 5417.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 273], 5330.

S. 7556—Granting a pension to Delia May Prempert.
Mr. Overman; Committee on Pensions, 2992.

S. 7557—For the relief of Frank J. Manning.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Claims, 2992.

S. 7558—For the relief of Simon Caro.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Claims, 2992.

S. 7559—Granting an increase of pension to Eliza J. Wells.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 2992.

S. 7560—Granting an increase of pension to Henry J. Mullins.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 2992.

S. 7561—Granting an increase of pension to John McEathron.
Mr. Stephenson; Committee on Pensions, 2992.

S. 7562—Granting a pension to Ellen Hammond Clark.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 2992.

S. 7563—Granting an increase of pension to Frank S. Mildram.
Mr. Burleigh; Committee on Pensions, 2992.

S. 7564—Granting an increase of pension to John Evans.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Pensions, 2992.

S. 7565—Granting an increase of pension to Ernest Dichman.
Mr. O'Gorman; Committee on Pensions, 2992.

S. 7566—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War, and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors.
Mr. Shively, from the Committee on Pensions as substitute for certain bills referred to that committee (S. Rept. 964), 3083.—Amended and passed Senate, 4485–4487.—Referred to House Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4630.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1451), 4679.—Amended and passed House, 4981, 4982.—Senate disagrees to House amendments and asks for a conference, 5060.—House insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 5181.—Conference appointed, 5060, 5181.—Conference report (No. 1498) made and agreed to in House, 5208, 5209.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 5228.—Examined and signed, 5245, 5417.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 241], 5507.

S. 7567—Granting a pension to James Gallagher.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 3085.

S. 7568—Granting an increase of pension to Gilbert W. Potter.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 3085.

S. 7569—Granting a pension to Charles H. Nelson.
Mr. Johnson; Committee on Pensions, 3085.

S. 7570—Granting a pension to Sumner P. Boies.
Mr. Johnson; Committee on Pensions, 3085.

S. 7571—Granting an increase of pension to Joann P. Swift-Libby.
Mr. Johnson; Committee on Pensions, 3085.

S. 7572—For the relief of the heirs of Eldred Nunnally, deceased.
Mr. White; Committee on Claims, 3085.

S. 7573—Granting a pension to Anna Trickey.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Pensions, 3085.

S. 7574—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Walker.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 3085.

S. 7575—To amend an act entitled "An act to amend laws for preventing collisions of vessels and to regulate equipment of certain motor boats on the navigable waters of the United States," approved June 9, 1910.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Commerce, 3085.

S. 7576—Granting a pension to John Lilly.
Mr. Catron; Committee on Pensions, 3085.

S. 7577—Granting an increase of pension to Orra M. Duncan.
Mr. Root; Committee on Pensions, 3085.

S. 7578—Granting a pension to Josephine W. Bullis.
Mr. Root; Committee on Pensions, 3086.

S. 7579—Granting a pension to Georgianna G. Furey.
Mr. Root; Committee on Pensions, 3086.

S. 7580—Granting a pension to Elias Lyon.
Mr. Burleigh; Committee on Pensions, 3086.

S. 7581—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew J. Shell.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 3086.

S. 7582—Granting an increase of pension to Charles P. Cook.
Mr. Root; Committee on Pensions, 3086.

S. 7583—Granting an increase of pension to Fannie Reid.
Mr. Colt; Committee on Pensions, 3086.

S. 7584—Granting an increase of pension to George M. Titus.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 3380.

S. 7585—Granting an increase of pension to Hacker Davis.
Mr. Burleigh; Committee on Pensions, 3380.

S. 7586—Granting an increase of pension to Frederick W. Smith.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 3380.

S. 7587—Granting an increase of pension to Nelson Briley.
Mr. Norris; Committee on Pensions, 3380.

S. 7588—Granting a pension to Bunell L. Jones.
Mr. Smith of South Carolina; Committee on Pensions, 3380.

S. 7589—Granting a pension to Mary F. Collins.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Pensions, 3380.

S. 7590—Granting an increase of pension to Napoleon Tulip.
Mr. Catron; Committee on Pensions, 3380.

S. 7591—Granting a pension to Henrietta C. Stanton.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Pensions, 3380.

S. 7592—Granting a pension to Hannah Josephson.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 3380.

S. 7593—Granting an increase of pension to Amos H. Hampton.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 3380.

S. 7594—For the relief of Jonas O. Johnson.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Military Affairs, 3380.

S. 7595—Granting an increase of pension to John M. Pittman.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 3380.

S. 7596—Granting an increase of pension to William Thomas.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 3380.

S. 7597—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Regular Army and Navy and of wars other than the Civil War, and to certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors.
Mr. Shively, from the Committee on Pensions (S. Rept. 969) as substitute for certain bills referred to that committee, 3547.—Amended and passed Senate, 4490, 4491.—Referred to House Committee on Pensions, 4630.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1450), 4679.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 4987–4989.—Senate disagrees to House amendments and asks for a conference, 5060.—House insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 5182.—Conference appointed, 5060, 5182.—Conference report (No. 1495) made and agreed to in House, 5221, 5222.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 5228.—Examined and signed, 5245, 5417.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 242], 5507.

S. 7598—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors.
Mr. Shively, from the Committee on Pensions (S. Rept. 970) as substitute for certain bills referred to that committee, 3547.—Amended and passed Senate, 4487–4489.—Referred to House Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4630.—Reported with amendment (H .Rept. 1452), 4679.—Amended and passed House, 4982.—Senate disagrees to House amendments and asks for a conference, 5060.—House insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 5181.—Conference appointed, 5060, 5181.—Conference report (No. 1497) made and agreed to in House, 5209.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 5228, 5229.—Examined and signed, 5245, 5417.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 243], 5507.

S. 7599—Providing free passage through the Panama Canal for American ships.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Interoceanic Canals, 3550.

S. 7600—To further regulate foreign commerce.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 3549.

S. 7601—To appropriate $500,000 to aid the Andrew Jackson Memorial Association in the erection of a monument at Nashville, Tenn., to commemorate the life, character, and services of Andrew Jackson.
Mr. Shields; Committee on the Library, 3549.

S. 7602—To authorize the Secretary of War to grant a revocable license for the erection of a Catholic chapel on the military reservation at Governors Island, New York Harbor.
Mr. Root; Committee on Military Affairs, 3549.

S. 7603—To amend that portion of the act approved Aug. 30, 1890, relating to the limitation of acreage to be acquired under the public lands laws.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Public Lands, 3549.

S. 7604—Granting a pension to Joseph W. Hicks.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 3549.

S. 7605—For the relief of the heirs of Francisco Armijo y Otero.
Mr. Catron; Committee on Claims, 3549.

S. 7606—Granting an increase of pension to Juan Jose Saiz.
Mr. Catron; Committee on Pensions, 3549.

S. 7607—For the relief of the legal representatives of William H. Fuqua, deceased.
Mr. Lea of Tennessee; Committee on Claims, 3549.

S. 7608—Granting a pension to Fred Burnstead.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Pensions, 3549.

S. 7609—To provide for publishing the name and general description of aliens who file petitions for naturalization, providing for filing fees and cost of advertising.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Immigration, 3549.

S. 7610—Granting an increase of pension to Birney Marshman.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 3549.

S. 7611—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas B. Landis.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 3549.

S. 7612—Granting a pension to George W. Johnson.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 3549.

S. 7613—Granting a pension to Sarah Ann Ross.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 3549.

S. 7614—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Metz.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 3549.

S. 7615—Granting an increase of pension to Hannah R. Linton.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 3549.

S. 7616—Granting an increase of pension to Mary A. Snider.
Mr. Bristow; Committee on Pensions, 3549.

S. 7617—In relation to the location of a navigable channel of the Calumet River in Illinois.
Mr. Lewis; Committee on Commerce, 3549.

S. 7618—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew J. Vancil.
Mr. Lewis; Committee on Pensions, 3549.

S. 7619—Granting an increase of pension to Charles W. Lair.
Mr. Lewis; Committee on Pensions, 3549.

S. 7620—Granting an increase of pension to William M. Hampton.
Mr. Lewis; Committee on Pensions, 3549.

S. 7621—Granting an increase of pension to Joshua C. Clevenger.
Mr. Lewis; Committee on Pensions, 3549.

S. 7622—Granting a pension to Katherine Sternberg.
Mr. Lewis; Committee on Pensions, 3549.

S. 7623—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel Hinkle.
Mr. Lewis; Committee on Pensions, 3549.

S. 7624—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Tilton Seay.
Mr. Lewis; Committee on Pensions, 3549.

S. 7625—For the relief of E. A. Rolfe and others.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Public Lands, 3549.

S. 7626—Granting an increase of pension to William P. McCartney.
Mr. Oliver; Committee on Pensions, 3549.

S. 7627—Granting an increase of pension to William Wright.
Mr. Oliver; Committee on Pensions, 3550.

S. 7628—Granting an increase of pension to Carrie M. Pierce.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 3550.

S. 7629—Granting a pension to Thomas H. Jones.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Pensions, 3550.

S. 7630—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph L. Clark.
Mr. Burleigh; Committee on Pensions, 3550.

S. 7631—Granting an increase of pension to Katharine H. McDonald.
Mr. Weeks; Committee on Pensions, 3550.

S. 7632—To provide American register for the steamer Minnesota upon certain conditions.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; Committee on Commerce, 3550.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1064), 5172.—Amended and passed Senate, 5352, 5353.

S. 7633—For the relief of Bella Crounse and other heirs of the estate of James Bell, deceased.
Mr. White; Committee on Revolutionary Claims, 3550.—Referred to Court of Claims (see S. Res. 574), 5343, 5344.

S. 7634—Granting an increase of pension to Susie S. Flanders.
Mr. Dillingham; Committee on Pensions, 3550.

S. 7635—Granting a pension to John C. Rowland.
Mr. O'Gorman; Committee on Pensions, 3550.

S. 7636—Granting an increase of pension to Frank L. Simpson.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Pensions, 3626.

S. 7637—Granting an increase of pension to James A. Saurbaugh.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Pensions, 3626.

S. 7638—Creating a board to investigate and report on the relations existing between the United States of America and the District of Columbia, and to make recommendations for legislation thereon.
Mr. Hollis; Committee on the District of Columbia, 3626.

S. 7639—Granting an increase of pension to James Wilson.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 3626.

S. 7640—Granting an increase of pension to William R. Morrell.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 3626.

S. 7641—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Conner.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 3626.

S. 7642—Granting an increase of pension to Alexander D. Smalley.
Mr. Burleigh; Committee on Pensions, 3626.

S. 7643—Granting a pension to Neal England, alias Joseph England.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Pensions, 3626.

S. 7644—To remove the charge of desertion against Allen Ellsworth.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Military Affairs, 3626.

S. 7645—To provide for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service in post offices of the first and second class.
Mr. Hughes; Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment, 3626.

S. 7646—To authorize Parkersburg-Ohio Bridge Co., a corporation created and existing under the laws of the State of West Virginia, its successors and assigns, to construct a bridge across the Ohio River from the city of Parkersburg, State of West Virginia, to the town of Belpre, State of Ohio.
Mr. Chilton; Committee on Commerce, 3626.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1043); passed Senate, 4808.—Passed House, 5183.—Examined and signed, 5146, 5200.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 274], 5330.

S. 7647—To provide for the erection of a public building at Price, Utah.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3699.

S. 7648—To authorize an exchange of lands with the State of North Dakota for promotion of experiments in dry-land agriculture, and for other purposes.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Public Lands, 3699.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1047); amended and passed Senate, 4821.—Referred to House Committee on Public Lands, 5056.

S. 7649—Providing for the disposal of certain lands in Imperial County, Cal., and the proceeds arising therefrom.
Mr. Perkins; Committee on Public Lands, 3699.

S. 7650—Granting an increase of pension to Adelphia Eskey.
Mr. Goff; Committee on Pensions, 3699.

S. 7651—Granting an increase of pension to Stillman Choate.
Mr. Burleigh; Committee on Pensions, 3699.

S. 7652—Providing for the continuance of the Joint Commission to Investigate Indian Affairs.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Indian Affairs, 3699.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 983), 3773.

S. 7653—To authorize the sale of certain lands at or near Belton, Mont., for hotel purposes.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Public Lands, 3777.

S. 7654—Granting an increase of pension to Mary S. Underhill.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 3777.

S. 7655—Granting an increase of pension to John Little.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 3777.

S. 7656—Granting an increase of pension to Leroy Harding.
Mr. Burleigh; Committee on Pensions, 3777.

S. 7657—Granting an increase of pension to Roderick O'Connor.
Mr. O'Gorman; Committee on Pensions, 3777.

S. 7658—For the relief of the estate of Franklin S. Whitney, deceased.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Claims, 3874.

S. 7659—Granting a pension to Gideon Mason.
Mr. Chilton; Committee on Pensions, 3874.

S. 7660—Granting a pension to Edward J. Gleason.
Mr. La Follette; Committee on Pensions, 3874.

S. 7661—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Straka.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Pensions, 3928.

S. 7662—Granting an increase of pension to Albert Willard.
Mr. Dillingham; Committee on Pensions, 3928.

S. 7663—Granting a pension to Emma M. Bowman.
Mr. Dillingham; Committee on Pensions, 3928.

S. 7664—Granting an increase of pension to George F. Richardson.
Mr. Bristow; Committee on Pensions, 3928.

S. 7665—Granting a pension to William C. A. Smoot.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 3928.

S. 7666—Granting an increase of pension to Charles R. Potter.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 3928.

S. 7667—Granting a pension to James S. Huntington.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 3928.

S. 7668—Granting an increase of pension to Cassius M. Jones.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 3928.

S. 7669—To authorize the purchase of a site for the United States post-office building in the city of Wildwood, N. J.
Mr. Martine of New Jersey; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3928.

S. 7670—Granting an increase of pension to James H. Loughman.
Mr. Shively; Committee on Pensions, 3928.

S. 7671—Granting an increase of pension to William J. Mester.
Mr. Lea of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 3985.

S. 7672—For the relief of heirs or estate of Jacob Joyner, deceased.
Mr. Lea of Tennessee; Committee on Claims, 3985.

S. 7673—Granting an increase of pension to Enoch M. Martin.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 3985.

S. 7674—Granting an increase of pension to George Osten.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 3985.

S. 7675—Granting a pension to Almira Graham.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 3985.

S. 7676—Granting an increase of pension to John Kremmer.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 3985.

S. 7677—Granting a pension to Lucy J. Lindsey.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 3985.

S. 7678—Granting a pension to Chester B. Goodenough.
Mr. O'Gorman; Committee on Pensions, 3985.

S. 7679—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew Houlihan.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 3985.

S. 7680—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel S. Householder.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 3985.

S. 7681—Granting an increase of pension to James B. H. McDaniel.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 3985.

S. 7682—To repeal sections 35 to 49, inclusive, of the act of June 13, 1898, concerning mixed flour, as amended by act of Apr. 12, 1902.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Finance, 4084.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1062); passed Senate, 5172.

S. 7683—For the relief of E. D. Judkins.
Mr. Lea of Tennessee; Committee on Military Affairs, 4084.

S. 7684—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to appoint a commission to negotiate with the Crow Indians for the cession of their lands lying west of the Big Horn River on the Crow Reservation.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Indian Affairs, 4084.

S. 7685—Granting an increase of pension to Mary C. Estes.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 4084.

S. 7686—To regulate interstate commerce in pistols, revolvers, and other firearms of like form, size, and description.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 4084.—Debated, 4084, 4085.

S. 7687—Authorizing the Secretary of War to make donation of condemned cannon and cannon balls to the Odessa, Wash., public schools.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Military Affairs, 4084.

S. 7688—For the relief of Augustus G. Reynolds.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Claims, 4084.

S. 7689—Granting an increase of pension to Emiles Pomeroy.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 4084.

S. 7690—Granting an increase of pension to Leroy F. Morse.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 4084.

S. 7691—Granting an increase of pension to Jerome S. Manchester.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 4204.

S. 7692—For the relief of I. C. Johnson, jr.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Naval Affairs, 4204.

S. 7693—For the relief of Gertrude M. Woodson.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Claims, 4204.

S. 7694—For the relief of Wellington F. Larabee.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Military Affairs, 4204.

S. 7695—For the relief of George T. Goshorn.
Mr. Chilton; Committee on Claims, 4204.

S. 7696—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Adams.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 4266.

S. 7697—Granting a pension to Catharine A. Allen.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 4266.

S. 7698—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah J. Alling.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 4266.

S. 7669—Granting an increase of pension to Charlotte A. Avery.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 4266.

S. 7700—Granting an increase of pension to Jane A. Babcock.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 4266.

S. 7701—Granting an increase of pension to Eliza J. Banning.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 4266.

S. 7702—Granting an increase of pension to Abbie C. Boardman.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 4266.

S. 7703—Granting an increase of pension to Maria E. Bowers.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 4266.

S. 7704—Granting an increase of pension to Hiram F. Chappell.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 4266.

S. 7705—Granting an increase of pension to Martha Connor.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 4266.

S. 7706—Granting an increase of pension to Martha Crumb.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 4266.

S. 7707—Granting an increase of pension to Mary C. Daniels.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 4266.

S. 7708—Granting an increase of pension to Charles P. De Forest.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 4266.

S. 7709—Granting an increase of pension to Henry H. Geer.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 4266.

S. 7710—Granting an increase of pension to Frances A. Hall.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 4266.

S. 7711—Granting an increase of pension to Mary J. Hayes.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 4266.

S. 7712—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah F. Hovey.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 4266.

S. 7713—Granting an increase of pension to Ellen Jackson.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 4266.

S. 7714—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Moriarty.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 4266.

S. 7715—Granting an increase of pension to Nellie R. Palmer.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 4266.

S. 7716—Granting an increase of pension to Elsie A. Platt.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 4266.

S. 7717—Granting an increase of pension to Mary L. Playfoot.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 4266.

S. 7718—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret Semple.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 4266.

S. 7719—Granting an increase of pension to Adelaide M. Tarbox.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 4266.

S. 7720—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Whipple..
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 4266.

S. 7721—Granting a pension to Ella Webster.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; Committee on Pensions, 4266.

S. 7722—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Thurston.
Mr. Burleigh; Committee on Pensions, 4266.

S. 7723—Authorizing the Texarkana Board of Trade to construct a bridge across the Red River between Fulton, Ark., and Index, Tex.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Commerce, 4266.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 1044); amended and passed Senate, 4808, 4809.—Passed House, 5181, 5182.—Examined and signed, 5146, 5200.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 275], 5330.

S. 7724—Granting an increase of pension to Ruth A. Ingraham.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 4392.

S. 7725—To provide for the establishment of a National Employment Bureau in the Department of Labor.
Mr. Clapp; Committee on Education and Labor, 4392.

S. 7726—Granting a pension to Edward J. Gleason.
Mr. La Follette; Committee on Pensions, 4392.

S. 7727—Granting a pension to Mattie S. M. Hope.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 4523.

S. 7728—Granting an increase of pension to Edelbert Roundy.
Mr. Burleigh; Committee on Pensions, 4523.

S. 7729—To authorize the reinstatement of George Hill Carruth as a cadet in the United States Military Academy.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Military Affairs, 4523.

S. 7730—To provide for the appointment of a district judge, district attorney, and marshall for the western district of South Carolina, and for other purposes.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on the Judiciary, 4523.—Reported back, 5066.—Indefinitely postponed (see bill H. R. 20894), 5120, 5121.

S. 7731—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to accept the application for land entry of Richard Daeley.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Public Lands, 4556.

S. 7732—To donate certain condemned cannon to the Georgia Military Academy, of College Park, Ga.
Mr. Hardwick; Committee on Military Affairs, 4556.

S. 7733—For the relief of the legal representatives of the estate of Benjamin Hamilton, deceased.
Mr. Hardwick; Committee on Claims, 4556.

S. 7734—To construct a public building for a post office at the city of Forsyth, Ga.
Mr. Smith of Georgia; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 4556.

S. 7735—Granting an increase of pension to George Jaggers.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 4556.

S. 7736—Granting an increase of pension to Fannie M. Cutting.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 4556.

S. 7737—Granting an increase of pension to Ida J. Morey.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 4556.

S. 7738—To amend section 20 of an act to regulate commerce, approved Feb. 4, 1887, as amended June 29, 1906, Feb. 25, 1909, and June 18, 1910, and for other purposes.
Mr. Newlands; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 4556.—Debated, 4837, 5059, 5133, 5244.

S. 7739—To amend the postal laws.
Mr. Bankhead; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 4556.

S. 7740—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of Agriculture to ascertain the real value for breeding and other purposes of stock destroyed by reason of foot-and-mouth disease and make settlement on that basis.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 4684.

S. 7741—Granting an increase of pension to Gilman P. Lombard.
Mr. Burleigh; Committee on Pensions, 4684.

S. 7742—Authorizing the St. Croix Water Power Co., of Maine, and the Sprague's Falls Manufacturing Co. (Ltd.), of Canada, to operate a dam across the St. Croix River at Baileyville, Me.
Mr. Johnson; Committee on Commerce, 4684.

S. 7743—To incorporate the Ellen Wilson Memorial Homes.
Mr. James; Committee on Corporations Organized in the District of Columbia, 4684.—Reported back; passed Senate, 4911.—Passed House, 5185.—Examined and signed, 5245, 5417.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 276], 5330.

S. 7744—Granting an increase of pension to Nathaniel Gurney.
Mr. Burleigh; Committee on Pensions, 4844.

S. 7745—Granting an increase of pension to Julia Jackson.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 4912.

S. 7746—Granting an increase of pension to Terrence Dobson.
Mr. O'Gorman; Committee on Pensions, 4912.

S. 7747—For the relief of certain desert-land entrymen.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Public Lands, 5067.

S. 7748—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Lewis.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 5232.

S. 7749—Granting a pension to Joseph Wessler.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 5232.

S. 7750—Granting an increase of pension to Annie Humphreys.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 5232.

S. 7751—Granting a pension to Mary J. McLaughlin.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 5232.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTIONS.

S. J. Res. 3—For the relief of Fred White.
Mr. Brady; reported back (S. Rept. 975), 3548.

S. J. Res. 58—Authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to present the bell of the late United States steamship Princeton to the borough of Princeton, N. J.
Mr. Martine of New Jersey; debated, amended, and passed House, 938, 939.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 1013.—Examined and signed, 1126, 1127.—Approved by the President [Public resolution, No. 60], 1542.

S. J. Res. 65—To amend S. J. Res. 34, approved May 12, 1898, entitled "Joint resolution providing for the adjustment of certain claims of the United States against the State of Tennessee and certain claims against the United States."
Mr. Shields; debated in House, 942–945, 1773, 2792.

S. J. Res. 74—Appropriating money for the payment of certain claims on account of labor, supplies, materials, and cash furnished in the construction of the Corbett Tunnel.
Mr. Myers; conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 5502.—Conference report made and agreed to in House, 5527.

S. J. Res. 88—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Sheppard debated in Senate, 336–341.

S. J. Res. 106—To amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914, and for other purposes," approved June 23, 1913.
Mr. O'Gorman; reported back, 1327.

S. J. Res. 120—Creating a joint committee of Congress, and authorizing said committee to acquire, by purchase or condemnation, the property known as Monticello, and embracing the former home of Thomas Jefferson and the family graveyard in which his remains were interred, with such lands and grounds appurtenant thereto as the committee shall find necessary in order to carry out the various public objects and purposes in said resolution set forth, all of said property being located in Albemarle County, Va.
Mr. Reed; debated, 4945.

S. J. Res. 128—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Shafroth; debated, 4946.

S. J. Res. 129—Relating to the awards and payments thereon in what are commonly known as the Plaza cases.
Mr. Sherman; laid on the table, 1770.

S. J. Res. 130—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Bristow; debated, 4946.

S. J. Res. 137—To reinstate Clifford Hildebrandt Tate as a cadet at the United States Military Academy.
Mr. Martine of New Jersey; debated in House, 3520.

S. J. Res. 163—Providing for employees to Senators and Senate committees and fixing their compensation, commencing with the beginning of the Sixty-fourth Congress.
Mr. Jones; debated, 342, 385–391.

S. J. Res. 177—To transfer to the custody and possession of the Attorney General sealskins.
Mr. Williams; referred to House Committee on Foreign Affairs, 735.

S. J. Res. 183—For control and distribution of the flood waters of the Rio Grande.
Mr. Sheppard; reported back (S. Rept. 992), 3927.

S. J. Res. 187—Requesting the President of the United States to invite foreign Governments to participate in the International Congress on Education.
Mr. Perkins; committee discharged, debated, and passed House, 3809, 3810.—Examined and signed, 3982, 4021.—Approved by the President [Public resolution No. 64], 4447.

S. J. Res. 191—To convey appreciation of Congress to their excellencies Señor Domicio da Gama, Señor Rómulo S. Naón, and Señor Eduardo Suárez for their generous and distinguished services as mediators in the controversy between the Government of the United States and the leaders of the warring parties in Mexico.
Mr. Stone; committee discharged, debated, and passed House, 5417, 5418.—Examined and signed, 5331, 5459.—Approved by the President [Public resolution No. 75], 5507.

S. J. Res. 192—Granting American citizenship to John Brownlow Ziegler.
Mr. Lane; referred to House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 735.

S. J. Res. 196—To authorize the Secretary of War to grant permission to the Southern Commercial Congress to place a tablet at Gamboa, Canal Zone, as a memorial to the late Senator John T. Morgan.
Mr. Fletcher; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1300), 1917.—Debated, 3805, 3806.

S. J. Res. 198—Providing an appropriation to indemnify Trygve Andersen, Sigurd Nilsen, and Arthur Rasmussen, of the crew of the Norwegian ship Ingrid, for losses caused by their arrest and detention in Hudson County, N. J., and for other purposes.
Mr. Shively; passed Senate, 4953.

S. J. Res. 202—Providing for a national security commission.
Mr. Lodge; ordered to lie on the table subject to call, 7.—Referred to Committee on Military Affairs, 1610.—Debated, 1601–1610.

S. J. Res. 203—To increase and popularize the use of cotton materials in the United States by directing the executive departments to purchase same wherever practicable and to the manifest interest of the Government, and by requesting companies, firms, and individuals to make purchases with the same object in view.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 6.

S. J. Res. 204—Directing the Secretary of Agriculture to ascertain whether imported corn is infested with weevil or other noxious or destructive insect, and for other purposes.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 18.

S. J. Res. 205—To convey the thanks of Congress to Capt. Thomas Moore, master of the Alaska Steamship Co. steamer Cordova, and to the officers and crew, for the prompt and heroic service rendered by them in rescuing 58 survivors of the U. S. revenue-cutter Tahoma.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Commerce, 18.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1913); passed Senate, 4083, 4084.

S. J. Res. 206—Relating to the period of pensionable service under the act of May 11, 1912.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 18.

S. J. Res. 207—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to cause the settlement of the account of Special Agents Moore, Woodson, and Whitfield under the treaty of 1854 with the Delaware Indians, etc.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Indian Affairs, 18.

S. J. Res. 208—Continuing the Joint Committee on Postage on Second-Class Mail Matter and Compensation for the Transportation of Mail, created by the act of Aug. 24, 1912.
Mr. Bankhead; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 46.

S. J. Res. 209—Withholding from allotment the unallotted lands or public domain of the Creek Nation or Tribe of Indians, and providing for the sale thereof, and for other purposes.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Indian Affairs, 46.

S. J. Res. 210—To authorize the President to invite certain Governments to send delegates to the Pan American Medical Congress.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Foreign Relations, 81.—Reported back (S. Rept. 966), 3084.—Debated and passed Senate, 3084, 3085.—Referred to House Committee on Foreign Affairs, 3210.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1409), 3837.

S. J. Res. 211—Requesting the nations now at war to declare a truce for 20 days.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Foreign Relations, 81.

S. J. Res. 212—For a commemoration of the second inaugural of Abraham Lincoln.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Rules, 173.

S. J. Res. 213—Authorizing the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House to pay the officers and employees of the Senate and House, including the Capitol police, their respective salaries for the month of December, 1914, on the 22d day of said month.
Mr. Overman, from the Committee on Appropriations and passed Senate, 334.—Referred to House Committee on Appropriations, 368.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1243) and passed House, 448.—Examined and signed, 485, 490.—Approved by the President [Public resolution, No. 59], 625.

S. J. Res. 214—Authorizing the Secretary of Commerce to postpone the sale of certain sealskins.
Mr. Thornton; Committee on Fisheries, 383.—Reported back, debated, and passed Senate, 435, 436.—Referred to House Committee on Foreign Affairs, 735.—Debated, 2962.

S. J. Res. 215—To refund under certain conditions, and for the year 1914, a portion of the offers in compromise for failure to make return required under the act of Oct. 3, 1913, said offers in compromise having been covered into the Treasury.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Finance, 436.

S. J. Res. 216—To amend the immigration laws.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Immigration, 490.

S. J. Res. 217—To repeal an act entitled "An act to reduce tariff duties and to provide revenue for the Government, and for other purposes," approved Oct. 3, 1913.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Finance, 869.

S. J. Res. 218—To provide for the detail of an officer of the Army for duty with the Panama-California Exposition, San Diego, Cal.
Mr. Works; Committee on Military Affairs, 902.—Reported back and passed Senate, 1156.—Passed House, 1322.—Examined and signed, 1361, 1381.—Approved by the President [Public resolution No. 62], 1942.

S. J. Res. 219—Looking toward an international peace conference at The Hague immediately after the close of the present war in Europe.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Foreign Relations, 964.

S. J. Res. 220—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to cause investigation to be made concerning duplicate and fraudulent enrollments and allotments in the Creek Nation, and to enforce the rights of said Creek Nation.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Indian Affairs, 964.

S. J. Res. 221—Withholding from allotment the unallotted lands or public domain of the Creek Nation or Tribe of Indians, and providing for the sale thereof, and for other purposes.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Indian Affairs, 964.—Reported back (S. Rept. 981), 3699.

S. J. Res. 222—Concerning the connecting parkway between Rock Creek and Potomac Parks.
Mr. Saulsbury; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1157.—Reported with an amendment, 3927.—Debated, 5345.

S. J. Res. 223—To provide for the expenses of the formal and official opening of the Panama Canal.
Mr. Overman; Committee on Appropriations, 1157.—Reported back, 1328.

S. J. Res. 224—Limiting charges to be made by common carriers engaged in interstate commerce in official classification territory, and for other purposes.
Mr. La Follette; ordered to lie on the table, 1329, 1330.

S. J. Res. 225—Making formal certain declarations for pensions on file in the Pension Office, said declarations pertaining to the War with Spain.
Mr. Martine of New Jersey; Committee on Pensions, 1329.

S. J. Res. 226—Providing for the appointment of a joint select committee to investigate and report as to the proper proportion of the expenses of the government of the District of Columbia which shall be borne by said District and the United States, respectively, and as to the necessity of any change or revision in the tax laws applicable to said District.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on the District of Columbia, 1601.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1020), 4266.—Indefinitely postponed. 5348.

S. J. Res. 227—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Owen; Committee on the Judiciary, 1601.

S. J. Res. 228—Authorizing the President of the United States to extend invitations to Central and South American Governments to be represented at a conference looking to an improvement of the financial relations between the United States and these nations.
Mr. Stone, from the Committee on Foreign Relations (S. Rept. 920), 1947, 1948.—Referred to Committee on Appropriations, 2302.

S. J. Res. 229—To authorize the appointment of an advisory committee for aeronautics.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2656.

S. J. Res. 230—To authorize the appointment of an advisory committee for aeronautics.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Military Affairs, 2657.

S. J. Res. 231—Withholding from allotment the unallotted lands or public domain of the Creek Nation or Tribe of Indians, and providing for the sale or lease thereof, and for other purposes.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Indian Affairs, 2846.

S. J. Res. 232—To authorize the Committees on Agriculture of the Senate and House to investigate a system of rural personal credit.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 2940.

S. J. Res. 233—Providing for world organization to secure permanent international peace.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Foreign Relations, 2941.

S. J. Res. 234—Authorizing the President of the United States to convey to all neutral nations the desire of this Government for an international conference for the purpose of promoting by cooperation and through its friendly offices the early cessation of hostilities, the establishment of peace among the warring nations of Europe, provide a clear definition of the rights of neutrals, and for other purposes.
Mr. La Follette; ordered to lie on the table, 3230.—Referred to Committee on Foreign Relations, 3633.—Debated, 3631–3633.

S. J. Res. 235—For the relief of N. B. Pettibone.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 3626.

S. J. Res. 236—For the relief of James L. Cardwell.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Public Lands, 3626.

S. J. Res. 237—Creating a commission and authorizing said commission to acquire by purchase the property known as Monticello, and embracing the former home of Thomas Jefferson and the park surrounding the same, consisting of 700 acres of land, all of said property being located in Albemarle County, Va.
Mr. Martine of New Jersey; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3928, 3929.

S. J. Res. 238—Giving authority to the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to make special regulations for the occasion of the forty-ninth national encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic, to be held in the District of Columbia in the months of September and October, 1915, and for other purposes incident to said encampment.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; Committee on Appropriations, 3928.—Reported with amendments; amended and passed Senate, 4484, 4485.—Referred to House Committee on the District of Columbia, 4630.—Committee discharged; passed House, 5185, 5186.—Examined and signed, 5245, 5417.—Approved by the President [Public resolution, No. 66], 5330.

S. J. Res. 239—Providing that the Congress of the United States shall participate in the celebration of the opening of The Dalles-Celilo Canal, May 5, 1915 .
Mr. Borah; Committee on Commerce, 3928.

S. J. Res. 240—Adopting "The Star-Spangled Banner," words of Francis Scott Key and music of Samuel Arnolds, as the national anthem
Mr. Smith of South Carolina; Committee on the Judiciary, 3928.

S. J. Res. 241—Creating a commission to prepare a budget system for the Government of the United States with reference to its appropriations, estimates, and revenues.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Appropriations, 3985.

S. J. Res. 242—Authorizing the President of the United States to invite foreign neutral powers to a conference in Washington, D. C., to consider measures for bringing to an end the war in Europe, and for other purposes.
Mr. Newlands; Committee on Foreign Relations, 4837.

S. J. Res. 243—To extend the time for the construction of a dam across the Pend O'Reille River, Wash., and for other purposes.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Commerce, 4912.

S. J. Res. 244—To empower the President to better enforce and maintain the neutrality of the United States.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Foreign Relations, 5232.

S. J. Res. 245—Providing for the payment of salaries of officers and employees of the Senate and House of Representatives in full for the month of March, 1915, on the 4th day of March, 1915.
Mr. Martine of New Jersey; passed Senate, 5362.

21–38 SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTIONS.

S. Con. Res. 21—Authorizing the printing of additional copies of Senate Document No. 147, Fifty-seventh Congress, second session, "Bills and Debates in Congress on Trusts."
Mr. Chilton; agreed to in Senate, 4945.

S. Con. Res. 28—Accepting the statue of George Washington Glick, presented by the State of Kansas, and tendering thanks of Congress therefor.
Mr. Thompson; reported back (H. Rept. 1337), 2738.—Agreed to in House, 3656.

S. Con. Res. 30—Authorizing the printing of 16,500 copies of the proceedings in Congress upon the acceptance of the statue of the late George Washington Glick, accompanied by an engraving of said statue.
Mr. Thompson; reported back (H. Rept. 1485) and agreed to in House, 5186, 5187.—(S. Doc. No. 990.)

S. Con. Res. 35—Relative to the celebration by the State of Louisiana of the one hundredth anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans, Jan. 8, 9, and 10, 1915.
Mr. Thornton; ordered to lie over under the rule, 1011.—Debated and agreed to, 1095.—Agreed to in House, 1187, 1188.

S. Con. Res. 36—To print the tribute of Nathaniel Hawthorne to Franklin Pierce.
Mr. Hollis; Committee on Printing, 2854.

S. Con. Res. 37—Requesting the President to return S. 3362 to the Senate.
Mr. Sheppard; considered and agreed to, 5102.—Agreed to in House, 5218.

S. Con. Res. 38—Rescinding the action of the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Vice President of the United States in signing the enrolled bill S. 3362, and authorizing an amendment thereof when reenrolled.
Mr. Sheppard; considered and agreed to, 5244, 5245.—Agreed to in House, 5445.

113–487 SENATE RESOLUTIONS.

S. Res. 113—To amend Rule XIX of the standing rules of the Senate.
Mr. Owen; Reported adversely and ordered to be placed on the calendar, 3622.

S. Res. 291—Authorizing the Committee on Naval Affairs to investigate the natural and strategic advantages of Charleston, S. C., as compared with Norfolk and other Chesapeake Bay ports, as a permanent point for coal distribution, etc.
Mr. Tillman; report submitted (S. Doc. 982), 5507.

S. Res. 305—To print a pamphlet entitled "The Power of the Federal Judiciary to Declare Legislation Invalid which Conflicts with the Federal Constitution," by David K. Watson, as a Senate document.
Mr. Burton; agreed to, 4945.—Motion to reconsider vote debated and rejected, 4945, 4946.—(S. Doc. 964).

S. Res. 320—Authorizing the printing as a Senate document an article entitled "The Preferential Ballot as a Substitute for the Direct Primary."
Mr. Chilton; debated and agreed to, 3700, 4945, 4946, 5505.—(S. Doc. 985).

S. Res. 351—To print as a Senate document the manuscript entitled "A Treatise on the Economic Value of Man," by Dr. Chauncey Rea Burr, of Portland, Me.
Mr. Chilton; Considered and agreed to, 4946, 4947.—(S. Doc. 965.)

S. Res. 398—To amend Rule XXV of the standing rules of the Senate.
Mr. Jones; debated, 342, 385–391.

S. Res. 455—Providing for an investigation relating to the nomination and election of United States Senators in the States of Pennsylvania and Illinois.
Mr. Norris; Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 979); referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 3548.

S. Res. 484—Informing the House of Representatives that the Senate is ready for business.
Mr. Kern, and agreed to, 2.

S. Res. 485—Fixing the hour of daily meeting of the Senate.
Mr. Overman, and agreed to, 2.

S. Res. 486—Authorizing the appointment of a committee to wait on the President and inform him that Congress is ready to receive any communication he may be pleased to make.
Mr. Kern, and agreed to, 2.

S. Res. 487—To investigate the newspaper report that $75,000 was paid to two United States Senators by Carranza for influence in the withdrawal of the United States troops from Vera Cruz.
Mr. Robinson; ordered to lie over under the rule, 3.—Ordered to the calendar, 24, 25.—Debated, 3, 4, 18, 21–25, 4954.

S. Res. 488—Directing the Secretary of Commerce to transmit to the Senate certain information concerning traffic in war materials.
Mr. Hitchcock, and agreed to, 8, 9.

S. Res. 489—Authorizing the Committee on the Philippines to hold hearings.
Mr. Hitchcock; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 8.—Reported back and agreed to, 16.

S. Res. 490—Authorizing the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry to hold hearings relative to the foot-and-mouth disease in cattle and other animals.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 7.—Reported with amendment, 45.—Debated, 7, 8, 45.—Amended and agreed to, 45.

S. Res. 491—Extending S. Res. 278, Sixty-third Congress, second session, authorizing and directing the Sergeant at Arms to appoint an additional messenger at $1,050 per annum.
Mr. Penrose; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 9.—Reported with amendment, amended, and agreed to, 1156.

S. Res. 492—Authorizing the Committees on Military Affairs and Naval Affairs to investigate and report to the Senate the disposition of certain moneys expended by the Army and Navy Departments since the fiscal year 1896.
Mr. Lewis; Committee on Military Affairs, 9.

S. Res. 493—Authorizing the appointment of a committee to attend the funeral of Hon. Edwin A. Merritt, jr., late a member of the House of Representatives from the State of New York.
Mr. Root, and agreed to, 9.

S. Res. 494—To print the property and stationery account of the Secretary of the Senate, Dec. 7, 1914, as a Senate document.
Mr. Fletcher, and agreed to (S. Doc. 628), 16.

S. Res. 495—To print the statement of the receipts and expenditures of the Senate for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1914, as a Senate document.
Mr. Fletcher, and agreed to (S. Doc. 627), 16.

S. Res. 496—Authorizing the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, or any subcommittee thereof, to employ a stenographer to report such hearings as may be held.
Mr. Gore; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 46.

S. Res. 497—Authorizing the Committee on Corporations Organized in the District of Columbia to employ an additional stenographer.
Mr. La Follette; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 81.

S. Res. 498—Authorizing the reprinting of the Soil Survey of the New Orleans Area, La.
Mr. Thornton; Committee on Printing, 126.

S. Res. 499—Authorizing the appointment of a committee to take order for the superintending of the funeral of Hon. Sereno Elisha Payne, late a Representative from the State of New York.
Mr. O'Gorman, and agreed to, 136.

S. Res. 500—To attend the funeral services of the late Sereno E. Payne in the House of Representatives Sunday, Dec. 13, 1914.
Mr. Root, and agreed to, 139.

S. Res. 501—Suspending the business of the Senate for tributes to the memory of Hon. Irvin S. Pepper, late a Member of the House of Representatives from the State of Iowa.
Mr. Cummins, and agreed to, 139–141.

S. Res. 502—Authorizing and directing the Commissioner of Patents to furnish the Committee on Cuban Relations of the Senate copies of certain patents.
Mr. Bristow, and agreed to, 173, 174.

S. Res. 503—Suspending the business of the Senate to enable the associates of Hon. Augustus Octavius Bacon, late a Senator from the State of Georgia, to pay proper tribute to his high character and distinguished public services.
Mr. Smith of Georgia, and agreed to, 296–303.

S. Res. 504—Requesting the Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of Commerce to furnish all available information relative to increased rates for ocean transportation since July 1, 1914.
Mr. Fletcher, and agreed to, 334.—See S. Doc. No. 673, 632, 2272, 2273.

S. Res. 505—To print 1,000 copies of the Senate document, "Indian Laws and Treaties," part 3, for the use of the Senate.
Mr. Norris; Committee on Printing, 334.

S. Res. 506—Directing the Librarian of Congress to make certain report.
Mr. Williams; Committee on the Library, 334.

S. Res. 507—To print 1,000 additional copies of Senate Document No. 214, Sixty-third Congress, first session, entitled "Agricultural Cooperation and Rural Credit in Europe," for the use of the Senate document room.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Printing, 493.—Reported back, debated, amended, and agreed to, 634.

S. Res. 508—To print 10,000 additional copies of Senate Document No. 380, Sixty-third Congress, second session, entitled "Agricultural Credit—Land-Mortgage or Long-Term Credit," for the use of the Senate document room.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Printing, 493.—Reported with amendment, amended, and agreed to, 634.

S. Res. 509—Authorizing an additional employee in behalf of the minority for services in the folding room.
Mr. Gallinger, and agreed to, 625.

S. Res. 510—Providing for an additional employee in behalf of the minority.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 636.—Reported back and agreed to, 812.

S. Res. 511—Requesting the President to transmit to the Senate copies of all communications from foreign Governments relative to the seizure or detention by any belligerent nation of shipments of copper from the United States to neutral countries of Europe, etc.
Mr. Walsh; ordered to lie on the table, subject to call, 636.—Debated, 795–802, 1159, 1160.—Amended and agreed to, 1160.

S. Res. 512—Requesting the President to transmit to the Senate certain information relative to the recent order of Great Britain declaring naval stores, etc., absolute contraband of war.
Mr. Hardwick; ordered to lie over under the rule, 902.—Debated and agreed to, 964, 1013–1016.

S. Res. 513—To investigate issuing of patents to Daniel B. Luten from 1900 to the present time.
Mr. Bristow; Committee on Patents, 1158.—Reported back and referred to Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 4912.—Reported with amendment, amended, and agreed to, 4912.

S. Res. 514—Requesting the President to furnish the Senate with certain information relative to the money collected by the United States at Vera Cruz during the occupation of that city by the military forces of the United States.
Mr. Cummins; ordered to lie over under the rule, 1158.—Ordered to be placed on the calendar, 1498.—Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, 3996.—Debated, 1285, 1286, 1383, 1491–1503, 1815–1817.

S. Res. 515—On the death of Mrs. Thomas S. Martin.
Mr. Gallinger, and agreed to, 1183.

S. Res. 516—On the death of the Hon. Joseph F. Johnston, late a Senator from the State of Alabama.
Mr. Bankhead, and agreed to, 1286–1294.

S. Res. 517—Directing the Secretary of War to transmit to the Senate estimates of equipment requisite for a mobile army of approximately 460,000 men in time of war; also a statement of such material on hand Jan. 1, 1915, and the amount necessary to comply with the estimates of the General Staff.
Mr. Lodge, and agreed to, 1330.

S. Res. 518—Authorizing in investigation of the foot-and-mouth disease in the United States, its origin, nature, etc.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 1490.—Debated, 1490, 1491.

S. Res. 519—Authorizing the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads to employ an additional clerk.
Mr. Bankhead; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 1487.—Reported back, 1601.—Agreed to, 1702, 1703.

S. Res. 520—Directing the Secretary of Commerce to inform the Senate as to the facts relating to the supply of dyestuffs for American textile and other industries, etc.
Mr. Pomerene; ordered to lie over under the rule, 1542.—Debated and agreed to, 2310.

S. Res. 521—Authorizing the Committee on Indian Affairs to employ a stenographer, when necessary, to report hearings on the pending Indian appropriation bill.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 1541.—Reported back and agreed to, 1564.

S. Res. 522—Authorizing the special committee to investigate the conduct of the excise board to hold hearings, etc.
Mr. Martine of New Jersey; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 1843.—Reported with amendments, amended, and agreed to, 2302.—Report submitted (S. Doc. 981), 5499–5502.

S. Res. 523—To print the manuscript entitled "The National Archives: A Programme," as a Senate document.
Mr. Fletcher, and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 717), 2302.

S. Res. 524—Authorizing the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands to employ a stenographer, when necessary, to report hearings.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 2305.

S. Res. 525—Referring S. 7293, for the relief of the Iowa Indians, with accompanying papers, to the Court of Claims.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Indian Affairs, 2305.

S. Res. 526—Authorizing the Committee on Expenditures in the War Department to employ a stenographer and hold hearings during the Sixty-third Congress.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 2305.

S. Res. 527—Directing the Secretary of the Treasury to transmit to the Senate certain information relative to interned merchant ships of belligerent nations.
Mr. Burton; ordered to lie over under the rule, 2851, 2852.—Debated, 2942, 2943, 3089.

S. Res. 528—Directing the Secretary of State to transmit to the Senate any information in his possession relative to the attitude of belligerent nations toward the transfer of the American flag to vessels heretofore carrying the flag of a belligerent State.
Mr. Burton; ordered to lie over under the rule, 2852.—Agreed to, 2993, 3088.

S. Res. 529—Authorizing the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds to hold hearings.
Mr. Swanson; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 2851.—Reported back and agreed to, 3085.

S. Res. 530—Relative to the claim of the loyal Creek Indians.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Indian Affairs, 2852.

S. Res. 531—Directing the Secretary of State to furnish the Senate with certain information relative to the treaty with Nicaragua.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Foreign Relations, 2852.

S. Res. 532—To amend Rule XL of the standing rules of the Senate.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Rules, 1747, 2852.

S. Res. 533—Authorizing the Committee on Interstate Commerce to hold hearings.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 2942.

S. Res. 534—Proposing an amendment to the standing rules of the Senate.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Rules, 2852, 2993.

S. Res. 535—Authorizing the Committee on Rules to prepare a new edition of the Senate Manual, and that the same be printed.
Mr. Overman; ordered to lie over under the rule, 2993.—Debated and agreed to, 2993, 3088, 3089.—(S. Doc. No. 938.)

S. Res. 536—Directing the Secretary of the Treasury and the Federal Reserve Board to report to the Senate the names of the directors of the regional reserve banks, etc.
Mr. Lewis; Committee on Banking and Currency, 2993.

S. Res. 537—To discharge the Committee on Commerce from further consideration of S. 7552.
Mr. Gore; ordered to lie over under the rule, 3087.—Ordered to be placed on the calendar, 3707.—Debated, 3087, 3701–3707.

S. Res. 538—Proposing to amend the rules of the Senate relating to debate.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Rules, 3339, 3543.—Reported adversely and ordered to be placed on the calendar, 3622.—Debated, 3338, 3339, 3538, 3539, 3541–3543.

S. Res. 539—Authorizing the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry to hold hearings, etc.
Mr. Gore; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 3551.—Reported back and agreed to, 3626.

S. Res. 540—To amend the standing rules of the Senate.
Mr. Norris; Committee on Rules, 3574, 3630, 3781, 3782.

S. Res. 541—Directing the Secretary of War to transmit to the Senate a statement of balances to the credit of the respective river and harbor projects.
Mr. Burton; ordered to lie over under the rule, 3700.—Agreed to, 4001.

S. Res. 542—Directing the Secretary of the Treasury to transmit to the Senate certain information relative to interned merchant ships of belligerent nations.
Mr. Burton; ordered to lie over under the rule, 3700.—Ordered to be placed on the calendar, 3779.—Debated, 3779.

S. Res. 543—Authorizing the appointment of a committee to ascertain certain information concerning interned ships in the ports of the United States and elsewhere.
Mr. Burton; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 3700.—Reported with amendments, 3773.—Debated, amended, and agreed to, 3773–3777.

S. Res. 544—Directing the Secretary of Agriculture to furnish a statement relative to the ownership and control of water-power sites in the United States.
Mr. Borah, and agreed to, 3700.

S. Res. 545—Directing the Secretary of Commerce to transmit to the Senate copies of certain communications from foreign powers.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; ordered to lie over under the rule, 3777.—Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, 4000.—Debated, 3997–4000.

S. Res. 546—To amend Rule V of the standing rules of the Senate.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Rules, 3551, 3778, 3779.

S. Res. 547—Authorizing the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds to hold hearings.
Mr. Swanson; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 3929.—Reported with amendment, amended, and agreed to, 4083.

S. Res. 548—Requesting the President to send to the Senate the note received from the British Government dated February 10, 1915.
Mr. Lodge, and agreed to, 3990, 3991.

S. Res. 549—To amend the standing rules of the Senate by adding a new rule.
Mr. Norris; ordered to lie over under the rule, 3766, 3996.—Ordered to lie on the table, 4092.—Debated, 3996, 4090–4092.

S. Res. 550—Directing the Attorney General to report to the Senate his findings and conclusions relative to illegal combinations in restraint of trade in the smelting industry.
Mr. Poindexter, and agreed to, 4089.

S. Res. 551—To appoint a committee of six Senators to consider the rules of the Senate and report to the Senate such alterations and amendments as they shall judge proper, and to employ such assistance as may be necessary, etc.
Mr. Overman; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 4089.

S. Res. 552—Authorizing a subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary to consider, between the Sixty-third and Sixty-fourth Congresses, or during a session or recess of the Sixty-fourth Congress, a proposed codification, revision, and amendment of the laws relating to the judiciary.
Mr. Culberson; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 4089.—Reported with an amendment; considered, amended, and agreed to, 4894.

S. Res. 553—Directing the Secretary of the Senate to pay Julia H. Platt a sum equal to six months' salary of the late Benjamin S. Platt.
Mr. Root; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 4392.—Reported with an amendment; considered, amended, and agreed to, 4894.

S. Res. 554—Authorizing the Committee on the Judiciary to hold hearings.
Mr. Reed; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 4844.—Reported back and agreed to, 4894.

S. Res. 555—Providing for services in memory of Hon. William H. Wilder, late a Representative from the State of Massachusetts.
Mr. Lodge; considered and agreed to, 4890, 4891.

S. Res. 556—Providing for services in memory of Hon. Forrest Goodwin, late a Representative from the State of Maine.
Mr. Johnson; considered and agreed to, 4891–4893.

S. Res. 557—Relating to privileges of boat and bath house proprietors on the banks of the Tidal Basin.
Mr. Norris; agreed to, 5059.

S. Res. 558—Providing that the Committee on Privileges and Elections be discharged from the consideration of various credentials.
Mr. Kern; agreed to, 5067.

S. Res. 559—With reference to the continuation of the standing committees of the Senate.
Mr. Kern; considered and agreed to, 5067.

S. Res. 560—Referring to the Court of Claims the bill (S. 5103) to compensate Alfred A. Thresher for the infringement of his letters patent by the United States.
Mr. Lee of Maryland; considered and agreed to, 5067.

S. Res. 561—To authorize the appointment of a messenger boy for service in the office of the Sergeant at Arms.
Mr. Gallinger; referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 5102.—Reported with an amendment; considered, amended, and agreed to, 5505.

S. Res. 562—To print the manuscript entitled "International Arbitration" as a Senate document.
Mr. Fletcher; placed on the calendar, 5147.—Agreed to (S. Doc. 987), 5351, 5352.

S. Res. 563—To print the report submitted by the National Academy of Sciences as a Senate document.
Mr. Fletcher; placed on the calendar, 5147.—Agreed to (S. Doc. 989), 5352.

S. Res. 564—To print the manuscript entitled "Know Your City," by Le Roy Hodges, as a Senate document.
Mr. Fletcher; placed on the calendar, 5147.—Debated, 5352.

S. Res. 565—To print the manuscript entitled "The Old Roman Senate" as a Senate document.
Mr. Fletcher; placed on the calendar, 5147.

S. Res. 566—To print the manuscript entitled "Yea-and-Nay-Votes in the Senate on the Federal Reserve Act" as a Senate document.
Mr. Fletcher; placed on the calendar, 5147.

S. Res. 567—To print the proceedings of the twentieth meeting of the convention of the American Instructors of the Deaf as a Senate document.
Mr. Fletcher; placed on the calendar, 5148.—Debated and agreed to (S. Doc. 986), 5352, 5355.

S. Res. 568—To print the manuscript entitled "Report of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution for the year ended Oct. 11, 1914," as a Senate document.
Mr. Fletcher; reported, considered, and agreed to (S. Doc. 988), 5352.

S. Res. 569—Extending the time of the Committee on the Judiciary to report to the Senate on the charge that a lobby is being maintained in Washington or elsewhere to influence legislation.
Mr. Overman; considered and agreed to, 5252.

S. Res. 570—Authorizing the appointment of a committee of three Senators to join a similar committee of the House to confer with the President concerning final adjournment.
Mr. Kern; considered and agreed to, 5505.

S. Res. 571—Tendering the thanks of the Senate to Hon. Thomas R. Marshall.
Mr. Gallinger; considered and unanimously agreed to, 5509.

S. Res. 572—Tendering the thanks of the Senate to Hon. James P. Clarke.
Mr. Lodge; considered and unanimously agreed to, 5509.

S. Res. 573—To print the manuscript entitled "The preferential ballot as a substitute for the direct primary," by Lewis Jerome Johnson, as a Senate document.
Mr. Fletcher; reported, considered, and agreed to, 5357, 5508.

S. Res. 574—To refer the bill S. 7633 to the Court of Claims for investigation.
Mr. White; reported considered, and agreed to, 5344.

H. R. 13—For payment to the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway Co. the $4,583.67 improperly collected under the act of Aug. 5, 1909.
Mr. Burke of South Dakota; reported back (S. Rept. 864), 1010.—Passed Senate, 4958.—Examined and signed, 5067, 5178.—Presented to the President, 5201.—Approved [Private, No. 244], 5523.

H. R. 22—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the adjudication and payment of claims arising from Indian depredations," approved Mar. 3, 1891.
Mr. Stephens of Texas; laid on the table (see bill S. 2824), 935–938.

H. R. 57—Making an appropriation to M. C. Burke for tax liens held by him on property acquired by the United States.
Mr. Lenroot; reported back (S. Rept. 906), 1487.—Passed Senate, 4962, 4963.—Examined and signed, 5067, 5178.—Presented to the President, 5201.—Approved [Private, No. 245], 5523.

H. R. 124—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Interior to investigate and settle certain accounts under the reclamation acts, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; debated in House, 448, 449, 929, 3798, 3805.

H. R. 900—For the relief of James Easson.
Mr. Cooper; reported back (S. Rept. 993), 3927.—Passed Senate, 5346.—Examined and signed, 5356, 5491.—Presented to the President, 5521.—Approved [Private, No. 249], 5523.

H. R. 962—For the relief of William H. Shannon.
Mr. Curry; passed Senate, 4948.—Examined and signed, 5067, 5178.—Presented to the President, 5201.—Approved [Private, No. 204], 5522.

H. R. 1062—Granting a patent to Joseph Robicheau.
Mr. French; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 1031), 4523.—Amended and passed Senate, 5349.

H. R. 1090—For the relief of Alonzo D. Cadwallader.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 892), 1285.—Amended and passed Senate, 4961.—House concurs in Senate amendment, 5186.—Examined and signed, 5245, 5417.—Presented to the President, 5459.—Approved [Private, No. 205], 5522.

H. R. 1185—For the relief of Ellen B. Monahan.
Mr. Kahn; reported back (H. Rept. 1455), 4802.

H. R. 1698—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide for an enlarged homestead," and acts amendatory thereof and supplemental thereto.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; conference report (No. 1474) made in House, 5180.—Conference report debated and agreed to in House, 5179, 5180.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 5060.—Examined and signed, 5245, 5417.—Presented to the President, 5459.—Approved [Public, No. 299], 5523.

H. R. 1702—Increasing the limit of cost fixed by act of Congress approved June 25, 1910, for enlargement, extension, etc., of Federal building at Bath, Me.
Mr. McGillicuddy; reported back (H. Rept. 1380), 3481.—Debated, 3819, 4547.

H. R. 1710—To prohibit the intermarriage of persons of the white and negro races within the District of Columbia; to declare such contracts of marriage null and void; to prescribe punishments for violations and attempts to violate its provisions.
Mr. Clark of Florida; debated, amended, and passed House, 1362–1368.—Referred to Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, 1382.

H. R. 1718—To require all transportation companies, firms, and persons within the District of Columbia to provide separate accommodations for the white and negro races and to prescribe punishments and penalties for violating its provisions.
Mr. Clark of Florida; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1340), 2740, 2827.

H. R. 1933—To limit the effect of the regulation of interstate commerce between the States in goods, wares, and merchandise wholly or in part manufactured, mined, or produced by convict labor or in any prison or reformatory.
Mr. Booher; debated in Senate, 964–966.

H. R. 1937—To amend the national banking laws.
Mr. Levy; debated [Appendix, 647].

H. R. 1991—To amend section 3 of an act entitled "An act in reference to the expatriation of citizens and their protection abroad," approved Mar. 2, 1907.
Mr. Kent; debated in House, 450–452.

H. R. 2471—For purchasing a site and erecting a public building at Superior, Nebr.
Mr. Barton; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1378), 3481.

H. R. 2496—To amend section 15 of the act to regulate commerce as amended June 29, 1906, and June 18, 1910.
Mr. Cullop; debated, 2431, 2959, 3796, 3804, 3805.

H. R. 2504—To amend section 2 of an act entitled "An act to incorporate the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution."
Mr. FitzHenry; reported back (S. Rept. 1042); passed Senate, 4680.—Examined and signed, 4838, 4888.—Presented to the President, 5056.—Approved [Public, No. 277], 5522.

H. R. 2642—Authorizing the President to reinstate Joseph Eliot Austin as an ensign in the United States Navy.
Mr. Esch; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 1010); amended and passed Senate, 3985.—House disagrees to Senate amendment and asks for a conference, 4308.—Senate insists on its amendment and agrees to a conference, 4393.—Conference appointed, 4308, 4393.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 4560.—Conference report made, debated, and agreed to in House, 4671.—Examined and signed, 5251, 5417.—Presented to the President, 5459.—Approved [Public, No. 303], 5523.

H. R. 2662—For the relief of Andrew J. Lawrence.
Mr. Hayes; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 866), 1011.—Amended and passed Senate, 4958.—House concurs in Senate amendment, 5186.—Examined and signed, 5245, 5417.—Presented to the President, 5459.—Approved [Private, No. 246], 5523.

H. R. 2667—For the relief of the legal representatives of Parker S. Rouse, deceased.
Mr. Hayes; reported back (S. Rept. 884), 1285.—Passed Senate, 4961.—Examined and signed, 5067, 5178.—Presented to the President, 5201.—Approved [Private, No. 206], 5522.

H. R. 2668—For the relief of the heirs of Ellery B. Wilmar.
Mr. Hayes; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1266), 1276.—Amended and passed House, 3526.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 3552.

H. R. 2703—For the relief of Drenzy A. Jones and John G. Hopper, joint contractors, for surveying Yosemite Park boundary.
Mr. Kahn; passed Senate, 4951.—Examined and signed, 5067, 5178.—Presented to the President, 5201.—Approved [Private, No. 207], 5522.

H. R. 2909—To extend the priveleges of the seventh section of immediate-transportation act to Bay City, Mich.
Mr. Woodruff; reported back (S. Rept. 1034), 4523.—Passed Senate, 5350.—Examined and signed, 5356, 5491.—Presented to the President, 5521.—Approved [Public, No. 306], 5523.

H. R. 2969—Providing for an increase of salary of the United States attorney for the district of Connecticut.
Mr. Baker; ordered stricken from the files, 5520.

H. R. 2972—Forbidding the importation, exportation, or the carriage in interstate commerce of watchcases made in whole or in part of an inferior metal having deposited or plated thereon, or brazed or otherwise affixed thereto, platings, coverings, or sheets composed of gold or of an alloy thereof bearing words or marks importing a guaranty or wear for a specified time, and of watchcases of less than nine karat bearing the word "gold," and of watch movements not properly marked in respect to the number of their jewels and their adjustment, and for other purposes.
Mr. Goeke; debated. [Appendix, 558.]

H. R. 3305—Directing the accounting officers of the Treasury to credit and settle an account of Maj. George H. Penrose.
Mr. Stevens of Minnesota; reported back (S. Rept. 883), 1285.—Passed Senate, 4961.—Examined and signed, 5067, 5178.—Presented to the President, 5201.—Approved [Private, No. 208], 5522.

H. R. 3430—For the relief of Lottie Rapp.
Mr. Anthony; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 914), 1541.—Amended and passed Senate, 4963.—House concurs in Senate amendment, 5186.—Examined and signed, 5245, 5417.—Presented to the President, 5459.—Approved [Private, No. 247], 5523.

H. R. 3435—For the relief of Mrs. Max S. Retter.
Mr. Anthony; reported back (S. Rept. 886), 1285.—Passed Senate, 4961.—Examined and signed, 5067, 5178.—Presented to the President, 5201.—Approved [Private, No. 209], 5522.

H. R. 3586—For the relief of Francis Tomlinson.
Mr. Kreider; passed Senate, 4953.—Examined and signed, 5067, 5178.—Presented to the President, 5201.—Approved [Private, No. 210], 5522.

H. R. 3613—To reimburse Le Grand C. Cramer for amount of damages to his motor launch Winninish by the United States launch Gunedmertrix at Morris Heights, N. Y., on Mar. 31, 1911.
Mr. Levy; reported back (S. Rept. 885), 1285.—Passed Senate, 4961.—Examined and signed, 5067, 5178.—Presented to the President, 5201.—Approved [Private, No. 211], 5522.

H. R. 3771—Granting a pension to Joseph F. Flynn.
Mr. Riordan; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 2927.

H. R. 3885—For the relief of Peter Scott.
Mr. Switzer; reported back (S. Rept. 891), 1285.—Passed Senate 4961.—Examined and signed, 5067, 5178.—Presented to the President, 5201.—Approved [Private, No. 212], 5522.

H. R. 4001—For the relief of Daniel J. Ryan.
Mr. Calder; reported back (S. Rept. 903), 1487.—Passed Senate, 4962.—Examined and signed, 5146, 5187.—Presented to the President, 5417.—Approved [Private, No. 213], 5522.

H. R. 4008—For the relief of Sandy Crawford.
Mr. Gorman; reported back (S. Rept. 877), 1156.—Passed Senate, 5960.—Examined and signed, 5067, 5178.—Presented to the President, 5201.—Approved [Private, No. 215], 5522.

H. R. 4266—Granting patent to certain lands to the legal heirs of W. F. Nichols.
Mr. Wingo; reported back (S. Rept. 990), 3927.—Passed Senate, 5345, 5346.—Examined and signed, 5356, 5491.—Presented to the President, 5521.—Approved [Private, No. 250], 5523.

H. R. 4541—To consolidate the veterinary service, United States Army, and to increase its efficiency.
Mr. Hay; debated in Senate, 5338–5340.—Laid on the table, 5340.

H. R. 4545—To amend an act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," approved Mar. 3, 1911.
Mr. Clayton; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 852), 963.—Amended and passed Senate, 4955, 4956.—House concurs in Senate amendment, 5225.—Examined and signed, 5245, 5417.—Presented to the President, 5459.—Approved [Public, No. 278], 5522.

H. R. 4630—For the relief of Fred A. Emerson.
Mr. Hinds; reported back (S. Rept. 873), 1156.—Passed Senate, 4959.—Examined and signed, 5067, 5178.—Presented to the President, 5201.—Approved [Private, No. 214], 5522.

H. R. 4899—To fix the standard barrel for fruits, vegetables, and other dry commodities.
Mr. Tuttle; debated, 1077–1093, 1514–1531. [Appendix, 76.]—Amended and passed House, 1527–1531.—Debated and passed Senate, 5353.—Examined and signed, 5505, 5521.—Presented to the President, 5521.—Approved [Public, No. 307], 5523.

H. R. 4931—To prevent false advertising in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Dent; debated, 1773, 3796.

H. R. 5195—For the relief of the Atlantic Canning Co.
Mr. Green of Iowa; reported back (S. Rept. 893) and passed Senate, 1328.—Examined and signed, 1484, 1599.—Presented to the President, 1733.—Approved [Private, No. 167], 2248.

H. R. 5823—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin W. Clark.
Mr. Ainey; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 1596.

H. R. 5849—To amend section 100 of an act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," approved Mar. 3, 1911.
Mr. Francis; debated, amended, and passed House, 269–275.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 295.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1054), 5102.—Passed Senate, 5350, 5351.—Examined and signed, 5505, 5521.—Presented to the President, 5521.—Approved [Public, No. 308], 5523.

H. R. 5850—To amend section 162 of the act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary, approved Mar. 3, 1911.
Mr. Watkins; reported back (S. Rept. 973), 3548.—Debated, 5344.

H. R. 5890—For the relief of settlers within the limits of the grant to the New Orleans, Baton Rouge & Vicksburg Railroad Co.
Mr. Aswell; debated in Senate, 4952, 4953.

H. R. 5966—For the relief of Clyde Odum.
Mr. Sparkman; reported back (S. Rept. 863), 1010.—Passed Senate, 4958.—Examined and signed, 5067, 5178.—Presented to the President, 5201.—Approved [Private, No. 216], 5522.

H. R. 6060—To regulate the immigration of aliens to and the residence of aliens in the United States.
Mr. Burnett; debated in Senate, 46–54, 81–97, 141, 175, 176, 203–224, 256–266, 341, 342–351, 383–385, 391–398, 437–442, 636–653, 738–756, 784–794, 802–812, 814, 839–868 [Appendix, 185].—Amended and passed Senate, 867, 868.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a conference, 1128–1153 [Appendix, 87, 88, 91, 124, 171].—Senate insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 1159.—Conference appointed, 1153, 1159.—Conference report (No. 1270) made in House, 1629.—Conference report (S. Doc. 712) made in Senate, 1337, 1338.—Conference report debated and agreed to in Senate, 1383–1388, 1546–1550.—Conference report debated and agreed to in House, 1629–1633 [Appendix, 171].—Examined and signed, 1681, 1704.—Presented to the President, 1733.—Vetoed by the President (H. Doc. No. 1527), 2481.—Referred to House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 2481–2483.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1368), 3013.—Debated, 2973–2975, 3013–3078 [Appendix, 265, 285, 286, 316, 324, 329, 340, 341, 343, 355, 356, 359, 732, 876].—House refuses to pass bill over the President's veto, 3077, 3078.

H. R. 6134—To amend the act authorizing the construction of a public building at Biddeford, Me.
Mr. Hinds; reported back (H. Rept. 1377), 3481.—Debated, 3822.

H. R. 6143—Relating to the maintenance of actions for death on the high seas and other navigable waters.
Mr. Peters; debated in House, 283–290, 1065–1077 [Appendix, 31, 32].—Amended and passed House, 1076, 1077.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 1126.

H. R. 6200—To amend an act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," approved Mar. 3, 1911.
Mr. Garrett of Tennessee; debated, 5183.

H. R. 6282—To provide for the registration of, with collectors of internal revenue, and to impose a special tax upon all persons who produce, import, manufacture, compound, deal in, dispense, sell, distribute, or give away opium or coca leaves, their salts, derivatives, or preparations, and for other purposes.
Mr. Harrison of New York; conference report agreed to in House, 97.—Examined and signed, 142, 201.—Presented to the President, 246.—Approved [Public, No. 223], 444.

H. R. 6867—To increase and fix the compensation of the collector of customs for the customs collection district of Omaha.
Mr. Lobeck; debated, amended, and passed House, 63.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 81.—Reported back (S. Rept. 844), 333.—Debated and passed Senate, 333, 334.—Examined and signed, 399, 490.—Presented to the President, 627.—Approved [Public, No. 225], 2248.

H. R. 6939—To reimburse Edward B. Kelley for moneys expended while superintendent of the Rosebud Indian Agency in South Dakota.
Mr. Burke of South Dakota; House concurs in Senate amendment, 478, 479.—Examined and signed, 616, 632.—Presented to the President, 782.—Approved [Private, No. 165], 2248.

H. R. 7043—For the relief of Nabor and Victoria Leon.
Mr. Hayden; reported back (H. Rept. 1386), 3482.—Passed House, 3535.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 3551.

H. R. 7049—To reimburse the Port Angeles City Dock Co. for damage done to the dock of that company by the United States revenue-cutter Snohomish.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; reported back (S. Rept. 880), 1156.—Passed Senate, 4961.—Examined and signed, 5067, 5178.—Presented to the President, 5200.—Approved [Private, No. 218], 5522.

H. R. 7205—For the relief of H. S. Hathaway.
Mr. Vaughan; Amended and passed Senate, 4949, 4950.—House concurs in Senate amendment, 5186.—Examined and signed, 5245, 5417.—Presented to the President, 5459.—Approved [Private, No. 217], 5522.

H. R. 7771—To regulate plastering in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Buchanan of Illinois; debated, amended, and passed House, 1361.—Referred to Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, 1382.

H. R. 7949—To authorize Parkersburg-Ohio Bridge Co., a corporation created and existing under the laws of the State of West Virginia, its successors and assigns, to construct a bridge across the Ohio River from the city of Parkersburg, State of West Virginia, to the town of Belpre, State of Ohio.
Mr. Moss of West Virginia; reported back (H. Rept. 1404), 3705.—Debated, 5182, 5183.—(See bill S. 7646.)

H. R. 8472—Amending an act entitled "An act to establish postal savings depositories for depositing savings at interest with the security of the Government for repayment thereof, and for other purposes."
Mr. Buchanan of Illinois; debated [Appendix, 132].

H. R. 8811—To execute the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of Sarah B. Hatch, widow of Davis W. Hatch.
Mr. Slayden; reported back (S. Rept. 862), 1010.—Passed Senate, 4958.—Examined and signed, 5331, 5482.—Presented to the President, 5482.—Approved [Private, No. 251], 5523.

H. R. 8846—Making appropriation for payment of certain claims in accordance with findings of the Court of Claims, reported under the provisions of the acts approved Mar. 3, 1883, and Mar. 3, 1887, and commonly known as the Bowman and the Tucker acts, and under the provisions of section numbered 151 of the act approved Mar. 3, 1911, commonly known as the Judicial Code.
Mr. Gregg; debated in Senate, 2030, 2082, 4945, 5287–5295, 5303–5321.—Amended and passed Senate, 5321.—Senate insists on its amendments and asks for a conference, 5321.—Conference appointed in Senate, 5321.—House concurs in all Senate amendments to No. 296 and disagrees to all Senate amendments from 296 to 706, inclusive, 5471, 5472.—Senate recedes from its amendments Nos. 296 to 706, inclusive, 5357.—Examined and signed, 5356, 5515.—Presented to the President, 5521.—Approved [Public, No. 289], 5523.

H. R. 8847—Amending paragraph 81 of the act creating a Public Utilities Commission.
Mr. Kahn; debated, 1361, 1362, 2793.

H. R. 8904—To authorize the establishment of a life-saving station at the mouth of the Siuslaw River, Oreg.
Mr. Hawley; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1215), 162.—Debated, 1787, 2431.—Amended and passed House, 2431.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 2446.—Reported back (S. Rept. 961), 2991.—Passed Senate, 5344.—Examined and signed, 5356, 5491.—Presented to the President, 5521.—Approved [Public, No. 309], 5523.

H. R. 8960—Incorporating the American Academy of Arts and Letters.
Mr. Slayden; debated, 2795.

H. R. 9017—Transferring the control and jurisdiction of Alcatraz Island and its buildings thereon from the Department of War to the Department of Labor.
Mr. Raker; debated, 1775, 1776.

H. R. 9270—For the relief of John M. Gray.
Mr. Aswell; passed Senate, 4951.—Examined and signed, 5067, 5178.—Presented to the President, 5200.—Approved [Private, No. 219], 5522.

H. R. 9393—To protect the rights of women citizens of the United States to register and vote for Senators of the United States and for Members of the House of Representatives.
Mr. French; debated [Appendix, 398].

H. R. 9584—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States to sell the present old post office and the site thereof in the city of Jersey City, N. J.
Mr. Hamill; debated, amended, and passed House, 933, 934, 1770–1772.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1842.—Reported back; passed Senate, 3549.—Examined and signed, 3692, 3696.—Presented to the President, 3837.—Approved [Public, No. 248], 4164.

H. R. 9591—To permit the manufacture of denatured alcohol by mixing domestic and wood alcohol while in process of distillation.
Mr. Palmer; debated and passed House, 3800–3802.—Referred to Senate Committee on Finance, 3874.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1032), 4523.—Debated, 5349.

H. R. 9701—For the relief of F. W. Theodore Schroeter.
Mr. Bruckner; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 915), 1541.—Amended and passed Senate, 4963.—House concurs in Senate amendment, 5186.—Examined and signed, 5245, 5417.—Presented to the President, 5459.—Approved [Private, No. 220], 5522.

H. R. 9734—For the relief of Victoria Coffman.
Mr. Moss of West Virginia; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 859), 1010.—Amended and passed Senate, 4958.—House concurs in Senate amendment, 5186.—Examined and signed, 5245, 5417.—Presented to the President, 5459.—Approved [Private, No. 248], 5523.

H. R. 9809—To authorize the laying out and opening of public roads on the Winnebago, Omaha, Ponca, and Santee Sioux Indian Reservations in Nebraska and on Indian reservations in Montana,
Mr. Stephens of Nebraska; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 919), 1842.—Amended and passed Senate, 4964.—Senate insists on its amendments and asks for a conference, 4964.—Conference appointed in Senate, 4964.—House concurs in Senate amendment with an amendment, 5188, 5189.—Senate concurs in House amendment to Senate amendment, 5102.—Examined and signed, 5331, 5459.—Presented to the President, 5482.—Approved [Public, No. 310], 5523.

H. R. 10122—To credit Samuel M. Fitch, collector of internal revenue, first district of Illinois, on the books of the Treasury Department with the sum of $1,500 for cigar stamps lost or stolen in transit.
Mr. Mann; reported back, 5066.—Passed Senate, 5351.—Examined and signed, 5356, 5491.—Presented to the President, 5521.—Approved [Private, No. 252], 5523.

H. R. 10167—For the relief of Hannah Waldo.
Mr. Calder; reported back (S. Rept. 868), 1011.—Passed Senate, 4959.—Examined and signed, 5067, 5178.—Presented to the President, 5200.—Approved [Private, No. 221], 5522.

H. R. 10172—For the relief of L. V. Thomas.
Mr. Dies; reported back (S. Rept. 878), 1156.—Passed Senate, 4960.—Examined and signed, 5146, 5187.—Presented to the President, 5417.—Approved [Private, No. 222], 5522.

H. R. 10201—For the relief of the heirs of Theodore Dehon.
Mr. Johnson of South Carolina; reported back (S. Rept. 860), 1010.—Passed Senate, 4958.—Examined and signed, 5067, 5178.—Presented to the President, 5200.—Approved [Private, No. 223], 5522.

H. R. 10271—For the relief of Edward Whiteside.
Mr. Fitzgerald; passed Senate, 4953, 4954.—Examined and signed, 5067, 5178.—Presented to the President, 5200.—Approved [Private, No. 224], 5522.

H. R. 10719—For the relief of Joseph P. Leiter.
Mr. Willis; indefinitely postponed in Senate, 4951.

H. R. 10735—To create a Bureau of Labor Safety in the Department of Labor.
Mr. Lewis of Maryland; debated in Senate, 4948, 5354, 5357, 5358.

H. R. 10929—Granting a pension to Alonzo Sidman.
Mr. Smith of New York; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 2927.

H. R. 11178—To establish a standard box for apples, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; debated, 5218–5221, 5224.

H. R. 11246—For the restoration of annuities to the Medawakanton and Wahpakoota (Santee) Sioux Indians, declared forfeited by the act of February 16, 1863.
Mr. Stephens of Nebraska; debated, amended, and passed Senate, 4949.—Senate insists on its amendments and ask for a conference, 4951.—Conference appointed in Senate, 4951.—Motion to disagree to Senate amendments and agree to a conference objected to in House, 5179.

H. R. 11253—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to sell to the town of Tempe, Ariz., a tract of land containing road-making material.
Mr. Hayden; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1239), 430.—Debated, 3796, 4549.

H. R. 11256—Granting relief to Jacob Barger.
Mr. Fowler; reported back (S. Rept. 1065), 5147.—Passed Senate, 5353.—Examined and signed, 5356, 5491.—Presented to the President, 5521.—Approved [Private, No. 253], 5523.

H. R. 11291—For the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at Blytheville, Ark.
Mr. Caraway; reported back (H. Rept. 1402), 3763.—Debated, 5461, 5463, 5464.

H. R. 11299—To enlarge, extend, and make additions to, fireproof, and further improve the post-office building at Shenandoah, Iowa.
Mr. Towner; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1414), 4077.

H. R. 11318—Authorizing the sale of lands in Lyman County, S. Dak.
Mr. Burke of South Dakota; debated, amended, and passed House, 940, 941.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 1013.—Reported back (S. Rept. 936), 2301.—Passed Senate, 5340.—Examined and signed, 5356, 5491.—Presented to the President, 5521.—Approved [Public, No. 311], 5523.

H. R. 11394—For the relief of Joseph A. Powers.
Mr. Fitzgerald; reported back (S. Rept. 875), 1156.—Passed Senate, 4960.—Examined and signed, 5146, 5187.—Presented to the President, 5417.—Approved [Private, No. 225], 5522.

H. R. 11648—For erecting a suitable memorial to John Ericsson.
Mr. Fitzgerald; debated [Appendix, 251].

H. R. 11694—Providing for the purchase of a site for a public building at Binghamton, N. Y.
Mr. Fairchild; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1401), 3763.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 5225.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 5146.—Reported back and passed Senate, 5354, 5355.—Examined and signed, 5356, 5491.—Presented to the President, 5521.—Approved [Public, No. 312], 5523.

H. R. 11749—To create a national university at the seat of the Federal Government.
Mr. Fess; reported back (H. Rept. 1433), 4445.

H. R. 11839—For the relief of William Ham.
Mr. Farr; amended and passed House, 3523.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 3552.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1016), 4204.—Passed Senate, 5348.—Examined and signed, 5356, 5491.—Presented to the President, 5521.—Approved [Private, No. 254], 5523.

H. R. 11927—For the relief of Matthew McDonald.
Mr. Doolittle; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1254), 783.—Amended and passed House, 3526.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 3551.—Reference changed to Committee on Naval Affairs, 3699.

H. R. 11994—Granting an increase of pension to C. W. Kerlee.
Mr. Caraway; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 1532.

H. R. 12050—Reserving from entry, location, or sale lots 1 and 2, in section 33, township 13 south, range 4 west, New Mexico prime meridian, in Sierra County, N. Mex., and for other purposes.
Mr. Fergusson; debated, amended, and passed House, 444–448.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 492.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 902), 1382.—Amended and passed Senate, 4962.

H. R. 12075—To correct the military record of A. W. Sudduth.
Mr. Fergusson; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1335), 2536.—Amended and passed House, 3530, 3531.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 3552.

H. R. 12229—For the relief of William A. Wallace.
Mr. Ten Eyck; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 916), 1600.—Amended and passed Senate, 4963.—House concurs in Senate amendment, 5186.—Examined and signed, 5245, 5417.—Presented to the President, 5459.—Approved [Private, No. 226], 5522.

H. R. 12288—Releasing the claim of the United States to that portion of land, being a fractional block, bounded on the north and east by Bayou Cadet, on the west by Cevallos Street, and on the south by Intendencia Street, in the old city of Pensacola.
Mr. Wilson of Florida; reported back (H. Rept. 1507), 5528.

H. R. 12292—To prevent interstate commerce in the products of child labor, and for other purposes.
Mr. Palmer; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1400), 3739, 3763.—Debated, 3827–3836, 4022.—Amended and passed House, 3836.—Referred to Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, 3875.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1050), 4911.

H. R. 12303—To amend section 3246 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, as amended by section 5 of the act of Mar. 1, 1879.
Mr. Linthicum; passed House, 62, 63.—Referred to Senate Committee on Finance, 81.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1035); passed Senate, 4555.—Examined and signed, 4801, 4809.—Presented to the President. 5057.—Approved [Public, No. 266], 5522.

H. R. 12369—For the relief of John Healy.
Mr. O'Shaunessy; debated, amended, and passed House, 3523, 3524.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 3552.

H. R. 12464—Providing for the expenditure of part of the unexpended balance of the appropriation of $10,000 made by the urgent deficiency bill of Oct. 22, 1913, for the completion of the post-office building at Hanover, Pa.
Mr. Brodbeck; reported back (S. Rept. 911), 1541.—Passed Senate, 4963.—Examined and signed, 5146, 5187.—Presented to the President, 5417.—Approved [Public, No. 300], 5523.

H. R. 12571—Granting a pension to Richard Thomas Lusby.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 41.

H. R. 12674—To provide for the allowance of drawback of tax on articles shipped to the island of Porto Rico or to the Philippine Islands.
Mr. Sparkman; reported back, 4204.—Passed Senate, 5348.—Examined and signed, 5356, 5491.—Presented to the President, 5521.—Approved [Public, No. 313], 5523.

H. R. 12750—Relating to procedure in United States courts.
Mr. McCoy; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1218), 162.—Amended and passed House, 283.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 295.—Reported back (S. Rept. 853), 963.—Debated, 4956.

H. R. 12780—To provide for the payment of the claim of J. O. Modisette for services performed for the Chickasaw Indians of Oklahoma.
Mr. Lazaro; reported back (S. Rept. 907), 1487.—Passed Senate, 4963.—Examined and signed, 5146, 5187.—Presented to the President, 5417.—Approved [Private, No. 227], 5522.

H. R. 12841—Granting a pension to Blanche Wood.
Mr. Oglesby; reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1813.

H. R. 12896—To place Rev. John A. Ferry, captain, upon the unlimited retired list of the Army.
Mr. Griffin; reported back (H. Rept. 1283), 1678.

H. R. 12909—For the relief of James W. McGreevey.
Mr. Talbott of Maryland; amended and passed Senate, 4948.—House concurs in Senate amendment, 5186.—Examined and signed, 5245, 5417.—Presented to the President, 5459.—Approved [Private, No. 228], 5522.

H. R. 12916—Providing for the payment of pensions monthly by means of the annual issue of 12 coupons.
Mr. Cline; debated [Appendix, 417].

H. R. 12919—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide for an enlarged homestead."
Mr. Sinnott; debated and passed Senate, 4948, 4949.—Examined and signed, 5067, 5178.—Presented to the President, 5201.—Approved [Public, No. 279], 5522.

H. R. 13029—For the relief of John L. Maile.
Mr. Stephens of California; debated, 3522, 3523.

H. R. 13042—Releasing claim of the United States to lot No. 306 in the old city of Pensacola, Fla.
Mr. Wilson of Florida; reported back (H. Rept. 1508), 5528.

H. R. 13044—To pension widows and minor and helpless children of officers and enlisted men who served during the War with Spain or the Philippine insurrection or in China between Apr. 21, 1898, and July 4, 1902.
Mr. Key of Ohio; debated in Senate, 2405, 2406, 2434, 4947.

H. R. 13123—For the relief of Charles H. Rayfield, alias Charles H. Czarnowsky.
Mr. Patten of New York; reported back (S. Rept. 927), 2302.—Passed Senate, 4964.—Examined and signed, 5146, 5187.—Presented to the President, 5417.—Approved [Private, No. 229], 5522.

H. R. 13180—To amend the act of Mar. 4, 1913 (37 Stats., 872), so as to provide that in the construction of the public building at Roseburg, Oreg., provision shall be made for the accommodation therein of the United States post office and other governmental offices.
Mr. Hawley; reported back (S. Rept. 899), 1327.—Passed Senate, 4962.—Examined and signed, 5067, 5178.—Presented to the President, 5200.—Approved [Public, No. 280], 5522.

H. R. 13222—To regulate the use of public school buildings and grounds in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; debated, amended, and passed House, 454, 455.—Referred to Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, 492.—Reported back, 3626, 3699.—Passed Senate, 5345.—Examined and signed, 5356, 5491.—Presented to the President, 5521.—Approved [Public, No. 314], 5523.

H. R. 13226—Prohibiting the interment of the body of any person in the cemetery known as the Cemetery of the White's Tabernacle No. 39 of the Ancient United Order of Sons and Daughters, Brethren and Sisters of Moses, in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Oglesby; reported back (H. Rept. 1260), 1007.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 1359, 1360.—Referred to Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, 1382.

H. R. 13240—For the relief of the legal representatives of James S. Clark, deceased.
Mr. Cantrill; reported back (S. Rept. 858), 1010.—Passed Senate, 4958.—Examined and signed, 5068, 5178.—Presented to the President, 5200.—Approved [Private, No. 230], 5522.

H. R. 13373—For the relief of Charles V. Wells.
Mr. Bulkley; debated, amended, and passed House, 3524, 3525, 3526.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 3551.

H. R. 13388—For the relief of James T. Petty, Charles W. Church, and others, executors of Charles B. Church, deceased; Jessie B. Wilson, and George T. Dearing.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; reported back (H. Rept. 1206), 41.—Debated, 1358, 1360, 3525.

H. R. 13421—For the relief of William Hensley.
Mr. Barchfeld; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1383), 3482.

H. R. 13470—For the relief of James Grady.
Mr. Gilmore; reported back (S. Rept. 1071), 5231.—Passed Senate, 5353.—Examined and signed, 5356, 5491.—Presented to to the President, 5521.—Approved [Private, No. 256], 5523.

H. R. 13591—For the relief of John P. Ehrmann.
Mr. Ten Eyck; reported back (S. Rept. 1058), 5066.—Passed Senate, 5351.—Examined and signed, 5356, 5491.—Presented to the President, 5521.—Approved [Private, No. 256], 5523.

H. R. 13690—For the relief of the Woman's Board of Domestic Missions, Reformed Church, in America.
Mr. Ferris; reference changed to Committee on Claims, 2927.

H. R. 13698—For the relief of Charles A. Coulson.
Mr. Igoe; House concurs in Senate amendment, 869.—Examined and signed, 948, 1010.—Presented to the President, 1153.—Approved [Private, No. 166], 2248.

H. R. 13709—For the relief of Joe Davis.
Mr. Sinnott; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1357), 2982.—Debated, 3533.

H. R. 13756—For the relief of Augustus Dudley Hubbell.
Mr. Mapes; amended and passed House, 3523.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 3551.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1067) and passed Senate, 5172, 5353.—Examined and signed, 5356, 5491.—Presented to the President, 5521.—Approved [Private, No. 257], 5523.

H. R. 13769—To authorize the acceptance and administration of savings by the Postal Savings Bank Service of the Post Office Department for crescent life annuities.
Mr. Calder; debated. [Appendix, 443.]

H. R. 13815—To increase the limit of cost for the construction of a public building at Marlin, Tex.
Mr. Henry; reported back (S. Rept. 882).—Passed Senate, 1284.—Examined and signed, 1361, 1381.—Presented to the President, 1596.—Approved [Public, No. 234], 2248.

H. R. 13830—For the relief of William A. Howard.
Mr. Dies; reported back (S. Rept. 869), 1011.—Passed Senate, 4958, 4959.—Examined and signed, 5068, 5178.—Presented to the President, 5201.—Approved [Private, No. 231], 5522.

H. R. 13923—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to appoint a commission to designate, define, and survey the battle field of the Crater at Petersburg, Va., and to collect certain data concerning the same and make report thereupon.
Mr. Watson; debated, 942.

H. R. 14152—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to issue patent on desert-land entries upon cash payment for the land.
Mr. Seldomridge; debated [Appendix, 694].

H. R. 14167—For the relief of Emily J. Byrd.
Mr. Fields; reported back (S. Rept. 905), 1487.—Passed Senate, 4963.—Examined and signed, 5146, 5187.—Presented to the President, 5417.—Approved [Private, No. 232], 5522.

H. R. 14196—Authorizing the Tuscarora Nation of New York Indians to lease or sell the limestone deposits upon their reservation.
Mr. Clancy; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 918), 1703.

H. R. 14197—For the relief of the legal representatives of Mrs. H. G. Lamar.
Mr. Bartlett; reported back (S. Rept. 1008), 3984.—Passed Senate, 5348.—Examined and signed, 5356, 5491.—Presented to the President, 5521.—Approved [Private, No. 258], 5523.

H. R. 14330—To prohibit the importation and entry of goods, wares, and merchandise made in whole or in part by convict, pauper, or detained labor, or made in whole or in part from materials which have been made in whole or in part or in any manner manipulated by convict or prison labor.
Mr. Hensley; debated in Senate, 4947.

H. R. 14711—For the relief of Miles A. Hughes.
Mr. Fields; passed Senate, 4954.—Examined and signed, 5068, 5178.—Presented to the President, 5201.—Approved [Private, No. 233], 5522.

H. R. 14869—Authorizing the Shoshone Tribe of Indians residing on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming to submit claims to the Court of Claims.
Mr. Lobeck; debated, 3799, 3800, 3802.

H. R. 14895—To create a new division of the Bureau of Education, to be known as the Federal Motion Picture Commission, and defining its powers and duties.
Mr. Hughes of Georgia; reported back (H. Rept. 1411), 3923.

H. R. 14931—For the relief of Arthur Brose.
Mr. Steenerson; reported back (S. Rept. 876), 1156.—Passed Senate, 4960.—Examined and signed, 5146, 5187.—Presented to the President, 5417.—Approved [Private, No. 234], 5522.

H. R. 14950—To authorize the city of Louisville, Ky., to open a parkway through the United States fish station and hatchery in Jefferson County, Ky.
Mr. Sherley; debated, 3968.

H. R. 14996—To purchase a post-office site and to build a post-office building in the city of Marion, N. C.
Mr. Gudger; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1435), 4445.

H. R. 15000—Authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to disregard section 33 of the public buildings act of Mar. 4, 1913, as to site at Huntingdon, Tenn.
Mr. Sims; reported back (S. Rept. 912), 1541.—Passed Senate, 4963.—Examined and signed, 5147, 5187.—Presented to the President, 5417.—Approved [Public, No. 301], 5523.

H. R. 15038—Proposing an amendment to the Federal reserve act relative to acceptances, and for other purposes.
Mr. Glass; amended and passed House, 33, 34.—Referred to Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, 81.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 854), 963.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 3930, 3931, 4956, 4957, 4958, 4959, 4960.—Senate insists on its amendments and asks for a conference, 4964.—Conference appointed in Senate, 4964.—House concurs in Senate amendments, 5182, 5183.—Examined and signed, 5245, 5417.—Presented to the President, 5459.—Approved [Public, No. 281], 5522.

H. R. 15168—For the relief of Lyman D. Drake, jr.
Mr. Garner; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1315), 2269.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 3529.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 3551.

H. R. 15215—To authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to adjust and settle the shortages in certain accounts of said District, and for other purposes.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; reported back (H. Rept. 1212), 162.—Debated and passed House, 1358, 1359.—Referred to Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, 1382.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1019), 4265, 4266.—Passed Senate, 5348.—Examined and signed, 5356, 5491.—Presented to the President, 5521.—Approved [Public, No. 315], 5523.

H. R. 15220—To amend sections 4888 and 4889 of the Revised Statutes, relating to patents.
Mr. Alexander; reported back (S. Rept. 874), 1157.—Debated and passed Senate, 1157, 4959.—Examined and signed, 5147, 5187.—Presented to the President, 5417.—Approved [Public, No. 282], 5523.

H. R. 15382—Granting a pension to Harry V. Hafner.
Mr. Casey; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 199.

H. R. 15414—For the relief of David Mowen.
Mr. Dershem; reported back (S. Rept. 881), 1156.—Passed Senate, 4961.—Examined and signed, 5147, 5187.—Presented to the President, 5417.—Approved [Private, No. 235], 5523.

H. R. 15418—Authorizing Maj. Clyde S. Ford, Medical Corps, to accept and wear the decoration tendered him by the Ottoman and Bulgarian Governments for services rendered in the Balkan wars.
Mr. Neely of West Virginia; debated, 942.

H. R. 15436—Authorizing the acquisition of a site and the construction of a public building thereon at Putnam, Conn., and amending the public building act of June 25, 1910.
Mr. Mahan; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1472), 5057.

H. R. 15465—To prescribe the duties and liabilities of common carriers engaged in interstate commerce, as at common law, and to prohibit such carriers from limiting or restricting their duties and liabilities under the common law.
Mr. Vaughan; debated, 5450, 5451.

H. R. 15470—To require the Commissioner of Education to devise methods and promote plans for the elimination of adult illiteracy in the United States.
Mr. Abercrombie; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1487), 5226.

H. R. 15557—For the relief of Anna Miller.
Mr. Mondell; reported back (S. Rept. 867), 1011.—Passed Senate, 4188.—Examined and signed, 4341, 4392.—Presented to the President, 4679.—Approved [Private, No. 199], 5523.

H. R. 15633—Granting a pension to Axel O. Carlson.
Mr. Helvering; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 248.

H. R. 15661—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to lease to the occupants thereof certain unpatented lands on which oil or gas has been discovered.
Mr. Church; debated, 934, 935.

H. R. 15666—For the relief of John A. Ryan.
Mr. Donohoe; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1350), 2982.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 3531, 3532.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 3551.

H. R. 15686—For the relief of William W. Fineren.
Mr. Sparkman; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1293), 1917.

H. R. 15727—Authorizing the county of St. Louis to construct a bridge across the St. Louis River between Minnesota and Wisconsin.
Mr. Miller; debated, 1772, 2792, 3796, 4548.

H. R. 15767—To provide for the appointment of an additional judge in the fifth judicial circuit of the United States.
Mr. Slayden; reported back (H. Rept. 1374), 3153.

H. R. 15799—To provide for stock-raising homesteads, and for other purposes.
Mr. Fergusson; debated, 1806–1812 [Appendix, 520, 526].—Amended and passed House, 1812.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 1842.—Reported back (S. Rept. 949), 2839.—Debated, 3702, 3986, 5344, 5411.

H. R. 15869—To provide for the establishment and maintenance of mining experiment and mine safety stations for making investigations and disseminating information among employees in mining, quarrying, metallurgical, and other mineral industries, and for other purposes.
Mr. Foster; debated, 2814, 2815 [Appendix, 272, 276, 345, 355, 393, 496, 540, 749].—Amended and passed House, 2815.—Referred to Senate Committee on Mines and Mining, 2936.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1052), 4911.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 4950.—Senate insists on its amendments and asks for a conference, 4951.—Conference appointed in Senate, 4951.—House concurs in Senate amendments 5182 [Appendix, 540].—Examined and signed, 5147, 5200.—Presented to the President, 5417.—Approved [Public, No. 283], 5523.

H. R. 15902—To amend, revise, and codify the laws relating to the public printing and binding and the distribution of Government publications.
Mr. Barnhart; debated, 56–62.—Amended and passed House, 62.—Referred to Senate Committee on Printing, 81.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 904), 1487.—Debated, 4962.

H. R. 15934—For the relief of Mrs. Joseph Cameron.
Mr. Smith of Minnesota; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1384), 3482.—Amended and passed House, 3535.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 3551.

H. R. 16020—To authorize the Secretary having jurisdiction of the same to set aside certain public lands to be used as national sanitariums by fraternal or benevolent organizations, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 953), 2940.—Debated, 5344, 5357, 5362.

H. R. 16053—To amend an act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of dams across navigable waters," approved June 21, 1906, as amended by the act approved June 23, 1910.
Mr. Adamson; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 846), 385.—Debated, 4955.

H. R. 16056—To increase the limit of cost of the United States post-office building at Grand Junction, Colo.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; debated, 929, 930.

H. R. 16098—Revising and amending the statutes relative to trade-marks.
Mr. Palmer; reported back (H. Rept. 1313), 2202.

H. R. 16136—To authorize exploration for and disposition of coal, phosphate, oil, gas, potassium, or sodium.
Mr. Ferris; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 947), 2839.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 5154, 5155.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a conference, 5440.—Conference appointed in House, 5440.

H. R. 16166—For the relief of James F. Gorman.
Mr. Vollmer; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1294), 1917.—Debated, 3527.

H. R. 16223—For the relief of Warren V. Howard.
Mr. Gillett; reported back (H. Rept. 1405), 3763.

H. R. 16298—To incorporate the Mother's Day Association.
Mr. Heflin; reported back (S. Rept. 1040), 4680.

H. R. 16305—To reimburse Henry Weaver, postmaster at Delmar, Ala., for money and stamps stolen from said post office at Delmar and repaid by him to the Post Office Department.
Mr. Burnett; reported back; passed Senate, 4485.—Examined and signed, 4630, 4682.—Presented to the President, 4801.—Approved [Private, No. 200], 5523.

H. R. 16392—To better regulate the serving of licensed officers in the merchant marine of the United States and to promote safety at sea.
Mr. Hardy; reported back (S. Rept. 840), 251.—Passed Senate, 4954, 4955.—Examined and signed, 5068, 5178.—Presented to the President, 5201.—Approved [Public, No. 267], 5523.

H. R. 16477—To conduct investigations and experiments for ameliorating the damage wrought to the fisheries by predaceous fishes and aquatic animals.
Mr. Hinds; debated, amended, and passed House, 2981.—Referred to Senate Committee on Fisheries, 2994.

H. R. 16478—To provide capital for agricultural development, to create a standard form of investment based upon farm mortgages, to equalize rates of interest upon farm loans, to furnish a market for United States bonds, to provide a method of applying postal savings deposits to the promotion of the public welfare, and for other purposes.
Mr. Bulkley; debated [Appendix, 294].

H. R. 16510—To provide for recognizing the services of certain officers of the Army, Navy, and Public Health Service for their services in connection with the construction of the Panama Canal, to extend to certain of such officers the thanks of Congress, and for other purposes.
Mr. Adamson; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 929), 2302.—Amended and passed Senate, 4964, 4965.—Senate insists on its amendments and asks for a conference, 4965.—Conference appointed in Senate, 4965.—House concurs in Senate amendment with an amendment, 5224.—Senate concurs in House amendment to Senate amendment, 5146.—Examined and signed, 5251, 5459.—Presented to the President, 5459.—Approved [Public, No. 316], 5523.

H. R. 16542—For the control and regulation of the waters of Niagara River, and for other purposes.
Mr. Cline; minority views (H. Rept. 990, pt. 2) presented, 3739, 3740.

H. R. 16594—For the relief of Eva G. Bond and Daisy E. Jackson, sole heirs of the late Warren F. Jackson.
Mr. Dupré; reported back (H. Rept. 1387), 3482.—Passed House, 3535.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 3551.

H. R. 16629—Granting a pension to Mrs. Noble C. Burkhart.
Mr. Slemp; reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1323.

H. R. 16637—To provide divisions of mental hygiene and rural sanitation in the United States Public Health Service.
Mr. Adamson; reported back (H. Rept. 1224), 248.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 2801–2814 [Appendix, 249].—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Health and National Quarantine, 2936.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1049), 4911.

H. R. 16640—To authorize the construction of a bridge across the Niagara River, in the town of Lewiston, in the county of Niagara and State of New York.
Mr. Gittins; debated, 932, 2032, 2033.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 6121), 2033.

H. R. 16642—Authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to disregard section 33 of the public buildings act of March 4, 1913, as to site at Vineland, N. J.
Mr. Baker; reported back (S. Rept. 900), 1327.—Passed Senate, 4962.—Examined and signed, 5225, 5227.—Presented to the President, 5459.—Approved [Public, No. 304], 5523.

H. R. 16650—For the relief of Thomas P. Darr.
Mr. French; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1296), 1917.—Amended and passed House, 3528.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 3551.

H. R. 16673—To provide for the development of water power and the use of public lands in relation thereto, and for other purposes.
Mr. Ferris; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 898), 1327, 2840.—Debated, 3378, 3379.

H. R. 16713—For the relief of Samson Davis.
Mr. Bulkley; reported back adversely (S. Rept. 976) and indefinitely postponed, 3548.

H. R. 16738—To provide for the payment of certain moneys to school districts in Oklahoma.
Mr. Ferris; debated and passed House, 941, 942.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 1013.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 938), 2302.—Passed Senate, 5341.—Examined and signed, 5505, 5521.—Presented to the President, 5521.—Approved [Public, No. 317], 5523.

H. R. 16759—To require owners and lessees of amusement parks to furnish drinking water to patrons free of cost, etc.
Mr. Howard; debated, amended, and passed House, 1360.—Referred to Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, 1382.

H. R. 16777—For the relief of Amato Castellano, Libero Baranello, and Michele Baranello.
Mr. Maher; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1382), 3482.—Amended and passed House, 3535.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 3551.—Reported back, 5066.—Passed Senate, 5351.—Examined and signed, 5356, 5491.—Presented to the President, 5521.—Approved [Private, No. 259], 5523.

H. R. 16829—To provide for enlarging the site for the United States building at Plymouth, Mass.
Mr. Thacher; debated in House, 449.

H. R. 16850—To remove the charge of desertion against Charles A. Lester.
Mr. Fitzgerald; reported back (H. Rept. 1437), 4445.

H. R. 16875—To promote the safety of employees and passengers on railroads engaged in interstate or foreign commerce.
Mr. Stevens of New Hampshire; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1249), 631, 1064.

H. R. 16896—For the relief of Col. Richard H. Wilson, United States Army.
Mr. Bryan; reported back (H. Rept. 1353), 2982.—Passed House, 3532.—Passed Senate, 3551.—Examined and signed, 3692, 3696.—Presented to the President, 3837.—Approved [Private, No. 180], 4164.

H. R. 17001—Granting an increase of pension to Albert Kneller.
Mr. Lobeck; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 199.

H. R. 17097—To fix the salary of the auditor of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; reported back (S. Rept. 974), 3548.

H. R. 17110—To reimburse Epps Danley for property lost by him while light keeper at East Pascagoula River (Miss.) Light Station.
Mr. Harrison; reported back (S. Rept. 865), 1010, 1011.—Passed Senate, 4958.—Examined and signed, 5068, 5178.—Presented to the President, 5201.—Approved [Private, No. 201], 5523.

H. R. 17122—For the relief of John Burrows.
Mr. Broussard; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1348), 2982.—Amended and passed House, 3532.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 3551.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1011); passed Senate, 4083.—Examined and signed, 4164, 4260.—Presented to the President, 4341.—Approved [Private, No. 195], 5522.

H. R. 17168—To authorize the North Alabama Traction Co., its successors and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Tennessee River at or near Decatur, Ala.
Mr. Harris; debated, amended, and passed House, 945, 946.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 1013.—Reported back (S. Rept. 889), 1284.—Passed Senate, 3701.—Examined and signed, 3837, 3874.—Presented to the President, 3958.—Approved [Public, No. 258], 5522.

H. R. 17174—To pay the claim of the American Towing & Lightering Co. for damages to its tug Buccaneer.
Mr. Coady; reported back (H. Rept. 1352), 2982.—Passed House, 3532.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 3551.—Reported back, 5146.—Passed Senate, 5351.—Examined and signed, 5357, 5491.—Presented to the President, 5521.—Approved [Private, No. 260], 5523.

H. R. 17261—Granting an increase of pension to W. F. Patten.
Mr. Walker; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 1532.

H. R. 17330—To authorize the sale and disposal of an island in the Coosa River, in the State of Alabama.
Mr. Underwood; debated, amended, and passed House, 2793–2795.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 2936.—Reference changed to Committee on Public Lands, 2991.

H. R. 17343—For the relief of Charles L. Pritchard.
Mr. Hay; passed House, 3525.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 3551.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1059), 5066.—Passed Senate, 5351.—Examined and signed, 5357, 5491.—Presented to the President, 5521.—Approved [Private, No. 261], 5523.

H. R. 17388—Creating an additional land district in the State of California embracing lands contained in the county of Imperial, and for other purposes.
Mr. Kettner; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1251), 782.

H. R. 17424—For the relief of Hunton Allen.
Mr. Bartlett; reported back (S. Rept. 861), 1010.—Passed Senate, 4492.—Examined and signed, 4630, 4682.—Presented to the President, 4801.—Approved [Private, No. 202], 5523.

H. R. 17464—For the relief of Fred Graff.
Mr. Talcott of New York; reported back (S. Rept. 1070), 5231.—Passed Senate, 5353.—Examined and signed, 5357, 5491.—Presented to the President, 5521.—Approved [Private, No. 262], 5523.

H. R. 17571—Granting an increase of pension to Peter P. Swensen.
Mr. Smith of Minnesota; reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 379.

H. R. 17762—To amend an act approved Feb. 20, 1908, entitled "An act to authorize the Interstate Transfer Railway Co. to construct a bridge across the St. Louis River between the States of Wisconsin and Minnesota."
Mr. Lenroot; debated, 1772, 2791, 3796, 4549.

H. R. 17765—To regulate details of majors in the Ordnance Department.
Mr. Sherley; passed House, 1777.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 1842.—Reported back (S. Rept. 923), 2302.—Debated and passed Senate, 4494.—Examined and signed, 4164, 4260.—Presented to the President, 4341.—Approved [Public, No. 251], 5522.

H. R. 17780—Providing for the use of certain portions or spaces of ground within the national forests for recreation purposes.
Mr. Hawley; debated, 1787.

H. R. 17842—For the relief of George Richardson.
Mr. Candler of Mississippi; reported back (H. Rept. 1262), 1153.—Passed House, 3526.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 3552.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1036); Passed Senate, 4555.—Examined and signed, 4682, 4801.—Presented to the President, 4801.—Approved [Private, No. 236], 5523.

H. R. 17851—For erecting a suitable memorial to Nathan Hale.
Mr. Lonergan; debated [Appendix, 816].

H. R. 17869—Providing for the appointment of an additional district judge for the southern district of the State of Georgia.
Mr. Webb; debated, amended, and passed House, 64–75.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 81.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 908), 1487.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 3778.—Senate amendments debated in House; House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a conference, 4524–4538.—Senate insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 4559.—Conference appointed, 4538, 4559.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 4681, 4682.—Motion to recede from its amendment No. 1 debated and agreed to in Senate, 4681, 4682, 4837, 4838, 4841–4843.—Conference report (No. 1457) made in House, 4981.—Conference report agreed to in House, 4981.—Examined and signed, 5056, 5059.—Presented to the President, 5178.—Approved [Public, No. 284], 5523.

H. R. 17893—To amend section 3 of an act entitled "An act to promote the safety of employees and travelers upon railroads by limiting the hours of service of employees thereon," approved Mar. 4, 1907.
Mr. Stevens of New Hampshire; reported back (S. Rept. 1072), 4681, 4895, 5354, 5355.

H. R. 17894—To amend an act entitled "An act to promote the safety of employees and travelers upon railroads by compelling common carriers engaged in interstate commerce to equip their locomotives with safe and suitable boilers and appurtenances thereto," approved Feb. 17, 1911.
Mr. Goeke; debated and passed House, 933.—Referred to Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, 1013.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 1068), 5355.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 5355, 5356.—House concurs in Senate amendment, 5514.—Examined and signed, 5505, 5521.—Presented to the President, 5521.—Approved [Public, No. 318], 5523.

H. R. 17907—Granting the consent of Congress to the Interstate Bridge & Terminal Co., of Muscatine, Iowa, to build a bridge across the Mississippi River.
Mr. Vollmer; debated, 471, 472, 3798.—Passed House, 3798.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 3874.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1004); passed Senate, 3985.—Examined and signed, 4164, 4260.—Presented to the President, 4341.—Approved [Public, No. 259], 5522.

H. R. 17964—For the relief of Austin G. Tainter.
Mr. Stephens of California; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1370), 3153.

H. R. 17971—For securing the uniform grading of grain, preventing deception in transactions in grain, and regulating traffic therein, and for other purposes.
Mr. Moss of Indiana; debated, 949–960 [Appendix, 269, 553].—Amended and passed House, 959, 960.—Referred to Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 1013.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1014), 4083.—Debated, 5348.

H. R. 17982—To make Nyando, N. Y., a port through which merchandise may be imported for transportation without appraisement.
Mr. Merritt; reported back (H. Rept. 1269), 1323.—Passed House, 3802, 3803.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 3874.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1012); passed Senate, 4083.—Examined and signed, 4211, 4260.—Presented to the President, 4341.—Approved [Public, No. 252], 5522.

H. R. 18031—Amending sections 476, 477, 440 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.
Mr. Oldfield; reported back (S. Rept. 940), 2302.—Passed Senate, 5341.

H. R. 18038—To carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of Louis Landram, administrator of William J. Landram, deceased.
Mr. Helm; reported back (H. Rept. 1297), 1917.—Debated, 3528, 3529.

H. R. 18086—To transfer certain counties in the several judicial districts in the State of Arkansas.
Mr. Caraway; reported back (H. Rept. 1346), 2982.—Debated and passed House, 3820, 3821.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 3874.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 1051), 4911.—Amended and passed Senate, 5350.—House concurs in Senate amendments, 5490.—Examined and signed, 5505, 5521.—Presented to the President, 5521.—Approved [Public, No. 319], 5523.

H. R. 18166—To correct the military record of A. J. Henry.
Mr. Young of North Dakota; debated, 3521, 3522.

H. R. 18172—To increase the limit of cost of the United States post-office building at Seymour, Ind.
Mr. Dixon; debated and passed House, 931.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1013.—Reported back (S. Rept. 980), 3622.—Passed Senate, 4084.—Examined and signed, 4242, 4260.—Presented to the President, 4341.—Approved [Public, No. 253], 5522.

H. R. 18173—To reinstate Frederick J. Birkett as third lieutenant in the United States Revenue-Cutter Service.
Mr. Anthony; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1226), 291.

H. R. 18174—To transfer Capt. John Calvin Leonard from the retired to the active list of the United States Navy.
Mr. Bathrick; reported back (H. Rept. 1322), 2365.

H. R. 18197—For the relief of Arthur W. Fowler.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1355), 2982.—Amended and passed House, 3533.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 3551.

H. R. 18281—Granting the consent of Congress to Norfolk-Berkley Bridge Corporation, of Virginia, to construct a bridge across the Eastern Branch of the Elizabeth River in Virginia.
Mr. Holland; laid on the table (see bill S. 6227), 455, 456.

H. R. 18310—To acquire a site for a public building at Hartford, Conn.
Mr. Lonergan; reported back (H. Rept. 1375), 3445.—Debated [Appendix, 532].

H. R. 18323—Granting a pension to William Henry Gray.
Mr. Kettner; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 430.

H. R. 18383—To provide better sanitary conditions in composing rooms within the District of Columbia.
Mr. Ten Eyck; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1289), 1734.—Amended and passed House, 3805.—Referred to Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, 3875.

H. R. 18402—To provide for the erection of a public building at Long Beach, Cal.
Mr. Bell of California; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1417), 4077.

H. R. 18459—To declare the purpose of the people of the United States as to the future political status of the people of the Philippine Islands, and to provide a more autonomous government for those islands.
Mr. Jones; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 942), 2839.—Debated, 5342, 5343.

H. R. 18474—For the relief of William J. Blake.
Mr. Hinds; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1295), 1917.—Debated, 3527, 3528.

H. R. 18487—Granting a pension to Marie Johnson.
Mr. Miller; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 248.

H. R. 18505—To acquire by purchase, condemnation, or otherwise additional land for the Federal building at Manchester, N. H., and to construct an addition thereon.
Mr. Reed; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1415), 4077.

H. R. 18550—Empowering and directing the Secretary of the Treasury to convey by quitclaim deed certain lands in the city of Akron, State of Ohio.
Mr. Bathrick; debated, amended, and passed House, 1788.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 1842.—Reported back (S. Rept. 989), 3927.—Passed Senate, 5345.—Examined and signed, 5357, 5491.—Presented to the President, 5521.—Approved [Private, No. 263], 5523.

H. R. 18572—Granting permission to Mrs. R. S. Abernethy, of Lincolnton, N. C., to accept the decoration of the bust of Bolivar.
Mr. Webb; passed House, 3522.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Library, 3552.

H. R. 18645—Authorizing certain improvements on the Federal post office at Carlisle, Pa.
Mr. Rupley; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1371), 3153.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 3817, 5192.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 5146.

H. R. 18654—Providing for the appointment of secretaries in the Diplomatic Service and appointments in the Consular Service.
Mr. Flood of Virginia; laid on the table (see bill S. 5614), 1777, 1779–1786.

H. R. 18666—To authorize the United States, acting through a shipping board, to subscribe to the capital stock of a corporation to be organized under the laws of the United States or of a State thereof or of the District of Columbia to purchase, construct, equip, maintain, and operate merchant vessels in the foreign trade of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Alexander; debated. [Appendix, 112, 122, 291.]

H. R. 18685—To repeal penalties on foreign-built vessels owned by Americans.
Mr. Alexander; reported back (H. Rept. 1299), 1917.—Debated and passed House, 2967–2972.—Referred to Senate Committee on Finance, 2994.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 1023), 4392.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 5348, 5349.—House concurs in Senate amendment, 5524.—Examined and signed, 5505, 5521.—Presented to the President, 5521.—Approved [Public, No. 320], 5523.

H. R. 18686—To provide for provisional certificates of registry of vessels abroad, and for other purposes.
Mr. Alexander; reported back (H. Rept. 1303), 1917.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 2962–2967.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 2994.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1005), 3984.—Passed Senate, 5346.—Examined and signed, 5357, 5491.—Presented to the President, 5521.—Approved [Public, No. 321], 5523.

H. R. 18695—Granting a pension to Duval Johnson.
Mr. Goodwin of Arkansas; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 77.

H. R. 18745—In relation to the location of a navigable channel of the Calumet River in Illinois.
Mr. Mann; reported back (H. Rept. 1268), 1322.—Debated and passed House, 2424, 2425.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 2446.—Reported back (S. Rept. 960), 2991.—Debated and passed Senate, 4187, 4188.—Examined and signed, 4341, 4392.—Presented to the President, 4679.—Approved [Public, No. 260], 5522.

H. R. 18747—To reserve certain lands and to incorporate the same and make them a part of the Pike National Forest.
Mr. Keating; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1244), 485.—Debated, 3797.—Amended and passed House, 5463.—Passed Senate, 5351.—Examined and signed, 5505, 5515.—Presented to the President, 5521.—Approved [Public, No. 322], 5523.

H. R. 18756—For the relief of Mollie H. Pumphrey.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; reported back adversely (H. Rept. 1358) and laid on table, 2982.

H. R. 18783—To increase the limit of cost of the United States post-office building and site at St. Petersburg, Fla.
Mr. Sparkman; debated, 1774, 1775, 1786, 1787.—Amended and passed House, 2792, 2793.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2936.—Reported back (S. Rept. 977); passed Senate, 3548.—Examined and signed, 3692, 3696.—Presented to the President, 3837.—Approved [Public, No. 249], 4164.

H. R. 18804—Granting a pension to John L. Barr.
Mr. Thompson of Oklahoma; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 430.

H. R. 18851—To prohibit the sale or gift of intoxicating liquors to minors within the admiralty and maritime jurisdiction of the United States.
Mr. Sabath; debated and passed House, 946–948 [Appendix, 68].—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 1159.

H. R. 18876—To provide for the construction of two revenue cutters.
Mr. Adamson; reported back (H. Rept. 1214), 162.—Debated, 2800, 3796.

H. R. 18884—For the relief of Daniel Jordan.
Mr. Porter; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1333), 2536.—Amended and passed House, 3531.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 3552.

H. R. 19015—To provide for the establishment of a national employment bureau in the Department of Labor.
Mr. MacDonald; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1429), 4242.

H. R. 19061—For the relief of homestead entrymen under the reclamation projects of the United States.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1345), 2927.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 3816.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 3874.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1026), 4523.—Debated and passed Senate, 4809, 5349.—Examined and signed, 5357, 5491.—Presented to the President, 5521.—Approved [Public, No. 331], 5524.

H. R. 19073—Granting a pension to Howard E. Tolson.
Mr. Talbott of Maryland; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 1007.

H. R. 19076—To amend an act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," approved Mar. 3, 1911.
Mr. Beall of Texas; debated, amended, and passed House, 282, 283.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 295.—Reported back (S. Rept. 847), 434, 435.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 1542–1546.—House concurs in Senate amendments, 2137.—Examined and signed, 2202, 2272.—Presented to the President, 2364.—Approved [Public, No. 241], 4164.

H. R. 19078—Granting the consent of Congress to the Cleveland Yacht Club Co. to construct a bridge across the west arm of Rocky River, Ohio.
Mr. Bulkley; reported back (H. Rept. 1267), 1276.—Passed House, 2430.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 2446.—Reported back (S. Rept. 957), 2991.—Passed Senate, 5344.—Examined and signed, 5357, 5491.—Presented to the President, 5521.—Approved [Public, No. 332], 5524.

H. R. 19090—To reimburse the officers and enlisted men of the Revenue-Cutter Service and Public Health Service for losses sustained in the wreck of the revenue cutter Tahoma.
Mr. Small; reported back (H. Rept. 1388), 3482.

H. R. 19097—Granting a further extension of time to entrymen in which to make final proof under the desert-land laws.
Mr. Seldomridge; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1464), 4888.—Debated, 5464 [Appendix, 694].

H. R. 19116—To grant certain lands to the city of Grand Junction, Colo., for the protection of its water supply.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1308), 2162.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 3810–3813.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 3874.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1025), 4523.—Passed Senate, 4809.—Examined and signed, 4838, 4888.—Presented to the President, 5056.—Approved [Public, No. 285], 5523.

H. R. 19250—Relating to desert-land entries.
Mr. Seldomridge; debated [Appendix, 694].

H. R. 19268—Granting an increase of pension to Frederick Brinegar.
Mr. Cox; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 77.

H. R. 19325—For the relief of Joseph A. Jennings.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1349), 2982.

H. R. 19376—Confirming patents heretofore issued to certain Indians in the State of Washington.
Mr. La Follette; reported back (H. Rept. 1246), 616.—Passed House, 3525, 3526.—Passed Senate, 3930.—Examined and signed, 3982, 4021.—Presented to the President, 4164.—Approved [Private, No. 192], 5522.

H. R. 19393—Providing for the erection of a suitable memorial to John Fitch.
Mr. Lonergan; debated, 4329, 4330 [Appendix, 534].

H. R. 19399—For the relief of Frank H. Walker and Frank E. Smith, a part of whose real property was taken and is now occupied by the United States for the foundation of the west wall of the Government Printing Office, in the city of Washington, and the remainder not taken damaged by reason of the construction and operation of said printing office.
Mr. Austin; reported back for reference to Court of Claims (H. Rept. 1351) (see H. Res. 720), 2982, 3533.

H. R. 19422—Making appropriations to provide for the expenses of the government of the District of Columbia for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, and for other purposes.
Mr. Page of North Carolina, from the Committee on Appropriations (H. Rept. 1204), 11, 12.—Debated, 34–38, 99–123, 142–161, 177 [Appendix, 50, 579].—Amended and passed House, 177, 178.—Referred to Senate Committee on Appropriations, 202.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 856), 978.—Debated, 1113–1126, 1160–1183, 1330–1357, 1382, 1383, 1388–1405, 1498, 1503–1513, 1550–1567, 1610–1628, 1681–1702, 1736–1758.—Amended and passed Senate, 1758.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a conference, 2163–2166.—Senate insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 2272.—Conference appointed, 2166, 2272.—Conference report (S. Doc. 954) made in Senate, 4393, 4394.—Conference report (No. 1438) made in House, 4655.—Conference report agreed to in Senate; Senate further insists on its amendments and asks for a further conference, 4483, 4684.—Conference report debated in House; House further disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a further conference, 4655–4670.—Second conference appointed, 4483, 4670, 4684.—Second conference report (No. 1461) made and agreed to in House, 4848, 4849.—Motion to concur in Senate amendment No. 1 with an amendment debated and agreed to in House, 4848–4865 [Appendix, 579].—Second conference report made and agreed to in Senate; Senate concurs in the amendment of the House to Senate amendment No. 1, 4895–4897.—Examined and signed, 5056, 5059.—Presented to the President, 5178.—Approved [Public, No. 268], 5523.

H. R. 19423—Creating an additional judge in the district of New Jersey.
Mr. Scully; Committee on the Judiciary, 12.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1412), 3980.—Debated, 5464, 5472, 5473.

H. R. 19424—To extend the time for the completion of the municipal bridge at St. Louis, Mo.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 12.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1217), 162.—Passed House, 946.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 1013.—Reported back (S. Rept. 890), 1285.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 1843.—House concurs in Senate amendments, 3155.—Examined and signed, 3379, 3444.—Presented to the President, 3517.—Approved [Public, No. 245], 4164.

H. R. 19425—To extend the time for the construction of a dam across Rock River, Ill.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 12.

H. R. 19426—To create an additional judicial district in Oklahoma to be known as the southern judicial district, and to define the boundaries of the eastern and western judicial districts of Oklahoma, and to provide for holding court in the city of Shawnee, Okla.
Mr. Murray; Committee on the Judiciary, 12.

H. R. 19427—Providing for an appropriation for a Government exhibit at the International Dry Farming Congress.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on Agriculture, 12.

H. R. 19428—To authorize the Chesapeake & Ohio Northern Railway Co. to construct a bridge across the Ohio River a short distance above the mouth of the Little Scioto River, between Scioto County, Ohio, and Greenup County, Ky., at or near Sciotoville, Ohio.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 12.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1223), 248.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 6687), 458, 459, 2431.

H. R. 19429—Providing for a site and public building for post-office and other Federal purposes at Boston, Mass.
Mr. Gallivan; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 12.

H. R. 19430—Appropriating money for the improvement of Merrimack River from its mouth to Lowell, Mass.
Mr. Rogers; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 12.

H. R. 19431—Providing for the improvement of the Delaware River at Camden, N. J.
Mr. Browning; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 12.

H. R. 19432—To provide for a survey and estimate of cost of removing Adams Island, located in the channel in the Hudson River at Troy, N. Y.
Mr. Ten Eyck; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 12.

H. R. 19433—To provide for a survey and estimate of cost of a deep-water channel in the Hudson River, N. Y., between the city of Hudson and the dam at Troy.
Mr. Ten Eyck; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 12.

H. R. 19434—For the improvement of the Narrows of Lake Champlain, N. Y. and Vt.
Mr. Ten Eyck; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 12.

H. R. 19435—For the erection of a public building at Sapulpa, Okla.
Mr. Murray; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 12.

H. R. 19436—For the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Kansas City, Mo.
Mr. Borland; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 12.

H. R. 19437—Directing the Secretary of the Treasury to sell not exceeding $240,000,000 of the Panama Canal bonds in order to maintain at all times a surplus of at least $100,000,000 in the general fund of the Treasury.
Mr. Levy; Committee on Ways and Means, 12.

H. R. 19438—To repeal the act entitled "An act to increase the internal revenue, and for other purposes," approved Oct. 22, 1914.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Ways and Means, 12.

H. R. 19439—To improve the military defenses of the United States.
Mr. Vare; Committee on Military Affairs, 12.

H. R. 19440—To improve the naval defenses of the United States.
Mr. Vare; Committee on Naval Affairs, 12.

H. R. 19441—Providing for an appropriation of $1,500,000 to be expended for the manufacture of torpedoes at the torpedo station, Newport, R. I.
Mr. O'Shaunessy; Committee on Naval Affairs, 12.

H. R. 19442—Improving Providence River and Harbor, R. I.
Mr. O'Shaunessy; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 12.

H. R. 19443—To amend an act entitled "An act to increase the pensions of widows, minor children, etc., of deceased soldiers and sailors of the late Civil War, the War with Mexico, the various Indian wars, etc., and to grant a pension to certain widows of the deceased soldiers and sailors of the late Civil War," approved April 19, 1908.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 12.

H. R. 19444—Granting a pension to Richard P. Watkins.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 12.

H. R. 19445—Granting a pension to Jacob Schwagler.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Pensions, 12.

H. R. 19446—Granting a pension to Frank Behan.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Pensions, 12.

H. R. 19447—Granting a pension to Annie Kennedy.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 12.

H. R. 19448—Granting a pension to Commodore P. Ellis.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 12.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 77.

H. R. 19449—Granting an increase of pension to William G. Balls.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 12.

H. R. 19450—Granting an increase of pension to Julius Edwards.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 12.

H. R. 19451—Granting an increase of pension to John Powers.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 12.

H. R. 19452—Granting an increase of pension to Harriet E. Carpenter.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 12.

H. R. 19453—Granting an increase of pension to Valentine V. Adamson.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 12.

H. R. 19454—Granting an increase of pension to B. F. Farley.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 12.

H. R. 19455—Granting an increase of pension to Marion White.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 12.

H. R. 19456—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew S. Loux.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 12.

H. R. 19457—For the relief of James Bookhamer.
Mr. Bailey; Committee on Claims, 12.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1453), 4802.

H. R. 19458—Granting an increase of pension to Harvey D. C. Skinner.
Mr. Browning; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 12.

H. R. 19459—Granting an increase of pension to William K. Ridgate.
Mr. Browning; Committee on Pensions, 12.

H. R. 19460—Granting a pension to Clare Dodge Fielding.
Mr. Browning; Committee on Pensions, 12.

H. R. 19461—Granting a pension to Mettie Baymore.
Mr. Browning; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 12.

H. R. 19462—Granting an increase of pension to Charles C. Moulton.
Mr. Burke of South Dakota; Committee on Pensions, 12.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1678.

H. R. 19463—Granting an increase of pension to Cyrus D. Christy.
Mr. Campbell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 12.

H. R. 19464—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas C. Morris.
Mr. Campbell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 12.

H. R. 19465—Granting a pension to Ellis Ames.
Mr. Copley; Committee on Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19466—Granting a pension to Maggie Boos.
Mr. Copley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19467—Granting an increase of pension to Leah Myers.
Mr. Dale; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19468—Granting a pension to Adolf Hartman.
Mr. Dale; Committee on Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19469—For the relief of Edward J. Brophy.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on Military Affairs, 13.

H. R. 19470—Granting a pension to Thomas McGregor.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19471—Granting an increase of pension to Maria E. White.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19472—Granting an increase of pension to Nancy M. Gray.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19473—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Taylor.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19474—Granting a pension to Robert McConnell.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19475—Granting a pension to Jacob Kuntz.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 899.

H. R. 19476—Granting a pension to Catherina Schmadel.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19477—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Brassie.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19478—To remove the charge of desertion from the record of Armstrong Hunter.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Military Affairs, 13.

H. R. 19479—Granting a pension to Ruth E. Hering.
Mr. Goulden; Committee on Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19480—Granting an increase of pension to Harriet L. Ferris.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19481—Granting an increase of pension to Emory G. Cannell.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19482—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Stiermann.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19483—Granting a pension to Mary A. Brown.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19484—Granting an increase of pension to Harriet N. Weeden.
Mr. Kennedy of Rhode Island; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19485—Granting a pension to Alzada Boulton.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19486—Granting an increase of pension to Edwin H. Rose.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19487—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph E. Crow.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19488—Granting an increase of pension to John M. McDaniel.
Mr. Kiess of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19489—Granting an increase of pension to Squire L. Gage.
Mr. Kiess of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19490—Granting an increase of pension to Hawley J. Smith.
Mr. Kiess of Pennsylvania; Committee on Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19491—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Barkey.
Mr. Langham; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19492—Granting an increase of pension to Reuben Axe.
Mr. Langham; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19493—Granting an increase of pension to Colbert Ratliff.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19494—Granting a pension to Isabell Williams.
Mr. Lieb; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19495—Granting an increase of pension to John J. Foster.
Mr. Lieb; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19496—Granting an increase of pension to Walter C. Montgomery.
Mr. Lieb; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19497—To amend the military record of George W. Laland.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Military Affairs, 13.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1220), 199.—Passed House, 3525.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 3552.

H. R. 19498—Granting a pension to Henry E. Rubendall.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19499—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth H. Brayton.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Pensions, 13.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 291.

H. R. 19500—Granting an increase of pension to Harriet C. Keyes.
Mr. McGillicuddy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19501—Granting an increase of pension to Nathaniel E. Peare.
Mr. McGillicuddy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19502—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Lucia Walker.
Mr. McGillicuddy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19503—Granting an increase of pension to David A. French.
Mr. McGillicuddy; Committee on Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19504—Granting an increase of pension to Hugh Kerr.
Mr. McGillicuddy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19505—Granting an increase of pension to Carrie A. Neal.
Mr. McGillicuddy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19506—Granting an increase of pension to Winfield S. Starbird.
Mr. McGillicuddy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19507—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Dowling.
Mr. McGillicuddy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19508—Granting an increase of pension to Margarethe Kammerling.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19509—Granting an increase of pension to Luther M. Blackman.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19510—For the relief of the heirs of William McCreight.
Mr. Oldfield; Committee on War Claims, 13.

H. R. 19511—Granting a pension to Martha York.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19512—Granting a pension to James Lawson.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19513—Granting a pension to Joseph C. White.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19514—Granting a pension to Nancy McClellan.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19515—Granting an increase of pension to Martha Gibson.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19516—Granting an increase of pension to Luther C. Hitchcock.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19517—Granting an increase of pension to T. J. Stoner.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19518—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin E. Hoy.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19519—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Smith.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19520—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Reames.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19521—Granting an increase of pension to William M. Bass.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19522—Granting an increase of pension to Rachael W. Carney.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19523—Granting an increase of pension to Joshua T. Watson.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19524—Granting an increase of pension to John G. Meltabarger.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19525—Granting a pension to Annie F. Baurer.
Mr. Scully; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 248.

H. R. 19526—Granting a pension to Quincy F. Buttry.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19527—Granting a pension to Frank C. Miller.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19528—Granting a pension to Charles E. Baker.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19529—Granting a pension to William M. Smart.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19530—Granting a pension to Sarah McQueen.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19531—Granting an increase of pension to Hiram H. Persell.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19532—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Potter.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19533—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph W. Carrier.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19534—Granting a pension to Henry O. Weckle.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19535—Granting a pension to Leon E. Andrews.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19536—Granting a pension to Ann E. Swift.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19537—Granting an increase of pension to Peter Delamotte.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19538—Granting a pension to Mary E. Fuller.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19539—Granting a pension to Fredericka Pence.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19540—Granting an increase of pension to Albert C. Pattee.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

H. R. 19541—Granting an increase of pension to Edmund F. Burson.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 13.

*H. R. 19542—For the relief of the heirs of Alexander M. Robertson.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on War Claims, 14.

H. R. 19543—Granting a pension to George W. Oblisk.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Pensions, 14.

H. R. 19544—Granting a pension to Frank L. Mao.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Pensions, 14.

H. R. 19545—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent children of soldiers and sailors of said war.
Mr. Sherwood, from the Committee on Invalid Pensions (H. Rept. 1205), as substitute for certain bills referred to that committee, 41.—Amended and passed House, 246, 247.—Referred to Senate Committee on Pensions, 266.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 855), 963.—Amended and passed Senate, 2859, 2860.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a conference, 2981.—Senate insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 2994.—Conference appointed, 2981, 2994.—Conference report (No. 1407) made in House, 3957.—Conference report agreed to in House, 3957, 3958.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 3701.—Examined and signed, 3982, 4021.—Presented to the President, 4164.—Approved [Private, No. 193], 5522.

H. R. 19546—Making appropriation for improving the Sacramento and Feather Rivers, Cal., continuing improvement, and for maintenance, including improvement above Sacramento to Red Bluff.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 41.

H. R. 19547—To provide for the manner of paying the expenses of the government of the District of Columbia.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on the District of Columbia, 41.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1210), 77.—Debated, 121, 122.

H. R. 19548—To prohibit individuals, partnerships, or corporations in the United States from selling arms, ammunition, artillery, and explosives of any kind for exportation during the existence of war except upon proof that said arms, ammunition, artillery, and explosives are not to be used in said war against a country with which the United States is at peace.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on the Judiciary, 41.

H. R. 19549—To amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations to provide for the expenses of the government of the District of Columbia for the year ending June 30, 1903, and for other purposes," approved July 1, 1902.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on the District of Columbia, 41.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1209), 77.

H. R. 19550—To provide for an examination and survey of the Baltimore Harbor and approaches thereto.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 41.

H. R. 19551—To provide the manner of paying the expenses of the District of Columbia and to raise revenues therefor, and for other purposes.
Mr. Prouty; Committee on the District of Columbia, 41.

H. R. 19552—Providing for annual assessments of real estate in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on the District of Columbia, 41.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1208), 77.—Debated and passed House, 1371.—Referred to Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, 1382.

H. R. 19553—To amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations to provide for the expenses of the government of the District of Columbia for the year ending June 30, 1903, and for other purposes," approved July 1, 1902.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on the District of Columbia, 41.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1207), 77.

H. R. 19554—To fix Christmas Day a legal holiday for rural letter carriers of the United States.
Mr. Park; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 41.

H. R. 19555—To promote the public service and the national defense, and making an appropriation therefor.
Mr. Hulings; Committee on Military Affairs, 41.

H. R. 19556—To provide for the erection of a public building at Alexandria, La.
Mr. Aswell; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 41.

H. R. 19557—To amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved Feb. 4, 1887.
Mr. Cullop; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 41.

H. R. 19558—Granting a pension to Arland R. Davis.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Pensions, 41.

H. R. 19559—Granting a pension to Eliza J. Thompson.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 41.

H. R. 19560—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Marbaugh.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Pensions, 41.

H. R. 19561—Granting an increase of pension to Lewis G. Haiston.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 41.

H. R. 19562—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel McMillian.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19563—Granting an increase of pension to John Flight.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19564—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac Goe.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19565—Granting an increase of pension to Elijah Broughman.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19566—Granting an increase of pension to Henry T. Denius.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19567—Granting an increase of pension to John Buettner.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19568—Granting an increase of pension to Rebecca Phipps.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19569—Granting a pension to Nancy Lee.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19570—Granting a pension to Bertrand Cook.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19571—Granting an increase of pension to Horatio Ecton.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19572—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Corbin.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19573—Granting an increase of pension to James Meranda.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19574—Granting an increase of pension to John I. Israel.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19575—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel Jones.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19576—Granting an increase of pension to Violet P. Winslow.
Mr. Aswell; Committee on Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19577—Granting a pension to Mitchell Phillips.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19578—Granting a pension to Mary Walls.
Mr. Bruckner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19579—Granting a pension to Annie B. Schubert.
Mr. Cary; Committee on Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19580—Granting an increase of pension to John P. Murphy.
Mr. Cary; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19581—Granting an increase of pension to William P. Blackburn.
Mr. Cline; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19582—Granting a pension to Nettie Weidenbein.
Mr. Doremus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19583—Granting a pension to Melissa L. Gomersall.
Mr. Doremus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19584—Granting an increase of pension to James Lockaby.
Mr. Fowler; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19585—Granting an increase of pension to Francis J. Curtis.
Mr. French; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19586—Granting an increase of pension to James J. Henry.
Mr. French; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19587—Granting a pension to James E. Watson.
Mr. Gillett; Committee on Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19588—Granting an increase of pension to Harry J. Symonds.
Mr. Gillett; Committee on Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19589—Granting a pension to Sarah Isabelle Lowe.
Mr. Goeke; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19590—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah Sellers Langley.
Mr. Goeke; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19591—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac W. Anderson.
Mr. Goeke; Committee on Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19592—Granting an increase of pension to Charles H. Hitchens.
Mr. Goeke; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19593—Granting a pension to David Graeff.
Mr. Griest; Committee on Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19594—Granting an increase of pension to Henry S. Resh.
Mr. Griest; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19595—Granting an increase of pension to Nicholas Wolf.
Mr. Griest; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19596—Granting a pension to Frank E. Cook.
Mr. Hulings; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 430.

H. R. 19597—Granting an increase of pension to William Dougherty.
Mr. Hulings; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19598—Granting a pension to George Knaggs.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19599—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Gross.
Mr. Kreider; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19600—Granting an increase of pension to Calvin P. Elkins.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19601—Granting an increase of pension to William Kenhedy.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19602—Granting an increase of pension to Amanda Krueger.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19603—Granting an increase of pension to Bella E. Swartzlander.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19604—Granting a pension to Mrs. Friederike Bauersfield.
Mr. McAndrews; Committee on Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19605—Granting a pension to Laura McIver.
Mr. McAndrews; Committee on Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19606—For the relief of Adolphus Witten Beecher.
Mr. McAndrews; Committee on Military Affairs, 42.

H. R. 19607—Granting an increase of pension to Almon W. Bennett.
Mr. McLaughlin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19608—Granting an honorable discharge to William Devlin.
Mr. Morin; Committee on Military Affairs, 42.

H. R. 19609—Granting an increase of pension to Arthur C. Null.
Mr. Neely of West Virginia; Committee on Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19610—Granting a pension to Sarah T. Welsh.
Mr. Peters; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19611—Granting a pension to Sarah E. Crockett.
Mr. Peters; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19612—Granting an increase of pension to James Messer.
Mr. Peters; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19613—Granting an increase of pension to Charles O. McClain.
Mr. Rainey; Committee on Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19614—Granting an increase of pension to B. L. Green.
Mr. Rainey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19615—Granting an increase of pension to Katharine D. Treibler.
Mr. Rupley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19616—Granting an increase of pension to John Hodges.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19617—Granting an increase of pension to Alie McGloughlin.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19618—For the relief of Daniel Adams.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Military Affairs, 42.

H. R. 19619—Granting a pension to W. L. Norwood.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19620—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph C. Brewer.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19621—Granting an increase of pension to Mollie Crosswhite.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19622—Granting an increase of pension to John K. Miller.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19623—Granting a pension to Leslie N. Neigenfind.
Mr. Shreve; Committee on Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19624—Granting a pension to Oscar C. Guessaz.
Mr. Slayden; Committee on Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19625—Granting a pension to George L. Porter.
Mr. Slayden; Committee on Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19626—Granting a pension to Eugene Goldin.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; Committee on Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19627—Granting a pension to Amelia S. King.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; Committee on Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19628—Granting an increase of pension to George McDonald.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19629—Granting an increase of pension to Solomon Goff.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19630—Granting a pension to John M. Judd.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19631—Granting an increase of pension to C. M. Brown.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19632—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of James Westbrook, sr.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Military Affairs, 42.

H. R. 19633—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of J. C. Dukes.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Military Affairs, 42.

H. R. 19634—For the relief of Sanford Kirkpatrick.
Mr. Vollmer; Committee on Claims, 42.

H. R. 19635—Granting an increase of pension to Barbara Krause.
Mr. Woodruff; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19636—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Powell.
Mr. Woodruff; Committee on Pensions, 42.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 736.

H. R. 19637—Granting an increase of pension to Theresa H. Thayer.
Mr. Woodruff; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 42.

H. R. 19638—Granting an increase of pension to Stewart Gorton.
Mr. Woodruff; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 43.

H. R. 19639—Granting a pension to Mrs. Edwin D. Alger.
Mr. Woodruff; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 43.

H. R. 19640—Granting an increase of pension to Ann Herrendeen.
Mr. Woodruff; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 43.

H. R. 19641—To remove the charge of desertion from the service record of John Winton and grant him an honorable discharge.
Mr. Woodruff; Committee on Military Affairs, 43.

H. R. 19642—To extend temporarily the time of filing applications for letters patent and registration in the Patent Office.
Mr. Oldfield; Committee on Patents, 77.

H. R. 19643—To provide for an examination and survey of the Patapsco River, Md.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 77.

H. R. 19644—To regulate promotions in the Army of the United States.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Military Affairs, 77.

H. R. 19645—Authorizing a survey of Bayou Lafourche, La.
Mr. Morgan of Louisiana; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 77.

H. R. 19646—Granting an increase of pension to Elijah Broughman.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19647—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin T. Jones.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19648—Granting an increase of pension to Alfred G. Watson.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19649—Granting a pension to Margaret J. Sharp.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19650—Granting an increase of pension to Levi Chute.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19651—Granting an increase of pension to James P. Tindle.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19652—Granting an increase of pension to Mahala Burns.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19653—Granting an increase of pension to Bridget McGarry.
Mr. Buchanan of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19654—For the relief of Mrs. C. H. Williams.
Mr. Burgess; Committee on War Claims, 78.

H. R. 19655—For the relief of Mrs. C. H. Williams.
Mr. Burgess; Committee on War Claims, 78.

H. R. 19656—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin F. Harris.
Mr. Burke of Wisconsin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19657—Granting an increase of pension to Wallace Thompson.
Mr. Burke of Wisconsin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19658—Granting an increase of pension to Leon Brown.
Mr. Carter; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 248.

H. R. 19659—Granting a pension to Allie Truesdell.
Mr. Cline; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19660—Granting an increase of pension to Lizzie H. Bentley.
Mr. Cooper; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19661—Granting a pension to John Schafer.
Mr. Cox; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19662—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin F. Richardson.
Mr. Cox; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19663—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Hooten.
Mr. Cox; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19664—Granting an increase of pension to Edward T. Keithley.
Mr. Cox; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19665—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Lamaster.
Mr. Cox; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19666—For the relief of Abraham Hawkins.
Mr. Cox; Committee on Military Affairs, 78.

H. R. 19667—For the relief of Washington Lovell.
Mr. Cox; Committee on Military Affairs, 78.

H. R. 19668—Granting a pension to Mary Jane Moore.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19669—Granting a pension to Goldie M. Nichols.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19670—Granting an increase of pension to Lucinda Findley.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19671—Granting an increase of pension to Silas H. Fish.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19672—Granting an increase of pension to James Corn.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19673—Granting a pension to Jean M. Chance.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19674—Granting a pension to Daniel Johnson.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19675—Granting a pension to Mary A. Dyer.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19676—Granting a pension to John Paster.
Mr. Griest; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19677—Granting an increase of pension to William Talbot.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19678—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel B. McNeill.
Mr. Hill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19679—For the relief of the heirs of Thomas J. Hill.
Mr. Houston; Committee on War Claims, 78.

H. R. 19680—Granting an increase of pension to John L. Berry.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19681—Granting an increase of pension to Robert Carlyle.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19682—Granting a pension to Minnie Anderson.
Mr. Lafferty; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19683—Granting a pension to Jane Davison.
Mr. Lafferty; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19684—Granting an increase of pension to Jesse Roark.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19685—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas R. Gillispie.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19686—Granting an increase of pension to Decatur Maynard.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19687—Granting an increase of pension to Richard S. Harrison.
Mr. Lazaro; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19688—To remove the charge of desertion from the record of Joseph Houser.
Mr. Lewis of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 78.

H. R. 19689—Granting a pension to Phoebe A. Bean.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19690—Granting a pension to Fannie Stewart.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19691—Granting an increase of pension to Marcia Swift.
Mr. McAndrews; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19692—Granting an increase of pension to James C. Burwell.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19693—Granting a pension to Laura A. Graham.
Mr. Morgan of Louisiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19694—Granting a pension to Maggie Hall.
Mr. Morgan of Louisiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 1532.

H. R. 19695—Granting an increase of pension to Christian Schmalz.
Mr. Morgan of Louisiana; Committee on Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19696—For the relief of heirs or estate of Jean Marie Heriard, deceased.
Mr. Morgan of Louisiana; Committee on War Claims, 78.

H. R. 19697—Granting a pension to Harvey M. Wilson.
Mr. Moss of West Virginia; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19698—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Beorn.
Mr. Moss of West Virginia; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19699—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Allen.
Mr. Moss of West Virginia; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19700—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas W. Hill.
Mr. Neely of West Virginia; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19701—Granting an increase of pension to John D. Lewis.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19702—Granting a pension to Ellen S. Glider.
Mr. Prouty; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19703—Granting an increase of pension to Martha J. Kelly.
Mr. Quin; Committee on Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19704—Granting an increase of pension to Rebecca Ramsey.
Mr. Quin; Committee on Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19705—Granting a pension to Mary J. Jones.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19706—For the relief of Jennie Butler.
Mr. Smith of New York; Committee on Claims, 78.

H. R. 19707—Granting an increase of pension to Michael Carroll.
Mr. Stephens of California; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19708—Granting a pension to Charles R. Morgan.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19709—Granting a pension to Robert H. Lawson.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Pensions, 78.

H. R. 19710—Granting a pension to D. H. Darling.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 19711—Granting an increase of pension to William Hunter.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 19712—Granting a pension to Alice V. Keeler.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 19713—Granting a pension to Ida M. Warner.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 19714—Granting an increase of pension to Jesse P. Earl.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 19715—Granting an increase of pension to Hamilton Adams.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 19716—Granting a pension to Sarah A. Bennett.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 19717—Granting an increase of pension to James Finley.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 19718—Granting a pension to Jennie Furrier.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 19719—Granting an increase of pension to Clinton Miller.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 19720—Granting an increase of pension to John Pierpont.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 19721—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Rundy.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 19722—Granting a pension to Mary R. Ramsey.
Mr. Talbott of Maryland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 19723—Granting a pension to Charles B. McConn.
Mr. Talbott of Maryland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 19724—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Boling.
Mr. Thompson of Oklahoma; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 19725—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph W. Kelly.
Mr. Thompson of Oklahoma; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 19726—Granting an increase of pension to William T. Snider.
Mr. Thompson of Oklahoma; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 19727—Granting an increase of pension to James Harvey.
Mr. Thompson of Oklahoma; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 19728—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Joshua D. Ditto.
Mr. Thompson of Oklahoma; Committee on Military Affairs, 79.

H. R. 19729—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Robert Curren.
Mr. Thompson of Oklahoma; Committee on Military Affairs, 79.

H. R. 19730—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of John Boyce.
Mr. Thompson of Oklahoma; Committee on Military Affairs, 79.

H. R. 19731—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Seth A. Welch.
Mr. Thompson of Oklahoma; Committee on Military Affairs, 79.

H. R. 19732—Granting a pension to Harper Brosius.
Mr. Whitacre; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 19733—Granting an increase of pension to Frank Nesbaum.
Mr. White; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 19734—Granting an increase of pension to Alvanes P. Henery.
Mr. White; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 19735—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Morrison.
Mr. White; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 19736—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Flesher.
Mr. White; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 19737—Granting an increase of pension to Isabelle Porter.
Mr. White; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 19738—Granting a pension to Sarah D. Myers.
Mr. Wickersham; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 19739—Providing for the labeling, marking, and tagging of all fabrics, leather and rubber goods, as hereinafter designated, and providing for the fumigation of same.
Mr. Lindquist; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 123.

H. R. 19740—To amend section 857 of the Code of Laws for the District of Columbia.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; Committee on the District of Columbia, 123.

H. R. 19741—To provide for the purchase of ground and erection of a public building thereon for an immigration station in or adjacent to the city of Tacoma, Wash.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 123.

H. R. 19742—For the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Easton, Md.
Mr. Price; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 123.

H. R. 19743—Granting certain lands to school district No. 56, Klickitat County, Wash., and authorizing the issuance of patent therefor.
Mr. La Follette; Committee on the Public Lands, 123.

H. R. 19744—To amend an act entitled "An act granting pensions to certain enlisted men, soldiers, and officers who served in the Civil War and the War with Mexico," approved May 11, 1912, by amending section 4 thereof so as to include soldiers in the Indian War.
Mr. Fowler; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 123.

H. R. 19745—Providing for a site and public building for post office and other Federal purposes at Seaford, Del.
Mr. Brockson; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 123.

H. R. 19746—To authorize aids to navigation and other works in the Lighthouse Service, and for other purposes.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 123.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1213), 162.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 2425–2429.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 2446.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 965), 3084.—Debated and passed Senate, 4089, 4955.—Examined and signed, 5068, 5178.—Presented to the President, 5200.—Approved [Public, No. 269], 5523.

H. R. 19747—To increase the pension of those who have lost limbs or have been totally disabled in the same in the military or naval service of the United States.
Mr. Guernsey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 124.

H. R. 19748—Granting a pension to Maria Routte.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Pensions, 124.

H. R. 19749—Granting an increase of pension to Martha Deny.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 124.

H. R. 19750—Granting an increase of pension to Louisa M. Johnson.
Mr. Bell of Georgia; Committee on Pensions, 124.

H. R. 19751—Granting a pension to Elizabeth J. Craig.
Mr. Brumbaugh; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 124.

H. R. 19752—Granting an increase of pension to Charles H. De Moss.
Mr. Campbell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 124.

H. R. 19753—Granting a pension to David Forsythe.
Mr. Carr; Committee on Pensions, 124.

H. R. 19754—Granting an increase of pension to Eliza C. Miller.
Mr. Carr; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 124.

H. R. 19755—Granting an increase of pension to Lucinda Beal.
Mr. Carr; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 124.

H. R. 19756—Granting an increase of pension to William L. Marshall.
Mr. Dixon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 124.

H. R. 19757—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Dashiell.
Mr. Dixon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 124.

H. R. 19758—Granting an increase of pension to William B. Sisk.
Mr. Dixon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 124.

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H. R. 19965—Granting an increase of pension to Erick Lawson.
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H. R. 19966—Granting a pension to Charles E. Hilliard.
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H. R. 19967—Granting an increase of pension to William S. Brown.
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H. R. 19968—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph W. Coleman.
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H. R. 19969—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Turner.
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H. R. 19970—Granting an increase of pension to Preston C. Walker.
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H. R. 19971—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel H. Hampton.
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H. R. 19972—Granting an increase of pension to Minor M. Webb.
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H. R. 19973—For the relief of the legal representatives of Robert G. Crozier.
Mr. Smith of Texas; Committee on War Claims, 200.

H. R. 19974—To provide for the purchase of ground and erection of a public building thereon for an immigration station in or adjacent to the city of Tacoma, Wash.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 248.

H. R. 19975—Authorizing the construction of a bridge across Little Red River, near Snell, Ark.
Mr. Oldfield; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 248.

H. R. 19976—To amend an act entitled "An act relating to the liability of common carriers by railroad to their employees in certain cases," approved Apr. 22, 1908, and amended by an act approved Apr. 5, 1910.
Mr. Ragsdale; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 248.

H. R. 19977—For the erection of a public building at West Point, Commonwealth of Virginia.
Mr. Montague; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 248.

H. R. 19978—To provide for the construction of an additional building at the Indian school, Bismarck, N. Dak., and making an appropriation therefor.
Mr. Young of North Dakota; Committee on Indian Affairs, 248.

H. R. 19979—Appropriating $500,000 for the erection and equipment of a shell and projectile factory for the Navy Department at the Philadelphia Navy Yard.
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H. R. 19980—Granting a pension to Martha Derry.
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H. R. 19981—For the relief of the Iberia Building Association, of New Iberia, La.
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H. R. 19982—For the relief of the estate of John A. Gilbert.
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H. R. 19983—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Walker.
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H. R. 19987—Granting an increase of pension to Henry H. Klock.
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H. R. 19988—Granting an increase of pension to John Baker.
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H. R. 19989—Granting an increase of pension to Henry L. Cushing.
Mr. Gilmore; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 249.

H. R. 19990—Granting an increase of pension to Catherine A. O'Donnell.
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H. R. 19991—To remove the charge of desertion against Asa Bean.
Mr. Gilmore; Committee on Military Affairs, 249.

H. R. 19992—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret A. Hageman.
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H. R. 19993—Granting an increase of pension to Henry H. Saylor.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 249.

H. R. 19994—Granting a pension to Frank Smidt.
Mr. Haugen; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 249.

H. R. 19995—Granting a pension to Mamie Bashaw.
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H. R. 19996—Granting a pension to John O. Lind.
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H. R. 19997—For the relief of the Western Loan & Building Co.
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H. R. 19998—For the relief of Rudolph Ponevace.
Mr. Kent; Committee on Claims, 249.

H. R. 19999—Authorizing the reinstatement of Maj. Edward Rutledge Lowndes to the active list of the Marine Corps.
Mr. Kent; Committee on Naval Affairs, 249.

H. R. 20000—To place Bvt. Brig. Gen. James Clark Strong upon the retired list of the United States Army.
Mr. J. R. Knowland; Committee on Military Affairs, 249.

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Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 249.

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Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 249.

H. R. 20004—Granting an increase of pension to James Glover.
Mr. Montague; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 249.

H. R. 20005—Granting a pension to Jerusha Battin.
Mr. Moss of West Virginia; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 249.

H. R. 20006—Granting an increase of pension to John P. Overton.
Mr. Moss of West Virginia; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 249.

H. R. 20007—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah A. Bryan.
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H. R. 20010—Granting an increase of pension to Esclaim Sanville.
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H. R. 20011—Granting a pension to John L. Beere.
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H. R. 20012—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas F. Muldoon.
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H. R. 20020—Granting a pension to Anna Bryson.
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H. R. 20024—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob Horner.
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H. R. 20025—Granting an increase of pension to Christian Humbert.
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H. R. 20026—For the relief of Vilhelm Torkildsen.
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H. R. 20027—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah A. Bennett.
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H. R. 20028—Granting a pension to Frank A. Kendall.
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H. R. 20029—Granting an increase of pension to George C. Peterson.
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H. R. 20030—Granting a pension to Simon V. Fritcher.
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H. R. 20031—Providing for a site and public building for a post office at Sparta, Ga.
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H. R. 20032—Providing for a site and public building for a post office at Tennille, Ga.
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H. R. 20033—Governing the reclamation of desert-land entries by the planting of trees, etc., and for other purposes.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 291.

H. R. 20034—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to remodel and rearrange a public building at St. Paul, Minn., and for other purposes.
Mr. Stevens of Minnesota; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 291.

H. R. 20035—For the relief of desert-land entrymen in Fresno and Kings Counties, Cal.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 291.

H. R. 20036—To extend temporarily the time of filing applications for letters patent and registration in the Patent Office.
Mr. Oldfield; Committee on Patents, 291.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1245), 616.

H. R. 20037—Further to regulate the entrance of Chinese aliens into the United States.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 291.

H. R. 20038—To amend an act entitled "An act to increase the internal revenue, and for other purposes," approved Oct. 22, 1914.
Mr. Moore; Committee on Ways and Means, 291.

H. R. 20039—To amend section 18 of an act entitled "An act to increase the limit of cost of certain public buildings, to authorize the enlargement, extension, remodeling, or improvement of certain public buildings, to authorize the erection and completion of public buildings, to authorize the purchase of sites for public buildings, and for other purposes," approved Mar. 4, 1913.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 291.

H. R. 20040—To provide for the care and treatment of persons afflicted with leprosy and to prevent the spread of leprosy in the United States.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 291.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1286), 1678.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 3814, 3815, 4545–4547.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Health and National Quarantine, 4560.

H. R. 20041—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Lanham.
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H. R. 20042—Granting an increase of pension to Marcellus M. Justus.
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H. R. 20043—Granting an increase of pension to John Thompson.
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H. R. 20044—Granting a pension to William C. Johnson.
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H. R. 20045—Granting an increase of pension to Lovina Markley.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 291.

H. R. 20046—Granting a pension to Samuel C. Braden.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Pensions, 291.

H. R. 20047—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Tilton Seay.
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H. R. 20048—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Buckle.
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H. R. 20049—Granting a pension to William H. Jones.
Mr. Clancy; Committee on Pensions, 292.

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H. R. 20051—Granting an increase of pension to Winfield S. Hunter.
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H. R. 20052—Granting a pension to Joseph Hunter.
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H. R. 20053—Granting a pension to Lewis W. Carlisle.
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H. R. 20054—Granting a pension to Mary Clark.
Mr. Doremus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 292.

H. R. 20055—For the relief of heirs of Charles Morgan, sr., deceased.
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H. R. 20057—Granting an increase of pension to Luther S. Vananda.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 292.

H. R. 20058—Granting an increase of pension to Matthew H. McCreight.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 292.

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H. R. 20060—Granting an increase of pension to Johanna G. Zschocke.
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Mr. Goeke; Committee on Pensions, 292.

H. R. 20062—Granting a pension to Ida Koeller.
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H. R. 20063—Granting a pension to Julia A. Walker.
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H. R. 20064—Granting an increase of pension to Robert S. McDonald.
Mr. Green of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 292.

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H. R. 20066—Granting a pension to George Peck.
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H. R. 20078—Granting a pension to Charles L. Robinson.
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H. R. 20079—Granting a pension to William H. Green.
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H. R. 20080—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of James Hardin.
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H. R. 20081—To remove the charge of desertion against Joseph Gaelbois.
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H. R. 20086—Granting an increase of pension to Warden J. Wilkins.
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H. R. 20088—Granting a pension to Frank McCabe.
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H. R. 20089—Granting a pension to Albert W. Johnsen.
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H. R. 20091—Granting a pension to Susan Hopkins.
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H. R. 20092—Granting a pension to Mary E. Declute.
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H. R. 20093—Granting an increase of pension to Alvin Howard.
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H. R. 20094—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Warner.
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H. R. 20095—To establish the legislative reference division of the Library of Congress.
Mr. Slayden; Committee on the Library, 329.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1227), 379.—Debated, 3803, 3804.

H. R. 20096—Providing for a site and public building for a post office at Thomson, Ga.
Mr. Vinson; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 329.

H. R. 20097—To extend the time for the completion of dams across the Savannah River by authority granted to Twin City Power Co. by an act approved Feb. 29, 1908, as amended by act approved June 3, 1912.
Mr. Vinson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 329.

H. R. 20098—Directing the Secretary of War to make preliminary survey of Duluth-Superior Harbor, Minn. and Wis.
Mr. Lenroot; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 329.

H. R. 20099—For the allotment of lands to certain enrolled Yankton Indians, and for other purposes.
Mr. Burke of South Dakota; Committee on Indian Affairs, 329.

H. R. 20100—To provide a commission to secure plans and designs for a memorial bridge to the memory of William Penn, and for the construction thereof, with the approaches thereto.
Mr. Browning; Committee on the Library, 329.

H. R. 20101—To acquire a site for a public building at the village of Thompsonville, town of Enfield, Conn.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 329.

H. R. 20102—To provide for a low rate of interest and long-time loans in aid of agriculture, and for other purposes.
Mr. Caraway; Committee on Banking and Currency, 329.

H. R. 20103—To authorize the establishment of a life-saving station between Cahoons Hollow and Nauset Stations on Cape Cod, Mass.
Mr. Thacher; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 329.

H. R. 20104—To acquire a site for a public building at Southington, Conn.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 329.

H. R. 20105—To provide for further construction and maintenance of military and post roads, bridges, and trails in Alaska, and for other purposes.
Mr. Wickersham; Committee on the Territories, 329.

H. R. 20106—To provide for a substitute list of storekeeper-gaugers in the Internal-Revenue Service, and for other purposes.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on Ways and Means, 329.

H. R. 20107—To amend sections 4421, 4422, 4423, 4424, and 4498 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, and section 12 of the act of May 28, 1908, relating to certificates of inspection of steam vessels.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 379.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1284), 1678.—Passed House, 2980, 2981.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 2994.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1006), 3984.—Passed Senate, 5346.—Examined and signed, 5357, 5491.—Presented to the President, 5522.—Approved [Public, No. 333], 5524.

H. R. 20108—Granting a pension to Oscar F. Lutz.
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H. R. 20110—Granting an increase of pension to Louise Hartung.
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H. R. 20112—Granting an increase of pension to Robert Horner.
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H. R. 20113—Granting a pension to Ellen Flood.
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H. R. 20114—For the relief of the family of Thomas J. McCarty.
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H. R. 20116—For the relief of J. E. and A. L. Pennock.
Mr. Donohoe; Committee on Claims, 329.

H. R. 20117—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Quinlan.
Mr. Donovan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 329.

H. R. 20118—Granting a pension to Friedericke Potter.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on Pensions, 329.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 430.

H. R. 20119—For the relief of the Citizens Loan & Building Co., Lima, Ohio.
Mr. Goeke; Committee on Claims, 329.

H. R. 20120—Granting a pension to Albert G. Jenkins.
Mr. Houston; Committee on Pensions, 329.

H. R. 20121—Granting an increase of pension to Laura R. Warner.
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H. R. 20122—Granting an increase of pension to Elijah Adams.
Mr. Hughes of West Virginia; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 330.

H. R. 20123—Granting an increase of pension to Carrie A. Ashby.
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H. R. 20124—For the relief of Francis E. Kelly.
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H. R. 20125—Granting a pension to Thomas G. Cockings.
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H. R. 20127—Granting an increase of pension to D. D. Downs.
Mr. Kirkpatrick; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 330.

H. R. 20128—Granting a pension to Daisy E. Miller.
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H. R. 20129—For the relief of the Yakima Savings & Loan Association, of North Yakima, Wash.
Mr. La Follette; Committee on Claims, 330.

H. R. 20130—Granting an increase of pension to Hannah M. Cope.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 330.

H. R. 20131—For the relief of the estate of Michael J. Brown, deceased.
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H. R. 20132—Granting a pension to Ida Wingart.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 330.

H. R. 20133—Granting an increase of pension to John R. Perrine.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 330.

H. R. 20134—Granting an increase of pension to Alexander Buck.
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H. R. 20135—Granting an increase of pension to George S. Adams.
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H. R. 20136—Granting an increase of pension to David Burns.
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H. R. 20137—For the relief of Warren Gilson.
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H. R. 20139—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Speck.
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Mr. Sherley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 330.

H. R. 20142—Granting an increase of pension to William B. Batman.
Mr. Sherley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 330.

H. R. 20143—Granting an increase of pension to John A. Brindle.
Mr. Shreve; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 330.

H. R. 20144—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of John Murphy.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Military Affairs, 330.

H. R. 20145—Granting an increase of pension to John Goldsby.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 330.

H. R. 20146—Granting an increase of pension to Edmund N. Hatcher.
Mr. White; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 330.

H. R. 20147—To eliminate private interest in war and preparation for war by providing Government facilities for producing and manufacturing military and naval equipment, by prohibiting the export of privately made munitions of war, and by reservation to the Government of coal and fuel oil in the public lands.
Mr. Crosser; Committee on Military Affairs, 379.—Debated [Appendix, 71, 72].

H. R. 20148—To amend the navigation laws of the United States.
Mr. Gallivan; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 379.

H. R. 20149—To provide for the purchase of a site for and the erection of a public building at Albion, N. Y.
Mr. Danforth; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 379.

H. R. 20150—Making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes, and for other purposes, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916.
Mr. Stephens of Texas, from the Committee on Indian Affairs (H. Rept. 1228), 379.—Debated, 834–838, 869–899, 980–1006, 1188–1273, 1295–1321 [Appendix, 77, 111, 454, 751, 928].—Amended and passed House, 1319–1321.—Referred to Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, 1330.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1022), 4265.—Debated, 4821, 4822–4841, 4897–4907, 4912–4944, 4956, 4957, 4965–4973, 5068–5090, 5103–5120, 5130–5145, 5148–5165, 5411.—Amended and passed Senate, 5165.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and agrees to a conference, 5440–5445.—Senate insists on its amendments and asks for a conference, 5165.—Conference appointed, 5165, 5445.—Conference report made in Senate, 5358–5362.—Conference report debated and withdrawn in Senate, 5358–5400, 5404–5407, 5411.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 5496, 5497.—Conference report (No. 1509) made in House and withdrawn, 5526, 5527 [Appendix, 751, 928] (see H. J. Res. 441).

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H. R. 20152—Granting an increase of pension to George F. Ethell.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 379.

H. R. 20153—Granting an increase of pension to Abraham Thatcher.
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H. R. 20154—Granting an increase of pension to Minerva Hickok.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 379.

H. R. 20155—Granting an increase of pension to John T. Plummer.
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H. R. 20156—Granting an increase of pension to Richard Burns.
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H. R. 20157—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Gunnie.
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Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 379.

H. R. 20160—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Dobbs.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 379.

H. R. 20161—To remove the charge of desertion from the record of Jubal Grant and to grant him an honorable discharge.
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H. R. 20162—Granting a pension to Elizabeth M. Cooper.
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H. R. 20163—Granting an increase of pension to Vanzandt E. Smith.
Mr. Gardner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 379.

H. R. 20164—Granting an increase of pension to Hugh Mahon.
Mr. Goulden; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 379.

H. R. 20165—Granting a pension to Louise (Jones) Nesmith.
Mr. Hamilton of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 379.

H. R. 20166—Granting an increase of pension to Charles O. Manley.
Mr. Hamilton of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 379.

H. R. 20167—Granting an increase of pension to Austin Williams.
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H. R. 20168—Granting an increase of pension to Henry C. Sowards.
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H. R. 20169—Granting a pension to Edward J. Hart.
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H. R. 20170—Granting a pension to Maria A. Taylor.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 379.

H. R. 20171—Granting a pension to Susannah Wells.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 379.

H. R. 20172—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Owen.
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H. R. 20173—Granting an increase of pension to William T. Bogert.
Mr. Morgan of Oklahoma; Committee on Pensions, 380.

H. R. 20174—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Johnson.
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H. R. 20175—Granting a pension to William N. Frost.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 380.

H. R. 20176—Granting a pension to Teresa O'Brien.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 380.

H. R. 20177—Granting an increase of pension to Cyrus S. White.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 380.

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H. R. 20179—Granting an increase of pension to David Bickford.
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H. R. 20180—Granting an increase of pension to Clarinda Shields.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 380.

H. R. 20181—Granting a pension to John T. Burriss.
Mr. Rucker; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 380.

H. R. 20182—Granting an increase of pension to Fannie J. B. Kelly.
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H. R. 20183—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Wright.
Mr. Smith of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 380.

H. R. 20184—Granting a pension to Alpheus C. Richardson.
Mr. Stevens of New Hampshire; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 380.

H. R. 20185—Granting a pension to Isadora M. Roney.
Mr. Tavenner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 380.

H. R. 20186—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to accept the relinquishment of the State of Wyoming to certain lands heretofore certified to said State, and the State of Wyoming to select other lands in lieu of the lands thus relinquished.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on the Public Lands, 430.

H. R. 20187—Governing the reclamation of desert-land entries by the planting of trees, etc., and for other purposes.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 430.

H. R. 20188—To increase the United States Army.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Military Affairs, 430.

H. R. 20189—Making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes.
Mr. Sparkman, from the Committee on Rivers and Harbors (H. Rept. 1230), 399, 430.—Debated, 1321, 1322, 1371–1379, 1568–1596, 1635–1678, 1704–1733, 1844–1916 [Appendix, 13, 109, 152, 154, 167, 168, 174, 220, 221, 223, 247, 248, 812, 818, 895].—Amended and passed House, 1915, 1916.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 1942.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 958), 2991, 2992.—Debated, 2991, 2992, 4411, 4447, 4957, 5121–5133, 5166–5171, 5505, 5506.—Amended and passed Senate, 5171.—Senate insists on its amendments and asks for a conference, 5171.—Conference appointed in Senate, 5171.—Senate amendments debated in House; House concurs in Senate amendment, 5421–5425, 5427–5429, 5430–5439 [Appendix, 684, 812, 818].—Examined and signed, 5331, 5417.—Presented to the President, 5482.—Approved [Public, No. 291], 5524.

H. R. 20190—For the prevention and eradication of the foot-and-mouth disease in cattle and for the payment for cattle destroyed by the United States Government.
Mr. Cullop; Committee on Agriculture, 430.

H. R. 20191—For the protection of the New York Indians.
Mr. Smith of New York; Committee on Indian Affairs, 430.

H. R. 20192—To authorize a survey of Little River and tributaries, Castor and Dugdemonia, from the mouth of Little River to Winnfield, La., on the Dugdemonia, and to Olla, La., on the Castor.
Mr. Aswell; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 430.

H. R. 20193—Providing for the payment of assessments on Indian allotments benefited by the construction of State rural highways in the State of Minnesota.
Mr. Miller; Committee on Indian Affairs, 430.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1319), 2269.

H. R. 20194—For the construction and equipment of an ammunition-manufacturing plant at the United States arsenal at Benicia, Cal.
Mr. Curry; Committee on Military Affairs, 430.

H. R. 20195—To appropriate $10,000 for a highway across the Fort Niobrara Military Reservation and the timber reservation.
Mr. Kinkaid of Nebraska; Committee on Military Affairs, 430.

H. R. 20196—To confer jurisdiction on the Federal courts in certain cases.
Mr. Bartholdt; Committee on the Judiciary, 430.

H. R. 20197—Granting an increase of pension to John Sager.
Mr. Brumbaugh; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 430.

H. R. 20198—For the relief of Paul Walderstein.
Mr. Cary; Committee on Military Affairs, 430.

H. R. 20199—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Gallup.
Mr. Cullop; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 430.

H. R. 20200—Granting an increase of pension to Demcy M. Knight.
Mr. Cullop; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 430.

H. R. 20201—Granting a pension to H. Aimee Hoffman.
Mr. Dershem; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 430.

H. R. 20202—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin F. Goodman.
Mr. Dershem; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 430.

H. R. 20203—Granting an increase of pension to Henry H. Schrawder.
Mr. Dershem; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 430.

H. R. 20204—Granting an increase of pension to Henry C. Wolfe.
Mr. Dershem; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 430.

H. R. 20205—Granting an increase of pension to William B. King.
Mr. Dershem; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 430.

H. R. 20206—Granting an increase of pension to Theresa B. Nash.
Mr. Doremus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 430.

H. R. 20207—For the relief of Herman Holpp.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on Military Affairs, 430.

H. R. 20208—Granting a pension to Dora Heney.
Mr. Francis; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 430.

H. R. 20209—Granting an increase of pension to Martha Burdett.
Mr. Francis; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 430.

H. R. 20210—Granting an increase of pension to Horace J. Bennett.
Mr. Good; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 430.

H. R. 20211—For the relief of the Duncan Building & Loan Association of New Jersey.
Mr. Hamill; Committee on Claims, 430.

H. R. 20212—For the relief of the Home Investment Association, of Redlands, Cal.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on Claims, 430.

H. R. 20213—For the relief of the Santa Fe Building Association, of San Bernardino, Cal.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on Claims, 430.

H. R. 20214—Granting a pension to W. Irvin Long.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Pensions, 430.

H. R. 20215—Granting an increase of pension to Smith J. Dutton.
Mr. Kirkpatrick; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 430.

H. R. 20216—Granting an increase of pension to Avery T. Lawrence.
Mr. Kirkpatrick; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 430.

H. R. 20217—Granting an increase of pension to Emma Gibbone.
Mr. Mahan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 430.

H. R. 20218—For the payment to J. H. Norris for salary and expenses as inspector and superintendent under the Indian Department.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on Claims, 430.

H. R. 20219—Granting an increase of pension to William Hinckle.
Mr. Palmer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 431.

H. R. 20220—Granting an increase of pension to Martha J. Ross.
Mr. Palmer; Committee on Pensions, 431.

H. R. 20221—Granting an increase of pension to William M. Gatchell.
Mr. Parker of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 431.

H. R. 20222—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin F. Hall.
Mr. Parker of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 431.

H. R. 20223—Granting an increase of pension to Fayette B. Vaughn.
Mr. Parker of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 431.

H. R. 20224—Granting a pension to Sarah E. Campion.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 431.

H. R. 20225—For the relief of Wilfred J. Drey.
Mr. Rupley; Committee on Claims, 431.

H. R. 20226—Granting a pension to John K. Miller.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 431.

H. R. 20227—Granting an increase of pension to Noah Collins.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 431.

H. R. 20228—Granting a pension to Gertrude M. Haydon.
Mr. Sherley; Committee on Pensions, 431.

H. R. 20229—Granting a pension to Bertha J. Stewart.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Pensions, 431.

H. R. 20230—Granting a pension to Rufus A. Theis.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Pensions, 431.

H. R. 20231—Granting a pension to Cyrus Craton Cassels.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 431.

H. R. 20232—Granting a pension to Samuel O. McElhaney.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 431.

H. R. 20233—Granting an increase of pension to Rachel Misner.
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H. R. 20234—Granting a pension to Margaret J. Essex.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 431.

H. R. 20235—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Adair.
Mr. Tavenner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 431.

H. R. 20236—Granting an increase of pension to Hannah M. Budd.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 431.

H. R. 20237—Granting a pension to Louis E. Lavaiere.
Mr. Ten Eyck; Committee on Pensions, 431.

H. R. 20238—Granting a pension to William E. Martin.
Mr. Ten Eyck; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 431.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 783.

H. R. 20239—Granting an increase of pension to Charles B. Mathews.
Mr. Woods; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 431.

H. R. 20240—Granting a pension to Louisa Fleming.
Mr. Young of North Dakota; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 431.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 783.

H. R. 20241—Making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year 1915 and prior years, and for other purposes.
Mr. Fitzgerald, from the Committee on Appropriations (H. Rept. 1241), 448, 485.—Debated, 479–485.—Passed House, 485.—Referred to Senate Committee on Appropriations, 492.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 848), 812, 813.—Debated, 919–927, 966–978, 1016–1021, 1057–1061.—Amended and passed Senate, 1057, 1061.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a conference, 1128.—Senate insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 1126.—Conference appointed, 1126, 1128.—Conference report (No. 1306) made in House, 2079, 2080.—Conference report agreed to in House, 2079, 2080.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 2026, 2027.—Examined and signed, 2100, 2137.—Presented to the President, 2137.—Approved [Public, No. 236], 2248.

H. R. 20242—To equalize the bounties of soldiers who served in the late war for the Union.
Mr. Hulings; Committee on Military Affairs, 485.

H. R. 20243—To acquire a site and erect a building thereon for the use of the United States post office at Wildwood, N. J.
Mr. Baker; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 485.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1413), 4077.

H. R. 20244—For the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River at the point where the line of the proposed Duluth and St. Vincent State highway enters upon the Minnesota National Forest, and also a bridge across the Narrows between Cass Lake and Pike Bay where the line of said proposed highway leaves said Minnesota National Forest.
Mr. Lindbergh; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 485.

H. R. 20245—Defining and establishing the judicial district of Nebraska and providing for changes in said district, and a division of said district into divisions, and for holding the terms of court therein, and for other purposes.
Mr. Stephens of Nebraska; Committee on the Judiciary, 485.

H. R. 20246—To establish and maintain military training schools in the several States of the Union, in Alaska, and in the District of Columbia.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Military Affairs, 485.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1312), 2202.

H. R. 20247—Granting an increase of pension to Laura N. Thomson.
Mr. Browning; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 486.

H. R. 20248—Granting an increase of pension to Amanda Keys.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 486.

H. R. 20249—Granting a pension to Mary E. Temple.
Mr. Dershem; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 486.

H. R. 20250—Granting a pension to Robert Cowan, jr.
Mr. Doremus; Committee on Pensions, 486.

H. R. 20251—Granting a pension to George H. Dry.
Mr. Doremus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 486.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 783.

H. R. 20252—Granting an increase of pension to Anna Nau.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 486.

H. R. 20253—Granting an increase of pension to Stephen J. Miller.
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H. R. 20254—Granting a pension to Dora Hewey.
Mr. Francis; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 486.

H. R. 20255—Granting an increase of pension to Levi Sanderson.
Mr. Good; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 486.

H. R. 20256—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Bowman.
Mr. Griest; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 486.

H. R. 20257—Granting an increase of pension to J. K. P. Wood.
Mr. Hensley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 486.

H. R. 20258—Granting a pension to Andrew Howard Carpenter.
Mr. Hinds; Committee on Pensions, 486.

H. R. 20259—Granting an increase of pension to Hanbill Combs.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 486.

H. R. 20260—Granting an increase of pension to David Harrison Colby.
Mr. McGillicuddy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 486.

H. R. 20261—Granting a pension to James G. Caldwell.
Mr. Morgan of Louisiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 486.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 2365.

H. R. 20262—To remove the charge of desertion from the service record of Edward Stanton and grant him an honorable discharge.
Mr. Paige of Massachusetts; Committee on Military Affairs, 486.

H. R. 20263—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Barrickman.
Mr. Prouty; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 486.

H. R. 20264—Granting a pension to Catherine Steele.
Mr. Reilly of Connecticut; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 486.

H. R. 20265—Granting a pension to David Owens.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 486.

H. R. 20266—Granting an increase of pension to William Allen.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 486.

H. R. 20267—Granting an increase of pension to Esau M. Shelton.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 486.

H. R. 20268—Granting a pension to John Fletcher.
Mr. Smith of New York; Committee on Pensions, 486.

H. R. 20269—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Marks.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 486.

H. R. 20270—To reinstate Alonzo E. Wheat to his former rank and grade in the Philippine Scouts, United States Army.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Military Affairs, 486.

H. R. 20271—To reimburse S. S. Buzzerd, postmaster at Berkeley Springs, Morgan County, W. Va., for cash stolen.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 486.

H. R. 20272—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Norris.
Mr. Tavenner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 486.

H. R. 20273—For the relief of the Shreveport Mutual Building Association.
Mr. Watkins; Committee on Claims, 486.

H. R. 20274—Granting a pension to Moses R. Hardin.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 486.

H. R. 20275—Granting an increase of pension to Charles E. Marks.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 486.

H. R. 20276—Granting an increase of pension to Elijah Cunningham.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 486.

H. R. 20277—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Cain.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 486.

H. R. 20278—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Gahan.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Pensions, 486.

H. R. 20279—Granting an increase of pension to Edward T. Wolfe.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 486.

H. R. 20280—To incorporate the Supreme Lodge of the World, Loyal Order of Moose.
Mr. Adair; Committee on the Judiciary, 617.

H. R. 20281—To provide for the appointment of certain assistant inspectors, Steamboat-Inspection Service, at ports where they are actually performing duty, but to which they are at present detailed.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 617.—Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce discharged and referred to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 756, 757.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1282), 1596.—Debated and passed House, 2977–2980.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 2994.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1007), 3985.—Debated, 4954.

H. R. 20282—To provide for the appointment of 11 supervising inspectors, Steamboat-Inspection Service, in lieu of 10.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 617.—Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce discharged and referred to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 756, 757.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1281), 1596.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 2972–2977.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 2994.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1009), 3985, 4001.—Debated, 4954.

H. R. 20283—Granting a pension to James Boyer.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20284—Granting a pension to Bradford H. Bennett.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20285—Granting a pension to James W. Tippett.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20286—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret M. McLellan.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20287—Granting an increase of pension to Aaron Fanshaw.
Mr. Burke of Wisconsin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20288—Granting an increase of pension to Lawrence Foot.
Mr. Collier; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20289—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew Silberman.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20290—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Hasler.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20291—For the relief of James Owens.
Mr. Green of Iowa; Committee on Military Affairs, 617.

H. R. 20292—For the relief of the heirs of James Bowles, deceased.
Mr. Hay; Committee on War Claims, 617.

H. R. 20293—For the relief of James Price.
Mr. Hill; Committee on Military Affairs, 617.

H. R. 20294—Granting a pension to Magdalena Baer.
Mr. Kinkaid of Nebraska; Committee on Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20295—Granting an increase of pension to Luther W. Callaway.
Mr. Kinkead of New Jersey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20296—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac Zerbe.
Mr. Lesher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20297—Granting an increase of pension to James J. Mitchell.
Mr. Lesher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20298—Granting an increase of pension to Charles P. Harder.
Mr. Lesher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20299—Granting an increase of pension to Austin Murphy.
Mr. Moss of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20300—Granting a pension to John L. Long.
Mr. Neely of West Virginia; Committee on Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20301—Granting an increase of pension to John M. Langsdale.
Mr. Porter; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20302—Granting an increase of pension to William W. Giles.
Mr. Porter; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20303—Granting a pension to Mary A. Rose.
Mr. Post; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20304—Granting a pension to Edwin Lawson.
Mr. Rainey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20305—Granting a pension to Dennis Ring.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20306—Granting an increase of pension to Susan Long.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20307—For the relief of E. C. Grossenbacher.
Mr. Slayden; Committee on Claims, 617.

H. R. 20308—For the relief of R. H. Keene.
Mr. Slayden; Committee on Claims, 617.

H. R. 20309—Granting a pension to Susan A. Lautzenheiser.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20310—Granting a pension to Ann Brown Powell.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20311—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Reynolds.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20312—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Ballard.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20313—Granting an increase of pension to Fernando C. Cash.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20314—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel R. Cole.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20315—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew McMains.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20316—Granting an increase of pension to William L. McClellan.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20317—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin F. Mikesell.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20318—Granting an increase of pension to Jesse Ready.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20319—Granting an increase of pension to Abraham Riley.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20320—Granting an increase of pension to George H. Solifelt.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20321—Granting an increase of pension to Adam D. Bright.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20322—Granting a pension to George S. Adams.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20323—For the relief of the Fidelity Savings & Loan Association, of Los Angeles, Cal.
Mr. Stephens of California; Committee on Claims, 617.

H. R. 20324—Granting a pension to Olivia Pattison.
Mr. Hamilton of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20325—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Arthur.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 617.

H. R. 20326—To amend an act entitled "An act to reduce tariff duties and to provide revenue for the Government, and for other purposes," approved Oct. 3, 1913.
Mr. Loft; Committee on Ways and Means, 617.

H. R. 20327—To increase the personnel of the Army and organize a reserve force of citizen soldiery.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Military Affairs, 631.

H. R. 20328—To remodel the old post-office building at Austin, Tex.
Mr. Buchanan of Texas; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 631.

H. R. 20329—To effect certain reforms in the civil service by segregating clerks and employees of the white race from those of African blood and descent.
Mr. Vinson; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 631.

H. R. 20330—Granting a pension to Sarah E. Carpenter.
Mr. Brockson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 631.

H. R. 20331—For the relief of George E. Megee.
Mr. Brockson; Committee on Claims, 631.

H. R. 20332—Granting an increase of pension to Nancy Jane Bush.
Mr. Cantrill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 631.

H. R. 20333—Granting a pension to William F. Leach.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Pensions, 631.

H. R. 20334—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac Bernkopf.
Mr. Dale; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 631.

H. R. 20335—To appoint J. D. Nevin a second lieutenant on the active list of the United States Marine Corps.
Mr. Graham of Pennsylvania; Committee on Naval Affairs, 631.

H. R. 20336—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel P. Murrell.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 631.

H. R. 20337—Granting a pension to Charles E. Hall.
Mr. Rogers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 631.

H. R. 20338—Granting an increase of pension to Job Ingram.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 631.

H. R. 20339—To define the rights and privileges of the trustees of municipally owned interstate railways and construing the act to regulate commerce with reference thereto.
Mr. Allen; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 631.

H. R. 20340—To increase the appropriation for a public building at Elkins, W. Va.
Mr. Brown of West Virginia; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 631.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1406), 3763.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 5461.—Debated and passed Senate, 5354.—Examined and signed, 5357, 5491.—Presented to the President, 5522.—Approved [Public, No. 334], 5524.

H. R. 20341—To empower certain officers, agents, and employees of the Department of Agriculture to administer and take oaths, affirmations, and affidavits, and for other purposes.
Mr. Lever; Committee on Agriculture, 736.

H. R. 20342—To create a tariff board.
Mr. Mann; Committee on Ways and Means, 736.

H. R. 20343—To amend section 3255 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, as amended by the act of June 3, 1896, concerning the distilling of brandy from fruits.
Mr. Dupré; Committee on Ways and Means, 736.

H. R. 20344—For the establishment of a naval volunteer force of seamen and for the government of the same.
Mr. Parker of New Jersey; Committee on Naval Affairs, 736.

H. R. 20345—Authorizing the construction of a wagon bridge across the Moclips River in Chehalis County, State of Washington, and appropriating $12,000 therefor.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Indian Affairs, 736.

H. R. 20346—To create a tariff board.
Mr. Moss of Indiana; Committee on Ways and Means, 736.

H. R. 20347—Making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916.
Mr. Hay, from the Committee on Military Affairs (H. Rept. 1250), 654, 736.—Debated, 2033–2079, 2101–2136 [Appendix, 157, 191, 195, 197, 252, 417–441].—Amended and passed House, 2135, 2136.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 2231.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 972), 3548.—Debated, 4203, 4266–4306, 4343–4392.—Amended and passed Senate, 4391, 4392.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a conference, 4524.—Senate insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 4447.—Conference appointed, 4447, 4524.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate; Senate further insists on its amendments and asks for a further conference, 4684–4686.—Conference report (No. 1462) made and agreed to in House; House further disagrees to Senate amendments and agrees to a further conference, 4798–4800.—Second conference appointed, 4686, 4800.—Second conference report (Nos. 1488, 1499) made and agreed to in House, 5196, 5197.—House further disagrees to Senate amendment No. 107 and agrees to a further conference, 5196, 5197, 5208.—Second conference report made and agreed to in Senate; Senate further insists on its amendment No. 107 and asks for a further conference, 5100, 5101.—Third conference appointed, 5102, 5208.—Third conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 5292, 5293.—Third conference report made and agreed to in House, 5445.—Examined and signed, 5331, 5459.—Presented to the President, 5482.—Approved [Public, No. 292], 5524.

H. R. 20348—Granting to the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii certain rights concerning qualification of voters within the Territory.
Mr. Kalanianaole; Committee on the Territories, 736.

H. R. 20349—To amend an act entitled "An act to increase the internal revenue, and for other purposes," approved October 22, 1914.
Mr. Dent; Committee on Ways and Means, 736.

H. R. 20350—To provide for the acquisition of a new site and the erection of a public building thereon in the city of Montgomery, Ala.
Mr. Dent; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 736.

H. R. 20351—Authorizing the Secretary of War to deliver to the city of Oshkosh, county of Winnebago, State of Wisconsin, four condemned bronze or brass cannon with carriage and suitable outfit of cannon balls.
Mr. Reilly of Wisconsin; Committee on Military Affairs, 736.

H. R. 20352—Granting an increase of pension to Minnie G. Hickok.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 736.

H. R. 20353—Granting an increase of pension to William T. Lee.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 736.

H. R. 20354—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Williams.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 736.

H. R. 20355—Granting a pension to Frank M. Clark.
Mr. Ansberry; Committee on Pensions, 736.

H. R. 20356—Granting an increase of pension to John Love.
Mr. Ansberry; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 736.

H. R. 20357—Granting an increase of pension to Orson Hauser.
Mr. Ansberry; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 736.

H. R. 20358—Granting an increase of pension to William S. Porter.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 736.

H. R. 20359—Granting an increase of pension to Eliza E. Wells.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 736.

H. R. 20360—Granting an increase of pension to William M. Goad.
Mr. Baltz; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 736.

H. R. 20361—For the relief of the State Mutual Building & Loan Association, of Los Angeles, Cal.
Mr. Bell of California; Committee on Claims, 736.

H. R. 20362—For the relief of the Home Builders' Loan Association, of Pomona, Cal.
Mr. Bell of California; Committee on Claims, 736.

H. R. 20363—For the relief of the Pasadena Building & Loan Association, of Pasadena, Cal.
Mr. Bell of California; Committee on Claims, 736.

H. R. 20364—Granting a pension to Enoch W. Laney.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Pensions, 736.

H. R. 20365—Granting an increase of pension to Anna E. Ritchey.
Mr. Byrns of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 736.

H. R. 20366—Granting an increase of pension to Maroni N. Fuller.
Mr. Clark of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 736.

H. R. 20367—Granting a pension to Stella Porter.
Mr. Cullop; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 736.

H. R. 20368—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Mayfield.
Mr. Cullop; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 736.

H. R. 20369—Granting a pension to Alta A. Wilhite.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Pensions, 736.

H. R. 20370—To provide for the extension and enlargement of the Federal building at Boise, Idaho.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 736, 783.

H. R. 20371—For the relief of Michael Mullett.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on Military Affairs, 736.

H. R. 20372—Granting an increase of pension to William M. Hanks.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 736.

H. R. 20373—Granting an increase of pension to William P. R. Estes.
Mr. Gardner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 736.

H. R. 20374—Granting an increase of pension to William L. Ford.
Mr. Gray; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 736.

H. R. 20375—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret Kinley.
Mr. Gray; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 736.

H. R. 20376—Granting a pension to Albert S. Brandenburg.
Mr. Gray; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 736.

H. R. 20377—Granting an increase of pension to Eliza A. Garthwait.
Mr. Gray; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 737.

H. R. 20378—Granting an increase of pension to Leroy W. Clark.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 737.

H. R. 20379—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Wishon.
Mr. Hensley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 737.

H. R. 20380—For the relief of Aaron B. Van Pelt, alias Benjamin Van Pelt.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Military Affairs, 737.

H. R. 20381—Granting a pension to David A. Gage.
Mr. Kennedy of Rhode Island; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 737.

H. R. 20382—Granting an increase of pension to Henry B. Hale.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 737.

H. R. 20383—For the relief of Robert W. Pool.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on War Claims, 737.

H. R. 20384—Granting an increase of pension to John McEathron.
Mr. Konop; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 737.

H. R. 20385—Granting an increase of pension to Wallace M. Taylor.
Mr. Konop; Committee on Invalid Pensions 737.

H. R. 20386—Granting an increase of pension to James Gipson.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 737.

H. R. 20387—For the relief of Annie M. Bradshaw and others.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on War Claims, 737.

H. R. 20388—For the relief of James A. Showen.
Mr. Moss of West Virginia; Committee on Claims, 737.

H. R. 20389—Granting pensions to Army teamsters of the Civil War.
Mr. Neely of West Virginia; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 737.

H. R. 20390—Granting an increase of pension to Lewis Sycks.
Mr. Neely of West Virginia; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 737.

H. R. 20391—Granting a pension to Nellie Wilkins.
Mr. Rainey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 737.

H. R. 20392—Granting an increase of pension to Hardin H. Thompson.
Mr. Rainey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 737.

H. R. 20393—Granting a pension to Dudley G. Allen.
Mr. Reilly of Wisconsin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 737.

H. R. 20394—To remove the charge of desertion against Lewis Kindness.
Mr. Reilly of Wisconsin; Committee on Military Affairs, 737.

H. R. 20395—To remove the charge of desertion against Joseph Scharbonaugh.
Mr. Reilly of Wisconsin; Committee on Military Affairs, 737.

H. R. 20396—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac F. Greene.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 737.

H. R. 20397—Granting an increase of pension to James S. Head.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 737.

H. R. 20398—Granting an increase of pension to William P. Duncan.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 737.

H. R. 20399—Granting a pension to Sarah S. Brewer.
Mr. Smith of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 737.

H. R. 20400—For the relief of James G. Hill.
Mr. Smith of New York; Committee on Military Affairs, 737.

H. R. 20401—Granting a pension to Mary Utley.
Mr. Stephens of California; Committee on Pensions, 737.

H. R. 20402—Granting an increase of pension to James H. Whitney.
Mr. Stephens of California; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 737.

H. R. 20403—Granting a pension to Lottie Lyles.
Mr. Tavenner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 737.

H. R. 20404—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Atcheson.
Mr. Tavenner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 737.

H. R. 20405—Granting an increase of pension to Clark Arnold.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 737.

H. R. 20406—Granting an increase of pension to Stephen F. Cassaday.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 737.

H. R. 20407—Granting an increase of pension to Josephine Royster.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 737.

H. R. 20408—For the relief of the estate of Tabitha Dickey, deceased.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on War Claims, 737.

H. R. 20409—For the relief of Francis M. Decker.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on War Claims, 737.

H. R. 20410—Granting a pension to Jennie S. Bunch.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 737.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1813.

H. R. 20411—For the relief of Joseph Woosley.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on War Claims, 737.

H. R. 20412—Granting an increase of pension to James Vaughn.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 737.

H. R. 20413—Granting a pension to Frederick W. Brown.
Mr. Treadway; Committee on Pensions, 737.

H. R. 20414—Granting a pension to Katherine Kenney.
Mr. Winslow; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 737.

H. R. 20415—Making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916.
Mr. Lever, from the Committee on Agriculture (H. Rept. 1255), 757, 783.—Debated, 2137–2162, 2166–2202, 2234–2267, 2325–2364, 2479–2535 [Appendix, 221, 563, 721, 738].—Amended and passed House, 2535.—Referred to Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 2621.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 987), 3857.—Debated, 4492–4523, 4568–4600.—Amended and passed Senate, 4600.—Referred to House Committee on Agriculture, 4867–4869.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1470), 4989.—Senate amendments debated; House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a conference, 4989–5056 [Appendix, 24, 92, 202, 294, 408, 484, 514, 533, 542, 546, 547, 564, 571, 597, 646, 708, 720, 721, 738, 767, 810, 811, 814, 815, 817, 821, 828, 843, 852, 853, 890, 906, 933].—Senate insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 5060.—Conference appointed, 5056, 5060, 5061.—Conference report made, debated, and agreed to in Senate, 5322–5330.—Conference report (No. 1504) made, debated, and agreed to in House, 5464–5471.—Examined and signed, 5357, 5491.—Presented to the President, 5522.—Approved [Public, No. 293], 5524.

H. R. 20416—To repeal House concurrent resolution 9; section 2 of an act entitled "An Act granting to the Sociedad Anonima, denominated 'Pototan Electric Light & Power Co. (Ltd.),' a franchise to install, operate, and maintain an electric light, heat, and power system in the municipality of Pototan, Province of Iloilo, Philippine Islands"; and a part of section 3 of an act entitled "An act granting a franchise to Charles M. Swift to construct, maintain, and operate a hydroelectric plant and electric lighting, heating, and power system and electric transmission lines in the Island of Luzon," passed by the Third Philippine Legislature at the second and special sessions of 1914.
Mr. Miller; Committee on Insular Affairs, 783.

H. R. 20417—To construct a bridge across the South Canadian River in Oklahoma.
Mr. Murray; Committee on Appropriations, 783.

H. R. 20418—To authorize the purchase or construction of six new vessels, with all necessary equipment, for the Coast and Geodetic Survey, and providing for additional surveys by the Coast and Geodetic Survey.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 783.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1272), 1379.—Debated, 3814.

H. R. 20419—To provide for the remodeling and repairing of the Federal building known as the old post-office building at Minneapolis, Minn.
Mr. Smith of Minnesota; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 783.

H. R. 20420—Prohibiting bands or members thereof of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps from receiving remuneration for furnishing music outside the limits of military posts and barracks.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Military Affairs, 783.

H. R. 20421—Granting an increase of pension to Francis M. Beck.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 783.

H. R. 20422—For the relief of William E. Murray.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Claims, 783.

H. R. 20423—For the relief of Frank Pullem.
Mr. Baker; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 783.

H. R. 20424—To reimburse William K. Lovett for sloop Edith and cargo, lost while in the service of the United States Government.
Mr. Baker; Committee on Claims, 783.

H. R. 20425—For the relief of Michael Herron.
Mr. Baker; Committee on Naval Affairs, 783.

H. R. 20426—Granting a pension to Willis M. Short.
Mr. Barton; Committee on Pensions, 783.

H. R. 20427—To authorize the sale of certain land in Alabama to Walter Dean.
Mr. Blackmon; Committee on the Public Lands, 783.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1327), 2432.—Passed House, 3815, 3816.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 3874.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1046); passed Senate, 4821, 4822.—Examined and signed, 5056, 5059.—Presented to the President, 5178.—Approved [Private, No. 203], 5523.

H. R. 20428—To authorize the issue of a patent to certain land in Alabama to William M. Wilson.
Mr. Blackmon; Committee on the Public Lands, 783.

H. R. 20429—Granting an increase of pension to John F. Rector.
Mr. Burgess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 783.

H. R. 20430—Granting an increase of pension to James McGhie.
Mr. Campbell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 783.

H. R. 20431—Granting a pension to Perneta J. Campbell.
Mr. Cullop; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 783.

H. R. 20432—Granting an increase of pension to Martha L. Quick.
Mr. Donovan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 783.

H. R. 20433—Granting an increase of pension to Ella Keppy.
Mr. Donovan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 783.

H. R. 20434—Granting an increase of pension to Jane Ganung.
Mr. Donovan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 783.

H. R. 20435—Granting a pension to Frederick Krebs.
Mr. Doremus; Committee on Pensions, 783.

H. R. 20436—Granting an increase of pension to Edward M. Duffy.
Mr. Doremus; Committee on Pensions, 783.

H. R. 20437—For the relief of Omer D. Lewis.
Mr. Evans; Committee on Claims, 783.

H. R. 20438—Granting an increase of pension to Jay C. Randall.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Pensions, 783.

H. R. 20439—For the relief of Mary L. Rogers, widow of Frank Henry Rogers.
Mr. Gardner; Committee on Claims, 783.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1385), 3482.—Amended and passed House, 3535.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 3551.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 988), 3927.—Amended and passed Senate, 5345.—House concurs in Senate amendment, 5518.—Examined and signed, 5505, 5521.—Presented to the President, 5522.—Approved [Private, No. 266], 5524.

H. R. 20440—Granting an increase of pension to Lucy W. Binford.
Mr. Holland; Committee on Pensions, 783.

H. R. 20441—For the relief of Hudson Bros., of Norfolk, Va.
Mr. Holland; Committee on Claims, 783.

H. R. 20442—Granting a pension to Dora Hoffman.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 783.

H. R. 20443—Granting a pension to Lewis J. Crider.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 783.

H. R. 20444—Granting an increase of pension to Josephus Clark.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 783.

H. R. 20445—Granting an increase of pension to William Hewitt.
Mr. Kreider; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 783.

H. R. 20446—Granting an increase of pension to Nathan Baker.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 783.

H. R. 20447—Granting an increase of pension to William Cunagim.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 783.

H. R. 20448—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac Goble.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 783.

H. R. 20449—For the relief of Samantha Slusher.
Mr. Langley; Committee on War Claims, 783.

H. R. 20450—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel J. Pealer.
Mr. Lesher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 783.

H. R. 20451—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah A. Haring.
Mr. Lesher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 783.

H. R. 20452—Granting an increase of pension to Rachel E. Laughlin.
Mr. Lewis of Maryland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 783.

H. R. 20453—For the relief of the estate of Robert Brown, deceased.
Mr. Lewis of Maryland; Committee on War Claims, 783.

H. R. 20454—Granting a pension to Jacob Mercer.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Pensions, 783.

H. R. 20455—Granting a pension to Albert A. Kelly.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Pensions, 784.

H. R. 20456—Granting a pension to Julia Gallagher.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Pensions, 784.

H. R. 20457—Granting an increase of pension to Melinda Keenan.
Mr. McGillicuddy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 784.

H. R. 20458—Granting an increase of pension to Boman R. Gutcher.
Mr. Morgan of Oklahoma; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 784.

H. R. 20459—Granting an increase of pension to George G. Sherlock.
Mr. Morgan of Oklahoma; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 784.

H. R. 20460—To correct the military record of James McManniman and grant him an honorable discharge.
Mr. Morgan of Oklahoma; Committee on Military Affairs, 784.

H. R. 20461—Granting an increase of pension to Mary J. Porter.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 784.

H. R. 20462—Granting an increase of pension to Laura A. McCormick.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 784.

H. R. 20463—Granting an increase of pension to C. L. Belknap.
Mr. Shreve; Committee on Pensions, 784.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1917.

H. R. 20464—Granting a pension to Peter Throssel.
Mr. Smith of Minnesota; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 784.

H. R. 20465—For the relief of A. A. Kelly.
Mr. Smith of Minnesota; Committee on Claims, 784.

H. R. 20466—Granting a pension to Harry N. Gates.
Mr. Stephens of Nebraska; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 784.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 1532.

H. R. 20467—Granting an increase of pension to William Orr.
Mr. Tavenner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 784.

H. R. 20468—Granting a pension to Julia Jones.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 784.

H. R. 20469—Granting a pension to Anna R. Cartwright.
Mr. Thomson of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 784.

H. R. 20470—To divorce transportation in interstate and foreign commerce from manufacture, minning, production, and dealing, and for other purposes.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 838.

H. R. 20471—To secure to the United States a monopoly of electrical means for the transmission of intelligence for hire; to provide for the acquisition by the Post Office Department of the telephone networks; and to license certain telephone lines, radio and telegraph agencies.
Mr. Lewis of Maryland; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 838.

H. R. 20472—Providing for a site and public building for a post office at Anaconda, Mont.
Mr. Evans; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 838.

H. R. 20473—To provide for enlarging the United States building at Waterbury, Conn.
Mr. Kennedy of Connecticut; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 838.

H. R. 20474—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Interior to patent certain lands to the State of Utah and to accept from said State certain other lands in lieu thereof.
Mr. Johnson of Utah; Committee on the Public Lands, 838.

H. R. 20475—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Hart.
Mr. Browne of Wisconsin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 838.

H. R. 20476—To correct the military record of John Minster.
Mr. Connelly of Kansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 838.

H. R. 20477—Granting a pension to Laura J. Spencer.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 838.

H. R. 20478—Granting a pension to Joseph H. McIntyre.
Mr. Estopinal; Committee on Pensions, 838.

H. R. 20479—Granting a pension to Lillie R. Abbott.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on Pensions, 838.

H. R. 20480—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Glaspy.
Mr. Francis; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 838.

H. R. 20481—Granting an increase of pension to Dixon M. Hepburn.
Mr. Francis; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 838.

H. R. 20482—Granting an increase of pension to Peter Wagner.
Mr. Francis; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 838.

H. R. 20483—Granting a pension to William A. Bowen.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Pensions, 838.

H. R. 20484—Granting a pension to James J. Huff.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Pensions, 838.

H. R. 20485—Granting an increase of pension to Matthias Harttenschwiller.
Mr. Lloyd; Committee on Pensions, 838.

H. R. 20486—Granting an increase of pension to Artemas C. Barclay.
Mr. Moore; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 838.

H. R. 20487—Granting a pension to James E. Welch.
Mr. Plumley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 838.

H. R. 20488—Granting an increase of pension to Charles R. Brackett.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 838.

H. R. 20489—Granting an increase of pension to Evalyn Wakefield.
Mr. Sinnott; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 838.

H. R. 20490—For the relief of Edson Watson.
Mr. Sinnott; Committee on Claims, 839.

H. R. 20491—Granting a pension to Rosa L. Huebner.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Pensions, 839.

H. R. 20492—Granting an increase of pension to James Sterns.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 839.

H. R. 20493—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew R. Jones.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 839.

H. R. 20494—Granting a pension to Mary Gertrude Russell.
Mr. Tavenner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 839.

H. R. 20495—Granting a pension to Arthur L. Perry.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Pensions, 839.

H. R. 20496—To grant lands to the Territory of Alaska for educational uses, and for other purposes.
Mr. Wickersham; Committee on the Public Lands, 899.

H. R. 20497—To increase the authorized strength of the Coast Artillery Corps of the Army.
Mr. Gardner; Committee on Military Affairs, 899.

H. R. 20498—To validate title to certain town sites in the State of Montana.
Mr. Stout; Committee on the Public Lands, 899.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1395), 3536.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 4180), 5419, 5427.

H. R. 20499—To authorize the construction of a bridge across the Ohio River at Metropolis, Ill.
Mr. Barkley; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 899.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1259), 1007.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 7107), 1127.

H. R. 20500—To prohibit interstate commerce in products branded or marked with the name of any church, religious denomination, society, or association, or the name or designation by which any such church or religious denomination is commonly known.
Mr. Palmer; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 899.—Change of reference objected to, 1322.

H. R. 20501—Granting a pension to Daily Houston.
Mr. Campbell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 899.

H. R. 20502—Granting an increase of pension to Harvey J. Willis.
Mr. Campbell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 899.

H. R. 20503—Granting a pension to Edna J. Applegate.
Mr. Cox; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 899.

H. R. 20504—Granting an increase of pension to Michael Demuth.
Mr. Cox; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 899.

H. R. 20505—Granting an increase of pension to Robert L. Stroud.
Mr. Cox; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 899.

H. R. 20506—Granting an increase of pension to Jennie Farley.
Mr. Doremus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 899.

H. R. 20507—Granting a pension to William A. Widrig.
Mr. Driscoll; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 899.

H. R. 20508—Granting an increase of pension to Martin Bury.
Mr. Driscoll; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 899.

H. R. 20509—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel Connor.
Mr. Gillett; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 899.

H. R. 20510—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew Partridge.
Mr. Gillett; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 899.

H. R. 20511—Granting an increase of pension to Emma Wilmer.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 899.

H. R. 20512—Granting a pension to Minnie S. Rector.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 899.

H. R. 20513—Granting a pension to Thomas A. Long.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Pensions, 899.

H. R. 20514—Granting a pension to Nellie V. Ross.
Mr. Humphrey of Washington; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 899.

H. R. 20515—Granting an increase of pension to Theodore A. Cox.
Mr. Humphrey of Washington; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 900.

H. R. 20516—For the relief of C. G. Wilford.
Mr. Humphrey of Washington; Committee on Claims, 900.

H. R. 20517—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Hatfield.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 900.

H. R. 20518—Granting an increase of pension to L. M. Jarvis.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 900.

H. R. 20519—For the relief of the heirs or estate of Jacob Joyner, deceased.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on War Claims, 900.

H. R. 20520—For the relief of the owners of the steamboat W. B. Savory.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on War Claims, 900.

H. R. 20521—Granting an increase of pension to Alice E. Atherton.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 900.

H. R. 20522—Granting a pension to Bert Roberts.
Mr. Talcott of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 900.

H. R. 20523—Granting a pension to Cleveland Shive.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 900.

H. R. 20524—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac Premer.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 900.

H. R. 20525—To establish a standard of weights for various commodities, and for other purposes.
Mr. Dillon; Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, 960.

H. R. 20526—To establish the metric system as the standard for weights and measures, and for other purposes.
Mr. Dillon; Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, 960.

H. R. 20527—To provide capital for agricultural development, to create a standard form of investment based upon farm mortgages, to equalize rates of interest upon farm loans, to furnish a market for United States bonds, to provide a method of applying postal savings deposits to the promotion of the public welfare, and for other purposes.
Mr. Tribble; Committee on Banking and Currency, 960.

H. R. 20528—To authorize the maintenance of organizations of the mobile army at their maximum strength and to provide an increase of 1,000 officers.
Mr. Gardner; Committee on Military Affairs, 960.

H. R. 20529—To prevent, prohibit, and punish frauds and cheating and swindling in interstate and foreign commerce.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 961.

H. R. 20530—Granting a pension to Clarence E. Gleason.
Mr. Ansberry; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 961.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 1276.

H. R. 20531—Granting an increase of pension to William Hilbert.
Mr. Ansberry; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 961.

H. R. 20532—Granting a pension to Elizabeth C. Grimes.
Mr. Bailey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 961.

H. R. 20533—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Hayward.
Mr. Barnhart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 961.

H. R. 20534—Granting an increase of pension to James S. Botsford.
Mr. Borland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 961.

H. R. 20535—Granting a pension to James M. Thurston.
Mr. Cary; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 961.

H. R. 20536—To carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in case of Albert G. Peabody.
Mr. Cary; Committee on War Claims, 961.

H. R. 20537—Granting an increase of pension to Henry L. Phillips.
Mr. Cooper; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 961.

H. R. 20538—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Courliss.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 961.

H. R. 20539—Granting a pension to Mary E. Blood Coffin.
Mr. Danforth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 961.

H. R. 20540—Granting a pension to Leo A. Kelly.
Mr. Doremus; Committee on Pensions, 961.

H. R. 20541—Granting an increase of pension to Louis C. T. Kramer.
Mr. Doremus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 961.

H. R. 20542—For the relief of Halvor Nilsen.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on the Public Lands, 961.

H. R. 20543—Granting a pension to Nicholas Schiller.
Mr. Green of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 961.

H. R. 20544—Granting a pension to Elmira Gosben.
Mr. Green of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 961.

H. R. 20545—Granting a pension to Virgil T. Gregory.
Mr. Johnson of South Carolina; Committee on Pensions, 961.

H. R. 20546—Granting a pension to J. Horace Keeter.
Mr. Johnson of South Carolina; Committee on Pensions, 961.

H. R. 20547—Granting a pension to Thomas M. Boswell.
Mr. Johnson of South Carolina; Committee on Pensions, 961.

H. R. 20548—Granting a pension to Charles G. Farling.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Pensions, 961.

H. R. 20549—Granting an increase of pension to Arthur Adams.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 961.

H. R. 20550—Granting an increase of pension to Ezra Kramer.
Mr. Kinkaid of Nebraska; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 961.

H. R. 20551—For the relief of Rev. D. O. Sanborn.
Mr. Konop; Committee on War Claims, 961.

H. R. 20552—For the relief of James D. Watts.
Mr. Lafferty; Committee on Claims, 961.

H. R. 20553—Granting an increase of pension to Aaron Streets.
Mr. Maguire of Nebraska; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 961.

H. R. 20554—Granting an increase of pension to N. B. Nicholson.
Mr. Avis; Committee on Pensions, 961.

H. R. 20555—To reimburse James McDowell, postmaster at Armington, Ill., for expense of opening and repairing safe caused by attempted robbery.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Claims, 961.

H. R. 20556—To provide a revenue cutter for the thirty-ninth customs-collection district.
Mr. McAndrews; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1007.

H. R. 20557—To amend an act entitled "An act to increase the internal revenue and for other purposes," approved Oct. 22, 1914.
Mr. Dent; Committee on Ways and Means, 1007.

H. R. 20558—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Claremont, in the State of New Hampshire.
Mr. Stevens of New Hampshire; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1007.

H. R. 20559—To repeal section 9 of the personnel act of Mar. 3, 1899.
Mr. Witherspoon; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1007.

H. R. 20560—To amend the act of Congress of May 9, 1902, to permit the coloration of oleomargarine.
Mr. Gill; Committee on Agriculture, 1007.

H. R. 20561—Authorizing the refunding to certain corporations part of amounts heretofore collected by the United States as compromise of their delinquency.
Mr. Sloan; Committee on Ways and Means, 1007.

H. R. 20562—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent children of soldiers and sailors of said war.
Mr. Adair, from the Committee on Invalid Pensions (H. Rept. 1261), as substitute for certain bills referred to that committee, 1007, 1008.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 1273-1276.—Referred to Senate Committee on Pensions, 1330.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 932), 2301.—Amended and passed Senate, 2864, 2865.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a conference, 2981.—Senate insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 2994.—Conference appointed, 2981, 2994.—Conference report (No. 1408) made in House, 3958.—Conference report agreed to in House, 3958, 4020.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 3701.—Examined and signed, 4074, 4203.—Presented to the President, 4341.—Approved [Private, No. 194], 5522.

H. R. 20563—To correct the military record of Anton Herzog.
Mr. Bartholdt; Committee on Military Affairs, 1008.

H. R. 20564—Granting an increase of pension to Mrs. A. J. Conner.
Mr. Blackmon; Committee on Pensions, 1008.

H. R. 20565—For the relief of Jennette Hooker Powell.
Mr. Brown of New York; Committee on Claims, 1008.

H. R. 20566—For the relief of Alexander H. Allan and others.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Claims, 1008.

H. R. 20567—Granting an increase of pension to Fredrica Gorman.
Mr. Clark of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1008.

H. R. 20568—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel B. Rose.
Mr. Clark of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1008.

H. R. 20569—Granting an increase of pension to George H. Devol.
Mr. Cox; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1008.

H. R. 20570—Granting an increase of pension to William Whitton.
Mr. Cox; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1008.

H. R. 20571—Granting an increase of pension to Reuben B. Reynolds.
Mr. Cox; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1008.

H. R. 20572—For the relief of the Woman's Board of Domestic Missions, Reformed Church of America.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on Claims, 1008.

H. R. 20573—For the relief of J. A. Riddel.
Mr. Hay; Committee on Claims, 1008.

H. R. 20574—Granting an increase of pension to Ira J. Barber.
Mr. Hulings; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1008.

H. R. 20575—Granting an increase of pension to C. W. Brown.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Pensions, 1008.

H. R. 20576—Granting an increase of pension to Luther W. Bell.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1008.

H. R. 20577—Granting an increase of pension to James P. Rush.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1008.

H. R. 20578—Granting an increase of pension to William E. Munroe.
Mr. Kiess of Pennsylvania; Committee on Pensions, 1008.

H. R. 20579—Granting an increase of pension to James H. Goodrich.
Mr. Kiess of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1008.

H. R. 20580—Granting an increase of pension to Martha J. Forsythe.
Mr. Langham; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1008.

H. R. 20581—Granting an increase of pension to James Cram.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1008.

H. R. 20582—Granting a pension to Belle Shroyer.
Mr. Neely of West Virginia; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1008.

H. R. 20583—Granting an increase of pension to Silas Morgan.
Mr. Neely of West Virginia; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1008.

H. R. 20584—Granting an increase of pension to John T. Peters.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 1008.

H. R. 20585—Granting a pension to William Peacock.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1008.

H. R. 20586—Granting an increase of pension to Jonathan Casteel.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1008.

H. R. 20587—Granting a pension to Harry Bidwell.
Mr. Smith of New York; Committee on Pensions, 1008.

H. R. 20588—Granting an increase of pension to Jackson B. Cleveland.
Mr. Stephens of California; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1008.

H. R. 20589—Granting an increase of pension to Alexander H. Taylor.
Mr. Stevens of New Hampshire; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1008.

H. R. 20590—Granting a pension to Mary White.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1008.

H. R. 20591—Granting a pension to Mary J. Wilcox.
Mr. Vollmer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1008.

H. R. 20592—Granting a pension to Augusta Dellit.
Mr. Vollmer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1008.

H. R. 20593—Granting a pension to Paul McCoy.
Mr. Vollmer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1008.

H. R. 20594—Granting a pension to Maggie Shaffer.
Mr. Vollmer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1008.

H. R. 20595—Granting an increase of pension to Nancy Van Zandt.
Mr. Vollmer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1008.

H. R. 20596—Granting an increase of pension to Kate Klima.
Mr. Vollmer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1008.

H. R. 20597—Granting an increase of pension to Mary J. Beach.
Mr. Vollmer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1008.

H. R. 20598—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Fry.
Mr. Vollmer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1008.

H. R. 20599—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph A. Cummings.
Mr. Vollmer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1008.

H. R. 20600—Granting an increase of pension to Peter Ryan.
Mr. Vollmer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1008.

H. R. 20601—Providing for the taking up of passports.
Mr. Bruckner; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 1093.

H. R. 20602—Amending sections 3 and 4 of the act of August 8, 1911, entitled "An act for the apportionment of Representatives in Congress among the several States under the Thirteenth Census," so as to give any State entitled to at least three Representatives in Congress the privilege of electing them by proportional representation.
Mr. Bailey; Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress, 1093.

H. R. 20603—To repeal section 9 of the personnel act of Mar. 3, 1899.
Mr. Witherspoon; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1093.

H. R. 20604—To construct a public building for a post office at the city of Forsyth, Ga.
Mr. Bartlett; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1093.—Debated and passed House, 5490.—Passed Senate, 5400.—Examined and signed, 5505, 5521.—Presented to the President, 5522.—Approved [Public, No. 335], 5524.

H. R. 20605—To amend the act of Congress of May 9, 1902, to permit the coloration of oleomargarine to look like butter, and that no tax be imposed thereon.
Mr. Gill; Committee on Agriculture, 1093.

H. R. 20606—To amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes," approved July 25, 1912.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 1093.

H. R. 20607—Granting an increase of pension to John O. Smith.
Mr. Brumbaugh; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1093.

H. R. 20608—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Straka.
Mr. Bulkley; Committee on Pensions, 1093.

H. R. 20609—Granting a pension to H. E. Rives.
Mr. Byrns of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 1093.

H. R. 20610—Granting a pension to Robert L. Bentley.
Mr. Cantrill; Committee on Pensions, 1093.

H. R. 20611—Granting a pension to Clara L. Vawn.
Mr. Dershem; Committee on Pensions, 1093.

H. R. 20612—Granting a pension to Helen Fenzle.
Mr. Driscoll; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1093.

H. R. 20613—Waiving the age limit for admission to the Pay Corps of the United States Navy in the case of L. George Asbury.
Mr. Dupré; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1093.

H. R. 20614—For the relief of the heirs of David Beasley, deceased.
Mr. Edwards; Committee on War Claims, 1093.

H. R. 20615—For the relief of the Woman's Board of Domestic Missions, Reformed Church of America.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1093.

H. R. 20616—Granting an increase of pension to James McMannis.
Mr. Francis; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1093.

H. R. 20617—Granting a pension to Chester B. Goodenough.
Mr. Gittins; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1093.

H. R. 20618—Granting an increase of pension to Michael O'Sullivan.
Mr. Gorman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1093.

H. R. 20619—Granting a pension to Harriet L. Busick.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Pensions, 1093.

H. R. 20620—Granting a pension to Anna Carver.
Mr. Hughes of West Virginia; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1093.

H. R. 20621—Granting an increase of pension to Harriet A. Tharp.
Mr. Hughes of West Virginia; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1093.

H. R. 20622—Granting an increase of pension to William G. Otis.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1094.

H. R. 20623—Granting a pension to Mary Collins.
Mr. Logue; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1094.

H. R. 20624—Granting an increase of pension to Matthias Parthemore.
Mr. Logue; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1094.

H. R. 20625—For the relief of Mary E. Egan, administratrix.
Mr. Logue; Committee on War Claims, 1094.

H. R. 20626—Granting an increase of pension to George Wells.
Mr. Martin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1094.

H. R. 20627—Granting an increase of pension to William Davis.
Mr. Moss of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1094.

H. R. 20628—Granting a pension to George Law.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1094.

H. R. 20629—Granting a pension to Harriet E. Stout.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1094.

H. R. 20630—Granting an increase of pension to Louisa J. Kimball.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1094.

H. R. 20631—For the relief of Adam K. Danes, deceased.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Military Affairs, 1094.

H. R. 20632—Granting a pension to Adelaide Lee.
Mr. Reilly of Wisconsin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1094.

H. R. 20633—Granting a pension to Rebecca A. Searls.
Mr. Reilly of Wisconsin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1094.

H. R. 20634—Granting an increase of pension to William Moses.
Mr. Reilly of Wisconsin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1094.

H. R. 20635—Granting an increase of pension to William D. Smith.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1094.

H. R. 20636—For the relief of the estate of R. J. H. Hatchett, deceased.
Mr. Stedman; Committee on Claims, 1094.

H. R. 20637—Granting a pension to Lydia Jane Scott.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1094.

H. R. 20638—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Hakes.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1094.

H. R. 20639—Granting an increase of pension to Sylvester Tomlinson.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1094.

H. R. 20640—Granting a pension to Nathaniel Amon.
Mr. Temple; Committee on Pensions, 1094.

H. R. 20641—To establish a chief of naval operations.
Mr. Hobson; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1094.

H. R. 20642—To amend an act entitled "An act to increase the pensions of widows, minor children, etc., of deceased soldiers and sailors of the late Civil War, the War with Mexico, the various Indian wars, etc., and to grant a pension to certain widows of the deceased soldiers and sailors of the late Civil War," approved Apr. 19, 1908.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1153.

H. R. 20643—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Regular Army and Navy, and certain soldiers and sailors of wars other than the Civil War, and to widows of such soldiers and sailors.
Mr. Harris, from the Committee on Pensions (H. Rept. 1263), as substitute for certain bills referred to that committee, 1153.—Amended and passed House, 1276.—Referred to Senate Committee on Pensions, 1330.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 971), 3548.—Amended and passed Senate, 4728–4730.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a conference, 4981.—Senate insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 4912.—Conference appointed, 4912, 4981.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 5229.—Conference report (No. 1505) made and agreed to in House, 5440.—Examined and signed, 5331, 5459.—Presented to the President, 5482.—Approved [Private, No. 267], 5524.

H. R. 20644—To amend the postal laws.
Mr. Fitzgerald; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 1153.—Debated [Appendix, 640].

H. R. 20645—Providing for the sale of the United States unused barge office in Chicago, Ill.
Mr. Buchanan of Illinois; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1153.

H. R. 20646—Granting a pension to Ellen Moffatt.
Mr. Cox; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1277.

H. R. 20647—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret I. Reider.
Mr. Ansberry; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1153.

H. R. 20648—Granting an increase of pension to Oliver P. Smith.
Mr. Ansberry; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1153.

H. R. 20649—To authorize the Court of Claims to hear, consider, and adjudicate the claim of heirs of Andrew R. Humes.
Mr. Austin; Committee on War Claims, 1153.

H. R. 20650—To remove the charge of desertion from the name of Lee Thompson.
Mr. Barkley; Committee on Military Affairs, 1153.

H. R. 20651—To donate certain condemned cannon to the Gordon Institute, of Barnesville, Ga.
Mr. Bartlett; Committee on Military Affairs, 1153.

H. R. 20652—Granting an increase of pension to Deborah Hart.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1153.

H. R. 20653—Granting an increase of pension to Robert R. Raap.
Mr. Buchanan of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1153.

H. R. 20654—Granting a pension to Jesse T. Kellett.
Mr. Caraway; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1153.

H. R. 20655—Granting an increase of pension to Albert W. Utter.
Mr. Connelly of Kansas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1153.

H. R. 20656—Granting an increase of pension to John J. Gorman.
Mr. Dale; Committee on Pensions, 1153.

H. R. 20657—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth A. W. Case.
Mr. Fairchild; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1153.

H. R. 20658—Granting an increase of pension to Eliza A. Grant.
Mr. Fairchild; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1153.

H. R. 20659—Granting a pension to William R. Prichard.
Mr. Goeke; Committee on Pensions, 1153.

H. R. 20660—Granting a pension to Bennie Leshin.
Mr. Goulden; Committee on Pensions, 1153.

H. R. 20661—Granting a pension to Elizabeth E. Brown.
Mr. Goulden; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1153.

H. R. 20662—Granting a pension to Nancy A. Arnett.
Mr. Graham of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1153.

H. R. 20663—Granting a pension to Benjamin Garland.
Mr. Graham of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1153.

H. R. 20664—Granting an increase of pension to Joshua C. Clevenger.
Mr. Graham of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1153.

H. R. 20665—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew J. Vancil.
Mr. Graham of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1153.

H. R. 20666—Granting a pension to Charles Gould.
Mr. Hamilton of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1153.

H. R. 20667—Granting an increase of pension to Hiram Eells.
Mr. Hamilton of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1153.

H. R. 20668—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Rice.
Mr. Hamilton of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1154.

H. R. 20669—Granting an increase of pension to Hiram D. Stoddard.
Mr. Hamilton of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1154.

H. R. 20670—Granting an increase of pension to John Peterson.
Mr. Hamilton of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1154.

H. R. 20671—Granting an increase of pension to John A. Peterson.
Mr. Hamilton of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1154.

H. R. 20672—Granting an increase of pension to Louis L. Stafford.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1154.

H. R. 20673—Granting a pension to Alonzo C. Jones.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1154.

H. R. 20674—To carry into effect the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of Thomas A. Wakefield.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on War Claims, 1154.

H. R. 20675—For the relief of the estate of Pleasant M. Craigmiles, deceased.
Mr. Moon; Committee on War Claims, 1154.

H. R. 20676—Granting a pension to William Goldsworthy.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1154.

H. R. 20677—Granting a pension to Charles D. Comstock.
Mr. Rucker; Committee on Pensions, 1154.

H. R. 20678—Granting an increase of pension to Robert W. Black.
Mr. Rucker; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1154.

H. R. 20679—Granting a pension to Carl Schrock.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1154.

H. R. 20680—Granting a pension to Benjamin Hammonds.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 1154.

H. R. 20681—Granting a pension to William Merritt.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 1154.

H. R. 20682—Granting an increase of pension to David A. Turner.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 1154.

H. R. 20683—Granting an increase of pension to Robert E. Taber.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 1154.

H. R. 20684—Granting an increase of pension to David W. White.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1154.

H. R. 20685—Granting an increase of pension to Ann E. Lowman.
Mr. Shreve; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1154.

H. R. 20686—For the relief of the Snare & Triest Co.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Claims, 1154.

H. R. 20687—Granting a pension to Permelia L. Dutcher.
Mr. Woods; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1154.

H. R. 20688—To place Barrow County, Ga., in the eastern division of the northern district of Georgia.
Mr. Webb; Committee on the Judiciary, 1277.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1278), 1532.—Amended and passed House, 3803.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 3874.—Reported back; passed Senate, 4556.—Examined and signed, 4801, 4809.—Presented to the President, 5057.—Approved [Public, No. 286], 5523.

H. R. 20689—To establish national farm-land banks.
Mr. Moss of Indiana; Committee on Banking and Currency, 1277.

H. R. 20690—To appropriate $10,000 for a highway across the Fort Robinson Military Reservation and the timber reservation.
Mr. Kinkaid of Nebraska; Committee on Military Affairs, 1277.

H. R. 20691—To sell and dispose of the Panama Canal bonds heretofore authorized and not disposed of, and to expend the proceeds in further fortifying and strengthening existing fortifications of the coast defenses of the United States and its insular possessions, and to strengthen the Navy of the United States.
Mr. Post; Committee on Military Affairs, 1277.

H. R. 20692—Providing for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at Watervliet, N. Y.
Mr. Ten Eyck; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1277.

H. R. 20693—To supplement existing legislation relative to the United States Court for China and to increase the serviceability thereof.
Mr. Fergusson; Committee on the Judiciary, 1277.

H. R. 20694—To repeal section 9 of the naval personnel act of Mar. 3, 1899, and to transfer certain classes of officers from the retired to the active list of the Navy and Marine Corps.
Mr. Witherspoon; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1277.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1304), 1998.

H. R. 20695—To amend sections 21 and 31 of the act entitled "An act to amend and consolidate the acts respecting copyright," approved Mar. 4, 1909.
Mr. Oldfield; Committee on Patents, 1277.

H. R. 20696—To add two upper stories to the one-story portion of the west side of the post-office building at Rock Island, Ill.
Mr. Tavenner; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1277.

H. R. 20697—To create a Federal Tariff Commission.
Mr. Church; Committee on Ways and Means, 1277.

H. R. 20698—Granting an increase of pension to Amos Hall.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1277.

H. R. 20699—Granting a pension to William Sommers.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Pensions, 1277.

H. R. 20700—Granting a pension to Winnie Turner.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Pensions, 1277.

H. R. 20701—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Brown.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1277.

H. R. 20702—Authorizing the health officer of the District of Columbia to issue a permit for the removal of the remains of the late Robert Caldwell Culbertson from Woodlawn Cemetery, District of Columbia, to Rocky Spring Cemetery, Chambersburg, Pa.
Mr. Burke of South Dakota; Committee on the District of Columbia, 1277.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1373), 3153.—Amended and passed House, 3534, 3535.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Health and National Quarantine, 3552.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1066), 5172.—Passed Senate, 5353.—Examined and signed, 5357, 5491.—Presented to the President, 5522.—Approved [Private, No. 268], 5524.

H. R. 20703—Granting an increase of pension to Silas M. Abers.
Mr. Burke of Wisconsin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1277.

H. R. 20704—Granting an increase of pension to Justin S. Randolph.
Mr. Caraway; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1277.

H. R. 20705—Granting an increase of pension to Abraham Gindlesparger.
Mr. Cline; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1277.

H. R. 20706—Granting a pension to Maud S. Hayes.
Mr. Dershem; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1277.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 2162.

H. R. 20707—Granting a pension to Gilbert Wilson.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Pensions, 1277.

H. R. 20708—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob Mapes.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1277.

H. R. 20709—Granting an increase of pension to Clara E. Smith.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Pensions, 1277.

H. R. 20710—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Phillips.
Mr. French; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1277.

H. R. 20711—To place the name of James P. Barney on the lineal list of first lieutenants of Cavalry of the Army.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Military Affairs, 1277.

H. R. 20712—Granting a pension to Catharine Walker.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Pensions, 1277.

H. R. 20713—Granting an increase of pension to Pauline Chase.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1277.

H. R. 20714—Granting an increase of pension to William Foster.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1277.

H. R. 20715—Granting an increase of pension to Rebecca J. Gist.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1277.

H. R. 20716—Granting an increase of pension to Louisa Haun.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1277.

H. R. 20717—For the relief of Mary Ann Snider.
Mr. Hensley; Committee on War Claims, 1277.

H. R. 20718—Granting a pension to James J. Booth.
Mr. Holland; Committee on Pensions, 1277.

H. R. 20719—Granting a pension to Cynthia Rudler Osgood.
Mr. Lafferty; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1277.

H. R. 20720—Granting an increase of pension to Eliza A. McKallip.
Mr. Langham; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1277.

H. R. 20721—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth C. Johnson.
Mr. Lesher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1277.

H. R. 20722—Granting an increase of pension to Allen D. Wolf.
Mr. Lewis of Maryland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1277.

H. R. 20723—Granting an increase of pension to Lydia A. Heatherly.
Mr. Moss of West Virginia; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1277.

H. R. 20724—Granting an increase of pension to Nora Davis.
Mr. Reilly of Connecticut; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1277.

H. R. 20725—Granting an increase of pension to Augusta Albert.
Mr. Sherley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1277.

H. R. 20726—Granting an increase of pension to Barbara Mehringer.
Mr. Sherley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1277.

H. R. 20727—Granting an increase of pension to Frank Coalman.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; Committee on Pensions, 1277.

H. R. 20728—Granting a pension to Anderson Crum.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1277.

H. R. 20729—Granting a pension to Joseph Stevens.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 1277.

H. R. 20730—Granting a pension to Lulu E. Winans.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 1277.

H. R. 20731—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of John B. Connolly.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Military Affairs, 1277.

H. R. 20732—Granting a pension to Walter V. Haskell.
Mr. Ten Eyck; Committee on Pensions, 1277.

H. R. 20733—Granting an increase of pension to John W. B. Huntsman.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1277.

H. R. 20734—Granting an increase of pension to Barbara J. Ward.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1277.

H. R. 20735—For the relief of Samuel A. Jones.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on War Claims, 1277.

H. R. 20736—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate two condemned bronze or brass cannon or fieldpieces and a suitable outfit of cannon balls to the city of Morganton, N. C.
Mr. Webb; Committee on Military Affairs, 1323.

H. R. 20737—Amending sections 3 and 4 of the act of Aug. 8, 1911, entitled "An act for the apportionment of Representatives in Congress among the several States under the Thirteenth Census," so as to give any State entitled to at least three Representatives in Congress the privilege of electing them by proportional representation.
Mr. Bailey; Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress, 1323.—Debated [Appendix, 266].

H. R. 20738—To amend section 9 of an act entitled "An act to increase the limit of cost of certain public buildings, to authorize the enlargement, extension, remodeling, or improvement of certain public buildings, to authorize the erection and completion of public buildings, to authorize the purchase of sites for public buildings, and for other purposes," approved Mar. 4, 1913.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1323.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1422), 4165.

H. R. 20739—Granting an increase of pension to Alexander Swisher.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1323.

H. R. 20740—Granting a pension to Caroline E. Moore.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1323.

H. R. 20741—Granting an increase of pension to Abraham Gilts.
Mr. Ansberry; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1323.

H. R. 20742—For the relief of John Albus, jr.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Claims, 1323.

H. R. 20743—Granting an increase of pension to Mathew E. Wolf.
Mr. Campbell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1323.

H. R. 20744—Granting an increase of pension to Elijah D. Robertson.
Mr. Cantrill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1323.

H. R. 20745—Granting an increase of pension to William Maberry.
Mr. Caraway; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1323.

H. R. 20746—To quiet the title to certain lands in the possession of G. B. Dickson, and for other purposes.
Mr. Caraway; Committee on the Public Lands, 1323.

H. R. 20747—To appoint Roy K. Carson a second lieutenant in the United States Marine Corps.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1323.

H. R. 20748—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew W. Hepler.
Mr. Good; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1323.

H. R. 20749—Granting a pension to Navarra Kautz Simpson.
Mr. Hamill; Committee on Pensions, 1323.

H. R. 20750—Granting an increase of pension to Nathaniel F. Berry.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1323.

H. R. 20751—Granting an increase of pension to William T. Lambert.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1323.

H. R. 20752—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Ice.
Mr. Hill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1323.

H. R. 20753—Granting a pension to George E. Bryant.
Mr. Hinds; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1323.

H. R. 20754—For the relief of John W. Fein.
Mr. Jacoway; Committee on Claims, 1323.

H. R. 20755—Granting a pension to heirs of Henry R. Beam.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1323.

H. R. 20756—Granting a pension to Mary C. Chrisman.
Mr. Kinkaid of Nebraska; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1323.

H. R. 20757—Granting an increase of pension to Aurelius J. Quinn.
Mr. Kirkpatrick; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1323.

H. R. 20758—Granting an increase of pension to Louisa Patrick.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1323.

H. R. 20759—For the relief of the estate of Robert Brown, deceased.
Mr. Lewis of Maryland; Committee on War Claims, 1323.

H. R. 20760—Granting a pension to Charles Wheelden.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Pensions, 1323.

H. R. 20761—Granting an increase of pension to Lewis Shuber.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1323.

H. R. 20762—Granting a pension to Rose Ann Peacock.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1323.

H. R. 20763—For the relief of the estate of A. W. Freedle, deceased.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on War Claims, 1323.

H. R. 20764—Granting a pension to Thomas J. Golding.
Mr. J. I. Nolan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1323.

H. R. 20765—Granting a pension to Arthur Murphy.
Mr. Paige of Massachusetts; Committee on Pensions, 1323.

H. R. 20766—Granting an increase of pension to Gilbert H. Hodgdon.
Mr. Peters; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1323.

H. R. 20767—Granting an increase of pension to Amelia Walker.
Mr. Porter; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1323.

H. R. 20768—Granting an increase of pension to James W. Fisher.
Mr. Rucker; Committee on Pensions, 1323.

H. R. 20769—Granting an increase of pension to Rebecca F. McKeehan.
Mr. Rupley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1323.

H. R. 20770—Granting an increase of pension to Matilda B. Morrow.
Mr. Rupley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1323.

H. R. 20771—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Smith.
Mr. Rupley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1323.

H. R. 20772—Granting a pension to Catharine Ann Fisher.
Mr. Rupley; Committee on Pensions, 1323.

H. R. 20773—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to adjust the accounts of the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis & Omaha Railway Co. in accordance with the decision of the Court of Claims in case No. 29875.
Mr. Stevens of Minnesota; Committee on Claims, 1323.

H. R. 20774—Granting a pension to Flossie M. Ramsey.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1323.

H. R. 20775—Granting a pension to Permelia L. Dutcher.
Mr. Woods; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1323.

H. R. 20776—Granting an increase of pension to Francis Gibson.
Mr. Woods; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1323.

H. R. 20777—Providing for the fencing of a cemetery of the Apache, Kiowa, and Comanche Indians in Oklahoma.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1379.

H. R. 20778—To regulate the exportation of foodstuffs, and for other purposes.
Mr. Gorman; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1379.

H. R. 20779—To prohibit the intermarriage of persons of the white and negro races within the United States of America; to declare such contracts of marriage null and void; to prescribe punishments for violations and attempts to violate its provisions.
Mr. Tribble; Committee on the Judiciary, 1379.

H. R. 20780—To amend the postal laws.
Mr. Gallivan; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 1379.

H. R. 20781—Granting an increase of pension to William F. Doran.
Mr. Bowdle; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1379.

H. R. 20782—Granting an increase of pension to Magdalena Kleisler.
Mr. Bowdle; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1380.

H. R. 20783—Granting an increase of pension to Louisa Sebexen.
Mr. Bowdle; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1380.

H. R. 20784—Granting a pension to Emma J. Crocker.
Mr. Brown of New York; Committee on Pensions, 1380.

H. R. 20785—Granting a pension to Missouri L. Black.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1380.

H. R. 20786—Granting an increase of pension to Lucy L. Laymon.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1380.

H. R. 20787—Granting a pension to Wilhelmina Taylor.
Mr. Doremus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1380.

H. R. 20788—Granting a pension to Josephine Burnett.
Mr. Gorman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1380.

H. R. 20789—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Covell.
Mr. Hamilton of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1380.

H. R. 20790—Granting an increase of pension to Lucinda Barnes.
Mr. Helm; Committee on Pensions, 1380.

H. R. 20791—Granting an increase of pension to William Wilson.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1380.

H. R. 20792—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret B. Bradley.
Mr. Hensley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1380.

H. R. 20793—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Hurt.
Mr. Hull; Committee on Pensions, 1380.

H. R. 20794—Granting a pension to Howard D. Lowd.
Mr. Humphreys of Mississippi; Committee on Pensions, 1380.

H. R. 20795—Granting an increase of pension to William House.
Mr. Humphreys of Mississippi; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1380.

H. R. 20796—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Beck.
Mr. Keister; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1380.

H. R. 20797—Granting an increase of pension to Nancy Fortney.
Mr. Keister; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1380.

H. R. 20798—Granting an increase of pension to Elijah J. Reed.
Mr. Keister; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1380.

H. R. 20799—Granting an increase of pension to Robert Bigger.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1380.

H. R. 20800—For the relief of Charlotte M. Johnston.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on Claims, 1380.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1356), 2982.—Passed House, 3532.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 3551.

H. R. 20801—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to adjust the accounts of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway Co. in accordance with the decision of the Court of Claims in case No. 30159.
Mr. Madden; Committee on Claims, 1380.

H. R. 20802—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to adjust the accounts of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway Co. for transporting the United States mails in accordance with certain decisions of the Court of Claims.
Mr. Madden; Committee on Claims, 1380.

H. R. 20803—Granting an increase of pension to Alonzo Wagoner.
Mr. Martin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1380.

H. R. 20804—For the relief of William P. Nason.
Mr. Patten of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1380.—Reference changed to Committee on Military Affairs, 1734.

H. R. 20805—For the relief of the heirs of the late James L. Watson.
Mr. Patten of New York; Committee on Claims, 1380.

H. R. 20806—Granting an increase of pension to Mary C. Beam.
Mr. Rupley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1380.

H. R. 20807—Granting an increase of pension to Rebecca Reed.
Mr. Rupley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1380.

H. R. 20808—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to adjust the accounts of the St. Louis, Iron Mountain & Southern Railway Co.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Claims, 1380.

H. R. 20809—Granting a pension to Calista M. Irish.
Mr. Shreve; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1380.

H. R. 20810—Granting a pension to John Salchli.
Mr. Shreve; Committee on Pensions, 1380.

H. R. 20811—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret J. Dovener.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1380.

H. R. 20812—Granting an increase of pension to Mary C. Smith.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1380.

H. R. 20813—Granting an increase of pension to Sanford B. Dickinson.
Mr. Underhill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1380.

H. R. 20814—To place Candler, Jenkins, and Evans Counties, Ga., in the eastern division of the southern district of Georgia, and to place Bacon and Thomas Counties, Ga., in the southwestern division of the southern district of Georgia.
Mr. Edwards; Committee on the Judiciary, 1484.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1347), 2982.—Amended and passed House, 3816, 3817.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 3874.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 1039), amended, and passed Senate, 4556.—House concurs in Senate amendments, 4801.—Examined and signed, 4838, 4888.—Presented to the President, 5056.—Approved [Public, No. 287], 5523.

H. R. 20815—Proposed as a substitute for H. R. 18666, to authorize the United States, acting through a shipping board, to subscribe to the capital stock of a corporation to be organized under the laws of the United States or of a State thereof or of the District of Columbia to purchase, construct, equip, maintain, and operate merchant vessels in the foreign trade of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Towner; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 1484.

H. R. 20816—For the prevention of the manufacture, sale, or transportation of such edible alimentary pastes as macaroni, spaghetti, vermicelli, and noodles, containing any added artificial coloring matter, and for regulating traffic therein, and for other purposes.
Mr. Talcott of New York; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1484.

H. R. 20817—To amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department and fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1895, and for other purposes."
Mr. Stephens of Texas; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1484.

H. R. 20818—To authorize the Brunot Island Bridge Co. to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the back channel of the Ohio River.
Mr. Burke of Pennsylvania; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1484.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1302), 1917.—Amended and passed House, 2430, 2431, 2535.—Passed Senate, 2993, 2994.—Examined and signed, 3153, 3379.—Presented to the President, 3517.—Approved [Public, No. 246], 4164.

H. R. 20819—To fix the compensation of assistant appraisers of merchandise, and for other purposes.
Mr. Mitchell; Committee on Ways and Means, 1484.

H. R. 20820—Granting a pension to Ellen Rohr.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1485.

H. R 20821—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Lockwood.
Mr. Donovan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1485.

H. R. 20822—For the relief of Homer Rock.
Mr. Evans; Committee on Claims, 1485.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1389), 3482.

H. R. 20823—Granting a pension to Lorilla M. Cook.
Mr. Fairchild; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1485.

H. R. 20824—Granting a pension to William Leishing.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on Pensions, 1485.

H. R. 20825—Granting an increase of pension to Matilda C. Boulden.
Mr. Howell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1485.

H. R. 20826—Granting a pension to Mary M. Fisher.
Mr. Lafferty; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1485.

H. R. 20827—Granting a pension to Ada A. Lewis.
Mr. Hamill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1485.

H. R. 20828—For the relief of James Campbell.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Military Affairs, 1485.

H. R. 20829—Granting a pension to Charles Hall.
Mr. Platt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1485.

H. R. 20830—Granting an increase of pension to Susan O. Hewitt.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1485.

H. R. 20831—For the relief of Frances A. Bliss.
Mr. Shreve; Committee on War Claims, 1485.

H. R. 20832—For the relief of D. C. Darroch.
Mr. Slayden; Committee on Military Affairs, 1485.

H. R. 20833—Granting an increase of pension to Columbus Sampson.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1485.

H. R. 20834—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew Gladwell.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1485.

H. R. 20835—Granting an increase of pension to George Campbell.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1485.

H. R. 20836—Granting an increase of pension to James Swan.
Mr. Talcott of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1485.

H. R. 20837—Granting a pension to John C. Rowland.
Mr. Taylor of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1485.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 2162.

H. R. 20838—Providing for the adjudication of certain claims by the Court of Claims.
Mr. Taylor of New York; Committee on Claims, 1485.—Reported back for reference to Court of Claims (H. Rept. 1397), see H. Res. 730, 3616.

H. R. 20839—Granting an increase of pension to Linda Elliott.
Mr. Woodruff; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1485.

H. R. 20840—Granting an increase of pension to Francis King.
Mr. Woodruff; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1485.

H. R. 20841—To provide for a low rate of interest and long-time loans in aid of agriculture, and for other purposes.
Mr. Caraway; Committee on Banking and Currency, 1484.

H. R. 20842—Granting an increase of pension to Sidney W. Wox.
Mr. McGuire of Oklahoma; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1485.

H. R. 20843—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Caunoy.
Mr. McGuire of Oklahoma; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1485.

H. R. 20844—Granting a pension to Margaret C. Pyles.
Mr. Morrison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1485.

H. R. 20845—Granting an increase of pension to Martha A. Wescott.
Mr. Morrison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1485.

H. R. 20846—Granting a pension to Westley J. Brasier, alias William J. Brasier.
Mr. Morgan of Oklahoma; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1485.

H. R. 20847—Providing for appeals in bankruptcy matters and repealing sections 24 and 25 of "An act to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States," approved July 1, 1898.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on the Judiciary, 1532.

H. R. 20848—To amend an act entitled "An act to create a Federal Trade Commission, to define its powers and duties, and for other purposes," approved Sept. 26, 1914.
Mr. Whitacre; Committee on Ways and Means, 1532.

H. R. 20849—Authorizing a preliminary examination and survey of Sea Gate, Coney Island, N. Y., Ambrose Channel, and connecting waters to Gravesend Bay.
Mr. Griffin; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 1532.

H. R. 20850—To amend the act approved June 27, 1890, so as to include certain widows and orphans of soldiers who served 90 days or more in the United States Army.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1532.

H. R. 20851—To reserve lands to the Territory of Alaska for educational uses, and for other purposes.
Mr. Wickersham; Committee on the Public Lands, 1532.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1280), 1596.—Debated, 3803, 4543–4545, 5485–5488.—(See bill S. 7515.)

H. R. 20852—Granting a pension to Katharine H. Califf.
Mr. Ainey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1532.

H. R. 20853—Granting a pension to Ed Thomas.
Mr. Avis; Committee on Pensions, 1532.

H. R. 20854—Granting an increase of pension to George Senters.
Mr. Barkley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1532.

H. R. 20855—Granting a pension to George C. Howland.
Mr. Clark of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1532.

H. R. 20856—Granting an increase of pension to Anna Warner.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1532.

H. R. 20857—Granting an increase of pension to William M. Hanks.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on Pensions, 1532.

H. R. 20858—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel H. Rankin.
Mr. Garrett of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1532.

H. R. 20859—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas H. Wriston.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1532.

H. R. 20860—For the relief of Lida Jones and others.
Mr. Hughes of West Virginia; Committee on War Claims, 1532.

H. R. 20861—For the relief of James M. Clouston, surviving partner of the firms of J. M. Clouston & Co. and A. C. Marling & Co.
Mr. Hughes of West Virginia; Committee on War Claims, 1532.

H. R. 20862—For the relief of the estate of Philip Null, deceased.
Mr. Hughes of West Virginia; Committee on War Claims, 1532.

H. R. 20863—For the relief of heirs of William Douthit or their duly authorized representative.
Mr. Hughes of West Virginia; Committee on War Claims, 1533.

H. R. 20864—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Wales Porter.
Mr. Kennedy of Connecticut; Committee on Military Affairs, 1533.

H. R. 20865—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Coppler.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1533.

H. R. 20866—Granting an increase of pension to William Bain.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1533.

H. R. 20867—Granting a pension to Lucretia M. Postlewaite.
Mr. Kirkpatrick; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1533.

H. R. 20868—Granting an increase of pension to Realie Damron.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1533.

H. R. 20869—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin H. Kimbler.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 1533.

H. R. 20870—Granting a pension to Mary L. Walker.
Mr. Moss of West Virginia; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1533.

H. R. 20871—Granting a pension to Perley H. Elwell.
Mr. Murdock; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1533.

H. R. 20872—Granting an increase of pension to Mary S. Grimwood.
Mr. O'Shaunessy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1533.

H. R. 20873—Granting an increase of pension to Sophie M. Kinnicutt.
Mr. O'Shaunessy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1533.

H. R. 20784—Granting an increase of pension to Matilda A. Miller.
Mr. O'Shaunessy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1533.

H. R. 20875—Granting an increase of pension to William Willis.
Mr. O'Shaunessy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1533.

H. R. 20876—For the relief of the estate of E. H. Killam, sr., deceased.
Mr. Park; Committee on War Claims, 1533.

H. R. 20877—Granting a pension to Catherine A. Bailey.
Mr. Parker of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1533.

H. R. 20878—Granting a pension to Pierce B. Boyer.
Mr. Roberts of Nevada; Committee on Pensions, 1533.

H. R. 20879—Granting a pension to Charles R. Hodges.
Mr. Roberts of Nevada; Committee on Pensions, 1533.

H. R. 20880—Granting an increase of pension to Louisa Patrick.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1533.

H. R. 20881—Granting an increase of pension to Mary A. McElwee.
Mr. Rupley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1533.

H. R. 20882—Granting an increase of pension to John C. Reece.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1533.

H. R. 20883—For the relief of the legal representatives of J. C. Peebles, deceased.
Mr. Sims; Committee on War Claims, 1533.

H. R. 20884—For the relief of Charles A. Cutler.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Claims, 1533.—Reference changed to Committee on War Claims, 2202.

H. R. 20885—For the relief of the heir or heirs of John Howard Payne, deceased, late United States consul at Tunis.
Mr. Taylor of New York; Committee on Claims, 1533.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1454), 4802.

H. R. 20886—Granting a pension to Eleanor Tanner.
Mr. Tuttle; Committee on Pensions, 1533.

H. R. 20887—For the relief of the heirs at law of S. S. Barnard.
Mr. Walker; Committee on War Claims, 1533.

H. R. 20888—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob G. Robinson.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1533.

H. R. 20889—Granting an increase of pension to Riley Howard.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1533.

H. R. 20890—For the relief of the Iowa Tribe of Indians.
Mr. Murray; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1597.

H. R. 20891—To place Bacon County, Ga., in the southwestern division of the southern district of Georgia.
Mr. Walker; Committee on the Judiciary, 1597.

H. R. 20892—To amend paragraph 2 of an act entitled "An act to amend paragraph 2 of section 3264, Revised Statutes of the United States, as amended by section 5 of the act of Mar. 1, 1879, and act of June 22, 1910."
Mr. Kennedy of Rhode Island; Committee on Ways and Means, 1597.

H. R. 20893—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Appleton, in the county of Outagamie and State of Wisconsin, two bronze or brass cannon or fieldpieces, with their carriages.
Mr. Konop; Committee on Military Affairs, 1597.

H. R. 20894—To provide for the appointment of a district judge, district attorney, and marshal for the western district of South Carolina, and for other purposes.
Mr. Aiken; Committee on the Judiciary, 1597.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1393), 3536.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 3822, 5190–5192 [Appendix, 521].—Debated and passed Senate, 5120, 5121.—Examined and signed, 5245, 5417.—Presented to the President, 5459.—Approved [Public, No. 288], 5523.

H. R. 20895—To provide for the admission into soldiers' and sailors' homes of persons who have served in the Army or in the Navy of the United States.
Mr. J. I. Nolan; Committee on Military Affairs, 1597.

H. R. 20896—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate one condemned cannon to the city of Williamsport, Pa.
Mr. Kiess of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 1597.

H. R. 20897—To protect certain animals in Alaska.
Mr. Palmer; Committee on Ways and Means, 1597.

H. R. 20898—To authorize the establishment of a life-saving station on the north side of Nantucket Island, Mass., between Eel Point and the breakwater at the entrance to Nantucket Harbor.
Mr. Thacher; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1597.

H. R. 20899—Providing that the Panama Canal rules shall govern in measurement of vessels for imposing tolls, and for other purposes.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1597.

H. R. 20900—To permit connecting or intersecting street railways of the District of Columbia to be operated under joint management, and for other purposes.
Mr. Page of North Carolina; Committee on the District of Columbia, 1597.

H. R. 20901—Granting an increase of pension to Calvin C. Halsey.
Mr. Ainey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1597.

H. R. 20902—Granting an increase of pension to Hiram W. Shroyer.
Mr. Barnhart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1597.

H. R. 20903—Granting a pension to Rebecca Scott.
Mr. Borchers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1597.

H. R. 20904—Granting a pension to Mary O. Smith.
Mr. Borchers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1597.

H. R. 20905—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah A. Judson.
Mr. Borchers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1597.

H. R. 20906—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Smith.
Mr. Burke of Wisconsin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1597.

H. R. 20907—Granting an increase of pension to Eron B. Wallace.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on Pensions, 1597.

H. R. 20908—Granting an increase of pension to Mary F. Wilkinson.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on Pensions, 1597.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2536.

H. R. 20909—Granting an increase of pension to Etta Adair Anderson.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on Pensions, 1597.

H. R. 20910—For the relief of Ann E. H. Boyle, administratrix of James Hooper, deceased.
Mr. Coady; Committee on Claims, 1597.

H. R. 20911—For the relief of the estate of John P. Gee.
Mr. Collier; Committee on War Claims, 1597.

H. R. 20912—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Taylor.
Mr. Connelly of Kansas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1597.

H. R. 20913—Granting an increase of pension to James B. Kitts.
Mr. Dixon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1597.

H. R. 20914—Granting an increase of pension to Robert L. Ferguson.
Mr. Esch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1597.

H. R. 20915—Granting an increase of pension to William Holdredge.
Mr. Fairchild; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1597.

H. R. 20916—Granting an increase of pension to Martha W. P. Smith.
Mr. Fairchild; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1597.

H. R. 20917—For the relief of Elijah F. Hocker.
Mr. Graham of Illinois; Committee on Military Affairs, 1597.

H. R. 20918—Granting a pension to Patrick Boland.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 1597.

H. R. 20919—Granting a pension to Edward H. Dalton.
Mr. Kiess of Pennsylvania; Committee on Pensions, 1597.

H. R. 20920—Granting an increase of pension to Mary L. Rous.
Mr. Kirkpatrick; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1597.

H. R. 20921—Granting an increase of pension to William J. Sexton.
Mr. Kirkpatrick; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1597.

H. R. 20922—For the relief of estate of Sophia Brown and heirs of Jacob Bezar, deceased.
Mr. Morgan of Louisiana; Committee on War Claims, 1597.

H. R. 20923—To confer jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to try and determine the validity of any claims George C. Jenkins, late second lieutenant, First Regiment Alabama Volunteer Cavalry, may have against the Government for services rendered in the military service of the United States during the War of the Rebellion.
Mr. Post; Committee on War Claims, 1597.

H. R. 20924—Granting a pension to Edward H. Richards.
Mr. Rupley; Committee on Pensions, 1597.

H. R. 20925—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Graham.
Mr. Russell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1597.

H. R. 20926—Granting an increase of pension to Francis T. Powell.
Mr. Scully; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1597.

H. R. 20927—Granting an increase of pension to John Wilson.
Mr. Scully; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1597.

H. R. 20928—Granting a pension to John A. Hiser.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1597.

H. R. 20929—Granting a pension to Susan A. Wilsey.
Mr. Tavenner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1597.

H. R. 20930—Granting an increase of pension to Charles W. Burkett.
Mr. Thacher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1597.

H. R. 20931—Making appropriations for the work of construction of irrigation projects, and for other purposes.
Mr. Smith of Texas; Committee on Appropriations, 1678.

H. R. 20932—To provide for the retirement of employees in the Postal Service.
Mr. Cary; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 1678.

H. R. 20933—Extending the time for completion of the bridge across the Mississippi River at Memphis, Tenn., authorized by an act entitled "An act to authorize the Arkansas & Memphis Railway Bridge & Terminal Co. to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Mississippi River at Memphis, Tenn.," approved Aug. 23, 1912.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1678.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1310), 2162.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 2429, 2430.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 2446.—Reported back (S. Rept. 956); passed Senate, 2991; examined and signed, 3153, 3379.—Presented to the President, 3517.—Approved [Public, No. 247], 4164.

H. R. 20934—Granting a pension to William Cain.
Mr. Avis; Committee on Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20935—Granting a pension to Sallie E. Gilkeson.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20936—Granting an increase of pension to Freeman H. Bentley.
Mr. Burke of Wisconsin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20937—Granting an increase of pension to George B. Henning.
Mr. Campbell; Committee on Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20938—Granting an increase of pension to William J. Barnett.
Mr. Claypool; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20939—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Black.
Mr. Claypool; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1679.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 2162.

H. R. 20940—Granting an increase of pension to John H. Cutright.
Mr. Claypool; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20941—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Donnells.
Mr. Claypool; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20942—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob J. Roseboom.
Mr. Claypool; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20943—Granting an increase of pension to Wesley A. Taylor.
Mr. Claypool; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20944—Granting a pension to George Eskew.
Mr. Cullop; Committee on Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20945—Granting an increase of pension to Perry C. McIntosh.
Mr. Cullop; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20946—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Swaney.
Mr. Davenport; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20947—Granting an increase of pension to Marcus L. Pelham.
Mr. Donovan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20948—Granting an increase of pension to Henry C. Linn.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20949—Granting a pension to Alexander Herndon.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20950—Granting an increase of pension to Spencer Cooper.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20951—Granting an increase of pension to James W. Herndon.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20952—Granting an increase of pension to William C. McCracken.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20953—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Luman.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20954—Granting an increase of pension to Angeliner Thompson.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20955—Granting an increase of pension to E. B. Wilhoit.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20956—For the relief of James C. Downey.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Military Affairs, 1679.

H. R. 20957—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel E. Lookingbill.
Mr. Fowler; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20958—For the relief of the heirs of William Grissom, deceased.
Mr. Godwin of North Carolina; Committee on War Claims, 1679.

H. R. 20959—For the relief of the heirs of Thomas Newton, deceased.
Mr. Godwin of North Carolina; Committee on War Claims, 1679.

H. R. 20960—Granting a pension to Nancy L. Gillespie.
Mr. Hardy; Committee on Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20961—Granting a pension to John F. Scribner.
Mr. Hinds; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20962—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Harris.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20963—Granting a pension to Ellen Carrier.
Mr. Langham; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20964—Granting an increase of pension to Matilda A. Manning.
Mr. Oglesby; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20965—Granting a pension to William M. Silver.
Mr. Rucker; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20966—Granting an increase of pension to Cora Day Young.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20967—Granting a pension to Mary F. Carson.
Mr. Sloan; Committee on Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20968—Granting a pension to John O'Neil.
Mr. Tavenner; Committee on Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20969—Granting a pension to Henrietta Borgstadt.
Mr. Vollmer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20970—Granting an increase of pension to Theodore H. Rosche.
Mr. Vollmer; Committee on Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20971—Granting an increase of pension to Bernard Small.
Mr. Wallin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20972—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Hadley.
Mr. Wickersham; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20973—Granting an increase of pension to William Hall.
Mr. Woodruff; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1679.

H. R. 20974—For the establishment of a probation system in the United States courts, except in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on the Judiciary, 1679.

H. R. 20975—Making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, and for other purposes.
Mr. Padgett, from the Committee on Naval Affairs (H. Rept. 1287), 1703, 1734, 1786.—Debated, 2661–2738, 2741–2771, 2868–2926, 3106–3153, 4744 [Appendix, 125, 164, 289, 312, 315, 325, 417–441, 527, 544, 856, 882, 900, 923].—Amended and passed House, 3151–3153.—Referred to Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, 3379.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1021), 4265.—Debated, 4600–4626, 4686–4716.—Amended and passed Senate, 4713.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and agrees to a conference, 4869.—Senate insists on its amendments and asks for a conference, 4716, 4838, 4839.—Conference appointed, 4716, 4838, 4839, 4869.—Conference report (see S. Doc. No. 966; H. Rept. 1500) made, debated, and agreed to in House, 5209–5216 [Appendix, 856, 882].—Conference report (S. Doc. No. 966) made, debated, and agreed to in Senate, 5137, 5138, 5232–5243, 5250, 5251, 5252–5287.—Examined and signed, 5251, 5459.—Presented to the President, 5459.—Approved [Public, No. 271], 5523.

H. R. 20976—To prohibit the coming of Asiatic laborers into the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 1734.

H. R. 20977—To provide for the establishment of a life-saving station in the vicinity of Duxbury Reef, Cal.
Mr. Kent; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1734.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1323), 2364.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 2430.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 2446.—Reported back (S. Rept. 962), 2991.—Passed Senate, 4822.—Examined and signed, 5056, 5059.—Presented to the President, 5178.—Approved [Public, No. 270], 5523.

H. R. 20978—Authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to make refund in certain cases of sums of money paid in settlement of income-tax penalties in excess of existing regulations.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Ways and Means, 1734.

H. R. 20979—Relating to experts, their appointment by the court or a judge thereof, and providing for their compensation and manner of examination as witnesses.
Mr. Stephens of California; Committee on the Judiciary, 1734.

H. R. 20980—To enlarge, extend, remodel, and modernize the post-office building at Waterloo, Iowa.
Mr. Connolly of Iowa; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1734.

H. R. 20981—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Cartwright.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1734.

H. R. 20982—For the relief of Elodie Dejoie.
Mr. Broussard; Committee on War Claims, 1734.

H. R. 20983—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Zelmer.
Mr. Bruckner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1734.

H. R. 20984—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Ratcliff.
Mr. Campbell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1734.

H. R. 20985—Granting an increase of pension to James S. Case.
Mr. Cary; Committee on Pensions, 1734.

H. R. 20986—Granting a pension to George Critzman.
Mr. Connolly of Iowa; Committee on Pensions, 1734.

H. R. 20987—Granting a pension to John G. Powers.
Mr. Connolly of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1735.

H. R. 20988—For the relief of Henry H. Stevenson.
Mr. Connolly of Iowa; Committee on Claims, 1735.

H. R. 20989—Granting a pension to John Pennington.
Mr. Cox; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1735.

H. R. 20990—Granting a pension to George M. Griffith.
Mr. Goulden; Committee on Pensions, 1735.

H. R. 20991—Granting a pension to James Daly.
Mr. Griffin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1735.

H. R. 20992—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Massey.
Mr. Hamilton of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1735.

H. R. 20993—Granting a pension to Clara J. Sherburne.
Mr. Hinds; Committee on Pensions, 1735.

H. R. 20994—Granting an increase of pension to George R. Smith.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on Pensions, 1735.

H. R. 20995—Granting an increase of pension to Jordon J. McCann.
Mr. Lenroot; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1735.

H. R. 20996—Granting an increase of pension to William Raup.
Mr. Lesher; Committee on Pensions, 1735.

H. R. 20997—Granting an increase of pension to Oscar Hoce.
Mr. Moss of West Virginia; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1735.

H. R. 20998—Granting an increase of pension to Lydia Ann Hagan.
Mr. Neely of West Virginia; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1735.

H. R. 20999—Granting a pension to Marian Eva Keyes.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; Committee on Pensions, 1735.

H. R. 21000—Granting an increase of pension to Imogene P. Ingersoll.
Mr. Smith of Minnesota; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1735.

H. R. 21001—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Wilson.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1735.

H. R. 21002—Granting an increase of pension to James M. Silvey.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1735.

H. R. 21003—Granting a pension to William A. Abney.
Mr. Tribble; Committee on Pensions, 1735.

H. R. 21004—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Gahan.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Pensions, 1735.

H. R. 21005—To prevent, prohibit, and punish frauds and cheating and swindling in interstate and foreign commerce.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1734.

H. R. 21006—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret McHenley.
Mr. Oldfield; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1735.

H. R. 21007—Giving contestants preference right to purchase abandoned entries pursuant to successful contest proceedings, and for other purposes.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on the Public Lands, 1813.

H. R. 21008—To further regulate the entrance of Chinese aliens into the United States.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 1813.

H. R. 21009—To make Van Buren, Me., a port through which merchandise may be imported for transportation without appraisement.
Mr. Guernsey; Committee on Ways and Means, 1813.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1431), 4341.—Passed House, 5180, 5181.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 5068.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1063), 5231.—Passed Senate, 5352.—Examined and signed, 5357, 5491.—Presented to the President, 5522.—Approved [Public, No. 336], 5524.

H. R. 21010—Granting an increase of pension to George Gardiner.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1813.

H. R. 21011—Granting an increase of pension to James P. Strickler.
Mr. Barnhart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1813.

H. R. 21012—Granting an increase of pension to Harriet Vosburg.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1813.

H. R. 21013—Granting an increase of pension to Frances M. Hammond.
Mr. Dale; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1813.

H. R. 21014—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Macdonald.
Mr. Donohoe; Committee on Pensions, 1813.

H. R. 21015—Granting a pension to Edward Rowe.
Mr. Donovan; Committee on Pensions, 1813.

H. R. 21016—Granting a pension to Mary A. Coffey.
Mr. Doughton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1813.

H. R. 21017—Granting an increase of pension to Schuyler C. Cline.
Mr. Hull; Committee on Pensions, 1813.

H. R. 21018—Granting an increase of pension to Charles W. Bushnell.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1813.

H. R. 21019—Granting an increase of pension to Major S. Bowman.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1813.

H. R. 21020—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Lenz.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1813.

H. R. 21021—Granting a pension to Mary Wallace.
Mr. McAndrews; Committee on Pensions, 1813.

H. R. 21022—Granting a pension to Francis M. Stoddard.
Mr. Moss of West Virginia; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1813.

H. R. 21023—Granting a pension to Sarah J. Effelberg.
Mr. Moss of West Virginia; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1813.

H. R. 21024—Granting a pension to Maggie Barron.
Mr. Parker of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1813.

H. R. 21025—Granting a pension to Sarah E. Sargent.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1813.

H. R. 21026—Granting an increase of pension to Justin B. Lynch.
Mr. Roberts of Massachusetts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1813.

H. R 21027—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph P. Campbell.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1813.

H. R. 21028—Granting an increase of pension to Marcella Matlock.
Mr. Sherley; Committee on Pensions, 1813.

H. R. 21029—Granting an increase of pension to William Husk.
Mr. Tuttle; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1813.

H. R. 21030—For the relief of the Hilton Building and Loan Association.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Claims, 1813.

H. R. 21031—For the relief of the Commonwealth Building and Loan Association.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Claims, 1813.

H. R. 21032—Granting a pension to Mary Burke.
Mr. Vollmer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1813.

H. R. 21033—Providing for an appropriation of $30,000 for dredging, repair, and other improvements at the quarantine station at Savannah, Ga.
Mr. Edwards; Committee on Appropriations, 1917.

H. R. 21034—To prohibit the importation into the United States of any goods, wares, or merchandise the property of Americans and other foreigners in Mexico which have been confiscated by Mexican authorities.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1917.

H. R. 21035—To place Thomas County, Ga., in the Valdosta division of the southern district of Georgia.
Mr. Park; Committee on the Judiciary, 1917.

H. R. 21036—To establish and maintain an Indian military training school at Carlisle, in the State of Pennsylvania, and to discontinue the present Indian school at that place.
Mr. Stephens of Texas; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1917.—Debated [Appendix, 454].

H. R. 21037—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent children of soldiers and sailors of said war.
Mr. Russell, from the Committee on Invalid Pensions (H. Rept. 1301) as substitute for certain bills referred to that committee, 1917.—Debated, 2268, 2815–2823.—Amended and passed House, 2821–2823.—Referred to Senate Committee on Pensions, 2936.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 996), 4403.—Amended and passed Senate, 4730, 4731.—House concurs in Senate amendments, 4981.—Examined and signed, 5056, 5059.—Presented to the President, 5179.—Approved [Private, No. 237], 5523.

H. R. 21038—Granting an increase of pension to Mary A. Shannon.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 1917.

H. R. 21039—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Terwilliger.
Mr. Bruckner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1917.

H. R. 21040—Granting an increase of pension to Ernest Dichman.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1917.

H. R. 21041—For the relief of L. C. Reid and Fannie B. Betts, heirs at law of George G. Barton.
Mr. Carlin; Committee on War Claims, 1917.

H. R. 21042—Granting an increase of pension to James Irvin.
Mr. Cox; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1917.

H. R. 21043—Granting a pension to John T. McCarthy.
Mr. Donovan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1917.

H. R. 21044—Granting an increase of pension to William Evans.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1917.

H. R. 21045—Granting a pension to Emma Woodard.
Mr. Gudger; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1917.

H. R. 21046—Granting a pension to Diana R. Pierce.
Mr. Guernsey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1917.

H. R. 21047—For the relief of the heirs of James I. Fountain.
Mr. Hughes of Georgia; Committee on War Claims, 1917.

H. R. 21048—Granting a pension to Anna Harleman.
Mr. Kiess of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1917.

H. R. 21049—Granting a pension to Harriet J. Brown.
Mr. Murdock; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1917.

H. R. 21050—Granting a pension to Jennie B. Burr.
Mr. Murdock; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1917.

H. R. 21051—Granting a pension to Lucy N. Burr.
Mr. Murdock; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1918.

H. R. 21052—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Lewis.
Mr. Murdock; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1918.

H. R. 21053—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew M. Murray.
Mr. Murdock; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1918.

H. R. 21054—Granting an increase of pension to Oliver P. Gillson.
Mr. Platt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1918.

H. R. 21055—Granting an increase of pension to Susanna Gaines.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1918.

H. R. 21056—Granting a pension to Elizabeth R. Foster.
Mr. Vare; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1918.

H. R. 21057—To reinstate certain homestead entries in the Ozark and Arkansas National Forests and to confirm titles to the lands embraced therein in the original claimants, and for other purposes.
Mr. Floyd of Arkansas; Committee on the Public Lands, 1917.

H. R. 21058—Providing that any person who has heretofore made a homestead entry or entries and has failed from any cause to perfect his title to any lands embraced in such entry or entries may make a further homestead entry.
Mr. Floyd of Arkansas; Committee on the Public Lands, 1917.

H. R. 21059—To relieve the governor of the State of Arkansas from accountability for certain funds under section 1661 of the Revised Statutes, as amended.
Mr. Floyd of Arkansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 1917.

H. R. 21060—Granting an increase of pension to Emily Schwartz.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1918.

H. R. 21061—Granting an increase of pension to William R. Fisher.
Mr. Floyd of Arkansas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1918.

H. R. 21062—Granting an increase of pension to Francis M. Beezley.
Mr. Maguire of Nebraska; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1918.

H. R. 21063—Granting a pension to Sarah L. Hammerton.
Mr. Peterson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1918.

H. R. 21064—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew J. Patterson.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1918.

H. R. 21065—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Scott.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1918.

H. R. 21066—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel R. Laphy.
Mr. Casey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1918.

H. R. 21067—To increase the limit of cost of the United States post-office building at Garden City, Kans.
Mr. Neeley of Kansas; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1918.

H. R. 21068—To provide homes for Confederate veterans of the Civil War.
Mr. Estopinal; Committee on Military Affairs, 1998.

H. R. 21069—Providing an appropriation of $30,000 for dredging, repairs, and other improvements at the Savannah (Ga.) quarantine station.
Mr. Edwards; Committee on Appropriations, 1998.

H. R. 21070—To further regulate the purchase of sites and the erection of public buildings thereon and the making of appropriation therefor.
Mr. Logue; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1998.

H. R. 21071—To provide for the protection of subcontractors and material men engaged in doing work or furnishing material for the erection of Government buildings.
Mr. Logue; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1998.

H. R. 21072—To provide for the establishment of a bureau of public buildings, and for other purposes.
Mr. Logue; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1998.

H. R. 21073—For the better protection of aliens and for the enforcement of their treaty rights.
Mr. Bartholdt; Committee on the Judiciary, 1998.

H. R. 21074—Increasing the limit of cost of the United States post-office building at Excelsior Springs, Mo.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1998.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1399), 3692.

H. R. 21075—Granting an increase of pension to Susannah Ditterline.
Mr. Bailey; Committee on Pensions, 1998.

H. R. 21076—For the relief of George T. Goshorn.
Mr. Brown of West Virginia; Committee on Claims, 1998.

H. R. 21077—For the relief of W. F. Crawford.
Mr. Bryan; Committee on Claims, 1998.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1354), 2982.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 3532, 3533.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 3551.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1060), 5066.—Passed Senate, 5351.—Examined and signed, 5357, 5491.—Presented to the President, 5522.—Approved [Private, No. 269], 5524.

H. R. 21078—Granting a pension to Thomas F. Tierney.
Mr. Curry; Committee on Pensions, 1998.

H. R. 21079—Granting an increase of pension to Mary A. Wallace.
Mr. Hamilton of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1998.

H. R. 21080—Granting an increase of pension to George Van Nortwick.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1998.

H. R. 21081—For the relief of Truman R. Peters and others.
Mr. Howell; Committee on Claims, 1998.

H. R. 21082—Granting an increase of pension to Disia Stamper.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1998.

H. R. 21083—Authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to reenlist Roger S. Culp as a chief gunner's mate in the United States Navy.
Mr. O'Shaunessy; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1998.

H. R. 21084—Granting a pension to John H. Campbell.
Mr. Shackleford; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1998.

H. R. 21085—For the relief of William H. Phillips.
Mr. Sloan; Committee on Military Affairs, 1998.

H. R. 21086—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Armstrong.
Mr. Sloan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1998.

H. R. 21087—Granting a pension to Gertrude S. Kessler and her three minor sons.
Mr. Taylor of Alabama; Committee on Pensions, 1998.

H. R. 21088—Granting a pension to Thomas Travers.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Pensions, 1998.

H. R. 21089—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Regular Army and Navy, and certain soldiers and sailors of wars other than the Civil War, and to widows of such soldiers and sailors.
Mr. Vinson, from the Committee on Pensions (H. Rept. 1307), as substitute for certain bills referred to that committee, 2080.—Debated, 2268.—Passed House, 2823–2825.—Referred to Senate Committee on Pensions, 2936.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1029), 4523.—Amended and passed Senate, 4731, 4732.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a conference, 4981.—Senate insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 4912.—Conference appointed, 4912, 4981.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 5229.—Conference report (No. 1506) made and agreed to in House, 5439, 5440.—Examined and signed, 5331, 5459.—Presented to the President, 5482.—Approved [Private, No. 270], 5524.

H. R. 21090—To prevent cheating and swindling in interstate and foreign commerce.
Mr. Park; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2080.

H. R. 21091—To make Beaumont, Tex., a subport of entry.
Mr. Dies; Committee on Ways and Means, 2080.

H. R. 21092—To make Orange, Tex., a subport of entry.
Mr. Dies; Committee on Ways and Means, 2080.

H. R. 21093—To extend the franking privilege to the American National Red Cross.
Mr. French; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 2080.

H. R. 21094—To amend section — of an act defining matter that may be admitted to second-class mail privileges.
Mr. French; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 2080.

H. R. 21095—To increase the military strength of the United States.
Mr. Mott; Committee on Military Affairs, 2080.

H. R. 21096—Granting an increase of pension to Calvin C. Halsey.
Mr. Ainey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2081.

H. R. 21097—Granting an increase of pension to Eliza J. Michaels.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2081.

H. R. 21098—Granting a pension to Lida W. Ashton.
Mr. Borland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2081.

H. R. 21099—Granting a pension to Ella C. Squires.
Mr. Borland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2081.

H. R. 21100—Granting a pension to Julia A. Sheck.
Mr. Borland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2081.

H. R. 21101—Granting an increase of pension to Ann M. Ellenberger.
Mr. Borland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2081.

H. R. 21102—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah H. Hunter.
Mr. Borland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2081.

H. R. 21103—Granting an increase of pension to William S. King.
Mr. Borland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2081.

H. R. 21104—Granting an increase of pension to Lucy M. Settle.
Mr. Borland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2081.

H. R. 21105—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph J. Massey.
Mr. Borland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2081.

H. R. 21106—For the relief of Edward B. Sappington and William Vane.
Mr. French; Committee on Claims, 2081.

H. R. 21107—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel Hinkle.
Mr. Graham of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2081.

H. R. 21108—Granting an increase of pension to Charles W. Lair.
Mr. Graham of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2081.

H. R. 21109—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Marsden.
Mr. Kennedy of Rhode Island; Committee on Pensions, 2081.

H. R. 21110—Granting an increase of pension to Adam Exline.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2081.

H. R. 21111—Granting an increase of pension to Jeffrey Williams.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2081.

H. R. 21112—Granting a pension to Angeline Kelchner Wolfe.
Mr. Lesher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2081.

H. R. 21113—Providing for the refund of duties collected on flax-preparatory machines, parts, and accessories, such as described in the act of Congress approved Feb. 7, 1913, imported subsequently to Aug. 5, 1909, and prior to Jan. 1, 1911.
Mr. Mitchell; Committee on Ways and Means, 2081.

H. R. 21114—Granting a pension to Mary A. Scott.
Mr. Moore; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2081.

H. R. 21115—For the relief of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue.
Mr. Pou; Committee on Claims, 2081.

H. R. 21116—Granting an increase of pension to John N. King.
Mr. Rainey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2081.

H. R. 21117—Granting a pension to Fannie Baird.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2081.

H. R. 21118—Granting an increase of pension to John S. Early.
Mr. Underhill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2081.

H. R. 21119—Granting an increase of pension to John Heimroth.
Mr. Underhill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2081.

H. R. 21120—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Willhoff.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Pensions, 2081.

H. R. 21121—To extend the time for constructing a bridge across the Missouri River near Kansas City, Mo., authorized by an act approved June 17, 1914.
Mr. Borland; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2162.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1459), 4888.—Amended and passed House, 5182.—Reported back and passed Senate, 5172.—Examined and signed, 5252, 5417.—Presented to the President, 5459.—Approved [Public, No. 305], 5524.

H. R. 21122—To validate certain homestead entries.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on the Public Lands, 2162.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1367), 3078.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 3819, 3820, 4547, 4548.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 4560.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1045), 4844.—Passed Senate, 5350.—Examined and signed, 5357, 5491.—Presented to the President, 5522.—Approved [Public, No. 338], 5524.

H. R. 21123—For the relief of the estate of John R. Black, deceased.
Mr. Brockson; Committee on Claims, 2162.

H. R. 21124—For the relief of George E. Megee and others.
Mr. Brockson; Committee on Claims, 2162.

H. R. 21125—For the relief of Georgia Hallman and Margaret J. Tyson.
Mr. Brockson; Committee on Claims, 2162.

H. R. 21126—To authorize the change of name of the steamer General Garretson to S. H. Robbins.
Mr. Bulkley; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 2162.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1330), 2536—Passed House, 3530.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 3552.

H. R. 21127—Granting a pension to Veronica Werner.
Mr. Cary; Committee on Pensions, 2162.

H. R. 21128—Granting a pension to Edmond Harvey.
Mr. Dupré; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2162.

H. R. 21129—Granting an increase of pension to Athel House.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2162.

H. R. 21130—Granting an increase of pension to Collins Washburn.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2162.

H. R. 21131—To remove the charge of desertion from the record of William B. Stanford.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Military Affairs, 2162.

H. R. 21132—For the relief of the estate of Rudolf Axman, deceased.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Claims, 2162.

H. R. 21133—Granting a pension to Ryan V. Eichelberger.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2162.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 2269.

H. R. 21134—Granting an increase of pension to John Campbell.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2162.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 2269.

H. R. 21135—Granting a pension to Sarah A. Farnsworth.
Mr. Paige of Massachusetts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2162.

H. R. 21136—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Turner.
Mr. Slemp; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2162.

H. R. 21137—To amend section 23 of the act entitled "An act to amend and consolidate the acts respecting copyright," approved Mar. 4, 1909.
Mr. Oldfield; Committee on Patents, 2202.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1314), 2269.

H. R. 21138—To authorize the payment of an indemnity to the Norwegian Government for the detention of three subjects of Norway in Hudson County, N. J.
Mr. Flood of Virginia; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 2202.

H. R. 21139—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Interior to patent certain lands to the State of Utah and to accept from said State certain other lands in lieu thereof.
Mr. Johnson of Utah; Committee on the Public Lands, 2202.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1420), 4165.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 7362), 5445, 5446.

H. R. 21140—Granting a pension to Sophia Ake.
Mr. Bailey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2202.

H. R. 21141—Granting a pension to Adeline Adams (now Grimm).
Mr. Booher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2202.

H. R. 21142—Granting a pension to Ambrose A. Clarke.
Mr. Borland; Committee on Pensions, 2202.

H. R. 21143—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret L. Wood.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2202.

H. R. 21144—For the relief of the heirs of John L. Himes.
Mr. Graham of Illinois; Committee on War Claims, 2202.

H. R. 21145—Granting an increase of pension to Alfred G. Cress.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2202.

H. R. 21146—For the relief of Daniel McSwegan, alias Gallaghan.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on Military Affairs, 2203.

H. R. 21147—Granting a pension to Eva L. Woollacott.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on Pensions, 2203.

H. R. 21148—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Looney.
Mr. McAndrews; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2203.

H. R. 21149—Granting an increase of pension to William E. Hopkins.
Mr. Morrison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2203.

H. R. 21150—Granting a pension to Flora B. Warren.
Mr. Morrison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2203.

H. R. 21151—Granting an increase of pension to George M. Warner.
Mr. Neely of West Virginia; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2203.

H. R. 21152—Granting a pension to Michael E. Urell.
Mr. Norton; Committee on Pensions, 2203.

H. R. 21153—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas McCormick.
Mr. Norton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2203.

H. R. 21154—For the relief of the legal representatives of Andrew R. Humes.
Mr. Sells; Committee on War Claims, 2203.

H. R. 21155—Granting an increase of pension to Harriet W. Hildreth.
Mr. Winslow; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2203.

H. R. 21156—To increase the number of the corps of cadets at the Military Academy.
Mr. Talcott of New York; Committee on Military Affairs, 2269.

H. R. 21157—To place Thomas County, Ga., in the southwestern division of the southern district of Georgia.
Mr. Park; Committee on the Judiciary, 2269.

H. R. 21158—To repeal the act entitled "An act to increase the internal revenue, and for other purposes," approved Oct. 22, 1914.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Ways and Means, 2269.

H. R. 21159—To amend section 4 of the act of Apr. 21, 1910, entitled "An act to protect the seal fisheries of Alaska, and for other purposes."
Mr. Palmer; Committee on Ways and Means, 2269.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1332), 2536.

H. R. 21160—To incorporate the Pan-American Bank.
Mr. Helm; Committee on Banking and Currency, 2269.—Debated, 3171, 3172.

H. R. 21161—Making appropriations for the payment of invalid and other pensions of the United States for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, and for other purposes.
Mr. Bartlett, from the Committee on Appropriations (H. Rept. 1320), 2268, 2269.—Debated, 3758–3762, 4021–4074, 4211 [Appendix, 417, 452].—Amended and passed House, 4073, 4074.—Referred to Senate Committee on Pensions, 4079.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1018); passed Senate, 4284.—Examined and signed, 4414, 4447.—Presented to the President, 4679.—Approved [Public, No. 261], 5522.

H. R. 21162—Granting an increase of pension to Edwin C. Beall.
Mr. Brumbaugh; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2270.

H. R. 21163.—Granting a pension to Peter Francesco.
Mr. Brumbaugh; Committee on Pensions, 2270.

H. R. 21164—Granting an increase of pension to Brinkley Trout.
Mr. Brumbaugh; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2270.

H. R. 21165—Granting an increase of pension to Lodemia E. Kingsley.
Mr. Burke of Wisconsin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2270.

H. R. 21166—Granting an increase of pension to John P. Jackson.
Mr. Cline; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2270.

H. R. 21167—Granting a pension to Mary B. Cooley.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2270.

H. R. 21168—Granting an increase of pension to Emily Thorn.
Mr. Fairchild; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2270.

H. R. 21169—Granting a pension to Lydia B. Coover.
Mr. Griest; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2270.

H. R. 21170—For the relief of William H. Hackett.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 2270.

H. R. 21171—For the relief of Revilow N. Spohn.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Claims, 2270.

H. R. 21172—Granting an increase of pension to Abraham Gibbs.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2270.

H. R. 21173—Granting a pension to Charles C. Dougherty.
Mr. Mahan; Committee on Pensions, 2270.

H. R. 21174—Granting an increase of pension to A. T. Kreps.
Mr. Moss of West Virginia; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2270.

H. R. 21175—For the relief of William F. Still.
Mr. Sims; Committee on War Claims, 2270.

H. R. 21176—For the relief of the legal representatives of William Vantreese, deceased.
Mr. Sims; Committee on War Claims, 2270.

H. R. 21177—For the relief of the legal representatives of O. F. Hendrick, deceased.
Mr. Sims; Committee on War Claims, 2270.

H. R. 21178—For the relief of the legal representatives of Nathaniel T. Newbill, deceased.
Mr. Sims; Committee on War Claims, 2270.

H. R. 21179—For the relief of the legal representatives of William Goad, deceased.
Mr. Sims; Committee on War Claims, 2270.

H. R. 21180—For the relief of the legal representatives of A. Meeks, deceased.
Mr. Sims; Committee on War Claims, 2270.

H. R. 21181—For the relief of the Twelfth Ward Building & Loan Association, of Newark, N. J.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Claims, 2270.

H. R. 21182—Granting a pension to George W. Widener.
Mr. Young of North Dakota; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2270.

H. R. 21183—To amend section 212 of the Penal Code.
Mr. Gallivan; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 2365.

H. R. 21184—To increase the limit of cost of the United States post-office building and site at Cohoes, N. Y.
Mr. Ten Eyck; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2365.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1379), 3481.—Amended and passed House, 5183, 5190.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 5146.—Reported back and passed Senate, 5343.—Examined and signed, 5357, 5491.—Presented to the President, 5522.—Approved [Public, No. 337], 5524.

H. R. 21185—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate condemned cannon and cannon balls.
Mr. Barnhart; Committee on Military Affairs, 2365.

H. R. 21186—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of George W. Philpott, and to grant him an honorable discharge.
Mr. Barnhart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2365.

H. R. 21187—Granting a pension to Maggie Little.
Mr. Brumbaugh; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2365.

H. R. 21188—Granting a pension to Abraham Branadum.
Mr. Claypool; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2365.

H. R. 21189—Granting a pension to Henry Steinmetz.
Mr. Claypool; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2365.

H. R. 21190—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin N. Trout.
Mr. French; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2365.

H. R. 21191—Granting an increase of pension to Savilla Milligan.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2365.

H. R. 21192—For the relief of the Orvil Cooperative Building & Loan Association, of Allendale, N. J.
Mr. Hart; Committee on Claims, 2365.

H. R. 21193—Granting a pension to Charles C. Dougherty.
Mr. Mahan; Committee on Pensions, 2365.

H. R. 21194—Granting a pension to John C. Brewer.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Pensions, 2365.

H. R. 21195—Granting a pension to Mary White.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2365.

H. R. 21196—Granting an increase of pension to Sherman L. Abbott.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2365.

H. R. 21197—Granting an increase of pension to Henry W. Batsford.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2365.

H. R. 21198—Granting an increase of pension to William E. Stukey.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2365.

H. R. 21199—Granting a pension to Lilla Riley.
Mr. Connolly of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2365.

H. R. 21200—Quieting title to a certain tract of land located in the city of Guthrie, Okla.
Mr. Thompson of Oklahoma; Committee on the Public Lands, 2365.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1366), 3078.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 3818, 3819.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 3874.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1003), 3984.—Passed Senate, 5346.—Examined and signed, 5357, 5491.—Presented to the President, 5522.—Approved [Public, No. 339], 5524.

H. R. 21201—Making appropriations for the Diplomatic and Consular Service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916.
Mr. Flood of Virginia, from the Committee on Foreign Affairs (H. Rept. 1324), 2364, 2365.—Debated, 4121–4164, 4212–4233.—Amended and passed House, 4233.—Referred to Senate Committee on Appropriations, 4266.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1024), 4523.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 4718–4728.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a conference, 4857, 4866, 4867.—Senate insists on its amendments and asks for a conference, 4728.—Conference appointed, 4728, 4867.—Conference report (No. 1496) made, debated, and agreed to in House, 5216–5218.—Conference report made, debated, and agreed to in Senate, 5138, 5139, 5243.—Examined and signed, 5331, 5459.—Presented to the President, 5482.—Approved [Public, No. 294], 5524.

H. R. 21202—To increase the efficiency of the personnel of the Navy.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2432.

H. R. 21203—To provide for the establishment, operation, and management of a bureau to be known as the farm women's bureau in the Department of Agriculture.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Agriculture, 2432.—Debated [Appendix, 904].

H. R. 21204—Authorizing the Secretary of War to deliver to the city of McAlester, Okla., four condemned bronze or brass cannon.
Mr. Carter; Committee on Military Affairs, 2432.

H. R. 21205—Granting an increase of pension to Nelson N. Boydston.
Mr. Barnhart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2432.

H. R. 21206—Granting a pension to James H. Johns.
Mr. Carter; Committee on Pensions, 2432.

H. R. 21207—Granting an increase of pension to Julius L. Gilbert.
Mr. Church; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2432.

H. R. 21208—For the relief of the Kern County Mutual Building & Loan Association, of Bakersfield, Cal.
Mr. Church; Committee on Claims, 2432.

H. R. 21209—Granting a pension to Lillian G. W. Cobleigh.
Mr. Copley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2432.

H. R. 21210—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Groesbeck.
Mr. Copley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2432.

H. R. 21211—Granting an increase of pension to Alfred Wheelden.
Mr. Guernsey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2432.

H. R. 21212—Granting a pension to Mary E. Dixon.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2432.

T. R. 21213—Granting a pension to Peter Z. T. Lane.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2432.

H. R. 21214—Granting an increase of pension to Delender Brown.
Mr. Helm; Committee on Pensions, 2432.

H. R. 21215—To correct the military record of A. G. Vincent.
Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 2432.

H. R. 21216—Granting an increase of pension to Christopher C. Kelly.
Mr. Wickersham; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2432.

H. R. 21217—Granting an increase of pension to John H. Sullivan.
Mr. Wickersham; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2432.

H. R. 21218—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Regular Army and Navy, and certain soldiers and sailors of wars other than the Civil War, and to widows of such soldiers and sailors.
Mr. Key of Ohio, from the Committee on Pensions (H. Rept. 1328), as substitute for certain bills referred to that committee, 2536.—Amended and passed House, 2825, 2826.—Referred to Senate Committee on Pensions, 2936.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1030), 4523.—Amended and passed Senate, 4732.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a conference, 4981.—Senate insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 4912.—Conference appointed, 4912, 4981.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 5229.—Conference report (No. 1512) made and agreed to in House, 5440.—Examined and signed, 5331, 5459.—Presented to the President, 5482.—Approved [Private, No. 271], 5524.

H. R. 21219—Providing that the Panama Canal rules shall govern in measurement of vessels for imposing tolls, and for other purposes.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2536.

H. R. 21220—To amend paragraph 2 of section 3246 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, as amended by section 5 of the act of Mar. 1, 1879, and as further amended by the act of Congress approved June 22, 1910, and to amend section 3285 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, as amended by section 3 of the act of May 28, 1889, and as further amended by the act approved June 22, 1910.
Mr. Coady; Committee on Ways and Means, 2536.

H. R. 21221—Granting a pension to John F. O'Donnell.
Mr. Clancy; Committee on Pensions, 2536.

H. R. 21222—Granting a pension to Frank E. Welch.
Mr. Clancy; Committee on Pensions, 2536.

H. R. 21223—Granting a pension to Carolina Reichold.
Mr. Driscoll; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2536.

H. R. 21224—For the relief of Carrie Stevens Todd.
Mr. Driscoll; Committee on Claims, 2536.

H. R. 21225—Granting a pension to Ellen Hammon Clark.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Pensions, 2536.

H. R. 21226—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah C. Parish.
Mr. Gillett; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2536.

H. R. 21227—Granting a pension to Nancy Palmer.
Mr. Green of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2536.

H. R. 21228—Granting an honorable discharge to John Berrien.
Mr. McAndrews; Committee on Military Affairs, 2536.

H. R. 21229—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob Davis.
Mr. Moss of West Virginia; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2536.

H. R. 21230—For the relief of the estate of Alexander Shock.
Mr. Moss of West Virginia; Committee on War Claims, 2536.

H. R. 21231—Granting a pension to Mahala Clifton.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2536.

H. R. 21232—Granting a pension to Smith Gee.
Mr. Seldomridge; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2536.

H. R. 21233—Granting a pension to Charles Lawrence.
Mr. Stevens of Minnesota; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2536.

H. R. 21234—Granting an increase of pension to Francis J. Jamart.
Mr. Wickersham; Committee on Pensions, 2536.

H. R. 21235—To detach Pecos County, in the State of Texas, from the Del Rio division of the western judicial district of Texas and attach same to the San Angelo division of the northern judicial district of said State.
Mr. Smith of Texas; Committee on the Judiciary, 2536.

H. R. 21236—To dissolve the Foundation for the Promotion of Industrial Peace, and for other purposes.
Mr. Bartholdt; Committee on Labor, 2536.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1363), 3078.—Debated, 3821.

H. R. 21237—To incorporate the Seventh Day Baptist General Conference.
Mr. Neely of West Virginia; Committee on the Judiciary, 2738.

H. R. 21238—To suspend the requirements of law as to annual assessments and final proof under certain conditions.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 2738.

H. R. 21239—To increase the limit of cost of the site of a Federal building at Oakland, Cal.
Mr. J. R. Knowland; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2739.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1372), 3153.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 3818.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3875.

H. R. 21240—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of David Hart.
Mr. Claypool; Committee on Military Affairs, 2739.

H. R. 21241—Granting an increase of pension to George D. Hart.
Mr. Cooper; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2739.

H. R. 21242—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Peckham.
Mr. Fairchild; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2739.

H. R. 21243—Granting an increase of pension to Henry O. Nickerson.
Mr. Guernsey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2739.

H. R. 21244—Granting an increase of pension to Oliver C. Smith.
Mr. Guernsey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2739.

H. R. 21245—Granting an increase of pension to John Groat.
Mr. Hamilton of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2739.

H. R. 21246—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph H. Steel.
Mr. Hamilton of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2739.

H. R. 21247—Granting an increase of pension to Peter A. Bender.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2739.

H. R. 21248—For the relief of Cyrus F. Goddard.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on Claims, 2739.

H. R. 21249—Granting a pension to Matilda Myer.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Pensions, 2739.

H. R. 21250—For the relief of Henry Borman.
Mr. Neely of West Virginia; Committee on Military Affairs, 2739.

H. R. 21251—Granting an increase of pension to John F. Hatley.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2739.

H. R. 21252—Granting an increase of pension to William C. Ward.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2739.

H. R. 21253—For the relief of Mary H. Marshall.
Mr. Samuel W. Smith; Committee on War Claims, 2739.

H. R. 21254—Granting an increase of pension to Viola R. Brackett.
Mr. Stephens of California; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2739.

H. R. 21255—Granting a pension to Agatha Litchfield.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2739.

H. R. 21256—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Terwilliger.
Mr. Bruckner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2739.

H. R. 21257—To create the office of Chief of Naval Operations, and for other purposes.
Mr. Hobson; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2772.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1344), 2927.

H. R. 21258—To provide for the repaving and relaying of Broadway between the Watervliet Arsenal Grounds in the city of Watervliet, New York.
Mr. Ten Eyck; Committee on Appropriations, 2772.

H. R. 21259—Granting an increase of pension to Eliza Shank.
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H. R. 21263—Granting a pension to Sarah J. Floyd.
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H. R. 21264—Granting a pension to Flossie M. Ramsey.
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H. R. 21266—Granting an increase of pension to Frank M. Applegate.
Mr. Green of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2772.

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H. R. 21270—For the relief of the Boonton Building and Loan Association, of Boonton, N. J.
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H. R. 21271—To provide for the issue of bonds to be known as the popular Government loan.
Mr. Kirkpatrick; Committee on Ways and Means, 2827.

H. R. 21272—Repealing section 4 of an act to provide for the entry of agricultural lands within forest reserves, approved June 11, 1906, and for other purposes.
Mr. Martin; Committee on the Public Lands, 2827.

H. R. 21273—To provide an elective remedy and compensation for accidental injuries, resulting in disability or death, to employees of common carriers by railroads engaged in interstate or foreign commerce or in the District of Columbia or the Territories of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2827.

H. R. 21274—Granting an increase of pension to John W. McDanield.
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Mr. Helm; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2827.

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Mr. Helm; Committee on War Claims, 2827.

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Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on the Judiciary, 2927.

H. R. 21291—To provide for the protection of subcontractors and material men engaged in doing work or furnishing material for the erection of Government buildings.
Mr. Logue; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2927.

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H. R. 21297—Granting a pension to Ida E. Thorman.
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Mr. Patten of New York; Committee on Military Affairs, 2928.

H. R. 21299—Granting an increase of pension to George C. Jackman.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2928.

H. R. 21300—Granting a pension to George M. Laquey.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Pensions, 2928.

H. R. 21301—For the relief of the legal representatives of W. G. Wilson, deceased.
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Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on the Public Lands, 2927.

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H. R. 21315—To authorize the construction of a bridge across the Suwanee River in the State of Florida.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3079.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1403), 3763.

H. R. 21316—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to William B. Green Post No. 100, Grand Army of the Republic, one cannon of fieldpiece.
Mr. Rogers; Committee on Military Affairs, 3079.

H. R. 21317—To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to convey a certain tract of land in Minnesota for demonstration farm purposes.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on Indian Affairs, 3079.

H. R. 21318—Making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, and for other purposes.
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H. R. 21319—To abolish the saloon and the retail sale of spirituous liquors in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Samuel W. Smith; Committee on the District of Columbia, 3079.

H. R. 21320—Granting an increase of pension to John B. Hammer.
Mr. Bailey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3079.

H. R. 21321—Granting a pension to Henry J. Wing.
Mr. Bathrick; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3079.

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H. R. 21323—Granting a pension to Katherine Sternberg.
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Mr. Helm; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3079.

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H. R. 21327—For the relief of Rittenhouse Moore, receiver of the Mobile Marine Dock Co.
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H. R. 21328—Making appropriations for the support of the Military Academy for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, and for other purposes.
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H. R. 21329—To increase the efficiency of the personnel of the Marine Corps.
Mr. Roberts of Massachusetts; Committee on Naval Affairs, 3153.

H. R. 21330—To provide for the appointment of a shipping board, and to prescribe the duties thereof.
Mr. Edmonds; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 3153.

H. R. 21331—To amend an act entitled "An act to cerate a Department of Labor," by providing for a bureau of the unemployed.
Mr. Fowler; Committee on Labor, 3153.—Debated, 5489. [Appendix, 833.]

H. R. 21332—To provide for the unemployed, strengthen the national defense, and for other purposes.
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H. R. 21347—Granting an increase of pension to Edward A. Davenport.
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Mr. Kennedy of Iowa; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3445.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1424), 4165.—Passed House, 5181, 5182.

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Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3445.

H. R. 21379—To amend section 5 of the motor-boat law passed June 9, 1910.
Mr. Cary; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 3445.

H. R. 21380—To prohibit the unlawful use of the American flag on foreign vessels.
Mr. Martin; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 3482.

H. R. 21381—To amend section 6, as amended, of the act to regulate commerce, approved Feb. 4, 1887.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3482.

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H. R. 21383—To change the name of the old post-office building at Minneapolis, Minn.
Mr. Smith of Minnesota; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3482.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1396), 3616.—Amended and passed House, 5179.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 5146.—Reported back, 5146.—Passed Senate, 5351.—Examined and signed, 5357, 5491.—Presented to the President, 5522.—Approved [Public, No. 341], 5524.

H. R. 21384—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Interior to investigate and settle certain accounts under the reclamation acts, and for other purposes.
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H. R. 21385—To regulate certain employment agencies, and for other purposes.
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H. R. 21387—Granting a pension to Fannie Record.
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H. R. 21397—To reissue fractional paper currency and to facilitate the operation of parcel post and assist trade between the citizens.
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H. R. 21403—To create a Tariff Commission.
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Mr. Brockson; Committee on Naval Affairs, 3536.

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Mr. Brockson; Committee on Naval Affairs, 3536.

H. R. 21414—To amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved Feb. 3, 1887.
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H. R. 21438—For the relief of John Marks.
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H. R. 21440—Providing for the construction of naval auxiliaries and for their operation as merchant vessels in time of peace.
Mr. Stephens of California; Committee on Naval Affairs, 3763.

H. R. 21441—To amend section 260 of the Judicial Code.
Mr. Webb; Committee on the Judiciary, 3763.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1419), 4164.

H. R. 21442—Authorizing the President of the United States to issue a provisional embargo upon wheat and wheat flour.
Mr. Farr; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3763.

H. R. 21443—To reimburse owners of cattle exhibited at the National Dairy Show at Chicago, Ill., in November, 1914, and since then detained in said city because of the quarantine established by the United States Government.
Mr. Cooper; Committee on Agriculture, 3763.

H. R. 21444—For the relief of the Johnstown Building & Loan Association Co., of Johnstown, Ohio.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Claims, 3763.

H. R. 21445—For the relief of the Home Building Loan & Savings Co., of Coshocton, Ohio.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Claims, 3763.

H. R. 21446—Granting an increase of pension to Nancy S. McKelvey.
Mr. Carr; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3764.

H. R. 21447—Granting an increase of pension to John Hundley.
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H. R. 21448—For the relief of Abraham B. Lewis.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Military Affairs, 3764.

H. R. 21449—To regulate the filling of vacancies in the Corps of Cadets at the United States Military Academy not otherwise provided for by existing law, and for other purposes.
Mr. Platt; Committee on Military Affairs, 3763.

H. R. 21450—To authorize an exchange of lands with the State of North Dakota for promotion of experiments in dry-land agriculture, and for other purposes.
Mr. Norton; Committee on the Public Lands, 3763.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1463), 4888.—Debated, 5472.

H. R. 21451—Providing for artificial limbs for soldiers every two years.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3837.

H. R. 21452—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to audit and adjust certain claims of the State of North Carolina.
Mr. Page of North Carolina; Committee on Claims, 3837.—Reference changed to Committee on Appropriations, 3979, 3980.

H. R. 21453—To repeal sections 35 to 49, inclusive, of the act of June 13, 1898, concerning mixed flour, as amended by act of Apr. 12, 1902.
Mr. Vollmer; Committee on Ways and Means, 3837.

H. R. 21454—To prohibit banks holding membership in the Federal reserve system from receiving deposits when insolvent, and prescribing penalties therefor.
Mr. Crisp; Committee on Banking and Currency, 3837.

H. R. 21455—Granting an increase of pension to James C. Wilcox.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3837.

H. R. 21456—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Warman.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 3837.

H. R. 21457—Granting an increase of pension to Leonidas C. Kilgore.
Mr. Barnhart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3837.

H. R. 21458—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Chase.
Mr. Guernsey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3837.

H. R. 21459—For the relief of Charles K. Bolster.
Mr. Guernsey; Committee on Military Affairs, 3837.

H. R. 21460—For the relief of the legal representatives of R. H. Wells.
Mr. Rayburn; Committee on War Claims, 3837.

H. R. 21461—For the relief of S. Reamey.
Mr. Taylor of Arkansas; Committee on War Claims, 3837.

H. R. 21462—For the relief of the legal representatives of Archer Hays, deceased.
Mr. Taylor of Arkansas; Committee on War Claims, 3837.

H. R. 21463—Granting a pension to Theodore H. Robinson.
Mr. Neely of West Virginia; Committee on Pensions, 3837.

H. R. 21464—Granting a pension to James O'Neal.
Mr. Korbly; Committee on Pensions, 3837.

H. R. 21465—For the purchase of a site for a public building at Yuma, Ariz.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3923.

H. R. 21466—Granting a pension to Ellen Curtin.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3924.

H. R. 21467—Granting an increase of pension to Silenus A. Simons.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3924.

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Mr. Brumbaugh; Committee on Pensions, 3924.

H. R. 21469—Granting a pension to James M. Odell.
Mr. Doughton; Committee on Pensions, 3924.

H. R. 21470—Granting an increase of pension to Evans M. Hughes.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3924.

H. R. 21471—For the relief of the estate of Mary Davis Denny.
Mr. Paige of Massachusetts; Committee on Claims, 3924.

H. R. 21472—Granting a pension to William E. Galvin.
Mr. Rogers; Committee on Pensions, 3924.

H. R. 21473—Granting a pension to Frank D. Lukens.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3924.

H. R. 21474—To provide better credit facilities and lower interest for farmers.
Mr. Morgan of Oklahoma; Committee on Banking and Currency, 3924.—Debated, 4780–4783.

H. R. 21475—To provide for the incorporation and regulation of a corporation for the purpose of promoting the commerce of the United States, etc.
Mr. Morin; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 3924.

H. R. 21476—Granting a patent to a certain strip of land to Elisha A. Crandall.
Mr. French; Committee on the Public Lands, 3924.

H. R. 21477—Granting a pension to Lucy T. Read.
Mr. Lever; Committee on Pensions, 3924.

H. R. 21478—Granting an increase of pension to Mary C. Jones.
Mr. Claypool; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3924.

H. R. 21479—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph B. Hannawalt.
Mr. Claypool; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3924.

H. R. 21480—To amend section 3342 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Ways and Means, 3980.

H. R. 21481—To encourage agriculture and ownership of farm homes, to reduce the rate of interest and extend the term of farm mortgages, and to provide a fund for the construction and maintenance of good roads.
Mr. Henry; Committee on Banking and Currency, 3980.

H. R. 21482—For the relief of James Harvey Smith.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Claims, 3980.

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Mr. Hayes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3980.

H. R. 21484—Granting a pension to John B. Gilliam.
Mr. Slemp; Committee on Pensions, 3980.

H. R. 21485—For the relief of Annie E. Walton.
Mr. Tribble; Committee on War Claims, 3980.

H. R. 21486—To establish a national military park at the battle field of Guilford Court House.
Mr. Stedman; Committee on Military Affairs, 4077.

H. R. 21487—Providing for the continuance of the Joint Commission to Investigate Indian Affairs.
Mr. Carter; Committee on Indian Affairs, 4077.

H. R. 21488—For the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Havre, Mont.
Mr. Stout; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 4077.

H. R. 21489—Authorizing the refunding to certain corporations and individuals part of amounts heretofore collected by the United States as a compromise of their delinquency.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Ways and Means, 4077.

H. R. 21490—To encourage the reclamation of certain arid lands in the State of California, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Public Lands, 4077.

H. R. 21491—Making appropriations for fortifications and other works of defense, for the armament thereof, for the procurement of heavy ordnance for trial and service, and for other purposes.
Mr. Sherley, from the Committee on Appropriations (H. Rept. 1416), 4075, 4077.—Debated, 4240–4242, 4309–4341, 4414–4444 [Appendix 441, 668, 767].—Amended and passed House, 4443, 4444.—Referred to Senate Committee on Appropriations, 4447.—Reported back, 4458, 4459, 4523.—Debated, 4626, 4627, 4716–4718.—Passed Senate, 4716.—Examined and signed, 4838, 4888.—Presented to the President, 5057.—Approved [Public, No. 264], 5523.

H. R. 21492—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide for co-operative agricultural extension work between the agricultural colleges in the several States receiving the benefits of an act of Congress approved July 2, 1862, and of acts supplementary thereto, and the United States Department of Agriculture."
Mr. Caraway; Committee on Agriculture, 4077.

H. R. 21493—To amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved Feb. 4, 1887, as amended, and for other purposes.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4077.

H. R. 21494—Granting a pension to Martha Adams.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4078.

H. R. 21495—Granting a pension to Catharine Cocain.
Mr. Carr; Committee on Pensions, 4078.

H. R. 21496—For the relief of Dr. E. V. Hailman.
Mr. Connelly of Kansas; Committee on Claims, 4078.

H. R. 21497—For the relief of the heirs of James Cloud, deceased.
Mr. Hay; Committee on War Claims, 4078.

H. R. 21498—Granting an increase of pension to Levi Jackson Richardson.
Mr. Kennedy of Connecticut; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4078.

H. R. 21499—Granting a pension to James Chaffin.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4078.

H. R. 21500—Granting an increase of pension to George Martin.
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H. R. 21501—Granting an increase of pension to James F. Anderson.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4078.

H. R. 21502—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Combs.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4078.

H. R. 21503—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Dyer.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4078.

H. R. 21504—For the relief of Henry C. Adams and others.
Mr. Langley; Committee on War Claims, 4078.

H. R. 21505—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac Sloan.
Mr. Slemp; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4078.

H. R. 21506—For the relief of George Gillette.
Mr. Smith of New York; Committee on Military Affairs, 4078.

H. R. 21507—Granting an increase of pension to Alfred R. Long.
Mr. Vollmer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4078.

H. R. 21508—For organizing and creating an efficient reserve and defensive force of citizen soldiery for national defense from among the members of organized societies and fraternities.
Mr. Morin; Committee on Military Affairs, 4165.

H. R. 21509—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to appoint a commission to negotiate with the Crow Indians for the cession of their lands lying west of the Big Horn River on the Crow Reservation.
Mr. Stout; Committee on Indian Affairs, 4165.

H. R. 21510—To amend the Criminal Code of the United States by inserting therein a new section to be known as section 10417a.
Mr. Goulden; Committee on the Judiciary, 4165.

H. R. 21511—Granting an increase of pension to John R. Webb.
Mr. Cox; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4165.

H. R. 21512—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas T. Reasor.
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H. R. 21517—For the relief of Benjamin F. Willis.
Mr. Sloan; Committee on Claims, 4165.

H. R. 21518—To establish public highways along all section lines in the public lands of the United States.
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H. R. 21519—To encourage the reclamation of certain arid lands in the the State of California, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Public Lands, 4242.

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Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, 4242.

H. R. 21521—For the relief of Adolph Fenton.
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H. R. 21528—Granting an increase of pension to Ellen J. Stratton.
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H. R. 21538—For the relief of the heirs of James Turner, late of Marshall County, Tenn.
Mr. Houston; Committee on War Claims, 4342.

H. R. 21539—Covering back into the Treasury the unexpended balances of certain appropriations heretofore made for the development and manufacture of the Emery disappearing gun carriage.
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H. R. 21543—Granting an increase of pension to Jesse Walters.
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H. R. 21544—Granting an increase of pension to David L. Hackett.
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H. R. 21545—For the relief of the Provident Mutual Building Loan Association, of Los Angeles, Cal.
Mr. Stephens of California; Committee on Claims, 4445.

H. R. 21546—Making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year 1915 and for prior years, and for other purposes.
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H. R. 21547—Making donation of condemned cannon, carriages, and cannon balls to Covington, Ky.
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H. R. 21548—To amend the postal laws.
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Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 4553.

H. R. 21550—Providing for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Wellsville, in the State of Ohio.
Mr. Francis; Committee on Public Building and Grounds, 4553.

H. R. 21551—To provide for the erection of a monument at Martins Ferry, Ohio, to the memory of Elizabeth Zane.
Mr. Francis; Committee on the Library, 4553.

H. R. 21552—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph M. Ford.
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H. R. 21554—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas B. McClane.
Mr. Candler of Mississippi; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4554.

H. R. 21555—Granting an increase of pension to James Betharde.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4554.

H. R. 21556—To authorize the reinstatement of George Hill Carruth as a cadet in the United States Military Academy.
Mr. Morgan of Louisiana; Committee on Military Affairs, 4554.

H. R. 21557—For the purpose of preserving life at sea, etc.
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H. R. 21558—To authorize the President of the United States to lay, regulate, and revoke embargoes.
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H. R. 21561—For the relief of the heirs of Solomon Griffin.
Mr. Neely of West Virginia; Committee on War Claims, 4679.

H. R. 21562—To authorize the construction of a bridge across Pearl River at or near the city of Bogalusa, La.
Mr. Morgan of Louisiana; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4802.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1473), 5057.—Amended and passed House, 5183.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 5146.—Reported back and passed Senate, 5401.—Examined and signed, 5505, 5521.—Presented to the President, 5522.—Approved [Public, No. 340], 5524.

H. R. 21563—Granting the consent of Congress to the Keokuk & Hamilton Bridge Co. to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River at Keokuk, Iowa.
Mr. Kennedy of Iowa; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4802.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1458), 4888.—Debated and passed House, 4848.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 4838.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1069); passed Senate, 5355.—Examined and signed, 5357, 5491.—Presented to the President, 5522.—Approved [Public, No. 342], 5524.

H. R. 21564—To provide American register and enrollment for the steamer Minnesota upon certain conditions.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 4802.

H. R. 21565—To compensate Alfred A. Thresher for the infringement of his letters patent by the United States.
Mr. Chandler of New York; Committee on Claims, 4802.

H. R. 21566—Granting a pension to Alice Hamilton.
Mr. Dershem; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4802.

H. R. 21567—Conferring jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment in the claim of Lee Perry against the United States.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Claims, 4802.

H. R. 21568—Conferring jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment in the claim of James W. Pearce against the United States.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Claims, 4802.

H. R. 21569—Granting an increase of pension to Frank M. Bertram.
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H. R. 21570—Granting a pension to Allan Adie.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 4802.

H. R. 21571—To amend the juvenile court law of the District of Columbia.
Mr. Webb; Committee on the District of Columbia, 4888.

H. R. 21572—To authorize the Commissioner of Patents to extend to the widow of Hiram J. Brown the term of letters patent for apparatus for receiving and delivering mail bags.
Mr. Gallivan; Committee on Patents, 4889.

H. R. 21573—Granting a pension to Joseph Gager.
Mr. Harrison; Committee on Pensions, 4889.

H. R. 21574—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah Dotson.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4889.

H. R. 21575—Granting an increase of pension to J. E. Israel.
Mr. Neely of West Virginia; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4889.

H. R. 21576—For the relief of Lena Garagnon.
Mr. Slayden; Committee on Military Affairs, 4889.

H. R. 21577—For the relief of Ethel Fredrickson and daughter Ethel.
Mr. Slayden; Committee on Military Affairs, 4889.

H. R. 21578—Authorizing the Texarkana Board of Trade to construct a bridge across the Red River between Fulton, Ark., and Index, Tex.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4888.

H. R. 21579—For the relief of Albert T. Huso.
Mr. Haugen; Committee on Claims, 4889.

H. R. 21580—To amend the Federal reserve act by adding a new section to permit member banks to subscribe a limited amount of their capital toward the formation of a foreign banking institution.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Banking and Currency, 5057.

H. R. 21581—To authorize the President of the United States to lay, regulate, and revoke embargoes.
Mr. Porter; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 5058.

H. R. 21582—To regulate interstate commerce in pistols, revolvers, and other firearms of like form, size, and description.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 5058.

H. R. 21583—For the purchase of a collection of California quartz gems for the National Museum.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on the Library, 5058.

H. R. 21584—For the relief of the heirs or legal representatives of Carrick W. Park, deceased.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Claims, 5058.

H. R. 21585—Granting an increase of pension to Lizzie S. Hight.
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H. R. 21586—For the relief of the Home Building Association, of Newark, Ohio.
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H. R. 21587—For the relief of the People's Building & Loan Co., of Delaware, Ohio.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Claims, 5058.

H. R. 21588—Granting pensions to certain Indian soldiers who served in the First Arizona Infantry during the Civil War.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5058.

H. R. 21589—To erect a summer home for the President of the United States at Mount Dome, Randle Highlands, D. C.
Mr. Bartlett; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 5226.

H. R. 21590—To encourage agriculture and ownership of farm homes; to reduce the rate of interest and extend the term of farm mortgages.
Mr. Bathrick; Committee on Banking and Currency, 5226.

H. R. 21591—For the relief of the estate of Jaques Clamorgan.
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H. R. 21593—For the relief of the legal representatives of William Nunnelley, deceased.
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Mr. Stone; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5226.

H. R. 21595—Granting an increase of pension to Mary A. Kile.
Mr. Vollmer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5226.

H. R. 21596—For the relief of Katherine Abel.
Mr. Vollmer; Committee on Claims, 5226.

H. R. 21597—For the relief of Daniel M. Main.
Mr. Neely of West Virginia; Committee on Military Affairs, 5226.

H. R. 21598—For the relief of H. E. Street.
Mr. Neely of West Virginia; Committee on Military Affairs, 5226.

H. R. 21599—Granting a pension to Wayne Lee Rogers.
Mr. Neely of West Virginia; Committee on Pensions, 5226.

H. R. 21600—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob Brock.
Mr. Neely of West Virginia; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5226.

H. R. 21601—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Knecht.
Mr. Lee of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5226.

H. R. 21602—Granting an increase of pension to John H. Whitebread.
Mr. Lee of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5226.

H. R. 21603—To provide capital for agricultural development, to create a standard form of investment based upon farm mortgages, to equalize rates of interest upon farm loans, to furnish a market for United States bonds, to provide a method of applying postal savings deposits to the promotion of the public welfare, and for other purposes.
Mr. Bulkley; Committee on Banking and Currency, 5226.

H. R. 21604—For the relief of Thomas J. K. Looney.
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H. R. 21605—Regulating the furnishing of quotations of stock exchanges and giving jurisdiction thereof to the Interstate Commerce Commission.
Mr. Porter; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 5495.

H. R. 21606—To provide for the appointment of postmasters of all classes by the Postmaster General, and for other purposes.
Mr. Sims; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 5495.—Debated [Appendix, 733].

H. R. 21607—To amend the laws for the protection and regulation of the fisheries of Alaska.
Mr. Carlin; Committee on Ways and Means, 5495.—Debated [Appendix, 698].

H. R. 21608—For protection of the water supply of the city of Grand Junction, Colo.
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H. R. 21609—To provide for the unemployed, to strengthen the national defenses, and for other purposes.
Mr. Farr; Committee on Labor, 5495.

H. R. 21610—Granting a pension to G. W. Wells.
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H. R. 21611—For the relief of the Centerburg Building & Loan Co., of Centerburg, Ohio.
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H. R. 21612—Granting an increase of pension to James Logsdon.
Mr. Neely of West Virginia; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5495.

H. R. 21613—For the relief of the heirs or legal representatives of Isham B. Beard, late of East Carroll Parish, La.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on War Claims, 5495.

H. R. 21614—To authorize the transfer of certain lots to the city of Bremerton, Wash.
Mr. Bryan; Committee on Naval Affairs, 5495.

H. R. 21615—To create a national interstate highway system and to establish a commission for same, etc.
Mr. Carlin; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 5528.

H. R. 21616—To provide for stock-raising homesteads, and for other purposes.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on the Public Lands, 5529.

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTIONS. 1–395

H. J. Res. 1—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, extending the right of suffrage to women.
Mr. Mondell; debated, 1407–1484 [Appendix, 44, 83, 84, 91, 95, 102, 105, 107, 118, 149, 163, 398, 457, 654, 689].—Rejected, 1482–1484.

H. J. Res. 168—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Hobson; debated, 495–616, 1006 [Appendix, 30, 38, 45, 49, 51, 52, 55, 56, 58, 61, 64, 65, 67, 68, 288, 665, 846, 905].—Rejected, 615, 616.

H. J. Res. 234—Directing the selection of a site for the erection of a statue in Washington, D. C., to the memory of the late Maj. Gen. George Gordon Meade.
Mr. Logue; debated, amended, and passed House, 456–458.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Library, 492.—Reported back (S. Rept. 909); passed Senate, 1541.—Examined and signed, 1681, 1704.—Presented to the President, 1733.—Approved [Public resolution, No. 63], 2248.

H. J. Res. 257—Authorizing the Commissioner of Patents to exchange printed copies of United States patents with the Dominion of Canada.
Mr. Oldfield; reported back and passed Senate, 1157.—Examined and signed, 1321, 1325.—Presented to the President, 1484.—Approved [Public resolution, No. 61], 2248.

H. J. Res. 273—Requesting the President of the United States to invite foreign Governments to participate in the International Congress on Education.
Mr. Sharp; rereferred to the House Calendar, 2741.—Debated and laid on the table (see S. J. Res. 187), 3809, 3810.

H. J. Res. 284—Giving the consent of the United States for the State of Louisiana to institute suit against the United States in the Supreme Court of the United States.
Mr. Broussard; reported back (H. Rept. 1394), 3536.

H. J. Res. 294—Providing for payment of surgeons making examination at claimant's home in connection with claim pending in the Bureau of Pensions.
Mr. Key of Ohio; reported back (H. Rept. 1211), 77.

H. J. Res. 307—Authorizing the President to extend invitations to other nations to appoint delegates or representatives to the International Engineering Congress to be held at San Francisco, Cal., Sept. 20 to 25, inclusive, 1915.
Mr. Kahn; debated, 939, 940.—Passed House; vote reconsidered; laid on the table, 5418.

H. J. Res. 308—Providing for a commission to complete the acquisition of lands for the extension of the Capitol Grounds, and providing for the payment thereof.
Mr. Post; laid on the table, 1770.

H. J. Res. 329—To provide for the detail of an officer of the Army for duty with the Panama-California Exposition, San Diego, Cal.
Mr. Kettner; reported back (H. Rept. 1257), 1007.—Laid on the table (see S. J. Res. 218), 1322.

H. J. Res. 344—For the appointment of a National Marketing Commission.
Mr. Goodwin of Arkansas; debated [Appendix, 906, 907].

H. J. Res. 346—Ceding to the State of California temporary jurisdiction over certain lands in the Presidio of San Francisco and Fort Mason (Cal.) Military Reservations.
Mr. Kahn; ordered stricken from the calendar, 1779.

H. J. Res. 366—Authorizing the Secretary of War to use any allotment made under the provisions of an act approved Oct. 2, 1914, entitled "An act making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes," for the improvement of East River and Hell Gate, N. Y.
Mr. Fitzgerald; debated, amended, and passed House, 477, 478.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 492.—Reported back (S. Rept. 959), 2991.—Passed Senate, 5087.—Examined and signed, 5245, 5417.—Presented to the President, 5459.—Approved [Public resolution, No. 67], 5523.

H. J. Res. 372—Providing for a National Security Commission.
Mr. Gardner; debated [Appendix, 9].

H. J. Res. 377—To prohibit the export of arms, ammunition, and munitions of war from the territory or any seaport of the United States.
Mr. Vollmer; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 12.—Debated, 2889, 3189, 3190 [Appendix, 735].

H. J. Res. 378—To prohibit the export of arms, ammunition, and munitions of war from the territory or any seaport of the United States.
Mr. Bartholdt; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 12.

H. J. Res. 379—Providing for the continuance of the committee inquiring into the subject of increased postage on second-class mail matter and compensation for the transportation of mail.
Mr. Lloyd; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 12.

H. J. Res. 380—Withholding from allotment the unallotted lands or public domain of the Creek Nation or tribe of Indians, and providing for the sale thereof, and for other purposes.
Mr. Murray; Committee on Indian Affairs, 12.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1326), 2432.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 5419–5421, 5426, 5427, 5429, 5430 [Appendix, 717].

H. J. Res. 381—For the appointment of a commission for the purpose of investigating the preparedness of the United States for war, defensive or offensive.
Mr. MacDonald; Committee on Military Affairs, 77.

H. J. Res. 382—Authorizing the President to extend invitations to other nations to send representatives to the International Dry-Farming Congress, to be held at Denver, Colo., Sept. 27 to Oct. 8, inclusive, 1915.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 78.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1252), 782, 783.—Passed House, 3798.—Referred to Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 3875.

H. J. Res. 383—Declaring the intention of Congress to establish the rightful claims of American citizens to discoveries in the Far North.
Mr. Smith of New York; Committee on Naval Affairs, 78.

H. J. Res. 384—Authorizing the Secretary of War to increase the personnel of the Army.
Mr. Gardner; Committee on Military Affairs, 124.

H. J. Res. 385—For a commemoration of the second inaugural of Abraham Lincoln.
Mr. Gillett; Committee on Rules, 199.

H. J. Res. 386—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Morrison; Committee on the Judiciary, 248.

H. J. Res. 387—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Vinson; Committee on the Judiciary, 291.

H. J. Res. 388—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to cause investigation to be made concerning duplicate and fraudulent enrollments and allotments in the Creek Nation, and to enforce the rights of said Creek Nation.
Mr. Davenport; Committee on Indian Affairs, 329.

H. J. Res. 389—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Morrison; Committee on the Judiciary, 329.

H. J. Res. 390—Creating a commission and authorizing said commission to acquire by purchase the property known as Monticello, and embracing the former home of Thomas Jefferson and the park surrounding the same, consisting of 700 acres of land, all of said property being located in Albemarle County, Va.
Mr. Hay; Committee on Rules, 329.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1441), 4553.

H. J. Res. 391—Authorizing the Secretary of Commerce to postpone the sale of fur-seal skins now in the possession of the Government until such time as in his discretion he may deem such sale advisable.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 379.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1256), 838.—Debated and passed House, 2960–2962.—Referred to Senate Committee on Fisheries, 2994.—Reported back, 3549.—Debated and passed Senate, 3930.—Examined and signed, 4164, 4260.—Presented to the President, 4341.—Approved [Public resolution, No. 65], 5522.

H. J. Res. 392—To determine the construction of an act to increase internal revenue, and for other purposes, approved Oct. 22, 1914.
Mr. Allen; Committee on Ways and Means, 485.

H. J. Res. 393—To discontinue the printing of certain publications.
Mr. Mann; Committee on Printing, 485.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1484); passed House, 5187.—Referred to Senate Committee on Printing, 5146.

H. J. Res. 394—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Hobson; Committee on the Judiciary, 485.

H. J. Res. 395—Authorizing the President of the United States of America to prohibit by proclamation the exportation of arms, ammunition, and munitions of war.
Mr. Towner; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 838.

H. J. Res. 396—Authorizing and empowering the President to invite all nations to send delegates to a convention to provide for disarmament, for the creation of an international legislature, an international court, an international army and navy police, and for other purposes.
Mr. Curry; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 899.

H. J. Res. 397—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to cause the settlement of the account of Special Agents Moore and Woodson and Whitfield, under the treaty of 1854 with the Delaware Indians, etc.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1008.

H. J. Res. 398—To refund under certain conditions a portion of the offers in compromise for failure to make the return required under the act of Oct. 3, 1913, said offers in compromise having been covered into the Treasury, and for other purposes.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on Ways and Means, 1008.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1456), 4802.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 4887.—Referred to Senate Committee on Finance, 4895.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1055), 5066.—Passed Senate, 5351.—Examined and signed, 5357, 5491.—Presented to the President, 5522.—Approved [Public resolution, No. 68], 5524.

H. J. Res. 399—Authorizing and directing the Federal Reserve Board to investigate the organization of the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, in the seventh Federal reserve district.
Mr. Lindbergh; Committee on Banking and Currency, 1008.

H. J. Res. 400—To establish an investigating peace commission.
Mr. Hobson; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1379.

H. J. Res. 401—Looking toward an international peace conference at The Hague after the close of the present war in Europe.
Mr. Hensley; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1484.

H. J. Res. 402—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Beakes; Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress, 1679.

H. J. Res. 403—To authorize the Secretary of War to grant permission to the Southern Commercial Congress to place a tablet at Gamboa, Canal Zone, as a memorial to the late Senator John T. Morgan.
Mr. Blackmon; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1734.

H. J. Res. 404—Authorizing an embargo on commerce under certain conditions.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1734.

H. J. Res. 405—Providing for world organization to secure permanent peace.
Mr. Bartholdt; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1917.

H. J. Res. 406—Authorizing the Sergeants at Arms of the House and Senate to supply each Member of Congress with an identification insignia.
Mr. Cary; Committee on the Judiciary, 1998.

H. J. Res. 407—To prohibit the export of wheat and the products thereof.
Mr. Porter; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2080.

H. J. Res. 408—To establish the priority of discovery of the North Pole and the region contiguous thereto.
Mr. Smith of New York; Committee on Education, 2080.

H. J. Res. 409—Authorizing the President to extend invitations to the Governments of Central and South America to appoint representatives to attend a conference with the Secretary of the Treasury in the city of Washington.
Mr. Flood of Virginia; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 2202.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1421), 4165.

H. J. Res. 410—To create the national rural credit commission.
Mr. Bulkley; Committee on Banking and Currency, 2432.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1364), 3078.—Debated, 5190.

H. J. Res. 411—For the appointment of a joint committee to investigate the fluctuations and control of the price of wheat and flour and the methods and practices of doing business on grain and cotton exchanges, and for other purposes.
Mr. Manahan; Committee on Rules, 2739.

H. J. Res. 412—To suspend the final proviso of paragraph 177, Schedule E, of the act of Oct. 3, 1913.
Mr. Broussard; Committee on Ways and Means, 2772.

H. J. Res. 413—To authorize the appointment of an Advisory Committee for Aeronautics.
Mr. Roberts of Massachusetts; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2827.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1423), 4165.—Debated, 5461.

H. J. Res. 414—Directing the Secretary of War to investigate the claims of American citizens for damages suffered within American territory and growing out of the insurrection in Mexico.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 2927.

H. J. Res. 415—Requesting the President of the United States to invite foreign Governments to participate in the International Congress on Education.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 2927.

H. J. Res. 416—To authorize the Committees on Agriculture of the Senate and House to investigate a system of rural personal credit.
Mr. Candler of Mississippi; Committee on Rules, 3153.—Debated [Appendix, 690].

H. J. Res. 417—To authorize the Committees on Agriculture of the Senate and House to investigate a system of rural personal credit.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Rules, 3153.—Debated [Appendix, 586.]

H. J. Res. 418—Creating a commission to acquire and control the property known as Monticello, and embracing the former home of Thomas Jefferson, and the family graveyard in which his remains are interred, together with such land and ground appurtenant thereto as the committee shall find necessary in order to carry out the various public objects and purposes of this resolution, all of said property being located in Albemarle County, Va.
Mr. Henry; Committee on the Library, 3482.

H. J. Res. 419—Favoring a protective tariff and permanent tariff commission.
Mr. Stephens of California; Committee on Ways and Means, 3536.

H. J. Res. 420—Prescribing qualifications of ambassadors, envoys, functionaries, and delegates to and from the United States.
Mr. Vinson; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 3536.

H. J. Res. 421—To authorize the Legislature of the Territory of Alaska to apply and expend certain license taxes of said Territory after July 1, 1915.
Mr. Watson; Committee on the Territories, 3763.

H. J. Res. 422—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Bryan; Committee on the Judiciary, 3837.

H. J. Res. 423—Providing for the appointment of a National Marketing Commission.
Mr. Goodwin of Arkansas; Committee on Agriculture, 3924.

H. J. Res. 424—Providing for the payment of the expenses of an expert and assistant in the fur-seal investigation in Alaska.
Mr. Stephens of Texas; Committee on Claims, 4078.

H. J. Res. 425—Declaring the attitude of the United States toward the open-door policy in China.
Mr. Hobson; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 4078.—Debated, 4046–4054.

H. J. Res. 426—Providing that the Congress of the United States shall participate in the celebration of the opening of The Dalles-Celilo Canal.
Mr. Sinnott; Committee on Rules, 4078.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1436), 4445.—Debated and passed House, 5462.—Debated and passed Senate, 5400, 5401.—Examined and signed, 5505, 5521.—Presented to the President, 5522.—Approved [Public resolution, No. 691, 5524.]

H. J. Res. 427—Providing for the continuance of the Joint Commission to Investigate Indian Affairs.
Mr. Campbell; Committee on Indian Affairs, 4165.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1428), 4242.—Debated, 5464.

H. J. Res. 428—For the appointment of a commission to investigate and report measures for the development of the American merchant marine and commerce.
Mr. Madden; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 4165.

H. J. Res. 429—Reappropriating and making available unexpended balances of appropriations for Indian reclamation projects in Montana.
Mr. Stephens of Texas; Committee on Indian Affairs, 4165.

H. J. Res. 430—To authorize the Committees on Agriculture of the Senate and House to investigate a system of rural personal credit.
Mr. Helgesen; Committee on Rules, 4242.—Debated [Appendix, 720, 814].

H. J. Res. 431—To correct certain maps issued by the United States Navy Department (Hydrographic Office).
Mr. Helgesen; Committee on Naval Affairs, 4679.—Debated [Appendix, 482].

H. J. Res. 432—Providing for a special committee to prepare plans looking to the neutral government and control of the seas.
Mr. Calder; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 4888.

H. J. Res. 433—Directing the President of the United States to require the Kingdom of Great Britain to give satisfactory assurance that American commerce shall not be further unlawfully interfered with.
Mr. Deitrick; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 4888.

H. J. Res. 434—Providing for a joint committee to represent Congress at the formal and official opening of the Panama Canal.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Rules, 4865, 4866, 4888.

H. J. Res. 435—To extend the time for the construction of a dam across the Pend O'Reille River, Wash., and for other purposes.
Mr. La Follette; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 5058.

H. J. Res. 436—Recommending legislation to the States and Territories preventing detention of citizens of other States.
Mr. Porter; Committee on the Judiciary, 5058.

H. J. Res. 437—Authorizing and directing the Sergeant at Arms to refund to Members of the House of Representatives amounts of money deducted from their salaries.
Mr. Humphreys of Mississippi; Committee on Accounts, 5058.—Committee discharged, debated, and passed House, 5462.—Passed Senate, 5340.—Examined and signed, 5356, 5482.—Presented to the President, 5522.—Approved [Public resolution, No. 70], 5524.

H. J. Res. 438—Concerning estimates and expenditures for the Reclamation Service.
Mr. Fitzgerald; passed House, 5225.—Passed Senate, 5335.—Examined and signed, 5356, 5482.—Presented to the President 5522.—Approved [Public resolution, No. 71], 5524.

H. J. Res. 439—To empower the President to better enforce and maintain the neutrality of the United States.
Mr. Underwood; debated and passed House, 5453–5455.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 5335.—House concurs in Senate amendment, 5476, 5477.—Examined and signed, 5505, 5521.—Presented to the President, 5522.—Approved [Public resolution, No. 72], 5524.

H. J. Res. 440—Making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, and for other purposes.
Mr. Fitzgerald; debated and passed House, 5515.—Debated and passed Senate, 5407, 5408.—Examined and signed, 5505, 5521.—Presented to the President, 5522.—Approved [Public resolution, No. 73], 5524.

H. J. Res. 441—Making appropriations for current and contingent expenses of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes, and for other purposes, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916.
Mr. Fitzgerald; debated and passed House, 5515, 5516.—Debated and passed Senate, 5407.—Examined and signed, 5505, 5521.—Presented to the President, 5522.—Approved [Public resolution, No. 74], 5524.

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTIONS. 53–61

H. Con. Res. 53—That Congress assemble in Hall of House of Representatives to receive the President's message.
Mr. Underwood, and agreed to, 11.—Agreed to in Senate, 3.

H. Con. Res. 54—Authorizing the appointment of a committee to inquire into and report concerning the equity of the existing taxing system in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Slayden; Committee on Rules, 124.

H. Con. Res. 55—Authorizing adjournment of the House and Senate from Dec. 23, 1914, until Dec. 29, 1914.
Mr. Underwood; debated and agreed to, 225.—Agreed to in Senate, 266.

H. Con. Res. 56—Authorizing the printing of the journal of the national encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic.
Mr. Goulden; Committee on Printing, 248.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1483) and agreed to, 5187.—Referred to Senate Committee on Printing, 5103.—Reported back and agreed to in Senate, 5252.

H. Con. Res. 57—Relative to the celebration by the State of Louisiana of the one hundredth anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans, Jan. 8, 9, and 10, 1915.
Mr. Dupré; Committee on the Judiciary, 1093, 1187, 1188.

H. Con. Res. 58—Declaring for a special session of the Sixty-fourth Congress to consider rural credit legislation.
Mr. Morgan of Oklahoma; Committee on Ways and Means, 2191, 2192, 2202.

H. Con. Res. 59—Authorizing the President to invite the nations of the world to participate in a conference.
Mr. Gittins; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 2365.

H. Con. Res. 60—Tendering the thanks of Congress to Dr. Frederick A. Cook for his Arctic explorations resulting in his reaching the North Pole.
Mr. Fields; Committee on the Library, 3616.—Debated [Appendix, 39, 157, 330, 658, 670, 834].

H. Con. Res. 61—Authorizing and directing the Sergeant at Arms to refund to Members of the House of Representatives amounts of money deducted from their salaries.
Mr. Humphreys of Mississippi; Committee on Accounts, 4888.

HOUSE RESOLUTIONS. 203–679

H. Res. 203—Authorizing the Committee on the District of Columbia to investigate and inquire into the condition of the financial relations between the United States and the District of Columbia.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; report of committee submitted (H. Doc. Nos. 1627 and 1628), 4987.

H. Res. 387—Authorizing the House Committee on Mines and Mining to investigate the conditions in the coal fields of Colorado and in and about the copper mines in Michigan.
Mr. Keating; report of committee submitted (H. Doc. No. 1630), 5216.

H. Res. 406—To pay to Helen L. Bremner, clerk to Robert Gunn Bremner, late a Representative from the State of New Jersey, compensation at the rate of $125 per month from and after the date of the death of the said Robert Gunn Bremner until his successor is elected and qualified.
Mr. Kinkead of New Jersey; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1232), 399.—Debated, amended, and agreed to, 399, 400.

H. Res. 446—Directing the Committee on the Judiciary to inquire and report whether the action of this House is necessary concerning the alleged official misconduct of Daniel Thew Wright.
Mr. Park; House report No. 1191 agreed to, 5485.

H. Res. 513—For the installation of an electrical and mechanical system of voting.
Mr. Walsh; debated, 5185, 5517.

H. Res. 541—Directing the Committee on the Judiciary to inquire and report whether the action of the House is necessary concerning the alleged official misconduct of Allston G. Dayton.
Mr. Neely of West Virginia; reported back (H. Rept 1381) and agreed to, 3444, 3447, 3448.—House Report No. 1490 submitted and agreed to, 5452, 5453.

H. Res. 560—Authorizing the payment of $1,200 to G. D. Ellis.
Mr. Cantrill; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1479), amended, and agreed to, 5184.

H. Res. 570—Directing the Secretary of the Treasury to transmit to the House of Representatives all facts in his possession with reference to the conduct of the collector of customs of the Laredo district, in the State of Texas.
Mr. Garner; debated, 64.

H. Res. 591—Referring certain claims to the Court of Claims for finding of facts and conclusions of law under section 151 of the act of Mar. 3, 1911, entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary."
Mr. Gregg; amended and agreed to, 3518.

H. Res. 604—Requesting the Secretary of Labor to transmit to the House of Representatives information concerning public aid for home owning and housing of working people in foreign countries.
Mr. Buchanan of Illinois; debated [Appendix, 132].

H. Res. 621—Authorizing an investigation of the conditions existing in the textile industry in the city of Atlanta, Ga.
Mr. Greene of Massachusetts; debated, 4978, 4979.

H. Res. 661—Committee appointed to inform President Congress was ready to receive any communication he may have to make.
Mr. Underwood, and agreed to, 11.

H. Res. 662—Informing Senate that House had quorum and was ready to proceed to business.
Mr. Fitzgerald, and agreed to, 11.

H. Res. 663—In reference to the death of Hon. Edwin A. Merritt, jr., a Representative from the State of New York.
Mr. Payne, and agreed to, 11.

H. Res. 664—Authorizing the appointment of an additional telephone operator.
Mr. Garner; Committee on Accounts, 12.

H. Res. 665—Authorizing the appointment of a committee to investigate whether or not there have been violations of the law by the New York Cotton Exchange by causing decline in the price of cotton.
Mr. Tribble; Committee on Rules, 12.

H. Res. 666—Assignment of clerks to committees during Sixty-third Congress, third session.
Mr. Lloyd, and agreed to, 25.

H. Res. 667—Appointment of clerks, etc., to the various committees.
Mr. Lloyd, and agreed to, 25.

H. Res. 668—Providing for the appointment of a committee of investigators.
Mr. Roberts of Nevada; Committee on Rules, 78.

H. Res. 669—Authorizing the Clerk of the House to pay to Anna J. Oursler a certain amount of money.
Mr. Keister; Committee on Accounts, 78.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1233) and agreed to, 400.

H. Res. 670—Referring to various committees such parts of the President's message as relate to the appropriation of the revenue for the support of the Government.
Mr. Underwood; Committee on Ways and Means, 78.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1242), 443.

H. Res. 671—Appropriating $400 for folding speeches.
Mr. Bell of Georgia; Committee on Accounts, 124.—Reported back, debated, and withdrawn, 400, 401.

H. Res. 672—Directing the Secretary of the Treasury to transmit to the House of Representatives all facts in his possession with reference to the conduct of the collector of customs of the Laredo district, in the State of Texas.
Mr. Garner; Committee on Ways and Means, 124.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1329), 2536.—Agreed to, 4212.

H. Res. 673—On the death of Hon. Sereno Elisha Payne, of New York.
Mr. Fitzgerald, and agreed to, 136, 137.

H. Res. 674—To print 2,000 additional copies of the Soil Survey of the Connecticut Valley.
Mr. Lonergan; Committee on Printing, 199.

H. Res. 675—Requesting the Committee on Banking and Currency to report to the House of Representatives the specific reasons necessitating delay in the reporting of a bill providing for rural credits.
Mr. Lafferty; Committee on Rules, 248.

H. Res. 676—Authorizing the consideration of certain new legislation in H. R. 19906, a bill making appropriations for the support of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year 1916.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Rules, 248.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1229), 359, 360.—Debated and rejected, 359–368 (see H. Res. 684).

H. Res. 677—Authorizing the Committee on Accounts to have all necessary printing and binding done.
Mr. Lloyd, and agreed to, 267.

H. Res. 678—Authorizing the Clerk of the House to employ a woman attendant for the ladies' retiring room adjoining Statuary Hall.
Mr. Heflin; Committee on Accounts, 291.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1235), 401.—Amended and agreed to, 401.

H. Res. 679—Authorizing the Clerk of the House of Representatives to employ an additional telephone operator.
Mr. Rayburn; Committee on Accounts, 291.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1231) and agreed to, 401.

H. Res. 680—Authorizing the Clerk of the House to pay to George Curtis Peck, clerk of the late Hon. Sereno E. Payne, the sum of $125, being an amount equal to one month's salary.
Mr. Moore; Committee on Accounts, 329.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1234), 400.—Debated, amended, and agreed to, 400.

H. Res. 681—Authorizing the Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives to furnish all articles and make all necessary repairs relating to the House barber shop.
Mr. Hinebaugh; Committee on Accounts, 329.

H. Res. 682—For memorial services for Hon. Augustus O. Bacon, Sunday, Jan. 24, 1915.
Mr. Bartlett, and agreed to, 359.

H. Res. 683—Authorizing the Clerk of the House to pay to Wilbur H. Estey, clerk of the late Hon. Edwin A. Merritt, jr., the sum of $125, being an amount equal to one month's salary.
Mr. Parker of New York; Committee on Accounts, 430.

H. Res. 684—Authorizing the consideration of H. R. 19906, a bill making appropriations for the support of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year 1916.
Mr. Henry, from the Committee on Rules (H. Rept. 1240), 419, 420.—Debated and agreed to, 419, 420–429.

H. Res. 685—To amend the rules of the House of Representatives.
Mr. Smith of Texas; Committee on Rules, 485.

H. Res. 686—Authorizing the Clerk of the House to pay to Wilber H. Estey, clerk of the late Hon. Edwin A. Merritt, jr., the sum of $125, being an amount equal to one month's salary.
Mr. Parker of New York; Committee on Accounts, 485.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1339) and agreed to, 2740, 2741.

H. Res. 687—For consideration of H. Res. 168.
Mr. Henry, from the Committee on Rules (H. Rept. 1248), 495.—Debated and agreed to, 495–513.

H. Res. 688—Directing the Committee on Ways and Means to report a bill creating a tariff board.
Mr. Mann; Committee on Ways and Means, 783.

H. Res. 689—Directing the Committee on Ways and Means to report a bill creating a tariff board.
Mr. Mann; Committee on Ways and Means, 899.

H. Res. 690—To print 10,000 additional copies of Senate Document No. 380, Sixty-third Congress, second session, entitled "Agricultural Credit, Land-Mortgage, or Long-Term Credit," for the use of the House folding room.
Mr. Buchanan of Illinois; Committee on Printing, 899.

H. Res. 691—To print 5,000 additional copies of Senate Document No. 214, Sixty-third Congress, first session, entitled "Agricultural Cooperation and Rural Credit in Europe," for the use of the House folding room.
Mr. Buchanan of Illinois; Committee on Printing, 899.

H. Res. 692—Authorizing the payment of $800 to William McKinley Cobb for extra and expert services rendered to the Committee on Pensions during the third session of the Sixty-third Congress.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Accounts, 961.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1480), amended, and agreed to, 5184.

H. Res. 693—Setting apart Jan. 31, 1915, for services upon the life, character, and public services of Hon. Joseph F. Johnston, late a Senator from Alabama, and of the Hon. William Richardson, late a Representative from Alabama.
Mr. Underwood, and agreed to, 948, 949.

H. Res. 694—Authorizing the printing of 2,000 copies of the Digest and Manual of Rules and pactice of the House of Repesentatives.
Mr. Foster, and agreed to (H. Doc. No. 1556), 1006, 1007.

H. Res. 695—To equalize the salaries of two men styled "cloakroom men" in the Doorkeeper's department of the House.
Mr. Flood of Virginia; Committee on Accounts, 1093.

H. Res. 696—Authorizing an investigation of the Federal Reserve System.
Mr. Lindbergh; Committee on Rules, 1093.

H. Res. 697—Providing for services in memory of Hon. Sereno E. Payne, late a Representative from the State of New York, and Hon. Edwin A. Merritt, jr., late a Representative from the State of New York.
Mr. Calder, and agreed to, 1093.

H. Res. 698—Directing the Secretary of War to send to the House of Representatives certain information.
Mr. Gardner; Committee on Military Affairs, 1093.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1279), 1567.—Debated and agreed to, 1567, 1568.

H. Res. 699—Directing the Committee on Ways and Means to report a bill creating a Tariff Board.
Mr. Mann; Committee on Ways and Means, 1153.

H. Res. 700—Creating a Tariff Board.
M. Mann; Committee on Ways and Means, 1323.

H. Res. 701—Calling upon the Secretary of Agriculture for information as to production, consumption, and exportation of certain food products.
Mr. Farr; Committee on Agriculture, 1323.—Debated [Appendix, 200].

H. Res. 702—Directing the Secretary of War to transmit to the House copies of all documentary information in connection with the rates on deck loads passing through the Panama Canal.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1379.

H. Res. 703—For the consideration of H. J. Res. 1.
Mr. Henry, from the Committee on Rules (H. Rept. 1276), 1407.—Debated and agreed to, 1407–1420 [Appendix, 457].

H. Res. 704—Referring the bill (H. R. 20890) for the relief of the Iowa Indians of Oklahoma to the Court of Claims for a finding of fact and conclusions of law.
Mr. Murray; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1734.

H. Res. 705—Authorizing the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Attorney General to investigate the quality of coal sold to consumers.
Mr. Cary; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1917.

H. Res. 706—Requesting Senate to furnish House of Representatives a duplicate copy of the bill S. 2334.
Mr. Evans, and agreed to, 1948, 2099.

H. Res. 707—For the consideration of H. R. 20694.
Mr. Witherspoon; Committee on Rules, 1998.

H. Res. 708—To make it in order to consider certain paragraphs of the bill to make appropriations for the naval service, and for other purposes.
Mr. Witherspoon; Committee on Rules, 1998.

H. Res. 709—Providing for action by Congress to increase the postal revenue.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 2080.

H. Res. 710—To amend the rules of the House of Representatives.
Mr. Smith of Texas; Committee on Rules, 2080.

H. Res. 711—In respect to the memory of the late Hon. Robert G. Bremner.
Mr. Drukker, and agreed to, 2205–2207 [Appendix, 203, 270, 638, 877].

H. Res. 712—Authorizing the Committee on Printing to have printed 5,000 copies of letters from the Secretary of the Treasury and Secretary of Commerce, transmitted in response to Senate resolution of Dec. 18, 1914.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Printing, 2432.

H. Res. 713—To authorize the Committee on the Library to procure for the House a portrait in oil of the present Speaker, Hon. Champ Clark.
Mr. Baker; Committee on the Library, 2432.

H. Res. 714—Authorizing the printing of President's message vetoing immigration bill (H. R. 6060).
Mr. Bailey; Committee on Printing, 2536.

H. Res. 715—Requiring the Attorney General to make an investigation of the prices of cattle and hogs and other farm products.
Mr. Anderson; Committee on the Judiciary, 2739.—Debated, 3748, 3749.

H. Res. 716—Providing for services in memory of the Hon. Joseph F. Johnston and the Hon. William Richardson, of the State of Alabama.
Mr. Underwood, and agreed to, 2774–2785.

H. Res. 717—Providing for the consideration of certain paragraphs of H. R. 20975.
Mr. Henry, from the Committee on Rules (H. Rept. 1342), 2868.—Debated and agreed to, 2868–2874.

H. Res. 718—Relating to the expenses of the fur-seal investigation in Alaska.
Mr. Stephens of Texas; Committee on Appropriations, 2927.

H. Res. 719—Directing the Postmaster General to furnish the House of Representatives certain information.
Mr. Buchanan of Illinois; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 2982.

H. Res. 720—For the relief of Frank H. Walker and Frank E. Smith.
Mr. Edmonds, from the Committee on Claims (H. Rept. 1351), 2982.—Agreed to, 3533.

H. Res. 721—Authorizing the payment of $600 to Norman E. Ives.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Accounts, 2982.

H. Res. 722—To pay $600 to Lillie M. Reesch for extra services rendered in connection with statements filed by Members of Congress.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Accounts, 2982.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1502), debated, and agreed to, 5488, 5489.

H. Res. 723—Authorizing the payment of $800 to Norman E. Ives.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Accounts, 3079.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1476), amended, and agreed to, 5184.

H. Res. 724—Relative to pay of clerks of deceased Members.
Mr. Tavenner; Committee on Accounts, 3153.

H. Res. 725—Providing for services in memory of Hon. Sereno E. Payne, late a Representative from the State of New York, and Hon. Edwin A. Merritt, jr., late a Representative from the State of New York.
Mr. Calder, and agreed to, 3213–3229 [Appendix, 37, 807, 899].

H. Res. 726—For the relief of Nellie M. Murdock.
Mr. Rainey; Committee on Accounts, 3445.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1478) and agreed to, 5185.

H. Res. 727.—To amend H. Res. 532, Sixty-third Congress, second session.
Mr. Gregg; Committee on War Claims, 3445.

H. Res. 728—Requesting certain information of the Secretary of State.
Mr. Hobson; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 3536.

H. Res. 729—Ordering 50,000 copies of a certain House document to be printed.
Mr. Crisp; Committee on Printing, 3616.

H. Res. 730—Providing for the adjudication of certain claims by the Court of Claims.
Mr. Vollmer, from the Committee on Claims (H. Rept. 1397), 3616.

H. Res. 731—For the relief of the heir of Robert H. Key, late an employee of the House.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; Committee on Accounts, 3693.

H. Res. 732—For consideration of S. 5259.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Rules, 3763.—House resolution 736 reported in lieu, 3875.

H. Res. 733—To amend H. Res. 591, Sixty-third Congress, second session.
Mr. Gregg; Committee on War Claims, 3763.—Committee discharged, and agreed to, 3957.

H. Res. 734—To amend H. Res. 532, Sixty-third Congress, second session.
Mr. Gregg; Committee on War Claims, 3763.—Committee discharged, and agreed to, 3957.

H. Res. 735—Providing for services in memory of Hon. Lewis J. Martin, late a Representative from the State of New Jersey.
Mr. Hart, and agreed to, 3764–3766 [Appendix, 446, 543, 664, 710, 881].

H. Res. 736—For consideration of S. 5259.
Mr. Henry, from the Committee on Rules (H. Rept. 1410), 3875.—Debated and agreed to, 3875–3882 [Appendix, 396, 641].

H. Res. 737—Referring certain claims to the Court of Claims for finding of facts and conclusions of law under section 151 of the act of Mar. 3, 1911, entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary."
Mr. Gregg; Committee on War Claims, 3924.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1445), 4553.

H. Res. 738—Opposing the reorganization of the rural mail service by the Post Office Department.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 3924.—Debated and agreed to, 5461, 5462, 5463.

H. Res. 739—Authorizing the appointment of William F. Cody upon the Capitol police force.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Accounts, 4242.

H. Res. 740—Providing for services in memory of Hon. Augustus O. Bacon, late a Senator from the State of Georgia.
Mr. Bartlett, and agreed to, 4244–4255 [Appendix, 596].

H. Res. 741—Providing for services in memory of Hon. Forrest Goodwin, late a Representative from the State of Maine.
Mr. Peters, and agreed to, 4255–4260 [Appendix, 468, 903].

H. Res. 742—Amending section 2 of Rule VIII of the House.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Rules, 4342.

H. Res. 743—Directing the Secretary of the Treasury to forward to the House of Representatives information with respect to the steamship Evelyn and insurance upon her cargo.
Mr. Moore; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4445.—Debated, 4538, 4539.

H. Res. 744—Directing the Secretary of the Treasury to transmit to the House of Representatives full information as to the operations of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance.
Mr. Moore; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4445.—Debated, 4538, 4539.

H. Res. 745—Authorizing additional clerical assistance for the Committee on Enrolled Bills.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Accounts, 4445.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1481) and agreed to, 5184.

H. Res. 746—Authorizing additional clerical assistance and messenger service in the enrolling room of the House.
Mr. Crisp; Committee on Accounts, 4553.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1477) and agreed to, 5185.

H. Res. 747—Authorizing the printing of the report of the Pennsylvania Commission on the Gettysburg Reunion.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Printing, 4553.

H. Res. 748—Making provisions for the session clerks of the House of Representatives.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on Accounts, 4553.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1501), 5488.—Debated, amended, and agreed to, 5488.

H. Res. 749—Authorizing and directing the Sergeant at Arms to refund to Members of the House of Representatives amounts of money deducted from their salaries.
Mr. Moore; Committee on Accounts, 4888.

H. Res. 750—Authorizing investigation concerning the relative merits of various coals for use in the United States Military and Naval Establishments.
Mr. Slemp; Committee on Rules, 4888.

H. Res. 751—Authorizing a continuation of the investigation directed by H. Res. 203 of the Sixty-third Congress.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Accounts, 5058.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1482) and agreed to, 5184.

H. Res. 752—Authorizing appointment of committee to notify President of readiness to adjourn.
Mr. Underwood, and agreed to, 5519.

H. Res. 753—Expressing thanks of Congress to Speaker Clark.
Mr. Mann, and agreed to, 5520.